# Congressional Record

CONTAINING

THE PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES

OF THE

## FIRST SESSION

OF THE

## SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

OF

THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

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# Congressional Record.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS,
FIRST SESSION.

## VOLUME LIII, PART 15.

## APPENDIX

(PARTS 1 TO 13).

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# Congressional Record.

## APPENDIX.

### The Revenue Bill—Appropriations.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE M. BOWERS,
OF WEST VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. BOWERS. Mr. Speaker, as the newest Member of Congress, recently elected from the second West Virginia district, I was chosen upon pledges of support of rural credits, adequate preparedness, protective tariff, and the conduct of public affairs in a businsslike, systematic, and economical way. Acting upon this pledge, I aided in securing the passage of the rural-credits bill at this session of Congress. This bill gives the farmer an opportunity to borrow 50 per cent upon the value of his property in the purchase of it, or for the purpose of improvements, buildings, in the purchase of fertilizer, or any other material that will increase the value of his property. In other words, if a farmer wished to purchase property, and the party who has that property to sell is willing to accept a second lien for part of the purchase money, the Government will lend 50 per cent of the value of that property, taking the first lien thereon to secure itself, in amounts from $100 to $10,000, for a long period at a low rate of interest, with the privilege to the farmer of reducing the principal as he is able. The prudent farmer is in this way assured at all times of the opportunity of owning his farm and keeping it improved without excessive interest or a harsh creditor.

I assisted in forcing upon the dominant party a preparedness measure much better than it proposed. It does not come up to our needs, but is better than the country was led to expect. Money spent for adequate preparedness responds to the pulse of public opinion over the entire country. The American people believe in no half-hearted preparedness, but in an Army and Navy commensurate with our standing as a Nation—one that will make our foreign policy something more than mere apology, and one that will give Americans at home and abroad the protection of a Government willing and able to insure the safety of the lives and property of its citizens. I am proud, Mr. Speaker, to have responded as best I could to the wishes of my consituents back in West Virginia—that section of the country to which Washington said he would appeal for national defense and protection if the Continental Army should have been overwhelmed.

I would be false to my pledge if I failed to voice my protest against the unbusinesslike, unsystematic, and extravagant appropriations of this Congress. Even last year, at the first session of this Congress, the dominant party was extravagant according to their own standards, yet the increase of appropriations this year over last year reaches the enormous sum of $511,502,197.61, and with the contracts previously authorized makes the total appropriation of this year over that of last year $706,047,472.81.

The following table sums up the appropriation acts for the years of 1917 and 1916:

| Appropriation bill. | 1916 | 1917 | Increase. | Decrease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | $22,971,782.00 | $24,948,852.00 | $1,977,070.00 | |
| Army | 101,974,195.87 | 267,596,530.10 | 165,622,334.23 | |
| Diplomatic and Consular | 4,091,280.91 | 5,355,096.66 | 1,263,816.65 | |
| District of Columbia | 11,859,584.45 | 12,841,707.10 | 982,122.65 | |
| Fortifications | 6,060,216.90 | 25,747,550.00 | 19,687,533.10 | |
| Indian | 9,771,902.76 | 10,967,644.88 | 1,195,742.12 | |
| Legislative, etc | 36,904,799.75 | 37,925,690.25 | 1,020,890.50 | |
| Military Academy | 1,069,813.37 | 1,225,043.57 | 155,230.20 | |
| Naval | 149,661,864.88 | 313,300,555.84 | 163,638,690.96 | |
| Pension | 164,100,000.00 | 158,065,000.00 | | $6,035,000.00 |
| Post Office | 313,364,667.00 | 322,937,679.00 | 9,573,012.00 | |
| River and Harbor | 30,000,000.00 | 40,598,135.00 | 10,598,135.00 | |
| Sundry civil | 126,922,750.79 | 128,399,285.24 | 1,376,534.45 | |
| Total annual bills | 978,722,857.78 | 1,349,808,769.64 | 377,120,911.86 | 6,035,000.00 |
| Deficiencies | 12,316,343.90 | [1] 68,555,766.99 | 56,239,423.09 | |
| Miscellaneous | 2,330,603.34 | [1] 85,000,000.00 | 82,669,396.66 | |
| Permanent and indefinite appropriations | 121,567,207.00 | 123,074,673.00 | 1,507,466.00 | |
| Grand total | 1,114,937,012.02 | 1,626,439,209.63 | 517,537,197.61 | 6,035,000.01 |

[1] This sum is approximated.

Net increase 1917 over 1916, $511,502,197.61.

This extravagance is beyond the comprehension of the farmer and business man, and notwithstanding the fact that we have been called upon to meet new and burdensome taxes the revenue is still insufficient and bonds are to be issued to meet the deficit.

The financial pages of this session's appropriations, enormously larger than ever before, show no reduction in the normal routine expenditures, but an abnormal increase in the number of offices, in the size of salaries, and in places which can be used as rewards for political work, without regard to the civil-service law, and to crown all, a deficiency in revenue which must be supplied by the issue of bonds.

Such are the ingredients of the traditional Democratic economy. This extravagance does not meet with the approval of the farmer, business man, or wage earner, and others who believe that experienced, competent men should conduct the business affairs of this Nation in a businesslike way. Never was there greater need for sound business methods in any Congress, business methods such as we, as individuals, apply to our own affairs. This waste, coupled with loss of revenue from free trade will, unless promptly checked, result in bankrupting the Government.

There has been no period in the history of this country when the Republican policy of a protective tariff has been such a national necessity. The special commission appointed by the Government at Denmark which has just investigated the conditions of Belgium reports that all the industries are in operation, making full time, and that every available space of tillable soil is being utilized. The same situation doubtless prevails in other parts of Europe. This means after a cessation of hostilities on the continent of Europe, when peace is declared, that the Governments of the Old World under the present free trade will simply unload their wares on the American people to the detriment of our industrial relations and the wage earner. In my judgment, unless there is an immediate return to the policy of protection, this means a panic unparalleled in the history of our Government.

Immediate steps should be taken to prevent such a calamity by the protection of the American laborer and workingman by the broad shield of American law—in other words, a return to a protection that will insure to the American manufacturer a reasonable profit and to the American workingman good wages and continuous employment.

This Congress is acting contrary to the wishes of the people of this country in its wanton waste and is deaf to the present crying need of an old-fashioned Republican protective tariff.

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES H. MAYS,

OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 2, 1916.*

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us as amended carries an appropriation of over $269,000,000. This, we are told, is by far the largest amount that Congress has ever devoted to the Naval Establishment in any single year in our history.

It is a sad commentary upon the civilization of the world that such vast sums must be wrung from the taxpayers and diverted from useful purposes to the arts of destruction. Upon the theory that mankind must be dealt with as it is rather than as it ought to be we vote this sum as a necessary expenditure.

The amount carried by this bill added to that carried by the military bill will make a grand total of approximately $500,000,000 for the year's program. These figures are startling to any citizen who must contribute in taxes, especially when he contemplates the great good that could be accomplished with the funds if devoted to the arts and pursuits of peace.

We vote for this bill only because the uncivilized state of man seems to make the expenditure necessary for our self-defense.

The able address made by the chairman of the committee demonstrated the fact that our Navy urgently needs the five battle cruisers provided for in the bill if a proper balance in the fighting strength of our Navy is to be maintained. The amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole providing for 30 additional submarines will add immensely to the defensive strength of the Navy. A score or more of these undersea craft can be constructed for the cost of one capital ship and in one-fifth the time.

Properly equipped with these terrors of the deep and with an efficient aerial fleet our Nation need not suspend its ordinary business pursuits for fear of the navy of any belligerent.

Efforts to make the question of adequate defense partisan deserve and will receive a proper rebuke from the people. Attempts have been made in the House, first, to unjustly belittle the relative fighting strength of our Navy, and, second, to charge the party in power with responsibility. The Navy has not been neglected by any administration. The records fail to show that any country in any one year of its peaceful history has ever appropriated a larger sum for naval construction than the $269,000,000 carried by this bill.

The most military of all nations expended in all the 12 years preceding the European war less than $100,000,000 more than the sum we here appropriate. During these 12 years the four leading nations in naval construction expended the following sums:

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Britain | $1,999,209,088 |
| United States | 1,331,721,206 |
| Germany | 854,053,078 |
| France | 791,244,187 |

It will thus be seen that during the same period of time we expended nearly two hundred millions more than France and Germany combined. It may be said that unless our Navy is second in strength among the navies of the world, vast sums of the taxpayers' money have been wasted. It might be pertinent to inquire as to the party or interests properly chargeable with such waste.

Mr. Speaker, it is inconceivable, in view of the record of extortion and bad faith shown by the manufacturers of armor plate that any gentleman of any party, no matter how boss-ridden, could vote against the amendment offered providing for the establishment of a Government armor-making plant.

It has been shown in this discussion and also by records produced in the Senate, and by hearings before committees that the great steel companies have charged our Government an average price of $460 a ton for armor plate while selling the same plate to foreign nations at $250 a ton.

That they sold our Government worthless armor plate full of blowholes fraudulently concealed by putty and paint was also shown. It was further shown that these various steel companies had combined unlawfully to extort unjust prices from the Government—all bidding identically the same figures upon Government contracts. In addition to these uncontradicted disclosures there is quite convincing evidence that an international combination has been effected designed to maintain excessive prices in all the nations requiring armor plate.

Investigations by experts indicate to the committee that the Government can manufacture its own armor plate at $230 per ton. It should certainly manufacture sufficient of all matériel of war of which it is the sole or principal user in order that proper prices may be determined. Great savings have been effected by the manufacture of powder and guns by the Government.

Our Government should be in a position always to insure itself an adequate supply of these materials. It should be in a position always to keep secret new discoveries, new processes, and new improvements in construction.

The profits should be taken out of the manufacture of war materials, including guns, ammunition, and armor plate in order that there may be no inducement for citizens of influence to plunge a nation of people into useless war that their fortunes may be increased.

This, Mr. Speaker, is a very serious proposition. Men profiting greatly from the manufacture of armor plate and implements of destruction have organized "Navy Leagues," "National Security Leagues," and other alleged patriotic societies designed to increase military establishments for their own profit. Such people are not "safe counsellors in the affairs of the Nation."

This pernicious influence controls at this time a great political party and even extends itself with heroic professions of patriotism into the National Congress. Mr. Speaker, before entering this Hall I had heard much of a distinguished defender of national preparedness, a gentleman who shuddered not at the horrors of war, who was too manly to shed a tear over the grief of widows or the helplessness of orphans bereft, or the senseless slaughter of our brave brothers across the sea.

One of my first privileges as a new Member was to see that gentleman rise majestically in his place and request leave to proceed for one hour. In the eloquent address which followed much patriotism was injected into the atmosphere. He would prefer to prepare now. He would adopt compulsory military service. He would fight Mexico and fight her now. He would fight Germany and fight her now for the invasion of Belgium and for the sinking of the *Lusitania* and for various and sundry other offenses. He would not reason further. He would send no notes. He would employ no diplomacy or other agencies developed by civilization. His caustic criticisms of the President were loudly cheered by members of his party.

From the time he made that speech until his eloquent tirade the other day against the provision of this bill that nations be invited to counsel with one another to the end that war may be made more improbable he has been the flaming torch lighting and leading the way toward militarism.

It develops that he was then and is now financially interested in concerns engaged in furnishing this Government and other Governments with matériel of war. It develops that members of his family are also interested which involves a distinguished Senator, who also stands in the forefront of that noble column of patriots who are bold and fearless, willing to let others of their countrymen fight their battles that their profits may increase, and to whom diplomatic notes and humane assurances are most idle and repugnant.

A leading opponent of the armor-plate provision in the Senate bill was found, upon investigation, to be heavily interested in the great steel company furnishing us with armor plate. Various others have been shown to be and still others may be interested in the manufacture of powder, guns, and shells, and all the long list of war supplies.

It is apparent that the gentlemen named would appropriate every available dollar of the taxpayers' money toward our Military and Naval Establishments. Of course, they vote against an appropriation of $11,000,000 for an armor-plate factory. It is to be noted that they even voted against an appropriation of $9,000,000 for the establishment of a system of rural credits. Of course, they will harangue and vote against an appropriation of $200,000 toward efforts to establish courts of arbitration.

Mr. Speaker, the nations of the earth employ their ingenuity and exhaust their resources in building battleships and dreadnaughts equipped with such armor that no gun can penetrate. Then they proceed to construct guns that can penetrate any battleship. Where is it all to end? We hear much in this debate about our determination to become and to remain the first naval power in the world. Other nations are just as determined that they shall be supreme. Where is it all to end? In bankruptcy. That final consequence is admitted. Even naval and military experts admit that from this there is no escape.

It is evident to me, therefore, that the Speaker of this House was right when he asserted the other day that the best part of this bill was the two paragraphs on pages 100 and 101, which provide that—

Upon the conclusion of the war in Europe, or as soon thereafter as it may be done, the President of the United States is authorized to invite all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of suggesting an organization, court of arbitration, or other body, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament, and to submit their recommendations to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States, who shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives, and such secretaries and other employees as may be needed. Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

If at any time before the appropriations authorized by this act shall have been contracted for there shall have been established, with the cooperation of the United States of America, an international tribunal or tribunals competent to secure peaceful determinations of all international disputes, and which shall render unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments, then and in that case such naval expenditures as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal or tribunals shall be suspended, when so ordered by the President of the United States.

## The Bench and Politics—Wilson the Man of Words, and Hughes the Man of Deeds.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 16, 1916.*

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial from the Washington Star and one from the Washington Times. The editorials are as follows:

[From the Evening Star, June 13, 1916.]

THE BENCH AND POLITICS.

Take this question the Democrats are raising at St. Louis about the bench and politics. Is it a slam at Alton B. Parker, who, while chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals, made and won his campaign for his party's nomination for President? And he was openly groomed by David B. Hill, one of the foremost Democratic politicians of his day.

Is it a slam at JAMES A. O'GORMAN, who was taken from the bench where he was serving with honor, and transferred to the Senate, where he has been and now is serving with great distinction? Senator O'GORMAN is not popular in administration circles.

Is it a slam at the memory of Stephen J. Field, who while a justice of the Supreme Court made a campaign for the Democratic nomination for President, supplied funds to his lieutenants in the matters of organization, and, wearing his black silk gown, watched all proceedings taken in his name? There was never the slightest secret about the Field boom.

And, coming to the present moment, take this from a St. Louis news story:

"The vanguard of the Illinois delegation arrived here 100 strong, including 30 judges of the circuit, superior, and municipal courts of Chicago and Cook County. They declared themselves 100 per cent for Roger Sullivan for Vice President."

Are these ministers of justice, while on this vacation—political, let us call it—to be affronted in such fashion, rebuked, and driven back home? Tut, tut! as prominent golfers say.

But, most striking and pointed of all, is this a slam at Senator JAMES, who will be the permanent chairman of the convention? He was the controlling spirit at the recent Democratic State convention held in Kentucky, which selected for chairman of the State committee a circuit judge, who accepted the place and still occupies and will continue to occupy his seat on the bench. Moreover, this selection, it is understood, is the initial step toward making that judge the next Democratic candidate for governor.

With its color thus established by the record, what sort of campaign based on the "color scheme"—as they say in society—may the Democratic pot be expected to make against the Republican kettle? With such a text, what sort of speeches may Judge Parker, Senator O'GORMAN, and Senator JAMES be expected to make when the campaign opens, and voters crowd up close to the stands to hear why they should vote against Hughes and for Wilson? How will those three spellbinders deliver the party message and preserve their gravity? How will they differentiate between the Supreme Court and other high courts? That the Democratic offenses have been "such little ones"?

[From the Washington Times, June 13, 1916.]

WILSON THE MAN OF WORDS—HUGHES THE MAN OF DEEDS.

Those who believe or pretend to believe that Charles E. Hughes is too much like Woodrow Wilson to justify a popular upheaval in favor of a new Executive of the Nation are due to receive before this campaign is over a stunning shock, for Hughes is as much like Wilson as black is like white, inertia like motion, puerility like power.

Hughes is not merely a man of quick, clear judgment and deep convictions; he is a driving engine for the application of that judgment and the enforcement of those convictions. He has ideals, not only to talk about them but to work for them. He assumes duties, both to acknowledge them and to fight for them. He doesn't suppose, he knows; he doesn't stop at thinking, he goes on to doing.

Nothing could better illustrate Mr. Wilson's indifference to obligations or incapacity to perform them than his disregard in this very campaign of the pledge of his party's convention four years ago and his implied acceptance of that pledge against a second term. There was no reason on earth why the Democratic Party should have made that pledge; but it did make it. There was no reason on earth why Mr. Wilson should have bound himself to it; but he did bind himself to it. Now he is the same candidate of that same party for a second term.

Why a platform does not mean to Mr. Wilson something definite and concrete to be lived up to practically and solidly may be understood from his manner of making any of his public and official declarations and his manner of almost invariably drifting away from them afterwards.

To him the form of expression, the rhetorical flourish, is everything, the performance nothing.

Wilson loves to prate upon what individuals, communities, and nations should wish to do; of what they can not do without offending good taste, affronting public opinion, or defying righteousness. Wilson philosophizes on the beauties of reasoning with unreason, sermonizes on the virtue of being too proud to fight.

Hughes takes a commission from a legislature to investigate a vast insurance scandal and does it; from the people of New York to be their governor and he is their governor. He talks very little—never unless he has something to say. He does not talk mere rhetoric.

Read Hughes's acceptance of the Republican nomination, with his affirmation of the Republican platform, and see the difference in the mental equipment and the moral fiber, the aim and the will, the directness and the force of the two men.

Hughes does not say to the Republican convention that he is honored by its call. Hughes says, "I can not fail to answer with the pledge of all that is in me to the service of our country."

Hughes does not look with favor upon; Hughes "stands for the firm and unflinching rights of American citizens on land and sea."

Hughes does not simply deplore hyphenism; Hughes uncompromisingly declares, "We do not for an instant tolerate any division of allegiance."

Hughes does not say we should look to peace and security; Hughes says we "must have the strength which self-respect demands, the strength of an efficient Nation ready for every emergency."

Hughes does not say that the future bespeaks our attention, but we "must make industrial and economic as well as military preparation." Not that the tariff merits consideration, but we must readjust it in accordance with sound protective principles. Not that wage earners are our dearly beloved brothers, but we must conserve the just interests of labor. Not that capital has something to be said for it, but that we must secure the foundation of honest business. Not that transportation is a serious problem, but that we must conserve the essential instrumentalities of progress.

Wilson sees things to be talked about gracefully, poetically, even spiritually—and that is all. Hughes sees things to be grappled with manfully, mastered efficiently, and done completely.

Before election day the American people will come to understand emphatically the difference between Wilson, the smooth man of empty words, and Hughes, the powerful man of heavy deeds.

## Woman Suffrage.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS W. MILLER,
OF DELAWARE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, May 29, 1916.*

Mr. MILLER of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the above date I avail myself of the privilege to insert a few remarks on the subject of woman suffrage in which I include a copy of a resolution forwarded to me by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, chairman for Delaware of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, presenting the views of those present at a meeting held in Wilmington, Del., on May 19, 1916.

I am also including a statement made by me to a delegation of the Delaware convention of the Congressional Union on May 14, 1915, in Wilmington, Del., when I was asked to address the delegation and state my views on the question of woman suffrage.

The platform adopted by the Republican National Convention, held in Chicago, says the following in its suffrage plank:

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

Resolution submitted by the Delaware branch of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, May 19, 1916:

*Be it resolved*, That we, the men and women, at a meeting held in Wilmington, Del., on May 19, 1916, do protest at the action of the Judiciary Committee of the Sixty-fourth Congress in preventing the Susan B. Anthony amendment enfranchising women from being voted upon by the representatives of the people on the floor of the House, and do protest against the inconsistent attitude of the party in power—the Democratic Party—in withholding the right of full citizenship from half the people, the women, and further request that this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House, Majority Leader KERN of the Senate, Majority Leader KITCHIN of the House, members of the Judiciary Committee, and to Senator SAULSBURY, and request that they be read into the CONGESSIONAL RECORD by Hon. THOMAS W. MILLER.

FLORENCE BAYARD HILLES,
*Chairman.*

Statement of Representative THOMAS W. MILLER of Delaware to the Delaware convention of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, at Wilmington, Del., May 14, 1915:

"I would prefer discussing this subject with you informally, but I think it would be best under the circumstances for me to read the following statement of my position, in order that there can be no doubt as to just what my intentions are and my reasons therefor.

"About a month ago, when I consented to meet a delegation from the Delaware Equal Suffrage Association, I had no idea that a demonstration of the character and proportions such as has just been given would accompany this interview.

"Woman suffrage is one of the social problems to the fore at the present day, and while the body politic is interested in this question, it can not, or at least should not, be classed as a political issue by any political party.

"In order for an amendment to the Federal Constitution to be brought before the States it is necessary for an enabling resolution to pass both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds vote, after which it is transmitted by the Secretary of State at Washington to the governors of the several States, who in turn transmit the same to their legislatures for rejection or ratification. If three-fourths of the States ratify the amendment, it becomes a part of the Federal Constitution; otherwise, it automatically dies. Final action, it will be seen, is up to the State legislatures, and the part played by the Congress at Washington is to pass an enabling resolution which will permit the State legislatures to ratify or reject a proposition; or they may take no action whatever, if they so desire.

"To-day there are 12 States and 1 Territory—Alaska—which have granted universal suffrage, 22 of the States have granted partial suffrage, while the remaining 14 States do not allow woman suffrage in any form, the latter being composed largely of what is known as the solid South. In the fall of the present year the great Commonwealths of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts are to vote on the question of universal suffrage for women, the enabling act in these instances having been allowed by their respective legislatures. In this connection it will be remembered that our own general assembly at Dover during the past session voted 11 to 6 on this subject in the Senate and 22 to 10 in the House.

"A Member of Congress, in addition to the duty of representing his State or district through his voice or action in the National Legislature at Washington, should, in my opinion, consider it as his duty to act as a representative of the United States or, in other words, of the country at large. When you consider the fact that 12 States have already granted universal suffrage to women and 22 additional States have granted partial suffrage, it is plain to be seen that throughout the United States the question should be classed as a national issue. The question is undeniably a pressing one to-day, and the ice of public opinion has been broken through in no uncertain manner, as is evidenced by the figures just mentioned.

"For these reasons I therefore consider that it should be my duty as a national legislator to vote for an enabling resolution which would place the question of woman suffrage before the several States for their rejection or ratification. Should an enabling resolution providing for the submission of this question to the several States come before the Sixty-fourth Congress, it is my present intention to vote for it; but by this I do not mean that my activities shall be exerted in the matter outside of my duties as a Member of Congress. This is not to be construed as a pledge or promise but as my position on the subject to-day. I have not in the past, and I will not in the future, make a pledge, written or otherwise, governing my action as a Member of Congress, believing that the functions of a Member demand that he be unhampered by such pledge or promise."

The Milford (Delaware) Chronicle in its issue of June 8, 1915, said the following in its editorial columns concerning this interview:

We believe in the right of every woman capable of exercising the right to have a vote in the elections of State, county, town, and school affairs, and we want to express to Congressman THOMAS W. MILLER our admiration for the stand he has taken on the question. We believe that we are broader than the narrow views of political policy, and know that our convictions are based upon fairness and equality, the underlying principles of a democratic form of government.

The Harrington (Delaware) Journal in its issue of May 28, 1915, made the following reference to the subject:

We believe Congressman MILLER'S attitude on the suffrage question is not only right, but he is using good judgment when he listens to the request of the Delaware women favoring ballots for women. It is unjust to longer deprive them of the enfranchisement which a large and growing number of our best thinking women are demanding the right. It should be settled once and for all time at the next legislature.

## Speech of Gov. A. O. Stanley, of Kentucky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. B. ROUSE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, May 29, 1916.*

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a speech of Gov. A. O. Stanley, of Kentucky, delivered at the Democratic State convention, held at Lexington, Ky., May 24, 1916.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF GOV. A. O. STANLEY, DELIVERED AT THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION, HELD AT LEXINGTON, KY., MAY 24, 1916.

Fellow Democrats, words fail me in any attempt to express my profound appreciation of this signal evidence of the continued and continuing esteem of my countrymen. A few days ago 2,000 delegates, speaking through and for more than 200,000 Democrats, assembled in local conventions in practically every county of the Commonwealth, from the mountains to Mills Point, declared their confidence in and their approval of the present administration and in the good work it has just inaugurated. To be the fortunate and grateful recipient of such an unequivocal and universal expression of approval is a distinction a king might covet, and I shall endeavor not to express but to demonstate my gratitude to those who have thus honored me by an assiduous devotion to the best interests of the noblest party and the greatest State in all this world.

It is fitting that at this time we should briefly review the history of this administration, that those who have heartily indorsed may the better know how well it has deserved the commendation "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," so emphatically recorded by the Democracy of this Commonwealth.

On the 31st day of August, 1915, the Democracy of Kentucky in convention assembled committed its nominees to a program of reform far-reaching in its scope and thorough in its operation, embracing at once every department of the State government and the whole field of commercial and industrial activity. It promised:

To foster and promote agriculture and to protect the producer from extortion or exploitation by combinations in restraint of trade;

To improve our school system and to prevent unnecessary waste and expense in the purchase of text books;

A more extended control and regulation of common carriers and other public utilities;

The protection of the electorate and of legislative assemblies alike, from corruption or control by privileged or corporate interests;

Retrenchment and rigid economy in the expenditure of public funds;

A complete revision of the present inefficient and antiquated system of taxation; and,

The maintenance and enforcement of the present county unit law.

To-day you may contemplate with pride the completion in no small measure of the noble and arduous task so recently imposed.

This administration enacted a pure-seed law, and before its close we will see the great Department of Agriculture and the university of the State in thorough harmony and perfect cooperation, providing the farmer with a bureau of markets, and with the assistance of the Federal Government, expending nearly $300,000 in the highest development of the art of agriculture and in bringing in concrete and tangible form, to the cottage and to the field, the rich fruits of scientific discovery—the fertilization of soils and the higher cultivation and development of every form of plant and animal life.

It has written upon the statute books an antitrust law, so wisely drawn as to give perfect freedom of action to every legitimate enterprise, while preventing and punishing oppression of the poor and the exploitation of the public by trusts and combinations in restraint of trade.

It has entered the schoolroom and protected the pupil and the necessitous parent from the cunning of avaricious book companies by forever preventng useless and sweeping changes in text books, inaugurated for the sole benefit of those who patent and print them.

When this administration came into power property was insured by a kind of sufferance. No man knew and no insurance company could say, just what its duties or responsibilities were.

Insurance laws have been rewritten in such a way as to both protect the insured and to give stability and confidence to business.

A quarter of a century ago the framers of the constitution wisely prohibited the granting or offering of transportation to public servants, realizing that a rebate by a common carrier is a naked and indefensible abuse, an iniquity that no good man can defend or wise legislator tolerate. Yet in all that lapse of years every effort to make effective this just and righteous provision of the constitution of the Commonwealth was doomed to ignominious defeat. Every bill introduced for that purpose was strangled in the darkness by a conspiracy of greed and silence. Common carriers are essential alike to the development of the country and to the necessities of the citizen. Wisely and justly operated, railroads are absolutely essential to the happiness and prosperity of the community. The secret rebate is nevertheless the fecund mother of monopoly and corruption. There is no more excuse for discrimination in passenger than in freight rates. The carrier is under the same obligation to abstain from every form of discrimination in the transportation of passengers as of freight. Legislators have been biased, courts cajoled, citizens flattered and corrupted by this pernicious and indefensible practice. The last general assembly, almost without a dissenting voice, forever abolished the free pass to official and citizen alike, and under the present law common carriers will be compelled to serve all men without regard to wealth or place or power with equal and exact justice.

Legislation has been cleansed and ennobled by the prompt and cheerful response of courageous statesmen to the demand of a progressive democracy.

A corrupt-practices act insures the freedom of elections from slush funds provided by designing interests, and an antilobby law throws the light of day upon those who seek by "cunning, sly, insinuating art" to debauch public servants in the discharge of an official duty.

The interests of the shipper have been safeguarded by acts placing the sole responsibility for loss in transit upon the initial carrier. The watering of stock has been interdicted by wise regulations preventing the overcapitalization of corporations and the manipulation of their securities. The powers of the railroad commission have been extended over other public utilities. Legislation has been enacted regulating the operation of railroad, telegraph, telephone, insurance, and banking corporations, and yet no great business interest has been heard to utter one complaint, to make one charge of demagogy or injustice against this administration.

It has relieved the necessities of the laborer by providing a two weeks' pay bill and has provided for those dependent upon him in the case of accident or death by a workmen's compensation act.

It has protected the home by making the desertion of wife and child a felony and has shielded from violence and wrong unprotected womanhood by a severe antipandering law.

It has codified and rewritten the entire body of laws providing for the regulation and organization of the militia and for the operation and maintenance of our common schools.

It has cheapened the cost of public highways by utilizing the labor of convicts in their construction and by wise legislation has extended and rendered available to the poorest counties the aid of the State in extending these great thoroughfares to the most remote sections of the Commonwealth.

Pledged to retrenchment and reform and facing a deficit of more than $3,000,000, it has practiced the most rigid economy in the appropriation and expenditure of public funds. The last general assembly utilized less than half the employees required by its precedessors, thus effecting a saving of more than $200 for each day of its deliberations. The custodian and the sinking fund commissioners are now perfecting a plan by which it is hoped the cost of maintenance of the public buildings and grounds at Frankfort will be reduced at least 30 per cent.

The act providing a fixed date of maturity for outstanding warrants will save in interest to the taxpayers of the Commonwealth not less than $50,000 per annum.

An able tax commission is now tirelessly and assiduously devoting itself to the task of completely revising the present archaic and inefficient system of taxation.

The acts of the last general assembly constitute a unique volume of well digested, wisely constructed, and progressive legislation, which has placed Kentucky in the vanguard of forward-looking States. This administration, intrusted with power for less than six short months, may well stand erect before the Democracy of the Commonwealth, having kept every platform pledge made by the great convention which commended it to the people of the State and committed it to a work well and nobly done.

In behalf of those associated with me in this administration, I can say to you who have so generously commended us that we have regarded the last Democratic platform as a solemn covenant, a contract to be executed in spirit and in letter. Every promise fulfilled, every pledge redeemed, we, who have kept the faith, well may merit this magnificent expression of your approval and esteem. We have done more than crystallize into law those specific reforms incorporated in the last platform. We have abstained from doing those things which were by necessary implication absolutely prohibited.

The Democratic Party has ever been the true friend of temperance and the righteous champion of every reform designed for the intellectual or moral uplift of the Commonwealth. The Democracy of Kentucky believes with the President of the United States that temperance and Democracy are consistent and that the sale of alcoholic liquors can be regulated or prohibited without abandoning or destroying the sacred principle of local self-government. The maintenance of home rule and an inflexible opposition to centralized power are fixed and established principles first proclaimed by Thomas Jefferson and from time immemorial honored and maintained by the Democracy of Kentucky. For that reason in 1911 a Democratic convention declared in favor of the county unit in order that "the citizens of each and every county in the State may determine for themselves whether spirituous, vinous, or malt liquors may be sold therein." The last Democratic platform declared that "We reaffirm and reassert our unqualified approval of the present county-unit law and of the declaration of the Democratic Party in the convention of August 15, 1911, pledging the party to its adoption," and it asserted in no uncertain terms its allegiance to the great leader of a national democracy, declaring that in "any legislation affecting the moral welfare of the people and the party we may well be guided by our great leader, whose wisdom and righteousness are the priceless boon of a triumphant democracy. We unqualifiedly commend to the Democracy of Kentucky his sage admonition that 'the questions involved (in such legislation) are social and moral and are not susceptible of being made parts of a party program. Whenever they have been made the subject matter of party contests they have cut the lines of party organization and party action athwart to the utter confusion of political action in every other field.'" With the President we "do not believe that patry programs of the highest consequence to the political life of the State and of Nation ought to be thrust on one side and hopelessly embarrassed for long periods together by making a political issue of a great question which is essentially nonpolitical, nonpartisan, moral, and social in its nature," and therefore we oppose further agitation and legislative experiment, holding that existing laws, if fairly tried, will achieve the ends for which they were designed."

This administration and the last general assembly were not at liberty to choose between State-wide prohibition and local option without disregarding the emphatic and unanimous demand of more than 2,000 delegates speaking and authorized to speak for the whole body of Kentucky Democracy. To have abandoned the county unit was to repudiate the platform upon which Senators and Representatives were elected. Each of these representatives, before his name could be printed upon a ballot, was required by law of the land to solemnly assert his acceptance of the principles of his party and his purpose to carry them into effect. To have abandoned a principle so well established and so forcibly and so lucidly asserted would have been the height of perfidy and dishonor. State-wide prohibition and local option—and the county unit is local option—are absolutely irreconcilable. The existence of one necessarily implies the abandonment of the other. When the States as a whole determines this matter the counties are necessarily denied any right of independent action, and that right can not be denied them by honorable men in the teeth of a platform which expressly guaranteed to every county in the State the absolute control over the vending of spirituous liquors, and further provides that no county shall be deprived by any outside interference of the right to determine this matter for itself. This administration has done more than uphold the county unit. It has strengthened and perfected it. It has given it a virility and efficiency never attained before.

In order that each county might the better prevent the violation of laws designed to regulate or prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors, bootlegging has been made a felony, and the governor of the State has been intrusted with the right to remove recalcitrant officials wherever saloons were opened on prohibited days or during prohibited hours, and this law has been enforced with such rigor that to-day, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth, no barroom dares open its doors to the public upon the Sabbath day in any city or in any hamlet in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. More than that, executive clemency

has been absolutely denied to any man convicted of a violation of any of the laws designed to affect the liquor traffic. This administration has been indeed the sincere champion of true temperance, but it has been the champion of Democracy as well. No good cause demands broken faith, and the cause of temperance is not so weak in Kentucky as to require the repudiation of a Democratic platform in order to properly safeguard the moral welfare of the community.

Those who attempted to obstruct this program, to bring into contempt the proceedings of deliberative bodies by unsuccessful efforts to distract their councils by bitter harangues or useless and unwarranted personal abuse, were treating with defiance and contempt not the governor of the State or the speaker of the house of representatives, they were spurning and repudiating the platform upon which they were elected. They were vainly endeavoring to prevent the representatives of a great party from keeping faith with the people who elected them. This insurrection has been wisely and sternly rebuked by those who believe that platform declarations are and should be binding upon all honorable men, and that those who insist upon the inviolate observance of preelection pledges, deserve from their official associates, not vilification and slander, but cooperation and support.

To-day the Democracy of Kentucky, determined and harmonious, files in solid phalanx behind the greatest leader of the Western World. Your action is the certain earnest of a glorious victory in November and you do well to stand as one man in this crucial hour. Never since the Civil War has any man faced such grave responsibilities and attempted the solution of such world-embracing problems. Upon the success of Democracy depends the honor of the flag and the peace of America. The eyes of all mankind are upon you. Life and death, the horrors of war, and the blessing of peace and tranquillity await the wisdom of your action. To-day old Kentucky salutes her sister States from Maine to California. She unfurls here triumphant banners, from her flaunting standard floats the signal, "All is well in old Kentucky." United we stand with that great and wise and patient chieftain who is, and in the Providence of God for four years more shall be, the President of the United States.

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**The Tavenner Bill as a Proposed Amendment to the Fortification Bill.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, so much has been said on this floor in opposition to enacting legislation by means of riders to appropriation bills that it is unnecessary at this time to do more than call attention to the fact that the proposed amendment was never discussed nor considered in the committee which had the appropriation bill under consideration.

It is not only an unfair way of legislating but is dangerous in the extreme, and I do not believe that anyone can justify it in a matter of such importance at a time like this.

The Advisory Board to the Navy, composed of the greatest engineers and scientific men in the country, headed by Thomas A. Edison, are emphatic in their condemnation of the legislation embodied in this amendment and believe it would be a great blow to efficiency.

In England the labor union officials voluntarily proposed a definite stop watch, time studies, and premium wage payments.

I have been unable to find a single engineer of prominence or a scientific society that does not believe in the time study and the premium or bonus system.

To-day more than 30,000 engineers and chemists, members of the five eminent American scientific bodies, are making for the first time in the history of the Government a minute sweeping survey of the industrial resources of America.

Their work will be the basis for creating in this country a true line of defense in time of war, the ability to produce swiftly, abundantly, and with sustained power all the thousand and one elements of modern warfare.

They are going to determine the extent of each plant—the equipment of each shop, the capacity of each machine, the ability of each man. This is the essence of industrial preparedness, and this is the task to which 30,000 engineers are pledged.

This work will supply the military authorities of the United States with information never before collected, and is carried forward without a dollar's cost to the Government. This work will be greatly facilitated by establishments that have the time study, and this great body could make little progress without it.

### EMPLOYEES TREATED FAIRLY.

The employees of the Ordnance Department, including the Watertown Arsenal, are given an eight-hour day. They are given a leave of absence of 15 days in the year with full pay. They are paid the going wage of employees engaged in similar occupations conducted by private employers, and under the premium system are receiving, on an average, over $10 a month in addition to the going wage. They also receive pay for seven national holidays that they are not required to work. They are given 13 Saturday afternoons during the summer season, making in all 28½ days when no work is required, and they receive full pay. This leaves 284 working days, or exactly 10 per cent of the working time they have off with full pay.

There has not been any proof produced that the employees at the Watertown Arsenal have met with more accidents or that their health has been impaired; but, on the contrary, it has been shown that the health of the employees is good, and they meet with fewer accidents than in private institutions of the same kind.

### ARBITRATION.

The employees have a right at any time to arbitrate their differences. If they are speeded up, if they are not treated fairly, if the time study and premium system is made oppressive, under the rules of the department they can arbitrate their differences. This certainly is fair, and yet we find that no employee has had a sufficient grievance under the time study and premium system to ask for any arbitration.

I herewith give the rules governing arbitration of the employees in the Ordnance Department:

### INSTRUCTIONS IN REGARD TO HEARING OF GRIEVANCES.

1. Shop board: Any grievance arising in an arsenal shop shall, in the first instance, be taken up for adjustment by a shop board consisting of an authorized representative, respectively, of the arsenal and the employees in the shop where the grievance arises.

2. Arsenal board: In case the shop board fails to adjust the grievance, it shall then be taken up by the arsenal board, consisting of an officer of the arsenal, to be selected by the commanding officer, and a representative of the employees of the whole arsenal, to be selected by the employees.

3. In case the members of the arsenal board can not agree, they shall prepare a brief statement of the subject in controversy and the respective positions of the members of the board, which statement shall be submitted to a mediation board, hereinafter provided for, which shall proceed either to hear the matter contained in the statement or in such other manner as it desires, and decide the same without unnecessary delay. Upon decision of said matter by the mediation board it shall submit its findings to the commanding officer, who is authorized to give them effect after notification and opportunity for appeal.

4. A decision of the mediation board may, at the instance of either party, within a reasonable time, be appealed to the supreme mediation board, whose conclusions shall be reported to the Chief of Ordnance, who will give them effect unless, in his opinion, they are contrary to the interests of the service. The right of appeal from the action of the Chief of Ordnance to the Secretary of War exists.

5. The mediation board shall consist of five members, to be appointed as follows: The commanding officer shall appoint from his staff an officer who, if practicable, shall act continuously on said board; the commanding officer shall also appoint an additional member, who may be an officer or an employee not from the rank and file of the employees, and who must not be a party to the grievance nor have participated in the subject under hearing. The employees, on their part, may also appoint two representatives on said board from among themselves; the first shall act as continuously on said board as may be practicable; the second shall, if possible, be representative of the craft which has the complaint before the board, except that he must not be personally involved in the question for adjudication. It will be understood that all the representatives shall be subject to removal at any time by the power appointing them. The commanding officer and the employees will select a fifth man, who shall act as chairman of the board, and who shall seek, as far as possible, to bring the parties together, and will cast the deciding vote on any matter before the board only when it is necessary to do so in order to reach a decision. If the commanding officer or the employees so elect, said board shall be limited to three members, selected as to representation at each hearing on the basis above, it being understood that, as far as practicable, each craft shall select a mediator to hear its complaints.

6. Supreme mediation board: This board shall consist of three members, one to be appointed by the Chief of Ordnance, one to be appointed by the crafts representing all the employees of the arsenal, and these two shall choose the third member, who shall act as chairman. The procedure of the chairman shall be the same in manner as that of the chairman of the mediation board. It is to be understood that for the purpose of having the benefit of special craft knowledge as mediator either side may for any hearing substitute another in his place.

7. While the question of a grievance is pending the commanding officer is instructed to have the work in question proceed as at the time the question at issue was raised.

8. As the arrangement outlined herein is new in the department, of a tentative nature, and necessarily must be subject to the test of practical experience, it is not desired to go into more detail at this time; but it is to be understood that the Chief of Ordnance will re-

ceive suggestions from the commanding officer or the employees as to any change in the procedure outlined herein which may appear to be desirable. Any suggestion submitted by the employees should be forwarded through the usual channels.

9. In carrying out these instructions all proper facilities will be afforded, with the object of avoiding expense, but it is understood that employees will pay their own expenses incurred in connection with any hearing of a grievance in the manner outlined herein, which can not properly be assumed by the Government, and that all joint expenses shall be equally divided between the Government and the employees.

10. While it is considered desirable that the chairmen of the mediation board and of the supreme mediation board shall hold office as long as agreeable to the Government and the employees, it is to be understood that they can be changed at any time.

11. The records of the shop and arsenal boards shall include entries of the name of the aggrieved party, the nature of the grievance, and the action taken. The mediation boards may make rules of procedure and keep such records as may appear desirable, which shall become permanent records of the department.

12. It is essential for the proper working of this form of procedure that all things required to be done shall be done promptly.

13. In issuing these instructions it is the purpose of the department to provide proper machinery for the adjudication of all grievances which may arise, but they are not to be understood as withdrawing any rights under the methods heretofore in practice.

14. In cooperating with the department in carrying out these arrangements the employees are understood as not waiving any objections which they may have to any method or manner of work which may be in force in said arsenal, such, for instance, as the stop-watch elemental time studies or the premium system of payment to employees, or any condition or grievance resulting therefrom, nor submitting their opposition thereto to arbitration, nor does the department waive its right to install such systems or to carry on the work in such manner as in its opinion is best for the service.

FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DOES NOT CONDEMN SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The gentleman from California [Mr. NOLAN], in speaking in favor of a similar amendment to the naval bill June 1, quoted from the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations—page 9128 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—as follows:

Last year an investigation was made of scientific management as it affected labor under the authority of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. The work was done by Mr. R. F. Hoxie, of the University of Chicago, as chief investigator. * * * In view of the fact that it was a unanimous report, their findings are entitled to be accepted as authoritative.

As a matter of fact, the statement referred to with respect to scientific management was signed by only four out of the nine commissioners, the majority of the commission refusing to sign it.

The report made by Mr. Basil M. Manly, which was signed by a minority of the committee, makes no reference whatever to the time, study, or premium or bonus system in Government plants, which are the proposed subjects of this legislation.

Prof. John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, a member of the Commission on Industrial Relations, writes regarding the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations as follows:

Owing to the way in which the Commission on Industrial Relations went to pieces it was impossible to compare and verify any of the investigations. Consequently whatever conclusions I may have reached, or anybody else on the commission, are not complete except in so far as Mr. Hoxie's report was indorsed by four members of the commission. This, however, is no part of my action nor of the majority of the commission.

Prof. Commons states in his letter that he is strongly opposed to the various propositions of the Tavenner bill, and says:

I am convinced that the unions have gone too far when they demanded that Congress prohibit these methods.

Prof. R. F. Hoxie, who has been quoted as against scientific management, says:

You are right in assuming that I took no stand of opposition to scientific management in my report to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and also in assuming that I look upon time study, properly developed and applied, as an exceedingly valuable means in the development of industrial efficiency.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ADMINISTRATION IN POWER.

Can this administration afford to enact a law that has been given no more consideration than the proposed amendment over the protests of the chiefs of two great departments of the Government?

Secretary of War Baker writes as follows regarding the value of the time-study and premium system in the Watertown Arsenal. He closes his letter as follows:

As I am not in any sense personally responsible for the work which has been done at the Watertown Arsenal, I can be permitted to say that, in my judgment, it represents an achievement of which both the legislative and executive branches of the Government can be justly proud. The reproach is often made that the public can not conduct an economical and efficient industrial enterprise, but no such charge can be brought against the Watertown Arsenal, and I think it would be a grave misfortune to the public service and to the employees of the Government there engaged if any action were taken prejudicial to the system which is working so well, without a special investigation at the arsenal itself which would make a comprehensive study of the results of the system, both in output and upon the operatives. Similar studies have been made in other places; there are a great many experts who know exactly how to make such studies, and the information presented by them could be weighed and proper value given it in determining a future policy.

Sincerely, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
*Secretary of War.*

The Post Office Department makes an emphatic protest:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
*Washington, D. C., May 18, 1916.*

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. BROWNE: With reference to your letter of April 28, asking for my views in regard to H. R. 8665, entitled "A bill to regulate the method of directing the work of Government employees," you are informed that it is my opinion that the enactment of the above-mentioned bill into law would be prejudicial to the best interests of the Post Office Department and Postal Service. I inclose herewith copies of memoranda submitted by several of my assistants covering the subject in detail.

Very sincerely, yours,

OTTO PRAEGER,
*Acting Postmaster General.*

In the discussion of this question June 1, on page 9128 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a chart, prepared by Mr. Minor Shipman, was referred to.

These same charts were presented before the Labor Committee by Mr. John P. Frey, and while it was admitted that the charts were not an indictment against scientific management, I herewith present the reply to Mr. Frey's argument and charts made by Gen. Crozier:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE,
*Washington, May 29, 1916.*

HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. BROWNE: In further answer to your note of May 6 (O. O. 230.437/72), I inclose herewith a copy of a memorandum received from the commanding officer of the Watertown Arsenal, which partly analyses the testimony given by Mr. John P. Frey before the Committee on Labor when it had under consideration the bill H. R. 8665. You will note from the blue-print charts [charts omitted] which accompany this memorandum that the fluctuations in efficiency of a single workman, which were claimed by Mr. Frey to show that the jobs upon which the efficiency was based were unscientifically set, were exhibited in a high degree when this workman was engaged upon identical jobs at different times, and that the fluctuations were therefore personal and not in the setting of the jobs.

It appears from the charts which Mr. Frey himself presented that even if the workman's efficiency were shown to vary, from whatever cause, his average efficiency was such as to net him a very considerable gain over his regular daily pay, and that in his case the system was therefore highly beneficial. His average gain, as shown by Mr. Frey's chart, would be something like 50 per cent of his pay.

If you have occasion for any further explanation of the memorandum or of any other features of this subject, I shall be very glad to give it to you.

Sincerely, yours,

WILLIAM CROZIER,
*Brigadier General, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army.*

MEMORANDUM TO ACCOMPANY SECOND INDORSEMENT ON O. O. 230.437/72 — TAVENNER (W. A. 213-1092).

1. The following is a partial analysis of the testimony given by Mr. Frey in his hearings before the Committee on Labor on H. R. 8665, March 30 to April 4, 1916. The analysis is considered not to be complete, on account of the limited time understood to be available for the purpose.

2. Mr. Frey in his hearings before the Committee on Labor, stated as follows (p. 331 of Report of Hearings):

"Now, if there is anything scientific in time study and task setting, I will say it is something in the evenness of the jobs and in serious errors not being made in setting time for the task; but we discovered instances where the time-study man had made such serious mistakes as the difference between 8½ hours' time to make a job and 27 hours. I have here three charts showing the efficiency of certain workmen in the plant during a month, indicating that instead of the tasks having been studied with any degree of accuracy that the tasks were unbalanced, so that at times the men could make only 21 per cent efficiency on a job and sometimes 200 per cent. It is the best evidence I know of the absolute unworthiness and unsatisfactory character of time study. I think the committee should see this chart [exhibiting chart]. This is a record of employee No. 2518, being for the month of April, 1914. He was a very high-grade man. His average efficiency for the month was 121 per cent * * *. Had the job been set with scientific accuracy, a man working normally would show a straight line running along here [exhibiting], but instead of that he produced more than the standard and his average was 121 per cent. This zigzag line is a job he worked on. On this one he made 172.9 per cent efficiency, where here [exhibiting] he was able to accomplish 45 per cent efficiency. This is evidence, as far as this workman is concerned, that instead of the time being set accurately it was set very ridiculously and very carelessly—more carelessly than anything you would expect to find in any well-managed establishment * * *. [He was] working on some different jobs. A job would come in and he would be allowed so much time to perform the work. If the time were set accurately he would have 100 per cent efficiency.

"Mr. LONDON. Occasionally he fell below 60?

"Mr. FREY. He fell to 49.

"Mr. LONDON. Is not that a case where he was asked to do work he was not accustomed to?

"Mr. FREY. No, sir; but the time being set so short, it was impossible of accomplishment.

"Mr. KEATING. All this work was in line of his trade?

"Mr. FREY. He was a machinist, and these are different jobs given him on his machine.

"Mr. KEATING. You say this man was a high-class machinist?

"Mr. FREY. Yes, sir. His number is 2518. I have not his name, but he is a very high-class man and his work is a matter of Government record.

* * * * * * *

"Mr. KEATING. Have you a third man's record there?

"Mr. FREY. Yes, sir; this is a third man [exhibiting]. I do not want to take up more time. It is really an extraordinary one. It is the same workman—No. 2518. During this time his average efficiency was 121.35 per cent. In other charts his efficiency was only 121 per cent. This month his efficiency was a little higher. In this job he

actually did the job in one-half the time that had been set for it. On this job [exhibiting] he was only able to accomplish 21 per cent of the work which the time card called for."

Again he states, on page 349, in reference to these charts:

"An interesting and most valuable analysis of variation of output by the same workman under 'scientific management' has been made by Mr. Miner Chipman, and we give the following figures from the study which he made of the conditions existing at the Watertown Arsenal after the system had been introduced:

"The analysis of the men's output or so-called efficiency covered a period of one month, which makes it well representative of the unevenness with which the task had been set. For the month of March, 1914, employee No. 2518 worked on 224 jobs. His average efficiency was 121.35 per cent, but his efficiency on these jobs varied from 21 to 200 per cent. * * * Employee No. 2518 worked on 140 jobs during April, 1914. He was a most competent workman, as his average efficiency for the month was 121 per cent. His efficiency on the several jobs range from 45 to 172.9 per cent, this variation indicating largely the too short or too long time which has been set on the jobs by the time-study and task-setting man."

Again, quoting from Mr. Chipman's report, he states:

"What can be thought of the time set on these jobs when this workman on the 224 jobs of one month showed a range of efficiency (efficiency being the ratio of time taken to time allowed) from 21 to 200 per cent, with an average of 121 per cent, and the following month on 140 jobs a range of from 45 to 173 per cent, also with an average of 121 per cent? This workman may be rated as consistently of high efficiency. Why, then, this extreme variation in efficiency, unless the time allowed for each job was not set accurately and scientifically? Can we assume that the worker varied in efficiency to the extent shown by the chart? We do not believe so. The variation is one of time setting or inaccuracy of time study."

On page 329:

"Before going to Mr. Chipman's evidence, which you will find interesting and some of it charted, let me say that there has been a great deal of controversy over the Watertown Arsenal. * * * I merely want to call the attention of the committee first to some facts that came under my own observation. The jobs were set through time studies made very largely by Mr. Merrick. The jobs were set unevenly. Theoretically when a job has been time studied and motion studied by an efficiency expert, accurate time should be set. There should be no marked variation in the difficulty of performing one task over the other."

3. The testimony of Mr. Frey is, in the main, very general, but where it borders on details it becomes inaccurate, disingenuous, and in some cases trivial. In what he says about the charts and the workmen there is not a single accurate statement, excepting the one pertaining to the skill of the workman. For example, the jobs charted were not time studied by Mr. Merrick, and if the jobs had been set with scientific accuracy the line of efficiency of a normal man working normally would not be a straight line, as Mr. Frey states. He apparently wishes it to be inferred that a human being is like a machine, which, having been started, has a predetermined and constant rate of production, so that his efficiency line will be a straight one instead of zigzag; the charts for March and April do not pertain to the work of a machinist, as stated, but to the work of a molder; and an examination of the performance of employee No. 2518 during the months of March and April, 1914, the efficiency of whom for these two months has been plotted and attached to the hearings, indicates this man to have been an uneven worker.

4. A man, unlike a machine, can not repeat a series of operations in exactly the same time. The greater the percentage of hand labor in a job the more difficult it is to secure exact and uniform performance. The same molder in doing the same job varies considerably in the time he takes to do it. He will very likely work faster and more accurately in the morning than in the afternoon. If affairs are right at home, he will be in a frame of mind for better work than otherwise. This molder's work was handwork, and therefore considerable variation in his efficiency is to be expected. On machine work such great variations are not ordinarily probable, because in that kind of work a large proportion of the time set for a job, about 60 per cent, is determined by the speeds and feeds prescribed for doing the machine work. That the machine is run at the prescribed speeds and feeds is easily checked by the speed bosses. Hence, fluctuations in the efficiency of a machinist will naturally depend to a large extent on the amount of handwork, approximately 40 per cent, involved in the job, such handwork consisting in setting up his machine, changing tools, replacing work, etc. It is a well-known fact that, no matter how scientifically or accurately a rate may be set, based on a reasonable expectation, it is possible for an employee to show a record of variable efficiency; and this is especially true when an employee is called upon to perform a great variety of miscellaneous jobs, such as those indicated by the charts in question. An analysis of the charts for April and May, indicating the performance of employee No. 2518, shows that the workman's performance on the same jobs performed at different times during these months was so ununiform as to make these charts worthless for the purpose for which they were introduced; that is to say, to indicate that the rate setting was defective. These charts do not indicate that there was any defect in the rate setting. On the contrary, they do indicate the variation in efficiency of this workman, the zigzag line of efficiency being good evidence of the fact that this molder was an uneven worker, as I shall point out.

5. In figure 1 I have gathered together, side by side, identical jobs selected from among the 224 jobs that he worked on in March, and each grouping is indicated by a letter. The jobs in each grouping call for the same work, and, therefore, the time set for the performance of each job in each group is the same. It will be understood from these plottings that a job corresponds to an abscissa one-tenth of an inch long, or there would be indicated 10 jobs to the inch, the charts indicating efficiency plotted as a function of a job, irrespective of the time taken to perform the job. Under these conditions it is interesting to note how the time of performance varied. For example, in group "A" it will be noted that this man's efficiency varied on the same job performed at different times during the month from 60 per cent to 133 per cent; similarly in group "I" his efficiency varied from 60 per cent to 156 per cent. The variations in efficiency of performance in the other similar jobs grouped together are clearly indicated by the chart and need no further comment.

6. Figure 2 shows for the month of April a similar grouping of like jobs. Taking group "E," for example, it will be noted that his efficiency varied for the same work from 96 per cent to 180 per cent. It will, of course, be understood that the question of correctness of rates is eliminated by these groupings. Fifty-nine of the 140 jobs shown in the April chart, facing page 330 of the Hearings, are indicated in this figure. The man's average efficiency on these 59 jobs was 124.65 per cent, not greatly differing from his average efficiency for the month.

7. In figure 3 I have indicated groupings of the same jobs which were done in both March and April. Groupings of similar jobs in each month have the same letter. It will be noted from these charts that in group "A" in March the molder's efficiency varied from 120 per cent to 218 per cent. This group is the same as group "Y" in figure 1. While on the same work performed in April (group "A") his efficiency varied from 90 per cent to 124 per cent. Similarly with group "D." In March his efficiency varied between 96 per cent and 128 per cent, while in April the variation was between 98 per cent and 180 per cent. In order to investigate further the variableness of the work of this man I have collected together in figure 4, 23 jobs arranged in three groups. The jobs in each group are identical as before, but the performance on the jobs of these groups extends over a much longer period. The average efficiency of this man on these 23 jobs was 115.69 per cent. In group "A" the jobs were all executed in the year 1915, whereas in group "B" some of the jobs were done in 1912, some in 1913, and some in 1914, and in group "C" the jobs were performed in 1913, 1914, and 1915. The great variation in efficiency in executing identical jobs is well shown by the figure. For instance, in group "A" the efficiency varies between 72 per cent and 166 per cent. In group "B" the variation is from 65 per cent to 119 per cent; while in group "C" the variation is from 95 per cent to 194 per cent.

8. With such variations in similar work as is indicated by these charts it will be understood that the charts submitted by Mr. Frey are worthless as indicating incorrect setting of rates and have no value whatever excepting as showing how uneven the work performed by so-called employee No. 2518 has been. As a matter of interest I have plotted in figure 5 the curve of average monthly efficiencies of this molder for the year 1914, which, of course, includes his average efficiencies for the months of March and April, which have been stated in the charts contained in the hearings. The average yearly efficiency of this workman for 1914 was 106.8 per cent. This corresponds to an average premium earning for every day when working under the premium system of $1.37, or an increase in his wages from $3.52 to $4.89 per day. Mr. Frey, at the bottom of page 311, appears to wish to have the Committee on Labor consider scientific management a failure because it has no standard to determine the hourly wage rate for a class of labor or for a trade. The question which he brings up is one which has been discussed by political economists for many years. Just why a machinist should get an hourly wage of say 30 cents or a daily wage of $3 may be a question, but there appears to be no reason to expect that scientific management should settle this kind of a question any more than that scientific management should determine why a pattern maker should get $4.50 per day and a machinist but $3 per day or a molder $4 per day.

9. On page 321 Mr. Frey states: "While on our inspections we had a time study or two made in every plant." No such time studies were made at the Watertown Arsenal. The committee headed by Mr. Hoxie spent very little time in our shops, merely walking through to examine the character of the work. Practically the entire time of this committee was spent in my office in connection with the interview.

10. On page 330 of the hearings Mr. Frey refers, near the top of the page, to a little square band made in a flask 14 by 14 by 7 inches. I regret that I can not identify the pattern referred to in this case. In the second paragraph of that page he refers to steps for a gun carriage. These are not steps, but are floor plates, and the instruction cards concerning them are forwarded herewith. These jobs were made in the same flasks, the first job calling for but a single pattern in each flask and the time the work should take was stated as 2 hours and 36 minutes. It will be noted from an examination of the sketch of the pattern on the instruction card that it is reinforced on the bottom with strips in order to keep it from warping. After the pattern is drawn from the sand, the depressions which these strips make (stop-offs) have to be made up or filled in by the molder and smoothed over. The time set on this job was not from a time study but from previous performance under the day-wage system. On this job, the time of the molder, who is an old man, varied considerably. The maximum time he took on one lot (12 plates) averaged 3 hours, while the average time on another lot was 1 hour and 36 minutes. On the last 100 plates which this man made he averaged over 50 per cent premium, corresponding to an efficiency of 120 per cent, as figured in the hearings.

11. The other job which Mr. Frey compares with this one was for two floor plates, smaller in size, two of which were to be made in the same flask used in the other case. The time the job was to be done in was stated as 2 hours and 6 minutes; that is to say, there was a reduction of 30 minutes on this job. This job, however, was very much simpler than the first one, because there were no stop-offs or ribs to be made up, which is a delicate operation because the molder in doing it has to, with hand tools, repair a part of the mold. The point which Mr. Frey speaks of, as to the necessity of securing the sand between the molds, is correct, but this operation consists in sticking in a row of nails between the two patterns before they are drawn from the sand, which operation can be performed with great ease in probably a minute and a half. The time on this job is thought to be a liberal one and also a fair one, since the oldest and slowest molder in the shop made full premium on 80 per cent of the plates he made. In respect to this molder I may further state that his average efficiency for the year 1914 was only 81 per cent, corresponding to an average premium earning of 17+ per cent.

12. Referring to the handwheel job to which Mr. Frey makes reference, in the middle of page 330, the first handwheel was, as he states, for a 14-inch carriage, and the time on this job was set not from time study but from a record of the old daywork time. This time was approximately 12½ hours, and was set for the time basis, and 7½ hours was indicated as the time which the work should take to earn full premium. Twenty of these wheels were made and an average of 54½ per cent premium was earned on the job, which is one of the cases where the daywork time was shown to be very long, since the 20 wheels were made in an average of 5 hours and 45 minutes. The second handwheel was for a 16-inch carriage. The instruction card for this job, as well as for the preceding one, are shown herewith. The rate on this latter job was based on a study of previous performance and the time indicated as that which the work should take was 6 hours. It will be noted that on this second job the flask is 11½ per cent smaller and also that the pattern has a flat hub, while the former pattern had a hub about 6 inches long and the second pattern is rectangular in cross section (rim), while the first pattern is round. No argument is necessary to realize that these features reduced the time of molding the second job appreciably, since the joint is easier to make and also the gate, which has to be cut down through

the mold to the bottom of the hub, is less difficult to construct, irrespective of the amount of sand to ram. The reduction in the time set for doing the work was not 2½ hours, as stated by Mr. Frey, but 1½ hours. The time set on the second job is considered to be entirely just and proper. The average premium earned on this job was 33 per cent. When Mr. Frey was at this arsenal in connection with Mr. Hoxie's committee, he admitted on page 57 of the interview that the deeper hub in the drag made some difference in the time required. If given opportunity this arsenal could prove the correctness of the rates thus set.

13. Mr. Frey fails in his testimony before the committee to refer to a large number of other jobs which were shown the Hoxie committee, in which the rates set on previous records under the day-wage system were too short and considerable increases in the rate were made. On page 332, Mr. Frey refers to four cases of jobs in the machine shop. These are considered to be trivial and without importance. I am surprised that Mr. Frey should endeavor to make so much of these cases in view of our discussion of them at the time of the Hoxie interview. It will, of course, be understood that these cases were called to the attention of Mr. Frey by a member of the shop committee. This arsenal considered that if the shop committee could get only four cases against the rate-setting department in the four years that the premium system had been running in the machine shop, it was to be taken as a very good indication of the general satisfactoriness of the rates set in that shop.

14. Case No. 1 referred to by Mr. Frey refers to a machine which had been time studied and rates set for a particular job. Between that time and the time that another job came along, changes had been made in the feed gears of this machine which had not been reported to the rate-setting department. Therefore when another job came along for this machine the old instruction card was issued. When it was found that the machine could not be run as ordered, the matter was reported to the rate-setting department, as provided for by the instruction card, and proper adjustment was made to meet the new condition of the machine.

15. Case No. 2 can not be accurately identified at this time. It is believed, however, to refer to the machining of certain chassis castings for 16-inch disappearing carriage. The work on similar castings had previously been done under time study and the instruction card issued. When the new castings were received and placed on the machine for the work required under the instruction card, it was found that the castings were so warped that the instruction card could not be followed and no estimate in advance of the amount of work required on this job could be made. This job was then taken off premium. This is a case that seldom happens, but is occasionally met with.

16. Case No. 3. The particular job referred to as coming under case No. 3 is not known at the present time, but the recollection of those concerned is that this was clearly an error of the rate-setting department and occurred either in multiplying, adding, and dividing hours and minutes or hours and decimals of an hour. It is unnecessary for me to state that as soon as the error was discovered by the workman it was promptly corrected.

17. Case No. 4. This is clearly a mistake of the rate-setting department. The job required the turning of trunnions on a piece in which the center of gravity of the piece was not in the axis of the trunnions. The rate-setting department failed to note the fact that the piece was unbalanced and the result was that it could not run at the speeds called for by the instruction card. As soon as the error was called to the attention of the rate-setting department, a proper change in the instruction card was made. Referring to the last paragraph on page 332, it is proper to state in these cases that the machinist did not have to stand the burden of any of these errors. The adjustments were made promptly by the rate-setting department, and work was continued on premium, excepting in case No. 2, where it was impossible to do so.

18. There have been some errors made in the rate-setting department, due to the fact that time studies are made in hours and decimals of an hour, whereas the instruction cards are made up in hours and minutes. These have not been serious, and corrections have been easily made. It is proposed eventually to change the system of time keeping at this arsenal so that hours and decimals of an hour only will be used, thus avoiding the inconvenience of transforming hours and decimals of hours into minutes and the reverse. Referring to Mr. Frey's statement, at about the middle of page 333, in which he refers to a practice at this arsenal which seems to be unfair to labor, that of putting skilled men under the task-bonus system and paying helpers who are with them straight day wages, which made the mechanic on the job a taskmaster over the unskilled laborer, etc., I may add that this statement is not entirely true. We have at this arsenal a number of unskilled workers under the premium system, and where the labor of such unskilled men can be measured they are always, if possible, put under this system. For example, in the smith shop every helper of a blacksmith is under the premium system; similarly there are helpers in the machine shop under the same system; also laborers in the yard gang, and teamsters. There are, however, in the machine shop certain classes of work on large machine tools which at times have seemed to require the assistance of helpers at least for limited periods. It is very difficult for the management to control the detail of such helpers to assist a machinist at a machine. Oftentimes machinists ask for helpers when their services are not absolutely necessary, and if such helpers were under the premium system it would be impossible to pry them away from a machine if once assigned thereto. For this reason, let us say, on account of the difficulty of measuring the work of helpers so detailed, and oftentimes the difficulty of determining whether or not their services are necessary, it has not been customary to pay such helpers premiums. We have had the matter under consideration with a view of putting them under the premium system when it can be done satisfactorily.

19. At the top of page 334 Mr. Frey refers to the accidents at this arsenal, the evident intention being to indicate that accidents have greatly increased under the premium system. As I have stated in previous reports, the records indicate that there are relatively a less number of accidents in the cases of premium work than in the cases of daywork.

20. On page 336 Mr. Frey refers to the humiliation experienced in having a man stand over one's back with a stop watch checking off every movement, etc. It is well to state that time studies are only occasionally made, and it is not the practice to stand over every workman with a stop watch during his performance for a day, as some labor leaders seem to desire to have understood.

21. It appears from Mr. Frey's testimony that most of the information he imparted to the Committee on Labor was derived directly or indirectly from workmen or their committees, and, very likely, under instructions from outside sources. I have been much interested, in the various discussions of the subject of scientific management at this arsenal, to observe how very erroneous or incomplete information may find itself acceptable in the eyes of the labor or shop committees and the use that is made of it, often entirely disregarding the probability that it may prove a boomerang when examined in the light of the arsenal records. A case in point, although not directly connected with Mr. Frey's testimony before the Committee on Labor, occurred at the time of the interview with the Hoxie committee, at which time I was questioned by Mr. Frey regarding the costs of some 6-inch disappearing carriages on expenditure orders Nos. 5268 and 6682 and that of some naval mounts made under expenditure order No. 7055. I have called attention in other official papers to the holding back of the machinists on expenditure orders Nos. 6682 and 7055, a procedure which undoubtedly was well known to labor leaders themselves, it occurring at about the time the effort to introduce the premium system in the machine shop was being made. In this case the workmen were correctly informed as to the costs of the carriages made on the orders, the numbers of which were given to Mr. Frey to investigate, but in some manner they neglected to remember that a later order for 6-inch carriages had been completed under the premium system, the records of which were available. It may be interesting to quote herewith from the testimony given before the Hoxie committee:

"Mr. FREY. We have had certain information handed to us, with the evident objection that under scientific management it is more expensive to manufacture than the other way, and there are three cases upon which we have no detailed information, simply a statement of total costs, and I think Prof. Hoxie would like to have you give him some information on those. Expenditure order No. 5268, March 1, 1905; two 6-inch disappearing carriages; estimated cost, $31,000; actual cost, $36,819.24. Expenditure order No. 6682, March 1, 1905; two 6-inch disappearing carriages; estimated cost, $36,000; actual cost, $44,000. Expenditure order No. 7055; naval mounts; estimated cost, $81,564; actual cost, $90,447.97.

"Col. WHEELER. I have some figures referring to the orders to which you refer which I think will supply the information you desire. Order No. 5268 was received early in 1909 and order No. 6682 late in 1910. The first order was executed under the old day-wage system of management and the second order while the new system was being installed. So little work on this order was done under the premium system, it can be said that practically both orders were executed under the day-wage plan, and they are exactly comparable. I invite attention to the following tabulation, showing comparative costs of these two orders in the machine shop, in which I have included the same data pertaining to a more recently completed order of the same kind of carriages, which differs from the two preceding orders in that a greater number of carriages are included and in that the work was done under the new system of management, time studies and premium payments having been applied so far as the developing system permitted:

*Work in machine shop.*

| Expenditure Order No. | Direct labor per carriage, machine shop. | Premium per carriage, machine shop. | Shop expense per carriage, machine shop. | Material per carriage, machine shop. | Total machine shop cost per carriage, machine shop. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5268 | $1,736.59 | ..... | $6,134.16 | $1,028.76 | $11,800.51 |
| 6682 | 5,826.06 | $46.36 | 6,700.54 | 774.36 | 13,347.32 |
| 7314 | 2,944.22 | 467.57 | 3,883.62 | 693.41 | 7,958.82 |

"The direct labor cost in column 2 of the above tabulation, is that of the productive labor in this shop, and it will be noted that in the case of order No. 6682, on which the work was performed under the same conditions as governed the preceding order (No. 5268), the cost of the labor of the productive workmen was 23 per cent higher than in the case of the preceding order. As previously stated, this was practically all daywork, which the management did not succeed in controlling, although it was known that this shop was not turning out as much work per day on this order as on the one that preceded. The inference is that this 'slowing up' was caused by an outside influence for the purpose of eventually using this as a case to demonstrate to those not familiar with the subject or who could not have the time or opportunity to investigate it even if inclined, that scientific management was inefficient and costly. The real and only reason why order No. 6682 cost more than the preceding one and therefore prevented this arsenal from meeting its estimates based on that order, was that the workmen in the machine shop worked so slowly on the second order that the cost of their labor was 23 per cent greater than on the previous one. Order No. 7055, to which you refer, was another order executed in our shops under the same conditions as to holding back or slowing up. If the workmen had performed their part of the work as satisfactorily as they had performed previous daywork there would have been no reason why the estimated cost should not have been realized. This order was also practically executed on daywork.

"In this connection it is interesting to note that the direct labor cost per carriage in the case of the last order, executed under scientific management, is only one-half of that of the preceding order, and the total cost of the machine-shop work was only 59½ per cent of that of the same order after paying a premium of $467.57. I have referred particularly to the machine shop in the above tabulation because during the period under consideration the installation of the system of scientific management was the most advanced in that shop. Below is a tabulation of itemized costs per carriage, considering all the shops:

| Expenditure Order No. | Direct labor per carriage. | Premium per carriage. | Shop expense per carriage. | Material per carriage. | Total cost per carriage. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5268 | $7,010.85 | ..... | $8,992.38 | $2,442.91 | $18,446.14 |
| 6682 | 8,640.97 | $53.22 | 11,004.39 | 2,151.36 | 21,851.94 |
| 7314 | 4,200.11 | 545.65 | 6,779.02 | 1,993.39 | 13,660.17 |

"This tabulation is interesting in that it shows that the total cost per carriage on the last order was only 62 per cent of that of the preceding one.

"Prof. HOXIE. May I make a comment? This was the point. This was the statement made to us, that in 1905, Expenditure Orders 1 and 2 (referred to above) were for the same sort of thing, that the first order, the first estimate was made under the old system. This statement was made that when the second order came in they placed the estimate on the actual previous cost, that the premium system being in then, under the premium system, the actual cost was $44,000, as compared with the estimated cost of $36,000."

C. B. WHEELER,
*Colonel, Ordnance Department, U. S. A., Commanding.*

WATERTOWN ARSENAL, *May 16, 1916.*

## The Democratic Tariff Plank.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial published in the Washington Post of this morning, entitled "The Democratic Tariff Plank." The editorial is as follows:

THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF PLANK.

The Democratic platform makes this declaration regarding the tariff:

"We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government economically administered, and unreservedly indorse the Underwood tariff law as truly exemplifying that doctrine."

But the Underwood tariff has not provided sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government. Does the platform mean to infer, therefore, that the Government has not been economically administered?

The people do not object to the wise expenditure of money for the operation of the Government, even if this expenditure is large. There is little complaint of extravagance, except in connection with unwise policies such as the proposal to establish Government factories for manufacturing armor plate, nitrates, fertilizer, etc. The usual expenditures of the Government are not criticized as excessive, and all reasonable men concede that these expenditures must increase.

The weakness of the Democratic position on the tariff lies in the fact that its law is not successful, either as a measure of industrial preparedness or as a revenue producer.

The tariff plank goes on to say that "we recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions of the world's production and trade," and it is admitted that the changes brought about by the war are "yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed."

The platform, however, makes no provision for meeting these changes beyond approving a plan for a nonpartisan tariff commission to gather facts. The party sticks to the old "doctrine" of a tariff for revenue only. There is not one word of hope for American industry in the platform. Not a single assurance is given that the American market will be protected for American producers against cheap-labor products of other countries. Since the Underwood tariff is held up as an exemplar of successful revenue raising through a tariff, it is evident that the people need not expect any relief from war taxes or direct taxes by an increase in tariff duties. The foreigner is not only let off without a tax but is given full access to the best market in the world without requiring from him any equivalent. He can dump into the United States all the goods he produces, at any price he pleases, and the American worker and producer has no protection. What will become of American wages and the American standard of living under such a plan when Europe's soldiers turn to production?

The plain warning of the war in Europe is lost upon the Democratic Party, so far as the tariff is concerned. "Preparedness" is not for the workingman. He is to have no protection. If he can not work as cheaply as the foreigner and produce goods as cheaply, he can quit. If the American manufacturer can not turn out goods as cheaply as the foreigner he can shut up shop. "Industrial preparedness" evidently means nothing to the Democratic Party. Its platform shows that it has learned nothing from the upheaval in Europe.

## On the Migratory Bird Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRY E. HULL,
OF IOWA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Wednesday, May 3, 1916.*

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, that clause of this bill, on page 56, which provides an appropriation of $50,000 for the enforcement of the so-called migratory bird law should be stricken out, for it is vicious legislation and has no foundation in common justice or in the courts.

There can be only one purpose in appropriating this sum. It will give the Democratic administration an opportunity to feed a few more hungry office seekers from the public crib and a chance to add a few more cogs to its machine. Now, we all realize that many a lean party worker had waited a long time before the Democrats came into power four years ago to get a whack at some of its patronage, and in view of the fact that they all must know that their stay at the public pie counter will be brief, it is pardonable that they should all "take pie while pie was passin'." It seems to me, however, that this appropriation is so flagrant a violation of the laws of our land that any administration or any body of men would refuse to enact it into legislation.

The wording of the clause itself is a misnomer, for it says that the $50,000 is to be used for the necessary expenses for enforcing the provision of the migratory bird act, when, as a matter of fact, three of the lower courts have declared the law unconstitutional, and it is unconstitutional and will always so stand until the Supreme Court of the United States reverses the decision of the lower courts. This that august body has not done, as it now has the former decisions under consideration, and until a ruling shall be made any moneys appropriated to enforce the law is wrongfully appropriated and can not be used for the purposes stated in the bill.

The Bureau of Biological Survey of the Agricultural Department is charged with the enforcement of this so-called act. Its officers have openly stated, and I was personally informed, that the bureau would make no attempt to enforce this law until the Supreme Court had made a ruling on its constitutionality. If, therefore, this appropriation is allowed to remain in the bill, we shall be providing a fund for a purpose the object of which does not exist. Members of the bureau informed me that it was its purpose to collect such evidence as it could against those who might kill migratory birds contrary to the provisions of this so-called act, and in case the courts decided it was constitutional, later on to prosecute them. Rather a peculiar thing, it seems to me, for the Government to enter the business of collecting evidence against violators of an alleged act, not at the present time legal. This thin veil of an alleged purpose can not disguise the real object of the appropriation, namely, to provide berths and salaries for constituents who crave the crumbs that fall from the administration's dinner basket.

It seems to me that this clause should have been stricken out on a point of order, for as far as I can ascertain this Legislature has no right to appropriate funds to enforce the law the constitutionality of which has been legally denied.

So far, I have mentioned only the legal aspects that surround the appropriation of this fund. It might be wise to investigate the provisions of the migratory-bird law and analyze what it contains. It should be the purpose of this body to enact no legislation that would abridge the rights of any one class or those who reside in any particular section of the United States. This law does that very thing. Its provisions work a great injustice to those who reside in the great Middle Western States, one of which I have the honor to represent. Under the rules, as promulgated by the Bureau of Biological Survey, the people who reside north of an imaginary line, arbitrarily drawn by this bureau, are prohibited from shooting certain wild game, while those who reside south of said line have all the liberties in the world. The law provides that people who live in Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Nebraska, Colorado, and other Central and Western States shall be prohibited from shooting waterfowl during any of the spring or summer months. Now, anyone who is familiar with the habits of wild ducks, geese, and other fowl of similar nature knows that it is only during these spring months that they inhabit these States. In other words, the hunters in that great middle western territory are allowed to shoot waterfowl only during the time when the waterfowl are not there. This regulation was made on the theory that in this territory the spring season was the breeding season of the bird. Time and again, however, an attempt has been made to prove to the Biological Survey that this theory is erroneous. It has refused repeatedly to accept any such evidence or to make the necessary investigation. The Biological officials admit they have made no scientific investigation and are not in possession of any authentic knowledge along this line. Their only excuse is that if they grant concessions to any of the States north of this imaginary line they would have to make the same concession to all.

The wild ducks and geese come north from their southern wintering places over the Middle Western States during the months of February and March, depending much upon the weather. They fly back and forth according to climatic conditions from two weeks to a month, and when the warm weather sets in they go on to that far northern territory which is their real breeding place. The birds, as a rule, tarry only a short time in the middle western territory, and during that time this

enactment absolutely prohibits the hunter from shooting them. Anyone who is familiar with the flight of these birds should know that the Middle West is not their breeding place, and that their propagation is not facilitated in any way should this act be declared constitutional and be enforced.

Another section of the law which is very unjust is that which prohibits the shooting of waterfowl at any time on or over the Mississippi or Missouri Rivers. I fail to see why it should be illegal to shoot birds on these two streams during the season the hunter is allowed to kill them elsewhere.

Another unjust and absurd provision is that which allows the Bureau of Biological Survey to make such arbitrary rules and regulations governing the hunting and killing of what are termed "migratory birds." The bureau has repeatedly demonstrated its inability to cope with the proposition. In some instances an attempt has been made to enforce the law; in other instances it has been knowingly and flagrantly violated. The result has been that the law-abiding element has been entirely prohibited from exercising its right in the killing of migratory birds, while the unruly element has regaled itself in all sorts of violations. The uncertainty of the constitutionality of the act has given rise to all sorts of abuses. The general public, as a rule, relies on the information it secures through the medium of the newspapers. Conflicting reports apparently eminating from the Biological Survey, have been published from time to time. Relying on these reports, sportsmen have gone hunting only to be confronted by some so-called deputy game wardens, who drag them in and make them put up a bond for their appearance. Numerous instances of graft by the deputies have been bruited about until the general public is in total ignorance of whether there is such a thing as a migratory-bird law or not.

So great has the confusion become that it has finally induced the bureau to announce that for the present time no prosecution against offenders of the alleged law will be made. On top of this statement, however, comes the absurd proclamation that while the law will not be enforced, evidence against those who killed birds in springtime will be collected and held in abeyance, so that if perchance the Supreme Court should declare the law constitutional, then those against whom evidence has been collected can be prosecuted.

I have spoken most particularly about the shooting of ducks and geese, but the same logic applies to the hunting of other birds included under the provisions of this alleged act of Congress. The absurdity of the regulation can be exemplified by the action in Iowa last year, when the farmers who were quarantined were ordered to shoot all pigeons, doves, and birds that alighted on their farms, even though they were liable to a fine for each one they killed under this so-called game law.

I believe in the protection of our wild game. I believe in such just rules and regulations as will provide for their propagation, and thus prevent their extinction. I believe, however, that if migratory birds are, as this alleged act assumes, the property of all the people and of all the States, then everyone should be given an equal and just right in enjoying them. In my mind, this appropriation is a ruthless waste of the moneys of the people. If our friends, the Democrats, have so many hungry constituents that an extra mess of porridge must be prepared, it seems to me that a scheme might be devised whereby the public need not be injured thereby, even though it would not be benefited.

## A Brief by the American Bar Association Favoring the Passage of the Bill H. R. 9428.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WARREN GARD,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a brief for the American Bar Association, favoring the passage of a bill now before the House of Representatives of the United States, H. R. 9428, as reported by the Judiciary Committee February 26, 1916. The bill and brief are as follows:

A bill (H. R. 9428) relating to procedure in United States courts.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That section 269 of the Judicial Code, approved March 3, 1911, be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"No judgment shall be set aside or reversed, nor shall a new trial be granted, by any court of the United States in any case, civil or criminal, on the ground of misdirection of the jury, or the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for error as to any matter of pleading or procedure, unless in the opinion of the court to which application is made, after an examination of the entire cause, it shall appear that the error complained of has injuriously affected the substantial rights of the parties."

A BRIEF FOR THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION FAVORING THE PASSAGE OF A BILL NOW BEFORE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, H. R. 9428, AS REPORTED BY THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE FEBRUARY 26, 1916.

FIRST. THE PURPOSE OF THE BILL.

The first function of this bill is to amend section 269 of the Judicial Code, approved March 3, 1911:

"All of the said courts shall have the power to grant new trials in cases where there has been a trial by jury for reasons for which new trials have usually been granted in courts of law."

Ultimately the bill looks toward the expeditious furtherance of justice in the United States courts.

The deliberate manner in which the courts of this country move, sometimes toward the ends of justice, sometimes by reversal and retrial, appeal, reversal, and retrial, in the general direction of justice, though failing to attain to it, has been the subject of criticism at the hands of impartial observers and the source of reproach at the hands of those who have suffered because of the law's delay. No critic of the existing law would urge upon Congress legislation which might tend to hasten litigation at the expense of substantial justice; on the other hand, no one should wish to stand in the way of any measure intended at once to subserve the ends of the law and to reach them more quickly.

Under the existing rule the administration of justice by the Federal courts has been neither speedy nor complete. It has not been complete in the simplest sense of the word, since, in many instances, the parties were left where they began, with their differences undetermined. It has not been speedy, as everyone must know who has observed the conclusive fashion in which the English courts come to decision. In the one hundred and sixty-fourth volume of the United States Reports there may be found three cases whose history points the problem more clearly than argument. Allen *v.* United States, finally affirmed in 164 U. S., 492, was begun in 1893, was reversed in 150 U. S., 551, and was reversed again in 157 U. S., 675, before it was concluded in 1896. The case of Stair *v.* United States was reversed in 1894 (153 U. S., 614) and was reversed again in 164 U. S., 627. The case of Brown *v.* United States was reversed in 150 U. S., 93, reversed again in 159 U. S., 100, and for a third time in 164 U. S., 221. A notable instance of the delays under the present system is the Hillmon case (145 U. S., 285; 188 U. S., 208). Second judgment of reversal was 23 years after suit was begun. This was an action brought by a widow to recover life insurance. Another instance is that of Williams *v.* Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad, reported in 155 N. Y., 164, and in many other New York reports. This case was tried seven times, and was in litigation 22 years. The plaintiff finally succeeded, but of necessity his victory was barren.

These cases represent in kind if not in degree what has occurred in the United States courts too many times during the last three-quarters of a century. This the proposed bill is intended to remedy.

SECOND. THE UNDERLYING CAUSE OF THE LAW'S DELAY.

*The handicap of the courts.*

It is idle to criticize effects without searching for the causes which conspire to produce them. In this instance the factors may be resolved into two: The attitude of mind of the judges on appeal and the legislation under which they act. If it were an original question an upper court would prefer to reach a settlement of the case while it lay within their hands rather than return the case to the court below for a revision, at an expense both to the State and to the parties. To keep a single cause oscillating between the lower court and the upper court over a period of time is not in itself a desirable end. But whatever may be the private convictions of judges in this matter, the statutes under which they are authorized to act constrain them to move cautiously. So, rather than take any step which, according to a conservative construction of the statute, they may not take, they send the case back to the lower court for a new trial.

THIRD. TECHNICAL ERRORS.

Under the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, the letter was much, the spirit little. The successful litigant was the one who could follow in the minutest detail certain forms, word for word. According to this test, he won or lost his cause. "I will say no more of its general characteristics," writes Sir Henry Maine in the sixth chapter of his Early Law and Custom, "than that it supplies in itself sufficient proof that legal technicality is a disease, not of the old age but of the infancy of societies." We are so far beyond this in temper of mind that it were hardly worth dwelling upon the matter if it were not for an occasional decision that compels us to believe that the ghost of formalism is still abroad. In a Massachusetts case, Ellis *v.* Short (21 Pickering, 142, 144) Morton, J., says in sending back the case for a new trial:

"We regret that we find it necessary to do this, because the action involves no principle of law, is attended with an expense disproportionate to its importance, has been fully and elaborately tried, and has been brought to a result which was entirely satisfactory and which there is very little reason to suppose will be changed on another trial by the exclusion of the evidence which was improperly admitted."

Lest it be objected that this is both a State decision and an early one, it may be well to refer to the cases of Waldron against Waldron, decided (or, rather, undecided) in One hundred and fifty-sixth United States, 380 (1894), and Northern Pacific Railway Co. against Hayes (1898), in Eighty-seventh Federal, 131—both sent back for a new trial on the principle enunciated in the first case: "It is elementary that the admission of illegal evidence over objection necessitates a reversal."

When such a rule is adopted with apparent indifference to individual and social consequences, when rules of evidence are regarded as an end in themselves rather than as a means toward the ascertainment of the inherent truth of the matter, one may confidently assume that the court is overriding its own better belief. With an apology that has almost become a formula, the court remands the case for a new trial, as if it were acting under compulsion. It is not the compulsion of its convictions but that of the statute applicable to the situation and of those judicial decisions which have given the statute the narrowest possible interpretation.

It is pointed out (1 Chamberlayne, Modern Law of Evidence, 413) that where a verdict essentially just is set aside and a new trial

granted merely because of some technical error, one of the four things may result:

(a) One of the parties in a civil action or the prosecutor or defendant in a criminal proceeding may find that the expense or delay of a new trial is too ruinous to justify him in continuing the action, and the litigation on this account or on account of the death or departure of witnesses may stop.

(b) The second jury may disagree or one of the parties may decease.

(c) The second jury may return the same verdict as the first.

(d) The second jury may return an opposite verdict to the first.

In every case but the third injustice will be done, and in the third case justice has been dealt to the person entitled to it from the beginning at a great price. In every instance unnecessary delay and expense have been occasioned; in three events out of four a perversion of justice has been worked. All this is possible under the two hundred and sixty-ninth section of the Judicial Code as it now stands. It is the purpose of the present bill so to modify the existing statute that the court shall neither be permitted nor compelled to reverse a judgment or order a new trial merely because error has crept into the record.

The two hundred and sixty-ninth section of the Judicial Code has been interpreted to mean that while a judgment should not be reversed nor a new trial granted merely for technical error, it should be reversed unless the appellee can show that the erroneous ruling or instruction did not affect the substantial merits of the case.

This was not the original American view. As early as 1828, in the case of McLanahan v. Insurance Co. (1 Pet., 170, 183), Judge Story said:

"If, therefore, upon the whole case justice has been done between the parties and the verdict is substantially right, no new trial will be granted, although there may have been some mistakes committed at the trial."

It is, however, certain that, in one form of words or another, the rule which prevails in many jurisdictions of America to-day is that adopted in the year 1835, in the case of Crease v. Barrett (1 C. M. & R., 932) by the English exchequer court, viz, that a new trial should be awarded if the error found by the appellate court could possibly have affected the jury. Of Baron Parke, who was largely responsible for the adoption of the technical rule, Goldwin Smith said "that he cleverly reduced the law of England to an absurdity."

This rule was changed in England by a rule of the supreme court (1883) after the judicature acts; yet—

"Until the passing of the judicature acts * * * if any bit of evidence not legally admissible, which might have affected the result, had gone to the jury, the party against whom it (the verdict) was given was entitled to a new trial." (Per Coleridge, C. J., in Regina v. Gibson (1887), Q. B. D., 537, 540.)

The burden of proof lay upon the appellee to show that the verdict could not possibly have been affected by the erroneous ruling. Similarly, the effect of the majority of decisions in this country is to cast the burden of proof upon the appellee. It was only natural that those courts which had taken up the "exchequer rule" should likewise adopt the exchequer construction.

In a vigorous and illuminating address before the Minnesota Bar Association in 1906, Judge Amidon, of the North Dakota district court, presented these comparative figures: "For the period 1890–1900 I find that of all the causes that were brought under review or appeal in that country (England) new trials were granted in less than 3½ per cent." In America during another period of time, from the first reports until the year 1887, the American Bar Association reported that 46 per cent of all the cases in the United States courts had been reversed, and 60 per cent of these on alleged errors in procedural matters. Does this summary disposition of cases by the English court of appeals tend to weaken popular confidence in its ability to administer justice? Let Judge Amidon answer:

"During the last 75 years, nowhere in the British Empire has a man been snatched away from the custody of the law and sacrificed to mob violence. That is respect for law organized into human character."

And what of our own record? The facts in general are too well known to repeat, too shameful to enumerate. The connection between lynch law and a certain proneness in the courts to grant new trials may be discovered by a glance turough two newspaper reports:

The New York Times for December 7, 1900, contains an account of the confession of a negro desperado who had been shot while resisting an arrest. He had been indicted for murder and had been tried three times for the offense. None of these was final. After each a new trial was ordered. While awaiting the fourth trial the culprit escaped.

The New York Times for July 16, 1903, contains an account of the lynching of a murderer who had been twice found guilty by a jury and twice been granted a new trial. After the third conviction the multitude, not wishing to have a murderer loose, took the law into their own hands.

FOURTH. HE THAT RUNS MAY READ WHAT LESSON THESE REPORTS CARRY WITH THEM.

So far as procedure in appellate courts is concerned, what we wish to accomplish is this: That in the consideration in an appellate court of a writ of error or appeal, judgment should be rendered upon the merits without permitting reversals for technical defects in the procedure below, and without presuming, as many courts now do, that if there has been a violation in some particular of some rule of law, that violation has been prejudicial to the result. The bill recommended by the American Bar Association, which has twice passed the House of Representatives, enacts that the presumption shall be that the decision below was right, and that if it was erroneous in some detail the error did not affect the result.

Perhaps no better argument can be stated for this proposition than a passage in the opinion of Mr. Justice Martin, of the Court of Appeals of New York. It expresses the great embarrassment that lawyers feel in the trial of important cases. In Lewis v. The Long Island Railroad Co. (162 N. Y., 50, 67) Judge Martin, delivering the opinion of the court, says:

"After carefully and studiously examining the great number of perplexing and difficult questions determined during the heat and excitement of a sharp and protracted trial, we can but admire and commend the scrupulous and intelligent care and ability evinced by the trial judge, and the almost unerring correctness of his rulings. When the trial and variety of the questions raised are considered, we are surprised, not that a single error was committed but that there were not many more."

Yet the court of appeals felt obliged to reverse and order a new trial. In other words, our procedure is such that it is impossible, even with a judge of "almost unerring correctness," to get a verdict on the trial of an intricate cause that will stand the test of an appeal. It needs no argument to show that such procedure needs revision.

The State of New York within a few years created a commission to inquire into the causes of the law's delay. Several judges of the supreme court of that State were examined before the commission. Presiding Justice Hirschberg said, in the course of his examination:

"I have always thought it was a fatal feature of our judiciary system * * * the idea that if a man tries a suit and loses he can appeal on the assumption that that was wrong instead of appealing on the assumption that it was right."

Mr. Justice Scott agrees with this view:

"Judge SCOTT. You should change that rule of presumption. In the first place, I think the appellant should have cast upon him the burden of establishing that there had been error below, and also of showing that that error had been prejudicial. None of us is so wise that he can try a long case without committing some error."

Mr. Justice O'Gorman (now Senator) says:

"One of the gravest faults with our present mode of trial is the ease and frequency with which judgments are reversed on technicalities which do not affect the merits of the case and which at no stage of the case have affected the merits.

"We have a rule in our State that the commission of an error upon the trial of a cause by a trial justice is presumptively prejudicial to the appellant, and instead of the appellant being required to persuade an appellate court that he has suffered substantial wrong, the moment that he can place his finger on a technical error the burden is at once shifted and the respondent required to persuade the court that there was no harm following that particular ruling. Now, we all know, and there are few who seek to vindicate the practice, that very many cases are sent back from the appellate division upon alleged errors which have never affected the merits of the case."

In opposition to all the rules of technicality which work such injustice and cause such delay we urge that laid down by Chief Justice Marshall in Church v. Hubbart (2 Cranch., 232):

"It is desirable to terminate every cause upon its real merits, if those merits are fairly before the court, and to put an end to litigation where it is in the power of the court to do so."

The amendment proposed is the equivalent to that already adopted by the Legislature of New York in criminal cases. We quote from the opinion of the court of appeals in People v. Strollo (191 N. Y., 42).

At pages 61 and 67 the court says:

"Under the statute our powers and duties in capital cases are strictly correlative. While we have power to reverse in the interests of justice, even where no exceptions are taken, it is also our duty to disregard errors which, although excepted to, do not affect the substantial rights of a defendant. Guided by this rule, we feel constrained to hold that none of the general criticisms referred to under this head present sufficient grounds for reversal. * * *

"These various elements of the question, considered in connection with the functions and powers of this court, bring us face to face with the situation that is apparently paradoxical but actually logical. That is to say, we might have a condition in which we would be compelled in a civil case to grant a new trial for a loss of original documentary evidence, although under similar conditions, in a case involving human life and liberty, we may be bound to deny such relief. And why should this seemingly anomalous difference exist? Because this is a court of statutory origin and vested with none but statutory jurisdiction. Thus it happens that in civil cases our powers are limited to the review of errors which are raised and presented by exceptions, while in criminal cases we are not only empowered but commanded to give judgment without regard to technical errors or defects or to exceptions which do not affect the substantial rights of the parties." (Code Crim. Pro., sec. 542.)

A similar provision was inserted in 1912 in the Code of Civil Procedure since the bar began this agitation to prevent delay and unnecessary cost in litigation.

NEW YORK CODE OF CIVIL PROCEDURE.

"SEC. 1317. After hearing the appeal the court must give judgment without regard to technical errors or defects, or to exceptions which do not affect the substantial rights of the parties."

The effect of this amendment has been salutary. No one now would return to the old rule condemned by Justice O'Gorman.

The reasons for the change is well stated by the Court of Appeals of the State of New York in People v. Gilbert (199 N. Y., 28), decided in 1910:

"The objection is purely technical, and technical objections are no longer regarded as serious unless they are so thoroughly supported by authority that they can not well be disregarded, even under the latitude of the statute relating to the subject. The criminal law is fast outgrowing those technicalities which grew up when the punishment for crime was so severe as in many cases to shock the moral sense of lawyers, judges, and the public generally. When stealing a handkerchief, worth 1 shilling, was punished by death, and there were nearly 200 capital offenses, it was to the credit of humanity that technicalities should be invoked in order to prevent the cruelty of a strict and literal enforcement of the law. Those times have passed, for the criminal law is no longer harsh or inhumane, and it is fortunate for the safety of life and property that technicalities, to a great extent, have lost their hold. We overrule the contention of the defendant in regard to the indictment, because it is founded on a technicality and was not excessive, and we should hesitate long before requiring the plaintiff to begin a new and weary pilgrimage through the courts."

One way of testing a proposition is to consider its converse. Who could possibly maintain the converse of these two recommendations or seriously support a bill or a rule of court which should provide:

1. That a new trial should always be granted if any error of law had been committed on the first trial, notwithstanding that the verdict of the jury upon the facts was satisfactory to the court.

2. That a judgment should be reversed and a new trial granted whenever any error of law had been committed on the trial, although it did not affect the merits. Yet in effect the practice which would be embodied in these last two propositions is the practice which we are seeking to change, and concerning which our proposals are said by some to be radical.

FIFTH.

In dealing with this important subject, we ask you to put yourselves in the attitude of a lawyer who has a righteous cause, and who naturally desires to bring it to trial and obtain final judgment for his client as soon as possible. Is not this the attitude you always wish

to occupy? Doubtless we are sometimes called upon to defend a client who has no defense upon the merits. As long as the law gives the right to interpose a technical defense and prolong the litigation, the lawyer is blamed by many if he does not exert his skill to the uttermost for that purpose.

When we look at our profession from the standpoint of the Commonwealth, when we consider that we are not only attorneys for a client but officers of the court and charged with an important part in the administration of justice, we must admit that we occupy a humiliating position whenever we undertake to defeat it. It may be a lawyer's duty to occupy this position under the existing system. All the more, therefore, is it our duty as citizens to endeavor to reform the system, so that these means of procrastination shall no longer be available.

An objection is often made that giving this power to the court impairs the value of a verdict. Our reply to this is that it misconceives the scope of the proposed reform. So far from depriving the verdict of the jury of its value it tends to establish the verdict. Long experience in the trial of cases before a jury and conversation with intelligent jurors of our acquaintance has convinced us that jurors pay much less attention to fine points of evidence or to nice distinctions in the charge than judges seem to suppose. In more than half the cases where judgments have been reversed on questions of evidence the ruling in the court below did not affect the verdict in the slightest degree. This being the case it is unjust that the parties should be put to the expense and delay of a new trial.

There are other cases which may be cited where courts on appeal, particularly in criminal cases, have stretched the rule of error to the farthest limit. It is not in the interest of justice that this should be permitted. The maxim of the common law was that the judge himself is condemned when he acquits the guilty. But we have come, in many jurisdictions, to the very opposite of that, dependent, we may say, a little upon the character and temper of the judges who happen to sit on the case. Some judges are more technical than others and attach more importance to technical points than others do.

That ought not to be the condition of the law. There ought to be a general rule formulated by Congress which shall control in all the circuits of the United States, so as to make these reversals for purely technical defects impossible in any of the Federal courts.

Society has an interest in the punishment of the guilty. Under our system the accused has every chance in the first instance. The judge must charge that he can only be convicted if the jury find him guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. His counsel will probably argue that it is better that ninety-nine men should escape than that one innocent man should be convicted. If, after all that, the jury find the accused guilty, there is a strong presumption of his guilt and it should not be possible for a person in that situation to be allowed to take advantage of such technical errors, which do not affect the merits, and which have nothing to do with the question of his guilt or innocence. We do not always get the most skillful prosecuting attorneys, and under the present rule, as it is often administered, there is required of them almost preternatural skill and foresight in order to guard against technical objections.

This act will give additional value to the trial by jury. It will prevent the delay, expense, and consequent injustice caused by new trials when there has been one trial, with the result of which the appellate court is satisfied.

To quote from the opinion of the New York Court of Appeals in a recent case (Walters *v.* Syracuse Rapid Transit R. R. Co., 178 N. Y., 50), "It frequently happens that cases appear and reappear in this court, after three or four trials, where the plaintiff on every trial has changed his testimony in order to meet the varying fortunes of the case upon appeal."

This is a direct encouragement to fraud and perjury. On the other hand, a just cause may be lost on the second trial because of the death of witnesses or their departure to other parts unknown.

SIXTH.

We annex an abstract of the statutes or decisions in various States and Territories, most of which have been adopted since the first recommendation of the American Bar Association in 1908. They show the progress that has been made during that period in local jurisdictions.

The American Bar Association, speaking for the bar of every State, urges upon Congress to reform existing abuses, and in the administration of justice in the Federal courts to redeem the promise of Magna Charta that justice shall be denied or delayed to no man, and that the administration of justice shall not be cumbrous, dilatory, and consequently expensive. We call especial attention to the language of President Taft on this subject in his annual message presented to Congress December 7, 1909:

"In my judgment, a change in judicial procedure, with a view to reducing its expense to private litigants in civil cases, and facilitating the dispatch of business and final decision in both civil and criminal cases, constitutes the greatest need in our American institutions."

For special committee, American Bar Association.

EVERETT P. WHEELER, *Chairman.*

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## APPENDIX.

ABSTRACT OF STATUTES AND DECISIONS IN VARIOUS STATES AND TERRITORIES EMBODYING PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO FEDERAL PRACTICE.

*Alabama.*

Alabama Bar Association Report for 1915, page 145, report of the committee on jurisprudence and law reform, S. S. Pleasants, chairman.

Rule 45 of the Supreme Court of Alabama provides that no judgment will be reversed or new trial granted in any civil or criminal case on the ground of giving or refusal of special charges unless, in the opinion of the court after an examination of the entire cause, it appears that the error has injuriously affected the substantial rights of the party.

Mr. Pleasants continues (p. 147):

"Rule 45 is a step in the right direction, both with reference to reversals on account of instructions given or refused and with reference to other matters to which it relates. No judgment should be reversed for the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for error as to any matter of pleading or procedure, unless in the opinion of the court, after an examination of the entire cause, it should appear that the error has probably injuriously affected the substantial rights of appellant. There might well be a statute following this rule."

*Alaska.*

Alaska Territory Compiled Laws, 1913:

"SECTION 1052. No exception shall be regarded on a motion for a new trial or on an appeal unless the exception be material and affect the substantial rights of the parties."

Error must affirmatively appear (McMahon *v.* Duffee, 59 Pac., 184).

*Arizona.*

Revised Statutes of Arizona, Civil Code, 1913 (tit. 6, Ch. IV, sec. 423):

"The court shall in every stage of an action disregard any error or defect in the pleadings or proceedings which shall not affect the substantial rights of such parties, and no judgment shall be reversed or affected by reason of such error or defect."

*California.*

Their statute is to be found in the California Code of Civil Procedure (1915), section 475:

"No judgment, decision, or decree shall be reversed or affected by reason of any error, ruling, instruction, or defect unless it shall appear from the record that such error, ruling, instruction, or defect was prejudicial, and also that by reason of such error, ruling, instruction, or defect the party complaining or appealing sustained substantial injury, and that a different result would have been probable if such error, ruling, instruction, or defect had not occurred or existed. There shall be no presumption that error is prejudicial or that injury was done if error is shown." (See People *v.* Warner, 147 Cal., 553.)

*Florida.*

The Compiled Laws of the State of Florida, Ann. 1914 (ch. 6223, May 26, 1911, sec. 1), 1608 d:

"No judgment shall be set aside or reversed or new trial granted by any court of the State of Florida in any cause, civil or criminal, on the ground of misdirection of the jury, or the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for error as to any matter of pleading or procedure, unless in the opinion of the court to which application is made, after an examination of the entire case, it shall appear that the error complained of has resulted in a miscarriage of justice. This act shall be liberally construed."

*Illinois.*

Convert *v.* Bishop, etc., Co. (152 Ill. App., 516). At page 521 the court said:

"Upon the whole case it by no means appears that substantial justice has not been done by the verdict and judgment. In such case this court will not reverse a judgment even if errors have been committed by the court below upon the trial in the admission or exclusion of evidence or in the giving or refusal of instructions."

*Indiana.*

Burns's Annotated Indiana Statutes, 1914 (Vol. 1, sec. 700):

"No judgment shall be stayed or reversed in whole or in part by the supreme court for any defect in form, variance, or imperfection contained in the record, pleading, process, entries, returns, or other proceedings therein which by law might be amended in the court below, but such defects shall be deemed to be amended in the supreme court; nor shall any judgment be stayed or reversed, in whole or in part, where it shall appear to the court that the merits of the cause have been fairly tried and determined in the court below."

The burden is on the party claiming error to show injury. (Badger *v.* Merry, 139 Ind, 631, 636; 39 N. E., 309; 35 Ind. App., 167; 73 N. E., 1009.)

*Iowa.*

Code of Iowa (Ann.), 1897, section 3601:

"The court, in every stage of an action, must disregard any error or defect in the proceedings which does not affect the substantial rights of the adverse party, and no judgment shall be reversed or affected by reason of such error or defect."

Mosier *v.* Vincent (34 Iowa, 478). At page 480 the court said:

"An appellant must show error to his prejudice before he can ask a reversal."

*Kansas.*

General Statutes of Kansas (1909), page 1345:

"The appellate court shall disregard all mere technical errors and irregularities which do not appear to have prejudicially affected the substantial rights of the party complaining where it appears upon the whole record that substantial justice has been done by the judgment or order of the trial court."

*Kentucky.*

Kentucky Criminal Code, 1877, section 340, and amended by a statute of 1880:

"A judgment of conviction shall be reversed for any error of law to the defendant's prejudice appearing on the record whenever, upon the consideration of the whole case, the court is satisfied that the substantial rights of the defendant have been prejudiced thereby."

To the same effect are sections 134, 338, 756, Kentucky Revised Code of Civil Procedure. The briefest of these is section 338:

"No exception shall be regarded unless the decision to which it relates be prejudicial to the substantial rights of the party excepting."

*Michigan.*

Public acts, 1915 (No. 314, ch. L, sec. 28):

"No judgment or verdict shall be set aside or reversed or a new trial granted by any court in any civil case on the ground of misdirection of the jury, or the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for error as to any matter of pleading or procedure unless, in the opinion of the court, after an examination of the entire cause, it shall affirmatively appear that the error complained of has resulted in a miscarriage of justice."

This went even further than the recommendation. The recommendation may be found in the report of the commission on revision.

*Minnesota.*

Lewis *v.* St. Paul, etc., Railroad (20 Minn., 261). At page 264 the court said:

"Even if it be admitted that some of the defendant's exceptions to testimony and instructions were well taken in point of law, this is a case in which we have no hesitation in disregarding such exceptions upon the ground that upon the uncontroverted facts of the case it is evident that a new trial would not change the result of the trial which has already taken place."

*Missouri.*

Section 1850, Revised Statutes (1909). Like the Arizona statute.

*Montana.*

Revised Codes of Montana (1907). Section 7118, civil; section 9415, criminal.

"After hearing the appeal the court must give judgment without regard to technical errors or defects or to exceptions which do not affect the substantial rights of the parties."

SEC. 7118. "The supreme court on such appeal shall consider such orders, rulings, and proceedings, and shall reverse or affirm the cause on such appeal, according to the substantial rights of the respective parties, as shown upon the record."

*Nebraska.*

Nebraska Code, 1913, section 7713:

"The court shall, in every stage of the action, disregard any errors or defect in the pleading or proceedings which shall not affect the substantial rights of the adverse party, and no judgment shall be reversed or affected by reason of such error or defect."

*Nevada.*

Revised Laws of Nevada (1912), 5066, section 124, civil code. Like Arizona.

*New Hampshire.*

The same reform was effected by the supreme court. Address Samuel C. Eastman. Proceedings New Hampshire Bar Association 1906, page 249.

*New Jersey.*

New Jersey practice act (1912), section 27, chapter 231:

"No judgment shall be reversed or new trial granted on the ground of misdirection, or the improper admission or exclusion of evidence, or for error as to matter of pleading or procedure, unless, after examination of the whole case, it shall appear that the error injuriously affected the substantial rights of a party."

*New Mexico.*

New Mexico Statutes Codification 1915, section 4167, subsection 101:

"The court shall, at every stage of the action, disregard any errors or defects in the pleadings or proceedings which shall not affect the substantial rights of the adverse party, and no judgment shall be reversed or affected by reason of such error or defect."

*New York.*

The amendments in this State are given in the body of the brief.

*Ohio.*

Their statute is to be found in Laws of Ohio, 1911, page 132. It is the same as that recommended by the American Bar Association.

*Oklahoma.*

Revised Laws of Oklahoma (Ann., 1910), No. 6005:

"No judgment shall be set aside or new trial granted by any appellate court of this State on any case, civil or criminal, on the ground of misdirection of the jury, or the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or as to error in any matter of pleading or procedure, unless in the opinion of the court to which application is made, after an examination of the entire record, it appears that the error complained of has probably resulted in a miscarriage of justice, or constitutes a substantial violation of a constitutional or statutory right."

Byers v. Territory of Oklahoma (103 Pac., 532) is excellent case. Gorman v. Shelton (43 Okla., 139). Producer's Oil Co. v. Eaton (44 Okla., 55, 61):

"If in the amount of the verdict or elsewhere there was any evidence of the influence of this argument to the prejudice of the defendant, we should be disposed to reverse, etc.; but in view of all the facts in this case it does not appear that the error has probably resulted in a miscarriage of justice or constitutes a substantial violation of a constitutional or statutory right."

Error was in outrageous language of counsel to jury.

*Pennsylvania.*

The subject is considered in Pennsylvania Bar Association Reports, 1915, page 62:

"The act was introduced to the legislature, but its passage was opposed by the Law Association of Philadelphia on the ground that it would not change the existing law of Pennsylvania."

Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania, page 332 (1855), was cited, which held that the appellant must show both error and prejudice. Affirmed in 188 Pa., 496, 503; 248 Pa., 598, 603.

*Texas.*

Revised Civil Statutes, 1911, article 1553:

"There shall be no reversal or dismissal for want of form, provided that the requirements of the law and the rules of court be sufficiently complied with in presenting the case to enable the court to determine the same upon its merits. In each case the supreme court shall affirm the judgment, reverse and render the judgment which the courts of civil appeals ought to have rendered, or reverse the judgment, and demand the case to the lower court, if it shall appear that the justice of the case demands another trial."

*Wisconsin.*

Wisconsin Statutes (1911), No. 3072m:

"No judgment shall be reversed or set aside or new trial granted in any action or proceedings, civil or criminal, on the ground of misdirection of the judge or the wrongful admission of evidence, or for error as to any matter of pleading or procedure, unless in the opinion of the court to which application is made, after an examination of the entire action or proceeding, it shall appear that the error complained of has affected the substantial rights of the party seeking to reverse or set aside the judgment or to secure a new trial."

Similar to chapter 192, Laws 1909.

*Wyoming.*

Wyoming Compiled Statutes (1910), Annotated, Mullen:

No. 4599: "No exception shall be regarded unless it is material, and prejudicial to the substantial rights of the party excepting."

[House of Representatives, Rept. No. 264, 64th Cong., 1st sess.]

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE IN UNITED STATES COURTS.

Mr. GARD, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following report.

The Committee on the Judiciary, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 9428) to regulate the judicial procedure in United States courts, report the same back with certain amendments and with the recommendation that the bill as amended do pass.

The several amendments are reported, as follows:

Strike out the word "or" last appearing in line 7 and insert in lieu thereof the words "nor shall."

In line 8, insert, after the word "trial," the word "be."

The object of the law is to obtain and maintain speedy and exact justice, and with this establish a rule of procedure in the consideration of causes in the appellate courts of the United States

Complaint has been and is daily made of alleged miscarriages of justice because of strict interpretations of and adherence to some technical rules of procedure which could not in the least affect the substantial rights of the parties in litigation, and in very many State jurisdictions statutes have been enacted almost in terms with the language of this bill, these statutes being universally considered to be of great assistance in the administration of justice in courts. Certain courts have established, and entirely within their right, we think, rules practically giving effect to the sentiment of this bill, while other courts have construed it to be their duty to reverse for any error if such error be made affirmatively to appear.

It has been truly said that "justice delayed is justice denied," and we are all familiar with the hardships of loss of time and great expenditure of money made necessary by retrials when the first trial absolutely established the facts and the law, the reversal being for some trivial error occurring during protracted trial.

The trial of causes before juries, that fairest means of adjudication of disputes which jurisprudence has yet found, is frequently marred by long exhibits of most technical and immaterial objections, made often with no other purpose than to cloud the issues and to make weary the minds of the jurors, unmindful and unheeding of such matters so far outside any effect on the substantial rights of the parties.

Then, it is almost invariably true that the first trial is the one where is brought out in the most complete manner the contentions of the respective parties established and made manifest to the minds of the jury and of judge, and as the mind of the reasonable juror—and this is the average juror, we believe—skips over the trivial and immaterial, so the mind of the judge should be invested with this discretion and not be bound by arbitrary rule requiring reversal if any error be found.

A bill embodying the same general features and intended generally to effect the same remedy was passed by the House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress, but failed to pass the Senate.

Another almost similar bill was favorably reported in the Sixty-third Congress on December 12, 1914, by Hon. E. Y. WEBB, now chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary in the House of Representatives.

Mr. WEBB, in his report, adopted the language of Mr. DAVIS in reporting the bill to the House in the Sixty-third Congress, as follows:

"The bill as originally drawn was prepared by a committee of the American Bar Association, by which also it has been under discussion for five years. In an amended form it passed the House of Representatives unanimously on the 6th day of February, 1911, and in the message of the President sent to Congress on December 21, 1911, we find the following recommendation:

"'The American Bar Association has recommended to Congress several bills expediting procedure, one of which has already passed the House unanimously February 6, 1911. This directs that no judgment should be set aside or reversed or new trial granted unless it appears to the court, after an examination of the entire case, that the error complained of has injuriously affected the substantial rights of the parties, and also provides for the submission of issues of fact to a jury, reserving questions of law for subsequent argument and decision. I hope this bill will pass the Senate and become a law, for it will simplify the procedure at law.'

"Similar legislation to that now proposed has been adopted in Illinois, Kansas, Ohio, and Wisconsin, and by constitutional amendment in California; has passed both houses of the legislature of the State of New York, and on the 2d day of April, 1912, was before the governor of that State for his signature.

"No doubt a similar rule has been applied without express statutory mandate in the courts of other States. The necessity of Federal legislation on this subject is well illustrated by a comparison of the language of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Railroad Company v. O'Reilly (158 U. S., 334) and its language in the case of Cunningham v. Springer (204 U. S., 647). In the former of these cases it is said:

"'While an appellate court will not disturb a judgment for immaterial error, yet it should appear beyond a doubt that the error complained of did not and could not have prejudiced the rights of the party duly objecting.'

"On the other hand, in the latter case it is said:

"'These three illustrations * * * illustrate the importance of a strict application of the principle that the excepting party should make it manifest that an error prejudicial to him has occurred in the trial in order to justify an appellate court in disturbing the verdict.'

"In other words, in the first of these cases the Supreme Court holds that an error is presumed to be prejudicial until the contrary appears, and in the second that an error is presumed to be harmless until the contrary is made to appear. It is the purpose of the first section of the present bill to enact, in so far as the appellate courts are concerned, that in the consideration in an appellate court of a writ of error or an appeal judgment shall be rendered upon the merits without permitting reversals for technical defects in the procedure below and without presuming that any error which may appear had been of necessity prejudicial to the complaining party.

"Your committee believe that the reforms embodied in this bill are wise and consonant with the promise of Magna Charta—that justice shall be denied or delayed to no man and that the administration of justice shall not be so cumberous, dilatory, and consequently expensive that it shall be obtained only by the rich."

This bill has the approval of the committee appointed by the American Bar Association to present remedies and formulate proposed laws to prevent delay and unnecessary cost in litigation.

## The Mexican War.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, a grave blunder has been made in Mexico by the present administration as inexcusable, in my judgment, as that at Balaklava, when the "Light Brigade" was ordered to useless slaughter. Its "watchful waiting" and its "in-again-and-out-again" policy have shown a total want of any definite, well-considered purpose, and has been fruitful only of unhappy results.

It is regrettable from any patriotic or dignified viewpoint. It is explicable only on the theory of seeking partisan advantage.

But actual war exists, call it what we may, and this, with patriots, should silence party differences and political scheming. At such a time, like it was with the troopers of the Light Brigade when ordered to advance, it is not for American patriots now "to reason why." "Forward" is the order of the President, and this, to my mind, fixes the duty of citizenship. American blood has been drawn; American soldiers have been ambushed and shot; the American flag has been insulted and American citizenship has been outraged beyond endurance or decency. An inadequate American force is to-day in peril, if not already annihilated, on foreign soil, and the Commander in Chief of the Army, made so by the Constitution and the suffrages of the people, asks of Congress authority to call our State reserves to the colors. It is not a time for partisan thought or accusation.

There is no middle ground for patriotism either at the White House or among the people.

I have been and am yet of the number of those called conservatives, old fogies, if you please, pacifists, if you must have a term of derision, who oppose radical changes in our republican form of government intended to conform it to the prevalent militaristic ideas of extremists. The Republic was founded as a protest against such despotic powers. Its spirit is opposed to big standing armies in times of peace, eating up the substance of industry; opposed to big battleship fleets, if in number and power sufficient to suggest only offensive warfare; and, to some extent, I have myself been subjected to criticism because of expressed convictions along this line, especially by a number of younger men, some young enough to enter the Army as volunteers, who are candidates for Congress, as they have a perfect right to be, and engaged, as they have a like perfect right to be, in canvassing the district which I have had the honor of representing in Congress as yet for only a part of one term, urging upon voters to deny me the usual courtesy of another term and give them early opportunity in Congress to display their own assumed superior patriotism and great love of country. Actual service in the Civil War is not sufficient to protect the patriotic motives of the present Member from selfish accusations and innuendo.

I have, however, implicit faith in the justice, fair dealing, and thoughtful common sense of a patriotic people, and feel sure they will appreciate better my staying here and attending to the public duties intrusted to me for one term than they would if I should desert my post temporarily in a time of stress like the present and go home to personally contend for a renomination with the worthy young gentlemen who seem to be, so to speak, in a marathon race by themselves, seeking to win the prize of political preferment.

If the Republicans of the district deem me worthy, they will likely renominate me, and I shall be grateful; if not, they will find me all the same at the election this fall, voting for Hughes and Fairbanks and for the congressional candidate on whom the mantle of their favor may fall at the primary.

The President is not of my political faith, but, in a sense, he is the Government, and must be until March 4, 1917, when—well, all signs indicate a coming change. And now that actual war is upon us, criticism of past acts—blunders, if such we choose to call them—should cease, especially on the floors of Congress. We are all a part of the Government, sworn and charged with vitally important duties, and the people at the elections may be trusted without undue influence to take care of any blundering inefficiency which may be found to exist.

It is amazing how accurate they are in their estimate of public servants.

I consider it my duty to vote for this resolution as a needful war measure, coming directly from the President, as I understand, through his favored Representative, Mr. HAY. If he is mistaken as to facts or the actual existence of war, his will be the responsibility. We can not know individually, for ourselves, exact conditions. The President is not only the elected Chief of the Republic, but under the Constitution he is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. On him, as stated, rests the responsibility. On us rests a duty as patriotic citizens and Members of Congress to aid him in all proper endeavors to repel actual aggression against our country, defend American citizenship, the American flag, and American honor, wherever or however they may be assailed.

I am emphatically a man of peace. War is abhorrent. Although only a private soldier in the Civil War, I saw enough of its horrors to know that Gen. Sherman was right when in his blunt speech he said it was hell.

But peace may be purchased too dearly. Loss of honor and self-respect in a nation or individual is the beginning of the end, and I shall not knowingly be a party to such a beginning.

I regard this resolution also as a vindication of the antimilitaristic views of those who have consistently opposed the permanent absorption of the State National Guards into the Federal service, either as an active part of its standing army or as a reserve force subject only to the call of the President.

The prompt response of the Ohio guard to the call for mobilization by the Nation's Chief Executive has been a matter of pride to the Ohio delegation in Congress. No one doubted their patriotism or efficiency, although I have been just a little embarrassed in having to explain to the War Department why there are not more organized companies in my district.

The eighteenth Ohio has plenty of patriotism and sentimental preparedness in all the counties, but I have needed to explain that, being a busy people, they have awaited the actual imminency of war before organizing for actual fighting. They may not have as showy ideas of home soldiering as in some sections, but now that the tocsin of actual war has sounded I am told they are rushing to the colors as in 1861 to 1865 and again in 1898, when the district everywhere blazed forth with patriotic ardor. Even the heroes of the Civil War seem to have caught again the spirit of 1861, as I notice in the local papers that the first man to join the colors from the district under the President's call was my former pastor and a comrade of the Civil War, Rev. Dr. George B. Smith, of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Bellaire, Ohio, who is now with his regiment, the Fifth Ohio, keeping step with the youngest of the boys. God bless him. He leaves, in the performance of duty, a wealthy and distinguished congregation, who will long cherish his memory should he not return. I commend his example to all who feel overburdened with patriotic anxiety for our beloved land.

As for myself, I have no apologies to make for my support of this resolution. The tocsin of war has sounded for my country, and this is a signal to me to sink party differences, and, figuratively speaking at least, joint the colors. What boots it if we have a Democratic administration? What boots it if he has made serious mistakes in his past Mexican policy? What boots it if his partisan followers are seeking to coin political advantage out of the discharge of simple, plain, patriotic duties? What boots it to whom the honors of success shall fall when Old Glory returns in honor from Mexican soil? We are all Americans, and patriotism should not have any dividing party lines. Only the selfish and self-seeking think otherwise.

## Pension Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of removing the limitation of June 27, 1890, by which a widow who had married a soldier after that date was debarred from receiving a pension. There was some justification in fixing the limit 26 years ago, after which the widow of a soldier would not be recognized by the Government in her application for a pension. The argument then was that such a statute would operate to defeat the purpose of young women to marry old soldiers for the purpose of getting a pension on the soldier's death. Of course,

that law did not bar a widow from getting a pension if the soldier died from a disease or injury, or the result of either, contracted in the service and in the line of duty. Undoubtedly no man will charge that for the last 26 years any woman married a soldier as a mere speculative venture so that she would profit by his death in getting a pension.

From an equitable viewpoint the woman who, having married a soldier 25 years after the war and lived with him, nursed and cared for him for 25 years more when he was enfeebled with age and diseases, is entitled to a pension. At this time and for many years there are many soldiers who are helpless and wholly dependent upon some other person for care and attention all the time. Persons who render this service in the capacity of a wife, who faithfully and honestly care for the soldier, have performed a patriotic duty and one worthy of the attention of the Government.

The sentiment in this country is strong for this legislation. A great rich and powerful Government does not discharge its whole duty simply by keeping the man who pledged all for the protection of the flag out of the poorhouses of the country. It is a matter of common knowledge that the very large percentage of the old soldiers have no means of support except their pensions. What assistance they receive comes from the sacrifices of friends or relatives. If it is from a woman who is discharging her obligations as a wife faithfully, the Government should see to it that she is taken care of. I do not know what the additional cost will be. I do know, however, that the amount will be cheerfully paid by a grateful people. We are appropriating this year more than four hundred millions for two branches of the Government service—the Army and Navy. We are anxious to spend many millions for the construction of battleships and necessary auxiliary ships to make our defense complete and effective—shall we not be as jealous in protecting those who ministered to the wants of the defenders of the country in its hours of sorest need? I do not want the Congress to say to the soldier:

> We paid you, but the woman who nursed you in sickness and in health until the end came, who was careful and tender of your wants during all these years, will have to look elsewhere for the scanty living that $12 a month would provide for her because we feel that it would be extravagant to appropriate the money for one thing, and the woman who has ministered to the soldier all these years has not earned the gratitude of the Government even though she has done the best she could in your declining days to care for you.

I am for amending the law for the reason that it is measuring up to a great patriotic duty. I have yet to find the man who regrets that the United States saw fit in the early days after the war to pay pensions and continuously increased the rate of pensions to worthy soldiers and widows as the occasion demanded. Congress performs no more sacred duty than to comfortably provide against the day of want for those who offered all upon the country's altar in times of greatest stress. One of the incidents of my service in Congress and one that gives me the greatest satisfaction is that I have never failed to vote for measures that made provision for the soldier, his widow and orphans.

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**Army and the Navy.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. A. C. SHALLENBERGER,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the subject of the Army and the Navy.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the Army and Navy. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Chairman, I have asked leave to extend my remarks under the leave-to-print rule for the purpose of publishing in the RECORD certain observations of my own upon the Army and Navy bills for the information of the people in the district which I represent. I do not wish to take the time of the House in listening to them.

On June 1, 1916, my colleague [Mr. SLOAN], under general leave to print, inserted in the RECORD without delivering it upon the floor of the House, a copy of a speech of Hon. Silas R. Barton, which was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 10, 1913. As introductory to the speech of Mr. Barton, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. SLOAN] says:

> It has taken the majority of the House nearly three years to reach the point of putting into effect the views so well expressed by him [Mr. Barton] on the floor of the House October 10, 1913.

If the intent was to imply that his republished speech was delivered "on the floor of the House," Mr. Barton must have spoken very rapidly, as the RECORD of October 10, 1913, shows on page 6159 that Mr. Barton was yielded one minute of time only, and no extension of time was granted. As the speech covers six columns in the RECORD, it hardly could have been delivered "on the floor of the House." On the other hand, if it was intended to convey the idea that the speech influenced the views of Members of Congress upon the subject of Government manufacture of armor plate it must have affected the members of Mr. Barton's and Mr. SLOAN's party adversely. When the bill for an armor-plate factory was reported to the House from the Naval Committee, a minority report was filed, dated April 13, 1916, the first sentence of which is:

> We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Naval Affairs, dissent from the action of the majority of the committee in favorably recommending at this time the bill (S. 1417) to erect or purchase, or both, a factory for the manufacture of armor plate and appropriating $11,000,000 to erect or purchase the same.

This minority report condemning the Government armor-plate plant was signed by every one of the seven Republicans upon the Naval Committee. The Government armor-plate amendment to the naval bill passed the House June 2, 1916, with 235 votes for and 136 against it. Every one of the 136 votes against it were cast by Republicans except 3, and of the 235 votes that passed the amendment only 43 were cast by Republicans. The Government armor-plate plant, which is intended to release the Government from the clutches of the armor-plate monopoly, is solely Democratic in its origin, made possible by a Democratic Secretary of the Navy, and a Democratic Naval Committee of the House and Senate, and passed by Democratic votes against the determined opposition of the Republicans of both Houses of Congress who voted with an overwhelming majority against the proposition at every opportunity.

It is possible that my colleague [Mr. SLOAN] intends to convey the thought that because Mr. Barton and himself were with the Democrats upon this question they were right once. I am willing to admit that if for once he and Mr. Barton were with the Democrats they were not always wrong. It was only by maintaining a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress and a Democratic President in the White House that the country secured this much-needed governmental agency for building up an adequate Navy. The same Democratic majority has given the United States its first great program of naval and military defense and has done more to properly arm this Nation against every possible danger than all the Republican administrations that have preceded it put together. In providing an adequate and efficient Navy, the Democratic Congress at this session will vote in numbers of ships, submarines, aeroplanes, arms, armament, ammunition, and personnel, and in money to provide for it all, far in excess of anything ever before attempted by an American Congress. The ships, the men, the money are all the result of Democratic foresight and determination to amply guard this Nation against any assault. The naval program has not yet been completed by the action of the Senate and the President, but will be hurried to an early conclusion. The Army-reorganization bill and policy of preparedness as worked out by this Congress has already been enacted into law and approved by the President. So much will be said about national defense and preparedness against possible dangers in the coming campaign that a statement from the highest military authority in the country, as to the adequacy and efficiency of the Army legislation enacted by this Congress is submitted herewith, as I have indicated.

The two measures before this Congress which have most engaged the attention of the country are the bills to reorganize the Army and the Navy. As a member of the Military Committee in the House of Representatives, I have given much time in committee in helping to shape the Army bill which has just been signed by the President. A great deal has been published in criticism of the Democratic Congress and the Army bill by newspapers and magazine writers, who seemingly have but little knowledge of the law or its provisions for national defense and who seek only to discredit Congress and the President.

So much has been said and written upon the subject that Senator CHAMBERLAIN, chairman of the Senate Military Committee, asked the Secretary of War to have the General Staff completely analyze the bill and to report their deliberate judgment as to the efficiency of the law. This request was com-

plied with. I submit herewith extracts from Senate Document 447, showing the conclusions of an expert of the General Staff:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
*Washington, May 2½, 1916.*

Hon. GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN,
*Chairman Committee on Military Affairs,*
*United States Senate.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have had the provisions of House bill No. 12766 carefully analyzed and compared with the provisions of the bill drafted by the General Staff for reorganizing the Army. The comparison and analysis were made by a member of the General Staff, and the memorandums embodying the results of that comparison and analysis are inclosed for your information.

I fully indorse the statement made in one of the memorandums that the bill recently agreed to is the most comprehensive measure looking to military preparedness that has ever been passed by Congress. Assuring you that the bill is very satisfactory to me and that the untiring efforts of the Senate and House to afford the people of this country adequate military protection are deeply appreciated, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
*Secretary of War.*

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WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF,
*Washington, May 22, 1916.*

Memorandum for the Secretary of War.
Subject: Comparison of H. R. 12766 with the recommendations of the General Staff Corps.

After a careful analysis and comparisons covering 17 pages the report of the expert of the General Staff concludes as follows:

In general terms it may be said that this is the first comprehensive legislation for national defense. It provides, as far as can be foreseen, for the needs of men and material, and it has been pronounced by all who are competent to judge as the best military legislation that the country has ever had. Certain parts of it are more or less experimental, but without experiment no advance will be made, and if any part of the experiment does not work, that part can be corrected by new legislation.

The consensus of opinion in regard to this bill undoubtedly is that it is far and away the best bill that has ever been written for our Army on the subject of military organization. There undoubtedly are certain things in it which might be left out with advantage and other things that might be added with advantage, but, nevertheless, the statement can not be controverted that it is the first and only comprehensive measure looking to military preparedness that has ever been passed by Congress.

WM. D. CONNOR,
*Major, General Staff Corps.*

The above summarizes the opinion of the highest military authority in the Nation, the General Staff of the Army of the United States. This carefully considered statement answers completely the criticisms of the partisan or ignorant and shows unanswerably that this Congress has provided adequate preparedness and efficient protection for the Nation so far as the Army is concerned. The naval bill that has passed the House and which will soon be enacted into law will do a like service for the Nation in the matter of naval preparation.

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**Address of W. A. Thompson.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,

OF OKLAHOMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to print an address of W. A. Thompson, delivered at a reception given by the Colonel William Penn Adair Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, to Confederate veterans at Tahlequah, Okla.

The address is as follows:

AN ADDRESS BY W. A. THOMPSON.

"Were I gifted with the splendid eloquence of the great orator of the American Revolution, whose persuasive pleadings kept so brightly burning the camp fires of our own Washington, I would yet be unable to appropriately voice the emotions I feel at rising to speak on this beautiful, consecrated spot. The subject and scene are alike inspiring. All is rest and peace about us. The gentle murmurs of the ripples of the waves of peace have chased away the rush and roar of the wild waves of war. The blue sky bends serenely above us, and when yon sun, shining now in all the splendor of his unclouded majesty, shall go into camp for the night, starry sentinels will in turn go on duty and keep watch and ward over the peaceful hearts and homes and destines of your people."

I think I need make no apology, Madam President, members of Colonel William Penn Adair Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, veterans, ladies and gentlemen, for using as my introduction the preceding words of Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, spoken in Richmond, Va., at the unveiling of a monument to the Confederate dead. Those words, true when spoken in beautiful Hollywood Cemetery to the assembled beauty and chivalry of old Virginia, are true now when addressed to this representative gathering of the sons and daughters of our great new State of Oklahoma.

This very spot; these circling hills, clad in all their wondrous beauty; our crystal springs, sparkling and murmuring on to the sunlit, southern sea; our historic little city; yonder splendid temple of learning, once the pride of the Cherokee people, now the pride of a great State—all are vocal with history of the past and prophecy of the future.

It is eminently fitting, ladies and gentlemen, that we should honor our loved ones, the living as well as the dead. On last Sabbath, in accordance with the beautiful custom inaugurated by the women of our Southland, we assembled together on the spot sacred to the memory of those who have "loved long since and lost a while," and there, "wreathed with garlands and crowned with flowers, the holy spot where sleeps defeated valor." To-day, laying aside our accustomed pursuits and pausing a while in the never-ending march of events, we have met together in this elegant southern home for the purpose of honoring the living by bestowing upon a few Confederate veterans the Southern Cross of Honor. I would rather be entitled to wear that simple badge of bronze than to be covered with the jeweled decorations of Europe's proudest orders.

I shall not attempt to justify the course of the South further than to say that if it be true that a man's home is his castle, and if it be true that a man's country should be above all other countries, then, going from less to greater or from greater to less, by induction or by deduction, it follows as the night the day that one's State can not be put in second place. In my judgment, another war between North and South is impossible, but should one arise I would be found on the side of the South. My home, my town, my State, my South, my country against the world. Call this reason or call it treason, call it patriotism or call it sectionalism, call it what you will, but here I stand; I can not otherwise.

Feeling only pity for those who fear to praise their soldiers lest by so doing they wound the tender sensibilities of those who are of the opposite faith, I have scant respect for those who consider all praise of "the lost cause" as disloyalty to the Union. Shall we, to please such narrow foreheads, disown our glorious past? "Sooner, far, let evening blush to own a star." We are heirs "of all the ages in the foremost files of time." The past is ours—all the past, and the present. The future we know not of. We claim Cavalier as well as Puritan, Lee as well as Grant, Jamestown as well as Plymouth Rock, Manassas as well as Bunker Hill.

As a son of the South, in whose veins flows no drop of northern blood, as one whose pride it is that he is the son of a brave Confederate soldier, I can truthfully say that to me the most beautiful sight in all the world, next to woman, is the Stars and Stripes floating over a people reunited forever more, and I am glad to-day that in the Providence of God the war ended as it did. It was better so; better, perhaps, for the black man, but immeasurably better for the southern white man. As I see it, it was the southern white man who was freed by the Civil War. The great struggle of the sixties gave the negro personal liberty, but it did not, because it could not, make him free. Neither armies nor navies, neither presidential proclamations nor constitutional amendments, can make him free who is a slave to ignorance and superstition, a slave to prejudice and passion. But the South, purified in the seven-times heated furnace of affliction, and freed from the deadly incubus of human slavery, has risen by leaps and bounds to heights undreamed of in old antebellum days.

While I yield to no living man in admiration and honor to Lincoln and Grant and other brave men of the North, I should be false to myself, false to the land of my birth, false to the memory of my mother, false to the gray hairs of my father if I omitted on this occasion one jot or one tittle of the boundless admiration and love I feel for the dear, brave boys in gray, who fought so long and so well against such deadly odds. "All the world wondered" at "the noble six hundred" of the Light Brigade and the wild charge they made "into the jaws of death." But not the English at Balaklava, nor the French cuirassiers charging the living volcanoes of English infantry at Waterloo; not the Spartans at Thermopylæ, nor the Texans in the Alamo; not the world-conquering Romans, nor the early

Delawares, who, of old, fought their way from Atlantic to Pacific and back again—not any of these nor any other have surpassed in deathless courage our own ragged boys in gray. Their heroism was displayed, not in one desperate charge but in a thousand charges, throughout four long and bloody years.

At each recurring anniversary you have heard of the heroic figures of that titanic struggle. In imagination we may hear again the heavy roar of artillery, the long roll of musketry. We may see the milk-white steed of Ashby, the black plume of Stuart, the flashing sword of Jackson. On a thousand fields we see horse and rider, friend and foe, the blue and the gray, "in one red burial blent." But—

> Forth from its scabbard all in vain
> Bright flashed the sword of Lee;
> It sleeps the sleep of our noble slain,
> Defeated, yet without a stain.

All in vain was the valor of 800,000 men against the valor of 2,800,000 men.

And then came true the wish of that great soldier who sleeps on the bank of the Hudson, who was too chivalrous to accept in surrender "the stainless sword of Lee," and we had peace. The battle flags were furled, and "the war god reclining, sank on the white arm of beauty to rest." Folded away until the judgment day was the "conquered banner." But oh, there were those who loved it, there are those who love it with a love that can not die.

> Once ten thousands hailed it gladly,
> And ten thousand wildly, madly,
> Swore it should forever wave
> O'er their freedom or their grave.

But what shall I say of him, the great Cherokee for whom your chapter is named, Col. William Penn Adair? As I speak to-day there comes to me a vision of the days when for me the world was new and strange. I see a man taller than his fellows—tall, magnificently proportioned, and handsome as a Greek god. I see a man with piercing black eyes, long black hair, and wearing a wide-brimmed sombrero, but otherwise dressed in the height of Washington fashion. I see a man who was a leader of men in the days when every man was a law unto himself, a man equally at home in the Supreme Court, in governmental departments, in the whirlwind of battle, in the white heat of political campaigns, or in the home of some poor Cherokee. Now we see him, as the Civil War neared its close, organizing a confederacy of wild western tribes, being the last of his command to surrender; and now we see him after the war helping to organize the great Downing Party. Now we see him engaged in defeating the infamous Drum Creek treaty with the Osages; and now we see him signing the Cherokee treaty of sixty-six. Now we see him as senator representing his district in the Cherokee Council; and now we see him as assistant chief and delegate representing his people in the Nation's Capital. Now we see him driving across the old Cherokee Nation in a night in order to nail a clever campaign forgery on the eve of an election; and now we see him, single-handed and alone, defending his home against murderous foes.

But in all and through all we see the same engaging, magnificent personality, manly as the manliest, tender as the tenderest, absolutely peerless, absolutely fearless. He it was who in my humble cabin home first gave me a glimpse of the great world of politics, of eloquence, of history, and government. Near and dear he was to me by blood ties, for he was my mother's brother, and looking back across all the intervening years it seems to me that "Bill Penn," as his war comrades delighted to call him, was a very king among men. He died as he had lived, in the midst of big affairs. He died as Cæsar wished to die, as any man might wish to die, stricken in the plenitude of all his godlike powers, after a life of glorious achievement.

And what shall I say of the women of the South, whose radiant beauty, whose matchless courage, and whose supreme devotion have added new glory to the human race. How meaningless and vain are tricks of rhetoric and cunning combinations of words when applied to her in whose praise all hyperbole is tame, all glorification but little short of detraction. The highest praise, the supremest eulogy of which my stammering tongue is capable, is this: My mother was of the South. And to the Daughters of the Confederacy I would say that in all the surging tide of time no nobler task can be committed to your hands than that of keeping green the memory of your loved ones who fought and suffered for "the lost cause," not one of whom but could have been on the winning side. No nobler task can be yours than that of brightening the declining years of their few—alas! how few—surviving comrades.

To the few Confederate veterans assembled here I would say, in the language of Webster, "Venerable men, you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives that you might behold this joyous day, and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness ere you slumber in the grave forever." Side by side you have stood with other brave men "when the mists were rolled in vapor and the winds were laid with sound." Shoulder to shoulder you have stood "where ebbed and flowed the crimson tide of battle." But how differently is the scene before you to-day. The guns of the Civil War have long since died away in silence. Gone are the sounds of combat and the scene of carnage. Gone to their long rest are the great majority of your comrades. Gone, too, let us hope, forever, are all the hate and bitterness engendered by that great struggle, and in their place are feelings of respect and admiration always felt by the brave for the brave.

In the veterans' camp at the last Confederate reunion, held in Mobile, Ala., were 500 Army tents, loaned by the Government for the occasion.

A movement is on foot, launched by the New York League of Republican Clubs, to raise $250,000 for the erection of a monument at some point on the Mason and Dixon line to commemorate the passing of the animosity between the North and the South. And I am glad that while this movement was started by northern Republicans it was first suggested by an old Confederate soldier, Col. James Gordon, of Mississippi, in his farewell address in the United States Senate.

The following is taken from the general orders of Commander in Chief Van Sant, of the Grand Army of the Republic:

> It is recommended wherever the grave of an ex-Confederate is found that flowers be placed thereon, as a tribute to the bravery of the man who fought on the other side, remembering that he, too, was an American soldier. We were once enemies but now friends. The long, dark night is over; at last we are a united people.

During the memorial exercises in the national cemetery at Fort Gibson on last Monday, I heard the band play "Dixie," and in the addresses delivered on that occasion I heard not one word of hate or bitterness, not one word in depreciation of the valor of the boys who wore the gray.

I mention these facts as showing that the Republican Party, the Grand Army, and the Government unite with the South in saying that the war is indeed over; that the Republic of our fathers is stronger and better for that great struggle, and that the dividing line between North and South has been effaced, not by blood and powder stains, but by the hands of brothers, clasped now in mutual confidence and esteem.

And in that "land of pure delight" beyond the stars, if there shall be any reminders of human courage and human faith, we shall see floating proudly side by side "the conquered banner" and "Old Glory," side by side "the Stars and Bars" and "the Stars and Stripes"—forever.

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## Is President Wilson Weak?

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JESSE D. PRICE,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial in the Baltimore Sun of yesterday.

The editorial is as follows:

IS PRESIDENT WILSON WEAK?

Wilson or Hughes; that is the alternative that confronts the American people in the matter of the Presidency.

The renomination of Mr. Wilson naturally invites an estimate of the man and his services to the American people. What account has he given of himself in the more than three years during which he has occupied the White House? What type of man has he shown himself to be? What reasons are there for believing that Mr. Hughes would make a more capable Chief Executive than he?

The most surprising development in our recent politics is the fact that the Republican Party, as is indicated by its platform and by the words of its candidate, proposes to appeal to the people in the coming campaign chiefly on the ground that the President is weak and vacillating; that he does not know his own mind; that he has no continuity of purpose. This is surprising, because it is the last charge in the world that would have been made against Mr. Wilson three years ago, or five years ago, or at any time prior to the outbreak of the European war. As president of Princeton University, as governor of New Jersey, as leader of his party during the first years of his presidential administration, when it was making its almost unprecedentedly successful record in the passage of domestic legislation, the complaints then made against Mr. Wilson were exactly the reverse of this. It was his tenacity of conviction, his obstinacy, his refusal to regard the rights and the views of others that formed the basis of the criticism directed against him then.

At Princeton, in his long and splendid battle for Democracy there, he was described as domineering, brutal, bigoted, inconsiderate, ruth-

less—but never as weak or vacillating. In the gubernatorial chair he was accused of being an ingrate, but the very machine politicians who charged that he had turned his back on them after electing him—the members of the Democratic caucus called to repudiate the governor's direct-primary bill, who, after listening to a speech of three hours' duration from him, voted to make it a party measure; the representatives of corporations who opposed his reform measures and were decisively beaten—none of these ever classed Wilson as a weakling. And during the first months of his term as President, when the tariff law, the income-tax law, the currency bill, the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls-exemption act, and all the other important measures included in the administration's program were being put through Congress with smoothness and dexterity, any talk of weakness and vacillation on the President's part would have been classed as highly absurd. It was not a partisan or a politician, but a dispassionate expert in economics, who, following the passage of the tariff act, made this comment: "To this success the attitude of the administration contributed most effectively. President Wilson had quietly but unhesitatingly assumed leadership and secured a hold on his associates and followers which astonished friend and enemy." And Prof. Taussig's statement but expressed common knowledge.

There is another class of people who find the idea of the President being a weakling one not easy of acceptance. That is those who have pondered carefully the facts in connection with his present undisputed leadership of the Democratic Party. Four years ago Mr. Bryan was easily the most influential leader of that party. He had far more followers than any other man and they were devoted to him. His word was law to them; their votes and their course of action were at his disposal. Outside of them the party was divided into numerous groups, each controlled by a political feudal baron, each independent, none of much more consequence than any other. The improbability of keeping an organization of this sort together, of making it an effective political agency capable of harmonious and unified action, was in everyone's mind and much harped upon by the Republican spokesmen. Bryan and Wilson were sure to split within six months after the latter's inauguration. The Democratic Party was incapable of concerted work. It had gone to pieces during Cleveland's administrations; it was sure to go to pieces during Wilson's. The Grand Old Party was the only one with sufficient coherency, sufficient unification, to enable it to do constructive work, to carry out a party program. The air was full of talk like this. The Republican orators assured us that it was true, and many fearful Democrats were more than half inclined to believe it.

Consider that situation and contrast it with the situation to-day. To-day Mr. Wilson is the supreme leader of his party. He has a splendid record of accomplishment behind him, a record the importance of which is conceded by his opponents, so far as domestic matters are concerned. The Democratic Party is the smoothly oiled machine from which results can be expected; the Republican Party is disrupt, dissevered, inharmonious. Mr. Bryan's following is back of Wilson. Mr. Bryan himself is supporting him. Mr. Bryan entered Mr. Wilson's Cabinet, and Mr. Wilson was master. When the rupture did come, Mr. Bryan left the Cabinet, carrying no one with him. Mr. Wilson was left in full possession of the field. "In one respect," said the independent and most sane Springfield Republican the other day, "Wilson is distinguished among Democratic Presidents since the time of Andrew Jackson, and that is for consummate ability and success in party leadership and masterful guidance of congressional legislation." The praise is justified. Could such words be said of a weak and vacillating individual?

In taking the course outlined, then, the Republican Party and Mr. Hughes are asking the people of the United States to believe this incredible thing, that a strong and masterful individual has overnight become timid and hesitating. They are asking us to believe that a sudden and incomprehensible change has taken place in Wilson's character. And in proof of their assertion they point practically to two things alone—his course with regard to Mexico and his course with regard to German submarine warfare. If the facts appeared to substantiate their charge, Mr. Wilson's record would at least justify fair-minded men in withholding judgment until the case with regard to these things is much clearer than it is to-day. History can not be written while the events composing it are still progressing. A man's character doesn't really change overnight. But do the facts even seem to justify the charge?

Mr. Wilson inherited the Mexican trouble from his predecessor, Mr. Taft. The policy of nonintervention and watchful waiting which he maintained was the one which Mr. Taft had adopted. There has been much talk of incidental events which have accompanied the maintenance of that policy—the refusal to recognize Huerta, the Vera Cruz expedition, the exportation of arms into Mexico, the A B C mediation, the recognition of Carranza, the border raids, and the punitive expedition—but too little talk of the policy itself. The revolutions in Mexico have grown out of the oppression and exploitation of four-fifths of the people of that country by the remaining one-fifth. Diaz was enabled to maintain his tyranny there for many years because of the ignorance of the people oppressed.

One of the chief weapons which he used in the doing of it was the threat of American intervention. But the leaven of education spread among the people he tyrannized over, and finally they rose up and overthrew him. Madero, who was the agent wherewith the people of Mexico accomplished this coup d'état, was himself overthrown by Huerta, the latter using the gentle method of assassination. Huerta was another, though a lesser, Diaz. Recognition of him might have meant temporary peace and order, but nothing is more certain than that the peace and order would have been temporary. To secure even this impermanent quiet American intervention might have been necessary; one of the proposals of those acting with Huerta was that after the recognition of that assassin the United States should enter and secure public order in northern Mexico. But in time Huerta must have inevitably fallen for the same reasons that Diaz fell, and then the same troubles would have to be gone through with again. President Wilson chose to act in the interests of permanent peace rather than immediate convenience; he chose to act in the interests of the exploited four-fifths rather that the exploiting one-fifth, and their allies in this country and Great Britain.

Immediately upon assuming office President Wilson publicly laid down the principles which he meant to follow with reference to Mexico and the other American Republics. "One of the chief objects of my administration," he said, "will be to cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister Republics of Central and South America. * * * Just government rests always upon the consent of the governed, and there can be no freedom without order based upon law and upon the public conscience and approval. * * * We shall lend our influence of every kind to the realization of these principles in fact and practice, knowing that disorder, personal intrigue and defiance of constitutional rights weaken and discredit government. * * * We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambition."

These principles he has adhered to. As a result the relations between the United States and the Latin-American nations are closer to-day and more friendly than they ever were before. The acceptance of the mediation of the A B C countries when the Mexican crisis grew acute did more to this end than all the visits of Root and Knox and McAdoo to South America combined. If we consider the various acts of the present administration with regard to Mexico as separate and isolated performances, we may naturally find fault with one or more of them; if we consider them as parts of a whole, it is easy to see that they form a consistent and logical outgrowth of the definite policy mentioned above. The thoughtful Mr. Dooley once said: "I have seen great changes in three years, but very few in fifty." Watching Mr. Wilson week by week, it may seem that he has appeared changeable and uncertain; taking his administration as a whole, it is seen that he has been steadfast, pertinacious, and determined in following out his policy with regard to Mexico. Those are characteristics of the strong not of the weak man.

And a similar thing is true of the President's handling of the submarine-warfare question. At the beginning of the war he made clear the principles that should govern his actions. The United States should remain neutral. It should keep clear of the conflict, if possible. It should adopt a position that would enable it to act in the interests of European peace whenever a propitious time should arrive. It should uphold the rights of its own citizens and the rights of neutral nations in every possible way. This policy also the President has maintained from the beginning of the war to this day. It has been a period of vexations and tragedies and momentous decisions. When the *Lusitania* was sunk a crisis arose. The President was confronted with the alternative of declaring war or of securing his ends—the same ends that would have been sought had war been declared—by diplomatic negotiation. He chose the latter. At times it has appeared that he chose unwisely, but the event has splendidly vindicated his judgment. We have obtained all that we could have sought from war, without the sacrifice of lives and treasure that war would have entailed. We have won a diplomatic victory far more glorious and far more valuable than any which could have been secured on the field of battle.

In brief, if the charges of the President's critics are examined it will be found that they have confounded weakness with patience. They say the President has been weak; their arguments prove only that he has been patient. But patience is a sign of strength, not of weakness. It implies perseverance and steadiness and tenacity of purpose. Only the strong man and the man conscious of the righteousness of his cause can afford or endure, to be long-suffering. A weak President of these United States, confronted with the problems which Mr. Wilson has had to face, would have been swept off his feet long ago. He likely would have declared war against Mexico or against Germany, but either would have been a dangerous and perhaps fatal blunder. Wilson has not been swept off his feet. He has remained master of the situation. And he has maintained peace with honor.

And so President Wilson and the Democratic Party can welcome the challenge which Mr. Hughes and the Republican Party have made. Mr. Wilson's strength in domestic affairs—his knowledge, his forethought, his leadership, his ability to get results—can not be successfully disputed. The more his record in connection with foreign affairs is studied, the more will it appear that he has been equally strong there. We predict that before the campaign closes the President and his supporters will have cause to thank Mr. Hughes and the astute gentlemen who conduct the affairs of the Republican Party for raising this issue.

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**The Official Text of the Democratic Platform.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOSEPH J. RUSSELL,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the platform adopted by the Democratic national convention at St. Louis on yesterday.

The platform is as follows:

THE OFFICIAL TEXT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

"The Democratic Party, in national convention assembled, adopts the following declaration, to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs.

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT.

"We indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

"We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges and our constructive legislation, with those of any party of any time.

"We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their

selfish ends. The Republican Party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.

"Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administrations,—long the refuge of the Money Trust,—has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve Act, a true democracy of credit under Government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry and making a currency panic impossible.

"We have created a Federal Trade Commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the antitrust laws so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

"We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

"We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the workingman the right to voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

"We have advanced the parcels post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the Postal Savings System, added 10,000 rural-delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching 2,500,000 additional people, improved the Postal Service in every branch, and for the first time in our history, placed the post-office system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

"The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away special privilege, prevent unfair discrimination and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, as far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America, and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

TARIFF.

"We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government economically administered and unreservedly indorse the Underwood tariff law as truly exemplifying that doctrine. We recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's production and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade.

"Two years of a war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations, are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever before experienced. In order to ascertain just what those changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a nonpartisan tariff commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on. We cordially indorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts, rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

AMERICANISM.

"The part which the United States will play in the new day of international relationships that is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic Party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the Nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men of whatever origin or creed who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America. This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test, America must show itself not a Nation of partisans but a Nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be welded into a mighty and splendid Nation.

"Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country. We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this Nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the Nation and its free institutions.

"We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS.

"Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which can not be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves and to the rôle of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play, that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an Army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety and of the protection of the Nation's rights; the fullest development of modern methods of seacoast defense and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a Navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which this Nation hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

"The Democratic administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and to the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will

effectively serve those principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

"The present administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the Nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller States even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of such States for the United States by refusing to make a mere material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

PAN AMERICAN CONCORD.

"We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and Republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other Republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the south, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

"We commend the action of the Democratic administration in holding the Pan American Financial Conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin American Republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere.

MEXICO.

"The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the Independent Republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the most scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. We court their good will. We seek not to despoil them. The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly State. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last recourse. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it, is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

MERCHANT MARINE.

"Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican Congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Until the recent banking legislation, it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. We heartily indorse the purposes and policy of the pending shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be requisite to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

CONSERVATION.

"For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people, we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, reaffirming the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject.

"The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FARMER.

"We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the Nation as well as of the States. With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration, far more than under any previous administration. In the Federal Reserve Act of the last Congress and the Rural Credits Act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, placing him at last upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises. Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established or are in the course of being established by law. The long-needed Cotton Futures Act, passed by the Sixty-third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years.

"A Grain Grades Bill, long needed, and a Permissive Warehouse Bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress. Both Houses have passed a good-roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities. Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming. But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through cooperation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and the conditions requisite for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products created. We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance, for creating the Office of Markets and Rural Organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture, and for extending the cooperative machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstrations. We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

GOOD ROADS.

"The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life, and the development of the city, are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We, therefore, favor national aid in the construction of post roads and roads for military purposes.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.

"We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the Nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

"1. A living wage for all employees.

"2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.

"3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.

"4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.

"5. The standards of the 'Uniform Child Labor Law' wherever minors are employed.

"6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.

"7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

"We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the States with regard to labor within their borders and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the Nation should be conserved.

LABOR.

"We declare our faith in the Seamen's Act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

"We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal Child Labor Law, and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

"We favor the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

"We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

"We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means, already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the Union to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the Federal Government of the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

"We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its fine record in settling strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

"We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the Federal Government handles questions of public health to the end that human life may be conserved by the elimination of loathsome diseases, the improvement of sanitation, and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention.

"We favor the establishment by the Federal Government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tubercular patients.

SENATE RULES.

"We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the Nation's legislative business.

ECONOMY AND THE BUDGET.

"We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the Government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step toward a budget system.

CIVIL SERVICE.

"We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the civil-service laws.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

"We heartily indorse the provisions of the bill, recently passed by the House of Representatives, further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands as being in fulfillment of the policy declared by the Democratic Party in its last national platform, and we reiterate our indorsement of the purpose of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, expressed in the preamble of that measure.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS.

"We again declare the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad, and that no treaty shall receive the sanction of our Government which does not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all our citizens irrespective of race, creed or previous nationality, and which does not recognize the right of expatriation. The American Government should protect American citizens in their rights not only at home but abroad, and any country having a Government should be held to strict accountability for any wrongs done them, either to person or to property. At the earliest practical opportunity our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell.

PRISON REFORM.

"We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our Federal Penal System. We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles of the Federal Parole Law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the probation system, especially in the case of first offenders not convicted of serious crimes.

PENSIONS.

"We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

WATERWAYS AND FLOOD CONTROL.

"We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of our waterways. The recent devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley and several other sections by floods accentuate the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands, and development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue as heretofore agents of destruction. We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the National Government.

"We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways with economy and efficiency so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

ALASKA.

"It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic Party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

TERRITORIES.

"We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico the traditional Territorial government accorded to all Territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of these several Territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

CANDIDATES.

"We unreservedly indorse our President and Vice President, Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall of Indiana, who have performed the functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially and with distinguished ability.

"In particular, we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our Government and its citizens, and kept us out of war.

"Woodrow Wilson stands to-day the greatest American of his generation.

CONCLUSION.

"This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the record above set forth, which shows great constructive achievement in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic administration, which has maintained the honor, the dignity and the interests of the United States, and at the same time, retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world; and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the enlargement of our national vision and the ennobling of our international relations, as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country."

## The Ashbrook Widows' Pension Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the House an hour ago passed the pension appropriation bill, carrying $158,000,000 for pensions for the next fiscal year. I offered as an amendment to this bill my widows' pension bill, but, objection being made, it was ruled out on a point of order, and no one can criticize the ruling. I am delighted, however, that so soon after the bill making the appropriation for the best sort of preparedness—pensions—was passed we are to have an opportunity to go on record for one of the most meritorious general pension bills ever proposed. I regret that it comes up for passage at a time when so many Members who desired to vote for it are absent, but it is more important to promptly pass this bill than it is to await their return.

The bill now under consideration, H. R. 11707, relates wholly to pensions of widows of soldiers of the Civil War. The act of June 27, 1890, was the first general pension law passed by the Congress for the relief of Civil War widows. It barred all widows who were married after that date except when it could be proven their soldier husband died of disabilities contracted in the service. The amount allowed by this act was $8 per month, and excepted from its provisions all widows who had an income of $250 or more per annum.

The first law, therefore, pensioning widows of Civil War soldiers was passed 25 years after the close of that great conflict between the North and the South. I had the pleasure of voting for and helping to pass on April 19, 1908, eight years and two months ago, a bill which removed the income-clause exemption and increased the pensions of all Civil War widows who married previous to June 27, 1890, to $12 per month.

When the Snerwood bill was being considered in the committee and in the House four years ago many were insistent that the soldier's widow was as well entitled to more liberal pensions as the veterans themselves, but it was deemed advisable at that time to only consider a bill for the veterans of the Civil War, with the understanding on the part of many, at least, that at a later date in the not far distant future a bill would be brought out increasing the pensions of the soldier's widow and removing some of the restrictions in the existing law. Since that time there has been a constantly growing demand to more generously recognize the widows of the old veterans.

About four months ago the House passed a bill without roll call giving a pension of $12 per month to the widows of all Spanish War soldiers. It is only 18 years since that brief war closed. I voted for this bill and am not finding fault because it slipped through so easily. I refer to it only for comparison and argument in favor of this bill. It was 43 years before the widows of Civil War soldiers received $12 per month, and the Spanish War, when compared to the Civil War, was but a skirmish. A bill for the Indian soldiers has been passed at this session and I believe is now a law.

I have the proud honor to be the author of House bill 11707, which was selected by the committee from over 25 widows' pension bills introduced by Members from more than a dozen States, as being the bill measuring nearest up to the best judgment of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, who carefully considered these bills and unanimously agreed to report it to the House. I might also say that, while I am a member of this committee, I asked no member of the committee to favor my bill and the motion to accept it was made by a Member who had a bill before the committee. The chairman of the committee, that grizzled and beloved old veteran, Gen. SHERWOOD, delegated me to take charge of the bill, and I have faithfully attempted to do so to the best of my ability.

I wish here to pay just a word of tribute to that grand old man, although I know that it is not necessary to eulogize Gen. SHERWOOD in this House. Very few of the Members of this great body ever were more generally loved and admired than my distinguished colleague, and it is with supreme satisfaction the House has learned that he has reconsidered his determination to retire from public service and is a candidate for reelection. The ninth Ohio district will honor itself more than it will my colleague by sending him back to Congress as long as he lives, and may that be a full century. Gen. SHERWOOD is the only Democratic Union soldier in Congress, and it is not likely there will ever be another. Gen. HOLLINSWORTH, also of my State, is the only Civil War soldier from the North on the Republican side, and likely is the last Civil War veteran from that side who will ever have a seat here. Three splendid gentlemen, the courtly Maj. STEDMAN, of North Carolina; Col. FRED TALBOTT, of Maryland, who has never voted against a pension bill during his over 20 years of service here; and the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. ESTOPINAL, are the only Confederate soldiers in the House. Very soon, indeed, will the last participant in that great conflict disappear. It has been one of the most pleasant experiences of my service here to note the good fellowship which exists between those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray. There is now no bitterness or sectional feeling here. Time and men like Gen. SHERWOOD have obliterated forever that old-time hatred, and we are truly one indissoluble Union, with eyes and thoughts to the future, forgetful of the past, and striving only for the general good of our great Nation and the welfare of the 100,000,000 people.

The old soldiers will lose their best friend when Gen. SHERWOOD retires from Congress, and he should consent to continue to serve the country he has honored so highly on the field of battle and in public and private life as long as his strength and vigor will permit. The Sherwood bill has endeared his name to his old comrades, and they will speak his name gently, reverently, and gratefully with their last breath. Gen. SHERWOOD has passed the four score, and yet he stands to-day as erect as he did when he rode at the head of his command more than 50 years ago, his eye has the twinkle of youth, and his heart still bubbles with good cheer and love for his fellowman. There is not a stain on his long and honorable career and he has worthily won the plaudits of his countrymen. He has made his impress upon our hearts and his good deeds and memory will long endure.

But now, as to the widow's pension bill: The first section refers to those we commonly call war widows. By that I mean the widows who were married to the soldier before or during his service in the Civil War. To all such it increases their pension from $12 to $20 per month, regardless of age. Who will dispute the justness of their claim to this increase? Special acts are granted now, without question, to these war widows as rapidly as they can be reached, and this simply places all on an equal footing, as they should be.

Section 1 also gives all widows of Civil War soldiers who are now or who may hereafter be placed on the pension roll $20 per month when they reach the age of 70 years. Not more than one woman in a hundred after she reaches threescore and ten, the allotted age of mankind, is able to earn her own support. Twenty dollars per month is less by far than $12 per month when she was in the prime of life and able to make a livelihood. I am not prepared to state just what per cent live to the age of 70, but it is a very small per cent. Mortality tables, I believe, also show that men live to a greater age than women. Very few soldiers leave any estate to their widows. I am confident not more than 20 per cent of the soldiers own their own homes, and less than 10 per cent of their widows have sufficient income to enable them to live comfortably. If a soldier's widow is entitled to $12 per month when she is 40 and 50 and 60 years old, she is as rightfully entitled to $20 per month should she reach the age of 70. The same reason exists for this increase as warrants the giving of any pension to a soldier's widow and to an increase to soldiers by reason of age. This is simply an opportunity for Congress to show its gratitude to the faithful and, in the main, feeble old woman who nursed and cared for the old veteran with a woman's tenderness and devotion during his declining days. If the soldier who offered his life as a sacrifice for his country was your father and the widow who cared for and comforted him until the brittle thread of life was snapped asunder was your mother, my colleagues, would you say that $20 per month was too great or too generous? I think not, and believe that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

Section 2 of the bill restores to remarried widows their former pensionable status. Under existing law when the widow of a Civil War veteran remarries her pension ceases, as it should; but should she again become a widow she can not be restored to the pension rolls unless she can prove that her soldier husband died of disabilities contracted in the service—a very difficult thing to do. The fact that a soldier's widow remarries should not penalize her from being restored to the pension rolls. The law should not penalize marriage, and doubly so since it is to the financial gain of the Government. During the period of her remarried state the Government is relieved from paying the pension she otherwise would be entitled to receive had she not remarried. This is simple justice to this class of widow. This

bill also restores the pensionable status to remarried widows who may have received a divorce from a later husband when the cause for divorce is shown to not be her fault. These two provisions of section 2 are plain, simply justice and, I take it, do not require further elaboration and certainly no apology.

Section 3 raises the marriage restrictions from June 27, 1890, to June 27, 1905, or for a period of 15 years. Under the act of June 27, 1890, no widow who married a soldier after that date is entitled to a pension. There was possibly good cause at that time for this restriction, for it is claimed young women quite often married old soldiers largely because of the prospect of securing a pension. Special acts have been passed for a number of years for widows who were married since the passage of the act of 1890, about 26 years ago. No woman who married a soldier during the past 11 years or who may hereafter marry a soldier will be entitled to a pension. No woman who has married a soldier during the past 26 years can be charged with having married the soldier with the expectancy of receiving a pension. The committee believed, therefore, that it was fully warranted in lifting this restriction for a period of 15 years.

Many complain because the age is placed at 70 before a pension of $20 per month is given on the grounds that a comparatively few live to or beyond the age of 70. Others complain because the marriage restriction is not brought down to a later date. If it would cost the Government no more to place the age limit at 60 and to raise the marriage limitations to 1915, or to make it $30 per month instead of $20, the committee would have been pleased to report such a bill, and I am sure that Congress would pass it. Each year, however, adds tens of thousands of dollars to the pension cost which many believe is already very generous. No general law will mete out strict justice to all, but this bill will bring relief to thousands of deserving widows, and those who are not beneficiaries will surely not selfishly begrude the benefits it will bring to others because it does not happen to benefit them. An arbitrary line must be drawn somewhere, and I believe the provisions of this bill will bring, in the aggregate, greater benefit to the Civil War widows than any bill which has ever been proposed.

Mr. Speaker, this bill will make more happy hearts and homes in this broad land of ours than any piece of legislation that has been or will be passed by the Sixty-fourth Congress, and I believe no Congress ever enacted into law as much wholesome legislation as the present Congress. My whole heart has been wrapped up in this bill. If all of the Members of this great body could read the thousands of pitiful, pleading letters I have received during the past three months from helpless and dependent old women from every State in the Union, I do not believe there would be a vote against the bill. I have as nearly as was possible answered all such letters whether from Maine or California with as much consideration as I would from an old widow who lives in my home town.

We are appropriating by the hundreds of millions for preparedness, but to my mind no equal amount of money appropriated for preparedness will do as much good in the interest of preparedness as the cost of this bill which is about half the cost of a battleship. Young men will more quickly enlist in the service of our country when they know that should disease or death overtake them that a grateful Government will provide not only for their own necessities but their wives and helpless children as well. A man who offers his life to defend his country can not be too generously rewarded by our Government, and the woman who gives the tender care and devotion of a loving wife to that man when sickness and death come is equally entitled to our generous consideration. My friends, the one who dares death to give birth to a boy who enlists to protect our Nation and our possessions, and who when disease and death raps at the door of the sick room of the old soldier is there as a ministering angel—the wife and mother—should not suffer for the bare necessities of an humble existence in the richest and most powerful Nation in the world. God bless and protect, and may we provide for these poor old women who have done so much for us and for whom we have done so little.

Mr. Speaker, I think you will bear me out when I say I have for more than three months hung about this Chamber like a hungry dog to the only bone in sight, watching, waiting, hoping, praying, pleading impatiently for the time to come when this bill might pass. But few Members have been here for the past two weeks on account of the attractions at Chicago and St. Louis. I dared not leave lest an opportunity would be missed to call up and pass this bill. I had longings not only to go to your State, Mr. Speaker, but back to my district. We have a primary election in Ohio soon. I have a worthy opponent who thinks I have been here long enough and would like to draw my salary. In fact, this appears to be the paramount issue, if I may judge by his campaign letters, in which he recites the amount of salary I have received, clerical allowances included. My good friend and opponent races up and down the district unhindered and unmolested, as is his right and privilege, urging the people to have me come back and live with them. I would rather, however, remain here, 500 miles away, on duty, as I have been constantly for the past six months, helping to pass important administration measures and be able to secure the passage of the widows' pension bill than to be reelected to Congress. It may be that I have been here long enough and drawn salary quite sufficient, but I think my old soldier friends back home know that no one or two termer would ever have been able to do as much for them as I have done. When the Ashbrook widows' pension bill becomes a law I will feel that I have been honored far beyond my due and will be willing and content to accept the verdict of approval or disapproval, as the case may be, at the approaching primary. I propose, however, to stick to the job until this bill is passed by the Senate and signed by the President and is the law of the land, primary or no primary, opponent or no opponent.

I wish here to acknowledge my thanks and obligation to those gentlemen who have assisted me in handling this bill, and also to that prince of good fellows and the soldiers' and soldiers' widows' good friend, Col. John McElroy, of the National Tribune, for creating favorable sentiment for this bill.

There are some who delight to loudly and eloquently proclaim their allegiance to the Stars and Stripes and their great admiration for the heroes who have defended it, but when it comes to giving practical demonstration and expression of their appreciation, they take to the woods or throw stones. Eloquence and honeyed words may sound pleasant to the ear, but it takes bread and butter to nourish, sustain, and keep life in the body. To whom does the hungry old woman offer her most fervent prayers and thanks and feel most deeply indebted; to the man who praises the heroic deeds of her soldier husband and vainly attempts to flatter, or to the man who seeks to place a $20 bill in her hand every month that she may buy food and clothe her frail old body? I may be prejudiced, but as I see it the best money spent by this Government is that paid for pensions to the soldiers who offered their lives as a sacrifice and to their wives and dependent children. And of all pension legislation enacted or proposed none is more meritorious, righteous, or just than this widows' pension bill.

I consider it an honor to be dubbed "Pension Bill," as I am often facetiously and sometimes disparagingly called. The passage of this bill and the knowledge that I have and hold the gratitude of the old soldiers and their widows, to whom the Nation's gratitude is forever due, will be a monument to my memory more appreciated by me than bronze tablet or marble shaft.

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## Widows' Increased Pension Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, if the pending measure to increase pensions for the widows of soldiers of the Civil War becomes a law, it will afford relief to four classes of widows:

First. It will increase the pension of a widow who was the lawful wife of a soldier during the period of his service in the Civil War from twelve to twenty dollars per month, no matter what the age of such widow may be. There will not be many, however, of this class who will be benefited by this law, for those who were the wives of soldiers during the period of the Civil War have for the most part passed away.

Second. This bill, if it becomes a law, will give a pension of $20 per month to all Civil War widows who have now reached, or may hereafter reach, the age of 70 years who are now on the pension rolls, or who may hereafter be placed thereon.

Widows of Civil War soldiers were not pensioned at all until 1890, nearly 25 years after the close of the war. Those who were then pensioned only received $8 per month, which was increased to $12 per month in 1908.

Third. This bill also restores to all widows of Civil War soldiers who were dropped, or who may hereafter be dropped, from the pension roll by reason of their marriage to another person, who is now or may hereafter become a widow by reason

of the death of her husband, or who may be divorced upon her own application, her former pensionable status.

Fourth. This bill raises the marriage limit 15 years by providing that all widows of Union soldiers will be entitled to the benefits of its provisions who married prior to June 27, 1905.

There is every good reason why this bill should become a law. There is no good reason why it should fail.

Under the act of June 27, 1890, which was the first act granting pensions to the widows of Union soldiers, it was provided that no woman who married a soldier after that date, and became his widow, should be entitled to a pension, unless it could be shown that he died from some wound or disease received by him in the line of his duty as a soldier. The theory upon which this restriction was placed in the act of 1890 was that women would become the wives of old soldiers for the sole purpose of obtaining pensions upon the death of their husbands. This act of 1890 also provided that if a widow of a soldier should remarry after the death of her former husband, she thereby surrendered whatever pension that may have been given her under the provision of that act, and this restriction was put in that bill upon the theory that her second, or subsequent husband, should be charged with the duty of her maintenance through life and of providing her with means of support after his decease. If there ever were reasons for these restrictions, or either of them, it seems to me that it is now high time that they should be removed.

There are hundreds and thousands of Union soldiers who became widowers after 1890 who were at the time in the very prime of their life. There were also hundreds and thousands of the widows of soldiers, who became widows after the law of 1890, who were in their prime. It was the most natural thing in the world that these widows and these widowers should want to remarry. Many times the soldier widower married a soldier's widow. Many times a soldier's widow married a man who was not a soldier. In either event, as a price of her second betrothal in marriage, she surrendered the pension that she was receiving or was entitled to receive.

In the lapse of 25 years many of these good women became widows again. With 25 years of labor and trial, and again widowed, they find themselves helpless, without physical strength to earn a livelihood, without means of support, and without relatives or friends to aid them, and with only the poorhouse to afford them a refuge.

There are hundreds and thousands of women who married soldiers of the Union Army after 1890 who became the real mothers to the children of these soldiers by former marriages, contributing a mother's love and a mother's care to the rearing of these children, and fitting them, as only a mother can fit them, for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. There are hundreds and thousands of these women who became the wives of Union soldiers after 1890 who did it with no thought of money recompense, for they knew that they could not be pensioned under the then existing law, who gave years and years of their lives to the care and comfort of the old veterans of the Civil War. Each and all of these women now widowed, or who may hereafter become widowed, are entitled to the generous bounty of this Government that was made possible through the heroic sacrifice and devotion of their husbands.

Women are no less patriotic than men, and their patriotism should receive the same recognition that is accredited men. And, whether it was the wife who gave her husband to become a soldier at the outbreak or during the Civil War, or whether it was the wife who became a mother to the infant children of a soldier of the Civil War by a former marriage, or whether it was the wife who cared for and ministered to the wants of her soldier husband during the 25 years of his decline, each and all as they are left in their old age helpless and alone should be aided by the Government, and this aid should come as a recognition of their womanly worth and patriotic devotion.

At this time, when the thunder of war is being heard around the world and when its awful carnage is threatening our own fair land, and when we are appealing to the entire citizenship of our country to be prepared, what greater incentive can we offer or what brighter inducement can we hold out than to say, not only by words but by deeds, to the flower of this country that, if you enlist in your country's cause and the fates of war decree that you shall not return to your fireside as the protector and provider for those who are near and dear to you, the Government for which you gave your last full measure of devotion will see to it that those you left behind will not be left to the cold charities of a pitiless world but, on the other hand, they will receive some measure of support from the Government's generous bounty.

Whom do we find opposing this measure? There has been but one test vote on this bill. Thirty-two members of this body arose in opposition to its becoming a law. Thankful am I to say that but 1 of these 32 appeared upon the Republican side; the other 31 appeared upon the Democratic side. I have only pity for the Republican who voted against it. I have only regret for the Democrats who voted against it. A striking commentary this vote affords at this particular time. Within the week the Democratic Party adopted as a part of its national platform the following:

> We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows, and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

And here on this floor within a week after this fine-sounding declaration is adopted we behold a beautiful performance on the part of the Democratic majority in this House, where 31 of their members declare their unalterable opposition to the increase provided for in this measure.

This performance, however, is in keeping with the past performance of the Democratic Party with reference to pension legislation, and I do not believe the assertion will be seriously disputed that if the survivor of the Civil War had depended upon a Democratic Congress giving him a pension he would have been pensionless for all time. While it is true that some pension bills have passed Democratic Congresses, it is likewise true that no pension bill has ever passed by a majority of Democratic votes. In other words, if it had not been for the Republican votes, which are always practically unanimous upon these measures, there never would have been a single pension bill passed by a Congress with a Democratic majority.

The pension act of May 11, 1912, received in this House on its passage 176 votes for and 76 votes against. Of these 176 affirmative votes 109 were Republicans and only 67 of these affirmative votes were Democrats. Yet the House in 1912 was Democratic. Of the 76 votes that were cast against this measure every one was furnished from the Democratic side. Again, the Sherwood bill, when it first passed this House, was passed by a vote of 229, made up as follows: One Socialist, 76 Democrats, and 152 Republicans. There were just exactly two Republicans that voted for this bill for every Democrat that voted for it. Yet at this very time the House was almost two to one Democratic. Against the Sherwood bill there were 93 votes; 7 of these were cast by Republicans and 86 by Democrats.

Our Democratic brothers have been shedding bitter tears these last two or three days during the consideration of this bill, because, forsooth, the Republican platform adopted at Chicago failed to mention the subject of pensions. The Republican Party does not have to write a declaration favoring pensions in its platform. It measures its record for the old soldier and his widow by deeds and not by declaration. It has been Republican votes in this Congress that have written every pension law upon the statute books that was ever placed there. Platform declarations are idle when they are not followed up by action. The old soldier throughout the country knows who has been his friend in the past; he likewise knows upon whom he can depend in the future, and he would rather have the record of deeds done in pension legislation by the Republican Party than all the high-sounding phrases that can be coined by this or any other Democratic administration as to what they will do in his behalf.

I sincerely hope that the time may come when our entire country, through its Representatives in this body, will be of one mind upon this question of caring for the old soldier and his dependents and when there will be no one to raise his voice in opposition to the discharge of this sacred duty.

## Widows' Pension Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have the opportunity of voting for this measure. Its passage by this Congress will be hailed with delight by thousands of people in this great country who believe in doing justice to a most worthy class of citizens.

We live in the greatest, the richest, and most powerful country in the world; its possibilities no man can approximate; its boundless resources are too great for estimate by the statistician; and the genius of our people has no superior on the face

of the earth. Our capacities are expanded year by year by the unconquerable spirit of our people, until now we lead the world in production and furnish the example for the other nations to imitate in all the conquests of civil life which make a people truly great.

We honor the defenders of our country and recognize their patriotic services rendered when perils threatened our national existence. The heroic services of the men who preserved our country when disunion was imminent we recognized as the greatest benefaction bestowed upon our people, and we cherish it as one of the greatest heritages of posterity.

Their sacrifice, their courage, their heroism, records the most glorious examples ever emblazoned upon the pages of history. They earned not only our gratitude but their own immortality. They rescued our Government from the pitfall of dismemberment and gave opportunity for us to unfold the wonderful possibilities which have made us the envy of the world. They forever buried the hope for the dissolution of the union of the States and reared the banner of liberty so high that the hand of treason can never touch nor tarnish it.

The men who bared their breasts to the pitiless lead of a courageous enemy deserve the praise and generosity of a grateful people who appreciate their patriotic services. They made patriotism mean something and proclaimed to all the world the Union of the States is and shall be indivisible.

This great Nation, by far the richest in the world, must not and will not be parsimonious with them. It must and does declare to the world its recognition of their achievements, the result of which is beyond the computation of the finite mind.

An undivided country, a united people, an imperishable union, marching onward and leading the nations of the world in working out the destiny of the human race are the fruits of their imperishable victories.

Good women made great sacrifices and bore burdens that tested human fortitude when they surrendered their loved ones to the country's call, when they turned from womanly duties to men's toil; when they nursed the sick and wounded, cared for the broken in health, the crippled carried from battle fields, and fed the hungry. Gratitude demands and patriotism requires that we make substantial provision for them to lighten their burdens as they travel onward to the gaping tomb which awaits to receive them. Justice and humanity demand that the pensions of widows over 70 years of age be increased from $12 to $20 per month, and that the marriage embargo of 1890 be repealed and the later date of 1905 be substituted therefor. The liberty-loving people of this great Nation will commend this measure and approve its early enactment into law.

Out of the bounty of our boundless resources we should show our appreciation and bestow our testimonial for their sacrifice, their loyalty, and their patriotism. Their interest in the preservation of the Union by the care of those who survived the battles waged when its life was in the balance deserves generous recognition at the hands of a grateful people who are the recipients of a princely heritage as the result of the victories won.

Our Nation has been more generous in this regard than any other in the world, and for this reason it has cultivated and stimulated the spirit of patriotism, which is stronger and more earnest here than can be found elsewhere, travel the world over.

Because of this policy, if an assault be made on our flag, more volunteers from the civil walks of life would freely respond to repel the attack than for a similar purpose in any other nation in the world.

We rejoice in this fact; we encourage the thought because it is a distinguishing trait in which every true American takes pride and to which he can point with pardonable exultation. Streaming from every parapet in this great country, from ocean to ocean, from the Lakes to the Gulf, we see the flag of this Republic, with its stripes of white and red and its starry field of blue, representing the sisterhood of 48 States, containing a population of more than 100,000,000 people, who rejoice as one man over the triumphs of these gallant men in the days when the life of the Nation was in peril. It is most fitting, therefore, that we offer substantial recognition as the evidence of our sincere appreciation of their unselfish services.

From the foundation of our Government down to the present time we have paid approximately in pensions $5,000,000,000. A far greater sum than that paid by any other Government, but it has been money well spent—money paid as an inspiration to patriotism, cheerfully expended by the gratitude of a liberty-loving people. It has inspired patriotism and made the citizen know that when he offers his life as a sacrifice in defense of his country the people will appreciate his patriotism; that a grateful Government will recognize his services and reward his courage.

This policy has fortunately saved this country from the expense of a large standing army, discouraged the spirit of militarism, which has been the bane of European countries, where military chieftains brood over battle fields and widows and orphans protest in vain. It has cultivated the spirit of patriotism in every citizen in the land, who stands ever ready to take up arms in defense of his country and do battle for its preservation, and when peace is restored to return to the civil walks of life and follow their pursuits. Aye, this policy has its reward, a most glorious reward, one that inures to the promotion of the common welfare of the greatest Republic in all the tide of time, a policy that assures the perpetuity of our Nation, the greatest in the world.

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## Widows' Pensions.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of this bill. While this Congress has been very liberal indeed in granting pensions, and I feel that no just complaint can be made that it has in any sense been penurious, and, so far as I am concerned, it can not be too liberal.

I believe in pensions; I believe in protecting in every way possible those who protected and defended the Nation whenever necessary. I have voted for every pension bill so far that has come up for passage in this session, both general and private, including the allowance of pensions for the widows of the Spanish-American War veterans, also the old Indian fighters, and for increases reported by this committee. I did it because I thought it right.

I think this bill, which provides for the widows of the soldiers of the Civil War, is a good and wise act and in keeping with the feelings of the American people on such matters.

This bill increases the pension of a widow who was the lawful wife of a soldier during the Civil War from $12 to $20 per month, and it also provides for $20 per month to all Civil War widows who are now on the pension rolls or may be hereafter placed on the pension rolls. I do not believe that any fair-minded man can say other than that this is just and equitable. It was many years after the close of the Civil War before the widow of the old veteran was placed upon a pensionable basis or given a pensionable status. I have never felt that this was an act or an oversight that we could be particularly proud of, for it has always seemed to me, or at least ever since I have been old enough to investigate such matters, that the widow of the man who risked his life for the protection and preservation of the Nation was entitled to some consideration and recognition at the hands of the Government when she is left upon her own resources. In thousands of cases she has been left prematurely upon her own resources, because of the broken health of the husband caused by such service.

The committee having charge of this bill has wisely said that $20 per month for a widow who is 70 years of age means less than $12 per month for younger women who are still able to work and support themselves. Under the law as it now exists, a widow who may have married again is dropped from the pension rolls. She may have made a wise choice in her second marriage and married a most exemplary citizen, but not possessed with much of this world's goods. Death may again visit her domicile; she is the widow of a civilian, not a soldier. Although she may be destitute, she is deprived of the small annuity allowed her as the widow of her soldier husband. She may have made an unwise choice in her second marriage, for we must admit that all men are not model husbands. A divorce from her second husband would not restore her to her former status of a pensioner under the present law, but this bill makes provision that in case of a remarriage, upon the death of her second husband she is restored to her former rights as the widow of the soldier husband; also, where the unfortunate widow marries the second time and is divorced upon her own application, she is restored to her former status under the provisions of this bill. This is just and equitable.

Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal said about the act of 1890, which provides that no widow who had married a soldier after June 27, 1890, was entitled to a pension. There were prob-

ably at that time good reasons to be assigned why it was necessary to pass that act. I do not care to discuss that, because so far as I am concerned it is past history. That was 26 years ago this month, and as I have said that the reasons for passing it in that form might have been good and they might not have been. Every Congressman knows that many special acts have been passed during the past few years for widows who were married since the passage of that law.

This bill raises the marriage limit 15 years, or until June 27, 1905. I am glad to support a measure which raises the limit or the date nearer our own time.

The Nation has come to believe that it owes much to these women for their self-sacrifice; that no longer should they be looked upon as objects of charity. It is a debt of gratitude that we owe them, and we are doing but our duty when we make such provision as this bill contains for their old age.

That it will take a little more revenue to meet this increased expense there is no doubt, but as the committee has well said:

It will certainly cost much less than a battleship and is the sort of preparedness that would be worth many times its cost should a crisis occur. All patriotic men will enlist more freely in defense of their country when they have the assurance that if death overtakes them their widows will be generously cared for by a grateful Government. It is the wife and the mother who sets the light in the window and patiently and anxiously awaits the return of her weary and broken-in-health husband, who, leaving all that is dear behind, went forth to defend the old flag and the Nation's honor with his life's blood. It is the wife who gives birth to all of the soldiers and heroes of the past, the present, and the future. It is the wife who gently ministers in loving tenderness to the old comrade when the dread messenger stalks into the humble home and bears away her companion and support, leaving her grief stricken, desolate, and alone. She then has no one to turn to for succor and relief except the great Government her loved one served most faithfully and loyally. This bill seeks to attest in a small degree the gratitude of a rich and mighty Nation for the frail old woman left behind."

I hope this measure will pass this session of Congress and become the law.

## Widows' Pensions.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ISAAC BACHARACH,
OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Speaker, the debt of gratitude which this great country of ours owes to the "Boys in Blue," who, when duty called, left every comfort and happiness of home and community to take up the dangers and rigors of war that the Union might be saved, is seconded only by the benign recognition which she owes to the mothers, wives, and sweethearts of those gallant men, who have since become their widows, many of them who are now too old to longer perform labors which will help in their support in their twilight of life, and who—and justly so—are too proud to beg.

These good women shared equally in the heat and burdens of those days that so sorely tried men's souls. Many of them were left at home to care not only for themselves but for their children, and they were forced to take up the duties of supporting their homes where their fathers, husbands, and sons had left off to answer the call to arms; and by their vigorous energy and untiring efforts they were able to keep up their homes during that mad struggle for existence and the trying times that followed.

The bill provides that the sum of $20 per month shall be paid to the widow of any officer or enlisted man in the Army or Navy who was his lawful widow during his service, and that the rate of pension for a widow who has reached or shall hereafter reach the age of 70 years shall be $20 per month.

It provides further that any widow whose name has been on the pension roll, and whose name has been dropped by reason of her remarriage to another person, who has since died, shall be entitled to have her name again placed on the pension roll at the rate she was formerly pensioned, unless she is entitled to a greater amount under section 1 of the act. And this provision is extended to those widows whose husbands died of wounds, injuries or disease incurred during the period of their military or naval service, but who were deprived of pension under the act of March 3, 1865, because of their failure to draw pension by reason of their remarriage.

The bill provides also that any widow who married a veteran soldier or sailor prior to June 27, 1905, shall have title to pension, to commence from the date of filing of application, after the passage of this act. Heretofore the widow of a soldier or sailor who married the said soldier or sailor subsequent to 1890 was not entitled to a pension under the act of 1908. This provision takes care of those good women who married Civil War veterans at a time when they were in need of the sympathetic care and kindly ministrations of a loving wife. Many of these veterans were suffering from ailments directly or indirectly attributable to their military or naval service, but notwithstanding this these good women were willing to become their constant companions and to assume the responsibility and duty of caring for these old soldiers in their failing health until such time as they were called to their final reward. But because these angels of mercy took up these burdens at a date subsequent to the year 1890 they were denied the right of a widow's pension. The provision, therefore, gives to those good women who married soldiers or sailors prior to June 27, 1905, the same pensionable standing as the widows of all other veterans.

I have a deep place in my heart for those good women who bravely sent their husbands and sons and their sweethearts to fight for the preservation of the Union, and who without flinching or quailing took up their duties where they left off and showed themselves to be women of metal and of the greatest moral and physical courage. I also have great respect for those good women who took upon themselves in after years the responsibility of ministering and caring for those brave veterans in their declining years, and I am happy to know that this bill provides for them.

Mr. Speaker, to support this bill is a privilege, as I believe it to be my duty, that is extremely pleasing to me. I hope that the Senate will see fit to give the bill early and favorable consideration and that it shall become a law before the close of this session of Congress.

## The Widows' Pension Bill.

### REMARKS
OF
### HON. C. W. RAMSEYER,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Invalid Pensions, of which I have the honor to be a member, present for the consideration of the House a bill to increase the pensions of widows of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War. This bill was prepared with great care, and represents the unanimous judgment and sentiment of the committee. Widows of veterans of the Civil War did not receive any pension until 1890, and the law then allowed them only $8 per month. The pension for widows was increased in 1908 to $12.

This bill gives $20 per month to the widow who was the wife of a soldier or sailor during his service in the Civil War and the same sum to a widow of a Civil War veteran who has reached or shall hereafter reach the age of 70 years. Another provision of this bill is that a soldier's or sailor's widow who has lost or shall hereafter lose her right to pension because of her marriage to another person shall, upon again being widowed, be entitled to have her name restored on the pension roll. Heretofore a widow of a soldier or sailor was not entitled to a pension if she married subsequent to June 27, 1890. Under this bill such a widow is entitled to pension if her marriage to the soldier or sailor was prior to June 27, 1905. This bill does not change pensions to orphans of Civil War veterans.

This is no mere gratuity extended to the widows of the veterans of that great war, but the demands of justice require that the bill should speedily pass this Congress. We talk a great deal these days of preparedness. In cases of emergency this country has always relied on the volunteer soldiers, and our citizen soldiers in such times have never failed the country with their all of property and of life. A just and grateful country can best show its appreciation of such sacrifices by making generous provisions for the widows and orphans of those who offered their all in response to their country's call. At this time, when young men are invited and urged to train themselves for any future emergency, let us assure them by the passage of this bill that if their lives are sacrificed in defense of our flag, their loved ones will have the protection and care of this great Republic.

A further consideration should prompt us to be generous toward the widows of the veterans of the Civil War. That was not only the greatest war in which any citizen of the Republic was ever called upon to do and to dare, but up to that period was the greatest and bloodiest war of all times, whether judged from

the number of lives lost or from the loss of money and property. Speaking of the magnitude of that war I desire to quote to you Gen. Joe Wheeler, who fought on the side of the Southern Confederacy and who for many years was a distinguished and honored Member of this House, but he also, who when our country's call came for volunteers to relieve the oppressed in Cuba, was among the first to offer his services to President McKinley.

Gen. Joe Wheeler says:

Take the killed and wounded in all the battles of the French and Indian war, take the aggregate killed and wounded in the War of 1812, take the aggregate killed and wounded in the Mexican War, take the aggregate killed and wounded in all our wars with the Indians and they amount to less than the killed and wounded in Grant's army in the struggle from the Wilderness to Spotsylvania. The killed and wounded of the Federal Army in six out of nearly a thousand severely contested struggles during the four years of war is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Murfreesboro | 8,778 |
| Seven Days' Fight | 9,291 |
| Chickamauga | 10,906 |
| Antietam | 11,426 |
| Gettysburg | 16,426 |
| Wilderness to Spotsylvania | 24,481 |

In the battle of Marengo the French lost in killed and wounded, 4,700; the Austrians, 6,475. In the battle of Hohenlinden the French loss in killed and wounded was 2,200, the Austrian loss was 5,000; at Waterloo Wellington lost 9,061 in killed and wounded, Blücher lost 5,613, making a total loss of the allies, 14,674. By comparison we see that in the greatest of battles fought on European soil the loss was nearly 2,000 less than the loss at Gettysburg, and nearly 10,000 less than the loss of the Federal Army at the Wilderness and Spotsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I desire to incorporate in the RECORD certain tables furnished by the Commissioner of Pensions, showing the liberal attitude of our Government in pensions toward the veterans of all our wars:

The following table, furnished by the Commissioner of Pensions, shows the amounts paid by the Government in pensions to soldiers, sailors, and marines, their widows, minor children, and dependent relatives, on account of military and naval service since the foundation of the Republic:

| | |
|---|---|
| War of the Revolution (estimated) | $70,000,000.00 |
| War of 1812 (service pension) | 45,972,895.76 |
| Indian wars (service pension) | 13,315,227.19 |
| War with Mexico (service pension) | 49,618,948.68 |
| Civil War | 4,614,643,267.43 |
| War with Spain and Philippine insurrection | 49,944,441.84 |
| Regular Establishment | 35,472,408.77 |
| Unclassified | 16,508,447.41 |
| Total | 4,895,475,637.08 |

The following table, also compiled from the annual reports of the Commissioner of Pensions, shows the number of pensioners on the roll, the annual value of pensions, the disbursements on account of pensions, the number of original applications filed, and the number of original claims allowed each fiscal year from 1879 to 1915, inclusive:

| Fiscal year. | Number of pensioners on the roll. | Annual value of pensions. | Disbursements on account of pensions. | Total number of applications filed, original. | Total number of claims allowed, original. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879 | 242,755 | $25,493,742.15 | 33,664,428.92 | 57,118 | 31,343 |
| 1880 | 250,802 | 25,917,906.60 | 56,689,229.08 | 141,466 | 19,545 |
| 1881 | 268,830 | 28,769,967.46 | 59,583,405.35 | 31,116 | 27,394 |
| 1882 | 285,997 | 29,341,101.02 | 54,313,172.05 | 40,939 | 27,664 |
| 1883 | 303,658 | 32,245,192.43 | 6.,427,573.81 | 48,776 | 38,162 |
| 1884 | 322,756 | 34,456,600.35 | 57,912,387.47 | 41,785 | 34,192 |
| 1885 | 345,125 | 38,099,985.25 | 65,171,937.12 | 40,918 | 35,767 |
| 1886 | 365,783 | 44,708,027.44 | 64,091,142.90 | 49,895 | 40,857 |
| 1887 | 406,007 | 52,821,641.22 | 73,752,997.08 | 72,465 | 55,194 |
| 1888 | 452,557 | 56,707,223.92 | 78,950,501.67 | 75,726 | 60,252 |
| 1889 | 489,725 | 64,246,552.33 | 88,842,720.58 | 81,220 | 51,921 |
| 1890 | 537,944 | 72,052,143.49 | 106,094,250.39 | 105,044 | 66,637 |
| 1891 | 676,169 | 80,247,200.20 | 117,312,690.50 | 695,941 | 156,486 |
| 1892 | 876,068 | 116,879,857.24 | 139,394,147.11 | 246,638 | 224,047 |
| 1893 | 966,012 | 130,510,179.34 | 156,906,637.94 | 119,361 | 121,630 |
| 1894 | 909,544 | 130,120,863.00 | 139,986,726.17 | 57,141 | 39,085 |
| 1895 | 970,524 | 130,048,365.00 | 139,807,788.78 | 45,361 | 39,185 |
| 1896 | 970,678 | 129,485,587.00 | 138,215,174.98 | 42,244 | 40,374 |
| 1897 | 976,014 | 129,795,428.00 | 139,949,717.35 | 50,585 | 50,101 |
| 1898 | 993,714 | 130,968,465.00 | 144,651,879.80 | 48,732 | 52,648 |
| 1899 | 991,519 | 131,617,961.00 | 138,355,052.95 | 53,881 | 37,077 |
| 1900 | 993,529 | 131,534,544.00 | 138,462,130.65 | 51,964 | 40,645 |
| 1901 | 997,735 | 131,568,216.00 | 138,531,483.84 | 58,373 | 44,86 |
| 1902 | 999,446 | 132,152,800.00 | 137,504,267.99 | 47,905 | 40,17 |
| 1903 | 996,545 | 133,029,090.00 | 137,750,653.71 | 52,325 | 40,136 |
| 1904 | 994,762 | 134,130,203.00 | 141,093,571.00 | 55,794 | 44,296 |
| 1905 | 998,441 | 136,745,295.00 | 141,142,861.33 | 52,841 | 50,027 |
| 1906 | 985,971 | 136,237,749.00 | 139,059,288.25 | 37,212 | 34,974 |
| 1907 | 967,371 | 140,850,880.60 | 138,155,412.46 | 43,619 | 29,945 |
| 1908 | 951,687 | 159,495,701.00 | 153,093,086.37 | 46,619 | 37,691 |
| 1909 | 946,194 | 160,682,870.32 | 161,973,703.50 | 35,789 | 45,083 |
| 1910 | 921,083 | 158,332,391.82 | 159,974,056.08 | 31,777 | 28,027 |
| 1911 | 892,098 | 154,834,237.80 | 157,325,160.35 | 30,601 | 25,519 |
| 1912 | 860,294 | 151,558,141.40 | 152,086,105.23 | 27,692 | 22,777 |
| 1913 | [1]820,200 | 171,490,784.82 | 174,171,660.80 | 27,856 | 19,346 |
| 1914 | 785,239 | 166,449,333.26 | 172,417,546.26 | 33,869 | 19,287 |
| 1915 | 748,147 | 161,172,441.78 | 165,518,266.14 | 28,110 | 17,112 |

[1] Does not include 72 pensioners, class, "Brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters" under "general law," formerly carried on the New York agency roll.

The veterans of our Civil War are rapidly passing from our midst. They lived during—yea, they made—a great epoch of our country's history. The following table shows the loss and percentage of loss to the pension roll by death of Civil War soldier pensioners from the year 1911 to 1915, inclusive:

*Losses to pension roll, 1911 to 1915.*

| Year. | On roll at beginning of year. | Loss by death during year. | Percentage of loss. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 562,615 | 35,243 | 6.2 |
| 1912 | 529,884 | 33,981 | 6.3 |
| 1913 | 497,263 | 36,064 | 7.2 |
| 1914 | 462,379 | 33,639 | 7.3 |
| 1915 | 396,370 | 33,255 | 8.4 |

There has been objection to the bill on account of the cost. This objection has been completely answered in the committee's report, in the following language:

It will certainly cost much less than a battleship and is the sort of preparedness that would be worth many times its cost should a crisis occur. All patriotic men will enlist more freely in defense of their country when they have the assurance that if death overtakes them their widows will be generously cared for by a grateful Government. It is the wife and the mother who sets the light in the window and patiently and anxiously awaits the return of her weary and broken-in-health husband, who, leaving all that is dear behind, went forth to defend the old flag and the Nation's honor with his life's blood. It is the wife who gives birth to all of the soldiers and heroes of the past, the present, and the future. It is the wife who gently ministers in loving tenderness to the old comrades when the dread messenger stalks into the humble home and bears away her companion and support, leaving her grief stricken, desolate, and alone. She then has no one to turn to for succor and relief except the great Government her loved one served most faithfully and loyally. This bill seeks to attest in a small degree the gratitude of a rich and mighty Nation for the frail old woman left behind.

Mr. Speaker, this bill should pass. I hope there will not be a vote in opposition. In conclusion I wish to quote you the closing paragraph of Lincoln's second inaugural address. It is as true and applicable to-day as it was when it was first uttered on March 4, 1865:

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

## Widows' Pension Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FINLY H. GRAY,
OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. GRAY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, this Nation will not have discharged its just obligations to its defenders until this bill providing for the further relief of the widows of the veterans of the Civil War and the bill already passed by the House and now pending in the Senate, granting a pension to the widows of the soldiers of the Spanish-American War and their minor children, shall have been enacted into laws.

Whatever may have been the justification for the law passed 26 years ago, denying a pension to widows who were married to soldiers after January 27, 1890, no reason can now be shown for its continuance. The surviving soldiers of the Civil War have long passed from the strength of manhood to the feebleness of their declining years. They have laid down the sword to rest upon the supporting staff in the sunset of life. The firm, resolute steps of vigorous youth have given way to the faltering tread of advancing years. The ravages of time have reopened the wounds of battle, and the infirmities of age have aggravated disease and disability, brought on by hardship and exposure.

The woman who has lived with the soldier during all these declining years, and faithfully nursed him, cared for him, attended him through disease, the infirmities of old age, and the trials of his helpless dependency, has performed a duty as patriotic as the soldier upon the field of battle, and for which she is deserving of a pension as a just reward for faithful service to her country.

The constant care, the patient attention, the devotion of years in attending these soldiers who have become helpless and dependent from wounds and disabilities, aggravated by old age and advancing years, are services which can not be measured

in money or compensated for by a pension. A debt of gratitude will still be remaining.

The soldiers in the time of their health, in the vigor of their young manhood, at great sacrifice to their families as well as themselves, have given their services and the best of their lives to their country, and by reason of wounds and of disabilities resulting from hardship and exposure, they have been disabled from providing for those dependent upon them in their old age, and for their support after they are gone. The pay of soldiers is merely nominal and in no way commensurate with the value of the service performed. Pensions are, in a way, deferred payments in discharge of the obligations of the Government to its defenders, and distributed to meet the wants and needs of soldiers in their dependent and declining years.

Pensions are not only granted to soldiers for their own support in the days of their impairment and old age, but are, as well, for the support of their families and those dependent upon them. Every reason that exists for a pension to soldiers exists for a pension to their widows who are left the bread-winners after the soldiers have gone. While the soldier lives, he may be able with his own labor to contribute to the support of his family and those dependent upon him, but after he is gone his mite is withdrawn. The widow and her family must still live, and even with the same pension paid to the soldier the widow is left more dependent than before. The soldier's pension should be substantially continued to the widow instead of cut off or reduced.

But there is another and a higher consideration due to woman than support as a widow. She is entitled to a pension in her own right for heroic and patriotic service in the hour of her country's need. The woman who remains at home to care for the soldier's family and to take his place to fight the battles of life for those dependent upon him, has performed a duty as brave and courageous as ever a soldier who won the honor of his country upon the field of battle. The woman at home who weeps in silence, while cheering the soldier on to victory, has served the country as bravely in war as ever its heroic defenders in arms. But the poet has already told my story of the heroism of woman and her service to her country:

The maid who binds her warrior's sash
With smile that well her pain dissembles,
The while beneath her drooping lash
One starry teardrop hangs and trembles,
Though Heaven alone records the tear,
And fame shall never know her story,
Her heart has shed a drop as dear
As e'er bedewed the field of glory!

The wife who girds her husband's sword
'Mid little ones who weep or wonder,
And bravely speaks the cheering word,
What though her heart be rent asunder,
Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear
The bolts of death around him rattle,
Hath shed as sacred blood as e'er
Was poured upon the field of battle!

The mother who conceals her grief
While to her breast her son she presses,
Then breathes a few brave words and brief,
Kissing the patriot brow she blesses,
With no one but her secret God
To know the pain that weighs upon her,
Sheds holy blood as e'er the sod
Received on freedom's field of honor!

## Woman Suffrage.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. EVANS,
OF MONTANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, June 22, 1916.*

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the Judiciary Committee June 1, 1916, in advocacy of the adoption of a Federal amendment for equal suffrage.

Statement made before the Judiciary Committee is as follows:

"Mr. EVANS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the question of woman suffrage in my State has come along so rapidly that possibly my vision has been warped a little bit on what ought to be done on the subject. When the matter first came before our people years ago it was looked on as a good deal of a joke. In the assembly at that time the proposition got 2 votes out of 150, or maybe 100; two years afterwards the matter came back to the legislature and it lacked only two votes of having a majority; two years afterwards the matter came back to the legislature and it got all but two votes in the legislature. In a period of six years the whole public sentiment of that State had been changed on that question.

"Mr. NELSON. How do you account for that remarkable change in such a short time?

"Mr. EVANS. We have a lot of active women there—local women, fine, upstanding women; and we had some bad politics in the State—and we believed that possibly if we got good women voting there it would clarify our politics, and it did, particularly in local matters, questions of morality, and so on.

"Mr. CARAWAY. Do you not think it is a slander on the men of your State to say that they were so morally bad that they had to bring the women in to clarify and purify the politics of the State?

"Mr. EVANS. I do not think it is a slander; no.

"Mr. CARAWAY. It certainly is not a good advertisement for them.

"Mr. EVANS. I do not know what the conditions are in your State, but if you know anything about politics you know that sometimes in local matters there are influences at work which control the election of all the minor offices, the so-called immoral interests and the other interests that surround them. It was the women who put those people out of control of such affairs.

"Mr. CARAWAY. Your proposition is that you needed the women to put a certain class of people out of control?

"Mr. EVANS. We did need the women to help us do that, yes; and much good has resulted from the fact that women have suffrage in our State.

"Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you not think that women are stronger on all moral questions than the men?

"Mr. EVANS. I think so; yes.

"The CHAIRMAN. Everybody knows that the larger percentage of the women is good.

"Mr. EVANS. I am willing to confess that is true. In my State no political party ever adopted a platform for woman suffrage until four years ago. In the Democratic convention, the first convention in which we had a contest over it, I was for suffrage. I would like to have you pardon the use of the personal pronoun, but I made a fight on the floor of the convention for it and had the convention adopt a platform for woman suffrage, and every convention in the State immediately followed. They knew they had to if they met with any success. They did follow, so that we out there are for woman suffrage; every single platform has included it. As I have told you, it got every vote but two in the legislature; we then submitted it to the people and the amendment carried overwhelmingly last fall.

"Mr. CARAWAY. I can not understand why it was necessary to have the women help purify politics if such an overwhelming majority of the men were susceptible to this influence. Why could not the men have purified politics without the interference of the women?

"Mr. EVANS. Well, it was the result of the development of that sentiment and because I think we were making some progress in the Northwest. I do not know about other sections of the country, but I know we are progressing out there. The suggestion has been made that this has been made the subject of party politics, and some of us feel some little resentment toward somebody who comes out and makes a fight against those of us who have been in favor of woman suffrage simply because we are members of the Democratic Party. If you will pardon the use of the personal pronoun, let me say again that I made a fight in the convention for the carrying of this proposition in the platform, and my colleague, Mr. STOUT, who is with me, introduced the resolution in the legislature that carried the constitutional amendment. So the two of us have had something to do with the granting of woman suffrage in Montana. Now, they tell me that some of the members of the Congressional Union are against me, and in that connection I am reminded of a story told about an Irishman who was captured by Indians in the early days. They tied the Irishman up to a tree, danced war dances around him, jabbed knives into him and drank his blood. The Irishman finally said, 'I do not give a blankety-blank about your kiyiing, but I do not like to be stuck for the drinks every time.'

"It seems to me that if a few women are going to make fights against members of the Democratic Party, they are not going to meet with much success, or if they make fights against members of any other party. The majority of the women are going to vote for those men who will best serve their country, the United States of America, and they are not so very much concerned with anything else, no matter what party the man may represent. I can appreciate that some of the gentlemen from southern districts have territorial conditions that are not like ours and they may not want this matter. However, I am con-

fident it is a matter that should be passed. I think we want to be fair with ourselves and with our country, and for one I am in favor of reporting the resolution, and as long as I am here I shall continue to urge a vote on the proposition and will keep working to that end until it becomes a law."

## Efficiency of the Department of Commerce.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, June 22, 1916.*

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I wish to insert the following letters and papers pertaining to the efficiency in the Department of Commerce:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
*Washington, June 13, 1916.*

Hon. RICHARD OLNEY, 2d,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On June 6 Hon. JOHN J. ROGERS, of Massachusetts, caused to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 9300, certain remarks, in which he reflected very severely on the commercial attaché service of this department. The inclosed article, which was printed in the Annalist for March 6, will give the facts.

I wish you would read so much of ROGERS'S statement as refers to this subject—it is but brief—and perhaps you will see your way to replying to it, using the material herein.

My chief purpose, however, is to hand you copy of letter sent by me to Mr. ROGERS on the 12th, and to suggest that if you do see fit to take the matter up, possibly you can have my letter to him inserted in the RECORD. There have been few worse cases of absolute misrepresentations than Mr. ROGERS'S speech, so far as it relates to the commercial attachés, and it would be very simple for you to knock it out and show up the complete untruthfulness of what he says.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Secretary.*

—

JUNE 12, 1916.

Hon. JOHN J. ROGERS,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have read with deep interest your remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 6 referring to the service of commercial attachés conducted by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of this department. Your information seems so wide, so varied, and so far exceeds that which I possess that I trust I may be pardoned for addressing you in the public interest some questions to which I beg your direct and categorical replies:

(1) Kindly say exactly in what ways do "these 10 men (commercial attachés) hinder the work of the consuls." Kindly give one or more instances in which any commercial attaché has hindered the work of any consul. No such case has ever been reported to the department; rather the reverse.

(2) Kindly give citations of time and place showing "repeated cases where a commercial attaché would ask a consul to collect information for him bearing upon a certain subject," and state the actual cases wherein "the attaché, without giving any credit whatever to the consul, would forward the information to the Department of Commerce and it would be blazoned forth to the country with a great hurrah."

(3) Kindly say what consuls and where have "notified the attachés that they no longer could do their own work and that of the attaché as well." Please name the consul or attaché concerned. In view of the publicity given the statement by you doubtless your informant on this alleged matter will probably not object to our knowing his name. Kindly transmit it to me, that the matter may have closer inquiry. No such case has ever come to my knowledge save through your lips.

(4) Please name the attachés who "were selected for political reasons," and kindly say on whose authority the statement is made.

(5) You are invited to name the attachés who "had no apparent qualifications for the task to which they are assigned." How do you know this? What qualifications do you suggest for a commercial attaché, and which of these qualifications are not required by this department? Have you read the examination papers showing what is required from an attaché?

(6) Name the attachés who are not able to speak "the tongue of the country" to which they were sent or a language current in commercial circles therein. Is there one such? On whose authority do you say "knowledge even of the tongue of the country were apparently not deemed essentials to appointment"? The reverse is true. The facts were available to you. Please give particulars and details to justify your statement.

(7) On what authority do you say the commercial attachés "have no official standing abroad"? All the attachés are accredited through the Department of State and by a ruling of that department rank after the first secretary of the embassy or legation. The facts are available and are the reverse of your statement.

(8) Kindly state a case to verify your statement that any "foreign government can not understand why they are in the country at all." To what government do you refer? If you prefer not to mention any government, kindly state the source of your authority, that inquiry may be made.

(9) Under foreign governments is it always "the practice" to place the commercial attaché service under the direction of the foreign ministry? Your alleged information seems so complete that I ask you to kindly tell me what other countries have commercial attachés, and how many and how controlled.

(10) What did the Chamber of Commerce of the United States determine with reference to the commercial attaché service?

(11) What did the national foreign trade council, from whom you quote, say about the commercial attaché service?

(12) What did the American Manufacturers' Export Association say about the commercial attaché service?

(13) What special and direct service to a large manufacturer in your own city was rendered by a commercial attaché and publicly acknowledged by the manufacturer?

I hope you will not be too busy to answer fully the questions asked. You are invited, nay, you are respectfully challenged, to publicly state the truth, and the whole truth, respecting what the commercial attaché service has accomplished. The facts are open for all the world to know, and are available to you as a public man. Tell them without fear and favor. I purpose to do so not only because there is nothing in them to be concealed but because the business world has the right to know what has been done for them and how it has been done. The record is one of which this department and the country has just reason to be proud and your attack upon it is most welcome as affording a basis for bringing the truth to light.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Secretary.*

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WHERE GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS MEET.

[Article by Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, in the Annalist, New York, Monday, Mar. 6, 1916.]

Six lines are printed in the form of a "Trade opportunity" in the daily Commerce Reports, and new orders from a Portuguese firm come to American producers aggregating over $100,000.

A suggestion is made by a commercial attaché to a European monarch, and a preferential tax working against America is removed and orders for many thousand tons of coal follow. A new market has thus been opened.

In South America a commercial attaché cooperates with large American interests, and a new smelting industry is brought to the United States. By it credits are opened here permitting foreign purchases heretofore impossible.

In Asia a commercial attaché cooperates with an American salesman, and orders for the machinery equipment of two cotton mills result.

A department circular brings to a southern city a large order for hospital equipment from Her Majesty Queen Olga of Greece.

The facilities of the service in New York are put at the disposal of a visiting Russian buyer, who places an order for 40,000 bales of cotton per annum for five years.

An Australian buyer landing on our west coast is met by salesmen on his arrival through the advance action of the service; he buys double the amount he had expected to purchase in America.

Information gained in Central America through a traveling "special agent" provides new sources of logwood supply for an American industry requiring that product.

These incidents represent in different ways some results of the various activities of the department's service. They are not complete, for the illustrations could be indefinitely multiplied, but they are typical of the results which the work of the department secures.

The operations of the Department of Commerce in advancing American trade may be classified as direct and indirect. In the former are those services whose work immediately promotes commerce and industry. The latter includes the services which assist and safeguard the commercial operations which the other services enhance. In the former class may be reckoned the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the Bureau of Standards, the Bureau of Fisheries; in the latter class the Lighthouse Service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Navigation Service (which includes the Radio Service), the Steamboat-Inspection Service, and the Bureau of the Census.

The services which work for the direct advance of commerce may themselves be divided into those which are purely promotive and those which operate through research. The latter lay foundations for industry and trade. The former develop the work upon these foundations.

PROMOTIVE WORK.

Taking first the directly promotive work, in which the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is the spearhead of the department, let us see how this is carried on. It operates through two forces—the foreign force and the domestic one—and each has a threefold character—the general staff, the local units, and the traveling staff.

Abroad the general staff consists of 10 commercial attachés, stationed at Petrograd, Rotterdam, London, Paris, Peking, Melbourne, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, and Rio. These are trained men, familiar with the commercial methods of the countries to which they are assigned, speaking their language or the language current in commercial circles therein. They are accustomed to export trade and give their whole time to the single duty of promoting American commerce.

The local foreign force consists of the United States Consular Service, comprising several hundred active men stationed all over the world. This force is under the Department of State, but works in cordial cooperation and in daily touch with the Department of Commerce. Let those, if any there be, who think the Consular Service the refuge of worn-out ministers and political hacks forget this moss-back viewpoint and bring their judgments up to date. The Consular Service is alert, active, capable; every day it brings definite good to American business through its intelligent and earnest work.

The foreign traveling staff of the department consists of its "commercial agents." These are specialists in some particular line of industry. Being familiar with that special business as it is conducted at home, and having made a careful review of it before they leave, they go abroad and proceed from country to country hunting for opportunities in that line. On their return they go through the ranks of the industry here informing that portion of our business world of what they have learned abroad. Officers of this special service are now working in India, the West Indies, South America, Japan, China, and South Africa.

The domestic general staff of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is at its main office in Washington. There it receives the information coming daily from all over the world through the sources above named, adds to it knowledge obtained from foreign commercial and technical publications, and puts this into the hands of American producers throughout the land.

COOPERATION.

The local domestic force consists of eight branch offices of this service, located in New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Seattle. Each of these is in charge of a trained

commercial manager who maintains close relations with the commercial organizations throughout the district of which his city is the center, and with the commercial press therein. He has in stock publications of the service and brings to the local community all the facilities which the head office has. A recent development of this part of the work is the creation of "cooperating branches" in other cities than those where branch offices exist. The plan of cooperation provides that the local chamber of commerce shall establish a foreign trade bureau, in the hands of a man devoting his whole time to it; that the work so carried on shall be open to the inspection of the officers of the Department of Commerce and shall cooperate fully with the Government service. Such cooperating branches are supplied with the literature and information which the department has and receive and furnish information as fully as the branch offices of the service itself. Under the auspices of the chambers of commerce in the respective cities named these cooperative branches are now operating in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chattanooga, and Philadelphia. There are therefore 14 important centers from which this local work is carried on.

The traveling local staff of the department may be said to consist of the officers of the bureau and of the department, all of whom make it their practice to visit the branch offices frequently, to address commercial bodies all over the country, pointing out what the service is able to do, giving and receiving suggestions as to how that service can be made more helpful. The managers of the eight branch offices are expected in like manner to visit from time to time the important centers in their own districts.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

The commercial agents on their return are sent throughout the country among the industries in whose interest they have specially studied abroad to lay the results of their work before these industries, as has been already indicated. A special officer is detailed to go throughout the country, meeting manufacturers in many lines for the sole purpose of explaining to them how to develop export trade.

All this is supplemented by the publication of one of the most valuable daily papers of its kind in the world, the daily Commerce Reports. This is not the old Consular and Trade Reports under another name. It is its child and successor, but the child has outgrown the parent, who would hardly recognize his offspring. It is no longer gratuitously distributed, for men place a higher value on a publication for which they pay. About 5,000 copies go each day to public and semipublic centers of information, libraries, boards of trade, universities, and exchanges with other publications. Something over 9,000 copies a day go to actual subscribers, who pay $2.50 a year for the paper.

It would be easy to fill this number of The Annalist and others with the letters from the subscribers to this little daily who speak of its value to them:

"A manufacturing house writes that it has just delivered to a Russian firm $2,500 worth of merchandise, saying it cost them just 7 cents to get the order, as the name was given them by us. A hosiery manufacturer writes the branch office in Atlanta that he had the day before received an order for about a thousand dozens from Santo Domingo, obtained through the use of our Trade Opportunities. To another branch office a subscriber states that he has sooner or later secured business from about 20 per cent of the Trade Opportunities published in the Commerce Reports, and that one of these has brought him business from India amounting to about $3,000 a month.

"In Ohio a manufacturer says he is now receiving the fourth order obtained from a party with whom Trade Opportunities brought him into touch. The St. Louis office is told that a firm in their district had secured a customer who had been purchasing from ten to eighteen thousand dollars per annum, and a large machinery house informed us that our service had put them in touch with at least five countries at little or no cost to them, and that they were at the time of writing working on a cable order started through our Trade Opportunities system, which cost them approximately 25 cents postage and a few cablegrams.

"The consul general at Copenhagen in January writes that as the result of the publication in Commerce Reports of Trade Opportunities and other articles much new American trade was opened there, covering such lines as canned fruit, molasses, typewriter parts, grass seed, salmon, fruits low-grade butter, flour, curtain poles, egg albumen, twine, leather, and dress goods. The service does nothing whatever to further the sale of war munitions of any nature."

Special supplements, each relating to one country, are frequently published with Commerce Reports. These are numbered in succession, so that as they accumulate they can be bound into a volume for each separate country, which will represent our continuous commercial touch with that country through a series of months or years.

COMPETITIVE GOODS.

A special point is made of collecting samples of the foreign-made goods which are either sold in competition with our industries or which it is thought can be advantageously produced here. Full details of prices, sizes, weights, materials, designs, etc., are obtained with each sample. About 350 specimens of such foreign cotton goods, poplins, etc., were shown during February and March in the New York office in the customhouse. They were previously exhibited in Boston. As this is written a collection of hardware and tools made in the markets of England, Holland, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay, comprising several thousand specimens, accompanied by the foreign catalogues, is being prepared for exhibition at the New York office. It will be shown later in 18 or more prominent cities. Specimens of a like character are being collected in other countries.

Business houses which are interested in any particular market are invited to so inform the service, which records their names and furnishes them directly with any special information concerning that market which may come. Of course, some information reaches the service which is not intended for the use of our international competitors. It may be noted here that these same competitors pay us the compliment of seeking to learn the knowledge we acquire. Confidential circulars are therefore sent in particular cases to all houses interested in the subject matter. A recent circular of this kind brought to the notice of our manufacturers a cablegram from a consul general abroad giving the name and address of a foreign buyer of paper. The reply to this circular said that an American house had, by reason of it, secured an order for $20,000 from the person named in it. This branch of our service, like every other, is open to any American house that wishes it.

There thus exists at home and abroad an efficient, trained, commercial organization, active and zealous in the development of American business.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR SERVICE.

The service is happy in the recognition by the commercial world of what it has done and is daily doing. Most of this work is new. Two years ago there were no commercial attachés. Two years ago there were no branch offices, nor were there any cooperating branches. Commerce Reports in its present form is little over a year old. The appropriations for promoting American commerce in 1909 were $40,000. They stayed at the same figure in 1910 and 1911. In 1912 they rose to $60,000, and remained so in 1913 and 1914. I speak in each case of the fiscal year ending June 30 in the years named. For the fiscal year 1915 the sum for promoting commerce grew to $125,000; the next year to $150,000. The estimate for the coming fiscal year is in the sum of $250,000.

There were, of course, no appropriations for commercial attachés before the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915, for none existed. The sum of $100,000 per annum has been appropriated since, and the present estimates contemplate an addition of 10 more attachés. The ambassador at Italy has requested one, and others are needed in different parts of the world.

The service has made good, and men of all parties urge its development. If the current estimates of the service are allowed by Congress, a sum will be put at the disposal of the bureau during the coming fiscal year which will be five times greater than it was six years ago.

Supported with growing funds by Congress and approved by business opinion, this service, under the leadership of young, trained, and competent men, looks eagerly toward larger conquests for American trade. It believes that American industry can compete in foreign markets to its profit. It knows that it is so competing. It earnestly desires to extend those markets into other and larger fields. The demands upon it from American business men already strain its resources to the full; yet it feels that the great mass of American business men hardly know of its existence, and that some are, to say the least, doubtful of the value of the service which is bringing wealth into the coffers of their domestic competitors.

With a view, therefore, to spreading further among American business men the knowledge of the work, a conference was called during the early days of February of the commercial secretaries of the chambers of commerce of all cities in the United States of 150,000 population and over. These gentlemen were shown from the inside out every detail of the department's work which they could grasp in the two days devoted to it. The cordial sympathy with which this movement was received, the delightful relations that were established by it, lead to the belief that it will mean enhanced usefulness for the department in its work for American commerce.

## How the Progressives Were Betrayed at Chicago.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, June 22, 1916.*

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave given to extend my remarks, I desire to quote a recent article in a Republican newspaper, the Kansas City Journal, of June 20, 1916, telling the true story of the Progressive convention at Chicago.

The article is as follows:

[From the Kansas City Journal, Tuesday, June 20, 1916.]

BULL MOOSE NOT READY TO YIELD—LOCAL FOLLOWERS OF ROOSEVELT BRAND HIM AS "GREATEST TRAITOR"—HOT SHOT FOR ROBINS—DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION TELL HOW "FAITHFUL" WERE BETRAYED.

Delegates to the recent Progressive national convention at Chicago met with the Jackson County Progressive committee in the clubroom of the Coates House last night and explained minutely just how the steam roller rolled and how the loyal Progressives felt after they had been thoroughly flattened.

Fifty pioneer Bull Moose adherents attended the meeting, and while there were a few who were willing to wait before passing judgment on Theodore Roosevelt, the majority of them spoke in scathing terms of the colonel. One speaker called him the "greatest traitor in the world's history."

Other members declared that the steam rolling at the Progressive convention in Chicago was "one of the greatest crimes in history." Roosevelt was scorned, ridiculed, and condemned. A member of the committee openly declared that he would "rather vote for a yellow dog than vote for Roosevelt." This remark was loudly applauded.

Among the charges launched against the men who ruled the Bull Moose convention at Chicago were these:

The Chair ruled arbitrarily. Delegates outside the ring were unable to get the attention of the Chair. J. F. Fontron charged that the Chair recognized only those delegates who were picked for recognition. He said that James R. Garfield was the "patsy" for the Chair when he wanted to ignore a delegate. The Chair would say: "The Chair recognizes Mr. Garfield," although Mr. Garfield would be doing something else besides demanding the attention of the Chair. In these instances, when Mr. Garfield was selected as "fall guy" by the chairman, he would have to ask on what subject he was expected to talk. In other words, Mr. Garfield, member of the inner circle, was a safe man to talk to the Chair.

T. R.'S INTENTIONS DOUBTED.

It was charged that Theodore Roosevelt and his friend George W. Perkins, knew that Theodore Roosevelt never had any intention of accepting the Progressive nomination.

It was charged that the whole scheme between the leaders of the Progressives and the Republicans was a frame up to dump the Progressive rank and file.

It was charged that Republican leaders and Charles Evans Hughes knew all along that Roosevelt would not accept the Progressive nomination.

Delegates asserted that Roosevelt's telegram declining the nomination was received in the convention hours before adjournment and that the telegram was held back until a few minutes before adjournment in order to keep the delegates from nominating another man.

It was charged that Chairman Raymond Robins didn't put the vote for adjournment, but in a most high-handed and wholly unwarranted manner slapped the gavel down on the rostrum and declared the convention adjourned.

It was admitted that Gov. Hiram Johnson's nomination would probably result in the reelection of Woodrow Wilson, but the members of the Progressive committee of Jackson County declared that that was a matter of no concern to them whatever.

The platform, speakers declared, was not satisfactory to the majority of the delegates, and there were evidences on all sides that some one had pussy-footed with this new Progressive platform. It was not the great challenging human document, calling for human rights, such as the platform of 1912. There were many things that were left out. There were many undesirable things that were put in. The referendum and recall plank of 1912 was ignored. For this platform dickering an accusing finger is pointed at George W. Perkins, who is generally regarded as the sly fox in the whole proceedings.

SIDETRACKED THE PARTY.

Theodore Roosevelt was accused of having passed up the Progressive Party for the last two years. Instead of boosting his party, he devoted his time to talking preparedness and Americanism, and in other ways flirting with the Republicans.

After talking for three hours, during which time the Jackson County Progressives exhausted their supply of insanitary adjectives in describing the person and the general characteristics of Theodore Roosevelt, C. C. Outhier offered a resolution to be forwarded to the Progressive national committee. Several of the cooler heads thought that the resolution was a little too strong.

Some one suggested that the resolution shouldn't antagonize the national committee.

"Oh, give 'em hell," shouted another Progressive in a disgusted tone. "What do we care for the national committee?"

J. P. Fontron thought that it was not time to adopt such a drastic resolution. He said that Roosevelt had not yet positively refused to accept the nomination. There was a chance that he might run. At this point everyone laughed.

The Outhier resolution was read. It follows:

*"Resolved,* That we indorse the principles enunciated in the platform adopted by the recent Chicago convention and the nomination of John E. Parker, of Louisiana, for Vice President.

*"Resolved further,* That we deeply deplore the conduct of the officers of the national convention and their advisers, which prevented the nomination of a candidate for President upon the declination of Theodore Roosevelt; and we call upon the national committee, at its meeting on June 26, to nominate a tried and true Progressive like Gov. Johnson, of California, or Hon. Victor Murdock, of Kansas, for President, and we pledge such nominee our loyal support."

After this resolution had been read a representative asked how they were to know that Gov. Johnson or Victor Murdock wouldn't desert the party, just like Roosevelt had done. Assurances were given that Johnson and Murdock died game at Chicago and were on the level.

RESOLUTION IS TONED DOWN.

The resolution, however, was not offered. It was considered better to adopt one in milder form. The resolution finally adopted follows:

*"Resolved,* That we indorse the principles enunciated by the recent Chicago Progressive convention and the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, for President and the Hon. John M. Parker, of Louisiana, for Vice President; and

*"Resolved further,* That in the event of the declination of the nomination by Col. Roosevelt, we call upon the national committee, at its meeting June 26, to nominate a true and tried Progressive like Gov. Hiram Johnson, of California, or Hon. Victor Murdock, of Kansas, for President, and we pledge such nominee our loyal support."

The meeting adopted the resolution unanimously, although a majority of those present believed that the first resolution should have been adopted. It was taken for granted by them that Roosevelt is not going to accept the Progressive nomination, and there is no use in wasting words over the matter.

The hat was passed for a collection to enable the committee to telegraph the resolution to John M. Parker, of Louisiana. L. A. Laughlin, chairman of the meeting, said that the resolution would be the means of comforting Mr. Parker, who, it was admitted, must feel decidedly uncomfortable in the present state of affairs.

L. A. Laughlin, J. P. Fontron, C. R. Pence, and C. C. Outhier, all delegates to the convention, did most of the talking, although S. J. Williams, a pronounced Roosevelt man, John A. Kerr, another who is still loyal to the colonel, and J. M. Jackson, who is emphatically opposed to the colonel, did some talking, too. W. O. Cardwell also hammered an attack on Roosevelt.

While S. J. Williams was praising Roosevelt for the things he has done, J. M. Jackson groaned heavily, and finally thundered out: "Oh, write it in a book and let's go on with other things."

Mr. Williams made the interesting statement that "Charles Evans Hughes has 3,000,000 German-American votes in his vest pocket, and that's about all."

Mr. Cardwell declared that Roosevelt had stabbed the Progressives in the back. "We were stabbed when we had no opportunity to defend ourselves," Cardwell shouted. "We got it in the neck and we might as well admit it."

FOOL CARDWELL TWICE? NEVER!

Cardwell asserted that the "dirty work" at the Progressive convention was planned at the Gary dinner of the "Invisible Government," which on that occasion had Roosevelt as a guest of honor. "A man can fool me once," Cardwell said, "but he can't do it the second time. I am against Roosevelt. He is a traitor."

C. C. Outhier declared that the steam roller at the Progressive convention rolled 2 to 1 better than the steam roller at the Republican convention four years ago. "And 90 per cent of the delegates," Outhier continued, "didn't wake up to the fact that they were in a steam roller convention until they had been rolled upon."

Outhier charged that the whole matter was prearranged, and that George W. Perkins, who controlled a telephone line to Oyster Bay, knew that the Progressives were being ditched all along.

When the meeting broke up the representative Bull Moose of Jackson County had virtually decided that another national convention ought to be held and in the event of this not being practicable, then the Bull Moose should vote for Bull Moose electors, regardless of a beheaded ticket, and thus keep the party intact.

"Will the Progressives in other States do the same thing?" was asked.

"Sure, they will," was the assurance from a half dozen of the local Moose.

## Widows' Pension Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. LINCOLN DIXON,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, I am glad of the opportunity to vote for this bill that will give to the widows of soldiers of the Civil War an increase in their pension, and will also give to a large number of worthy widows now deprived of a pension under existing law an opportunity to secure a pension. This bill will give assistance by an increase of pension and will also give pensions in the following cases: It will give to every widow who was the wife of the soldier during his service in the Civil War an increase in her pension from $12 to $20 per month. This will also apply to those women who will hereafter become widows who were the wives of their soldier husbands during the period of their service in the Civil War. This measure will also give a pension of $20 a month to all Civil War widows who have now reached or who may hereafter reach the age of 70 years, who are now on the pension rolls or who may hereafter be placed thereon. In addition, this bill will restore to all widows of Civil War soldiers, who were dropped or who may hereafter be dropped from the pension rolls by reason of their subsequent marriage and who are now or may hereafter again become a widow, to their former pensionable status and a pension upon application. Another provision, and a very important one, is the provision that any widow who married a soldier prior to June 27, 1905, shall have title to pension under the provisions of the act of April 19, 1908. Such are the provisions of this meritorious measure.

Personally I would have been glad to have seen no restriction by reason of age and have given this increase at once to all widows, instead of limiting to those of 70 years of age or over; but legislation can never in every particular please all, and I rejoice to support this bill and hope for its early enactment into law.

I was for six years a member of the Invalid Pensions Committee of the House. During that service that committee reported the bill that became a law increasing the pension of widows from $8 to $12 a month. We supported the McCumber bill, that gave increased pension, based upon age, and reported and passed in the House the Sulloway bill, increasing the pensions allowed under the McCumber law. In the Sixty-third Congress the Sherwood bill became a law, and this was the most liberal pension measure yet enacted, but the soldiers were deprived of its full benefits by its amendment in the Senate. The Senate amendment provided that the disease or other causes resulting in disability to perform manual labor should be traced to Army service before the allowance of $30 per month to those who were unable to perform manual labor.

On the 30th of June, 1915, there were 748,147 pensioners upon the roll, and of this number 691,606 are pensioners by reason of the Civil War. Of this number 396,370 are soldiers, 289,218 are widows, 275 are nurses, and the remainder are soldiers' dependents. Of these widows 281,827 were, June 30, 1915, drawing a pension of $12 a month under the general pension laws and 2,404 were drawing the same amount under special laws. The total amount paid to the widows for the year ending June 30, 1915, was $41,561,924.

By the passage of this bill we not only honor the memory of the soldiers dead, whose widows we thus assist, but we impress upon the soldiers living our gratitude for their valor and service in time of need, and give them the assurance of the Nation's watchfulness over their widows when they are deprived of their husbands' support. The widows are entitled to this consideration. Most of them are advanced in years and many have no other income than their small pension. Their husbands came to the support of this Government in its hour of need, and it is the duty of a generous Nation to save their widows from want and afford them the comforts of life. This is not a measure of charity but an act of justice; not as a matter of sympathy but a token of gratitude. The people do not begrudge this money for the care and comfort of these widows. They remember the hardships and sufferings endured by their husbands and recall the heroic patriotism of those soldiers in the time of the country's need. It is true that the widows did not fight upon the field of battle, but in their homes they were battling for the sup-

port of their families, while their husbands were fighting the battles of their country. They were as faithful and loyal to their country as were the soldiers in battle, and should never be forgotten by a generous people and a prosperous Nation.

On the 30th of June, 1915, there were on the pension rolls 396,370 soldiers of the Civil War, of which number 382,231 were drawing pensions under the general laws and 14,139 under special laws; 3,643 were drawing pensions of $12 or less; 249,200 were drawing $24 and more than $12; 124,226 were drawing $30 and more than $24; 1,810 were drawing $40 and more than $30; 1,654 were drawing $50 and more than $40; 1,021 were drawing $60 and more than $50; and 677 were drawing pensions above $60 per month.

Under special laws there were 301 drawing pensions of $12 and under; 5,278 drawing $24 and more than $12; 6,470 drawing $30 and more than $24; 1,544 drawing $40 and more than $30; and 546 drawing over $40 per month.

Of the total number of soldiers of the Civil War on the pension rolls June 30, 1915, the number of 347,081, or a little over 87 per cent, were drawing their pensions under the Sherwood law, act of May 11, 1912. In the 11 months since that date the losses from said rolls by death have been 50,857, an average of 4,623 per month or 231 daily. It is thus seen how rapidly the list is being diminished by death. Hardships borne and exposure suffered have hastened that event. A few more years and the last of that great Army will be laid to rest and the history of their deeds be but a sacred memory. But while men are mortal, their deeds are immortal and will be forever cherished in the memory of a grateful people. Let the soldiers, their widows, and orphans be the cherished beneficiaries of our generosity, not only as a matter of gratitude but as a matter of justice and right.

## The Late Representative Witherspoon.

### MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
### HON. CHARLES O. LOBECK,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Sunday, March 5, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the following resolutions (H. Res. 157):

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. SAMUEL A. WITHERSPOON, late a Member of this House from the State of Mississippi.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of these exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Speaker, we are gathered here to-day to show our love and respect for our dear departed colleague, the Hon. SAMUEL A. WITHERSPOON.

It was my great pleasure to personally become acquainted with this splendid man. For a time we lived at the same hotel and therefore we were much together walking to and from our daily duties. In these walks through the beautiful grounds of the Capitol, we talked over the affairs of the day, of the needs of our country, of our people, and our loved ones at home. In our conversation about our homes his uppermost thought was for the comfort of his loved ones, which, to my mind, shows the very best traits in a man, for when the husband and father have the welfare of his family uppermost in his mind, I know that he is a manly man, a dear husband, and a loving father.

We talked about our people. He would tell me of his affection for the people of his district and in turn I would tell of my people, and no Congressman was more true to his constituency than Judge WITHERSPOON.

Again our conversation would be on the needs of the people, of the needs of the Nation, of our duties to them as Members of Congress. Judge WITHERSPOON's opinions on legislation were of the highest order. I did not always agree with him as to methods of legislation, but I delighted to hear him state his views, for I was benefited by them. He made a close study of legislation and we eagerly listened to his views, for he had studied the subject on which he would express an opinion.

In oratory he excelled; his speeches on the flag were marvels of diction and rarely excelled by any Member. He gave special study to the defense of the Nation. His addresses on the needs of the American Navy were probably the best prepared by any Member in Congress in many years. He had given the subject the most earnest and careful study and research, and his remarks were listened to with greatest respect because of his intimate knowledge of the subject.

I became a Member of Congress at the same time with Judge WITHERSPOON, and from the very first he commanded my admiration and respect, which grew into a lasting friendship. I had not heard of his illness and the day the news came that Congressman WITHERSPOON was no more, to me it came as a personal loss. I felt that a dear friend had gone away to be with us no more. I said "no more"—no, no, I do not mean that—as long as memory shall last, Judge WITHERSPOON will be with me in spirit. His kindly face comes to me again and again. I remember his friendly advice and it spurs me on to live a better life, to lend a helping hand to my fellowmen, to love and give my very best efforts to my loved ones, to be a manly man in all the words imply. No longer is Judge WITHERSPOON with us, but his memory is dear, for it leads us that knew him to better thoughts, to higher ideals of living. My memory of Judge WITHERSPOON and his character recalls the words of Channing, who once wrote:

The greatest man is he who chooses the right with invincible resolution; who resists the sorest temptations from within and without; who bears the heaviest burdens cheerfully; who is calmest in storms, and most fearless under menace and frowns; and whose reliance on truth, and on God, is most unfaltering.

Judge WITHERSPOON fully measured up to this tribute of great men, and he will ever be remembered by his associates and neighbors as a high minded, pure, and strong man.

## Pensions.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY A. BARNHART,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, in my first campaign for election to Congress I especially advocated three items of justly needed legislation, namely, better pensions for the old soldiers who fought to preserve our splendid country, better conditions for labor, and the shifting of the burden of Government taxes from the toiling millions to the rich. I have helped to enact such legislation, and more, too, in behalf of fair play between man and man, and I hope the record of my work and votes in this and all other duties I assumed as a Representative of a deserving people has not been disappointing to any who have trusted me with this confidence. I helped to pass the Sherwood age-and-service pension law that gives most old soldiers a dollar a day and increases the allowance of nearly all other Civil War veterans; I have introduced and have seen passed special pension bills for nearly 200 deserving veterans in the thirteenth district; and I have helped more than twelve hundred other veterans to increases of pension justly due them.

I do not say this boastfully, for doubtless other Congressmen have been able to do more, but I call attention to it as an illustration of what has been done for the soldiers in contrast to what has not been so liberally done for their widows who either shared the awful hardships of war with them by suffering the disadvantages of a soldier's wife or cared for invalid soldier husbands as the direct result of military service. True we give many of these widows meager pensions, but many others, on account of marriage restrictions, are left in need with no present means of helping them. For instance, if a soldiers' widow, who may have spent the best years of her life helping her soldier husband, remarries she can not have her pension restored if she be again left a widow. And again the widow of a soldier who married him within the last 26 years can not have a pension, however much of her life and means she may have given to his care and comfort. This, I insist, is not showing the gratitude to the widows of soldiers they deserve.

Now, we have a bill pending in this Congress and reported for passage which I hope will become a law before the end of this term, which will be next March. It proposes to give widows of soldiers who were wives of soldiers during the war an increase; it proposes to give soldiers' widows an increase when they are past 70 years old; it will restore widows who

were once the wives of soldiers to the pension rolls; and it will give all widows pensions who married their soldier husbands prior to 1905.

Quite recently this House passed a bill giving pensions to the widows of Spanish-American War soldiers. Now, we ought to take care of all the widows of Civil War soldiers, and we must do so if we are just to the soldiers of the past and fair to those we expect to become such hereafter when their country calls. If it is right that we spend "millions for defense" as the great majority is now advocating, it is but answering the call of common humanity that we liberally provide for the women and children made helpless or needy by the patriotic sacrifices of life or health of the husbands and fathers who volunteer to die that their country may live.

Pass this bill and be just to those who are already the victims of war's cruel hardships and thereby assure those of the future that they shall not suffer neglect.

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**Ashbrook Pension Bill.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. W. FRANK JAMES,

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, this is a statement regarding the Ashbrook pension bill—not a speech. In fact, there were no speeches made on this bill. On bills of this great importance—considering, especially, what it is going to cost this Government—there is generally unlimited debate. There was no time allowed for general debate. Very few people knew that the bill was going to come up at this time. Some people who have roared loudly all session about "gag rule" on other bills because there was not enough time for general debate made no protest at this particular time—another case of "it depends upon whose ox is gored."

The attempt was first made to attach it as a "rider" to the pension appropriation bill, but it went out upon a point of order. However, some of those who objected very strenuously to the so-called "Borland rider," stating they were against legislation by "riders," seemed to have no objection to the "Ashbrook rider"—another case of "whose ox is gored."

On page 10993 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Mr. RAUCH, of Indiana, stated as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill H. R. 15775, the pension appropriation bill, and pending that motion I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] if he cares to enter into an agreement as to general debate?

Mr. CANNON replied as follows:

I have some requests for time on this side. It occurs to me that we had better talk a little while, and if it runs too long, then an agreement can either be made or general debate may be closed. There is no disposition on this side to delay the passage of the bill beyond the day. For the present, I suggest that we let general debate run without limit.

Mr. RAUCH. Very well; I am satisfied to proceed in that manner.

During this general debate, among other things, the distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. DAVIS] made the statement:

I want to suggest to the gentleman [Mr. SHERWOOD, of Ohio] that Texas, while in her infancy, sustained a successful war against Mexico, and if the United States does not want to do it now we will take care of it.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Does the gentleman not think that Texas alone could take care of Mexico?

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Surely.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Certainly it could. You do not need any more Regular Army there. The National Guard alone could take care of Mexico.

During our whole national life of 127 years no nation on either continent has ever declared war against the United States. All our wars with foreign nations have been of our own seeking. If no nation ever attacked us when we were weak, there is not the remotest probability that we shall be attacked when we are in population and resources the most powerful Nation in the world, with no enemies anywhere.

During this general debate, the old-age pension law was discussed; the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] made an attack on Justice Hughes and was answered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. BENNET]. Mr. BENNET also discussed a portion of the Democratic national platform.

When the House went into the Committee of the Whole on the Ashbrook bill, there were, according to page 9569 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 58 Members present. There was no agreement made as to time of general debate. Instead of that Mr. ASHBROOK later on made the following request:

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have five legislative days in which to extend remarks in the RECORD on this bill.

There was no objection.

The matter came up for a final vote on Monday, June 19, and as there was no quorum present, I made a point of no quorum. I was informed that practically all of the opposition had "melted away" and I did not insist upon my point of order. I believe now that I made a mistake, as I was informed afterwards that there was opposition to the bill, and it may have been possible to have had the bill recommitted with instructions that would have taken care of the deserving "war widows" and eliminate the wealthy and the undeserving widows.

I could not understand this "wild rush" to have the bill passed on that particular day. I did not know that there was an exciting primary back in Ohio.

I will quote part of page 11058 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 19, without comment:

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I think you will bear me out when I say I have for more than three months hung about this Chamber like a hungry dog to the only bone in sight, watching, waiting, hoping, praying, pleading impatiently for the time to come when this bill might pass. But few Members have been here for the past two weeks on account of the attractions at Chicago and St. Louis. I dared not leave lest an opportunity would be missed to call up and pass this bill. I had longings not only to go to your State, Mr. Speaker, but back to my district. We have a primary election in Ohio soon. I have a worthy opponent who thinks I have been here long enough and would like to draw my salary. In fact, this appears to be the paramount issue, if I may judge by his campaign letter, in which he recites the amount of salary I have received, clerical allowances included. My good friend and opponent races up and down the district unhindered and unmolested, as is his right and privilege, urging the people to have me come back and live with them. I would rather, however, remain here, 500 miles away, on duty, as I have been constantly for the past six months, helping to pass important administration measures and be able to secure the passage of the widows' pension bill than to be reelected to Congress. It may be that I have been here long enough and drawn salary quite sufficient, but I think my old soldier friends back home know that no one or two termer would ever have been able to do as much for them as I have done. When the Ashbrook widows' pension bill becomes a law I will feel that I have been honored far beyond my due and will be willing and content to accept the verdict of approval or disapproval, as the case may be, at the approaching primary. I propose, however, to stick to the job until this bill is passed by the Senate and signed by the President and is the law of the land, primary or no primary, opponent or no opponent.

I wish here to acknowledge my thanks and obligation to those gentlemen who have assisted me in handling this bill, and also to that prince of good fellows and the soldiers' and soldiers' widows' good friend, Col. John McElroy, of the National Tribune, for creating favorable sentiment for this bill.

I consider it an honor to be dubbed "pension bill," as I am often facetiously and sometimes disparagingly called. The passage of this bill and the knowledge that I have and hold the gratitude of the old soldiers and their widows, to whom the Nation's gratitude is forever due, will be a monument to my memory more appreciated by me than bronze tablet or marble shaft.

After reading the first sentence, we find that it is another case of "watchful waiting" and "weary watching."

The text of the entire bill is as follows:

An act (H. R. 11707) to amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pension of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved April 19, 1908, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow who was the lawful wife of any officer or enlisted man in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States, during the period of his service in the Civil War, shall be $20 per month, and the rate of pension for a widow who has reached or shall hereafter reach the age of 70 years shall be $20 per month; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the existing allowance of $2 per month for each child under the age of 16 years and for each helpless child; and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed: *Provided, however,* That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private.

SEC. 2. That any widow whose name was placed or shall hereafter be placed on the pension roll, under any existing law, and whose name has been or shall hereafter be dropped from said pension roll by reason of her marriage to another person who has since died or shall hereafter die, or from whom she has been heretofore or shall be hereafter divorced upon her own application and without fault on her part, shall be entitled to have her name again placed on the pension roll at the rate allowed by the law or laws under which she was formerly pensioned, unless she be entitled to a greater rate of pension under the provisions of section 1 of this act, such pension to commence from the date of filing her application in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of this act: *Provided, however,* That where the pension of said widow on her second or subsequent marriage has accrued to a helpless or idiotic child, or a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal under this act unless said helpless or idiotic child, or child or children under 16 years of age, be then a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to said widow payment of pension to said child or children shall cease: *And provided further,* That the provisions of this act shall be extended to those widows, otherwise entitled, whose husbands died of wounds, injuries, or disease incurred during the period of their military or naval service, but who were deprived of

pension under the act of March 3, 1865, because of their failure to draw any pension by reason of their remarriage.

SEC. 3. That any widow, as described in section 2 of the act approved April 19, 1908, who married the soldier or sailor prior to June 27, 1905, shall have title to pension under the provisions of said section of said act, to commence from the date of filing her application in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of this act: *Provided, however*, That the benefits of this act shall include those widows whose husbands, if living, would have a pensionable status under the joint resolutions of February 15, 1895, July 1, 1902, and June 28, 1906.

SEC. 4. That no claim agent or attorney shall be recognized in the adjudication of claims under the first and second sections of this act.

If I had an opportunity to make the motion I would have made a motion to recommit the bill, with the recommendation that everything be stricken out after the enacting clause and the following be substituted:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow who was the lawful wife of any officer or enlisted man in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the period of his service in the Civil War shall be $30 per month, and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed: *Provided, however*, That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private: *And provided further*, That no pension shall be paid to any widow whose annual income is $1,000 or more.

Thirty dollars a month is not too much to the deserving widow, but 30 cents per month is too much to the undeserving.

Now, let us examine the Ashbrook bill. It has some good qualities, but it is mostly bad, and as I do not believe in voting for bills where you have to "swallow" too much bad, I voted against it.

The rivers and harbors bill had some good qualities, but far more that were rotten, and I therefore voted "no."

The public buildings bill will undoubtedly have some good items, but also some bad, and therefore expect to vote against it.

In the first paragraph it takes care of the so-called "war widows" by increasing her pension from $12 to $20 per month. There could be no objection to this; in fact, as I have stated above, $30 per month would be far better.

It goes further; it gives $20 per month to any widow in the future (war widow or not) who reaches the age of 70. I believe that widows having a yearly income of $1,000 per year or more should not have their pensions increased.

Now let us analyze the next part of section 1.

Part of chapter 17, of the book of Genesis, reads as follows:

15. And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her name be.

16. And I will bless her, and give thee a son of her; yea, I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of people shall be of her.

17. Then Abraham fell upon his face and laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is a hundred years old? And shall Sarah, that is 90 years old, bear?

19. And God said, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed: and thou shall call his name Isaac; and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him.

The distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] evidently believes that we have "Sarahs" in abundance in these days, and, of course, wants to take care of their children; but there was only one "Sarah," and she was not on the pension roll.

Section 2 provides for the restoring of pensions to all widows who were dropped by reason of remarriage, and he would restore pensions to them regardless of the fact of the income they might have and regardless of the fact of the amount of money they might receive by the death of the second husband.

The report of the committee reads as follows:

This bill also restores to all widows of Civil War soldiers who were dropped or who may hereafter be dropped from the pension roll by reason of their marriage to another person, who is now or may hereafter again become a widow by reason of the death of her husband or who may be divorced upon her own application, to her former pensionable status. Had such widows not remarried they would have continued to draw widow's pension. Their marriage, therefore, resulted in a saving to the Government, and the committee feels that no pension legislation should discriminate or operate against marriage, and that the existing restriction should be repealed.

The committee seems to feel that the Government has saved a little money by remarriage. I am surprised that the committee did not carry the idea a little further and recommend that anyone who would marry a widow now on the rolls be given a bonus of half the present pension, so as to show a still further "saving to the Government," and still further evidence that the committee believes that "no pension legislation should discriminate or operate against marriage."

The pension bill for the relief of widows and minors passed on May 9, 1900, reads in part as follows:

That if any officer or enlisted man who served 90 days or more in the Army or Navy of the United States during the late War of the Rebellion, and who was honorably discharged, has died, or shall hereafter die, leaving a widow without means of support other than her daily labor and an actual net income not exceeding $250 per year, or minor children under the age of 16 years, such widow shall, upon due proof of her husband's death, without proving his death to be the result of his Army service, be placed on the pension roll from the date of the application therefor—

And so forth.

This bill let down all the bars, not only to "war widows" but to young girls who married veterans with one foot in the grave, regardless of the wealth she might inherit. She might have an income of $10,000 to $15,000 per year, but still she would be entitled to a pension.

It is possible under this bill—absolutely no restrictions in it—for a young girl of 20 to have married years ago a veteran, and inherit $100,000 at his death, to be placed on the pension roll. She could have married at the age of 22 a civilian and forfeit the pension. At his death she might have inherited $50,000 more. Now, this widow, who was not a "war widow," who did not "set the light in the window," and who did not "patiently and anxiously await the return of her weary and broken-in-health husband, who, leaving all that is dear behind, went forth to defend the old flag and the Nation's honor with his life's blood," is placed on a far better plane, everything considered, than the wife who really did sit anxiously waiting for the return of her hero husband, broken in health and weary.

As in other pension bills, the really deserving fare the worst.

My attitude on pensions has been criticized by those who never belonged to anything except the "Home Guards," by deserters, by those who enlisted for bounties, and things of that kind; by men whose applications for pensions have been turned down because their illness is the result of drunkenness or vicious habits, and by those who are drawing pensions and still able to hold down good jobs; but the man who saw real service and who is really entitled to a pension has a different opinion. Have had letters from all over the country from Civil War veterans, their widows, and from Spanish War veterans regarding this matter. I expect to have a few words to say about the other kinds the next time a pension bill is brought up, giving in detail some interesting things I have discovered regarding pensions now paid.

The following letter from a veteran in Maine illustrates the stand taken by the great majority of soldiers who saw service:

HON. W. FRANK JAMES, M. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I have not taken the pains to look up your party affiliations to see whether you are of the G. O. P., Dem., or Prog. stamp, and I do not care to know, but I do know that in the stand you have taken on the pension question you are heartily indorsed by every deserving veteran.

I speak for many of them whom I know, that we admire your courage, justice, and patriotism in saying what you did to Mr. George A. Dick, who is quite likely one of the same kind you have hit, "the woods are full of them" and the pension roll is crowded with their names, and many of them ought to be ashamed to see their names there. Many of them are well to do and need it not; if the Government has so much money to throw away let it pay some of the deserving ones a decent living pension in their declining years, as many have no other income, and the country owes them this much for the work they have done in preserving the Union.

Would to God there were a lot of such men in Congress who would look after the interests of the deserving veterans. One-quarter of the men whose names are on the pension roll are no more entitled to be there than if they were unborn at the time, but we are compelled to witness this outrage and are powerless to stop it.

While we are thus compromised there are still those who are clamoring for a law that will give all so-called soldiers the maximum of $30 per month, although they have, many of them, no earthly right to it—all the service they rendered was to eat their rations, draw their wages, and attend surgeon's call whenever there was any duty or danger.

This is an amazing gall and needs a corrective.

Many of us old soldiers had to fight every inch of the way to get even the minimum. I stayed at the front 34 months and was in 27 battles, from Fredericksburg to Appomattox Courthouse, and when I asked a pension in 1879 I was given the magnificent sum of $4 per month. Now it is an easy matter for any bum to get onto the roll at the maximum, and if the law don't give it to them then Congress is invoked. I am too indignant to say more, and will close by thanking you in behalf of many more for the attitude you have taken.

Stick to it, and you will have an approving conscience, if nothing more.

Many of the Members of this House believe that every Spanish War veteran is in favor of indiscriminate pensions and that they will be "killed politically" if they do not vote in favor of pensions to the undeserving as well as to the deserving. I believe that the Spanish War veterans all over the United States are the same as in my district, and I can not better illustrate the way we feel about pensions than quoting an editorial from the Houghton Mining Gazette, of Houghton, Mich., written by the editor, Mr. Homer A. Guck, a member of Company D, Thirty-fourth Michigan, and one who knows what it is to suffer from malaria:

PENSIONS.

On Monday evening the Calumet News printed an extract from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It was the first speech that our Congressman, Mr. JAMES, of Hancock, delivered in the House of Representatives. We read it all the way through with a good deal of interest. If all the other speeches our Congressman makes are as sensible, as patriotic, and as square to the point as that one, or if he never makes another speech,

his record will be good for a first termer. Mr. JAMES talked about pensions. He is a member of the Pension Committee. He talked about pensions for soldiers and he told something of his own experience. Notwithstanding the fact that he is a veteran of the Cuban War, he is opposed to the Key bill. So is every other veteran of that Cuban War, excepting the comparatively few who are professional veterans and who believe that their patriotism in serving their country at that time calls for a recompense in dollars and cents. We have none of that kind in the copper country. We know personally most of the men who went to Cuba from the copper country. And they are not seeking pensions for themselves, for their wives, or their families. And they are not in accord with the practices of a large number of the so-called Spanish-American War veterans who are trying to make a political machine out of the organization. Mr. JAMES takes the attitude that no soldier, no veteran of any war ought to draw a pension unless he is in need of the money. And in that attitude he is correct. There are thousands and thousands of men of wealth, men of big income, men of high financial rating who continue to draw pensions from the Government. Many of them never saw actual fighting in any war. Many of them never were in danger of their lives for a moment. Yet they continue to graft on the body politic. The idea that accepting a pension turns their patriotism into political pap never enters their mind. Or if it does enter it never stays for any length of time. Here is one paragraph from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD'S verbatim report of Congressman JAMES'S speech:

"I believe in paying pensions to those who are deserving and who really need the pensions, but I would like to see legislation passed to take every undeserving and wealthy pensioner off of the roll. If we do not want to save this money, pay it to the needy and deserving."

The pension graft to-day is one of the worst there is in the United States. It is quite as rotten as the pork-barrel graft. It is quite as indecent as the war-tax graft when there is no war. We spend more for pensions in the United States than the German nation spends to maintain its much-talked-about militarism. That's an actual fact. And Germany is not stingy when it comes to spending money for its war machine. And while the War of the Rebellion now is 52 years old, it keeps right on costing the United States more and more each year for pensions instead of less and less. There is a Congressman now who wants to pay a dollar a day for every man who was in that war or to the widow of his old age. And he will get away with it, too. The political machine of the veterans of wars is a machine that few newspapers ever dare talk plainly to and politicians are awfully afraid of. The attempt to use the organization of veterans of the Spanish War and the Chinese Boxer uprisings and every other war as a political machine is a shame and a disgrace.

We agree absolutely with the Congressman from this district in his attitude on pensions. We believe firmly that every veteran who needs a pension ought to get one. We believe, however, that he ought to be a bona fide veteran. We believe that he ought to have seen some service for his country. We believe, further, that the widows of men who fought for their country ought to be cared for if the veteran didn't leave an estate. But we don't believe in paying widows' pensions to a lot of girls who married doddering old men on the brink of the grave for the very purpose of collecting from the Government the day after the funeral. It is a good thing to note that one Congressman had the nerve to express real sentiment on this subject. We know it ought to have weight, coming as it does from a man whose record in the Spanish War was a good record and who has suffered physical ills resulting from that war, yet who would scorn a pension as he would an entrance order to the poor farm.

Have many more from all over the country, and shall read them the next time we have a pension matter up.

Then there is another kind of Spanish War veterans, but they do not represent the rank and file of the Spanish War veterans. I believe that I can show this kind by repeating two letters that I have written to the department commander of the Spanish War Veterans of Michigan, Mr. George A. Dick, the gentleman mentioned by the Civil War veteran above. The letter sent to Mr. Dick was dated May 31, but have received no reply and expect none. I sent some similar letters to other politicians among the Spanish War veterans on or about February 20, and have received no replies and expect none.

MAY 17, 1916.

Mr. GEORGE A. DICK,
*Department Commander, Detroit, Mich.*

DEAR SIR: One of my comrades of Camp George Miller, United Spanish War Veterans, of Houghton, Mich., has sent me a copy of General Order No. 5, series 1915-16, issued from the Headquarters Department of Michigan, United Spanish War Veterans, at Lansing, Mich., on April 20, 1916, in which you state in part as follows:

"Our thanks and appreciation are due the Michigan Congressmen, who were a unit (but one exception, Congressman W. FRANK JAMES, twelfth district) in voting for this bill. In view of the fact Representative JAMES asserts that he rendered service in the Spanish-American War, his antagonistic attitude is unexplainable. Some appropriate action will be taken at the next encampment.

"By order of

"GEORGE A. DICK,
"*Department Commander.*

"Official:
"F. H. PRESLEY,
"*Department Adjutant.*"

I presume you are the George A. Dick mentioned in General Order No. 5. From this you make it appear that I am opposed to all pensions. But this is not the fact. I am in favor of pensions to the worthy and deserving, but I am against pensions to the undeserving, to deserters, and to the wealthy.

As a member of the Committee on Pensions and on the floor of Congress I have opposed many applications for pensions which I regarded as unworthy, and also general pension bills which seemed to me to be solely designed to force the Pension Department to recognize these unworthy would-be pensioners.

Among other bills rejected by the Committee on Pensions I find one which, if approved, would have granted you back pay from August 19, 1903, to March 21, 1913.

I could not better illustrate the sort of pensions I am opposed to than to cite the history of your case, which is as follows:

From affidavit made by you on January 3, 1916, I note that you state you were a member of Company K, Thirty-second Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and while stationed at Tampa and Fernandina, Fla., you contracted typhoid fever and malarial poison. You further state that on January 14, 1899, you made application for pension on account of the disability arising therefrom. On December 22, 1903, you state that you were allowed a pension at the rate of $6 per month under certificate No. 1027648, with a voucher inclosed for the full amount of back pay from January 14, 1899, to August, 1903, inclusive. You make affidavit further to the effect that when the pension ceased you produced and filed a claim for restoration on the ground that your disability still existed, which claim was rejected by the Commissioner of Pensions.

It would appear as if the Bureau of Pensions became convinced on August 19, 1903, that any disability you may have had ceased to exist. I understand that on March 21, 1913, pension was restored to you at the rate of $6 per month, and on January 20, 1916, you had introduced in your behalf a bill for back pay from August 19, 1903, to March 21, 1913. You make affidavit also to the effect that you are a clerk in the United States customs at the wage of $4.44 per day.

I am inclosing you herewith a copy of the rules of the Committee on Pensions. On page 3 you will find as follows: "It is not the intention to have Congress flooded with pension bills, but simply to afford a means of relief in cases of exceptional merit."

I desire to also call your attention to rule No. 6, which states as follows: "In no case will the allowance of arrears be recommended, nor application for increase of pension be favorably considered, if claimant is regularly employed by and in receipt of a salary from the Government of the United States. A claim of destitution in such a case can not be considered."

From the evidence that I have been able to gather I find that you are a very healthy individual weighing about 250 pounds. You also seem to be receiving a salary of $4.44 per day from an "ungrateful" Government, in addition to your pension.

Under all the circumstances it appears to me that you are very lucky indeed to be receiving a pension of even $6 per month, and possibly if the Pension Bureau were to investigate your case at the present time they would again recommend the discontinuance of your pension, the same as they did on August 19, 1903. It is such cases as yours which bring the whole matter of pensions into disrepute.

I wish it distinctly understood that I am opposed to pensions to healthy young men who never saw a single day's service and who are well enough to hold down lucrative positions.

To further illustrate my position in the matter of pensions, I wish to quote you part of my speech on the Key bill on February 16, 1916, which reads as follows: "I believe in paying pensions to those who are deserving and who really need the pensions, but I would like to see legislation passed to take every undeserving and wealthy pensioner off the roll. As a member of the Pension Committee I have voted for every pension that I thought was deserving, whether it affected the soldier or his widow, and expect to do so, but will not vote to give pensions to the wealthy and undeserving. It is not necessary to pass this law to take care of the needy and deserving widows and children. If they can not get a pension from the Bureau of Pensions, it is not hard for them—if their case has any merit whatever—to get a pension from the Pensions Committee."

In the concluding sentence of your order you state "some appropriate action will be taken at the next encampment," which I understand will be held at Bay City, Mich., on June 20, 21, and 22. This would seem to be intended as a threat. If so, I wish to assure you that it is entirely wasted, as I wish to state that so long as I am in Congress I shall always oppose pensions to the undeserving, the kind of which yours is one of the most flagrant.

It is with a good deal of satisfaction that I wish to state, however, that during the past three weeks I have visited my entire district and met most of the Spanish War Veterans in my district, all of whom saw service in Cuba in 1898. Every one of them stated that I was absolutely right in my attitude on pensions. I am convinced that every Spanish War Veteran who enlisted from patriotism in 1898 feels absolutely the same as I do on this matter of pensions to grafters or the undeserving.

The society of Spanish War Veterans is a magnificent organization and will continue to be such unless some of its members try to make a political organization of it.

In my speech on the Key bill on February 16, 1916, I pay my respects to some of the politicians among the Spanish War Veterans in the following words: "I realize it is hard to vote against some of the politicians among the Spanish War Veterans. They do not deny that they have a political pull—they not only admit it, they boast of it. I read an article some time ago where some of these politicians took credit for defeating for the supreme bench of the State of New York one of the most respected Members of this House, Mr. FITZGERALD, because he had dared to vote against the Key bill. They did it all with their little hatchet. If any man here is going to vote for this bill contrary to his own better judgment, I want to say to him that I believe the Spanish War Veterans are the same in his district as they are in mine; they are not in politics—as Spanish War Veterans.

I wish further to state that if you, or any of your friends who hold similar views as you on pensions, believe that you have any political influence, I cordially invite you to come up in the twelfth district of Michigan next fall and campaign against me on the matter of pensions to the undeserving.

Trusting that I have made myself clear to you in the matter, I am,
Yours, very truly,

W. FRANK JAMES,
*Congressman Twelfth District of Michigan.*

—

MAY 31, 1915.

Mr. GEORGE A. DICK,
*Department Commander, Detroit, Mich.*

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th instant.

You do not deny that you are getting $4.44 per day from the Government, and I do not presume that you will deny that you are not physically capable of earning this $4.44 per day, do you? If you are capable of earning this amount daily, why should you draw a pension of $6 per month for being partially disabled?

You seem to believe that a man should be paid for defending the honor of his country. This the Spanish War Veterans in my district, including myself, do not believe. A man should not expect to be paid for defending the honor of his mother, and neither should a soldier expect to be paid, by receiving a pension, unless he really needs it.

It was not necessary to pass the Key bill to give pensions to the widows and children of those who lost their lives in service, or who contracted fatal diseases in the service of their country. As I stated

in my remarks on the Key bill, "When I first heard of the Key bill, or, as it was then known, the Crago bill, I presumed it was intended to pension the wives and children of those who either lost their lives in the Spanish-American War or died from wounds or disease contracted in the Army. There could be no possible objection to such a bill. But, Mr. Speaker, this is not the intent of the bill; the advocates of this bill claim that a bill of that kind is not good because wives and children of soldiers, dying, as I have stated above, are already taken care of.' I am yet to have anyone give me a good reason why the bill should take care of the wives and children of any but those "who either lost their lives or who died from wounds or disease contracted in the Army."

In order to get your views on the matter of pensions, would like to have you answer the following questions, if you care to answer:

If you were a member of the Pension Committee and the evidence showed that the applicant was suffering from disease, but that the disease resulted from his own vicious and licentious habits, would you believe it your duty as a Spanish War Veteran to vote favorably on his request for a pension?

If you were a member of the Pension Committee and the evidence showed that the soldier became intoxicated and laid down in front of a street car and had his leg cut off, would you vote to grant him a pension because he had seen service?

If you were a member of the Pension Committee and the evidence showed that the soldier had put in 90 days in '98, of which 75 days was on furlough, and 15 days in an inland camp; that the soldier had never been sick, never been wounded, never seen active service, would you consider that his widow was entitled to a pension because he had been a soldier?

If you were a member of the Pension Committee and the evidence showed that the soldier had never seen service and that he committed poisoning while drunk, would you consider that his widow should receive a pension because the late lamented had been a soldier?

If you were a member of the Pension Committee and the evidence showed that a soldier had left his widow $5,000 in cash, that the husband had never seen service, that he had never been sick or wounded in the Army, that he had not been sick for 17 years after he was mustered out of the Army, would you consider that the widow was entitled to a pension because her husband was a soldier?

If you were a member of the Pension Committee and you had an application from a soldier and the evidence showed that he had called his sergeant names so vile that they could not even be printed in the RECORD, that he had been shot in the leg by the sergeant and court-martial acquitted the first sergeant on the ground of self-defense, would you believe it your duty to give this soldier a pension because you were both Spanish War soldiers?

If you had an application for a pension on the ground of total disability and you knew that the soldier worked practically every day in the year and had a good position, as a member of the Pension Committee would you vote to grant him a pension?

These are some of the things that the Pension Committee is asked to pass on.

You want to know when and where I put up a fight against paying pensions to deserters. If you had read the daily papers of your city, you would have read that I introduced the following bill regarding deserters:

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act no officer or enlisted man who once deserted from an enlistment in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps and who was apprehended and by court-martial decision was dishonorably discharged from said service shall be entitled to receive a pension under any law: *And it is further provided*, That neither his widow, minor children, or any other dependent relative shall be entitled to receive a pension under any law."

At the time I introduced this bill I made the following statement:

"According to the present pension law it is possible for a man to enlist, desert, be apprehended, court-martialed, found guilty, sentenced, serve sentence, receive a dishonorable discharge, and yet be eligible to receive a pension, providing that alleged disabilities are shown to have been incurred in service and in line of duty. This refers to the general pension law affecting all soldiers, sailors, and marines regardless of time of service. Many who desert and who are afterwards dishonorably discharged for that account are to-day receiving a pension from the United States. In order to take care of this matter I have introduced a bill."

Whenever I run across a case, as I have in several instances, where wealthy widows of officers have asked for large pensions I have opposed their pension claims as vigorously as I have yours.

My opposition to claims like yours is nothing personal; it is the system that I am against. The same applies to my vote of the so-called free-seed graft, the rivers and harbors pork-barrel bill; my opposition to the public buildings in towns that do not need them, and all such pork-barrel legislation.

As I stated, I am not against widows and children receiving aid where they need, as I had the honor of being one of the introducers of the Michigan mothers' compensation act, which has worked so well in the State of Michigan, and especially so in your county.

Have not investigated your statement yet regarding pay to retired Army officers, retirement of judges, etc., but expect to take that up after I get through with the maters I am now on. At that time I hope that your friends here in Congress will help me out better than they are now doing.

At the time I took my position on pensions and pork I did not know whether or not it would be popular, but because I thought it was the right thing to do. If it is any satisfaction to you, I wish to say that I have in my office letters from many of the Spanish War veterans in my district, and none of them feel any different than I do about this pension matter, and neither did I find a single Spanish War veteran on my late trip home who did not approve of my stand on this pension matter.

Have also had letters from all over the country from Spanish War veterans, and Civil War veterans as well, who state that I am absolutely right.

Yours, very truly. W. FRANK JAMES.

In the report issued on the Ashbrook bill on February 29 it states as follows, in part:

The committee at this time is not able to present an estimate of the increased cost resulting from the passage of the bill. No accurate or reliable estimate can be given of the number of beneficiaries, for the good reason that there is absolutely no available figures upon which to base an estimate. Conservative estimates are being prepared and will be presented to the House by the time the bill is reached for consideration. It will certainly cost much less than a battleship and is the sort of preparedness that would be worth many times its cost should a crisis occur.

This was nearly four months ago; the bill has passed the House, but no figures have been given to the House. The author of the bill evidently believes that the cost will not exceed $8,000,000. Perhaps he is right. According to the report of the Commissioner of Pensions, issued on June 30, 1915, there were 50,985 widows, and so forth, drawing a pension under the general law, Civil War, and 235,087 drawing pensions under the widows' act of April 19, 1908, or a total of about 286,000. If 80,000 out of the 286,000 were to receive an increase of approximately $100 per year it would be an increase of $8,000,000 per year. This is not, of course, taking into effect the very large number of widows who will go on the roll on account of marriage from 1890 to 1905. Neither will it take into account the increase on account of widows who were dropped on account of remarriage being again placed on the rolls.

This can not very well be called an ungrateful Government when it is possible for a man to enlist, desert, be apprehended, court-martialed, found guilty, sentenced, serve sentence, receive a dishonorable discharge, and yet be eligible to receive a pension, providing that alleged disabilities are shown to have been incurred in service and in line of duty. Why talk about an ungrateful Government when the above is the case?

The report further states as follows:

All patriotic men will enlist more freely in the defense of their country when they have the assurance that if death overtakes them their widows will be generously cared for by a grateful Government.

It was not necessary to pass this bill to further illustrate that fact. The fact that there were in 1915 over 700,000 persons drawing pension, and that this included 128 widows of the veterans of the War of 1812, is sufficient evidence.

I believe, gentlemen, that the sentiment in my district is not any different than it is in your districts.

We are not of the opinion that in order to get volunteers for the next war you have to spend millions of dollars each year for pensions.

We are more concerned that this country shall pay some attention to preparing for war so that the volunteers of the next war will have a better chance for their lives from disease than we are in pensions.

We are more concerned that the honor of this country shall be upheld, even at the price of war, than we are in pensions.

The other day the first man to answer the call of the martyred President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers in 1861 was buried. In delivering the funeral oration one of his best friends said, in part, as follows:

We hear much of peace-at-any-price sacrifice. Peace with honor, yes. Peace to the honor of our country, yes. But if it means that we are to be the prey of international ambition, if it means that we are to do the bidding of every nation on earth, and that our flag must dip in disgrace, then we must not have peace. No nation can be weak to-day in preparedness and strong to-morrow in efficiency.

If sharing these sentiments gives a man the right to call himself a patriotic American citizen, then the Spanish War veterans in my district and myself are patriotic Americans. But if believing that patriotism consists in no personal sacrifice yourself, if it means that voting money for pensions to the worthy and unworthy alike, the rich and poor alike, and that this counts for more than answering your country's call, then we are not patriotic American citizens.

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**We Stand Behind Those Who March For Our Country.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, Mr. HAY, of Virginia, having told us here to-day, in the name of the President of the United States, that an emergency exists, I believe that it is for us to show to the world that we present a united front and to pass this resolution authorizing him to use the militia outside of the United States in this emergency. It is useless to hide the fact that we are on the verge of war, and, as has been truly said by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and my colleague

from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], that men must indeed be blind to the facts, as we have daily read them in the newspapers, to fail to see the true situation. I can not, however, allow myself to forget that one of the greatest blunders was made in withdrawing our forces from Vera Cruz in 1914, and in the interim permitting millions of rounds of ammunition to be shipped into Mexico, and which, I fear, will now come back to us embedded in the flesh and bodies of our boys who are responding to the Nation's call.

It has indeed thrilled the heart of every true-blooded American citizen to see how swiftly the National Guard has answered the President's call to duty. Regardless of where born and regardless of diversified views on various important questions confronting our people, they need not be urged to do their duty. It is ingrained in them. You need not preach Americanism to them, as they are all demonstrating their loyalty and devotion to our flag and country by the most practical proof that men can require. They are ready to make the greatest sacrifices that men can ask of them, giving up positions and leaving family and home at a moment's notice. To those pessimists who feared that the call would go unheeded, the answer has come quicker than they had anticipated.

A large number and entirely out of proportion to the total population of the land are either immigrant or the sons of immigrants, who have turned out as part of the militia and who are now making up our forces along the border and in Mexico.

What I said in this House on March 25, 1916, is as apropos as anything that I might repeat here to-day. I said that—

some gentlemen have harped on the fact that the immigrant lacks patriotism and loyalty to our country. Facts should be our guide and not mere surmise.

Last year the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] gave a dinner to the Army Reservists of Class B. No doubt we are interested in knowing whether any foreign-born citizens were in that party that gathered around his table. I had a personal investigation made. From it I learned that 11 were foreign born, 6 were native born, and that the remaining 7 can not at present be located, but the names indicate that more than half were foreign born.

Let me recall to you a scene in New York City which occurred on May 11, 1914. As far as the eye could see the streets were packed with people. You hear the muffled drums and the soft, sweet, never-forgotten strains of Saul's Death March. Our boys are passing by. Yes; some of them on foot, but a number of them have passed to the far beyond and are coming home, escorted by the President. On each coffin you see our glorious flag. Across the Brooklyn Bridge the procession slowly winds its way and enters the gates of the navy yard. Tenderly each coffin is brought to the space before which a large stand has been erected. The roll is called and the names that are read off are as follows: Louis Frank Boswell, Gabriel Defabblo, Francis P. De Lowry, Frank Devorick, Elzie C. Fisher, Louis Oscar Fried, E. H. Frohlichstein, Dennis J. Lane, George Poinsett, John F. Schumacker, Charles Allen Smith, Albin L. Watson, Daniel Aloysius Haggerty, Samuel Marten, Rufus Edward Percy, and Randolph Summerlin. [Applause.] The President speaks, and in his speech he says:

"Notice how truly these men were our blood—I mean of our American blood, which is not drawn from any one stock, which is not drawn from any one language of the modern world; but free men everywhere have sent their sons and their brothers and their sisters and their daughters to this country in order to make that great compounded Nation which consists of all the sturdy elements and of all the best elements of the whole globe. I listened again to this list of the dead with a profound interest because of the mixture of the names, for the names bear the marks of the several national stocks from which these men came. But they are not Irishmen or Germans or Frenchmen or Hebrews or Italians any more. They were not when they went to Vera Cruz; they were Americans, every one of them, and with no difference in their Americanism because of the stock from which they came. They were, in a peculiar sense, of our blood, and they proved it by showing that they were of our spirit—that no matter what their derivation, no matter where their people came from, they thought and wished and did the things that were American; and the flag under which they served was a flag in which all the blood of mankind is united to make a free nation."

Were these soldier dead loyal to their country? Yet the majority of them were either immigrants themselves or the sons of immigrants.

Examine the records of those who have fallen or been wounded up to date and further confirmation is immediately found.

I have read a number of editorials that have appeared in the daily press during the past two days, but I know of none that must awaken and renew the faith of our people in their fellow citizens as the one that appeared in the New York Tribune yesterday and which I take the liberty of reading at length:

THOSE WHO MARCH.

It is no little thing, this marching of the first hundreds of our volunteer soldiers. Despite the fact that the crowds that collect disperse, the bands pass, and the flags come down again, those days on which our young men go forth to serve must remain forever memorable in our history and in our hearts.

On the foundation of such sacrifice as this volunteering supplies is built the whole edifice of our national life. All that we have, that we own, that America means to Americans and to the world, flows from the sacrifice of lives, flows from the willing and ready response of the hundreds and thousands to the call of our common country.

Not all the years that have passed since the first soldiers, soldiers only in the fact that they carried muskets, assembled on Lexington Green to this present hour have changed the fundamental fact that if men have a faith, a loyalty, a clinging to ideas and to ideals, to a dream of a race and of a country, they must be prepared to fight for them, to die for them, from time to time.

In 1775, in 1812, in 1846, in 1861, in 1898, and now in 1916, Americans have marched. Not a generation has been entirely free from sacrifice, and on several there has been laid a burden almost beyond endurance. To-day that which threatens seems a little war. No such effort as Germany or France is now making, no such need of volunteers as Britain has faced and met is foreseen or even conceived. Yet not less great, not less real is the sacrifice that is asked of the thousands who are going.

The departure of troops for war, or even toward war, is the most unreal thing in human life. Those who go first are young, proud with the sense of new dignity and duty, glad as youth is always glad when adventure beckons and the romance of service calls. They march before us, bringing our cheers, perhaps calling forth our tears, too; but it is a spectacle about which there is only that which inspires.

But when they are gone the change comes. Slowly, steadily the realization arrives. Those who marched from us to camp disappear from the camp into the distance, which at the horizon meets the thing we call vaguely "the front." Little by little there come back the veracious chronicles of suffering, of hardship, at last of sacrifice and death. Those who went so willingly and so gladly become in a sense a sacred memory.

It is a cruel thing, this penalty that life exacts of a Nation. It is a brutal tax, this blood tax which is laid upon successive generations. And yet we who can not escape it are compelled at the last to see, with the cruelty, the splendor, the transformation in the lives of those who go and those who stay, that the great fact works. So much that is mean and ignoble slips out of the lives of the people whose sons and brothers and husbands are doing something heroic and unselfish for all of us and for what our Nation means.

It is in this sense, with sadness, with a feeling of bitterness at the necessity of sacrifice, with a sense of pride in the grandeur of the thing done, that we shall now watch the best of another generation of Americans leaving us for a duty whose extent may not yet be measured or circumscribed.

For those who have marched, for the survivors of '61 and '98, what is now taking place brings a very real sense of tragedy. From them the future is not hid. They see the long drudgery, the privation, the weariness, the pain, and the agony that may lie ahead. In their own time they have seen other generations march out in the sunshine of the first hours, and beyond into the darkness of camp, battle field, and hospital. Behind all that is brilliant, stirring, appealing they perceive that which is terrible.

Yet, seeing all this, they can put it aside to rejoice that the spirit that existed when they marched and when those who marched with them and did not come back were also young still survives; that the same flag is carried by hands not less worthy and defended by hearts not less indomitable.

It is, indeed, no little thing that is taking place in our lives to-day. Rather it is something so big and enduring that it must crowd out the common and trivial cares and concerns of our lives. Thousands of men, young, surrounded by all that happiness and comfort can bestow, are willingly, gladly giving up what life holds of present promise and of future hope, giving up all they have and all they hope to have because a single word has been spoken, the simple call of duty has come.

The glory of war that is the tinsel and the uniform, the pomp and the ceremony, is an empty sham. But the glory of war that is the duty, the sacrifice, the unselfishness, the submission of the individual to the common weal, is an enduring fact. And it is this fact that stands disclosed to us to-day in all its true nobility.

No man can now say how far those whom we love and send are to march. No man or woman can foresee now to what dangers, to what perils, they are not willingly but yet with complete consent sending those they love. We shall not easily keep our tears back; we shall not even in our pride completely control our sorrow. There has been asked of us the greatest sacrifice that can be demanded. We have made it. More one can not say.

But for those who march, with what wishes for good fortune, with how many prayers for their safety, with what pride in their devotion they are going! Their action has lifted us all out of the sordidness of our everyday concerns; their willingness to go has brought a new, a nobler understanding to us of our country and our race. Because of them we have again lived through a great day—another great day in our history.

And whatever of pain, of trial, of sacrifice may still be demanded of those who have gone, of one thing they must remain assured—our love, our admiration, our faith is all with them. What they have done makes all that we can say seem trivial; it is not by word that we shall even try to appraise their deeds. They have not failed us. In so far as we are able we shall not fail them.

We have given further proof to the world to-day that in this Republic of ours we are living in an advanced age of humanitarianism, by appropriating the sum of $1,000,000 to be used by the War Department for the payment of monthly sums of $50 to any of the close members of any families dependent upon any of the men who have responded to the call as part of the National Guard. It shows the real feeling of the entire House, when it was adopted unanimously and without discussion. Action, not talk, is the duty of the hour.

As I have repeatedly said, the mission of the United States is peace, and this country is neither desirous nor seeking war. If it does come, however, the responsibility must be placed upon those who have been the aggressors. One thing I am sure of, that at all times in its hour of need the men and boys of this country will sacrifice willingly all they possess, whether it be life or property, or both, if necessary, in its defense, and give proof to the world that we stand united against a foreign foe regardless of who that foe may be. Our citizens must be protected wherever they be and wherever they go. Our lives, homes, and property in our own land must have the same protection or we would be unworthy of being called a "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

## Pension Legislation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, we hear the subject of industrial and military preparedness discussed freely by every citizen of this country, and the events as they are rapidly transpiring in Mexico and on our borders bring home the thoughts of past wars and the manner in which our Government took care of its survivors. A pension system for soldiers who served their country was established at the foundation of this Republic, and history proves that our forefathers were very liberal in granting pensions and bounties to their veterans of the Revolutionary War.

In looking over some data relating to the pensions granted our Revolutionary War soldiers, I was greatly astonished to find that the American people provided for more pensions and bounties to the soldiers of the American Revolution than we have granted to the veterans of our Civil War. I find that the officers of the Revolutionary War residing in Virginia had been more liberally provided for than any other class of men in America or any other country. In addition to their salary they were promised half pay after their retirement from the Army and received large tracts of fertile land. Each officer from a major general down to ensign had his lands.

In 1828 a law was enacted retiring all soldiers of the Revolutionary War and all officers on full pay for life, who had served two years in the continental line. Then, in 1832, Congress passed a law retiring for life on full pay all the minute men, all the militia and militia officers who served intermittently for two years. Just a year later Congress amended this law and made it still more liberal. Every soldier of the Revolutionary War was allowed approximately $8 a month, which would be equivalent to $40 to-day, besides land on which he might build a home and live comfortably the rest of his life.

Virginia gave every colonel 5,000 acres of land, every captain 3,000 acres, every noncommissioned officer 400 acres, and the private soldiers 200 acres. I will not take time to cite further instances where different States made additional allowances to those granted by the Federal Government to their Revolutionary War veterans.

In the War with Mexico, where 105,000 of our boys were recruited in two years, 1,049 of these heroes lost their lives in battle. Forty years after the Mexican War we pensioned all soldiers who served 60 days in that war, and in many cases these soldiers were pensioned because of their voluntary enlistment and not because of actual service, for in those days it required more than 60 days to reach the border.

The Civil War stands out as the most costly and disastrous war in the annals of the history of this Republic. Many of us have heard our fathers tell of its horrors and sufferings, but even then most of us do not realize the magnitude of that war. A study of its records reveals the fact that more soldiers lost their lives in the one battle of this memorable war—the Battle of Gettysburg—than were lost in the entire Revolutionary War, the Mexican War, or Spanish War. We find that the Revolutionary War lasted about seven years, and in that time 56 battles were fought. The War of the Rebellion saw more than 2,000 battles, and in the Battle of Gettysburg 3,070 men were killed and wounded. In looking over the appalling numbers of lives lost, and the consequences of all that bloodshed, I turn with reverence to the survivors of that war and pay tribute to those battle-scarred veterans who are so rapidly departing from our midst to that great beyond where they will receive their final reward. I have a high regard for those veterans who made it possible for me to enjoy a united Nation and a wonderful prosperity, which was only brought about by their patriotism and valor. I do not want it said of me that I denied any beneficial legislation to our heroes of the Civil War.

A recent report from the Commissioner of Pensions shows that our veterans are rapidly passing from us. In 1900 we still had 993,529 soldiers of the Civil War on the pay roll, but last year that number diminished to 748,147, or a decrease of 245,382 in 15 years. Only last year we buried 33,255 heroes who helped make up the most important pages of our history. Thus we see the amount of pensions rapidly decreasing; the year 1915 saw the amount of pensions paid out decrease $6,000,000. This should allow the continuation of a more generous policy on the part of the Government toward the remaining veterans and their widows. The United States is rich enough and liberal enough to help the needy veterans who in most instances are entirely dependent on their pensions. Fifty-five years ago they were the boys who became aroused to their patriotic duty and readily responded to the call of the country.

History repeats itself, and to-day, with events transpiring so rapidly in Mexico, and when we know not at what hour we may be called to defend our borders in Mexico, we see here in the city of Washington recruiting offices established for the purpose of urging our young men to train themselves for a future emergency, just as our veterans of the Civil War did 55 years ago, when they constituted the prime of American youth.

In times of great stress we have always depended upon our volunteer soldiers, who have proved the most persevering and courageous, to fight our battles, and they have never refused to do their duty. In these stirring times let us be prepared to care for all emergencies that might arise as a result of war. What better inducements have we to offer our recruits than the assurance that should they return from service incapacitated for work Uncle Sam will provide for them, and should perchance their blood be shed on the battle field, they will at least be assured of the protection and care of their loved ones at home.

The present administration has kept its pledges to the soldiers by enacting several pension bills. We have thus proved a friend to the soldier and his widow. This House, I believe, realizes that the life of this Nation is dependent on the patriotism of its people, and recognizes the patriotic service of its soldiers rendered in time of war. We have sought to care for the veteran during his declining years, and recently have enacted a most worthy bill that will take care of our dependent widows.

On March 4, 1865, a man, who is dear to the hearts of every American, said in his inaugural address, which was shortly after the war, "Let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who has borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." God grant that we may be spared from future conflicts, but if it should be necessary I hope that we can play the part that "legitimately" belongs to us. I am an advocate of peace, and trust that we may never have to swell the list of pensioners now numbered on our rolls—"a roll of honor" which is a history in itself.

Our Government, administered for the welfare of the people, has from time to time recognized the necessity of pensions for its soldiers, and our veterans thus inspired have evinced a deeper devotion to ideals of democracy—ideals that bring hope and confidence to all nations of the world.

#### THE WIDOWS' PENSION BILL.

Mr. Speaker, coming now to the immediate bill before the House, I first desire to commend the Pension Committee for its careful preparation of the widows' pension bill and the favorable report they have given to this meritorious measure.

This bill as it is now presented to the House provides pensions to four classes of widows:

In the first place it will increase the pensions of widows who married their soldier husbands prior to or during the Civil War from $12 to $20 a month.

Second. It grants a pension to those widows of Civil War veterans who have now reached the age of 70 years, who are at present on the pension rolls. Thus the old and infirm wives of our soldiers will be allowed a more liberal amount than they have received in the past.

Third. The widows' pension bill also provides for pensions for widows of Civil War soldiers whose names were dropped from the pay roll by reason of their marriage to another person, but who are now widows again.

Fourth. The most important feature, in my opinion, of this legislation is the extension of the marriage limit. All widows of Union soldiers who married subsequent to 1890 are now entitled to a pension, even though they married the soldier as late as 1905. Personally, I would have favored the removal of all time limitations, as I believe every woman who had the care and responsibility upon her shoulders of an old soldier during his last years is justly entitled to a pension.

Many widows have written me praying for the passage of some legislation which would grant relief to them during their declining years. I am sure that this Congress will receive the blessings and gratitude of all those deserving women who will now be benefited by this provision of the bill. In reality, the women who married the soldiers subsequent to 1890, and who have cared and comforted the old veterans during their last years and illness, have made great sacrifices, for in many cases

the soldier was an invalid or enfeebled for several years prior to his death and was absolutely dependent upon others for help. Was it not the wife who could best administer with care and tenderness the wants of the old soldier, and was she not performing a patriotic duty, and one worthy of the attention of the United States Government? I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that any thinking, charitable man would begrudge a liberal pension to those widows who have given the best years of their life to the care and comfort of the veterans. I am strongly in favor of liberal pensions to widows of all soldiers, because we come to them in time of need and ask for their husbands and sons. We can not perform a more beneficent duty than to comfortably provide for the welfare of those women who so willingly offered their loved ones for their country.

We have had so many facts presented to us in regard to the necessity of liberal pensions for veterans as well as their widows that I need scarcely go into the details of the things that should prompt us to deal generously with the widows of our soldiers.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I would like to repeat the fitting remarks made by the Pension Committee in submitting this bill before the House:

> It will certainly cost much less than a battleship and is the sort of preparedness that would be worth many times its cost should a crisis occur. All patriotic men will enlist more freely in defense of their country when they have the assurance that if death overtakes them their widows will be generously cared for by a grateful Government. It is the wife and the mother who sets the light in the window and patiently and anxiously awaits the return of her weary and broken-in-health husband or son, who, leaving all that is dear behind, went forth to defend the old flag and the Nation's honor with his life's blood; it is the wife who gives birth to all of the soldiers and heroes of the past, present, and future; it is the wife who gently ministers in loving tenderness to the old comrade when the dread messenger stalks into the humble home and bears away her companion and support, leaving her grief stricken, desolate, and alone. She then has no one to turn to for succor and relief except the great Government her loved one served most faithfuly and loyally. This bill seeks to attest in a small degree the gratitude of a rich and mighty nation for the frail old woman left behind.

The sentiment for widows' pension legislation is strong throughout this country, and it is my hope that the Senate will expedite the passage of this bill in order that it may become effective at this session of Congress.

In speaking of these women who figured in the Civil War I am reminded of the words of the Ohio poet, Thomas B. Read, who said:

> The wife who girds her husband's sword,
> 'Mid little ones who weep and wonder,
> And bravely speaks the cheering word,
> What, though her heart be rent asunder,
> Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear
> The bolts of death around him rattle,
> Has shed as sacred blood as e'er
> Was poured upon the field of battle.

## Widows' Pensions.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES O. LOBECK,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Speaker, since becoming a Member of this honorable body in the Sixty-second Congress I have voted for numerous important measures and have had various matters to present to the different governmental departments, none of which gave me more pleasure than my support of pension legislation and attention to the claims of the soldiers and widows of soldiers before the Pension Office. Therefore I am glad to have the privilege of supporting this bill which gives to the widows of the veterans of the Civil War substantial increases in their pensions.

Four years ago we passed the Sherwood pension bill, which gives to the Civil War veterans a pension according to their age and length of service. We believed, then, in providing for them in their declining years, and to compensate them in a small degree for the immeasurable service which they performed in preserving for us a strong united country. But at that time we made no provisions for the widow who was dependent upon that small pension, and who would receive but a fraction of her husband's pension after he was called to his eternal reward.

The soldiers' pension roll is rapidly decreasing. For instance, in the month of February of this year, there was a falling off on account of death of approximately 3,500. In March of this year the number was about 4,000, and in April it was about 3,000. The widows' pension roll decreased during the same months at the rate of 2,400, 2,200, and 1,700, respectively. Therefore, it is a very opportune time for us to assist these deserving women by enacting this legislation at this session of Congress.

This Congress has been generous in passing beneficial pension legislation. None of us regret the enactment of the Sherwood law. Personally, I favored a straight pension of $1 a day for the Civil War veterans. I was also glad to support legislation giving the soldier coming under the provisions of that law their increase of pension automatically, which did away with the routine of filing a new application each time an increase was due, and which expedited the payment of the soldier's pension. The special bills which have passed from time to time have benefited a number of deserving soldiers and widows.

Early in this session I considered it an honor and patriotic duty to vote for the bill granting to the widows of the soldiers of the Spanish-American War a pension at the rate of $12 per month, and which will also help to take care of the minor children of those soldiers who gave up their lives in fighting for the flag in Cuba and the Philippine Islands, or who died since then as the result of wounds or diseases contracted in that war. I was also glad to vote to pension the Indian fighters, who are entitled to this consideration for the services which they rendered and which were so helpful in developing our great Western States. I trust this bill, which we have approved in this House, will become a law before the close of this session of Congress.

This Ashbrook bill is fair, just, and reasonable. It is raising the pension of the aged widow of a Civil War soldier when she becomes 70 years of age to $20 per month. It gives the widow who was the wife of the soldier during his service in the Civil War the same amount and brings the remarriage limitation down to June 27, 1905. This provision will assist a great many deserving women who married Civil War soldiers since July 1, 1890, many of whom were widows of soldiers of the Civil War, thereby losing their former pensionable status.

For some reasons it was thought proper by a former Congress to pass a law denying pensions to women who married Civil War soldiers after June 27, 1890. For some time past Members of Congress have believed that it was working an injustice to the many worthy women who have married the Civil War soldiers since then, and have cared for them, nursed them, have been their helpmates and faithful companions in their last days and years. Congressmen have believed, and justly so, that these faithful women should be remembered. So, this bill provides that women who married Civil War veterans up to the year of 1905 shall be entitled to a pension upon the death of the soldier.

I feel certain and am sure that all patriotic people of our country will approve of this act, and my hope is that the bill will be approved speedily by the Senate so that it may be immediately enacted into law.

The United States has been more liberal in its pensions to defenders of the flag than any other nation on earth. I am proud of being an American, because Uncle Sam is generous to his defenders. I am glad that I am a Member of a United States Congress, in which I have had the privilege to vote for liberal pensions. No men have been braver on land and sea in defense of their country's honor than the American soldier and sailor. Whether he was American born or an adopted son of our country, he has fought shoulder to shoulder, side by side, and faced death in his devotion to the Stars and Stripes and to our country. These brave boys and men kissed good-by to their mothers and wives and sweethearts, and to these brave and patient women we are, in this bill, showing, as far as money can do, our appreciation of these splendid women of America.

We can as a nation, as a people, to my mind, never fully reward these patriotic men and women, but we can do our part to make the later days of their lives more pleasant and more comfortable.

## The Widows' Pension Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOUETT SHOUSE,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. SHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, since the beginning of the Sixty-fourth Congress I have served as a member of the Committee on Invalid Pensions. In many respects that service has been

both the most pleasant and the most unsatisfactory work I have done as a Member of Congress—pleasant because of the result of efforts expended in a good cause, unsatisfactory because many deserving cases could not be reached. Before that committee thousands of bills have been presented, the object of them all being to help care more liberally for the men who defended the integrity of the Union during the Civil War, or to give to the widows of those men some part of the material recognition which their husbands so richly earned. With few exceptions the thousands of cases brought to the attention of our committee were worthy. The evidence in connection with a large majority of them disclosed conditions pitiful in the extreme—poverty, sickness, loneliness—all of the heart-rending circumstances that surround destitute old age.

The Committee on Invalid Pensions has done its work well. The clerks and examiners of that committee have been diligent and faithful. A large number of the special pension bills have been enacted into law. But no matter how zealous or persevering a committee, it could not consider 7,000 individual bills in one session of Congress. The men who wore the blue are all old men now. Few of them are capable of further labor; many are without income aside from their pensions, and those pensions for the most part are inadequate to a comfortable living. Therefore the labors of the committee have been directed principally to selecting the most needy of the cases of the old soldiers themselves and giving those cases attention. But among the widows of old soldiers were found innumerable instances equally appealing. And in order to meet the situation it was strikingly apparent that some general legislation for these widows was necessary. Nothing has been done for them for years. Where allowance is now made by law it is pitifully meager, and no widow who married her soldier husband subsequent to 1890—more than 25 years ago—has claim for pension at all.

To remedy this unjust state of affairs, several bills were introduced in Congress and were referred to our committee. After careful consideration the Ashbrook bill was selected as meeting the views of a majority, and with certain amendments it was reported to the House for passage. That bill is before you to-day. Let us see just what it proposes.

At the present time the widow's pension is $12 per month. This bill increases the allowance to $20 a month where the widow married the soldier preceding or during the Civil War, or where the widow is now 70 years of age or when she may reach 70 years of age. Can such increased allowance be considered either extravagant or excessive? I think not.

The bill further restores to pensionable status those widows whose names were dropped from the pension rolls on account of remarriage and whose subsequent husbands have since died. It also restores those who were compelled to seek divorce where fault did not attach to themselves. Can reasonable objection be raised to these provisions? I am sure I voice the sentiment of this House when I say they are proper and worthy.

And then the bill makes eligible to pension any widow who married her soldier husband prior to June 27, 1905, instead of June 27, 1890. In other words, the widows who have cared for the soldiers in their old age, whether first, second, or third wives, who have done the tender duty of nursing at the time the old soldiers needed it most, are to be given recognition by the Government and reward for their faithful service. Surely no man familiar with the circumstances and conditions which have surrounded Civil War veterans of recent years can object to this feature of the bill. The only fault with it is that it does not go far enough. If I could have my way I would give to every old soldier in the land a minimum of $30 per month and to every widow of an old soldier, without reference to the date of her marriage, a pension of $20 per month.

Mr. Speaker, there used to be a notion broadcast in the country that the Democratic Party was antagonistic to pensions. I regret to say that even during the past year I have known of literature sent out at the instance of men prominent in the Republican Party in which appeared the false charge that the present Democratic administration is unwilling to do anything for the old soldier; that it is impossible for him to get justice at Washington under present conditions; that he can hope to come into his own only if the Republican Party is returned to power. What false and absurd statements! How unworthy of men who aspire to leadership in any organization! Is it possible that the old soldiers will fall for such misrepresentation?

Why, Mr. Speaker, it was a Democratic House which indorsed and passed in the Sixty-second Congress the famous Sherwood bill, granting for the first time a pension to every old soldier who served for 90 days, and for the first time giving the sum of $30 per month to every old soldier who served as much as two years upon the attainment of 75 years of age. Our Republican friends had promised such legislation for years, but they failed to pass it, and it remained for a Democratic Congress to do justice to the old soldier.

Now let us supplement that achievement by doing justice to the soldiers' widows. Let a Congress overwhelmingly Democratic in both branches pass the pending bill by unanimous vote and a Democratic President have the honor of signing it. For, my friends, this bill is but mere justice.

I represent a State which was settled largely by old soldiers. The homestead lands of Kansas were open for entry at the close of the Civil War, and many of the men who had worn the blue went there to make their homes. They gave to Kansas its bone and sinew, its courage and progressiveness, its honesty and its fighting spirit. The women who shared with their husbands the privations and the perils of frontier life did their part as nobly as the men. Surely they, too, are entitled to consideration at our hands; they, too, deserve the gratitude and help of their Government.

Let us, therefore, pass this bill, not as partisans but as patriots—performing an act of simple justice in which we should all rejoice.

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**Increases in Widows' Pensions.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ASHTON C. SHALLENBERGER,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, the Ashbrook bill, which the Committee on Invalid Pensions has reported to the House, and which will undoubtedly pass by a good majority, is a further proof of the earnest intention of this administration and the present Congress to take good care of the interests of the soldiers of the Nation who have been willing to make the last sacrifice for their country in time of war. The bill, I am informed, has the unanimous support of the Committee on Invalid Pensions. It provides a well-deserved and much-needed increase from the provisions provided under the existing law. As old age creeps upon the survivors of the great war for the preservation of the Union the soldier's widow finds herself equally needful of increased support along with the veteran himself. Under the Sherwood bill the soldier received a material increase, and this bill is in line with the purpose of the Sherwood Act.

This bill provides a pension of $20 per month for the widow who was the wife of a soldier during his war service and the same sum for the widow of a Civil War veteran after she shall have reached the age of 70 years.

An additional provision contained in the bill is that a soldier's or sailor's widow who may have remarried and thus lost her right to a pension as a widow of a veteran shall upon again being widowed have the right to again be placed upon the pension rolls as a widowed pensioner.

Under the law as it now stands the widow of a soldier or sailor is not entitled to a pension if her marriage took place subsequent to June 27, 1890. The Ashbrook bill provides that the widow may receive a pension if the marriage was not later than June 27, 1905, thus adding 15 years to the period of marriage for which the widows may receive pension. By the provisions of this bill a widow whose name has been on the pension rolls and dropped because of her remarriage to another person, who has since died, shall be entitled to have her name again placed on the pension roll at the rate she was formerly pensioned, unless she is entitled to a greater amount under section 1 of the act. And this provision is extended to those widows whose husbands died of wounds, injuries, or disease incurred during the period of their military or naval service, but who were deprived of pension under the act of March 3, 1865, because of their failure to draw pension by reason of their remarriage.

The bill provides also that any widow who married a veteran soldier or sailor prior to June 27, 1905, shall have title to pension, to commence from the date of filing of application, after the passage of this act. Heretofore the widow of a soldier or sailor who married the said soldier or sailor subsequent to 1890 was not entitled to a pension under the act of 1908. These provisions take care of those good women who married Civil War veterans at a time when they were in need of the sympathetic

care and kindly ministrations of a loving wife. Many of these veterans were suffering from ailments directly or indirectly attributable to their military or naval service, but notwithstanding this these good women were willing to assume the responsibility and duty of caring for these old soldiers in their failing health until such time as they were called to their final reward.

The provision, therefore, gives to those good women who married soldiers or sailors prior to June 27, 1905, the same pensionable standing as the widows of all other veterans. A widow of a soldier who is divorced through no fault of her own is restored to her pensionable status under this bill. She may have made an unwise choice in her second marriage. A divorce from her second husband would not restore her to her former status of a pensioner under the present law, but this bill makes provision that where the unfortunate widow marries the second time and is divorced upon her own application, she is restored to her former status under this bill. This is just and equitable. The committee in its report of this bill states the justice embodied in this meritorious measure very ably when it says:

It will certainly cost much less than a battleship and is the sort of preparedness that would be worth many times its cost should a crisis occur. All patriotic men will enlist more freely in defense of their country when they have the assurance that if death overtakes them their widows will be generously cared for by a grateful Government. It is the wife and the mother who sets the light in the window and patiently and anxiously awaits the return of her weary and broken-in-health husband, who, leaving all that is dear behind, went forth to defend the Old Flag and the Nation's honor with his life's blood. It is the wife who gives birth to all of the soldiers and heroes of the past, the present, and the future. It is the wife who gently ministers in loving tenderness to the old comrade when the dread messenger stalks into the humble home and bears away her companion and support, leaving her grief stricken, desolate, and alone. She then has no one to turn to for succor and relief except the great Government her loved one served most faithfully and loyally. This bill seeks to attest in a small degree the gratitude of a rich and mighty Nation for the frail woman left behind.

Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly hope this bill will very soon be passed by the Senate and become a law. I have supported all pension legislation reported to this Congress because I believed the relief was merited and well deserved. We are preaching preparedness and are right now asking young men to go to the colors and service of their country by the thousands, a generous action upon the part of the American Congress by taking good care of the veterans of other wars and their dependent families will encourage those whom we now need to rally to the Nation's defense. I am glad to vote for the bill and hope it will speedily become a law.

## The Question to be Decided.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article from the Albany Journal.

The article is as follows:

[Albany Journal.]

THE QUESTION TO BE DECIDED.

In recent years circumstances and personal activities have combined to put into the minds of a large part of the people of the United States the un-American idea that the President is a ruler instead of the people's highest servant. Attention has been given to men which properly belongs to principles.

The tame submission of a Democratic Congress to Executive dictatorship has contributed much to the temporary fixation of this false idea. Much has been written and spoken in which the personality of the President has been presented as the thing of paramount importance. The highly important fact that it is the principles and policies of the party in power that count for or against the Nation's welfare has been obscured. That it is the legislative branch of the Government which has the authority to give effect to party policies, through the enactment of laws in accordance with them, has been almost lost to sight. The people have been deluded, because they have not thought enough into the belief that the Executive head of the Nation controlled its affairs and must alone be relied upon to direct its fortunes, to shape its destiny.

In order to vote intelligently at the November elections the people of the United States must rid themselves of that delusion. They must give thought to the fact that the question to be decided is whether the Democratic Party, whose incapacity for good government has been again demonstrated, shall be retained in power, or the Republican Party, under whose control of Government the Nation always prospered and was respected throughout the world, shall be called back to administer American affairs; whether sound, beneficial policies shall be put in place of unstable, blundering ones; whether we shall continue to have a wavering, vacillating, incompetent Government, pandering to this class or to that for favor and disregarding the welfare of all the people, or we shall have again a strong, determined, able Government, seeking special favor from no class, but having the single purpose to secure prosperity for all the people, and respect for the rights of this Nation and for those of any and all individuals constituting it.

Because this is the question, the restoration of a Republican majority in the Congress is of equal importance with the election of the Republican candidate for the presidency. A Republican President could do nothing toward carrying into effect the policies of his party if the Congress should remain in control of the Democrats. Such a condition would be a striking lesson to those who have come to regard the President as the Government of the United States, but it would be bad for the country.

The Congress can be made Republican, and to accomplish that purpose should be the special effort of all who are disgusted with the kind of government that we have had in recent years.

In the present House of Representatives there are 230 Democrats, 196 Republicans, 7 Progressives, and 1 Socialist. The Democratic plurality over the Republicans is 34. To gain a bare plurality, the Republican membership must be increased by 18. But more than that increase is necessary to give the Republican Party the strength that it ought to have in the House.

That it can be secured is shown by the fact that in the elections of 1914 the Democratic plurality, which had come in with the election of Woodrow Wilson, was reduced from 163 to its present figure. The Republican gain was 69. That Democratic setback showed the trend of popular sentiment against the Democratic administration. What was well begun then can be and ought to be consummated at the next election.

In the United States Senate, the Democrats have a majority of 16. A gain of 9 will suffice to give the Republicans the majority. The term of a Democratic Senator will expire in 1917 in 17 States. In Indiana, the death of Representative Shively left an additional vacancy to be filled. The States are Arizona, Florida, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. Among these are seven southern States, in which the election of a Republican Senator is to be regarded as out of the question. There are left, then, 10 States in which 11 Democratic Senators may have as successors men who are not members of the Democratic Party, and the chances are good that at least the 9 Republicans who are required to make a majority will be elected. They will certainly be if the fact is borne in mind that thus restoration of Republican principles and policies shall be effected.

The defeat of Woodrow Wilson is important only because it means the defeat of the Democratic Party, since the vote that defeats him will almost certainly take control of the Congress from the Democratic Party.

## Tavenner Amendment to the Fortifications Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EUGENE BLACK,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 21, 1916.*

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the Tavenner amendment I wish to print what Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, now Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, had to say in a letter concerning this proposed legislation. Mr. Brandeis in a letter to the Efficiency Society of New York City, dated January 21, 1916, wrote as follows:

Referring to the proposed congressional legislation to prohibit the introduction or use of time study and premium payments in Government establishments:

In my opinion any such restriction upon the conduct of Government establishments would be highly inadvisable. The purpose for thus proposing the legislation is doubtless one which all of us would approve. Increased efficiency ought not to be purchased at the expense of health and other qualities essential to good citizenship and the general welfare, but no one can doubt that increased efficiency is essential to the public welfare, that we have not yet learned how best to secure that efficiency, and that the most important element in securing efficiency is the knowledge of facts, to the ascertainment of which time study is a means.

To prohibit time study and premium payment is as crude a method of affording to the workingman proper protection as the proverbial "burning of the house to roast the pig."

Mr. Speaker, for the reason that I believe that in adopting an amendment of this kind that we are "burning the house to roast the pig," I have voted against it.

From letters which I have received, I am aware that organized labor is in favor of this amendment, and I am always very willing to listen to and fully consider any argument which they offer on propositions of this kind. I am a friend to organized labor, but a Representative in Congress should never forget that he is a servant of all the people, and should vote upon every question with the one end in view of promoting the public good.

I have not been able to agree to the arguments of those favoring this amendment, and therefore out of a sense of duty I have voted against it.

It is my settled conviction that the amendment will neither benefit the laboring man in these Government arsenals nor the general public. On the other hand, it will deprive those laborers who are now earning extra money of that privilege. It will simply impede the efficiency and economy of public work without furnishing any compensatory reason for its enactment.

### Pensions for Widows.

## REMARKS
OF
## HON. ROBERT M. McCRACKEN,
OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, if the pending measure to increase pensions for the widows of soldiers of the Civil War becomes a law it will afford relief to four classes of widows:

First. It will increase the pension of a widow who was the lawful wife of a soldier during the period of his service in the Civil War from $12 to $20 per month, no matter what the age of such widow may be. There will not be many, however, of this class who will be benefited by this law, for those who were the wives of soldiers during the period of the Civil War have for the most part passed away.

Second. This bill, if it becomes a law, will give a pension of $20 per month to all Civil War widows who have now reached, or may hereafter reach, the age of 70 years, who are now on the pension rolls or who may hereafter be placed thereon.

Widows of Civil War soldiers were not pensioned at all until 1890, nearly 25 years after the close of the war. Those who were then pensioned received only $8 per month, which was increased to $12 per month in 1908.

Third. This bill restores any widow of a Civil War veteran to her former pensionable status when she has been dropped or may hereafter be dropped from the pension roll by reason of her remarriage and after the husband of such subsequent marriage shall have died, or from whom she may, upon her own application, be divorced.

Fourth. This bill raises the marriage limit 15 years by providing that all widows of Union soldiers will be entitled to the benefits of its provisions who remarried prior to June 27, 1905.

Naturally more revenue will be required to meet this increase, but the committee has well said:

> It will certainly cost much less than a battleship and is the sort of preparedness that would be worth many times its cost should a crisis occur. All patriotic men will enlist more freely in defense of their country when they have the assurance that if death overtakes them their widows will be generously cared for by a grateful Government. It is the wife and the mother who sets the light in the window and patiently and anxiously awaits the return of her weary and broken-in-health husband, who, leaving all that is dear behind, went forth to defend the old flag and the Nation's honor with his life's blood. It is the wife who gives birth to all of the soldiers and heroes of the past, the present, and the future. It is the wife who gently ministers in loving tenderness to the old comrade when the dread messenger stalks into the humble home and bears away her companion and support, leaving her grief stricken, desolate, and alone. She then has no one to turn to for succor and relief except the great Government her loved one served most faithfully and loyally. This bill seeks to attest in a small degree the gratitude of a rich and mighty Nation for the frail old woman left behind.

If this bill could be referred to the people of this Nation I am sure that it would meet with their approval, for the American people have never yet shown ingratitude to the men who have come to its defense in its hour of peril.

As the son of a veteran of the Civil War and as a Representative in the American Congress I have no apology to offer to anyone for my record upon pension legislation for the old veterans and their widows and orphans. I have voted for every pension bill so far that has come up for passage in this session, both general and private, including the acts granting pensions for the widows of Spanish-American War veterans and for the men who fought in the Indian wars in the West, and I am glad to have had the privilege.

The one feature of this bill which I think is particularly commendable is that which restores a widow to the pension roll after she has been dropped because of her remarriage and when she is left a widow again either by the death of her husband or when she may have been divorced because of no fault on her part.

I am glad that the law no longer requires a widow to show that the soldier died from wounds or disease incurred in line of duty before she can be given a pensionable status. Such proof has always been hard to secure and its requirement by the Pension Office in Washington has worked a real hardship to the widow. The time was when even the Civil War veteran could not secure a pension unless he could show disability which he suffered in line of duty, but happily that restriction has been removed. I can remember how my father suffered and finally died from wounds received and disease contracted by him while in the service of his country from 1861 to 1865.

I know of some of the difficulties he had in the procurement of his proof. I remember also how he labored to secure an increase of peasion to which he was entitled under the law, and after long and seemingly needless delays a notice of allowance of increase was received a few days after his death. I remember how patiently and lovingly my mother nursed and cared for my father in the years of suffering he experienced prior to his death, and that when she was left a widow she was compelled to wait nearly two years before she could receive her pension, during which time I was obliged to leave school and my home in order to earn a living for her and the younger children. It has always seemed to me that the time required by the Pension Department in passing upon many applications for pensions is too long, and I sincerely hope that under this act, if it becomes a law, the widow may receive her pension very soon after her application has been submitted.

I am heartily in favor of this bill and hope that it may become a law at this session of Congress.

In conclusion I desire to call the attention of the House to a bill which I introduced last January, permitting railroad companies to grant half-fare rates at all times to veterans of the Civil War. I can see no good reason why this bill should not pass, and it shall be my purpose to urge its consideration until it shall have been finally enacted into a law.

### The Fighting Sixty-ninth.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial from the New York American of yesterday on the subject of mobilization.

The editorial is as follows:

[From the New York American, June 22, 1916.]

FIGHTING SIXTY-NINTH FIRST OFF TO BEEKMAN.

Again the Sixty-ninth was first to answer.

The fighting Irish showed again that they know how to be ready, which is the first fundamental of dandy fighting men.

Early yesterday morning they marched from their armory to entrain for Camp Whitman, and a fine sight they made, and well they deserved the cheers that rolled down the long lane of onlookers.

There were many in the living hedges that lined that lane who did not cheer. One does not expect cheers from mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts when their lads march away to fight for their country and their flag.

But Irish lads do not come by their courage through any craven women folk, and if there were no cheers on their lips the eyes of mother and wife and sister and sweetheart shone with pride in their men—and their hearts were high and glad with the valor that is just as splendid as the valor of men who look death steadily in the eyes for the dear sake of the land they love above life.

We are all Americans, and a poor sort is he whose loyalty is confined to the borders of any State. Still, there is nothing unbecoming in the pride that we men and women of New York take in the fine, soldierly readiness of our citizen soldiers.

The guard has honored New York, and among all the regiments it has fallen to the Sixty-ninth to be first to blazon the name and fame of the city before the eyes of the Nation.

We are particularly glad and proud that this is so, because there have been little Americans who have not been ashamed to oppose military preparedness because a great part of the cost of that preparedness must be spent to make New York City secure.

The answer the Sixty-ninth gave yesterday, and other gallant regiments will give in quick succession, is that this city is always more than willing to do her own part in the general defense, and that the men of New York are just as ready to defend with their lives the States of the West and South as they are to ask the States of the West and South to contribute to the defense of New York.

To this cheap and mean political propaganda of the little Americans our soldier men give the generous answer of practical deeds, and the effect in binding us Americans all together in stronger bonds of common citizenship, common loyalty, and common affection is bound to be very great, and, we trust, very permanent.

We haven't all the good soldiers in New York State, of course. The country is full of good soldiers, trained or ready to be trained. But there are none better than our New York citizen soldiers, and among the New York citizen soldiers there are none better than the fighting Irish lads who swung along to the music of their band through the streets lined with cheering thousands yesterday morning.

Heaven bless the lads and send them safe home again to the women who wait.

**The Ashbrook Bill and the Resolution to Provide for the Dependents of Soldiers.**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JOSEPH TAGGART,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. Speaker, on the 19th instant it gave me pleasure to vote for the Ashbrook bill, whereby the pensions of widows of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and of certain Indian wars, as well as the Mexican War, are to be increased to $20 per month. The bill provides that a widow who was married to the soldier at any time while he was serving in the war, shall receive a pension of $20 a month. As the law has stood for the past 21 years, any woman who married a soldier since June 27, 1890, can not receive a pension unless she is able to prove that the soldier died as a result of disease or wounds originating during his service in the Army. In 99 cases out of 100 it is impossible after this lapse of time to prove that the death of a man resulted from disease or wounds of service origin. Under the provisions of this bill, any widow who married the soldier at any time before June 27, 1905, shall receive a pension, regardless of what may have been the cause of the soldier's death.

Heretofore the regular rate of pension has been $12 a month for all widows. This bill will increase the rate to $20 a month for all widows of soldiers who have attained the age of 70 years, and this increase will be granted to every widow when she reaches the age of 70, provided she was married to the soldier before June 27, 1905.

The pension laws have been unjust and unfair to the widows who were in receipt of pensions and then remarried and again became widows. It was cruel and unjust not to restore the pension of a widow whose second husband died and left her, perhaps, destitute and without means of support. She has been refused a pension except where she was married to the soldier during his service, and then she would have to how at the soldier drew a pension, that he died, that she drew a pension after his death, and lost her pension by remarriage, and again became a widow. Under the law the widow who lost her pension by reason of remarriage was actually punished on account of the money that she saved the Government by giving up her pension. Under the provisions of this bill she will be restored to the pension roll, not only if her subsequent husband died but in case she was obliged to separate from him on account of his fault. Some of the saddest cases that I have known were those of women who, through the fault of their soldier husbands, were obliged to secure a separation.

The claim of these women on the sympathy of the public and on the consideration of Congress, to my mind, is quite as strong as the claim of those who were widowed by death. They were denied pension even where they were married during the war. The Government has granted pensions to wealthy women who lived with their fortunate husbands until death separated them and has absolutely ignored the woman who did her part quite as well and whose life was desolated by domestic unhappiness. Under the humane and just provisions of this bill, where the woman had to leave the soldier, without fault on her part, she will be entitled to a pension after his death.

This increase will cost $9,000,000 for the first year, and probably will never cost any more than that amount annually—not half as much as one battleship. The cost of pensions is being diminished so rapidly by the death of aged men and women that the whole amount paid for pensions will be less from year to year, notwithstanding this increase of widows' pensions. Everybody thought when we passed the Sherwood pension bill four years and a half ago that the increased cost of it would be tremendous, but the cost of pensions this year is not any greater than it was the year before we passed the Sherwood bill. The number of men and women whose names have been dropped from the rolls on account of death, over and above the new names that have been added in the past five months, is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| January, 1916 | 4,949 |
| February, 1916 | 4,859 |
| March, 1916 | 4,959 |
| April, 1916 | 3,442 |
| May, 1916 | 3,482 |
| Total | 21,691 |

This 21,691 represents the net loss of names on the pension roll—an average of 4,308 each month, which, if it continues, will mean a net loss of 52,056 names dropped from the roll in the present calendar year—that many more names than will have been added to the roll during the year. The Bureau of Pensions has furnished these figures. The exact amount of pension drawn by these deceased pensioners, and the amount of increase or original pension granted to those who have been added to the roll is not stated, but it is plain that those who are passing away will relieve the Government of a greater expense than we have incurred or will incur by this bill.

This bill is fair and just. If it is the policy of the Government to pension widows, we should provide them with at least enough to live on. We should have the dignity not to do anything by halves. No woman can live on $12 a month in our day. The widow of a Revolutionary soldier, who perhaps received $4 a month, could take her market basket and bring home more of the necessaries of life with a dollar of the money, than $5 will purchase now.

We who have opposed a standing army of 250,000 men, and were satisfied with increasing the army to 175,000 men, were abused because it was said we were not in favor of preparedness. We stood for the National Guard in preference to the Regular Army. The extra 75,000 men would cost $75,000,000 a year. We can not get men to enlist in the Regular Army, but our brave boys have not failed anywhere to fill up the ranks of the National Guard at the call of the President. These citizen soldiers represent the true national defense of this country. They are called upon now to rally to the defense of the flag, and to-day the House almost unanimously passed House Joint Resolution No. 242, which, for the time being, will make the National Guard a part of the armies of the United States, and will provide for the wives and families and dependents of the soldiers of the National Guard.

This resolution is the first of the kind ever passed through the House of Representatives, as far as I have examined the record. It is the most generous provision that has ever been made for those who are dependent upon soldiers in the field. The resolution is as follows:

> The sum of $1,000,000 is hereby appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War and under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, for the purpose of maintaining at a cost of not more than $50 per month the family of each enlisted man of the National Guard called or drafted into the service of the United States until his discharge therefrom, which family during the term of service of said enlisted man has no other income, except his pay, adequate for the support of said family; and the word "family" shall include dependent mothers, fathers, and sisters, as well as brothers, under the age of 14 years.

I had the honor of suggesting that the word "wife" was not in this resolution, although a liberal construction of it might mean that the wife of a soldier without children would be included in the meaning of the word family. The amendment was carried, and the dependent wife without children will certainly be provided for.

In passing this resolution, we were not unmindful of the fact that in all ages women have been among the chief sufferers in war. The brave young man in the midst of his comrades has such pride in serving his country that he is often unconscious of hardship or privation. Light-hearted and care free, as young soldiers always are, full of enthusiasm and of the spirit of battle, always animated by the highest hopes and looking forward to the proud day in which they will return as honored and respected veterans, there is a measure of happiness in braving the dangers of the campaign.

But what shall we say of her who takes leave of him who is nearest and dearest to her heart? We have not forgotten her. We of this House who represent the whole American people have carried out their wishes in passing this resolution. The brave woman at home and her children shall not want. In this hour the great heart of the American people goes out to her who has bidden the defender of her country hail and farewell! Until he returns the wife, the children, the aged or dependent father or mother, or the dependent sister or brother shall be provided for, and the man at the front shall know that those that are dearest to him are dear to all the people. The beautiful verses of Thomas Buchanan Read, the Civil War poet, come back to us in this hour, the verses entitled "The Brave at Home":

> The maid who binds her warrior's sash
> With smiles that well her pain dissembles,
> The while beneath her drooping lash
> One starry teardrop hangs and trembles,
> Though heaven alone records the tear,
> And fame shall never know her story,
> Her heart has shed a drop as dear
> As e'er bedewed the field of glory!

The wife who girds her husband's sword
Mid little ones who weep or wonder,
And gravely speaks the cheering word.
What though her heart be rent asunder,
Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear
The bolts of death around him rattle,
Hath shed as sacred blood as e'er
Was poured upon the field of battle!

The mother who conceals her grief
While to her breast her son she presses,
Then breathes a few brave words and brief,
Kissing the patriot brow she blesses,
With no one but her secret God
To know the pain that weighs upon her,
Sheds holy blood as e'er the sod
Received on Freedom's field of honor!

All honor to the brave men who have responded to the call of the President. They have shown the old-time spirit, and I can not fail to repeat with pride that more than a thousand young men have left the second district of Kansas for the front. I have heard of no other district that has responded in such numbers. They have the honor of serving under their neighbor and their friend, Maj. Gen. Funston, upon whose military genius and whose tremendous will and energy we can most implicitly rely.

The representatives of the people have not forgotten those who mourn nor those who endure the agony of war at home.

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**Address of W. P. G. Harding, Member of the Federal Reserve Board, Before the Alumni Society of the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa, Tuesday Morning, May 30, 1916.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 24, 1916.*

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to insert a very scholarly and informing address delivered by Hon. W. P. G. Harding, member of the Federal Reserve Board, before the Alumni Society of the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa, Tuesday, May 30, 1916, on the important subject of "Efficiency and Industrial Preparedness."

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF W. P. G. HARDING, MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, BEFORE THE ALUMNI SOCIETY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA, AT TUSCALOOSA, TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1916.

We are celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the historic city of Tuscaloosa and the eighty-fifth annual commencement of our great university. Although upon such an occasion our thoughts naturally take a retrospective turn, I shall not in my remarks dwell upon the past, rich as it is with lessons of its trials and triumphs, nor will I pose as a prophet and attempt to rend the veil of the distant future. I shall speak instead of the present and of that immediate future which lies within our horizon, and which is ours to make what we will.

LESSONS OF THE EUROPEAN WAR.

We are living in a most critical period of the world's history, a stupendous era, full of opportunity and fraught with grave responsibility. The frightful holocaust on the other side of the Atlantic, with its appalling sacrifice of human life, with its enormous waste, and with its pandemonium of calamity and woe, has aroused in the hearts of the people of this country mingled feelings of horror and of pity, but also it has instilled in our minds a better and higher appreciation of our duty to ourselves, to our country and the world. No longer are we lulled into a false sense of security because of our splendid isolation, no longer do we feel that we enjoy permanent immunity because of the 3,000 miles of ocean waves that separate us from the shores of Europe; but we have as a nation come to realize that our surest guaranty of peace lies in preparedness for war, or, rather, against war. The first steps for military and naval preparedness have already been taken, and because of this we are confident that we shall escape any part of the tragedy now being enacted on the three continents of the Old World. This confidence is intensified because of the calm judgment and consummate skill of the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, who has so successfully handled a grave international crisis, maintaining friendly relations while preserving our national honor and dignity. It is not necessary, therefore, to discuss at length at this time and place preparedness from a military sense, but it is well that we should consider it from a commercial and industrial standpoint.

EFFECT OF WAR UPON AMERICAN COMMERCE.

Out of the misfortunes of others has come to a great extent the marvelous prosperity with which this country is blessed today. The temporary depression in the United States which followed immediately the outbreak of the war and which was due to the sudden and complete collapse of credits and to the interruption of the accustomed means of transportation and communication throughout the world, was followed by a speedy readjustment which brought with it from the warring nations and from noncombatant countries, whose trade had been principally with the powers at war, millions upon millions of dollars' worth of orders, not only for munitions but also for the ordinary necessities of life, which have been pouring in upon this country so that it has been enriched, according to the estimate of some authorities, to the extent of about three billions of dollars. This golden flood has fairly deluged some of the States to the north and west of us. Alabama and her sister States of the South, while feeling to some extent the impetus of better times, have not enjoyed that full measure of prosperity that would have come to them had their natural resources been more highly developed.

POSITION OF THE SOUTH.

Yet the South, since that day, back in 1881, when we members of that class made our final bows upon the rostrum in Woods's Hall, has made great progress in all lines of industry—in agriculture, in manufacturing, in mining, in banking, and in commercial pursuits—as may be exemplified by the statement that the banking power of the Southern States is now greater than that of the entire United States at that remote day. But our section, nevertheless, has not yet become highly specialized in the arts and sciences, and in manufacturing, but is still essentially an agricultural region and still has cotton as its principal money crop. Because of the inability of the central powers to import cotton on account of the rigid blockade which is being maintained, the South has, during the past year, been deprived of a market for nearly one-fourth of its export crop, so that neither its manufacturers nor its farmers have reaped that measure of profit which has come to the same classes in other sections. The South is, however, an important part of the United States and is interested, in common with all other sections, in the maintenance of national prosperity. Already there are some indications that a wearied Europe is beginning to turn its thoughts toward peace, and perhaps it may be the mission of our southern-born President to point out the way.

AFTERMATH OF THE WAR.

Restoration of peace will necessarily bring about important changes in the world's trade, and just what these changes will be and how they will affect business conditions in this country are problems which are being studied carefully by publicists and business men. These are vital questions here in the South as in other parts of the country, although we may not be as directly affected as other sections, for the reason that a smaller part of our business has come from foreign countries or has been connected with war material. We should, however, stand ready to support the Government in any measures that it may be necessary to adopt in order to retain the legitimate foreign trade that we have already secured, to extend still further our business intercourse with South American countries, and to maintain a proper balance in our trade relations with the nations now at war. American bankers are permitted under the Federal reserve act to establish branches in foreign countries, and can thereby facilitate transactions involving the importation or exportation of goods; and it is practically certain that a law will soon be on our statute books creating a tariff commission, whose duty will be to make a close study of changing conditions and to recommend, from time to time, such modifications of our present tariff laws as may be advisable.

I do not speak authoritatively, but I hope that, as a measure of commercial preparedness, steps will be taken to encourage the manufacture of dyestuffs in this country, to protect American firms against foreign dumping, and to provide heavy penalties for foreign concerns engaged in unfair competition in the United States. American merchants and manufacturers seeking to compete with those of other nations in the markets of the world should be permitted to engage in the contest on equal terms with their competitors, and we should therefore favor some arrangement that will enable American exporters to secure foreign trade in competition with the cartels and combinations of Germany and other countries.

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE.

A serious drawback to the development of our foreign trade is the utter inadequacy of our American merchant marine. The South has felt this perhaps as keenly as any other section of the country. We have been handicapped very greatly in exporting cotton by lack of ship room and by abnormally high ocean freights. Rates to Liverpool on cotton have for several months past frequently ruled as high as $15 per bale, or 3 cents per pound, or about 10 times the normal rate, and this excess has, to a great extent, come out of the pockets of the southern farmer. Coal is selling in Buenos Aires at $35 a ton, and yet no ships are available to transport a pound of Alabama coal to that market. American shipyards have been very bsuy for the past year or more, as private capital has been attracted to shipping by the unusual profits obtainable, but in normal times this activity can not be expected to continue.

Our wage scales are much higher than those of foreign countries, whose shipping is also, in many cases, subsidized, and in order to establish an American merchant marine which can be used in the carrying trade in time of peace and as a naval auxiliary in time of war, Government intervention and aid seems necessary. The shipping bill passed the House of Representatives a few days ago, with the support of practically all the Southern Members, and will, in all probability, pass the Senate and become a law before the adjournment of Congress.

RURAL CREDITS.

Another measure of supreme importance to the South is now in conference—the rural credits bill. The South for a great many years has labored under the curse of absentee landlordism and it has suffered from the evils of the tenant-farming system. Hardly more than a tithe of its productive capacity has been utilized for lack of both capital and labor. With the exception of Texas, the Southern States have not attracted their proper share of immigration, either foreign or domestic. Too many of our rural population have found it impossible to make any substantial headway, and finding themselves year after year lacking all of the luxuries and many of the necessities of life, have lost ambition and have settled down to breathe the sodden atmosphere of a hopeless and aimless existence. The rural-credits act will open the way for the organization of national farm-loan associations which, in cooperation with the 12 Federal land banks to be established, will make loans on farm lands on long time; payments being amortized so that the total annual installment, including interest and reduction of principal, will amount to not more than 8 per cent of the principal, the interest in no case to exceed 6 per cent. Landowners will thus be afforded an opportunity of improving their farms by ditching, fencing, and by the erection of silos and buildings, diversification of crops will be encouraged, cattle raising will be promoted, and the thrifty tenant farmer will be given an opportunity of becoming his own landlord. Many who have heretofore been without hope or definite ambition will find a new incentive to work and to accumulate with a view to ultimate independence. Southern agriculture will thus receive a wonderful stimulus, and many of the young men growing up on the farms whose ambition now is to go to a town will find it to their advantage to make a study of scientific farming and to practice it as a life vocation. Better living conditions in farming districts and greater prosperity for the farmer mean decreased cost of living, less concentration of population in the towns and cities, more schools, better morals, and a happier and more contented people. Prosperity on the farms means larger orders for the merchant, the coal operator, the lumberman, and for the manufacturer; more business for the railroads, steadier employment of labor, increased deposits for the banks, and a greater demand for loans. Consider what Europe has done for its farmers and how, up to the outbreak of the deplorable war, it had improved their condition, and how the continental powers have been able, through scientific farming methods, to support themselves during abnormal conditions. While the methods adopted in Europe may not be best adapted to the United States, surely with some modifications they can be made effective here.

Let us never lose sight of the fact that farming is the most important industry in the world. Some facts can not be repeated too often, and let us remember that without the farm all other business would stagnate and die, the railroads would cease to run, the banks and mercantile establishments could no longer operate, and grass would grow in the streets of our cities, which would no longer be thriving marts of commerce, but would become, through famine, whited sepulchers of the dead. No other business can succeed without the farmer, but the farming business can survive, if left unfettered, without the aid of any other business.

WATER POWERS.

Let us now consider for a moment the subject of water. For some years past we in Alabama have heard a great deal about another liquid, and I am sure that it will be refreshing to turn our thoughts to pure and unadulterated water. We need not discuss its superlative merits as a beverage or as a cleansing agent, but rather let us consider its utility as a means of transportation and as a source of power. Bountiful nature has favored our State in the matter of waterways. Through the Warrior, the Tombigbee, the Alabama, and the Coosa the waters springing from the hills in the mineral regions flow through rich agricultural sections and discharge themselves into the Gulf of Mexico. The work of nature has been supplemented by the National Government and by means of locks and dams on the Warrior and Tombigbee Rivers perennial navigation has been provided from the coal fields to the Gulf. Already barges laden with black diamonds pass every day down the river just below the university, bound for Mobile and New Orleans. Through a beautiful valley in northern Alabama flows the great Tennessee River, a majestic stream which springs from the mountains of North Carolina and Virginia, and flowing through east Tennessee, enters our State near its northeastern corner, and leaving it at its northwestern extremity, turns again through Tennessee, and passing through Kentucky unites with the Ohio, and finally discharges its waters into the mighty Mississippi. Most of this wonderful stream is already open to commerce, but in its course through Alabama its waters plunge through a series of shoals and rapids, known as Muscle Shoals, which block navigation, but which, if properly harnessed, will furnish one of the greatest water powers in the United States. Locks and dams at Muscle Shoals would render the Tennessee River navigable from Knoxville to Paducah, and would at the same time offer to industries electric energy of approximately 500,000 horsepower.

When we speak of Muscle Shoals, there results a triangulation of ideas. On one side is transportation, on another the fertilization of our farms, and on the third military preparedness. We all know that niter or saltpeter is an essential ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder and of fertilizers, and that the world's great natural deposits of niter are in northern Chile. We know, furthermore, that the oxygen in the air we breathe is heavily diluted with nitrogen, and that science has found the way through mechanical means of accomplishing the fixation of air nitrogen into nitrates. The marvelous efficiency of Germany as a nation is admitted by her friends and enemies alike, by her sympathizers, and by her critics. Some years ago German manufacturers began, under adverse conditions, the manufacture of nitrates from the air. When I refer to adverse conditions I mean that this process of fixation requires enormous power and calls for a tremendous expenditure of energy; and in a country like Germany, having no great water powers, this energy can be supplied at high cost only by the consumption of an enormous amount of fuel. I understand that not less than 300,000 horsepower must be produced in order to manufacture air nitrates on an adequate commercial scale, and the only nitrate manufacturing plant on the American continent is located on the Canadian side at Niagara Falls. The bill that has recently passed both Houses of Congress to increase the efficiency of the Military Establishment of the United States recognizes the necessity of an adequate nitrate supply and empowers the President of the United States to make such investigation as he may deem to be necessary to determine the best, cheapest, and most available means for the production of nitrates and other products for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers by water power, and he is further authorized and empowered to "designate for the exclusive use of the United States such site or sites upon any navigable or nonnavigable river as may, in his opinion, be necessary to carry out the purposes of the act, and he is further authorized to construct, maintain, and operate, at any site or sites so designated, dams, locks, improvements to navigation, power houses, and other plants and equipment, or other means than water power as in his judgment is the best and cheapest, necessary, or convenient for the generation of electrical or other power, and for the production of nitrates or other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers and other products."

The bill furthermore appropriates the sum of $20,000,000, available until expended, to enable the President of the United States to secure this nitrate supply. I do not know what recommendations the War Department will make to the President, nor can I predict what his choice of a site will be, but I do know that no site in the United States is superior to Muscle Shoals from the standpoint of strategic location, the power that

can be developed, and the proximity to large deposits of phosphate rock. I wish that I were a word painter, so that I could picture to you the great opportunity that is presented to the people of Alabama, and the far-reaching results that would come from the location of this nitrate plant within the borders of our State. Imagine a gigantic dam across a broad and majestic river, a great power house, and beyond, a nitrate plant, on one side of which will be built a large factory, where nitric acid will be produced for use in the manufacture of explosives; on the other side works for the production of ammonium phosphate, where the phosphate rock brought from near-by fields will be combined with the nitrates and converted into that important ingredient of all commercial fertilizers, ammonium phosphate, for use in enriching millions of acres of land in the United States. The waters of the Tennessee, in their ceaseless flow toward the Ohio and the Mississippi, can generate at a minimum cost, after the initial expenditure has been made, the large amount of power necessary for the operation of these plants. This power, contrary to the fears of many, would not interfere with the consumption of Alabama coal, for it would develop an entirely new industry which can not be established if dependent upon coal as a fuel. I wish that I could picture to you the other important industries that would follow the establishment of this plant, such as electric furnaces for the manufacture of the highest grades of steel and establishments for the production of aluminum from the vast deposits of bauxite which abound in east Alabama. I would point out to you the wonderful opportunity that would thus be opened to the young men of Alabama, and I can see in my mind's eye a great school of technology here at the university, where future generations can be taught the principles of efficiency and of applied science, which have done so much for the development of Germany during the past 40 years. Surely every man of influence in Alabama will do all in his power to induce the President to locate this plant on the banks of the Tennessee. Many other States have eligible locations to offer, though none, in my opinion, can at all compare with the one at Muscle Shoals. Every possible influence will be brought to bear by these States to present their own locations in the most favorable light, and it behooves the people of Alabama during the next few months to work as they have never worked before, if we wish to win this great prize, which would mean an immediate expenditure within our borders of $20,000,000, with industries to follow which will cost at least thirty millions more.

DEVELOPMENT OF ALABAMA'S RESOURCES.

There has been too much talk about the great natural resources of Alabama and of the South. The time has come for action. We must develop them. About two months before the surrender of the armies of the Confederacy a conference was held by Abraham Lincoln with three Confederate commissioners at Hampton Roads. I do not know whether it is history or whether it is fiction, but the story is that at that conference Mr. Lincoln, holding a sheet of white paper in his hand, said to Alexander H. Stephens, "Let me write Union at the top of this page and you may write whatever else you please." If this story be founded on fact, what an opportunity for the South was lost. If we could bring the people of Alabama to a proper realization of the importance of organization and cooperation, of constant and unflagging effort, and of efficiency in work; if we could be justified in taking a map of Alabama and in writing across that map in outstanding letters, reaching from the Tennessee to the Gulf and from Georgia to Mississippi, the word "efficiency," we would have a great and prosperous State no matter what else might be written there. In the South to-day we have some highly developed and well-organized industrial plants, but our economies, as a rule, are neither scientific nor potentially efficient, nor do our activities contribute to stop waste and to increase efficiency. We find waste and more waste everywhere. We have made only a beginning in the manufacture of by-products. We can see in half a day's journey thousands of coke ovens illuminating the midnight skies with flames which contain many elements of wealth, but which are absolutely thrown away. Because of the nitrogen which it contains, a million tons of cottonseed meal are put back every year into the soil of the cotton fields of the South, although overhanging every acre there are over 33,000 tons of atmospheric nitrogen which the water powers of Alabama now going to waste could take out of the air and fix ready for use as a fertilizer for increasing our production of agricultural staples.

EFFICIENCY VERSUS WASTE.

But waste and inefficiency are not to be found alone in agriculture. They are found in the forest and in the factory as well as on the farm. In mechanical arts and in scientific achievements we lag behind. The Secretary of the Navy, a southern man by birth, rearing, and residence, recently selected 23 engineers and scientists as a civil naval advisory or efficiency board, not one of whom was taken from any activity or association of the Southern States. We are proud of our traditions, yet we have seen other States forge ahead, even the arid States in the rainless regions of the West, which have in 20 years secured from the Federal Treasury $116,000,000 for the accomplishment of their irrigation projects. Traditions may be a curse unless we find in them an inspiration for continued effort and progress. We are afflicted too much with traditions, apathy, indifference, and self-satisfaction. Too many of the sons of Alabama have left their paternal rooftrees and have sought their fortunes in other States. We must do something worth while, not only to make it to the interest of the youth of Alabama to remain at home but something that will induce the best elements of the citizenship of other States and of other countries to cast their lot among us. According to a poetic fancy, the name "Alabama" signifies "Here we rest." Let no one think that this means "Here we do not work; here we take our ease." But let us seek to justify the construction of the word "rest" as meaning "remain," so that the name of Alabama henceforth shall signify to the young men of the State as a matter of choice and because of the glorious opportunities offered, "Hence we will not go; here we remain."

## The Hay Resolution.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CYRUS CLINE,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, we are considering a resolution of which the following is the principal paragraph:

That in the opinion of the Congress of the United States an emergency now exists which demands the use of troops in addition to the Regular Army of the United States, and the President be, and is hereby, authorized to draft into the military service of the United States, under the provisions of section 111 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, so far as the provisions of said act may be applicable and not inconsistent with the terms thereof, any or all members of the National Guard and of the Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, and any and all members of the National Guard and Organized Militia Reserves, to serve for the period of the emergency unless sooner discharged.

The marked characteristic of American citizenship is the solidarity with which it meets an emergency when American rights and American honor are involved. When troublesome times come there is no division, no partisanship, no halting, no quibbling about what ought to be done. We meet the emergency as one man. It has always been recognized that to offer himself as a defender of his country in imminent danger was the very highest duty of a citizen and expressive of the deepest patriotism.

I shall freely vote for this resolution. In the discussion some very evident facts have developed. Men who fought the National Guard in the bill to reorganize the Army when the friends of the National Guard sought to retain it as a constituent but independent organization of the Regular Army, have been compelled to give up the fight. The contest was waged by the Regular Army, not because it disliked the National Guard, but because it wanted the offices and the promotion that were sure to come to it if the National Guard could be eliminated. The rapidity with which the National Guard responded to the call for mobilization completely surprised the Regular Army. While I freely support the resolution, there is still some question for its absolute necessity, in that no apparent reason exists why there should be a doubt of the willingness of the National Guard to go into any alien territory to defend the flag when it is called upon to do so. I vote for this resolution, not because we are in a state of war with Mexico, but because the resolution correctly expresses my view of the situation. An emergency exists that demands additional troops to that of the Regular Army that we may be prepared if the Mexican Government should precipitate war. We are in Mexico because we went in under authority of the de facto government to hunt down bandits that destroyed the lives and captured the property of our people on American soil. No professed doctrinaire can minimize the fact that whatever has been done by us in Mexico was done by Mexican authority. We do not want war, and hope it may be averted. The people will not consent to it until the honor of the United States and the peace and property of

American citizens shall demand war. If the time shall come when it is clearly demonstrated that the de facto government can not restore tranquillity on our southern border, then we shall do those things, and those only, that shall result in our protection and the maintenance of national honor.

In 1898 when the call came to avenge the wrongs done to Cuba by Spain no guardsman protested because there was a liability that his services might be wanted beyond the border of Continental United States. I have an intimate acquaintance with many National Guard men and not one ever suggested to me that his voluntary service would be conditioned upon an agreement not to take him beyond the confines of his own country. Every man expects to serve wherever he may be called upon to go. The patriotism of the National Guard is not climatic but responsive to the requirements of the country wherever he is needed. I have never missed an opportunity to say that no more patriotic organization was ever enrolled in the defense of the country than the National Guard. I personally know of organizations that have given freely of their time and money to maintain their organizations when they could not well afford to do so solely to promote a patriotic sentiment in the community. The States and Federal Government have not dealt liberally with these organizations. Their quick response, their patriotism, their sacrifices entitle them to consideration in the distribution of places in line and in official appointments and promotions on an equal footing with any other military organization. The National Guard is constituted of the finest and most capable young men in the country; men of character and integrity worthy of great consideration and who will give a good account of themselves.

One of the most commendable actions of Congress was to provide for the maintenance of those who left dependent families at home while they went to the front to defend the flag. This great and wealthy country could not make a lesser provision and escape the censure of a great civilization. Congress did not do it grudgingly. It did it voluntarily and graciously. It sought the opportunity to show its loyalty to those who had made such sacrifices. The following is the paragraph:

> The sum of $1,000,000 is hereby appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War and under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, for the purpose of maintaining, at a cost of not more than $50 per month, the family of each enlisted man of the National Guard called or drafted into the service of the United States until his discharge therefrom, which family during the term of service of said enlisted man has no other income, except his pay, adequate for the support of said family; and the word "family" shall include dependent mothers and sisters, as well as brothers under the age of 14 years.

Nothing more patriotic was ever done by any other people. It is an act worthy of a great, rich, and powerful Republic. It was an appropriate recognition of its duty when it said to the soldier that it would see to it that though dependent upon his labor for subsistence his family should not want while he was at the front defending the honor of the flag of his country. The resolution was passed in the House without a dissenting vote.

## Widows' Pensions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. CARY. Mr. Speaker, ever since I have been a Member of Congress I have consistently voted for every bill to increase the pensions of the veteran soldiers who fought our country's battles, and I have always been in favor of legislation to take good and proper care of these soldiers' widows and orphans. It is therefore with feelings of the deepest and most heartfelt gratification that I vote for the present bill to increase the pensions of the widows of Civil War veterans and to make the issuance of pensions to the worthy widows of the veterans a little more free from red tape.

Mr. Speaker, the soldier who gives his manhood to the service of his country, who fights and dies for his flag has been praised in verse and oratory for generations; his heroism has been pictured in countless paintings of the world's greatest artists and monuments of imperishable bronze have been erected to his memory. This is as it should be, for each succeeding generation should hear anew of the bravery and devotion of those who went before and learn to emulate the patriotism of his fathers and grandfathers, as our brave boys are doing to-day in Mexico.

Little, however, has been said of the patient devotion of the wives who stayed behind. Women have sent their husbands forth to battle, have given the sons of their tender care to suffer and die for their country, and have waited in sorrow and anguish for news of their near and dear ones, sometimes looked in vain for a happy home-coming and learned too soon that all their fondest hopes were shattered, that the object of their love and devotion was sleeping his last sleep on some far-off battle field.

Through the long night watches they have prayed for husband, brother, or son, and when the last sad news has come they have patiently taken up the burden of life alone, sometimes with young children to support or other responsibilities to shoulder. And to me one of the saddest, though noblest, pictures of human life is the picture of a woman bravely taking up the battle of life, caring for her family when the bread-winner has left them forever, and struggling breast-high with the waves of adversity.

Sometimes the husband returned a crippled wreck of manhood, with health and efficiency destroyed by wounds or disease, and with naught to save him from complete shipwreck but the tender care of his faithful wife.

All over this country to-day are feeble old men who are being nursed and cared for by devoted women, into whose last remaining years what little sunshine comes is brought by the loving wife who stays faithful unto death. All over this country are noble women who patiently nursed and tended broken-down men—sat at their bedside in sickness, cheered their hours of sorrow, and tenderly closed their eyes in death. Now they are alone with their grief, the last few years of their life devoted to sad yet tender memories, and awaiting the call that shall summon them to join the one who went before. It is good legislation, it is good patriotism, it is good humanitarianism cherish these sisters of our mothers and make their last years as free from want and suffering as we possibly can. It will only be for a few years. It will take a comparatively small appropriation, it will prove that the old adage of the ingratitude of Republics is not true in our great country, and it will be a message of love and cheer to thousands of women in every town and hamlet of the United States.

## Address of Hon. Addison C. Harris, Former Minister to Austria.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM R. WOOD,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Saturday, June 24, 1916.*

Mr. WOOD of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave given to extend my remarks I desire to say that the Hon. Addison C. Harris, former minister to Austria, who delivered the following splendid address before the State Bar Association of Wisconsin, has long been recognized in Indiana as an authority upon constitutional law. An active practitioner for more than half a century, assisting in the trial of some of the most important cases ever tried in the country, involving legal question of great moment, whatever he says upon any legal subject is always interesting:

ADDRESS BY HON. ADDISON C. HARRIS, OF INDIANAPOLIS, IND., DELIVERED JULY 15, 1915.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the bar, when your president extended to me the kind invitation to address the State Bar Association of Wisconsin I accepted with pleasure, because I have spent many summers on the beautiful lakes and shady trout streams in the northern part of this State, and this affords me an opportunity to make some poor compensation for the pleasures I have had here.

The subject I am to present is one which has occupied the attention of the bar in my State somewhat actively for the past years, and which I have occasion to know has attracted more or less the attention of the bar of this State, and that question is:

Whether there be power in these five States, covered by the ordinance of 1787, to destroy the republican form of Government, power to take away from their legislatures the supreme legislative power and allow every man to present any law at his pleasure, and require all the people to pass it or reject it at the polls, to refer every act of the legislature to the people

to be again passed before taking effect, and to call down the judgment of any court whenever it does not meet with public approval, and remove from the bench any judge whose decision for the hour is not satisfactory to the majority of the people.

This subject naturally takes on at first something of an historical inquiry and character because forms of government are not instantly created by some fiat, but develop and grow. And this institution of the American republican State, or State form of republican government, with republican State constitutions and laws, is a matter of historical growth, and that takes us back to the time when this Nation was founded and the form of our republican State government established for the five States erected on this land northwest of the river Ohio.

When Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, which made the United States a Nation, this land upon which we live was the property of the British Crown. It had been taken by Gen. Wolf on the Plains of Abraham but a few years before. It was known to the statesmen of the time that here was a great body of rich land which was capable of being converted from a wilderness into a civilized and populous country. You will remember that Benjamin Franklin, shortly after the Battle of Quebec, in writing a letter to Lord Kames, speaking of this land, said: "If we keep it," meaning if the French did not get it back, "in 100 years this land will be populous with English-speaking people." I do not know that Franklin then clearly foresaw, but he certainly had a vision that there was coming to be born on this continent a new nation, and when that birth should come this land would naturally be a part of that empire.

Now, how did this land on which we live come to be a part of this Republic? I have but to mention the name of Gen. George Rogers Clark, who brought this land to us. He was born in sight of Monticello. He was a young man at the time this Nation was founded. Being of courage he chose for his work that of a pioneer surveyor, which in those days was a profitable but venturesome profession. Washington began life as such. Shortly after the beginning of the Revolutionary War Clark went with Daniel Boone to Kentucky and at once became a leader of the pioneers in repelling the invasions of the Indians. This led him down to what was then called the Falls of the Ohio, now Louisville. While there it came to him that he could take all this land lying north of the Ohio River by his sword. At once he walked back over the mountains to Virginia, called upon Thomas Jefferson, whom he well knew and who was the most far-sighted and constructive statesman of that day. When young Clark laid the scheme before Jefferson he espoused it eagerly and went with the young man to see Patrick Henry, who was then governor of Virginia. To him Clark said, "If you will give me authority and a sufficient military force, I will take by conquest from Great Britain all the land that lies north of the Ohio River." Gov. Henry approved of the venture because he was patriotic and far-sighted, but he could not call upon the Army under the command of Gen. Washington, because that was entirely engaged in the campaign on the other side of the mountains. And so it was agreed that the governor should, and he did, give George Rogers Clark a commission in what I may call the Virginia Militia, as distinguished from the force that Virginia had given to the Continental Army. The governor authorized Clark to fit out an expedition consisting of a sufficient number of men, to be enlisted and organized at the Falls of the Ohio, and money, powder, and lead for the enterprise.

The story of the heroism of Gen. Clark and his frontiersmen has no parallel in American history. Suffice it to say that Clark organized and led his force across the prairie to Kaskaskia, and made himself the master of that British post in the summer of 1778. He then turned his attention to the capture of Post Vincennes. The story of the march across the prairie in midwinter without tents or transportation, living on the wild game, fording the streams, and crossing the Wabash, boldly attacking and taking the English post at Vincennes, pulling down the British flag and running up his own, makes the beginning of the history of your State and mine. Gen. Clark did not raise the banner of the Republic, because he was not in the military service of the United States, but he raised the banner of his own State—Virginia—and by the rules of international law, this land by this conquest became the property of the State of Virginia. That State took possession at once by virtue of the conquest, of all this land lying north of the river Ohio, established at Vincennes a court of Virginia; and the laws of Virginia became the laws of this entire northwest. I know not with particularity of your State constitution and form of government, but in my State, we trace back our form of constitution and county and State government to the Old Dominion.

After this had been accomplished, then the people of the Nation at large began to say: "We are all engaged in the same great struggle with Great Britain, and Virginia ought to give all this land to the Government of the United States to be by it sold and the proceeds applied in payment of the public war debt." Jefferson, Madison, and other leading men of Virginia acquiesced in this general opinion, and answered in effect that Virginia will deed this land to the United States, provided they will reimburse the State for the expenses incurred in making the conquest, and take the land on condition that the United States shall never part with the title, but in time, when populated sufficiently, shall divide the same into States to be admitted into the Union; and with the further condition that the States, when created, should adopt and maintain the American form of republican State government. And in furtherance and fulfillment of this proposition, the State of Virginia, on December 20, 1783, passed the act of cession, reciting:

> Whereas this Commonwealth did on the 2d day of January, 1781 yield to the Congress of the United States for the benefit of said States, all right, title, and claim which the said Commonwealth had to the territory northwest of the river Ohio subject to the conditions annexed to the said act of cession.

And then, reciting the acceptance by the United States, proceeded with these words:

> That it shall and may be lawful for the Delegates of this State to the Congress of the United States, and they are hereby fully authorized and empowered for and on behalf of this State by proper deed or instrument in writing under their hands, and seals, to convey, transfer, and assign and make over unto the United States in Congress assembled for the benefit of the said States, all right, title, and claim, as well of soil as jurisdiction which this Commonwealth hath, to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia charter situate lying and being northwest of the river Ohio; subject to the terms and conditions contained in the before recited act of Congress of the 13th day of December last; that is to say, upon condition that the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into States containing suitable extent of territory * * * and that the States so formed shall be distinct republican States and admitted as members of the Federal Union.

The act also sets forth other conditions already mentioned, and that Gen. George Rogers Clark and the officers and soldiers of his regiment who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and St. Vincents were reduced should have a tract of land set apart for them. The act having met the approval of Congress, Virginia, on the 1st day of March, 1784, ceded this land to the United States by deed signed by Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Arthur Lee, and Samuel Hardy, which deed was delivered to and accepted by the Congress of the United States. This deed also sets forth in the same words the consideration, purpose, and conditions set forth in the above-mentioned act of cession.

At that time Thomas Jefferson was chairman of the committee of the Congress on the public lands; and on the same day he, on behalf of the committee, made a report at some length touching these lands and embodying a resolution formulating a plan of temporary or territorial government until the land should be divided into States, and then "that their respective governments shall be in republican forms * * * and that after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of said States."

The report also contained other articles and provisions touching the number and names of the States and the like, and concluded with these words:

> That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact, shall be duly executed by the President of the United States in Congress assembled under his hand and the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated and shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original States and those now newly described, unalterably, but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled and of the particular State within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

This report was written by Jefferson, and remains in his handwriting on file at Washington. A facsimile is found in the fourth volume of the "Works of Thomas Jefferson," edited by Paul Leicester Ford.

Here, then, we have a clear view of what was the conception of Jefferson and the men of that time who then had in mind and were providing for the future of this land now composing these five great Central States of the Union.

The report was not then adopted, because some of the Congressmen were not quite willing to say at that time that there should not be slavery on this land after the first of the new century. The matter thus stood until the year 1787, at which time Jefferson was no longer a member of Congress. That Congress took up Jefferson's report, accepting and adopting in the main all the chief features and provisions embraced therein, and enacting the same on July 13 of that year, which is known as the ordinance of 1787. Provision is first made in the ordi-

nance for a territorial form of government, and then the ordinance proceeds as to the future States, saying:

And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of States and permanent government therein, and for their admission to and share in the Federal councils, on an equal footing with the original States, and at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interests;

It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States, and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent.

The articles are six in number, and before proceeding with the consideration of so much thereof as is material to this discussion, I pause to impress upon you the fact that this ordinance is not, and was not, intended to be a simple act of legislation, but was, as the words declare, a compact; that is, an acknowledgment and contract of a public character made to secure and establish unalterably the provisions, considerations, and conditions embodied in the act of cession and deed of Virginia already mentioned.

I need not say that if I give my land to your President to be held and used by him for certain specific public purposes and for the benefit of persons then living and thereafter born, that is a charitable trust which can not be destroyed without the consent of the beneficiaries themselves. And this, no doubt, was the reason for declaring that the articles should stand permanently for the welfare of the States thereafter to be formed and their people to be born. I do not intend to occupy your time in reading these articles at length, but I wish to read such parts thereof as are essential and necessary in the discussion of the subject in hand.

The first article establishes religious freedom. Article II establishes habeas corpus, trial by jury and "a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature." The same article declares that "should the public exigencies make it necessary for the common preservation to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same." These clauses, I will show later, are material in the consideration of the question whether the ordinance still remains in force. The fourth article provides for the freedom of all the navigable waters in this territory leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. The fifth article provides that the land in time shall be divided into States, and concludes in these words:

And whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: *Provided*, That the constitution and government so to be formed shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and so far as it can be consistent with the general interests of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than 60,000.

That was then the least population of any one of the 13 States. The sixth and last article declared that slavery should never be on this land.

No court, no lawyer, no man has ever honestly declared that slavery could or can exist on this land so long as the ordinance stands in force.

I now come to inquire, What did Jefferson, the framers of this ordinance, the Congress, and the people understand was meant by the compact that the constitutions and State governments of these States shall be republican?

What did the Legislature of Virginia mean in the act of cession when it was provided as one of the considerations and conditions that the "States so formed shall be distinct republican States"? There had been republican governments before that time. There had been republics where every man had an equal voice in the presentation and passage of laws, and where the judicial power was exercised by the people en masse. I refer to Athens and some of the Greek cities and States. Jefferson, Madison, and their compatriots had studied this subject of republican government diligently and carefully for many years; they knew more than the living men of the present time know of the old forms of government and why they had failed. What, then, was meant by the requirement that the constitutions and State governments of your State and mine and the others erected on this land should be republican in form?

I have but to mention, and you will recall, that shortly prior to the Declaration of Independence, a body called the Continental Congress had passed a resolution recommending that each of the 13 States should adopt a constitution suitable to its own condition. In pursuance of that resolution the State of Virginia, early in the year 1776, adopted a State constitution, in which it was declared:

We ordain and declare the future form of government to be as follows: The legislative, the executive, and the judiciary departments shall be separate and distinct. The legislature shall be formed of two distinct branches, who together shall be a complete legislature.

There is no hint or opportunity under these words for the initiative and referendum form of government.

Early in the year 1777 a constitutional convention sat in the State of New York. The form of the constitution adopted was written by John Jay. He was held to be the foremost lawyer of that time. He was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In that constitution it was provided:

This convention in the name and by authority of the good people of this State, ordain and determine and declare that the supreme legislative power within this State shall be vested in two separate and distinct bodies of men who together shall form the legislature.

When the supreme legislative power is vested in a legislature, there remains no legislative power superior thereto or otherwise than that power vested in the legislature. Each of these constitutions vested all and the supreme legislative power of the people in their general assemblies. Without stopping to detail, I will say that every other of the 13 States, except 2, shortly following the Declaration of Independence adopted similar State constitutions, vesting all legislative power of the people in their legislatures, and all the judicial power of the people in their courts; and all the executive power in their governor and other executive officers. It follows that at that time it was universally understood that a "distinct republican State" was in this form; all the supreme legislative power of the people was vested in their representatives in the legislature; all supreme judicial power of the people was vested in the courts; and all supreme executive powers of the people were vested in the governor.

The convention which formed our present Federal Constitution was sitting at the time the ordinance of 1787 was passed. The first article of that Constitution declares:

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The two States that did not then adopt written constitutions and representative forms of government are Rhode Island and Connecticut. They did not, because they already had these powers under their charters.

So that it seems to me there is no question as to the intent and meaning of the phrase found in the Acts and Deed of Cession and the ordinance; that is, that the constitutions and forms of government of these five States on this land should be and remain distinctly republican. That is to say, all supreme legislative power vested in the legislative department, all supreme judicial power vested in the judicial department, and all supreme executive power vested in the executive department.

Unless I am in error, it follows with the certainty of a mathematical demonstration that as to your State and my State and the three other sisters, children under the Acts and Deed of Cession and Ordinance, there can be no other form of government while these acts and deed and the ordinance stand, or until another form is adopted by the common consent of the people of these States and the Congress.

I now proceed to show that no court or legislative body ever denied the validity and continuance of the ordinance, and that it was a compact, as distinguished from a mere statute, until the question of slavery became a political issue. It was the better judgment of the sagacious and far-sighted statesman engaged in establishing this Nation that slavery should be discontinued. Indeed, many thought that it was illegal under the clause in the declaration that all men are born free. And Jefferson publicly advocated the abolishment of slavery with the beginning of the nineteenth century. And, looking to this end, it was enacted in the Constitution of the United States that the importation of slaves might be prohibited after 20 years.

Returning now to this land covered by the ordinance: When the new century came around slavery was not abolished. There was a church at that time (I mean the Quakers) that held an annual meeting in Philadelphia. This church issued a letter to all its members in America, saying in substance that it was against the laws of God for one man to hold another in bondage. My ancestors then lived in North Carolina. They were Quakers. They were slaveholders. Moved by this common emotion of the Quaker Church, as well as by a sense of right, they sold their lands, but they could not free their slaves, because of the laws of that State which inhibited it; and so they came across the Ohio River, bringing their slaves, in order that they might be made free. Why free? Because the ordinance of 1787 said

there should be no slavery on this land. Many other people brought their slaves from the same and other States and made them free. Many others, not slaveholders, came from slave States in order that they might make homes for themselves and their children on this land that was dedicated to freedom forever. All the people of that time believed the ordinance to be in full force.

I now undertake to show briefly that no court ever questioned the continuing existence of the ordinance of 1787 until the slavery question arose and became a political issue. I will also show that, generally speaking, every court held on this land and having to consider the ordinance affirmed that it was in existence and a part of the law of the land.

I shall not undertake to read from these cases one by one, or even to cite them by name and volume, but I will give to the Secretary a list of legislative and judicial authorities to be added as an addenda at the close of the address. But I must run over the cases historically, because, it seems to me, that it is entirely essential that the judicial history be carefully considered and understood. Let us first take the cases decided in the Federal circuit courts sitting in these States.

Mr. Justice McLean was judge of the circuit in which were the States of Ohio and Indiana before he became a member of the Supreme Court of the United States. The question whether the ordinance was a part of the law of this land came before him on circuit as early as 1838. He gave the question most careful consideration, and wrote and published in McLean's Reports an elaborate opinion, holding that the ordinance not only was in force but that it was a compact, indestructible except by the common consent of the State of Ohio, in which his court was sitting, and the Congress of the United States. The same holding was made in the same circuit in the years 1843, 1845, and 1853.

Let us next take the five States one by one. In 1832 the Supreme Court of Ohio declared in an elaborate opinion that the ordinance was a compact and a part of the law of that State. This adjudication was followed and reaffirmed in 1839, in 1848, and again in 1911.

I asked you to bear in mind the clause in the second article of the ordinance to the effect that no State established on this land should take any man's particular services without making full compensation. A few years ago the State of Ohio passed a statute to the effect that every physician attending the birth of a child must make a report to the State, not only of the birth but of the nationality of the father, and the mother, and also the nationality and other facts concerning the lives of the four grandparents. No provision was made for compensating the attending physician for the time and labor necessary to ascertain these facts. A certain physician was indicted under this statute for failing to obey its provisions. The question came before the Supreme Court of Ohio, as I have said, in 1911. It was set up in defense that the State had no right or power to compel the physician to make this biographical examination and report without compensation. There was no provision in the constitution of the State of Ohio of similar import, so the defense was made under the above-mentioned clause of the ordinance of 1787, and the court held unanimously that that provision of the ordinance was part of the law of Ohio, and consequently that the statute was void. The court did not pass over the matter lightly, but gave it a careful investigation, as will be seen upon reading the opinion. Now, it happens that shortly after the people of Ohio inserted in the constitution provisions for the initiative and referendum, and some new members came upon the bench of the supreme court and some of the old judges remained. In this status in 1913 a majority of the court in another case held that the ordinance was not in force, and overruled the long line of cases for more than 60 years, declaring it was the law of Ohio.

The Supreme Court of Indiana has always held, with perhaps one or two obiter exceptions, that the ordinance of 1787 was part of the fundamental law of my State. In 1912 the question again arose in this wise: I called your attention to the fact that the second article of the ordinance provides that there shall always be proportionate representation of the people in the legislature. At the session of the legislature of 1911 that body, under the leadership of a friend of mine who was then governor of Indiana and who is now Vice President of the United States—I will not say for political purposes—induced the legislature to draft and pass and submit a new constitution to the people for adoption, in which provision was made for the initiative and referendum form of government. In that proposed constitution no regard whatever was paid to proportionate representation in the legislature. The least populous counties, having a population less than 4,000, were given the same representation as other counties having more than 40,000 population. Before the proposed constitution could be submitted, a suit was brought in a State circuit court to enjoin the submission to the electors; and for one reason, among others, that it was a gross violation of the fundamental principle of proportionate representation guaranteed by the ordinance of 1787. The case was thoroughly tried by eminent counsel and before a judge of great ability. Under our statute the judge was required to find the fact whether the ordinance of 1787 was a part of the law of Indiana. The fact was so found to be, and a decree was made enjoining the submission. Gov. Marshall was one of the defendants. He and his coparties appealed the case to the Supreme Court of Indiana. As I have said, there were other legal questions involved, one being whether under the present constitution of the State the legislature had power to perform and discharge the duties of a constitutional convention. The supreme court held not, and affirmed the case; not deciding because it was not necessary whether the provision of the ordinance of 1787 above mentioned was a part of the law of the State.

The Supreme Court of Illinois early held that the ordinance was part of the law of the State. Later, the court said that the counsel conceded it was not, and so held without any careful presentation or consideration.

In Wisconsin I find several cases to the effect that the ordinance is a part of the law of your State, and in 1892 the court, in a legislative apportionment case, said that proportionate representation is "guaranteed by the ordinance of 1787."

In 1880 Judge Cooley in an opinion, seems to indicate that the ordinance is a part of the law of Michigan; and the notes to the later editions of his great work on constitutional limitations point to the same conviction.

I know you will now ask how it comes that the impression prevails that the Supreme Court of the United States holds that by the adoption of the present Federal Constitution the ordinance of 1787 was supplanted or annulled; and I will try and show in a simple, short way how this comes about.

The slavery question was agitating the public mind and became a political issue shortly before 1850. At that time a statute of Kentucky made it unlawful for any man running a steamboat on the Ohio River in front of Kentucky to receive any slave aboard, except by the permission of his master. A certain slaveholder in Louisville owned three slaves, who were musicians. He was accustomed to send them across the river to give public concerts, after which they returned to Kentucky and to the mastery of their owner. Finally, on one occasion these three slaves went aboard a steamboat at Louisville without permission of the master and were carried to Cincinnati, where they disembarked and escaped to Canada via the "Underground Railroad." Thereupon the slaveholder brought an action in a local court in Louisville against the owner of the boat for damages for the loss of his slaves. In defense, the defendant set forth that the three men were not slaves when they took passage on his boat, because theretofore the plaintiff had voluntarily sent them across the river where slavery was prohibited by the ordinance of 1787; and thereby they were made free; and thereby being made free men, although they returned, they had not again become slaves, for no man can of his own will make himself to be the slave of another. The trial court held otherwise and gave judgment for damages. Defendant appealed to the Supreme Court of Kentucky and the case was affirmed. The steamboat owner then took the case into the Supreme Court of the United States. That court held: First, that whether the three men were slaves when they embarked on the steamboat was a question of fact for the courts of the State of Kentucky to decide, and the Supreme Court of the United States had no jurisdiction on a writ of error to determine any question of fact. And so the case was rightly dismissed. Yet Chief Justice Taney, in writing the opinion, took up the matter whether the ordinance of 1787 was still in force, and said not; giving as the reason that the Federal Constitution was adopted by the people of the States two years after the ordinance of 1787 was ordained, and that this was a change or cancellation by common consent within the provision thereof. Mr. Justice McLean dissented on the ground that the ordinance was in force. This was in 1850.

A few years later the Dred Scott case came on for trial in the Supreme Court of the United States. The facts were agreed to by the counsel of both parties, and were briefly these:

Dred Scott was born a slave in Missouri. While there held a slave his owner, an officer in the Army of the United States, took Dred Scott as his slave to Rock Island, Ill., and held him there as such for two years. Then he took Dred Scott to Fort Snelling, on the western bank of the Mississippi River, where the ordinance of 1787 never existed. From there he

took Dred Scott back to Missouri. Then Dred Scott brought an action in the Circuit Court of the United States in Missouri against his then master for his freedom. The master answered that he was not a citizen of the United States, and that he did not become a free man by being taken into a free State, or the Territory of Minnesota. In the Supreme Court of the United States the first question necessarily presented upon the record was, Whether the Federal Circuit Court had jurisdiction to entertain Dred Scott's case. Was he a citizen of the United States? The next question was whether, under the ordinance of 1787, he became a free man upon being taken into and held in the State of Illinois. And the third and last question was, On being taken to Fort Snelling, did he become free under the act of Congress of 1820, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise law, which declared there never should be slavery north of a certain parallel, which was far south of Fort Snelling. These questions were all answered in the negative by a majority of the court. Every assenting and dissenting justice of the court wrote a separate opinion giving individual reasons. Of course if the act of Congress known as the Missouri Compromise law was valid, Scott was free thereby upon crossing the river to Fort Snelling, because that part was then in a territory governed by the said act of Congress. And so, to sum up briefly, the conclusion and judgment of the Supreme Court was to the effect: First, that an African was not a citizen of the United States; second, that the ordinance of 1787 was not in force in Illinois, and, third, that the Missouri Compromise law was in violation of the Constitution of the United States, because thereby any citizen of the United States had the right to take to and hold in any territory of the United States any kind of property, including slaves, and so that act was in violation of the Constitution itself. It is enough to say that that decision was reversed at the mouth of the cannon in the Civil War.

Since that case was decided, that court has held more than once that that part of the fourth article of the ordinance relating to the free navigation of navigable waters in these five States is not in force, but was supplanted by that clause in the Constitution giving Congress exclusive power and jurisdiction over commerce between the States; and in some of these cases it is said without careful notice being given to the act of cession and its acceptance and to the deed of cession and its acceptance; and without any mention of that provision in the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States, providing that all "engagements" entered into before the adoption of the Constitution shall be valid against the United States under this Constitution.

No case has ever been presented to that court where the issue was whether any one of these five States has a right to take a man's services for nothing, over the provision of the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting the same. No question has gone from any of these five States as to whether the people now have the right and power, notwithstanding the considerations and conditions and provisions I have mentioned concerning the form of our State governments, to abolish these forms of distinct Republican States and set up some other form as a monarchy or the initiative and referendum, and thereby destroy in whole or in part the legislative department in a distinct Republican State. Neither has any case gone from either of these States to the Supreme Court of the Nation where the question in issue was whether the people may destroy the judicial department and decide at the polls any or all judicial controversies. Neither has any case been presented where the people in any of these five States have undertaken to destroy the executive department and execute the laws en masse; or to take a man's services for public benefit without compensation in violation of the ordinance, or do what was attempted in Indiana, that is to say, abolish proportionate representation in the legislature of any or all of these five States and give the counties representation without any regard whatever to population.

Thus far I have only attempted to prove that the people and the courts on this land taken by Virginia and ceded to the United States under the terms and conditions already stated have generally thought and held that the ordinance was a compact indestructible and inviolable.

It only remains to show that from the beginning the Congress itself has often affirmed the existence of the ordinance of 1787. Thus in 1802 Congress passed an act enabling the people in the Territory of Ohio to form a State constitution and State government and enable the State to enter the Union. The same was done in Indiana in 1816, and to Illinois in 1818.

Now each of these acts of Congress declare in the same words that the constitutions and forms of government authorized to be made shall be republican and not repugnant to those articles of the ordinance of the 13th of July, 1787, which are declared to be irrevocable. Let me read the language of these acts. I read the act of April 19, 1816, to enable the people of Indiana Territory to form a constitution and State government. After providing for a constitutional convention, the act continues that the convention "shall then form for the people of said Territory a constitution and State government: *Provided*, That the same, whenever formed, shall be republican, and not repugnant, to those articles of the ordinance of the 13th of July, 1787, which are declared to be irrevocable between the original States and the people and States of the territory northwest of the River Ohio; * * *."

I find that in the act creating the Territory of Wisconsin it was declared that the people were entitled to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the ordinance of 1787.

Is it not strange that all the Members of these several Congresses, Senators and Representatives, and each of the Presidents signing these several acts were ignorant of the fact that the ordinance was annulled when the Federal Constitution was adopted? Yet you will find it stated in Chief Justice Taney's opinion in the Dred Scott case that the ordinance was annulled in this way and then reenacted by a subsequent act of Congress. The act to which he refers is that of August 7, 1789, passed by the First Congress under the Federal Constitution. The answer to such contention is found in the preamble, which reads:

> Whereas, in order that the ordinance may continue to have full effect, it is requisite that certain provisions should be made so as to adapt the same to the present Constitution of the United States.

Washington was the first President of the United States, but he was not President when the ordinance of 1787 was passed. Then there was no President of the United States; only a President of Congress. That part of the ordinance relating to the territorial government provided that the territorial offices should be appointed by, and report to Congress. The Constitution of the United States provides that Territorial, as well as other officers, shall be appointed by and report to the President of the United States; and it was to "adapt" the law to the ordinance in this temporary regard only that the act was passed. Washington, who signed this act, was chairman of the Constitutional Convention, and many of the Senators and Representatives in the First Congress were members of the same convention. Are we to be told that these men who made the Constitution, and found it necessary to adapt the temporary provisions of the ordinance touching the appointment of Territorial officers to the new conditions, did not know that that very Constitution made by them annulled the ordinance?

It was argued on behalf of Gov. Marshall in the case I have mentioned that the Supreme Court of the United States had just before held that any State might set up any form of State government it pleased, including that of the initiative, referendum, and recall. And this was based on the Oregon case decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1912. It was not so held. Oregon shortly before had adopted the initiative and referendum form of government. A taxpayer refused to pay because he insisted that that was not a representative form of government, and therefore violated that provision of the Constitution declaring that the United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government. And the insistence was that only a legislature could pass laws. Of course, the case could not be rested on the ordinance of 1787, because that never was in force on that soil. Oregon did not come to the United States in the same way as the land upon which we live came.

Now all that is decided in that case is, that whether or not the form of government of any State is or is not republican is a political question for Congress, and not a judicial question for the Federal courts.

If that be so, then it remains alone for the courts of Wisconsin and Indiana and the three other States to decide finally for each State whether the ordinance of 1787 is a part of the law of these five States.

And yet I think it is not improbable that a case may arise in any one of these five States and reach the Supreme Court of the United States, where it will be necessary to decide whether these fundamental articles of the ordinance are each and all annulled. If that case shall come, it will be the duty of some member of the bar to lay before that court in good form the conquest of Clark, the cession of Virginia, including the considerations and conditions and purposes therein set out and imposed in the deed to the Government itself, the acts of Congress I have mentioned, and the many decisions in these five States upon the subject, with much more care, learning, and ability than I have done.

While the Supreme Court of the United States is the highest judicial tribunal in the world, yet that court when convinced of an error retracts it. I have in mind a case from Philadel-

phia—the Girard Will case—which involved the law of public charities. When the case came on for hearing in the Supreme Court of the United States it was pointed out that that court had theretofore, in an opinion written by the great Chief Justice, held the law to be such as to defeat the case.

Notwithstanding this, the court said since that decision very strong additional light had been thrown upon the subject which convinced the court that the former decision was wrong, and it was overruled. There are other like instances. And I have confidence to believe that when some lawyer with patience and diligence has accumulated all the historical, legislative, and judicial authorities touching the question as to the existence of the ordinance in your State and mine and presents them to the Supreme Court of the United States, and points out with accuracy that which I have attempted to do, he will be able to convince the court and secure a judgment to the effect that, when Virginia and the United States made a compact as to what form of government should be erected and maintained on this land at the time and as a consideration for the grant that that compact will stand.

I thank you, Mr. President and gentlemen, with all my heart for the patience with which you have listened to what I have said. You have had in this State the question whether you would destroy this American form of republican State government and adopt another. Will it come again? Will it come again in Indiana? It is likely to come again and soon. And no one can present the case to a court but a member of our profession. A judge can not do it. A court can only take a case as presented. And there is no higher service to the States of our citizenship or to the present or future than for the members of the bar to stand, and to continue to stand, firmly and unflinchingly for the fundamental principles of our American republican form of government, with written constitutions vesting the supreme power to make laws in the legislature, the supreme power to adjudge cases in the courts, and the supreme power to execute the laws in the executive. These are the indestructible essentials of a distinct republican State. These, I submit, are guaranteed to us, and to all the people of these five States, to be and remain distinct republican States.

## Pension for Widows of Civil War Veterans.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM R. GREEN,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I have long favored such a measure as is included in the bill before the House and am very glad to assist in its passage. It has been little less than a disgrace to the country that the widow who was the wife of the soldier during his war service should receive but $12 a month. One who did not live during the trying days of the Civil War can hardly understand the privations undergone by the families and soldiers who went to the front leaving wife and children often with nothing upon which to live except what the soldier could send them out of his pay of $15 a month.

Those who speak of the high cost of living of the present day have never made comparison with the prices of that time. All of the necessities of life cost at least double what they do now, and many of them several times as much. A yard of plain calico cost 60 to 75 cents and refined sugar was 3 pounds for $1. Coffee was too expensive for the soldier's family to use and they generally prepared some substitute. To the lasting credit of the wife of the soldier of that day it should be said that she endured the privations of war without a murmur or complaint. It is little to the credit of this Government that it has been so slow to recognize her claims. Some day, along with the monuments that have been erected to our gallant soldiers, whose patriotism saved this country in the dark days of the Civil War, I hope to see a monument erected to the patriotic women of that time, who gave husbands and sons to their country and endured want and privation in order that the Nation might be reunited.

Mr. Speaker, I also favored that portion of the bill which provides for a pension of $20 per month to a widow of a Civil War veteran after she has reached the age of 70 years. It is perfectly plain that a woman of this age who has little or no means—and the greater portion have none—can not live upon $12 per month. This provision also was much needed.

Mr. Speaker, it is often said that republics are ungrateful. We have never intended to be ungrateful to the soldiers of the Civil War and we should always remember that they are entitled to consideration not alone for themselves but for those who were loved by and dear to them. By reason of service in the Civil War and disabilities incurred therein it was seldom that a Civil War veteran was able to leave his family a competence. It is our duty now in some degree to make up for this loss and to show to the present generation the regard which we have not only for the defenders of the Nation but for those who were dependent upon them.

## An Account of a Remarkable Meeting of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, Held at Mansion House, London.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. A. ELSTON,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 24, 1916.*

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me I include extracts from an account appearing in the London Times of May 5, 1916, of a remarkable meeting of the commission for relief in Belgium held at the Mansion House, London, and presided over by the lord mayor, at which Mr. Asquith, the prime minister of Great Britain, publicly expressed the appreciation of his Government and the nation for the philanthropic action of the American ambassador, the American people, and particularly of Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, of California, the organizer of the commission for relief in Belgium, in relieving the sufferings occasioned by this war. The article is as follows:

The prime minister spoke at the first annual meeting of the national committee for relief in Belgium held at the Mansion House yesterday. The lord mayor presided, and those present included Cardinal Bourne, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Bryce, the American and Spanish ambassadors, the Belgian minister, and many members of Parliament and representatives of the over-sea dominions.

The lord mayor said that it was absolutely essential that the work of the committee should be continued. He read the following message from King Albert:

"I am deeply gratified to learn of the magnificent results obtained by the past year's working of the national committee for relief in Belgium. I tender my sincerest thanks to all who in Great Britain and in the British Dominions have so generously contributed to this work of aid and fellowship."

The Duke of Norfolk presented the report, which showed that the total of the donations to the fund has been £1,657,418. Of this, £1,600,000 had already been expended in food for the destitute Belgians. Of the total received to April 26, £415,511 came from the United Kingdom and the balance from the dominions over seas.

Mr. Asquith, in moving the adoption of the report, congratulated the national committee heartily on the results they had achieved, and expressed to the American ambassador, and through him to the great American Nation, the gratitude which the British Government and the British people had for the untiring humanity of the United States. "The extent to which the suffering inevitable in a war in which half the civilized world was engaged had been alleviated," he said, "through the good offices of the United States Government and its diplomatic representatives, as well as by humane sentiment of the American people, could not be exaggerated.

"Thanks to energetic action on the part of the United States and Spanish ambassadors and ministers in London, Brussels, and Berlin, negotiations were concluded whereby relief supplies could be sent to these suffering people. But that was only a beginning. The practical problem of how to feed a nation suddenly confronted with the prospect of starvation presented unexampled difficulties. Mr. Herbert Hoover undertook to form, under the auspices of the American and Spanish diplomatic representatives, what was now known as the neutral commission for relief in Belgium."

Lord Curzon had described Mr. Hoover's work as a miracle of scientific organization. "That, I believe," said Mr. Asquith, "is not an overstatement." Mr. Asquith continued: "With the people in that part of Northern France occupied by Germany added to those for whom Mr. Hoover and those associated with him are providing every-day food, the number is over 9,000,000, 5,000,000 of whom are practically destitute.

"I desire to express on behalf of the Government our deep gratitude to Mr. Hoover and those American citizens who have so nobly given up their time and occupations without recompense, and largely without recognition, to this work of purchasing food and distributing these supplies which alone enable the population of Belgium to keep body and soul together. It is one of he finest achievements in the history of humane and philanthropic organization. We learn from the report that over £30,000 a week is being voluntarily subscribed from British sources to alleviate Belgian distress. It is a large sum, but I am not sure that it is an adequate sum. I trust that in the months before us it will be substantially exceeded."

Cardinal Bourne seconded the resolution, which was carried.

The Belgian minister expressed the appreciation of the Belgian Government and people of the work of the relief committee.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, Sir Thomas Mackenzie, Sir Peter McBride, and the chief rabbi also spoke.

**Note of the Secretary of State of the United States to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the de Facto Government of Mexico.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the note of the Secretary of State of the United States to the secretary of foreign relations of the de facto government of Mexico, dated June 20, 1916.

The note is as follows:

NOTE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SECRETARY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE DE FACTO GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO, DATED JUNE 20, 1916.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, June 20, 1916.*

SIR: I have read your communication, which was delivered to me on May 22, 1916, under instructions of the Chief Executive of the de facto government of Mexico, on the subject of the presence of American troops in Mexican territory, and I would be wanting in candor if I did not, before making answer to the allegations of fact and the conclusions reached by your Government, express the surprise and regret which have been caused this Government by the discourteous tone and temper of this last communication of the de facto Government of Mexico.

The Government of the United States has viewed with deep concern and increasing disappointment the progress of the revolution in Mexico. Continuous bloodshed and disorders have marked its progress. For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered nonproductive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, and in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war.

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the past nine months in particular, the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized. American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed and their equipment and horses stolen; American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered. The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso Post Office, and Las Peladas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory, Carranzista adherents, and even Carranzista soldiers, took part in the looting, burning, and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated. Representations were made to Gen. Carranza and he was emphatically requested to stop these reprehensible acts in a section which he has long claimed to be under the complete domination of his authority. Notwithstanding these representations and the promise of Gen. Nafarrete to prevent attacks along the international boundary, in the following month of October a passenger train was wrecked by bandits and several persons killed 7 miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made upon United States troops at the same place several days later. Since these attacks leaders of the bandits well known both to Mexican civil and military authorities as well as to American officers have been enjoying with impunity the liberty of the towns of northern Mexico. So far has the indifference of the de facto Government to these atrocities gone that some of these leaders, as I am advised, have received not only the protection of that Government, but encouragement and aid as well.

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous. This Government has repeatedly requested in the strongest terms that the de facto government safeguard the lives and homes of American citizens and furnish the protection which international obligation imposes to American interests in the northern States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora, and also in the States to the south. For example, on January 3 troops were requested to punish the bands of outlaws which looted the Cusi mining property, 80 miles west of Chihuahua, but no effective results came from this request. During the following week the bandit Villa, with his band of about 200 men, was operating without opposition between Rubio and Santa Ysabel, a fact well known to Carranzista authorities. Meanwhile a party of unfortunate Americans started by train from Chihuahua to visit the Cusi mines, after having received assurances from the Carranzista authorities in the State of Chihuahua that the country was safe and that a guard on the train was not necessary. The Americans held passports or safe conducts issued by authorities of the de facto government. On January 10 the train was stopped by Villa bandits and 18 of the American party were stripped of their clothing and shot in cold blood in what is now known as "the Santa Ysabel massacre." Gen Carranza stated to the agent of the Department of State that he had issued orders for the immediate pursuit, capture, and punishment of those responsible for this atrocious crime, and appealed to this Government and to the American people to consider the difficulties of according protection along the railroad where the massacre occurred. Assurances were also given by Mr. Arredondo, presumably under instructions from the de facto government, that the murderers would be brought to justice and that steps would also be taken to remedy the lawless conditions existing in the State of Durango. It is true that Villa, Castro, and Lopez were publicly declared to be outlaws and subject to apprehension and execution, but so far as known only a single man personally connected with this massacre has been brought to justice by Mexican authorities. Within a month after this barbarous slaughter of inoffensive Americans it was notorious that Villa was operating within 20 miles of Cusihuiriachic, and publicly stated that his purpose was to destroy American lives and property. Despite repeated and insistent demands that military protection should be furnished to Americans, Villa openly carried on his operations, constantly approaching closer and closer to the border. He was not intercepted, nor were his movements impeded by troops of the de facto government, and no effectual attempt was made to frustrate his hostile designs against Americans. In fact, as I am informed, while Villa and his band were slowly moving toward the American frontier in the neighborhood of Columbus, N. Mex., not a single Mexican soldier was seen in his vicinity. Yet the Mexican authorities were fully cognizant of his movements, for on March 6, as Gen. Gavira publicly announced, he advised the American military authorities of the outlaw's approach to the border, so that they might be prepared to prevent him from crossing the boundary. Villa's unhindered activities culminated in the unprovoked and cold-blooded attack upon American soldiers and citizens in the town of Columbus on the night of March 9, the details of which do not need repetition here in order to refresh your memory with the heinousness of the crime. After murdering, burning, and plundering, Villa and his bandits, fleeing south, passed within sight of the Carranzista military post at Casas Grandes, and no effort was made to stop him by the officers and garrison of the de facto government stationed there.

In the face of these depredations, not only on American lives and property on Mexican soil but on American soldiers, citizens, and homes on American territory, the perpetrators of which Gen. Carranza was unable or possibly considered it inadvisable to apprehend and punish, the United States had no recourse other than to employ force to disperse the bands of Mexican outlaws who were with increasing boldness systematically raiding across the international boundary.

The marauders engaged in the attack on Columbus were driven back across the border by American Cavalry, and subsequently, as soon as a sufficient force to cope with the band could be collected, were pursued into Mexico in an effort to capture or destroy them. Without cooperation or assistance in the field on the part of the de facto government, despite repeated requests by the United States, and without apparent recognition on its part

of the desirability of putting an end to these systematic raids, or of punishing the chief perpetrators of the crimes committed, because they menaced the good relations of the two countries. American forces pursued the lawless bands as far as Parral, where the pursuit was halted by the hostility of Mexicans, presumed to be loyal to the de facto government, who arrayed themselves on the side of outlawry and became in effect the protectors of Villa and his band.

In this manner and for these reasons have the American forces entered Mexican territory. Knowing fully the circumstances set forth the de facto government can not be blind to the necessity which compelled this Government to act, and yet it has seen fit to recite groundless sentiments of hostility toward the expedition and to impute to this Government ulterior motives for the continued presence of American troops on Mexican soil. It is charged that these troops crossed the frontier without first obtaining the consent or permission of the de facto government. Obviously, as immediate action alone could avail, there was no opportunity to reach an agreement—other than that of March 10 to 13, now repudiated by Gen. Carranza—prior to the entrance of such an expedition into Mexico if the expedition was to be effective. Subsequent events and correspondence have demonstrated to the satisfaction of this Government that Gen. Carranza would not have entered into any agreement providing for an effective plan for the capture and destruction of the Villa bands. While the American troops were moving rapidly southward in pursuit of the raiders, it was the form and nature of the agreement that occupied the attention of Gen. Carranza rather than the practical object which it was to attain—the number of limitations that could be imposed upon the American forces to impede their progress rather than the obstacles that could be raised to prevent the escape of the outlaws. It was Gen. Carranza who suspended, through your note of April 12, all discussions and negotiations for an agreement along the lines of the protocols between the United States and Mexico concluded during the period 1882–1896, under which the two countries had so successfully restored peaceful conditions on their common boundary. It may be mentioned here that, notwithstanding the statement in your note that "the American Government gave no answer to the note of the 12th of April," this note was replied to on April 14, when the department instructed Mr. Rodgers by telegraph to deliver this Government's answer to Gen. Carranza. Shortly after this reply the conferences between Gens. Scott, Funston, and Obregon began at El Paso, during which they signed on May 2 a project of a memorandum ad referendum regarding the withdrawal of American troops. As an indication of the alleged bad faith of the American Government, you state that though Gen. Scott declared in this memorandum that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band "had been accomplished," yet American forces are not withdrawn from Mexico. It is only necessary to read the memorandum, which is in the English language, to ascertain that this is clearly a misstatement, for the memorandum states that "the American punitive expeditionary forces have destroyed or dispersed many of the lawless elements and bandits, * * * or have driven them far into the interior of the Republic of Mexico," and further, that the United States forces were then "carrying on a vigorous pursuit of such small numbers of bandits or lawless elements as may have escaped." The context of your note gives the impression that the object of the expedition being admittedly accomplished, the United States had agreed in the memorandum to begin the withdrawal of its troops.

The memorandum shows, however, that it was not alone on account of partial dispersion of the bandits that it was decided to begin the withdrawal of American forces, but equally on account of the assurances of the Mexican government that their forces were "at the present time being augmented and strengthened to such an extent that they will be able to prevent any disorders occurring in Mexico that would in any way endanger American territory," and that they would "continue to diligently pursue, capture, or destroy any lawless bands of bandits that may still exist or hereafter exist in the northern part of Mexico," and that it would "make a proper distribution of such of its forces as may be necessary to prevent the possibility of invasion of American territory from Mexico." It was because of these assurances and because of Gen. Scott's confidence that they would be carried out that he stated in the memorandum that the American forces would be "gradually withdrawn." It is to be noted that, while the American Government was willing to ratify this agreement, Gen. Carranza refused to do so, as Gen. Obregon stated, because, among other things, it imposed improper conditions upon the Mexican government.

Notwithstanding the assurances in the memorandum, it is well known that the forces of the de facto government have not carried on a vigorous pursuit of the remaining bandits, and that no proper distribution of forces to prevent the invasion of American territory has been made, as will be shown by the further facts hereinafter set forth. I am reluctant to be forced to the conclusion which might be drawn from these circumstances that the de facto government, in spite of the crimes committed and the sinister designs of Villa and his followers, did not and does not now intend or desire that these outlaws should be captured, destroyed, or dispersed by American troops, or, at the request of this Government, by Mexican troops.

While the conferences at El Paso were in progress, and after the American conferees had been assured on May 2 that the Mexican forces in the northern part of the Republic were then being augmented so as to be able to prevent any disorders that would endanger American territory, a band of Mexicans, on the night of May 5, made an attack at Glenn Springs, Tex., about 20 miles north of the border, killing American soldiers and civilians, burning and sacking property, and carrying off two Americans as prisoners. Subsequent to this event the Mexican government, as you state, "gave instructions to Gen. Obregon to notify that of the United States that it would not permit the further passage of American troops into Mexico on this account, and that orders had been given to all military commanders along the frontier not to consent to same." This Government is, of course, not in a position to dispute the statement that these instructions had been given to Gen. Obregon, but it can decisively assert that Gen. Obregon never gave any such notification to Gen. Scott or Gen. Funston or, so far as known, to any other American official. Gen. Obregon did, however, inquire as to whether American troops had entered Mexico in pursuit of the Glenn Springs raiders, and Gen. Funston stated that no orders had been issued to American troops to cross the frontier on account of the raid, but this statement was made before any such orders had been issued, and not afterwards, as the erroneous account of the interview given in your note would appear to indicate. Moreover, no statement was made by the American generals that "no more American troops would cross into our territory." On the contrary, it was pointed out to Gen. Obregon and to Mr. Juan Amador, who was present at the conference, and pointed out with emphasis, that the bandits, de la Rosa and Pedro Vino, who had been instrumental in causing the invasion of Texas above Brownsville, were even then reported to be arranging in the neighborhood of Victoria for another raid across the border, and it was made clear to Gen. Obregon that if the Mexican government did not take immediate steps to prevent another invasion of the United States by these marauders, who were frequently seen in the company of Gen. Nafarrete, the constitutionalist commander, Mexico would find in Tamaulipas another punitive expedition similar to that then in Chihuahua.

American troops crossed into Mexico on May 10 upon notification to the local military authorities, under the repudiated agreement of March 10–13, or in any event in accordance with the practice adopted over 40 years ago, when there was no agreement regarding pursuit of marauders across the international boundary. These troops penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders without encountering a detachment of Mexican troops or a single Mexican soldier. Further discussion of this raid, however, is not necessary, because the American forces sent in pursuit of the bandits recrossed into Texas on the morning of May 22, the date of your note under consideration—a further proof of the singleness of purpose of this Government in endeavoring to quell disorder and stamp out lawlessness along the border.

During the continuance of the El Paso conferences, Gen. Scott, you assert, did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican government for the protection of the frontier by the reciprocal distribution of troops along the boundary. This proposition was made by Gen. Obregon a number of times, but each time conditioned upon the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and the Mexican conferees were invariably informed that immediate withdrawal could not take place, and that therefore it was impossible to discuss the project on that basis.

I have noted the fact that your communication is not limited to a discussion of the deplorable conditions existing along the border, and their important bearing on the peaceful relations of our Governments, but that an effort is made to connect it with other circumstances in order to support, if possible, a mistaken interpretation of the attitude of the Government of the United States toward Mexico. You state in effect that the American Government has placed every obstacle in the way of attaining the pacification of Mexico, and that this is shown by the volume of diplomatic representations in behalf of American interests which constantly impede efforts to reorganize the political, economical, and social conditions of the country; by

the decided aid lent at one time to Villa by American officers and by the Department of State; by the aid extended by the American Catholic clergy to that of Mexico; by the constant activity of the American press in favor of intervention and the interests of American business men; by the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory; by the detention of shipments of arms and munitions purchased by the Mexican government; and by the detention of machinery intended for their manufacture.

In reply to this sweeping charge, I can truthfully affirm that the American Government has given every possible encouragement to the de facto government in the pacification and rehabilitation of Mexico. From the moment of its recognition it has had the undivided support of this Government. An embargo was placed upon arms and ammunition going into Chihuahua, Sonora, and Lower California in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the armed opponents of the de facto government. Permission has been granted from time to time, as requested, for Mexican troops and equipment to traverse American territory from one point to another in Mexico in order that the operations of Mexican troops against Villa and his forces might be facilitated. In view of these friendly acts, I am surprised that the de facto government has construed diplomatic representations in regard to the unjust treatment accorded American interests, private assistance to opponents to the de facto government by sympathizers in a foreign country, and the activity of a foreign press as interference by the United States Government in the domestic politics of Mexico. If a denial is needed that this Government has had ulterior and improper motives in its diplomatic representations, or has countenanced the activities of American sympathizers and the American press opposed to the de facto government, I am glad most emphatically to deny it. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the Mexican press has been more active than the press in the United States in endeavoring to inflame the two peoples against each other and to force the two countries into hostilities.

With the power of censorship of the Mexican press, so rigorously exercised by the de facto government, the responsibility for this activity can not, it would seem, be avoided by that government, and the issue of the appeal of Gen. Carranza himself in the press of March 12, calling upon the Mexican people to be prepared for any emergency which might arise and intimating that war with the United States was imminent, evidences the attitude of the de facto government toward these publications. It should not be a matter of surprise that after such manifestations of hostile feeling the United States was doubtful of the purpose for which the large amount of ammunition was to be used which the de facto government appeared eager to import from this country. Moreover, the policy of the de facto government in refusing to cooperate and in failing to act independently in destroying the Villa bandits and in otherwise suppressing outlawry in the vicinity of the border so as to remove the danger of war materials while passing southward through this zone falling into the hands of the enemies of law and order is, in the opinion of this Government, a sufficient ground, even if there were no other, for the refusal to allow such materials to cross the boundary into the bandit-infested region. To have permitted these shipments without careful scrutiny would, in the circumstances, have been to manifest a sense of security which would have been unjustified.

Candor compels me to add that the unconcealed hostility of the subordinate military commanders of the de facto government toward the American troops engaged in pursuing Villa bands and the efforts of the de facto government to compel their withdrawal from Mexican territory by threats and show of military force instead of by aiding in the capture of the outlaws constitute a menace to the safety of the American troops and to the peace of the border. As long as this menace continues and there is any evidence of an intention on the part of the de facto government or its military commanders to use force against the American troops instead of cooperating with them, the Government of the United States will not permit munitions of war or machinery for their manufacture to be exported from this country to Mexico.

As to the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory, I can state that vigorous efforts have been and are being made by the agents of the United States to apprehend and bring to justice all persons found to be conspiring to violate the laws of the United States by organizing to oppose with arms the de facto government of Mexico. Political refugees have undoubtedly sought asylum in the United States, but this Government has vigilantly kept them under surveillance and has not hesitated to apprehend them upon proof of their criminal intentions, as the arrest of Gen. Huerta and others fully attests.

Having corrected the erroneous statements of fact to which I have adverted, the real situation stands forth in its true light. It is admitted that American troops have crossed the international boundary in hot pursuit of the Columbus raiders and without notice to or the consent of your government but the several protestations on the part of this Government by the President, by this department, and by other American authorities, that the object of the expedition was to capture, destroy, or completely disperse the Villa bands of outlaws or to turn this duty over to the Mexican authorities when assured that it would be effectively fulfilled, has been carried out in perfect good faith by the United States. Its efforts, however, have been obstructed at every point; first, by insistence on a palpably useless agreement which you admit was either not to apply to the present expedition or was to contain impracticable restrictions on its organization and operation; then by actual opposition, encouraged and fostered by the de facto government, to the further advance of the expedition into Villa territory, which was followed by the sudden suspension of all negotiations for an arrangement for the pursuit of Villa and his followers and the protection of the frontier; and finally by a demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops. Meantime, conditions of anarchy in the border States of Mexico were continually growing worse.

Incursions into American territory were plotted and perpetrated; the Glenn Springs raid was successfully executed, while no effective efforts were being made by Gen. Carranza to improve the conditions and to protect American territory from constant threat of invasion. In view of this increasing menace, of the inactivity of the Carranza forces, of the lack of cooperation in the apprehension of the Villa bands, and of the known encouragement and aid given to bandit leaders, it is unreasonable to expect the United States to withdraw its forces from Mexican territory or to prevent their entry again when their presence is the only check upon further bandit outrages and the only efficient means of protecting American lives and homes—safeguards which Gen. Carranza, though internationally obligated to supply, is manifestly unable or unwilling to give.

In view of the actual state of affairs as I have outlined it above, I am now in a position to consider the conclusions which you have drawn in your note under acknowledgment from the erroneous statements of fact which you have set forth.

Your government intimates, if it does not openly charge, that the attitude of the United States is one of insincerity, distrust, and suspicion toward the de facto government of Mexico, and that the intention of the United States in sending its troops into Mexico is to extend its sovereignty over Mexican territory, and not merely for the purpose of pursuing marauders and preventing future raids across the border. The de facto government charges by implication, which admits of but one interpretation, that this Government has as its object territorial aggrandizement, even at the expense of a war of aggression against a neighbor weakened by years of civil strife. The Government of the United States, if it had had designs upon the territory of Mexico, would have had no difficulty in finding during this period of revolution and disorder many plausible arguments for intervention in Mexican affairs. Hoping, however, that the people of Mexico would through their own efforts restore peace and establish an orderly government, the United States has awaited with patience the consummation of the revolution.

When the superiority of the revolutionary faction led by Gen. Carranza became undoubted the United States, after conferring with six others of the American Republics, recognized unconditionally the present de facto government. It hoped and expected that that government would speedily restore order and provide the Mexican people and others who had given their energy and substance to the development of the great resources of the Republic opportunity to rebuild in peace and security their shattered fortunes.

This Government has waited month after month for the consummation of its hope and expectation. In spite of increasing discouragements, in spite of repeated provocations to exercise force in the restoration of order in the northern regions of Mexico, where American interests have suffered most seriously from lawlessness, the Government of the United States has refrained from aggressive action and sought by appeals and moderate though explicit demands to impress upon the de facto government the seriousness of the situation and to arouse it to its duty to perform its international obligations toward citizens of the United States who had entered the territory of Mexico or had vested interests within its boundaries.

In the face of constantly renewed evidences of the patience and restraint of this Government in circumstances which only a government imbued with unselfishness and a sincere desire to respect to the full the sovereign rights and national dignity of

the Mexican people would have endured, doubts and suspicions as to the motives of the Government of the United States are expressed in your communication of May 22, for which I can imagine no purpose but to impugn the good faith of this Government, for I find it hard to believe that such imputations are not universally known to be without the least shadow of justification in fact.

Can the de facto government doubt that, if the United States had turned covetous eyes on Mexican territory, it could have found many pretexts in the past for the gratification of its desire? Can that government doubt that months ago, when the war between the revolutionary factions was in progress, a much better opportunity than the present was afforded for American intervention, if such has been the purpose of the United States as the de facto government now insinuates? What motive could this Government have had in refraining from taking advantage of such opportunities other than unselfish friendship for the Mexican Republic? I have, of course, given consideration to your argument that the responsibility for the present situation rests largely upon this Government. In the first place, you state that even the American forces along the border whose attention is undivided by other military operations, "Find themselves physically unable to protect effectively the frontier on the American side." Obviously, if there is no means of reaching bands roving on Mexican territory and making sudden dashes at night into American territory it is impossible to prevent such invasions unless the frontier is protected by a cordon of troops. No Government could be expected to maintain a force of this strength along the boundary of a nation with which it is at peace for the purpose of resisting the onslaughts of a few bands of lawless men, especially when the neighboring State makes no effort to prevent these attacks. The most effective method of preventing raids of this nature, as past experience has fully demonstrated, is to visit punishment or destruction on the raiders. It is precisely this plan which the United States desires to follow along the border without any intention of infringing upon the sovereign rights of her neighbor, but which, although obviously advantageous to the de facto government, it refuses to allow or even countenance. It is, in fact, protection to American lives and property about which the United States is solicitous and not the methods or ways in which that protection shall be accomplished. If the Mexican government is unwilling or unable to give this protection by preventing its territory from being the rendezvous and refuge of murderers and plunderers, that does not relieve this Government from its duty to take all the steps necessary to safeguard American citizens on American soil. The United States Government can not and will not allow bands of lawless men to establish themselves upon its borders with liberty to invade and plunder American territory with impunity and, when pursued, to seek safety across the Rio Grande, relying upon the plea of their Government that the integrity of the soil of the Mexican Republic must not be violated.

The Mexican government further protests that it has "made every effort on its part to protect the frontier" and that it is doing "all possible to avoid a recurrence of such acts." Attention is again invited to the well known and unrestricted activity of de la Rosa, Ancieto Piscano, Pedro Vinos, and others in connection with border raids and to the fact that, as I am advised, up to June 4 de la Rosa was still collecting troops at Monterey for the openly avowed purpose of making attacks on Texan border towns and that Pedro Vinos was recruiting at other places for the same avowed purpose. I have already pointed out the uninterrupted progress of Villa to and from Columbus, and the fact that the American forces in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory without encountering a single Carranzista soldier. This does not indicate that the Mexican government is doing "all possible" to avoid further raids; and if it is doing "all possible," this is not sufficient to prevent border raids, and there is every reason, therefore, why this Government must take such preventive measures as it deems sufficient.

It is suggested that injuries suffered on account of bandit raids are a matter of "pecuniary reparation" but "never the cause for American forces to invade Mexican soil." The precedents which have been established and maintained by the government of the Mexican Republic for the last half century do not bear out this statement. It has grown to be almost a custom not to settle depredations of bandits by payments of money alone, but to quell such disorders and to prevent such crimes by swift and sure punishment.

The de facto government finally argues that "if the frontier were duly protected from incursions from Mexico there would be no reason for the existing difficulty"; thus the de facto government attempts to absolve itself from the first duty of any government, namely, the protection of life and property. This is the paramount obligation for which governments are instituted, and governments neglecting or failing to perform it are not worthy of the name. This is the duty for which Gen. Carranza, it must be assumed, initiated his revolution in Mexico and organized the present government and for which the United States Government recognized his government as the de facto government of Mexico. Protection of American lives and property, then, in the United States is first the obligation of this Government, and in Mexico is, first, the obligation of Mexico, and second, the obligation of the United States. In securing this protection along the common boundary the United States has a right to expect the cooperation of its neighboring Republic; and yet, instead of taking steps to check or punish the raiders, the de facto government demurs and objects to measures taken by the United States. The Government of the United States does not wish to believe that the de facto government approves these marauding attacks, yet as they continue to be made, they show that the Mexican government is unable to repress them. This inability, as this Government has had occasion in the past to say, may excuse the failure to check the outrages complained of, but it only makes stronger the duty of the United States to prevent them, for if the Government of Mexico can not protect the lives and property of Americans, exposed to attack from Mexicans, the Government of the United States is in duty bound, so far as it can, to do so.

In conclusion, the Mexican government invites the United States to support its "assurances of friendship with real and effective acts" which "can be no other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops." For the reasons I have herein fully set forth, this request of the de facto government can not now be entertained. The United States has not sought the duty which has been forced upon it of pursuing bandits who under fundamental principles of municipal and international law ought to be pursued and arrested and punished by Mexican authorities. Whenever Mexico will assume and effectively exercise that responsibility the United States, as it has many times before publicly declared, will be glad to have this obligation fulfilled by the de facto government of Mexico. If, on the contrary, the de facto government is pleased to ignore this obligation and to believe that "in case of a refusal to retire these troops there is no further recourse than to defend its territory by an appeal to arms," the Government of the United States would surely be lacking in sincerity and friendship if it did not frankly impress upon the de facto government that the execution of this threat will lead to the gravest consequences. While this Government would deeply regret such a result, it can not recede from its settled determination to maintain its national rights and to perform its full duty in preventing further invasions of the territory of the United States and in removing the peril which Americans along the international boundary have borne so long with patience and forbearance.

Accept, etc.,

ROBERT LANSING.

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**Good Roads, Rail, and Water Transportation.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
OF ALASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, the people of Alaska are greatly interested in good roads and rail and water transportation. No one obstacle has more greatly retarded the development of the Territory and its many natural resources than the want of facilities for transportation. The Congress has responded to this demand by authorizing the construction of a trunk line of railroad from the southern harbors to an intersection with the great river waterways of the interior. When that railroad shall have reached the Tanana and the Yukon Rivers, a distance of about 450 miles from the Seward terminal, there will be added nearly 6,000 miles of open navigable river transportation at the end of the Government railroad for one-half of the year. This main trunk line of railroad and river, however, needs many branch extensions of wagon roads that the mining camps, settlements, and towns may reach the main line and have traffic relations with each other. The proposed appropriation of $500,000 carried in the bill before the House is intended to do that in part. The appropriation is authorized for

the construction, repair, and maintenance of military and post roads, and the money will be expended in connecting the military posts in Alaska and completing the general preparedness plan of the United States. But the roads thus constructed are not to be limited to the use of the military forces, and will be equally as useful to the people of Alaska as if constructed merely as public highways.

Then, too, the people of Alaska pay nearly one-half the tax or appropriation for the construction of these roads. In 1905 Congress passed the act of January 27, 1905 (30 Stat. L., 1336), "An act to provide for the construction and maintenance of roads," and so forth, in Alaska. Section 1 of that act provided—

That all moneys derived from and collected for liquor licenses, occupation, or trade licenses outside of the incorporated towns in the district of Alaska shall be deposited in the Treasury Department of the United States, there to remain as a separate and distinct fund, to be known as the "Alaska fund," and to be wholly devoted to the purposes hereinafter stated in the district of Alaska.

At present 25 per cent of the Alaska fund is expended in Alaska under direction of the governor for school purposes, 10 per cent under the direction of the judges of the district courts for charitable purposes, and the remainder, 65 per cent, is expended under War Department supervision by the Alaska board of road commissioners, composed of three Army officers, in the construction and maintenance of wagon roads. These two funds, the appropriations made by Congress, and the 65 per cent of the Alaska fund, representing the license fees and taxes of the citizens of Alaska outside of the incorporated towns, are both expended by the board of Army officers created by the act of Congress of 1905.

The following table shows the total amount of appropriations made by Congress and the total sum used from the Alaska fund in the construction, repair, and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska from 1900 to January 1, 1916, under the jurisdiction of the Alaska board of road commissioners:

| Year. | Appropriation. | Alaska fund. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1900 | $100,000.00 | ..... | $100,000.00 |
| 1904 | 27,500.00 | ..... | 27,500.00 |
| 1905 | 7,131.15 | $5,000.00 | 12,131.15 |
| 1906 | 185,000.00 | 83,500.00 | 268,500.00 |
| 1907 | 250,000.00 | 148,584.00 | 398,584.00 |
| 1908 | 250,000.00 | 117,750.00 | 367,750.00 |
| 1909 | 350,000.00 | 145,428.27 | 495,428.27 |
| 1910 | 100,000.00 | 74,881.67 | 174,881.67 |
| 1911 | 150,000.00 | 206,311.24 | 356,311.24 |
| 1912 | 125,000.00 | 152,061.77 | 277,061.77 |
| 1913 | 100,000.00 | 227,932.05 | 327,932.05 |
| 1914 | 125,000.00 | 166,423.74 | 291,423.74 |
| 1915 | 165,000.00 | 171,983.78 | 336,983.78 |
| 1916 | ..... | 40,085.27 | 40,085.27 |
| Total | 1,934,631.15 | 1,539,941.79 | 3,474,572.94 |

From the foregoing table it appears that while Congress has expended the sum of $1,934,631.15 in the construction of military and post roads in Alaska in connecting its posts and military establishments, it has also levied and collected license fees and taxes upon the people of Alaska for the construction and maintenance of the same roads in the sum of $1,539,941.79, making a total of $3,474,572.94 expended by the military board having charge of the work.

The joinder of the United States and the Territorial taxes in this work of road building under the charge of a military board in the War Department has led to much misunderstanding on the part of the people of Alaska, who too frequently, for the want of exact information, demand action from their representative, the Delegate from Alaska, that he can not lawfully or practically give them. Many demands come to me from every part of the Territory that I introduce a bill or bills and secure appropriations for the extension of the road work in Alaska, and even those who know the true situation, for personal or political reasons, too often add to the confusion by charges of failure on my part to secure such appropriations.

A brief statement of the law and the official facts leading to the appropriation in this bill of $500,000 for road work in Alaska will be instructive and interesting to those in Alaska, who also pay millions to the same fund.

If appropriations could be had from the United States Treasury as easily as most people imagine, there would never be a cent in it. Those who are responsible for the disbursement of the public moneys are constantly on guard, and, as a protection to themselves and the funds under their charge, have from time to time adopted rules and regulations for the careful management, appropriation, and expenditure of the same. Not a cent can be obtained from the Treasury of the United States for departmental work, such as that carried on by the Alaska Board of Road Commissioners, except by following the law of estimates for the control of appropriations. The matter of appropriations for the support of the bureaus and departments of the Government, for salaries, maintenance, and carrying on the various activities authorized by law is not left to chance or to appropriation bills introduced by any Congressman. The whole matter is carefully systematized by law, and the appropriation bills are the result of careful and systematic examination and the inspection of official estimates, prepared by each bureau and department in advance of the meeting of Congress.

THE LAW OF ESTIMATES.

Long ago Congress enacted laws for orderly and certain action by the committees in the matter of appropriations, so as to limit and control them, and also to avoid the misfortune which might befall a failure to provide for each item needed and authorized by law.

Sections 3669 and 3670, of the United States Revised Statutes (1878) provide as follows:

SEC. 3669. All annual estimates for the public service shall be submitted to Congress through the Secretary of the Treasury and shall be included in the Book of Estimates prepared under his direction.

SEC. 3670. The Secretary of the Treasury shall annex to the annual estimates of the appropriations required for the public service, a statement of the appropriations for the service for the year, which may have been made by former acts.

The last clause of section 2 of the general deficiency appropriation bill of July 7, 1884, provides:

SEC. 2. * * * And hereafter all estimates of appropriations and estimates of deficiencies in appropriations intended for the consideration and seeking the action of any of the committees of Congress shall be transmitted to Congress through the Secretary of the Treasury, and in no other manner; and the said Secretary shall first cause the same to be properly classified, compiled, indexed, and printed, under the supervision of the chief of the division of warrants, estimates, and appropriations of his department. (23 Stat. L., p. 254.)

The fifth section of the general appropriation act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., p. 1009) further provides:

SEC. 5. That hereafter it shall be the duty of the heads of the several executive departments and of other officers authorized or required to make estimates, to furnish to the Secretary of the Treasury on or before the 15th day of October of each year, their annual estimates for the public service, to be included in the Book of Estimates prepared by law under his direction, and in case of failure to furnish estimates as herein required it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be prepared in the Treasury Department, on or before the 1st day of November of each year, estimates for such appropriations as in his judgment shall be requisite in every such case, which estimates shall be included in the Book of Estimates prepared by law under his direction for the consideration of Congress.

The second paragraph of section 4 of the general appropriation act of June 22, 1906 (34 Stat. L., p. 448–9) further provides:

SEC. 4. * * * Hereafter the heads of the several executive departments and all other officers authorized or required to make estimates for the public service shall include in their annual estimates furnished the Secretary of the Treasury for inclusion in the Book of Estimates all estimates of appropriations required for the service of the fiscal year for which they are prepared and submitted, and special or additional estimates for that year shall only be submitted to carry out laws subsequently enacted, or when deemed imperatively necessary for the public service by the department in which they originate, in which case such special or additional estimates shall be accompanied by a full statement of its imperative necessity and reasons for its omission in the annual estimates.

And, finally, the ninth section of the general appropriation act of August 23, 1912 (37 Stat. L., p. 415) further provides:

SEC. 9. That until otherwise provided by law the regular annual estimates of appropriations for expenses of the Government of the United States shall be prepared and submitted to Congress by those charged with the duty of such preparation and submission only in the form and at the time now required by law, and in no other form and at no other time.

Anyone who will carefully read these quotations from the statutes of the United States will understand that before any money can be appropriated from the Treasury to the use of any department of the Government, except deficiency estimates, the application of that department must have been made to the Secretary of the Treasury on or before the 15th day of October previous to the convening of Congress and included in the Book of Estimates presented by the Secretary of the Treasury to that Congress on the first day of its meeting.

THE ALASKA BOARD OF ROAD COMMISSIONERS.

This board was organized by the act of January 27, 1905 (33 Stat. L., p. 616). Section 2 of the act provides:

SEC. 2. That there shall be a board of road commissioners in said district, to be composed of an engineer officer of the United States Army, to be detailed and appointed by the Secretary of War, and two other officers of that part of the Army stationed in said district and to be designated by the Secretary of War, etc.

The board is thus created within the War Department, and all appropriations to be requested from Congress to be expended by it, except deficiency appropriations, must be asked for by the Secretary of War in his estimates to be submitted by him to the Secretary of the Treasury on or before October 15 of each

year. And that course is always pursued in securing the annual appropriations from Congress for the Alaska Board of Road Commissioners.

THE BOOK OF ESTIMATES, 1916–17.

As a practical example of the way the various departments of the Government comply with the foregoing law of estimates, reference is made to the last Book of Estimates, prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year from June 30, 1916, to June 30, 1917. It is a large book of 1,340 pages of fine print. Its official title is House Document No. 27, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. The letter transmitting these estimates to the House of Representatives is dated on the first day of the Congress, and the title page and letter are as follows:

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY TRANSMITTING ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATIONS REQUIRED FOR THE SERVICE FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1917.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
*December 6, 1915.*

To the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: In conformity with the requirements of sections 3669 and 3670 of the Revised Statutes and acts of July 7, 1884 (23 Stat., p. 254), and March 3, 1901 (31 Stat., p. 1009), I have the honor to transmit for the information of Congress the estimates of appropriations required for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, as furnished by the several executive departments; also, statement of the expenditures of the moneys appropriated for contingent expenses of the Independent Treasury for the fiscal year 1915.

Respectfully, W. G. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

Similar Books of Estimates are submitted to Congress every year by the Secretary of the Treasury, and from these estimates thus officially submitted the committees of Congress prepare the appropriation bills. No appropriation bills for authorized work—that is, Government work once authorized through departmental control—are ever offered by Congressmen; all such appropriations come in the regular estimates from the proper department having charge of the work.

ESTIMATES FOR ALASKA ROADS.

The estimates for the construction, repair, and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska are prepared in the War Department in the usual way, and never depend upon bills introduced by the Delegate from Alaska. In the Book of Estimates above mentioned for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, at page 366, is the regular annual estimate for the military and post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska, prepared and submitted to the War Department by Col. Richardson, the chairman of the Alaska Board of Road Commissioners. It is as follows:

ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATIONS REQUIRED FOR THE SERVICE OF THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1917.

*Repair and maintenance, military post roads, bridges, and trails, Alaska—*

Repair and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Territory of Alaska (*act of Jan. 27, 1905, and annual acts for the support of the Army as published in General Orders Nos. 115, 1906; 48, 1907; 80, 1908; 49, 1909; 54, 1910; 45, 1911; Bulletins Nos. 15, 1912; 7, 1913, and 18, 1914, and act Mar. 4, 1915, vol. 38, p. 1078, sec. 1*) ..... $150,000

Amount appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916 ..... 165,000

*Statement required by sec. 10 of sundry civil act approved Aug. 1, 1914 (Stats. 38, p. 680).*

| | Contemplated expenditure, 1917. | Expenditure, 1915. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Construction, repairs, and maintenance, roads, etc.: | | |
| 1 assistant engineer, per annum | $3,000.00 | $3,000.00 |
| 1 designing engineer, per annum | 2,400.00 | 200.00 |
| 1 superintendent, per annum | 3,000.00 | |
| 2 superintendents, at $2,700 each per annum | 5,400.00 | 5,400.00 |
| 2 superintendents, at $1,800 each per annum | 3,600.00 | 3,200.00 |
| 1 chief clerk, per annum | 2,700.00 | 2,700.00 |
| 1 clerk, per annum | 1,980.00 | 1,800.00 |
| 1 clerk, per annum | 1,500.00 | 1,500.00 |
| 1 messenger, per annum | 900.00 | 900.00 |
| (Above designated employees constitute the permanent organization of the Board of Road Commissioners which has under its direction the expenditure of the road and trail portion of the Alaska fund, as well as the special appropriations by Congress.) | | |
| Other salaries, wages, and compensation, personal service | 69,820.00 | 59,840.00 |
| | 94,300.00 | 78,540.00 |
| (Other employees consist of foremen and day laborers engaged in most part during the midsummer months when work can be carried on to advantage. The total number employed during the most active period would be approximately 25 foremen and 500 to 600 laborers. The rates of pay vary from $5 per day to $250 per month for foremen, and $2.50 to $5 per day for day laborers, with board.) | | |

*Statement required by sec. 10 of sundry civil act approved Aug. 1, 1914 (Stats. 38, p. 680)—Continued.*

| | Contemplated expenditure, 1917. | Expenditure, 1915. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Construction, repairs, etc.—Continued. | | |
| Compensation for services other than personal— | | |
| Transportation of persons | $1,060.00 | $923.00 |
| Subsistence of persons in traveling status | 930.00 | 776.00 |
| Subsistence of persons not in traveling status | 4,840.00 | 4,120.00 |
| Transportation of things, freight, etc | 7,533.00 | 6,250.00 |
| Subsistence and care of animals | 435.00 | 362.00 |
| Communication service (telegraph, telephone, and postage) | 215.00 | 179.00 |
| Printing, maps, etc | 21.00 | 18.00 |
| Furnishing electric light | 86.00 | 72.00 |
| Other nonpersonal service (hire of horses and dogs) | 7,740.00 | 6,440.00 |
| Materials for bridges, culverts, etc | 5,350.00 | 4,455.00 |
| Supplies— | | |
| Stationery and drafting supplies | 197.00 | 164.00 |
| Fuel (coal and wood) | 795.00 | 665.00 |
| Cleaning and toilet supplies | 21.00 | 17.00 |
| Forage and other supplies for animals | 7,580.00 | 6,320.00 |
| Provisions | 10,200.00 | 8,500.00 |
| 2. Repair of property and equipment used: | | |
| Salaries, wages, and other compensation, personal services | 63.00 | 53.00 |
| Services, nonpersonal | 263.00 | 209.00 |
| Materials | 260.00 | 207.00 |
| Supplies | 374.00 | 312.00 |
| 3. Purchase of property and equipment: | | |
| Equipment (horses, camp equipment, wagons, harness, etc.) | 6,200.00 | 5,140.00 |
| Rents (offices, post-office boxes, and barns) | 1,286.00 | 1,070.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 250.00 | 208.00 |
| | 150,000.00 | 125,000.00 |

The foregoing statement of estimates submitted by Col. Richardson, chairman of the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska, for the fiscal year 1916–17 shows that he only estimated for $150,000 for the next year's work, and also how carefully Congress requires these estimates to be made, and in what exact detail he was required by law to state the purpose for which he intended to use the money estimated for.

In addition to the foregoing the following table shows the amounts which Col. Richardson, as chairman of the board, has heretofore estimated through the War Department for Alaska road work, and the amounts which Congress allowed upon such estimates. These amounts of estimates are copied from the annual Book of Estimates at the pages mentioned, while the amounts of the appropriations are taken from the session laws of Congress:

| Year. | Page. | Estimate. | Appropriation. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1910 | 196 | $350,000 | $350,000 |
| 1911 | 537 | 100,000 | 100,000 |
| 1912 | 188 | 100,000 | 150,000 |
| 1913 | 518 | 100,000 | 125,000 |
| 1914 | 328 | 100,000 | 100,000 |
| 1915 | 269 | 125,000 | 125,000 |
| 1916 | 331 | 125,000 | 165,000 |
| 1917 | 366 | 150,000 | 500,000 |

The fact is beyond question that the Alaska Board of Road Commissioners has always received as large an appropriation as it has ever estimated for under the law, and in four instances, shown in the above table, it has received more than Col. Richardson estimated for under the law.

In view of the fact that frequent assertions are made in Alaska, too often by the members of the board of road commission officials, that the board is unable to get sufficient appropriations from Congress for its work, and that its requests for appropriations are hindered and defeated by the opposition of the Delegate from Alaska, the following official letter from Hon. James Hay, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, is inserted as complete disproof of the assertion:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS,
*Washington, D. C., February 14, 1916.*

Hon. JULIUS KAHN,
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR SIR: In response to your inquiry you are informed that Delegate Wickersham has never made any objection or opposition to the Committee on Military Affairs, of which he is a member, to any of the appropriations recommended by this committee for continuing the work of the Alaska Board of Road Commissioners for military and post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska. These appropriations have been based upon estimates from the Secretary of War and not otherwise.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES HAY.

THE PRESENT APPROPRIATION OF $500,000.

During last fall a controversy arose between the people in the Ruby district in Alaska and the board of road commissioners over the proportion of the public money for road work apportioned to that district. Again the excuse of insufficient appropriations and the opposition of the Delegate from Alaska was brought forward by officials connected with the board. The people in that great mining district, in desperation over bad transportation facilities, began to appeal to their Delegate in Congress.

At their request, knowing and appreciating their sorry conditions and desiring to better them, I introduced H. R. 6886 for their relief on January 4, 1916. The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6886) to appropriate the sum of $200,000 for further construction and maintenance of military post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That there be, and is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended in conformity with the provisions of and under the direction of the board of road commissioners described in "An act to provide for the construction and maintenance of roads, the establishment and maintenance of schools, and the care and support of insane persons in the District of Alaska, and for other purposes," approved January 27, 1905, and the acts amendatory thereof, the sum of $200,000, for the completion of the military post road and bridges from Ruby to Long Creek, Alaska, and known in the reports of said commission as route No. 38; that said appropriation shall continue available until expended by said commission.

The introduction of the bill was supported by a letter addressed by the Delegate to the chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 6, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES HAY,
*Chairman House Committee on Military Affairs,*
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR SIR: Herewith inclosed is a copy of H. R. 6886, "A bill to appropriate the sum of $200,000 for further construction and maintenance of military post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska, and for other purposes," introduced by me on January 4 and referred to your committee. I assume the usual practice of referring the bill to the Secretary of War for report and recommendation will be followed, but the purpose of this note is to inquire, Will it be necessary for me to procure the Secretary to prepare and submit a supplemental estimate for this sum, in compliance with the law of estimates and especially section 4 of the appropriation act of June 26, 1906 (34 Stat. L., pp. 448-9), which requires that "special or additional estimates for that year shall only be submitted to carry out laws subsequently enacted, or when deemed imperatively necessary for the public service by the department in which they originate, in which case such special or additional estimates shall be accompanied by a full statement of its imperative necessity and reasons for its omission in the annual estimates?"

Will the Committee on Military Affairs consider the appropriation asked for in my bill without any special or additional estimates from the Secretary of War?

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

Also, on the next day the following letter was addressed to the Secretary of War, requesting him to prepare and forward to Congress a supplemental estimate, under the law, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 7, 1916.*

Hon. LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: The chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs has sent to the War Department a copy of H. R. 6886, "A bill to appropriate the sum of $200,000 for further construction and maintenance of military post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska, and for other purposes," introduced by me on January 4, for examination and report.

The chairman informs me "it would very greatly increase the probability of the passage of the bill if it had the indorsement of the Secretary of War and especially an estimate for the appropriation." Looking into the law I find that section 4 of the appropriation act of June 26, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 448–449), requires "special or additional estimates for that year shall only be submitted to carry out laws subsequently enacted, or when deemed imperatively necessary for the public service by the department in which they originate, in which case such special or additional estimates shall be accompanied by a full statement of its imperative necessity and reasons for its omission in the annual estimates."

Herewith inclosed is a letter from Hon. Dan Sutherland, the member of the Territorial senate, residing at Ruby, Alaska, who sets forth the reasons for making this appropriation, and also a copy of the Record-Citizen of October 16, 1915, which contains an editorial upon the subject and also a copy of a letter addressed to me urging the appropriation.

Fortunately, also, Col. Wilds P. Richardson, the chairman of the Alaska Board of Road Commissioners, is in the city, with his office in the War Department. The board, of which he is president, will have entire charge and control of the expenditure of the appropriation if made, and he is entirely conversant with every detail of the necessity for the road mentioned in the bill.

I respectfully request that Col. Richardson be invited to give his views upon the necessity for this appropriation, and thereupon the Secretary of War prepare a supplemental estimate, based upon the facts stated by Col. Richardson, showing the necessity for this appropriation; that the estimate be sent to the House in accordance with law, and the approved bill be returned to the chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs.

It seems, under the law, the mere indorsement of the bill by the Secretary of War, by letter or otherwise, is not sufficient. It seems a supplemental estimate is necessary, and I am very anxious to have the Secretary of War make that supplemental estimate upon the showing of its necessity, to be made by Col. Richardson. Will you kindly advise me of the action taken on my request for an estimate?

Please return Senator Sutherland's letter and the newspaper to me when you are through with them.

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

In answer to my letter to the Secretary of War of January 7th, I received the following letter from the War Department:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
*Washington, January 18, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: The Secretary of War directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, relative to H. R. 6889, in which it is proposed to appropriate the sum of $200,000 for further construction and maintenance of military roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska, and to accomplish other purposes named therein, and in which letter you expressed the hope that the Secretary may not only approve the measure but also make a supplemental estimate relating to the matter.

With regard to your request the Secretary also directs me to advise you that the chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, to which the bill was referred for consideration, has transmitted the measure to this department "for information and remark." The matter is now being considered in connection with your letter and the papers which you inclose, and a report on the proposed legislation will be furnished the committee in the near future.

Very respectfully,

H. P. MCCAIN,
*The Adjutant General.*

And thereafter came the result in the letter from the War Department, dated March 2, 1916, as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
*Washington, March 2, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: Referring to your letter of January 7, 1916, relative to H. R. bill No. 6886, in which it is proposed to appropriate the sum of $200,000 for further construction and maintenance of military post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska, and for other purposes, I am directed by the Secretary of War, ad interim, to advise you as follows:

The president of the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska was called upon for a report bearing upon the bill referred to in your letter. In the report of the president the need for the work contemplated by the bill was freely admitted, but at the same time the need for road improvements in other parts of the Territory was strongly emphasized.

After analyzing the situation it was recommended in the report that the president of the board be authorized to submit a supplemental estimate to enable the work to be carried forward properly during the coming year, providing, however, for reasons of economy of construction, that only $100,000 be spent on the Ruby-Long Creek Road during the present year, as a part of a through road to the coast.

The estimate, having been approved, has been forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury for transmission to Congress in accordance with law. The views and recommendations of the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska, which have been approved by this department, are set forth more fully in the report furnished to-day to the chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs.

Senator SUTHERLAND'S letter and the newspaper received from you are, in accordance with your request, herewith returned.

Very respectfully,

H. P. MCCAIN,
*The Adjutant General.*

Following the above letter from the department, and in pursuance to the law of estimates, the Secretary of War, through the Secretary of the Treasury, on March 2, submitted the following estimate to Congress, being the authorized estimate for $500,000, and an increase over the first estimate submitted of $350,000, as follows:

[House Document No. 835, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.]

MILITARY AND POST ROADS, ETC., ALASKA.

Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting copy of a communication from the Secretary of War ad interim submitting an additional and supplementary estimate of appropriation for the construction of military and post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
*Washington, March 2, 1916.*

The SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the consideration of Congress, copy of a communication from the Secretary of War ad interim of the 1st instant, submitting as additional and supplemental estimate of appropriation in the sum of $500,000, for the construction of military and post roads, bridges, and trails in Alaska.

The Secretary of War ad interim, in his communication, states the reason for the submission of the estimate at this time.

Respectfully,

W. G. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

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WAR DEPARTMENT,
*Washington, March 1, 1916.*

SIR: I have the honor to forward herewith, for transmission to Congress, a supplemental estimate of an appropriation of $500,000 required for the service of the fiscal year 1917, by the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska, for the "Construction of military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Alaska."

With this amount it is proposed to carry toward completion the construction of the Valdez-Chitina-Fairbanks military road, a road of great military and postal value, now under construction for several years, with constantly increasing traffic, which makes maintenance extremely expensive until weaker sections are strengthened and gravel surfacing carried throughout; also to carry on the work of constructing the Ruby-Long Creek Road, upon which there has already been spent

approximately $43,000. This route and the Valdez-Fairbanks traverse two of the three great trunk routes from the Gulf of Alaska to the interior; the other being the proposed railroad route. The sooner these two roads are made passable and usable for ordinary traffic throughout their entire length, the better for the public service, as well as for the local development.

Owing to the continually growing demand for road work in Alaska there comes an increased cost of maintenance, with increase in mileage. By reason of the limited funds available the work of the board is now nearly brought to a standstill. Due to this fact it is deemed necessary to submit this estimate, as the amount of $150,000, submitted in the regular estimates of the department for 1917 (Book of Estimates, 1917, p. 366), covers maintenance and repair of existing construction only.

The omission of this item from the regular annual estimates was due to the fact that it was not practicable for the president of the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska to bring to the attention of the department the full facts respecting the road work in Alaska before the annual estimates for 1917 were required to be submitted by law on October 15, 1915.

Very respectfully,

H. L. SCOTT,
*Secretary of War ad Interim.*

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

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*Supplemental estimates of appropriations required for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, by the Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska.*

WAR DEPARTMENT.

BOARD OF ROAD COMMISSIONERS FOR ALASKA.

Construction of military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Alaska:

For the construction, repair, and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails in the Territory of Alaska, to be expended under the direction of the board of road commissioners described in section 2 of an act entitled "An act to provide for the construction and maintenance of roads, the establishment and maintenance of schools, and the care and support of insane persons in the District of Alaska, and for other purposes, approved January 27, 1905, and to be expended conformably to the provisions of said act: *Provided*, That not to exceed the sum of $100,000 may be expended in continuing the construction of the road known as the Ruby-Long Creek Road (acts Jan. 27, 1905, vol. 33, p. 616, sec. 2; Mar. 4, 1915, vol. 38, p. 1078, sec. 1)..... $500,000

Amount appropriated for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1916..... 165,000

NOTE.—The foregoing amount is required chiefly for new construction and is additional to the $150,000 estimated for maintenance and repairs as published in the annual Book of Estimates for the fiscal year 1917, page 366. With this amount it is proposed to carry toward completion the construction of the Valdez-Chitina-Fairbanks military road (409.6 miles), a road of great military and postal value, now under construction for several years with constantly increasing traffic, which makes maintenance extremely expensive until weaker sections are strengthened and gravel surfacing carried throughout; also, to carry on the work of constructing the Ruby-Long Creek Road, upon which there has already been spent approximately $43,000. This route and the Valdez-Fairbanks traverse two of the three great trunk routes from the Gulf of Alaska to the interior, the other being the proposed railroad route. The imperative necessity for the submission of this estimate is due to the constantly growing demand for road work in Alaska, and with the increase in mileage there comes increased cost of maintenance, resulting in the work of the board being nearly brought to a standstill by reason of the limited amount of funds that have been appropriated by Congress for the work. The omission of this item from the regular annual estimates was due to the fact that it was not practicable for me to bring to the attention of the department the full facts respecting the road work in Alaska before the regular estimates for 1917 were required to be submitted by law on October 15, 1915. (W. P. Richardson, colonel of Infantry, United States Army, president Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska.)

After securing the estimate and approval of the Secretary of War to be submitted to Congress in accordance with the law of estimates, I asked for a special hearing before the House Committee on Military Affairs, and on April 11 appeared before the committee and presented the facts, showing the necessity for the appropriation. On the same day Col. Richardson appeared before the same committee in support of the appropriation, and on June 16, when the Committee on Military Affairs favorably reported the bill making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, it carried this clause on page 36:

Construction, repair, and maintenance, military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Alaska: Construction, repair, and maintenance of military and post roads, bridges, and trails, Territory of Alaska, $500,000.

As the bill has now passed the House of Representatives it carries the $500,000, so much needed for the completion of some of the military and public roads in Alaska. This item, thus secured by my active efforts, exceeds the sum estimated for by Col. Richardson in the Book of Estimates filed with Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury on December 6 last by $350,000. This sum added to the large sums paid into the Alaska fund by the people of Alaska will give an amount sufficient to do a vast good to the development of the public roads in Alaska if efficiently expended.

And in the matter of securing adequate appropriations in the future, it is hoped the Alaska board of road commissioners, of which Col. Richardson is chairman, will make an estimate in accordance with law in Washington as large as they demand for political purposes in Alaska. While my effort this time has so far been successful, it would not have been necessary to make it if the board had made its estimate under the law as large as I have finally made it for them. Hereafter the board should make its estimate under the law for as much as it needs.

In view of the law of estimates, the people of Alaska must understand that neither the Delegate from Alaska nor any other Congressman can procure an appropriation for any sum whatever for carrying on the work of the Alaska board of road commissioners through any bill introduced by him, unless he can induce the Secretary of War and Col. Richardson to approve the amount asked for by making a formal estimate under the law and forward it to Congress as the estimate in this case was so finally forwarded. And the Secretary of War, after approval of the estimate by Col. Richardson, can procure such an appropriation without a bill being introduced by the Delegate or any other Congressman. No such estimate was made in this case until the Delegate from Alaska secured such action, and he then raised the estimate made by Col. Richardson from $150,000 to $500,000. The Delegate from Alaska hopes the $200,000 asked for will be expended in the completion of the Ruby-Long Creek Road, as it ought to be. Col. Richardson will then have twice as much money for other work as he asked Congress in his estimate to appropriate for the work.

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## The Farmer's Bank.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, we have the business men's bank, the banker's bank; why not the farmer's bank? The foundation of our industrial, commercial, and financial fabric is agriculture. "All wealth comes from labor applied to land." To-day, nearly a century and a half since the adoption of our Constitution, we have provided no rational or practical system for financing the farm.

The United States is the banker nation of the world, but our banks are commercial banks and not adapted to agriculture. From 1864 to 1914 our national banking law prohibited farm loans. The new Federal reserve law accommodates only one-twelfth part of the present outstanding farm-mortgage indebtedness of the United States.

Our banking law discriminates against the farm. The assets of a commercial bank must be liquid. Its loans must be chiefly 30 to 90 day paper. The farm loan should be 5 to 50 year paper. We, almost alone among the great nations of the earth, have made no provision to place farm loans on an efficient basis. We have created financial institutions to finance properly at reasonable rates every other line of business activity, but we have left our greatest industry to the tender mercy of chance and the loan shark.

Six years ago the United States census showed that our farm wealth represented the colossal total of $40,000,000,000, or two-fifths of our national wealth. It is now undoubtedly worth over $50,000,000,000. Is the financing of such an industry not worth our consideration? The annual value of our farm products has reached $10,000,000,000, far and above all other items in our net national income. Is not an efficient, economical, and adequate basis of credit which shows such an income margin an urgent necessity? Our banking system provides adequate credit for manufacture, mines, transportation, and commerce at rates as low as anywhere on the globe. The credit needs of agriculture we have overlooked. Our average farm-loan rates, ranging from 5½ to 24 per cent, are more than double those of Europe. In Germany, France, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Great Britain, where farm credit has received for 20 to 50 years past as great consideration as commercial credit, the ruling rates are 3½ to 4 per cent. While the European systems have in some degree aided in modeling this bill, yet the situation as presented here is not the situation as it exists in Europe. There it is small, intensified farming. People and their children and their children's children live in one locality for generations, and the population is thick and homogeneous. Our farms are large and diversified; the farming population is to a large degree migratory, and we are the melting pot of all nations.

The American farmer pays double the rate for his capital, and yet he is supposed to produce his crops on a basis enough cheaper

than the European price to pay the cost of transportation and handling, together with dealer's profits and commissions, from the American farm across sea and continent and successfully compete with the European farmer in his own market.

The annual income of the average farmer in the United States is $600 a year. Out of this must come interest and taxes and living expenses, which leaves no margin for recreation or luxury. For him it is unrelenting toil from sunup till sunset. No other industry yields so stingy an income. Only one-half of the farm land in this country is under cultivation; 400,000,000 acres stand idle, besides the vast acreage not included as farm lands but which is yet redeemable, for lack of a farm-credit system.

James B. Morman says in his work The Principles of Rural Credits:

When the law against usury can be so easily circumvented by the methods of charging commissions, premiums, costs, and other incidental expenses, the expectations of the farmer for an improvement in rural-credit conditions will not soon be realized. These extra costs often more than double the legal rate of interest, and against them the farmer seems to have no means of redress. It is the first duty of the State to provide the farmer with protection against credit abuses.

Modern farming must have capital at reasonable rates. We shout, "Back to the farm." The average farm in the United States to-day costs $6,500. With what is the unemployed man in the city going to buy a $6,500 farm without a national system of finance for acquiring and operating that farm?

Our population doubles in about 30 years, but the number of American farms increases at the rate of only about 50 per cent in 30 years, or half the rate of population increase. From 1880 to 1910 the number of farm owners increased by 1,022,000, or 35 per cent, while the number of farm tenants increased by 120 per cent, three times that of farm owners. Since 1880 the rural population has declined from 70 to 50 per cent of the whole population.

Under the present financial system a mortgage on the farm shuts out the light of the sun from its occupants. They toil, without ceasing, early and late, winter and summer, from the father to the youngest member of the family, denying themselves all but the barest necessities in order to keep up the interest on the mortgage. When the time for payment or renewal arrives there is the greatest anxiety lest the holder foreclose and sweep away the proceeds of five years of toil. If the mortgage is renewed, there is a premium to pay and the cost of renewal, and with all this struggle and sacrifice not a cent of the principal has been wiped out. The average interest to farmers in the United States when costs and premiums are figured in is around 9 per cent. Is it any wonder that the farmer youth refuses to look forward to a life of thankless, unremitting toil, and hastens to break loose at the first opportunity and join the great throngs of the cities, "where wealth accumulates and men decay." The average farmer has no outlook but to rise at 4 in the morning and, after 12 hours of hard day labor, do his chores after dark at night, and all for $600 a year.

The Danish farmer, the German farmer, the French farmer pay 4 per cent interest, three-fourths of 1 per cent amortization or partial payment of the principal, and one-fourth of 1 per cent administrative expenses, or a total of 5 per cent per annum on both interest and principal, and in 40 to 50 years this 5 per cent wipes out principal and interest in full, and he or his heirs have the farm free of debt. The foundation of the German system of rural credits is the 17,000 cooperative agricultural banks.

Even British India has 3,500 cooperative agricultural societies as the basis for credits to its farmers, and 32 central institutions to handle the loans of the local cooperative units. New Zealand, a comparatively new country, furnishes loans as low as 3½ to 5 per cent.

Our railway, mine, telegraph, water power, and industrial mortgages run from 30 to 50 years, and the average rates are 4 to 5 per cent. The Illinois Central has two bond issues at 5 and 4½ per cent. There are five issues at 4 per cent, five others at 3½, and two at 3 per cent. The farms which support the Illinois Central Railroad should have as low a rate as the railroad which passes through them. The mortgage bonds of the Great Northern bear interest at 4½ per cent, of the Southern Pacific at 4 per cent, while the first mortgages of the farms through which they run bear interest all the way from 8 to 24 per cent.

In all we loan on mortgages to American railroads $12,000,000,000 at an average of 4 to 4½ per cent. Four times the amount of the farm mortgages of the United States. The farm earnings of the United States are nearly four times the earnings of the railroads, and the real value of the farm property is nearly four times the par value of the capital stock of the railroads.

Why will investors loan up to 100 per cent of the value of the railroads at 4 to 4½ per cent, while the average rate charged on a farm mortgage, limited to 50 per cent of the farm value, is from 6 to 12 per cent, and in some instances 24 per cent? Because our credit system for financing railroads has been thoroughly organized and supported by all the financial and governmental agencies of the country.

Open your newspaper and read, under the heading, "New York money market": "Mercantile paper 3 to 3½ per cent; time loans, 60 days, 2½ to 2¾ per cent; six months, 2¾ to 3 per cent; call money, 1¾." Over $2,240,000,000 has been loaned at these rates by the New York clearing-house banks. The volume of loans to-day is double that of five years ago.

The volume of the New York loans alone nearly equals the entire volume of farm mortgages of the United States. Because commercial credit is organized, because Congress has provided it with national banking laws and administration, because it has for a governmental foundation the Federal reserve act, with an interlocking system of Federal reserve banks under an expert Federal board and all the financial resources and activities of the Nation articulated and working in harmonious action thereunder, the business of New York both domestic and foreign, and the speculation of the stock exchanges has the use of $2,240,000,000 and the lowest commercial rates on the face of the globe, while, because of agricultural disorganization, $40,000,000,000 worth of farm property pays an average of 8 per cent even on first-class farm mortgages. Nowhere is there such another colossal financial fiasco. We know the cause and we know our duty. It is to put on the United States statute books promptly a practicable rural-credits law, or as practicable as possible in view of the compromises that must be made in order for this Congress to get upon the statute books any rural-credit law.

As I understand this bill it establishes a Federal farm-loan board in Washington of three men, appointed by the President, whose salary of $7,500 is paid out of the Treasury, who shall have general supervision over the Federal land banks.

The United States is to be divided into 12 districts, in each of which the farm-loan board is to organize a Federal land bank. These Federal land banks can be drawn on by the national farm-loan associations and by no one else. For 90 days after the books of the banks are opened anybody may subscribe to the amount of $750,000, and if at the end of 90 days this stock has not been fully subscribed, then the Treasurer of the United States takes up the subscription to the amount of $750,000. Whenever farmers wish to borrow they must incorporate a national farm-loan association of not fewer than 10 members intending to borrow not less than $20,000.

The only officer to receive pay is the secretary-treasurer, whose duty is to take charge of all business connected with the loaning and taking in of money. Each farmer who wants to borrow must subscribe and pay for stock up to 5 per cent of the amount he wishes to borrow. If he hasn't the money he can borrow enough to pay for his stock, and add it to the amount of his loan. He can borrow up to 60 per cent of the value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of the buildings, but in no case can he borrow over $10,000 or less than $100. For example, he wants to borrow $1,000 for 36 years. He must take out stock to the value of $50. His lands must be appraised, his abstract examined, and if the appraisal is approved then the loan is made. The money is sent to the local secretary-treasurer. The money must be used for improvements, to pay off an existing mortgage, or to buy farm lands. Interest is in no case to be over 5 per cent, and may, if bonds sell below this figure, be less, plus 1 per cent administration expenses. At the end of his loan his stock may go in as last payment. Whatever dividends accrue to his stock can be applied as payment on the loan. Amortization or repayments of the principal are made annually, which include the interest and a part of the principal, no payment to be less than $25. It is the duty of the Federal land bank to work out tables in each case to see just what the payments shall be to wipe out the debt in 36 years, and there is also a provision that the principal can be paid up at any interest date after the five years; so that the farmer would not need to carry the loan 36 years, if times brighten.

After volumes of testimony from students and experts from every section of the earth, the joint Rural Credits Committee, composed of Senators and Representatives, Republicans and Democrats, representing East and West, North and South, bankers and "gentlemen" or "shade-tree farmers," have at length laid before us their bill and their report. For years Wall Street has choked down this legislation, so sorely needed by the farmer. But, thanks to the primary election system, and the corrupt-practices act, which the metropolitan press so strenuously oppose, it is fast becoming impossible for the money trust

of the country to dictate the nominees of all parties, as in the past, rendering it a "hoss and hoss" proposition to the voter, "Heads, the bosses win; tails, the people lose." The farmer, the common people, the majority, are becoming the election "boss." They are sending men to Congress who will represent their interests, and they are recalling them sharply when they fail so to represent them. And as the years of reform go on, the Congressman who wishes to hold his job must more and more represent the will of the people that nominate and elect him.

Whether this bill will serve the farmer or not remains to be seen. At least it is nonpartisan. I shall vote for this bill, not because I think it the best bill, but because it is the only bill that we have a chance to vote on at this time. In my opinion it is too clumsy, too confusing, has too much red tape and dross, requires too much machinery to run it. But the many political jobs carried by it are an inducement to the present administration and will aid in its passage.

Gold is not produced pure, but must be accepted along with the dross, which later, subjected to the fire of experience, can be eliminated. I am in favor of helping the farmer, and I am in favor of getting this bill through, because the farmer can lose nothing by it and he may gain. I shall vote for the bill for the following points which it contains: First, the long-term loan; second, amortization, or the installment plan of repayment; third, the fact that the Federal board, the men at the head and their crowd of assistants, are paid from the United States Treasury, and hence this expense will not rest directly on the farmer. The $9,000,000 Federal aid—a mere drop in the bucket when compared with the river and harbor or the Army appropriation—is yet enough to make the opponents of Federal aid set up a mighty howl. But, at least, it is a beginning. It allows 20 per cent on farm buildings, and to this extent puts a premium on comfort. Insufficient as it is, and dissatisfied as I am with its shortcomings, yet it has virtue in it, and points in the right direction, and differs from the bill presented by the Senate in that it carries Federal aid. With this feature maintained, it will ultimately, under the tests of experience, by which future Congresses can profit, and add amendments, prove, I hope, the greatest boon of the twentieth century. Experience will work out the detail. We can not begin sooner than now. Somebody's "folly" is at the bottom of the Chicago River, but submarines that do their work efficiently embody the same ideas. The first flying machine that flew only flew a few feet, but the flying machines of this present day are built exactly on the same principle. It will be easier to revise an existing law, when its faults have become patent through actual working, than to try all over again through compromise and trade to gather a majority to put through a new law. We have been working for years to get rural credits into legislative form. It would be a shame to fail now.

It is now five years since Congress created a commission of seven to accompany 70 commissioners appointed by the various States to visit Europe and study foreign rural-credits systems. This is the third Congress that has had the benefit of the reports and recommendations and proposed bills.

Let not the friends of rural credits defeat success by inaction and hairsplitting now, when we are so close to some sort of a success. Every year of delay costs the farmers of this country something like $200,000,000 in unjust interest rates. American farmers need a modern system of banking and finance, and they need it now.

What the farmers want is not more of the bankers' money but Government money, loaned direct to them, under the same advantage that another class, the banker class, enjoys. They borrow from the Government on gilt-edged security for 2 and 2½ per cent, and in all equity they should not be heard to raise the hue and cry of class legislation. In doing so they remind us of Dickens's character, the Artful Dodger, chasing Oliver Twist, and calling "Thief! Thief!" and he with "the wipe" in his own pocket.

This measure is of as vital interest to the city man as to the farmer. It goes to the root of the high cost of living. Provide the farmer with a system whereby he can get long-time loans at low rate. He has a soil that produces less, acre for acre, than the long-used acres of Europe. Increase of consumption must be met by increase of production unless cost of produce is to soar unlimitedly. There is but one way for the farmer to increase production, and that is by modern methods, greater efficiency, drainage, fertilizing, up-to-date equipment. All this takes money.

AN OUNCE OF FACT IS WORTH A TON OF THEORIES OF THE FUTURE.

The time to take care of this problem is now, while the intelligent farmer is still fighting his battle, before the struggle with poor living and insufficient return from his toil has driven him, discouraged, to some other livlihood.

The only point of opposition is that some of our bankers fear that a rural-credits system will take away business. But the farm-land bank, with its local cooperative agencies, which the rural-credits plan contemplates, does not compete with the commercial bank. It begins where the commercial bank leaves off. It leaves to the commercial bank all the short-time paper and takes only the long-term mortgages, running 5 to 36 years.

If National and State bankers can get along and prosper in company with the loan and trust companies and savings banks and building and loan associations, they should have no fight with rural-credits associations. The loan companies handle a large amount of one to five year paper. Some of the trust companies do commercial business. They should prove a vast aid and benefit to commercial banks in the long run, for to build up and develop agriculture creates business for local and interstate commerce, manufacture, and railroads, and every dollar of additional business which farm prosperity brings to a town brings business to the bank, and, first of all, to the country banker. Fifty years of practical experience in the most prosperous and advanced agricultural communities of Europe have demonstrated that rural credit is the foundation of modern agricultural efficiency and progress.

Mr. Speaker, ours is the greatest industrial nation on earth, the banker nation of the world. To two of the nations at war we have loaned $1,000,000,000 and to other countries $200,000,000 more. We have the greatest gold stock in the world, and our foreign-trade balance is now much over $2,000,000,000 a year. The foundation of our financial greatness is agriculture, which adds $10,000,000,000 a year to our national income with each annual harvest. Shall it be said that the United States can finance every kind of business within its own domain, every foreign interest for war or for peace, and can not finance its own greatest industry and asset, the farmers who fight its battles in war and produce its prosperity in peace, even when they offer $50,000,000,000 worth of their own homesteads for security?

Mr. Speaker, let not this Congress deprive itself of the credit and the honor of doing all in its power to free the farmer from the grip of the loan shark and to emancipate the farm from chaos in business management.

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**Pensions for Soldiers and Their Widows.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 19, 1916.*

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, in the early days of this session of Congress the distinguished Member from Louisiana [Mr. MORGAN] gave an exhaustive address of an hour, in which he set forth his opposition to the present pension system. On several occasions since I have been a Member of the House I have heard Members from the Southern States speak in similar strain. It is perhaps too much to expect all the Members from these States to indorse the pension system. The memories of the great Civil War, popularly known as the greatest civil strife known to man, are not yet ceased.

But, Mr. Speaker, we have always believed in this country in the voluntary rather than conscript system of defense. Whatever may be our future system, we must not and we will not forget the service of the volunteer of 1861 to 1865, not alone because of his heroic devotion to the cause of his country, but because of his contribution to the history of self-government in the world.

Here in this virgin soil was planted the idea of democracy. Its orderly development was interrupted by the stress of war more than once. In the French and Indian War, 1755–1763, it was given its peculiar planting—Anglo-Saxon democracy rather than French ecclesiasticism. In the American Revolution, from 1775 to 1781, it was given a new vision by cutting away the many effete customs of the hereditary monarchy. This war cut loose feudalism, primogeniture, entails, life tenure, and hereditary government, as well as the practice legislation without representation.

The War of 1812 did little more than to emphasize our independence upon the sea as well as upon the land. It is rightly called the second war of independence. The Mexican War did

not involve any great governmental principle, but the great Civil War involved a wider and more far-reaching question than all before it.

The one great question of all government is to reconcile liberty with authority, freedom with government. How can that authority necessary for order be exercised without unduly interfering with the proper and necessary liberty of the individual? How can the governing body proceed without too much interference with the rights of the governed mass? How can the prerogatives of the Nation be reconciled with the rights of the State? Too much prerogative means monarchy. Too much State rights means anarchy. This was the problem before this Nation in 1861. All countries heretofore had failed in their attempts to solve it. Greece gave too much liberty to the free cities and anarchy resulted. Rome gave too much power to the Govment and she went down in anarchy. England attempted it, but without great success, although she was nearer the solution than any other before us. This country battled for 70 years and finally resorted to the sword in 1861, after decades of contest in the forum. The great Civil War ended the struggle, not the debate. We will continue to discuss Federal relations, but the issue will never again be taken to the field of battle. That is settled once for all. Tho war established the great principle that the Nation must be supreme in all matters pertaining to the Nation at large, while the State, in matters pertaining to it alone, will be left with sovereign power. Here in this country and in the time of those living was permanently settled the greatest governmental question ever presented since the "Morning Stars" sang together.

I am ready to vote a pension to every soldier that volunteered to give his services for this great Union cause; for that service might have meant his life. It did often, and in many other cases his limbs, and in still others his health, and in all cases it meant service—voluntary service. This country must never neglect the men nor the widows who cared for them in their last days, and I, for one, shall resent any attempt to do so. The pension roll is large, but it is constantly growing smaller. The ravages of time are thinning the ranks of those who fought that the Nation might live. These defenders are at the age of the allotted time. I am in favor of a generous treatment, not only for "him who shall have borne the brunt of battle," but for his widow, as well. The bill just passed meets with my hearty indorsement. It gives a widow who married a soldier prior to or during the war $20 per month. It gives a widow who has reached 70 years of age $20 per month. It also provides a pension to a widow who married the soldier prior to 1905, thus displacing the law which fixed the date at 1890. This great Nation can not afford to neglect the family of the preserver of the Nation's life. His work is not at this time appreciated. It will be when his work shall be viewed in the light of civil government in the world.

## Commendable Patriotism.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Speaker, on last Saturday I received a telegram from my constituents of Ripon, Wis., which reads as follows:

RIPON, WIS., *June 24, 1916.*

Hon. MICHAEL K. REILLY,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Whereas an appropriation of $75,000 for the erection of a Federal building at Ripon, Wis., has been made by the National Congress; and
Whereas the people of this community heartily believe in and approve of a policy of adequate national preparedness; and
Whereas we believe that private and local gain and enhancement should always be subservient to the common good: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the citizens of Ripon, whose sons enlisted in Company D, Wisconsin National Guards, are now encamped at Camp Douglas in response to the summons of President Wilson; whose boys of other days were among the first to answer the call of their country in the Spanish and Civil Wars; whose patriotism and loyalty have ever been unbounded and unstinted; with the tearful farewells of mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts of soldiers fresh in their memory; with the echoes of the footsteps of the Grand Army of the Republic in State encampment assembled still lingering in their ears; earnestly request their Representatives in Congress to immediately introduce and strive to secure the passage of an act diverting the appropriation made for a Federal building in Ripon from its original purpose and applying it specifically to the equipment of the National Army, preferably in the perfection of the Aviation Service.

COMMON COUNCIL OF CITY OF RIPON,
RIPON COMMERCIAL CLUB,
(And 456 citizens of Ripon.)

Mr. Speaker, this telegram from citizens of Ripon—a city of about 4,000 inhabitants—expressing a willingness to forego for a time the adornment of their city, through the erection of a Federal building, in order that more pressing demands of the Nation might receive first consideration, is timely and speaks volumes for the broad patriotism of the citizenship of that community.

The patriotism displayed by this telegram is unusual and deserves more than a passing notice; therefore I take pleasure in publishing the telegram in the RECORD, so that the citizenship throughout the Nation may take inspiration from the patriotic spirit that prompted the sending of the same.

The citizens of Ripon have always been highly patriotic; they have made magnificent responses to every draft made on them in our national emergencies; they are justifiably proud of the fact that their community has been able to offer a company of National Guard to the Nation in the present crisis, and they are willing to make other sacrifies in order that every preparation possible may be made for the proper defense of our country.

## Government Manufacture of Munitions of War.

### SPEECH
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. COX,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Wednesday, May 31, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15947) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I intend to support the bill as reported by the majority members of the Committee on Naval Affairs. It contains strong elements of preparedness, and in my judgment will be approved by the country. It will not meet the views of the extremists of either side. It is far below what the Navy League desires and far above what the pacificists want. It is a conservative measure—a middle-of-the-road course, if you please. One of the most important features in the bill is the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PADGETT] appropriating $11,000,000 for the Government to build an armor-plate factory. Many arguments have been made for and against this amendment. Many gentlemen contend that the Government should not go into the manufacturing business; that to do so would put the Government in competition with private enterprise.

Where the Constitution gives to Congress power to create a department of government, I am not afraid to give that department all the power it may require to carry forward the work of the department. To the gentlemen who so loudly acclaim against the Government erecting its own armor factories, why do they not criticize the Post Office Department, which has a monopoly of the mail? No objection is made by any of them that the Post Office Department, though monopolized by the Government, has been a failure. I assert that wherever the Government has entered a business strictly as a Government function it has never been a failure, but has resulted to the good of the taxpayers of the country. I would not be in favor of the Government entering upon the manufacturing business as a private individual. I would oppose it forever, but I am in favor of the Government entering upon such lines of business as it sees fit solely as a Government function. The Constitution gives to Congress the power to provide and maintain a Navy. A Navy without ships exists only on paper; a Navy must have ships, from the superdreadnaught to air craft. The power to create and maintain a Navy is found in the Constitution. For one I am in favor of giving that department all necessary power to make it the most effective Navy in the world. We can not have ships without armor plate. We can not have armor plate without having factories to make it, and they must be run and operated either by private manufacturers or by the Government.

Mr. Chairman, three concerns, the Bethlehem, Carnegie, and the Midvale Steel Cos., now, and for the past number of years, have had a complete monopoly of the manufacture of armor plate and many other supplies for the Government, both Army and Navy, and for the past 20 years these concerns have fur-

nished the United States all the armor it has used in the construction of battleships. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER] has offered an amendment proposing to let the Trades Commission investigate the profits of manufacturers of armor plate, practically giving the Government power to fix the price of armor. This amendment looks to me very much like it is the Armor Trust holding out the hand of Esau, but talking in the voice of Jacob. Time and time again this trust has been warned that they were overcharging the Government for armor plate, exacting extortionate prices for their commodity at the expense of the taxpayers of the Nation, but feeling themselves secure through their closed corporation these trust magnates have not heeded the voice of the people. They have gone to the well once too often. The day of judgment has overtaken them. The people are in no mood to trifle with trusts controlling one of the essential elements of safety and security of the American people—armor plate. They have been held up and skinned long enough. They see no relief, no ray of hope, to ever come from these trusts. They do not believe the time will ever come when the Government will be able to purchase armor plate cheaper than it purchases it now, unless the Government manufactures its own armor. There is nothing binding on the part of this trust in its offer to let the Trades Commission investigate the cost of making armor plate and accept the price fixed by the Government. They can revoke it at any time they see fit. Ever since the Padgett amendment passed the Senate several months ago our mails have been flooded each day with letters and telegrams from the Bethlehem, the Carnegie, and the Midvale Steel Cos., making all kinds of offers and overtures to Congress that if it would not pass the amendment, hereafter they would be good. These concerns have carried entire pages of advertisements in the large dailies as well as the little weekly papers for the past two months telling the people of their repentance and how willing they are to serve them.

Mr. Chairman, I insert one of these articles which recently appeared in one of the little weekly papers of my district:

[Bulletin No. 3.]

WHY NOT FACE THE FACTS ABOUT ARMOR COMPETITION?

*To the people:*

The policy of the United States Government for many years has made real competition in armor-making ineffective.

The Government *might* have asked the three armor plants for bids and let the entire tonnage to the lowest bidder. That would have made competition effective.

The result of such a course would have been to drive two of the three manufacturers out of business and leave the country with facilities of only one plant in time of need.

*The Government, in fact, has always asked for bids from the three manufacturers, but no matter what the price quoted, each year's business was divided among them.*

Armor makers serve but one customer—the Government—just as a public utility serves but one customer—a community.

The solution of the public-utility problem is *regulation* of rates.

The solution of the armor problem is for the Government to *fix the price.*

We voluntarily agree to accept any price fixed by the Federal Trade Commission. Isn't acceptance of that offer better than the destruction of an industry built solely to serve the Government?

BETHLEHEM STEEL CO.,
CHAS. M. SCHWAB, *Chairman.*
EUGENE G. GRACE, *President.*

Since when did this great trust see the light of day? What opened its eyes? What induced it to turn from its extortionate course and ask help at the hands of the people? What has caused it to fly the signal of distress at this the eleventh hour of the night? When did it first begin this frantic appeal to the people for aid through the ad. route? Silently and ruthlessly it has pursued its course of overcharge and extortion until this bill reached the calendar, then, like Paul, it saw a vision looming before its bright eyes; it saw a day of reckoning, a day of accounting, a day of determination on the part of the people to free themselves from this vampire which, under the false pretense of patriotism, has pretended to serve the people, but in reality has robbed them as no pirate that ever sailed the seas robbed his helpless and defenseless victims in the past.

I intend to vote for the Padgett amendment, believing by so doing that we will take the manufacture of armor plate out of the hands of the worst trust that ever had its grip upon the Navy Department or any other department of the Government. There is but one person, and one only, that can smash this monstrous trust, and that person is Uncle Sam, backed and supported by the taxing power of 100,000,000 people in continental United States. For almost a quarter of a century our Army and Navy has been in the throes and in the hands of the worst trust that ever fastened its tentacles upon an independent, liberty-loving people.

As compared to the Munitions Trust and the Armor Plate Trust, the Standard Oil Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Leather Trust, and many other of the hundreds of trusts sink into insignificance for greed and graft. For greed and gain at the expense of the people, these trusts stand far to the top. Every other trust lags far behind.

Mr. Chairman, we are not without precedents in this matter. We are not groping in the dark. We are sailing on well-charted seas. We have plain signboards of the past demonstrating what the Government can do when it makes up its mind to do it in the smashing of munitions trusts. About 12 years ago the Government was in the grip of the Powder Trust. At that time we were paying approximately $1.41 per pound for smokeless powder. The Government erected a plant to manufacture its own powder, and before the plant was erected the price of powder dropped to 71 cents per pound. The Government kept on adding to its powder plant until to-day we are making about one-half of our powder in Government factories and making it at a cost of 34 cents per pound. The result of this investment has been to drive the price of privately manufactured powder down to 53 cents per pound. The same argument was used then against the Government manufacturing powder that is now being used against the Government manufacturing its own armor plate. Congress was told then that the Government could not manufacture powder as cheaply as private individuals could.

The Government has purchased $25,000,000 worth of powder from the Powder Trust since 1905, paying for it all the way from 53 cents to $1.41 per pound, while the Government statistics show that we are manufacturing powder in Government plants for 34 cents per pound, and the officers in charge state that the more we manufacture the cheaper we can produce it. This Government cost of the manufacture of powder covers everything. It covers the cost of labor, the raw material, the cost of the plant, interest upon investment, insurance, and in fact every item of expense which can possibly enter into the cost of the manufacture of gunpowder. The War Department in 1913 purchased seven thousand 4.7-inch shrapnel from the ammunition ring, paying $25.26 each therefor. At the same time precisely the same article was being manufactured in a Government plant at a cost of $15.45.

The War Department paid the ring $17.50 for a 3.8-inch common shrapnel, when it can be manufactured by Government plants for $7.94. The Government has manufactured at the Rock Island Arsenal caissons for gun carriages at a cost of $1,128.67, for which private manufacturers have been paid $1,744.10. Secretary of the Navy Daniels in his annual report for 1914 called attention to the economy of Government manufacture by saying that—

> Contrary to the popular idea, the Navy Department in what it manufactures does so, from a superdreadnaught to a gallon of paint or a pound of powder, cheaper than it can be purchased. This is particularly true of the most expensive instruments of war, but it is equally true of gasoline engines, electrical supplies, shrapnel, clothing for marines, and sailors' equipment, and other material for shore and land stations.

Mr. Chairman, Government manufacture will mean that workmen who perform the labor of actually making the munitions will receive higher wages and better working conditions than if the contracts for war materials were awarded to private munitions firms, among which are numbered the most bitter enemies of organized labor in the United States. In 1910 the Bureau of Labor, under the direction of Ethelbert Stewart, investigated the working conditions of the Bethlehem Steel Co., one of the companies engaged in making armor for the United States, and the investigation revealed this: That out of every 100 men 29 were working seven days every week; that out of every 100 men 43, including these 29, were working some Sundays in each month; that out of every 100 men 51 were working 12 hours per day; that out of every 100 men 25 were working 12 hours per day seven days per week; that out of every 100 men 46 were earning less than $2 per day.

The Government manufacture of munitions of war of all kinds offers a program on which all save those directly or indirectly interested in private war trafficking concerns may unite, either those in favor of disarmament, increased armament, or maintaining the present armament—where all can meet on a common ground. Those who desire a greater armament can maintain it by Government manufacture without placing increased burdens upon the taxpayers. The people are entitled to get the maximum amount of goods in return for the money they invest in munitions of war. Why should we not obtain the maximum defensive power or the maximum striking power for every dollar we appropriate instead of only about 65 cents' worth of fighting strength for every dollar appropriated, the remainder, 35 cents, going into the pockets of private manufacturers of munitions of war? By manufacturing munitions, submarines,

armor, and aeroplanes in its own plant the Government will be able to keep for its own use any improvements in such implements of war. Under the present policy of giving the major part of military contracts to private concerns it has been impossible to do this.

Secretary Daniels, in one of his recent reports, says, "Even now the improvements in armor and the designs worked out in the Navy have been embodied in the warship of another nation recently finished by the Bethlehem Steel Co. and put into commission." This is not an argument lightly to be disregarded in favor of a Government armor plant, nor has it been overlooked, for instance, by Japan, which has erected its own armor-making plant and surrounded it with such secrecy that none of the other nations are able to tell whether or not at this minute Japan's armor may not be superior to any in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, under the present system the Government is at the mercy of a few concerns having a monopoly of the manufacture of the materials of war, who appear to have a gentleman's agreement to divide the Government contracts between themselves, and between whom there is no competition worthy of the name. Again, says Secretary Daniels in one of his recent reports:

> I do not see how it is possible for Congress to justify to the people a refusal to erect a Government plant, nor how it can answer the charge they will invariably bring up that the same mysterious providence which saved this project to the steel company three times in the past, even after the money for a Government plant had been actually appropriated, is not still at work exercising its beneficent protection over these lusty specimens of infant industries, who are even now under investigation as to violating the antitrust law.

Those who argue that the Government should not enter upon the manufacture of armor plate are either ignorant of the facts or do not understand them. When the War with Spain was imminent the three concerns in this country which have a monopoly of the armor-plate manufacture got together and practically issued an ultimatum to this country that they would not manufacture a single piece of armor plate unless we agreed to pay them $100 per ton more than the price fixed by Congress after an investigation as to a fair price, but their patriotism did not prevent them from selling armor plate to the Russian Government for $249 per ton while they were asking their own Government $616 per ton.

Argument has been made that to insure the preparedness of our country it is necessary that private manufacturers be given the right to manufacture munitions of war, this upon the ground that Government plants are not large enough to turn out war supplies in the event the Government finds itself involved in war. If this be true why not enlarge the Government plants, and operate them in times of peace to their fullest capacity, and by doing so the Government could have on hand sufficient ammunition, guns, and so forth, to equip the most powerful army ever organized, and keep it in the field a length of time after private plants not engaged in the manufacture of war materials would be able to reorganize their shops and be turning out ammunition and other supplies. In the event that private manufacturers under these conditions would not respond to the necessity of the occasion the Government itself could take over such industrial plants as it might need, just as England has done in the present European crisis. Talk about patriotism of the private manufacturers of munitions of war; talk about the beneficence of this bunch; their patriotism consists in the almighty dollar, in a complete monopoly of this work not only between private manufacturers of munitions of war in this country, but between private manufacturers of munitions of war in foreign countries. In 1897 apparently a world-wide agreement was entered into between the private manufacturers of munitions of war, and this agreement was entered into in this country by the Du Pont Powder Trust, as shown by the following articles of agreement entered into between itself and foreign manufacturers of powder:

> Whenever the American factories receive an inquiry for any Government other than their own, either directly or indirectly, they are to communicate with the European factories through the chairman appointed, as hereinafter set forth, and by that means to ascertain the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed, and they shall be bound not to quote or sell at any lower figure than the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed. Should the European factories receive an inquiry from the Government of the United States of North America or decide to quote for delivery for that Government, either directly or indirectly, they shall first in like manner ascertain the price quoted and fixed by the American factories, and shall be bound not to quote or sell below that figure. * * * The American factories are to abstain from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly, in or for consumption in any of the European territory, and the Europeans are to abstain in like manner from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly in or for consumption in any of the countries of the American territory. With regard to the syndicate territory, neither party is to erect works there, except by a mutual understanding, and the trade there is to be carried on for joint account in the manner hereinafter defined.

The Du Ponts were at one time—they are not now—in an agreement with a German firm, the United Rheinisch Westphalian Gunpowder Mills, to keep it informed of all improvements in the process of powder making. Here is the actual wording of the contract, article 10:

> That any and every improvement upon said process, or either of them, made by either of the parties hereto at any time hereafter shall forthwith be imparted to the other of the parties hereto.

However, that is not all. The Du Ponts agreed to keep the German powder mills informed at all times of all the powder furnished to the United States Government, stating in detail its quality and characteristics, and even its quantity, making themselves, to all practical ends, paid informers to the representatives of a foreign Government. Here is the exact language, article 13:

> That the parties of the second part (the Du Ponts) will, as soon as possible, inform the party of the first part (the German concern) of each and every contract for brown powder or nitrate of ammonia powder received by the parties of the second part from the Government of the United States or any other contracting party or parties, stating in detail quality, quantity, price, time of delivery, and all the requirements that the powder called for in such contract has to fulfill.

Mr. Chairman, in my candid judgment, any man or corporation in this country engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war who will secretly enter into such an agreement with any foreign power as set forth in these articles of agreement is unpatriotic, un-American, and does not deserve decent consideration at the hands of Congress. These should be sacred things, kept forever secret. No nation, friendly or unfriendly, should ever be permitted to know any of these secrets, and I have but little patience with men arguing that the Government should not manufacture its munitions of war in time of peace, thereby retaining its secrets, not only as to the kind and character of powder, kind and character of armor plate, kind and character of all other munitions of war, but the quantity of each. Even if these things could not be manufactured as cheaply by the Government as by private manufacturers, I would still be in favor of it; but the undisputed and overwhelming weight of evidence conclusively shows the Government can manufacture these things cheaper than any private manufacturer can sell them to the United States.

Mr. Chairman, to read the large city newspapers one would think the United States has steadily neglected its Army and Navy and that Congress has been exceedingly stingy in making appropriations for these two arms of the Government. The truth is our Government has increased its appropriations for and on account of war faster than any nation in the world has in time of peace. In the last 10 years we have spent for war and on account of war $2,000,000,000, enough to pay off the national debt, dig the Panama Canal, and pay the expenses of every church and school in the United States for an entire year; and for every $100 we have collected from the people we have paid out $67, all on account of war, and a very large slice of the money we have appropriated for the Army and Navy has gone to four firms, which up to this time have had complete monopoly of the manufacture of armor plate and powder.

Since 1903 we have bought from the Midvale Co. 48,399 tons of armor plate, and paid for it $420 per ton, or in all $20,375,858 for the single item of armor plate alone, not to say anything about other millions of dollars' worth of contracts that have been given to the Midvale Co. for other things used by the Army and Navy; and during the same time we have bought from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation (the Schwab company) 95,007 tons of armor at an average rate of $445 per ton; and we have paid the Bethlehem Co. for armor plate alone $42,344,937, not counting the millions of dollars we have paid this concern for other munitions of war.

During the same time we have bought from the Carnegie Steel Co., of which J. P. Morgan is closely associated, 89,943 tons of armor plate, paying $442 per ton on an average; in all, $39,783,497 for the single item of armor plate.

In all we have bought from these three firms 233,339 tons of armor plate, paying an average of $439 per ton, a total of $102,504,929. Remember the figures, $439. There have been 10 official estimates by Government officers as to the cost of armor plate in a Government factory, and the average of their estimates is $251 per ton; and had we manufactured this armor in a Government factory, I think I am well within the bounds of conservatism in saying we would have saved at least $35,000,000 on armor alone. So if our country is not prepared, it has not been due to any niggardliness on the part of Congress in making appropriations, but it has been due to the fact that the Munitions Trust in this country monopolized and absorbed a tremendous profit which has gone to swell their enormously overrich purses, and which ought to have gone into the manufacture of munitions of war to the end that the people would have received full return for the money put into the enterprise.

Mr. Chairman, in the Army bill we provided for a Government nitrate plant. It is conceded by all that nitrate is an essential element in preparedness. We were entirely dependent for nitrate upon the nitrate beds of Chile, and without nitrate we could not manufacture powder or high explosives, and feeling the danger of a possibility of being cut off from this supply and desiring to be independent, the bill carried an authorization of $20,000,000 for the erection and equipment of this plant. The plant will be operated to make nitrate not only for powder and high explosives, but to manufacture fertilizers. When the plant is not being operated to make nitrate to be used in the manufacture of powder it will be manufacturing nitrate for fertilizers to supply the farmers of the Nation with cheap fertilizer.

Mr. Chairman, we have been no more dependent upon Chile for our nitrate in the past than we have upon these three firms for the manufacture of armor plate and other munitions of war. The time has come when a great Government like ours can no longer be handcuffed and shackled by great trusts in this country. The time has come when it ought not to be permitted to do it. The time has come for the United States to write its second Declaration of Independence and free itself from these barnacles.

Mr. Chairman, I advocate the Government manufacture of munitions of war not only because it is cheaper, but in doing so it will take private profit out of war and preparation for war, so that war will be no more profitable and no more attractive to the J. P. Morgans and the other directors of war-trafficking firms than it is to the rest of mankind. While it is dangerous to prophesy, in my judgment when peace is concluded between the warring nations the world will see an agreement entered into between them that each nation shall thereafter manufacture its own munitions of war. When that time comes war will banish from the earth. No longer will men be driven like dumb animals into the inferno of a thousand Verduns.

## The Record of the Hon. W. E. Humphrey.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, June 22, 1916.*

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of this opportunity to pay a just tribute to one of our colleagues, the Hon. W. E. HUMPHREY, who has the best wishes, I am sure, of every Republican in this House in his laudable ambition to represent the State of Washington in the United States Senate. However, his election to that august body concerns not only the State of Washington and the Pacific coast but it concerns the entire country. It is the concern of the Republican Party of this Nation. Mr. HUMPHREY is one of the leaders of the Republican Party. He is one of the ablest men in Congress. He is one of the foremost orators of the country. His recent speech at the Republican State convention at Tennessee was one of the most powerful political arguments ever made in our State.

Mr. HUMPHREY is a leader and not a follower. He is the kind of man that is needed in the Senate at this time. Mr. HUMPHREY does not wait to see whether a position is popular before he takes it. He stood by the Republican Party in time of storm and stress while many others who are now clamoring loudly for its favor were trying to destroy it. Mr. HUMPHREY will at once become a leader in the Senate. He will take with him to that body the experience and the influence of 14 years' service in the House. Many Members of the next Senate—in fact, almost a majority, have served in the House with Mr. HUMPHREY. He will not be a stranger in that body. No other man in the State of Washington can have such great influence in the Senate as Congressman HUMPHREY, or so well serve his State and the country. If the people of Washington knew Congressman HUMPHREY as we who have served with him know him; if they knew as we know his ability, his energy, industry, and patriotism, there would be no opposition to his nomination and little to his election.

The Republicans of Washington at this crucial time in the Nation's history, not only for their own interest and for the interest of the Republican Party throughout the country but for the interest of the Nation, should use every effort to elect Mr. HUMPHREY Senator. Nothing else that the State of Washington could do would give her such political standing and such great influence in the National Capital as HUMPHREY'S election to the Senate.

I have no desire to interfere in the politics of the State of Washington, but interested, as I am, in the success of my party and in the success of the coming Republican administration, and being especially interested in the success of my country, I want to see in the Senate strong and patriotic men and real Republicans like Mr. HUMPHREY; and especially do I want such men in the Senate when I remember the great questions that must be met and solved when the war in Europe closes. This is my justification for making these remarks in the hope that they may help the people of Washington to place a just estimate upon the ability and service of Congressman HUMPHREY and the importance of seeing that he is elected.

Senator JONES, of Washington, has served with Congressman HUMPHREY either in the House or Senate ever since Mr. HUMPHREY has been in Congress. He is therefore beter fitted than any other man to speak of the work of Congressman HUMPHREY. Two years ago Senator JONES wrote a letter to Mr. J. P. Todd, of Seattle, giving Mr. HUMPHREY'S record in this body. I take pleasure in inserting that letter in the RECORD, adding, however, that since the time Mr. JONES wrote that letter, some two years ago, that Mr. HUMPHREY has voted for the rural credits bill, the prohibition amendment to the Constitution, the equal suffrage amendment, and many other important measures.

Mr. HUMPHREY has been one of the most active and able Members of the House in working for legislation to the end that our Nation shall be prepared to defend itself. For several years Mr. HUMPHREY has been preaching what we now term preparedness. For years he has been insisting that a battleship squadron should be kept upon the Pacific sufficient to protect that coast from attack. Mr. HUMPHREY urges preparedness not because he favors war but because he favors peace. He believes that for this Nation to be prepared to defend itself from unjust attack, and especially from invasion, is the best insurance against the horrors and atrocities of war.

SENATOR JONES'S STATEMENT IN REGARD TO CONGRESSMAN HUMPHREY'S WORK.

MY DEAR MR. TODD: Your favor asking me for a statement of the record of work done by Congressman HUMPHREY during his service in the House at hand. I am pleased to comply with this request so far as it is possible to do so, and all the more so because of my continued service with him and because of our almost general agreement upon the important matters of legislation that have come up during the last 12 years. Of course, I can not cover everything he has done or been connected with. He has taken an active part in so many different matters and so many important subjects have been under consideration that to cover all would be beyond the scope of this letter.

No one who has kept track of his record at all will deny the fact that he has steadily grown in ability, effectiveness, and influence from the time of his entrance into the House. His ability, industry, courage, devotion to his constituents, and his high integrity are known to his friends and admitted by his opponents. Having served with him during the 12 years he has been in Congress and having cooperated with him unreservedly in behalf of the State on those great questions which have been up for consideration, I can speak of his work from personal knowledge as well as from the record. It is with pleasure that I call your attention to some of the most important measures he has favored and some of the most important work he has performed.

HIS RECORD ON LABOR LEGISLATION.

Labor: His votes have been uniformly in behalf of American labor. He voted for the employers' liability act and the workmen's compensation bill, which our Democratic friends have failed to pass; for requiring materials to be used in the construction of the Panama Canal to be purchased in the United States; for limiting the hours of service for the men working on railroads; for the various safety-appliance laws in relation to railroads; for the various eight-hour laws that have been passed; for the laws creating the Bureau of Mines, the Children's Bureau, and the Department of Labor; for a child-labor law for the District of Columbia; for the eight-hour law for women in the District of Columbia; and for many others of a similar character. Surely these mentioned show that his vote and his sympathy can always be counted upon for those who toil. This is natural. He worked with his hands when a boy and young man. He knows what it is to earn his daily bread by manual labor, and his sympathy for and interest in labor does not come from a theoretical idea of what it means to work, but from actual experience. He can be counted on to support every reasonable measure for the welfare and protection of labor.

FRIEND OF WAR VETERANS.

Pensions: Mr. HUMPHREY has always been an active friend of the old soldier. He voted for the age-pension law, the law increasing the pensions of widows, the law removing the income provisions for widows, the Indian veterans' pension law and its increase, and for every bill, public or private, for the relief of any soldier. His friendship for the old soldiers, their widows, and dependents has not decreased as their ranks have thinned and their numbers lessened. He has declared in public addresses "that it is a sacred duty of this Nation to pay to every soldier who served his country in its hour of need a sufficient pension to provide him with the necessities of life, and that the Nation should care for the soldier's widow and orphan." He has also supported every provision of law giving the soldier a preference in Government employment, and has protested against its violation.

ELECTION OF SENATORS AND INCOME-TAX AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

He voted at every opportunity for the resolution submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Senators by the direct vote of the people, and he also voted for the resolution submitting the income-tax amendment to the people.

SUPPORTED REFORM MEASURES.

Regulating trusts and combines: He voted for the Hepburn law to prohibit rebates and discriminations by the railroads, probably the most important antitrust legislation that has gone upon the statute books since the passage of the Sherman antitrust law. He voted for the law enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission by giving it, among other powers, the right to ascertain and fix reasonable rates; to suspend proposed rates until their reasonableness could be determined; the right to fix through rates on rail and water lines; the right to enforce terminal connections between rail and water lines; and the right to divest railroads of control and ownership over water lines that might be competitive. He voted for the law providing for the physical valuation of railroad, telephone, and telegraph lines, for the law prohibiting the giving of passes, and for many other acts tending to control trusts and prevent monopoly, including the act prohibiting corporations from making contributions to campaign funds.

He also voted for the laws requiring publicity of campaign contributions, both before and after elections.

POSTAL SERVICE.

He was one of the first men in Congress to make a speech in favor of the Postal Savings Bank System, and did effective work for the passage of the present law. He favored and voted for the present Parcel Post System.

AGGRESSIVE FOR PURE-FOOD LAW.

Health and morals: He worked and voted for the present meat-inspection law and for the pure-food law. He was especially aggressive in his work for the pure-food law, contending that it was and is one of the most important statutes that Congress ever enacted, and that it vitally affects the welfare of the entire people. He worked and voted for the "white-slave law" prohibiting the transportation of women for immoral purposes, and for the law prohibiting the importation of opium into this country for other than medicinal purposes.

ALASKA.

He has always been an aggressive and influential friend of Alaska. He fought for the act giving her a Delegate in Congress and helped to pass the law giving her a Territorial form of government. He drew, himself, and had passed the present Alaska game law. As a member of the Committees on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries and of Rivers and Harbors he has been able to do much to protect the great fishing industry of Alaska and for the improvement of her harbors. His speech for the recent Alaska railroad bill was conceded to be one of the most effective and convincing delivered upon this subject. It contains a remarkable amount of definite information regarding that Territory. I doubt if any individual Member of the House had a greater influence than he in overcoming opposition to the measure appropriating $35,000,000 for the building of a railroad in Alaska by the Government. He is one of the best and most influential friends Alaska has in Congress to-day, and his retirement would be a loss to Alaska that can not be overestimated.

PANAMA CANAL.

Mr. HUMPHREY has always fought and worked for the construction of the Panama Canal or a canal across the Isthmus. As it is built on and entirely within American territory by the American people, and as the American people will pay for it, operate it, maintain it, and defend it, he believes that this Government has the right to control it and to use it with its own ships as it pleases. He believes that it is the right of the United States not only to do this, but that it is its duty to use the canal to bring about effective competition between the transcontinental railroads and the ships that pass through the canal in order to lower the freight rates between the two coasts for the benefit of the entire people of the country. He voted to have the canal constructed upon the present plan and vigorously opposed a "sea-level" canal.

We unhesitatingly approved the prompt, active, wise, and statesmanlike steps taken by President Roosevelt to promote the world's progress by acquiring the territory through which this canal could be constructed, and we will both oppose to the limit any action that will reflect upon him or compel the American people to pay blackmail money for doing that which was so necessary to the success of an undertaking primarily in the interest of all the nations of the earth.

FOUGHT AGAINST THE TOLLS REPEAL.

No man in Congress was more active or vigorous in the fight in favor of the law giving American ships in the coastwise trade the right to pass through the canal without the payment of tolls than Mr. HUMPHREY. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON, chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, says that no man in Congress did more to pass that act than he. As you know, he has been equally active and energetic in his opposition to the repeal of that law. He has denounced this proposed repeal as a cowardly and un-American surrender to Great Britain and to the transcontinental railroads.

His speech in the House is regarded by both Democrats and Republicans as one of the strongest made on this question. He pointed out especially the great injury that such action would bring to the State of Washington, and declared that if the present law is repealed it will take with it the great benefits that the canal would bring to the State of Washington and give them to British Columbia, and that it would be better if the canal had not been built. He is of the opinion, however, that the repeal of the present act will not end the fight, but that Congress will again enact a law reasserting our sovereignty in our own canal and bring about competition between the steamship lines and the transcontinental railways as soon as the people have had an opportunity to express their will at the polls upon this proposition.

ALWAYS A PROTECTIONIST.

Tariff: He has always been a protectionist. He has always believed that free trade means industrial ruin to the country and has always contended that our labor should be protected from the cheap pauper labor of the rest of the world. He has often declared that "this Nation can not prosper if it gives its work and its wages to foreign labor."

MEXICO.

He was one of the first public men to criticize the attitude of the administration toward Mexico. Speaking at Indianapolis on the 12th day of last February, he declared that while the administration was preaching peace their attitude and actions were daily bringing the country nearer war. He declared its policy at that time to be weak, vacillating, and blundering. Was he not correct?

ATTENTIVE TO HOME INTERESTS.

Local matters: I think you know and everyone should know that no constituent, however poor or humble, however prominent or influential, has ever written to Mr. HUMPHREY that he did not receive a prompt reply and prompt attention to his request. During his entire service all these many matters have received his personal attention, and he has performed his heavy task ungrudgingly, feeling that it was his duty to do so.

His State and his district have had his best service. The expenditures made in the State of Washington by the National Government, through legislation of which he has had charge in the House, has amounted to many millions of dollars. Of the many appropriations which have been granted for needed improvements during his service and mine, and which have had his most earnest and efficient attention, I will mention the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Lake Washington Canal | $2,275,000 |
| Dry dock at Bremerton | 2,300,000 |
| Fortifications on Puget Sound | 4,000,000 |
| For public buildings at Bellingham, Everett, Seattle, North Yakima, Olympia, Walla Walla, and others, over | 1,000,000 |
| For river and harbor improvements in the State | 15,000,000 |
| For submarines | 2,000,000 |

Many others could be named, but these are sufficient to show the effectiveness of his work in behalf of local interests. They are the largest and most important, although I want to say that it is not always the largest and most important that calls for the most work and attention. This consideration of local interests has been secured without in any way compromising his opinions or his independence of action. He succeeded me

on the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and during the last six years has had practical charge of legislation in the House involving an expenditure in our State for public improvements of practically $25,000,000.

MAN OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

His political independence: He had the courage to follow his judgment, even against his own party. When the bill for the admission of New Mexico and Arizona as one State was before Congress both President Roosevelt and Speaker CANNON personally asked him to vote for it. He did not believe it was fair to the Southwest, and spoke and voted against it. He was strongly urged by President Taft to vote for the reciprocity bill, but he did not think it was fair to the Northwest or to the State of Washington, and voted against it because of his own convictions. These instances show that he possesses the courage of his convictions, which is perhaps the most valuable of all traits in a public man. While he is a partisan, he refuses to follow his party when its action does not meet with his convictions of duty.

POSITION IN THE HOUSE.

Mr. HUMPHREY is now one of the recognized leaders of the House of Representatives. He is the oldest man in continuous service from the Pacific coast. Speaker CLARK once said:

Wisdom dictates that men who have proved that they are of service should be kept in Congress, and the value of their services increases in exact proportion to the length of service.

Mr. HUMPHREY is an illustration of the truth of that statement. His influence is constantly increasing, and he has grown more rapidly during this and the last Congress than ever before. He now has a national reputation and is everywhere regarded as an authority upon the questions of the tariff, rivers and harbors, merchant marine and fisheries, and the Panama Canal. His speeches in the House this session have been most widely circulated and most frequently commented upon. He has taken first rank among the debaters of the House. More than 75,000 copies of his speech at Indianapolis have been printed and circulated in various portions of the country.

IMPORTANCE OF HIS REELECTON.

Much complaint has been made heretofore of the influence of Members from the East, both in the House and the Senate. This influence has come from the very fact which Mr. HUMPHREY's position emphasizes. The East has kept its Members continuously in the House and the Senate, and in this way they have very naturally risen to positions of power and influence in both bodies. This power and influence will come to the West if it will but learn the lesson of experience and keep its active, energetic Members in Congress.

Mere differences of opinion on matters of minor importance can not justify retiring a Member of long experience, which give him a power and influence for good on behalf of his constituents which it would take a new man, however able and industrious, years to attain.

I do not desire to interfere improperly in the selection of a candidate by the Republican voters of Mr. HUMPHREY's district, but I believe that it is my duty as a citizen of the State of Washington to call attention to the importance of his renomination and election, not only to the people of his own district but to the people of the entire State, and then, of course, they will decide what is best for them to do.

BIG QUESTIONS LOOMING.

No man can foresee when our trouble with Mexico will end. The Panama Canal question is one of vital and far-reaching importance and will not be settled at this session, no matter what our action may be. The industrial conditions of the country are very bad and call for immediate and wise changes in our tariff policies.

Alaska must have many additional laws passed if she is to develop as she should. If there has ever been a time during the past 25 years when it was important to keep in Congress men of ability, experience, and influence, it is now. Mr. HUMPHREY'S influence and standing, great as it now is, will constantly increase, and his usefulness will be greater in the next Congress than in this. The people of the State of Washington have been educating and training him during the past 12 years for the duties of Congress.

He has not neglected his opportunities, and his defeat now would be a public calamity to the entire Pacific coast. When he is better fitted than ever before to perform the duties of his office, when he is in a position to be of greater influence than ever before, when his services are more urgently needed than ever before, what could justify his retirement? Surely Seattle, with all her needs and with her local pride and local spirit, will not retire him from a position that is of such tremendous importance to her and her development.

When Congressman from the entire State and from a large district, though living in Seattle, Mr. HUMPHREY represented fully and impartially all sections of the State and his district.

HIS LONG RECORD SATISFACTORY.

Criticism: Mr. HUMPHREY, like all men that have been in public life during the last 10 years, has been criticized by some as too radical, by others as being too conservative. In the light of to-day, those who criticize him for favoring the postal savings bank and the parcel post and various labor legislation will admit that he was right. As a follower and admirer of Col. Roosevelt, I believe that if you will study Mr. HUMPHREY's record during the last 12 years you will find little to criticize. I doubt if you would to-day say he voted wrong upon a single question.

What higher praise than this can be given his courage and judgment? He, as you are aware, has enjoyed in a high degree the confidence of Col. Roosevelt. The colonel, in a letter written to him for publication, September 30, 1910, said:

You always had in view the interests of the whole American people, and for those interests you stood in a straightforward and progressive fashion.

In one of his speeches, Mr. Roosevelt said:

The man who has the power to act is to be judged not by his words but by his acts.

Judged by that standard, I feel certain that there is little in the record of Mr. HUMPHREY that you or any other Progressive or other Republican will condemn, and certainly there is much to meet your sincere approval and admiration. With very kindest regards, and trusting I have adequately complied with your request, I am,

Yours, sincerely, W. L. JONES.

## Child-Labor Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EUGENE BLACK,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to discuss briefly the Keating child-labor bill, which passed the House of Representatives at this session of Congress and then went to the Senate, where I understand it has been amended in some particulars, but has not passed that legislative body thus far. One thing seems certain, however, and that is that if it does become a law it will be different from the bill which passed the House of Representatives, and against which I cast my vote when the bill was up for passage. In discussing this bill it is proper that I should state in this connection that Texas, which I have the honor to represent in part, already has a better child-labor law than is proposed in this measure. And I am truly glad that it has such a law.

TEXAS CHILD-LABOR LAW.
(Revised Statutes.)

Any person or any agent or any employee of any person, firm, or corporation who shall hereafter employ any child under the age of 15 years to labor in or about any manufacturing or other establishment using dangerous machinery, or about the machinery in any mill or factory, or in any distillery, brewery, or to labor in any capacity in the manufacture of goods for immoral purposes, or where their health may be impaired or morals debased, or shall send any such child to any disorderly house, bawdy house, or assignation house, or, having the control of such child, shall permit him or her to go to any such house, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than $50 nor more than $200, and each day the provisions of this act are violated shall constitute a separate offense.

It is also proper that I state that at least 44 out of the 48 States of the Union have already adopted child-labor laws of their own, suitable to their own local needs and conditions, and do not need and ought not to have the interference of the Federal Government.

My vote against this bill was on principle and because of two reasons, both of which I think are vital objections to it:

First. Because I do not believe that Congress has any constitutional right to pass such a bill.

Second. Even if it be admitted that the law would be constitutional, it is an interference by the Federal Goverament with the rights of the States to regulate their own internal affairs and local conditions, and for that reason ought not to pass.

CONSTITUTIONAL OBJECTION.

I fully realize that there is a growing disposition in the United States in some quarters to regard the Constitution as an instrument of little value and small worth, and men of the

Roosevelt type are perfectly willing to brush it aside and hold it a "worthless scrap of paper," but I do not subscribe to that doctrine. I still believe that England's great commoner, William E. Gladstone, was right when he said of our Constitution that—

> It is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.

Besides that, every Member of Congress must take the following oath when he assumes the duties of his office:

> I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same—

And so forth.

Therefore, having taken that oath of office, I will certainly observe it to the best of my ability, and will not vote to pass any law which I believe to be contrary to that Constitution which I have sworn to uphold.

Judge Cooley, the author of the great work on Constitutional Limitations, has very correctly said:

> Legislators have their authority measured by the Constitution. They are chosen to do what it permits and nothing more, and they take solemn oath to obey and support it. When they disregard its provisions they usurp authority, abuse their trust, and violate the promise they have confirmed by an oath. To pass an act when they are in doubt whether it is not violating the Constitution is to treat as of no force the most imperative obligations any person can assume. A business agent who would deal in that manner with his principal's business would be treated as unworthy; a witness in court who would treat his oath thus lightly and affirm things concerning which he was in doubt would be held a criminal.

Now, this so-called child-labor bill is not by any means a new measure. It has been before several previous sessions of Congress. In the Fifty-ninth Congress a similar measure was referred to the Judiciary Committee for a report on its constitutionality, and on that committee were such eminent lawyers as Judge Jenkins, of Wisconsin; Judge Birdsale, of Iowa; Judge PARKER, of New Jersey; Mr. Littlefield, of Maine; and Judge De Armond, of Missouri, and they reported back to Congress unanimously that it was their opinion that the measure was unconstitutional.

Let me read you the concluding part of that report, written by Judge Jenkins, chairman of the committee. He said:

> In fact, it is not a debatable question; it would be a reflection upon the intelligence of Congress to so legislate; it would be casting an unwelcome burden upon the Supreme Court to so legislate. The agitation of such legislation produces an uneasy feeling among the people and confuses the average mind as to the power of Congress and the power of the States. The lives, health, and property of the women and children engaged in labor is exclusively within the power of the States originally, and always belong to the States, and was not surrendered by them to Congress. The assertion of such power by Congress would destroy every vestige of State authority, obliterate State lines, nullify the great work of the framers of the Constitution, and leave the State governments mere matters of form, devoid of power, and ought to more than satisfy the fondest dreams of those favoring centralization of power.

That is not my language; it is the language of a great lawyer in presenting a unanimous report from the Judiciary Committee of the Congress of the United States. Now, on what ground do the proponents of this measure claim that it is constitutional? They are depending on the doubtful proposition that it is constitutional under the interstate-commerce clause. Most of you gentlemen, of course, recall that the Constitution of the United States gives Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and among the Indian Tribes." This bill seeks to pass rules and regulations under which goods shall be manufactured in the several States. But the Supreme Court of the United States has held that Congress has no jurisdiction over manufacturing in the several States. (See Kidd *v.* Pearson, 128 U. S., 21.) Also, that commerce does not begin until manufacture is complete. Articles can not be considered in interstate commerce until they start on their journey to another State. (Coe *v.* Erral, 116 U. S., 517.)

Congress can only exercise jurisdiction over articles after they become a part of interstate commerce, and any effort in any way to control them or their production prior to that time is just as unconstitutional as would be efforts to control their distribution after they had been delivered to the consignee and the original packages broken. I affirm, as a proposition which I believe to be absolutely sound, that if an article be sound and free from fraud or adulteration when it leaves the manufacturer and when it enters commerce, that Congress has no power to forbid it the privileges of interstate commerce.

I also affirm that the Constitution of the United States can not be "stretched out" so as to give Congress the power to declare rules and regulations under which that sound and wholesome article of commerce shall be manufactured or produced. Let me read you a paragraph from Watson on the Constitution, published in 1910:

> Closely akin to the question of regulating manufacturing is the question whether Congress can forbid the handling of a commodity, by a carrier of interstate commerce, which was manufactured in a State, for instance, by women and children under a certain age, as has recently been maintained. This question is of far-reaching effect, and if such power exists in Congress it would result in the most complete invasion of the sovereignty of the States by the General Government which has ever been accomplished by the General Government * * * But there is no power in Congress to control the manufacture of goods in the States destined for interstate or foreign commerce, and consequently Congress is unable to control the labor of persons engaged in manufacturing products in the States which are intended for interstate or foreign business. Such regulations are left to the State. The power to make such regulations resided there before the Constitution was adopted or the Union formed, and it was not surrendered by the States to the General Government.

It would be an easy matter to prolong this discussion by citing other Supreme Court decisions and authors on constitutional law denying the authority of Congress under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution to take this indirect method of saying to the individual States how they shall conduct their internal affairs and domestic policies. But I do not want to prolong my argument on this phase of the matter. Of course, if the bill does finally become a law, it will fall to the duty of the Supreme Court to pass final judgment on this important and far-reaching question. And even if it should be admitted that the bill is constitutional—which I do not for a moment believe—then I would still oppose it because it violates the rights of the States to control their own internal affairs and matters of domestic policy.

DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINE OF STATE RIGHTS INVOLVED.

The bill deals with the age and hours of labor of persons and not with the rules and regulations for interstate commerce. If 44 States of the Union have already undertaken the task of dealing with the problem of child labor within their own borders, then why should the Congress of the United States try to interfere under the pretext of regulating interstate commerce? That the laws in the several States differ in their provisions is but the greater reason why they should be let alone. Each State is attempting to meet the requirements peculiar to the condition and needs of its own people. Is it not fair to presume that the legislatures of the several States, elected by the voters of those States and directly responsible to them, are more competent to judge as to the needs of that State than is Congress, far removed from the people to be affected, and with only a few members who have any first-hand information as to the peculiar needs of each State?

If the Supreme Court of the United States should hold this law constitutional, then it would clearly be within the power of Congress to say to the farmers of the South under what conditions they will be permitted to produce every bale of cotton which enters into interstate commerce, and that would include nearly all that is raised in Texas, because we have as yet very few cotton factories to consume our product there at home. If this law is constitutional, then Congress can pass laws demanding that not a pound of this cotton should be picked by boys under 16 years of age, and other regulations of that kind, which might not be suitable to the needs and wishes of the people. Do not you think that the people of Texas are more able to regulate these matters for themselves than to have Congressmen from Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, and Pennsylvania to do it for them? I do. If Texas is incapable and incompetent to deal with her own labor problems, then she is unworthy to have any State government at all. But she is able to do it, and has done it, and does not need any outside interference from any source. And the same thing might be truly said of the other 43 States who have legislated on this subject for themselves.

During the debate in Congress the following colloquy took place between Mr. ADAMSON, of Georgia, and Mr. WEBB, of North Carolina:

> Mr. ADAMSON. Will the gentleman yield for a question?
>
> Mr. WEBB. Yes, sir.
>
> Mr. ADAMSON. I desire to ask the gentleman if the same rule of reasoning could not prevent boys from raising cotton and working in the fields?
>
> Mr. WEBB. Oh, yes; if this bill is constitutional, Congress can provide that no cotton picked in whole or in part by a child under 14 or 16 years of age shall be shipped in interstate commerce, just as the arbitrary will of Congress may dictate.
>
> Mr. ADAMSON. And on the same line of argument you could prohibit all children from working and make vagabonds of all the coming generation?
>
> Mr. WEBB. Yes. If this bill is constitutional there are no more rights left to the States at all, if Congress wants to take them away. You can regulate everything, and there is no use hereafter in undertaking to have a constitutional amendment for suffrage, divorce, or anything else. As Rousseau says, whenever you arrogate to one central government all the powers concerning the purely domestic and internal affairs of the people, which have always been left and are still left to the States to administer, then our Government will fall of its own weight. There have been other republics besides ours, but there never has been a republic balanced like ours, with dual State and Federal sovereignty—the sovereignty of the Federal Government

within its sphere and the sovereignty of the State governments within their spheres. The sovereignty of the State government has always been recognized to have the control of all conditions which affect the morals and health of the people.

Mr. ADAMSON, who asked the questions, is chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce; and Mr. WEBB, who answered the questions, is chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and both of them voted exactly as I did on this bill.

Also, such Democrats as Majority Leader CLAUDE KITCHIN; Chairman LEVER, of the Committee on Agriculture; Chairman CLARK, of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds; Chairman HUMPHREYS, of the Committee on Flood Control; Mr. POU, ranking Democratic member of the Rules Committee; Hon. RUFUS HARDY, ranking Democratic member of the Committee on Merchant Marine; Hon. DAVID FINLEY, ranking Democratic member of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, all took the same view that I did of this matter and voted against the measure.

FEDERAL INSPECTORS.

Now, the question naturally arises in the mind of the inquirer, If this so-called child-labor bill becomes a law, how will it be enforced?

Well, the bill itself provides that it shall be enforced by Federal inspectors who shall visit the different factories, mines, and manufacturing establishments of the United States. There are 299,000 manufacturing establishments throughout the United States, and it is a very simple matter for you to see that it will take a horde of Federal inspectors to visit and supervise these establishments. Already these 299,000 manufacturing establishments are supervised and looked after by the State authorities of the 44 States which have enacted child-labor laws, and what is the sense of duplicating this expense by having a horde of Federal officeholders to do what the States are already doing for themselves? We hear a great deal of complaint these days about the increasing expenses of the Federal Government, and very properly so. There is no doubt but that the expenses of the Government are going up by leaps and bounds, and the reason for it is very plain to every man who has studied the question at all. The Federal Government is duplicating in numerous instances what the States are already doing themselves. Of course, naturally, as our population increases the expenses of the Federal Government also increase, but the ratio of this increase of expense has been out of all proportion to the increase in population, and it is getting high time that the people were giving serious consideration to the question. Why is it so? and giving their support to Members of Congress who make a serious effort to reduce these unnecessary expenses.

CONCLUSION.

I could prolong this discussion to a much greater length by discussing what I conceive to be the correct province of the Federal Government and the reserved powers of the States, but I do not wish to make this statement too long.

If I know my own heart and human sympathies, I want to see every boy and girl in this broad land of ours grow up and make a fine useful man and woman, and I am perfectly willing that anyone shall make the closest kind of an investigation into my private life with a view of determining what interest I have always taken in matters of this kind. If Texas did not already have a good child-labor law, I would be one of many citizens to join in a demand that our legislature enact one. But they have already done it. I yield to no man in my desire to help the laboring man benefit his condition and improve his economic situation.

I am proud of the fact that I have been one of those who labored with my own hands, working in the cotton fields, of bearing brick, and numerous other kinds of labor. I think I know how to appreciate the laboring man's point of view, but I do not believe it is necessary for us to surrender our fundamental principles of government to accomplish the results which we seek to obtain. To do so would be a foolish and short-sighted policy, and in the end would in all probability prove a boomerang to the interest of the laboring man himself. Already some of our large corporations are clamoring for Federal incorporation laws in order that they may escape State control and be under a centralized system, which would make it easier for them to secure special concessions. Organized labor has done remarkably well in the last 20 years in securing its rights under State control, and in my opinion it would be an act of "looking backward" and very dangerous in its ultimate consequences to repudiate the time-honored doctrine of State control in these matters and turn them over to the control of the Federal Government.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, holding firmly to these views, I have cast my vote against the bill.

## The Patriotic Aliens Anxious to Serve the Country.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, unanimously this measure, appropriating the largest sum of money in a bill of this kind that has ever been presented to us in a time of peace, is being passed to-day because we all realize that a crisis confronts the Nation. It means an expenditure of over $182,000,000, and the increases for the National Guard and Regulars adopted yesterday by the House are as follows:

INCREASES ADOPTED.

1. Horses for Cavalry and other departments, $3,000,000. Total appropriation as increased, $3,800,000. Chairman HAY informed the House that the War Department has recently contracted for 68,000 horses and mules.

2. Medical Department and sanitation, $1,000,000; total appropriation, $2,000,000.

3. Engineer Department, $500,000; total appropriation, $1,000,000.

4. Ordnance stores, ammunition, $2,000,000; total allowed, $4,500,000.

5. Manufacture of arms, $3,000,000; total appropriation as increased, $5,000,000.

6. Ordnance stores, supplies, $3,000,000; total allowed, $6,000,000.

7. Machine guns for Regulars, $1,960,000; total appropriation, $3,360,000.

8. Machine guns for militia, new item of $2,000,000.

9. Armored motor cars, $150,000; total allowed, $300,000.

10. Field artillery, militia, $5,000,000; total of increased appropriation, $8,000,000.

11. Ammunition for field artillery for militia, $5,000,000; total of increased appropriation, $8,000,000.

12. Military training camps for civilians, $1,500,000; total appropriation, $2,000,000.

History is now being made. The next few days will tell the tale whether we are to be plunged into a bloody conflict that we have not sought. It will be to our everlasting credit that we have not been the aggressors. Time will record the incontrovertible fact that this country has done nothing except to exercise those rights which every Government is bound to do in behalf of its citizens. Every obligation that both the moral and international law required us to keep with our southern neighbor has been most faithfully kept by us. It appears, however, that we are destined to enter into a struggle that must be characterized in a phrase that William H. Seward used, namely, "irrepressible conflict."

We have heard much in recent months in parts of the press and from some eminent gentlemen who love to tell us how far back their ancestors first commenced to arrive here that the immigrants or their sons would not do their duty to this country in its hour of need.

The following article from the Baltimore American, which I quote in full, is an emphatic and complete refutation of such assertions:

THE PATRIOTIC ALIENS—THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO SERVE ON THE MEXICAN BORDER—SOME SPEAK ONLY BROKEN ENGLISH.

Aliens, and those whose parents are foreign born, apparently are as anxious to serve on the Mexican border as real Americans, if the records of the recruiting offices at both the Fourth and the Fifth Regiments, Maryland National Guard, can be judged from. Since President Wilson's call for State guard mobilization just a week ago the majority of the recruits to the local regiments are either those who have adopted the United States as their country or those whose parents came from the old country.

A noticeable feature is that in many cases the officers have had to assist some of the applicants in becoming citizens of the United States. Possibly those of either Russian, German, Italian, and English descent are in preponderance. In the Fourth Regiment alone there are more than 100 Jews, who were among the first to rally to the call to colors. Some of the recruits speak only broken English.

The New York Times, referring to the same fact, contained the following yesterday:

FEW NATIVE AMERICANS—RESPONSE IN BALTIMORE TO GUARD CALL IS FROM THE FOREIGN BORN.

[Special to the New York Times.]

BALTIMORE, *June 25.*

Of the recruits received in the two Maryland regiments in this city only about half are native Americans, according to recruiting officers in charge. In many cases the officers say that they have had to assist

the new men personally in their first steps toward becoming citizens of the United States. Many others are sons of foreign-born parents.

Of the recruits of foreign blood those of Russian descent are in the majority, with Germans and Englishmen following in the order named. There is also a fair sprinkling of Italians among them. Many members of the Maryland Militia are of German descent.

In a statement to-day Col. Washington Bowie, jr., said he hoped native Americans in Baltimore would do their duty. "We want Americans who are accustomed to responsibility. The fact that somebody loves them is the very reason why they are needed."

An incident showing the intense enthusiasm of the Italian immigrant to serve our country at the present time is so aptly depicted in the Washington Herald and so expressive of the patriotic spirit that actuates the man who comes here from Europe that I deem it of sufficient interest to read it in full:

MARCO, HE GRABBA DA CITIZENSHIP TO MAKA BEEG FIGHT IN MEXICO.

Marco Pica, late of Naples Bay, Italy, stood, hat in hand, outside the recruiting station at 1225 Pennsylvania Avenue yesterday, and ran stubby fingers through a shock of curly black hair.

A khaki-clad militiaman, whose hat was adorned with the blue cord of the infantry, approached him.

"Better enlist, old man," the khaki-clad one said. "Big time down Mexico way."

Marco grinned.

"Fight—for sure fight?" he queried.

"For sure fight," said the militiaman.

Marco grinned again and pondered.

"I guess I go," he said finally. "Lika da fight. Lika da Estados Unidos. No lika da Mexico. Mexico no good. Si—I guess I go."

And he squared his shoulders and marched up to the recruiting desk.

"One more," said the militiaman to himself, but he spoke too soon. For when the recruiting officer inside questioned Marco he found he was not a citizen of the United States.

It was hard work making the Neapolitan understand why he couldn't be accepted. He thought there might be some doubt as to his soldiering ability.

"I maka da good man," he assured the officer earnestly. "I maka what you call ex-peer-ience. I serve one, two, three yea in da army of ma country, back in Italia. I maka da good man. I know how."

It was finally explained to him that the militia would like to have him, but that none save citizens of the United States could be accepted.

Marco's face fell—but not for long. "I fix dat," he declared. "I fix—you wait." And out he went, almost on a run.

That was yesterday morning.

Yesterday evening about dusk a radiant Marco strode back into the recruiting station and handed the officer a bulky, important-looking paper. The officer looked it over and then whistled.

"I'll be durned," he murmured. "He's taken out his first citizenship papers."

And so Marco will get to "maka da fight" after all.

From all over the land comes the news that the boys are responding to the President's call, and that they are speeding toward the border to protect the lives, property, and homes of our citizens residing in those States which face the border along our southern territory.

A small poem tells how the mothers and fathers are nobly encouraging their sons to do their duty to our flag and country. It is entitled—

TO ARMS!

The call to arms has sounded,
And the echo of the cry
Is answered by God's country,
As our soldier boys go by.

Our flag floats proudly o'er them;
'Tis the emblem of the free;
'Tis the flag our fathers fought for
On the land and on the sea.

A mother's heart goes with them
As they proudly march away;
A mother's prayer goes with them
In the thickest of the fray.

God's blessing rests upon them,
Upon each and every one,
On every mother's darling,
And on every father's son.

—Zola J. Mercer.

## Two Patriotic Resolutions.

## SPEECH

OF

## HON. JAMES A. FREAR,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

Mr. FREAR. Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith a resolution from Ripon, Wis., letter of acknowledgment, and a few words on the Hay resolution drafting the National Guard into foreign service:

Resolution unanimously adopted at a public meeting of the citizens of Ripon, Wis., and approved by the city council and other public bodies of that city.

Whereas an appropriation of $75,000 for the erection of a Federal building at Ripon, Wis., has been made by the National Congress; and

Whereas the people of this community heartily believe in and approve of a policy of adequate national preparedness; and

Whereas we believe that private and local gain and enhancement should always be subservient to the common good: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the citizens of Ripon, whose sons enlisted in Company D, Wisconsin National Guard, are now encamped at Camp Douglas in response to the summons of President Wilson; whose boys of other days were among the first to answer the call of their country in the Spanish and Civil Wars; whose patriotism and loyalty has ever been abounding and unstinted; with the tearful farewells of mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts of soldiers fresh in their memory; with the echoes of the footsteps of the Grand Army of the Republic in State encampment assembled still lingering in their ears, earnestly request their Representatives in Congress to immediately introduce and strive to secure the passage of an act diverting the appropriation made for a Federal building in Ripon from its original purpose and applying it specifically to the equipment of the National Army, preferably in the perfection of the aviation service.

I also insert the letter of transmittal and my answer thereto:

RIPON, WIS., *June 25, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES A. FREAR,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have for a long time viewed with enthusiastic approval your fight on the "pork barrel" in Congress, and with considerable pride in the fact that a Wisconsin man had courage enough to stand up for the right.

Knowing your convictions upon this matter, therefore, I am sure that you can not fail to be interested in the almost unprecedented action taken by the citizens of Ripon, as outlined in a set of resolutions which were circulated and signed almost unanimously by the citizens and taxpayers here.

These resolutions, signed as above, and approved by unanimous action of the common council and of the Commercial Club, have been telegraphed and mailed to Congressman REILLY, as representing this district, and copies also forwarded to Senators LA FOLLETTE and HUSTING.

I trust that you will use what influence you have to see that the matter comes up for action, for the maximum good of an action of this kind is not in the money itself but in the example its sets.

Very truly, yours,

W. E. HAZELTINE,
*Secretary and Treasurer.*

JUNE 27, 1916.

Mr. W. E. HAZELTINE,
*Care Ripon Light & Water Co., Ripon, Wis.*

MY DEAR MR. HAZELTINE: I am in receipt of your letter of June 25 inclosing copy of resolutions passed by citizens of Ripon urging that the $75,000 appropriation for Ripon's public building be turned into the common-defense fund.

I am grateful, indeed, for this expression of sentiment from Wisconsin on the importance of the public defense as compared with local pride. It is hard to understand how a Congress made up, as it is, of honest Representatives from all over the country will consent to wasteful and extravagant "pork-barrel" appropriations largely for local interests, which in the case of the pending river and harbor bill reached $43,000,000, and in the case of the Mississippi land-reclamation project passed by the House reached over $50,000,000. A public building bill, wasteful and extravagant in character, is also about to be introduced in the House, according to report.

Your resolution is timely, and it reinforces opponents of waste and local expenditures who believe that at this time in the country's history we should curtail needless waste and extravagance. It is fitting that the resolution should come from Ripon, the birthplace of a great political party that has given to the country many of our greatest men. I thank you for your letter and the resolution, which will be filed in the House, and I desire to express appreciation for your own good words personally.

Very sincerely, yours, JAMES A. FREAR.

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing resolution is opportune, and I have inserted it in the RECORD with my letter of response. I desire to add a few words that have a bearing on the same general subject and on another resolution.

Monday the House passed a military bill carrying $180,000,000, larger by many millions than any bill ever before introduced for that purpose in the National Congress. During the same closing hours of House debate the Senate defeated a provision passed by the House last Friday. The Hay resolution before the Senate permitted the President to draft the National Guard into the Regular service and, if need be, send such troops into Mexico, and we coupled with the provision a $1,000,000 appropriation, to be used by the Secretary of War in caring for needy dependents of National Guardsmen thus suddenly called away from their families and business occupation. Men from Ripon and from hundreds of other cities throughout the country are among those summoned.

Amid orations on patriotism and the high qualities that ought to animate the citizen soldier, irrespective of claims of dependents, and during the same time we were passing a military bill for $180,000,000, the Senate struck out of our resolution the clause giving $1,000,000 to dependents of men we are sending to the front and provided that such men, some of whom are now down on the Mexican border, can resign from the guard and escape military service if able to make suitable showing of families depending upon them.

That resolution came back to the House accompanied by speeches of statesmen who publicly declared the soldiers of this country do not need manicurists or chiropodists to accompany them to the front. Such sentiments expressed in the highest parliamentary body of the country have no place at this time or any time. Neither will the country be deceived over the affected superior motives ascribed by men in this Chamber or any other

chamber for voting against a proposal to aid dependents of National Guardsmen.

We have no right to express the contempt that every right-minded citizen must have for such utterances, because we are prevented by parliamentary prohibition. We can not analyze the character of men who believe such things and who gratuitously insult the men we have drafted into service, because by so doing, a breach of parliamentary rights will occur. We can say that when another body refuses to give to the dependents of guardsmen necessary aid in this time of national need, when it refuses to give $1,000,000 unanimously passed by this body, but grants $43,000,000 to a wasteful and dishonest river and harbor bill, the country should know the standards of economy and patriotism that govern public men, wherever serving.

An extravagant public-building bill is about to the introduced in the House, according to rumor; an omnibus bill, condemned by public sentiment and accepted only by those who are ready to acquire local improvements at the expense of public waste. That bill reached over $41,000,000 when last passed by Congress. It is now in the program of pork grabs, and at this time the Ripon resolution is of striking significance, because it calls attention to the need of preparedness over pork barrels and an offer of sacrifice for the boys we are sending to Mexico.

I believe in public economy, but I do not believe in gross injustice, and will try not to overstep the bounds of parliamentary language in discussing what occurs elsewhere; but I point to the fact that the rule was stretched when the House resolution appropriating $1,000,000 to dependents of national guardsmen was under discussion in another body, when it was characterized as wasteful and extravagant and likely to bankrupt the Treasury.

In Sunday's Star objections appeared from the chairman of a Senate committee, who gave out an interview, from which I quote:

> To make such a relief provision as the House resolution proposes ($1,000,000) would disorganize the Regular Army. We can not have such benefits for one class of the service at such time and deprive another class in the same service of the privilege. The amendment which we have proposed, giving the Secretary of War authority to honorably discharge enlisted men with dependent families, puts us on the same footing as other countries. Men with dependent families always should be called to the service last.

Simultaneously with that weighty announcement from the chairman of a committee, whose slight knowledge of national guardsmen can be accurately measured by his interview, we were further informed that the House resolution placing in the hands of the Secretary of War $1,000,000 for care of dependent families would be stricken out, and that has been done by the Senate.

We have no right to discuss the action of Senators, but when men blessed with a little brief authority give their views to the press and public it is proper to show how little understanding they have of the situation and why the appropriation should be made.

The National Guard is being mustered into the Regular service. Some of the troops are reported on their way to the front. After they reach Mexico they will some day learn that Congress passed an act saying "married men should be called to the service last."

Mr. Speaker, I have some familiarity with both Regular Army and National Guard service, having served full enlistments in both branches during past years. I speak from that experience in saying recruits entering the Regular Army are almost invariably single men, and they enlist into that service well knowing what they are called upon to do as soldiers and compensation fixed by law to which they will be entitled. Men entering the National Guard enlist with the understanding that actual service during war is a possibility only.

Married and single men occupying the highest positions in the community where they live are persuaded to join the local company to help it along and as a matter of local pride and patriotic duty. They continue with the company, and frequently father and son become members of the same organization. Men of ability equal to the average found upon the Senate or House floor are in every regiment, and it is no exaggeration to say in practically every company lawyers, doctors, merchants, farmers, and mechanics jostle elbows in the National Guard, and in that one fact is disclosed the high standard of efficiency and loyalty to the country displayed in this hour of national need. It is a poor member of the National Guard, if a married man, who in this day and age does not earn over $50 a month with which to feed and clothe a family. This income he forfeits ordinarily when called upon by his country. It is forfeited unless private employers in occasional instances assume a burden which belongs to the public.

The President has called these men to the colors, all of them have reached State mobilization quarters, and some of them are on their way to Mexico, according to press reports. With no means of making even hasty provision for dependents, men have been torn from their families, even as they were a half century ago, and the responsibility for the care of such dependents is thrown on local communities. In many towns public-spirited citizens are raising funds to help care for these dependents, but the very size of the task shows how hopeless it will become when the enthusiasm of giving wears off. This Government has shown itself to be grateful to other defenders, and now is the time above all others to show its gratitude and not leave to private subscription what is a matter of national obligation.

More to the point, dependents do not care to parade their wants, and whatever generous motives accompany local movements those who suffer most will often be the last to make their wants known. A controlling argument, however, should be that such dependents ought not to be dependents while a wealthy Government is able and properly obligated to care for their needs.

Mr. Speaker, exercising the authority reposed under the Constitution, Congress has drafted all National Guardsmen into the regular service on order of the President; civilian soldiers who a week ago were engaged in their business avocations are now en route to Mexico. Not one word of remonstrance has come from the National Guard or from its membership. No man has written me, although I personally know many in my own State's service, from the commanding general down to the private soldier. These men have promptly answered their country's call. They have not asked for any privileges, but married men and single men with dependents or without, of all professions and occupations, practically without exception—all have joined the colors. According to general orders issued March 13, 1914, by Gen. Leonard Wood the National Guard "of the State of Wisconsin may be taken as a model in the matter of training, equipment, and business administration." This is high praise for the citizen soldier, coming as it does from the commanding officer of the military forces, and the entire National Guard, by its immediate and universal response, has won the thanks of the country.

The man who refused to go with his company may have exhibited more moral courage than those who marched to the train, but I know of companies in which every man, married and single, reported for duty, will be mustered in, and will go to the front. Not one in ten of those who are married have failed to answer the summons, and I doubt if the percentage will be as large from among those who accept the chance for escape offered by the Senate resolution. The call of wife and family is first of all next to the country's right of service, and yet men are unwilling to leave their comrades and return home, though permission be granted.

It it needless to discuss their reasons, which are understood by every patriotic, public-spirited man, and of such is the National Guard composed. The hardest struggle is not fought for the capture of a trench, but by individuals who must fight out responsibilities and determine their own course at such times. Strong men and weak men are all subjected to the same test, and the decision does not always go with mature judgment but is influenced by surroundings, duty, and personal pride, elements of patriotism, and we will do well to recognize the fact by insisting upon the House resolution. Whether one man or ten thousand leave dependents is immaterial, for the moral obligation rests with the Government in either case.

Little does the Senator quoted in the press know the individual sentiment among men of the National Guard when he assumes he has solved the problem by excusing men who have dependents at home. With many of these men, to leave their comrades would be an act of injustice to the company, to the service, and to the individual soldier. Hard as the test may be it will ordinarily be decided in the negative. The only way it can be made effective is to legally bar married men from Army service, and even then, others, with dependents, will be left without needed aid.

What is to become of the dependents of men, who, for patriotic reasons or fear of personal criticism or pride or other reasons, refuse to leave their comrades? The chairman of the Senate committee says to the press we can not discriminate—but men do discriminate when they join the Regular Army for an occupation and the National Guard for patriotic reasons and service only when needed.

A Senator said Saturday that we have been extravagant with pensions and it is no time to provide manicurists or chiropodists for members of the National Guard. His protest arose on the ground of public economy.

That language in this body would meet the same quick, certain answer it met elsewhere, but parliamentary limitations prevent men here from expressing their sentiments on such coarse, uncalled-for criticism.

Naturally, however, we are prone to examine into the particulars of economy offered by such men. Honesty of intention is no explanation for the man with a $7,500 salary, who derides and ridicules National Guardsmen, unable to reply. Without request on their part for action, this provision was adopted by the House. Dependents of congressional scoffers are provided with $7,500 annually, given by a generous Government, and yet some statesmen grow indignant because less than one-tenth of their own salary is proposed for dependents whose sole means of support has been called to their country's service.

The Senate struck the item of $1,000,000 from the House resolution by a vote of 5 to 30, which vote is found on page 11497 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 26. The House has reaffirmed its unanimously expressed opinion and rejected the Senate amendment by a vote of 119 to 5, or over 20 to 1. That the House is near to the people and understands the claims of patriotism, ordinary decency, and common humanity may be gathered from that vote.

After announcement in the press of the House action, the same chairman, following a notoriously bad and habitual practice of certain statesmen, gave to the press a second interview, as shown by the Washington Times of June 27, page 2:

"The Senate never will recede from its position," said Chairman ——, of the Senate Military Committee, when he heard of the House's decision. "The Senate positively will not agree to pay pensions or aid to dependents. It would bankrupt the Federal Treasury and demoralize the Army."

UNPATRIOTIC ANNOUNCEMENTS.

On what meat doth Cæsar feed? Who is it that says so positively what the Senate will and what it will not do? Who is it that denounces the House for bankrupting the Treasury with a $1,000,000 appropriation? On the opposite page of the Times, following the pompous announcement, appears this half-page ad, printed under the American flag:

Men wanted at once to serve the country in the National Guard of the District of Columbia. Washington must furnish additional men. Now enlist for preparedness. War orders state that each unit in the National Guard must be recruited to war strength, which is more than double their peace strength. This means that your country needs you and needs you badly. Apply to recruiting stations, open 9 a. m. to 10 p. m.

With that ad staring at him on page 3 of the Times and in every other local paper, the chairman of a Senate committee talks of bankrupting the Treasury through a million or even ten million dollar fund if placed in the hands of the Secretary of War. Men who ask from Congress practically $200,000,000 for a military bill quibble with truth and harangue newspaper reporters over a $1,000,000 appropriation bankrupting the Federal Treasury, while other men of similar standards talk of manicurists and chiropodists for guardsmen.

Such statesmen charge the House with seeking to bankrupt the Treasury and insist on parading their views in the public press. No greater insult to the House, to National Guard troops, or to ordinary intelligence could be offered than by those who express such sentiments.

The resolution passed by the House carried $1,000,000 for expenditure by the Secretary of War, under such rules as he may prescribe, for the purpose of maintaining, at a cost of not more than $50 per month, the family of each enlisted man of the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States until his discharge therefrom, when such family has no other income except his pay. And the word "family" includes wife, dependent mothers, fathers, and sisters. That is the substance of the provision rejected by the Senate.

No more worthy appropriation can be made by this Government than in giving $1,000,000 or $10,000,000 annually, if need be, to provide for dependents of men who are to use the $180,000,000 of war supplies just given for defenses.

That $1,000,000 is infinitely more important to this country, aside from its broad, humanitarian purpose, than the $43,000,000 river and harbor "humbug and steal" which recently passed another body and now awaits action by this House.

It is more important to the country than nearly $20,000,000 sunk in the Columbia River, two-thirds of which has been wasted. It is more important to the country than a million and a half dollars more, now carried in the 1916, $43,000,000, bill, that is also to go into that same Columbia River. Did present-day economists seek to defeat that bill by raising their voices against its provisions or did they remain mute and approve when they secured their local appropriations? The bill would have been defeated if precept meant practice with eleventh-hour economists.

It is better in 1916 to spend one million or ten million dollars, if need be, for dependents of National Guardsmen rather than sink nearly $9,000,000 contained in the 1916 pork-barrel bill for the Mississippi River, in addition to over $150,000,000 already spent on that river without tangible results. Even those who live on the Columbia and formerly on the Mississippi should concede that.

It is better for the country to care for dependent relatives of boys who have gone to the front rather than spend $5,000,000, contained in the 1916 bill, for the crazy Ohio canalization scheme, on which $50,000,000 has already been wasted. It is more creditable to care for dependents of the country's defenders than to squander a million and a half in the 1916 pork-barrel bill for a Missouri River private-land reclamation scheme, on which nearly $20,000,000 has already been squandered. It is wiser to use public funds for the protection of those who have temporarily lost their protectors rather than to waste millions of dollars on the artesian-watered Trinity or the dry, deserted Brazos, or the Arkansas, recommended for abandonment by engineers, all of which wasteful projects have absorbed many millions of public funds for the promotion of political pork and are liberally remembered in the disgraceful 1916 waterway bill.

Mr. Speaker, it is indefensible that such bills should be put through Congress at this time or at any time.

We defeated two "pork barrels," carrying $92,000,000, last session, and saved $42,000,000 to the Federal Treasury, notwithstanding the protests of those who would be economists to-day.

That $42,000,000 will pay needed expenses of every dependent of the National Guard for two years to come, and in addition will build a battleship for public defense.

The $50,000,000 land-reclamation 1916 bill, for reclaiming private lands along the Mississippi River, would pay for two battleships and care for these dependents, but it swept through the House without a roll call, and is before economists of another body, some of whom propose saving money by shaving clerks' salaries and preventing dependents of guardsmen from receiving Government support.

The $24,000,000 stricken from the Army bill in the House, that was intended for the Alabama Power Co.'s Muscle Shoals project, will provide for these dependents for several years if need be.

I do not care to refer further to waste and extravagance that has characterized many bills proposed or passed by Congress this session; I do not desire to refer to men who, sitting in public offices, drawing $7,500 annually, look with contempt upon those at the front in Mexico. Such cases bring their own reward, and far be it from me to predict the political effect of such action as proposed by the gentleman who was quoted by the press; but statesmanship earns its own reward when it votes "aye" on pork barrels and "nay" on such proposals as I have discussed. The country will not support men or parties that adopt such methods, and it ought not to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I am ready to stay here until next session, if need be, and fix the responsibility for delay, until this measure is passed. I am willing to demand that common justice be done, and if others find in that effort we are favoring manicurists and chiropodists for soldiers, I have only to say that the man who utters such sentiments does no credit to himself. I trust the House will disagree with any proposal to strike out the appropriation we have voted for needy dependents of guardsmen now in actual service, and I welcome the resolution coming from Ripon, the birthplace of the Republican Party, a party formed in the hour of national need over a half century ago. That little city in my home State honors itself and the Nation by its action, and it carries a lesson to those who to-day support extravagance and waste on the one hand and deny the dependents of National Guardsmen on the other. All honor to the birthplace of a great party and to the worthy descendants of founders of that party.

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## I Am Neutral in the European Struggle.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM H. MURRAY,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, I am neutral. I think I am. While personally I sympathize with Germany's great civilization and would hate to see her crushed, yet, remembering my own Republic, I realize it wisest if both groups of belligerents shall thoroughly and completely "lick" each other. I regret the disposition of some people, and I do not confine this to any par-

ticular nationality, but to former citizens of all the belligerent nations, who, by their conduct and demands, seem to think more of the flag of that belligerent nation of their birth than of the Stars and Stripes. I do not blame any foreigner for desiring the success of his native land or for wishing its supremacy over all nations of the world except the United States. I am Scotch. Every atom of my blood, every nerve and sinew, every heart throb beats in unison for the success of the old Scotch. I presume I have all the faults and all the virtues with which God made a Highlander. The prettiest story in all history to me is that of the kilt and plaid, the clan and its tartan.

I love to read of the achievements of Scotchmen; of the wars in which they have participated, of their steady, strident step over the burning sands of Africa to meet the brave Boers; of their impetuous charge under Lord Clive in India; of their more recent landing on the shores of France to the astonishment of the effete Frenchmen, dressed in kilt and plaid, with knees and legs bare, going forth with only a Scotchman's will to meet their titanic Teutonic foe. I love to read of the battles in which they participated—of the Battle of Culloden, of 1746, and the sad memory of the fall of my own clan following the cause of Prince Charles; of the Battle of Waterloo, where the Scottish Grays wrung from the lips of the world's greatest military chieftain, Napoleon himself, as he observed them shot down without flinching, the expression, "What a pity to kill such brave men." I love to remember the achievements of the sons of Scotchmen in our own country—among their generals like Grant and Lee, Hood and Hooker, Magruder, McPherson, McClellan, McDowell, and Longstreet, Sheridan, and Sherman; like Joe Johnston and Stonewall Jackson; of their sons who have become President, such as Madison and Monroe, Jackson and Buchanan, Lincoln, Hayes, and Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson; of their parliamentary leaders, like JOE CANNON and old CHAMP CLARK. I love to read the teaching of their ministers, like Livingston and Dixon, Rutherford, Melville, and Alexander Campbell, John Knox, and Thomas Chalmers. I love to read their poets, like Sir Walter Scott and dear old Bobby Burns; of their philosophers, like Bain, Dunbar, and Sir William Hamilton; of their statesmen, like William the Good Regent; of their jurists, like John Marshall and Lord Mansfield. I love to remember their patriots of old, like Wallace and Bruce, and their fleet-footed messengers, who kindled Argyle's fires on Scotia's Highland peaks to call their clans to battle. But, above and beyond all this, I am an American; and in every conflict where the United States is involved I am against her enemies, though they include all the Scotch of the Highlands, yea, the Murray clan; and any foreigner who comes to our shores, who, taking the oath of allegiance to the old flag, becomes a naturalized citizen of the Republic and does not feel that way is at heart a traitor.

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**Col. Theodore Roosevelt's Letter to the Progressive National Committee Declining the Nomination of the Progressive Party for President and Indorsing the Republican Nominee, Hon. Charles Evans Hughes.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. IRA C. COPLEY,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, June 27, 1916.*

Mr. COPLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House I insert in the RECORD the letter of Col. Theodore Roosevelt to the Progressive national committee, declining the nomination of the Progressive Party for President and indorsing the Republican nominee, Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, as follows:

*"To the Progressive National Committee.*

"GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the message I sent to the Progressive national convention as soon as I had received the notification that it had nominated me for President, I now communicate to you my reasons for declining the honor which I so deeply appreciate. Since the adjournment of the convention I have received between two and three thousand letters and telegrams from men who had supported me for the nomination, the majority expressing the desire that I would refuse to run, while a minority urged that I should accept the nomination. As it is a physical impossibility to answer these letters and telegrams individually, I beg the courtesy of the senders that they will accept this public statement in lieu of such answers.

PRAISES PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION.

"Before speaking of anything else, I wish to express my heartiest and most unstinted admiration for the character and services of the men and women who made up the Progressive national convention in 1916. I can give them no higher praise than to say that in all respects they stood level with the men and women who in 1912 joined at Chicago to found the Progressive Party. These two conventions, in character, in disinterestedness, in vision, in insight, in high purpose, and in desire to render practical service to the people typified exactly what such bodies ought to be in a great self-governing democracy. They represented the spirit which moved Abraham Lincoln and his political associates during the decade preceding the close of the Civil War.

"The platform put forth in 1912 was much the most important public document promulgated in this country since the death of Abraham Lincoln. It represented the first effort on a large scale to translate abstract formulas of economic and social justice into concrete American nationalism; the effort to apply the principles of Washington and Lincoln to the need of the United States in the twentieth century. No finer effort was ever made to serve the American people in a spirit of high loyalty to all that is loftiest in the American tradition.

"Events have shown that the Progressive Party in 1912 offered the only alternative to the triumph of the Democratic Party. Moreover, these events have shown that the application of the principles which we then advocated is even more necessary to this Nation than we at the time supposed.

NEED OF PREPAREDNESS.

"The results of the terrible world war of the past two years have now made it evident to all who are willing to see that in this country there must be spiritual and industrial preparedness along the lines of efficiency, of loyal service to the Nation, and of practical application of the precept that each man must be his brother's keeper. Furthermore, it is no less evident that this preparedness for the tasks of peace forms the only sound basis for that indispensable military preparedness which rests on universal military training, and which finds expression in universal obligatory service in time of war. Such universal obligatory training and service are the necessary complements of universal suffrage, and represent the realization of the true American, the democratic, ideal in both peace and war.

"Sooner or later the national principles championed by the Progressives of 1912 must in their general effect be embodied in the structure of our national existence. With all my heart I shall continue to work for these great ideals, shoulder to shoulder with the men and women who in 1912 championed them; and I am sure that these men and women will show a like loyalty to the other, the fundamental, ideals which the events of the past two years have proven to be vital to the permanency of our national existence. The method by which we are to show our loyalty to these ideals must be determined in each case by the actual event. Our loyalty is to the fact, to the principle, to the ideal, and not merely to the name, and least of all to the party name.

WORK DONE BY PROGRESSIVES.

"The Progressive movement has been given an incalculable impetus by what the Progressive Party has done. Our strongest party antagonists have accepted and enacted into law, or embodied in their party platforms, very many of our most important principles. Much has been accomplished in awakening the public to a better understanding of the problems of social and industrial welfare.

"Yet it has become entirely evident that the people under existing conditions are not prepared to accept a new party.

"It is impossible for us Progressives to abandon our convictions. But we are faced with the fact that as things actually are the Progressive national organization no longer offers the means whereby we can make these convictions effective in our national life. Under such circumstances our duty is to do the best we can and not to sulk because our leadership is rejected. That we ourselves continue to believe that the course we advocated was in the highest interest of the American people is aside from the question. It is unpatriotic to refuse to do the best possible merely because the people have not put us in position to do what we regard as the very best. It remains for us, good humoredly and with common sense, to face the situation and endeavor to get out of it the best that it can be made to yield from the standpoint of the interests of the Nation as a whole.

ADMINISTRATION ARRAIGNED.

"This was the situation at the opening of the present year. It was clearly evident that unless a cataclysm occurred the presidential election would result in the choice of either the Republican or the Democratic nominee. The present administration, during its three years of life, had been guilty of shortcomings more signal than those of any administration since the days of Buchanan. From the standpoint of national honor and interest it stood on an even lower level than the administration of Buchanan. No administration in our history had done more to relax the spring of the national will and to deaden the national conscience. Within the Republican Party conflicting forces were at work. There were men among the organization leaders who advocated a course of action such as offered no improvement upon the Democratic position, and advocated the nomination of candidates whose election would have represented no improvement upon the continuance in office of Mr. Wilson. If such a course were followed, it would obviously become our duty to run a third ticket. But it was plainly our duty to do everything honorable in order to prevent such a necessity; to do everything short of sacrificing our most sacred convictions in order to secure the alignment under one leadership of the forces opposed to the continuance in power of Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Party.

EFFORTS FOR HARMONY.

"Under these circumstances, the progressive national committee, at Chicago, in January, outlined our duty to seek common action with the Republican Party, using the following words: 'Our people are seeking leadership—leadership of the highest order and most courageous character; leadership that will draft to itself for the country's benefit the unselfish and patriotic services of its ablest citizens. The surest way to secure for our country the required leadership will be by having, if possible, both the Progressive and Republican Parties choose the same standard bearer and the same principles.'

"Six weeks later, March 9, in my Trinidad statement, I asked for a similar combination against the Democratic Party, on a platform of 'clean-cut, straightout national Americanism,' and for a candidate 'who will not merely stand for such a program before election but will resolutely and in good faith put it through if elected.'

"This was, in effect, the same statement that I made in my telegram to ex-Senator Jackson, pending the convention, which ran, in part, as follows: 'Can we not, forgetting past differences, now join for the safety and honor of our country, to enforce the policies of genuine Americanism and genuine preparedness? Surely we can afford to act in accordance with the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said, "May not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? May we ask those who have not differed with us to join in this same spirit toward those who have?" As far as my own soul is known to me it is in this same spirit that at this time I make my appeal to the Republicans and Progressives assembled at Chicago.'

COL. ROOSEVELT'S ATTITUDE.

"In addition to these public statements I had also stated my own attitude verbally, and in letters, during the weeks immediately preceding the convention, to scores of leading Progressives from all parts of the country, including many of the leaders at the convention. To these men I expressed my earnest hope that the Republicans would so act as to make possible for the Progressives to join with them. I stated to them, however, that in view of the attitude of some of the Republican leaders it was at least conceivable that we should be put in a position where our highest duty, our fealty to the country, our sense of what patriotism demanded in a great crisis would make it imperative upon us to run a separate ticket; and that whether in such event it would be necessary for me to head that ticket could not be determined in advance. I stated in these interviews and in these letters, with the utmost emphasis, that the decision of this point, like the whole matter of running a separate ticket, would have to be determined by what the interests of the country demanded in view of the action finally taken by the convention at Chicago.

"At the time many of the Republican leaders asserted that my statements were not made in good faith; that I really intended to insist upon my own nomination by the Republican convention; and that if I was not so nominated, I intended to accept the Progressive nomination and run on a third ticket. Of course, my fellow Progressives were under no such error. They knew that I spoke in good faith and meant exactly what I said. They knew that my utterances were to be accepted at their exact face value as meaning that if the Republicans nominated a man whom we could conscientiously support we would support him. The Progressive convention came together knowing my public statements and therefore knowing exactly what my attitude was.

HUGHES MEETS THE CONDITIONS.

"In my judgment, the nomination of Mr. Hughes meets the conditions set forth in the statement of the Progressive national committee, issued last January, and in my own statements. Under existing conditions the nomination of a third ticket would, in my judgment, be merely a move in the interest of the election of Mr. Wilson. I regard Mr. Hughes as a man whose public record is a guaranty that 'he will not merely stand for a program of clean-cut, straightout Americanism before election, but will resolutely and in good faith put it through if elected.' He is beyond all comparison better fitted to be President than Mr. Wilson. It would be a grave detriment to the country to reelect Mr. Wilson. I shall, therefore, strongly support Mr. Hughes. Such being the case, it is unnecessary to say that I can not accept the nomination on a third ticket. I do not believe that there should be a third ticket. I believe that when my fellow Progressives coolly consider the question they will for the most part take this position. They and I have but one purpose—the purpose to serve our common country. It is my deep conviction that at this moment we can serve it only by supporting Mr. Hughes.

GERMAN-AMERICAN SUPPORT.

"It is urged against Mr. Hughes that he was supported by the various so-called German-American alliances. I believe that the attitude of these professional German-Americans was due not in the least to any liking for Mr. Hughes, but solely to their antagonism to me. They were bound to defeat me for the nomination. The only way by which they could achieve this object was by supporting Mr. Hughes and they supported him accordingly, without any regard to other considerations.

"I need hardly repeat what I have already said in stern reprobation of this professional German-American element—the element typified by the German-American alliances and the similar bodies, which have in the prenomination campaign played not merely an un-American but a thoroughly anti-American part. These men have nothing in common with the great body of Americans who are in whole or in part of German blood, and who are precisely as good Americans as those of any other ancestry. There are not, and never have been, in all our land, better citizens than the great mass of the men and women of German birth or descent who have been or are being completely merged in our common American nationality—a nationality distinct from any in Europe, for Americans who are good Americans are no more German-Americans than they are English-Americans or Irish-Americans or Scandinavian-Americans. They are Americans and nothing else. No good American, whatever his ancestry or creed, can have any feeling except scorn and detestation for those professional German-Americans who seek to make the American President in effect a viceroy of the German Emperor.

"The professional German-Americans of this type are acting purely in the sinister interest of Germany. They have shown their eager readiness to sacrifice the interest of the United States whenever its interest conflicted with that of Germany. They represent that adherence to the politico-racial hyphen which is the badge and sign of moral treason to the Republic. I have singled these men out for specific denunciation, and assuredly if I support a candidate it may be accepted as proof that I am certain that the candidate is incapable of being influenced by the evil intrigues of these hyphenated Americans.

"Mr. Hughes's character and his whole course of conduct in public affairs justify us in the assured conviction that the fact that these men have for their own purposes supported him will in no shape or way affect his public actions before or after election. His entire public life is a guaranty of this.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S COURSE CRITICIZED.

"The events of the last three and a half years have shown that as much can not be said for Mr. Wilson. In Mr. Wilson's case we do not have to consider his words, but his deeds. His deeds absolutely contradict his words, and, for the matter of that, his words absolutely contradict one another. It is folly to pay heed to any of the promises in the platform on which he now stands, in view of the fact that almost every important promise contained in the platform on which he stood four years ago has since been broken. We owe all of our present trouble with the professional German-American element in the United States to Mr. Wilson's timid and vacillating course during the last two years.

"The defenders of Mr. Wilson have alleged in excuse for him that he confronted a difficult situation. As regards Mexico, the situation which Mr. Wilson confronted was nothing like as difficult as that which President McKinley confronted in connection with Cuba and the Philippines at the time of the Spanish War. Under the actual circumstances we could with only a minimum of risk have protested on behalf of Belgium, a small, well-

behaved nation, when she was exposed to the last extremity of outrage by the brutal violation of her neutral rights, this violation being itself a violation of The Hague conventions, to which we were a signatory power.

"As regards the foreign situation generally during the great war, the fact of the existence of the war made it far easier and safer for Mr. Wilson to assert our rights than if he had had to deal with some single strong power which was at the time unhampered by war. During the past 20 years questions have arisen with powers of the first rank, such as England, Japan, and Germany, each of which has necessitated far greater courage, resolution, and judgment on the part of the President dealing with it than President Wilson need have shown in order to put a complete stop to the continually repeated murder of American men, women, and children on the high seas by German submarines, the *Lusitania* being merely the worst of many such cases. The same feebleness that was shown by President Wilson in dealing with Germany abroad was also shown by him in dealing with the organized German outrages within our own land, and, finally, in dealing with the organized German-American vote. The continued existence of the German-American menace at home is directly due to Mr. Wilson's course of action during the past two years.

APPEAL TO PROGRESSIVES.

"Certain of my friends who feel that the Progressives should run a third ticket base their feeling on objection to the character or actions of the Republican national convention. As regards this point, it is sufficient to say that the members of the Republican national convention were unquestionably induced to nominate Mr. Hughes primarily because of the belief that his integrity and force of character, and his long record of admirable public service would make him peculiarly acceptable, not only to the rank and file of the Republican Party but to the people generally. I do not believe that Mr. Hughes would have been nominated if it had not been for the fight on behalf of public decency and efficiency which the Progressive Party has waged during the past four years.

"In any event, and without any regard to what the personal feelings of any of us may be as regards the action of the Republican convention, I wish very solemnly to ask the representatives of the Progressive Party to consider at this time only the welfare of the people of the United States. We shall prove false to our ideals and our professions if, in this grave crisis of the Nation's life, we permit ourselves to be swerved from the one prime duty of serving with cool judgment and single-minded devotion the Nation's needs. Our own political fortunes, individually and collectively, are of no consequence whatever when compared with the honor and welfare of the people of the United States. Such things do not count when weighed in the balance against our duty to serve well the country in which, after we are dead, our children and our children's children are to live.

"The world is passing through a great crisis and no man can tell what trial and jeopardy will have to be faced by this Nation during the years immediately ahead. There is now no longer before us for decision the question as to what particular man we may severally most desire to see at the head of the Government. We can decide only whether during these possibly vital years this country shall be intrusted to the leadership of Mr. Hughes or Mr. Wilson.

TRIED AND FOUND WANTING.

"Mr. Wilson has been tried and found wanting. His party, because of its devotion to the outworn theory of State rights, and because of its reliance upon purely sectional support, stands against that spirit of far-sighted nationalism which is essential if we are to deal adequately with our gravest social and industrial problems. Mr. Wilson and his party have in actual practice lamentably failed to safeguard the interest and honor of the United States. They have brought us to impotence abroad and to division and weakness at home. They have accustomed us to see the highest and most responsible offices of Government filled by incompetent men appointed only for reasons of partisan politics. They have dulled the moral sense of the people. They have taught us that peace, the peace of cowardice and dishonor and indifference to the welfare of others, is to be put above righteousness, above the stern and unflinching performance of duty, whether the duty is pleasant or unpleasant. Yet in Mexico they have failed even to secure the peace which they thus sought, and they have failed in spite of the most ample opportunity and most ample warning to prepare in any real fashion to meet the crisis which their own policy invited. They have taught us to put 'safety first,' safety before duty and honor; to put that materialism which expresses itself in mere money making and in the fatted ease of life above all spiritual things, above all the high and fine instincts of the soul. They have taught us to accept adroit elocution as a substitute for straightforward and efficient action. They have raised indecision, hesitancy, and vacillation into a settled governmental policy.

MR. HUGHES EULOGIZED.

"Mr. Hughes has shown in his career the instinct of efficiency which will guarantee that, under him, the Government will once more work with vigor and force. He possesses that habit of straightforward thinking which means that his words will be correlated with his deeds and translated into facts. His past career is the warrant for our belief that he will be the unfaltering opponent of that system of invisible government which finds expression in the domination of the party boss and the party machine. His past career is a guaranty that whatever he says before election will be made good by his acts after election. Morally, his public record shows him to be a man of unbending integrity; intellectually, it shows him to be a man of original and trained ability. We have the alternative of continuing in office an administration which has proved a lamentable failure or of putting into office an administration which we have every reason to believe will function with efficiency for the interest and honor of all our people. I earnestly bespeak from my fellow Progressives their ungrudging support of Mr. Hughes.

"Yours, truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"SAGAMORE HILL, *June 22, 1916.*"

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**Federal Farm Loan Act.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN N. TILLMAN,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, June 27, 1916.*

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask the indulgence of this body while I discuss briefly the pending measure now known as the Federal farm-loan act. This bill has at last been perfected as nearly as we shall be able to get it perfected during the present Congress, and this afternoon the bill as agreed upon in conference will pass this House, will pass the Senate, the President will sign it, and the American Congress will at last obey the mandate of the farmers of the country in their demands for rural-credit legislation. This measure is not a perfect one. It is not altogether what the farmers want, but it is by all odds the most valuable concession that has been accorded the farming interests of America in the way of remedial legislation in their interests since the adoption of the Constitution. This is a field day for the farmers and they should be congratulated, and we should felicitate ourselves that this bill, although imperfect, has been passed with little opposition.

Time was when the farmers of the country, unorganized and difficult of organization, were rarely favored by legislative bodies with beneficial class legislation. But a better day has dawned, and the farmer is having his inning. The wonder is that this day has not dawned earlier. When the farmer prospers, all prosper. When he fails, every business and every profession languishes. He feeds the world, and if he should cease to produce, the world would starve in a few months. This kind of legislation is good politics, as well as good business. You help the farmer and he will help you. You spurn him and he will spurn you. Ariosto tells a pretty story of a gentle fairy, who, by a subtle law of her nature, was compelled at certain periods to assume the form of a serpent and crawl upon the ground. Those who in the days of her disguise spurned her and trod upon her were forever barred from participation in those gifts which it was her privilege to bestow, but to those who, despite her unsightly aspect, comforted, encouraged, and aided her, she appeared in the beautiful and celestial form of her true nature, followed them with outstretched arms, lavished upon them her gifts, and filled their homes with happiness and wealth.

This species of legislation will tend to equalize things. A friend from my district wrote me and expressed wonder that the banking interests of the country would permit a bill of this character to be passed. This Congress proposes to legislate for the man with muscle, rather than the man with the money. The legislation which piles up wealth for some and causes others more worthy to perish for want of bread, kills hope and makes life a mockery. I heartily favor this character of legislation,

and I favor legislation that will promote the prosperity and happiness of the governed, not for the glory and profit of the governing classes. I favor the theory that government should not be treated as a rule exercised by the few over the many, but as a service rendered to the many by the few.

The pressing need of a Federal farm-loan act is apparent. In 1910 37½ per cent of those engaged in farming were tenants, which was an increase of 16 per cent of tenant farmers from 1900 to 1910. There are no available figures showing the exact number of tenant farmers now in America, but a conservative estimate will place the number not far from 45 per cent. This is an alarming situation, but cheaper money, as provided in the pending bill, will increase the number of farm owners and decrease the number of tenants, thus materially strengthening the Government and adding happiness and contentment to the people who engage in farming.

The farmers of the United States to-day owe $6,000,000,000, and the total value of property owned by them amounts to forty-one billion. Of this indebtedness two and one-half billion is represented by mortgages on farm lands. The farmers have been paying interest rates, averaging 8½ per cent, totaling $500,000,000 annually. It is the opinion of experts that the farmer can not afford to pay interest in excess of 6 per cent. If he is compelled to pay more than that he is headed straight for brankruptcy. This bill provides that he can procure money on long time from 5 to 40 years and that the rate of interest shall not exceed 6 per cent. This bill should pass without opposition and its passage registers another achievement of this administration, whose record for constructive legislation is unequalled. It implies that the Democratic Party loves to champion the farmers' interests and can be trusted by the 12,000,000 farmers of the United States to protect their interests and promote their prosperity and happiness.

This rural-credit proposition is not a new idea. A very successful Federal land-loan enterprise was inaugurated by Frederick the Great. At the successful close of Frederick's wars he found his people without money, without farming implements, utterly impoverished. He inaugurated the landschaft, a successful rural-credit venture, stripped his palaces of their riches and bought seed for the farmers of his realm, loaned them 60,000 cavalry and artillery horses with which to make their crops, and instituted, as above stated, a system of government loans secured by farm mortgages on reasonable time and terms. After more than a century a Democratic Congress has determined to follow in the footsteps of the great Frederick and extend Federal aid to the farmers of this land to discourage tenantry and encourage home making and home owning.

Interest rates already, it is said, have been lowered 1 per cent in anticipation of this legislation and already farm lands are enhancing in value for the same cause.

## Pensionable Status for Officers and Enlisted Men of the National Guard Drafted Into the Service of the United States in Time of Emergency.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WALTER R. STINESS,
OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. STINESS. Mr. Speaker, in section 111 of the national defense act of June 3, 1916, provision was made for the drafting of members of the National Guard and the Organized Militia of the several States into the service of the United States, "for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the Regular Army."

Provision was made by section 112 of the said act that in case of war the members of the National Guard should have pensionable status under existing pension laws.

At the time of the passage of the act of June 3, 1916, it was not expected that the National Guard would be drafted except in time of war, and therefore the serving under an emergency call was not considered. However, events resulting from the expedition of the Regular Army into Mexico against Mexican bandits became such as to create, in the judgment of the President of the United States, an emergency, to meet which he has called out 100,000 men of the National Guard.

The prompt and generous response from all over the country testifies to the patriotism of the men of the National Guard. I want to say for the National Guard of Rhode Island that it is composed of patriotic young men, who are willing to serve in the defense of their country not for pay but from motives of patriotism and loyalty. They consider it to be their highest duty to enlist under the national flag and to defend it and their country's honor.

And while this is true, it is equally the duty of Congress to see that the men so enlisted in the country's cause and who risk their lives in that cause should be protected by every possible means from sickness and disease, and that if wounded or disabled they should be taken care of, and provision should be made for the support of those dependent upon them.

The various organizations of citizen soldiers comprising the National Guard called out by the President for this emergency are confronted with conditions akin to war itself and the performance of military duty the nature of which subjects them to the hazards and rigor of actual warfare and the consequent risk of life and limb and health.

Realizing all this, these men will perform their duty unhesitatingly and gladly, and I think Congress, as its duty, a patriotic duty, should now extend the rights of pensions to these soldiers and not wait until they are injured or killed and then make them or their families objects of the Government's charity.

Congress did provide in section 112 of the national defense act, as I have said, for pensions to the National Guard in time of war, but not for the present emergency, which may last a long time.

Section 112 reads:

SEC. 112. Rights of pensions: When any officer or enlisted man of the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States in time of war is disabled by reason of wounds or disability received or incurred while in the active service of the United States in time of war, he shall be entitled to all the benefits of the pension laws existing at the time of this service and in case such officer or enlisted man dies in the active service of the United States in time of war, or returning to his place of residence after being mustered out of such service, or at any other time in consequence of wounds or disabilities received in such active service his widow and children, if any, shall be entitled to all the benefits of such pension laws.

My amendment to the pending joint resolution makes this provision apply to the present emergency. It reads:

SEC. 3. That the provisions of section 112 of the national defense act of June 3, 1916, shall be applicable to any officer or enlisted man drafted into the service of the United States pursuant to section 1 of this joint resolution.

I sincerely hope there will be no objection to this amendment and that the House will consider it to be its plain duty to take care of the National Guard in this emergency as in time of actual or technical war.

## Scientific Management.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN I. NOLAN,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Speaker, under the privilege granted me to extend my remarks on House bill 16460, the Army appropriation bill, I desire to place in the RECORD the following extracts on the subject of "Scientific management," by Mr. Minor Chipman, a member of the committee of ten of efficiency engineers, which committee was organized to solicit funds for the purpose of opposing the Tavenner bill prohibiting the use of the stop watch and other time-measuring devices, as well as the bonus and premium systems, in the Government arsenals and workshops. The following extracts are from a statement made by Mr. Chipman to the commission consisting of Prof. Robert G. Hoxie, John P. Frey, and Robert G. Valentine, who were selected by the Commission on Industrial Relations to investigate the question of scientific management as it applied both to governmental and private industry, who investigated 35 plants, and which investigation covered over one year.

The statement is as follows:

"'Scientific management' seemed to me to be like the art of engraving, a splendid thing for making genuine bank notes, but a very bad thing when utilized by a criminal for counterfeiting purposes. 'Scientific management' was not inclusive enough. It was founded upon shop experience, and seemingly by men who had little or no concep-

tion of social and hygienic factors at work in industrial society. I saw that 'scientific management' could be made a force for good, and at the same time could be made a source of evil. I discovered, as the novelty of the thing wore off, that there was a distinct difference between principles and practices, that what we preached was quite different to what we actually practiced. Our enthusiasm for principle blinded us to such an extent that we did not, either for economic causes or lack of adequate conception face the truth, examine the failures, discuss the faults, and determine a scientific remedy. The trade-union's attitude toward 'scientific management' was either dodged or set aside with a new principle of reorganization of labor's forces. Such an attitude could not arrive anywhere. I believed that we must needs accept social standards as they are, labor organization as it is, and build with scientific assurance upon the foundations of society and not upon the foundations of principles involved for the purpose of justifying our system."

I find another section of his statement as follows:

"In a large factory manufacturing talcum powder the girls pasting labels on the cans were speeded up to three times their normal output by so-called 'scientific management.' This brought about a saving of, say, one-hundredth of 1 cent per can of talcum. The girls received 50 per cent more pay. The final question to be asked is whether or not the ultimate consumer cares one whit whether or not 500 or 5,000 labels are pasted in one day or whether or not the cost of producing a can of talcum is 7 cents or 7.01 cents. Society receives no return, either in price or quality. Society desires to know whether or not the speeding up of the girls pasting labels on the talcum-powder cans were injured physically in the speed demanded by 'scientific management.'"

Here follows the vital part of his statement:

"The observation of a time-study man is quite insufficient to satisfy this interest of society. The danger of overspeeding does not lie in an immediate breakdown, but through a gradual deterioration of the human machine, resulting in paralysis, nervousness, or occupational neurosis."

In another place I find Mr. Chipman saying:

"If there is one distinct difference between Mr. Taylor's conception of 'scientific management' and the conception held by the writer, it lies in the lack o' his system to scientifically cope with the human problems of industrial and commercial enterprises. It is not sufficient to make platitudinous statements, and deduce fine-sounding principles concerning human welfare in relation to 'scientific management,' but it is of first importance to see that the human equation, from every viewpoint, is considered adjusted and bettered."

## Against Conscription.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, I would gladly remain silent during the discussion of this measure, but my conscience forbids that I do so. The measure is one of the very greatest importance. I doubt whether this body in all its history has considered a matter of more vital moment. It proposes to abandon the traditions which we have cherished from the beginnings of American history, to depart from an ideal rooted deep in our past and underlying the very foundations of our institutions. The question which we are now considering is whether we are to adopt the methods of European militarism, whether the principle of compulsory military service is to be recognized and approved as valid and legitimate.

The resolution under consideration empowers the President to draft the National Guard for service in the Mexican trouble, to use the militia, if he should be disposed to do so, in the conquest of Mexico. The word "draft," used as it is in the resolution, is a mere euphemism. In the sense in which it is used it is to me a most hateful word. The word "conscript" should be used, for that is at least plain and honest. What the resolution really does is to "conscript" the members of the National Guard for service in the United States Army. The purpose of the resolution is to seize on the men who have been entrapped into the militia and to force them, against their will, into the Army. They are to be forced as unwilling soldiers onto the firing line. Mothers are to be robbed of their boys and children of their fathers, so that the flame of battle may be fed. The conscripting officer is to become a common institution. He is to be the fireside guest and visitor at American homes. He is to be permitted to come into the homes of this land and to take away their cherished protectors to go as unwilling wearers of our uniform. Let us not for a moment delude ourselves with the thought that the "draft" is a mere formality. It is a real thing, real conscription, the same forced military service as exists upon European battle fields to-day.

The conscription of American boys is unnecessary. We are confronted with no real emergency. The adversary against which our mighty engines of war are being put in motion is a most humble one. Poor Mexico, distracted by revolution, impoverished, bleeding out her life's blood upon a hundred battle fields of civil war, is to be the object of our attack. Mexico, in her best and bravest days a poor match for the United States, is now, in the weakness of her sickness and poverty, to be assailed.

Mexico has a population of only about 15,000,000, about 40 per cent of which are Indians, 45 per cent mixed bloods, and less than 15 per cent whites. The United States has a population of 100,000,000 on continental America alone. According to the most recent figures available, Mexico's annual revenues are less than $75,000,000; our revenues are well above $1,000,000,000 per year. Mexico is torn and distracted internally, divided into many hostile factions, impoverished by rebellion after rebellion. Her soldiers are mere guerillas, without any sufficient arms or equipment. She has no fleet for the protection of her ports, no factories for the manufacture of arms and supplies, no foreign trade by which to obtain the instruments of war. The United States has the finest Regular Army in its history; its equipment represents all that money can buy and ingenuity devise. To-day our factories are turning out war supplies and munitions in unprecedented volume. We are better prepared for war to-day than ever in our history. We have a mighty fleet, more than three times as strong as at the outbreak of the Spanish War. In 24 hours we can blockade the Mexican coasts and shut off all intercourse with the outside world. If there ever was a time when no emergency justifying conscription existed, now is that time.

Oh, I do not doubt that Mexico will fight; I do not question the courage and patriotism of her people; but what can men do without arms and munitions and without money to buy them? Mexico's credit is at its lowest ebb. Her only money is paper currency, which is depreciated to a trifling per cent of its face value. The war will soon degenerate into a pursuit of bushwhackers and guerillas. Our soldiers called to the front will see plenty of service, but its chief hardships will be heat and thirst and hunger and the pursuit of bandits over deserts and rugged mountains. The conquest of Mexico and its pacification will take years, perhaps a decade, and we will be well weary of the task before it is done. It is, in the main, work for regular troops, not for men taken temporarily from business and industry.

The conscription of the members of the National Guard is unnecessary in another sense. These boys are willing to go; fully nine out of ten of them will gladly volunteer and go to the front. Only those will hold back who have families which require their presence at home—wives, mothers, and children, to whom they owe a higher duty than the duty of fighting under the existing circumstances. The man who leaves dependent ones to suffer or to exist on charity in order to go for service in the Mexican trouble performs no patriotic duty. There is nothing high or noble in such an action. It may even be an act of moral cowardice deserving of reproach. The one man out of ten who will not volunteer would much better be left at home if he has duties which keep him there or if he is too unpatriotic to fight.

Conscription of the National Guard as proposed by this measure is an insult to every patriotic guardsman. It is a gratuitous insult and affront. It places him in the Army, not as a patriotic volunteer, going gladly to the service of his country, but as a conscript, branded by compulsion. The passage of this measure places a stigma upon every man in the National Guard. These men will not be able in future generations to point to a record as volunteer soldiers. They will be able to point their children only to the record of a "conscript," of a soldier who had to be forced to fight. I am unwilling to place the brand of "conscript" upon the brow of the National Guardsmen.

I am able to understand the pride which a soldier may take in the name "volunteer." I remember well the bright Sunday morning of the 1st day of May, 1898, when I shouldered my rifle as a private soldier and started for the mobilization camp at the outbreak of the Spanish War. I had not even belonged to the militia, but had volunteered for the service of my country. I remember the pride that I took in myself and my comrades as volunteer soldiers. I was sustained and comforted throughout the trials of my service by the thought that I was serving freely and of my own accord, and always I have looked back upon my service as a soldier with a feeling of pride and added self-respect because I was a volunteer. I am unwilling to rob the boys who are now patriotically presenting themselves for service at the front of the proud name of "volunteer." I am not willing to brand them as conscripts, as those who must be forced to serve their country.

I know what a soldier must encounter even in camp, the privation, the hardships, the homesickness, the discouragement, the

disease, perhaps even death. Some of the boys who are torn from their mother's arms will not come back. They are going willingly, even gladly. I would not rob them of a single flower from the wreath of "volunteer."

The National Guard was organized chiefly under the act of 1914, which does not require service outside of the United States. Men enlisted under the law of 1914 for a period of three years only, knowing that they could not be used except for national defense and that they could not be sent into foreign service. All of these men have served a part of their enlistment and many have only a few weeks or months remaining to serve. All of these men, without regard to length of their enlistment or its terms, are seized upon under the pending measure and compelled to serve in the Army, not for the unexpired part of their enlistments but "during the entire emergency," not to exceed three years.

When the men belonging to the National Guard enlisted they entered into a contract and took an oath of service of a definite time and for a certain period. For any violation of that contract they are subject to punishment. Any violation of it constitutes a moral wrong. The pending measure assumes that the contract of enlistment is binding upon the guardsmen only, that it is not binding on the Government. The Government now proposes to itself violate that contract and to force these men to serve for a longer period than they had agreed and in a foreign service which they had not undertaken to perform. This constitutes a gross violation of faith with the guardsmen. They have been trapped into enlisting into the National Guard, and now, because of their training, they are to be forced into further and additional service. I hold that by this course our Government will be guilty of a gross moral wrong and injustice.

In all our previous wars volunteers have been relied on. Washington never commanded a conscript. Jackson had no conscripts under his command at New Orleans. In our colonial wars, in the War of the Revolution, in all our Indian wars, and in our previous War with Mexico only volunteers were used in connection with the Regular forces. Conscription was not resorted to. At the beginning of the Civil War, Congress authorized an army of 500,000 volunteers. In the darkest days of the Union, at the close of 1862, a measure of ostensible drafting was passed by Congress. It provided for the taking of names of men of military age in States which had failed to furnish their quotas of volunteers. It allowed exemption to be purchased upon payment of $300, and provided that any man drafted might furnish a substitute. The first attempt to enforce it caused rioting, with serious bloodshed in New York City. Out of 2,800,000 men who took part in the Civil War on the Union side less than 20,000 were enrolled under the drafting act. It can not be said that drafting contributed to any material extent to the preservation of the Union.

Since the settlement of America, except for the trifling drafts of the Civil War, no hour has been so dark as to demand conscription for public defense. Conscription is hostile to our ideals and institutions. It is dangerous; it is destructive in its tendences; it will prove harmful in the end. It is absurd to resort to conscription under the present circumstances, when we have heretofore so carefully avoided it. I wonder if the souls of the great American statesmen of the past, of the great Democrats who always opposed compulsory military service, are not disturbed to-day.

At the outbreak of the European war the British faced the central powers having only 175,000 regular soldiers. No greater crisis ever confronted any nation. Britain had a strong force of territorials, which had enlisted for home service only and which corresponds roughly to our National Guard. Though the emergency was great, there was no breach of faith with the territorials. The British Government's obligation was kept in dignity and good faith. Yet the great Government of the United States, with all its resources and power, confronted by an adversary pitiably weak, breaks faith with its National Guard and conscripts them for a foreign service and for a period for which they did not enlist.

It should be reiterated that the measure requires guardsmen to serve during the entire Mexican emergency, not exceeding three years, although there may be only a few weeks of their enlistment yet unexpired. Conscription of the whole people, of all able-bodied men, would at least have had the merit of equality. This conscription act has no such merit. It seizes only upon those of a special class—the guardsmen. It conscripts a select few, chosen because they have had some little military training and are, peradventure, better fitted to perform the service than other men. There are thousands of young Americans fit and capable for service, many of whom have seen service in the militia and in the Regular Army, who have no dependent wives and families and will be making no great sacrifice by enlisting, who are ready and willing to volunteer if given the opportunity. I would assert that in a real emergency 5,000,000 American soldiers can be raised as volunteers. The British raised over 4,000,000 volunteers in the present war, and have only recently passed a conscription law. I do not accord to any nation or people a higher patriotism than our own people possess.

It is enough to fill one with deep amazement that a measure for conscription should be proposed. That such a measure is unnecessary is most obvious. It is improper and uncalled for. Then why in the name of common sense should it be proposed? What is the occasion for it? The proposition to conscript men for service in the American Army at this time of no real emergency is merely a step in the march of militarism in which, little as it is realized by the great mass of the people, we have already gone a long way. The past two years have seen the greatest development of the spirit of militarism in the United States that ever occurred in our history. The militarists have seized upon the terror inspired by the great tragedy of the European war to fasten their views on our country. The influence of a powerful section of the press has been secured by fair means or foul. The ears of the people have been filled with clamor for soldiers, ships, arms, and equipment.

The present Congress has appropriated for military purposes, outside of the Mexican trouble, about $50 per annum for each head of a family in the United States. All this in obedience to the demand for "preparedness." The added burden of $50 per man, which, of course, must be met by indirect taxation, has been placed upon every father of a family in America. But this is only a small detail. Arrangements have been made and plans perfected for continued increases in our Army and Navy—increases to be augmented from year to year and from which there is no promise of relief. The increase in equipment and organization carries a necessity for increased enlistments. More men are needed and still more. And now the cry is that sufficient enlistments to keep up the strength of the Army can not be secured voluntarily; that we must have universal compulsory service. Conscription has at last raised its ugly head in America and must be dealt with as a vital issue.

Perhaps the people back at home do not realize it. Perhaps the common men in Alabama, Illinois, and elsewhere, the great masses, do not yet realize that there is a small but highly influential coterie in our country, a mere handful of men, but so powerful that they are able to shift the scenes upon the stage, control the sources of information, counterfeit the public voice, and mold popular opinion; that this coterie desire to import into America the military ideals that have been the curse of Europe. We have our militarists who are just as pernicious and active as those who have cursed the countries of the Old World; we have our militarists who would turn America into an armed camp and would subject our free citizens to military serfdom. The American militarists are anxious to try conscription here. It is their purpose to set a precedent, to accustom the people to the idea of conscription, to dignify compulsory service so that the people will more readily submit to it. I would not for a moment intimate that those who father or support the measure now before the House desire to carry out the purposes of the militarists. To the contrary, they are the mere puppets of the situation which the militarists have created. They are clutched by the system and can not break away. They are forced to yield. It is the irony of public service that those who have honestly and faithfully opposed the fell purposes of the militarists are compelled by the exigencies of the occasion to yield to a false public clamor at this critical juncture.

I claim for myself no wisdom nor patriotism superior to any who may support this measure. I do not compare myself with them at all. I am not concerned for their reasons, motives, nor processes. Each Representative has his own responsibility to meet and his own duty to discharge as he sees it. My big concern is that I shall do my own duty as an American Representative should. I have thought on this subject a great deal. I have considered it carefuily. I take my position upon it with all deliberation. Calling in question no Representative's wisdom, I assert for myself that the young men of the National Guard should not be conscripted. To draft them is to conscript them. There is no mistake about that. I assert that no circumstances exist which constitute an emergency, nor which justify conscription; that the national defense is not jeopardized; that the militia is willing to go voluntarily and does not need to be forced. I am unwilling to stigmatize our National Guardsmen as conscripts or to rob them of the honor of serving voluntarily. I refuse to join in establishing a precedent for conscription. I refuse to fix upon the American people the hateful methods of European militarism.

It is easier to go with the majority, to follow the crowd. It is easier to bow to the storm and to wait for fair weather. It is easier to yield to clamor when selfishness, insincerity, and prejudice use specious patriotism as an issue. For my personal convenience and interest, I should much prefer to meekly acquiesce in this measure. Conscience will not permit me to do so. My sense of duty to my country, my loyalty to American institutions and ideals demand that I stand firm. The glorious heritage from our fathers, the memory of their brave deeds and heroic sacrifices, the hopes which the honest lover of his country must ever cherish for its true greatness in the generations that are to come, force me to stand by my convictions. I do not doubt that I shall be criticized. My action will be made the further excuse for the wolf who would devour the lamb, but to such considerations I refuse to yield.

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**Address of Representative Finly H. Gray, of Indiana, at the Battle Ground Cemetery, in the District of Columbia, May 30, 1914.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM E. COX,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 30, 1916.*

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address of Representative FINLY H. GRAY, of Indiana, at the Battle Ground Cemetery, in the District of Columbia, May 30, 1914.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE FINLY H. GRAY, OF INDIANA, AT THE BATTLE GROUND CEMETERY, IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, MAY 30, 1914.

Soldiers of the Civil War and ladies and gentlemen, while great are the triumps of war, no less are the triumphs and victories of peace. The Gettysburg reunion or celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of that great battle was one of the great events of this country. In some respects it was a greater event than the capitulation of Lee. In some respects it was a greater epoch in history than the surrender of Appomattox. Appomattox was a surrender of arms. The Gettysburg celebration was a surrender of hearts. At Appomattox men yielded their contentions under force. At the Gettysburg celebration men gave up the strife dividing them apart for fraternity, brotherhood, and love. Appomattox was a triumph of war. The Gettysburg reunion was a triumph of peace. At Appomattox the South took the oath of allegiance to the Union. At Gettysburg both the North and the South pledged their hearts together to maintain the Union forever.

Following in the natural bent of the mind and a universal desire, men seek to avoid the decrees of time. They strive to save the name from perishing with the body; to hold up their names after death; to make their names live on after all that is mortal has fallen to decay.

Men build great monuments and raise enduring marble shafts to hold up their names after death. They erect great buildings, structures, and imposing statuary to hold up their names after death. Men climb to dizzy heights and chisel their names upon some high rock or lofty crag to hold up their names after death.

But in time the monument and enduring marble shaft will crumble away. In time the great building, structure, or imposing statuary will fall to the earth. In time the elements will erase the name chiseled in the high rock or overhanging crag. In time every vestige, trace, and evidence of the efforts of men in a material and physical way to perpetuate their names will be obliterated from the earth.

But the soldiers have built their monuments in the great principles of liberty, freedom, human rights, and self-government to endure as long as government endures among men. They have traced their names in the hearts of the people to live as long as men live and cherish free institutions. This great concourse of people will reassemble and meet again for generation after generation to honor and revere the soldiers and to hold up their names. These flowers will bloom again and again with each returning season as time goes on, to be laid upon the soldiers' graves as a token of love and gratitude and to hold up their name. The soldiers have builded better than they knew. He that humbleth himself shall be exalted, and he that offers himself as a sacrifice shall live forever.

It is always the source of great regret and disappointment for men in after years to realize that what they have stood for in life was wrong. And on the other hand it is always the source of great pride, pleasure, gratification, and consolation for men in after years to know that what they have worked for, or stood for, or contended for, or sacrificed for, or fought for was right. The Union soldiers have this great pleasure and consolation to cheer them in their declining years, to know that they fought for the right.

At the time of the Civil War the country was divided. The people were divided. Public opinion was divided. Sentiment and sympathies were divided. The rights and wrongs of the Civil War were contested and in dispute, and it could not be said at that time as a matter of fact that either the North or the South was right.

But time is a great analyzer of facts. Time is a great demonstrator of truth. Time is a great vindicator of principles and policies and men. Time will tell. In the great final analysis time will weigh and consider and determine the right.

We could not give the South to-day what they fought for 50 years ago. We could not give the South to-day the human slavery which they fought for 50 years ago. We could not give the South to-day the secession, the disunion, the confederacy which they fought for 50 years ago. The South would spurn such an offer with indignation and resentment. The country is no longer divided. The people, public opinion, sentiment and sympathies are no longer divided. The rights and wrongs of the Civil War are no longer in dispute. The South joins with the North and the whole Nation is in unison and accord. Time has rendered its verdict and decreed that what the Union soldiers fought for was right.

But war is force and might, and force and might do not make right and may determine the conflict for the wrong. But truth is mighty and will prevail. Truth crushed to the earth will rise again. No question is ever settled until it is settled right. If the issues of war are determined wrong the fires of conflict will only smoulder to break out anew again and again until the issues are determined right. And then, and not until then, will peace be lasting, permanent, and enduring. No fires of conflict have been left smouldering between the North and South. The country is again united. Peace is permanent, unbroken, and enduring. Weighed in the balance of time and tried by the test of half a century, the Union soldiers stand vindicated. The philosophy of history has confirmed the decree of time that what the Union soldier fought for was right.

We must know the cost in order to realize the value or worth of any human acquisition. We must know the denial, deprivation, the sacrifice, the hardship, the exposure, the want, and even dire distress—we must be schooled in adversity in order to learn the lesson of appreciation.

The rich man's son dissipates his father's fortune because he does not know the cost, because he can not realize its worth or value. He does not know the toil, the labor, the sacrifice, and the denial of his father in the accumulation of the wealth which he has inherited. He has not gone through the school of adversity in order to learn the lesson of appreciation and gratitude for the many blessings of life.

Sight, vision, is a great and priceless blessing. To be able to behold the face of nature, the mountains, valleys and hills, the streams, lakes, the sea, and the sky, and to look into the faces of our friends and those who are near and dear to us is a great blessing which we enjoy with indifference and want of appreciation and gratitude until we are stricken blind or with impaired vision, and then, and not until then, are we appreciative or grateful. And so it is with the faculty of hearing, with the ability to walk, the enjoyment of health, food, and drink, shelter, home, and other great natural blessings which we enjoy with indifference and without appreciation or gratitude until we are deprived or in want.

The soldiers know the cost of our free institutions. They know the cost in blood and treasure, life and limb, in health, and all that is near and dear in life. They realize their worth and value. They know denial, privation, sacrifice, hardship, exposure, want, and dire distress—they have gone through the school of adversity and have learned the lesson of appreciation of many great blessings of life which other men enjoy with indifference and disregard. They know the sacrifice of liberty and freedom which military life requires, and they are appreciative of the liberty and freedom of our civil life.

The soldiers know the cost. They realize worth and value. They have been schooled in adversity, and have learned the lesson of appreciation and gratitude for the many blessings of

life. They are our most appreciative, grateful, patriotic, and loyal citizens, because they know the cost.

But the verdict of time is not only a consolation to the victors, but it is a solace to the vanquished as well. The South has the consolation to know that what they failed in was not the right, was not what they actually cherished as sacred to preserve, but that they only failed in that which they did not wish and what they would not accept to-day if tendered to them. This is a greater consolation to men in their declining years than to realize that they were victorious against the right.

Time heals all wounds and cures all the defects in human affairs. Time is carrying us each year further and further away from the animosities and antagonisms of the great Civil War. The generation of to-day can discern only the faint outlines of that great struggle. The war generation is fast passing and the scenes of the conflict are fading from the minds of the living. The smoke from those great battlefields has lifted from the earth. The echo of cannon and the reverberation of artillery have died away with the receding past. The tumult of battle has been hushed into suppressed murmurs of regret. Save for the song of the lonesome bird or the drone of beetle, the stillness and silence brooding over those battlefields to-day is as appalling as the awful clash of war was terrible. The foliage, the verdure, and the vine have crept out over the battle grounds to hide the scars of war. The strife and bitterness of the past has been screened from the present by the great mantle of nature and the curtain of time. The war is over. Free institutions have been preserved. The country is again united, and the honor, the glory, and the gratitude of a great Nation of people are yours forever.

## The Hay Resolution.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 23, 1916.*

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Speaker, the pending resolution authorizes the President to draft into the military service of the United States, under the provisions of section 111 of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, all members of the National Guard and of the Organized Militia of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, and any and all members of the National Guard and Organized Militia reserves to serve for the period of three years, unless sooner discharged.

I shall vote for this resolution, not because I believe we are in a state of war at the present time with Mexico, or because it is certain that we are going to have war with Mexico, but because it appears to be imperatively necessary, as a result of conditions on the border between our country and Mexico, that additional troops should be provided in order to protect the lives and property of our citizens, and that such troops should be available for use across the line in Mexico in case of an emergency.

The National Guard as such are not available for use outside the territory of the United States.

I hope that it will be possible to avoid war with Mexico. The overwhelming sentiment of the American people is against war with Mexico or with any other country. There can be no doubt at all but that certain American influences are at work, and have been at work for some time, with the object in view of bringing about an armed conflict between our country and Mexico. These influences represent to a large extent that class of our citizens who have large property holdings in Mexico, although it can be said to the credit of some American citizens who have property holdings in Mexico that they do not belong to this class. I know American citizens who have large property interests in Mexico, but who are patriotic enough not to want war with Mexico. These men put the lives of American boys above their property interests in Mexico, while the other class of American citizens, who are property holders in Mexico, put the dollar above the man and have for their motto "The flag must follow the dollar."

President Wilson has taken a firm and patriotic stand against the forces that would involve our country in war with Mexico, and were it not for his insistence that the Mexican people be given an opportunity to work out their own political destiny in their own way and in their own time, our troops would long ago have been engaged in the pacification if not the conquest of our sister Republic.

President Wilson does not want war with Mexico and the overwhelming majority of the Members of Congress are opposed to war with Mexico. The President and his State Department have given to the Mexican Government and the Mexican people and to the whole world ample assurance that our troops are not in Mexico at the present time because of any desire on our part to acquire Mexican territory. Our troops are in Mexico to-day simply because the de facto government of Mexico is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives of American citizens along the border line between Mexico and the United States from the marauding bands of Mexican citizens who are in the habit of making frequent raids into the United States for the purpose of murdering and plundering our citizens.

I am opposed to war between this country and Mexico, because such a contest would result disastrously to both countries and because I consider the life of one of our American boys—the hope of some fond American father and mother—more valuable than the lives of a whole regiment of Mexicans and more worthy of protection than all the property that American citizens own in Mexico.

I am very much in favor of that part of the pending resolution that provides for the payment by the United States Government of not to exceed $50 a month to the families and dependent ones of the enlisted men of the National Guard during the time said men are in the service of their country.

The National Guard are not hired soldiers and they did not join their local companies for glory. These men have patriotically sacrificed their time, their money, and their energy in preparing themselves for just such an emergency as now confronts our country; they have left their homes, their different lines of employment, and, many of them, their wives and babies, to go to the front to offer themselves as a sacrifice upon the altar of war, and it would seem that the Government and the country, for which these men are willing to make such tremendous sacrifices, ought to make every possible provision for the care of the dependent ones and families of these men during the time that they are at the front in the service of their country.

The members of the National Guard who have dependent ones looking to them for support have not asked for any allowance or assistance from the Government. These men have willingly gone forth to the mobilization camps without any understanding or belief that the Nation was to do anything for their beloved ones at home; they did not hesitate to respond to the call of their country, notwithstanding the fact that many of them realized that in going to the front they were sacrificing their prospects for material success and the happiness and comfort of those dependent upon them.

The pay provided for private soldiers of 50 cents a day is a mere pittance and practically amounts to no compensation at all. The men who are willing to go forth from the ranks of private life to make up the armies of our country and to fight for our flag ought to at least receive sufficient compensation to enable them to continue to discharge their duties as a man and a citizen.

The fact that our country in the past has never seen fit to make provisions for the dependent ones of our soldiers is no argument why such provisions should not be made to-day. The fact that our country failed to do its full duty toward the families and dependent ones of our soldiers in our past wars is no reason why Congress should not do the proper thing at this time in the matter of looking after the wives, families, and dependent ones of the boys who have gone to the front in this crisis.

It is only a comparatively few of our citizens who can go to the front in an emergency of this kind, and it is no disparagement of the patriotism of those who do go to the front that those who stay at home make some sacrifices in order that the burdens of the ones that go may fall less heavily upon their beloved ones at home; and the man who stays at home and thereby escapes the sacrifices of war and who is unwilling to pay taxes enough to take care of the beloved ones of the men who go to the front is thoroughly unpatriotic and unworthy of the defense and protection of any flag or any country.

Fortunately, the present crisis has brought forth many evidences of a willingness on the part of the general public to make patriotic sacrifices in order that the burdens of war may fall less heavily upon the wives and families of our soldier boys. In almost every community throughout the land from which companies of the National Guard have gone forth to the mobilization camps meetings of citizens have been held to devise ways and means for rendering assistance to the dependent ones of the boys who have gone to the front. In this connection, I am proud to state that many employers of labor have announced that the wages of their employees who have gone to the front would be paid just the same, and that the position vacated to go to war would await the home-coming of the citizen soldiers.

This broad spirit of patriotism on the part of the general public and a great many employers of labor is certainly to be commended. This willingness on the part of those who stay at home to sacrifice and do something for those who go to war is, indeed, encouraging. Nothing has occurred in the recent history of our Government that demonstrates a higher and purer patriotism on the part of our citizens in general than this spontaneous outburst of patriotic efforts on the part of the "stay at home" to lighten the burdens of those who go to war. Such exemplifications of patriotic devotion to country and to humanity are encouraging, and while our country possesses such high types of citizenship it need have no fear of foreign invaders or internal foes.

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**The United States Shipping Board.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JESSE D. PRICE,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, May 19, 1916.*

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I consider this bill the third great charter in the regulation of American business and transportation. It establishes a board to regulate our commerce on the water and supplements the laws now in force regulating interstate commerce.

It was only a short time ago that the transportation business of the United States was in a most chaotic condition. There were practically no laws regulating the business of interstate railroads, and as a result the shipping public suffered, and the railroads suffered as well. It brought out a class of unprincipled men who would acquire railroads by any kind of schemes, water the stock, pocket the proceeds, and ruin the roads. Murderous and unscrupulous competition was used to destroy the business of railroads, and then when they were out of the way rates were raised, and shippers suffered as a result.

In order to regulate this matter a law was passed establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission. That has proved a wonderful blessing to the American people. The railroad business is now being conducted in a systematic and honorable way, to the great benefit of the roads themselves, as well as to the patrons of the roads.

Until very recently the general business of the country was under practically no regulation. Large corporations would take advantage of smaller ones, selling goods at a loss in order to drive out competition, and then increase their prices and make good every loss. The most gross injustice was often perpetrated, and the people called aloud for relief.

In response to this demand, the Sixty-third Congress enacted a law creating the Federal Trade Commission. It has control of individuals and corporations doing an interstate business much as the Interstate Commerce Commission has over interstate transportation.

No longer will large corporations be allowed, through unfair dealing, to squeeze out and ruin weaker competitors. In the long run the country will probably find this trade commission one of the most useful bodies we have ever established.

Now we propose to establish the third board, which shall be known as the United States shipping board, for the purpose of encouraging and regulating our merchant marine. I think you will all agree with me that it is high time that something substantial should be done to encourage the shipbuilding and maintenance of merchant vessels under the American flag.

In 1830, 94 per cent of all our sea imports were carried in American ships. At the breaking out of the Civil War 63 per cent was carried in American ships, while during 1915 only 18 per cent of our sea imports was carried in American ships. In other words, in 1915, of our total imports by sea of $1,526,269,412, only $281,334,841 was carried in ships flying the American flag. We pay an enormous freight bill each year to the owners of foreign ships.

The Democratic Party has always advocated the policy of "America first." This country is in a better position to build and operate ships than any other country in the world. We have raw material in unlimited quantity, both wood and steel; we have an almost endless number of harbors where shipbuilding establishments are, or can be, built; we have the most skillful workmen in the world. We are able to produce the steel which goes to build these vessels as cheaply as anywhere on earth, and there is no good reason why we should not have a great merchant marine if given the proper encouragement. This is the purpose of the bill now under consideration. It is like the Federal Trade Commission law, which is not intended to hamper and embarrass domestic business but to carry on investigations and make suggestions that will aid in the upbuilding of all kinds of local business.

Under the provisions of this bill the shipping board will consist of the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of Commerce, together with five commissioners, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. One of the powers granted to it is to organize one or more corporations under the laws of the District of Columbia with a capital stock not to exceed $50,000,000. The United States Government may subscribe not less than a majority of the stock of each of these corporations. These corporations will have power to purchase, construct, equip, lease, charter, and operate merchant vessels in the commerce of the United States.

This does not mean that our Government is going to enter permanently into the shipping business or compete with private capital. Within five years after the conclusion of the present European war, the Government shall dispose of its share in these corporations and go out of the business.

The real purpose of this is to establish lines of trade and encourage private capital to embark in these enterprises.

There are regular lines of boats running between this country and all of the European countries, and it is easy, under normal conditions, to ship all we desire over those routes; but there are many parts of the world where the American flag is seldom, if ever, seen flying from a merchant ship.

One of the future outlets for our goods is the South American trade. There are always many uncertainties in establishing new lines of business and inducing capital to embark in them. We desire to establish regular lines of steamers between this country and the principal ports of Latin America. We wish to turn the trade of these countries this way instead of having it go to Europe. Without American ships it will be impossible for us to do this. We desire to have the ships purchased under the provisions of this act to open up this line of trade, and by the time the Government must dispose of its interest in these ships there will be a regular business started and on a good-paying basis. This business can then be boomed up by private individuals and corporations and continued indefinitely.

I do not believe the American people will ever consent to pay a regular subsidy to American ships in foreign trade any more than they would pay a direct subsidy for the establishment or maintenance of a business within our own country. You will remember under the McKinley Act a bounty of 2 cents per pound was to be paid on sugar, but the American farmers immediately inquired why they could not have a bounty on wheat. If we were going into the bounty business in other lines, they felt they should get some of it. It is a bad economic principle, and I am certain it never will be started here.

Great Britain is the principal shipping nation of the world; her tramp steamers carry the goods of all nations. She pays a subsidy only to those ships which are a part of the British navy. She does not pay any subsidy to the great mass of shipping which carries such a large share of the world's trade.

Many laws have been changed recently in this country making it easier to build and operate American ships. For one thing, the duty was removed from all material imported for shipbuilding purposes. This did not result in the importation of these materials, but it opened the door of competition and compelled the ironmasters of this country to sell the things needed for shipbuilding at a rate that kept out foreign competition.

The reason this law was necessary was because the steel manufacturers of this country were sending their products abroad and selling them to the shipbuilders there at a price low enough to meet the manufacturers in those countries while they were charging much higher rates for domestic consumption.

We also had a good many laws on the statute books which made the operation of American vessels more expensive than foreign vessels. A large number of these, however, have been changed, and in cases where it does not impair the safety of lives and property the other laws should and will be modified. It is a common saying among shippers that it is the hampering laws of this country which prevent them from building up a larger merchant marine.

Now, we do not want to hamper any line of business. It is the policy of the Democratic Party to encourage every legitimate enterprise. We are willing to go any reasonable length in the establishment of any business that will give employment to American labor and investment to American capital.

In order to encourage the building of American ships the shipping board created by this bill is given power to investigate the relative cost of building merchant vessels in the United States and in foreign countries, and the relative cost, advantages, and disadvantages of operating in the American trade vessels under United States register and foreign register. It is authorized to examine the navigation laws of the United States and the rules and regulations thereunder and make such recommendations to Congress as it deems proper for the improvement and revision of such laws for the development of the American merchant marine.

Each year, before the 1st day of December, it shall report to Congress the results of its investigations and its recommendations.

This is something of which those interested in foreign shipping have long felt the need. There has been a great difference of opinion about the relative cost of building and operating ships in this country and in foreign countries. The report of this board should clear the matter up for all time. The foreign trade of this country is going up by leaps and bounds. Those who have not kept close account of it will be astonished at what has happened on the sea during the last 20 years. The importations and exportations by sea have more than doubled during that time. To be exact, in 1895 our total foreign trade by sea was $1,456,403,388; in 1915 it was $3,992,625,475. You will notice from these figures that the increase in 20 years has been about two and three-fourths times. We have every reason to believe that the increase in the future will be even greater than in the immediate past. There is every indication of the greatest business boom the world has ever known. At this time the factories of our country are working overtime; that is, a great many of them are running nights as well as daytime. The only thing that hampers them is the difficulty of transporting their goods. In many cases it is impossible for the railroads to carry the products of our factories, and for many months we have had perfect congestion at our seaports. If we had a few hundred extra vessels, our export trade would be greatly increased.

I do not wish to in any way inject politics into this argument, but I must say that the Democratic Party is largely responsible for this tremendous business, both at home and abroad. The just laws which have been enacted since the beginning of the present administration have been a stimulus to every line of business.

The shrewd diplomacy of this administration has enabled us to maintain the honor and dignity of this Nation all over the world and at the same time has kept us out of all foreign wars. Our people are devoting themselves to useful occupations and accumulating riches that far exceed the wealth of the El Dorado.

The balance of trade in our favor this fiscal year will be about two billions of dollars. I do not think this is going to be a temporary boom, but, after we have secured foreign markets, the products of our factories will continue to flow there for an indefinite time.

One of the important features of this bill is that all of the ships acquired under it shall be considered a part of the Navy in time of war. They shall be engaged in regular mercantile pursuits when not needed by the Government, but whenever an emergency arises the President may call them at once into the Government service. This will be of inestimable value if, unfortunately, we should ever be forced to engage in a foreign war. This is somewhat on the same plan as that now followed by the British Government. There a mail subsidy is paid to the steamship lines, which may be called at once to assist the navy in time of need. It was in that way that England called into its service such a tremendous amount of shipping at the outbreak of the present war that she was able to convey her troops by the million and maintain them in foreign lands. If it had been necessary for her to enter into a separate contract with each of the owners of these vessels, it would have been a very slow and expensive process. Those who are in favor of American preparedness must heartily support this provision of the bill.

There is in this country a great organization known as the National Foreign Trade Council. It consists of about 50 of the leading business men of the United States. They are doing a great deal to increase our foreign trade. Recently they issued some recommendations to Congress for the purpose of assisting the country to secure foreign commerce by building up our merchant marine. Their recommendations have been so largely embodied in the provisions of this bill that I am going to quote them at length. They are as follows:

1. That Congress establish a permanent shipping board, composed of five members, who shall be men experienced in shipping and foreign trade. This board shall recommend to Congress such revision and modernization of all United States laws relating to shipping as it deems necessary, and shall permanently discharge all the functions of the Federal Government relating thereto. This board shall constitute a permanent advisory body, empowered to recommend to Congress the measures necessary for the maintenance of United States shipping upon an equitable competitive basis with other nations, always having due regard for the maintenance of American standards of living and compensation, and keeping in view the needs of the national defense and the necessities of the foreign trade. To this end the board should be directed to ascertain the cost of construction and operation, rates of interest on shipping mortgages, insurance rates, etc., of American shipping as compared with that of other nations, and it should be its duty to determine what line of ocean carrying trade shall be permanently developed under the American flag for the benefit of the foreign commerce of the United States, and to recommend methods whereby such lines may be rendered possible, in the event of the cost of their operation preventing effective competition with foreign services in the same zone.

2. That the board bring to the attention of Congress the necessity for modifications of the speed requirements of the mail act of 1891 in special cases, so that the establishment of mail communications with South America, South Africa, Australasia, and the Far East may be considered from the several points of view of the cost of operation of such lines and of the speeds at which it is desirable that these lines be maintained.

3. That the board so constituted shall likewise report upon the measures necessary to render investment in American shipping safe and attractive to private capital, and to increase the present resources of our systems of credit, as by the establishment of mortgage banks, to supply funds to the shipping industry for financing the construction of tonnage, and to throw around shipping mortgages such protection as to remove any apprehension on the part of investors regarding the safety of shipping propositions.

4. That the President be empowered to suspend the operation of such of the provisions of the seaman's act (applicable to American vessels, November 4, 1915; foreign vessels, March 4, 1916), as he may consider detrimental to the interest of American shipping, until Congress, having before it the advice of the shipping board, has revised and modernized the United States navigation laws; or, if this suspension be deemed not expedient by Congress, then that section 13 of the seamen's act be amended so as to eliminate the language test and the minimum percentages of able seamen among the deck crew, substituting therefore provisions equivalent to the requirements of the British merchant shipping act, and that the requirements of section 14 and annexed regulations concerning certificated lifeboat men, etc., be modified in conformity with the 1914 amendment to the British merchant shipping act.

The seamen's act, referred to above, was a bill introduced by Senator LA FOLLETTE, of Wisconsin. It throws more protection around seamen than any other act ever passed in this country. It goes in great detail into the various things of which sailors have rightly complained in the past. The only part of it to which serious objection is made is that which provides that 75 per cent of the sailors shall be able to understand the language of the officers in charge of the ship. This was largely intended to prevent the employment of Chinese, Japanese, and other foreigners who would work for less than half of the American scale of wages.

The part of this bill that will be discussed the most is not the part which I consider the most important. That feature relating to the Government becoming part owner of merchant ships is but a temporary matter and not of far-reaching consequence, but the establishment of the shipping board is a matter of importance to every one interested in our foreign commerce. If this bill becomes a law, it will simply complete the regulation of business on land and sea. It will encourage the building up of our merchant marine and, I believe, in time will be looked upon as one of the most important measures passed by the Sixty-fourth Congress.

## Choctaw and Chickasaw Per Capita Payment.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print, I am herewith inserting the regulations governing the per capita payment to the enrolled citizens and members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians in the State of Oklahoma, approved by the Secretary of the Interior on June 23, 1916.

The matter referred to is as follows:

REGULATIONS GOVERNING PER CAPITA PAYMENTS TO ENROLLED CITIZENS AND MEMBERS OF THE CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW TRIBES OF INDIANS IN THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA.

The following regulations are hereby prescribed under the Indian appropriation act approved May 18, 1916, which reads, in section 19 thereof, in part, as follows:

"That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to pay to the enrolled members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians of Oklahoma entitled under existing law to share in the funds of said tribes, or to their lawful heirs, out of any moneys belonging to said tribes in the United States Treasury or deposited in any bank or

held by any official under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, not to exceed $300 per capita in the case of the Choctaws and $200 per capita in the case of the Chickasaws, said payment to be made under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *Provided*, That in cases where such enrolled members, or their heirs, are Indians who by reason of their degree of Indian blood belong to the restricted class, the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, withhold such payments and use the same for the benefit of such restricted Indians: *Provided further*, That the money paid to the enrolled members as provided herein shall be exempt from any lien for attorneys' fees or other debt contracted prior to the passage of this act, except that the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized within 30 days after the passage of this act to investigate claims not to exceed $1,950 growing out of contracts alleged to be in existence between John Calvin Gray, William T. Lancaster, Arthur Jennings, and Clyde Jennings, as enrolled members of the Choctaw or Chickasaw Nations, and Henry W. Blair, Kappler & Merillat, James K. Jones, Charles M. Fechheimer, and Eugene Hamilton, as attorneys, and in case such claims are found to be valid and the contracts approved in accordance with existing law, the said Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, apply any amounts that may be found due under this paragraph to the aforesaid enrolled members of the Choctaw or Chickasaw Nations to the payment of such fee, but the amounts due hereunder to other enrolled members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations shall not be held in abeyance to this claim but shall be paid promptly without reference to same: * * *

"1. Payments hereunder shall be made under the supervision of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes or such other officers as may be designted by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and by such special disbursing agent as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may designate.

"2. The payments shall be based upon the final rolls of the citizens of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, as approved by the Secretary of the Interior and corrected to date of payment. Such payments shall be in the aggregate sum of $300 per capita to the members of the Choctaw Tribe, exclusive of freedmen, and $200 per capita to members of the Chickasaw Tribe, exclusive of freedmen. No payment shall be made, however, under these regulations, of the amounts due in the cases of John Calvin Gray, William T. Lancaster, Arthur Jennings, and Clyde Jennings, enrolled members of the Choctaw or Chickasaw Nations, as the matter of the settlement of certain attorneys' claims against said named Indians and of the payment of any money due them under the above-quoted provisions of law will be the subject of further and special instructions.

"3. The term "restricted" as used in these regulations shall be held to apply to members of said tribes enrolled as of one-half or more Indian blood, from whose allotment of land the restrictions as to alienation have not been unconditionally removed as to every part thereof, and the term "unrestricted" shall be held to apply to all others entitled to participate in this payment. The term "minor" or "minors" as used in these regulations shall include all males under the age of 21 years and all females under the age of 18 years.

"4. Payments due unrestricted adults, in their own right, shall be made to them by official check to their order, except where they are under legal disability.

"5. Payments due unrestricted minors and unrestricted adults under legal disability, in their own right, where such persons have legal guardians or curators, shall be made to said guardians or curators upon satisfactory evidence being furnished the officers in charge of the payment of the appointment, sufficient bond and good standing of said guardians or curators.

"6. Upon a showing satisfactory to the officers in charge of the payment that no legal guardian has been appointed for any unrestricted minor to whom a payment is due, in his own right, such payment may be made to the father, mother, or other person having the care and custody of such minor: *Provided*, That in case any male or female is married, or in case of an unmarried male over 19 years of age, payment may be made to said person by official check to his or her order if, in the discretion of the officers in charge of the payment, it will be for his or her best interest so to do: *Provided further*, That all applications for a payment due an unrestricted minor having no legal guardian bear the approval of a United States probate attorney or field clerk, if, in the discretion of the officers in charge of the payment, such approval appears to be for the best interest of such minor. The officer in charge of the payment may, in his discretion, and if he believes it to be for the best interests of such unrestricted minor, decline to pay the money due in such case to any other than a legal guardian; and pending the appointment of such legal guardian by the court having jurisdiction, he may temporarily withhold such payment, wholly or in part.

"7. Payments due restricted adults, in their own right, shall be made to them by official check to their order, except where they are under legal disabil ty, and except in those cases where, in the discretion of the officer in charge of the payment, the amounts due should be withheld, wholly or in part. The amounts withheld shall be placed to the credit of the individual Indians entitled thereto, and shall be disbursed for the benefit of such Indians, under supervision as provided in department regulations concerning the handling of individual Indian money.

"8. Amounts due restricted minors and restricted adults under legal disability, in their own right, shall be placed to their individual credit and shall be disbursed for the benefit of such restricted Indians under supervision as provided for in department regulations governing the handling of individual Indian money: *Provided, however*, That where such restricted minors or restricted adults under legal disability have legal guardians or curators, payment may, in the discretion of the officer in charge of the payment, be made to such legal guardians or curators upon satisfactory evidence being furnished the officer in charge of the payment of the appointment, sufficient bond, and good standing of said guardians or curators, and provided such payment will, in the opinion of the United States probate attorney or field clerk, be for the best interests of such restricted minors or such restricted adults under legal disability.

"9. Where a payment is made to a legal guardian, original letters of guardianship will not be required, but a certificate of the probate court, bearing the approval of a United States probate attorney, showing the person executing the guardian's certificate to be the duly appointed, qualified, and acting guardian of the minor to whom said payment is due and that he has furnished good and sufficient bond, will be accepted and filed with the account.

"10. The act of Congress above quoted provides for payments to 'lawful heirs' of deceased members, and no payments will be made to administrators or executors; but where payments are due any person or persons as the heir or heirs of a deceased member of any of said tribes such payments shall be made to the heirs by official check to their order, or withheld for their benefit, wholly or in part, according to the respective class to which they belong, subject to the same regulations as are prescribed above relative to payments due persons in their own right.

"11. Before payment is made to the heirs of any deceased person proof of death and heirship satisfactory to the officers in charge of the payment must be made, and the finding of such officers upon such proof shall be final and conclusive for all purposes of these payments.

"12. The heirs of enrolled deceased persons entitled to payments hereunder shall be determined in all cases in accordance with the provisions contained in the agreements with their respective Indian tribes concerning the distribution of tribal funds to the heirs of deceased enrolled citizens who died prior to the receipt of their allotment or share of said tribal funds.

"13. All suspended or withheld payments, or parts thereof, shall be held in the Treasury of the United States, subject to proper requisition, or in the hands of the special disbursing agent or such other officer as the Secretary of the Interior may designate to have the custody of the same, such suspended or withheld payments, wholly or in part, to be disbursed at such times and in such amounts as the best interest of the persons to whom such suspended or witheld payments are due may demand, and in accordance with these regulations.

"14. The Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes will prepare a schedule showing all persons entitled to share in this per capita distribution, two copies of which schedule shall be forwarded to the Indian Office for use in examining and auditing the accounts of the special disbursing agent showing claims paid thereunder. It will not be necessary for the special disbursing agent to submit a complete roll of all entitled to share in these payments with his accounts at the end of each quarter. The special disbursing agent will, at the end of each quarter, submit a schedule or voucher covering only the claims actually paid during the quarter, and will continue said disbursements under these regulations until all claims are paid, or until further orders of the department.

"15. No arrangement shall be recognized or information furnished in the interest of any merchant, trader, or other creditor, nor shall their representative or collector be allowed in the offices where the payments are being made.

"16. Powers of attorney will not be recognized, nor will any order given by an Indian to another person for his share of the payment be honored.

"17. These payments shall be made by check and forwarded by registered mail to the person entitled to receive the same, and there shall be noted on envelopes containing checks a notice to postmasters requesting delivery only to the party addressed, and return receipt shall be required, except that checks not exceeding the sum of $20 may be forwarded by mail without registering: *Provided, however*, That checks may be delivered in person by probate attorneys or other employees of the Indian Service when deemed advisable by the officers in charge of the payment.

"18. All things necessary to making the payments referred to above, not otherwise specifically provided for in these regulations, shall be done under the authority and supervision of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes, or such other officer as may be designed by the Secretary of the Interior.

"19. For the purpose of these payments these regulations shall be held to supersede all other existing rules and regulations.

"E. B. MERITT,
"*Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.*

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
"*Washington, D. C.*"

JUNE 23, 1916.

Approved.

BO SWEENEY,
*Assistant Secretary.*

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**Fodder for Machine Guns.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 30, 1916.*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent given me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following editorial from the Washington Post of this morning, which is a good sign of returning sanity among American newspapers.

The editorial is as follows:

FODDER FOR MACHINE GUNS.

If the honor of the United States can be maintained by peaceful methods, who shall say that the Nation should go to war?

Those who want war must be willing themselves to sacrifice their lives upon the altar of national devotion.

None but a poltroon and coward would fail to make the sacrifice if the honor of the country were at stake, but only those who are in full possession of all the facts in the Mexican situation can decide what the national interest demands.

What man in public life, what official or orator in the market places, can say that he is more jealous of the national honor than are the people themselves? The honor of the Nation is safe in the hands of the American people.

And what are the people saying? What are they thinking as they walk through the streets? What are they saying about

their own supper table after they have returned from their daily work? In one of his speeches President Wilson said:

I would a great deal rather know what the men on the trains and by the wayside and in the shops and on the farms are thinking about and yearning for than hear any of the vociferous proclamations of policy, which it is so easy to read by picking up any scraps of printed paper.

Those who are expected to sacrifice their lives upon the battlefield, the fathers and mothers who yield their sons and who yield them willingly when the honor of the Nation is at stake, should have something to say about the question of war.

Two million of the men of Europe lie in their graves as a result of the mad war that is still in progress, and yet the honor of the nations involved has not yet been satisfied.

At Verdun 300,000 of the finest men of France, Germany, and England lie dead. The toll demanded by European statesmanship steadily is mounting, and the end is not yet in sight.

Of the 2,500,000 men who were in the Civil War on the Northern side, more than 1,000,000 were below the age of 21 years, and the fathers and mothers, sisters and sweethearts were left behind to agonize and mourn.

It is not the corporations, the landowners, or the captains of industry who have the vital interest in the question of war or peace. It is not the politicians or orators, the organizations of public preparationists or public pacifists that have the most at stake. It is the average citizen—the citizen who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, the citizen who loves his family and wants to continue giving that family his support and protection who has the most at stake.

Those orators who cry out for a given course of action in the name of the national honor without having before them all the facts that affect the national interest in a crisis merely demonstrate their lack of responsibility and their callous selfishness.

It speaks well for the wisdom of the American people that they have never elected a President who has been stampeded into war by false advisers or critics.

Great as has been the horror of the European war, strong as is the desire to preserve the strength of the United States for the more civilized purposes of humanity, the American people as a unit will be ready to fight and to die if it should be necessary to preserve the national honor.

On the one side in the Nation to-day, as in all crises of the past, there are those who, without knowing all the facts on which the great decision must be made, argue for immediate action against Mexico, regardless of the consequences. On the other side are those who are praying that peaceful means of protecting the Nation's honor shall be completely exhausted before there is recourse to arms and to the sacrifice of the blood of American soldiers.

President Wilson, with all the facts before him, was able to win a diplomatic victory in the submarine controversy, satisfying this Nation's honor without the frightful toll of war.

The President of the United States alone knows the facts in the Mexican situation. He alone can make the decision that will conserve the national interests. While orators are making their arguments in public places, the people, by wire and letter, are telling the President that they, who must make the sacrifices and who will not ask that some other mother's son make it for them, want peace so long as it is compatible with the Nation's honor.

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**Address of President Wilson.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 30, 1916.*

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address made by President Wilson at Philadelphia yesterday before the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World.

The address is as follows:

Mr. Wilson said:

"I understand, gentlemen, that you have associated yourselves together in order to promote candor and truth in the advertisement of your business. I wish very much, gentlemen, that candor and truth might always be the standard of politics as well as the standard of business. I do not see how a man can devote himself to candor and truth in the promotion of a particular business without studying the life of the great Nation to whom he addresses his advertising. I do not see how a man can fail, having established the horizon of his business where the great hills of truth lie, to lift his eyes to the great multitude of laboring men and striving women who constitute a great Nation like ours, and in the very act of addressing them get in his own consciousness some part of the impulse of their life. You can not commend your business to people that you do not understand and you can not understand the people of the United States without wishing to serve them.

MUST PUT IDEALS IN ACTION.

"So I come to you with this thought: America is at a point, gentlemen, where it is more than ever necessary that she should understand her own ideals not only but be ready to put them into action at any cost. It is one thing to entertain fine principles and another thing to make them work. It is one thing to entertain them in the formulas of words, like the splendid words which were uttered, and give distinction to this ancient and historic building behind me, but it is another thing to do what these same men did, make those words live in the action of their lives. And America is summoned in each new generation to renew not only the pledges that those men made but to renew the example which they gave to the world.

"I am not interested, and I beg that you will believe me when I say that I never have been interested, in fighting for myself, but I am immensely interested in fighting for the things that I believe in, and so far as they are concerned, I am a challenger to all comers. It is important, therefore, since I am in fighting mood, to let you know what are some of the things that I do believe in.

WANTS AMERICA PUT FIRST.

"In the first place, I believe, and I summon you to show your belief in the same thing, that it is the duty of every American in everything that he does in his business and out of it to think first not of himself or of any interest which he may be called upon to sacrifice, but of the country which we serve. 'America first' means nothing until you translate it in what you do. So I believe most profoundly in the duty of every American to exalt the national consciousness by purifying his own motives and exhibiting his own devotion.

"I believe, in the second place, that America, the country that we put first in our thoughts, should be ready in every point of policy and of action to vindicate at whatever cost the principles of liberty, of justice, and of humanity to which we have been devoted from the first. You cheer the sentiment, but do you realize what it means? It means that you have not only got to be just to your fellow men but that as a nation you have got to be just to other nations. It comes high. It is not an easy thing to do. It is easy to think first of the material interest of America, but it is not easy to think first of what America, if she loves justice, ought to do in the field of international affairs.

"I believe that at whatever cost America should be just to other peoples and treat other peoples as she demands that they should treat her. She has a right to demand that they treat her with justice and respect, and she has a right to insist that they treat her in that fashion, but she can not with dignity or with self-respect insist upon that unless she is willing to act in the same fashion toward them. That I am ready to fight for at any cost to myself.

FOR RULE OF THE PEOPLE.

"Then, in the third place, touching ourselves more intimately, my fellow citizens, this is what I believe: If I understand the life of America, the central principle of it is this, that no small body of persons, no matter how influential, shall be trusted to determine the policy and development of America. You know what you want in your business. You want a fair field and no favor. You want to be given the same opportunity that other men have, not only to make known what you have to sell, but to sell it under as favorable conditions as anybody else; and the principle of the life of America is that she draws her vitality not from small bodies of men who may wish to assume the responsibility of guiding and controlling her, but from the great body of thinking and toiling and planning men, from whom she draws her energy and vitality as a Nation.

"I believe—and this is the reason I am a Democrat, not merely with a big 'D,' but with a little 'd'—I am all kinds of a Democrat, so far as I can discover; but the root of the whole business is this, that I believe in the patriotism and energy and initiative of the average man. Some men say they believe in it; when they act they show that they do not. They show that they think the only advice that is safe to take is their advice.

FEELS SAFE WITH MASSES.

"I was not referring to any individual, but I could give you an interesting and a very short list of a group of individuals who have that opinion, namely, that it is not safe for the United States

to escape from their control. I feel perfectly safe in the hands of the average body of my fellow citizens. You are bound to feel safe in their hands. If they do not believe in you, you can not sell anything. If they do not believe in you, you can not conduct your business. Your vitality comes from them to you; it does not go from you to them. The theory of government which I decline to subscribe to is that the vitality of the Nation comes out of closeted councils where a few men determine the policy of the country.

"So, gentlemen, I feel at home in this company, not because I advertise, but because I have got principles that I am perfectly willing to expose to the public view and because I want to express not only my sympathy with but my admiration for a body of men who think it is worth while to get together in order to tell the truth. The only thing that ever set any man free, the only thing that ever set any nation free, is the truth. A man that is afraid of the truth is afraid of the law of life. A man that does not love the truth is in the way of decay and of failure, and I believe that if you will just let the vitality that is in you and the enthusiasm that is in you run beyond the confines of the business that you may be interested in, you will presently feel that infinite reward as if the red blood of a whole nation came surging back into your own veins.

INSPIRING TO BE FREE.

"Can you imagine, my fellow countrymen, a more inspiring thing than to belong to a free nation and make your way among men every one of whom has the right and the opportunity to say what he thinks. Criticism does not hurt anybody. I heard an old politician once say to his son, 'John, don't bother your head about lies and slanders; they will take care of themselves. But if you ever hear me denying anything, you may make up your mind that it is so.' And when you see a man wincing under criticism, you may know that something hit him that was so. And therefore when they are saying the things that are not true, there is no credit in keeping your head and not minding it. I have such an inveterate confidence in the ultimate triumph of the truth that I feel, with old Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, that the truth is no invalid, and you need not mind how roughly you handle her. She has got a splendid constitution, and she will survive every trial and every labor.

WANTS IDEALS IN BUSINESS.

"Business is all right so long as it is not sordid, and it can not be sordid if it is shot through with ideals. A man, no matter how humble his business, can hold his head up among the princes of the world if, as he ought to do, he will think of himself as the servant of the people and not as their master; as one who would serve and not one who would govern.

"I congratulate you, my fellow citizens, upon the ideals of a profession which can lower or exalt business, as you choose, and which you have chosen to employ for its exaltation. I came away from Washington to look into your faces and get some of the enthusiasm which I always get when I come away from officialdom and touch hand to hand with great bodies of the free American people."

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**Water Power Development.**

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# SPEECH

OF

# HON. JOHN K. SHIELDS,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Wednesday and Friday, February 9 and 11 (legislative day of February 9), 1916.*

The Senate had under consideration the bill (S. 3331) to provide for the improvement of navigation for interstate and foreign commerce, and the development of water power in the navigable rivers of the United States.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, this bill was introduced under what is known as the commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States, Article I, section 8, paragraph 3, conferring upon Congress the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States and with the Indian tribes."

The power and jurisdiction of Congress under this clause over foreign and interstate commerce is absolute and unlimited, otherwise than by provisions of the Constitution, and includes trade and traffic and all the means and instrumentalities convenient and necessary for carrying on commerce. It extends to transportation of every kind and authorizes the improvement of the navigable waters of the United States for that purpose by such means and agencies as Congress may consider proper, and there is no constitutional objection to the improvement of navigable rivers by the use of private capital, as proposed in this bill.

There are in the United States some 50,000 miles of rivers classed as navigable, but about one-half of them are unavailable for commerce without the removal of obstructions and the construction of dams and locks for the purpose of passing vessels over falls and rapids. There is no country in the world that has greater natural inland waterways than this, and with proper improvement they can be made to contribute as much to its commercial and industrial wealth as any of its other great natural resources. This has been recognized for many years, and some of the ablest men of the country have devoted much time and study to this work, and in this way providing for our people cheap and effective water transportation. The Congress has had nearly all of these rivers surveyed and plans and specifications made for their improvement, with estimates of the cost, by competent engineers, and in the last 50 years it has appropriated and expended for such improvements more than $800,000,000. The work has hardly begun, and it will take many years and many hundred millions of dollars to complete it. I have no doubt that some day all of these rivers will be improved and open to navigation, but it can not be denied that there is now in the United States a strong influence opposing their further improvement. Whether this opposition comes from the great transportation companies of the United States which would be affected by the cheaper water transportation, or from other sources, is immaterial.

It is here and has succeeded in defeating the rivers and harbors appropriation bills for two sessions of Congress. But if the Congress were inclined to make appropriations for this purpose there are many rivers which can not be improved in this way for years to come, because of the immense expenditure required.

It would seem, Mr. President, that any plan whereby private capital can be obtained and invested in improving these rivers, for which no public appropriation can now be made, should have the support of every citizen interested in furnishing cheap and convenient transportation for the products of agriculture, manufactories, mines, and the forests of the country, and for the welfare of the people. This is one of the great objects which it is proposed and believed this bill will accomplish, and that without much delay and in the near future.

The improvement of navigation is the only constitutional warrant which the Congress has for enacting this bill into law, but the development and utilization of the vast water-power resources of the navigable rivers of the United States, worth many million dollars and now idle and daily and yearly running to waste, which may be lawfully joined with it, are of equal importance and will contribute as much to the industrial wealth and prosperity of the country.

These two objects of the bill, the improvement of navigation with private capital and the development of water power, must go together. The investment of private capital for the public purpose of improving navigation can not be obtained without the concurrent development of private property for individual profit.

The bill does not provide for any appropriation from the Public Treasury or any concession of property interests of the United States. It permits riparian proprietors along navigable rivers to construct dams in them for the purpose of developing water power for manufacturing purposes, to be equipped with all necessary locks and other facilities for navigation, at their own expense, according to plans and specifications approved by the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers. In other words, the bill proposes a method for the improvement of navigation in navigable rivers without cost to the United States, by permitting the riparian proprietors to develop and utilize the water power in those streams.

The development of the water-power resources of the country is of no less importance to the people than the improvement of our waterways. Manufacture comes before commerce and transportation and it is necessary to promote and successfully prosecute it to make them possible. Power is indispensable to all manufacturing industries. Whatever creates mechanical energy which can be successfully applied in industrial operations is necessarily of great value and contributes to the wealth of the country. It has been well said that our great coal supplies and unsurpassed water possibilities for the production of cheap power in large quantities are the greatest assets which this country will have in future industrial rivalry with other nations of the world. We are now using our coal in generating steam in quantities that are staggering to the minds of those familiar with such matters but with results that are marvelous in their success and contribution to the prosperity of the country.

There are, however, some industries of comparatively recent invention and discovery which can not be successfully carried on with steam power and imperatively require cheaper energy in large quantities, which can only be obtained by the development of the potential water-power resources of our navigable rivers.

Mr. Herbert Knox Smith, Commissioner of Corporations of the United States, in his report for 1912, estimates the minimum horsepower afforded by all the streams of the United States at 32,082,000 and the maximum 61,678,000, exclusive of that which can be made available by storage, which is estimated at 200,000,000 more.

The maximum possible development, exclusive of storage, according to this estimate, is distributed in the several States as follows:

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|---|---|
| North Atlantic States: | |
| Maine | 971,000 |
| New Hampshire | 295,000 |
| Vermont | 206,000 |
| Massachusetts | 273,000 |
| Rhode Island | 16,000 |
| Connecticut | 164,000 |
| New York | 2,037,000 |
| New Jersey | 127,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 821,000 |
| | 4,910,000 |
| South Atlantic States: | |
| Delaware | 13,000 |
| Maryland | 146,000 |
| District of Columbia | 13,000 |
| Virginia | 1,044,000 |
| West Virginia | 1,261,000 |
| North Carolina | 1,050,000 |
| South Carolina | 812,000 |
| Georgia | 752,000 |
| Florida | 16,000 |
| | 5,107,000 |
| North Central States: | |
| Ohio | 213,000 |
| Indiana | 141,000 |
| Illinois | 414,000 |
| Michigan | 352,000 |
| Wisconsin | 804,000 |
| Minnesota | 593,000 |
| Iowa | 458,000 |
| Missouri | 195,000 |
| North Dakota | 248,000 |
| South Dakota | 90,000 |
| Nebraska | 439,000 |
| Kansas | 323,000 |
| | 4,270,000 |
| South Central States: | |
| Kentucky | 236,000 |
| Tennessee | 913,000 |
| Alabama | 1,132,000 |
| Mississippi | 75,000 |
| Louisiana | 2,000 |
| Arkansas | 73,000 |
| Oklahoma | 250,000 |
| Texas | 661,000 |
| | 3,342,000 |
| Western States: | |
| Montana | 5,197,000 |
| Idaho | 3,080,000 |
| Wyoming | 1,566,000 |
| Colorado | 2,036,000 |
| New Mexico | 527,000 |
| Arizona | 2,038,000 |
| Utah | 1,581,000 |
| Nevada | 331,000 |
| Washington | 10,376,000 |
| Oregon | 7,935,000 |
| California | 9,382,000 |
| | 44,049,000 |

Another estimate, recently made by Mr. George Otis Smith, Director of the Geological Survey, fixes the aggregate available water power of the United States at 55,000,000 horsepower.

Mr. Secretary Garrison stated sometime ago before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, which had under consideration a bill similar to this, that the available water power in the navigable streams of the United States was 7,000,000 horsepower, and that the possible development in the headwaters or upper reaches of those streams was 20,000,000 horsepower. This estimate is directly pertinent, as the provisions of this bill are confined to navigable rivers. While these estimates vary considerably they all show the magnitude of this vast and valuable natural resource.

Astounding as the statement may seem, and great as it apparently reflects unfavorably upon the intelligence, enterprise, and progress of the American people, it is nevertheless a fact that not more than 5,000,000 horsepower of this vast, valuable, natural energy has been improved and made to contribute to the wealth of our people. I will undertake, however, to show that this is not the fault of our great civil, hydraulic, and electrical engineers, nor of those who have ever been willing to invest capital in the development of the resources of their country when a reasonable return upon the investment and protection of their property is afforded, but that it is caused entirely by a false policy of conservation which for awhile exerted some influence in the Congress and succeeded in placing upon our statute books certain impracticable, restrictive, and confiscatory laws which have absolutely throttled and prohibited water-power development in the United States, notwithstanding the great beneficial results that are known to have followed the utilization of that power by other countries of the world.

The industrial progress of a country is largely measured by the power or energy which its people create by proper use of its natural resources and apply to manufacture, transportation, and all other useful purposes. The statistics of the Bureau of the Census show that the primary power equipment in the United States in commercial and municipal central stations, street and electric railway stations, and manufacturing plants, in 1912, was 30,448,246 horsepower, of which 80 per cent was steam power, and that more than one-half of this was to be found in the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, California, and Michigan.

I have no estimate of the power used in transportation by commercial railways and steamships, but the value of the fuel, chiefly coal, consumed annually by railroad locomotives, as shown by statistics compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission, is about $243,000,000. The annual consumption of coal in the United States for all purposes is shown by reliable estimates to be about 480,000,000 tons, valued at about $1,000,000,000. While the coal fields of the United States will unquestionably supply the needs of the country for a century or more they are not unlimited or inexhaustible and the coal most accessible and most cheaply mined is being consumed first while the price is steadily increasing. The only known fuels which can be economically used for the same purpose as coal are oil and gas, and, according to the belief of geologists, these will be exhausted within a few decades.

The Commissioner of Corporations, in the report from which I have read, speaking of the comparative use of steam power produced by coal and other fuels, and the possible use of water power, further said:

> Water power is unlike most natural resources in that it is not diminished by use, nor is it conserved by nonuse. Coal which is not used to-day remains to be used hereafter, but the energy of water, which is allowed to flow by unused, neither increases nor diminishes the future supply, but it is irretrievably lost. Our supply of coal—the principal source of energy—while vast, is not unlimited. The utilization of water power results in the saving of coal for future use. In other words, the real waste of water power is its nonuse, while its development effects a conservation not only of water power but of our fuel supply as well.
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> The importance of effectually utilizing the water powers of the country is therefore obvious. The power now (February, 1912) required to operate the industrial enterprises and public-service utilities of the country (excluding steam railroads and vessels) can be safely estimated at not less than 30,000,000 horsepower. Approximately 6,000,000 horsepower is now generated by water; the rest is generated from fuel, mainly coal. The quantity of coal required to produce a horsepower hour in steam varies according to the quality of the coal and the size and efficiency of the engines. It is claimed that under the most favorable condition, a pound of coal can be made to produce 1 horsepower per hour. From this minimum the estimated quantity ranges as high as even 6 or 7 pounds. Assuming, however, that on the average a horsepower hour in steam can be produced by 3 pounds of coal (and this quantity probably understates the average quantity of coal required, and the corresponding saving by the substitution of water power) the power now produced by water saves at least 33,000,000 tons of coal per year. This is based on a 12-hour day.
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> By reason of distance from markets, cost of development, and other causes, it will doubtless be many years before a quantity, equal to even the "minimum potential" water power of the country—32,083,000 horsepower—can be advantageously developed. It is certain, however, that under favorable conditions several additional millions of horsepower can now profitably be developed from water, thus effecting a still further conservation of our fuel. The millions of water power economically available but undeveloped represent absolute waste.

I do not wish to be understood as asserting that the water power of our streams, if fully developed and utilized, will cover all the field now occupied by steam power and answer all its purposes, for such is not a fact. Generally speaking, water power is only available in the mountainous sections of the country, and in a number of States the quantity is negligible, while steam power plants can be located anywhere, and the power produced in small or large quantities according to the demand and the use required. Water power can never compete with coal in sections where it is found in great quantities and cheaply mined or in generating steam for the operation of commercial railroads, steamboats, or ships upon our rivers and the high seas; nor will it come in competition with steam power in the great manufacturing centers remote from the rivers. These two great sources of mechanical energy are both necessary for industrial purposes, each in its particular

field and for the particular uses for which it is best adapted and can be most profitably used. There is no conflict between them when the interests and necessities of the entire country and the people of all sections are considered. The great growth of population and unparalleled industrial progress of our country are constantly requiring more mechanical energy and for some purposes cheaper energy in large quantities, which can only be obtained from falling waters.

I am informed that there is now an urgent demand for 4,000,000 horsepower of hydroelectric power for manufacturing purposes requiring cheaper power than that generated by steam, and that adequate capital is now waiting and ready to be invested for its production when our prohibitory laws are so amended or repealed as to allow it to be done by the improvement of private property in and on navigable rivers, as proposed by the provisions of this bill.

Mr. President, the value of water power has been known for centuries, and has been made to serve the purposes of man in many ways, but by the wonderful discoveries and inventions of the present age its value and use have been increased almost beyond measure and computation. For many years the energy produced by it was used by direct application from the water wheel to the machinery which it operated, and was restricted to the banks of the streams where the power was produced. The use of water power in this direct and restricted way is of great value and contributes immensely to the cheaper production of many manufactured products and would more than justify the development to its fullest extent. But the great, and I may say the imperative, demand and necessity of the development of the water power in our navigable rivers is for cheap power in great quantities for the generation of hydroelectricity.

The conversion of water power into hydroelectric energy is one of the greatest of the many wonderful achievements accomplished by the genius of our great hydraulic and electrical engineers. The electrical energy generated by the falling waters may be transmitted from one to two hundred miles and distributed over thousands of square miles of territory without appreciable loss, there to be applied and used for all industrial purposes. The cheapness of its production makes it available for all the varied uses and activities of this day. It illuminates and heats our towns and cities and operates manufacturing plants of every kind. It pumps water to irrigate hundreds of thousands of acres of arid but fertile lands which were before waste places and deserts, making them produce fabulous crops and to serve almost every imaginable domestic convenience and necessity requiring mechanical power. It furnishes motive power for street and interurban railways and is used to a limited extent to operate commercial railroads.

The greatest hydroelectric development in the United States has been made in the great water-power States of Montana, California, and in the mountainous States of the Middle West, chiefly, as I understand, upon streams that are unnavigable in the legal sense and where the blight of the legislation this bill is proposed to take the place of has not prohibited it. There is one company in Montana with a capital of $85,000,000 which furnishes hydroelectric power so cheaply that the cost of operating street railways, illuminating towns, and the machinery of the great copper and other mines of that State has been and is now reduced almost one-half the amount before paid for steam power, making it possible for the current to be used for all domestic purposes. There are many houses in Montana in which fires have never been built.

This company also supplies the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railway Co. with motive power for its locomotives on a line of 150 miles, effecting a reduction in the cost of operation of about 33 per cent. The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. will soon substitute electrical power supplied by it for steam power with the expectation of a like reduction in operating expenses, but this use to some extent at least is made possible by the cost of the transportation of coal from distant fields.

The greatest and most important of all uses of hydroelectricity is in heating and operating powerful electrical furnaces for manufacturing purposes of many kinds, some of which can not be carried on by any other means. I refer especially to the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen for the manufacture of agricultural fertilizers. Nitrogen, or ammonia, is the chief constituent element of agricultural fertilizers, and nitric acid is necessary in the production of smokeless powder and other high explosives. That which we now use for these purposes is obtained chiefly from Chile in the form of nitrate of soda, our annual importations being about 600,000 tons of the value or cost of $21,000,000. The Chilean deposits of nitrate of soda are the only ones known and all the countries of the world have obtained their supplies from them for many years. It is now estimated that these deposits will be exhausted in the course of some 10 years. If this is true or we should be cut off from them by a superior naval power in time of war, our agricultural interests would be seriously crippled and national defense made impossible. These facts are not controvertible and we must provide for such contingencies. We have it in our power to do so. Nitrogen can be manufactured from the air in quantities to answer all our purposes. Four-fifths of the atmosphere that surrounds us and that we breathe is composed of this colorless, odorless, nonmetallic, gaseous element. The supply is ample for all purposes and is inexhaustible. Modern science, after years of research and experiment by processes of fixation, in the use of the electrical furnace has made atmospheric nitrogen available for all the uses made of Chilean saltpeter.

There are two methods or processes for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen, one called the arc process, and the other the cyanimid process, but I will not undertake to describe them. They are both successful and each has its special advantages. The fact that nitrogen can be obtained from the air in quantities sufficient for all purposes required, and at a little less than half the cost of Chilean saltpeter, is now well established. Great nitrogen-manufacturing plants, representing investment of many millions of dollars, are in successful operation in Norway, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, Japan, Australia, and just across our border in the Province of Ontario, Canada. These countries were all quick to grasp the value of this great achievement of modern science and the advantage, if not the necessity, of providing within their own territories an abundant and economical supply of nitrogen, and have devoted much of their water-power resources to the generation of cheap hydroelectricity for that purpose. Germany alone has a hundred million dollars so invested. She has also an immense plant operated by steam produced by coal, but only military necessity will permit this, the cost being too great for industrial purposes. Practically all the vast quantities of explosives now used in the great war raging in Europe are made from air nitrogen, and much left for the manufacture of fertilizers. We are importing some that we use from Norway and more from Canada.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, I desire to say that the pioneer industry of manufacturing nitrogen from the air was built in Norway. Prof. Birkland discovered the arc process, and it was successfully applied by Mr. Isom Eyde. They began the manufacture of nitrogen there before the present war and sold much of it in Germany, in competition with the Chilean nitrate, at a lower price. The industry there has been successful, and they have manufactured nitrates for their own use and for export in considerable quantities. It is said to be equal to the Chilean nitrate for all purposes. Norway has some of the greatest water-power resources in the world, and the cheap power developed from it has made this industry possible and profitable.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, we have the water-power resources in this country for the successful and profitable fixation of air nitrogen, and they would be developed for that purpose but for the unfortunate restrictive legislation which some impracticable people, calling themselves conservationists, succeeded in having enacted some years ago. About five or six years since the Cyanimid Co. of America desired to build a plant of this kind in the State of Alabama, the initial cost to be about two and a half million dollars, provided they could obtain the necessary hydroelectric power. The Congress passed a bill authorizing the Alabama Power Co. to construct a dam in the Coosa River in that State to furnish in part the power needed. It was proposed to construct the dam with all facilities of navigation, at the expense of the company, and under plans furnished by the Secretary of War, which would have resulted in making slack-water navigation in that river for a distance of 30 miles, but because the act did not provide for arbitrary Federal control and charges upon the business and property of the company it was vetoed by President Taft. This resulted in the loss to this country of that great industry, and the improvement of the Coosa River without any aid from the Treasury of the United States. The Cyanimid Co. built its plant in the Province of Ontario, Canada, where it is now in successful operation, and the farmers of the South are buying its product, with the freight charges of a thousand miles added, whereas, had the Alabama Power Co. been permitted to improve its riparian property on the Coosa River, they could have had it delivered at their very doors.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, my understanding is that this plant of the Cyanimid Co. of America in the Province of Ontario has proved a remarkable financial success, and that within

the few years it has been in operation it has more than doubled its capacity, and while the original investment represented $4,000,000, the company now has there an investment of more than ten millions.

Mr. SHIELDS. The information of the Senator is correct.

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, there is now a plant for extracting nitrogen from the air in South Carolina. It was built recently by the Southern Power Co. and is in successful operation.

Mr. SHIELDS. I did not know of that plant. I was under the impression that there was no plant of this kind in the United States. The one in South Carolina must be of limited capacity as it has made no impression upon this industry. I am glad to hear of it.

Mr. OVERMAN. I am not fully informed of the extent of the company's operations.

Mr. SHIELDS. Mr. President, no more important subject can engage the attention of the Congress of the United States than that of devising the means to provide for the farmers of our country a larger and cheaper supply of fertilizer. While fully recognizing the great and beneficent effect the development of our water power will have upon the prosperity of our country in general, I frankly admit that my chief interest in this proposed legislation is the belief that it will contribute more to cheapen fertilizers than any other possible means.

We hear much complaint of the high cost of living, caused by the increased price of foodstuffs and clothing materials. The basic cause of this is an increased demand and a diminished supply. The production of our lands is not keeping pace with the increase of our population. We have exhausted much of the virgin fertility of our soil and it is necessary that the plant food which we have been constantly taking from our fields for more than a century be replenished. This can only be done by fertilizers containing the well-known elements necessary for plant life. The countries of Europe use more than double the quantity of fertilizer per acre used in this country and their lands produce crops about double those ours produce with the same cost of labor. The American farmer is fully aware of the necessity of fertilizing his land, but the cost of fertilizers is almost prohibitory of their use in sufficient quantities. They now use annually about 75,000,000 tons of commercial fertilizer, costing them about $175,000,000. The greater part of this is used in the States east of the Mississippi River, and, perhaps, about 70 per cent of it in the Southern States. The essential constituent elements of a complete fertilizer are nitrogen, or ammonia, phosphoric acid, and potash, the relative proportions of these elements being nitrogen 40 per cent, phosphoric acid 35 per cent, and potash 20 per cent. It is estimated that the nitrogenous materials used in fertilizers cost the farmers about $75,000,000 in 1913, and it has doubtless been more during the last two years, because the price of Chilean saltpeter has advanced from an average of $47 per ton to $74 per ton.

We obtain nitrogen by the use of legumes, such as peas, beans, and clovers, and from cotton seed, but with the cheaper air product available all these can be used for more profitable purposes.

We have an abundant supply of phosphorus. There are great beds of phosphate rock in the Southern and Western States, which will furnish us with phosphoric acid for centuries. It is now ascertained that this rock can be treated with hydroelectricity, so as to better prepare it for fertilizing purposes than the old method by sulphuric acid, without the hurtful effects of that process and at about one-half of the cost. Potash is found, I believe, almost exclusively in Bavaria, and fortunately it is the least necessary element in fertilization, for it is the most expensive used, and is now almost unobtainable.

With our water powers developed for the manufacture of atmospheric nitrogen in this country and the production of phosphoric acid, so as to supply these valuable materials at one-half the price that we are now paying for them, the farmers of the country will be enabled to use double the amount of fertilizers that they now use and with the same labor, increase their crops of wheat, corn, cotton, and other agricultural products a hundredfold.

Mr. President, the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen is also necessary to supply us with nitric acid for the manufacture of high explosives for military purposes and in such industrial pursuits as mining, quarrying, and railroad construction. The explosives consumed annually in the United States cost about $40,000,000, and the raw material used in their manufacture is nearly all imported. They are indispensable for all these purposes. We could make little progress in mining and railroad construction without them. In war we would be defenseless without an adequate supply. In the past it has been our policy to keep a store of about 65,000 tons of Chilean saltpeter on hand for military purposes; but as explosives are used in war that is a mere bagatelle. We could not manufacture sufficient powder from that quantity to last us for 30 days in a war like that now prevailing in Europe. When that war began Germany had in store 660,000 tons of nitrate of soda. This has been exhausted and she is now being supplied by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen, which she had with such wonderful foresight provided for within her own boundaries. It would be the greatest folly of this Government to longer rely upon Chile for nitric acid for explosives for national defense.

Gen. Wm. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, War Department, in his annual report for 1915 to the Secretary of War, in substance says that the United States can not with any safety rely upon Chilean saltpeter for nitric acid used in explosives, and that we should, as European countries have so wisely done, provide for adequate supplies by developing our water-power resources for the manufacture of atmospheric nitrogen within our own borders.

Mr. Secretary Garrison, in his annual report to the President for 1915, speaks of the wisdom and necessity of the manufacture of air nitrogen for both agricultural and military purposes in strong terms, and advocates proper legislation for the development of our water powers for that purpose. He says:

> Neither, in my judgment, is there an appreciation of the full extent and variety of the uses to which such power can be, and in other countries is being, put. The misconception is general that the greatest, if not the sole, use of such power must be found in the usual municipal utilities. But modern science has achieved a use for hydroelectric energy, which now causes the subject to occupy a place of prime importance in our present considerations; because, at once and so happily, it can be made to contribute to meet our necessities in widely different fields—our agricultural and general industrial development and our national defense. I refer to the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen through the use of the electric furnace, a method of supplying that essential element which has passed the experimental stage and, through the encouragement of proper laws, has become firmly established as a practical industry in other lands. Such a use requires large quantities of cheap power, which can be found only in the use of water power. Every man knows that nitrogen is an ingredient of commercial fertilizer, but it is much less universally known that nitrogen is an indispensable element of all military explosives, and is, therefore, an essential munition of war.
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> Military effectiveness requires ample quantities of the element, and the proper appreciation of national security behooves us to make provision for an adequate supply in time of war. Our only present source of supply is the natural nitrate beds of Chile, which in time of war might be shut off from us. Obviously in the matter of munitions, especially where the source is so limited and localized, we should neglect no provision so easily available as this to make the country self-sustaining. Plants producing nitrogen for industrial purposes in time of peace would be a great national asset in view of their availability to supply us with necessary nitrogen in time of war.

The electrical furnace is also necessary for the purpose of manufacturing aluminum, aniline dyes, electric steel, and many other valuable products which I can not describe at this time.

Mr. President, in the light of these incontrovertible facts, it seems almost incredible that there should be any objection to legislation which will encourage and permit the improvement of our great rivers for navigation and the concurrent development of water power for manufacturing purposes, absolutely necessary to the public welfare, and without any expense to the Federal Treasury.

Mr. President, this stagnation in water-power development and manufacture of valuable products which modern science has made possible by the use of cheap hydroelectricity is not for want of enterprise of the American people or full appreciation of their value. The fault lies at the door of Congress, and is chargeable to the restrictive and impractical laws it has enacted within the last few years affecting the development of the water-power resources of navigable rivers and of all streams upon the public domain. This bill, however, applies only to navigable rivers which, in the sense of the commerce clause of the Constitution as defined by the Supreme Court of the United States, are those navigable in fact; that is, susceptible of being used in their ordinary condition as highways of commerce over which trade and travel may be conducted in the customary modes on water; and if it becomes a law, its operation will be confined chiefly to the great streams of the States of which the Mississippi River is the eastern boundary and those that lie east of that river. It should not be confused with the Myers bill now in the Senate, which applies to streams on the public domain where the United States, as proprietor, owns the lands necessary for dam sites and has the right to rent them as Congress may deem wise and may direct.

The power of Congress over navigable rivers is confined to that given by the commerce clause of the Constitution to regulate commerce upon them, which is a police power. The Federal Government has no property interest in the waters of those rivers and no riparian rights outside of the public domain. The waters of the rivers and riparian rights in and along them, subject to the paramount power of Congress to regulate commerce

on them, are controlled by the sovereign States within which they lie and belong to those States and the riparian proprietors to whom the States have granted them. This has been repeatedly so declared by the Supreme Court of the United States in numerous cases, among which are those of Pollard et al *v.* Hagan et al, 3 Howard, 212; Kansas *v.* Colorado, 206 U. S.; Hardin *v.* Jordan, 141 U. S.; and United States *v.* Chandler-Dunbar Co., 209 U. S., in which Mr. Justice Lurton, speaking for the court, said:

> The technical title to the beds of the navigable rivers of the United States is either in the States in which the rivers are situated or in the owners of the lands bordering upon such rivers. Whether in one or the other is a question of local law.

For a hundred years the States exercised their sovereignty over the navigable rivers, authorized the construction of dams in them and bridges over them, and defined and regulated the rights of riparian proprietors in their waters without hindrance upon the part of the Federal Government, save the power of Congress to order the removal of any structures placed in them considered to be obstructions to navigation. The Congress passed the first general law controlling structures in navigable streams in 1890, and by an act passed in 1899 assumed full and complete control over these streams, forbidding the construction of dams, piers for bridges, or other structures in them without the special consent of Congress.

In 1906 Congress passed an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable rivers," which required for such construction the consent of Congress by special act and provided the conditions upon which the construction could be made, which it is not necessary to state, as that act was superseded by another, passed June 23, 1910, entitled, "An act to amend" the former one, but which, covering the whole subject, repealed it by implication. This act also required the consent of Congress for the construction of dams and prescribes the conditions upon which they may be constructed.

These conditions have proved practically prohibitive of all water-power development in navigable rivers. They, speaking in general terms, require the company making the development to construct its dams according to plans approved by the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers and authorizes those officers to impose such terms as they may deem necessary to protect the present and future interest of navigation, which may include conditions requiring the company to construct, maintain, and operate, without expense to the United States, all necessary dams, appurtenances, works, locks, sluices, or other structure or structures which Congress or those officers may at any time consider necessary in the interest of navigation.

The Secretary of War is also authorized to fix and collect for the permit granted various charges, to be paid into the Federal Treasury. The rights acquired under the act may be arbitrarily forfeited and annulled for failure of the company to comply with any provisions and requirements of the act, or conditions imposed by the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers, and the company required to remove the dam and accessory works at its own expense, without resort to the courts of the country, and the power is reserved to amend or repeal the act authorizing the construction of the dam at any time without any provision for compensation for the property thus destroyed.

The permit is limited to 50 years without any provision for renewal or protection of the property of the company or those who rely upon it for power. The company making the development may at any future time be called upon to double its investment, to provide for further navigation facilities without any increase in water-power development, and is at all times subject to arbitrary charges, exactions, and forfeitures, and may be deprived of its property without compensation, at the will of constantly changing officials. These conditions render the right to maintain the dam so uncertain and defeasible that no business man will invest his money in such an enterprise and capital can not be obtained with which to promote it. It is impossible to market the power generated, because no one will build mills or factories to be operated by power furnished by a company whose plant is subject to be arbitrarily forfeited and shut down at any time and certainly upon the expiration of the permit. These acts, strange to say, contain no provisions for the regulation of charges for power nor any preference in favor of municipalities or public utility companies.

This legislation has absolutely strangled all water-power development in navigable rivers since its enactment. There have been few authorizations and fewer dams constructed under it, the aggregate development being less than 140,000 horsepower. The great Keokuk Dam, in the upper Mississippi, was constructed under a special act granting a permit in perpetuity and that at Hales Bar, in the Tennessee, under a special act granting a permit for 99 years.

President Wilson, in his message to Congress in December, 1914, referring to our water-power resources and present laws, said:

> The key is still turned upon them (the natural resources); the door shut fast at which thousands of vigorous men, full of initiative, knock clamorously for admittance. The water power of our navigable streams outside of the national domain also, even in the Eastern States, where we have worked and planned for generations, is still not used as it might be, because we will and we won't; because the laws we have made do not intelligently balance encouragement against restraint. We withhold by regulation.

The Secretary of War, Mr. Garrison, in his annual report for 1915, asserts the failure of this legislation in these words:

> One other matter on the civil side requires special mention, and that is the question of water-power development in the navigable waters of the United States.
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> The measure which was designed to permit and encourage the development of the water power of our navigable streams failed of passage in the last Congress. Until Congress shall enact such legislation, this power, a great national resource inviting our use, runs on unused and wasted. The subject is one of prime importance to this Nation as a whole and should receive the prompt attention of the coming Congress. The evils of the existing law must be conceded; a consideration of the general dam act itself reveals them, and the lack of development under it in the face of a substantial demand makes proof of them. It is believed that, though these evils are not generally understood, their full effect and far-reaching consequences are hardly appreciated. Without specifying here, it can in a word and in all truth be said that the existing law is a makeshift which effectually prevents all development. On the other hand, it does not offer the rightful and necessary inducement for an economical and profitable development, nor would it adequately protect the interests of the public if development were possible under it. Even were it sufficient in these regards, it has been demonstrated that it would be unworkable in another. It is a general dam act in name only; while purporting to lay down general conditions to cover development in all cases, it nevertheless requires in each case the further special authorization by Congress, an inconsistency which invites a disregard of the general conditions, makes of each application an independent legislative proposition, and subjects each project to the delay and hazard of congressional action.

And in a statement before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House in January last he further said:

> Of course, prior to the assumption of full Federal control by the act of 1899 there had been considerable development of power, but those were the days before the growth and the development of the uses of hydroelectric energy, and such development as then took place consisted for the most part of small installations originally made years ago and kept in operation and enlarged to meet local requirements. They were the ordinary old-time power installations. Between 1899 and the first general dam act of 1906—that is, several years prior to the first piece of restrictive Federal legislation—there began that marked increase, which has been progressing ever since, in the uses to which hydroelectric energy may be put which resulted in a correspondingly marked increase in the development of water power for hydroelectric purposes in intrastate rivers and in the upper reaches of rivers where Federal authority and control were not exercised, including also several respectable developments made under the special authorization of Congress. Notwithstanding, however, the vastly increased uses for hydroelectric energy during the past decade, it is perfectly clear that since the act of 1906, while development under State control has given corresponding evidence of increase and stimulus, development at available sites on navigable streams under Federal jurisdiction has been repressed rather than encouraged and has not been permitted to respond to the ever-increasing demands for hydroelectric power.
>
> As just said, the first general dam act was that of 1906, which was rewritten in the second or amended general dam act of 1910. The first act was less illiberal than the second, which is the existing law. Whatever may be asserted to the contrary, the department knows, and everybody who has taken the trouble to ascertain the facts also knows, that reasonable development has not taken place under the act. Reasonable development can never take place under the act. The act prohibits it. This is no new discovery. It is conceded by all who have familiarized themselves with the operation of the act. That there have been applications made for permits to erect dams and power structures under the act and granting of the same by Congress does not constitute construction, nor is it any testimony as to the virtues of that act. The real test comes when permittees attempt to raise money under the act. An applicant merely sees an opportunity to develop power and comes to Congress for permission. It costs practically nothing to make such an application. If the financing fails the permittee loses only his time. The process is a good gamble. It is analogous to paying down money to secure an option on property. The real test of the general dam act lies in the record of what has been accomplished under it.
>
> Under the first act 25 subsequent enabling acts were passed. Under these enabling acts only six plants have been constructed, and the remainder of the permits have lapsed under the time limitations, presumably because the projectors could not finance under the terms of the act. Activity in water-power development throughout the country has increased enormously since 1910, but under the present law, passed in that year, the applications for permits to construct dams on navigable streams have been less in number than they were from 1906 to 1910. Congress, under the 1910 act, has passed only 14 enabling acts, and only two power plants have been constructed under them. The total capacity of the plants constructed under the acts of 1906 and 1910 is something less than 140,000 horsepower.

And Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, in speaking of similar laws applying to streams upon the public domain, refers to their prohibitory character in these words:

> It is generally conceded that the water-power resources upon the public domain can not be developed under existing laws because of the uncertain tenure involved by revocable permits: (*a*) because the engineer and promoter fear to embark an enterprise under such conditions; (*b*) because the capitalist will not loan money upon such security; (*c*) because the consumers can have no positive assurance that they will be supplied for a fixed and definite period.

The same persons who are said to have inspired this prohibitory legislation are now actively and officiously endeavoring to prevent the enactment of laws which will unshackle this valuable natural resource and permit its utilization by the present generation, for fear, as they say, it will fall into the hands of a trust, evidently upon the assumption that Congress has not the intelligence to properly and honestly discharge its duties in the premises. They seem to think that conservation means tying up and preventing the use of natural resources instead of opening them up for beneficent commercial and manufacturing purposes. This is a false and unsound policy, for true conservation consists in making the greatest use of these resources for the benefit of the people. The committee on water-power development of the Fifth Annual Conservation Congress in its report to that congress November, 1913, well said:

> When we consider also that the development of water power not only conserves fuel but directly serves to promote the navigability of rivers, we should be very careful how we discourage this triple conservation in order to secure other results which we may consider desirable. If we do discourage it, we may be antimonopolists or something else, but we are certainly not conservationists.

Water power and the business of manufacturing and distributing hydroelectricity are no more subject to monopolization than any other property or business, and are as fully protected by our stringent and efficient laws for the suppression of monopolies and restraints of trade.

Mr. President, I will now direct the attention of Senators to the provisions of the bill presented by the Commerce Committee. These provisions are in their nature legislative, contractual, and administrative, and all these characteristics must be kept in mind while considering them.

I will at this time only discuss the fundamental principles upon which the bill is constructed, without going into all the details by which they are to be worked out.

The United States by the first section authorizes individuals, political subdivisions of States, municipal corporations, private corporations or associations to construct, maintain, and operate dams, diversion structures, and accessory works for the improvement and development of navigation and water power in and along the navigable rivers of the United States, first having obtained a permit from the Secretary of War as subsequently provided, and subject to the conditions contained in the bill and those which the Secretary of War is required and authorized to make a part of the permit granted by him.

This provision is necessary for a workable law for the development of water power in navigable rivers. A general dam bill which requires the consent of Congress to each separate project is one in name only. It is not within the power of this or any future Congress to control the legislative policy of their successors. Congresses are constantly changing membership, and new Members will always have different views concerning the improvement of navigation and water-power development which would be written in each separate act consenting to a particular project, and this would absolutely destroy uniformity in legislation of this kind and assure discrimination and inequality in the terms of different permits.

The delays which occur in procuring the consent of Congress by special acts and the uncertainty of what the provisions of such acts will be have in the past discouraged capital and caused it to seek other investments free from such embarrassments and will continue to do so. The Congress has conferred upon the War Department jurisdiction over navigable rivers, and intrusted to the officers of that department the improvement of them with appropriations from the Public Treasury, with full discretion in the location and constructions of dams, locks, and other facilities for navigation, and there is no valid reason why these same officers should not be intrusted with this discretion when private capital is used in making improvements. Congress before enacting special acts for this purpose has generally referred them to the War Department for a report, so far as the project affected navigation, and given great weight to such reports. This provision does not carry with it any appropriation from the Federal Treasury or concession of public property, but is a delegation of part of the police power of Congress to regulate commerce by the improvement of navigable rivers. I think it is now generally conceded that this plan is preferable to special acts authorizing the construction of dams. Authority to grant permits for water-power development upon the public domain has been given the Secretary of the Interior and found to operate satisfactorily. The police power has also been conferred upon other departments of the Government over matters within their respective jurisdictions with satisfactory results.

It is further provided in this section that, where the power to be developed is to be used for public utility purposes, the permittee must be a municipal corporation, a political subdivision or agency of a State, or a public utility corporation created under the laws of a State or of the United States, and authorized to engage in the business of furnishing water, heat, or electric energy for public or private use. The rates and charges are subject to regulation by the laws of the State, and voluntary transfers of permits and the rights thereby granted, except for financing the business of the permittee, are prohibited to transferees not having the same qualifications, and in all cases the transferee, whether the transfer be made under a voluntary or involuntary sale, takes and holds the same subject to the provisions of the bill and the conditions of the permit, in all particulars as if no sale or transfer had been made.

These corporations are more easily regulated and controlled by the proper authorities, and it is believed that this provision will tend to secure to the consumer adequate service and reasonable rates, for which purposes there are also several other specific provisions in the bill to which I will call attention further on.

The conditions upon which the Secretary of War is authorized to grant the permit are found in section 2 of the bill and may be summarized as follows:

The individual or corporation applying for a permit must submit to the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers plans and specifications for the proposed dam and accessory works, and such maps as may be required for a full understanding of the project, which, when approved, becomes a part of the permit and can not be changed or altered without the consent of those officers. The project must be such as, in the judgment of the Secretary of War, is best adapted to a comprehensive plan for the improvement of the waterway in question for navigation and the full development of its water power, and for other beneficial purposes and to conserve and utilize the water resources of the region in the interest of navigation, the necessities of the Government, and the public welfare.

The Secretary of War, in so far as he deems the same necessary to promote navigation and consistent with a reasonable expense to the permittee, and necessary to preserve and improve navigation facilities, at least equivalent to those existing prior to the construction of the dam, may require the permittee to construct in whole or in part, without expense to the United States, in connection with the dam, lock or locks, booms, sluices, or other structures for navigation purposes, in accordance with plans and specifications approved by him; to furnish free of cost power for the operation of the same; and when the United States shall deem other navigation facilities necessary, to convey to the United States, free of cost, such part of its lands and right of way through its dams or other structures, and permit such control of pools as may be required for the same. That the permittee reimburse the United States for the cost of the investigation necessary for the approval of the plans and for the supervision of construction; and to pay the United States reasonable charges, to be fixed by the Secretary of War, for benefits derived from any increased flow of water artificially caused by storage reservoirs or other headwater improvements constructed by the United States, to be used in the repair and maintenance of such headwater improvements. The Secretary of War may allow the use of lands of the United States necessary for the project upon the payment of reasonable charges, based on the value of the land ascertained by the rules of law applicable to condemnation of private property for public use.

The Secretary of War, by section 3, shall have control over the pools, currents, and flow of water past the dam and the operation of the navigation facilities and the power to make such reasonable rules and regulations as he may deem necessary in the interest of navigation.

These provisions require dams to be located, constructed, and equipped with locks and other appliances by the permittees at their own expense under the direction of the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers, to be controlled by the Secretary of War, and such rules as he may make for the regulation of navigation, in all things as when the dams are constructed by the United States. The permittee is required to furnish power for the operation of the locks and appurtenances without charge and pay for all benefits, if any, received from the United States. Preferences are to be given applicants for permit equally well qualified to comply with the conditions imposed who have first acquired the right to divert the waters of the stream by construction of the proposed dam and have otherwise complied with the laws of the State wherein it is located and obtained the consent of the State to such improvement.

The Secretary of War is also authorized to give preference to municipal corporations or other political agencies or subdivisions of States and public utility companies in granting per-

mits, in so far as it is necessary to protect and advance the interests of consumers of water power and its products, consistent with the full development of the navigation and water-power resources of the stream. There should be no arbitrary preference in favor of municipalities, for a small town or city desiring to develop a part only of the potential water power of a great stream for its limited uses, could in this way block the complete development of its recources necessary to supply numerous other towns and public utilities with hydro-electricity. This matter should be largely left to the discretion of the Secretary of War. These conditions are intended to, and it is believed they will, uphold the authority of the United States and protect the interests of the general public in transportation in navigable rivers without unduly embarrassing those who have the right to develop the water power therein.

The permittee, by section 4 of the bill, is made responsible for all damages which may be inflicted in the construction, maintenance, and operation of dams and accessory works and it is provided that the United States is in no event liable for them.

The object of this provision is to exclude all contention that the United States can be held liable for such damages on the theory that permittees are its agent in so far as the dams and accessory works are constructed and operated for navigation purposes.

Permittees, when a municipal corporation and political subdivision or agent of a State, or a public utility service corporation, are authorized to exercise the power of eminent domain and condemn property necessary for the construction of dams and other purposes in the courts of the State or in the district court of the United States in the State where the property is situated, the proceedings to be according to the procedure of the State courts. This provision is only necessary in so far as property is required for the Federal purpose of improving navigation, which is the only authority Congress has for granting it, and to confer jurisdiction on the United States courts, as is usually done where the United States is directly or indirectly interested. These corporations, as arms of the States and public corporations, are by the laws of the States creating them, either by their charters or general laws, vested with the right to exercise the power of eminent domain when private property is required for a public purpose. There may have been at one time some doubt whether the generation and supplying of hydro-electricity for light, heat, and motive power to the public was a public use or purpose which would authorize the power of eminent domain to be conferred, but it is now well settled that it is by the adjudications of the courts of last resort of many of the States and of the Supreme Court of the United States. The leading cases, perhaps, are that of Power Co. *v.* Webb, 123 Tenn. 584, in which the opinion was delivered by Mr. Justice Grafton Green, one of the ablest judges of that State, and that of Mount Vernon-Woodberry Cotton Duck Co. *v.* Alabama Interstate Power Co., decided by the Supreme Court of the United States at the present term, in which Mr. Justice Holmes, with his usual clearness and aptness of expression, speaking for the court in holding that the use was public, said:

> The principal argument presented that is open here, is that the purpose of the condemnation is not a public one. The purpose of the power company's incorporation and that for which it seeks to condemn property of the plaintiff in error is to manufacture, supply, and sell to the public, power produced by water as a motive force. In the organic relations of modern society, it may sometimes be hard to draw the line that is supposed to limit the authority of the legislature to exercise or delegate the power of eminent domain. But to gather the streams from waste and to draw from them energy, labor without brains, and to save mankind from toil that it can be spared, is to supply what, next to intellect, is the very foundation of all our achievements and all our welfare.

The service, charges, and rates of permittees are, by section 7, made subject to regulation by the laws of the State within which the service is rendered and where the power sold and distributed enters into interstate commerce, and the authorities of the States directly concerned are unable to agree concerning them, jurisdiction is conferred upon the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate them, according to the procedure and practice of that commission in regulating charges and rates of railroad companies.

In the valuation of the property for rate-making purposes the cost of the construction of the lock or locks, or other aids of navigation and capital expenditures required by the United States, will be considered, but not the value of the permit granted.

The property and business of the permittee, however, are to be in all things subject to the laws and regulations of the State where it is situated and carried on. This seems ample to preserve and protect the constitutional power and jurisdiction of the States over all persons and corporations within their boundaries, and enables them to compel those constructing and operating plants for water-power development to furnish adequate service, at reasonable charges, and fully protect and advance the interests of consumers and their citizens.

And for the further protection of consumers against extortion and unreasonable charges, it is expressly provided by section 12:

> That the works constructed and maintained under authority of this act shall not be owned, leased, trusteed, possessed, controlled, or operated by any device or in any manner so that they form part of or in any way effect any combination in the form of an unlawful trust or monopoly, or form the subject of any unlawful contract or conspiracy to limit the output of electric energy or in restraint of trade with foreign nations or between two or more States or Territories, or within any one State or Territory, in the generation, sale, or distribution of electric energy.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law, as amended by the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, is ample to prevent and suppress all monopolies and restraints of trade of every kind, but on account of the fears of some people, so often expressed, that the water powers of this country may be monopolized by some unknown trust, this section, more drastic in its terms than those laws, has been written into the bill. There are many well informed upon this subject who are of the opinion that the generation and distribution of hydroelectricity is a natural monopoly, and that the real protection of consumers consists in stringent provisions for regulating the service and charges so amply provided in this bill, and which can, under the power reserved in section 13, to alter and amend the act, be hereafter enlarged as new conditions and subsequent developments may, in the wisdom and discretion of any future Congress, be deemed necessary in the public interests.

It is also provided in section 9 that the business and property, real, personal, and mixed, of permittees, including all parts of plants for the generation and distribution of power or other purposes, shall be subject to taxation by the States as other similar property in their boundaries. This provision not only recognizes the sovereignty of the States to tax the property and business of the permittees, but excludes denial of that power because the company, so far as navigation is concerned, is an agency of the United States.

Permittees are required to commence the construction of dams and accessory works within two years from the date of the permit and prosecute the work with due diligence and in good faith, and complete and put the same in commercial operation within such time as the Secretary of War may require in the permit, and upon failure so to do, the permit is forfeited and the Secretary of War, through the Attorney General, may institute such proceedings in a district court of the United States as he may be advised to enforce such forfeiture, eject the permittee, and dispose of and distribute the property, if any, as may be equitable. The object of this provision is to prevent individuals or corporations from obtaining permits merely to tie up water-power resources and prevent others from developing them and is a further effective precaution against monopolization of the water powers of the country.

The bill further provides (section 8) that any permittee who fails or refuses to comply with any of its provisions, or any of the conditions made a part of the permit, or any regulation or lawful order made by the Secretary of War, authorized by the bill, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and, on conviction, fined not exceeding $1,000, and the Attorney General may, on request of the Secretary of War, institute proper proceedings in equity in the district court of the United States where the property, in whole or in part, is situated, to compel compliance with those laws and regulations and prohibit further violation of them by mandamus injunction or other process; ample jurisdiction being conferred upon that court for the purpose. And if the unlawful conduct is continued, after final judgment in either such civil or criminal proceedings, the court may in the public interest pronounce a decree revoking the permit and wind up the business of the permittee and decree a sale of all or such part of the property of the permittee, dependent in whole or in part upon the rights granted, and distribute the proceeds to those interested and make such further orders and decrees as equity and justice may require. The United States is authorized to purchase at such sales but will not be required to pay for any value of the permit granted. The purchaser or purchasers of the property at a sale so made will take all the rights and privileges and perform the duties which belong to the permittee and assume such outstanding obligations of the permittee as the court may deem equitable in the premises. These provisions for forfeiture, for failure to comply with the conditions of the law, and the regulations made thereunder by the Secretary of War and for the enforcement of such forfeiture, are very drastic and will, unquestionably, compel obedience to the law and the regulations and fully protect the interests of the public.

The provisions fixing and limiting the time for which permittees are authorized to maintain dams constructed by them and the terms upon which their property may be taken over by the United States at the expiration of such time, or by such persons as the United States may authorize, or the renewal of the permit to the original permittee, and the conditions of such new or renewel permit, are contained in sections five and six and are among the most important in the bill.

The United States by these provisions grants to individuals and corporations the right to maintain the dams and other structures, constructed under the authority given in the first section of the bill, for the full and definite term of fifty years and thereafter until terminated by the United States upon two years' notice, unless, of course, forfeited for some of the causes heretofore stated and the authority of the permittees, as a matter of right for such maintenance is limited to the same term of fifty years from the date of the permit, the maintenance and use of the dams and structures thereafter being at the will and option of the United States.

The permittees are required, upon such expiration or termination of the permits, to transfer and convey to the United States or to such person or persons as the Secretary of War may grant a new permit, all their property, constituting their plant and dependent in whole or in part upon it for its usefulness, and necessary or serviceable in the distribution of water or the generation, transmission, or distribution of power, which will include lands, riparian rights, and all other species of property and property rights, upon payment by the United States, or the new permittee, of its fair value, together with the costs of the lock or locks and other capital expenditures required by the United States, and the assumption by their successor or successors of existing, reasonable, good faith contracts made with the approval of the authorities having jurisdiction of the same. The United States is not required to take over and pay for the plant or to furnish a purchaser for it and may renew the permit to the original permittee. The permit to the new permittee or to the original permittee will be made upon the conditions and restrictions provided for in the bill and such others as the then existing laws may authorize and require.

These provisions are contractual in their character and binding upon both the individuals and corporations constructing the dams and the United States and its officers, and are enforcible as any other property rights in all courts of competent jurisdiction. They remove the most grievous defects in the former legislation, that is, the absolute uncertainty of the term for which permittees can maintain and use the dams and other structures, and the constant liability of their right to do so to be revoked by the Secretary of War or subsequent legislation, without compensation for the property inevitably destroyed by such revocation, conceded by all to be the chief cause of the stagnation of water-power development in the United States.

It is generally agreed by capitalists who are expected to advance the money for construction, and those who will build factories to be operated with the power developed, and other consumers of power, and those best informed concerning navigation facilities, that 50 years is sufficient, but necessary, to afford reasonable protection to all these interests. The probable necessities of navigation during the time can be anticipated with reasonable certainty and provided for in the plans and specifications approved by the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers, as is now done in such improvements made by the United States, and all possible mistakes are provided for by the reserved right to construct further facilities.

The construction of plans for the generation of hydroelectricity requires enormous sums of money, often amounting to millions of dollars, which must be raised by bonds maturing in 40 or 50 years secured by mortages on the property of the permittees, and a shorter life for the permit, with uncertainty of renewal or compensation for the property upon its expiration would make financing such an enterprise impossible.

The authority of permittees to continue the maintenance of dams after the expiration of the definite term fixed until terminated by two years' notice given by the United States, either before or after such expiration, is for the preservation of the property in the interest of the general public and all concerned. Permittees are enabled to keep the plant in good repair, retain their customers, and preserve its value as a going concern, in which condition it will be turned over to the United States, or the new permittee, with an established business which can be continued with profit. Manufacturers will continue to be supplied with power for their plants and municipalities with electricity for lighting their streets and motive power for the operation of other public utilities. If there is no authority for continuing the operation of the plant it will be shut down, which would result in much injury and depreciation of the property and great inconvenience to the public served by it. It is believed that two years is ample time for the United States to provide by proper legislation for taking over the plant, or for the terms upon which a permit may be granted to a new or the old permittee. There is no effort to prescribe the uses to which the United States may devote the property, or the further conditions and restrictions authorized to be made in new or renewed permits, but all these matters are left to be provided for by future Congresses, as authorized by the Constitution and by any amendments that may be adopted, which, in the light of the experiences of half a century, may and doubtless will legislate upon them with more intelligence than can be done at this time. The jurisdiction and machinery of the courts are broad enough to enforce compliance with all these provisions and there will be no difficulty in their execution.

There is no provision in these or other sections of the bill authorizing or imposing a Federal charge or rent upon permittees for the permission to improve and use their riparian property by developing water power and there should be none. As I have stated in another part of my remarks, the United States has no property interest in the waters of navigable rivers, and as there are no public lands in the States to which this bill will in the main apply there is no constitutional authority for making such charges. An amendment providing for such charges has been offered, and as I understand others to the same effect will be offered I withhold further discussion of this question until they are considered. I will, however, call attention to the fact that the properties of permittees, real, personal, and mixed and their business, are made subject to taxation by the States and municipalities within which the dam and plant are located as all other property within such State or States. There should be no attempt to interfere with the sovereignty of the States to impose such taxes by Federal taxation. And further, if Congress should find it necessary to defray the expenses of the Federal Government to tax water-power development, it should be done in the general revenue bill and the taxes imposed on all such property, that already developed as well as that to be developed under the bill. There should be no discrimination against property yet to be developed.

The compensation to be paid permittees for their property when taken over or the permit granted to others is its fair value at the time, excluding the value of the rights acquired under the permit, except that only the cost of the locks and other capital expenditures required by the United States will be allowed, all of which may be ascertained by agreement between the Secretary of War and the permittee or by the courts. The committee considered this the just rule to apply, and it is substantially the same found in all other acts providing for compensation, the words in them being "reasonable value" or "just value," which mean the same as fair value. Certainly the United States does not desire to take the property of its citizens, nor to transfer it from one individual or corporation to another individual or corporation, for less than its fair value. This is also a question of importance to the public, as the permittees may often be municipalities or public agencies of States, and to pay them less than the fair value of the property would be allowing the United States or the new permittee to confiscate it in part. Furthermore, the contention that the permittees should not be paid the fair value of their property, which means the price which they could obtain for it in the market if they wished to sell and another wished to buy, is only another method or scheme for wringing from riparian proprietors who wish to improve their property and ask permission of the Federal Government to place structures in navigable streams for that purpose a charge or rent for such police permit. There are, however, I understand, several amendments to be offered fixing the compensation to be paid permittees at less than the fair value of the property, and I will not elaborate upon the subject until those amendments come up for discussion.

Mr. President, those who favor imposing Federal charges upon water-power development, or taking over the plants for less than their fair value, seem to entirely overlook the interest of consumers. They forget that all charges, rents, and taxes upon water-power development and all deductions from the fair value of the property when taken over will be considered by public-service commissions as operating expenses in fixing the rates to be charged consumers for the power used by them, and reflected in the price of the necessaries of life manufactured by those using the power, for in no other way can investors obtain a fair return upon their capital invested. Charges and deductions of this kind will also prevent the production of cheap power, the very object of water-power development.

There has been some apprehension expressed that the United States or the several States could not acquire the water power

developed under the provisions of this bill for public uses before the expiration of the authority and permit herein granted. Such fears are groundless. The United States could at any time, in the exercise of the power of eminent domain, condemn them for Federal uses and the States may do so for any public use upon payment therefor of, in the language of the Federal and State constitutions, "just compensation." The power of eminent domain vested in the Federal Government and inherent in all the State governments applies to all property of every character and species, and the legislative bodies of these sovereignties can not by any act of theirs exclude from it any property whenever there is a public necessity for its use.

The general principles of this bill were substantially approved by Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, then Secretary of War, in an able address before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House, January 26 last, when that committee had a similar bill under consideration, which I commend to all interested in this character of legislation.

The Secretary of War is authorized by section 10 of the bill to lease to any applicant the right to utilize the surplus water power over that required by the United States produced by any navigation dam constructed or to be constructed and owned by the United States, on terms deemed to be for the best interest of the United States, with preferences to municipal corporations or public-service agents of States, the rents received to be applied to the maintenance of such dams and further improvement of the waterways in which they may be situated. These leases and the permittees are to be governed by the provisions of sections 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 13 of the bill so far as applicable, all of which have been explained and will not be repeated. This provision is similar to that in the act for the improvement of the St. Marys River in Michigan, which was held constitutional and valid in the case of the United States *v.* Chandler-Dunbar Co., 229 U. S. It does not authorize the United States to engage in water-power development for commercial purposes, but simply to dispose of surplus water power created and incidental to dams constructed for navigation purposes and owned by it, and this was held in the case referred to to be unobjectionable.

The rights of permittees under present laws are fully protected by section 11 of the bill, and this act does not apply to them except in certain administrative matters unless they elect to apply for a permit under the same. Permits to build dams for municipal and irrigation purposes and upon the public lands are also exempted by this section from the provisions of the bill.

The right to alter, amend, or repeal the act is reserved in section 13, but where the permittees have exercised rights under it the same are to be deemed property rights of which they shall not be deprived except as otherwise provided in other sections of the bill.

Mr. President, I have been much interested in this bill as a measure applying to all navigable-river States, but my interest has been greater on account of the very great benefits that my own State will receive if it becomes a law. In the navigable rivers in Tennessee there is now going to waste potential water power aggregating over a million horsepower, which can not be developed under existing laws.

There is at the Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee River, just over our State line in Alabama, a possible water-power development of 600,000 horsepower which can, and I understand will, be made in the event of the passage of the necessary legislation. The dams proposed to be built there will make that great river navigable from its mouth to Chattanooga, and the hydroelectricity, generated by a large power of that kind, can be transmitted with slight loss to all points in two-thirds of Tennessee, and therefore our people are as much interested in that project as are those of Alabama. Tennessee has the richest phosphate fields in the world within reach of the power that would be developed at this point, and electrical furnaces to prepare it for fertilizers will double their value. Indeed, the development of our water-power resources and the increase of the value of our phosphate fields will add many millions of dollars to the wealth of our great State, and its people are, of course, deeply interested in these matters.

But this proposed legislation is national in the benefits to be accomplished and affects the interests of the people of all the States.

Mr. President, I have gone into the provisions of this bill with more detail than I had expected and will not recapitulate them. With the statement I have made of the necessities for legislation of this kind and the explanation I have at perhaps unpardonable length made of the provisions of the bill, I now submit it to the Senate.

## Widows' Pensions.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, the bill, H. R. 11707, providing for the increase of widows' pensions to $20 per month when they shall have arrived at the age of 70 years, and to pension those who married prior to 1905 and those who were married after drawing pension and became widows again, has my indorsement.

The bill reads as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow who was the lawful wife of any officer or enlisted man in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the period of his service in the Civil War shall be $20 per month, and the rate of pension for a widow who has reached or shall hereafter reach the age of 70 years shall be $20 per month; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the existing allowance of $2 per month for each child under the age of 16 years and for each helpless child; and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed: *Provided, however*, That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private.

SEC. 2. That any widow whose name was placed or shall hereafter be placed on the pension roll under any existing law, and whose name has been or shall hereafter be dropped from said pension roll by reason of her marriage to another person who has since died or shall hereafter die, or from whom she has been heretofore or shall be hereafter divorced upon her own application and without fault on her part, shall be entitled to have her name again placed on the pension roll at the rate allowed by the law or laws under which she was formerly pensioned, unless she be entitled to a greater rate of pension under the provisions of section 1 of this act, such pension to commence from the date of filing her application in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of this act: *Provided, however*, That where the pension of said widow on her second or subsequent marriage has accrued to a helpless or idiotic child, or a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal under this act unless said helpless or idiotic child, or child or children under 16 years of age, be then a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to said widow payment of pension to said child or children shall cease: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall be extended to those widows otherwise entitled whose husbands died of wounds, injuries, or disease incurred during the period of their military or naval service, but who were deprived of pension under the act of March 3, 1865, because of their failure to draw any pension by reason of their remarriage.

SEC. 3. That any widow, as described in section 2 of the act approved April 19, 1908, who married the soldier or sailor prior to June 27, 1905, shall have title to pension under the provisions of said section of said act, to commence from the date of filing her application in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of this act: *And provided further*, That the benefits of this act shall include those widows whose husbands, if living, would have a pensionable status under the joint resolutions of February 15, 1895, July 1, 1902, and June 28, 1906.

Since I have been in Congress it has been my pleasure, and I considered it my duty as a representative of the people, to vote for bills which help to take care of the soldiers and those dependent upon them. It seems to me that no nation can afford to neglect the soldiers who volunteer to fight in defense of the country and not properly take care of them or those dependent upon them when the help is needed. The assistance given by the Government should not be considered as a gift in the way of charity, but a duty that we owe to those who have made the sacrifice and endured the hardships of war. We talk to-day much about preparedness, of putting our country into better condition for its defense, and vote hundreds of millions of dollars for this purpose, which we all believe necessary, and yet a Government so rich and bountiful as ours can not do better in the way of preparedness than to provide for the soldier, widow, and orphan who are left helpless as a result of past wars, or may become so in the future, if unfortunately war should come.

The law now in effect has been that those who married subsequent to June 27, 1890, can not receive a pension unless they can show that the soldier died from disease contracted in the Army. Most of these men are old and have required care and attention, and the wives who have looked after them for so many years are deprived of a pension because they are unable to show death directly due to Army service.

It seems to me a wise provision that the law should now be changed and these widows should be allowed a pension who have married since that time. Twelve dollars per month for a woman at 70 years of age affords, indeed, a very scanty living, and if sickness or other misfortune should come she is unable to take care of herself, but must rely upon charity for

assistance. I know of my own personal knowledge of a number of widows of soldiers who are old and poor, without any means of support, and who, married since June 27, 1890, are now compelled to earn their living by hard labor. It seems to me that such conditions among the widows who married honorably discharged soldiers who fought in the defense of their country should not be permitted to continue. The increase of the pension to $20 per month will give some further relief to these widows, who are old; and yet, when I think that $20 per month amounts to but $240 a year, for living in times like these, does not afford anything except the actual requirements to keep soul and body together. Ours is a rich country, and we can well afford at this time to pay a reasonable amount to the wives of the soldiers and those dependent upon them. Such action on the part of the Government will be an inspiration to the young men of our country who volunteer for enlistment—to know that the Government will provide for them in case of old age, disease, or injury, and to those who are dependent upon them. With war now imminent in Mexico and the President calling upon the young men of the country to volunteer for service in behalf of the Government, we could not find a better time to pass this bill than now.

Abraham Lincoln, in his second inaugural address, stated the duty of our Government in its treatment of the soldiers and those dependent upon them when he said:

> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

President Lincoln did not propose to let us forget the valuable services these men had rendered to our country, and his thought was when the war had closed it became our solemn duty to take care of them.

Women are just as patriotic as men. Though they do not go to war, yet they are called upon to give up their fathers, husbands, and sons to fight the battles of the country. When they say goodbye to the one dear to them who enlists, they do not know that they will ever see him again. They remain at home to take care of the family and keep the home. The small amount paid our soldiers in time of war is not sufficient to support a family, so they must depend on others if unable to take care of themselves. Our Government has been liberal in its care of soldiers and those depending on them, and I hope it always will be. I shall continue to support such legislation which will assist them. It is to be regretted that any Member of this House should try to make political capital out of any bill of this kind. It should be the patriotic duty of all to see that these widows are properly cared for. There may have been Members of both parties who voted against similar bills in the past. I am not here to criticize them for doing so. Each Member must vote as he believes best. I feel that the people I have the honor to represent indorse a liberal policy toward the soldiers and those dependent upon them. Let us not forget those who have endured the trials and hardships resulting from service in defense of their country's flag or those who are left dependent.

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## Compensation to Certain Families of the Conscripted Forces of the United States.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 16734) to pay to certain families of the men of the drafted forces of the United States a sum of money for their maintenance during the term of service of such drafted men in the service of the United States.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that if we are to snatch a hundred thousand or more of our young men away from their gainful employments and send them out on an errand not of their choosing there is but one thing to do, and that is the very thing we are proposing to do in this liberal measure. We should step in and take care of those who are dependent upon them and who must cruelly suffer when their natural support is withdrawn, as it has been withdrawn by the drafting of the militia into the service of the United States.

This is all a matter of course. We can not leave the wives and children of these men to the unhappy chances of charity. It is as much our duty to look after their welfare as it is to look after the welfare of the men in the field. If we take the latter and send them afar from their homes, leaving the latter unprotected against the wolf of hunger, we are bound in justice and in mercy to step in and take the place, as far as we may, of the fathers and sons who are no longer permitted to discharge the duties of the breadwinner.

But it seems unnecessary for me to speak at any length regarding this obvious obligation. The thought which presses upon me is the apparent folly of it all. Why have these scores of thousands of young men been taken away from their usual pursuits and sent hurrying to the Mexican border? Was it because an invasion was threatened? No. The people of Mexico as such have had no designs upon us. They have been friendly. The last desire in their hearts would be for a breach with this powerful Nation. It is true that a few Mexicans have been making raids into the territory of the United States. These were irresponsible bands. They no more represented the Mexican people than the Jesse James gang, which once made a raid into Mexico, represented the people of the United States. As a matter of fact, these bands were made up of enemies of the Government of Mexico. They were marauders who are believed to have been bent for their own sinister reasons on embroiling the Mexican Government in a war with this country. And it is flatly charged by that Government that the marauding bands were financed and supplied in large measure from this side the border by selfish American interests, which likewise have sought to bring on armed intervention in Mexico.

The policing of our border might have been carried out by the Regular Army if its forces had been properly disposed; but for reasons not quite clear these forces have been very widely scattered. They have been dispersed from Alaska to the Philippines and from Hawaii to the Canal Zone, where they were not needed, instead of being mobilized at the points along the southern border where they were needed. Perhaps there may be an explanation for this curious circumstance, but it is yet to be given. It is clear that if the 120,000 men making up the Regular Army had been posted along the border and had been more on the alert than the garrison at Columbus seems to have been the night of the Villa raid in March, there would have been little trouble in keeping bandit bands from crossing into American territory, and, of course, there would then have been no occasion for conscripting the militia into the service of the United States.

It is plain that if the garrison at Columbus had been really on guard the bloody affair which actually happened could not have occurred. There was ample warning of the approach of the Villista horde. The Mexican authorities themselves had apprised the Americans of the threatened raid. Yet at Columbus there were no outposts, no sentries, no preparations at all for the thing which happened. Apparently the soldiers were soundly asleep and the officers were absent from their quarters. Yet it was the Columbus raid which culminated in the punitive expedition, which seems to have been undertaken without a full understanding with the Mexican Government.

However, this expedition might have occasioned little, if any, trouble if it had not seemed to the Mexicans to lose its original character and to forget its original purpose. The Mexicans complain that it took on the aspects of an army of occupation. It very soon dispersed the bandits it set forth to punish. But it made no sign of withdrawal. On the contrary, it proceeded farther and farther below the border, occupying towns as it went. It was inevitable that its operations should bring it sooner or later into conflict with the Mexican forces. It would not be in human nature for an expedition of this character to go unchallenged by the people whose soil was thus invaded. And the Carrizal incident came as a matter of course. It was bound to come. It could have been avoided only by the avoidance of a course that led infallibly in that direction.

Let us for a moment put ourselves in Mexico's place. Let us suppose that a horde of American bandits had crossed into Mexican territory, had shot up a Mexican town, had killed a lot of Mexican soldiers, had run off a lot of Mexican horses, and had then returned into Texas or New Mexico or Arizona. And then suppose a Mexican punitive expedition had taken a cold trail in pursuit of the bandits without gaining the full permission of the Government of the United States. Suppose this punitive expedition had carried with it field artillery and all the accessories of an army of occupation. Suppose that after it had caught up with the bandits and had killed or dispersed them it had kept on, penetrating farther and farther into American territory and establishing military bases as it proceeded. Can you conceive that this procedure would have been welcomed by the American people? Can you imagine it going unresented and unchallenged? Can you believe that all America would

not have been up in arms and bent on repelling the invasion? It is to be doubted whether such an expedition, even though fully countenanced by the Government of the United States, would have been allowed to get very far without encountering a popular uprising that would have swept it back upon its own soil.

Yet we have seemed to marvel that Mexicans have felt disturbed by the presence of 15,000 armed Americans upon their soil. We have been disposed to feel a sense of outrage because they have dared to reveal their resentment. Our national spirit has blossomed forth into warlike demands because Carranza has suggested that, their mission fulfilled, our troops should be recalled. And because Carranza has ventured such a suggestion and has insisted that our forces should turn back, we have concentrated upon the Mexican border a great army that can crush him if that step should be considered the logical one to take.

Fortunately, however, the President has indicated that the conquest of Mexico has no place in his plans. "The easiest thing is to strike," he said in his New York speech. "The brutal thing is the impulsive thing. No man has to think before he takes aggressive action; but before a man really conserves the honor by realizing the ideals of the Nation he has to think exactly what he will do and how he will do it." And then he adds: "Do you think the glory of America would be enhanced by a war of conquest in Mexico? Do you think that any act of violence by a powerful Nation like this against a weak and distracted neighbor would reflect distinction upon the annals of the United States?" Further along in the same lofty deliverance we find him saying: "I have constantly to remind myself that I am not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments; that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States."

Those who have wished to enhance the value of their Mexican investments have been insistent on intervention. In a very large measure they have been responsible for the circumstances which have attended the situation on the border and below. But the President now reminds them and reminds himself that he is not their servant, but rather the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States; and the rank and file do not want war. They have a noble passion for peace. They hate the very thought of conquest. They love liberty and they know they can not retain it for themselves if they deny it to others. They are heart and soul with President Wilson when he declares in favor of reason and justice rather than of force in dealing with Mexico. They will applaud him for the high stand he has taken against intervention. And they will rejoice when the last of our armed men has come out of Mexico and is again on our own soil.

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

## SPEECH

## HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, May 29, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15947) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I never did love to talk much in the House, but I regret exceedingly that my time is so limited now that I can not on this occasion have the opportunity to present the views of those, including myself, who have not been dominated by the preparedness hysteria, which seems to have seized the country and the House.

While I believe the present bill carries many millions more of appropriations than the needs of the Government or the country really demand, I shall vote for it.

I was and am opposed to the original program which was presented by the Secretary of the Navy and the administration to Congress. That program was made, perhaps, upon the advice of naval officers who did not have men who knew something about the Navy of this country and the navies of the world to cross-examine them in the presence of the President and the Secretary of the Navy. This bill has been framed and prepared after five months of hearings by the Naval Committee, of naval experts and officers, under cross-examination of men who knew as well as they did something about the Navy in this country and the navies of the world and the requirements of this country with respect to the Navy.

This bill modifies the original program submitted to Congress to such an extent that it is so infinitely better that every Democrat here who opposed the enormous increase of the original program is justified in supporting it. It is so immeasurably better than the alternative presented by the Republicans of the committee and of the House that it is the duty of every Democrat here to vote against the proposition of the minority and, in order to defeat it, support the pending measure. The pending bill strikes from the original program the dreadnaughts, substituting therefor battle cruisers, and also eliminates the five-year feature—the most objectionable feature of the program first submitted. It contains the Hensley international peace and disarmament proposition, which adds largely to its merits. It refuses to tie up the Government in a five-year authorization and appropriation which at one radical step would impose upon the people a burden of practically $1,500,000,000, but leaves such legislation each year to the judgment and wisdom of Congress. The Naval Affairs Committee showed both wisdom and courage in refusing to recommend dreadnaughts. The evidence of the naval experts and officers in their daily testimony for the last several months before the naval committee was overwhelming that the Navy's needs in capital ships were fast battle cruisers and not dreadnaughts. It was the consensus of opinion of such experts and officers that if we were to have by the bill two, or four, or five, or six capital ships they should all be fast battle cruisers and not dreadnaughts. The Navy has not a single battle cruiser, while it has, built, building, and authorized, 19 dreadnaughts.

I must say candidly to the House that if the Senate adds to this bill dreadnaughts or other capital ships, or puts into it the five-year feature, I can not support it.

All of the advocates of "preparedness," in and outside of the Capitol, except the wild, rantankerous jingoes, only claim that we should have a Navy second to that of Great Britain. Even the Navy League—a so-called "patriotic society" organized by the Steel Trust—the Bethlehem, Midvale, and Carnegie steel and armor-plate companies, and other munition makers, and its sister "patriotic society," the National Security League, demand only, in the language of this resolution, "that the American Navy should at once be restored to the position of second naval power."

At the last session's hearings Admiral Fletcher, commander of the Atlantic Fleet, the highest naval officer in the Navy, declared that we did not need a Navy as large as that of Great Britain, and that naval officers did not advocate the building of such a Navy. Admiral Vreeland in 1913 testified that this country did not require a Navy as large as Great Britain, and he gave good reasons, which I have not the time to go into. Secretary Daniels in his testimony before the Navy Committee last year said that nobody in this country expected or wanted a Navy as large as that of Great Britain, because it was not necessary. The minority report of the Republican members of the committee on the pending bill demands only that our Navy be restored to second place.

So, then, we have it that the demand of the extreme "preparedness" advocates in and out of the House—even the war traffickers and their "patriotic societies"—is that we should have only a Navy second to that of Great Britain; that is, superior to that of Germany, as she has a larger navy than any foreign power except Great Britain.

Now, gentlemen, is it not strange that in all this debate not a man has referred to the fact that at the hearings last session the overwhelming, the conclusive, the undisputed proof by the naval officers and experts and the Secretary of the Navy was that then our Navy was stronger and superior to the navy of Germany or France or Italy or Japan, and that our Navy was superior to any navy on earth except that of Great Britain? When the Secretary of the Navy was testifying, when Admiral Fletcher, the head of the Atlantic Fleet, and Capt. Winterhalter and Admiral Badger were testifying that our Navy was superior to that of Germany or any other nation except England, this hysteria of "preparedness" had not seized with its dominating grip the Navy Department and the House.

Not only did Secretary Daniels, Admiral Fletcher, commander of the Atlantic Fleet, a man who if war did come with any sea power would have to do the fighting, Capt. Winterhalter, and Admiral Badger declare that we had a Navy superior to any navy on earth except Great Britain, but the distinguished leader of the Republicans in this House admitted on this floor that we at that time had a Navy superior to any navy of the world except Great Britain, and he voted with

Judge Witherspoon and Mr. HENSLEY and many other Democrats and Republicans to cut down the program of last year from two dreadnaughts to one. Not only that, but the distinguished gentleman of Michigan, Mr. KELLEY, a leading member of the Naval Committee, who made a speech Saturday for the naval program presented by his party, a program five times as large as that of last session and more than six times as large as any program ever enacted into law by his party, declared on the floor of the House last session that Admiral Fletcher testified that we had a Navy superior to that of any nation in the world except Great Britain, and he agreed with him.

What has caused our Navy, since this testimony and evidence of its superiority, to fall behind that of Germany? Since this testimony we last session authorized the biggest building program in the history of the country. Germany since the war began has lost 87 warships, with a tonnage of 300,000, more than she has ever built in any five years of her history, more than this country could build in five years. And yet with a building program by us larger than ever before in the history of the Government, and with Germany losing 300,000 tonnage by this war, more than she could replace in five years, we have the proposition by the minority here to increase that large program of last year from $55,000,000 to $272,000,000 in order to begin to make us equal to Germany.

In face of the fact that the overwhelming, undisputed proof last session was that our Navy was the second in rank among the naval powers, superior to that of Germany and all others except that of Great Britain—exactly what our "preparedness" advocates claim they want to make it now—and that since then we authorized the biggest constructive program in our history, and the navies of Germany and other countries have been weakened by the loss of ships during the war, it seems a reckless folly for us to be supporting the big increase of appropriation carried in this bill and almost criminal to support the fabulous increase proposed by the minority on the ground or pretext that our Navy should be restored to "second place."

I do not know that, being a Democrat, I ought to repeat it, but I reckon the truth ought to be known. One of the biggest officers in the Navy Department, and I believe he is as great an official as the Navy Department has, testified before the Naval Committee that the program which they submitted for this Congress to approve by enactment was prepared largely on account of the "preparedness" sentiment that had grown up in the country, and not so much in view of the real needs and requirements of this Government or the country. I have had Democrats to whisper to me, "It's good politics for our party to advocate this 'preparedness'—big navy and big armies." I have said to them, "Gentlemen, all of us, from the President down, believe that this is a nonpartisan question, and it ought to be, and it ought to be for one's individual conscience and judgment from the facts and evidence as he sees them. If we try to make politics out of it to catch these war traffickers, jingoes, munition plants, and their 'patriotic societies,' the Republicans are just smart enough to outbid us every time." [Applause and laughter.] And they have outbid us to the tune of over $100,000,000. I want to throw out this suggestion to the Democrats here and elsewhere that it is a vain hope and undertaking for the Democratic Party to attempt by legislation to get the vote and influence of the big interests in this country, because the Republicans will outbid us and beat us to it every time, although we might have a few months' start of them. [Laughter.]

The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, at the last session said that the program which the administration then presented to Congress if annually pursued was all that the needs of the country and the Government required, and he was dead right about it, for that was all that we did need or require, so far as capital ships were concerned.

Admiral Fletcher testified then that he could not think of a better way to supply the needs and requirements of the Navy and the country than to adopt such a program as the Secretary of the Navy proposed. Mr. Chairman, I want to let the taxpayers of this country know——

Mr. FARR. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? Was that the five-year program?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I do not yield.

Mr. FARR. I would like to ask the gentleman if that was the five-year program?

Mr. KITCHIN. I was referring to the program submitted last session.

Mr. FARR. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. The five-year program was the one submitted at this session.

Mr. FARR. That would reduce us to fourth in five years.

Mr. KITCHIN. There is not a naval expert in the world who can come and give any facts sustaining the gentleman's statement, and he is the only man in the world with audacity enough to make such a statement.

Mr. FARR. Every naval expert before the committee says so; every one of them.

Mr. KITCHIN. Not one so testified. If we can get rid of this hysteria——

Mr. FARR. Is the President affected with hysteria?

Mr. KITCHIN. And get away from the influence of the armor-plate companies and the shell companies in our States, we can see the real facts. How can they say that it has dropped to third or fourth place when last year these naval experts and the Secretary of the Navy and Mr. MANN and Mr. KELLEY all declared that then we had a Navy superior to any in the world except Great Britain, and since the war began Germany, the next largest of foreign navies, has lost 300,000 tons, and since then we authorized the largest building program in the history of the country? In the two or three minutes remaining I desire to remind the taxpayers of the country——

Mr. QUIN. Yes; talk to them a little bit.

Mr. KITCHIN. That if this preparedness hysteria does not subside, and Congress pursues for three years the military program already passed and the naval program proposed in this bill, modest as it is as compared with the program first submitted to Congress, or with the proposition of the Republicans, from their pockets will be wrung more taxes annually for the Army and Navy alone than were collected from all sources of taxation last year. From the tariff, income tax, internal revenue—tobacco, whisky, and so forth—and the emergency revenue act we collected last year $625,456,000. If we do not return to sanity, in three years we will be expending on our Navy and Army alone $650,000,000—over $150,000,000 more than any nation on earth ever expended on its navy and army in times of peace. And the taxpayers must pay every dollar of these enormous appropriations.

When they begin to pay they are going to ask and find out what "preparedness" means.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

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## The Oregon Primary Election.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CLIFTON N. McARTHUR,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 30, 1916.*

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, when my distinguished and esteemed friend the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN] was enlivening the House with a discussion of current politics, he stated that Mr. Charles E. Hughes was the nominee of the political bosses, whereupon I inquired as to whether or not the gentleman from Alabama had heard of the results of the Oregon primary election on May 19, wherein I declared Mr. Hughes to have received four times as many votes as Mr. Wilson. I wish at this time to correct my statement as to the relative size of the vote received by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson, as the former did not receive "four times as many" as the latter. In the excitement caused by the eloquence of my friend from Alabama I forgot the exact figures, but I have since looked them up, and wish to insert them in the RECORD.

The vote, as furnished me by the secretary of state of Oregon, was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Theodore E. Burton (Republican) | 10,593 |
| Albert B. Cummins (Republican) | 27,558 |
| Charles E. Hughes (Republican) | 56,764 |
| Total Republican vote | 94,915 |
| Woodrow Wilson (Democrat) | 27,898 |
| Total Democratic vote | 27,898 |
| Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive) (name written in) | 258 |
| Total Progressive vote | 258 |

Mr. Hughes's name was put on the ballot by petition of his Oregon supporters, but he requested the secretary of state to remove it, as he was not a candidate. The secretary of state attempted to comply with the request, but one of the Hughes petitioners instituted mandamus proceedings against that official and the supreme court of the State decided that the people had the right to make Mr. Hughes their candidate by placing his

name on the ballot, and that their rights in the matter were superior to his own wishes. No organized campaign was made for Mr. Hughes, but there was a popular uprising for him and he swept the State, carrying every one of the 35 counties. He received a clear majority of 18,613 votes over the combined vote of Mr. Cummins and Mr. Burton—both high-grade men, fully capable of filling the great office of President of the United States. He received more than twice as many primary votes as did Mr. Wilson, who carried Oregon in the general election four years ago.

I mention these figures for the purpose of showing the great undercurrent for Mr. Hughes among the people of my State. I believe this feeling to be general throughout the country and therefore can not agree with the gentleman from Alabama when he states that Mr. Hughes is the nominee of the political bosses.

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**Address of President Wilson Before the Press Club in New York City June 30, 1916.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I beg to insert the speech made by President Wilson in New York before the Press Club in that city.

President Wilson said:

"I realize that I have done a very impudent thing; I have come to address this thoughtful company of men without any preparation whatever. If I could have written as witty a speech as Mr. Pulitzer, I would have written it. If I could have written as clear an enunciation of the fundamental ideas of American patriotism as the mayor, I should have attempted it. If I could have been as appealing a person and of as feeling a heart as Mr. Cobb, I would have felt safe.

"If I could have been as generous and interesting and genuine as Mr. Colby, I should have felt that I could let myself go without any preparation. But, gentlemen, as a matter of fact, I have been absorbed by the responsibilities which have been so frequently referred to here to-night, and that preoccupation has made it impossible for me to forecast even what you would like to hear me talk about.

EFFECT "ODDLY CONTRADICTORY."

"There is something very oddly contradictory about the effect you men have on me. You are sometimes, particularly in your photographic enterprises, very brutal to me, and you sometimes invade my privacy, even to the extent of formulating my judgments before they are formed, and yet I am tempted when I stand face to face with you to take off all guard and merely expose myself to you as the fallible human being that I am.

"Mr. Colby said something that was among the few things I had forecast to say myself. He said that there are some things which it is really useless to debate, because they go as a matter of course.

DUTY TO PREPARE NATION.

"Of course it is our duty to prepare this Nation to take care of its honor and of its institutions. Why debate any part of that, except the detail, except the plan itself, which is always debatable?

"Of course it is the duty of the Government, which it will never overlook, to defend the territory and people of this country. It goes without saying that it is the duty of the administration to have constantly in mind with the utmost sensitiveness every point of national honor.

EASIEST THING IS TO STRIKE.

"But, gentlemen, after you have said and accepted these obvious things your program of action is still to be formed. When will you act and how will you act?

"The easiest thing is to strike. The brutal thing is the impulsive thing. No man has to think before he takes aggressive action; but before a man really conserves the honor by realizing the ideals of the Nation he has to think exactly what he will do and how he will do it.

"Do you think the glory of America would be enhanced by a war of conquest in Mexico? Do you think that any act of violence by a powerful nation like this against a weak and destructive neighbor would reflect distinction upon the annals of the United States?

FULLY REALIZES HIS POSITION.

"Do you think that it is our duty to carry self-defense to a point of dictation into the affairs of another people? The ideals of America are written plain upon every page of American history.

"And I want you to know how fully I realize whose servant I am. I do not own the Government of the United States, even for the time being. I have no right in the use of it to express my own passions.

"I have no right to express my own ambitions for the development of America if those ambitions are not coincident with the ambitions of the Nation itself.

TELLS OF PEACE LETTERS.

"And I have constantly to remind myself that I am not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments, that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States.

"I get a great many letters, my fellow citizens, from important and influential men in this country, but I get a great many other letters. I get letters from unknown men, from humble women, from people whose names have never been heard and never will be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all of these letters: 'Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody.'

QUOTES RAILROAD ENGINEER.

"I got off a train yesterday and as I was bidding good-by to the engineer he said, in an undertone, 'Mr. President, keep out of Mexico.' And if one man has said that to me a thousand have said it to me as I have moved about the country.

"If I have opportunity to engage them further in conversation, they say, 'Of course, we know that you can not govern the circumstances of the case altogether, and it may be necessary; but for God's sake do not do it unless it is necessary.'

"I am for the time being the spokesman of such people, gentlemen. I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces.

LITTLE ACCOMPLISHED BY FORCE.

"We have the evidence of a very competent witness, namely, the first Napoleon, who said that as he looked back in the last days of his life upon so much as he knew of human history he had to record the judgment that force had never accomplished anything that was permanent.

"Force will not accomplish anything that is permanent, I venture to say, in the great struggle which is going on on the other side of the sea. The permanent things will be accomplished afterwards, when the opinion of mankind is brought to bear upon the issues, and the only thing that will hold the world steady is this same silent, insistent, all-powerful opinion of mankind.

RECALLS AMERICAN HISTORY.

"Force can sometimes hold things steady until opinion has time to form, but no force that was ever exerted, except in response to that opinion, was ever a conquering and predominant force.

"I think the sentence in American history that I myself am proudest of is that in the introductory sentences of the Declaration of Independence, where the writers say that a due respect for the opinion of mankind demands that they state the reasons for what they are about to do.

"I venture to say that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind demanded that those who started the present European war should have stated their reasons; but they did not pay any heed to the opinion of mankind, and the reckoning will come when the settlement comes.

INDIFFERENT TO VERDICT.

"So, gentlemen, I am willing, no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally, it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but in my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great nation.

"There are some gentlemen who are under the delusion that the power of a nation comes from the top. It does not. It comes from the bottom.

"Power and virtue of the tree does not come from the blossoms and fruit down into the roots, but it comes from the roots in the obscure passage of the earth where the power is derived, which displays itself in the blossoms and the fruit; and I know that

among the silent, speechless masses of the American people is slowly coming up the sap of moral purpose and love of justice and reverence for humanity which constitutes the only virtue and distinction of the American people.

RULERS OF THE FUTURE.

"Look for your rulers of the future! Can you pick out the families that are to produce them? Can you pick out the localities that are going to produce them?

"You have heard what has been said about Abraham Lincoln. It is singular how touching every reference to Abraham Lincoln is. It always makes you feel that you wish you had been there to help him in some fashion to fight the battles that he was fighting, sometimes almost alone.

"Could you have predicted, if you had seen Abraham Lincoln's birth and boyhood, where that great ruling figure of the world was going to spring from?

"I have presided over a university, but I never deceived myself by supposing that by university processes you were producing the ruling forces of the world.

HIS VIEW OF THE UNIVERSITY.

"I knew that all a university could do if it knew its business was to interpret the moral forces of the world and let the young man, who sat under its influence, know the very truth of truths about where it came from, and that no man could produce it unless he felt in his blood every corpuscle spring into delightful life with the mention of ideals which have lifted men slowly, oh, so slowly, up the arduous grades, which have resisted the progress since the world began.

"So, gentlemen, I have not come here to-night to do anything but to remind that you do not constitute the United States; that I do not constitute the United States; that it is something bigger and greater and finer than any of us; that it was born in an ideal, and only by pursuing an ideal in the face of every adverse circumstance will it continue to deserve the beloved name which we love and for which we are ready to die, the name 'America.'"

## Rural Post Roads.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,
OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, after knocking at the door of Congress for over 50 years, Congress is about to recognize the justice of the demands of the people in asking Federal aid for wagon roads.

The Government at an early date embarked in road building. George Washington, in one of his messages to Congress, advocated and recommended Federal aid for roads.

In 1806 Thomas Jefferson also advocated Federal aid for roads, and through the efforts of Jefferson and others the great Cumberland Road was started, and $7,000,000 was appropriated. The people never received better value for an appropriation than they did for this.

The Cumberland Road that began at Cumberland, Md., and whose destination was the Ohio River, started the great western march of civilization of the people of this country toward the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Since the building by the Government of the Cumberland Road the National Government has embarked on almost every kind of internal improvement—railroad grants, river and harbor improvements, and a hundred other kinds of improvements—and neglected road improvement.

THE NATION SHOULD AID.

The principal argument made against this bill is that the State and local governments should build their own roads and that the National Government was not interested.

I say in reply to this that every wagon road serves a local use, a State use, and a national use.

Over every wagon road is carried the crops from the farm to the nearest railroad station, and from there the products of the farm find their way into interstate commerce, and many times do not reach their destination until they cross the seas and are sold to foreign consumers.

It is the stupendous wealth from the farms that begins its journey in wagons on the country roads that, after supplying our home demands, finds its way abroad to turn the balance of trade in our favor, and to bring to our shores the golden stream of wealth that makes for national prosperity.

Every man's house faces on a road that connects with every other road, and leads to every other man's house and to every market place through the land.

GOOD ROADS WOULD BENEFIT EVERYBODY.

The question of good roads is a problem that concerns everybody. At one end of every road is the farmer with his crops for sale, which aggregated last year nearly $10,000,000,000. At the other end of the road is the city, with its people waiting to be fed, with its merchants waiting for trade, and with the railroads waiting for goods to transport. To whose advantage is it to have a good road for the farmer to come to town? It is clearly to the advantage of the merchant and the city and the railroad as much as it is for the farmer.

The farms and the farmers are the great and abiding support of the Nation. Therefore we have every reason why the improvement of roads should be undertaken by the National Government, besides having the precedent established by the founders of the Government.

OUR ROAD SYSTEM ANTIQUATED.

We in America inherited our system of roads from England, a system that England abandoned centuries ago. I read from Macauley's History of England. He writes as follows:

The highways appear to have been far worse than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilization which the nation had even then attained. Every parish was bound to repair the highway which passed through it. That a route connecting two great towns which have a large and thriving trade should be maintained at the cost of the rural population scattered between them is obviously unjust. The injustice attracted the attention of Parliament, and the act, the first of many turnpike acts, was passed. This innovation, however, excited many murmurs. A change was at length effected, but not without much difficulty, for injustice and absurd taxation to which men are accustomed is often borne more willingly than the more reasonable impost which is new.

At that time, in the seventeenth century, England changed her road system and the national Government took a hand in road building, and the magificent system of roads in England show the wisdom of her course.

ROADS INADEQUATE.

The rural roads of the United States are wholly inadequate to meet the demands and requirements of this twentieth-century civilization.

The capital to-day invested in agriculture, including personal property, amounts to the stupendous sum of $40,000,000,000.

Over 50,000,000 of our 100,000,000 people reside in the country; that is, outside of cities of 2,500 inhabitants or over. Yet, out of the annual appropriations made by this Government, less than 10 per cent of the money goes to the country in any way, while the 90 per cent goes to the cities.

PROVISIONS OF THIS BILL.

The $85,000,000 appropriated by this bill will be apportioned among the various States as follows:

First. One-third will be distributed on the basis of population, the ratio that the population of each State is to the total population of all of the United States.

Second. One-third on the basis that the area of each State is to the total area of the United States.

Third. One-third on the basis that the mileage of the rural and star routes of each State bears to the total mileage of rural and star routes in the United States.

This bill further provides that the State shall pay 50 per cent of the total cost of the road upon which it receives Government aid. The bill further provides that these roads shall be located and constructed under the direction of the State highway commission and the Secretary of Agriculture.

It further provides that $10,000,000 of the amount appropriated shall be advanced in building roads through the national parks and forest reserves at the rate of $1,000,000 per year; the amount thus expended to be reimbursed from the forest products and other revenues received from the national forest reserves.

AMOUNT FOR WISCONSIN ROADS.

The State of Wisconsin under this appropriation will receive from the United States in the five years approximately $2,000,000 for its roads.

ROAD IMPROVEMENT IMPORTANT.

This bill should become a law without delay.

Some have argued that the Government should postpone all road improvement on account of the expense.

In reply to this argument I wish to say that we appropriated at the last session of Congress $30,000,000 for an Alaskan railroad to benefit 65,000 people.

Good roads will benefit 100,000,000 people.

It is not too late to repeal or have the Alaskan railroad appropriation wait for this more imperative need.

The river and harbor bill, which carries over $40,000,000, is now in conference, and will undoubtedly pass at this session of Congress.

This Congress has appropriated $100,000,000 for the Government to buy ships so that American products can move with greater facility on the highways of the seas.

It is of far greater importance, in my mind, that the highways on the land, over which the whole food supply of the Nation is annually hauled and over which men, women, and children are obliged to travel in all kinds of weather, on foot and in wagons, 365 days in the year, be improved by the National Government.

Should this great internal improvement which the people have been asking Congress to make for over 50 years be compelled to side-step for every other internal improvement?

This Congress has expended $50,600,000 for the improvement of the Mississippi River to prevent floods, and I might enumerate several hundred million dollars that this Congress has appropriated for internal improvement, none of which, or the aggregate of which, would benefit the people of the United States one-half as much as the improvement of our rural highways of this country.

GOVERNMENT AID TO ROADS.

In my opinion, the question of national aid for roads is the greatest question before Congress. On this question we should waive technical differences.

Horace Greeley once said that "the way to resume specie payment was to resume."

The way to have national aid for roads is to pass the best road bill Congress is capable of drafting, and after working under it, if it proves inadequate, perfect it by amendment. We will never make any progress by attempting to defeat every measure that does not meet in every particular with our ideas.

Therefore, I hope that Congress, before adjourning this afternoon, will agree to this conference report, which means national aid for roads.

PREDICTION.

If Congress passes this bill, it is going to stimulate road building through the whole United States. It is going to compel the States that have no State highway commissions to get them.

Good roads will improve the condition of rural life and make it more attractive, and will have a direct bearing upon the social, intellectual, and economic welfare of the whole people; it will be followed by a greater activity and cooperation on the part of the rural population of this country, which will mean an era of the greatest prosperity this country has ever known. Seventy-five million dollars extending over a period of five years may seem like a small appropriation for the whole United States, but it is well to begin these matters in a conservative way.

The first appropriation for rural delivery amounted to only $10,000. Now we are expending over $40,000,000 upon rural delivery service, the Government making a profit from the parcel-post part of that service of ten millions of dollars last year.

I believe the people of the United States will receive such great benefits from national aid for roads that within 10 years they will demand and receive from Congress an appropriation of $100,000,000 a year.

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**The Campaign of 1916.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES F. REAVIS,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 30, 1916.*

Mr. REAVIS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an interview given by the Hon. EBENEZER J. HILL on Monday following the Republican convention.

The interview is as follows:

"The United States planned last week at Chicago for a new future, and nothing can be done at St. Louis this week to change it.

"No spot can be found upon the private life or public service of either Charles E. Hughes or Charles W. Fairbanks, and the magnificent patriotism of Theodore Roosevelt has made their election a reasonable certainty.

"The campaign of 1916 will be fought and won not on personalities but on political principles, and in such a fight the Republican Party is sure to win.

"It stands for peace with honor, but demands preparation for complete defense against attack from any quarter.

"It insists upon the absolute independence of the United States as a sovereign power, and will assert and maintain everywhere the legal rights of all of its citizens, making loyalty to the flag and this Nation's welfare the only test of citizenship.

"It recognizes the increasing intimacy of international relations, but claims perfect freedom for this Nation to control for itself its own financial, industrial, and social conditions, standing for America first, the American home, the American standard of living, and the American wage system, and giving equal opportunity to all of our own people in our own market places in preference to special privileges granted to other nations foreign to our habits, methods, and system of government.

"Tested by the experience of the past, the Democratic Party, while useful as an opposition critic, has demonstrated its inability to successfully govern a nation like ours, and its only possible hope of salvation in the coming political contest is found in the continuance of the awful war which now afflicts one-half of the world.

"Even the stimulating effect of a foreign war, though supplemented by repeated emergency taxation here, has not prevented an enormous Treasury deficit, and a Democratic bond issue has been a constant threat to provide for extravagant current expenditure.

"In 1900 the Republican Party won the national election by a plurality of 860,788 votes.

"In 1904, by a plurality of 2,544,343 votes.

"In 1908 by a plurality of 1,269,806 votes.

"In 1912 the Democratic Party was temporarily placed in power with a vote of 1,318,380 less than that cast by Republicans and Progressives.

"Charles E. Hughes's declaration of principles and Theodore Roosevelt's love of country have made reunion possible, and whether war or peace shall be found in Europe, The Republican Party will bring again to this Nation the permanent peace and enduring prosperity which have given us a glorious past and which will again insure an abiding faith in a still more glorious future."

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**Support of the Families of National Guardsmen.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. RUFUS HARDY,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the pending bill appropriating $2,000,000 for the support of the families of the National Guardsmen who have no other adequate income while they are serving in the Army. These men are drafted or conscripted by law and the call of the President, and must perforce leave their families, unprovided, to serve their country. I can not give a better reason for my vote than the appeal contained in this letter just received by me.

The letter is as follows:

TEAGUE, TEX., *June 26.*

KIND JUDGE: Judge, will you do something for a poor widowed mother? My only boy, the only help I had in this world, was Howard E. Odom, now in service at Mercedes.

Judge, I have a home and it is paid for, but I am not able to work. I have gallstone colic. My husband has been dead five years. I have had to look to Howard; have four little girls. Howard was so good. He was misled into the National Guard, and through threats of imprisonment he was mustered in. Oh, Judge, do something for me. I have to hire some one to stay with me at night. The little girls have to work out to get men to plow for us. I will pay you $100 to get him home to me if it takes the last horse I have. He will make it back. I am 48 years old. Just think if you were in trouble how your dear, sweet mother would thank some one to help you, and if you have children think what they are to you. Howard has never been away from me a month in his life until now. He is a child of God; a blessing to his home. If you can't do nothing, who can? If not for my sake, for God's sake. I can get every business man in Teague, also Fairfield, to sign a petition, for they know how I need him. I believe through the power of God you will help. Let me hear what you will do at once or what can I do for him. I can get a substitute as able as he if that will do.

I am ever waiting your reply.

Mrs. E. W. ODOM.

Care of J. R. HORTON,
*Teague, Tex., R. 4.*

While I vote for this bill I would like to have seen two amendments embodied in it. First, an amendment authorizing any member of the guard to be honorably discharged who makes application, showing that he has a family dependent on him for support; second, an amendment authorizing the President to call for volunteers, so that the thousands of young men outside of the Guard who are ready and anxious to organize volunteer companies and tender their service might be given the opportunity to do so. I have received more than one letter similar to the one I have quoted from wives and mothers whose prayers ought to be granted. On the other hand I have a number of letters from constituents asking to be allowed to organize a company of volunteers. It seems that neither prayer can be granted. I think both ought to be granted. When young men are able, willing, and ready to enlist in our volunteer army it is no hardship to let them go, but it is a hardship when, by law, we single out any class of our citizens and compel them to go, willing or unwilling, ready or not ready.

It is said that this law is setting a new precedent. I am willing that it shall. No country ought by force to take away the breadwinner of a family without providing for the support of that family. The National Guard all over the country is composed of young men who never thought or dreamed or had a right to dream, of joining the Regular Army when they enlisted in the militia. The laws we have passed at this session practically takes them as a body and transfers them to the Regular Army for such length of time as the President may desire.

## Federal Aid to Good Roads.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HAYDEN,

OF ARIZONA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. Speaker, I desire to take this opportunity to briefly state just what benefit the State of Arizona will receive by reason of the passage of the good-roads bill. This measure first appropriates $5,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1916, $10,000,000 for 1917, $15,000,000 for 1918, $20,000,000 for 1919, and $25,000,000 for 1920, which sums are to be expended by the Secretary of Agriculture, cooperating with the State highway departments, in the construction of rural roads over which the United States mails are or may hereafter be transported. In order to obtain the benefits of this act a State must by act of the legislature assent to its terms. It is also required that a State highway department be established with which the Federal Government can deal, and the State must also contribute at least an equal amount in money, materials, or labor toward the construction of any proposed road. Arizona is ready to meet these conditions and will make good use of her share of the appropriations.

The money appropriated by this act will be apportioned among the States according to three factors. One-third in the ratio which the area of the State bears to the total area of all the States, one-third according to population, and one-third according to the mileage of rural delivery and star routes compared with the total mileage of such routes. Arizona has, of the total in the Union, 3.83 per cent of the area, 0.224 per cent of the population, and 0.251 per cent of the postal route mileage. By consolidating these three factors we find that my State is entitled to 1.435 per cent of the appropriations made under this act, which means that the following sums of money will be apportioned for road construction in Arizona at the beginning of each of the next five fiscal years:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1916 | $71,000 |
| 1917 | 143,000 |
| 1918 | 215,000 |
| 1919 | 287,000 |
| 1920 | 358,000 |

In other words, $1,074,000 will be contributed from the Federal Treasury to assist in building highways in Arizona during the ensuing five years.

But this is not all the benefit that Arizona will receive by the enactment of this legislation, for section 8 of this bill appropriates $1,000,000 each year for the next 10 years to be expended under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture, upon the request of the State or county authorities, in the construction and maintenance of roads within, or partly within, the national forests. The States or the counties in which the forest reserves are located are required to enter into cooperative agreements with the Department of Agriculture to pay for the roads that they want built upon a basis equitable both to them and to the United States. The Federal Government is to be reimbursed for the money thus advanced by depositing in the Treasury 10 per cent of the revenues received from the timber or forage resources of the forests wherein the roads are located until the loan is paid.

I may add that this new plan in no way interferes with the present system whereby the States and counties are now receiving for road and school purposes 25 per cent of the gross receipts of the national forests.

The total area of the national forests in the United States is 135,356,353 acres, of which about one-tenth, or 13,339,390 acres are located in Arizona. The Arizona forests are as rich in timber and forage resources as similar reserves in the other States, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that my State will receive the benefits of section 8 of this act in the ratio which the forest-reserve area of Arizona bears to the total area of the national forests. On this assumption about $100,000 a year will be available for road construction in Arizona, or a total of $1,000,000 within the next 10 years. I traveled by automobile through most of the national forests in Arizona last summer, and I can testify that this money is sorely needed.

The friends of Federal aid for the construction of highways have been willing to vote for almost any kind of a good-roads bill, because we knew that when a system of congressional appropriations for this worthy object is established the assistance thus granted will never afterwards be withheld. There is not a shadow of doubt, therefore, but that Congress will continue to appropriate at least $25,000,000 annually after 1920 to aid the States in the construction of roads. This makes it certain that under the first apportionment provided for in this bill Arizona will receive not less than $2,850,000 during the next 10 years. With the increasing appreciation of the value of good roads, Congress is more likely to augment rather than to reduce this amount. By adding to this sum the $1,000,000 that my State will receive during the next decade from the special appropriation which this bill makes for forest-reserve roads, it is safe to say that Arizona will receive Federal aid to the extent of at least $3,850,000 during the next 10 years. With this help from Uncle Sam, Arizona can build a system of main highways and branch roads that will be a credit to any country in the world.

## Importation of Cattle from Central and South American Ports.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. GARLAND DUPRÉ.

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 30, 1916.*

Mr. DUPRÉ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print granted me by the House I now insert in the RECORD copy of act 30 of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana for the year 1916, being a concurrent resolution indorsing Senate bill No. 3351, introduced by Senator BROUSSARD, of Louisiana, regarding importation of cattle from Central and South American ports.

The act is as follows:

Act 30.

Senate concurrent resolution 14 (by Mr. Domengeaux) indorsing Senate bill 3351, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.

*Be it resolved by the Senate of Louisiana (the House of Representatives concurring)*, That Senate bill 3351, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, introduced by Senator BROUSSARD, of Louisiana, in the Senate on January 10, 1916, is hereby indorsed, and the Congress of the United States is respectfully urged to pass the bill at this session of Congress to the end that the discrimination now existing in favor of the ports in Texas, against other southern ports, with regard to the importation of cattle and the proper safeguard by the United States Department of Agriculture, may not longer be permitted to continue: Be it further

*Resolved, etc.*, That copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Senate of the United States, and to the House of Representatives of the United States and to the Louisiana Members of the Senate and House in the Congress of the United States.

FERNAND MOUTON,
*Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.*
HEWITT BOUANCHAUD,
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

Approved, June 23, 1916:

R. G. PLEASANT,
*Governor of the State of Louisiana.*

A true copy.
[SEAL.]

JAMES J. BAILEY,
*Secretary of State.*

## Aid to Dependent Families of Enlisted Men of the National Guard.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PORTER H. DALE,

OF VERMONT,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. DALE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, the measure under consideration presents a strong, sublime policy to which every Member of this Congress ought to let the soul of him respond.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. SMALL] says that this kind of legislation is without a precedent. Well, if the passing of this bill would be a departure from the established custom, the reasons for taking this new course are as old and as just as human need and its alleviation and reprove further default of the obligation. He states that this appropriation would be an unnecessary and unwise use of money. Then we must assume that after the speed with which we have voted hundreds of millions for defense we should suddenly apply harsh economy to the families of the men who have gone to war. Members of this House will not like to say that. But if such a bill as this should fail of enactment, it would appear that we are generous when crude ore demands our money to become an implement of defense and penurious when human beings will become patriots without our gold.

The gentleman says compensation and patriotism do not go together. In that he utters a more sublime truth than he intended. Patriotism is not affected by the assumption on our part of this comparatively slight obligation called compensation. Congress may deny this appropriation, but the men of the National Guard will go with the flag. Yes; Mr. Speaker, from all the States the men will go, though we were to fail to pass this bill. They will go just as the First Regiment from Vermont, among the first on the border, went out under the command of Col. Ira L. Reeves, a man through all his life of military and civic service, in Cuba and the Philippines and as president of Norwich University, well balanced for contingencies by keen conscience and heroic spirit. Yes; from all over the country they, with generations of native ancestors and they whose fathers lived overseas, will go, and their names will stand together as do those of the Norwich Cadets, all of whom have volunteered—Adams and Brooks and Merkel and Boulia and Edmands and Curley. No dependent conditions or compound words go with these men. They are Americans and go from patriotism.

We are not meeting in this bill a demand for the price of their heroism. That company in which I used to drill years ago demanded no such legislation as this as compensation before it entrained. No; but with a loyalty as thrilling in its influence as the record of Ethan Allen at Ticondiroga, when he called upon his 80 men to indicate their willingness to follow him by poising their arms, and every old firelock went up, every man when called to take the oath of enlistment in the Federal Army lifted his hand.

That is no isolated example, of course, and its use here is only to illustrate a heroism that is as broad as the Nation.

But is that the final measure of the heroism and devotion of the men who have gone, and will go, across the borderland of Mexico and maybe of eternity? No; it goes further than this, and so much further that all else fades out and devotion to the Nation meets a supreme test. Right here, when patriotism nears its limit and heroism faces a doubt, there rises the compelling force of the kind of legislation carried by this bill. It is made plain by illustration from existing facts.

On that night when the trains rolled South with the Vermont troops crowds assembled at the stations by which they passed, not to cheer but to stand for hours in the mist so quietly that the rustle of the great flags could be heard overhead, and wait to say the last farewell. But there were some in the families of those young soldiers who were not there. Some were too old and feeble to go. They stayed at home and thought. Some were too young to go or to think of what it meant. And some were not there for other reasons. The wife of a sergeant in the Montpelier company was not there to say farewell to her husband and her two brothers in the company. She stayed at home with the invalid father, and because of the precaution that is taken for those anticipating motherhood it seemed best to keep her from the suppressed excitement of the scenes at the train.

Oh, no; we are not trying to offset that kind of patriotism with a compensation. The two do not go together. But shall we meet conditions like these with 50 cents a day to the soldier gone to the border and a refusal to appropriate for the aid of his family if in want at home? When we take that method to awaken emotions of loyalty and inspire sentiments of devotion we subject ourselves to condemnation.

This is the real compelling influence that is over us in the consideration of this measure. It is not necessary to pass this bill to get the enlistments. The men will go just as my colleague Col. GREENE, left wife and children and well-nigh lost his life in ninety-eight. But there is a compulsion greater than military policy, more imperative than political interest; and that ought to have been so quickly recognized by this Congress that it would have prevented the reproach of the argument of this question in its present form at all, and that should now hasten the enactment of this bill into law in the enthusiastic spirit of appreciation and benevolence and justice.

## Compensation to Certain Families of the Drafted Forces of the United States.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 16734) to pay to certain families of the men of the drafted forces of the United States a sum of money for their maintenance during the term of service of such drafted men in the service of the United States.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, all through our great land the churches, the patriotic and friendly societies, the boards of trade, the Red Cross, the veteran members of the National Guard, and a host of unions formed for the special purpose, are actively and practically seeing to the care of the families of the brave members of the National Guard, who have so suddenly and unexpectedly been called into dangerous and perhaps foreign service. The passage of this bill is likely to stop that work and so leave those families unprovided for and in distress, because it is not to be forgotten that the War Department has no facilities to investigate their needs and dispose of them promptly, practically, confidentially, and well.

The bill is exceedingly defective. It only covers the cases of married guardsmen who were drafted, and not those of the married men who have since enlisted or may enlist. It does not cover the married regular soldiers who are doing actual fighting in Mexico, and will generally constitute the first line. The Regulars feel this as an invidious distinction, and I am told that recruiting has already fallen off. No bill should pass that does not provide for them.

This special emergency should be dealt with as such locally. The localities can settle all cases justly and well, while it would take years for the War Department to inquire what each husband has done for his family and even to start the administration of this proposed system. It is to be hoped that a like emergency will never occur again. An army for prolonged war service should when possible be made up of men without families.

Married men are not allowed to enlist in our Regular Army. In all nations where there is compulsory military service the married men are only drafted after the young men are exhausted. If our National Guard now contained the reserve that it will have when the national-defense bill has had full effect, this call or draft would have been for full companies of the unmarried, and the members with families dependent on their earnings would not be suffered to go until the last.

Their cases can only be taken care of locally. No general rule of "not to exceed $50 a month" will meet the various instances of patriotic devotion. Think of a host of friends that have given up assured positions with high salaries and responsible duties. Some of our own membership have left their seats here. Only last week I was to be at a wedding where the groom left for active service. Our college boys are doing nobly.

It is like the glorious record of the Civil War, when these cases were taken care of not by the United States, but by the various States, counties, and towns and by the patriotic societies that were formed everywhere.

The facts now emphasize our need for an Organized Militia that shall enroll many times the war strength of each company

and shall have in the local armories full arms and equipment and be ready for service.

The older men, of substance and family, are of most importance for all local disturbances and for the maintenance of law and order. In time of war they furnish the officers; they maintain the home battalion that furnishes and drills the recruits. They are ready to leave their families and risk all for their country. They ought not to have been forced to go until the need exists; and it is a disgrace that our laws had limited the number and equipment of each company and regiment and that married men who were earning their living had to go on the first call.

The only insurance against this is a system of universal military training and enrollment, giving us a reserve of organized and disciplined men ready to answer their country's call. If these times educate us to this end, they will not have been in vain.

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**"The Republican Convention."**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. PERCY E. QUIN,
OF MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. QUIN. Mr. Speaker, I have just read a splendid editorial in a South Carolina semiweekly newspaper published at Anderson on the "Republican Convention." It appeared in the Anderson Farmers' Tribune June 13 last. The Tribune seems to be fair, plain-spoken, and worthy of consideration. That it is not hide-bound in its attitude, and that the press of the South is not narrow-minded and blind to the fact that, after all, the great opposing Republican Party has some reason for existence, is shown by the following, which I clipped from the Tribune's editorial columns under the heading "The Republican nominee":

> Unlike most newspapers, the Tribune makes predictions regardless of whether anyone agrees with them or not.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> We believe that Roosevelt is the only man in the Republican Party who can beat Wilson.

The leading editorial, however, in its issue of the 13th instant is entitled "The Republican convention," and, owing to its clear-cut and straight-forward discussion of the Republican platform and the Republican candidate for President, I think it is well worth incorporating in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because it fairly and dispassionately points out convincing reasons why, judged by his record and the mental attitude shown therein, the Republican candidate is not as acceptable to the masses as the Democratic nominee.

The editorial is as follows:

> There was little difficulty in the Republicans and Progressives getting together at Chicago on a platform. Senator LODGE of Massachusetts, a distinguished statesman, with progressive ideas and a splendid progressive record in the House and Senate, was made chairman of the platform or resolutions committee by the Republicans. On the committee were placed 47 others with votes, one from each State, the previous postmaster of Anderson representing South Carolina Republicans on that committee. The committee appointed a subcommittee of which LODGE was also chairman.
>
> The subcommittee submitted to the full committee a far better platform for Republicans and everybody else, than the platform, finally adopted by the full committee, which contained planks and omitted planks not to be found in the subcommittee's draft. For instance, the long, equivocal, straddling, women's votes, or suffrage plank, was not in the subcommittee draft. Senator LODGE had been in personal touch with the Oyster Bay colonel for months, and after several personal visits to that sequestered spot where Roosevelt lives, LODGE left Washington with substantially the platform the subcommittee really submitted to the full committee, but which was more or less torn to pieces by some members of the full committee, who got together for the purpose.
>
> The platform, declaring for Americanism, standing for American rights, denouncing President Wilson's foreign policy with Mexico, and the European powers having been adopted, and LODGE having made the hit of the convention with it, right on the heels of Senator HARDING'S bust-up on his "keynote" speech, it began to look like LODGE and Fairbanks to the colonel.
>
> Each convention being pleased with the Republican platform, and both having met "with malice and premeditation aforethought" in the same city at the same time for the well-defined purpose of getting together, a committee of five was appointed by each party to confer with reference to a compromise ticket. The Republican convention took two votes after the first session of the "conferees" to disclose T. R.'s strength, and then the conference committees met again. And then they met again, and continued in session until 3 a. m. taking a recess to "meet again," the Oyster Bay colonel being conferred with over long distance. Fairbanks was called into the conference twice, and finally agreed upon as a compromise candidate for Vice President, but no agreement could be reached as to first place.
>
> Twelve-thirty came on Saturday. The Republicans met and recessed for an hour until T. R. could be consulted and heard from again. About 1.30 a long telegram was brought to the Progressive convention by John McGrath, Col. Roosevelt's private secretary, urging the Progressives to nominate Senator LODGE as a compromise candidate, but cries of "No, No," and the erroneous announcement that the Republicans were nominating Hughes for first place, resulted in Roosevelt being nominated in the Progressive convention by acclamation. Each convention then recessed until their nominees could be heard from.
>
> At 3 o'clock Justice Hughes wired Chairman HARDING, stating that he did not desire the nomination and would rather have remained upon the Federal bench, but responding to the paramount call of his party, he reluctantly accepted the nomination, and then proceeded to denounce the President's foreign policy, to declare for American rights, preparedness, and the whole Republican platform.
>
> We fail to appreciate making a campaign for the election of President of these United States turn on whether a voter or candidate is for America or Germany or Great Britain. The Constitution is specific with reference to treason. Foreign affairs are a matter of some importance, but not enough to be made the paramount issue. We doubt if any set of men can make them the paramount and controlling issue of the country's politics.
>
> The people are interested in securing our rights against Great Britain and against Germany and those countries' allies. We are in favor of asserting our right to trade with neutral countries like Norway, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark. We believe the British blockade is unlawful as conducted, because it is not a physical blockade and does not apply to all neutrals. We think it an insult to allow England to rifle our official and other mail and to do the things she has been doing. But we very seriously doubt whether there are not more important or rather important issues in this presidential campaign.
>
> Justice Hughes's record on the bench and as governor of New York will be reviewed. We think that Hughes is a far weaker candidate than the one suggested by the colonel. Hughes, as a lawyer, represented corporations in New York City. He breathed the corporation atmosphere there. There are good and bad corporations and good and bad corporation atmospheres. True, he investigated the insurance companies, but he was elected governor on account of and to get him away from such rottenness. They were so rotten any lawyer could have aroused public sentiment and condemnation. While governor he vetoed a 2-cent passenger fare bill adopted by the New York Assembly, even though practically all railroads in the Empire State sold mileage at 2 cents a mile. He sent a message to the New York Assembly disapproving the income-tax amendment to the United States Constitution, and would have tried to veto it, if the State Department and constitutional lawyers had not pointed out that his veto was of no effect, because the action of a State legislature approving a constitutional amendment does not have to have nor require the governor's signature, approval, nor disapproval. Those are some of his acts as governor, which will and should lose him votes.
>
> After reelection, running about 150,000 behind his ticket, he resigned the office to become justice of the United States Supreme Court. The bosses of New York are reported to have prevailed upon President William Howard Taft to appoint him to the United States Supreme Court to save the Republican Party in New York and to get them rid of him. But it did not save the New York Republican Party. Partly as a result of "Hughes" dissensions, the Democrats came into power. On the Supreme Court he has rendered decisions that will cost him many a vote. His decision in the Virginia-West Virginia debt case, unloading upon West Virginia about $30,000,000, will unquestionably result in West Virginia going Democratic from top to bottom if present indications are prophetic. His participation in the Danbury hatters' decision, mulcting members of local organizations and clubs in threefold damages for acts done by the organization and without the knowledge of the individual members, will lose him votes, for it shows a wrong point of view and unsympathetic mental attitude, particularly in view of Congress's act overruling such interpretation of the Federal law as to associations and combinations of men not organized for profit.
>
> Wilson and Marshall will be renominated at St. Louis this week. A platform will be adopted that Senator OLLIE JAMES and Senator STONE are reported to have carried there in their inside pockets direct from President Wilson. It will recite, of course, the achievements and point with pride to the accomplishments of this administration and answer the Republican platform criticisms. It looks like Wilson by a lap. And it looks like Teddy four years from now, as the Republican nominee if Hughes falls of election, the "Colonel of Oyster Bay" lives, and the Republicans continue to grow more hungry for political preferment.

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**The Real Patriotic American.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the United States has made the most extraordinary progress in the accumulation of wealth in the annals of the world's history and the most rapid strides in recent years in the enactment of legislation which would tend in many ways to better the conditions of those who by their toil have made possible the progress to which I have made reference.

We know that all the European combatants have made provision for the support and maintenance of the families of soldiers dependent upon them for a livelihood.

Mr. Speaker, we have recently heard in this city men say that each particular community should care for such dependent

families residing in their midst and we have heard others talk of "commercialized patriotism."

I feel that to keep silent at such remarks is to evade one's duty to speak plainly at a time like this. Let us examine for a moment what has caused the necessity of this measure which has received at our hands practically unanimous approval. The President has suddenly reached the conclusion that it was urgent that the National Guard be sent to the Mexican border, and at the same time that the men be required to take the Federal oath, so that if the necessity arose they could be sent into Mexico. It must not be forgotten that a large number of these men are married and dependent upon their weekly earnings for the support of their families. When they enlisted in the National Guard they were moved by the highest patriotic sentiments and voluntarily gave up many pleasures in attending drills, target practice, and camping, which many of these critics have never thought of doing. These men have the spirit of '76, although answering the Nation's call of 1916. They are and have at all times been ready to make sacrifices of the highest order, but has it come to the point that when their families need bread that the only place they can get it is from the bread line, where vagrants and those who do not care to work usually go? I do not believe that we have reached that state as yet. These men have answered the call of the greatest and richest Republic of the world, and it is the duty of the Nation to take care of their families. These men are leaving their firesides, factories, and farms to do their duty to the entire United States, and not merely for the sake of defending one hamlet or city. One might just as well say that Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico should pay all the expenditures which have or may hereafter be incurred in protecting the lives, homes, and property of our citizens in those States from Mexican marauders, as to argue that each particular community should take care of dependent families of National Guardsmen.

Nor would one expect that New York City, which has contributed one-third of the individual income tax and one-fifth of the corporation tax, should in addition thereto provide sustenance for the dependent families of National Guardsmen who hail from New York City.

Uncle Sam is no beggar and needs no charity. A new phrase—"commercialized patriotism"—has been coined by some speakers lately. The meaning of it is that men are going to the front because they are mainly concerned with the monthly pay they are to receive as soldiers and not because they are moved by patriotic motives. The answer to such utterances is short. There is not one man who has left for the Mexican border who was not able to and actually was earning more than the Government pays. That in a large majority of cases the men were earning for a week's work what the Government is paying them for a month's service are facts well known to every individual who has taken any interest whatsoever in the men who compose the National Guard.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt, among other things, said yesterday:

I say involved in something, for if what has happened in the last three years in Mexico is peace, I should prefer war as more peaceful. If there is war, I shall go, and if there are any unmarried men between the ages of 20 and 30, of Oyster Bay, who are prepared to do their duty, they shall go, too. I won't take any married man with a family dependent on him.

GUARD SYSTEM AN OUTRAGE.

It really is an outrage that such a system should be permitted. Under this system, illustrated by the movement of the National Guard to the Mexican border, a man whose wife and children are dependent on him is obliged to go down and leave his family behind. The system is radically wrong.

Elihu Root about a year ago, in an interview, said that many men in public life say things in haste and shortly thereafter repent having made such hasty statements. I believe that such will be the fate of those gentlemen who have opposed this measure.

This bill appropriates $2,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War for the support of, at a cost of not more than $50 per month, so much of said amount as the Secretary of War may deem necessary, the family of each enlisted man of the National Guard called or drafted into the service of the United States until his discharge from such service, which family during the term of service of such enlisted man has no other income, except the pay of such enlisted man, adequate for the support of such family.

It is the best piece of humanitarian legislation that this House has passed this session. It has won the approbation of men, regardless of party, who put the best interests of our country far above party advantage. Toward the eradication of sectionalism, it must indeed be deemed to have contributed its share. It has helped to keep cemented the ties that bind every man at the front to his family. It has shown the world that this Republic at least is not ungrateful to its defenders.

Mr. Speaker, there has appeared this month in Everybody's Magazine a poem written by Elias Lieberman, a classmate of mine, that has attracted considerable attention, and it affords me great pleasure to quote it in full:

I AM AN AMERICAN.

[By Elias Lieberman.]

I am an American.
My father belongs to the Sons of the Revolution;
My mother, to the Colonial Dames.
One of my ancestors pitched tea overboard in Boston Harbor;
Another stood his ground with Warren;
Another hungered with Washington at Valley Forge.
My forefathers were America in the making:
They spoke in her council halls;
They died on her battle fields;
They commanded her ships;
They cleared her forests.
Dawns reddened and paled
Stanch hearts of mine beat fast at each new star
In the Nation's flag.
Keen eyes of mine foresaw her greater glory:
The sweep of her seas,
The plenty of her plains,
The man hives in her billion-wired cities.
Every drop of blood in me holds a heritage of patriotism.
I am proud of my past;
I am an American.

I am an American.
My father was an atom of dust,
My mother a straw in the wind,
To His Serene Majesty.
One of my ancestors died in the mines of Siberia;
Another was crippled for life by 20 blows of the knout;
Another was killed defending his home during the massacres.
The history of my ancestors is a trail of blood
To the palace gate of the Great White Czar.
But then the dream came—
The dream of America.
In the light of the liberty torch
The atom of dust became a man
And the straw in the wind became a woman
For the first time.
"See," said my father, pointing to the flag that fluttered near,
"That flag of stars and stripes is yours;
It is the emblem of the promised land.
It means, my son, the hope of humanity.
Live for it—die for it!"
Under the open sky of my new country I swore to do so;
And every drop of blood in me will keep that vow.
I am proud of my future.
I am an American.

Mr. Speaker, the naturalized American has by his actions in the past few weeks completely refuted the specious arguments advanced by some hysterical literary magazine critics that in times of emergency he would not do his duty to his adopted country. I have spoken to over 17,000 school children in New York City during the past three weeks, and there is not one who loves our institutions who would not have had his pulse quickened by the sight of these children in each instance pledging allegiance to our flag and Republic. They cherish and revere the Stars and Stripes with a deep-seated love and enthusiasm that words can not describe. To hear them sing "America, I love you," is to convey a message to you that thrills you in such a manner as to make you realize that here can be found real sentiment and not mere pretense. In every regiment that has left New York you will find there some of their brothers and other near relatives. These boys have answered the call in 1916, the same as others responded in 1861 and in 1898.

I have no fear for the future of our country. In its hour of need brave men and boys, regardless of the place of their nativity, will willingly make any and all sacrifices our land may ever require. I am looking forward to the day when worth of the individual shall in every part of the United States be the only qualification for his advancement and devotion to duty and love of country the sole requisites for enjoying the full benefits of American citizenship.

In the New York Times to-day appears the following poem by Lurana Sheldon, and as it tells of the love of the naturalized alien for the United States, I quote it in full:

THE NATURALIZED ALIEN.

The land I claim claims me!
It holds me sacredly its own, and I
For its best welfare will both fight and die
If such a sacrifice shall be
Part of the great necessity.

The land I claim has made
My chance for victory, for strong success.
In other climes my triumph would be less,
For here has freedom truly laid
Each open path of honest trade.

The land I claim has left
My hands unbound, my will at peace.
Rich are the blessings, precious the release,
From chains whose links were cleft
Ere hope my soul bereft.

The land I claim claims me,
And she shall find her foster soldier true
To this her flag, the red, the white, the blue,
Though kith and kin shall cross the sea
To call me back to loyalty.

So much has been said about the National Guardsman that I was not surprised to receive the following, entitled "The Regular Army Man," written by Sam H. Welch, United States Troop Camp, Laredo, Tex., and as it has both a grain of humor and much of truth in it, I believe in having the country brought home to it the fact that the Regular is also doing his duty as well as the National Guardsman, and I therefore quote it at length:

He ain't no gold-lace Belvidere
To sparkle in the sun;
He don't parade with gay cockade
And posies in his gun.
He ain't no pretty soldier boy
So lovely, spick, and span—
He wears a crust of tan and dust
The Reg'lar Army man.
The marchin', parchin',
Pipe-clay starchin',
Reg'lar Army man.

He ain't at home in Sunday school,
Nor yet a social tea;
And on the day he gets his pay
He's apt to spend it free.
He ain't no temp'rance advocate—
He likes to fill the can;
He's kinder rough and maybe tough,
The Reg'lar Army man.
The rarin', tearin',
Sometimes swearin',
Reg'lar Army man.

No State will call him noble son,
He ain't no ladies' pet;
But let a row start anyhow
They send for him, you bet.
He don't cut any ice at all
In fashion's social plan,
He gets the job to face a mob,
The Reg'lar Army man.
The millin', drillin',
Made for killin',
Reg'lar Army man.

There ain't no tears shed over him
When he goes off to war;
He gets no speech or prayerful preach
From mayor or governor.
He packs his little knapsack up
And trots off in the van
To start the fight and start it right—
The Reg'lar Army man.
The rattlin', battlin',
Colt or Gatlin,
Reg'lar Army man.

He makes no fuss about the job,
He dont' talk big or brave;
He knows he's in to fight and win
Or help fill up the grave.
He ain't no mamma's darling,
But he does the best he can;
And he's the chap that wins the scrap—
The Reg'lar Army man.
The dandy, tandy,
Cool and sandy,
Reg'lar Army man.

## The Hours of Labor.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM W. RUCKER,
OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. RUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD two letters received from prominent citizens of my district who are officers in labor organizations composed of railway employees. These letters are in the nature of protests against congressional action or interference in a controversy now being had between the railroads and railroad employees involving the hours of labor, or the eight-hour day proposition.

The letters are as follows:

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN,
ANCHOR LODGE No. 34,
*Moberly, Mo., June 27, 1916.*

Hon. W. W. RUCKER,
*United States Representative, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen of the United States are at present engaged in a concerted movement for an eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime.

They feel that this demand is not unreasonable, is absolutely fair and just to the general public, the railroads, and the employees.

At a recent joint meeting of the four orders held here each of the legislative representatives of their respective organizations were directed to request their Congressman and Senators to use their good offices to prevent Congress interfering in the controversy between the railroads and their employees in the event Congress is appealed to in the matter.

The railroad men of this congressional district unanimously favor the above sentiment that Congress should let the employers and employees fight this out without interference on their part.

Trusting that you will appreciate the position of the employees in this important matter, I am,

Yours, very truly,
[SEAL.] G. F. DOUGHTY,
*Legislative Representative,*
*Anchor Lodge, No. 5½, B. of L. F. and E.*

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS,
ARTHUR DIVISION, No. 86,
*Moberly, Mo., June 27, 1916.*

Hons. W. J. STONE, JAMES A. REED, and W. W. RUCKER,
*United States Congress, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIRS: The matter of giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to arbitrate the eight-hour controversy between the railroads of the country and the men has been brought to our attention, and the engineers of this district request you to oppose any such measure in the Senate or Congress.

Very respectfully,
FRANK MARTIN,
*Legislative Representative.*

## General, Special, and Widows' Pensions

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. M. E. BURKE,
OF WISCONSIN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

On the bill (H. R. 15775) making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURKE of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, we have before us to-day for consideration the annual pension appropriation bill, providing funds for the payment of pensions for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1916, and ending June 30, 1917. This is one of the largest appropriation bills that receives consideration and action by Congress each year. This time it contains an appropriation for the payment of annual pensions, and fees for examining surgeons, for the year mentioned in the sum of $158,000,065.

It has always been a pleasure to me during my short career in this House to support by my vote the annual pension appropriation bills and other special bills providing pensions for the old soldiers and sailors, their widows and dependent children. This general pension appropriation bill I shall also with pleasure support and vote for. Observations and statistics show that there is a smaller percentage of pension appropriations wasted or misused than there is of any other Government appropriations of equal size. Experience and observation also show that there is no money appropriated by the Government which carries so much happiness and joy to the homes of our citizens as does the annual pension appropriation bill. No money appropriated by the Government is so equally distributed and kept so constantly in circulation. Of all the money that Congress annually appropriates none is so cheerfully and gratefully voted by the average Congressman and none does as much substantial good among the people. These annual millions are divided, subdivided, and distributed among 748,147 pensioners upon the Nation's roll of honor.

ROLL OF HONOR.

The statistics for the last previous year indeed show it to be a roll of honor. In the annual distribution of these millions for pensions there is less waste and less fraud than in the appropriation and distribution of money by the Government for any other purpose. As evidence of the honesty, integrity, and honor of the old soldiers, their widows, and dependent children, let me present official statistics. It is shown by the records of the Pension Bureau for the year ending June 30, 1915, that only 39 new cases for that year were presented by the bureau to the Department of Justice for prosecution on account of offenses against the pension laws. Where, I ask you, can there be found another 748,147 citizens with so little dishonesty and practicing so little deception and fraud? It shows us conclusively that honor and good character are precious to the old soldiers and sailors and their widows, and that they fight as valiantly to maintain and preserve untarnished the honor of their citizenship as they valiantly fought and battled for the honor and preservation of the Union; and yet some of our southern friends have the audacity to charge that the pension roll is not a roll of honor. Such indisputable facts prove conclusively that it is a roll of honor with a splendor not excelled by even the interior splendor of the Congressional Library, said to be the greatest splendor in the world.

CLASSES OF PENSIONERS.

Of the 748,147 pensioners on the roll at the close of the year ending June 30, 1916, 437,146 persons rendered service in the Armies or Navies of the United States, including 275 Army nurses; the remaining 311,001 being pensioned as widows and dependents. The number of individuals who served in the Army and Navy of the United States during the Civil War is estimated at 2,213,365.

The survivors of the Civil War on the roll on the 1st of July, 1914, numbered 369,624. These survivors at the end of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, were by death reduced in number to 347,081, or a net loss during the year among Civil War veterans of 22,543. This amounts to an annual reduction in the ranks of those heroes of 7¼ per cent.

WIDOWS OF CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS.

On the 1st of July, 1914, there were 56,819 widows of Civil War veterans on the pension roll. On the 1st of July, 1915, there were 54,131 of such widows on the pension roll, being a net loss of 2,688 during the last year.

WAR WITH SPAIN.

On the 1st of July, 1914, there were on the pension roll 24,250 survivors of the War with Spain, and 24,370 on the 30th of June, 1915. On the 1st of July, 1914, there were on the pension roll 1,241 widows of Spanish War soldiers, and one year thereafter, on the 30th of June, 1915, there were 1,284 such widows on the roll.

The greatest number of pensioners ever carried on the rolls of the Government was 999,436 in the year 1902. The total amount paid in pensions for that year was $141,335,646.95. The greatest amount of pensions ever paid in one year was in the year 1913, when the Government expended for that purpose $176,714,907.39. It seems paradoxical that during the year 1913, when there were 179,246 less soldiers, widows, and dependents on the pension roll than in the year 1902, that the amount of pensions paid in 1913 should be $35,379,050.44 larger than in 1902. An explanation, however, is simple and is due exclusively to the increase in pensions for Union soldiers provided for by the Sherwood age-and-service pension act, which became a law May 11, 1912.

NUMBER OF PENSIONERS AND ANNUAL AMOUNTS PAID.

The following table shows the total amounts paid for all pensions and the number of persons on the pension roll between the years 1911 and 1915, inclusive.

*Pensioners of the different wars on the roll at the close of each of the last five fiscal years.*

| | 1915 | 1914 | 1913 | 1912 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil War | 691,606 | 728,129 | 762,439 | 801,998 | 833,756 |
| War with Spain | 28,912 | 28,910 | 29,015 | 28,850 | 28,490 |
| War of 1812 | 134 | 170 | 199 | 238 | 279 |
| War with Mexico | 4,933 | 5,592 | 6,265 | 6,846 | 7,621 |
| Indian wars | 2,832 | 3,097 | 3,396 | 3,649 | 4,016 |
| Regular Establishment | 19,730 | 19,341 | 18,958 | 18,713 | 17,936 |
| Total | 748,147 | 785,239 | 820,272 | 860,294 | 892,098 |

*Comparative table of disbursements of pensions on account of the different wars for the last five years (cents omitted).*

| | 1915 | 1914 | 1913 | 1912 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil War | $156,608,771 | $163,377,552 | $164,897,872 | $143,979,235 | $148,231,666 |
| War with Spain | 3,851,701 | 3,907,510 | 4,071,168 | 3,971,086 | 3,951,251 |
| War of 1812 | 22,349 | 27,532 | 32,171 | 37,819 | 44,347 |
| War with Mexico | 925,847 | 1,060,530 | 1,184,700 | 1,168,186 | 1,322,918 |
| Indian wars | 513,706 | 560,247 | 527,664 | 521,404 | 575,087 |
| Regular Establishment | 3,535,892 | 3,475,147 | 3,447,142 | 3,308,375 | 3,197,834 |
| Total | 165,518,266 | 172,408,518 | 174,160,717 | 152,986,105 | 157,323,103 |

*Comparative table of the value of an average pension of the different wars for the last five fiscal years.*

| | 1915 | 1914 | 1913 | 1912 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil War | $226.53 | $224.38 | $216.29 | $179.52 | $177.78 |
| War with Spain | 133.22 | 135.16 | 140.31 | 137.64 | 138.68 |
| War of 1812 | 166.71 | 161.95 | 161.66 | 158.90 | 158.94 |
| War with Mexico | 187.68 | 189.65 | 189.09 | 170.63 | 173.58 |
| Indian wars | 181.39 | 180.89 | 155.37 | 142.88 | 143.19 |
| Regular Establishment | 179.21 | 179.67 | 181.83 | 176.79 | 178.29 |
| Average for all wars | 179.12 | 178.62 | 174.09 | 161.06 | 161.75 |

*Comparative number of pensioners on the roll at the close of each of the last five fiscal years, classified as to the character of pension received.*

| | 1915 | 1914 | 1913 | 1912 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DISABILITY PENSIONS. | | | | | |
| Civil War | 45,611 | 50,347 | 62,125 | 103,599 | 113,469 |
| War with Spain | 24,370 | 24,250 | 24,160 | 23,841 | 23,383 |
| Regular Establishment | 15,242 | 14,919 | 14,561 | 14,373 | 13,757 |
| Total | 85,223 | 89,516 | 100,846 | 141,813 | 150,609 |
| AGE AND SERVICE PENSIONS. | | | | | |
| Act May 11, 1912 | 347,081 | 369,624 | 379,064 | 13,246 | |
| Act Feb. 6, 1907 | 2,872 | 7,158 | 16,241 | 333,579 | 356,853 |
| Act June 27, 1890 | 1,081 | 2,225 | 5,274 | 47,201 | 59,991 |
| War with Mexico | 680 | 893 | 1,142 | 1,313 | 1,693 |
| Indian wars | 786 | 915 | 1,066 | 1,210 | 1,387 |
| Total | 352,500 | 380,815 | 402,787 | 396,549 | 419,847 |
| DEPENDENTS. | | | | | |
| Civil War: | | | | | |
| General law | 56,020 | 59,160 | 62,519 | 66,947 | 70,910 |
| Act June 27, 1890 | 3,854 | 4,091 | 4,280 | 4,479 | 4,358 |
| Act Apr. 19, 1908 | 235,087 | 235,524 | 232,864 | 232,947 | 228,198 |
| Total | 294,961 | 298,775 | 299,663 | 304,373 | 303,466 |
| War with Spain | 4,542 | 4,660 | 4,855 | 5,009 | 5,107 |
| War of 1812 | 134 | 170 | 199 | 238 | 279 |
| War with Mexico | 4,253 | 4,699 | 5,123 | 5,533 | 5,982 |
| Indian wars | 2,046 | 2,182 | 2,330 | 2,439 | 2,629 |
| Regular Establishment | 4,488 | 4,422 | 4,397 | 4,340 | 4,179 |
| Total | 310,424 | 314,908 | 316,567 | 321,932 | 321,642 |
| Grand total | 748,147 | 785,239 | 820,200 | 860,294 | 892,098 |

*Comparative disbursements during each of the last five years, classified as to the character of pension received.*

| | 1915 | 1914 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|---|
| DISABILITY PENSIONS. | | | |
| Civil War | $16,562,903.96 | $18,714,955.82 | $25,825,094.23 |
| War with Spain | 3,105,807.74 | 3,132,372.53 | 3,240,844.86 |
| Regular Establishment | 2,631,955.22 | 2,581,190.51 | 2,560,379.27 |
| Total | 22,300,666.92 | 24,428,518.86 | 31,626,318.42 |
| AGE-AND-SERVICE PENSIONS. | | | |
| Act of May 11, 1912 | 94,789,053.68 | 97,503,549.73 | 59,303,021.62 |
| Act of Feb. 6, 1907 | 979,813.51 | 2,000,203.23 | 36,376,450.54 |
| Act of June 27, 1890 | 248,228.23 | 512,901.47 | 4,415,947.91 |
| War with Mexico | 277,029.20 | 354,799.79 | 411,416.35 |
| Indian wars | 199,772.96 | 225,664.88 | 176,202.72 |
| Total | 96,484,903.58 | 100,600,119.10 | 94,685,143.48 |
| DEPENDENTS. | | | |
| Civil War: | | | |
| General law | 8,965,979.28 | 9,463,517.57 | 10,017,993.81 |
| Act of June 27, 1890 | 776,115.84 | 828,425.86 | 876,140.21 |
| Act of Apr. 19, 1908 | 34,355,679.93 | 34,340,997.85 | 34,080,236.75 |
| Total | 44,097,766.05 | 44,642,941.28 | 44,974,337.78 |
| War with Spain | 745,893.73 | 775,137.00 | 830,324.56 |
| War of 1812 | 22,348.90 | 27,532.40 | 32,171.07 |
| War with Mexico | 648,817.40 | 705,729.95 | 773,283.55 |
| Indian wars | 313,933.22 | 334,582.52 | 351,351.58 |
| Regular Establishment | 903,936.34 | 893,957.18 | 886,762.61 |
| Total | 46,732,695.64 | 47,379,880.33 | 47,848,249.95 |
| Grand total | 165,518,266.14 | 172,408,518.29 | 174,160,717.85 |

| | 1912 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|
| DISABILITY PENSIONS. | | |
| Civil War | $29,991,791.62 | $31,870,611.60 |
| War with Spain | 3,130,991.22 | 3,110,903.64 |
| Regular Establishment | 2,433,074.20 | 2,358,731.34 |
| Total | 35,555,857.04 | 37,340,243.60 |
| AGE-AND-SERVICE PENSIONS. | | |
| Act of May 11, 1912 | 33,929.04 | |
| Act of Feb. 6, 1907 | 61,346,240.53 | 61,708,802.07 |
| Act of June 27, 1890 | 7,714,858.16 | 9,820,158.12 |
| War with Mexico | 341,756.88 | 428,221.22 |
| Indian wars | 148,853.04 | 168,688.24 |
| Total | 69,575,638.55 | 72,125,959.65 |

*Comparative disbursements during each of the last five years, classified as to the character of pension received*—Continued.

| | 1912 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|
| DEPENDENTS. | | |
| Civil War: | | |
| General law | 10,507,286.10 | 11,123,496.98 |
| Act of June 27, 1890 | 961,807.61 | 946,876.38 |
| Act of Apr. 19, 1908 | 33,433,321.10 | 32,761,630.27 |
| Total | 44,902,414.81 | 44,832,003.63 |
| War with Spain | $840,094.83 | $840,350.62 |
| War of 1812 | 37,819.20 | 44,347.45 |
| War with Mexico | 826,428.73 | 804,696.89 |
| Indian wars | 372,350.95 | 406,398.28 |
| Regular Establishment | 875,301.11 | 839,102.85 |
| Total | 47,854,619.63 | 47,856,899.72 |
| Grand total | 152,986,105.22 | 157,323,103.03 |

*Amount paid to pensioners from 1790 to 1915, inclusive.*

| | |
|---|---|
| War of the Revolution (estimated) | $70,000,000.00 |
| War of 1812 (service pension) | 45,972,895.76 |
| Indian wars (service pension) | 13,315,227.19 |
| War with Mexico (service pension) | 49,618,948.68 |
| Civil War | 4,614,643,267.43 |
| War with Spain and Philippine insurrection | 49,944,441.84 |
| Regular Establishment | 35,472,408.77 |
| Unclassified | 16,508,447.41 |
| Total | 4,895,475,637.08 |

*Loss and percentage of loss by death of Civil War soldiers, 1910 to 1915.*

| Year. | On roll at beginning of year. | Loss by death during year. | Percentage of loss. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1910 | 593,961 | 35,312 | 5.9 |
| 1911 | 562,615 | 35,243 | 6.2 |
| 1912 | 529,884 | 33,981 | 6.3 |
| 1913 | 497,263 | 36,064 | 7.2 |
| 1914 | 462,379 | 33,639 | 7.3 |
| 1915 | 429,354 | 33,255 | 7.7 |

*Comparative table of losses and gains to the roll for the last five years, classified by causes.*

| | 1915 | 1914 | 1913 | 1912 | 1911 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Losses: | | | | | |
| By death | 52,329 | 52,583 | 57,459 | 52,863 | 52,933 |
| By remarriage | 608 | 751 | 888 | 799 | 867 |
| Minors attaining age of 16 years | 715 | 773 | 983 | 929 | 870 |
| Failure to claim for 3 years | 627 | 248 | 202 | 295 | 287 |
| Other causes | 201 | 226 | 320 | 229 | 228 |
| Total | 54,480 | 54,581 | 59,852 | 55,115 | 55,185 |
| Gains: | | | | | |
| By original allowance | 17,064 | 19,198 | 19,276 | 22,712 | 25,490 |
| Restoration and renewal | 324 | 350 | 482 | 599 | 710 |
| Total | 17,388 | 19,548 | 19,758 | 23,311 | 26,200 |
| Net loss | 37,092 | 35,033 | 40,094 | 31,804 | 28,985 |

*Pensions granted by special act during the Sixty-third Congress subsequent to June 30, 1914.*

| Rates specified. | Number granted. | Rates specified. | Number granted. |
|---|---|---|---|
| $100.00 | 1 | $15.00 | 4 |
| 72.00 | 2 | 14.00 | 3 |
| 50.00 | 243 | 12.00 | 819 |
| 45.00 | 2 | 10.00 | 6 |
| 40.00 | 297 | 8.00 | 7 |
| 36.00 | 349 | Inoperative: | |
| 35.00 | 1 | $50.00 | 15 |
| 30.00 | 962 | 40.00 | 13 |
| 27.00 | 32 | 36.00 | 12 |
| 25.00 | 16 | 30.00 | 36 |
| 24.00 | 459 | 27.00 | 1 |
| 22.50 | 6 | 25.00 | 1 |
| 21.00 | 16 | 24.00 | 14 |
| 20.00 | 730 | 20.00 | 17 |
| 18.00 | 4 | 17.00 | 2 |
| 17.00 | 83 | 12.00 | 11 |
| 16.00 | 2 | | |
| 15.50 | 1 | Total | 4,167 |

Of the above, 918 were granted to persons not in receipt of a pension and 3,249 to persons then receiving smaller pensions.

The annual value of said special-act pensions is $1,257,006, and the annual increase due to the same is $552,507.

The following statement shows the number of pensions and increases of pensions granted by special acts during each Congress since March 4, 1861:

*Number of pensions granted by special acts each Congress since Mar. 4, 1861.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Thirty-seventh (1861–1863) | 12 |
| Thirty-eighth (1863–1865) | 27 |
| Thirty-ninth (1865–1867) | 138 |
| Fortieth (1867–1869) | 275 |
| Forty-first (1869–1871) | 85 |
| Forty-second (1871–1873) | 167 |
| Forty-third (1873–1875) | 182 |
| Forty-fourth (1875–1877) | 98 |
| Forty-fifth (1877–1879) | 230 |
| Forty-sixth (1879–1881) | 96 |
| Forty-seventh (1881–1883) | 216 |
| Forty-eighth (1883–1885) | 598 |
| Forty-ninth (1885–1887) | 856 |
| Fiftieth (1887–1889) | 1,015 |
| Fifty-first (1889–1891) | 1,388 |
| Fifty-second (1891–1893) | 217 |
| Fifty-third (1893–1895) | 119 |
| Fifty-fourth (1895–1897) | 378 |
| Fifty-fifth (1897–1899) | 694 |
| Fifty-sixth (1899–1901) | 1,391 |
| Fifty-seventh (1901–1903) | 2,171 |
| Fifty-eighth (1903–1905) | 3,355 |
| Fifty-ninth (1905–1907) | 6,030 |
| Sixtieth (1907–1909) | 6,600 |
| Sixty-first (1909–1911) | 9,649 |
| Sixty-second (1911–1913) | 6,350 |
| Sixty-third (1913–1915) | 5,061 |
| Total | 47,398 |

WISCONSIN CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS.

During the year ending June 30, 1915, there was paid to 18,053 soldiers, their widows and dependents, residing in the State of Wisconsin, $3,995,768.81. In amount of pensions paid to citizens by the Federal Government Wisconsin ranks eleventh among the several States.

WHY THE NUMBER OF SURVIVING SOLDIERS IS SO LARGE.

To many persons it seems surprising that after one-half a century such a large number of the soldiers who served during the Civil War should be still among the living. This is easily explained by turning to the records and ascertaining the ages at which the Union soldiers enlisted.

Statistics show that on the North side the war was fought actually by boys. I quote from a table of statistics relating to the ages of the soldiers and sailors upon their enlistment taken from a recent book entitled "The American Army," of which Maj. Gen. William H. Carter is the author. Of a total of 2,778,304 men enlisted in the Union Army and Navy during the war, less than one-fourth were more than 21 years old. The table of ages at enlistment is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Those 10 years and younger | 25 |
| Those 11 years and under | 38 |
| Those 12 years and under | 225 |
| Those 13 years and under | 300 |
| Those 14 years and under | 1,523 |
| Those 15 years and under | 104,987 |
| Those 16 years and under | 231,051 |
| Those 17 years and under | 844,891 |
| Those 18 years and under | 1,151,438 |
| Between 18 and 22 years | 2,159,798 |
| Between 22 and 26 years | 618,511 |
| Between 26 and 45 years | 46,462 |
| More than 45 years old | 16,071 |

The statistics relating to very young boys, Gen. Carter says, have often been questioned, but, he adds, it must be remembered that the enlistment of mere children as drummers and fifers formerly was authorized in our Army. Gen. Carter himself was only 12½ years old when he enlisted as a mounted dispatch messenger in 1864.

It is impossible at this time to tell the exact number of special pension acts which will be passed during this session of Congress, but to me it appears that such acts are being passed, at least, as liberally as during the Sixty-second Congress subsequent to June 30, 1912, when the Sherwood Pension Act was in force. The reason why the number of special pension acts passed by this Congress will not be as great as in the Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, and Sixty-first Congresses is because of the liberal provisions of the Sherwood General Pension Act taking care of thousands of needy and destitute soldiers whom it otherwise would have been necessary to have taken care of by special pension acts. The ravages of age and disease, however, are naturally working with great havoc and rapidity among the old soldiers and sailors. Nearly all are now incapacitated from performing manual or other labor, and a large portion of them, like the rest of mankind, have been unsuccessful in laying aside provisions for a rainy day, and the number who are in needy and destitute circumstances is rapidly growing. It will therefore be absolutely necessary to continue until the last soldiers have answered the final bugle call the practice of pass-

ing special pension acts by Congress granting relief to those who may be in the most helpless, dependent, and destitute circumstances. Of course, there are many persons in and out of Congress who complain of the increased liberality necessary in the future to be made in the case of pensions.

Some gentlemen, especially those from the South, claim that the pension system is costing too much. I do not know what the future demands upon the Nation's gratitude will be. I shall not stop to count the cost. My only question will be, Do they need it; and if so, how much? If they do, and it stands to reason that they will, I am willing to give it to them, regardless of its cost. We will then show the nations of the world that this Republic, at least, is not ungrateful, nor forgetful of its defenders. To those who are worrying about the increased cost, let them remember that at every period of the expansion of our pension policy, that there has been worry and objections to every increase in pensions, and yet the country has been able at all times to meet its debt of gratitude, to fulfill its governmental obligations, and to prosper. Let them remember that every dollar that the Government spends for pensions makes the Government just so much stronger in the affections of its citizens. The money goes into every avenue of trade, and into every section of the country. It is true that larger amounts may go into certain sections of the country than others, but there are well-established historical reasons why the amount of pensions distributed in our Southern States is smaller than the amount thereof spent in the North, East, and West. In numerous cases the distribution of pensions under our present system saves the old soldier or sailor or his widow from State, county, or municipal charity. Nothing could be sadder than to see one of the Nation's heroes dependent upon public or private charity. Loyal and patriotic Americans of all political parties are determined that such shall not be the sad lot of any of the Nation's defenders.

Every loyal, patriotic, and grateful American approves of the liberal granting of pensions to our old soldiers and sailors, their widows and minor children and dependents. No government, whether a monarchy or republic, has ever treated its soldiers and sailors and their dependents as liberally as this Government has treated its soldiers and sailors, their widows, and their dependents. Those who fought and bled for the Nation in time of war, and their widows and dependents, are worthy of their country's gratitude, and with the advance of their years and inability to labor, the Nation's gratitude and affection should be increased and not diminished.

DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS OF SOLDIERS.

Some of our opponents, however, may be disposed to contend and assert that the solicitude and gratitude of the Democratic Party for the old Union soldiers has but recently been born or may be prompted by other than reasons of gratitude to the Union soldiers.

Permit me to here insert a list of the various pension laws which were either approved by a Democratic President or passed by a Democratic House of Representatives. Legislative history proves what I now here credit to the Democratic Party:

First. Act of August 15, 1876, providing for the issuance of artificial limbs, or commutation therefor, to disabled soldiers and seamen, and providing transportation for the purpose of having the same properly fitted.

Second. Act of February 28, 1877, increasing the pension of those who lost both an arm and a leg.

Third. An act of March 9, 1878, granting pensions on account of service in the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War, requiring a service of but 14 instead of 60 days on the part of the survivors of the War of 1812, and granting pensions to widows, regardless of the date of the marriage to the soldiers of this war. It also granted pensions to widows of soldiers of the Revolutionary War on a service of 14 days. Former laws required a marriage prior to the treaty of peace in the case of widows of the War of 1812.

Fourth. Act of June 17, 1878, increasing to $72 per month the pensions of those who lost both hands, both feet, or the sight of both eyes incident to the service.

Fifth. Act of March 3, 1879, increasing to $37.50 all pensions on account of amputation at the hip joint. This sum was afterwards increased to $45 per month by a Democratic House.

Sixth. Acts of January 25 and March 3, 1879, granting arrears of pensions from the date of discharge, generous measures which benefited more than 225,000 pensioners at once and caused the annual pension roll to leap from $33,708,526.19 to $57,240,540.14. The Republican Party had control of both Houses of Congress for more than 10 years after the close of the war, but passed no legislation of this character.

Seventh. Act of June 21, 1879, abolishing biennial medical examinations and providing that in no case shall a pension be withdrawn or reduced except upon notice to the pensioner and a hearing upon sworn testimony.

Eighth. Act of June 16, 1880, giving $72 per month to all those who became totally helpless for any cause incident to the service.

Ninth. Act of February 26, 1881, for the protection of pensioners in the soldiers' homes.

Tenth. Act of July 4, 1884, which established the proper relation which should exist between attorneys and clients and fixed by law the fees to be allowed in pension cases. By this act a Democratic Congress placed the strong arm of the law between the helpless applicant and the rapacious agent.

Eleventh. Act of July 14, 1892, establishing an intermediate rate of pensions between $30 and $72 per month, and fixing the rate of $50 for all who required frequent and periodical though not regular and constant personal aid and attention.

Twelfth. Act of August 5, 1892, granting pensions to Army nurses and forbidding the demanding of a fee by claim agents for prosecuting this class of cases. This was a generous recognition of the noble heroines who, leaving home and loved ones behind, in self-sacrifice braved pestilence and hardship to minister to the sick in the hospitals of the Army.

Thirteenth. Act of December 21, 1893, making a pension a vested right.

Fourteenth. Act of April 18, 1884, making it a felony for any person to falsely or fraudulently represent himself to be an officer of the United States.

Fifteenth. Act of March 19, 1886, increasing from $8 to $12 per month the pensions of 79,989 widows and dependents on the roll at the time as well as tens of thousands who have since been placed thereon. These certificates were issued by a Democratic Commissioner of Pensions without any expense or unnecessary delay to those deserving beneficiaries.

Sixteenth. Act of May 17, 1886, amending the reports of the War Department, which discriminated against a large and worthy class of soldiers, relieving thousands of unfortunate veterans of the hardships worked by the resting of the charges against them based upon technical errors in the records.

Seventeenth. Act of August 4, 1886, increasing the pensions of 10,000 cripples—armless and legless veterans.

Eighteenth. Act of January 29, 1887, benefiting about 30,000 survivors and widows of the Mexican War.

Nineteenth. Act of June 7, 1888, granting arrears to widows from the date of the death of the husband and providing that all United States officials authorized to administer oaths should administer all oaths required to be made in pension cases in the execution of vouchers for pensions free of charge. This arrearage act benefited at once more than 200,000 soldiers' widows.

Twentieth. Act of August 27, 1888, increasing pensions on account of deafness.

Twenty-first. Act of February 12, 1889, granting an increase of pension from $72 to $100 per month to all persons who lost both hands in the service and line of duty.

Twenty-second. Act of March 1, 1889, relating to the payment of pensions to widows or dependent heirs where subsequent to the issue of the check the pensioner dies.

Twenty-third. Act of March 2, 1889, removing certain technical charges in the record and relieving a large and meritorious class of soldiers.

Twenty-fourth. Act of March 2, 1895, which abolished the rate of $2 and $4 and fixed the lowest rate of pension at $6 per month.

Twenty-fifth. An act of May 11, 1912, granting a service pension to certain defined veterans of the Civil War, increasing the pension of more than 400,000 soldiers, and which is the best pension law ever enacted by Congress, thereby increasing the annual pension roll from $153,686,500 to $180,240,145.84.

SHERWOOD PENSION BILL.

On the first day of the special session of the Sixty-second Congress, being the 4th day of April, 1911, that gallant old soldier Democrat, Gen. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, chairman of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions, introduced the first bill of the session, H. R. 1, providing a general increase of pensions to Civil War veterans based upon service. This bill, in modified form, subsequently became a law on the 11th of May, 1912, and now constitutes the new general pension law, based upon age and service. The Sherwood bill, as introduced and as passed by the House of Representatives in December, 1911, was a far more liberal and just bill than it was after it had been amended by the Republican Senate.

The Sherwood bill as it passed the House of Representatives provided that any soldier or sailor who served in the military or naval service of the United States during the Civil War and received an honorable discharge and who was wounded in battle or in line of duty and is now unfit for manual labor, through causes not due to his own vicious habits, or who from disease or other causes incurred in line of duty, resulting in his disability, is now unable to perform manual labor shall be entitled to a pension of $30 per month. If this bill had become a law as it passed the House of Representatives, it would have been a far more liberal pension bill than the present general pension law, and would have given greater satisfaction to the ex-Union soldiers and sailors. Under its terms every such soldier or sailor who had been wounded in battle or in line of duty or was disabled from diseases contracted in the service, would have been entitled to a maximum pension of $30 per month, regardless of other causes, like old age, accidents, or other diseases contracted since his service, and now rendering the soldier or sailor unable to perform manual labor. In other words, his maximum pensionable disability would not have been based upon present disabilities arising from service origin only.

The Secretary of the Interior, at the time that the Sherwood bill was pending, estimated that at least 15,000 old soldiers and sailors would be benefited by this $30 per month disability clause. The increase in disbursements under this clause was estimated not to exceed $2,500,000 per year. It was truly stated that if the bill became a law with this maximum disability clause it would necessitate an examination of every applicant for the maximum pension by an examining surgeon, or a

board of examining surgeons, and that the increased cost due to such medical examinations would probably reach $200,000 a year. This supposed increase in expenses of medical examinations would have been a mere trifle as compared with the great relief that would have been provided for and shared in by the old soldiers and sailors by the disbursement of $2,500,000 more annually among 15,000 of their number.

In the Senate in 1912, during that same session of Congress, the Sherwood pension bill was amended by inserting in lieu of the language above cited the following:

That any person who served in the military or naval service of the United States during the Civil War and received an honorable discharge, and who was wounded in battle or in line of duty and is now unfit for manual labor by reason thereof, or who from disease or other causes incurred in line of duty resulting in his disability, is now unable to perform manual labor, shall be paid the maximum pension under this act, to wit, $30 per month without regard to length of service or age.

It will thus be seen that the Senate amendment based the right of the soldier or sailor to $30 per month pension upon his present inability to perform manual labor because of wounds, injuries, or diseases incurred in the war exclusively, and did not take into consideration, as did the original Sherwood bill, other causes besides those of service origin, which might aggravate and contribute to the present inability of an old soldier or sailor to perform manual labor.

Various attempts have been made in the Pension Bureau to have that bureau construe this clause in the present pension law, so as to give the old soldiers and sailors the benefit of the $30 per month maximum pension as was intended by the original Sherwood bill. There are many arguments that can be advanced in favor of such a construction, but the bureau, consistently with its past record for years, has given the benefit of the doubt to the Government and against the old soldiers. This is a construction which is undoubtedly inconsistent with the purposes of establishing a pension system, but it has become so firmly established in the Pension Bureau that argument against it is no longer of any avail, and the only relief that can be secured from the burdens of this wrongful rule of construction is by the passge of remedial legislation by Congress.

When we remember that the Sulloway general pension bill, after having passed the Republican House in the Sixty-first Congress, was finally killed in the Republican Senate of that Congress; and when we find that the Sherwood bill, introduced by a Democratic soldier and passed by a Democratic House in the Sixty-second Congress, was amended by the Republican Senate in that Congress so as to make it less liberal by $2,500,000 each year, and so as to make this maximum pension applicable to 15,000 less soldiers and sailors, we can readily see that our Republican legislators are not always safely and consistently the best or most reliable champions and friends of the old soldiers and sailors.

These facts, as well as others, conclusively prove that the old soldiers' friends are not to be found entirely in any one party. They prove that their friends are to be found in all parties, and that those only are their friends who entertain patriotic sentiments and are therefore grateful to the defenders of their country.

History shows that there were times when partisan political exigencies were such that the Republican Party did not consider the time ripe for the liberalizing of pensions, as well as the Democratic Party found itself in such positions. But the old soldiers have always been reasonable and consistent in their pension demands, and can be safely relied upon to continue so.

Let me say in absolutely good faith and as their friend that it is not always wise for an old soldier to carry all of his eggs in one basket, for he has, and will continue to have, loyal friends in both parties. No fair and liberal minded Member of Congress should ever look upon pension matters from a partisan standpoint. In these days, when the selfish and powerful money interests of the country are making a determined attempt to howl and cry down the amount of annual pensions, and actually abuse the friends of the old soldiers who vote for these necessary appropriations, it is well that the friends of the old soldiers should not know any party when they come to provide for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. Let them ascertain the extent of the need of the Nation's defenders, and then without hesitation vote the amount of those needs.

SPECIAL PENSIONS OF THE SIXTY-SECOND, SIXTY-THIRD, AND SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESSES.

As a member of the Committee on Invalid Pensions during the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses, I have had an opportunity of becoming familiar with the workings of that committee and the rules and spirit upon which such pension claims are weighed and considered. It is with pleasure that I can truthfully say that during the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses upon that committee there has been no exhibition of partisanship or sectionalism among the members in the consideration of claims. All claims coming before that committee are considered upon their actual merits. Entering into the merits are always the elements of age, service, need, and destitution of the soldier, his widow, or dependent. We sit and act as a court of equity in the true sense of the word. It is not necessary for a needy and destitute old soldier, or his widow, to have the acquaintance of a Member of Congress, or to be recommended by some one of political or social prominence. The ear of every member of that committee is always open to the appeal of the weary, needy, and afflicted old soldier, or his widow. Acting as a court of equity, we are freer to act upon the merits of each claim than is the Bureau of Pensions. As in all courts of equity, technicalities which prevent the doing of justice are brushed away, and the course of justice allowed to flow freely. The work of that committee has been considerably reduced since the passage of the Sherwood general-pension law. We must, however, expect the work from now on to increase. This is due to the large number of old soldiers and sailors who will be reduced to needy and destitute circumstances by old age and inability to perform manual labor.

AUTOMATIC ADVANCES IN RATE OF PENSIONS.

Soon after the present general pension law, known as the Sherwood bill, went into operation, trouble was experienced in adjusting the rates to which each soldier and sailor claimant was entitled. It was easy for the Bureau of Pensions to ascertain from its records the exact length of each soldier and sailor's service in the Army or Navy. It was, however, a far more difficult matter to determine the exact age of each such soldier or sailor. In many instances it was found that the applicant for a pension under this law was uncertain as to his own age or date of birth. In many instances where this was the case the soldier or sailor was also without available means for ascertaining the same. In many instances soldiers and sailors had, in previous applications and communications to the Pension Bureau, carelessly and inaccurately stated their age and the date of their birth under oath. Those previous affidavits and communications were made at a time when neither the department nor the soldier or sailors were interested in his birth or age. Consequently that question was then immaterial. But, as the amount of pension under the Sherwood pension bill depends upon age as well as service, it became necessary and important, both to the Government and the soldier or sailor, that his exact age should be determined in the allowance of his application for a pension under that law. In a large percentage of cases it was found that the soldier or sailor had made in the past conflicting statements as to the date of his birth and his age, and the bureau would compel him to resort to all kinds of evidence to prove the date of his birth.

In many such instances his application under that act was allowed without determining the exact date of his birth or his exact age. For instance, if he claimed to be 73 years of age, if the different affidavits made by him in the past all showed that he had represented himself as being of such an age that at the time of the application, according to previous affidavits, that he would be 71, 72, or 73 years of age, without determining his exact age, the bureau at that time would allow him the rate of pension provided for a soldier of his service who had reached the age of 70 years, because, according to all affidavits, he was then over 70 years of age and entitled to the rate of pension provided for a given service and that age. Soldiers and sailors whose claims were allowed under such conditions will be required, before their next claim for increase on account of age will be allowed, to prove definitely and positively the date of their birth.

Since the discovery of this troublesome situation Congress passed, March 4, 1913, an amendment which in substance provides that when a soldier's or sailor's claim under this law has been passed upon and allowed and his exact age once determined there shall be kept a record in the Pension Bureau showing the name, length of service, and age of each claimant, and date of his birth, the monthly rate of pension granted to or received by him, and the county and State of his residence, and that further increases in the rate of pension under that act on account of advancing age shall be made without further application by the pensioner and shall take effect and commence from the date he is shown by the aforesaid record to have attained the age provided by the act as a period for advancing said rate, the object of this being to advance the rate of pensions automatically, as provided in the Sherwood pension bill, without expense to the pensioner, and by requiring the Commissioner of Pensions and his office force to take judicial notice of the recorded evidence of the date of each pensioner's birth when once established. This law is working very satisfactorily, but there are still many instances in which it is

necessary for the pensioner to supply satisfactory evidence of his age before he will be automatically allowed an advance in his pension rate. But once the age of a pensioner has been determined to the satisfaction of the bureau, it will not be necessary for the pensioner to again submit any such proof or to be delayed in the regular receipt of his pension.

MONTHLY PAYMENTS.

The question of providing for monthly payment of pensions, instead of quarterly payments, has received some attention at the hands of Congress during this session. A number of bills for that purpose have been introduced, some of which have been considered. It would appear at first that every pensioner would be in favor of this movement, yet such does not seem to be the case. The old soldiers themselves have manifested but little interest in the proposed change. There appears, however, to be a great division of sentiment among them in certain sections of the country. In other sections no interest, pro or con, has been manifested.

It appears that the executive council of the National Grand Army of the Republic, which council is the highest body next to the grand encampment itself, at the national encampment held at Chattanooga, after such proposed change had been discussed during the address of the commander in chief, unanimously decided against monthly pension payments.

The present Commissioner of Pensions professes that originally he was in favor of the monthly payment of pensions, but since considering the subject and investigating the sentiment among the old soldiers he finds that there is at present no sufficient demand to justify the change. He appears to be now somewhat against the movement, owing to the additional expense which it will involve and the seeming indifference of pensioners.

The additional expense is estimated by him at $1,000,000 per annum. I can not, however, bring myself to believe that there is any substantial foundation whatsoever for any such high estimate of additional expense. I am reliably informed that the present expense of paying pensions by checks under the present system of paying quarterly, or four times a year, is only $100,000. If that be true, then expense of monthly payments would be four times that, or $400,000, a mere bagatelle to the Nation, providing that the change is desired. The subject seems to be new, and perhaps the idea of such a change has not as yet been fully discussed and considered among the old soldiers. They and their friends, however, can rely upon the assurance that whenever they manifest a majority, or strong desire for the change, that Congress will readily grant the same.

LOST CHECKS.

Among the various bills introduced at this session of Congress for the relief of the old soldiers is one for the issuing of duplicates of lost pension checks. The present law requires that when a pension check has been lost, or mislaid, or accidentally destroyed, that application may be made for a duplicate, which, upon the filing of a bond by the pensioner, will be issued at the end of six months. This is an unnecessary hardship upon the old soldier, who has been so unfortunate as to not receive his check or who has lost the same.

A bill providing that these duplicate checks in place of lost checks shall be issued 30 days after filing an application therefor has been favorably reported by the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and there is every reason to believe that it will pass Congress unanimously when it is reached upon the calendar.

SOLDIER SHOULD HAVE BENEFIT OF DOUBT.

The entire history and practice of the Pension Bureau shows that in nearly every instance all technicalities are resolved in favor of the Government and against the soldier or sailor. It further shows that in nearly every instance the Government has been given the benefit of the doubt, and as a result the soldier or sailor got the worst of it. This rule of construction and procedure may have been justified years ago when the pension law relating to Civil War soldiers and sailors was in its infancy. At this late date, however, when the soldiers' and sailors' comrades are scattered to the four winds and can not be found, when others are dead, when age has dimmed the memory of others, when the securing of evidence is most difficult, and when the soldier or sailor is most in need of a pension from the Government, it is time that this rule of construction and of solving technicalities should be changed, and the benefit of the doubt and the solving of technicalities should be in favor of the soldier, sailor, or his widow.

Again, the Pension Bureau seems to be working in some ruts of past ages in other respects. If that bureau would divert or turn from some of these old traveled ruts or routes, justice would be done the old soldier and sailor much quicker than it is done at present and more often. That bureau seems to have the audacity to even question acts of Congress, especially in the case of special pension acts. Even attempts are sometimes made to refuse payment of special pension acts where there is a misspelling of the soldier's, sailor's, or widow's name, which does not change the sound of the name or the identity of the person, and where there is not the slightest evidence to lead them to believe that the pensioner is any other than the person mentioned in the bill. Even a pension granted to a soldier, sailor, or widow by the full middle name by a special act of Congress is ignored and dishonored, because the name of the soldier, sailor, or widow may have originally appeared on the records by the full given name and the initial of the middle name. This happened in cases where there was absolutely no question as to the identity of the soldier or sailor. In the interest of justice to the old soldiers and sailors such quibbles and technicalities should be dispensed with.

ARMY AND NAVY MEDAL-OF-HONOR ROLL.

This Democratic Congress, and especially the House of Representatives, has during this session shown in a marked degree its gratitude and appreciation for the services of the soldiers and sailors who have served in the several wars of this country and their widows and dependents.

Among these measures attention is called to the law passed by this Congress entitled "Army and Navy medal-of-honor roll." There is and has been upon the statute books ever since shortly after the close of the Civil War a law known as the "congressional medal-of-honor roll." All other great nations have passed and have maintained similar laws and have granted special pensions with their corresponding military decorations for the special acts of gallantry which gained them. While the laws of the United States which instituted the congressional medal of honor require a much higher degree of gallantry than is required by other nations for like decorations, yet heretofore we have not granted special pensions to this class of heroes. In the opinion of Congress the heretofore existing law in failing to grant such special pensions to its distinguished heroes made a serious discrimination against the men who have ventured far beyond the pale of duty in heroic achievements.

Other nations have issued similar decorations for lesser degrees of valor by scores of thousands, and have given special pensions besides. England has bestowed her Victoria Cross on thousands of her soldiers during the present war; also France, the Legion of Honor; and hundreds of thousands of such degrees have been bestowed by the German Emperor upon his gallant soldiers. The new law recognizes and rewards in a modest way startling deeds of individual daring and audacious heroism in the face of mortal danger when war is on; deeds that give soul to an army and character to a country.

This Congress did on the 27th of April last pass the so-called Army and Navy medal-of-honor bill, providing for a special pension of $10 per month for members enrolled and entitled to enrollment upon such roll of honor.

Careful estimates disclose that there are now living in the neighborhood of only about 300 of these gallant heroes. The probable cost of these pensions will be only about $13,000 for the first year, and, of course, will gradually decrease as these heroes pass from earth.

Under the terms of the law providing for such roll of honor there are but few who will be entitled to enrollment, and the policy of the measure is to emphasize the Nation's appreciation of that gallant, intrepid, indomitable spirit in war that becomes the best bond to long-continued future peace.

PENSIONS TO WIDOWS AND MINOR CHILDREN OF OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN WHO SERVED DURING THE WAR WITH SPAIN, PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION, OR IN CHINA.

Under existing pension laws it is impossible for the widow of a Spanish War soldier or sailor to obtain a pension at the Pension Bureau unless her husband died of disease or disabilities contracted in the service. This is a discrimination against the widow of the Spanish War soldier and sailor, for under existing law the widow of a Civil War soldier or sailor is entitled, upon the death of her soldier or sailor husband, to a pension of $12 per month regardless of the cause of death of her husband.

A bill to remove this discrimination passed the House of Representatives early in this session almost unanimously and has been reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Pensions and is now upon the Senate calendar awaiting action by that body.

Several bills for the same purpose were introduced by Members of the House this session. The bill which was reported favorably and passed by the House was introduced by Hon. JOHN A. KEY, representing the eighth district of Ohio, a Democrat and a veteran of the Spanish-American War who served

with distinction in that campaign. He also introduced a bill for the same purpose in the Sixty-third Congress, which was also passed by the House of Representatives almost unanimously. The bill which passed the House of Representatives this session is now upon the Senate calendar and provides, among other things, for the payment of a pension of $12 per month to the widow of a soldier or sailor who served in the Spanish-American War during her widowhood, and also for the payment of $2 per month for each child of such officer or enlisted man under 16 years of age.

It is estimated that during the first year after its passage that there will be about 10,000 such widows who will be entitled to be placed upon the pension rolls and that they will draw in pensions not to exceed $1,500,000 annually. Of course with the passing of years the number of such widows will necessarily increase, and the annual amount of pensions paid will also. There should be no discrimination in the pensions paid to the widows of soldiers and sailors who served in the Spanish-American War and those whose husbands served in the Civil War. It is true that the Spanish-American War was of much shorter duration and did not require of the soldiers and sailors the hardships which were endured by the soldiers of the Civil War, yet it will not be denied by any intelligent and impartial person that had necessity existed the soldiers and sailors of the Spanish War would have given as good an account of themselves and fought as gallantly and bravely as did the gallant soldiers during the Civil War. It is therefore but just and equitable that the widows of the two classes of soldiers and sailors should be placed upon an equal footing. There is every reason to believe that before the end of this session this beneficial and important pension bill will be enacted into law.

PENSIONS FOR INDIAN-WAR VETERANS.

During this session there was introduced in the House and passed by that body a bill to provide pensions for Indian-war veterans. History shows that in many Indian wars our soldiers were called upon to endure as great hardships and to display as much gallantry and bravery as did our soldiers in more important wars. There has been a demand for many years that the survivors of such Indian wars should be made the recipients of the Nation's bounty and gratitude. There were many campaigns necessarily waged against the various Indian tribes. They were necessary in order to protect the pioneer settlers of the West. Without such protection much of the great West would still remain a wilderness and inhabited only by Indians. Their services were of the greatest importance in opening up and settling the West. Many in such services contracted diseases and disabilities which have impaired the usefulness of many of them, and entirely destroyed the ability of others to support themselves. It may be interesting in this connection to recall a few of the important Indian campaigns.

DEFINING "INDIAN WAR."

The War Department has officially determined that the conflicts specifically mentioned in the pending bill rose to the dignity of "wars." Adjt. Gen. F. C. Ainsworth, in a letter to the Committee on Pensions of the House, in the Sixty-second Congress, under date of January 13, 1912, says, in discussing this point:

> The War Department has had occasion, at various times, to determine, in connection with the question of the wearing of the "service in war" chevrons by enlisted men of the Army, what Indian campaigns approaching the magnitude of wars were such as to entitle enlisted men to wear that chevron. The campaigns against hostile Indians since 1865 that were selected and announced as being such are as follows:
>
> Campaigns in southern Oregon and Idaho and northern parts of California and Nevada, 1865–1868.
> Campaign against the Cheyenne, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches, in Kansas, Colorado, and Indian Territory, 1867, 1868, and 1869.
> Modoc war, 1872 and 1873.
> Campaign against the Apaches of Arizona, 1873.
> Campaign against the Kiowas, Comanches, and Cheyennes, in Kansas, Colorado, Texas, Indian Territory, and New Mexico, 1874 and 1875.
> Campaigns against the Northern Cheyennes and Sioux, 1876 and 1877.
> Nez Perce war, 1877.
> Bannock war, 1878.
> Campaign against the Northern Cheyennes, 1878 and 1879.
> Campaign against the Ute Indians in Colorado and Utah, September, 1879, to November, 1880.
> Campaign against the Apache Indians in Arizona, 1885 and 1886.
> Campaign against the Sioux Indians in South Dakota, November, 1890, to January, 1891.

There were many other Indian campaigns of minor importance, and for a list and brief historical description of such campaigns the reader is referred to Historical Résumé of Certain Indian Campaigns, by S. J. Bayard Schindel, captain, General Staff.

This bill passed both branches of Congress early in this session and is now pending before a conference of the two Houses. By its provisions a pension of $20 per month from the date of the approval of the act is to be paid to every soldier who has reached the age of 62 years and can furnish to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Pensions evidence showing that he rendered at least 90 days' actual military service in any of the various Indian campaigns during the period from 1865 to 1891, inclusive.

It further provides a pension of $12 per month from the date of its passage to every widow of such a soldier who rendered the requisite 90 days' service and who married the soldier prior to the passage of this act. This pension measure is not new to Congress, as bills relating to the same subject were introduced in the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses. In the last Congress a favorable report upon such a bill was made to the House of Representatives, but failed of passage because of lack of time for consideration.

At this late date, when the troublesome and fighting Indian has disappeared from our borders, there may be many who fail to appreciate the justice of such pension legislation. I deem it appropriate, in answer to any criticism directed against this measure, to quote from the report of the Senate committee upon the bill providing a pension for Indian-war veterans:

> It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the service rendered by these Indian fighters. They opened the West to civilization and settlement. They battled with a brave, cunning, merciless foe, and usually they faced fearful odds, but they were almost uniformly successful. They fought no Austerlitz, but in every State of the trans-Missouri West is some Thermopylæ rendered immortal by their life's blood.
>
> "I saw more fighting at Beechers Island than during all the four years I served with the Army of the Potomac," is the testimony of one of the survivors of Forsyth's famous fight with Roman Nose.

FAMOUS COMMANDERS.

Some of our most famous and renowned Army men were active in these Indian campaigns. Their names are household words among our people—Sherman, Sheridan, the ill-fated Custer, Howard, the gallant Forsyth, Miles, Baldwin, and a score of others. Nelson A. Miles has written the following letter in support of this bill:

> Mr. C. R. Hauser,
> *National Secretary and Treasurer National*
> *Indian War Veterans, Denver, Colo.*
>
> My Dear Sir: In reply to your letter, I would say that I am very glad to know that there is an effort being made to give pensions to the veterans of the Indian wars, or what was known as the "war for civilization."
>
> The laborious, hazardous, and heroic service rendered by those men was surely most commendable and should entitle them to the gratitude of the American people. They voluntarily placed their lives between the home builders and the unprotected settlements and savage barbarians, who were committing atrocities of the most cruel and savage character.
>
> They endured the severe and destructive heat of the extreme southern districts of our country, as well as the blizzards and the winter blasts of the extreme north, and by the exposure and hardship of the service the lives of many have been shortened thereby, and they have experienced much suffering incident to such exposure and hardship, and I earnestly recommend the favorable action of Congress in their behalf.
>
> Yours, very truly,
>
> Nelson A. Miles,
> *Lieutenant General United States Army.*

It is estimated by those familiar with this matter that the total charge against the Treasury if this bill becomes a law will not exceed $1,000,000 annually.

INCREASE OF PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The House of Representatives this session passed unanimously a bill reported favorably by the House Committee on Invalid Pensions and entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows and minor children of deceased soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and the war with Mexico," and so forth.

During the last several years it has been the policy of the House and Senate Pension Committees to report favorably special bills providing increases for what is commonly known as "war widows." Included in this term were the widows who had married their soldier and sailor husbands during, or previous to the Civil War, and who were found by evidence submitted to those committees to be in needy and destitute circumstances. It has also been a common practice with those committees to also recommend for passage special bills restoring widows to the pension rolls who had lost their right to be placed upon that roll by reason of remarriage, when proven in needy and destitute circumstances. Existing law contains a provision under which only such widows may be restored to the pension rolls upon the death of their second husband as are shown to be war widows, or widows who married their soldier husband during or previous to the Civil War.

There is no logical reason why a widow of a soldier who remarries and looses her second husband by death, or divorce upon her application, should not be restored to the same pensionable status that she was entitled to previous to her remarriage.

By remarriage she showed conclusively that she preferred to be placed in a self-supporting position rather than to be dependent upon the Government for support. During the period of her remarriage the Government was relieved in all such instances from payment of pension to her. But few instances can be found where a soldier's or sailor's widow has refused to marry when given opportunity, solely for the purpose of preserving her right to draw a pension from the Government. Such widows have proven themselves to be self-supporting citizens and are justly deserving of being restored to the pension rolls, and to the rights that they were entitled to upon the death of their soldier or sailor husband. This provision of the bill should meet with the hearty approval of all fair-minded citizens.

WIDOWS MARRIED SUBSEQUENT TO JUNE 27, 1890.

In a speech delivered in this House May 9, 1914, entitled "General and special pensions," I discussed at some length the harshness and injustice of that provision of existing pension laws which denies to a widow of a soldier or sailor of the Civil War the right to a pension where she married the soldier subsequent to June 27, 1890. In view of the action of this House in passing almost unanimously in June, 1916, a bill to increase the pensions of widows and minor children of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, and so forth, I consider it appropriate at this time and place to incorporate at length my remarks upon this subject, contained in my said speech of May 9, 1914:

"There are a few features of the present pension laws that are wrong, inequitable, and indefensible. Time will not permit me to discuss them in detail. In a short time, I expect, most of them will receive the careful attention of Congress. If once attention can be brought to them, I have no doubt but what justice will be done. The most unreasonable, arbitrary, and unjust provision in the pension laws at the present time is the one relating to or granting pensions to widows who married subsequent to June 27, 1890. That act provides, among other things, a pension of $12 per month for the widow of a soldier or sailor during her widowhood, provided that such widow shall have married her soldier or sailor husband prior to June 27, 1890. This act has been amended several times since, but this provision has never been amended or changed. There is now no law under which a widow who married since June 27, 1890, can secure a pension by law unless her soldier husband died of wounds or injuries inflicted during his war service or died from disease contracted in such service. On the 27th of this coming June it will be 24 years since that harsh, unjustifiable, and arbitrary law was passed—nearly a quarter of a century.

"It undoubtedly answered the purpose for which this arbitrary and inflexible date was fixed for a number of years after its passage. Under the strict letter of the law we may now have, on the one hand, a widow who married a soldier on the 24th of June, 1890, and, on the other hand, a widow who married another soldier on the 30th of June, 1890. One is entitled to a pension under the law at the bureau and the other is not. The husband of the widow marrying before the 27th of June, 1890, may have died a week after that date, and yet his widow is entitled to a pension under the law at the Pension Bureau. The husband of the other widow, who married him three days after the 27th of June, 1890, may die now, after she has lived with and cared for him as a faithful and devoted wife for 24 years, and yet under the law she is not entitled to a pension at the bureau.

"This soldier's widow may have lived and struggled on with him during those 24 years in sorrow and in toil, in adversity and in poverty, from youth to old age, through storm and through sunshine, and it makes no difference for how many long, weary days and nights, through long years, she may have nursed him in his sickness and helplessness, nor that in sorrow and tears she spends her last dollar to plant flowers on his grave, yet she is turned down at the Pension Bureau because of the provisions of this harsh, unjust, and arbitrary law. The fragrance of her dutiful and beautiful life has been wasted on the desert air. Justice demands that so long as we are to continue the policy of pensioning the widows of soldiers and sailors that this class of widows who married since June 27, 1890, should be afforded immediate relief and justice. It is true that the Committee on Invalid Pensions frequently recommends special bills in the case of very needy and destitute widows who married within a short time after the passage of that law; but the granting of a special bill to one of this class, when they all ought to enjoy this privilege as a lawful right, is a rank discrimination and an injustice to those who married no later and who have not been able to reach the sympathies of some Congressman.

BILL FOR RELIEF.

"Having had this deplorable pension situation in mind for some time, and having closely noticed the injustice of its effects, I have had the pleasure during this session of Congress of introducing H. R. 15841, a bill to change the arbitrary provisions of the law of June 27, 1890, and to substitute therefor a more just and automatically working provision for widows.

"In my bill I have stricken out from the present law the words—

"*Provided*, That said widow shall have married such soldier or sailor prior to June 27, 1890—

"And have substituted in lieu thereof the following words:

"*Provided*, That said widow shall have married said soldier or sailor at least six years prior to the death of her husband soldier or husband sailor, and regardless of whether the death of said soldier or sailor shall have occurred before or may occur after the passage of this act: *And provided further*, That no widow of a soldier or sailor, who shall become such widow after the passage of this act, shall be entitled to a pension under the provisions of section 2 of this act, unless she shall have attained the age of 50 years at the time of the death of her soldier or sailor husband.

"I believe that when the injustice of the present widows' pension law is brought forcibly to the attention of this House that some provision for relief will command its sympathies, and the result will be the passage of remedial legislation similar to that contained in the bill which I have introduced. I am sure that if you will but consider it, its virtues will commend themselves to every one of you. The second provision in my new bill provides a guard against the alleged improper and immoral practices and impositions which it is said are sometimes practiced on the old soldiers and sailors by unscrupulous women. It contains a provision which automatically provides a pension for a widow who shall have resided with her soldier or sailor husband at least six years before his death. Of course the provision of cohabitation with the soldier and the age of the widow at the time of his death are arbitrary and subject to change before the passage of the bill as the same may commend themselves to the favorable consideration of Congress.

"I respectfully invite the careful consideration of this bill by Members of Congress, and by the old soldiers and sailors, their wives, and the widows of those deceased. I not only invite your consideration, but also your assistance, in creating a proper interest and demand in this House for its passage or the passage of some similar bill by this House at its next regular session. There can be, and there is, no justification for the arbitrary method which now prevents a widow who has lived 24 years with her soldier or sailor husband from lawfully obtaining a pension at the bureau. It is true that it will increase the pension roll by several millions; but if it is right, and I believe it is, to continue the policy of pensioning soldiers' and sailors' widows, then there can be no excuse, apology, or justification for the present arbitrary discrimination between widows who married since June 27, 1890, and those who married before.

"Let us do by these widows of Union soldiers and sailors what we have done in this Congress, within the last six weeks, for the widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain or in the Philippine insurrection. That bill passed this House by a vote of three-fourths of those voting thereon in favor of it, and it contained a provision that a pensionable widow shall be one who has married an officer or enlisted man who served in one of those wars previous to the passage of that act. This is as it should be at present, but it is not as it should be in the future. It should contain a provision similar to that incorporated in the bill which I have introduced, providing that any widow who shall, after the passage of such act, marry an officer or enlisted man who served in such wars, shall be entitled to a pension of $12 per month, providing she has been married to the soldier for six years or more before his death.

"The hardships, cares, and sorrows endured by the widows who married since June 27, 1890, were and are naturally, on the average, greater and more severe by reason of the old age, helplessness, and inability of their soldier husbands, than were the hardships of those who married previous to that date. In conclusion, permit me to impress upon you that in the matter of widows' pensions, as well as in all legislation, there should be equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

It is provided in this bill, after increasing the pensions of such widows, that after it becomes a law all widows who married previous to June 27, 1905, shall be entitled to draw a pension of $12 per month, to commence from date of filing her application with the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of the act. This provision simply lifts the prohibition against the granting of pensions to widows who married subsequent to June 27, 1890, and refixes, reestablishes, or extends the prohibitory

period against the granting of pensions to widows to date 15 years later. In other words, it has extended the time within which a widow may be entitled to a pension under the law from June 27, 1890, to June 27, 1905—a total extension of 15 years.

The bill also increases the monthly pensions of widows by providing that every widow who was the wife of an officer or enlisted soldier or sailor during the Civil War, and has reached the age of 70 years, shall receive $20 per month.

A more just and equitable pension increase has never demanded the consideration of Congress than this bill for an increase in widows' pensions, and there is every reason to believe that this bill will meet with the approval of the Senate and be enacted into law before the close of this session.

JUSTIFICATION OF PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

There are many of our citizens who question the justice and propriety of the Government granting pensions to the widows of soldiers and sailors. I am glad that this sentiment is not widespread. There is ample justification for the granting and continuance of such pensions. It has become an established policy of our Government to do so, and nothwithstanding that it is now 50 years since the Civil War closed, there are now greater and more reasons for granting and increasing widows' pensions than ever before.

The wives of soldiers and sailors, and especially those who were the wives of such soldiers and sailors during the war, have had more burdens than the average wife. Many of their husbands returned from the country's service crippled with diseases and disabilities contracted in the service. The cares of their wives have been increased as these soldiers and sailors aged. The wife of the soldier or sailor who was such during his service, had to endure trials and tribulations unknown to the great majority of the present generation. They were no less burdensome and arduous than those endured by their husbands. I consider it appropriate in closing these remarks to cite as a tribute to those widows who were the wives of soldiers and sailors during the Civil War the beautiful verses of Thomas Buchanan Read, the Civil War poet. These verses are also appropriate to the present conditions of our country, when efforts are being made in every locality to provide for the wives and dependent relatives left at home as our boys are sent to the front. These verses are entitled:

THE BRAVE AT HOME.

The maid who binds her warrior's sash
With smiles that well her pain dissembles,
The while beneath her drooping lash
One starry teardrop hangs and trembles,
Though heaven alone records the tear,
And fame shall never know her story,
Her heart has shed a drop as dear
As e'er bedewed the field of glory!

The wife who girds her husband's sword
Mid little ones who weep or wonder,
And bravely speaks the cheering word,
What though her heart be rent asunder,
Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear
The bolts of death around him rattle,
Hath shed as sacred blood as e'er
Was poured upon the field of battle!

The mother who conceals her grief
While to her breast her son she presses,
Then breathes a few brave words and brief,
Kissing the patriot brow she blesses,
With no one but her secret God
To know the pain that weighs upon her,
Sheds holy blood as e'er the sod
Received on Freedom's field of honor!

As a fitting and appropriate closing of these remarks I take the liberty of quoting from the report of the Invalid Pensions Committee in reporting this bill for increasing widows' pensions to the House for passage, which are as follows:

All patriotic men will enlist more freely in the defense of their country when they have the assurance that if death overtakes them their widows will be generously cared for by a grateful Government. It is the wife and mother who sets the light in the window and patiently and anxiously awaits the return of her weary and broken-in-health husband, who, leaving all that is dear behind, went forth to defend the old flag and the Nation's honor with his life's blood. It is the wife who gives birth to all of the soldiers and heroes of the past, the present, and the future. It is the wife who gently ministers in loving tenderness to the old comrade when the dread messenger stalks into the humble home and bears away her companion and support, leaving her grief stricken, desolate, and alone. She then has no one to turn to for succor and relief except the great Government her loved one served most faithfully and loyally. This bill seeks to attest in a small degree the gratitude of a rich and mighty Nation for the frail old woman left behind.

RENEW PROMISE TO OLD SOLDIERS AND THEIR WIDOWS.

The gratitude of the Democratic Party to the old soldier for his services is not yet exhausted. This is clearly shown by the fact that in the recent Democratic national convention, held at St. Louis, Mo., a plank was incorporated in the Democratic platform pledging anew the grateful efforts of the Democratic Party to the old soldier, sailor, and widows.

The following is the plank incorporated in said platform:

PENSIONS.

We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows, and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

This amply demonstrates that the Democratic Party has not yet grown weary of liberally and gratefully providing for the old soldiers, sailors, and their widows.

Upon searching the Republican platform of 1916 for pensions we find that no provision whatsoever relating to pensions has been included in the Republican platform of 1916. Evidently the love of that party for the old soldier and his widow has become exhausted or become fickle, and the burden has now been shifted entirely to the Democratic Party. All friends of the old soldier and sailor may rest assured, however, that the love of the Democratic Party for the old soldier, sailor, and his widow is not exhausted, but will continue while a needy old soldier, sailor, or his widow still remains living. The old soldier and his wife may, in view of what the Democratic Party has done in the line of liberal pensions for them in the past, rely with confidence upon the promise of the Democratic Party in the future.

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## The Clayton Antitrust Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOSEPH TAGGART,
OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. Speaker, it gives me particular pleasure to have this article by the distinguished president of the American Federation of Labor printed in the RECORD. I was, in the former Congress, and am now, a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, and had the honor of taking part in writing and reporting the Clayton antitrust law. It was thought by many that if labor organizations were exempted from the operation of the antitrust law it would result in general lawlessness. It has turned out, however, that such fears and apprehensions were entirely without foundation.

When we provided for a trial by jury, a right that was supposed to have existed for 700 years, a right that is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, some pessimists thought that the flag would come down. But, Mr. Speaker, the flag is still there, and the real truth is that there is a better feeling on account of what we did and a better opportunity to settle labor disputes by peaceful arbitration. Nothing provokes violence so certainly as arbitrary power.

It was not the intention of the original framers of the Sherman law that it should apply to labor organizations at all. The language of that law, however, was so broad that courts began to apply it in cases where there was alleged interference by labor organizations with interstate commerce. Courts went so far as to hold—as they did in the Danbury Hat case—that interstate commerce began in the factory where goods were being manufactured, to be afterwards shipped across State lines, and that any interference with filling the order was an interference with interstate commerce, for which damages might be recovered.

I am not offering this as a partisan argument. I admire the statement of the great president of the federation, who says, along toward the conclusion of his article, that—

With the workers it is not a question of partisan politics. As the great conference in 1906 declared, the organized-labor movement is not partisan to a political party but partisan to a principle, and that principle for justice, freedom, and humanity.

I believe the time is past in this country when workingmen will be satisfied with acts of Congress that are intended simply to encourage the generosity of wealthy concerns. They will not be satisfied with those public measures that are intended to promote the prosperity of those who are engaged in great enterprises, with the hope, of course, that the persons and concerns that are benefited will share their profits liberally with those who work for them. On the contrary, the great mass of people who labor will insist upon and demand legislation that will tend to promote the prosperity of one and all alike. Prosperity begins at the bottom and finds its way toward the top. That school of orators and political teachers who for many years were able to convince the people that prosperity begins at the top, and when it reaches the point of overflowing, that it drips down

on those below, are going to have numerous difficulties in the future. That theory of promoting the public welfare has lost ground. If those doctors of politics were present at the feast of Dives they would have advised heaping the table of the rich man with more good things so as to induce him to be more generous to Lazarus instead of helping Lazarus.

The president of the American Federation of Labor has stated truly in his first sentence that—

There has been a force in American politics that has insistently and steadily presented the human side and the human relations of all questions. This force has made itself felt with increasing vigor during recent years.

The men who are behind this force can prove that they are on the clean side of these great questions. They are not all of one party. The welfare of humanity can not be made a partisan question.

What follows is the article, in full, of Mr. Samuel Gompers:

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES.

[By Samuel Gompers.]

There has been a force in American politics that has insistently and steadily presented the human side and the human relations of all questions. This force has made itself felt with increasing vigor during recent years. The results of its work are demonstrated in the clarification of political issues, in the greater consideration that has been given to human rights in legislation and administration, and in the more general representation that has been given to human interest in all departments of government.

When the American Federation of Labor inaugurated its new policy for nonpartisan political use of labor's political power in 1906 the power of corporate wealth seemed intrenched behind impregnable control over the Government. But labor has brought a change in the attitude of Government representatives toward its demands and in the kind and number of laws enacted in the interest of workers.

When the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in 1906, presented labor's bill of grievances to those in responsible positions in the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government they presented 10 demands. Since that presentation all but 2 of these original demands have been enacted into law, in addition to the long list of humanitarian legislation recently set forth in the pamphlet issued by the American Federation of Labor, entitled "Labor's legislative achievements." Labor stands for a broad interpretation of the purposes and methods of government that they may make for freedom, equal justice, and serve the interests of humanity.

The political principles and legislative demands which labor now urges upon the Congress of the United States were, in accord with the instructions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, presented to the platform committees of the various political parties. This thought was urged upon the representatives of those parties, that the time is past when it can longer be questioned that human rights and human welfare are of paramount importance to all the Nation. The future of any political party depends upon what it will undertake to do for the masses of the people.

With the recognition of this principle, we have entered upon a period when there must be competition between the political parties as to which can do most for the citizens of the Nation. The demands which were presented to the platform committees of the Republican and Progressive Parties which met in Chicago were as follows:

"Government and all civilization exist for the service of human beings and the promotion of their betterment. Such purposes are best achieved when those who are primarily affected by policies and methods have the power of determining them. Under such conditions only will there be relations of good will between fellow citizens and a spirit of true patriotism essential to the best development and unity of our Nation. There must be reason for the conviction that citizens can rely upon the Government for impartial maintenance of rights and protection. Such an attitude can result only when principles of human welfare are made paramount to any other consideration. Experience of other countries and scientific information substantiate the contention that sweated industries, overstrain, long and burdensome hours of toil, tend to physical deterioration, loss of mental virility, and consequent decreased producing power. Standards of life and work, daily hours of toil, and wages have a direct relation to economic progress and development, as well as to preparedness for national defense.

"We pledge our party to maintain the Federal law enacted by Congress securing to the workers the legal right of voluntary association for mutual protection and welfare, protecting their rights against unwarrantable issuance of writs of injunction, and guaranteeing the right of trial by jury in alleged contempt cases committed outside the presence of courts.

"National preparedness, as well as commercial development, in keeping with the importance and the dignity of our Nation, require that we shall have competent and able American seamen. We urge as essential to this purpose the vigorous enforcement of the seaman's act and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. We are opposed to any minimizing of present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public. It is essential to national safety, as well as to the maintenance of an American merchant marine, that conditions of work for seamen shall be such as shall induce resourceful, capable, liberty-loving Americans to follow that vocation. Such American seamen will constitute a trained reserve force in times of national peril.

"In order to protect the wages of our workingmen and their standards of living against the dangerous competition of low-priced labor, which will be largely increased at the close of the European war by the migration of such labor to this country, we demand that the immigration and contract-labor laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States all persons who can not read some language.

"The fundamental step in national preparedness for development and growth as well as for defense is education that will develop the power and faculties of all citizens and will enable each to take advantage of opportunities for life and work. We demand that there shall be provisions for industrial education and vocational training in addition to cultural education. National industrial efficiency is not a haphazard occurrence, but is the result of carefully considered methods and policies. The initial requisite for any policy to further industrial efficiency is liberal appropriations for necessary education. As this is a matter of national concern, we demand the early enactment of a law providing for adequate assistance to public educational institutions in the various States, which shall provide for industrial education and vocational training in accord with Federal provisions and standards.

"We demand the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child labor law, which shall give adequate protection to the child life of the Nation.

"We demand the faithful observance and enforcement of all the Federal eight-hour laws and their extension to comprehend all departments of government.

"We urge the enactment of a law by Congress for a comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation act.

"We demand the enactment of legislation excluding from interstate commerce the products of convict labor.

"We demand legislation that will abolish present preventable and appalling loss of life and maiming of human beings in American industry and transportation. We favor the creation and maintenance of a bureau of safety under the Department of Labor, which shall be authorized and directed to collect and collate data dealing with industrial hazards and to devise and recommend to Congress any further legislation necessary for securing safety and conservation of human labor power, as well as to formulate and put into operation methods whereby adequate protection shall be afforded to workers from the hazards of industry and transportation.

"Under the euphonious and misleading term 'scientific management,' and systems of time study and stop watches many have been deceived. Any system which ignores principles of human welfare, disregards consideration of fatigue, and the effects of highly specialized methods of production which subdivide mechanical and other operations into such units that the individual tasks become machinelike and injurious to mind and body, can not be countenanced. These systems not only have injurious effect upon the lives—the physical and mental well-being of our workers—but curb the development of skill among the toilers of America. We therefore demand that all adaptations of speeding up systems shall be forbidden in all work in which the Government is concerned.

"For the safety and the protection of the workers of America we declare for the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

"We pledge our party to the enactment of a law bestowing upon the people of Porto Rico the full right of American citizenship.

"We favor adequate compensation for all employees in the civil service and legislation establishing a reasonable minimum wage for all such employees.

"We favor the creation of a tribunal to which all employees in the competitive civil service may appeal for redress of grievances.

"We favor the enactment of a comprehensive Federal compensation law to apply to all civil-service employees.

"We favor and pledge our support to secure the enactment of an equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service.

"We assert that the acceptance of employment in the civil service of our Government must in no case impair the employees' right of petition.

"We favor Government ownership of telegraphs and telephones.

"We favor the absolute suffrage of women coequal with men."

The platform of the Republican Party contains the following planks of interest to labor:

"The civil-service law has always been sustained by the Republican Party, and we renew our repeated declaration that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable."

"We pledge the Republican Party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child-labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress; and an accident compensation law covering all Government employees. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation, and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

"The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith of government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizing the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

PROMISES OF THE PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM.

The Progressive platform contains the following response to labor's demands:

"A nation to survive must stand for the principles of social and industrial justice. We have no right to expect continued loyalty from an oppressed class. We must remove the artificial causes of the high cost of living, prevent the exploitation of men, women, and children in industry by the extension of the workmen's compensation law to the full limit permitted under the Constitution, and, by a thoroughgoing child-labor law, protect the wage earner; and by a properly regulated system of rural credits encourage the farmer and give to the landless man opportunity to acquire land.

"A country must be worth living in to be worth fighting for."

Labor's demands were presented to the Democratic Party, which placed in its platform the following labor planks:

THE PLANKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

"We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities, and have secured to the workingman the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

"We hold that the life, health, and strength of the men, women, and children of the Nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should both on its own account and as an example put into effect the following principles of just employment:

"1. A living wage for all employees.

"2. A working-day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.

"3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.

"4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.

"5. The standards of the 'uniform child-labor law,' wherever minors are employed.

"6. Such provisions for decency, comfort, and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.

"7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

"We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the States with regard to labor within their borders, and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the Nation should be conserved.

"We declare our faith in the seamen's act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

"We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal child-labor law and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

"We favor the creation of a Federal bureau of safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

"We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

"We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the Nation to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the Federal Government by the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

"We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its excellent record in settling industrial strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

"We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men."

Thus, the workers have before them the platform declarations of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive Parties upon the subjects which most directly affect them. Now, the workers must make up their minds as to which of these political parties is most likely, if intrusted with power, to carry their declarations into effect, and as to the adequacy of the response which each party made to labor's demands. For 30 years wage earners had vainly endeavored to secure the amendment of the Sherman antitrust law so as to place voluntary organizations of toilers outside the pale of antitrust legislation, that they should not be regarded in the same category as trusts and organizations organized for profit.

PERFORMANCES.

For 30 years organized labor had been vainly knocking at the door of Congress to secure relief from the injunction abuse and to have restored the right of trial by jury in contempt cases. For 30 years the workers of America had vainly asked Congress to relieve the seamen from the position of bondsmen, and all this occurred under the domination of Congress and the Presidency by the Republican Party.

The Democratic Congress passed, and on October 15, 1914, President Wilson signed, the Clayton antitrust law. Among its provisions was the declaration that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce. It freed the voluntary organizations of labor from the antitrust law, and under which Attorney General Wickersham said no suit such as the Hatters' case could now be maintained in the Federal courts. Relief from the abuse of the injunctive writ was secured and trial by jury in contempt cases restored. The Democratic Congress passed the seamen's act, and on March 4, 1915, President Wilson signed the act.

With the workers it is not a question of partisan politics. As the great conference in 1906 declared, the organized-labor movement is not partisan to a political party but partisan to a principle, and that principle for justice, freedom, and humanity. As the campaign shall proceed it may be necessary to further elucidate the questions in the coming election of both Houses of Congress as well as the President and Vice President. The liberty-loving citizens of our country will do their own thinking and act accordingly. They will vote as their judgment, their conscience, their patriotism, and their own interests and welfare as well as the welfare of the people of the United States will direct.

## Cost of Living in the District of Columbia.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWARD KEATING,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the pending resolution provides an appropriation of $6,000 to enable the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor to conduct an inquiry into the cost of living in the District of Columbia. The committee has seen fit to offer an amendment broadening the scope of the investigation so as to include an inquiry into the wages paid to wage earners. For reasons which I will detail in a few moments I wish the committee had not pressed this amendment.

The principal object of the proposed investigation is to lay the groundwork for a minimum wage law for the women workers of the District of Columbia. The question of the constitutionality of such law is now pending before the Supreme Court, and I am sure that that distinguished tribunal will sustain the lawmaking bodies of the various States in their efforts to secure a living wage for the women of this country. In case the Supreme Court does render a favorable decision, Congress should be prepared to act without unnecessary delay; but it can not proceed without the information we are seeking to secure through the adoption of this resolution.

I have been asked as to the manner of conducting the investigation. That phase of the subject has been treated in a most satisfactory manner by Hon. Royal Meeker, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in a letter to Senator J. K. SHIELDS, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate. This letter will be found in the report of the Committee on the District of Columbia on the pending bill. I fully indorse Mr. Meeker's plans and feel that if they are carried out they will result in securing the data desired.

The Committee on the District of Columbia held a brief but instructive hearing on this measure. One of the witnesses made the following argument which I believe presents the case in a nutshell:

"We are asking for this appropriation because we believe that the chief cause of poverty is not shiftlessness or drunkenness but underpay. Two years ago the Bureau of Labor made a study of hours and wages of women workers in the District of Columbia. Since that time the eight-hour law has put a stop to overwork. We believe that it is important to get rid of underpay next, and we want this study made as a first step.

"The study of wages revealed, for instance, that saleswomen in department stores—a most popular occupation among women here—are paid at an average wage of about $6.50. In factories and laundries the wages averaged even lower. We believe that women can not live in a condition of health and working efficiency—not to mention detriment to happiness and morality—on such wages It is easy to say that the majority of these girls live at home. Probably they do, although the Young Woman's Christian Association has estimated that there are many thousands of wage-earning women in Washington who are living in lodgings and boarding places, and entirely dependent on their own earnings for their livelihood. Every study that has been made in other cities has gone to prove that it costs a woman between $8 and $9 a week to buy adequate food, clothes, and proper lodging. We have no reason to believe that this estimate is too high for Washington. We want to find out.

"As for the girl who lives at home with her family, investigations made in other cities have gone to prove that she almost invariably has more burdens, rather than less, for this cause. She will be helping to care for the younger children in the family, for an invalid adult, etc.; so that the cheaper cost of living as part of a family is more than counteracted by these extra burdens."

But we do not propose that this $6,000 should be expended exclusively in studying the cost of living for women. We want to make a study of how families get along on inadequate wages.

The only thorough and accurate study which has been made of the cost of living among workingmen's families was a study made in New York City in 1909 by Prof. Chapin, of Beloit College, Wis. Mr. Chapin's conclusions are drawn from a most painstaking study of hundreds of typical families. He ends with these significant words:

"It is safe to conclude from all the data that we have been considering that an income under $800—a year—is not enough to maintain a normal standard."

This means an average wage for the 306 working days of the year—counting out the 52 Sundays and 7 legal holidays—of $2.61 a day; even in the event of steady employment throughout the year and no illness. It it unnecessary to remind you of the vast amount of unskilled and semiskilled work which is paid for at rates a great deal lower than this. We all know how these people live—in hovels, rear tenements, and back alleys, under conditions so insanitary that their dwellings are breeding places for infection for the whole city; they are not warmly enough clad in winter; they are not properly nourished at any time; and they have no provision against ill health and old age.

These conditions must be changed.

Before attempting through legislation or through any other means to improve these conditions, we must have the facts. This $6,000 will give us that information for the District of Columbia and will allow social workers and others interested to know just what steps should be taken.

In the hearings before the District of Columbia Committee Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, stated very clearly why this appropriation was asked for. She said in part:

We have been asking now for this very modest investigation for a long time, and two years ago the resolution got as far as the conference committee between the House and Senate, and at every stage of reaching that advanced position before it perished in the end of the session we were always asked, "Why is it necessary to expend any money investigating the cost of living here in the District of Columbia, in this beautiful city, in this favorable climate, where almost everybody is paid by Uncle Sam? Why do we need further light on the subject?" The only reason for having an investigation is that we have not got any light now, except a few rays that come in from private investigators that can be readily overthrown. We may be accused of being sentimental, inaccurate, exaggerated, having some ulterior motive in getting our facts together; and it is for those reasons that we feel that just as much valuable information can be gotten now as in regard to the hours of labor before the eight-hour bill was passed which came from the Department of Labor. So the only unassailable information that we can get with regard to the conditions of living must come from the same source, and it is to show you that there is some poverty here amongst honest working people; that there is precisely the same reason for making this inquiry here that there was in 13 States which have already legislated on the question of wages and the cost of living of women and minors that we come before you and ask you to consider favorably this very small appropriation. Now, theoretically, one would say that where the climate is so mild as it is here, where people do not have to spend very much money for coal, it ought to cost less, but from what we learn from the people themselves it does not appear that it costs any less, if they have any decent kind of houses to live in. But I am not very much given to speculating. I prefer to have facts. All we are asking is $6,000 worth of facts about the Capital of this country. You see, the charge is made everywhere and all the time that while this is the most beautiful city in the country it is one of the most expensive cities for working people to live in. We would like to know whether that is so, and we think we ought to know.

Two years ago the Bureau of Labor Statistics made a study of the hours, wages, and so forth, of wage-earning women in the District of Columbia. According to that investigation it was shown that in the manufacturing and mechanical establishments 16.8 per cent earned $10 a week or over while 23.8 per cent, comprising the largest single group, earned between $5 and $6 a week. In laundries the average wage shown by the pay rolls of the three typical establishments studied was $5.47. In hotels and restaurants two-thirds of the women interviewed were getting $3 to $4 a week. Following is the table of the earnings of women in retail stores. From it you will note that the average wage of saleswomen in Washington is $6.55, whereas the largest single group of employees are getting between $4 and $5.

*Average weekly earnings of 252 department-store women, individually scheduled, compared with weekly rate of pay as given by 11 establishments.*

FROM INDIVIDUAL SCHEDULES.

| Occupation. | Number of women earning specified weekly amounts. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total number. | Average earnings. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $2 to $2.99. | | $3 to $3.99. | | $4 to $4.99. | | $5 to $5.99. | | $6 to $6.99. | | $7 to $7.99. | | $8 to $8.99. | | $10 or more. | | | |
| | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. | | |
| Cash girls, bundle wrappers, errand girls, etc. | 9 | 47.4 | 9 | 47.4 | 1 | 5.1 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 19 | $2.93 |
| Inspectors and cashiers | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | (1) | 4 | (1) | 1 | (1) | ..... | ..... | 6 | 7.16 |
| Saleswomen | ..... | ..... | 13 | 7.3 | 36 | 20.1 | 34 | 19 | 27 | 15.1 | 19 | 10.6 | 36 | 20.1 | 14 | 7.8 | 179 | 6.36 |
| Office help (clerical) | 1 | (1) | 2 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 4 | (1) | 2 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 5 | (1) | 3 | (1) | 29 | 6.53 |
| Other employees,[2] including department heads and buyers | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1 | (1) | 1 | (1) | 1 | (1) | 15 | (1) | [3]18 | 13.15 |
| Total | 10 | 4 | 24 | 9.5 | [3]44 | 17.5 | 38 | 15.1 | 31 | 12.3 | 30 | 11.9 | 43 | 17 | 32 | 12.7 | [3]252 | 6.55 |

FROM ESTABLISHMENT PAY ROLLS.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cash girls, messengers, bundle wrappers, errand girls, etc. | 44 | 16.5 | 186 | 69.7 | 26 | 9.7 | 7 | 2.6 | 3 | 1.12 | 1 | 0.4 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 267 | 3.20 |
| Inspectors and cashiers | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 5 | 11.1 | 18 | 40 | 11 | 24.4 | 8 | 17.8 | 3 | 6.7 | 45 | 7.30 |
| Saleswomen | ..... | ..... | 95 | 5.4 | 361 | 20.5 | 358 | 20.4 | 300 | 17 | 195 | 11.1 | 226 | 12.8 | 225 | 12.8 | [4]1,760 | 6.55 |
| Office help (clerical) | ..... | ..... | 14 | 5.6 | 45 | 17.8 | 23 | 9.1 | 42 | 16.7 | 37 | 14.7 | 47 | 18.6 | 44 | 17.5 | 252 | 7.57 |
| Other employees, including department heads and buyers | 12 | 3.5 | 18 | 5.2 | 14 | 4.1 | 5 | 1.4 | 43 | 12.4 | 62 | 17.9 | 73 | 21.1 | 119 | 34.4 | 346 | 11.76 |
| Total | 56 | 2.1 | 313 | 11.7 | 446 | 16.7 | 398 | 15 | 406 | 15.2 | 306 | 11.5 | 354 | 13.2 | 391 | 14.6 | 2,670 | [5]6.75 |

[1] Percentages not given, as numbers are too small to make percentages significant.
[2] Does not include workshop women, as they are tabulated under manufacturing industries.
[3] Includes 1 whose occupation is not reported and does not include 17, wages not reported.
[4] In this average 9 buyers whose average wage was $80.75 a week were not included, as among the individuals scheduled there were none of this grade. With the 9 buyers included the average wage would be $7.
[5] Includes the workshop women of one large department store, which included them with saleswomen in their pay-roll data.

Now, as to what these wretched wages mean to the women themselves, here are some cases gathered this winter by the Consumers' League of the District of Columbia, the philanthropic organization under the auspices of which the eight-hour law was introduced.

Here is what life holds for five Washington young women, whose stories, it is believed, are typical of the lives lived by thousands:

1. One girl working in a retail store earns $6 a week. She is wholly dependent on herself, so boards with friends, to whom she pays $3.50 a week for her room and two meals. Each week she pays 50 cents for her laundry, 90 cents for her luncheons (15 cents a day), $1 on a suit which she is buying; and this, as you see, leaves her 10 cents each week for all the rest of her clothing, her car fare, if the weather is bad, for recreation, if you consider that part of a rational scheme of life; and this leaves her no provision for illness, church, and so forth.

2. A girl working in a box factory receives $3 per week. She is absolutely alone in the world, so is living in a charity home, where she pays $1.50 for her room and board. The $1.50 remaining must pay for her clothing, her car fare, and so forth, and she is furthermore trying to save money to put a stone over her parents' grave.

3. A girl earning $4 a week lives at home. She pays $2 per week to her family and $1.50 a week regularly on a charge account which she runs at the store where she works and on which she buys clothing for herself and her sister. Even her 50 cents remaining is often needed for extras at home.

4. Another girl earns $6 per week. Of this she pays $3.50 for her board, room, laundry, and so forth. She has a regular charge account of $1.50, pays 50 cents car fare, and thus has 50 cents for other necessities and pleasures.

5. Another girl, a stenographer, whose work was of a very responsible nature, earns $7 a week. Since she was the sole support of her mother and a younger sister and brother, she gave her entire pay envelope to her mother.

Now, it is because it is believed that these stories are not exceptional but are typical of the lives of thousands of women in the District of Columbia to-day that we want this information.

At the hearings the story was told of an investigator who discovered a sweatshop here in Washington where 200 women were employed to make bungalow aprons at 40 cents per dozen. The investigator was paid two 2-cent postage stamps for her work on one apron, and that same experience might befall any one of the thousands of working women in the District. We can not insist on specific changes in such conditions until we have in hand the necessary facts so that we may make intelligent suggestions. That is what this resolution calls for—an exposition of facts.

In Massachusetts, when such a study was made last year, $8.71 per week was the sum decided upon as the least on which a woman could live in decent comfort. Here are the figures:

| | |
|---|---|
| Board and lodging | $5.25 |
| Clothing ($75 a year) | 1.44 |
| Laundry | .50 |
| Doctor and dentist | .20 |
| Church | .20 |
| Newspapers and magazines | .10 |
| Vacation | .16 |
| Recreation (movies once a fortnight) | .19 |
| Theater once a month | .05 |
| Car fare | .70 |
| | 8.71 |

I leave it to your imagination to figure how the discrepancy between what it costs the girl to live and what she is actually paid is made up.

So much information as to the evils of low wages was given the committee that the resolution when reported out contained an amendment calling for an inquiry into wages paid as well as into the cost of living of wage earners. We already have this information for women (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 116), and, furthermore, it would add materially to the expense to make this double investigation. In that connection I have a letter from Commissioner Meeker, who says in part:

> The amount called for in the original resolution, $6,000, was very carefully estimated to cover a cost of living survey only. If the resolution passes in its present form, it will be utterly impossible for me to comply with the wishes of Congress. The amount, $6,000, is sufficient to enable me to make a satisfactory investigation into the cost of living. If Congress desires a report upon wages within the District, it should make an additional appropriation. I have not made any accurate estimate of the cost of such a wage investigation, as no one had proposed it to me.

For that reason I trust the amendment as to wages will be stricken from the bill. I can not offer the amendment at this time because of the parliamentary situation, but I trust it will be adopted in the Senate.

The commissioner is himself very anxious to make the investigation, as his testimony shows. For one thing he said:

There come to my desk every day almost inquiries as to what is the American standard of living; what does it cost the American family to live? I can answer those only by referring back to the old annual report issued in 1903, which gives information that was collected in 1901. At that time a Nation-wide survey of the cost of living was made by the old Bureau of Labor, and I am obliged to use that data in answering the questions—and they are perfectly legitimate questions, gentlemen, as you can see, with reference to the standard of living of American families.

Now, I am interested in getting the very best and most up-to-date information possible to answer the letters and inquiries that come to my desk all the time. I want to know what the expenditures in American workingmen's families are.

For more than two years women interested in the wage-earning women of Washington have been working for the passage of this modest appropriation. Because their efforts have been so earnest, because 20 different organizations in this city, including thousands of men and women, want the study made, but chiefly because the study will of itself be tremendously valuable to the future of the National Capital, I trust it will pass.

## The Good-Roads Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES H. MAYS,
OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, the first definite step toward the ultimate construction of a national system of good roads is about to be taken. The committees of both Houses having the bill in charge have evidently given careful consideration to every feature of the subject and have finally formulated a measure fair to all sections of the country.

Through a separate vote, the House has just agreed to section 8, which provides for the improvements of the public roads in the national forests. It is entirely proper for the Federal Government to improve its own property and make available to the people those vast areas of the West.

Each State is accorded equitable terms by this bill. Some Members from the seaboard States complain that their people must contribute a higher percentage of revenue than they receive in benefits. They also state that they have already built many miles of road and should not be taxed to help other States.

While this bill may favor the West as argued, other bills passed by the Congress, such as the rivers and harbors and the various bills looking to the vast increases in the Naval and Military Establishments will greatly favor the East. None of the States objecting will have more public roads than it needs even after the program contemplated by this bill has been completed. The measure is eminently fair to each State and to every section in the apportionment of its benefits. It may be interesting to use the State of Utah as illustration. By the terms of this bill that State will fare as follows:

*Apportionment to Utah.*

| | |
|---|---|
| First year ($5,000,000) | $57,950 |
| Second year ($10,000,000) | 115,900 |
| Third year ($15,000,000) | 173,850 |
| Fourth year ($20,000,000) | 231,800 |
| Fifth year ($25,000,000) | 289,750 |
| Total | 869,250 |

This apportionment is arrived at by a consideration of these facts:

Area of Utah in square miles, 82,180.
Percentage of total area of United States, 2.760.
Population of Utah, 373,351.
Per cent of population of United States, 0.408.

*Apportionment to Utah for forest roads.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Each year for 10 years (approximately) | $48,000 |
| Acreage of national forest in Utah | 7,449,000 |
| Total acreage of national forests | 156,281,066 |
| Per cent of national forest in Utah to total acreage | 4.8 |

It will thus be seen that the State of Utah will receive more than a million dollars in the next five years. To this will be added an equal amount by the State Highways Commission, making a fund of over $2,000,000 in the next five years to be devoted to the construction of public roads. After that undoubtedly the wisdom of future Congresses will see that the good work is continued.

## Naval Preparedness.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FREDERICK C. HICKS,
OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, June 27, 1916.*

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, the American people have a pride in the Navy, a pride justified by the glorious achievements of our sailors for 125 years. The record of our seamen stands out resplendent in our history; the ships and the men who sailed them to victory are enshrined in the hearts of our countrymen. Inspired by the gallant deeds of our commanders in days gone by, and with our hearts quickened by the memory of those sea-flung heralds of victory—"I have just begun to fight," "Don't give up the ship," "We have met the enemy and they are ours," "You may fire when ready, Gridley"—the call comes to us from the past to be true to the American Navy.

The functions of a navy are fourfold; to provide:—defense of our country against invasion, protection to the lives and property of our citizens in foreign countries, safety for our overseas commerce, and to assure the maintenance of national policies. Believing that a poweful navy is essential for our peace, security, and development, I favor a program which will provide a navy—the second strongest in the world. That peace, not war, is the desire and the hope of America; that it is the inspiration of our people, now and always, is a statement so true and a fact so undeniable that it is futile to discuss it. No one wants war. It is abhorrent alike to our principles and our ideals. But while our Republic looks without envy upon the possessions of other nations and desires only to pursue its way in harmony and justice toward all, it does not follow that we will be immune from hostilities forced upon us by aggressive enemies or free to maintain without interference our national aims and principles. We must not jeopardize the perpetuity of our institutions nor ignore the high purposes to which our fathers dedicated this Republic. With thousands of miles of coast line to defend, with a Monroe doctrine to maintain, with a growing foreign commerce to protect, with citizens scattered over the earth whose lives and property must be safeguarded, we would be derelict in our duty to ourselves and to civilization were we to falter in making absolute the stability and continuance for all time of our free institutions. Without regard to race or creed or birth, America is united in its determination to protect American rights everywhere, to preserve the freedom of the seas, and to maintain untrammeled and unrestricted the rights of a neutral nation in the midst of a world conflict.

Let me quote from George Washington, who in his eighth annual address said:

To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violation of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, leave no other option.

I believe that Washington's advice is as sound for the twentieth century as it was for the eighteenth.

The naval bill as passed by this House did not provide for the construction of battle cruisers or additional dreadnaughts. In my judgment, this was a mistake, for both are essential to a well-balanced and powerful navy.

I agree with the views expressed by the minority members of the Naval Committee when they said:

We therefore recommend the authorization of two dreadnaughts and six battle cruisers, and feel that anything short of this would not be making adequate preparation for the national defense.

Great Britain, Germany, Japan, and Russia have added battle cruisers to their navies, and we should do likewise. Regarding the battle cruiser it has been said:

Far superior in speed to a superdreadnaught and not inferior in the range and power of her guns, this type of sea fighter seems destined to dominate the ocean for years to come, "for no floating thing that can whip her can catch her and nothing that she can whip can escape her."

Admiral Dewey, in commenting upon the Jutland battle, said:

The battleship which can give and take and stand up and fight is now, and always has been, the main bulwark of our naval strength and the main strength of any navy.

I believe we should have a large fleet of submarines for the protection of our coasts. The submarine, by reason of its

mobility and deadliness of attack, is a most effective and efficient weapon for defense, and we should construct large numbers of them. Owing to the complicated and delicate mechanism of these vessels, it is necessary to allow for a certain percentage of them being temporarily out of commission. The following is a quotation from the report of Admiral Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet:

The condition of the submarine flotilla has been very unsatisfactory, particularly the condition of the machinery of these vessels. So much time has been required to keep the machinery in condition that little time has been available for training officers and crews to operate their ships. The submarine flotilla, even more than the other types of vessels in the fleet, has been hampered by lack of officers of experience.

I am a strong believer in developing and enlarging the aeroplane service of our Army and Navy. The late Lord Kitchener stated that "an aviator is worth an army corps." Other nations have learned by experience the value of airships and are training thousands of aviators. America, the inventor of the aeroplane, honoring the names of Langley, the Wrights, Curtis, and other pioneers, has been negligent in utilizing this most important arm of the service. Our deficiency in this respect should be corrected at once. Extract from report of the General Board of the Navy:

In view of the advance that has been made in aeronautics during the past year and the demonstration now being made of the vital importance of a proper service to both land and sea warfare, our present situation can be described as nothing less than deplorable. As now developed air craft are the eyes of both armies and navies, and it is difficult to place any limit to their offensive possibilities.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that one of the most serious defects in our naval system is the absence of a continuing policy. Each Secretary of the Navy upon assuming office proposed changes and alterations instead of maintaining a definite program. This operates to the detriment of an efficient navy.

Efficient preparedness does not mean the mere assembling of large military forces and the construction of ships, guns, and ammunition. However important all these may be, and they are the basis of every program, the spirit of the American people, their determination and zeal, and their willingness to make sacrifices are the great impelling forces back of an effective Navy and Army.

Let us hope that the American Navy will soon be restored to the proud position it once occupied, and as we recall the memories of our greatness upon the seas in the heroic past let us remember the *Bon Homme Richard* and the deeds of her great commander, John Paul Jones, who by the capture of the British *Serapis* on September 23, 1779, electrified the world by the most brilliant victory in the annals of the seas. "Lest we forget" let us recall his words reporting the conflict:

No one was now left aboard the *Richard* but our dead. To them I gave the good old ship for their coffin, and in her they found a sublime sepulchre. Our torn and tattered flag was left flying when we abandoned her. As she plunged down by the head at the last her taffrail momentarily rose in the air, so the very last vestige mortal eyes ever saw of the *Bon Homme Richard* was the defiant waving of her unconquered and unstricken flag as she went down. And as I had given them the good old ship for their sepulchre, I now bequeath to my immortal dead the flag they had so desperately defended for their winding sheet.

NOTES ON THE NAVY.

There has been much discussion of the relative cost of Government-constructed ships and war supplies as compared with the cost by private manufacturers. Congressman CALDWELL, of New York, a few months ago secured from the Departments of War and Navy some valuable information on this subject, which I take the liberty of using. In estimating cost of manufacture, the following facts were disclosed:

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Plants carry as an overhead charge interest at the rate of 3 per cent upon the money invested. They also take into consideration depreciation in value of the plants. (Buildings from 2 to 8 per cent, depending upon material of construction; machinery from 4 to 10 per cent.) For supervision, 80 per cent of the total pay of the officers so employed is included in arriving at total cost. As to wages, instructions require that same wages shall be paid as are paid for similar work in the vicinity. The men work eight hours a day, and from June 15 to September 15 are granted a Saturday half holiday with pay. They are also granted a 15 days' leave of absence with pay, as well as legal holidays. The amount which the plants would pay in taxes, if privately owned, is not figured in cost of production, neither is interest on expenditures during manufacture considered in cost data.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Interest on capital invested is not taken into account, neither is depreciation in value of plants. Salaries of departmental officials are not included in cost of work, neither are the salaries of navy-yard officials.

Rates of wages conform to the standard of private establishments in immediate vicinity of the yards. Hours of labor are eight per diem. Legal holidays and Saturday half holidays during the summer are granted at full pay, and each man is allowed 15 days' leave of absence with pay. Clerks at the yards are allowed 15 days' additional sick leave absence with pay. The amount which the plants would pay in taxes, if privately owned, is not figured in cost of construction, neither is interest on expenditures during construction considered in cost data.

Plans and specifications are paid for out of department funds and are not charged against cost of ships.

By comparing the above with all the charges which privately owned concerns are forced to assume in figuring costs it is seen, especially in the Navy Department that the cost of Government-built ships do not include all the costs which must be figured in construction work upon ships built in private yards.

NOTE ON MILITARY BILL.

When the military appropriation bill was under discussion on June 21 I offered the following amendment, which was adopted:

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to return to page 9, line 24, and offer the following amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amend, on page 9, line 24, after the figures '$7,750,000,' by inserting the following:

"*Provided*, That all officers and enlisted men of the National Guard who are Government employees and who respond to the call of the President for service shall at the expiration of the military service to which they are called be restored to the position occupied by them at the time of the call."

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, I realize that this amendment may be subject to the point of order, and that it is probably useless to ask the chairman of the committee to permanently withhold his objection. It is needless for me to endeavor to explain the purpose of the amendment, for by its wording it is self-explanatory. I offer it in the interest of the men who serve their Government and for the benefit of the Government thus served. It is apparent to me that however much we may differ on some things, we are all united in admitting that it is difficult—yea, almost impossible—to enlist men in the service of their country. This is not due to lack of patriotism; it can not be traced to a waning of the virility of our people, nor is it based on fear and danger. To me the explanation lies in the fact that men who may be the sole support of their mothers or their wives hesitate to enlist in the National Guard or enlist in the Army, knowing that their positions from which they derive the sole support for their families will be taken from them while they are serving their flag. For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I have offered this amendment, feeling that when a man has patriotism and loyalty enough to offer his life for his country, his country should have magnanimity and generosity enough to keep open for him the position he vacated to defend the flag, and I sincerely hope that my friend from Virginia will not make the point of order.

Mr. BORLAND. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HICKS. Yes.

Mr. BORLAND. This is not confined to men in the executive offices in the District of Columbia, but it extends to service throughout the United States to all men in Government employ wherever they may be found.

Mr. HICKS. Yes. The idea I had in offering it was to facilitate the enlistment in the National Guard. It is a change of service. A man enlisting in the civil government becomes an enlisted man in the military arm.

Mr. BORLAND. I am in sympathy with the gentleman's amendment. I think it is a splendid thing and it ought to be done, and it ought to be a model for other employers to do the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

I feel that this provision should be extended to include all men who enlist in the service of the Government, whether in the National Guard or not, for if men are willing to make sacrifices it is only just that they be assured of their old places when they return to civil life.

REFERENCE TABLES.

COMPARATIVE NAVAL STRENGTH OF THE SIX LEADING POWERS MAY 1, 1916.

This table includes all United States ships built, building, and authorized to date. For foreign navies the data is per ships built, building, and authorized July 1, 1914, corrected for known losses since that date. There is no information available as to the number and classes of foreign ships that have been built since the commencement of the war or that are now building, but the number for each belligerent nation is undoubtedly large. In the tables, in order to make the comparisons uniform, ships over 20 years old are excluded unless they have been rebuilt within five years. Torpedo craft over 15 years old are excluded. There is no satisfactory method of measuring accurately the relative power of two navies, as all elements must be considered, such as displacement, number and size of guns, muzzle energy of battery, thickness and distribution of armor, speed, and endurance. Displacement is a simple and convenient measure.

Great Britain possesses several battleships with a speed of 25 knots and Germany several with a speed of 23 knots, while the fastest dreadnaught in the United States Navy does not exceed 22 knots. Great Britain has several battle cruisers with a speed of 33 knots and Germany several with a speed almost as great. In armored cruisers Great Britain has a large number with a speed in excess of 24 knots, while our fastest cruisers have a speed only slightly in excess of 22 knots. France and Japan, as well as Russia, have battle cruisers with a speed greater than any ship in the United States Navy.

| Type of vessel. | Great Britain, | | | | Germany. | | | | United States. | | | | France. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Built. | | Building. | | Built. | | Building. | | Built. | | Building. | | Built. | | Building. | |
| | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. |
| Battleships (dreadnaught type) | 34 | 795,100 | 2 | 53,250 | 20 | 463,822 | 2 | 58,000 | 9 | 277,150 | 8 | 250,300 | 7 | 161,884 | 10 | 265,312 |
| Battleships (predreadnaught type) | 28 | 418,000 | | | 20 | 242,800 | | | 22 | 309,342 | | | 14 | 216,045 | | |
| Battle cruisers | 10 | 216,700 | 6 | 128,000 | 6 | 142,924 | 3 | 84,000 | | | | | | | | |
| Armored cruisers | 27 | 322,500 | | | 3 | 28,620 | | | 10 | 140,080 | | | 17 | 179,417 | | |
| Cruisers | 71 | 342,255 | | | 32 | 128,430 | 2 | 9,000 | 14 | 66,410 | | | 7 | 38,228 | 6 | (1) |
| Coast-defense ships | | | | | | | | | 4 | 12,900 | | | 1 | 8,880 | | |
| Destroyers | 85 | | | (2) | 145 | | | (2) | 53 | | 17 | | 85 | | | (2) |
| Torpedo boats | 47 | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | 121 | | | |
| Submarines | 85 | | | (2) | 32 | | | (2) | 39 | | 36 | | 61 | | | (2) |
| Total tonnage, built and building | 2,513,697 | | | | 1,261,310 | | | | 1,152,998 | | | | 992,269 | | | |

| Type of vessel. | Japan. | | | | Russia. | | | | Italy. | | | | Austria-Hungary. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Built. | | Building. | | Built. | | Building. | | Built. | | Building. | | Built. | | Building. | |
| | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. |
| Battleships (dreadnaught type) | 6 | 165,240 | | | 6 | 138,070 | 2 | 44,870 | 3 | 62,644 | 7 | 187,150 | 3 | 60,030 | 5 | 118,010 |
| Battleships (predreadnaught type) | 12 | 183,116 | | | 7 | 99,580 | | | 8 | 96,100 | | | 6 | 74,613 | | |
| Battle cruisers | 4 | 110,000 | | | | | 4 | 128,000 | | | | | | | | |
| Armored cruisers | 13 | 138,406 | | | 5 | 56,700 | | | 9 | 74,020 | | | 2 | 13,380 | | |
| Cruisers | 12 | 54,415 | | | 5 | 35,000 | 4 | 27,000 | 6 | 18,830 | 2 | 4,888 | 5 | 13,815 | 5 | 21,216 |
| Coast-defense ships | 1 | 4,126 | | | 1 | 8,880 | | | | | | | 6 | 41,700 | | |
| Destroyers | 54 | | 8 | | 94 | | 46 | | 36 | | 15 | | 18 | | | |
| Torpedo boats | 20 | | | | 11 | | | | 68 | | 2 | | 39 | | 24 | |
| Submarines | 13 | | 4 | | 56 | | 26 | | 19 | | 8 | | 6 | | 6 | |
| Total tonnage, built and building | 699,367 | | | | 690,717 | | | | 497,815 | | | | 372,008 | | | |

[1] Projected. [2] Not known.

The following report of Admiral Dewey is of interest:

The chief constructor of the Navy stated that there are now in private shipbuilding establishments 10 building slips of sufficient size to take battleships, and of these 4 are capable of taking battle cruisers. The chief constructor also stated that in all private yards they could probably get ready with reasonable expedition 6 more slips upon which capital ships could be built, and also in a limited time 6 similar building slips could be made available in navy yards. The letters from shipbuilding firms indicate there are available building slips to lay down within 6 months after contracts are awarded the following ships: Battleships, 5; battle cruisers, 5; scouts, 9; destroyers, 22; submarines, unlimited. A capital ship can be completed in 32 to 38 months after signing contract; others in much less time. Capital ship can be launched in a year after laying down the keel, and the slips thus become available for building other ships. The authorization at one time of a large number of ships will encourage builders and manufacturers to increase their facilities.

GEORGE DEWEY.

*United States battleships, first line (dreadnaught type), May 1, 1916.*

| Name. | By whom and where built or building. | Date completed. | Length over all. | Beam. | Draft. | Displacement. | Horsepower. | Speed. | Main battery. (Breech-loading rifles.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Feet.* | *Ft. in.* | *Ft. in.* | *Tons.* | | *Knots.* | |
| California | Navy yard, California | Authorized | 624 | 97 3½ | 30 0 | 32,000 | | 21 | 12 14-inch, 50 caliber. |
| Tennessee | Navy yard, New York | do | 624 | 97 3½ | 30 0 | 32,000 | | 21 | Do. |
| Idaho | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden, N. J. | 44 per cent finished | 624 | 97 4½ | 30 0 | 32,000 | 32,000 | 21 | Do. |
| Mississippi | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 32 per cent finished | 624 | 97 4½ | 30 0 | 32,000 | 32,000 | 21 | Do. |
| New Mexico [1] | Navy yard, New York | 10 per cent finished | 624 | 97 4½ | 30 0 | 32,000 | 27,500 | 21 | Do. |
| Arizona | do | 80 per cent finished | 608 | 97 0½ | 28 10 | 31,400 | 34,000 | 21 | 12 14-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Pennsylvania | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 96 per cent finished | 608 | 97 0½ | 28 10 | 31,400 | 31,500 | 21 | Do. |
| Oklahoma | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden, N. J. | 98 per cent finished | 583 | 95 2½ | 28 6 | 27,500 | 24,800 | 20.6 | 10 14-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Nevada | Fore River Co., Quincy, Mass | 1916 | 583 | 95 2½ | 28 6 | 27,500 | 23,312 | 20.5 | Do. |
| Texas | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1914 | 573 | 95 2½ | 28 6 | 27,000 | 28,373 | 21 | Do. |
| New York | Navy yard, New York | 1914 | 573 | 95 2½ | 28 6 | 27,000 | 29,687 | 21.4 | Do. |
| Arkansas | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden. | 1912 | 562 | 93 2½ | 28 6 | 26,000 | 28,533 | 21 | 12 12-inch, 50 caliber. |
| Wyoming | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1912 | 562 | 93 2½ | 28 6 | 26,000 | 31,437 | 21.2 | Do. |
| Utah | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden. | 1911 | 521½ | 88 2½ | 28 6 | 21,825 | 27,026 | 21 | 10 12-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Florida | Navy yard, New York | 1911 | 521½ | 88 2½ | 28 6 | 21,825 | 40,511 | 22 | Do. |
| North Dakota | Fore River Co., Quincy, Mass | 1910 | 518½ | 85 2½ | 26 11 | 20,000 | 31,300 | 21 | Do. |
| Delaware | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1910 | 518½ | 85 2½ | 26 11 | 20,000 | 28,578 | 21.5 | Do. |

[1] Formerly California.

Ships that have not been put into commission speed is estimated. Beam of above ships from 85 to 97 feet 4½ inches. Draft from 27 to 30 feet.
All the above ships fitted with 21-inch submerged torpedo tubes and with from 14 to 22 5-inch, 51 caliber rapid-fire guns.
Each of the above is manned by some 55 officers and from 860 to 1,000 men.
(Battleships are transferred from first line to second line 10 years after the passage of the act authorizing their construction.)
(The word caliber as used in the Navy for heavy guns designates the length of muzzle; that is, so many times the diameter of the bore. A 14-inch 50-caliber rifle would have a bore 14 inches in diameter and a length of 58 feet 4 inches.)

*United States battleships, second line (predreadnaught type), May 1, 1916.*

| Name. | By whom and where built or building. | Date completed. | Length over all. | Beam. | Draft. | Displacement. | Horsepower. | Speed. | Main batteries: Breech-loading rifles. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Ft. in.* | *Ft. in.* | *Ft. in.* | *Tons.* | | *Knots.* | |
| Alabama | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1900 | 374 0 | 72 2½ | 23 6 | 11,570 | 11,366 | 17.01 | 4 13-inch, 35 caliber; 14 6-inch, 40 caliber, rapid fire. |
| Connecticut | Navy yard, New York | 1906 | 456 4 | 76 10 | 24 6 | 16,220 | 20,525 | 18.78 | 4 12-inch, 45 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 7-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Georgia | Bath Iron Works, Maine | 1906 | 441 3 | 76 2½ | 23 9 | 14,963 | 25,463 | 19.26 | 4 12-inch, 40 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 6-inch, 50 caliber. |
| Illinois | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1901 | 375 4 | 72 2½ | 23 6 | 11,540 | 12,899 | 17.45 | 4 13-inch, 35 caliber; 14 6-inch, 40 caliber. |
| Iowa | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1897 | 362 5 | 72 2½ | 24 0 | 11,363 | 12,105 | 17.09 | 4 12-inch, 35 caliber; 8 8-inch, 35 caliber. |
| Kansas | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden, N. J. | 1907 | 456 4 | 76 10 | 24 6 | 16,000 | 19,757 | 18.09 | 4 12-inch, 45 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 7-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Kearsarge | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1899 | 375 4 | 72 2½ | 23 6 | 11,550 | 11,954 | 16.82 | 4 13-inch, 35 caliber; 4 8-inch, 35 caliber. |
| Kentucky | do | 1899 | 375 4 | 72 2½ | 23 6 | 11,550 | 12,318 | 16.90 | Do. |
| Louisiana | do | 1906 | 456 4 | 76 10 | 24 6 | 16,000 | 21,350 | 18.82 | 4 12-inch, 45 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 7-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Maine | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1902 | 393 11 | 72 2½ | 23 10 | 12,370 | 15,841 | 18.00 | 4 12-inch, 40 caliber; 16 6-inch, 50 caliber. |
| Michigan | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden, N. J. | 1909 | 452 9 | 80 2½ | 24 6 | 16,064 | 16,517 | 18.79 | 8 12-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Minnesota | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1907 | 456 4 | 76 10 | 24 6 | 16,002 | 20,572 | 18.85 | 4 12-inch, 45 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 7-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Missouri | do | 1903 | 393 11 | 72 2½ | 23 11 | 12,300 | 16,277 | 18.15 | 4 12-inch, 40 caliber; 16 6-inch, 50 caliber. |
| Nebraska | Moran Bros., Seattle, Wash | 1907 | 441 3 | 76 2½ | 23 9 | 14,865 | 21,911 | 19.06 | 4 12-inch, 40 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 6-inch, 50 caliber. |
| New Hampshire | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden, N. J. | 1908 | 456 4 | 76 10 | 24 6 | 16,145 | 18,104 | 18.16 | 4 12-inch, 45 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 7-inch, 45 caliber. |
| New Jersey | Fore River S. & E. Co., Quincy, Mass. | 1906 | 441 3 | 76 2½ | 23 9 | 14,930 | 23,570 | 19.18 | 4 12-inch 40 caliber; 8 8-inch 45 caliber; 12 6-inch 50 caliber. |
| Ohio | Union Iron Works, San Francisco, Cal. | 1904 | 393 10 | 72 2½ | 23 7 | 12,500 | 16,507 | 17.82 | 4 12-inch 40 caliber; 16 6-inch 50 caliber. |
| Rhode Island | Fore River S. & E. Co., Quincy, Mass. | 1906 | 441 3 | 76 2½ | 23 9 | 14,920 | 20,627 | 19.01 | 4 12-inch, 40 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 6-inch, 50 caliber. |
| South Carolina | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1909 | 452 9 | 80 2½ | 24 6 | 16,136 | 18,357 | 18.86 | 8 12-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Vermont | Fall River S. & E. Co., Quincy, Mass. | 1907 | 455 10 | 76 10 | 24 6 | 16,000 | 18,249 | 18.33 | 4 12-inch, 45 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 7-inch, 45 caliber. |
| Virginia | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1906 | 441 3 | 76 2½ | 23 9 | 14,980 | 23,468 | 19.01 | 4 12-inch, 40 caliber; 8 8-inch, 45 caliber; 12 6-inch, 50 caliber. |
| Wisconsin | Union Iron Works, San Francisco, Cal. | 1901 | 373 10 | 72 2½ | 23 6 | 11,565 | 12,699 | 17.17 | 4 13-inch, 35 caliber; 14 6-inch, 40 caliber. |

All but seven of above ships fitted with submerged torpedo tubes.
(Battleships are transferred from the first line to second line 10 years after the passage of the act of Congress authorizing their construction.)
Beam of above ships from 72 feet to 80 feet, and draft from 23 feet 6 inches to 24 feet 6 inches.
All above ships fitted with from 4 to 18 3 and 4 inch, 45 and 50 caliber, rapid-fire guns.

*United States armored cruisers May 1, 1916.*

| Name. | By whom and where built or building. | Date completed. | Length over all. | Beam. | Draft. | Displacement. | Horsepower. | Speed. | Batteries: Breech-loading rifles and rapid-fire guns. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Ft. in.* | *Ft. in.* | *Ft. in.* | *Tons.* | | *Knots.* | |
| Colorado | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1905 | 504 0 | 69 6½ | 24 1 | 13,780 | 27,309 | 22.24 | 4 8-inch, 45 caliber; 14 6-inch, 50 caliber; 18 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |
| Maryland | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1905 | 503 11 | 69 6½ | 24 1 | 13,749 | 28,474 | 22.41 | Do. |
| Memphis[1] | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1906 | 504 5 | 72 10½ | 25 0 | 14,500 | 27,371 | 22.16 | 4 10-inch, 40 caliber; 16 6-inch, 50 caliber; 22 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |
| Montana | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1908 | 504 5 | 72 10½ | 25 0 | 14,531 | 28,280 | 22.26 | 4 10-inch, 40 caliber; 16 6-inch, 50 caliber; 22 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |
| North Carolina | do | 1908 | 504 5 | 72 10½ | 25 0 | 14,518 | 27,274 | 21.91 | 4 10-inch, 40 caliber; 16 6-inch, 50 caliber; 22 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |
| Pittsburgh[3] | Cramps, Philadelphia | 1905 | 504 0 | 69 6½ | 24 1 | 13,810 | 29,071 | 22.44 | 4 8-inch, 45 caliber; 14 6-inch, 50 caliber; 18 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |
| San Diego[2] | Union Iron Works, San Francisco, Cal. | 1907 | 503 11 | 69 6½ | 24 1 | 13,750 | 29,658 | 22.20 | 4 8-inch, 45 caliber; 14 6-inch, 50 caliber; 18 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |
| South Dakota | do | 1907 | 503 11 | 69 6½ | 24 1 | 13,750 | 28,843 | 22.24 | Do. |
| Washington | New York Shipbuilding Co., Camden, N. J. | 1906 | 504 5 | 72 10½ | 25 0 | 14,500 | 27,463 | 22.27 | 4 10-inch, 40 caliber; 16 6-inch, 50 caliber; 22 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |
| West Virginia | Newport News Shipbuilding Co., Newport News, Va. | 1905 | 503 11 | 69 6½ | 24 1 | 13,750 | 26,466 | 22.15 | 4 8-inch, 45 caliber; 14 6-inch, 50 caliber; 18 3-inch, 50 caliber, rapid fire. |

[1] Formerly Tennessee. [2] Formerly Pennsylvania. [3] Formerly California.

All above ships fitted with submerged torpedo tubes. (In the batteries the large guns are breech-loading rifles, the rapid-fire guns being those of small caliber.)
Beam of above ships from 69 feet 6 inches to 72 feet 10 inches; draft 24 and 25 feet.

## European War Zone Conditions.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 30, 1916.*

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, we have all heard from different sources, varied descriptions of the real conditions in the stricken European war zone. The newspapers have given so much space to the various battles that have been fought, that they have found very little room to give details of the actual conditions amongst those who live in the cities and villages that have been bombarded or seized, now by one combatant and then another.

The State Department and the Department of Labor had both made Herculean and extraordinary efforts to obtain information as to the whereabouts of the wives and children of American citizens who had been temporarily traveling in Europe and visiting near relatives. It soon became apparent, however, that this Government was not in a position to do the entire work effectively, not only because of the lack of funds but also on account of the numerous cases that were daily arising. The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America undertook to relieve the departments as much as possible from this work. Accordingly less than a year ago Mr. Isidore Hershfield, a native-born American citizen and a lawyer of the highest standing in New York City, volunteered to go from the United States, make an accurate and thorough investigation

as to conditions in the war zone, and at the same time open up the lines of communication between stricken Europe and America, so that letters could be sent from the war sufferers to their relatives in the United States, and in return the good men and women of this country who desired to respond to the greatest call for relief the world has ever received could be placed in a position where their correspondence could be delivered to the addressees whom they desired to reach. We have heard of how the message was carried to Garcia in the Spanish-American War, but when the story is written of the great war the name of Isidore Hershfield will be forever associated with it as the one man who earned the gratitude of countless thousands for enabling them to learn what was the true condition of their relatives.

On Thursday evening, June 29, 1916, at Carnegie Hall, New York City, he rendered an oral report as to what he found as a result of his investigation, and the Secretary of Labor, Hon. William B. Wilson, was present to welcome him home in the name of the United States Government.

Mr. Speaker, his report is such a humane document that depicts so touchingly the scenes and conditions which he saw and found that I read it in full:

REPORT ON EUROPEAN TRIP.

Our society, as its name indicates, aims primarily to meet the immigrant Jew at the portal of America, to extend to him a Jewish greeting, to make easier the beginning of his life in America, to bring him at once into such influences as will rapidly Americanize him without taking away the influence or fervor of his Judaism, and in other numerous ways to handle the Jewish immigrant question at every one of its troublesome and important angles.

In times of peace, the Postal Service, banks, and express companies furnish to the immigrant the means of free and open communication with his family and friends in Europe and facilities for sending home money to his loved ones.

This healthy stream of communication between America and that part of Europe which has now become the bloody territory of the eastern war zone, a stream carrying argosies of money and peaceful greetings from relative to relative and friend to friend, was wholly closed at the outbreak of the European war. At a time when this flow of money was more needed than ever, the ordinary channels of intercourse—the Postal Service—broke down. Here in New York and in all America were hundreds of thousands of Jews seeking a message from their loved ones in this eastern war zone. Anxious men knew only that their wives were in towns unknown to the world in times of peace, but now shown on the war maps; fathers were without a word or message from their children living in places that had now become battle fronts; grief-stricken children sought to learn of old parents, in whose homes were now heard the combat of armed forces; and there seemed to be no way in which their justified longing for news of their dear ones could be met and satisfied.

To these hundreds of thousands of Jews here it was but natural that they should bring their inquiries to their first American friend, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America. Nor did we turn away these inquirers on the technical ground that this demand was not within the four corners of our normal activities. Surely, it seemed to us, no better service could be rendered to the peace of mind of the immigrant Jew and his consequent usefulness to our country.

These inquiries, which were afterwards termed the "welfare and whereabouts inquiries," were first addressed to the Department of State at Washington, to be made through our diplomatic and consular representatives. The Department of State gave us at once its fullest cooperation. The inquiries were growing rapidly from hundreds to tens of thousands. But the mail service was no better for the State Department than for the individual inquirers themselves, and our diplomatic and consular representatives in the countries to which these inquiries were directed did not have the necessary facilities for this work, and were additionally burdened with the diplomatic representation of some of the countries involved in the war.

We did not then understand or know why no message had come from the Jews in that part of Russia occupied by the armed forces of Germany and Austro-Hungary. We knew of the expulsions in May, 1915, of all the Jews from the Gubernia or Province of Kovno; we knew, too, of similar expulsions of Jews from other parts of Russia; we knew in a general way that battle lines drive out civilians and cause the evacuation of whole noncombatant populations; and to this state of affairs we ascribed the absence of communication from abroad. We thought that in these compulsory and hasty expulsions, evacuations, and wanderings our Jewish brethren in the eastern war zone had become dispersed and widely scattered. We believed that the residents of Warsaw may be in Lodz, those of Kovno in Wilna or Grodno; the people of Wloclawek in Lublin; the residents of Pietrokow driven farther east to Bialystock; and we supposed that in the hurry and panic of this enforced and hasty migration the addresses of American relatives had been forgotten or lost.

When I reached Germany, however, I learned that there was a different but sufficient cause for this lack of communication. The German and Austro-Hungarian military forces had, as a war measure, closed all postal and other direct communication between the occupied parts of Russia and all foreign countries, including America. To install a substitute for a postal service and reopen communication was the task to which my work and energy must be directed.

On Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1915, I reached Berlin. Letters of introduction from Mr. Robert Lansing, our Secretary of State, and from our good friend, who is with us this evening, William B. Wilson, the Secretary of Labor, secured for me the fullest cooperation of Mr. James W. Gerard, the American ambassador at Berlin, and Mr. Julius G. Lay, the American consul general at Berlin. They frankly welcomed the arrival of your representative and his mission, the fulfillment of which would lighten the labors of their respective offices. Both of these offices had an accumulation of thousands of letters from America inquiring for the welfare and whereabouts of relatives in Poland, and thousands of letters from residents of Poland asking for communication with their relatives in America.

Many of the letters which had been received by our ambassador and consul general in Berlin had already been forwarded to the State Department at Washington for remailing to the American relatives, but owing to removals and incorrect addresses these letters were undeliverable by the United States postal authorities. Such letters were returned to the State Department at Washington and subsequently returned to Berlin, causing a long delay. Meanwhile the inquiring families were without news or assistance from America. Your representative asked that all letters of inquiry to and from America received at the embassy or the consul general's office be turned over to him and the German Hilfsverein for attention. Mr. Gerard cabled to the State Department at Washington for permission to so dispose of these letters, and, at my suggestion, referred for the standing of the German Hilfsverein to Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis, and Mr. Oscar S. Straus. The State Department promptly cabled its consent; from these letters immediately handed over to us were compiled the first lists sent to America, whose eager reception and great value have been chronicled in the newspapers of our land, and are already items of American-Jewish history. To all American inquirers, the ambassador and consul general sent a form letter stating: "Your letter inquiring in regard to certain relatives or friends in portions of Russia under German occupation has been referred to the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, Stegilzter Strasse 12, Berlin, an organization which is working jointly with the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, 229 East Broadway, New York City, and the American Relief Committee for Sufferers of the War, 174 Second Avenue, New York City. These charitable organizations have facilities for making inquiries of this nature, and will make inquiries and give replies to inquirers of any information obtained without cost or charge of any kind and without regard to nationality or creed. Moneys for the relief of your relatives or friends can be sent to any of the above-named organizations, who will forward same without charge or deduction of any kind and without regard to nationality or creed. Money can also be sent through any bank or express company transacting an international exchange business."

To this extent, at least, our society, at the commencement of its work, obtained the full cooperation and almost official recognition of the authorities of the United States of America and its diplomatic and consular representatives. You have noticed that this letter states that this work of intercommunication and of facilitating the sending of individual remittances was to be done through our society "without regard to nationality our creed."

I arrived in Warsaw on December 24, 1915, on a blizzard morning. It seemed an appropriate setting for your representative's entry upon the stage of his real work. The elements in wild conflict, the temperature at the zero point, were a fitting reflection of the conflict of the European nations and its chilling of human sympathies and humane tendencies. Warsaw with its 900,000 inhabitants, of which 350,000 are Jews, gave me my first view of a conquered city in a conquered land. The German soldier everywhere in evidence; restrictions upon travel to and from Warsaw and even within the city itself; additional requirements of registration with the military authorities; absence of all telephone communication in the city; local population like that of all occupied Russia, seemingly satisfied to have been freed of its former Russian sovereignty, but racked with the uncertainty of its ultimate disposition and mastership; on its main streets, business and civic activities seemed to be continued along normal lines, but a visit to the poorer residential quarters brought out the story of the suffering and poverty following in the wake of every war.

Prior to the war a Boy Scout movement was organized in Warsaw. Clearly such a movement emanates from the so-called better, intellectual, and cultured classes. Yet in the book of rules and regulations of the Boy Scout Organization, a list of the equipment required of each boy is followed with the statement: "In purchasing the above equipment, as well as in making the purchases that you or your family may need, do not buy anything of the Jews." This book was, of course, published only after being approved by the official Russian censor. It needs no imagination to realize what small measure of compassion and humanity can come from those who teach and are taught such principles of religious hatred.

Prices of food have soared to figures that spell absolute starvation for the poor. Bread, which ordinarily costs 3 kopekas per pound in Warsaw, now costs from 14 to 17 kopekas. Similar prices prevail throughout Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and the Baltic Provinces. The bread is quite black, exceedingly soggy, and contains much potato flour and potato peelings. All food supplies cost on the average from four to five times as much as in peace times. Nor are dumb animals spared from the insufficient food supply. The price of hay and oats has risen to such fabulous sums that the horses which were not taken for the Russian Army, are exceedingly lean and hardly able to do their work of hauling. But of the suffering from the insufficient food supply, I shall speak later.

The American relative must be informed at once that his European relative still lives, where he now resides, and whether he is in need of aid. For this purpose I established local committees in the principal cities of Poland, each city to act not only for itself, but for the surrounding country. The task of each local committee was to establish headquarters and to notify all of the people of that city and district—and again without distinction of nationality or creed—to register upon form lists their names and addresses, and the name and address of the American relative to be communicated with. These lists were headed "List of residents of ——— who seek assistance from their American relatives." Rules and regulations were drafted by your representative for the guidance of the local committees, and they were directed to send these lists to the general committees established by me in Warsaw, which was the relay station for that part of Russia occupied by the German forces, and whence they were to be sent to Berlin for further transmission through Rotterdam to our society in New York. In America the people were informed of the name and address of the European relatives who sought assistance.

My first work was in the general government Warsaw. Here I visited or organized committees in Warsaw, Lodz, Kalish, Wloclawek, Lovicz, Skierniewicze, Sochacew, Plock, Lomza, Wyskow, Serock, Kutno, Mlawa, Lukow, Ostrolenka, Siedlice, Ivangorod, and other places, covering the principal towns along the German frontier, and on both sides of the Vistula River. In each place that I visited in the general government Warsaw, as well as in the Austrian occupation and in Lithuania and Courland, the Jewish population recognized fully the importance and high value of this work of establishing communication with America, and the thanks of hundreds of thousands of people were generously given to the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society.

The demand of your representative was for nothing less than the opening of a direct postal service between the residents of general gov-

ernment Warsaw and the United States of America. I explained to the military authorities that very many letters are incorrectly addressed and that many persons desired to communicate with relatives in America whose addresses they did not know. For these reasons I urged that all letters permitted to be sent should be addressed to the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, which has unusual facilities through its long acquaintance with immigrants and immigrant problems for correcting wrong addresses and supplying missing ones. And in order that the letters permitted to be sent should require only a minimum of the censor's time and attention, we drafted a form of letter, which though brief was sufficient. The authorities, in line with their usual attitude of helpfulness and their readiness to extend to me every facility for this work of mercy and practical relief, granted this great privilege of opening a direct mail from all of gubernias within the general government Warsaw to the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, at 229 East Broadway, New York City.

Notice to this effect was officially published in all of the newspapers, and thousands of placards in German were posted in all towns, cities, and villages, calling the attention of the people to this direct mail service to America. You will be interested in seeing one of these placards, a really historical document marking the opening of the first mail to foreign countries from any part of occupied Russia. The placard reads in English translation:

LETTERS TO AMERICA.

The direct postal service to America for persons who wish to ask for aid from their American relatives is permitted under the following conditions:

First. All letters must be brief, written in German or Polish, and according to the following form:

To ----------,
(Name of addressee.)
City ------,
Street and number -------.

We are well, but urgently need financial assistance. Please help us. We send our best regards.

Name of writer ------ -------,
City ------,
Street and number -------.

Second. In addition to the above information, a death in the family may also be communicated. All other news is absolutely forbidden.

Third. The letters must be placed in an open envelope, which must bear the following address:

"HEBREW S. & I. AID SOCIETY,

"*229 E. Broadway, N. Y. City.*"

On every envelope 20 pfennigs postage must be affixed.

Fourth. The above-named society in New York undertakes to deliver these letters to the American addresses without charge.

Warsaw, 9th February, 1916.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT WARSAW.

The importance of learning of a death in the family is found in the religious requirements of Jews and Catholics to observe periods of mourning and anniversaries.

The name of our society is abbreviated in this placard for the greater convenience of the letter writers.

The posting of these placards in the cities, towns, and villages of this part of occupied Russia was hailed by the civil inhabitants with great joy. I frequently saw them copying the form letter and the name and address of our society, the paper in their hands moistened with their tears of gratitude. Here at last was built and in operation a bridge between Poland and America, over which would travel messages bringing comfort to the anxious American relatives and carrying back financial aid to the impoverished ones. And it was a Jewish organization which built and maintained this priceless bridge, gladdening the hearts and saving the lives of many hundreds of thousands, aye, millions of human beings.

The further use of registration lists in the General Government Warsaw was, of course, thereafter dispensed with, but a similar direct postal service had to be established in the other parts of occupied Russia. Your representative, even before all of the details of the direct postal service with General Government Warsaw had been completed, visited Lublin, to confer there with Gen. von Diller, the Governor General of the part of Russia under Austro-Hungarian occupation. The postal service in General Government Warsaw had to be sanctioned not only by the military authorities at Warsaw, but also by the civil and military authorities at Berlin, including the German foreign office, ministry of war, and the post office department of the German Empire. So, too, for the Austrian occupation, the general plan of a direct postal service had first to be sanctioned at Vienna by the Austro-Hungarian foreign office, ministry of war, and general post office department. A subsequent trip to Lublin and a stay there of 12 days were required to perfect the details and to put into actual operation a direct postal service between the whole southern part of Poland under Austro-Hungarian occupation and America. This being finally sanctioned, official notice was published in all the newspapers and placards similar in form to those in General Government Warsaw were posted in all cities, towns, and villages.

The same tearful, grateful delight welcomed these placards, and the thousands upon thousands of letters which we have received and are still receiving from these parts of occupied Russia attest the practical utility of this postal service and warrant the expenditure of the large amount of money and energy required in this undertaking.

And now for the message that you all so anxiously await. What are the conditions of our Jewish brethren in the occupied part of Russia?

Please understand that my work was solely to open a channel of communication for letters and remittances from relative to relative. I had nothing to do with the distribution of the relief funds collected in America for the benefit of the Jewish sufferers in the war zones; hence it was not part of my task to study the conditions of the Jews in occupied Russia. But no heart through which runs Jewish blood could visit the places where I have been without informing himself of Jewish conditions. The Jewish situation compelled my attention, and my sympathies forced me to acquaint myself as much as possible with conditions there. It was heartbreaking to have to play the rôle of silent spectator and mere auditor. The suffering and poverty that I have seen and which I did not have the means of alleviating caused me many tears and made my work there none too pleasant. I have already mentioned the special economic condition of the Jews in the occupied part of Russia and the effect of the war thereon. I am convinced that there are to-day in occupied Russia fully three-quarters of a million Jews, mostly women and children, who are exposed to disease and in danger of starving.

I have frequently been asked, "Are people dying of starvation?" I can not answer this question. I am unable to diagnose a case of starvation and can not state from an observation of a corpse whether starvation was the cause of death. And, too, few people ever die of starvation alone. If you shut a man in a room under lock and key for a week and find him dead at the end of that period, it is quite reasonable to say that he died of starvation. But when you reduce the food supply to a minimum in quantity and quality, it is surprising how long a human being can drag out an existence under such conditions. He may, as is often the case, fall in his weakness and sustain physical external injuries or a concussion of the brain.

In Warsaw I saw an old man fall in the street and helped him to a doorstep. Neighbors revived him with tea. I asked him whether he needed medical aid, and he replied that there was nothing the matter with him except that he had eaten nothing in two days.

In Lublin I saw in a courtyard a woman who had fainted. When she was revived she asked for food, which, she said, she had not had since the preceding day. Again, many of the ill fed succumb to disease or to epidemics so horribly prevalent because their power of resistance has been reduced and their bodies weakened from insufficient nourishment. The food supply in general being scarce in quantity, and prices being exceedingly high, our Jewish brethren, largely poor even in peace times, find their poverty now more grinding and are less able than ever to procure an adequate supply of food.

The best form of relief, in my opinion, would be the shipment of foodstuffs to occupied Russia. Much has been done and is still being done to obtain the consent of England to raise its blockade to this extent. But money can still buy articles of food. The local Jewish relief committees in almost all cities and towns have instituted food kitchens, free tea halls, and stores for the sale of food supplies at or below cost. The vast numbers who daily patronize these kitchens and stores testify to the acuteness of the demands.

It is particularly pitiful to see the food kitchens which cater specially to children. The scarcity of food has revived in these children the animal instinct of burrowing and concealing food. I have seen at these food kitchens, which give to each child one meal a day, consisting of a bowl of soup and a chunk of bread, children—even little tots of 3 or 4 years of age—eat the soup alone and pocket the bread for use as an evening meal, because they knew that nothing else would await them at night. Milk is also distributed by these Jewish committees. The scarcity of milk and its consequent high price fixes the milk allowance at a half pint per child. I shudder when I think of Jewish infants and nursing mothers perishing for want of milk.

These conditions of hunger, suffering, and disease exist in all parts of occupied Russia. It is impossible to say which town or city has been hit hardest by the ravages of war. Each makes the claim of suffering the most and of having the greatest need for relief, but this is so because each city or town knows and feels only its own privations and want.

Lodz points to its ruined and silent cotton mills, its unemployment, its epidemic of smallpox. Kalisch shows you its main business section entirely destroyed by fire, its lace factories burnt or dynamited by the departing Russians. Bialystock points to its dreadful epidemic of spotted typhus and shows you many streets closed to traffic, with signs reading "Strasse gesperrt eintritt verbotten; fleck typhus," and bearing a skull and crossbones. Not only are these streets closed, but the doors and windows of the houses are nailed up so that the occupants can not leave their homes. The German military authorities send a field kitchen into these streets with cooked food for the dwellers. Wilna takes you to its poor quarters, where you find Jews—men, women, and children—living in subterranean chambers, in subcellars, and in rooms opening from subcellars into which not a ray of daylight ever enters. These I visited by candlelight in the forenoon of a bright sunshiny day. Surely our people are spared under divine guidance for a divine purpose if they can survive such dreadful living conditions.

Kovno exhibits perhaps the most sorrowful spectacle of all—great, powerful Kovno, mighty seat of Jewish learning and scholarship. This center of Jewish inspiration and Jewish idealism has been stricken as was ancient Jerusalem at the time of the destruction of the Temple. Of Kovno one can truly say, in the words of Jeremiah, "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people? How has she become as a widow?" The city of Kovno had a normal Jewish population of about 45,000, and the Gubernia, or Province, of Kovno had in all a population of 190,000 Jews.

On the 5th day of May, 1915, every Jew—man, woman, and child—in the Province of Kovno was expelled on 24 hours' notice. From this edict of expulsion not one Jew was spared. It included infants, women in childbirth, the aged, the sick, the lame, the poor, the wealthy merchant, the artisan, the lawyer, and the physician. All fled eastward, because to the west was the German battle front. Passenger trains carried many away. Cattle cars which I have seen labeled "24 persons or 6 horses" carried a larger number. Freight cars carried more. But probably half of these 190,000 wandered away on foot. Most of these are practically lost in what is now still Russian territory. Those who fled to Wilna and to other places which have since been occupied by the German forces were later permitted to return. The city of Kovno to-day, however, instead of its normal population of 45,000 Jews, has only about 4,200 Jewish souls. Its business thoroughfares have the silence of a graveyard or a deserted city. Most of the stores are closed and boarded up, the Jewish storekeepers have gone and never returned.

I attended Sabbath services in the large synagogue at Kovno, and found a congregation of perhaps 40, where ordinarily a thousand worshipped.

Stories of May 5 which I heard from the lips of those who were driven out, and who have now been able to return from the city of Wilna, are actually beyond belief. I was asked by the American ambassador in Berlin to deliver a message to a woman in Wilna, from her husband in Buffalo. She had formerly resided in Wilkomir, Kovner Gubernia, with her old mother and three small children, and with the other Jews of the Province of Kovno had been driven out. I learned from one of her relatives in Wilna that she had died on the way from her home town to Wilna, and was buried by the roadside. The grandmother and the three children had continued on to Wilna. The roadsides leading from the Province of Kovno are dotted with Jewish graves.

The family of a Jewish dentist riding out of Kovno on a farmer's wagon on their way to Wilna met an old Jew sitting alone on a mound by the road. No amount of urging could elicit a word from him. He

sat speechless, and in tears. Finally he told that he had been driven from his native town with his sick son of 20; he had carried and dragged the young man along the road toward Wilna, and soon fell behind his townsmen. The following morning his son died. With a spade that he procured from a countryside farmer he dug a grave and buried his son with his own hands. It was on this grave that the old man was found. I saw him later in Wilna, in a hospital. Diagnosis, "melancholia and insanity"; prognosis, "bad."

Lovicz presents a number of houses damaged by shell fire, but finds a moment's diversion in the monument erected in its public square by the German authorities, one side of which testifies to the heroism of the Germans who fell in taking Lovicz, and the other side records, with equal candor, the valor of the Russians who died in the defense of Lovicz.

Sochazew shows complete and utter desolation. Situated on the Bzura River, it was for months in the direct line of battle fire in the campaign to capture Warsaw. Every house in Sochazew without exception has been more or less shattered or destroyed. Not one building stands undamaged. About 400 of its Jewish population had returned and were living in one or two rooms of each house, rooms that have been patched and plastered to make them habitable. This little town looks as if it were being torn down by wreckers, preparatory to new building operations, and as if the wreckers had halted in the middle of their task.

Warsaw escaped physical destruction with the exception of its three bridges over the Vistula River. These, like all of the bridges, railroad stations, freight houses, roundhouses, and railroad bridges, were dynamited by the Russian Army as it fled before the invading Germans. The Warsawites say that a pogrom which would have surpassed in violence and extent any of its predecessors in the history of Russian Jewry had been planned to mark the evacuation of the Russian Army. The Cossacks were already riding through the streets of the Jewish quarter inciting the Polish populace; the cry of "Zhit" was heard; Jewish storekeepers had barricaded their stores and the Jewish population had shut themselves within their homes; that night was one of terror for the Jews of Warsaw. The following day was set for the pogrom; but at early dawn the German Army, unexpected for yet two days, entered Warsaw. The Russian forces were compelled hastily to retreat with barely sufficient time to cross the bridges to Praga. They dynamited the bridges behind them and set fire to Praga. The Jews in Warsaw could see the flames in neighboring Praga, and the Jews in Praga thought that the dynamiting of the bridges was part of the dynamiting and destruction of the whole Jewish quarter of Warsaw.

In many of the places that I visited similar stories of atrocities against the Jews by the fleeing Russians were heard. Many house owners told me of the sums they had paid to the Russian military officers to ransom their homes from fire. Many towns escaped destruction by collecting and presenting to the Russia military commander a generous sum of money as a contribution (?) to the "Russian Red Cross."

You have heard of the hundreds of Jews whom the Russians shot or hung as alleged spies. I talked with the widow of many of them and recall particularly one woman in Sochachew, whose right cheek was permanently bruised and scarred by the heavy heel of the local blacksmith as she resisted the dragging of her husband to be shot.

And what of the Jewish spirit? Has it been undermined and broken by the vicissitudes of warfare, the grinding poverty, the pestelential decimation? The death rate now, twice the normal, may destroy Jewish bodies, but all the calamities Israel has sustained and is sustaining in the eastern war zone have not and will not break the Jewish spirit. The picture of ruin, desolation, and suffering, which I shall never forget, is lightened by a beautiful rainbow of promise. It is only of Jews that one can hear and believe the stories that while Sochazew was being bombarded they held religious services in the cellars. The Mishnayoth classes continued uninterrupted in the cellars of Lovicz while the projectiles were falling all about them.

I will never forget the red-bearded man of Sochazew, who, grasping my coat, told me to pay no heed to the demands of his townsmen for money to relieve their starvation. "Never mind the food," he said. "We have not starved to death, and we shall not. Somehow we will find enough to eat; but look, Mr. American Representative, at this synagogue. It is now months since this roof has been shot through, the ark tumbled over, its side wall a mass of débris. Send us money for the repairing of our synagogue, so that our religious life can continue. God will not see us starve, if we hold to the spirit of our religion." Truly one need only travel through devastated Poland and Lithuania to be assured that we Jews are the "People of the Book."

As to the women and children whose husbands and fathers reside in America. This is wholly an immigration matter, and one to which your representative naturally directed his attention. Many in America are torn with the natural emotions of a husband and father whose wife and children are exposed to the dangers of the war zone. What can be done to bring his loved ones here to him? This question was considered by your representative in conference with German and Austro-Hungarian military and civil authorities. We succeeded in so far regulating this problem that an understanding was agreed upon that these two Governments did not object, in principle, to such women and children emigrating to America to join the heads of their families. Of course, each case and each application must be considered alone and on its own merits. The applicant must be provided with sufficient money or steamship ticket and money to make the journey to America, and must be admissible under the United States immigration laws; the head of the family must have sufficient means and be in a pecuniary position to care for his wife and children so that they will not become public charges; and the applicant must not be under any suspicion of espionage.

At first such women and children when meeting with all the aforementioned conditions were given passes to Berlin or Vienna—as the case might be—there to await further passes to Rotterdam. As these people are not American citizens but are Russian subjects, the application for a further pass for Berlin or Vienna to Rotterdam had to be made through the Spanish Ambassador at Berlin or Vienna, who now represents Russian interests. The resulting delay and inconvenience proving a real hardship, your representative again conferred upon this phase of the question with the German and Austro-Hungarian authorities, with the result that approved applicants are now given passes from their home towns to Rotterdam, without stopping off or delay in Berlin or Vienna. The same rule applies to Galicia.

As to the social and political future of the Jews in Russia itself and in occupied Russia, eyes to America. They confidently expect that in the tribunal wherein peace will be discussed, the voice of American Jewry shall be heard in a demand for equal rights for Jews in all lands. As to how this is to be voiced, they have little concern. Their interest only is that it shall be a united demand, truly representing American Jewry, and presented in a manner that will command heed and compliance.

And now, lastly, a word as to relief. We can not under existing circumstances send food supplies to the occupied part of Russia. But we can send money. Jews residing in America and having relatives in the eastern war zone can confidently be relied upon to strain their financial resources to send to their own loved ones the largest possible remittances. But the duty of relief is not confined to those having relatives there. Are not all Jews brothers? And are we not our brother's keeper? Can those who have no family ties or kin in this terrestrial hell, close their ears, their hearts, and their purses to this great cry of suffering? We, who live in this land of religious equality, who under the equal opportunities afforded to all have in many cases achieved comfort and affluence, must share our comfort and affluence with our poor brothers and sisters and their little ones in Russia, occupied Russia, Roumania, Galicia, and Palestine. The brotherhood of Israel is not limited or closed by geographical or national lines. It is all encompassing. The steady flow of a golden stream from America to those lands must not cease so long as one body is still to be clothed, one mouth still to be fed, and one wound still to be healed.

Mr. Speaker, when Isidore Hershfield sailed from the United States for Europe, at the dock was his aged father, who blessed him and expressed the hope that he might live to see him return to the United States.

It was either fate or destiny that he was to live to see his son return and to pass to the far beyond as soon as his son had given his report of his work, for on Friday he passed away.

The following item from the New York Times tells its own story:

LOUIS HERSHFIELD DEAD.

PIONEER AMONG HIS RACE HERE WAS FATHER OF ISIDORE HERSHFIELD.

Louis Hershfield, father of Isidore Hershfield, director of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, who made an appeal for the starving Jews in Europe at a reception in Carnegie Hall on Thursday night in commemoration of his work in aiding his race, died yesterday morning at the home of his daughter, Miss Lillian Hershfield, at 65 East One Hundred and Fourteenth Street.

He was 92 years old and a pioneer among those of his race who came here from Suwalk, Russia, more than 70 years ago. Mr. Hershfield was one of about 2,000 Jews in this city in the early days and was prominent for many years. His funeral will take place to-morrow from the Uptown Talmud Torah, in East One Hundred and Eleventh Street. He was one of the founders of the Ladies' Fuel and Aid Society. Two daughters and four sons survive him.

## Good Roads.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BENIGNO C. HERNANDEZ,
OF NEW MEXICO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

Mr. HERNANDEZ. Mr. Speaker, we of the Western States are now endeavoring to do all that a poor struggling community can, for the development of our resources, within our sparsely settled Commonwealth.

Within the State of New Mexico there is now an area of 9,935,746 acres in the national forests, very little, if any, of this immense area having been developed by actual settlers or by the Department of Agriculture; none of it is taxable, and it is costing the Government twice as much to administer as the revenues derived therefrom; therefore, as a business proposition, the national forests at the present time are not paying more than half of the cost of administration.

Now, the idea of calling this appropriation "pork" is absurd. It is nothing more nor less than a clean-cut proposition for this Government to improve and develop its own property.

New Mexico and other western States can not afford to go down into their pockets to survey, construct, and maintain all the roads within these national forests, but these communities are perfectly willing to meet the Federal Government half way and do their share of road building aided by the Federal Government, as proposed by this bill.

These immense tracts of land contain millions of feet of merchantable timber, some coal, and perhaps in some instances oil and gas.

In order to make the national forests self-sustaining, and not only self-sustaining but a paying proposition, the mature timber thereon should be sold at the earliest possible date. In most cases this timber is inaccessible, and how are you going to handle it unless you make it accessible by building roads; how are you going to protect the timber unless you can get to where the fire is destroying the timber in case of a forest fire; how are you going to encourage settlers to take up land within the national forests unless they are assisted by good road construction so that they can get their produce out of their farms?

It costs the American farmer between 40 and 75 per cent more to carry his products from the farm to the market than the ordinary farmer in Europe, the reason being simply that the European farmer traverses good roads and splendid highways constructed and maintained by the Government.

All these questions should be answered before any criticism is made of this legislation by gentlemen opposed really to all legislation tending to help these 17 Western States for Federal roads.

Some of these gentlemen complain that it is costing the Government about $3,000,000 in excess of the receipts to administer these lands; very well, these Western States are willing to take these lands, build all the roads, reimburse the Government the amount of money spent on them to date, and they will administer the forests much cheaper than it is done at present by the Department of Agriculture.

A fair illustration of the attitude of some of these gentlemen may be made by comparing the stand that they take in behalf of the Government with a real-estate speculator, either in open land or city lots, who neither sells nor improves his property, but simply holds it, awaiting for the more enterprising man to improve the neighboring property so as to enhance the value of the land or lots of his nonprogressive neighbor.

I know that the Congress of the United States wants to be fair and the high-minded Members mean to act fair toward all of the States, but sometimes they will follow the wrong path for a while and then coming back and meeting their colleagues halfway, and this is as it should be among broad-minded men.

The Western States receive but 25 per cent of the revenues derived from the national forests. Section 8 of this bill provides for an additional 10 per cent as a refunding fund from said proceeds to go toward reimbursing the Government for the ten millions which will be spent in the next 10 years within and in the vicinity of the national forests.

This in a way helps these communities to meet their expenses in road building and educating their children, and every cent of this money is advantageously used in my State.

We have 4,000 miles of main State and intercounty highways, the upkeep of which costs our State over a million dollars a year.

Gentlemen opposing this legislation lose sight of the fact that these Western States alone are paying the revenue now coming into the Treasury from grazing, logging, and other privileges. We pasture our stock, and pay a good fee for doing so; we buy posts, logs, and wood, paying a reasonable price therefor; we get back 25 per cent of the money we pay in, and, in addition to that, we now ask that 10 per cent be laid aside in order to reimburse the Government for the million dollars advanced annually from the Federal Treasury for the construction of good roads.

If you are believers in conservation, which no doubt you are, vote for section 8 to stay in the bill; make the national forests of permanent use; do not regard them as something too valuable to be utilized.

I hope section 8 will be retained in the bill, and that the conference report on the bill in whole will be adopted by this House.

Then we can feel that we have done something for ourselves and something for our western brothers, who are anxious to make our roads the pride of our country.

## Maintenance of Dependent Families of National Guardsmen.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, how easy it is to talk of war when war is far away, to read about battles while following them in the columns of an evening paper. From the soft cushions of an easy chair it is not difficult to map out a strenuous and swashbuckling plan of action—for the other fellow. Blustering jingoes charge the trenches in full view of the enemy—at 2,000 miles away—and other generals of strategy win fireside engagements amid the smoke of a 5-cent cigar. And we have numerous fake militants among us who rush to declare that war should be, but who fight the Nation's battles with some other mother's son or father or husband.

To-day we shall vote an appropriation of $2,000,000 to provide the necessaries of life for dependent families of real soldiers who have answered the country's call to the Mexican border. The National Guard and the militia have gone; they have left their homes, their families, and their accustomed employment. Their salaries and their wages have ceased, but not so with the daily requirements for food, for raiment, and for shelter of their loving wives and little children. These husbands and fathers and these sons have performed the highest duty of a citizen and a soldier. They have left the loved ones at home to serve the Nation. It is as little as we can do to make certain that their dependent families shall not be destitute of those things that keep body and soul together. Our men will make the better soldiers when conscious that "the folks at home" are safe from want. Some day—and soon, we pray to God—these war clouds will disappear; a homecoming will happily await the patriot who went to the front and the homefolks he left behind.

## National Defense Military Highway and Post Road from Los Angeles, Cal., Along the East Base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, Cal., to Lakeview, Oreg.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, the country is interested in building national defense military highways and post roads for the general good that will be accomplished. I have introduced a bill for this purpose. This military national defense highway is proposed to be built where it will be of inestimable value.

The bill this day introduced is known as H. R. 16788 and is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 16788) to acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway and post road extending from Los Angeles, Cal., through Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake past the towns of Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg., and from Alturas, Cal., down Pit River to connect with the California State Highway at Redding Cal.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be constructed a suitable military and national-defense highway and post road of 60 feet in width, with necessary bridges, out of such materials as may be found most suitable and best fitted, between Los Angeles, Cal., and Lakeview, Oreg., and Alturas, Cal., connecting with the California State Highway at Redding, Cal., following the most convenient and feasible route between said points, using, improving, and reconstructing the present highways between said points when convenient and feasible.

SEC. 2. That said military and national-defense highway and post road shall commence at Los Angeles, Cal., passing Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake past Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.; and from Alturas, Cal., down Pit River to connect with the California State Highway at Redding, Cal.

SEC. 3. That said military and national-defense highway and post road shall connect with the various highways that lead from the great valleys through and over the passes east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and in addition to serving the general use of the public through commerce and the mining interests to be adapted to the general requirements of general military defensive purposes, such as transportation of troops, arms, ordnance, munitions, supplies, and to the utilization of the many strategical advantages pertinent thereto.

SEC. 4. That the Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering of the Department of Agriculture and the highway engineers connected therewith shall make all necessary surveys and superintend its construction (with the use of such available machinery as may be possessed by the Department of Agriculture), under the direction of the Secretary of War.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to accept on behalf of the United States the free offers of all necessary rights of way, material, and other assistance for the construction of said military and national-defense highway and post road that may be offered, and that the work of construction shall begin as soon as possible after the passage of this act. That the rights of way for the said military and national-defense highway and post road shall be acquired from the States of California and Oregon and the several counties through which the said highway runs on conditions satisfactory to the Secretary of War.

SEC. 6. That the sum of $3,500,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 7. That in addition to the said military and national-defense highway and post road being used as a military and national-defense highway and post road, the same shall be open to the use of the general public free of tolls and under State control except when used for military and national-defense purposes. That the Secretary of War shall establish rules and regulations for the use of said military and national

defense highway and post road not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

The following letter from Hon. W. G. Scott, executive secretary Inyo Good Road Club, vice president National Midland Trail Association for California, chairman Division of National Parks in Council of National Advisors, National Highways Association, of date June 28, 1916, and articles on the construction of this road, will fully explain the importance and value of the same:

HOTEL TERMINAL,
*San Francisco, Cal., June 28, 1916.*

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
*Member House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

ESTEEMED SIR: Inclosed please find literature pertaining to the matter of a military highway along the east base of the Sierra Nevadas from Los Angeles to Oregon, for the purpose of controlling the various mountain passes and thus forming an insuperable link in the defense system of the Pacific coast.

It is believed that the literature is self-explanatory.

Some few statements deserving special emphasis have been marked. The project has behind it the Inyo Good Road Club, the Lake Tahoe Good Road Club, and the Pacific Military Highway League.

The road is now in use for motor-car travel, but a large proportion of it is unimproved, and the proposition desirable is to make the entire thoroughfare a properly graded and constructed motor-truck highway for local use as well as for national service.

The matter has been placed before the directors of the California Auxiliary of the Naval Consulting Board of the United States.

It is very desirable to have this brought to the attention of the War Department.

Possibly cooperation between the Federal Government and the State might be arranged, or an appropriation might be secured in line with something like the inclosed suggestion therefor.

The object of this is to apprise you of the project and respectfully request your careful investigation, advice, and support.

The exact plan for concentrated action has not yet been fully determined. When decided it will be made known without delay.

Your suggestions and assistance will be considered an invaluable factor.

Any further developments of interest will be communicated.

I ask to remain, with assurance of highest and most respectful esteem,

Your obedient servant,

W. G. SCOTT,
*Executive Secretary Inyo Good Road Club, Vice President National Midland Trail Association for California, Chairman Division of National Parks in Council of National Advisors, National Highways Association.*

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ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE MIDLAND TRAIL, YOSEMITE ROUTE.

An event which is now a part of the good-roads history of America was the official opening, on July 28, 1915, of the Tioga Pass, or, as it is now known, the Midland Trail, Yosemite Route.

Present on this memorable occasion were:

Hon. Stephen T. Mather, Assistant Secretary of Interior; Hon. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, Member of Congress, Massachusetts; Mr. Emerson Hough, the well-known writer; Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, editor National Geographic Magazine; Mr. Robert Bradford Marshall, chief geographer, United States Geological Survey; Mr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, president Museum of Natural History, New York; Mr. C. H. Seavey, member of board of control, California; Mark Daniels, C. E., general superintendent and landscape engineer of national parks, United States of America; Wilbur F. McClure, C. E., State engineer, California; Henry Floy, consulting engineer, New York; F. Bruce Johnstone, Esq., attorney, of Chicago; B. M. Maddux, Esq., vice president Mount Whitney Power Co.; Samuel E. Simmons, M. D., of Sacramento; E. O. McCormack, vice president Southern Pacific Railroad; Mr. Horace M. Albright, secretary to Assistant Mather.

Also the following members of the Inyo Good Road Club:

G. P. Doyle, M. D., president; M. Q. Watterson, vice president; F. M. Hess, recording secretary; J. S. McQueen, D. D. S.; W. L. Smith; A. H. Swallow; Frank Campbell, C. E.; R. L. Spalsbury; L. L. Goen; Hon. Fred Eaton, ex-mayor of Los Angeles; W. G. Scott, executive secretary of club, member Council of National Advisors, National Highways Association.

The Inyo Register, in its issue of August 12, 1915, says that Assistant Secretary Mather sent the following telegram from San Francisco to A. G. Batchelder, chairman executive board of the American Automobile Association:

"Tioga Road through Yosemite Park was formally opened by me few day ago. I passed over it from one end to other in automobile and found it in very good condition. Also passed over part of El Camino Sierra, on eastern side of Sierras, which connects with Midland Trail, and found this road in excellent condition. Can therefore advise eastern tourists to go to exposition via Midland Trail and Tioga Road. Near Tioga Pass in upper part of Yosemite Park Sierra Club maintains supply station, where all visiting automobilists can be satisfactorily supplied with tents and subsistence. Fishing good and scenery wonderful all along route."

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FOREIGN INVASION—THE PERIL OF INDIFFERENCE—CALIFORNIA HIGHWAYS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

[By W. G. Scott, executive secretary Inyo Good Road Club.]

(As a writer who has always something to say worth while, Mr. Scott is one of the best-known contributors to Pacific Motor, and every article from his pen is enjoyed by our readers. The following article in regard to national defense is intensely interesting and appropriately topical at this time, when the whole world is stirred by the fearful horror in which Europe is now clouded:)

The great European cataclysm of maniacal fury which seems destined to remodel the map of the world, should result in the adoption by this country of a policy to increase the efficiency of national defense by every method known to engineering skill and military strategy.

At present there is in process of development a State-wide public utility of supreme importance—the State highway system of California. It requires but brief consideration to appreciate the intimacy of the relation existing between it and the protection of this coast against foreign invasion.

THE BASIS OF SECURITY.

The main trunk lines of the road plan of this State have been established. A thoroughfare along the entire coast of California has been decided upon, and another route has been selected traversing the State longitudinally through the great valleys of the interior, approximately parallel to the seaboard route.

This scheme forms an admirable basis upon which to frame further and effective security against incursion by a foreign foe.

With such excellent beginning, it is of vital importance that the purpose of national defense should enter into all calculations in the laying out of the entire Pacific highway system. In the consideration of unforeseen national contingencies, prudence suggests that careful study be devoted to possible reverses as well as to success.

In accordance with such precept and to make clear the ideas intended to be herein conveyed, we will suppose that a hostile force has succeeded in landing on the coast of California.

A NATURAL BULWARK.

The next move would be seizure of the railroad and highway lines. The defenders, forced to fall back, would establish a principal line of defense along the main-trunk highway in the middle interior the length of the State.

We will suppose the invaders penetrate inland and the defenders again be forced back. The Sierra Nevada Mountain Range straightway becomes the bulwark of the Republic, for which it seems to have been created. The next main line of defense established by the defenders would be on the other side and along the base of the Sierras.

The Sierra Nevada Range of mountains would be a barrier which the invaders could not cross with an extended front and the usual transportation incumbrances of an advancing army.

CRITICAL AREAS.

The various passes would become the portals through which the invaders would be compelled to push, should they persist in forward movement. These passes would immediately become "critical areas" of the highest strategical value for defense, upon which the safety of a nation might depend.

At present the passes of the Sierra Nevadas south of Tahoe, with the exception of Sonora, Tioga, Walker, and Tehachapi, are accessible only over rough, irregular, and indistinct trails, known only to a few cowboys, shepherds, and hunters.

The important crossings of the Sierras at Mammoth, Bishop, Big Pine, the Kearsarge Pass at Independence, Army and Cottonwood Passes near Lone Pine should all be made accessible by trails of good width and grade, constructed according to approved engineering practice, after which should be prepared military maps showing all the sites available for defensive purposes.

FACILITIES FOR ARMY TRANSPORTATION.

Then, with another or third main-trunk highway of boulevard construction along the east base of the Sierras, say, from Mojave to Lake Tahoe, connecting with the various improved trails and lateral routes in the Sierra defiles and passes, such facilities would exist for rapid transportation of men and supplies by motor cars and saddle and pack trains that the California Highlands could be made an insuperable barrier against alien aggression.

The ideas here briefly suggested are indorsed by high military engineering authority.

The creation of a third, or north and south trans-Sierra main-trunk highway, which will at the same time fulfill the function of a county-seat lateral authorized by the highway act, connecting Independence, the county seat of Inyo County, with the State highway system at Bridgeport, is being considered by the State highway commission, and there appears no well-grounded reason to apprehend other than favorable action.

EL CAMINO SIERRA.

This road, to which has been given the name of El Camino Sierra, is in reality possessed of both interstate and transcontinental importance, because the Midland Trail from New York City through St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, Salt Lake, Tonopah, and Goldfield—one of the four main cross-continent highways—joins and becomes a part of it at Big Pine, and in addition it affords the only all-year route between Ely and San Francisco.

The construction of trails in defiles and passes is scarcely less important than improvement of main highway, and should receive the cooperative support of the Departments of War, Interior, and Forestry, in addition to that of the State and county, and energetic movement to that effect is contemplated by the Inyo Good Road Club.

THE PERIL OF INDIFFERENCE.

The Sierras can easily be made an impregnable line of defense. All that is needed is a system of main trails and selection of sites for camps, intrenchment, aviation, and signal purposes.

It is no idle dream to imagine the landing of a hostile force and a breaking through of the shore line of defense. Would it not be well to have roads and trails and the Sierra Nevadas all in a state of preparedness?

Present world happenings suggest the peril of indifference in everything that pertains to national defense.

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THE PERIL OF INDIFFERENCE—ITS EXISTENCE IS BEING RECOGNIZED. POLICY OF BETTER COAST DEFENSE IS RECEIVING ABLE SUPPORT.

[By W. G. Scott.]

[The following is supplementary to an article entitled "Foreign Invasion," that appeared in the September issue of this magazine, in which general allusion was made to the relation between the State highway system and the coast protection of California. In the article here presented attention is more particularly directed to the necessity of improving the Sierra Passes, for the combined purposes of national security and as a State investment for immediate return. Since the preparation of these articles by Mr. Scott it is noted as confirmatory of his views that an able and thorough disquisition somewhat similar in tenor, by the talented writer, Arthur I. Street, entitled "The battle of the Pacific," appeared in November "Sunset," perusal of which is commended. Further corroboration of Mr. Scott's position is shown by the sturdy patriotism displayed by Congressman AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER, of Massachusetts, in his effort to induce the Government to avert possible danger—and the further fact that within the present month, in New York City, has been organized the National Security League, for purpose of formulating a policy for stronger national defense.—Editor's Note.]

During the past year the Inyo Good Road Club has on divers occasions advocated increased coast protection.

It is strikingly noticeable that such action is now being justified by the trend of world events—and that such prominent authorities on national affairs as THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President of the United States, and ex-President Theodore Roosevelt are publicly declaring sentiments identical in general purport with those expressed by the club.

The former in a late interview in Chicago unequivocally stated the pressing need of better protection for our coast.

The latter, who combines in rare degree the qualities of military strategist and statesman, in a recent speech at Princeton, N. J., urged the necessity of general improvement of coast defense, and announced a policy positively startling in similarity to that already advocated by the good-road organization mentioned.

This improved system of coast defense, more particularly in this State, should not be confined to the shore area, but should include inland plans, so as to provide one or more additional lines of defense in case an invading force effected a landing.

While the military value of mountain passes is commonly understood, it may not be amiss to call attention to the conclusive proof thereof afforded by the present European war, where in the Carpathian Mountains futile attempts by a superior force to gain possession of passes necessitated modification of an entire campaign.

Taking the coast of California for direct illustration: Nature has reared in the interior a great bulwark that parallels the seaboard distant therefrom only a day's motor journey.

This titanic barrier that constitutes a secondary line of defense of superhuman efficiency is the Sierra Nevada Range, crossed by several natural depressions, none of which present insurmountable difficulty to an excellent highway.

In fact, each pass is now traversed by a road which only requires improvement and in some places reconstruction to make what the situation requires—a motor-truck thoroughfare.

These natural crossings of the Sierras are the passes of Tehachapi, Walker, Tioga, Sonora, Truckee, and Beckworth.

Each should be traversed by a highway adapted to motor-truck transportation, and such eventually will probably be the result.

Tehachapi already has an excellent road, except that in a few places the percentage of grade might be moderated, with increased comfort to teams and gratification to motorists.

Walker deserves to be improved and made more available for automobile travel because of its attractiveness as a touring route.

There is one pass, however, where exists imperative need of a highway adapted to motor cars, and its immediate demand is more urgent than that of any other.

It is Tioga Pass.

The project of a thoroughfare through this part of the Sierras should be vigorously supported by all motorists because of the transcendental scenery, which includes that of the famed Yosemite.

It should have the active and substantial assistance of the Federal Government, because it would connect El Camino Sierra, the main trunk highway of Trans-Sierra California with the State highway of the San Joaquin, passing through the Yosemite National Park.

The value of such road from a motor-touring viewpoint and from a military strategic estimate to both State and Nation is incalculable.

It would afford direct connection with the Midland Trail and make that route the shortest transcontinental highway between New York and San Francisco.

The Inyo Good Road Club has for some time urged the creation of a motor road through Tioga Pass, but being purely a local organization, it considered the task not strictly within its jurisdiction.

The motor-touring interests of trans-Sierra California, however—as well as of all California—will be so incalculably benefited by such highway, that the club feels impelled to arouse the operant aid of all concerned.

It has been pledged vigorous cooperation by the Sierra Club, the Woman's Pacific Coast Good Roads Association, the Automobile Club of Southern California, and the Modesto Chamber of Commerce, and is now engaged in consideration of the matter with representatives of the Government.

The domain of the Pacific brought into such world prominence by the completion of the Panama Canal is certain to be the scene of a stupendous conflict between more than 500,000,000 of swarth-faced orientals and the American people.

Whether this conflict be solely for commercial supremacy, in which industrial, financial, and diplomatic achievement will prove the determining factor, or whether it be a struggle of armed violence, goaded by national jealousy into another holocaust of murderous frenzy like that of Europe, depends entirely upon this country's preparedness for war—the best and most convincing of which is an efficient Navy and a complete and carefully wrought system of coast protection, including development of the secondary line of defense presented by the Sierras, which embraces the primal feature of motor-truck highways through the passes—first in importance being that of Tioga.

Such condition of preparedness would insure us respectful consideration if the strife were confined to commercial rivalry.

But in the event of tendency to overt aggression by foreign power it would insure such potent reason for deference as would tend to deter and in all probability avert a war, compared with which the destruction and human slaughter now devastating Europe, would appear like a preliminary bout that precedes the main event.

California will receive a great influx of motor tourists, because the touring of Europe with automobiles will be discontinued.

The Golden State owes it to itself to have good highways through the principal passes of the Sierra Nevadas, not alone to gratify the touring stranger but as a business proposition that will return each year a dividend greater than the total amount invested.

Add to this the military strategic considerations and you have two irrefutable reasons why each Sierra pass should have a motor-truck thoroughfare for the benefit of the State and for the safety of the Nation.

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AN IMPORTANT LETTER OF BOTH NATIONAL AND STATE INTEREST.

[The following letter is a part of recent proceedings of the Inyo Good Road Club. By special permission we print it because of its direct relation to the touring interests of California. It opens up a great subject, and we believe it will receive the attention it merits.—Editor.]

JUNE 11, 1914.

Lieut. Col. ROBERT H. NOBLE,
*United States Army, Officer in Charge of Militia Affairs,*
*Western Department, San Francisco, Cal.*

DEAR SIR: The Pacific coast, with its unlimited natural resources, is generally acknowledged to be the treasure repository of the United States.

The part of the coast most conspicuous in this respect is California.

And, startling though the assertion may be, of all the natural resources of California none have greater value to the State at large than its scenic assets, if the same be properly developed and commercialized.

As partial justification for this strong statement, American tourists spend $400,000,000 each year visiting for pleasure the scenic attractions of Europe, which, compared with those of the Pacific coast, are less in extent and admittedly inferior.

The secret of this lies in the development, accessibility, promotion of personal ease and comfort, and the additional prolific charms devised by art, science, and wealth, all of which have resulted in a commercialization so vast that in Switzerland alone it forms the larger part of national revenue.

By the judicious application of capital, intelligence, and energy similar results are possible in California.

Of all the assets of the Golden State none have greater value than the mountain passes in the Sierra Nevada Range, at present neglected and overlooked.

Such value, however, is incidental to the main theme of this letter.

The completion of the Panama Canal exposes the Pacific coast to the intrigues and ambitions for commercial supremacy, at whatever cost, of shrewd and scheming nations of the Orient, secretly encouraged, perchance, by other powers.

This condition suggests the vital question of coast defense in case of attempted invasion by a foreign foe.

Granted that years have been devoted to preparation for this emergency, the question of adding to the efficiency of defense still remains.

It is in this connection that the mountain passes of the Sierras are selected for consideration.

To present this subject in form best adapted to convey meaning, we will indulge in various suppositions merely for purpose of illustration, and not for discussion.

We only ask that you permit them to pass unchallenged for the purpose they serve.

Suppose a foreign foe should suddenly strike and effect a landing on the coast of California and gain a foothold.

The coast highway and railway lines would be seized and utilized.

Suppose the defending force should then reestablish its base in the great valleys along the central trunk highway and railway systems, and the invaders should follow by an advance into the interior, and suppose the defenders should again be forced back.

The next logical main line for defense and necessarily more stubborn resistance, we will assume, would be established along the east base of the Sierra Nevadas.

The precipitious east Sierras without foothills and with a State highway along the foot of the slope would be features of inestimable value.

Should the invaders advance eastward they would be opposed by the gigantic barrier of the Sierras, and the movement of large bodies of troops in regular formation with extended front and all the necessary impedimenta of an advancing army would be effectually checked by insurmountable mountain faces and jagged crests.

Attention would at once be directed to the mountain passes.

These passes instantly become critical areas, with topographic conditions admirably adapted for defense.

The invading army would be compelled to abandon advance with an expanded front formation and would be forced into a contracted column in order to thread the narrow defiles.

The defenders presumably having carefully selected positions adapted to the purpose could effectually stop the invaders' advance.

A few thousand men could check an advancing column very many times greater in number—and persistency would result in its certain annihilation.

The State highway in condition of a boulevard would be adapted to rapid transportation or mobilization of troops, so that 5,000 automobiles commandeered for the purpose in event of great national crisis could rush a reinforcement of 25,000 men from one pass to another a hundred miles away between sun and sun.

The Sierra Nevadas are a great rampart. The passes are the portals that admit to the interior of the Republic.

Of several such natural portals, those which seem first entitled to consideration are the passes in the Sierras between the Truckee Summit and Tehachapi.

The Tioga, the Sonora, the Mammoth, the Kearsarge, the Walker, and several others.

The ones specified being of paramount importance.

Some of these passes are little known and neglected and difficult to traverse owing to rough and broken trails.

The principal knowledge of them seems confined to a few local residents of adjacent localities, a superficial acquaintance gained by adventurous sportsmen and a few intrepid tourists, while here and there are fragmentary portions that have been included in the commendable detail work of the United States Geological Survey.

The adage, that is old but of undiminished force, says "In time of peace prepare for war."

It is based upon prudence, wisdom, and unanswerable logic.

Where nature has done so much, why not further perfect the work in the interest of national safety?

If the plan has not already been put in execution, would it not be advisable, without delay, for the War Department to cause to be prepared with great thoroughness in detail for preservation in Government archives military maps of these passes, with special reference to advantageous sites for observation and signal use, locations best adapted to intrenchment or fortified defense, the spots most favorable for camps for men and saddle and pack trains and aviation stations, all to be accompanied with the construction of permanent trails by approved engineering methods, good for all time, and serving a double purpose—that of attracting a multitude of tourists to nature's great recreation grounds, while in case of attempted invasion there would exist a condition of instant preparedness, which in itself is generally equivalent to victory.

Much of the area now comprised in the territory is included in national parks or forest reserves, and private ownership would present slight obstacle, if any.

While the surveys could be conducted by the Army, possibly the expense of trail construction could be shared by the Interior Department or Forestry Bureau and the State and perhaps the county.

This would afford the Government data and plans that would be a vital element of national strength; it would arouse touring interest that would divert many millions to the enrichment of this State, and it would provide in addition a drill ground for militia forces that would make an adept reserve army skilled in all the varieties of mountain campaigning invaluable in case of national emergency.

You will pardon our temerity for venturing to discuss a topic so technical in character, but the importance of the subject from a touring as well as military standpoint prompts this somewhat lengthy effusion.

We will conclude by adding that there is substantial reason to believe the sentiments here expressed are approved by a large and influential affiliation of good-road and commercial organizations with which we have the honor to be associated, and which sets forth as one of its objects the encouragement of touring, and we are sure the increase of national security would arouse enthusiastic and intense patriotic approval.

If these maps exist, then the work of physical development and improvement only remains to be performed.

If the maps do not exist, then the project here outlined is waiting.

We have the honor to remain, with cordial and sincere respect,

INYO GOOD ROAD CLUB,
W. G. SCOTT, *Executive Secretary.*

EL CAMINO SIERRA—THE THIRD TRUNK HIGHWAY FOR CALIFORNIA AND ITS IMPORTANCE TO STATE AND NATION—THE BEST GUARANTY OF PEACE IS PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR.

[By W. G. Scott, executive secretary, Inyo Good Roads Club, chairman Division of National Parks, member Council of National Advisors, National Highways Association.]

[Paper read before the convention of the Women's Pacific Coast Good Roads Association in the Oregon Building at Panama-Pacific International Exposition, May 7, 1915.]

On every side we are reminded that this is an era of good roads.

The first successful trip of the modern motor vehicle marked the beginning of this desirable epoch, which means so much to State and Nation and with which we behold so prominently identified the intelligence and the influence of the association under whose auspices we are here assembled.

Motor cars have become so numerous in California and so diversified in character and application as to attract Nation-wide attention, and the system of highways now under construction is commensurate, both as to quality and extent, with the State's conspicuousness in the motor world.

Briefly expressed, California's highway system as provided by the highway act consists of two main trunk lines extending the length of the State from Oregon to Mexico.

One along the coast, the other approximately parallel, east of the coast range, traversing the length of the great valleys in the interior.

With these two trunk lines the county seats of outlying counties are to be connected by lateral or branch highways which enter into and become a part of the general system.

This plan for all that part of the State lying west of the summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains seems adequate—but conditions are very dissimilar in that portion lying east of the Sierra Nevadas, which is a large and omportant part of the State, sometimes designated as "Trans-Sierra California," consisting principally of Modoc, Lassen, and Plumas Counties in the north, and Alpine, Mono, and Inyo Counties in the eastern center; all bounded by Nevada on the east.

There are many Californians in the great valleys and long the coast who are prone either to regard the crest line of the Sierras as the eastern limit of the State, or to underestimate the importance of that vast territory lying east of the Sierra Nevadas, yet inside the boundary of California.

To afford a slight idea of the extent of territory in the six counties named we will select a single county, Inyo, with an area of 10,019 square miles, within which you could put the whole State of Massachusetts and still have enough left for a fair-sized county.

Inyo and Mono County next on the north combined, have an area of 13,949 square miles.

While battle-torn Belgium—that pivotal center of Europe's destiny; that once prosperous but now devastated kingdom, with more than 6,000,000 inhabitants and 2,900 miles of railroad—has an area of only 11,400 square miles.

The county seats of these five large and important Trans-Sierra counties can not be connected directly with the main trunk line of the valley because of the great barrier of the Sierra Nevada Range, from 12,000 to 14,000 feet in height, which intervenes.

The Pit and Beckworth Passes in the north are the most feasible routes for laterals to connect with the valley trunk line, the county seats of Modoc, Lassen, and Plumas Counties, while the Sonora and Tioga Passes farther south afford connection for the county seats of Alpine, Mono, and Inyo Counties.

But there are other very important physical conditions which must be taken into the consideration of highway connection for Trans-Sierra California.

The eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada Range is precipitous with a notable absence of foothills, which admits of a highway along the east base of the Sierras from Los Angeles to Lake Tahoe that has been formally christened El Camino Sierra, and which for a long time has been an established route for travel through Kern, Inyo, and Mono Counties and the towns of Mojave, Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, and Bridgeport.

From the last-named town to Lake Tahoe, about 70 miles north, is a road authorized by the State, and nearly completed, through Markleeville and Woodfords, in Alpine County.

Lake Tahoe is the terminus of a State road from Sacramento, hence Bridgeport, the county seat of Mono County, is joined to the State road system, which circumstances makes it a desirable point of connection for the road from the county seat of Inyo County, Independence, about 140 miles south.

This fact has been duly recognized by the highway commission, and it now has a survey force in the field moving north from Independence toward Bridgeport, preliminary to work of construction.

El Camino Sierra is intersected at Big Pine by a transcontinental highway from New York City—the Midland Trail.

This great cross-continent route has been surveyed and mapped its entire length by the American Automobile Association, and it has been incorporated in a projected system of national highways by the National Highways Association.

At Mono Lake, El Camino Sierra is intersected by the Tioga Pass highway, lately acquired by the Federal Government.

With the assistance of Los Angeles and Kern Counties on the south, and the further aid of convict labor where necessary, it is assured that in the near future the road known as "El Camino Sierra" will be a boulevard the entire distance from Los Angeles to Lake Tahoe.

This, to be a world-famous highway, should be continued north from Tahoe through Truckee, Sierraville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas toward Lakeview, Oreg.

This would make a third main trunk line east of the Sierras, affording much-needed opportunity for communication between adjacent counties and, by laterals through the passes named, connection with the main trunk valley system.

In addition it would permit direct access from the east to the proposed national parks of Mount Shasta and Mount Lassen—the live American volcano, which now enables California to compete with Italy, and to Lake Tahoe, to the world-famed Yosemite, and to the proposed enlarged Sequoia Park farther south that will surpass in magnitude anything of the kind in either the Old World or the New. (The route alluded to has been shown on sketch maps in Pacific Motor, where it appeared as parts of the two great scenic circuit motor tours of the State, the Pasear for central and southern, and the Round Robin for northern California.—Note by Editor.)

But whatever the social or commercial advantages of the Trans-Sierra trunk highway—all will be far exceeded by its value to the State as one of the most fascinating scenic routes in America—a route that will repay to the people of California, in cash revenue from tourists, annually an amount greater than its total cost.

This is not idle conjecture; it is a thoughtful conclusion.

While this third main trunk line, in large part soon to be realized, will be of prodigious value to the State it will possess a national value incalculable and of a significance positively startling.

By the term "national value," reference is had to a Trans-Sierra road as part of a more efficient system of coast defense.

The best authorities agree that the Pacific coast is lacking in its preparedness for resistance in case of attempted invasion.

There are, however, some mistaken theorists who decry adoption of measures for protection on the ground that it invites instead of averting hostilities.

In practice exactly the opposite is true.

If you are moved to strike at a fly, you do so without hesitancy because it is defenseless.

If you are moved to strike at a wasp, you hesitate because of its preparedness for defense, and in nearly every instance hostilities are averted.

Without waste of time or words in dissertation concerning possibilities of war, you are asked to accept without argument the following statement and hypothesis:

The operation of the Panama Canal is likely to result in a struggle for the commercial supremacy of the Pacific, out of which may grow undreamed of complications involving preservation of the rights and honor of the United States.

The entire Pacific coast, and California in particular, would be deeply concerned.

It is axiomatic that all things are possible in war.

We will suppose that attempt is made by a foreign foe to invade California and that a successful landing is effected.

First to occur would be the seizure of all coast railroad lines and highways.

The defenders would naturally establish a base in the great valleys along the rail and wagon roads.

Next would be an advance movement by the invaders.

We will suppose—all things being possible in war, as before stated—that the defenders are again forced back.

The next base for defensive operations greatly increased in strenuosity and determination would be the main trunk highway east of the Sierras.

Farther advance by the invaders would require entire change of plans.

The titanic ramparts of the Sierra Nevada Range would effectually block the forward movement of a great armed force with extendest front formation and all the impedimenta of transportation incident to an advancing army.

Attention would be at once directed to the passes as the natural points of least resistance.

These passes would at once become, in military parlance, "critical areas."

To make headway through the defiles the advancing army would be compressed into a column formation with abbreviated front.

The defenders, with choice of location for intrenchment and fortification and with thorough knowledge of topographic and other conditions, would have infinite advantage.

A comparatively small force properly disposed with adequate rear support would ordinarily be able to repulse if not annihilate the advance of an army of greatly superior numbers.

With a motor-truck boulevard along the base of the mountains and, say, 5,000 automobiles commandeered for the purpose, the defenders could rush an army of 20,000 men from one pass to another 100 miles away, between sun and sun.

Defensive transportation facilities would be of most effective character, while the invaders would have to rely upon means of transport of minimum efficiency.

The operations of opposing armies in the passes of the Carpathians in the present war in Europe are a practical demonstration.

On more than one occasion a comparatively small resistant force has compelled a much larger army to fall back and change plan of campaign.

The Sierra Nevadas are a great palladium of infinite extent and power waiting to be utilized for national security.

And to slightly digress, a most appropriate and valuable field practice for State troops would be an occasional campaign of mountaineering, including experience in all the exigencies of mountain transportation and subsistence and handling of armament in all the various features of maneuver, embracing elaborate military surveys of the passes and adjacent territory, with location of sites adapted to camp, signal, intrenchment, fortification, aviation, and other purposes, all to be mapped and preserved in the military archives for emergency reference.

The extraordinary possibilities of a national character indicated, added to the impressive array of local and State benefits, are an indisputable reason why the Sierras and that portion of the State which lies beyond should receive consideration, and why the additional bond issue of $15,000,000 proposed for the completion of the State's highway system should be strongly supported by the people of California.

The situation suggests:

That there be a motor-truck highway through each important Sierra pass—the Pit, Beckworth, Truckee, Sonora, Tioga, Walker, Tehachapi, and Tejon.

That there be a main trunk highway on the best route and grade through trans-Sierra California from Los Angeles to Oregon, intersecting county seats of the eastern counties and connecting with all the mountain-pass highways alluded to.

With this accomplished, there would be made accessible an extensive area of the State hitherto neglected, where enormous and prolific resources pertaining to agriculture and to mining promise rich reward for exploitation and development.

Astonishing as would be the local benefits, scarcely less surprising would be the contribution to State growth and prosperity, and however great the foregoing might prove there must be added the perpetual augmentation resulting from the myriad of tourists attracted by the magnificence of Shasta standing at the Northland gate, the grim and weird Lassen, helpless victim of a hidden giant in a destructive mood; beautiful Tahoe, that inland sea of liquid emerald whereon are mirrored the clouds of day and the stars of night; Mono, the Dead Sea of the West, where the very desolation lends entrancement to the scene; Yosemite, that masterpiece of creation; the Inyo Glaciers and Mount Whitney, nearest to the sky—the monarch of all the mountain kings—the first in all of California to receive each morn the greeting of the regal sun and the last each night to receive his parting benediction.

And countless other scenes of equal if not greater charm, which baffle artistic skill, defy poetic imagery, and reveal the inadequacy of language.

This is but an imperfect intimation of a subject that requires a subtle pen and bulky volume—the highway with a hundred byways, each byway with a hundred wonders.

## An Explanation of the Rural-Credit Law which was Framed by the Joint Committee on Rural Credits and Introduced into the House by Mr. Moss of Indiana.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RALPH W. MOSS,
OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under permission of the House to extend my remarks on the subject of rural credits I beg to submit the following statement in explanation of the rural-credits bill, commonly known as the Moss-Hollis bill:

The passage of the rural-credits bill will make this Congress an historic body. I had rather have my name recorded in favor of this measure than in support of any other legislative proposal to aid agriculture since the passage of the homestead laws. There has been a national campaign of agitation, and I am glad to say also of education on the subject of rural credits. It has been the common purpose of those supporting this propaganda to secure better credit facilities for American farmers—credit in more ample volume, at lower interest rates, and upon better terms of repayment. It is not necessary to discuss the genesis of this great movement in this country. Happily, that lies behind us; and I shall relegate to the historian the duty of writing history. I have what I trust is a pardonable pride in my connection with this movement from its earliest inception to the last work of the conference committee. But it is more important now to encourage farmers to enter the new system promptly and confidently than it is to seek personal recognition or partisan advantage for its enactment. We have now before us the exact terms of the statute, and it is our duty to interpret its provisions and to encourage our farmer constituents to enter the system and to share in its benefits. I shall not attempt to answer the criticisms which have been offered against the law. The actual operation of the law itself will confound its critics more effectually than did the Federal reserve law. The Republican Party has been rash enough to denominate it an ineffectual rural-credit law. The great majority of Republican Members in both Houses of Congress who so earnestly, faithfully, and patriotically supported this bill during its preparation and on its final passage, will secure a complete vindication from this charge in their national party platform the day that farm-loan associations are organized in their respective congressional districts and their farmer constituents become shareholders in what is destined to become the largest and most successful banking institution in the world.

METHODS OF ORGANIZATION.

Land banks may be organized either under joint stock or cooperative methods. This bill gives preference to the cooperative method and seeks to popularize cooperative business association among American farmers. It very properly, however, recognizes both methods and permits the purposes of the law to be realized under either class of agencies. No bank or association can be organized under the law which is not wholly dedicated to the service of farm borrowers, and no agent can charge a greater profit than 1 per cent annually on the unpaid principal of the debt. The only possible rivalry between cooperative and joint-stock banks is that noble contention of which best can work and best can serve in lowering interest rates to farm borrowers and in ameliorating the onerous conditions which debt has imposed on them. In this liberality we have followed the example of every other country in the world where rural credits have been successfully organized, and there is no room for prudent apprehension that we have erred by so doing.

IMPORTANCE OF LOW-INTEREST RATES.

I have in this foreword mentioned the purposes and the plans of this bill. Before passing to a discussion of its terms, I wish to add a word as to the importance of lower interest rates. Personally, I attach great importance to a reduction in the interest rates which American farmers are compelled under present conditions to pay. Mr. Taft, while President of the United States, issued a statement to the effect that the farmers of the Nation owed a mortgage debt of $6,330,000,000, upon which they are paying an annual rate of interest, including commissions and renewal fees, of 8½ per cent. If this estimate was correct, there is an annual charge resting upon American agriculture from this one source alone of more than $530,000,000. This estimate must rest entirely upon the eminent authority of a President of the United States. Other men have made different estimates. There are absolutely no satisfactory and reliable official records which purport to give the entire mortgage indebtness of the farmers of our Nation. Neither can the average rate of interest be determined with absolute certainty.

The rates under present conditions vary widely and are highest in those sections where agriculture is most poorly developed. When financial operations are left wholly to private contract, capital has always taken undue advantage of urgent necessity. This is the situation among farmers in many if not all sections of the United States to-day. By way of comparison, I may say that the city of Terre Haute, which is situated in my district, recently borrowed $300,000 for a long period of years at 4½ per cent interest, and it is not to be expected that farmers who own improved farms will be satisfied to continue indefinitely to pay rates for money which are much higher than that which this organized community is now paying for public purposes. And I wish now to predict that under this new law farmers will be able to borrow money at a lower rate, including amortizement and cost of administration, than they are now compelled to pay for interest alone. Thus the new generation of farmers under the beneficent provisions of this rural-credits law will be enabled to purchase and improve farms in large part with borrowed capital, and to repay the debt entirely at a lower annual rate than the farmers of the country now are paying for carrying charges alone and which includes no reduction whatsoever in the principal sum. I shall illustrate this statement by certain tables giving the annual installments which will be required under the new plan of loaning money as proposed by this law. A comparison of these payments with those required under existing contracts and conditions will prove conclusively that we are enacting a new homestead law. The homestead law of Lincoln's day gave title to wild and unimproved public lands upon a small payment and a term of faithful residence on the proposed homestead entry. This new law will enable the man who goes in debt to purchase a tract of agricultural land or to improve a tract he already owns, to pay off his debt within a moderate term of years, out of the saving in interest payments which he is required to make under his present conditions. This is in effect making a present of the principal sum to every borrower who is so fortunate as to become a shareholder in our proposed farm-loan associations.

HOW LOANS ARE MADE UNDER THIS LAW.

There are two distinct processes in the making of every mortgage loan. The first is to secure loanable funds, and the second the negotiation of loans with individual borrowers. Under our bill we have created a particular type of institution to perform each of these functions. We divide the United States into 12 land-bank districts. In each of these districts a bank having the power to issue and sell farm-loan bonds is created. The chief purpose of this bank is to secure the money to loan to farmers in that particular district. These banks will really borrow money from the public in order to reloan it to the farmers. They are given the power to sell their bonds to everybody, but they are permitted to loan only to farmers who are shareholders in the system. This is a very well-known principle in all rural-credit legislation; that is, that everybody may contribute money to the system, but only its own members may borrow money from the system. In order to facilitate the making of individual loans, the bill creates local institutions, known as farm-loan associations. These associations can be organized by 10 or more farmers who desire to secure mortgage loans from the land bank. The first duty, therefore, of farmers is to organize one of these local associations, because the land bank

can loan money only through an association. The purpose of the association is to solicit loans, pass upon the character of the borrower, and give a first estimate of the value of the lands proposed for security. Assuming that a land bank has been organized in your land-bank district, and a loan association has been organized in your neighborhood, the method of securing a loan will be as follows: The borrower would make an application to the association for membership and for a loan.

The directors of the association would first vote upon his application for membership, just as a lodge votes to admit or to reject candidates for initiation. If this application for membership be accepted, then a loan committee of three members of the association would appraise or place an estimate upon the value of the land offered for security, and would make a written report to the association. The secretary-treasurer of the association would forward the application for the loan and the report of the loan committee, together with the description of the land and an abstract of title, to the land bank. The land bank would thereupon send another appraiser, representing the bank, to estimate the value of the land. If this report be favorable, then the bank would lend the applicant not exceeding 50 per cent of the value of his land and 20 per cent of the insurable value of his buildings for a period not less than 5 nor more than 40 years. The borrower would send his mortgage through his association to the land bank, and the land bank would send the money to the borrower through the secretary-treasurer of the association. The borrower would make all of his subsequent payments, both of interest and principal, to the secretary-treasurer of his local association. Thus the borrower will deal entirely with his local association, whose membership is composed of his own neighbors and whose location is in his own immediate locality. The borrower determines the period for which the loan is granted. The rate of interest, however, is determined by the farm-loan board.

HOW THE RATE OF INTEREST IS FIXED.

The land bank has the power to borrow money through the sale of its bonds. These bonds are issued free from taxation and are as well secured as United States Government bonds. We believe that they will sell readily under existing conditions at a 4 per cent interest rate. Every effort has been made to make these bonds an attractive investment, so that they will command a very large sale at low rates of interest, and the success or failure of the system will depend upon our success or failure in securing this result. In order, however, that this low interest rate may reach the farm borrowers we have compelled the land bank to loan to borrowers at a rate not exceeding 1 per cent of that carried in their latest issue of bonds; and we have even gone further and have given the farm-loan board the power to reduce this margin below 1 per cent if an economical administration of the system will permit such a reduction. Thus every effort has been made to enable land banks to borrow money at the lowest possible rate and then to compel these banks to loan money to farm borrowers at a rate only slightly above the rate which the bank itself is compelled to pay. We have here a simple system which any farmer can understand and through which most farmers can borrow money without leaving their own neighborhood and can conduct their negotiations with officers of the association who are their neighbors.

WHY SOME FARMERS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO BORROW FROM THE COOPERATIVE LAND BANKS.

I have said that most farmers can borrow money through this system, and it is important to point out the exceptions and to state why these exceptions are made. Speculation is a prevalent vice in the United States, and in no field of enterprise is speculation more harmful than in the purchase of the agricultural lands of our Nation. It ought to be made possible for any American citizen who desires to live on a farm and engage in its cultivation to acquire title and ownership to the land he cultivates. Next to acquiring the ownership of land it is important that every man who owns a tract of land should be able to improve it, to stock it, and to purchase tools, implements, and fertilizers, so as to conduct his farm operations in the most economical manner and to secure the largest possible yields from his fields under cultivation. These results are not only necessary in order to make farming profitable, but they are absolutely vital to the existence of the Nation, to the permanence of our food supply, and to the maximum production of national wealth. These results can not be secured except that actual farmers of the Nation be given credit in sufficient volume and at attractive interest rates. For these reasons no loans will be made by any cooperative land bank except to resident farmers and to accomplish some one of these purposes. We seek to help the actual resident farmer both to acquire a reasonable tract of land and to improve it for agricultural purposes, and we refuse to permit a dollar to be borrowed under the system by any other man or for any other purpose. We seek to encourage better productive farm operations and discourage all speculation having for its purpose the acquisition of title to agricultural lands by those who do not propose to engage in their cultivation and in their improvement for agricultural purposes.

In order to carry out these express purposes of the bill loans are made only to members of farm-loan associations, and no person can secure membership in an association unless he is at the time or shortly to become engaged in the cultivation of the farm to be mortgaged and who states in his application that the money when loaned is to be used either to acquire the ownership of agricultural land or to improve it for agricultural purposes. I have purposely omitted mention of loans made for these purposes through agents. There is an exception made, whereby any farmer may mortgage his land to secure money to pay off his debts which he actually owes at the time this law goes into effect. This is only a temporary provision, and can only affect farmers who are in debt at the time that the law is enacted.

HOW PREFERENCE IS EXTENDED TO COOPERATIVE BANKS AND ASSOCIATIONS.

The greatest difficulty in founding any cooperative business enterprise is to secure the initial capital, and this difficulty is emphasized in this situation by reason of the fact that all the shareholders are borrowers. We are organizing a corporation in which every stockholder seeks to secure a loan and does not care to advance capital, even temporarily, to found or organize a corporation. To solve this difficulty we require the United States Government to advance $750,000 to each one of the 12 banks, making a total of $9,000,000 advanced to the entire system in the United States. And while this money is ultimately to be repaid to the Government, no interest or dividends are paid for the use of it. We thus found the system with a nice cash capital, and yet we do not impose any burden of interest or dividend charges.

This $750,000 is a revolving fund to be loaned to the farmer and is not intended to form any part of the permanent capital of the land bank. In order that the land bank may become a truly cooperative institution, it is necessary that shares of stock shall be owned and controlled by those who take out loans in the system. Moreover, it is further necessary, in order to perfect an ideal cooperative organization, that this stock shall be held in proportion to the loans which each stockholder may have; that if one man borrows a thousand dollars and his neighbor borrows $2,000, the latter should hold twice as much stock as the former. In this way the profits and the losses of the system will be divided ratably according to the volume of business transacted by the bank. This is the very essence of cooperation. Every business draws its profit from the volume of its transactions, and if every customer is to secure his rightful proportion of the earnings of the system, the net earnings must be distributed to every customer in proportion that his individual business bears to the whole volume of business transacted. It follows, too, that no dividends should be paid to any person who did not help to create the earnings of the system by increasing the volume of its business. The stock ownership of this system is founded on these fundamental principles of cooperation.

HOW STOCK IS ISSUED AND DIVIDENDS PAID TO SHAREHOLDERS.

Every borrower when he makes an application for his loan agrees to subscribe to the stock of the local association to the amount of 5 per cent of his loan. The local association when it forwards its member's application for the loan to the land bank also agrees to subscribe a like amount to the stock of the land bank. When the loan is granted, the land bank retains out of the face of the loan the amount of the stock subscription. Thus if Mr. Jones makes an application for a loan of $1,000, the transaction which results is as follows: Mr. Jones executes his mortgage for $1,000 and the local association forwards it to the land bank; the land bank issues to the local association $50 in par value of stock in the land bank and transmits $950 in current funds. The local association likewise issues to Mr. Jones $50 of stock in the association and turns over to him the $950 received from the land bank.

The association must pay to Jones dividends on $50 stock issued to him and in turn receives dividends on $50 of stock which it holds in the land bank. The land bank has issued bonds to the amount of $1,000 which it has sold to the public. It pays interest to its bondholders on this amount and receives interest from Mr. Jones on the face of his mortgage, which is $1,000. The land bank also has $50 in cash which it deducted from the face of the loan to pay for the stock issued to the local association when it received Jones's application. This sum of $50 is invested, and its income helps to pay the dividends on the corresponding shares of stock. When Mr. Jones's debt

is paid in full the land bank cancels the stock of $50 held by the association, paying the association its par value; likewise the association cancels its stock issued to Mr. Jones and pays him the $50 par value. Mr. Jones is no longer a borrower in the system; he is no longer a stockholder. He does not now help to create any business for the system and he is not entitled to share longer in its dividend distributions. I trust this illustration will make it perfectly plain that this system is purely mutual and cooperative; that it is owned solely by the borrowers; and that every cent of its earnings which are distributed as dividends are paid directly to the borrowers in proportion that their loans bear to the whole volume of loans granted by the land bank.

HOW THE BORROWERS OWN AND CONTROL THE LAND BANKS AND THE FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

The directors of the local associations are elected by the members of that association; the majority of the directors of the land bank in turn are chosen by the directors of the local associations; thus the control of the land bank as well as of the association is vested absolutely in the borrowers. The borrowers both own and control the entire system, receive every cent of its surplus earnings in the way of dividends, and thus actually secure their loans at actual cost, or, to put it in other words, the borrowers will pay the same rate for money that the bank pays to its bondholders plus only the actual cost of administration, the actual losses sustained, and whatever sum may be set aside to augment the reserve fund. It is thus literally true that every governmental favor which is granted the system, every economy which can be devised in its management, and every element of safety which is thrown around the system are advantages extended directly to the borrowers in this system, and these advantages can not be absorbed by any middle man.

HOW THE SYSTEM WILL TEND TO PROMOTE A UNIFORM INTEREST RATE.

One of the greatest advantages which will flow from this system will be the tendency toward a uniformly low rate of interest in all States and parts of the Union. I shall not predict that at the very beginning there will be this uniform rate. There can not, however, be more than one rate for each land-bank district. As each bank indorses the bonds issued by every other bank, the security behind the bonds is exactly the same regardless of which bank district may issue the mortgages. In addition to the ample reserve funds which are required to be held in liquid assets we have permitted the Secretary of the Treasury to make temporary deposits of public funds in these land banks amounting to $6,000,000 at any one time. These deposits will only be used to meet payments of interest or principal on maturing land bonds. It is inconceivable that, enjoying so many elements of safety, the bonds of any of these Federal land banks will ever be in default of either interest or principal, and when this fact becomes fully established to the satisfaction of the investing public rates of interest will become stable and uniform in all parts and sections of the United States.

We will thus make possible a truly national development of our agriculture and will drive out usury and oppression from every section of our country. I will repeat that the operation of this system will confound its critics more effectually than did the Federal reserve law.

MANIFEST ADVANTAGES OF AMORTIZATION PAYMENTS.

There remains only an explanation to be made of that method of payment known as amortization. The term "amortization" means a method of paying a debt by creating a sinking fund which will extinguish both principal and interest at the close of an agreed period. Under this plan the annual payments are all of the same amount and the last payment discharges the debt in full. We have familiar examples of this principle in the endowment life-insurance policy or a certificate in a building and loan association.

It is founded on the fact that the regular payment is larger than the interest charges on the principal borrowed, so that every payment discharges a part of the debt. To one who is not familiar with the advantages of this plan, it is surprising how fast small savings grow when faithfully extended over a long period of years. For example, if a man were to borrow $1,000 at 5 per cent interest, the annual interest charge will be $50. If the borrower pays only $50 per year, he can never discharge his obligation; he will always owe the full sum of $1,000. But under the amortization plan as proposed in this bill, if he will pay $60 per year, which is only $10 more than the annual interest charge, he will pay his debt in full at the close of 36 years. He has thus actually paid off his obligation of $1,000 with $360, if you compute simple interest at the rate of 5 per cent. If a farmer in any State in the Union to-day were offered money on an unrecallable contract for 36 years at a rate of interest as low as 3¼ per cent, he would jump at the chance to secure the loan. This is the simple-interest rate which any borrower will actually receive under this bill if he is enabled to borrow money at 5 per cent on the amortization plan and will agree to make an annual payment of $60 per year for 36 years. A simple computation will prove to you that this result is correct. Thirty-six payments of $60 each is a gross sum of $2,160. This sum pays both interest and principal. Subtracting the principal, it leaves $1,160 which has been paid for interest in 36 years. This is an average of $32.22 per year, or an average rate of 3.22 per cent, which is slightly less than a rate of 3¼ per cent. Of course, this most remarkable result is really accomplished by the constant reduction which is made in the principal and by constantly decreasing the annual interest charge. The rate given—that of 3.22 per cent—represents, however, the average rate of interest paid during the entire period if computation be made on the original principal of $1,000, which is the ordinary method of borrowing money.

THE SAVING TO THE BORROWERS ILLUSTRATED IN DOLLARS AND CENTS.

I have assumed that the banks will be able to issue bonds under this law at 4 per cent. This will enable them to make loans to farmers at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent, which will include administration charges. If this result be achieved, the aggregate saving to the farmers of the Nation will be stupendous. Prof. Thompson, of the Department of Agriculture, submitted a carefully prepared statement to the joint committee on rural credits, in which he estimates the total mortgage indebtedness of the farmers of our Nation at $3,598,985,000. (See p. 107, pt. 3, of the hearings.) He also submitted a table showing the average rate of interest paid in every State of the Union. This table is found on page 101, same hearings.

Assuming that the average rate of interest on this debt, including renewal and commission fees, is 7.5 per cent, the farmers are now paying annually $75 interest on every $1,000 of this debt without reducing the principal. If this debt were to be refunded under this law at 5 per cent interest and the farmers would continue to pay the sum of $75 per year on every $1,000 of their debt, as they are now paying, the entire debt would be fully discharged in 22 years and 6 months. This would be equivalent to a saving of the entire principal of their debt in this period of time, because their present interest payments, converted into a sinking fund under the lower rate of interest, would pay the entire debt in that period. This would mean a total saving of $3,598,985,000 in 22 years and 6 months, or a yearly saving of $159,954,888. This result is equivalent to an annual saving of $44.44 on every $1,000 of the entire mortgage debt in the Nation as compared with existing conditions.

The mortgage debt of the farmers of Indiana is given by Prof. Thompson as $132,325,000 and the average rate of interest as being 6.2 per cent. If this debt were refunded under this law at 5 per cent interest and the borrowers would agree to make annual installment payments of $62 on each $1,000, which is the amount they are now paying for interest alone, the debt would be paid in full in 33 years and 6 months. This would mean an annual saving of $3,950,000 to the farmers of my State. It would mean an average saving of $29.88 per year for every $1,000 of mortgage debt. A similar computation might be made for every State, but I trust these two examples will clearly illustrate the vast importance of this law to those who may be fortunate enough to be able to refund their present indebtedness under its terms and conditions.

ADVANTAGES OF BORROWING FOR A LONG TERM OF YEARS.

I have discussed the instance where a debt of $1,000 at 5 per cent interest may be repaid in 36 years by an annual payment of $60. If the borrower were able to make an annual payment of $70 per year he will discharge his debt at the close of 25 years. In this instance, he has paid off a debt of $1,000 with $500. In case the borrower can pay annually, say, $80, he will discharge his debt in 20 years. He has then paid off a debt of $1,000 with $600. It will be seen that this plan is best adapted to long-time contracts. The law will permit loans to run for at least 40 years. I urge borrowers to accept a reasonably long period of repayment. The curse of American farm-mortgage debt has been the pressure to repay within a short period. It has entailed hardships on the family. It has robbed the children of an education. It has prevented the taking of short vacations and trips of travel. It has made debt an oppressor, and has given a mortgage a baleful influence over the destinies of the family of the debtor. It is the pressure to pay within a short period which has created the "slavery of debt." Yet under the old conditions, it was impossible to avoid these influences. No sinking fund could be created; no small savings could be made under conditions which were favorable to the debtor. This law abolishes these evils. It makes possible a mortgage contract which is unrecallable. No foreclosure can take place, except

for breach of conditions on part of the debtor. No renewal charges or commissions can be demanded.

Every payment reduces the principal of your debt and you have perfect assurance that if you continue to make the annual installment payments that your debt will be discharged at the end of the contract period without any additional payment on your part. Any borrower can make heavier payments at any time and thus shorten the period of his contract. He can pay off his entire debt at any time he may command the money. The borrower thus does not lose any freedom by making a long-time contract; he is only insuring himself against pressure to pay out large sums and thereby reduce the income available to educate his family and discharge his other obligations which he owes to himself, to his family, and to society.

MY PERSONAL PREDICTION AS TO THE SUCCESS OF THE LAW.

Without in any degree seeking to disparage the valuable work of my colleagues, I can truly say that I have given years of faithful endeavor to this work and I am confident that we have enacted the most progressive statute on mortgage credit of any nation in the world. We have not sought to organize eleemosynary institutions or to create a chain of idealistic agencies to practice altruism, but we have striven to remember that sound credit has other bases than vast riches. We believe that we have devised simple machinery with which to destroy the egoism of the investment banker and break the death grip of usury on the honest and industrious agricultural population of the United States. It is from their hard labors which come not only the daily bread of our Nation but the vast volume of wealth which is enriching our Nation beyond the dreams of any man of our day and generation. Rural-credit legislation has made Germany a nation of home owners; it has given them the best agriculture in the world; it has given that nation the greatest domestic resources of any nation; and has enabled that brave people to wage a world's war against the greatest odds any nation has ever faced on the battle field. We confidently offer this law to the Nation not only as a compliance with the platform promises of the Democratic Party but as a measure of industrial preparedness which will strengthen this Nation in the great battles for the world's wealth and power in a greater degree than any fleet of battleships which can be constructed in a generation.

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**On the Necessity for Every Democrat Remaining at His Post During the Remainder of This Session of Congress.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the country must and will recognize that the present session of Congress is one of the most important since the Civil War. The great war in Europe, the alarming conditions in Mexico, the changed trade and business relations growing out of these world calamities make it absolutely necessary for the President and Congress to be more alert in framing policies and laws to meet the existing and contemplated troubles than ever before. It is, therefore, more necessary than at any other time since I have been a Member of this House that Democrats should remain on guard, and, if necessary, forfeit their seats here to some one running against them at home, rather than desert the Democratic ship, so well commanded by Woodrow Wilson in this great storm period of our national history.

Our constituents at home, I know, despise deserters and desire every Democrat to remain here and aid our presidential leader in his great endeavor to prevent war in Mexico or elsewhere if possible, or if war is forced upon us, to furnish all the means and legislation necessary to conquer the enemies of our country.

Keeping these things in mind, I think and hope that all Democrats in Congress should remain here and endeavor to carry out the splendid policies of the Woodrow Wilson administration. I know by experience that it is hard to remain here at our post of duty while our opponents are fighting us at home for our seats, and by taking advantage of our absence are misrepresenting to our constituents our votes and records here, claiming that we have never done anything for them while in Congress.

To refute this false statement as to myself, I desire here and now to quote some of my record in Congress from the congressional records, which show that I was the author of the following measures that have become laws through my efforts:

I was the author and promoter of the original bill which extended the national irrigation law so as to include within its provisions the State of Texas. This law will eventually result in Texas securing several millions of dollars from the reclamation fund for irrigating our arid lands.

I have, during this session of Congress, secured the passage through the House of a bill to pension the old indigent Texas Rangers who served on the Texas frontier from 1859 to 1876. The bill has already been favorably reported by the Senate Pensions Committee, and I shall render every service possible to secure its final enactment into law.

I have secured for our district several agricultural experiment stations; also several soil and geological surveys. I now have bills pending for several public buildings in the district, for 1-cent postage on all drop letters, for a fish hatchery, for a national park on the headwaters of Red River, and another for an agricultural experiment station at Plainview, and shall do everything in my power to secure the passage and enactment into law of these bills during the present Congress.

I secured the passage of the bill that provided for the settlement of the disputed boundary line between Texas and New Mexico. This law gave to Texas the undisputed title to more than 100,000 acres of land, the title to which was formerly claimed by the United States as a part of New Mexico. The towns of Texline and Farwell were involved in this controversy and would have been lost to Texas if my bill had failed to pass and the contention of New Mexico and the United States had been sustained.

When I came to Congress there were no Federal buildings in the district, but during my service here I have secured the passage of bills providing for several. I was the first Congressman to secure for his district free roadside mail boxes on star routes, which service was the forerunner of free rural and parcel-post delivery. I have secured for my people more free rural delivery routes than any other Congressman in Texas.

I am the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs and the only chairman of an appropriation committee from Texas. My work on this committee has borne much valuable fruit for my district and the whole country.

I introduced and secured the passage of the bill providing for the opening of the large Indian reservations in southwestern Oklahoma, which opening, development, and settlement of this vast territory has furnished homes for hundreds of homeless families. Several railroads have been built through these reservations and have been extended into Texas, which has brought much capital and many settlers from other States to our district. Wichita Falls, Vernon, Quanah, Wellington, Amarillo, and several intermediate towns have secured the above roads and have been greatly benefited in population, real-estate values, and in many other ways. None of these railroads would have been built had it not been for the opening of these Indian reservations.

I have also voted for and assisted to the utmost in the passage of the following wise and beneficial Democratic laws:

The present banking and currency system, which makes panics impossible.

The Parcel Post System, which makes express company robbery no longer possible and gives the farmer a better chance.

The antitrust laws, that regulate big business, and make it no longer safe for any man to laugh the law in the face, no matter how rich and powerful he is.

The eight-hour day for workingmen in Government works.

The law prohibiting certain gambling contracts in cotton futures.

The graduated income-tax law, which is a tax upon wealth, and not consumption.

The tariff bill, which reduced the tax upon consumption.

The election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

The anti-injunction bill, which regulates the granting of injunctions in labor disputes.

The bill to grant jury trials in indirect-contempt proceedings growing out of labor disputes.

The above citations from my record in Congress will show the falsity of my opponent's claim that I have never done anything in Congress to benefit my constituents. This false charge convicts its maker of either willfully misrepresenting facts, as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or of inexcusable ignorance of the past political history of his country.

In any event he proves himself unworthy to be my successor in this House.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to state that I am a conservative in all matters of legislation and that I am not an advocate of peace at any price, but only when it can be had by patiently waiting and diplomacy as the President so far has so well accomplished. The country is to be congratulated in having President Wilson now at the helm. He is a man of conservatism and prudence rather than a man of fiery and warlike instincts.

My votes at this session of Congress on the various preparedness measures coming before us show that I am in favor of adopting such strong military measures as the President may find necessary to prevent any further butchery of our soldiers or citizens by Mexican bandits.

That I favor the building of merchant marine and warships in the Government shipyards. I also favor the Government building plants and manufacturing all of its munitions of war, and I shall vote, as heretofore, for reasonable appropriations of money in the Army, Navy, and fortifications bills as will, in my judgment, be sufficient to adequately defend our country from foreign invasion.

That I favor a small standing army in time of peace and the use of the National Guard to supplement the Regular Army in time of war; in other words, I favor the same system that has served us so well since the foundation of our Government.

That I am opposed to compulsory military service and favor the volunteer system.

I voted for the Hay bill because it was a comprehensive method of meeting all different views promulgated upon the preparedness question, and dealt with this question from a reasonable standpoint and did not go to either extreme. The Hay bill provided for a standing army of 140,000 men, which is an increase of 40,000 over the present standing Army. I voted against the Kahn amendment, which provided for an increase of the standing Army to 220,000.

I favored the President's policy of warning our citizens against going into Mexico and also requesting those citizens already there to come out and remain out of that unhappy country. I also believe that our citizens should have been likewise warned from traveling on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations, as I can see no difference in the two propositions.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to further state that I voted for the Burnett bill, restricting foreign immigration so as to protect our home laborers and prevent Europe from shipping to this country at the close of the present war millions of undesirable and ignorant foreigners. I voted for and favor the rural-credit plan of financing our farming interests as proposed in the Baltimore Democratic platform of 1912, and shall do everything I can to secure its enactment into law during this session.

That I am in favor of State and national prohibition.

That I am in favor of granting independence at once to the Filipinos for the reason that in the event of a foreign war we would first be attacked in these islands and as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, we would be forced to defend the Philippines with the same force and stubbornness as we would one of our States. Its inaccessibility would prove a great handicap and an element of weakness rather than strength to our chain of empire.

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## Suggestions as to How Farmers May Secure Loans Under the New Federal Rural Credits Law.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,

OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 6, 1916.*

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, during the discussion of the rural-credits bill in the House, I actively took part in the debate, believing then, as I do now, that a proper rural-credits system will do more for the development and prosperity of our country than any other one measure before the American Congress. I voted for the bill, not because all of its provisions met my approval, but because I believed that it was a long step in the right direction toward securing for this country a farm-credits system, and believing that we can perfect the measure later on by amendment.

PROVISIONS WHICH I DO NOT APPROVE.

There are three notable provisions in the bill which I opposed because I did not believe that they were to the best interest of the farmers. These three provisions are: First, the cumbersome machinery of the act, the expensive system of farm-loan associations, of joint-stock banks, and of profit-making middlemen, and the like, and the large amount of red tape necessary for the farmer to secure a loan; second, the requirement making it necessary for a farmer to subscribe for stock in the farm-land bank to the amount of 5 per cent of his loan before he can obtain a loan; third, the provisions requiring him to become responsible for his fellow members' loans to the extent of 10 per cent of his loan.

I believed then and believe now that all three of these provisions are unwise and unnecessary. I believe that the Government should have established the 12 land banks and permitted them to establish their own agencies at the smallest possible cost, and loan the money direct to the farmers without red tape and without creating profit-making middlemen. I believe that the formation of farm-loan associations and joint-stock banks will be expensive, cumbersome, and wholly unnecessary; but a majority of the House thought differently about these provisions, though my amendment in the committee striking them out failed by only 6 votes, and the bill as finally passed contains them. After all, only the future can tell who is right; and so great is my belief in the lasting good of the rural-credits system that I now feel that all friends of rural credits should join heartily in trying to make this system a success, so that the best results to the farmers of our country may be secured. With this purpose in view, therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to discuss the merits of this legislation in these remarks, but I simply wish to explain in a general way the provisions of the bill and point out how farmers can take advantage of its terms, hoping that it will be helpful to my constituents.

RURAL CREDITS COMPANION LEGISLATION TO FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

The rural-credits act which has become the law is based on the same general plan followed in the banking and currency system recently enacted by a Democratic Congress and which has proved such a marvelous success. As the banking and currency act provides for a system to benefit the business, commercial, manufacturing, and industrial needs of our country, so it is believed that the same kind of a system formed to meet the needs of agriculture will accomplish a like result. The Federal reserve act has proved a phenomenal success, and it alone would entitle the Democratic administration to an indorsement. We believe the rural-credits act will prove a like success. The banking and currency law provides for a central board at Washington, known as the Federal Reserve Board, and divides the United States into 12 districts and establishes a Federal reserve bank in each district. And so the rural-credits act establishes a Federal farm-loan board of five members at Washington—four members and the Secretary of the Treasury—divides the country into 12 districts, and establishes a Federal farm-land bank in each district. Both systems have the backing of the Government and are very similar. Both acts are Democratic measures, and both acts have been approved by a large majority of the Republicans in the Congress.

FEDERAL FARM LOAN BOARD.

The Federal farm-loan board consists of five members, four to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, each, except the Secretary of the Treasury, to receive an annual salary of $10,000, and the Secretary of the Treasury is an ex officio member, and they can not be officers or directors or own any interest in any other kind of banking business. This board is required to appoint a loan registrar in each land-bank district, and it also appoints such appraisers and examiners in each district as may be necessary. All of these are Government officials, and, except appraisers, their salaries and expenses are paid by the Government. This board has authority also to employ such attorneys, experts, clerks, and the like as may be necessary, and all these are paid by the Government. This board organizes and charters the Federal land banks, ultimately fixes the rate of interest, and has general supervision and control of the whole system.

FEDERAL LAND BANK.

The Federal farm-loan board is required to divide continental United States into 12 districts, and a bank with not less than $750,000 capital stock is established in each district in a city within said district designated by said board. At first these banks are to be managed by five temporary directors selected by the Federal farm-loan board, but afterwards they are to be selected, in part, three by the board and, in part, six by the farm-loan associations, and in a general way as the directors in the present reserve system are selected. The capital stock of these Federal land banks may be subscribed to by anyone, but if it is not subscribed within 30 days, then the United States Government will subscribe for the stock. Of course, the stock will be

subscribed for by the Government. At all events, it will be at first.

NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

The act provides for the formation of national farm-loan associations. It is most important that the farmer should know about these associations, with which he must come directly in contact. In order for a farmer to secure a loan he must become a member of one of these farm-loan associations. These are formed by 10 or more borrowers, who associate themselves under the act as a corporation, and they select a secretary-treasurer, who manages the affairs of the association. The secretary-treasurer is the business manager of the association, and, of course, will control it. The board of directors' duty in these associations will be largely nominal. As soon as the application for articles of incorporation is forwarded to the Federal land bank, the bank sends an appraiser to the locality to appraise the lands included in the application. If he finds them eligible for loans, the charter is granted.

HOW TO OBTAIN A LOAN.

If a farm-loan association has not already been formed, it requires at least 10 farmers who desire to make loans to form one. Each member is to subscribe an oath saying that he is the owner, or about to become the owner, of farm lands, qualified under the act of being the basis of a mortgage loan; that the loan desired by each person is not more than $10,000 nor less than $100; and that the aggregate loans of each association are not less than $20,000. These affidavits are to be accompanied by subscriptions to stock in the farm-land bank equal to 5 per cent of the mortgage loan desired. When the land bank gets these affidavits they form a farm-loan association, as above set out. To cite a concrete case, a farmer has a piece of land worth $1,800, with improvements worth $500 thereon, in all $2,500. He becomes a member of the association as above pointed out. He then applies for a loan of not exceeding $900 on the land and $100 on the improvements. In other words, he can borrow 50 per cent of the value of his land and 20 per cent of the value of his improvements. He does not get in cash the whole sum of $1,000, because he is to take 5 per cent of the amount of his loan in stock, or $50 in the case illustrated. He is entitled to whatever profits are made on his stock, if any are made, and when the loan is paid off he is credited with the $50 stock at all events, and the stock then canceled. In addition to this, he must sign an agreement guaranteeing to the extent of 10 per cent, or $100, or double the amount of his stock, the loans of his fellow members. Under a well-regulated system, supervised by the Government, it is not believed that he will ever have to pay any loss on account of this guarantee, and this amount is not deducted from his loan and not paid at all unless there is a loss. Of course, when his loan is paid off his stock is canceled and this agreement is at an end. In other words, his stock is simply an investment which he must make to secure his loan.

The result is that a farmer, when the system is organized, will have to apply to the secretary-treasurer of the loan association, have his land appraised, and be elected a member, and furnish an abstract of title to his property, which will be examined by the attorneys of the system at a figure ultimately fixed by the farm-loan board. He will have to subscribe to the amount of 5 per cent of his loan in a farm-loan association, which will in turn subscribe for a like amount of stock in the Federal land bank, which will either be paid for in cash or deducted from the loan or added to the loan.

The result, so far as it can be estimated ahead of time, will be about as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Security offered: | |
| Land | $1,800 |
| Improvements | 500 |
| Total | 2,300 |
| Cost: | |
| Subscription to stock in land bank | 50 |
| Cost of abstract of title (estimated) | 10 |
| Cost of examining abstract (estimated) | 5 |
| Cost of appraisement (estimated) | 5 |
| Cost of recording mortgage (estimated) | 2 |
| Total | 72 |
| Total loan | 1,000 |
| Farmer receives in cash | 928 |

Counting his stock as an investment, he borrows $950 at an expense which it is believed will not exceed $22.

It is believed that the Torrens title system or some other similar system will soon be adopted, and that shortly all these initial expenses will be reduced to a minimum. Of course, if the farmer already has an abstract of title and taxes, that cost will not have to be borne again. Even the initial fees may be paid for by the bank and deducted from the loan.

HOW LOAN IS REPAID.

Under the amortization plan provided by the act, the loan will be made on long time, not exceeding 40 years and not less than 5 years, and to illustrate how the payments are paid the following table, showing a loan of $1,000 for 20 years at 5 per cent, is given:

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.01 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.65 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.55 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.46 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.24 | 3.82 | 76.50 | |
| Total | 1,604.80 | 604.80 | 1,000.00 | |

In addition he will get the $50 stock subscription back in cash, with its earnings, if any; or the same will be credited on his cash payments. In other words, he will not lose this $50 unless the system fails. Of course, the borrower has the right to pay off the loan at any interest-paying period. Larger loans can be worked out on the same basis.

RATE OF INTEREST.

In the above illustration the interest is given at 5 per cent. Under the terms of the bill the rate can not exceed 6 per cent. Of course, the interest payments will be one-sixth larger than those shown in the above table if the farmer is required to pay a 6 per cent rate. In this connection I wish to say that the interest rate depends upon the interest rate of the bonds issued and sold by the farm-land banks. It is believed that these bonds will prove such a safe and popular investment that the rate of interest paid by the farmers for their money will not exceed 5 per cent, and may be less than that.

RESTRICTIONS ON LOANS.

A loan may only be made upon duly recorded first mortgages on farm lands. They must be made for the purpose of purchasing land for agricultural uses, or for the purpose of purchasing equipment and live stock necessary for farming, or to improve farm buildings, or for improvements on farm lands, or to liquidate the indebtedness of owners of land already mortgaged. These loans shall only be made for 50 per cent of the value of the land, and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements as fixed by the Government appraisers. The loan can only be made to those who are engaged in the cultivation of a farm mortgaged, or shortly to become so engaged. The amount of any one loan shall never exceed $10,000. The application must state the purpose for which the money is borrowed. The borrower is to pay all premiums for insurances and taxes.

HOW THE MONEY IS OBTAINED BY THE BANKS.

When the Federal land bank begins operation and secures these farm first mortgages, then it is given the right to issue its own bonds. The security of these bonds is: (1) The capital stock of the bank itself; (2) whatever earnings and reserves the bank may have made; (3) the indorsement of the local farm-loan associations, which will be backed by the guaranty of all members of the association to the extent of 10 per cent of the loan of each; (4) the first mortgages of farm lands at 50 per cent of their value, and on improvements at 20 per cent of their value; (5) the bonds are exempted from local, State, county, and national taxation; (6) the supervision of the Federal farm-loan board; (7) the act makes the bonds a lawful investment for all fiduciary and trust funds.

Under these circumstances these bonds ought to be just as good as any United States Government bonds, and ought to sell at a very low rate of interest, and, no doubt, soon after the system gets in good working order the rate of interest at which a farmer will be enabled to obtain money will be low, indeed. From the sale of these bonds the banks will get the money to lend to the farmers.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

There is a provision in the bill for joint-stock land banks that ought not to be in it. This provision merely authorizes the organization of private land banks with practically all the privileges of the Federal land banks. The farmers should not obtain their money from these private banks, but should patronize the Federal land banks and make them a success. The Federal land banks, of course, will be interested in reducing interest rates. The private land banks will be interested in increasing interest rates. The farmer should not be misled into borrowing from these private institutions thus authorized. It was a serious mistake to authorize these private land banks, and one that ought to be remedied by amendment. But the farmers can themselves remedy this matter by not patronizing them.

FEDERAL DEPOSITS.

In case of necessity the Government is authorized to deposit as much as $500,000 in a Federal land bank at any time, so that it may not be unduly hampered in its operations. It will thus be seen that every precaution is taken to make the system a success.

ADVANTAGES OF THIS SYSTEM.

In my judgment the distinct advantages of this system are: (1) It will immeasurably reduce the interest rates now being paid by the farmers, saving them in the aggregate in the United States an enormous sum annually; (2) it will provide farmers with money on long time, with small annual payments which will not be burdensome; (3) it will cut off all the payments of large commissions and further renewal commissions; (4) it will secure the loan at a minimum cost; in other words, the amount charged for abstracts, title examinations, and appraisements will be reduced to a minimum; (5) it will permit the farmer to pay off the whole loan at any interest-paying period; (6) it will make farm first mortgages bankable assets anywhere; (7) it will see to it that the farmer gets his money at the lowest possible cost; (8) it will make money always available to the farmer who has the land.

ACT WILL BENEFIT RENTERS AND SHARE CROPPERS.

In my judgment it will prove the greatest impetus ever given agriculture in this country, inasmuch as it will encourage renters to save and become farmers in their own right, and will cause great numbers of men now engaged in a less profitable business to become farmers, and will enable all farmers to obtain necessary finances.

The man who now rents his farm may purchase one under this new law in two ways: He may either save up 50 per cent of the cost of his farm and then mortgage it under the bill on long time and use the money in paying for the land, or he may be able to get the owner of the land to let him have the title and mortgage it for 50 per cent of its value and turn this over as his first payment, then execute a second mortgage to the landowner for the remainder of the purchase money and then work it out instead of paying rent.

HOW THE ACT WILL AFFECT TENNESSEE.

In 1910 there were 144,125 farms in Tennessee. Of these only 24,006 were mortgaged, an exceedingly small percentage of them in comparison with those mortgaged in many other States. The total mortgaged indebtedness in Tennessee, as far as could be ascertained, was $12,600,000. The average rate of interest paid on these mortgages was 8½ per cent, exclusive of commissions, and the total amount paid by these farmers in interest on their mortgaged farms was $1,071,000. If these mortgages are transferred to the Federal system on a 6 per cent basis, the farmers of Tennessee who now have their farms mortgaged will save annually in interest $315,000. If they get a 5 per cent rate, as it is believed they will, they will save $441,000 annually. As a matter of fact, counting commissions and all expenses, farmers in Tennessee most likely pay as much as 10 per cent now, and if these mortgages are transferred to the Federal system on a 5 per cent basis they will save annually $630,000 in lessened interest charges alone.

The proportion of farms mortgaged in Tennessee is comparatively small. This does not necessarily show a good condition. The proportion of farms mortgaged in 1910 was higher in Wisconsin and Iowa than in any other States, and yet those States are among the most prosperous in the Union from an agricultural standpoint, and the interest rate there is as cheap or cheaper than in any other State, and the value of the farm land probably greater.

Mr. Speaker, in my late campaign in Tennessee for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator one of the chief planks in my platform was national rural-credits legislation. I promised the farmers that I would use every effort to obtain such legislation, and I am delighted to be able to say that this promise has been redeemed and that a workable rural-credits system is now a reality. I am convinced that it will accomplish great good to the farmers of Tennessee and to the farmers of the entire Nation.

## Compensation to Certain Families of the Drafted Forces of the United States.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ARTHUR W. OVERMYER,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. OVERMYER. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of legislation providing compensation for certain families of the drafted forces of the United States. I voted for this provision a few days ago when it was included in the so-called drafting bill, and I am pleased to note that the vote on the measure to-day will be practically unanimous.

During the consideration of the Agricultural appropriation bill I called the attention of the House to some figures I had collected from reliable sources showing the enormous wealth of this country to-day, ranking first as it easily does. In that statement I submitted figures to prove that it will not be many years until our wealth will be calculated at a trillion dollars. This being the case, and the possibilities and prospects being practically unlimited, owing to its vast undeveloped resources and its large area, I am sure there is no other nation on earth so well able financially to engage in legislation of this kind as the United States; and in view of similar legislation already existing in Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Roumania, Russia, Sweden, and Switzerland, as shown by the statement offered by the worthy chairman of the committee, Mr. HAY, it seems to me that we have been somewhat negligent in the matter.

My home county of Sandusky, in Ohio—a county which has furnished such well-known soldiers as Gen. Rutherford Birchard Hayes, afterwards President of the United States; Gen. Ralph P. Buckland, on Sherman's staff; Gen. James B. McPherson, the highest ranking officer killed on the Union side during the Civil War; and George Burton Meek, the first American soldier killed in the War with Spain—is again demonstrating her patriotism by furnishing from Fremont, Ohio, the largest company in the Sixth Regiment of the Ohio National Guard, which left for the mobilization camp at Columbus, Ohio, to-day with 148 men, and a company from Clyde, Ohio, the former home of Gen. McPherson.

My district has now seven companies in camp at Columbus, Ohio, and among them are many laboring men, who left their positions, which furnished their only source of income, and enlisted in defense of the country. Their employers have assured all of them that their positions would be awaiting them when they returned; and the citizens of Fremont, Ohio, have raised a fund which will insure the payment of $4 per month to every enlisted man of Company K for some time to come. I know that my constituents will heartily approve this proposed legislation.

It seems to me that at this moment, when the entire National Guard of the United States is mobilizing for possible duty, when the threatening war clouds hang low over our country, that there is no more powerful appeal we can make than to pass this bill and thereby hold out the promise that if our citizens respond to their country's call in the hour of danger they need not fear for the welfare of their families during their absence.

In reading the current accounts in our daily newspapers of the scenes now being enacted in thousands of American homes, when a loving and devoted husband and father, the sole support of a family, or perhaps an only son, is called to break home ties on a moment's notice, to leave the wife or mother with new and heavy responsibilities resting on her already burdened shoulders, we are forcibly reminded of similar scenes enacted in hundreds of thousands of American homes a half century ago; and thousands of those homes never recovered financially from the sacrifices made when the sole producer of the family was absent for several years, while those who lacked the patriotism to enlist were able to accumulate wealth through the opportunity afforded by the high prices during the war. It is not necessary or possible for all men to enlist, but patriotism does not consist alone in going to war. It consists also in a willing-

ness to sustain and support and encourage those who do go to the front. [Applause.]

It has been my pleasure to vote for every pension bill that has come up for consideration at this session, including the bill pensioning widows of the veterans of the War with Spain, the bill providing pension for the veterans of the Indian wars, and the bill providing pension and increased pension to certain widows of Civil War veterans. I voted for these pension bills, because I believed it right for a Government to show its gratitude to the men who responded in defense of it, and to hold out the promise that the widows and orphans will be provided for. I have been particularly fortunate also, as a new Member, in securing relief by special acts during the present session for 14 veterans and 2 widows of veterans of the Civil War. I have also secured relief for several veterans of the War with Spain, and have aided more than 60 veterans in securing original pension and increase of pension through the Bureau of Pensions. I feel that while a new Member of this House can not expect to be taken into the higher councils of this body, or be expected to perform great services that attract national attention, he can make himself equally useful as an important part of the machinery of this body by giving attention to matters of this kind where the most deserving and needy of his constituents will benefit by his services.

The argument has been advanced by the few who oppose the bill under consideration that there is no precedent for legislation of this character, and that therefore we ought not to pass it. I believe that I live under a Government which recognizes the needs of its people as those needs arise, and, recognizing those needs, takes prompt action. If there is no precedent, let us create one. [Applause.]

## Preparedness.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, the pending bill, H. R. 16734, by a previous understanding was to have been called up for consideration on Monday next, the day preceding our greatest national holiday. Owing to a subsequent agreement, in view of the adjournment of the House over the Fourth of July, the consideration of this measure has been advanced and is now before us on the anniversary of the beginning of the famed Battle of Gettysburg and still within the shadow of the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the declaration of our independence as a Nation.

It is but natural that under these circumstances, in the consideration of a measure of this kind, with a possible conflict with Mexico confronting us, our thoughts should tend to those former days when the spirit of '76 prompted the people to declare their independence and by their heroic deeds make that declaration not only a collection of beautiful words but a thing of meaning and power, giving birth to a new Nation dedicated to the principle of liberty.

Thomas Jefferson, the author of that declaration, is remembered and revered to-day by reason of that authorship more than for any other act in his remarkably brilliant career. When he wrote, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," he simply put into words the belief of the people of that day and thereby expressed the fundamental doctrine of Americanism.

Now, the words "inalienable rights" expressed a well-defined and understood principle of government in that day. It meant that there were certain natural rights of man with which governments had no right to interfere, and among these were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Individual liberty, therefore, is the great foundation stone of our Americanism. Of course, it is to the Constitution rather than the declaration that we must go for the framework of our Government, and in these days of rapidly changing opinions it seems to me that it would be well to give some heed to those who are crying "Back to the Constitution."

Of this one thing, however, we can be sure that by the spirit of '76 we mean the spirit of liberty and the patriotism manifested by the people in their willingness to suffer and, if need be, die for that principle. It was this liberty that the declaration proclaimed, and it was this same principle that the Constitution sought to protect, and its value to the present and future generations can not be too much emphasized. And the minority is entitled to liberty just as much as the majority, and for this purpose certain guaranties were insisted upon in the first amendments to the Constitution. Remember, though, that statements in famed declarations and provisions in constitutions do not of themselves insure freedom. They may protect it temporarily from a passing frenzy, but it can be permanently guaranteed only by the people so cherishing the principle because of its value to them as individuals as to prompt them to the protection of others in the similar right, for individual liberty can not be curtailed without endangering the liberty of the Nation. When Rome was free there was nothing more glorious than to be a Roman. Likewise there is nothing more glorious to-day than to be an American, and this because of American liberty.

The declaration was something more than that of the independence of the united Colonies. It was a pronunciamento to the world of a new order of things; it was the expression of the conviction of the people of that day in a better civil government; it was a setting of their faces in the direction of that better condition which they believed they were entitled to enjoy and could enjoy through self-government. True, they were in large measure influenced by the traditions of the past. We can not extricate ourselves from the influences of bygone days; nor can we properly interpret present-day movements without a knowledge of the conditions from which these movements sprung. I am a believer in the historical school and am strongly of the opinion that we ought, in order to build wisely, pay close attention to the past, so that we may better understand the present. But, on the other hand, we can not continue to live in the past, as China seeks to do. We must be alive to our present-day opportunities and ready to advance to higher realms, as our fathers of '76 were ready and able to do.

And just here I direct your attention to the fact that our Nation has arrived at a great crossroads, and in determining the course that we shall follow we must have regard to the future welfare of mankind as well as consideration of the history and precedents of the past. The signs we read at this crossroads are militarism, pacifism, preparedness. In which direction shall we travel?

Now, the discussion of the subject of preparedness is appropriate to the consideration of the question now before us in connection with the spirit of those early days when this Nation was born, and especially so in view of the present European struggle and a conflict with Mexico possible. And what a splendid opportunity to unfurl the flag and wave it frantically and urge ultrapreparedness and cry "on to Mexico!" and thus fan the war spirit of our people. But I would rather take a contrary course and seek to say a word that would cause our people to think seriously about the present situation as they strive to realize what their decision at the present time means with respect to our future.

In the first place, what do we mean by preparedness? To put the question in another form, What do you personally understand by preparedness? The militarist is demanding a Navy as large as England's, an immense standing Regular Army, and universal military training in order that the whole Nation in a crisis may be called to arms. The pacificist is the person who believes in the spirit and efficacy of international tribunals, and is working for the curtailment of armaments and the substitution of courts for the settlement of disputes between nations. In which direction shall we march? The first undoubtedly conforms to the cruelty and barbarism of the middle ages with improved weapons and instruments of death; the latter points to a new ideal, the justice of law instead of force, and the preservation rather than the destruction of precious human lives.

Now, I am not unmindful of the fact that there is merit in the contentions of those who range themselves on either side in this controversy. I realize that universal peace, however much to be desired, is not directly at hand. But I also am impressed with the importance of the trend of affairs at this critical period of the world's history and especially in this country respecting the attitude and conduct of the generations immediately following ours.

Let me get before you vividly, if I can, the end of the road upon which we now enter, and perhaps the following illustration will help: On Flag Day this year there was a great preparedness parade in the Capital City and thousands of patriotic men marched in that parade and thereby went on record as favoring preparedness, but probably with a mental reservation

as to the degree of preparedness in which they believed. Then the Mexican border trouble became acute and the National Guard of the District of Columbia had difficulty in recruiting up to minimum war strength, and so in the papers of Washington, on June 30, I read the following words, purporting to have come from one of the recruiting officers: "We want just 500 of the patriotic young men who marched so jauntily in the preparedness parade on Flag Day—just 500 of them." Now, that is not an unnatural nor an unreasonable request. The point is this: Let us be certain of what we do favor before taking the step. Is the end of our road universal military service or does it lead to universal peace?

With this viewpoint let me now direct your attention to a large body of Americans who are not in sympathy with either the extreme militarist or the extreme pacificist. On the contrary, these men have not made up their minds as to a permanent policy, but with the war sparks falling all around them, with the consequent possible dangers, they believe that some effort of a substantial nature should be put forth temporarily without committing themselves to a permanent policy, and this, as I understand it, is the attitude of Congress.

Consequently the militarist is criticizing the action of Congress and contending they have not risen to the emergency, while the pacificist is arguing that Congress has gone too far. Now, what has the present Congress done? Up to date in bills passed or pending they have provided for appropriations for military purposes to the amount of $538,712,000, not including the sum of $158,000,000 for the payment of pensions. In the preceding year the military appropriations amounted to $258,766,000, from which you can calculate that the expenditures this year are more than double those of last year, from which it can be fairly argued that something of a substantial nature has been accomplished.

In order that you do not misunderstand my own attitude, let me say that I voted for these preparedness measures, with the exception of $20,000,000 for a Government nitrate plant and $11,000,000 for a Government armor plant, neither of which expenditures I believed was justified. I favored a 250,000 Federal Army, the federalization of the National Guard, and supported a motion for the building of two battleships in addition to the five battle cruisers provided in the House bill, and in doing so was prompted by the present emergency and was not committing myself to a permanent military policy. But, notwithstanding these immense appropriations, there are those who still hold that this vast expenditure of money is not a reasonable beginning. If this is not a reasonable beginning, is it not already time to contemplate what shall be the end?

Now, remember that the appropriations for military purposes, authorized or pending, including pensions, amount to $696,777,000, a sum greater than has been required heretofore for the total annual expense of the Government up to the fiscal year 1916. And if the Army War College recommendations had been agreed to by Congress the Army appropriation this year would have carried an additional sum of approximately $160,000,000, and if added to this the Navy Board's recommendations had been accepted we would have committed ourselves to the expenditure of additional sums covering a five-year program of Navy building approximating $500,000,000.

And this great sum at the end of the five-year period would have left our Navy less than one-half the size of England's. This would have been moderate preparedness and in no sense adequate, argue the strong militarists. From this can we not reason that adequate preparedness is almost impossible of attainment? For if it were within our power to attain to a Navy as large as that of Great Britain, would we not, in order to be safe, have to build a navy the size of that controlled by Britain and her allies? Either this or enter into combinations with other powers, and such combination is as likely to get us into as to keep us out of war.

In view of the tremendous expense involved in a military policy of European proportions, in view of the well-nigh impossible attainment of equaling the naval armaments of other nations without alliances and combinations, in view of our traditions against foreign entanglements and our reliance on the justice with which we deal with other powers to keep us out of trouble, had we not better take heed before entering upon a reckless expenditure for immense armaments that gives little assurance of keeping us out of war.

Now, I am fully conscious of the arguments that can be advanced for greater military preparedness as a result of our experience in preparing for a possible conflict with Mexico. Senator CHAMBERLAIN, chairman of the Senate Military Committee, is quoted in the Washington Times of June 30 in an argument for greater preparedness, and winds up with this sentence: "Compulsory military training for all is the answer." Is that your answer? Is that what you believe in? Let me call to your attention that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States have voted 16 to 1 in favor of universal military training, warning you of the sentiment that already exists in this country in this connection.

The question then is, What does Americanism mean with reference to militarism? Heretofore it certainly has been pronouncedly against it, but what is its attitude to be in the future? Why has it been so suddenly and so forcibly thrust upon our notice? Why are we now urged to abandon our traditions and embark on a policy of European militarism, against which we have heretofore so firmly set ourselves? Why do ministers of the gospel in large numbers march in preparedness parades, as they did in New York City, and by their presence proclaim for militarism? Is it because the Prince of Peace is a militarist? If so, why do the militarists not take their arguments from the New instead of the Old Testament?

England is being criticized in this war for her lack of military preparation, and yet she has the greatest navy in the world. Germany, with a wonderful army, the like of which has never before been seen under one flag, is now hemmed in on every side. All of which indicates the impossibility of preparing to meet all emergencies. This great navy and this great army were ostensibly created for the maintenance of peace, but instead of peace came a most horrible war. What caused that war? Many answers have been and will be given, and perhaps none more true than this "military preparedness."

I wonder to-day if the warring nations of Europe could have had their present vision before entering into this death struggle if they would not have found more good reasons why they should dwell together in harmony than why they should engage in war. What do you think about it? Think of England and what her Government, holding so much in common with our own, meant to humanity the world over. Think of Germany and what she has done for the uplift of man by reason of her efficiency and scientific research. Think of the ideals of all of the warring countries, most of them professing to be Christian nations, and ask yourself this question, In what manner can this conflict aid humanity?

I can see but one result that can justify this fearful sacrifice of life, and that is the consciousness of the world's leading nations in the futility of war and the necessity of establishing international courts for the settlement of disputes between nations. And to this end my vision tells me this great Nation of ours, with its high ideals and its keen sense of justice, should set itself. Even in the midst of the present military spirit that is passing like a great wave over our land there are many who fervently believe in the new order that will materially lessen if not put an end to war. They see a vision of permanent peace establishment, and the present cruel war a means to that end rather than an end to that vision. If this is to be the new order of things, and we as a Nation are to take an active part in bringing it about, then the measure of our present preparedness and our future preparedness plans become important from this angle of vision.

It is not easy to determine at this time just what the attitude of the American people is. A short time since we witnessed the remarkable spectacle of the President of the United States starting over the country for the purpose of convincing the people of the necessity of a large military establishment, and instead of convincing them, returning to his post forced by the greatest power in America—public opinion—to change his own views and modify his demands on Congress, and in doing so to break with one of the leading members of his Cabinet.

I am confident to-day that whether we class ourselves as militarists, pacifists, or preparedness advocates, that we are all believers in the superior advantages of peace. But if in the judgment of the authorities at Washington it becomes necessary to declare war on Mexico, then all of us, without regard to our individual opinions, as becomes true and loyal Americans, will patriotically and devotedly follow the fortunes of our country's flag. Let us, however, remember that the honor of our Nation requires that we, while insisting upon our rights, are careful to perform our duties, and that it is quite important that they be fully performed, and especially when we are dealing with a weak and lowly government, distracted with civil strife. Our great glory in the Boxer troubles was our munificent treatment of helpless China, and in such treatment, perhaps, there is more real protection against war than in battleships and armament. For as a just man is revered, so likewise is a just nation.

Now, however much we may feel like intervening in Mexico to protect the rights of American citizens and to punish the Mexicans for wrongs inflicted upon our people, we must not overlook the fact that the Mexican authorities have not, according to their own understanding, given permission to our Government to take

troops into Mexico. It is true that after protest they permitted the first detachment of American troops that entered Mexico in pursuit of Villa to remain, with an understanding that when the Villa band was captured or dispersed they would return to their own country. This condition Mexico contends has been accomplished and the Villa band has been dispersed, and yet our troops remain. More, an additional expedition was sent into Mexican territory in the direction of Boquillas about the 10th or 11th of May without any further understanding with the authorities of that country, and this they resented as being a threatening attitude on the part of a professedly friendly power. Following this was the unfortunate Carrizal affair and the present bone of contention, in which Capt. Boyd's troopers were fired upon and some of them killed and others taken prisoners. The last word on this event has as yet not been said, and we must await further reliable information.

Of course, we are not to take the word of Mexico in preference to that of our own authorities, but until we have official information from our own Government we must withhold our opinion of the cause of that deplorable incident, and in the meantime we can assert, and boldly, that this Government of ours can not afford to engage in war with Mexico or any other power on any grounds that it can not justify before the world to the satisfaction of this or future generations.

My friends, I am a believer in the efficacy of a world court, and sincerely trust that this Government shall lend its valued assistance to the creation of such a court when the present devastating war is concluded. I hope that in the meantime we shall keep ourselves out of war, in order that we can the more gracefully propose a world court and the convening of the third Hague conference with a view to the permanent betterment of international relations and the consequent advantage of human kind. Do you believe that if there had been a world court and the grievances of the present warring nations had been referred to it that we would have witnessed the fearful carnage of this day? It seems to me that such a tribunal would have spared such suffering following so swiftly as it did on the heels of ultimatums.

Now, I know there are many splendid souls in this country who fervently advocate a world court and at the same time believe that we should have large armaments and universal military training. They may be right in their contention. It may be true that the people in a Republic such as ours can resort to universal military service without endangering their peace ideals. Yet, on the other hand, there is not a great difference between human nature in America and in Europe. Men on either continent are swayed by the same impulses, the same passions. An ultimatum from the President of this Republic is quite as likely to lead to a war as an ultimatum from an emperor. That Congress instead of the President is the authorized body to declare war does not make so much difference as would at first thought appear.

But, however much we may decry or deplore war, it may soon be upon us. If it should come, then I am sure that the response of the people will be equal to the emergency and that the young men of to-day will prove themselves worthy descendants of the heroes of our former wars. The members of the National Guard now so willingly and courageously answering the summons of their country are prompted by the same high patriotism that characterized the heroes of Bunker Hill and the brave men on either side at Gettysburg and their descendants at San Juan Hill or Manila Bay. I trust that they will not see reaf service and that our differences with Mexico will be peacefully adjusted. However this may be, they are ready, as their fathers before them were ready, and if the occasion demands, like their fathers, they will give a good account of themselves. While they constitute the second line of defense, they will follow the standard set by the brave men in the Regular Army and by their deeds prove they are of the same blood and equally true to the traditions of the past.

In connection with the provisions of the bill before us I wish to say that I was one who favored the Senate substitute when the similar provision was before us in the conference report. This because I was of the opinion that the present emergency was not sufficiently serious to justify the forcing of married men or others with helpless dependent families from their places in the home to a military camp and a possible, though not probable, war. But the measure in itself is a most meritorious one, and with the other provision no longer before us I gladly support the provisions of this bill, believing that those who remain at home at such a time should bear the burden of maintaining the dependents of the brave men who risk their lives in their country's service.

While I hope for peace and trust that a world court is a possibility and more a probability within a reasonable time, yet I can see in the present threatening war clouds a wholesome lesson to our people, and they should remind us of the duty we owe to our country and which we should ever stand ready to perform. In this day we do not seem to think so much of duties as we do of rights. It is remarkable how men so boldly demand their rights from the Government without any serious thought of corresponding duties.

Let us on this anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, with the Fourth of July approaching so closely, resolve that in the future we shall not be so much concerned with the rights to which we are entitled as with the duties we should perform. Let the aroused patriotic feeling of this day direct our thoughts to a more intelligent appreciation of the liberties we enjoy, with a consequent realization of our obligations to the Government. Let us be impressed with the fact that our citizenship carries with it duties as well as rights, obligations as well as privileges. Let us this day rededicate ourselves to the American principle of liberty, the American idea of justice, and add thereto the spirit of fraternity which prompts to the consideration of the welfare of all mankind.

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**Maintenance of Families of National Guardsmen.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,

OF INDIANA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, this is a meritorious measure, one which appeals to the patriotism of every Member here, and one which should, in my judgment, receive the enthusiastic support of every Member of this House.

I can conceive of no greater ingratitude on the part of a great Government like ours than to refuse to make ample provision for the care of the dependent families of those who quit their business to go to the front to fight the battles of their country in its hour of peril. Men who leave their homes, their families, and all that is near and dear to them to defend the Government, when it is assailed by an enemy which would, if it could, destroy the Union and humiliate our people before the world.

These men display a heroism worthy of the kindest attention to those dependent upon them that a grateful Nation can bestow. By their action they earn the gratitude of a great Nation, which should never be parsimonious with them and theirs and should see to it that every consideration is manifested which their loyalty requires.

Men who quit their duties, lay down their business, leave their families, and take their places in the line of battle to bare their breasts to the shot and shell of a desperate enemy for the upholding of the dignity and honor of our common country display a courage and patriotism that immortalizes them and furnish an example of patriotism which is an inspiration to every citizen living under our flag and professing allegiance to our institutions.

Their great sacrifice calls forth not only our commendation, but also demands a substantial recognition which will encourage them in their patriotic efforts as they battle for the cause of the Union and the principles upon which it was founded.

The spirit of 1776 is abroad in the land to-day, the flag of our country is an inspiration for liberty and for humanity wherever unfurled, and men follow it to victory because it stands for all that is good in the development of the human race and the equality of mankind.

In this measure we assure the men who make their great sacrifice in behalf of their country that the Government will provide for those dependent upon them for support while they are engaged in their country's service. It is the proper thing for it to do. This Government should not hesitate to reward the men who volunteer to defend it, who carry the burden of battle, and the people expect it to act with liberality and in keeping with its position among the nations of the earth.

As the representatives of a great, a justice-loving, and patriotic people, it is highly important that we make such provision for the families of the men called into its service as the exigencies of the occasion require in order that unusual hardships may not be visited upon them during the absence of these brave men who

are in the field to fight the battles of their country and preserve its dignity and honor.

If we should fail in this respect it would show ingratitude upon our part, a dereliction of duty. The country would criticize our action and the people would at the first opportunity resent our course.

This great Nation is amply able to make such provision. It has never hesitated in the past to act with generosity toward its defenders. It will do so now, as heretofore, in recognizing the patriotism of those who go forth to battle in this its hour of need.

We lead the world in all that makes a nation great and strong, and our high standard will be maintained on this occasion in keeping with our position among the nations of the world.

America should be first in everything that advances the cause of humanity, that promotes the welfare of the people and renders assistance to the needy. Patriotism here is always recognized and rewarded, and hence the loyal devotion of our citizenship to our Government.

## Compensation to Certain Families of the National Guard.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. THOMAS W. MILLER,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. MILLER of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, this measure, entitled a bill—

To pay to certain families of the men of the drafted forces of the United States a sum of money for their maintenance during the term of service of such drafted men in the service of the United States—

can aptly be called emergency legislation, but nevertheless the exigencies of the occasion demand that it shall be passed and become a law as soon as possible. I shall vote for this measure, not only from the standpoint of duty, but also with a feeling of personal pleasure, because I number among my own acquaintances many whose families will suffer by reason of their being drafted for this service. The only criticism that I have is that the bill does not include within its scope such enlisted men of the Regular Establishment whose families may be in need of the same help, because all of the soldiers that we are recruiting, either as Regulars or as Volunteers, for service in Mexico or on the border are of the same clay and have the same purpose in view, viz, service to our country when they are called.

This piece of legislation needed at this time should not be considered as a precedent for the future, immediate or distant. We should remember, however, that the present Mexican situation has come upon us in the midst of a reorganization of our military forces on land, both as they refer to the Regular Army and to the National Guard.

Under the new Army legislation the members of the National Guard of the several States will know just what is expected of them before they enlist and therefore can be governed accordingly. It is hardly fair to ask those members of the National Guard in the various States who have families or people dependent upon them for their very existence to leave those dependents in view of the situation which has caused the calling out of the National Guard at this time. I say this not to belittle in any way the serious situation that confronts this country on our southern border, but no one will argue that it is a pressing enough situation for numberless people to be placed in a position of jeopardy because the breadwinner of the family has been called into service at this time. If the situation were such that the country was in danger from invasion and attack from an enemy our equal not only those who constitute the present National Guard of our States but every able-bodied male would have to go forth, leaving his family or those dependent upon him to fare as best they could, in which event no one would be worse off than his neighbor. On Saturday, June 17, the men went to their homes at the end of the week's work with no inkling that a call into the Federal service would be confronting them on Monday morning. They answered that call, as they were bound to do, and in view of the emergency created and the conditions touched upon above relating to this present situation I deem it only proper that an exception should be made at this time and money advanced by Congress to aid the families or dependents of those men who have been drafted into the service of the Nation at this time.

Since the call for the National Guard we have seen evidences all over the country that corporations, private employers, and industrial concerns are doing their share in bearing the burdens of the present emergency, and it certainly is no great strain upon those of us who were not in a position to be called upon to take care in a slight measure of those who are in need by reason of the call.

In closing it is only proper to say that, so far as I have been able to find out, no man or set of men connected with the National Guard has asked for this legislation, but it comes spontaneously from the Representatives of the people in Congress assembled and is an evidence of the generosity of this great Government at a time when its help is most needed, and then upon no great expenditure of its own funds.

## One-Cent Letter Postage.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, I beg to submit for the information of the House the following list of organizations which have adopted formal resolutions indorsing a 1-cent rate for letter postage. In this list are organizations of national and local character, comprising a membership of several million patrons of the Postal Service.

It is needless for me to remind the House that a determined fight is being waged for such readjustment of postal rates as will at once give the common user of the mail service 1-cent local delivery letters, and ultimately general 1-cent letter postage. This Congress would be fully justified in granting the request for a reduction in the letter rate, especially on letters of local origin for delivery within the limits of the same delivery district.

One cent will much more than pay the cost of all local delivery letters, and the establishment of such a rate will, in my judgment, be a powerful stimulus to urban business and local correspondence. Our postal establishment should not be regarded solely as a money-making institution, but one offering the American people the very best possible service at actual cost.

The list which I submit is highly interesting because of the variety and character of the organizations represented. It will be noticed that every State in the Union is represented by several well-known organizations. I hope the Members of this House will appreciate the arguments which have been offered from time to time in behalf of this reform and grant the request of the people for a lower rate on letters.

ASSOCIATIONS THAT HAVE INDORSED 1-CENT LETTER POSTAGE.

Alabama: The Business Men's League, Birmingham; the Alabama Retail Hardware Association, Atlanta, Ga.; Chamber of Commerce, Birmingham; Commercial Club, Eufaula; Commercial Club, Florence; Business Men's Club, Gadsden; Gadsden Chamber of Commerce, Gadsden; Chamber of Commerce, Huntsville; Jasper Industrial Club, Jasper; Montgomery Association of Credit Men, Montgomery; Wholesale Grocers' Association, Montgomery; Alabama Banker's Association, Pell City.

Arizona: Warren District Commercial Club, Bisbee; Board of Trade, Phoenix; Arizona Bankers' Association, Prescott; Prescott Chamber of Commerce, Prescott.

Arkansas: Commercial Club, Ashdown; Batesville Board of Trade, Batesville; the Merchant's Association, Blytheville; Commercial Club, Cotton Plant; Business Men's Club, Fort Smith; Gravette Commercial Club, Gravette; Merchants' Association, Hot Springs; Merchants' Association, Jonesboro; Arkansas Bankers' Association, Little Rock; Arkansas Retail Hardware Association, Little Rock; Board of Trade, Little Rock; Board of Trade, Paragould.

California: Auburn Chamber of Commerce, Auburn; Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, Berkeley; Campbell Improvement Club, Campbell; Fortuna Board of Trade, Fortuna; Fresno Traffic Association, the Merchants' Association of Fresno, San Joaquin Valley Commercial Association, San Joaquin Valley Lumbermen's Club, Fresno; the Grangers' Union, Hollister; Lodi Merchants' Association, Lodi; Los Angeles Clearing House Association, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles Paint, Oil, and Varnish Club, Los Angeles Wholesalers' Board of Trade, Retail Dry Goods Merchants' Association, Retail Hardware Merchants' Association, Southern California Retail Lumber Dealers' Association, Southern California Wholesale Grocers' Association, Los Angeles; Los Gatos Chamber of Commerce, Los Gatos; Merced County Chamber of Commerce, Merced; Merchants' Association of Modesto, Modesto; California Retail Harness Dealers' Association (Niles), California State Retail Hardware Association, Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club, Merchants' Exchange of Oakland, Oakland Rotary Club, Oakland; Pasadena Merchants' Association, Pasadena; Richmond Real Estate Association, Richmond; Riverside Chamber of Commerce, Riverside; Chamber of Commerce of Sacramento, Real Estate Agents' Association, Sacramento Valley Home Products League, Sacramento; Chamber of Commerce, San Bernardino; the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego County, Manufacturers' Association, Merchants' Association

of San Diego, San Diego Federation of State Societies, Wholesalers' Board of Trade and Credit Association, San Diego; Board of Trade, California Association of Electrical Contractors and Dealers, California Bankers' Association, California Fruit Canners' Association, California Wine Association, Home Industry League of California, Pacific Coast Commercial Travelers' Association, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco; Campbell Improvement Club, San Jose; Turlock Board of Trade, Turlock; Visalia Merchants' Association, Visalia; the Chamber of Commerce of Watsonville and Pajaro Valley, Watsonville; Whittier Board of Trade, Whittier.

Colorado: The El Paso County Retail Grocers and Butchers, Colorado Springs; Craig Commercial Association, Craig; Colorado Association Commercial Executives, Colorado Bankers Association, Colorado Jewelers' Association, the Colorado and Wyoming Lumber Dealers Association, Denver Chamber of Commerce, Denver Credit Men's Association, Retail Association of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, the Western Fruit Jobbers' Association of America, Denver; Dolores Board of Trade, Dolores; Durango Board of Trade, San Juan Congress, Durango; Fort Collins Commercial Club, Fort Collins; Golden Improvement Club, Golden; the Grand Junction Fruit Growers' Association, Grand Junction; Commercial Club, Holyoke; the Business Men's Association, Julesburg; Longmont Commercial Association, Longmont; Chamber of Commerce, Loveland; Commercial Club, Manco; Mountain States Retail Hardware and Implement Association, the Pueblo Retail Butchers and Grocers' Association, Pueblo; Salida Commercial Club, Salida; Commercial Club, Stratton; the Wellington Commercial Club, Wellington.

Connecticut: Connecticut Funeral Directors' Association, Bridgeport; Connecticut State Association of Plumbers, Gas, and Steam Fitters, Derby; Connecticut Association of Insurance Agents, New Haven; Business Men's Association, Norwich; Rockville Business Men's Association, Rockville; Connecticut Bankers' Association, South Norwalk; Waterbury Business Men's Association, Waterburyo Connecticut Retail Hardware Association, Woodbury.

Delaware: Mercantile Association, Wilmington.

District of Columbia: National Association of Piano Merchants of America, National Board of Trade, National Canners' Association, National League of Commission Merchants, the Retail Grocers' Protective Association, Washington Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

Florida: Florida Retail Hardware Association, Atlanta, Ga.; Chamber of Commerce, Apalachicola; Board of Trade, Arcadia; Retail Merchants' Association, Arcadia; Daytona Board of Trade, Daytona; Eustis Board of Trade, Eustis; Florida Bankers' Association, Jacksonville Board of Trade, Jacksonville Credit Men's Association, Manufacturers' Association of Jacksonville, Southern Wholesale Grocers' Association, Jacksonville; Lakeland Chamber of Commerce, Lakeland; Marianna Board of Trade, Marianna; the Florida Local Underwriters' Association, Plant City; Board of Trade, Tampa; Tampa Merchants' Association, Tampa; Board of Trade, Winter Garden.

Georgia: Athens Chamber of Commerce, Athens; Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Atlanta Hotel Men's Association, Georgia Bankers' Association, Georgia Hardware Association, Georgia State Dental Society, Jobbers' Club of Atlanta, Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Southeastern Hardware Association, State Hotelmen's Association, U. C. T. Grand Council, Atlanta; Chamber of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Augusta; Clarksville Board of Trade, Clarksville; Columbus Board of Trade, Columbus; Columbus Clearing House Association, Columbus; Chamber of Commerce, Fitzgerald; Chamber of Commerce, Georgia Local Underwriters' Association, Macon; Milledgeville Chamber of Commerce, Milledgeville; Manufacturers and Merchants' Association, Rome; Retail Merchants' Association, Savannah; Savannah Cotton Exchange, Savannah Credit Men's Association, Savannah.

Idaho: Commercial Club, Blackfoot; Idaho Retail Hardware and Implement Dealers' Association, Boise; Chamber of Commerce, Coeur d'Alene; Commercial Club, Rexburg.

Illinois: Alton Retail Merchants' Association, Alton; Fox River Valley Manufacturers' Association, Batavia; Commercial Club, Belvidere; Bloomington Commercial Club, Bloomington; Cairo Retail Merchants' Association, Cairo; Chamber of Commerce; the Illinois Butter Manufacturers' Improvement Association; Illinois Grain Dealers' Association, Champaign; American Association Creamery Butter Manufacturers; Board of Trade of the City of Chicago; Casket Manufacturers Association of America; Central Bureau of Extension Table Manufacturers; Central Supply Association; Chicago Architects' Business Association; Chicago Automobile Trade Association; Chicago Brass Manufacturers' Association; Chicago Coal Dealers' Association; Chicago Garment Manufacturers' Association; Chicago Grocers and Butchers' Association; Chicago Retail Hardware Association; Commercial Law League of America; Credit Clearing House Association; the Detroit Conference; Electrical Credit Association of Chicago; Electrical Supply Jobbers' Association; Hardware Club of Chicago; Illinois Bankers' Association; Illinois Commercial Men's Association; Illinois Lumber and Builders Supply Dealers' Association; Illinois Manufacturers' Association; Lumbermen's Credit Association; the Millinery Jobbers' Association; National Association of Brass Manufacturers; National Association Building Owners and Managers; National Association of Retail Druggists; National Builders' Supply Association; National Bureau of Metal and Spring Bed Manufacturers; National Business League of America; National Canned Goods and Dried Fruit Brokers' Association; National Confectioners' Association of the United States; National Electrical Credit Association; National Implement and Vehicle Association of the United States of America; National Lumber Manufacturers' Association; National Metal Trades' Association; National Salesmen's Training Association; National Shoe Wholesalers' Association; Paint, Oil, and Varnish Club of Chicago; Private School Managers' Association; Seventy-ninth Street Development Association; United Commercial Travelers, Englewood Council, No. 469; United Commercial Travelers, Grand Council; United Glass Manufacturers Association; United Grocers and Butchers' Association of Chicago; Western Association of Shoe Wholesalers; Wholesale Saddlery Association of the United States; Woodlawn Business Men's Association, Chicago; Decatur Chamber of Commerce, Decatur; Du Quoin Retail Merchants' Association, Du Quoin; East St. Louis Commercial Club, East St. Louis; Retail Merchants' Association, Edwardsville; Elgin Commercial Club; Elgin Liquor Dealers' Association; Illinois Retail Hardware Association, Elgin; National Funeral Directors' Association, Elmwood; Gibson Commercial Club; Gibson City; Hoopeston Business Men's Association, Hoopeston; Commercial Club, Joliet; Merchants' Association of Joliet, Joliet; Kankakee Commercial Association, Kankakee; La Salle Commercial Association; Laundrymen's National Association of America, La Salle; Litchfield Merchants' Protective Association, Litchfield; Tri City Manufacturers' Association, Moline; Business Men's Association, Mount Sterling; Commercial Club, Mount Vernon; Mount Vernon Retail Merchants' Association, Mount Vernon; Normal Improvement Association, Normal; La Salle-Peru-Oglesby Commercial Association, Oglesby; Commercial Association of Oregon, Oregon; Peoria Association of Commerce; Retail Merchants' Association of Illinois, Peoria; Polo Commercial Club, Polo; Quincy Chamber of Commerce, Quincy; Rockford Merchants and Business Men's Association, Rockford; Savanna Improvement Association, Savanna; Retail Grocers and Marchants' Association; Springfield Commercial Association, Springfield; American Society of Agricultural Engineers, Urbana; Business Men's Association, Yorkville.

Indiana: The Indiana Retail Hardware Association, Argos; the National Retail Hardware Association, Argos; Evansville Manufacturers' Association, Indiana State Association of Master Plumbers, Evansville; Fort Wayne Mercantile Accident Association, Fort Wayne; Citizens' Improvement Association, Frankfort; the Commercial Club of Goshen, Goshen; Commercial Club, Hobart; Berghoff Brewing Association, Fort Wayne; Board of Trade, Indiana Hardwood Lumbermen's Association, Indiana Manufacturers' Association, Indiana Retail Shoe Dealers' Association, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, State Retail Furniture Dealers Association, Travelers' Club of Indiana, United Commercial Travelers, Grand Council of Indiana, Indianapolis; Kokoma Chamber of Commerce, Kokomo; United Commercial Travelers of America, Lafayette Council, No. 341, Lafayette; Citizens Commercial Club, Lebanon; Logansport Commercial Club, Logansport; Commercial Club, Indiana Wholesale Grocers' Association, Muncie; Travelers' Protective Association, New Albany; Commercial Club, North Manchester; the Peru Credit Exchange, Peru; National Mutual Union, South Bend Retail Grocers & Butchers' Association (Inc.), South Bend Chamber of Commerce, South Bend; Indiana Bituminous Coal Operators' Association, United Commercial Travelers, Grand Council of Indiana, Terre Haute; Indiana Retail Merchants' Association, Vincennes.

Iowa: Ames Retail Merchants' Association, Ames; Commercial Club, Anamosa; Commercial Exchange, Burlington; Cedar Rapids Commercial Club, Cedar Rapids; Clinton Commercial Club, Clinton; Iowa-Nebraska Wholesale Grocers' Association, Mid-West Implement Dealers' Association, Retail Grocers & Butchers' Association, Council Bluffs; Union County Association Retail Druggists, Creston.

Iowa: Davenport Retail Grocers' Association, Davenport; Interstate Business Men's Accident Association, Commercial Club, Great Western Accident Association, Iowa Bankers' Association, Iowa Retail Clothiers' Association, Iowa State Traveling Men's Association, National Association of Retail Clothiers, Retail Merchants' Association of Des Moines, Des Moines; Iowa Implement Dealers' Association, Donnellson; Dubuque Industrial Corporation, Iowa Retail Merchants' Association, Dubuque; U. C. T., Des Moines Council, No. 115, Hampton; Retail Merchants' Association, Janesville; Le Mars Commercial Club, Le Mars; Iowa Retail Hardware Association, Mason City Commercial Club, Mason City; American Commercial Travelers' Association, Ottumwa; Retail Merchants' Association, Ottumwa; Sioux City Commercial Club, Sioux City Real Estate Association, Sioux City; the Commercial Travelers' Congress of Iowa, Storm Lake; Waterloo Retail Merchants' Association, Waterloo.

Kansas: The National Federation Retail Implement and Vehicle Dealers' Association, Western Retail Implement, Vehicle, and Hardware Association, Abilene; Commercial Association, Allen; the Commercial Club of Arkansas City, Arkansas City; Cedar Shipping Association, Cedar; Commercial Club, Claflin; Commercial Association, Deerfield; Kansas Retailers' Association, Emporia; Fort Scott Industrial Association, Fort Scott; Kansas Real Estate Men's Association, Garden City; Great Bend Commercial Club, Great Bend; Tri-County Hardware and Implement Club, No. 55, Kiowa; the Kearny County Fair Association, Lakin; Southeastern Bottlers' Association, Longton; Mulvane Retailers' Association, Mulvane; Ness City Commercial Club, Ness City; Johnson County Merchants and Farmers' Association, Olathe; Commercial Club, Osage City; Commercial Association, Philipsburg; Crawford County Retailers' Association, Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh; Chamber of Commerce, Salina; Kansas Bankers' Association, Topeka; the Wellington Commercial Club, Wellington; Kansas State Bottlers' Association, U. C. T., Wichita Council, No. 39, Wichita.

Kentucky: Commercial Club, Cadiz; Henderson Commercial Club, Henderson; Tobacco Board of Trade, Hopkinsville; Livingston Commercial Club, Livingston; the Builders' Exchange of Louisville, the Employers' Association, Kentucky Bankers' Association, the Louisville Board of Trade, Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Retail Merchants' Association Travelers Protective Association of America, Travelers' Protective Association, Post D, Kentucky Division, Louisville; Mount Sterling Business Men's Club, Mount Sterling; Business Men's Association, Shelbyville; the Kentucky Retail Harware and Stove Merchants' Association, Sturgis.

Louisiana: Alexandria Progressive Union, Alexandria; State Ice Manufacturers' Association, Alexandria; Crowley Board of Trade, Crowley; Lake Charles Chamber of Commerce, Lake Charles; State Retail Furniture Dealers' Association, Lake Charles; Iberia, Vermillion, and St. Martin Retail Druggists' Association, New Iberia; Louisiana State Board of Agriculture and Immigration, New Orleans Association of Commerce, New Orleans Board of Trade, Retail Grocers' Association, New Orleans; Chamber of Commerce, United Commercial Travelers, Grand Council, Shreveport.

Maine: Maine State Board of Trade, Bangor; Chamber of Commerce, Lewiston; Northeast Harbor Board of Trade, Northeast Harbor; Portland Board of Trade, Portland Wholesale Merchants' Association, Portland; Rockland Board of Trade, Rockland; Board of Trade, Springvale; Chamber of Commerce, Waterville.

Maryland: American Funeral Benefit Association of United States, Baltimore Association of Credit Men, Builders' Exchange of Baltimore City, Maryland Bankers' Association, Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, National Lumber Exporters' Association, Old Town Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Southwest Baltimore Improvement Association, Baltimore; Hagerstown Board of Trade, Hagerstown.

Massachusetts: Arlington Business Men's Association, Arlington; Boston Automobile Dealers' Association (Inc.), Boston Credit Men's Association, Boston Fruit & Produce Exchange, Boston Music Trade Association, Boston Rotary Club, the Dental Manufacturers' Club, Massachusetts Real Estate Exchange, National Association Insurance Agents, National Association of Merchant Tailors of America, New England Coal Dealers' Association, New England Dry Goods Association, New England Hardware Dealers' Association, New England Iron & Hardware Association, New England Shoe & Leather Association, the Union Fraternal League, Boston; Brockton Shoe Manufacturers' Association, Brockton; Cambridge Board of Trade, Cambridge; the Motor & Accessory Manu-

facturers' Association, the Oxford Country Club, Chicopee Falls; Everett Board of Trade, Everett; Fitchburg Board of Trade & Merchants' Association, Fitchburg; Haverhill Credit Bureau, Haverhill; Holyoke Chamber of Commerce, Western Massachusetts Hardware Association, Holyoke; Business Men's Association, Hyde Park (Boston); Lawrence Chamber of Commerce, Lawrence; Lowell Board of Trade, Lowell; Lynn Board of Trade, Lynn Shoe Manufacturers' Association, Lynn; Malden Board of Trade, Malden; Mansfield Board of Trade, Mansfield; Quincy Board of Trade, Quincy; Salem Board of Trade, Salem; Master House Painters & Decorators' Association, Somerville; Old Colony Pomona Grange, Stoughton; Board of Trade, Waltham; National Association of Jobbers, National Machine Tool Builders' Association, Worcester.

Michigan: Detroit Association of Credit Men, Detroit Board of Commerce, Detroit Retail Hardware Dealers' Association, Exchange Club, Michigan Bankers' Association, National Association of Garment Manufacturers, Tri-City Coffee Roasters' Association, Detroit; Evart Board of Trade, Evart; Board of Commerce, Michigan Retail Shoe Dealers' Association, Flint; Fremont Board of Trade, Fremont; Grand Haven Commercial Association, Grand Haven; Builders & Traders' Exchange, Grand Rapids Association of Commerce (wholesale department), Grand Rapids Credit Men's Association, Michigan Retail Lumber Dealers' Association, National Association Furniture Manufacturers, National Commercial Fixture Manufacturers' Association, Retail Grovers & General Merchants of Michigan, Grand Rapids; Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Jackson; Board of Trade, Lakeview; Michigan Federation of Retail Merchants, Lansing; the Michigan Retail Hardware Association, Marine City; Marquette Commercial Club, Marquette; Commercial Club, Wholesale Credit Men's Association of Menominee; Business Men's Association, Mount Clemens; Michigan Retail Clothiers' Association, Muskegon; Michigan State Pharmaceutical Association, Fremont; National Retail Mounment Dealers' Association, Port Huron; Michigan Retail Monument Dealers' Association, Retail Grocers' Association, the Saginaw Valley Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Saginaw; Tecumseh Commerce Club, Tecumseh; U. C. T. Grand Council, Travers City; Michigan Retail Implement & Vehicle Dealers' Association, Vicksburg.

Minnesota: The Commercial Club of Duluth, Duluth Builders' Exchange, Duluth Retail Grocers' Association, Retail Merchants' Association, Duluth; Farmington Commercial Club, Farmington; Commercial Club, Hallock; Commercial Club, Jasper; Board of Trade, Lake Crystal; Commercial Club, Lanesboro; Little Falls Commercial Club, Little Falls; Minneapolis Retail Grocers' Association, Minnesota Bankers' Association, Minnesota Furniture Buyers' Association, Minnesota Retail Hardware Association, National Association of Hardware Secretaries, Northwestern Retail Coal Dealers' Association, Organization of Secretaries' Association of the American Bankers' Association, Minneapolis; Commercial Club, Osakis; Minnesota Retail Implement Dealers' Association, Owatonna; Renville Commercial Club, Renville; Commercial Club, Rochester; Robbinsdale Commercial Club, Robbinsdale; Chicago County Agricultural Society, Rush City Boosters' Association, Rush City; the National Association of Retail Grocers, Northwestern Cream Shippers' Association, Retail Grocers and General Merchants' Association of Minnesota, St. Paul Association of Commerce, St. Paul Association of Credit Men, U. C. T. Grand Council, St. Paul; Commercial Club, Sauk Center; Stillwater Grocers & Butchers' Association, Stillwater; Wells Commercial Club, Wells.

Mississippi: Business League, Aberdeen; Board of Trade, Brookhaven; Mississippi Retail Hardware Association, Clarksdale; Greenwood Business League, Greenwood; Commercial Union, Gulfport; Meridian Board of Trade and Cotton Exchange, the Mississippi Retail Merchants' Association, Meridian; Mississippi Bankers' Association, Mississippi Fire Underwriters' Association, Progressive League, Vicksburg.

Missouri: Commercial Club, Aurora; Boonville Commercial Club, Boonville; United Commercial Travelers of America, Grand Council of Missouri, Carthage; Chillicothe Chamber of Commerce, Chillicothe; Elsberry Commercial Club, Elsberry; the Commercial Club, Hannibal; Retail Merchants' Association, Jefferson City; the Commercial Club of Joplin, Noon-Day Luncheon Club, Southwestern Missouri Millers' Club, Joplin; Board of Trade, the Commercial Club of Kansas City, the Electrical Contractors' Association of Kansas City, the Kansas City Association of Credit Men, Kansas City Implement, Vehicle, and Hardware Club, Kansas City Retail Hardware Dealers' Association, Missouri Electrical Contractors' Association, Western Harness Manufacturers' Association, Kansas City; the National Health League, Kidder; National Federation of Retail Merchants' Associations, Southwestern Lumbermen's Association, Lexington; Business Men's Association, Louisiana; Marshall Commercial Club, Marshall; Commercial Club, Mexico; Commercial Club, Mountain Grove; Commerce Club, St. Joseph; Jobbers and Manufacturers' Association, Springfield; American Asphalt Association, Association of Master Plumbers, Bircher Heights Improvement Association, Business Men's League, Carondelet Business Men's Association, Laundrymen's Association, Lumber Dealers' Association of St. Louis, Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, Missouri Retail Lumber Dealers' Association, National Leather and Shoe Finders' Association, National Team Owners' Association, North St. Louis Business Men's Association, St. Louis Association of Credit Men, St. Louis Retail Grocers' Association, St. Louis Retail Hardware Association, St. Louis Retail Jewelers' Association, St. Louis Retail Shoe Merchants' Association, St. Louis Sales Managers' Association, St. Louis Shoe Manufacturers and Jobbers' Association, Southwestern Mercantile Association of St. Louis, Missouri Bankers' Association, St. Louis; Sedalia Boosters' Club, Sedalia; Springfield Club, Springfield; Springvale Board of Trade, Springvale; Commercial Club, Stella; Washington Commercial Club, Washington.

Montana: Commercial Club, Belfrey; Montana Retail Merchants' Association, Butte; Dawson County Club, Glendive; Montana Bankers' Association, Great Falls; Ravalli County Business Men's Association, Hamilton; Commercial Club, Hardin; Chamber of Commerce, Harlowton; Helena Retail Merchants' Exchange, Montana State Fair Association, Retail Merchants' Association of Montana, Helena; Laurel Commercial Chamber, Laurel; Lewistown Chamber of Commerce, Lewistown; Chamber of Commerce, Missoula; Smith River Valley Chamber of Commerce, White Sulphur Springs.

Nebraska: Commercial Club, Alliance; Commercial Club, Bassett; Commercial Club, Beatrice; the Blair Merchants' Association, Blair; Commercial Federation, Cedar Bluffs; Commercial Club, Curtis; Nebraska Millers' Protective Association, U. C. T. of A., Grand Island Council, No 134, Grand Island; State Association of Commercial Clubs, Hastings; Humboldt Commercial Club, Humboldt; Lincoln Retail Grocers & Meat Dealers' Association, Nebraska Lumber Dealers' Association, Nebraska Retail Hardware Association, Woodman Accident Association, Lincoln; the Commercial Club, Neligh; North Platte Chamber of Commerce, North Platte; Commercial Club, Federation of Nebraska Retailers, Nebraska Division Travelers' Protective Association, Omaha Film Exchange, Omaha Retail Grocers' Association, Omaha; Nebraska Retail Jewelers' Association, St. Paul; Nebraska Association of Letter Carriers, South Omaha; Commercial Club, Stanton; Commercial Club, Ulysses.

New Hampshire: Concord Board of Trade, Concord; Keene Commercial Club, Keene.

New Jersey: Board of Trade, Asbury Park; Atlantic City Chamber of Commerce, Atlantic City; Board of Trade, Camden; Board of Trade, Elizabeth; Woman's Civic Club, Hammonton; Business Men's Association, Hasbrouck Heights; Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Protective Association of Hudson County, New Jersey Bankers' Association, Jersey City; Kenilworth-Camden Improvement Association, Kenilworth; Board of Trade of the city of Newark, Newark Association of Credit Men, The Newark Hardware & Supply Association, Newark Rotary Club, Newark; Board of Trade, New Brunswick; Master Plumbers' Association of the Oranges, Orange; Board of Trade, Paterson; New Jersey Retail Monument Dealers' Association, Trenton; Embroidery & Lace Manufacturers' Association, Union Hill; New Jersey Retail Jewelers' Association, Union Hill.

New Mexico: Wholesale Grocers' Club of New Mexico, East Las Vegas.

New York: Albany Chamber of Commerce, New York State and Western Pennsylvania Coal Merchants' Association, Albany; Board of Trade, Arcadia; Auburn Chamber of Commerce, Auburn; National Association of Agency Companies, New York Jewelers' Association, Binghamton; Fulton Street Board of Trade, Manufacturers and Business Men's Association of New York, National Confectionery Salesmen's Association, Brooklyn; Buffalo Association of Credit Men, Buffalo Brewers' Exchange, Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo Paint, Oil, and Varnish Club, the Buffalo Retail Grocers' Association, Buffalo and Suburban Retail Hardware Association, Cycle Jobbers' Association of America, Riverside Business Men and Residents' Association, West Side Business Men and Taxpayers' Association, Buffalo; Board of Trade, Canajoharie; Chamber of Commerce, Canton; Chatham Business Men's Association, Chatham; Corinth Business Men's Association, Corinth; Merchants' Protective Association, Cuba; Flavoring Extract Manufacturers' Association of United States (Inc.), Earlville; the Business Men's Association of Elmira, the Elmira Retail Grocers' Association, Elmira; Board of Trade, Farmingdale; American Cheviot Sheep Society, Fayetteville; Chamber of Commerce, Gouverneur; New York State Builders' Supply Dealers' Association, Ithaca; Manufacturers' Association of Jamestown, Jamestown; Chamber of Commerce, Kingston; Board of Trade, Lake Placid; Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Little Falls; Lockport Board of Trade, Lockport; Westchester County Hardware Dealers' Association, Mamaroneck New York State Fruit Growers' Association, Medina; Morrisville Business Men's Association, Morrisville; Board of Trade, Newark; Merchants' Exchange, New Rochelle; the American Bankers' Association, American Embassy Association, the American Exporters and Importers' Association, American Iron, Steel and Heavy Hardware Association, American Manufacturers' Export Association, American Specialty Manufacturers' Association, American Supply and Machinery Manufacturers' Association, the Associated Electrical Contractors of New York City, Chamber of Commerce, City Island Board of Trade, the Crockery Board of Trade, Eastern Supply Association, Electrical Contractors' Association (Local No. 1), Lumber Manufacturers' Inter-Insurance Association, the Motor and Accessory Manufacturers' Association, the National Association of Credit Men, National Association of Manufacturers, National Association of Master Steam and Hot Water Fitters, the National Biscuit and Cracker Manufacturers' Association, National Coffee Roasters' Association, National Jewelers' Board of Trade, National League of Commission Merchants, National Paint, Oil, and Varnish Association, National Retail Dry Goods' Association, the National Wholesale Druggists' Association, National Wholesale Grocers' Association, National Wholesale Lumber Dealers' Association, New York State Bankers' Association, New York City; Chamber of Commerce, Ogdensburg; Olean Chamber of Commerce, Olean; Chamber of Commerce, Oneida; Chamber of Commerce, Peekskill; Poughkeepsie Chamber of Commerce, Poughkeepsie; Chamber of Commerce, International Apple Shippers' Association, National Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association, U. C. T. Grand Council, Rochester; Board of Trade, Rushford; Business Men's Association, Shortsville; Merchants' Association, Sodus; Richmond County Wine, Liquor, and Beer Dealers' Association, Stapleton; New York State Association of Hardware Jobbers, New York State Retail Hardware Association, Syracuse; Business Men's Association, Tonawanda; Casket Travelers' Association of America, National Electrical Contractors' Association of the United States, Utica Chamber of Commerce, Utica; Chamber of Commerce, Waverly.

North Carolina: Asheville Board of Trade, Asheville; the North Carolina Association of Insurance Agents, Burlington; the Hardware Association of the Carolinas, Charlotte; Concord Merchants' Association, Concord; the Merchants' Association of North Carolina, Durham; Greensboro Merchants' Association, Merchants & Manufacturers' Association, Greensboro; North Carolina Bankers' Association, Henderson; Chamber of Commerce, Kinston; Raleigh Chamber of Commerce, Raleigh; Salisbury Industrial Club, Salisbury; Siler City Chamber of Commerce, Siler City; Wilmington Chamber of Commerce, Wilmington.

North Dakota: Chamber of Commerce, Dickinson; Commercial Club, Dickinson; Commercial Club, North Dakota Bankers' Association, North Dakota Retail Lumbermen's Association, North Dakota Retail Merchants' Association, Fargo; North Dakota Retail Hardware Association, Grand Forks; North Dakota Implement Dealers' Association, Hope; Larimore Commercial Club, Larimore; Commercial Club, Lisbon; Association of Commerce, Minot; Commercial Club, Pembina.

Ohio: Chamber of Commerce, Akron; Chamber of Commerce, Ashland; American Association of Accident Underwriters, the Business Men's Club Co., the Cincinnati Association of Credit Men, Cincinnati Master Plumbers' Association, Cincinnati Produce Exchange, Manufacturers' Club, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, National Association of Mail-Order Liquor Dealers, Ohio Builders Supply Association, Trunk Manufacturers' Association of the United States, U. C. T. of A., Cincinnati Council, No. 2, Walnut Hills Business Club, Cincinnati; Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Industry, Cleveland Association of Credit Men, Cleveland Clearing House Association, Cleveland Master Plumbers' Association, Cleveland Paint, Oil, and Varnish Club, the Independent Petroleum Marketers' Association of the United States, National Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dress Manufacturers' Association, National Machine Tool Builders' Association, Ohio State Association of Master Plumbers, Oyster Growers and Dealers

Association of North America, Young Men's Business Club, Cleveland; American Dental Trade Association, Columbus Hotel Men's Association, Columbus Retail Grocers' Association, the Hub Board of Trade, National Warm Air, Heating and Ventilating Association, Ohio Bankers' Association, Ohio Millers' Association, the Ohio Wholesale Grocers' Association Co., the Order of U. C. T. of America, Columbus; Ohio Hardware Association, U. C. T. Grand Council of Ohio, Dayton; the Eaton Commercial Club, Eaton; Chamber of Commerce, Elyria Builders' Exchange, Elyria; Business Men's Association, Findley; the Geneva Boosters Club, Geneva; the Greenfield Industrial League, Greenfield; Chamber of Commerce, Hamilton; Board of Trade, Ironton; the Kenton Commercial Club, Kenton; the Lima Progressive Association, Lima; Merchants Association, Marietta; United Commercial Travelers Council, No. 137, Massillon; Business Men's Club, Middletown; Southern Philatelic Association, Perry; Piqua Chamber of Commerce, Piqua; Retail Merchants Association of Portsmouth, Portsmouth; American Pharmaceutical Association, Scio; Manufacturers' Association, Sidney; Retail Grocers and Merchants' Association, Sidney; Tri-State Implement and Vehicle Dealers' Association, Springfield; Chamber of Commerce, Steubenville; Grain Dealers' National Association, the Toledo Commerce Club, Toledo; Ohio Canners' Association, Urbana; Ohio Association of Retail Lumber Dealers, Xenia; Retail Merchants Board of Youngstown Chamber of Commerce, Youngstown Association of Credit Men, Youngstown; Chamber of Commerce, Zanesville; Ohio Retail Clothiers' Association, Mount Vernon, Ohio.

Oklahoma: Oklahoma Bankers' Association, Enid; Manitou Business Men's Association, Manitou; Oklahoma Hardware & Implement Association, Mustang; Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma City Retailers' Association, State Retail Grocers' Association, U. C. T. Grand Council, Oklahoma City; Retail Merchants' Association, Pawhuska.

Oregon: Adams Commercial Association, Adams; Columbia River Protective Association, Astoria; Retail Merchants' Protective Association, Echo; Eugene Commercial Club, Merchants' Protective Association, Eugene; Commercial Club, Grants Pass; Odell Development League, Hood River; The Merchants' Protective Association, Independence; Oregon Retail Hardware & Implement Dealers' Association, Milwaukee, Oreg.; Commercial Club, North Bend; Retail Grocers' Association, Pendleton; Umatilla County Hardware Dealers' Association, Pendleton; Grocers & Merchants' Association, Oregon Bankers' Association, Retail Druggists' Association, Portland; Salem Board of Trade, Salem.

Pennsylvania: Chamber of Commerce, Allentown; Business Men's Protective Association, Altoona; Board of Trade, Bangor; Tile Manufacturers' Credit Association, Beaver Falls; Industrial Commission, Bethlehem; Braddock Board of Trade, Braddock; Merchants' Association, Chambersburg; Merchants & Manufacturers' Association, Columbia; Board of Trade, Easton; Ellwood City Board of Trade, Merchants & Manufacturers' Club, Ellwood City; Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce, The Commercial Club of Erie, State Retail Grocers' Association, Erie; Frankford Grocers' Association, Frankford; Galeton Grocers' Association, Galeton; Board of Trade, Harrisburg; Pennsylvania & Atlantic Seaboard Hardware Association, Huntingdon; Chamber of Commerce, Indiana; Chamber of Commerce, Johnstown; Central Association of Master Plumbers of Pennsylvania, Lancaster; Board of Trade, Lansdale; Business Men's Association, Lebanon; Merchants' Protective Association, Lewistown; Lock Haven Business Men's Association, Lock Haven; Minersville Business Men's Association, Minersville; Business Men's Association, New Brighton; New Castle Association of Credit Men, New Castle; Retail Merchants & Business Men's District Association, Penns Station; American Envelope Manufacturers Association, Association of Wholesale Jewelers of Philadelphia, The Lumbermen's Exchange, Master Tin & Sheet Metal Workers' Association of Philadelphia, National Hosiery & Underwear Manufacturers, National Association of Manufacturers of Soda Water Flavors, National Association of Sheet Metal Contractors, The National Hardware Association of the United States, The National Supply & Machinery Dealers' Association, National Wholesale Dry Goods Association, National Wholesale Jewelers' Association, Paint Manufacturers' Association of the United States, Pennsylvania Lumbermen's Association (Inc.), Pennsylvania, New Jersey & Delaware Wholesale Grocers' Association, Pennsylvania State Association of Master Plumbers, Philadelphia Board of Trade, Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia Produce Exchange, Philadelphia Wholesale Lumber Dealers' Association, The Retail Grocers' Association, Philadelphia; The Commercial Travelers' Association, Philipsburg; The American Face Brick Association, American Warehouse Association, Arlington Heights Board of Trade, Builders' Exchange League, Chamber of Commerce, The Collegiate Association, Master Plumbers' Association, National Pipe & Supplies Association, North Side Chamber of Commerce, Oakland Board of Trade, Pennsylvania Retail Jewelers' Association, Pennsylvania State Launderers' Association, Pittsburgh Retail Hardware Dealers' Association, Sheet Metal Contractors' Association, Pittsburgh; Retail Druggists' Association, Pittston; Master House Painters' & Decorators' Association, The Merchants' Association, Reading; Scranton Board of Trade, Scranton; Retail Merchants' Exchange, Sharon; Commercial League, South Bethlehem; Board of Trade, Business Men's Association, Tamaqua; Titusville Merchants' Protective Association, Titusville; Business Men's Association, Towanda; Business Men's Association, The National Corrugated Culvert Manufacturing Co., Warren; West Side Board of Trade, West Scranton; Wilkes-Barre Chamber of Commerce, Wilkes-Barre; Williamsport Board of Trade, Williamsport; Manufacturers' Association of York, York.

Rhode Island: Pawtucket Business Men's Association, Pawtucket; U. C. T. of A., Providence Council, No. 67, Providence.

South Carolina: South Carolina Bankers' Association, Anderson; Retail Merchants' Association; Southern Commercial Secretaries' Association, Charleston; Conway Chamber of Commerce, Conway; Chamber of Commerce, Georgetown; Chamber of Commerce, Union.

South Dakota: Aberdeen Retail Merchants' Association; South Dakota Millers' Club, Aberdeen; Beresford Booster Club, Beresford; the Bridgewater Commercial Club, Bridgewater; South Dakota Bankers' Association, Clark; the Groton Country Club, Groton; U. C. T. Grand Council of South Dakota, Huron; Lowry Commercial Club, Lowry; Madison Commercial Club, Madison; Mitchell Commercial Club, Mitchell; the South Dakota Retail Hardware Association, Murdo; Commercial Club, Newell; Commercial Club, Pierre; the Retail Merchants' Association of South Dakota, Sioux Falls; Retail Implement Dealers' Association of South Dakota, Vermilion; Merchants' Association, Watertown; Yankton Commercial Association, Yankton.

Tennessee: Chattanooga Association of Credit Men, Chattanooga Manufacturers' Association, Southern Shoe Retailers' Association, Tennessee Association of Credit Men, United Commercial Travelers' Grand Council, Chattanooga; Knoxville Association of Credit Men, Knoxville; Commercial Club, McKenzie; Memphis Cotton Exchange, Memphis Merchants' Exchange, Memphis Rotary Club, Tennessee Manufacturers' Association, Memphis; Board of Trade, Commercial Club of Nashville, Retail Furniture Dealers' Association of State of Tennessee, Tennessee Bankers' Association, Tennessee Retail Hardware Association, Wholesale Grocers' Clearing House Association, Nashville; Commercial Club, Springfield; Tennessee Funeral Directors & Embalmers' Association, Tracy City.

Texas: The Abilene Chamber of Commerce, Abilene; Panhandle Hardware & Implement Dealers' Association, Amarillo; Chamber of Commerce, Austin; Bonham Board of Trade, Bonham; Southwestern Retail Saddle & Harness Manufacturers' Association, Corpus Christi; Cuero Commercial Club, Cuero; Texas Hardware & Implement Association, Dallas; Chamber of Commerce, Retail Merchants' Protective Association, Denison; Texas Grain Dealers' Association, The Texas Hardware Jobbers' Association, The Texas Wholesale Fruit and Produce Dealers' Association, Fort Worth; Retail Merchants' Association, Gainesville; The Texas Bankers' Association, Galveston; Chamber of Commerce, Lumbermen's Association of Texas, Retail Merchants' Association, Texas Retail Shoe Dealers' Association, Houston; Board of Trade, Jewett; Commercial Club, Kaufman; Retail Merchants' Association, Kingsville; Longview Chamber of Commerce, Longview; Marlin Commercial Club, Marlin; Commercial Club, Essex Commercial Club, Merchants' Association, Mount Pleasant; Young Men's Business League, Palestine; Texas Bottlers' Association, Paris; Commercial Club, St. Jo; Chamber of Commerce, Merchants' Board of Trade, San Angelo; South Texas Wholesale Grocers' Association, San Antonio; The Retail Merchants' Association, San Marcos; Sonora Commercial Club, Sonora; Southwestern Ice Manufacturers' Association, Temple; Commercial Club, Travis; Valentine Commercial Club, Valentine; Retail Merchants' Association, Vernon; Fourth District Bankers' Association, Texas State Sheet Metal Contractors' Association, Waco; Retail Merchants' Credit Association, Weatherford Chamber of Commerce, Weatherford; Business League, Weimar; Chamber of Commerce, Wichita Falls.

Utah: Commercial Club, Coalville; Commercial Club, Richfield; Utah Association of Credit Men, Utah Paint and Glass Club, Salt Lake City.

Vermont: Burlington Association of Credit Men, Burlington; Stowe Civic Club, Stowe.

Virginia: Virginia District Retail Druggists' Association, Broadway; Buena Vista Retail Merchants' Association, Buena Vista; Retail Merchants' Association, Crewe; Board of Trade of Lynchburg, the Retail Merchants' Association, Lynchburg; Chamber of Commerce, Newport News; Board of Trade and Business Men's Association, Norfolk-Tidewater Association of Credit Men, Norfolk; Portsmouth Business Men's Association, Portsmouth; Clearing House Association of Richmond, Richmond Grain Exchange, Richmond Rotary Club, Southern Hardware Jobbers' Association, Southern Supply and Machinery Dealers' Association, Virginia Funeral Directors' Association, Virginia Pharmaceutical Association, Richmond; Virginia Retail Jewelers' Association, Roanoke.

Washington: State Association of County Treasurers, Stevens County Merchants' Association, Colville; Edmonds Merchants' Association, Edmonds; Ellensburg Chamber of Commerce, Ellensburg Retail Grocers and Merchants' Association, Ellensburg; Everett Commercial Club (Inc.), Merchants' Association of Snohomish County, Everett; Commercial Club, Granite Falls; the Southwest Development Association, Hoquaim; Mabton Commercial Club, Mabton; Commercial Club, Marcus; Chamber of Commerce, Montesano; Chamber of Commerce Olympia; Commercial Club, Port Angeles; Ritzville Commercial Club, Ritzville; Northwestern Fruit Exchange, Business Men's Club, Claussen Brewing Association, New Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Northwestern Mutual Fire Association, Pacific Coast Shippers' Association, Seattle Association of Credit Men, Seattle Commercial Club, Seattle Retail Grocers' Association, Washington Retail Merchants' Association, Washington Savings and Loan Association, Washington State Philatelic Society, Seattle; Snohomish Commercial Club, Snohomish; Pacific Northwest Hardware and Improvement Association, Spokane Chamber of Commerce, Spokane Grocers' Association, Western Retail Lumbermen's Association, Spokane; Rotary Club, Tacoma Association of Credit Men, U. C. T. Grand Council of Oregon (Washington and British Columbia), Washington Bankers' Association, Tacoma; Waitsburg Commercial Club, Waitsburg; Commercial Club, Wapato; Washtucna Commercial Club, Washtucna; Wenatchee Business Men's Association, Wenatchee.

West Virginia: Chamber of Commerce, Bluefield; West Virginia Bankers' Association, Charleston; Clarksburg Business Men's League, Clarksburg; Fairmount Chamber of Commerce, Fairmount; Grafton Board of Trade, The Merchants' Association, Grafton; Huntington Chamber of Commerce, Huntington Jobbers' & Manufacturers' Association, Huntington; Chamber of Commerce, Mannington; West Virginia Retail Hardware Association, Morgantown; West Virginia State Pharmaceutical Association, Morgantown; West Virginia Wholesale Grocers' Association, Parkersburg; Business Men's Association, West Virginia Business Men's Association, Wheeling.

Wisconsin: Appleton Dairy Board of Trade, The Retail Grocers' Association, Appleton; Beaver Dam Merchants' & Manufacturers' Association, Beaver Dam; Wholesale Credit Men's Association of Depere, Depere; The Downing Commercial Club, Downing; Wisconsin Retail Implement & Vehicle Association, Eau Claire; Dairy Board of Trade, Fond du Lac Business Men's Association, Fond du Lac; Red Polled Cattle Club of America, Gotham; Merchants' & Manufacturers' Association of Grand Rapids; Wholesale Credit Men's Association, Green Bay; Retailers' Association, Kenosha; Wisconsin Clay Manufacturers' Association, Madison; Citizens' Association of Manitowac, Retail Merchants' Association, Manitowac; Wholesale Credit Men's Association of Marinette; Commercial Club of Mellen; Bay View Advancement Association, Chamber of Commerce of the City of Milwaukee, the Milwaukee Association of Credit Men, Wisconsin Bankers' Association, Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association, Wisconsin Retail Grocers' & General Merchants' Association, Wisconsin Retail Lumber Dealers' Association, Milwaukee; Wisconsin State Millers' Association, Neenah; Oconomowoc Business League, Oconomowoc; Northern Hemlock & Hardwood Manufacturers' Association, Oshkosh; South & West Side Advancement Association, Sheboygan; Business Men's Association, Retail Merchants' Association, Wisconsin Retail Hardware Association, Stevens Point; The Superior Commercial Club, Superior Retail Grocers' Association, Superior; Tomahawk Association of Commerce, Tomahawk; Business Men's Association, Watertown; Waukesha Retailers' Association, Waukesha.

Wyoming: Alcova Progressive Association, Alcova; Wyoming Bankers' Association, Cheyenne.

## The Pension Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

# HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, there ought to be no politics in doing our duty to the men who have fought the battles of our country. There ought to be no reference to partisanship in granting to the veterans a pension and the necessary care in their remaining days in the country that they by their valor have made what it is. However, the Democrats are trying to make political capital out of what they have done for them. They bragged about it in their platform that they recently adopted at St. Louis. The Republicans at Chicago did not mention the matter for the very good reason that they do not want to bring politics into the question of doing our duty to the valor and bravery of the heroes of our Nation. Yet everyone knows, and especially the veterans and their widows and children, the name of the party that has always stood up and done what has been done for them. It has not been the Democratic Party, and since that party has seen fit to try and get votes in the coming election because of its alleged friendliness for the veterans and for pensions, let me challenge anyone in this Congress to point to a single law for the benefit of the veteran soldiers, their widows, and orphans, including pensions, and so forth, that has been passed and enacted into a law during this present administration—a Democratic one in every branch, legislative and executive. Not one have they enacted into a law. The last law for the benefit of the soldiers and sailors of our country was the Sherwood Act, and that was passed by a Republican Senate and signed by a Republican President. It is true, of course, that the House, which was Democratic, passed it also, but since the Senate has been Democratic and Woodrow Wilson has been in the White House no pension legislation of a general nature has been enacted into law.

For the veterans, their widows and orphans, they have done nothing. Their talk and bragging about what the Democratic Party has done in this regard is therefore simply "molasses to catch flies," but in this case they will not succeed. The old soldiers and the younger ones, as well as their widows and their children and friends, are not such fools as to be misled. They can read; and in no place can they find a statute enacted for the benefit of the veterans while the Democratic Party has had entire control of the Government. I challenge anyone to show a different situation than I have described.

Mr. Speaker, there is another evidence of the desire of the Democratic Party to use the soldiers and sailors of the country for the purpose of advancing their political life. It is with regard to the National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. It is claimed, with ample proof, that these homes are being used by the Democratic Party to find jobs for their faithful followers and without regard to duty we owe those for whom the homes were established. In other words, they have become a political asset for the Democratic Party. I have much data and facts to prove this. For the present I submit a letter from a comrade of the Danville (Ill.) home and a statement of the law governing the homes, and what the board as at present made up is and has been doing to give the offices and positions in the homes to civilians instead of to the veterans, as the law contemplates:

DANVILLE, ILL., *April 26, 1916.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
*Commander in Chief Spanish War Veterans,*
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Herewith permit me to hand you copy of letter from myself to the honorable Secretary of War in relation to conditions existing at the Danville Branch, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, also copy of my letter addressed to Fred J. Close, then president of the board of managers.

These homes, as you are well aware, were created for the benefit of the disabled volunteer soldiers of the country, and under the rules and regulations provided for the government of these institutions the members of the homes "will be employed, consistent with the best interest of the home."

As a matter of fact, this is not done, but J. S. Catherwood, the local manager, with the aid and connivance of James E. Miller, inspector general, have persistently removed the soldiers, both young and old, to make room for civilians—political henchmen.

There is no necessity for such action, as material to fill every position connected with any of the homes can be found in abundance among the members for any position, from president down to the most minor position about the homes; mechanics of all kinds, clerks, stenographers and typewriters, accountants, men accustomed to figures far beyond anything they would have to meet in the homes can be found at hand, if any attempt can be made to select them, as provided by the rules.

Young and old soldiers alike are turned down, kicked out, humiliated, and practically driven away from the homes by the politicians * * * in order to provide smooth places for their political henchmen. * * *

As a former Missourian and ex-Union soldier, I appeal to you to try to stop these dirty, underhanded, two-by-four political "grafters" from befouling these homes. They were created for us, for our comfort and our own home, where we could have every convenience necessary to same.

At this time one of the barracks erected by the Government is being altered and remodeled, taken away from the use of the soldier, and being made into flats for the convenience of civilians, without the slightest color of authority in law for such proceedings. The expense of such remodeling is to be provided for from moneys in the local post fund, in direct violation of any semblance of laws.

Kindly look up these matters at once and stop this robbery of the post fund, which is created for the use and benefit of the soldiers.

It would be the best thing that could happen if you could come here and personally look over the ground and make inquiries for yourself.

You can rely upon the statements here made, and would find that one-half has not been told of the true inwardness of things here.

Won't you for the sake of the soldiers, who seem to be without any champion at this time, take up the matter and do something?

With best wishes, I beg to remain,

Yours, truly,

L. S. GOODELL,
*409 Robinson Street, Danville, Ill.*

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SUMMARY OF REPORTS RECEIVED FROM THE GOVERNORS OF THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL HOME FOR DISABLED VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS AND CONCLUSIONS BASED THEREON.

1. The business and affairs of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers are administered by a board of managers appointed by Congress under joint resolution No. 53, approved October 19, 1914.

2. Prior to the act of June 28, 1902, provision for the appointment of officers of the home by the board of managers was made through the act of March 21, 1866, as amended by the acts of April 11, 1892, and February 9, 1897.

The act of June 28, 1902, however, which provides for the appointment of all officers of the home, superseded all previous legislation bearing on the subject and should be in force. Judging from the fact, however, that civilians are from time to time appointed as officers to fill vacancies in the home, it would seem that the law of June 28, 1902, covering the subject is ignored. This is especially so as regards the appointment of medical officers, and the board invokes the law of February 9, 1897, for its authority to appoint these civilians.

3. The number of members in the several branches of the home, according to the reports received from the governors, is 20,476, of which 3,435, or 17 per cent, served during the War with Spain or the Philippine insurrection.

4. The number of officers in the several branches is 90, of which 39, or 43 per cent, are veterans and 51, or 56 per cent, are civilians.

If the law of June 28, 1902, is in effect, those of the 56 per cent of civilian officers who have been appointed since the passage of that act were appointed illegally.

5. The number of employees of the several branches other than officers is 3,765, of which 2,473, or 66 per cent, are veterans and 1,292, or 34 per cent, are civilians.

6. The most flagrant violation of the law seems to have been in the appointment of medical officers—surgeons and assistant surgeons. Of 10 surgeons and 40 assistant surgeons employed in the several branches of the home only 2 surgeons and 8 assistant surgeons, a total of 10, or 20 per cent of the whole number employed, have had any military service. In the appointment of these medical officers the board of managers ignores the act of June 28, 1902, and falls back on the law of February 9, 1897, for its authority to appoint civilians.

7. On November 10, 1914, the board of managers passed a resolution providing for the appointment in the future of none but veterans as officers. Since the passage of that resolution by the board at least nine civilians have been appointed and are holding office at the present time.

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UNITED STATES STATUTES AND RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF MANAGERS RELATING TO APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS OF NATIONAL HOME FOR DISABLED VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS.

ACT OF APRIL 11, 1892.

[Stat. L., vol. 27, p. 15.]

That section 4829 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, being section 6 of the act of Congress approved March 21, 1866, concerning the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows, to wit:

"SEC. 4829. The officers of the national home shall consist of a governor, a deputy governor, a secretary, a treasurer, and such other officers as the managers may deem necessary. They shall be appointed from honorably discharged soldiers who served as mentioned in the following section, and they may be appointed and removed from time to time as the interests of the institution may require by the board of managers."

ACT OF FEBRUARY 9, 1897.

[Stat. L., vol. 29, p. 517.]

That section 4829 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended by the addition of the following words: "*Provided*, That surgeons, assistant surgeons, and other medical officers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and the several branches thereof may be appointed from others than those who have been disabled in the military service of the United States."

(NOTE.—This act was passed when the Civil War surgeons had grown too old to be appointed medical officers to the soldiers' homes and before there were Spanish War surgeons available. It is superseded by the following act (June 28, 1902), but the board of managers fall back upon it for an excuse for appointing medical officers who are non-veterans.)

ACT OF JUNE 28, 1902.

[Stat. L., vol. 32, p. 472.]

Hereafter the officers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and officers under the board of managers thereof shall be appointed, so far as may be practicable, from persons whose military or naval service would render them eligible, if disabled and not otherwise

provided for, for admission to the home, and they may be appointed, removed, and transferred from time to time, as the interests of the institution may require, by the board of managers.

(NOTE.—This act, which includes all officers of the homes, including surgeons, was passed after the Spanish War soldiers became available for appointment, and should supersede the act of Feb. 9, 1897, as well as other preceding laws.)

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE BOARD OF MANAGERS NOVEMBER 10, 1914.

That in making appointments of officers at any branch of the home preference shall be given, first, to veterans of the Civil War; second, to veterans of other wars of the United States; and that civilians will not be appointed if a proper candidate with record of military service can be obtained.

[House Public Resolution No. 53, 63d Congress.]

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 241) for the appointment of five members of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

*Resolved, etc.*, That James Steele Catherwood, of Illinois; George H. Wood, of Ohio; John C. Nelson, of Indiana; Frederick J. Close, of Kansas; and Thomas S. Bridgham, of Maine, be, and they are hereby, appointed members of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers of the United States, to succeed Oscar M. Goltschall, of Ohio; William Warner, of Missouri; Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey, whose terms of office expired April 21, 1912, and Patrick H. Barry, whose resignation as a member of the said board has been accepted, and John M. Holley, deceased: *Provided*, Said board, after the passage of this resolution, shall be composed of seven members, and four members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any regular or special meeting thereof.

Approved, October 19, 1914.

## Good Roads Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,
OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to vote for this good-roads bill, not because I entirely approve the plan it proposes for Federal aid in road construction but, first, because it makes a start in Federal aid, and, second, the basis of the apportionment under the bill, to wit, the mileage of post roads, the population, and the area is what I have contended for from the beginning of the good-roads agitation, and section 8 of the bill providing appropriations for roads in forest reserves, reimbursable out of forest receipts is in line with the policy first proposed in the House in a bill which I introduced for the Wind River and Jackson Hole Road.

There may be some question with regard to the authority of our State officials under our constitutional provisions and our present legislation to enter upon the arrangements and engagements provided for in the bill. If such should prove to be the case, it would not prevent the counties from taking the necessary and appropriate action, and our next legislature will undoubtedly take such action as may be necessary and appropriate to clothe the proper State officials with the necessary authority.

I did not vote for the present bill as it passed the House, though I have given my support to the good roads movement constantly, because I desired to emphasize my disapproval of the action of the House committee in declining to accept area as one of the factors of apportionment. That having been now provided for, as well as section 8, which gives us an appropriation of a million dollars a year for 10 years for forest-reserve roads, for which we have been working, the bill is entitled to our hearty support as the best measure possible to secure at this time. The addition of the factor of area, in addition to the factors of population and post roads, more than doubles our Wyoming share of the appropriations.

Wyoming's apportionment under the bill, as it now becomes a law, will be as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| First year ($5,000,000) | $63,750 |
| Second year ($10,000,000) | 127,500 |
| Third year ($15,000,000) | 191,250 |
| Fourth year ($20,000,000) | 255,000 |
| Fifth year ($25,000,000) | 318,750 |
| Total for five years | 956,250 |

In order to secure these funds the State or the counties must expend at least an equal amount.

There is no definite apportionment of the appropriation of a million dollars for forest-reserve roads, as the Secretary of Agriculture is to expend these funds as the necessities of the case appear, as the showing of forest income warrants, and as the counties or the State indicate their willingness to enter into cooperative agreements. In the case of these forest-reserve roads the requirements of equal expenditures by the local authorities which applies to the general appropriation does not exist, but the local authorities, which in these cases would be in the majority of instances the county officials, must enter into mutually fair and equitable cooperative agreements with the Secretary of Agriculture.

These cooperative agreements, I assume, would in the majority of cases relate to the construction and maintenance of the county roads connecting with the roads through the forest reserves. We have every reason to believe that Wyoming will be fairly treated in the expenditure of this fund, particularly in view of the fact that the first bill introduced in the House contemplating an advance of funds for forest-reserve construction appertained to a Wyoming road, to wit, the Wind River and Jackson Hole Road, for which I introduced a bill on the 6th of December last, and in view of the further fact that this road and several others in the State seem to meet all the requirements of the legislation.

## Aid to Dependent Families of Enlisted Men of the National Guard.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM A. AYRES,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago this House passed practically the same measure as is now proposed, and there was scarcely a vote against it. For some cause or causes the other branch of lawmakers seem to have failed to agree with us. They seem to think that it is a much wiser method to say to the man who is blessed with a family that he should not offer his services to his country for its protection and preservation until all single men have had a chance first to enlist.

It seems to me, sir, that a husband and father has as much right to show his patriotism and to offer to fight for his country as a single man. To pass such a law, if such a law could be agreed upon which would empower the President to call out all single men before attempting to enlist the married men, would seem to me too absurd for argument, and it is certainly not in keeping with the true American spirit. What we should do, and do it without a hitch or hesitation, is to provide for the maintenance of those dependent upon the National Guard, if it be $50 per month or whatever is necessary to do it.

This is a rich and prosperous Nation, notwithstanding the fact that some would try to make it appear otherwise. Our Government can well afford to protect the family or those dependent upon a National Guardsman, whether it be a wife or children, or both, or whether it happens to be dependent brother, a sister, a father, or a mother. By extending this aid we do not in the least cheapen patriotism, nor do we establish a precedent that will prove dangerous.

A vast majority of the thousands of men who are now being sent to the front have been working for wages or perhaps ordinary salaries only enough to keep their families or those depending upon them, and maybe a small payment each month upon a modest home. Not possessed of any great abundance of this world's goods, they can not now continue to meet these obligations on their salary in the Army of $15 per month. It is not right to ask his family, in addition to giving up their loved one, to endure the material sacrifices and privations that must necessarily follow in a great many cases. It is not right that this rich Nation should ask these dependent ones to submit to the humiliation of accepting charity from societies or from their neighbors, and to allow such a condition would outrage our standards of patriotism. Those left behind have enough to bear without having to undergo these hardships. The man who braves the storms of battle and the hardships of camp life, who offers his life as a sacrifice to his country in times of peril and danger, should not be compelled to feel that such a sacrifice is not appreciated and that he has made it in vain.

We are not an ungrateful people. This Congress has been most liberal in granting pensions to those who have heretofore fought for the Nation, and there is now an opportunity offered to do something that we have never done before, care for those who are left behind to suffer, not only the anxiety for the safety

for the one on the field of battle but, in addition, the hardships that are incident to such occasions.

Some of you gentlemen who have spoken here to-day know what these things meant to you during the War between the States, and the mere fact that we as a Nation could not do for them what we can do now should not prevent us from taking this very appropriate action now. Nothing affords more pleasure and satisfaction than to hear those who fought in the Federal Army and those who fought on the Confederate side and the sons of both all joining in the support of this measure, which should pass both Houses without a dissenting vote.

## The Taylor System of "Scientific" Shop Management.

### SPEECH
OF
### HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, June 1, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15947) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the stop-watch system of shop management should be styled a system to place workmen on the scrap heap prematurely. That is what it does. Of course by speeding up workmen, they can be made to turn out more work, just as a man by running instead of walking may be able to cover a block more quickly, but he will not be able to cover blocks all day and day after day at the same pace without injury to his constitution.

I do not care who the man is, Mr. Brandeis or any one else, he can not successfully defend the Taylor system, as Mr. Taylor himself described it, before any audience of average American people. Let us see what Mr. Taylor said about his system. He invented it. He said, telling how the system was put into effect at the Bethlehem Steel Co. plant:

> The tasks were all purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five laborers, perhaps even a smaller percentage than that, could keep up.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TAVENNER. If I have the time.

Mr. GORDON. Does the Government impose a task that is five times as great as anybody can perform?

Mr. TAVENNER. We are not going to permit any Government official to do it, if we can help it. I want to read some more from Mr. Taylor's book on "Scientific management." He lays great stress on "scientific" persuasion. Eight bosses sometimes assist in the "persuading." Five of them are directly over the workman urging him on. In other words, this system is so inhuman in some cases foremen evidently refused to enforce it, so Mr. Taylor provided a method of overforemen to take care of any weak-hearted foreman. Mr. Taylor said:

> The functions of these overforemen are twofold:
> First. That of teaching each of the bosses under them the exact nature of his duties, and at the start also of nerving and bracing them up to the point of insisting that the workmen shall carry out the orders exactly as specified on the instruction card.

Mr. Taylor said that foremen make a great mistake in trying to persuade several men at once. He indicates a way to successfully intimidate a workman, and that is for all the foremen to center their persuasion "right onto a single man" and keep after him until he is persuaded.

Mr. Taylor added:

> No workman can long resist the help and persuasion of five foremen over him. He will either do the work as he is told or leave.

In other words, to set over them the bosses and give the workmen to understand they must speed up or leave. Of course, the workman can not easily leave and go to some other shop for employment. He has a family at home, perhaps, and several children for whom he has to provide and there are not always jobs to be had at other places.

Here is another "persuasive" feature of the Taylor system:

> In piecework of this class the task idea should always be maintained by keeping it clearly before each man that his average daily earnings must amount to a given high sum (as in the case of the Bethlehem laborers, $1.85 per day), and that failure to average this amount will surely result in his being laid off.

With the prospect of being laid off constantly before them, the men are going to work faster and faster. They must have employment to maintain their homes.

Mr. Taylor further said:

> For the success of the system, the number of men employed on practically the same class of work should be large enough for the workmen quite often to have the object lesson of seeing men laid off for failing to earn high wages, and others substituted in their places.

This system has been investigated by five different committees of Congress, and every one of those committees deprecated the use of the stop watch. Senator LODGE, of Massachusetts, made one of the strongest arguments that has been made against the use of the stop watch.

Mr. BROWNE. I desire to ask the gentleman if the Industrial Commission did not make a report against the gentleman's proposition—the Tavenner bill?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir; the commission's report opposed the principles underlying the Taylor system. The workmen in the arsenals are now efficient, and there is absolutely no necessity for the use of the stop watch. The arsenals are manufacturing munitions from 20 to 60 per cent below the prices charged by private establishments in which the Taylor system was in use.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

## Good Roads.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. EVANS,
OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 6, 1916.*

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, for the past 50 years there have been intermittent efforts on the part of the people to interest Congress in the question of Federal aid for wagon roads, and it now appears that the justice of their demands is to be recognized by this body. In the early history of the Government the Federal authorities embarked in road building, and George Washington, in one of his messages, advocated and recommended Federal assistance for the construction of roads. As early as 1806, Thomas Jefferson likewise advocated Federal aid, and Congress appropriated $7,000,000 to construct what is known as the Cumberland Road, starting at Cumberland, Md., and with the Ohio River as its western terminus.

Why the policy of aiding in the construction of wagon roads by the Federal Government was abandoned I do not know, but every man conversant with the history of his country realizes that the problem of good roads concerns every citizen. The principal argument made against this policy is that State and local governments should build their own roads. But the roads of every State are utilized for National and Federal purposes. Over every road in the country is carried the crops from that vicinity to the nearest railroad station. The mails are transported over these roads. The wealth and prosperity of this or any other Nation must, of necessity, depend upon its farm products and the capacity and ability of its people to transport and market those products. So with the enactment of this bill into law Congress will have done more to serve the real producers of wealth than by any other piece of legislation during this or recent sessions.

PROVISIONS OF THIS BILL.

The $85,000,000 appropriated by this bill will be apportioned among the various States as follows:

First. One-third will be distributed on the basis of population, the ratio that the population of each State is to the total population of all of the United States.

Second. One-third on the basis that the area of each State is to the total area of the United States.

Third. One-third on the basis that the mileage of the rural and star routes of each State bears to the total mileage of rural and star routes in the United States.

This bill further provides that the State shall pay 50 per cent of the total cost of the road upon which it receives governmental aid. The bill further provides that these roads shall be located and constructed under the direction of the State highway commission and the Secretary of Agriculture.

It further provides that $10,000,000 of the amount appropriated shall be advanced in building roads through the national parks and forest reserves at the rate of $1,000,000 per year, the amount thus expended to be reimbursed from the forest products and other revenues received from the national forest reserves.

I ask permission, Mr. Speaker, to incorporate in my remarks a brief statement showing the amount of Federal money that will be expended in the State of Montana under the provisions of this act when it becomes a law:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1916 | $100,850 |
| 1917 | 201,700 |
| 1918 | 302,550 |
| 1919 | 403,400 |
| 1920 | 504,250 |
| Total | 1,512,750 |

In other words, $1,512,750 will be appropriated from the Federal Treasury to assist in building roads in Montana during the ensuing five years.

In addition to that amount, section 8 of this bill provides for the annual expenditure of $1,000,000 for a period of 10 years in the forest-reserve States, and as Montana has about one-tenth of the national forests of the Union, approximately $1,000,000 will be expended in the next 10 years of the money derived from that source. So, in round figures, Montana will profit to the amount of about $2,500,000 by the passage of this bill.

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## The Taylor System of "Scientific" Shop Management.

### SPEECH

OF

### HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, June 22, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 14303) making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment will be again read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. TAVENNER: Page 14, line 18, after the word "rate," strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof a colon and the following:

"*Provided*, That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States while making or causing to be made with a stop watch, or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant."

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, recently I noted the statement in an editorial in a manufacturers' magazine to the effect that no hearing had ever been held on this proposition. That is a mistaken impression. There have been five hearings held by committees of Congress on this subject and one hearing by the Commission on Industrial Relations. Four committees of the House have held hearings on the subject of this amendment. One committee of the Senate, of which Senator BORAH, of Idaho, was chairman, also had the anti-stop-watch bill before it. All five of the reports of these committees condemned the speeding-up system. This proposition has been before the House three times, and each time the House passed adversely on the use of stop watches on human beings. The naval bill, which was before the House two weeks ago, contained this same amendment. A motion was made to strike it out, and after a spirited debate it was retained in the bill by a vote of 100 to 74.

The effect of the Taylor system is to speed men up to the very top notch, and then after they are tuned up to top speed they are kept there. The attitude of the workingmen is that while it may be possible for them to produce a certain article in an hour, for instance, where a stop watch is held on them, and where they are offered special inducements, they can not keep up this pace day in and day out without wearing themselves out prematurely.

I have received a letter signed by a committee of workers at the Watertown Arsenal, which states that 75 per cent of the men at that arsenal are in favor of this legislation. There are 2,000 workmen at the Rock Island Arsenal, in the district that I represent. There may be men there who are not in favor of this legislation, but if there are I have never heard of such a one. All the letters I have received from the workers in the arsenals and navy yards and from organized labor throughout the United States express hearty sympathy for this proposed legislation and want it to be passed. The American Federation of Labor at its last three conventions went on record in favor of the legislation embodied in the pending amendment and in opposition to the speeding-up system.

As to whether the Taylor system is a speeding-up system or not, I want to quote again, as I did the other day, from the book of Mr. Taylor, the man who invented this system, which was first used in the plants of the Midvale Steel Co. and the Bethlehem Steel Co., where working conditions are probably as bad as they are at any place in the United States. The Taylor system is typical in every way of the conditions in the plants in which it was born. I want to call attention to a statement of Mr. Taylor in his book on scientific management, where he said:

The tasks were all purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five laborers, perhaps even a smaller percentage than this, could keep up.

The tasks were purposely made so severe that only one out of five could keep up. And at another place in his book he practically says that if you are going to install this system you have to lay aside sentiment; that this is a business proposition; and the business of it is this: To bring about production at a lower labor cost. For instance, when these efficiency engineers go to a manufacturer they put it up to him like this: "What is the article that you manufacture costing you per piece?" If he says it is costing him $2, the efficiency engineer holds out the hope to him that he can reduce the cost to $1.50 or $1.

Those who are opposing this legislation contend that they are opposing it in the interest of the workingmen. I do not believe they can sustain this assertion, for the reason that this system not only overspeeds the worker but in reality operates not to increase wages, but to reduce wages. I am going to try to prove this by Mr. Taylor's own statements; not statements that he made to the public so that workmen would hear them, but the arguments that he made for the benefit of private employers.

When Mr. Taylor undertook to install this system in the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. the laborers handling pig iron were receiving $1.15 per day and were handling between 12 and 13 tons per man per day. After the Taylor system was finally installed the men were handling 48 tons per man per day, and the wages of the fastest workers had been increased to $1.85 per day. Thus it will be seen that before the installation of the Taylor system laborers were receiving 8.8 cents per ton for handling pig iron and after it was installed they were receiving 3.8 cents per ton. Mr. Taylor relates that when he started in at the Bethlehem plant the workmen were turning out four or five castings of a certain type per day, receiving therefor 50 cents each, and that he succeeded in speeding up the men to a point where they turned out from 8 to 10 castings a day. The price was then reduced from 50 cents to 25 cents per casting. The Taylor system increases the earnings of some of the fastest workers, at least to start with, but it reduces wages in that it reduces the pay of the workman per piece. In the same proportion that it reduces the labor cost it increases dividends, which makes it attractive to some, but not all, employers. Let the proponents of the Taylor system claim for it that it increases dividends, but let them admit that it destroys man.

The more the workingmen of the Nation investigate the Taylor system, the more they analyze the motives back of its introduction, the stronger their opposition to it becomes. In fact, I have never heard of a single labor organization in the United States being in favor of the Taylor system.

Since committees of this House have investigated this subject very thoroughly and have always reported adversely to the use of the stop watch in Government establishments, I trust the House will to-day record itself in favor of the pending amendment.

## The Democratic Party.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 8, 1916.*

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following clippings from the Cleveland Leader and American Economist. The clippings are as follows:

The Democratic Party, year after year for fully 40 years, has declared its belief in a tariff for revenue, and now when its own administration is in power in the Union, and there is a Democratic majority in the Senate and in the House, and the revenues of the country are far short of meeting the current expenses of the Nation, the administration and the congressional leaders do not declare for a tariff for revenue, but seek the imposition upon the country of direct taxes upon the people.

The great majority of the people desire the protection of our industries to an extent that, while it will not create monopolies, it will save our industrial classes from having the products of their labor driven out of our own markets by the outputs of cheap foreign labor, and the great majority of the voters of the Democratic ticket desire that same policy carried out.

This can be done by wise tariff legislation. This can be done and as the Democratic Party has ever declared they should be provided through the tariff. The Democratic Party has had handicaps enough placed upon it by this administration not to desire any more failures to redeem party pledges, and if the Congress does adjourn without keeping this line-time and well-thought pledge of the Democratic Party of a tariff for revenue, it will add largely to the strength of its political adversary.

We call the attention of the party leaders to the following statistics as to imports:

The first 19 weeks of 1913, under a Republican tariff law, there were imports at the port of New York to the value of $377,080,235. During the first 19 weeks of 1914, under the Democratic tariff law, the imports amounted to the value of $390,419,675 at the same port.

During the first 19 weeks of 1915, with war on every ocean and upon every continent save our own, with imports cut off by war operations and vessels obtained with great difficulty, New York port imports were $365,241,304, or but $25,000,000 less value than in the prior year. Now, mark the first 19 weeks of 1916, with vessels scarcer than ever before, with freight rates for ocean transportation enormously high, with blockades, seizures, and other war detriments to trade greater than ever, the imports at the port of New York amounted in value to $484,504,118.

One hundred and seven million five hundred thousand dollars more than in 1913, under the Republican tariff law; $94,000,000 greater than under the Democratic tariff law in 1914, and $119,000,000 greater than under the Democratic tariff law in 1915! Do the Democratic leaders recall the warnings of Secretary Redfield as to "dumping" of outputs of foreign countries in this Republic?

Do they realize what is certain to happen in the way of such "dumping" when peace comes and every product and output of European and Asiatic countries seek our markets, to be sold at any price to raise cash for the people abroad?

Do they comprehend how small that $484,000,000 of imports at New York this year will seem when the commercial fleets of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, Greece, China, and Japan, after the war closes, will be loaded to the Plimsoll line with cargoes bound to the markets of the United States to enter under a Democratic tariff law, which fails to raise the Nation's revenues by hundreds of millions of dollars?

Do they think what the effect of such "dumping" will have upon the profits of our manufacturers, the gains of our agriculturists, the wages of our millions of working people?

Why not, then, do what the Democratic Party has agreed to do, viz: Raise the Nation's revenues through the tariff, and thus at the same time protect our people from the ruinous competition of cheap foreign labor, from the forced sales of the products and outputs of bankrupt nations of Europe and Asia in the markets of the United States?

In connection with the conservation of our wealth and prosperity there must be considered the question of adequate and proper legal protection to American industries. We are a Nation of producers as distinguished from a nation of consumers. Our national resources and conditions place us in this position and give us this advantage. The producers include the owners whose interests are represented by stocks in corporations or otherwise and by those who, as employees, perform the larger portion of the manual labor. Many of the latter are holders of corporate stock, but the large majority are not. However, all are interested exactly alike. Together they are in normal times in competition, severe even though good-natured, with the producers of other countries. As to many products, some of the other countries can produce at a lower cost than we can produce, based on the past and present scale of wages for labor. The labor of this country is thus brought into direct competition with the labor of other countries. It is well known that wages in the leading foreign countries have been about one-half the amount paid here for similar services, and that in some countries, such as China, it is many times lower.

Many foreigners have heretofore been in competition with us in selling to nonproducing countries, and they have also dumped their surplus stock here in times of depression, at prices even below our costs and sometimes below their own. The articles sold in competition with us include large numbers of manufactured products, and also raw products, such as wool, cotton, fruits, etc. Many of you have seen lemons by the millions, grown in California, going to waste because imported lemons were selling there at prices less than the cost of picking, boxing, and shipping. Most of the foreign producing countries have in force tariff laws that fully protect their industries, and probably all will hereafter have similar laws; such are the indications as published in the daily press. Besides, many of the Governments furnish aid to their industries in many ways not necessary to mention at this time.

WHEN THE WAR ENDS.

After the war is over the contending nations will be impoverished and in great need of business and money. They will produce as much as possible, and their facilities are generally unimpaired. They will sell wherever they can find a market and at low prices if necessary, including this country, if we are not protected against them; and we can not sell in their countries because they are and will be protected against us. We have for many months last past been secure by reason of the well-known conditions of war, but if we carry our minds back to the circumstances existing shortly prior to the war we know what we may expect after the close, unless there is a change in our laws.

From the time the present tariff laws came into force, in October, 1913, until some time after the war was started, the effect upon our business was very bad. It was almost desperate with many. The prices of imported products dumped into our markets, though not large in volume as to some items, were so low that we were compelled to put our prices down to about cost and, in instances, below. Many were operating at a loss. We were going from bad to worse. Except for the war and war orders, wages would necessarily have been materially reduced, and even then many employers would have been compelled to suspend. We know by sad experience that unless our tariff laws are changed so as to protect our business and place us on a parity with our foreign competitors, the large majority of producers will suffer, that business will be depressed, that the number of idle mills and cars and men will be increased, and that wages will be lowered. We have seen these conditions before, and there is reason to fear that they may be worse than ever unless our tariff laws are improved.

FAIR AND REASONABLE PROTECTION.

It may be observed, by way of diversion (for general public sentiment may not have become focused on the subject), that it is not of first importance to consider the forms or details to be adopted. There should be included in the laws features which will furnish reasonable and adequate protection to American industries, and also the necessary revenue for Government purposes; a plan for reciprocity or reciprocal negotiations and relations with other countries, so that all conditions, changes, and emergencies can be met and solved for the benefit of all concerned; and the amounts of tariffs applicable to various commodities should be carefully, logically, and scientifically ascertained, and necessary, fair, and reasonable protection, no more and no less, thus afforded. If these amounts are to be reported upon by a commission, competent and disinterested, the report should be made to the Ways and Means Committee for consideration and report to the House of Representatives. The party in power perhaps ought to have the right of final decision, especially as long as the tariff is made a party issue, and submitted to the vote of the people at large. By the method suggested it seems probable there would be removed the struggle between different localities to secure advantages for one place or one industry over another, which has heretofore resulted in unsatisfactory rates in some cases.

ITS VALUE HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED.

The principle of protection to industry by means of tariff laws has built up the commerce and the wealth of this country and other producing countries that have had a surplus for export. Its value has been demonstrated. As between nations, it is simply a safe, sound, business proposition. So long as one country maintains it others similarly circumstanced must do likewise in order to protect the interests of the large majority, including particularly the great aggregate of workmen. A benefit to the majority in the end advances the interests of even the minority, so closely connected and interdependent are the interests of each. When our competitors in other leading countries are ready to adopt the laws of free trade for our commodities it will be soon enough for us to favorably consider similar action. If we were to have free trade throughout the world we could probably take care of ourselves in any contest for the disposal of what we have for sale. In view of conditions as they exist in normal times, it is not logical to place or to leave the United States in a position of disadvantage when we have the opportunity to establish a parity. The doctrine of America first, which is a patriotic one, applies with peculiar force to the idea of sufficient protection to American industries. This means not a prohibitive tariff, but one large enough to permit continued success in competition with the outside world.

Nothing so clearly indicates the depth and intensity of bitterness felt by the allies toward the central powers as their formally reached determination to wage united business and industrial warfare on their present foes, indefinitely, after the conflict of arms is over.

Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Servia, and Portugal have mutually bound themselves to cooperate for the advancement of their own business and industries in all possible ways and to exert as much actual restraint and retardent influence as they can upon the business and industries of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Definite measures which seem sure to prove effective, at least to some extent, have already been agreed upon.

Like the present warfare of armies, this warfare of money, brains, and work will, if it is persisted in, exert a profound influence upon the entire world. It is designed to benefit the allied nations and, if the agreement is adhered to, impressive results of that nature may be achieved. Just how much punishment can be inflicted upon the central powers and their supporters is more or less conjectural but is perhaps capable of being estimated. But what will be the effect upon the neutral nations, chief among which, in size and interests at stake, is the United States?

Economic problems troublesome enough are sure to confront this country at the conclusion of military peace in Europe on account of that immense change alone. What others will be forced upon it by a relentless business and industrial warfare as is proposed, engaged in by nearly all the greatest nations of the world?

ANY TARIFF COMMISSION APPOINTED BY WILSON SURE TO BE ANTI-PROTECTIONIST.

President Wilson is anticipating the passage of a law to create a tariff commission and, according to authentic report, is already making up the list of those who are to receive the appointments. It is the talk in Washington among those who are close to the White House that the chairman of this new body has already been selected, and that it is to be Mr. Daniel C. Roper, of North Carolina. He has received the formal indorsement of Senator SIMMONS, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Representative KITCHIN, the chair-

man of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and these are the two committees of Congress that have charge of tariff and customs matters.

The thought of Chairman Roper, of the Tariff Commission, is something that will send a shiver through the whole industrial world of the United States. Mr. Roper was the clerk of the Ways and Means Committee when the present Democratic tariff law was drawn, and the right-hand man of Mr. UNDERWOOD in drawing up its schedules. To him the present law is naturally a thing of beauty and, in his judgment, should be a joy forever. He is in accord with its rates and in harmony with its tariff principle. Since his service with the Ways and Means Committee he has been acting as First Assistant Postmaster General, selected for the post by Mr. Burleson, who knew him to be a kindred soul in the way of spoils and partisanship.

If this is a sample of what the nonpartisan tariff commission is to be, it is useless for the American manufacturer to expect anything else from it than rebuff and opposition. How interesting it will be for the producer of the United States to appear before this board and ask for changes in the existing law, when the man at the head of the commission had a large hand in the framing of that law. The application of the very first principles of fair play would dictate to Mr. Wilson that such an appointment should not be made. If a person who has helped to write an antiprotection tariff law and has acted as chief executive officer in beheading Republican postmasters is the White House idea of a nonpartisan and so eligible for such a position, what can business expect from the work of a body made up in such manner?

TARIFF OUT OF POLITICS?

Take the tariff out of politics—take the sentiment out of love. (New York Evening Sun.)

Take the letters out of the alphabet. (New York Press.)

And the mirth out of laughter. (Philadelphia Inquirer.)

Take the oxygen out of air. (Erie (Pa.) Dispatch.)

Take business out of business by free trade. (Lyons (N. Y.) Republican.)

Better say the present tariff put notes on much property. (Tazewell (Va.) Republican.)

Take the Satan out of hades,
Take the headache out of booze,
Take the motion out of movies,
Take the sleepiness from snooze.
(Lackawanna (N. Y.) Journal.)

Oh, well; take politics out of politics. (New York Evening Sun.)

Take the Prince of Denmark out of Hamlet. (San Francisco Chronicle.)

Take the poetry out of verse. (New York Evening Sun.)

The American Protective Tariff League desires us to add a line to "Take the tariff out of politics." Anything to oblige: "Take the P. O. out of pork." (Cleveland Leader.)

Take the people out of politics; take liberty out of government. (Monmouth (Ill.) Atlas, January 31.)

Take the heat out of fire. (Seacaucus (N. J.) News, January 29.)

Take daylight out of darkness. (Omro (Wis.) Herald, January 29.)

Take the flowers out of speech. (New York Evening Sun, Feb. 3.)

Take the cloves out of prohibition. (Idaho Statesman.)

Take the chat out of a movie audience. (Coeur d'Alene (Idaho) Press.)

Take the lips out of kisses. (Dover (Del.) Sentinel.)

Take the full house out of poker,
Take the frenzy from the mob,
Take the stroke from Willie Hoppe,
Take the bingle from Ty Cobb.
(Scottdale (Pa.) Independent.)

Take the tariff out of politics? Why, sure! by all means—if you're the chap to do it—and at the same time take the heartaches out of booze. (Augusta (Me.) Journal.)

Take the air out of rubber tires, take the gas away from glass making; it will shrink, it will wither, it may fail even to survive, for "the devil take the hindmost" is a motto we must bear; we'll live it, too, by ginger, when the free traders arrive. (Jeannette (Pa.) News.)

Politics and the tariff have been, are, and will be as inseparable as sunshine and the sun—take the sun out of sunshine! (Salisbury (Md.) Tribune, Feb. 11.)

Take the laughter out of childhood. (Payette (Idaho) Independent, Feb. 10.)

Take the "kick" out of whisky. (Roundup (Mont.) Record, Feb. 4.)

Take the tariff out of politics! As well try to take the "pep" out of pepper. (Brewster (Wash.) Herald.)

If you want to fix the West,
Take the salmon out the can;
Pinchotize the timber,
Take away from girls the tan.
(Chinook (Wash.) Observer.)

Take the flop out of Woodrow. (Bay Shore (L. I.) Journal.)

"Take the tariff out of politics!" shout the Democratic statesmen as a faint hope. Yes; take the color out of the rainbow. When the Democracy admit that we are right and they are wrong, let us enact a protective tariff and quit tampering with it. The tariff will be out of politics, but not until then. (Batavia (Ohio) Courier.)

Take free trade from Democracy—if you can. (A Harmon (Ill.) correspondent.)

Take Hiram from the Johnsonites,
Take Teddy from the Progs,
Take the tariff out of politics,
And the world will slip its cogs.
(Sanger (Cal.) News.)

Take the devil out of all of us and there will be less room for pain. (Carmi (Ill.) Convincer, February.)

Take the tariff out of politics?—with ease! Take the wind out of Tornado and the water out of seas; take the light out of sunshine and the cold out of freeze.

Take the tariff out of politics?—for sure! Take safe out of safety and healing out of cure; take stable out of stability—no nation will endure. (Chesterton (Md.) Enterprise.)

Take the value out of money,
Take the sting out of bees,
Take the sweetness out of honey,
Take the timber out of trees.
(Newport (N. H.) Champion.)

The talk of taking the tariff out of politics is the same as asking for taxation without representation. (World's Work.)

While there is a great endeavor to take the tariff out of politics, why does not some statesman take politics out of the tariff? (Bay City (Mich.) National Farmer.)

Take the tariff out of politics? Take the hugs and kisses out of spooning. (Marion (Ill.) anonymous correspondent.)

Take the substance out of flour and the sweetness out of sugar. (Trenton (Mich.) Times.)

Take the stars from the field of Old Glory. (Huntingburg (Ind.) Independent.)

Take the value out of money,
Take the pleasure out of fun,
Take the sweetness out of honey,
Take—Oh, what's the use? It can't be done.
(Plymouth (Mass.) News, Mar. 24.)

Take the 1 out of 100. (Milwaukee Sentinel.)

Take the lesson from the learner,
Take the writing from the clerk;
Take the earnings from the earner,
And the worker from his work.
(Gladstone (Mich.) Delta.)

Take the tariff out of politics? Why not take "e" out of alphabet or laughter out of childhood? (Ashtabula ,Ohio) Star.)

Take the tariff out of politics,
Take the moisture out of rain;
Take the colors from the rainbow,
Take the kernel out of grain.
(Brookfield (Mo.) Gazette.)

Take the tariff out of politics? Not till we have absolute free trade. (Union (N. Y.) Union-Endicott News.)

Take the raindrops out of showers,
Take the fragrance out of flowers.
(Ord (Nebr.) Quiz.)

Take the tariff out of politics? It is a cry born of forlorn hope. It is as feasible an to try to take the lye out of soft soap. (Tahlequah (Okla.) Sun.)

Or take the Bull out of Bull Moose. (Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald.)

Take the stars and stripes out of our flag. Take hope out of life. (American Economist reader.)

"Take the tariff out of politics," says the New York Sun. Take the angel out of heaven; take the cooing from the dove; take the warble from the birdlet; take religion out of love. (Elkton (Mich.) Review.)

They can't take the tariff out of politics, but they can take it out of the hands of the free-trade tariff tinkers. (Kansas City (Mo.) Liberal News.)

The differences of opinion and conviction which put the tariff question into politics are not differences as to facts, but as to the interpretation of facts. Hence the fallacy of "taking the tariff question out of politics" by creating a mere statistical board, bureau, or commission. (Muncie (Ind.) National Republican.)

Take disaster from our labor and industries without the reestablishment of a high protective tariff. (Breaux Bridge (La.) Advance.)

Take the tariff out of politics? Might as well take the honey out of the honeymoon. (Rhinelander (Wis.) News.)

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Take the limberness from limber.
Take the spiciness from spice.
Take the wood from out the timber.
Take the water out of ice.

Next!

(Astoria (Oreg.) Morning Astorian.)

Take the tariff out of politics?
Take the moisture out of snow.
Take the "our" out of flour.
And the "leven" out of dough.

(Fedora (S. Dak.) Messenger.)

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Take the tariff out of politics! You might as well try to take the bung out of bungle. (Decorah (Iowa) Republican.)

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As well try taking selfishness
From out the heart of man;
For the Demys, in their foolishness,
Will make trade free if they can.

(Columbus (Ohio) Saturday Monitor.)

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**What About the Progressives?**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,

OF KANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, the recent contest at the Chicago conventions between the Progressive and the Republican Parties is not a personal affair of mine, but a short statement of facts in relation to what happened before, at the time, and what has happened since may be worth while. Col. Roosevelt declined the nomination of his party for President although he was a candidate and afterwards indorsed Judge Hughes, the Republican nominee, urging at the same time the delivery, bag and baggage, the rank and file of the Progressives, for the sole purpose to "beat Wilson."

Mr. Roosevelt is a personality of strong emotions and deep-anchored prejudices. He hates President Wilson, and the cause for that passion is the basis of his desire and purpose to "beat Wilson." It is largely a personal matter with him. The reason has been an open secret in Washington for months, and the story, briefly told, is as follows:

When Mr. Roosevelt was President, to use his own words, he "took Panama," desired by the United States for a route for the canal, which, up to that time, was a part of the Republic of Colombia. When Mr. Wilson became President, through his then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, the claims and grievances of Colombia were given a hearing, resulting in the Colombian treaty, which looks toward a friendly settlement of our differences and compensation to Colombia for the aforesaid "taking of Panama." The point with Mr. Roosevelt is, that any compensation to Colombia would be the acknowledgment of mistreatment of Colombia by him. Mr. Roosevelt believes this would be a personal reflection on him and his acts while President.

There are hundreds of thousands of Progressives who will not follow Mr. Roosevelt in his efforts to "beat Wilson." The newspapers of the country are, in most instances, anti-Democratic, and print conspicuously items telling of leading Progressives who express their intention of supporting Judge Hughes, but which do not print items concerning other leading Progressives who prefer President Wilson. Just what the rank and file of the Progressive Party will do when it comes to voting for President, if that is in any way indicated by the division among their leaders, is a very two-sided matter, as shown by the following articles appearing in the Baltimore Sun and the Washington Post:

[From the Baltimore Sun, July 3, 1916.]

QUIT T. R. FOR WILSON—MANY FORMER PROGRESSIVE LEADERS REFUSE TO FOLLOW COLONEL INTO G. O. P.—FRANCIS J. HENEY THE LATEST—ONE-TIME BULL MOOSE CANDIDATE FOR SENATE PRAISES PRESIDENT'S POLICIES AND PLEDGES SUPPORT.

WASHINGTON, *July 2.*

One by one the militant and thoroughly independent leaders of the late Progressive Party are coming out for President Wilson, and are serving notice upon Theodore Roosevelt and Charles E. Hughes that they will not be delivered into the hands of the men who have dominated the Republican organization since 1912.

Raymond Robbins, chairman of the Progressive convention at Chicago; John M. Parker, vice presidential nominee of that convention; Bainbridge Colby, who placed Roosevelt in nomination; Roscoe G. Fertich, one of the Bull Moose founders in Indiana; J. A. H. Hopkins, State chairman of the Progressive organization in New Jersey; and Norman Hapgood, one of the most brilliant factors in the one-time party, have let it be known that they will not swallow Mr. Hughes.

FRANCIS J. HENEY FOR WILSON.

To-day the White House gave out a telegram received from Francis J. Heney, the graft prosecutor, of San Francisco, former Bull Moose candidate for the United States Senate and one of the stanchest of the Progressive leaders, East or West, in which he announced his determination to support Mr. Wilson, and tenders his services to the Democratic national committee during the campaign.

No declaration yet made by a former follower of Col. Roosevelt is more significant than that contained in the Heney telegram. This is not based upon mere resentment that Roosevelt should have surrendered to the Republicans nor upon the sole fact that the Republican Party now is controlled by the same reactionary influences that controlled it four years ago. This circumstance is cited by Mr. Heney as one reason why sincere Progressives can not ally themselves with the old party, but his most impressive point is the statement that the Wilson administration commends itself to every patriotic American.

The President's foreign policies are praised by Mr. Heney. He refers to our negotiations with Germany as the triumph of a wholesome diplomacy that has kept the country out of war without sacrificing either American honor or prestige. He praises the Mexican policy just as generously, and then cites the success of the domestic program of the Wilson administration.

DOES NOT LIKE G. O. P. LEADERS.

After referring to the fact that the Republican Party is still firmly in the hands of BOIES PENROSE, Murray Crane, William Barnes, Elihu Root, and other leaders, who deprived Roosevelt of the nomination four years ago, Mr. Heney in his telegram to the President says:

"Under the circumstances I can not follow Theodore Roosevelt back into the Republican Party while it is controlled by these men. If he had accepted the nomination of the Progressive Party at Chicago this year, I would have loyally and vigorously supported him, because he then would have represented the basic principle upon which the Progressive Party was founded.

"To my mind the nomination of Mr. Hughes represents the fruition of political corruption which was so successfully practiced by the Republican national committee four years ago, under the guidance of men I have named. For that reason I can not vote for or support him. Personally, I shall not vote for any Republican candidate for President hereafter as long as the corrupt control of the nominating machine of the Republican Party is thus permitted to continue in existence."

Mr. Heney then expresses his hearty approval of the Wilson administration as follows:

"Please permit me also at this time to offer my heartiest approval of your administration toward Mexico. It seems to me that you have consistently and amid great difficulties and discouragements striven to treat that unfortunate neighboring nation with that patience and forbearance which one powerful and enlightened nation ought to exercise toward a much less powerful and a much less enlightened nation. No patriotic citizen can fail to pray that we shall be delivered from the necessity of entering into a war with the distracted people who inhabit Mexico.

"Your temperate, restrained but lofty, exercise of the powerful weapons of diplomacy have kept this country safely out of the terrible struggle in Europe without any sacrifice of American honor or prestige, and you have wrung the most important concessions from belligerent foreign rulers while steadfastly maintaining the dignity, peace, and safety of the United States.

AS TO OTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

"The legislative accomplishments of your administration constitute a record little short of marvelous. In three short years your administration has wrested the financial control from Wall Street and lodged it with the people, thus rendering future trust-creating panics and manipulation practically impossible.

"You have provided an income tax for raising revenue, thus placing the burdens of government where they belong and where they can best be borne. You are providing a nonpartisan tariff commission, as advocated by the national Progressive platform of 1912, that will take the tariff out of partisan politics, where it has long been an agency for evil.

"I might also speak of other important enactments, such as the trade commission law, the Clayton Antitrust Act, the agricultural expansion act, the industrial employees arbitration act, the extension of the parcel-post system, the driving of the notorious lobby out of Washington, the consummation of a constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by the people, and scores of other important legislation, for which the country is largely indebted to you and your administration.

"I trust you will feel free to call upon me," the telegram concludes, "to aid in any way that I can in your reelection to the Presidency in November."

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[From the Washington Post, July 7, 1916.]

TURNS AGAINST HUGHES—ACTING MOOSE CHAIRMAN HALE CRITICIZES INDORSEMENT—DELEGATES NOT CONSULTED—NATIONAL COMMITTEE'S "ATTEMPT TO DELIVER" PARTY TO REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE AN "AFFRONT," HE ASSERTS—MICHIGAN STATE BODY ALSO REPUDIATES THE ACTION OF THE LEADERS.

NEW YORK, *July 7.*

Matthew Hale, of Boston, acting chairman of the Progressive national committee, made public to-day a statement to delegates of the Progressive national convention, criticizing the indorsement of Charles E. Hughes by the committee. He has conferred recently with Vance McCormick, chairman of the Democratic national committee.

Mr. Hale said the indorsement was without authority from the delegates or the State organizations, and without any attempt to get authority. He asserted that neither delegates to the convention nor members of the State organizations were consulted before the Republican candidate was indorsed by the national committee.

CALLS ACTION AN AFFRONT.

In Alabama, Michigan, New Jersey, Tennessee, and Virginia, he declared, neither delegates to the convention or State organizations had expressed opposition to indorsing the Republican candidate.

In closing his statement, he said:

"An attempt by a small group of men to deliver the Progressive Party organization to the Republican candidate in a manner which violates one of the most fundamental principles of the Progressive Party is an affront to the sincerity of all Progressives."

REPUDIATED IN MICHIGAN.

DETROIT, MICH., *July 7.*

At a meeting of the State central committee of the National Progressive Party here this afternoon, the action of the national committee in indorsing Charles E. Hughes was repudiated. The committee declared for the perpetuation of the party and the entering of complete State and local tickets in the coming campaign. The recommendation contained a letter from George W. Perkins that Republican clubs be formed among the Progressives and was unanimously rejected.

This is indicative of what is happening all over the country, though seldom mentioned by anti-Wilson newspapers.

## The Possibilities of a National University in the Capital.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. PATRICK H. KELLEY,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 8, 1916.*

Mr. KELLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address of Hon. S. D. FESS delivered in Madison Square Garden, New York, before the National Educational Association in annual session, July 7, 1916. The address is as follows:

THE POSSIBILITIES OF A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY IN THE CAPITAL.

[Address of S. D. FESS in Madison Square Garden, New York, before the National Educational Association in annual session, July 7, 1916.]

Mr. President, fellow teachers, ladies, and gentlemen, I am here not upon my own invitation to discuss a theme not of my own choosing. I come in response to an invitation of your committee to discuss the possibilities of a national university in the Capital. I very much dislike to absent myself from the House during an important discussion such as we have before the country to-day. However, being assured that I would be here permitted to address a wider constituency from this platform than I would in the House, I accepted the invitation.

There are three measures before the country, all with peculiar interest to the educators, which have won my heartiest approval and active energies.

The first is the national archives building. It may be a shock to you to know that ours is the only country of significance that has no "hall of records" to house our valuable documents. The documentary evidences of millions of our property are scattered throughout the city, stored in garrets and cellars of buildings owned or rented by the Government.

On June 3 of this year I called the country's attention to this situation. I also printed a list of over 230 fires since 1873 in public buildings in the Capital. I also printed a list of fires resulting in total destruction of valuable documents. I also printed a history of the 50 years' attempt to induce the Government to erect a fireproof archives building.

You will be greatly pleased to learn that the Congress has taken action, and all the preliminary steps have now been taken to insure a fireproof structure at a limit of cost of $2,000,000 for the building. This is a real triumph.

Another measure in which I am profoundly interested is the proposed Federal aid to vocational education. This phase of education has received much attention in this convention. I am sure you who heard Secretary Redfield must have been impressed with the importance from a national point of view.

I can now merely say that as a member of the President's Vocational Commission, having sat for three months listening to experts representing every phase of the question, after which having made what I think is the most voluminous report ever made upon the subject, I am deeply interested in the passage of the bill we proposed, and which was simultaneously introduced in the Senate and House, and known to the country as the Smith-Hughes bill.

It was unanimously approved by the Education Committee of each branch of Congress, but owing to the pressure of public matters could not be reached in the Sixty-third Congress.

At the opening of this present Congress it was again introduced and again reported and now awaits its turn upon the calendar. I feel safe in saying to you here and now that its passage this session is expected. But the matter which I came to discuss is the national university proposition, which for the first time in the history of the country was unanimously reported from the committee, both Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses. It is now on the calendar awaiting action.

Among the many surprises to grow out of this the world's greatest conflict now raging in Europe is the resourcefulness of the German scholar. It is not too much to say that the German scientist in the laboratory is doing as much if not more than the German soldier in the field. His fertility in finding substitute for the supplies cut off by the embargoes is the standing wonder of the world.

An investigation will show that most of these discoveries emanate from the laboratories of universities, especially from Berlin.

This institution, perhaps the world's greatest research center, was the outgrowth of a dictum of the head of the German nation. At the close of the Napoleonic wars, when Prussia was reduced in her material as well as political integrity, the King caused the establishment of a national research institution at Berlin to retrieve by intellectual endeavor what had been lost by warfare. From modest beginning there has grown up this institution with a group of investigators whose service to science is now displayed in the stress of war.

There is no country in the world with the possibilities of scholarship in the fields of research equal to ours. Washington already is a center of research workers. Each department is a laboratory for investigation. Here with the marvelous facilities of laboratory and library equipment greater than those of all the colleges and universities in the country outside of the Capital, could be gathered the greatest group of head masters in research, with the largest collection of special students in the world. Washington must not only be made the center for the special research for American scholars, but for the scholars of other countries. The national university is designed to make available this rare equipment for the special research worker. It looks to an organization to which application can be made for such work with as little red tape as college entrance elsewhere requires. The recent passage of the bill for an archives building here in Washington to house all the valuable governmental documents should be but one item in the plan for research. No better time could be chosen for the establishment of the world's greatest university than now, when war with its disorganizing elements calls for rehabilitation through the enlistment of the scholars of our day. The country ought to make possible the realization of this dream of Gen. Washington and the list of public men and associations indorsing such a consummation. It is but adding the finishing touch to our magnificent educational system.

Popular education lies at the foundation of our democratic system of government. To supply it must largely rest with the States. Marked advancement has been made in this field. Illiteracy is being rapidly banished. Vocational training is receiving attention.

Higher education is also well cared for in colleges, universities, and technical schools. Almost every State has its system of State normal schools for the training of teachers. Most of them have the State university, primarily for agricultural and mechanical training, but in later years the modern State university, answering to wider demands which does graduate work. There are nearly 500 colleges, private and denominational, within the boundaries of the United States. Among these there are a few heavily endowed institutions which do graduate work, in addition to the regular college work.

Notwithstanding the galaxy of American higher educational institutions, its colleges, universities, and technical schools, many of which stand very high educationally, the country does not have a university in the true sense. In every institution, however good, the chief work, the mass of students, the large proportion of teaching force, the major use of laboratories, etc., are devoted to undergraduate work, to college rather than university work. We have no single institution devoted to the sort and degree of work chiefly done by the Berlin University. Johns Hopkins comes the nearest to it. Such an institution as is here proposed would complete our system of education by utilizing the vast resources here in the capital for the special research of the expert investigator. The recent discoveries of Dr. Rittman in the Bureau of Mines are directly to the point. This is but a suggestion of what may be done.

The proposal here is to materialize the ambition of the founder of the Nation.

Washington made a national university a specific item of recommendation at different times in his messages to Congress. He communicated his views in writing to such men as Randolph, Hamilton, and Jefferson, members of his Cabinet. He made specific recommendations to State officials of Virginia, including Gov. Brooke, in 1795; he solemnly urged it in his Farewell Address in 1796, and in the same year he communicated his wish to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, even going so far as to indicate his willingness to set aside a

fund for its establishment and to specify the probable site of the plant.

Before his death he had the indorsement of most public men, inside and outside of the two Houses of Congress. In 1799 his will contained a bequest of 50 shares ($500 each) of Potomac stock for the beginning.

His scheme was most heartily indorsed in official capacity by John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, J. Q. Adams, and Andrew Jackson. Jefferson, one of the country's earliest patrons of education, even went to the extent of proposing to Gen. Washington the transplanting of a European college, faculty and all, as an early step in the enterprise.

The appearance near the forties of sectional differences and the expression of the fear of too much centralization caused the friends of the enterprise to rest. In the forties and fifties much talk and some efforts were active in building such an institution at Albany, N. Y. The Civil War further shut out interest in the Washington project.

Interest was finally revived in 1869 by John W. Hoyt, who had made a tour of careful inspection of the European institutions of higher learning. The merits of Commissioner Hoyt's efforts lie in his effective work in creating a favorable impression among educators in the country. The results of his propaganda were noticed in the interest of the National Teachers' Association. At its annual meeting in 1869, held at Trenton, N. J., the association adopted a resolution offered by A. J. Rickoff, of Ohio, committing the association to the project. It also appointed a committee of 35, representing all parts of the Union and all the liberal as well as business professions, and upon which appear the names of Rickoff, of Ohio, and Wickersham, of Pennsylvania. From that day to this, this great association has stood committed to the consummation of the great undertaking. Of all its many great heads not one has rendered more valiant service than its recent head, President Swain of Swarthmore College.

It was largely through this body, ably seconded by numerous great scholars in college and university circles, that there was won support of such men as Senator Charles Sumner, T. O. White, J. W. Paterson, M. H. Carpenter, J. J. Ingalls, W. B. Allison, L. Q. C. Lamar, A. H. Garland, and many others. Through the influence of these men a bill was introduced in both Houses of Congress in 1872. By this time the propaganda was winning the support of most of the college heads of the country. One very important exception was President Charles W. Eliot. In 1873 President Grant made the university proposition an item of favorable recommendation in his annual message. The National Education Association continued by resolution and addresses to keep the matter before the public. President Hayes indorsed the project in 1878. L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior under Cleveland, called the attention of the country to the neglect in his report to the President. In 1890 the Senate created a special standing committee, to be known as the National University Committee, which is still in existence, although quite dormant. The National Association of State University Presidents, representing all the State universities of the Nation, is also another significant association backing the movement.

Looking over the activities working for this consummation, one is bewildered over the fact that in the face of it all there is nothing accomplished by the Government.

Note the factors:

1. Urged by Washington.
2. Seconded by at least 10 of his successors.
3. Supported by at least half a dozen Justices of the Supreme Court, including Chief Justices Jay, Rutledge, Marshall, and Chase.
4. Formally recommended by at least 20 Cabinet ministers, among them the most brilliant lights of our Nation.
5. Formal support by the heads of both the Army and Navy.
6. Enthusiastic advocacy of the heads of at least 400 colleges and universities.
7. Almost unanimous indorsement of both the scholars and learned associations of the country.
8. Advocacy by the leading clergymen of the country.
9. Advocacy by the public-school men and women in the country.
10. Support of various women's organizations of the land.
11. Warm support at different times of the Senate as a body.

This array of advocates would seem enough to enact any law that had an element of merit in it.

This support is based upon the following facts:

What we need in Washington is an institution not so much to multiply scholars as to develop scholarship; not to teach learners, but to produce research workers; not so much to disseminate knowledge already known, but to cultivate the power to find what is yet unknown.

Such an institution will not interfere with nor supersede the hundreds of institutions already existing, but it will supplement them, as it will indeed depend upon them for its supply of students seeking the rank of special experts. Instead of weakening the existent university or college, like the multiplied collective strand, it gains its strength from a combination of all without weakening any one.

It will be in a unique sense our university and will develop the sense of pride and democratic support not now felt by any institution. It will thus be sought by our ambitious men as they pass from college or university to the more specialized field of expert investigation. Graduate, as well as professor, who may be desired for some special work now and then, will look toward it. It will thus divert the flow of American students from Berlin, Paris, Oxford, Jena, and Vienna to Washington.

Not only this, but it will most certainly become the most metropolitan institution, patronized by the largest groups of European students, as well as students from all other progressive countries in the world. The records of immigration to America for the past 50 years are conclusive of this statement.

There can not be serious doubt of the effect of such a national university upon scholarship in our own country. Washington long ago had come to be one of the greatest scientific centers of the earth. Here are assembled the most remarkable collections in the way of scientific material known to the scientific world. Here the various departments of scientific investigation, headed by the world's best experts, aided by a group of trained workers, with separate laboratories and experimental facilities, run up into the hundreds. Here, also, are domiciled 34 associations devoted to the investigations of truth in various spheres. At least that number are incorporated by act of Congress. These make Washington attractive to the scholar of all countries. Many of the societies that are not domiciled here hold their annual meetings at the Capital.

If anyone should doubt the wisdom of the establishment of such an institution upon the ground that we do not need it, or upon the ground of expense, or of corrupt control, or upon any other ground, a complete answer is the Smithsonian Institution. This institution, established in 1840, with a $500,000 bequest, has proved itself to be one of the most successful in the advancement of knowledge. To-day it is well housed in buildings worth at least as much as the original gift, and it has accumulated collections of books and manuscripts by the simple method of Government exchange, with slight cost to anyone of an amount beyond the original gift. Besides this, here under such men as Henry, Baird, Powell, Newcomb, Goode, Langley, and others, have grown up these rare agencies of advancement in useful knowledge. Here telegraphy was perfected and then turned over to the Government. Research on the lines of climate, meteorology, etc., was conducted by these leaders of science and was finally allowed to grow under governmental agencies into the present Weather Bureau. Under the direction of Prof. Baird investigations of life in the sea, with special relation to fish purely in a scientific interest, grew into the Government Fish Commission, now so important as an agency under experts attempting to supply needed food from the wastes of ocean waters. Other important governmental agencies had their beginnings here. The Congressional Library, America's greatest collection of books, housed in the world's most beautiful building, was started in the same way by the same institution.

In view of such results flowing from this single establishment, we ask, What is the possibility of a national university under a similar management with means multiplied and a field unlimited? Even to-day there exists in the Capital the university, only awaiting organization, housing, and research students. Probably in no one place in the world is there such a rare and numerous aggregation of material for laboratory use as in Washington. No university could gather such laboratory facilities.

The bill provides that there shall be established in the District of Columbia an institution of higher learning, to be known as the National University of the United States.

Its purpose is to promote the advancement of science, pure and applied, and of the liberal and fine arts by original investigation and research and such other means as may appear suitable. Furthermore, to train men and women for posts of responsibility in the public and private service of State and Nation; also to cooperate with the scientific departments of the Federal Government and with the various colleges and universities, public and private, throughout the country. This last purpose is one of the most important.

Located in the various parts of the city are museums, bureaus, observatories, exchanges, laboratories, etc., the equal of any one of which in richness of material is not to be found in any other place in the country. The Agricultural Department alone is a good example. Here in one department of investigation are found: (a) The Weather Bureau, with almost a score of experts at work; (b) the Bureau of Animal Industry, with over a dozen experts; (c) the Bureau of Plant Industry, with nearly 40 experts; (d) the Forest Service, with about 30 experts; (e) the Bureau of Chemistry, with at least 35 experts; (f) the Bureau of Soils, with 7 experts; (g) the Bureau of Entomology, with more than a dozen experts; (h) the Bureau of Biological Survey, with a half dozen experts; besides from 6 to 15 experts in charge of separate Bureaus of Accounts and Disbursements, Publications, Statistics, Library, Experiment Stations, and Public Roads. This last is the youngest of many research foundations here in the Capital which fitly represent the scientific operations of the Government. There is scarcely a single field of expert investigation that is not well worked here, and by the world's greatest experts, and with the highest results. The annual reports of these various bureaus that number in the hundreds would make a library. The monetary value represented will reach into the millions of dollars. To operate them requires about five millions a year. The experts employed and those elsewhere affiliated with the work here will number into the hundreds.

The new discoveries announced from time to time are world-wide in import, and some of them revolutionize scientific knowledge. Air navigation was solved by governmental investigation. The Panama Canal was made possible by governmental engineering skill. Yellow fever was annihilated by a Government expert. Probably more useful applications of scientific knowledge have been perfected in Washington than in any other place in the world.

The easy possibility of utilizing these unequaled resources for stimulating wide-awake students is the chief and immediate ground for the proposed institution.

It is to be a graduate institution.

The ultimate authority in the government of the institution is vested in a board of trustees appointed by the President of the United States; but this board must consult and consider the counsel and advice of a national advisory council, consisting of one representative from each State in the Union, this representative to be the president of the State university in those States in which there is a State university, and in those States where no such institution exists a person to be appointed by the governor of the State. This form of organization secures two great advantages. It secures the efficiency, economy, promptness, and vigor of administration characteristic of a small board vested with full authority to act.

The institution is authorized to accept gifts and donations of money or property from any private citizen or public body, provided these gifts be given with no conditions attached for the general purposes of the university. This university will have an organic affiliation with educational institutions of other countries by which we will have the exchange of professorships. It would be difficult to estimate the influence upon a better understanding and relationship with all countries of ideas as an organization of this sort located at the Capital of the Nation. It would be a far greater insurance against world warfare than battleships. Now, when Europe is in the throes of war and all education is at a standstill, is the time to establish this institution.

It goes without saying that such an institution must be free from all characteristics that dominate modern college life. Modern athletics, college spirit, and the consequent police disciplinary features, all proper in their places, will have no place here. Even degrees are not to be sought.

In this beautiful Capital of the Nation, with the galaxy of great buildings, housing such treasures of art and science, with its many associations, representing great learning, the significant item of world meaning, the crown of it all is lacking—a national university.

If the Government would make good the $25,000, the gift of the father of the country for this purpose, it would materialize now a sum sufficient to provide not only the necessary administration building but an endowment sufficient to care for all the future needs. Twenty-five thousand dollars at 6 per cent compound interest from 1799 to 1916 would amount to over $24,000,000. If we add to this such gifts as may be offered by benefactors, the endowment can be placed easily in the $100,000,000 mark.

The bill carries an initial appropriation of $500,000. The organization and location of buildings will be left to the board of control. The committee believes such an institution is demanded in the interest of learning by the highest dignity and welfare of the Nation and the honor of the founder of the Republic, who urgently recommended it, and which has been strongly urged by many other distinguished Americans.

## The Democratic Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Speaker, under the rule adopted by the Democratic majority I have not been permitted to offer two amendments to this bill of great importance to the people of Massachusetts. The amendments are as follows:

On page 26, line 25, after the word "fourth," insert the words "cooperative bank or"; and on page 27, line 18, after the word "tenth," strike out the word "farmers'."

The object of this first amendment is to exempt from the corporation-income tax the cooperative banks of Massachusetts and other New England States which combine the saving features of the mutual savings banks and the loan features of the domestic building and loan associations, both of which are exempt from tax under the provisions of this bill. In these banks there are deposited many millions of dollars of the savings of our working people, and through their agency thousands of laboring men have been able to own their own homes. The object of the second amendment is to put all mutual fire insurance companies on a par with farmers' mutual insurance companies, which are exempted from tax by the bill. There is every reason why these banks and insurance companies should enjoy the same exemption that is granted to similar institutions. The fact that they are omitted from the list of exemptions is only another evidence of the unfair and sectional character of Democratic revenue legislation.

Mr. Speaker, attention has already been called to the arbitrary procedure adopted by the Democratic majority under which we are forced to vote either for or against this omnibus bill as a whole with no opportunity for a record vote on a number of separate and distinct propositions. For instance, I am in favor of the repeal of the unnecessary stamp taxes, which never should have been imposed, and against the extension of which we Republicans voted at the commencement of the present session. Moreover, in common with Republicans generally, I am in favor of an excise tax on the manufacture of munitions of war to meet in part at least the cost of national preparedness. A separate bill for this purpose should have been reported and passed as soon as possible after the outbreak of the European war instead of being incorporated in a general revenue measure at this late day, when the revenue that can be derived from it is bound to be a steadily diminishing factor.

I am also in favor of the Republican principle of a tariff commission. A separate bill for this purpose has been pending since the commencement of the present session and should have been passed months ago, so that the tariff might have been intelligently revised with a view to obtaining the greatest possible revenue from import duties levied on commodities coming into competition with American production. If this had been done, a sufficient rate of duty might have been imposed upon foreign dyestuffs to insure the establishment of the dyestuff industry in the United States instead of the totally inadequate duties provided for in Title V of this bill, which will simply prove an expense and annoyance to our manufacturers, with no resulting good to anyone. Moreover, an increase of tariff duties with a view to safeguard our own industries against undue foreign competition after the close of the present European war would not only have resulted in the collection of a very large amount of revenue from foreign producers seeking to enter the rich American market, but would also render unnecessary the ridiculous antidumping features of this bill as well as the imposition of a Federal inheritance tax, a form of taxation which ought to be left to the States and never resorted to by the National Government except in times of great emergency.

The same thing is true, although to a lesser degree, of the income tax. The existing tax on individual incomes was deliberately imposed as a substitute for tariff duties "in order," as our Democratic President sardonically remarked, "that our manufacturers might feel the spur of foreign competition."

The doubling of the tax provided for in this bill is rendered necessary by the admitted failure of the Underwood free-trade tariff law to yield sufficient revenue to run the Government, combined with the reckless, pork-barrel legislation of the present Congress.

I sometimes wonder how much longer the people of the great States of the North are going to stand the placing of practically the entire burden of Federal taxation upon the shoulders of their people and of the continual looting of the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the States of the South. As has already been so ably pointed out, four States, of which the State I have the honor in part to represent is one, will be obliged to pay three-quarters of all the revenue that will be raised under the income, corporation, and inheritance tax provisions of this bill in order that the money wrung from their people may be squandered on unnavigable streams and unnecessary public buildings in the Southern States. Raise the national revenue so far as can be by the American system of tariff duties on luxuries and articles coming into competition with American labor, and the balance by an equitable system of internal taxation, and spend the money thus raised for objects really necessary for the common defense and general welfare of the people of the whole country, and Massachusetts will cheerfully pay its share.

While this bill apparently has some good features cleverly inserted to attract Republican votes and to deceive the people, most of these prove on investigation to be a delusion and a snare. What little of good there may be in it is more than counterbalanced by the evils of continuing an unjust and unnecessary system of Federal taxation, which I believe will at the election in November be repudiated by the American people. As one of their Representatives I shall vote for a motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to bring in a proper and equitable revenue measure; and if that motion does not prevail, I shall be compelled to vote against the bill.

## Maintenance of Families of National Guardsmen Should be a Contract Duty of the Government, Not a Charity.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 1, 1916.*

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the unanimous consent granted to all Members, whether on the Military Committee or not, to print their remarks in the RECORD on the pending bill (H. R. 16734) to provide for the maintenance of the families and others dependent upon soldiers of the National Guard drafted into the service of the United States, I desire to put on record my most unequivocal approval of this measure. Its passage will create a contractual relation between the Government and the men it has called to the colors, binding alike upon all. It is not a charity; it is not perhaps a necessity on the part of the Government. It is simply a mutual contract for military service on the one hand and family care and maintenance on the other.

Already a just and patriotic people all over our broad land, through the churches, friendly societies, and many other systematically organized charities, are actively engaged in preparing to take care of the needy families and other dependents who have by the exigencies of war, over which they have no control, been suddenly deprived of their breadwinners. Gladly and willingly have a generous people undertaken this task.

But, after all, there being no legal obligation, it is at best only a charity liable to be withdrawn at any time upon adverse change in public sentiment.

There is also something in the acceptance of charity which causes hesitancy and regret on the part of thoroughly independent spirits, such as the families of our volunteer soldiers usually are and have a right to be.

The justly proud and faithful wife and mother hesitates long, hesitates sometimes until the larder is actually empty and the children cry for bread before seeking alms or even letting her needs be known to her charitably inclined neighbors.

Pass this bill and she ceases to depend upon charity; the Government becomes her debtor, and its check in payment can be accepted by her without any feeling or thought of humiliation and with the same independent spirit in which we accept the princely salaries paid to us as Members of the House under our contract with the same Government. She furnishes as her contribution a brave young soldier to the Government, that which is all in all to her, while we, for a much larger payment to us than is given her in this bill, furnish—well, some of us talk, some think, some work in the committee rooms, some, crowded out of desirable committee work, sit around in the House and listen like bumps on a log, and others go to the ball games or home to look after their political fences. Something is said in criticism of the large expense incident to the passage of this bill. All wars are costly. But a glance at the fabulous appropriations made and further expected to be made by this Congress in preparation for possible future wars, which, many think, may never occur, will suggest to thoughtful Members other and better places for the exercise of economy on the part of a great Nation than by any cheese-paring denial of proper provisions for the care and comfort of the families and dependents of those who go bravely to the front to fight for the common honor and rights of all our citizens. As happily expressed by our minority leader, I am proud of the "opportunity to help by contributing my little mite—staying here—to help take care of those dependent upon the ones who go to the front."

A distinguished Member and leader at the other end of the Capitol, where this same provision for the maintenance of the families and dependents of soldiers while in service was stricken out of another bill as it passed the House, is quoted as favoring an addition of $100,000,000 to the amount appropriated by the House for Army purposes, and as saying they expect such figures to stagger some Members of the House. No doubt of it, although some rural Members like myself are already staggered at the stupendous amounts already included in the revenue bills of this Congress.

Such figures are also likely to startle the country if this just measure shall again be thrown out of the Senate when passed by the House, as it will be to-day.

## Labor Legislation.

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES.

"Thus, the workers have before them the platform declarations of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive Parties upon the subjects which most directly affect them. Now, the workers must make up their minds as to which of these political parties is most likely, if intrusted with power, to carry their declarations into effect, and to the adequacy of the response which each party made to labor's demands. For 30 years wage earners had vainly endeavored to secure the amendment of the Sherman antitrust law, so as to place voluntary organizations of toilers outside the pale of antitrust legislation that they should not be regarded in the same category as trusts and organizations organized for profit. For 30 years organized labor had been vainly knocking at the door of Congress to secure relief from the injunction abuse and to have restored the right of trial by jury in contempt cases. For 30 years the workers of America had vainly asked Congress to relieve the seamen from the position of bondmen, and all this occurred under the domination of Congress and the Presidency by the Republican Party. The Democratic Congress passed and President Wilson signed the Clayton antitrust law. * * * The Democratic Congress passed the seamen's act, and President Wilson signed the act."—(Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor, in Federationist.)

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DAVID J. LEWIS,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, in the six years since the Democratic Party has been in control of the House of Representatives and the three years since it controlled the Senate the following bills affecting the rights of laboring men have become laws:

BILLS NOW LAWS.

First. The eight-hour law, applying to work done for the Government as well as work done by the Government.

Second. An eight-hour law applying to female employees in the District of Columbia, over which Congress has jurisdiction.

Third. The dredge workers' eight-hour bill applying to men employed on dredging work in our rivers and harbors.

Fourth. An eight-hour provision applicable to civilians engaged in the manufacture of ordnance and powder for the Government.

Fifth. An eight-hour provision for post-office clerks and carriers.

Sixth. An eight-hour provision as to the mining of all coal to be used by the Navy.

Seventh. The Children's Bureau bill to promote the welfare of children and to devise means preventive of the necessities of parents retarding development of the child.

Eighth. The Industrial Commission bill to investigate the entire subject of industrial relations.

Ninth. The phosphorus match bill to protect the health of workers in the match industry.

Tenth. The trades disputes act embracing the relation of labor organizations to the antitrust laws of the country; the regulation of the issuance of injunctions, and the guaranty of the right of trial by jury for alleged contempts committed out of the presence of the court.

Eleventh. The seamen's bill. This bill passed the Sixty-second Congress and was pocket vetoed by President Taft. Its principal objects look to abolishing imprisonment as a penalty for desertion, and corporal punishment on board ship, Sunday work while in safe harbor reduced and regulated, establishes seaman's right to half wages upon arrival at any port, and 120 feet boat space for each seaman and apprentice; two years' service on lakes, bays, and sounds to entitle the sailor to rank of able seaman; and 12 months on the sea; regulating the number of lifeboats and saving equipment each vessel is to carry.

Twelfth. A great many State labor laws have been invalidated by the States courts. This provision allows an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States in such cases, and will doubtless save many State laws, as, for example, the semimonthly pay law of New York, recently sustained by that court. As the law formerly stood, when a labor statute was stricken down by a State court, the laborer could not appeal to the Supreme Court to have it sustained. But his adversary, on the other hand, could go to the Supreme Court to again attack the measure if his attack failed in the State court.

Thirteenth. The Department of Labor bill, creating a department with a Secretary who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet. Mr. Speaker, the Department of Labor is a real living and dynamic fact. And why? Its Secretary is a real son of labor. I insert his biography as taken from the Congressional Directory:

William Bauchop Wilson, of Blossburg, Pa., Secretary of Labor, was born at Blantyre, Scotland, April 2, 1862; came to this country with his parents in 1870 and settled at Arnot, Tioga County, Pa. In March, 1871, he began working in the coal mines; in November, 1873, became half member of the mine workers' union; has taken an active part in trade-union affairs from early manhood; was international secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America from 1900 to 1908, having been elected each year without opposition; is engaged in farming at Blossburg; is married and has nine children; was elected to the Sixtieth, Sixty-first, and Sixty-second Congresses from the fifteenth congressional district of Pennsylvania; chairman Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, Sixty-second Congress. Took the oath of office as Secretary of Labor March 5, 1913.

Surely in the case of the Department of Labor there was no "making the promise to the ear and breaking it to the heart." A distinguished Member of this House has said that if in argument you should grant the Secretary of Labor any of his premise, defeat was certain to follow, so surely does his Scotch processes of logic plow their way through all obstructions when given a single admission. He is a credit to his race. He is a credit to the labor sentiment of the country, which has trusted and supported him, and a credit to the administration whose arduous responsibilities he so splendidly shares. Surely in William B. Wilson labor has a voice in the great councils of the Nation.

It is high time, Mr. Speaker, that industrial controversies should be adjusted on the merits rather than by force.

In his address in Washington on Tuesday, at the dedication of the new building of the American Federation of Labor, President Wilson made an earnest plea for the application of law and reason to the settlement of industrial disputes.

"If you come at me with your fists doubled, I think I can promise you that mine will double as fast as yours, but if you come at me and say, 'Let us sit down and take counsel together, and, if we differ from one another, understand why it is we differ from one another, just what the points at issue are,' we will presently find that we are not so far apart after all—that the points in which we differ are few and the points in which we agree are many, and that if we only have the patience and the candor and the desire to get together, we will get together.

"The trouble in a great many of the labor contests we have had, my fellow citizens, as you will bear me out in saying, is that one side or the other did not wish to sit down and talk it over, and that the great difficulty in the settlement of a great many labor disputes has been the difficulty of getting candid and dispassionate conference with regard to the points at issue."

During the period from March 4, 1913, to June 6, 1916, the good offices of the department were invoked in 238 trade disputes. In 149 of these instances it was successful in bringing about an amicable adjustment. In only 33 cases were its efforts unsuccessful. In the balance, 52 cases, negotiations are still pending. Workmen directly affected were 249,810; those indirectly affected, 341,802. The disturbances ranged in magnitude from a controversy affecting directly some 8, and indirectly some 300 telegraphers, to the great Colorado, West Virginia, and Ohio mine strikes, as well as that of the longshoremen on the Pacific coast, involving from 10,000 to 20,000 workmen. They affected many and varied industries, and extended from Massachusetts to California. It is hardly possible to overstate the serious consequences which might have ensued had these struggles been permitted to proceed to the point where one of the contestants was forced to surrender, but certain it is that through the mediatorial influences which the Department of Labor was enabled to bring to bear, millions of dollars in property interests have been conserved, and the untold sufferings and misery on the part of workmen, which are the usual concomitants of prolonged strife, averted.

February, 1915, to April, 1916, officers of the Immigration Service, in the Department of Labor, in addition to their regular duties, did this work for the unemployed:

Nineteen thousand nine hundred and four employers applied for help.

Seventy-six thousand and thirty persons were applied for.

Two hundred and twenty-four thousand and ninety-seven applied for jobs.

Sixty-two thousand six hundred and fifty-nine got work.

In 1914, 75,000 field workers got $2.75 a day and board for an average of four weeks through the Department of Labor. In all, the department secured over $7,000,000 in earnings for labor.

THE EIGHT-HOUR LAWS.

Of these eight-hour bills the present Secretary of Labor, Hon. William B. Wilson, who is a former coal miner, who entered the coal mines at 9 years of age, an experience identical with my own, observes:

It has been said on the floor of this House that the labor measures we have passed would not give an additional sandwich to any wage-worker. This act alone will reduce the hours of labor of hundreds of thousands of workmen directly or indirectly employed by or for the Government, giving greater opportunity for rest, recreation, and mental development to those who are affected by it. It will do more than that. While men working an 8-hour workday can naturally be more efficient per hour than when working 10 hours, it has never been contended that men can accomplish as much in 8 hours as they can in 10. The shortening of the workday, therefore, means the giving of employment to thousands of those who are now among the unemployed, giving them an opportunity of earning a livelihood which they do not now have, and that means not only a sandwich, but a full meal.

LABOR'S MAGNA CHARTA.

Mr. Speaker, it is no exaggeration to say that the above law is the greatest single piece of legislation ever passed for the legal protection of laboring people on the American Continent. At a single stroke it adjusts all the perversions of ex parte court procedure that have arisen by the confessed misuse of the injunction so frequently occurring, grants the constitutional right of trial before an open-minded jury, and corrects the juridical mistake as to the intent of Congress in passing the Sherman law. It is not too much to say, I repeat, that by this single stroke of the legislative hand more is being done in our country to rectify the judicial status of the great toiling masses than has ever been accomplished in our history before. Nor does this mean violent or radical treatment of the relations of labor and capital.

Section 7 of the Clayton bill, taken with its complementary sections, places the American workman where the British workman was placed by Parliament in 1906. The British experience shows that property will be as safe, the rights of employers will be as secure, with this measure enacted into a law, a measure which I predict will become known as the Magna Charta of American workmen.

Everybody understands that section 7 would have been written into the Sherman Act in 1890 had there been any thought of the interpretation since made of that great act. Everybody knows that Congress at that time had no thought of legislating with regard to the relations of employers and employees. I challenge contradiction for that statement. If Congress had ever intended to legislate upon these relations and saw fit to do what the States may well do and are doing, for it is their subject matter and not a Federal subject matter—prescribing penalties for individual wrongs when committed—I challenge gentlemen of this House to say that Congress would have ever said to the toiler: "If you overstep the line and commit a tort, you shall be subject to threefold damages." That was the natural sentence to have pronounced on the trust, an outlaw organization that sought to suck up all the commercial profit

and power of the Republic. That is a sentence—the sentence of outlawry—that never can be pronounced, now nor in the future, on a peaceful organization of workingmen.

I know there is some misapprehension. Some honest people are inclined to think that this section of the Clayton bill may mean a species of class legislation. They commit the error of considering labor as a commodity, a natural error inspired by the circumstances under which the price of labor, unfortunately, is sometimes determined by the iron laws of the market; but there is this distinction between labor and a barrel of oil—a commodity: Labor is never in truth a commodity; labor can never under our institutions be property, either before the court or before the legislature. The Civil War settled that. Under our Constitution property in human beings has forever ceased. While a barrel of oil is not only a commodity in the market it is a commodity before the courts; it is a commodity before the legislature. The legal attribute of a commodity is property, but the legal attribute of the workingmen is citizenship. A different principle of sociology and justice apply to these two subjects matter when they are before Congress or before the courts. The rules that are rationally applicable to the commodity can seldom be justly applied to the man.

Quoting from President Wilson again, on the same occasion:

"I am sorry that there were judges in the United States who had to be told that. It is so obvious that it seems to me that that section of the Clayton Act was a return to the primer of human liberty; but if judges have to have the primer opened before them, I am willing to open it."

BILLS WHICH HAVE PASSED THE HOUSE.

First. The Bureau of Safety Devices bill. This measure, the Mann-Bremner bill, already favorably reported in the Senate, is designed to create in the Department of Labor a clearing house for devices preventive of industrial accidents. The ratio of accidents in the United States tends to run from two to four times as great as in other countries, and it is meant through this bureau to supply employers and employees with the best methods and devices in order to reduce as far as possible the frightful carnage in life and limb.

Second. The child-labor bill. Mr. Speaker, this bill calls for the most thorough discussion, but for my present purpose I can only briefly describe its provisions. Urging the precedent of the convict-labor-made goods bills which have already passed this House, it provides—

That it shall be unlawful for any producer, manufacturer, or dealer to ship or deliver for shipment in interstate commerce the products of any mine or quarry which have been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 16 years or the products of any mill, cannery, workshop, or manufacturing establishment which have been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 14 years, or by the labor of children between the ages of 14 years and 16 years, who work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any week or after the hour of 7 o'clock postmeridian or before the hour of 7 o'clock antemeridian.

I believe, sir, that the tender conscience of the people where childhood is involved and the national sense of the necessity of Federal action to protect those who can not protect themselves will justify us in passing this bill reported from the Committee on Labor, passed twice by the House, approved in the Democratic platform, and now pending and awaiting its turn on the calendar of the Senate.

The last two bills have received the indorsement of the Democratic platform, and will doubtless become laws during the Sixty-fourth Congress.

I say it is something more than a coincidence that these measures have passed a Democratic Congress and were not even considered by the Cannon rule. What is the cause? What is the difference? The difference, sir, I submit is this: The party of JOSEPH G. CANNON represented only a part of the people. The party of Wilson and CLARK represents them all. One is the Tory, who thinks all law-made changes are dangerous, and, as Wendell Phillips said, is afraid to brush down the cobwebs lest the ceiling may fall. The other is the Liberal and Progressive, who knows that as social and economic conditions change so must change the rules of the State which regulate the relations of human beings.

Mr. Speaker, it is not claimed for these measures that they will end the labor problem; that they will realize for labor all its rights or secure the employer from all occasional wrongs. We know that the rights of labor involve vastly more than its relations to the employer. Having secured fair wages and conditions of employment from his employer, the workman has then to meet that other problem common to all consumers, namely, how shall he be able to make his wages bring him an equitable share of the products of other men's labor? And it is here even more than with the employer that his task of rightful adjustment really lies.

A brilliant orator a generation ago, taking his inspiration from the magnificent achievements in mechanics, declared that the inventor would soon emancipate the sons of toil from their physical drudgery and painful forms of labor by the substitution of machine for pick and spade. Well, sir, what do we find? Truly the inventor is doing his part; but how about the correlative processes of exchange and distribution? Well, that problem remains unchanged, and has now become so aggravated as to be generally conceded as the cause of our high cost of living. How shall he make his wages bring him something like an equivalent of what he gave for such wages? I think all students now agree that the labor problem has become chiefly the consumers' problem. It is something to have stated the problem clearly. I shall do no more to-day. But, sir, we do not leave this problem, momentous as it is, entirely without hope. There ought to be some way by which the inordinate tax imposed by the processes of distribution—the tax that doubles, yes, trebles, the price of the product between producer and consumer—may be greatly lightened. In the last two generations the producer and transporter have done their part in cheapening the cost of the article. Productive and transportation costs have been pulled down and down in an almost never-ending scale of reduction. Meanwhile distribution agencies, unorganized and ever multiplying, show a piling up of expenditures, ever increasing the distribution tax, from which all must suffer, for we are all consumers. Can not this problem be adjusted? Must we confess our helplessness in its presence—this ever-widening maw that is swallowing nearly all of the fruits of mechanical advancement, and threatens to swallow more?

In this connection we can point to the development of the parcel post by this administration as a promising means, when our people learn to use it, to purchase direct from the trucker and farmer and as it becomes further perfected for that purpose.

Mr. Speaker, such is the record of the Democratic Party in labor legislation in the Sixty-second and Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses. Valuable as it is in itself, it is yet even more significant as an earnest of the fixed determination of our party to meet the problems of a growing and changing state of society and to adjust them—to adjust them calmly and justly, but to adjust them. It can not be said that our work has been partial and one-sided and that we have confined our work to a single class. We have met in the same spirit all the problems of our day. The direct election of Senators, the parcel or postal express, the prevention of corrupt practices at primaries and elections, the national banking law, the antitrust laws, the conservation bills, the income tax, the rural-credits law, the Shackleford road law, and many other useful measures in the interest of society generally. Compare this record with the almost blank pages under standpatism for 20 years—a record of unblushing toryism and inertia.

Mr. Speaker, with the rescue of this House under your leadership and a responsible Senate through direct election of its Members, with a President the very first premier of his age, with a people loosened from the bonds of party prejudice which have bound them, can we not look confidently into the future, assured that its patriotism and statesmanship will justly solve the other great problems that are before us?

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## Rural Credits.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RALPH W. MOSS,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 7, 1916.*

Mr. MOSS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, it must be understood that a borrower under this bill can choose the length of time he wishes his debt to run, provided the period is not less than 5 nor more than 40 years. The rate of interest will be the same, whether he chooses a long or a short period of repayment, but the annual installment will vary. His annual payment will be larger for a short period than for a longer one for the same amount at the same rate of interest. Thus if two neighbors were to borrow $1,000 each at 5 per cent interest, and agree to pay the debt, one man choosing 20 years and the other one 36 years,

their annual installment payments would be different. The man who chose 20 years would be required to pay $80.24 per year, while the one who chose 36 years would pay annually $60.43. The following tables will illustrate how these installments will be credited upon the note and show what part goes for interest and what part is credited upon the principal. The table also shows what sum remains unpaid at the end of any year. It will be noticed that while the annual installment remains the same, the sum deducted to pay interest is constantly decreasing, and, of course, that part which is applied to the payment of the principal is constantly increasing. Similar tables may be prepared for any contract which the borrower may make with the bank. I trust that these two tables will illustrate sufficiently the method of making "amortization" payments on long-time loans. I have computed the 36-year table showing an annual installment of $60, and, as noted, there remains a balance of $41.60 after the last payment is made. If the annual payment had been $60.43, the debt would have disappeared when the thirty-sixth payment was made.

This table shows an annual installment of $80.24 made on a loan of $1,000 at 5 per cent interest to mature in 20 years.

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.00 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.56 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.46 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.24 | 3.82 | 76.50 | ---------- |
| Total | 1,604.80 | 604.80 | 1,000.00 | ---------- |

This table shows the payments made on a loan of $1,000 at 5 per cent interest, with an annual installment of $60. This loan fails slightly to mature in 36 years, there being a balance of $41.60 due when the thirty-sixth payment is made:

| Annual periods. | Annual installment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Part of installment paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $60.00 | $50.00 | $10.00 | $990.00 |
| 2 | 60.00 | 49.50 | 10.50 | 979.50 |
| 3 | 60.00 | 48.97 | 11.03 | 968.47 |
| 4 | 60.00 | 48.42 | 11.58 | 956.89 |
| 5 | 60.00 | 47.84 | 12.16 | 944.73 |
| 6 | 60.00 | 47.24 | 12.76 | 931.97 |
| 7 | 60.00 | 46.60 | 13.40 | 918.57 |
| 8 | 60.00 | 45.93 | 14.07 | 904.50 |
| 9 | 60.00 | 45.23 | 14.78 | 889.72 |
| 10 | 60.00 | 44.49 | 15.51 | 874.21 |
| 11 | 60.00 | 43.71 | 16.29 | 857.92 |
| 12 | 60.00 | 42.90 | 17.10 | 840.82 |
| 13 | 60.00 | 42.04 | 17.96 | 822.86 |
| 14 | 60.00 | 41.14 | 18.86 | 804.00 |
| 15 | 60.00 | 40.20 | 19.80 | 784.20 |
| 16 | 60.00 | 39.21 | 20.79 | 763.41 |
| 17 | 60.00 | 38.17 | 21.83 | 741.58 |
| 18 | 60.00 | 37.08 | 22.92 | 718.66 |
| 19 | 60.00 | 35.93 | 24.07 | 694.59 |
| 20 | 60.00 | 34.73 | 25.27 | 669.32 |
| 21 | 60.00 | 33.47 | 26.53 | 642.79 |
| 22 | 60.00 | 32.14 | 27.86 | 614.93 |
| 23 | 60.00 | 30.75 | 29.25 | 585.68 |
| 24 | 60.00 | 29.28 | 30.72 | 554.96 |
| 25 | 60.00 | 27.75 | 32.25 | 522.71 |
| 26 | 60.00 | 26.13 | 33.87 | 488.84 |
| 27 | 60.00 | 24.44 | 35.51 | 453.28 |
| 28 | 60.00 | 22.66 | 37.34 | 415.94 |
| 29 | 60.00 | 20.80 | 39.20 | 376.74 |
| 30 | 60.00 | 18.84 | 41.16 | 335.58 |
| 31 | 60.00 | 16.78 | 43.22 | 292.36 |
| 32 | 60.00 | 14.62 | 45.38 | 246.98 |
| 33 | 60.00 | 12.35 | 47.65 | 199.33 |
| 34 | 60.00 | 9.97 | 50.03 | 149.30 |
| 35 | 60.00 | 7.46 | 52.54 | 96.76 |
| 36 | 60.00 | 4.84 | 55.16 | 41.60 |

Balance due after 36 payments is $41.60. The exact annual installment required to discharge the obligation in full within the period of 36 years is $60.43.

Annual installments for larger or smaller sums will be in proportion—that is, an installment for $500 will be one-half as large as for $1,000, while it will be twice as large for a debt of $2,000 as for a debt of $1,000.

## Justice to Confederates.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, June 26, 1916, the House, having under consideration the Army appropriation bill, adopted an amendment which I offered repealing section 4716 of the Revised Statutes. The bill carrying this amendment as a rider, after being passed by the House, was sent to the Senate, where it has been reported favorably by the Committee on Military Affairs, so that the measure embodied in the amendment will doubtless become a law in a few days.

My amendment, the effect of which was to make Confederate soldiers and their widows eligible for pensions, has excited much public interest. Newspapers, especially in the South, have expressed hearty approval of my action in offering the amendment, and in consequence I am receiving many letters making inquiries on the subject. Few of these letters have come from my own district. I attribute this to the fact that only one of the newspapers in my home city has mentioned the adoption of the amendment or printed anything concerning the matter. However, as nearly all these letters of inquiry come from former Confederate soldiers and their widows, I have felt impelled to answer them at length, explaining the purport of the amendment and the effect that the repeal of the statute will have.

I have felt it my duty to explain at length on account of my high respect for the class of persons from whom the inquiries come. It has occurred to me that the scope of the amendment and its meaning should be explained in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, so that all persons interested may have access to the information.

Section 4716 of the Revised Statutes, which is the statute under which those who served in the Confederate Army or aided the Confederacy are made ineligible to receive pensions, is as follows:

> No money on account of pension shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States.

Under this statute soldiers who had been pensioned for service in the Mexican and Indian wars were dropped from the pension rolls. Men who served in the Regular Army and Navy after the Civil War were made ineligible to receive pensions. Dependent parents of sons who lost their lives in the Regular Army and Navy could not be pensioned. Widows were denied pensions for the death of a husband or son. If a man had in any way aided or abetted the Confederacy, had served under its flag or sympathized with it, he, and after his decease his widow, were forever barred from eligibility as pensioners. In short, the Confederate soldier and sympathizer, his wife and family, were selected as the one class to whom under no circumstances would pensions be paid.

Under the statute the Confederate soldier and sympathizer, his wife, and children were selected as the peculiar objects of the Government's displeasure. Pensions were paid to parents who were not citizens of the United States on account of the service of their sons in our Army. In 1915 residents of foreign countries to the number of 4,660 were on our pension rolls. Even criminals were pensionable. Of all classes of persons this statute raised the bar only against those who had aided or abetted the Confederacy and their wives and children.

The harshness of the statute (sec. 4716, R. S.) was recognized soon after its passage, and its severity has been softened by a number of amendments. By act approved March 3, 1877, the statute was amended in so far as it applied to persons who, after the Civil War, entered the United States Army and were disabled therein. Again, by act approved March 9, 1878, it was amended so as to restore to the pension rolls pensioners of the

War of 1812 and the Indian wars, whose names had been dropped on account of their connection with the Confederacy. By act approved July 29, 1887, it was provided that section 4716 should be repealed in so far as it was applicable to persons who had served in the Mexican War. Persons who had served in the Black Hawk, Creek, Cherokee disturbances, and Seminole wars, were, by act of July 27, 1892, excepted from the statute. By act approved August 1, 1892, the statute was again amended so as to make pensionable those who had been disabled while serving in the Navy after the Civil War. Again, by act of April 18, 1898, the statute was repealed in so far as it applied to parents of soldiers of the Spanish War.

By the adoption of the amendments which I have mentioned, section 4716 and its prohibitions were left applicable only to Confederate parents of soldiers serving in the Regular Army and Navy other than in the Spanish War. The old Confederate men and women against whom the statute was thus left as a bar comprised a very limited number of persons. However, with the conscription of the National Guard for service in the Mexican trouble many thousands of young men of the South have been called into the Army. Many of these patriotic young soldiers are sons of Confederate veterans. Some of them have mothers who are the widows of Confederates, who are dependent upon them for support. It would be a most outrageous injustice to draft these southern boys into our Army under such terms as would make it impossible for their dependent parents to receive pensions if their boys should lose their lives in the Army.

It would be an action unworthy of our great Government to draft our southern boys into service upon terms which discriminated against their parents. They must receive equal treatment. The parents of soldiers from the South must be placed upon an equality with parents of soldiers from other parts of the country. The offer of my amendment to repeal the discriminating statute was timely, and its adoption by the unanimous voice of Congress was inevitable.

The purpose and effect of my amendment should not be misunderstood. It does not give pensions to Confederates or their widows as such. It does not grant pensions for service in the Confederate Army. It merely repeals the statute which forbade that pensions should be paid them on any account. It takes down the bar and places the old Confederate and his widow upon the same footing as other citizens. In other words, if a former Confederate soldier has rendered a service for which the law would give anyone else a pension he is enabled to receive the pension notwithstanding his Confederate service. For instance, if the son of a Confederate or of a Confederate's widow loses his life in the Regular Army and Navy, or in Mexico, his parents dependent upon him for support may be pensioned just as though they had not aided the Confederacy. His parents are placed upon the same footing as other people.

From the newspaper accounts of the amendment, some former Confederates have been given the impression that they are to receive pensions from the Government the same as though they had served in the Union Army. This is a great error. No pensions are to be paid to them or to Confederate widows on account of Confederate service. The repeal of the statute serves merely to wipe out all disability on account of such service.

The matter of the payment of pensions by the Federal Government to the Confederate soldier has been frequently mentioned during recent years. It has now come to be generally recognized in the North as well as in the South that the Confederate soldier was a patriot, that he was conscientious in his service, and that in serving his State after it had seceded from the Union he believed himself to be performing the highest duty of a citizen. That the Confederate soldier fought nobly and well, that he was a brave and chivalrous soldier has never been denied even in the midst of our bloody civil strife. As the years go by the disposition increases to look upon him as a high-minded patriot who served his country as he saw it and who suffered and bled for his convictions. The old Confederates are passing away. Few and fewer gather at their reunions. Soon they will live only in their splendid history. With all this has come a fairer and more generous spirit over the country, as a whole, to give some recognition by the National Government to those who fought on the losing side in the sixties.

Unfortunately, there are yet many who can not see the way clear for the National Government to do anything in a material way toward making more easy the declining years of the old Confederate veterans. Principle seems to be in the way. Principle seems to forbid that the Government against which these men felt it a duty to take arms should appear to reward them for their action. It is to be hoped that some plan may yet be devised by which some aid can be given to the old soldiers of the South. Many of them would decline to receive pensions from the Government. They would consider that a question of honor was involved and that the acceptance of pensions would constitute a betrayal of the cause for which they fought. Others would perhaps look upon the matter in a different light. I personally know that many of these old soldiers are in dire need and are eking out a bare existence upon the small pension which they receive from the States. I wish that some way might be found by which the National Government consistently with proper public policy might give some material aid to destitute Confederates and their widows in a manner in which the most delicate sense of honor would permit its acceptance.

My friend the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. TILLMAN] has introduced a bill which has for its purpose the payment of the cotton tax and the proceeds of captured and abandoned cotton into a fund from which Confederate soldiers and widows might be aided. This seems to me a good solution of a vexing question. The National Government has no moral right to this money. The persons to whom it rightfully belongs are dead and their heirs are scattered, and the proof is gone with which to sustain their claims. I trust that the committee having the Tillman bill under consideration will make a favorable report on it and that the Confederate beneficiaries may approve the proposal. I shall be happy, indeed, to support the measure to the utmost of my ability.

Mr. Speaker, although I am heartily in favor of same, I fear that the delay in acting upon the generous measure proposed by Mr. TILLMAN indicates that it is not favored by the committee, and therefore will not be enacted into law. It seems more than doubtful that Confederate soldiers and their widows may hope for any material aid from the Government. These brave spirits, it seems, will be left to console themselves with the glorious memories of their struggles and sacrifices.

I am proud that I was able to contribute my mite toward their recognition and relief by securing the repeal of the statute which discriminated against the Confederates. The advantage which they may receive from my action may not be great. It will testify, however, to the love, respect, and veneration which I cherish and which I am proud to acknowledge for the noble men and women of the Confederacy.

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## "Well Done."

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JACOB E. MEEKER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, in the June number of Voices I find a brief message from the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. SCHALL] which should be an inspiration to us all. Such a message, coming from a man who is physically blind and yet, as we all know, has such a marvelous vision of things as they really are, is worthy of a place in the RECORD.

His words to the blind and to the unfortunate are as follows:

"THOMAS D. SCHALL, Member of Congress from Minnesota, sends us the following:

"Let us give thanks—
Friends are dear and duty lies close at hand.

"'To the blind more than to any other class duty is his pleasure and friends are the breath of life. The hand that reaches out of the dark, the friendly voice that says "Well done," is the keenest pleasure the blind man knows. It is not charity, it is not sympathy the blind man craves, it is opportunity. The penny in the blind man's cup means a glow of self-satisfaction to the donor. The only real help to the blind man is that which enables him to put his own penny's worth in his cup.

"'"How can you possibly do that work, being blind?" is not the question the seeing person should reiterate, but, "How could you possibly get that work to do, being blind?"

"'The doors of opportunity, so well barricaded against assault by even the nimblest and best trained, are doubly fortified against the blind. The burden of proof is on him, not only that he is qualified in general training but that he is able to apply that training to this particular job. The majority of people unconsciously associate mental with physical blindness.

"'Although they invariably assert that "Blindness develops a sixth sense," they are fain to deny that the blind man may

possess common sense. And so of the employers I ask not that you give the blind man a chance, but that you shall not deny him his chance because he happens to be blind. Idleness, not blindness, is the curse of being blind.

"'And to the blind I would say, "Our strength is shown not in never falling but in rising when we fall."'"

## Mississippi Valley and Eastern Wine Growers Defending Themselves Against Annihilation by California Wine Trust.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JACOB E. MEEKER,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to present at this time the amendments which I would have offered to the revenue bill had it been possible for me to get in, but because of the lack of time on the part of the committee I insert here the amendments which I would have offered, in the earnest hope that each and every one would have been adopted.

I wish to further extend my remarks by incorporating a very carefully prepared brief of the whole situation as exists between the vineyard men and wine makers of Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and, in fact, all of the Eastern States, and the great Wine Growers' Association of California. I sincerely trust that this brief will be considered by every Member of Congress for the sake of seeing that justice is done to the grape growers and wine manufacturers of the Middle and Eastern States, and to the further end that while the vineyard men of California will not be crippled by the legislation proposed, the life of the vineyard men of the Middle and Eastern States will be preserved.

Mr. MEEKER offers the following amendments:

Page 70, line 13, strike out the word "fruit."

Page 70, line 14, strike out the word "special."

Page 70, line 23, after the word "wines," strike out the words "cordials, liquors, or similar compounds."

Page 70, line 14, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 70, line 17, strike out the figures "10" and insert in lieu thereof the figures "70."

Page 70, line 18, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 71, line 13, after the letters "its," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 71, line 15, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 71, line 18, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 72, strike out all of line 4 and the rest of the page, and on page 73 strike out all of lines 1 to 9, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That wine within the meaning of this act shall be deemed to be the product made from normal alcoholic fermentation of the juice of sound, ripe grapes, without addition or abstraction except such as may occur in the usual cellar treatment for clarifying and aging: *Provided, however,* That the product made from the juice of sound, ripe grapes by complete fermentation of the must, under proper cellar treatment and corrected by the addition (under the supervision of a gauger or storekeeper gauger in the capacity of gauger), of a solution of water and commercially pure cane, beet, or dextrose sugar to the must or to the wine, so that the resultant product does not contain less than five parts per thousand acid before fermentation and not more than 13 per cent of alcohol after complete fermentation, shall also be deemed to be wine within the meaning of this act: *And provided further,* That wine as defined in this section may, after complete fermentation, be sweetened with cane sugar or beet sugar or pure condensed grape must and fortified under the provisions of this act, and the same shall be considered sweet wine within the meaning of this act: *Provided,* That such sweetening agents shall not increase the volume of such wine more than 10 per cent."

Page 73, line 16, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 74, line 6, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 74, line 16, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 75, line 1, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 75, line 3, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 75, line 4, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 75, line 20, after the word "spirits," insert the words "or grain spirits."

Page 76, strike out all of lines 10, 11, and 12.

Page 76, line 14, strike out the words "liquors, or cordials."

Page 76, strike out all of line 24, and on page 77 strike out all of lines 1 and 2.

Page 77, line 14, after the word "wine," strike out the remainder of the line and all of lines 15 and 16, and on line 17 strike out the words "under the provisions of this section."

BRIEF ON VITICULTURE IN CALIFORNIA AS COMPARED WITH OTHER STATES.

[By Ottmar George Stark, president of Mississippi Valley Wine Growers' and Grape Growers' Association.]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *July 7, 1916.*

Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN,
*Chairman Ways and Means Committee,*
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I respectfully submit data on the wine and grape industry in California as compared with that in the other States.

I am furnishing you figures which I, while in Washington, D. C., copied from the United States census books of 1910 and from the records of the United States Internal Revenue Department at Washington, D. C., to wit:

The number of farmers growing grapes in 1910, the number of grape vines existing in 1910, and the number of pounds of grapes produced in the years of 1899 and 1909 in the various States, respectively, were as follows:

[—means decrease, +means increase.]

| | Number of farmers growing grapes in 1910. | Number of grape-vines in 1910. | Number of pounds of grapes produced in 1899. | | Number of pounds of grapes produced in 1909. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arkansas | 11,247 | 805,921 | 3,621,100 | — | 2,593,727 |
| Connecticut | 4,170 | 107,054 | 1,822,900 | — | 1,317,682 |
| Delaware | 1,309 | 260,963 | 1,375,300 | + | 1,938,267 |
| District of Columbia | 14 | 5,196 | 34,300 | — | 25,530 |
| Florida | 2,970 | 20,962 | 1,681,700 | — | 1,086,314 |
| Georgia | 15,831 | 277,658 | 8,330,485 | — | 2,767,366 |
| Illinois | 75,818 | 2,170,340 | 20,009,400 | — | 16,582,785 |
| Indiana | 73,892 | 1,049,232 | 18,651,380 | — | 12,817,353 |
| Iowa | 51,917 | 1,983,465 | 7,403,900 | + | 11,708,336 |
| Kansas | 44,311 | 2,889,845 | 15,786,019 | — | 6,317,684 |
| Kentucky | 26,956 | 605,002 | 5,134,215 | — | 3,680,182 |
| Maryland | 11,718 | 138,801 | 1,685,900 | + | 2,152,382 |
| Massachusetts | 6,003 | 58,277 | 1,308,300 | — | 1,132,838 |
| Michigan | 41,485 | 11,013,576 | 41,530,369 | + | 120,695,937 |
| Minnesota | 2,138 | 61,916 | 573,272 | — | 293,805 |
| Mississippi | 8,271 | 77,012 | 1,070,625 | — | 760,563 |
| Missouri | 75,888 | 3,026,526 | 13,783,656 | + | 17,871,816 |
| Nebraska | 29,403 | 1,221,736 | 3,171,034 | + | 4,752,217 |
| New Jersey | 5,368 | 1,603,280 | 4,235,000 | + | 6,501,221 |
| New Mexico | 820 | 250,076 | 1,515,900 | + | 423,415 |
| New York | 34,258 | 31,802,097 | 247,698,056 | — | 253,005,361 |
| North Carolina | 43,121 | 411,278 | 12,341,001 | + | 15,116,920 |
| Ohio | 82,576 | 8,326,800 | 79,173,873 | — | 43,933,207 |
| Oklahoma | 26,039 | 2,388,213 | 6,344,031 | — | 3,762,727 |
| Pennsylvania | 84,929 | 5,271,264 | 47,125,437 | — | 34,020,198 |
| Rhode Island | 534 | 7,662 | 189,700 | — | 152,937 |
| South Carolina | 12,239 | 79,708 | 3,323,835 | — | 2,016,506 |
| Tennessee | 23,675 | 338,758 | 4,355,122 | — | 1,979,480 |
| Texas | 13,495 | 712,201 | 4,086,220 | — | 1,802,618 |
| Virginia | 27,078 | 424,701 | 3,608,903 | + | 4,108,694 |
| West Virginia | 25,733 | 284,074 | 2,192,147 | + | 3,224,751 |
| Total | 863,204 | 77,673,594 | 563,169,080 | | 578,545,909 |
| California | 17,793 | 141,097,670 | 721,433,400 | | +1,979,686,525 |
| Grand total | 880,997 | 221,771,264 | 1,284,602,480 | | 2,558,232,431 |

You will notice that the increase of production of grapes in California during the period of 10 years from 1899 to 1909 has been enormous, principally due to the California wine industry.

The increase of grape production for the same period in New York and Michigan is also marked, which in Michigan is almost entirely due to its unfermented grape juice industry, and in New York State principally due to its unfermented grape juice industry and secondarily to its native wine industry. New York, Pennsylvania, and Michigan also ship vast quantities of choice "table" grapes all over the States.

Take notice that with the exception of the "wine" producing States of Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Caro-

lina, Virginia, and West Virginia, in which there is a perceptible increase in the production of grapes, the remaining States show a decrease or standstill, excepting Michigan and California.

If you will eliminate the State of Michigan from the above quoted list of States, and it should be eliminated from a wine-grower's point of view and to bring out the point I am trying to make, for the increase of Michigan grape production is due almost exclusively to the establishment of unfermented grape juice factories in Michigan, then after such elimination from above list you will find the following:

[+ means increase; — means decrease.]

| | Number of pounds of grapes produced in 1899. | Number of pounds of grapes produced in 1909. |
|---|---|---|
| Total for the States listed above other than California.. | 563,169,080 | 578,545,909 |
| Deduct Michigan | 41,530,369 | +120,695,937 |
| Net for other States excluding California. | 521,638,711 | −457,849,972 |

Or a decrease of 63,788,799 pounds of grapes produced in 1909 than were produced in 1899 in the United States exclusive of Michigan and California.

On the other hand, behold the tremendous and rapid increase in California during the same period of time.

CALIFORNIA.

[+ means increase.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of pounds of grapes produced in 1899 | 721,433,400 |
| Number of pounds of grapes produced in 1909 | +1,979,686,525 |

Or an increase of 1,258,253,125 pounds of grapes produced more in 1909 than were produced in 1899.

The principal eastern wine manufacturing States are Ohio, Missouri, Virginia, New York, and New Jersey. The wineries buy up the bulk of the grapes grown at home, and in addition purchase grapes grown in North Carolina, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; that accounts for a slight increase in the production in the last-named five States.

As aforesaid, the States east of California, in which wines were produced from their grapes, show a small increase in grape production (excepting Ohio). In these States "quality" wines were made in a limited capacity and to the full extent of the demand of the market, and more these wineries could not expand. Only with "quality" wines, i e., wines of high grade and fine vintages, could these eastern wine makers compete with California wine makers (for reasons hereinafter stated), as the California wines are not considered to be of the same high grade as are the better classes of Missouri and other eastern wines, including "sparkling" wines. As aforesaid, however, the market for "quality" wines is limited; on the other hand, there is a large field for cheap, ordinary wines (Vins Ordinaire).

This field was completely in the hands of the Californians. For some time most of the Ohioans tried to compete with the Californians in cheap wines, but could not meet their low prices, and the result was a loss of trade, respectively a decrease in the Ohio grape production, as the Ohio farmers could not sell all their wine grapes to the Ohio wineries, and consequently many pulled out the vines.

You will ask, Why could not the eastern wine makers compete with the California wine makers?

Here is the reason: The native sons of California were favored by a congressional act discriminating against the eastern wine makers and in favor of the California wine makers. True enough the Federal laws apply equally in all sections of the country, but the law for which I understand the Californians were responsible, was so cleverly worded as to effect us eastern wine makers unfavorably and the Californians favorably, because it described the "condition" of the wines to which would accrue the benefits of that act, and the description of said wines fitted exactly the California "type" of wines and left out in the cold altogether the eastern "type" of wines. This act of Congress became law on October 1, 1890, and immediately thereafter the California wine business began to boom; also the grape business. All attempts on the part of us eastern wine makers to get relief were in vain. Under that act the Federal Government permitted wine makers to add wine spirits (brandy) to their wines to preserve same without paying the $1.10 per gallon internal-revenue tax on the brandy, but as the eastern style of wines did not come under that class, only the Californians benefited by that law and rapidly grew immensely wealthy.

We eastern wine makers were denied such "tax free" brandy and therefore had to fortify our wines with spirits on which an internal-revenue tax of $1.10 on each gallon of 100 proof strength was collected. That put the eastern wine makers at a tremendous disadvantage and they could only market their wines at a high price and talk "quality."

Why did eastern wine men not make the same type of wine which the Californians make? That will be your question.

The reason is that in the section east of the Rocky Mountains grape growers have up to this date been unable to raise other grapes than those of American origin—such as Concord, Catawba, Elvira, Norton's Virginia Seedling, Scuppernong, and hundreds of other hybrids originating from the native wild grape. Many efforts by ourselves and others to grow European, Asiatic, and northern African grapes here resulted in failures, although the California vineyards are composed of those very varieties. However, they can not stand our climate, hot summers, or cold winters. Only our "native" grapes will stand such extreme climates of extremely cold blizzards in winter, and heat and drouth in summer; the foreign southern varieties die before the winter is over and the northern European varieties die during the hot, dry summers.

The horticultural departments of the various States will verify this claim.

The report of the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, states that during that fiscal year 6,322,303.9 gallons of full 100-proof strength of brandy spirits were used by mixing same with wines for the purpose of fortifying same and preserving same, and the greater portion of the wines were overfortified by making same excessively high in alcoholic strength, 48 proof or over half as strong as whisky as a rule is sold and consumed, being highly intoxicating, and such overfortified wines were sold to patent medicine manufacturers and other manufacturers, who bought the wines only because they need alcohol to make their medicines and their temperance drinks, and the alcohol in the wine was cheap as the Government did not collect the customary tax of $1.10 per gallon of 100-proof strength. Thus the Government which meant to help develop the legitimate wine industry was shamefully defrauded out of millions of dollars of tax annually—6,322,303.9 proof gallons of brandy at $1.10 tax per proof gallon would amount to $6,954,534.29. The greater portion of this tax remitted by the Government for the benefit of the American wine industry in fact became a "bonus" to the patent medicine industry, and a good many patent medicines are alcoholic beverages sold under disguise in prohibition States and in local option counties.

On October 1, 1890, as aforesaid, the Federal act gave wine makers brandy for fortifying wines and no tax was collected on the brandy.

On June 7, 1906, this act was amended and a nominal charge of 3 cents was assessed against such brandy and was thereafter collected in order to reimburse the Government for the official supervision of the proper use of such brandy at the wineries.

This law continued in force until October 22, 1914, when at our instance Congress amended the previous acts and assessed and thereafter collected a tax of 55 cents on each proof gallon of brandy used for fortifying wines. There were, however, no full concessions made in that act so as to enable us eastern wine men to produce palatable and marketable wines on a profitable basis, by applying the only method of wine making under which the eastern wine industry will prosper, and by which "method" native wines have been made by us Missourians since the year of 1847, and by Ohioans and other easterners even prior to that, and by those in Germany long before that.

Wines which we made thus without interference heretofore we could make by using spirits on which a tax of $1.10 per proof gallon was collected, but since the year 1913 the United States Department of Agriculture and the United States Treasury Department have issued rulings and decisions which even interfere with our handicapped practice of the past; all we believe to be due to Californian activity.

In the meantime the Californians are working in classified groups, and have been doing so in the past. When the big California Wine Trust has put in its licks, then the next Congress is confronted by the small wine growers' league of California; when they have gained their point, then the next Congress is besieged by the grape growers' union, then comes along the California "associated" raisins growers, a trust who claim to control 95 per cent of the raisin output. It is a great system they work under, but they usually get what they go after.

I hear that the raisin crowd is, under cover, right now working on the departments and on Congress to again repeal the tax

on fortifying brandy or at least reduce it materially, and at the same time to tighten the screws on the eastern method of making wines.

Eastern grapes are high in fruit acid, just like in northern European countries with cold climates such as Germany and Switzerland, and so forth, and it is necessary to add water to reduce the acid and to add sugar to bring the sweetness up to a standard.

The California grapes are very sweet and deficient in acid; hence they need not add sugar, nor must the acid be reduced with water; on the contrary, their wines are flat and insipid, and they are permitted by the Federal food department to add tartaric acid and tannic acid, which is called permissible "cellar treatment." Some New York State and New Jersey wine makers have even called the adding of sugar and water to be "cellar treatment," and they got by with it, as they were not interfered with, but the Federal food department has prosecuted our Ohio wine makers for adding water and sugar. The Californians are trying to put a stop to the eastern method of ameliorating wines with an aqueous sugar solution so as to monopolize the entire American wine trade themselves. The reason why the Raisin Trust is very interested this year in this wine situation is this:

When the wine makers in California in September and October of 1914 anticipated a tax on brandy to be used for fortifying, and it was very plain that Congress was determined to raise revenue, and subsequently did on October 22, 1914, enact the emergency tax act, which includes a tax of 55 cents a gallon on fortifying brandy, they in California worked day and night and turned all kinds of grapes into sweet wines—sweet-wine grapes, sour-wine grapes, table grapes, and raisin grapes—in order to get away with as much tax-free brandy as possible before the emergency tax bill could be enacted. Exactly the same tactics were practiced by the "whisky ring" of old repute. It is admitted by the Californians that many have made enough fortified wines to last them several years, and by that time they expect another Congress to repeal the brandy tax, so that they would never have been touched.

The 55-cent brandy tax became effective at midnight, October 22, 1914. The California wineries were well stocked up. Very little fortifying has been done since then, as only a few unprepared ones had to do it, and only on a minimum scale—from hand to mouth. Therefore, when the 1915 crop of sweet-wine grapes were ripe no wineries would buy them; they had their cellars full. There was nothing else to do but to use these sweet-wine grapes—Tokay, Muscat, and so forth—and make raisins out of same, and they made good raisins. Now, here is the act where the raisin kings appear on the stage. There was a howl that rang all over the grape-growing belt of California. It seriously interfered with the program of the raisin people. The California associated raisin growers claim to control 95 per cent of the entire output. The grape growers who made raisins out of their sweet-wine grapes sold their raisins—dried grapes—directly into the open market, and that interfered decidedly with the schedule of the California Raisin Trust. For that reason solely do they believe they have license to take a hand in the framing of "wine" and "brandy" tax laws and thus clear the field for themselves.

Why the Californians are letting out such a yell I can not understand, unless it is because now they can not sell their fortified wines to patent-medicine manufacturers in competition with the "grain distillers," who sell grain alcohol in its pure form to the patent-medicine men at a lower price delivered, being located closer.

The oppressive taxation about which the Californians are making all this noise is 2.2 cents for each gallon of sweet wine.

In California wines can be and are fermented as high as to attain an alcoholic strength of 16 to 16½ per cent and still retain sufficient sweetness as to contain 4 per cent saccharine strength, all due to the tropical varieties of very sweet grapes grown there. Seventeen per cent alcoholic strength suffices to preserve wine. Eighteen per cent is an absolute guaranty that it will remain in undisturbed condition, and that is the standard alcoholic strength of sweet wines intended for use as a "beverage." If the California fermented wine has an alcoholic strength of 16 to 16½ per cent and it is to be fortified with distilled spirits so as to bring it up to 18 per cent alcoholic strength, it requires only 2 per cent of absolute alcohol, or 4 proof, which equals four one-hundredths part of a gallon of distilled spirits having 100 proof strength. (One gallon of 100 per cent alcoholic strength equals 200 proof strength, in accordance with the measuring standard used by the United States Internal Revenue Department.) As they need only four one one-hundredths part of a proof gallon of brandy spirits for each gallon of wine, and as the tax collected on the brandy is now at the rate of 55 cents for each proof gallon of 100 proof strength, therefore the tax now amounts to four one-hundredths part of 55 cents, or exactly 2.2 cents for each gallon of wine. (One per cent of sugar produces one-half per cent alcohol and one-half per cent carbonic gas, and the gas escapes.)

We in the East can not do as well. If our wines are thoroughly fermented, so as to not leave a particle of sugar or sweetness in the wine, same will not exceed 12½ to 13 per cent alcoholic strength. Note how much alcohol we must add to bring the strength up to 18 per cent, and, what is worse, we are restricted to use distilled alcohol, on which the regular tax of $1.10 per proof gallon has been collected, for reasons hereinbefore explained.

As sweet wines should be of a sweetness of at least 6 per cent saccharine strength to suit the public taste, the California wines need an addition of only 2 per cent sugar, as same have left after fermentation is complete a sugar strength of 4 per cent.

In our case in the East the wines have all the sugar fermented out, and we must sweeten same to the full expense of 6 per cent sugar by volume.

Furthermore grapes in California sell from $5 to $10 per ton—have done so for years—whereas we pay never less than $30 to $60 per ton, and for some varieties $100 per ton, same having a beautiful bouquet. The Californians have a decided advantage over us, but still they are not satisfied.

It is to be regretted that the Hon. David Houston, Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture, himself a resident of Missouri, has given us eastern wine men very unfair treatment, repeatedly so, while he has granted audiences to the California crowd by the hour and invariably ruled in their favor, even going so far as to have his department officials antagonize us before the Finance Committee of the United States Senate.

The much advertised State of California has powerful influence.

Secretary Houston even annulled Food Inspection Decision 120, rendered in May, 1910, by the three Secretaries—Wilson, of the Agricultural Department; MacVeagh, of the Treasury Department; and Nagel, of the Commerce and Labor Department—and which was satisfactory to us; and he issued a decision instead which, if enforced, would wipe us all out of business at one lick. According to the printed reports of the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, there were produced during the six years from July 1, 1909, to June 30, 1915, the following:

| Fiscal year ending June 30— | Total production of distilled spirits from all kinds of material. | Brandy produced | Brandy used free of tax in fortification of sweet wines. | Sweet wines produced. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* |
| 1910 | 163,893,960.0 | 7,656,433.6 | 4,888,445.0 | 19,012,397.02 |
| 1911 | 183,355,527.4 | 7,953,131.9 | 5,101,517.5 | 19,498,767.24 |
| 1912 | 187,571,808.5 | 9,321,823.5 | 6,322,303.9 | 24,198,626.19 |
| 1913 | 193,606,257.9 | 8,252,874.8 | 4,939,464.7 | 19,281,753.13 |
| 1914 | 181,919,542.2 | 7,307,897.2 | 4,852,848.7 | 18,580,373.72 |
| 1915 | 140,656,103.2 | 8,521,951.0 | 4,505,218.7 | 17,218,661.93 |

Of the 4,505,218.7 proof gallons of brandy used during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, only 373,199.3 proof gallons were used after the act of October 22, 1914, took effect and a tax of 55 cents per gallon, amounting to $205,259.62, was assessed. The other 4,132,019.4 proof gallons were used up free of tax before the act of October 22, 1914, took effect. The Californians anticipated that a tax would be imposed by Congress, and they worked day and night to pack away as much free brandy as they were able to do after the grapes ripened and before Congress would act.

It is a fact that for quite a number of years the increased use of free brandy was at the rate of about a million gallons more each year than the preceding year, and the climax was reached in 1912. After that there was an uncertainty as to what would be done by Congress, as we easterners in 1913 had started our campaign, and therefore there was not so much brandy stuck into sweet wine during the years of 1913, 1914, and 1915.

From the above statement you will find that of the total brandy produced a great portion was disposed of by putting it into sweet wine without paying a revenue tax thereon, excepting lately 3 cents a gallon, to cover the cost of supervision by Government gaugers and storekeepers. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, for instance, 9,321,823.5 proof gallons of brandy were produced, of which 6,322,303.9 proof gallons, or

more than two-thirds of the entire production, were stuck into sweet wines "free" of tax.

In order that you may conceive the magnitude of the amount of free brandy used each year for fortifying sweet wines, which has been going on for over 25 years, I will illustrate the one single fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, during which 6,322,303.9 proof gallons of free brandy were used to fortify sweet wines.

A barrel holds 50 gallons; that makes 126,446 barrels.

A barrel weighs 500 pounds; that makes 63,223,000 pounds, or 31,611½ tons.

A carload holds 48 barrels, or 12 tons each; that makes 2,634½ carloads.

Thirty cars constitute a long train; that makes 68 trains of free brandy.

A train of 30 cars, engine, and caboose is about 1,500 feet long; that makes 132,000 feet, or exactly 25 miles of free brandy for that one year.

Figured in drinks of 1½ ounces each, the usual quantity of a good-sized drink, it amounts to 539,503,266, or over one-half billion drinks of straight 100-proof brandy, without any tax having been paid thereon, and if the same were reduced to 90 proof, as same is in fact and as a rule consumed, then it amounts to still more, to wit, 593,453,582 drinks at 1½ ounces each of 90-proof strength free brandy for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1911, and ending June 30, 1912, about six drinks of "free" brandy for every man, woman, and child in the United States. This free brandy traffic has been going on over 25 years and the United States Government holds the bag; in fact, was, up to June 7, 1906, even put to an "expense" of supervising the work and did not get one cent in return therefor.

It is far different with the housewife. Every time she bakes a cake or makes ice cream and uses lemon extracts or vanilla extracts she pays a heavy revenue tax to the Government, but these California wine men got away with millions and millions of dollars of revenue taxes.

The flavor extract manufacturers must use double-strength spirits to make extracts, hence they pay a revenue tax of $2.20 on each gallon of alcohol; therefore every child who buys candy or ice cream, and every housewife who bakes cakes, in all of which are used flavoring extracts, pay an internal revenue tax on the flavoring extract contained therein and at the rate of $2.20 for each gallon of alcohol, whereas the California wine men get their alcohol free of tax and the Government up to June 7, 1906, threw in the gaugers' and storekeepers' services free to boot. It is hard for anyone outside of the wine business to believe, but it is the naked truth. Write to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue yourself and he will verify my statement; in fact, I herewith quote from his printed report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915. See page 13, which reads as follows:

By an act approved October 1, 1890, grape brandy or wine spirits used in fortifying pure sweet wine was, under certain conditions imposed, exempt from tax. By an act approved June 7, 1906, a charge of 3 cents per proof gallon on the brandy or spirits so used was imposed "to cover the expense of the Government attending the making of fortification of such sweet wines. These laws were reenacted, with various amendments, in the revenue act of October 22, 1914; and in lieu of the provisions above referred to, a tax of 55 cents per proof gallon was imposed on the brandy or spirits thereafter so used. This tax, however, under the provisions of section 24 of the act, will expire by limitation January 1, 1916; and owing to the absence of any saving clause the question has arisen whether brandy or spirits used in fortifying such wines on and after that date will be subject to the same rate of tax as that imposed on other distilled spirits, or will be wholly exempt from tax.

As construed by this office the exempting provision of the act of 1890 was, in effect, repealed by the amendatory act of 1914, and will not be restored by the repeal, or expiration by limitation, of the tax imposed by the last-named act.

While so holding I am not unmindful of the fact that the exaction of the full tax of $1.10 per gallon on the brandy so used may be very burdensome to the sweet-wine producer who stores his wine for any considerable length of time before sale; and that, under present conditions, it may also seriously affect the grape-growing industry in certain sections of the country. I am, however, firmly of the opinion that these highly fortified wines, marketed in direct competition with other taxable spirits, and as a beverage consumed by the well-to-do classes, should not escape taxation.

Since the passage of the wine act of 1890 there have been used, free of tax, 73,653,970.7 proof gallons of brandy and wine spirits in fortifying wines of this class; and from information received it appears that a very considerable quantity of these wines, known as "sherry material," has been used in the manufacture of medical preparations and other compounds. In other words, these so-called wines have been largely used as a vehicle for placing on the market untax-paid spirits.

The purpose of the law in making this special tax exemption was, presumably, to encourage the production of "pure sweet wine," and to enable the producer and dealer to place the same on the market at a greatly reduced price. But it may, I think, be fairly questioned whether the law has accomplished this purpose.

As shown by the records these wines have been fortified, mainly with raw high-proof spirits, averaging in proof about 172°, or nearly the proof strength of ordinary grain alcohol. Of the total quantity of spirits thus added, less than 10 per cent has been stored in warehouse, the balance, or something over 90 per cent, having been removed to the wineries directly from the distilleries, and usually during the month of production.

From information obtained it also appears that certain types of these wines, produced at a cost not exceeding 20 or 25 cents per gallon, and often marketed soon after fortification, have retailed at from $2 to $4 per gallon.

I see no good reason, from a revenue or other standpoint, why the spirits used in fortifying these wines should be exempt from taxation, especially in view of the large falling off in receipts from other distilled spirits and the fact that, under the limitations fixed by the act of 1914, no tax whatever will be imposed on the wines, as such, after December 31 next.

I therefore recommend that a fair and equitable tax be imposed on all such spirits; and in order to relieve the wine producer from any unnecessary burden, that provision similar to that now contained in the act of 1914 be made for the deferred payment of the tax so imposed.

A careful examination of this subject, both as to the rate of tax and the restrictions which should be imposed upon the use of brandy in fortifying wines, is now being made by this office, and a further report thereon will be prepared at an early date.

On page 39 the commissioner says the following:

FORTIFIED WINES.

By the act of October 22, 1914, a tax of 55 cents per proof gallon is now imposed on brandy and wine spirits used in fortifying domestic wine. This tax, however, will, under the provisions of the act, expire by limitation January 1, 1916. It is therefore recommended that a like tax be imposed on all brandy or spirits used in fortifying such wine on and after that date.

Now, if this honorable Congress would secure for us the rights to which we are entitled in order to save the wine industry east of the Rocky Mountains, and also secure at least one Federal experimental horticultural field station for Missouri, then you certainly will add greatly to the wealth and resources of this great Commonwealth of Missouri and the other States of the Mississippi Valley, in which our 1,000 members reside. The Ozark Mountains and the bluffs along the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers are ideal for growing wine grapes, just like along the River Rhine.

The Californians got to quit a kickin' my houn' dawg around.

Respectfully,

O. G. STARK,
*President of Mississippi Valley Wine Growers and Grape Growers' Association.*

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BRIEF ON THE QUESTION OF THE PROPER DEFINITION OF MISSOURI, OHIO, AND OTHER WINES GROWN EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

*To the honorable Senators and Congressmen of the United States in Congress assembled:*

We beg to submit the following brief on the question of the proper definition of Ohio and Missouri wines and wines grown in other States east of the Rocky Mountains.

In order to determine what is a proper definition of Missouri, Ohio, and eastern wines, we believe it best to divide the consideration of our subject into three general parts, as follows:

First. A consideration of the natural conditions existing in Missouri, Ohio, and other States east of the Rocky Mountains necessarily affecting the character of the wines produced and, in connection therewith, the methods and processes necessary to employ, on account of those natural conditions, to produce merchantable wine.

Second. A consideration of the extent and value of the wine industry of Missouri, Ohio, and other States east of the Rocky Mountains.

Third. The extent to which those natural conditions, methods, and processes should be taken into consideration in determining a proper definition for those wines.

I.—NATURAL CONDITIONS.

The wines of commerce are divided into two general classes: (1) Dry wines and (2) sweet or fortified wines; and the dry wines are again divided into two general classes: (1) Still wines and (2) sparkling wines.

The peculiar class of wines with which we are primarily concerned is that class known as dry still wines; and as sweet wines or fortified wines produced in Missouri, Ohio, and other States east of the Rocky Mountains can be made only from dry still wines, a determination of the proper defining of dry still wines should also determine the proper defining of Missouri, Ohio, or other eastern sweet or fortified wines.

The grapes from which wines are produced in Missouri, Ohio, and, in fact, all States east of the Rocky Mountains, are native American varieties, differing in this respect from the grapes from which California wines are produced, which are as a rule foreign varieties. The American varieties can not be successfully produced in California, and the foreign varieties can not be successfully produced in Missouri, Ohio, and the other States east of the Rocky Mountains.

A merchantable Missouri, Ohio, and other eastern dry still wine should not contain more than about 5 per mill acid and

sometimes as high as about 13 per cent of alcohol. Some wine makers claim that the acid should not run more than 4½ per mill. But, owing to the nature of the soil and the nature of the climate in Missouri, Ohio, and the other States east of the Rocky Mountains, the grapes produced in these States are always low in sugar content and always high in acidity, the acidity never being less than about 8½ per mill, and being this low only in very favorable years. The sugar content is also always too low to produce the required amount of alcohol—that is, the amount of alcohol necessary to keep the wine from fermenting when produced, and which we have stated should be about 13 per cent.

(*The above statement that the grapes are always low in sugar content should be modified. What we mean is that the grapes never contain enough sugar to make the alcohol high enough after water has been added to ameliorate the excessive acid that is always in the grapes. Often the grapes have sufficient sugar to produce 12 to 12½ per cent of alcohol, but at the same time have an excessive amount of acid, which must be ameliorated, after which amelioration the alcohol will not be high enough unless sugar has been added with the water.*)

It will be seen from the foregoing that at no time is it possible to produce merchantable wine in these States without correcting its acidity and its alcohol content.

In support of our statement that a merchantable wine should not contain more than about 5 per mill acid and that it should contain sometimes as high as 13 per cent of alcohol, we beg to submit the following:

First. The assurance of each member of this association, who are practical wine makers and who have been engaged in manufacturing wines in the different States in the Mississippi Valley, from native grapes, for a great number of years, and selling those wines, and whose assurances are based on practical experience in the Mississippi Valley, particularly in Missouri and Ohio, covering a period of time in at least one instance, that of the Stone Hill Wine Co., at Hermann, Mo., from 1847 down to the present date.

Second. Mr. George Husmann, in his book entitled "American Grape Growing and Wine Making," 1907 edition, published by the Orange-Judd Co. (see Congressional Library), says:

A normal "must," to suit the prevailing taste here, should contain about four-thousandths parts of acids, while in Europe it varies from four and a half to seven-hundredths, as the taste there is generally in favor of more acid wines.

The Universal Encyclopedia of 1900, in an article by E. W. Hilgard on "Wine and wine making," says:

The following table gives the volume-percentage of alcohol contained in some of the best-known wines, varying, of course, from year to year:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rhenish and Moselle wines | 9. 1 to 12. 0 |
| Grumberger, Naumberger (northeast Germany) | 6. 5 to |
| Burgundy, red | 7. 5 to 13. 5 |
| Bordeaux, first class | 7. 0 to 11. 5 |
| Catawba, Concord, etc | 8. 5 to 12. 7 |
| California wines | 10. 5 to 15. 7 |
| Port | 18. 0 to 23. 0 |
| Sherry | 17. 0 to 21. 0 |
| Madeira | 17. 0 to 19. 0 |
| Tokay | 12. 0 to 20. 0 |
| Greek and Syrian wines | 14. 0 to 18. 0 |

Third. The actual facts, which may be ascertained upon investigation, we might refer to other authorities, but we deem the foregoing sufficient for the purposes of this brief.

Therefore we start with the proposition that merchantable Missouri, Ohio, and other eastern wines should contain not more than about 5 per mill acid and sometimes as high as about 13 per cent of alcohol.

Now let us consider the natural conditions in the Mississippi Valley and Eastern States in connection with the above proposition, and what do we find:

First. We find that owing to natural conditions in these States a merchantable wine can not be produced from the natural juice of the grape, because the acid in the grape will be too high and the amount of sugar too low to produce the required amount of alcohol (*after the acid has been ameliorated with water*).

Second. We find that it is necessary to correct the natural juice of the grape before fermentation in such a manner that the acid will be reduced to the proper amount and the alcohol increased to its proper amount. This being accomplished by the addition of a solution of sugar in water, mixed in such proportion that the water will reduce the acid by dilution to the proper degree and the sugar by conversion into alcohol in the process of fermentation will bring up the amount of alcohol to the per cent required.

In support of the first of these propositions we again offer the assurance of each member of this association, who are all practical wine makers and who have been engaged in manufacturing wines along the Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers and the Great Lakes, and elsewhere in the great Mississippi Valley from native grapes for a great number of years, and selling those wines, and whose assurances are based on practical experience in the great Mississippi Valley covering a period of time, in at least one instance, from 1847 down to date. Mr. A. Textor, of A. Textor & Co. of Sandusky, Ohio, who is one of the oldest wine makers in the association, says that the first wine was made in Sandusky, Ohio, in 1856; that he has been in the business of making and selling wine at Sandusky since 1862 and is still in business there; and that during all that time there has never been a year in which he could make merchantable wine without the use of an aqueous sugar solution. He has always made wine by the same standard, which conforms in amount of acid and alcohol to that herein stated. He says Ohio wines have always been corrected with a solution of sugar. He says he imported grape sugar to be used in making his wines in 1865; that he has generally used "anhydrous" sugar; and that he has used anhydrous sugar [dextrose] since 1884.

We also wish to cite The Universal Encyclopedia of 1900, under "Wine and wine making," by E. W. Hilgard:

The wines of the States east of the Rocky Mountains made from American grapes only differ from those of Europe and all other countries in mostly possessing more or less of the [foxy] aroma of the berries. As in Europe, the must often fails to acquire, north of the Potomac, the desirable amount of sugar.

In passing this subject we might add further that the natural conditions may be divided into two parts: First, the nature of the soil which permits of only certain classes of grapes being grown to advantage in the Mississippi Valley and Eastern States; and, second, the climate of those States, which has an effect on the maturing and ripening of the grapes.

METHODS AND PROCESSES.

We have now arrived at a point where we are confronted with the following facts:

First. That owing to natural conditions a merchantable wine can not be produced east of the Rocky Mountains from the natural juice of the grape.

Second. That in order to produce merchantable wines east of the Rocky Mountains it is necessary to add to the juice before fermentation an aqueous solution of sugar to ameliorate the acid and bring up the alcohol.

Let us now pass to a consideration of the methods and processes employed to make merchantable wine east of the Rocky Mountains, and especially in the Mississippi Valley and along the Great Lakes, with a particular view to consider the justification of the use of such methods.

In the first place, we beg to submit that wine is seldom, if ever, a natural product—that is, it is seldom that wine is made directly from the juice of one grape and without any blending or additions of any kind. On the contrary, the making of wine is an art, and the wine is the product of that art rather than a natural product. That the nature of the wine and the value of the wine is controlled by and depends upon the skill employed in its production admits of no argument. What the wine maker aims to produce is a product that the consumer will like. The more pleasing that product is to the consumer the greater its value. Therefore the wine maker strives to please, and the product which he finds will please is usually a product that is the result of his ingenuity and art. That product may be obtained by a process of blending, or, as in the Mississippi Valley wines and in the eastern wines, it may be the result of both correcting and blending.

On this point the Universal Encyclopedia—Wine and wine making, by E. W. Hilgard—has this to say:

Few wines reach the consumer as they would result from the process above detailed, as applied to one kind of grape. It is the general practice to adopt the various kinds and qualities of wines to the taste of the consumers by the intermixture of such as will improve each other. To this practice no reasonable objection can be made since from beginning to end intelligent management influence the nature of wine nearly as much as its origin, and it would be difficult to determine just what should be understood by "natural wine."

Since, then, wine is the product of an art and is frequently, without objection, the product of blending, can it be said it is objectionable or unjustifiable to take an unpalatable and unmerchantable wine in a state where all so-called natural wine would be unpalatable and unmerchantable, and by the art of correcting that wine with an aqueous sugar solution make it palatable and merchantable? On this subject we again beg to quote the Universal Encyclopedia—1900, Wine and wine making, by E. W. Hilgard:

Of all articles of human consumption wine is probably the one most commonly modified by additions and adulterations. So long as these additions merely make up for deficiencies in what might be considered the normal composition of must, as is done in adding sugar to the must of vintages that have suffered from unfavorable weather, it is questionable whether the consumer has reason to complain; and hence the practice ("chaptalizing") is very general in the colder wine countries and is hardly made a secret of. The simultaneous addition

of water ("gallizing") might claim equal immunity when made on similar grounds and not for the fraudulent increase of quantity.

We also desire to quote at length on this subject from Mr. George Husmann in his book entitled "American Grape Growing and Wine Making," published by the Orange Judd Co., of New York, 1907 edition, which book you will find in the Congressional Library. He says (p. 157, Ch. XXXII):

So far I have only spoken of the handling of the raw product of nature, taking for granted that we had a fair must in good condition to work with. But this, unfortunately, is rarely the case, and the natural juice of the grape seldom contains all the elementary constituents of a good wine in the proper proportions. In fact, very many of our American varieties are very imperfect, even in the best seasons, and contain generally a superabundance of acid and flavoring matter or aroma. What, then, is the intelligent operator to do? Shall he use them as they are, although he is aware they are imperfect and produce a poor, undrinkable, unsalable, and even unhealthful article? Or shall he, with the reason and knowledge God has given him, seek to remedy nature's imperfections, dilute the acid and aroma, add sugar, if necessary, and thus make a salable, pleasant, and healthful beverage? I think the intelligent wine makers—and it is only for them I am writing—can not hesitate which course to take.

I am aware that I am treading on dangerous ground, that I have been severely censured for my advocacy of Dr. Gall in my former little book; but truth remains truth, whether assailed or not, and the laws of chemistry will not change to please any of the "Simon-pure naturalists," who rail against gallizing, because they do not know anything about its true principles. But let me put myself right before my readers before entering upon the details of the operation. I advocate gallizing only so far as it is the best means of improving otherwise imperfect must, not as an indiscriminate means of increasing the quantity at the expense of quality. Only so far as by the addition of water and sugar an imperfect must can be made the most perfect is gallizing not only justifiable but a necessity. As soon as it aims only at increasing the quantity without regard to quality it is reprehensible and should be frowned upon. This may be called gallonizing, not gallizing; and that these gallonizers have done a great deal of mischief by bringing their trash before the public and calling it wine can not be denied. But those who, from a mistaken idea that a wine to be good and healthful must be natural, as they call it, have made it as nature gave it, and have, therefore, disgusted the palates of refined wine connoisseurs by their pure but weak, foxy, and acid Concords and Ives, etc., thus doing even more to bring American wines into discredit than the gallonizers. Both of these, the natural wine makers and the gallonizers, have been the curse and bane of our wine markets; those who, in the innocent belief that they were tasting fair samples of American wines swallowed their compounds and were disgusted, and when they met with good productions were deterred from tasting again. The true course lies in the middle, as usual. The wine maker has certain unerring guides which teach him, with a little practice and experimenting, "thus far shalt thou go, but no farther."

Having thus defined what we intend to do, which is simply to improve our must, if deficient, let us, to see our way clearly before us, examine as to the constituent parts of must or grape juice. A chemical analysis of must shows the following result:

Grape juice contains water, sugar, free acids, tannin, gummy and mucous substances or gluten, coloring matter, fragrant or flavoring substances (aroma, bouquet). A good normal must should contain all these ingredients in due proportion. If there is an excess of one and a lack of another, it can not make a perfect wine. This would seem apparent to every reasoning wine maker. Must which contains all of these in exactly the right proportion we call a perfect or normal must, and only by determining the amount of each of the ingredients in this so-called normal must can we gain the knowledge that will enable us to improve must which has not the necessary proportion of each. The frequency of unfavorable seasons in Europe set intelligent men to thinking; their grapes were sadly deficient in sugar, did not ripen fully, and also lacked in flavor. How, then, could this defect be remedied and a grape crop which was almost worthless from its want of sugar and excess of acids be made to yield at least a fair article, instead of the sour and unsalable wine generally produced in such seasons? Among the foremost who experimented with this object in view I will here mention Chaptal, Petiol, but especially Dr. Ludwig Gall, who has at least reduced the whole science of wine making to such a mathematical certainty that we are amazed that so simple a process should not have been discovered long ago. It is the old story of the egg of Columbus, but the poor wine makers of Germany and France, and we in this country also, are none the less indebted to those intelligent and persevering men for the incalculable benefits they have conferred upon us.

The production of good wine is thus reduced to a science, though we can not, perhaps, in a bad season, produce as high flavored and delicate wines as in the best years, we can now always make a fair article by following the simple rules laid down by Dr. Gall. Nay, as most of our grapes in a good season contain flavor in excess we can often make fully as palatable wine in a poor season, when that flavor is not so fully developed, by merely adding water and sugar to dilute the acid. In this respect we can make a more uniform product from our strongly flavored varieties than the Europeans can from their delicately flavored varieties of vini-fera, which are deficient in flavor in bad seasons.

When this method was first introduced it was calumniated and despised, called adulteration of wine, and even prohibited by the Governments of Europe, but Dr. Gall fearlessly challenged his opponents to have his wines analyzed by the most eminent chemists. This was repeatedly done, and the results showed that they could find nothing but such ingredients as pure wine should contain; and since men like Von Babo, Dobereiner, and others have openly indorsed and recommended Gallizing, prejudice is giving away before the light of scientific knowledge. The same will be the case here. Intelligent men will see that there is nothing reprehensible in the practice, and the public will in time prefer the properly Gallized and therefore more palatable and more healthful wines to the foxy and acid productions of the sticklers for natural wines.

* * * * * * *

A normal must, to suit the prevailing taste here, should contain about four-thousandths parts of acid, while in Europe it varies from four and a half to seven-thousandths, as the taste there is generally in favor of more acid wines. I can not do better here than to quote from Dr. Gall, who gives the following directions as a guide to distinguish and determine the proportion of acids which a must should contain to be still agreeable to the palate and good:

"Chemists distinguish the acids contained in the grape as the vinous, malic, grape, citric, tannic, gelatinous, and para-citric acids. Whether all of these are contained in the must, or which of them, is of small moment for us to know. For the practical wine maker it is sufficient to know, with full certainty, that, as the grape ripens, while the proportion of sugar increases, the quantity of acids continually diminishes, and hence, by leaving the grapes on the vines as long as possible, we have a double means of improving their products—the must or wine.

"All wines, without exception, to be of good and agreeable taste, must contain from four and a half to seven thousandths part of free acids, and each must containing more than seven thousandths part of free acids may be considered as having too little water and sugar in proportion to its acids.

"In all the wine-growing countries of Europe for a number of years past experience has proved that a corresponding addition of sugar and water is the means of converting the sourest must not only into a good drinkable wine but also into as good a wine as can be produced in favorable years except in that peculiar and delicate aroma found only in the must of well-ripened grapes, and which must and will always distinguish the wines made in the best seasons from those made in poor seasons.

"The saccharometer and acidimeter, properly used, will give us the exact knowledge of what the must contains and what it lacks, and we have the means at hand, by adding water, to reduce the acids to their proper proportions, and by adding sugar to increase the amount of sugar the must should contain; in other words, we can change the poor must of indifferent seasons into the normal must of the best seasons in everything except its bouquet or aroma, thereby converting an unwholesome and disagreeable drink into an agreeable and healthful one."

* * * * * * *

Experiments continued for a number of years have proved that in favorable seasons grape juice contains on an average in 1,000 pounds:

| | Pounds. |
|---|---|
| Sugar | 240 |
| Acids | 6 |
| Water | 754 |
| | 1,000 |

This proportion would constitute what I call a normal must. But suppose that in an inferior season the must contains, instead of the above, as follows:

| | Pounds. |
|---|---|
| Sugar | 150 |
| Acids | 9 |
| Water | 841 |
| | 1,000 |

What should we do to bring such a must to the condition of a normal must? We calculate thus: If with 6 pounds of acids in a normal must there is 240 pounds of sugar, how much is wanted for 9 pounds of acids? Answer, 360 pounds. Our next problem is: If with 6 pounds of acids in a normal must 754 pounds of water appear, how much water is required for 9 pounds of acids? Answer, 1,131 pounds. As, therefore, the must which we intend to improve by neutralizing its acids should contain 360 pounds of sugar, 9 pounds of acids, and 1,131 pounds of water, but contains already 150 pounds of sugar, 9 pounds of acids, and 841 pounds of water, there remain to be added 210 pounds of sugar, no acids, and 290 pounds of water.

By ameliorating a quantity of 1,000 pounds of must by 210 pounds of sugar and 290 pounds of water, we obtain 1,500 pounds of must consisting of the same properties as the normal must, which makes a first-class wine.

CONCLUSION.

We believe that in asking this honorable Congress to hold as suggested we are not asking anything unreasonable or unjust.

We have purposely refrained from going into European or foreign laws or conditions to any extent, because we are dealing here with American products, perhaps more distinctly American than any other wines produced in America, because they are produced from native American grapes, and because they are produced under American conditions. We believe those conditions can not be ignored, and that laws or regulations applying to these products should be based on a full consideration of those conditions and not on a consideration of conditions existing elsewhere. We do not believe in the establishing of an ideal standard by which to control a commercial product when that standard has the effect of embarrassing an industry whose standard must of necessity be a practical one. But we believe the standard should be a practical one, the conditions being considered.

On this line of reasoning we ask this Congress to recognize as a standard wine in the States in the Mississippi Valley that product which is merchantable wine when produced in those States. And if that product is the result of adding sugar and water to the juice of the grape before fermentation, still it is none the less the wine of those States. If it is not wine, then wine can not be produced in those States; or, in other words, to deny that it is wine is to deny that wine can be produced in the Mississippi Valley. Such a contention would seem to be absurd. If the contention is made that the fermented juice of the grape alone is wine as applied to Ohio or Missouri, it would be an "ideal" only and not a "practical" standard. The wine made by such a standard would be far from ideal; it would be unpalatable, unmerchantable, and worthless as a drink. And will anyone contend for a moment that such a worthless product should be held to be a wine to the exclusion of all others?

We are not dealing here with an isolated territory, with the product of one vineyard or one place; but we are dealing here with one of the commercial products of many of the sovereign

States of the Union, and dealing with the total output of that product in those States, and a product that has been known as wine in Ohio and Missouri since about 1840.

It is not reasonable or just to say that wine becomes wine in Ohio or Missouri short of that product which is merchantable as wine. Neither is it reasonable or just to say that an unpalatable, unmerchantable, and worthless drink is wine, and that any additions thereto or correcting thereof to make that product palatable, merchantable, and valuable is an adulteration. And the only reasonable or just stand that any man can take is that the merchantable product, and that product alone, is wine. The name "wine" should cover that product and all that is in it and be held to be its complete and proper name.

The pure uncorrected juice of the grape will not make a merchantable wine in Ohio or Missouri, and it certainly is not reasonable to say that such a product is wine, and that when sugar and water is added it should be sold as "wine" and something else, or as "modified wine" or as "corrected wine," because such a contention assumes that the unmerchantable product is wine.

We must be mindful, however, of the fact that elsewhere in this country they may produce a product to which nothing has been added that is a merchantable wine. In such a place such a product might well be known as wine, because it is the wine of that place. But such a product is not the wine of Ohio or Missouri. It does not follow, however, that such a product is always superior to the wine of Ohio or Missouri, or that the wine of Ohio or Missouri is always inferior to the wine of other places. On the other hand, while the wines of Ohio and Missouri are always made by the addition of a sugar solution, the must from which they are made is always higher in flavor than the must of other grapes, and a dilution of that must and that flavor does not necessarily produce a wine with a weaker flavor or aroma than the undiluted wine from grapes of deficient flavor. And right here we wish it to be understood that the wines of Ohio and Missouri are not inferior wines, but that they are wines that will average well with the highest quality of wines from anywhere on earth.

We are willing to sell these wines on their own merits and that other wines be sold on theirs.

These wines are the wines of Ohio and the wines of Missouri, and we suggest that they be labeled and known as "Ohio wine" and "Missouri wine," as distinguished from all other wines.

The same conditions that exist in Ohio and Missouri with respect to dry still wines exist also in New York and elsewhere. But the great bulk of the wine produced in New York is sparkling wine of the champagne type, and the acidity of the wine is not so much of an important factor, as the treatment of sparkling wine overcomes any acid conditions.

In closing we do not think it amiss to call attention to the fact that the interest of the wine producers and the grape growers is identical in this respect. And in order to encourage and perpetuate the grape-growing industry the wine producers must have a practical standard that will permit the continuance of the wine industry in these two States.

Respectfully submitted.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY WINE GROWERS
AND GRAPE GROWERS' ASSOCIATION,
By OTTMAR G. STARK, *President*.

JULY 10, 1916.

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FACTS AND A BILL OF COMPLAINT REGARDING THE SWEET-WINE LAW OF OCTOBER 1, 1890.

[By Thomas E. Lannen, attorney for the National Wine Growers' Association, and by Ottmar G. Stark, president of the Mississippi Valley Wine Growers' and Grape Growers' Association.]

A BILL OF COMPLAINT.

*To the honorable Senators and Congressmen of the United States of America in Congress assembled:*

Your orators, the National Wine Growers Association of America, consisting of wine makers located in the Eastern States, and the Mississippi Valley Wine Growers' and Grape Growers' Association, consisting of grape growers and wine makers located in the States of Arkansas, Illinois Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, and Wisconsin, respectfully submit this, their bill of complaint, and for grounds of complaint allege and say:

That in existing internal-revenue laws, as well as in the enforcement of the same, there is and has been a gross discrimination against your orators and other eastern wine makers and grape growers and in favor of the wine makers of the State of California, in this, to wit: That the act of October 1, 1890, as amended, granting to sweet-wine makers the right to distill and use distilled spirits free of tax, for fortifying sweet wines, was and is so drawn and worded as to fit conditions in California only, and does not give your orators or other eastern wine makers the right to legally participate in the use of such distilled spirits free of tax, which inequality gives to the State of California an immense commercial advantage over your orators, amounting to, approximately, $7,000,000 a year; and, further, in this, to wit, that we believe said law has been erroneously interpreted and enforced by the Internal-Revenue Department, and that such interpretation has permitted traffic in said free brandy by California distillers, to the great commercial advantage of said distillers and the great disadvantage of your orators and other eastern grape growers, wine makers, and distillers, and to the great loss of the revenues of the United States, and that by reason of said erroneous interpretation of said law there is now due the Government of the United States back taxes amounting to a sum which your orators roughly estimate at $30,000,000, but beg leave to refer to the records of the Internal-Revenue Department for greater particularity in this behalf.

Your orators further allege that by reason of said inequality in the laws of our country, and said unjust discrimination against your orators, the grape-growing and wine-making industry east of the Rocky Mountains is gradually being crushed out of existence.

Wherefore, your orators pray that you consider the facts that are hereinafter set forth and grant them relief in the premises.

THE NATIONAL WINE GROWERS'
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
By THOMAS E. LANNEN, *Attorney*.
THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY WINE GROWERS'
AND GRAPE GROWERS' ASSOCIATION,
By OTTMAR G. STARK, *President*.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 29, 1914*.

AN EXPLANATION.

There are two general classes of wines, to wit, dry wines and sweet wines.

Dry wines: A dry wine is a wine that is made by letting the grape juice ferment in fermenting vats and storage casks until all the sugar contained therein has been converted into alcohol. Therefore a dry wine may be said to be for a general definition, a wine that contains no sugar; in other words, a sour wine.

Sweet wines: A sweet wine is a wine that contains a certain amount of sugar, which makes it sweet, and which contains a sufficient amount of added alcohol to preserve it; that is, to prevent the sugar which makes said wine sweet from fermenting.

In addition to the above there are different divisions of dry wines and sweet wines. For instance, a champagne wine is a dry wine that is effervescent, which effervescence is caused by retaining the carbonic acid gas, which is created when grape juice ferments in a sealed bottle, which is the natural way to make champagne, or by charging a dry wine with artificial carbonic acid gas, much the same as soda water and other aerated waters are charged with said gas, and such a wine is called a carbonated wine. Sweet wines vary from the extremely sweet Angelica wine to the Sherry wine, which latter is sometimes made so dry that its sweetness can scarcely be detected by the sense of taste.

EXAMPLES OF DRY WINES.

White wines: Rhine wines, Moselle wines, Riesling wine, dry catawba wine, Goethe wine, Elvira wine, sauterne wine, and champagne wines.

Red wines: Bordeaux wines, Chianti wine, claret wines, Concord wine, Bergundy wine, Ives seedling wine, and Virginia seedling wine.

EXAMPLES OF SWEET WINES.

White wines: Angelica wine, sweet muscatel wine, sweet catawba wine, tokay wine, marsala wine, and sweet scuppernong wine.

Also classed as white wines: Sherry wine, malaga wine, madeira wine.

(Red wine) port wine.

NOTE.—All of the dry wines above named, as well as all other dry wines, do not contain more than 14 per cent of alcohol, while all of the sweet wines above named, as well as all other sweet wines, do contain more than 14 per cent of alcohol.

METHODS OF MANUFACTURING SWEET WINES.

There are two methods of making sweet wines in this country. One is the method employed by all wine makers east of the Rocky Mountains, and the other is the one employed by California wine makers.

Eastern sweet wines: The method of making sweet wines in the East is—and always has been—to first make a dry wine in the manner hereinbefore indicated. This wine goes through all the treatment of any dry wine. Ordinarily it takes about a year to produce such a wine; sometimes such wines are not used

for sweet wine purposes until they are two years old. At the time they are used for sweet wine purposes, they have been thoroughly finished and completed as dry wines, and contain between 12 and 13 per cent of alcohol. To make a sweet wine out of them, add a sufficient amount of pure granulated sugar to give them the desired sweetness. Then we add a sufficient amount of tax-paid distilled spirits to bring the alcoholic content up to about 16 or 17 per cent. This alcoholic content is sufficient to preserve the sugar we have added and to preserve the wines as sweet wines. The adding of the distilled spirits is called fortification. This constitutes a sweet wine in the East. On all distilled spirits used by us for fortifying sweet wines, the Government is paid a tax of $1.10 per proof gallon, which increases the cost of producing our sweet wines accordingly.

California sweet wines: In California a sweet wine is made as follows: The juice of the grape, containing naturally, for example, 26 per cent of sugar, is put into a vat and permitted to ferment until its sugar content has been reduced by fermentation to, for example, 8 per cent. Eighteen per cent of the natural sugar has been converted into alcohol. As two parts of sugar produce one part of alcohol, the 18 per cent of sugar that is fermented produces approximately 9 per cent of alcohol. At this stage the product is a partly fermented grape juice, containing about 9 per cent of alcohol and 8 per cent of unfermented sugar. This amount of unfermented natural sugar is sufficient to give this partly fermented grape juice the desired amount of sweetness (and, incidentally, saves the Californians the expense of buying sugar to sweeten with, which expense the eastern wine makers have to contend with, in addition to the expense of buying tax-paid distilled spirits for fortifying). At this stage, about 11 to 14 per cent of distilled spirits is added to this partly fermented grape juice, to arrest fermentation. This brings the alcoholic content of the product up to about 20 to 23 per cent. This constitutes a California sweet wine. This product can be produced up to this stage in about a week or 10 days. The California sweet wine makers get the distilled spirits they use for fortifying their sweet wines free of tax (by operation of the so-called "free brandy" act of October 1, 1890), and the Government loses $1.10 per gallon tax on all such distilled spirits so used, which amounts to a loss of revenue of approximately $7,000,000 per year.

WHY DRY WINES DO NOT CONTAIN MORE THAN 14 PER CENT OF ALCOHOL.

The alcohol in wine is produced by the fermentation of the sugar contained in the grape juice. Roughly speaking, two parts of sugar will produce one part of alcohol. Thus, if the grape juice contains 20 per cent of sugar, it will produce, upon being completely fermented, approximately 10 per cent of alcohol. The conversion of the sugar into alcohol is brought about by certain living organisms, spoken of as "yeasts," which cause fermentation, and during the processes of fermentation change the sugar into alcohol. These organisms abound on the skins of grapes in vineyards, and are widely scattered through the air everywhere. But a peculiarity of these organisms is that they are only able to produce a certain amount of alcohol in any fermentable substance in which they are present. The amount of alcohol they are able to produce is about 15 per cent, but it is not practicable to produce this amount of alcohol by fermentation under ordinary circumstances.

The greatest amount of alcohol that can be produced by fermentation under ordinary circumstances is somewhere between 13 and 14 per cent. For example: If you have a fermentable liquid which contains 34 per cent sugar, such a liquid upon complete fermentation should produce approximately 17 per cent of alcohol. But if you set up fermentation in such a liquid the fermentation will proceed until the organisms referred to above have produced about 11 or 12 per cent of alcohol, then the fermentation will become noticeably slower. It will proceed, however, slowly, and still more slowly until between 13 and 14 per cent of alcohol is produced. Then ordinarily it will cease entirely. The reason is that the organisms which produce fermentation are rendered inactive in the presence of between 13 and 14 per cent of alcohol, and when they produce that much alcohol they simply lie dormant in its presence and will not do any more work. This is speaking generally of practical fermentations. It is possible under certain favorable conditions, such as in laboratory tests, to produce as much as 15 per cent of alcohol by forced fermentation, and some claim to have produced even 16 per cent of alcohol by fermentation under certain favorable conditions. But such instances are rare and not to be met with in everyday practical wine making.

It will thus be seen that in the manufacture of dry wine, where the grape juice is simply permitted to ferment as much as it will, the amount of alcohol that will be produced will not exceed 14 per cent. Hence the standard dry wines found upon the market do not contain more than 14 per cent of alcohol. Even were it possible to always produce more than 14 per cent of alcohol by ordinary fermentation, the grapes from which dry wines are made as a rule do not contain a sufficient amount of sugar to produce more than 14 per cent of alcohol.

WHY IT IS NECESSARY TO FORTIFY SWEET WINES WITH ALCOHOL.

Sweet wines the world over, no matter how they are made or where they are made, contain added alcohol. The reason is as follows: Sweet wines are sweet because they contain sugar that has not been converted into alcohol. This sugar has a tendency to ferment and create alcohol. The wine in which it is present is filled with organisms that produce fermentation. In order to prevent these organisms from attacking the sugar and causing it to ferment it is necessary to have present in the wine a sufficient amount of alcohol to render these organisms positively inactive. We have seen from the foregoing paragraph, under the heading of "Why dry wines do not contain more than 14 per cent of alcohol," that it is not possible in practical operations to produce more than 14 per cent of alcohol by fermentation.

Now, while it is true that in the presence of the 14 per cent alcohol that can be produced by fermentation the organisms of fermentation become incapable of producing more alcohol, still they are not dead. Were you to put sugar into a wine containing 14 per cent alcohol that had been produced by fermentation, or did such a wine contain some natural sugar still unfermented, these organisms of fermentation would keep agitating and disturbing the wine so as to render it cloudy, unsettled, and unmarketable. Since it is not possible, as we have seen, to produce any more alcohol by fermentation than the 14 per cent, and this amount is not sufficient to render the organisms positively inactive, the only way to render them inactive is to add alcohol and bring the alcoholic content of the wine up to such a point that the organisms are rendered positively inactive. Then the sugar in the wine, which makes it a sweet wine, will remain as sugar and the wine will remain clear and perfectly clarified. The minimum amount of alcohol that will positively render the organisms of fermentation inactive is about 17 per cent. Hence all sweet wines must contain not less than 17 per cent of alcohol. As between 13 and 14 per cent is the greatest amount that can be produced by fermentation under ordinary circumstances in practical wine making, it will be seen that in order to have sweet wine contain 17 per cent of alcohol it is necessary to add between 3 and 4 per cent of distilled alcohol, or what is commonly called "distilled spirits." This is what is called "fortification." [NOTE—All alcohol is actually produced by fermentation, but it may be removed from the fermented mass by distillation and condensed; it is then frequently called "distilled spirits."] Wine makers east of the Rocky Mountains do not, as a rule, add more than 3 to 4 per cent of distilled alcohol to fortify their sweet wines, because they have to pay a tax on such alcohol of $1.10 per proof gallon. Hence the eastern sweet wines do not contain more than the amount of alcohol absolutely necessary to preserve them; but California sweet wine makers add from 8 to 14 per cent of alcohol, because they get it free and no tax is paid on it, and hence their sweet wines contain from 20 to 23 per cent of alcohol, which is greatly in excess of the amount necessary to preserve them, but which makes them very valuable products to certain industries, such as compounders and patent-medicine firms, who can secure in these wines from 20 to 23 per cent of alcohol at a very cheap price, because no tax has been paid on the same, and who could not secure that amount of alcohol free of tax in any other medium. What the Government loses by such operations can only be conjectured.

HISTORY OF THE "FREE-BRANDY" LAW.

Prior to October 1, 1890, the existing internal-revenue laws of the United States levied a tax of 90 cents per gallon on all distilled spirits, and there was no provision that such distilled spirits might be used, free of tax, for the fortification of sweet wines. But when the tariff act of October 1 was pending before Congress a bill providing for the use of wine spirits free of tax was introduced by a Representative from the State of California. The history of that legislation may be noted from the remarks made by Senator POMERENE, of Ohio, in reference thereto, in a speech made on the floor of the Senate on September 18, 1913, as follows:

A Representative from the State of California in 1890 introduced a bill providing for the use of these wine spirits free of tax. It was referred to the Ways and Means Committee of the House, was incorporated into the bill as reported back to the House, and was later passed by the House. It then came to the Senate and was referred to the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee reported the bill to the Senate and eliminated from it all of its free-tax provisions. On the floor of the Senate Mr. Aldrich, then a Senator from Rhode Island, asked the adoption of the amendment of the Finance Committee. At that moment a Senator from California—Mr. Hearst—arose and suggested that he desired to offer certain amendments. He was assured by the Senator from Rhode Island that those amendments would be

taken care of in conference. The bill passed the Senate with these provisions eliminated. The conference committee reported the bill back with the House provisions reinserted into the measure. There was no discussion of the merits of the provisions of that bill, as I have been informed by those who have thoroughly examined the RECORD, either in the House or in the Senate. So, as a result of that legislation, the California sweet-wine producers were given grape brandy or wine spirits free of tax.

Sections Nos. 42 and 43 of the act with which we are concerned, as passed October 1, 1890, were as follows:

SEC. 42. That any producer of pure sweet wines who is also a distiller authorized to separate from fermented grape juice, under internal-revenue laws, wine spirits, may use, free of tax, in the preparation of such sweet wines, under such regulations and after the filing of such notices and bonds, together with the keeping of such records and the rendition of such reports as to materials and products as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may prescribe, so much of such wine spirits so separated by him as may be necessary to fortify the wine for the preservation of the saccharine matter contained therein: *Provided*, That the wine spirits so used free of tax shall not be in excess of the amount required to introduce into such wine in (an) alcoholic strength equal to 14 per cent of the volume of such wines after such use: *Provided further*, That such wine containing after such fortification more than 24 per cent of alcohol, as defined by section 3249 of the Revised Statutes, shall be forfeited to the United States: *Provided further*, That such use of wine spirits free from tax shall be confined to the months of August, September, October, November, December, January, February, March, and April of each year. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in determining the liability of any distiller of fermented grape juice to assessment under section 3309 of the Revised Statutes, is authorized to allow such distiller credit in his computation for the wine spirits used by him in preparing sweet wine under the provisions of this section.

SEC. 43. That the wine spirits mentioned in section 42 of this act is the product resulting from the distillation of fermented grape juice, and shall be held to include the product commonly known as grape brandy; and the pure sweet wine which may be fortified free of tax, as provided in said section, is fermented grape juice only, and shall contain no other substance whatever, introduced before, at the time of, or after fermentation; and such sweet wine shall contain not less than 4 per cent of saccharine matter, which saccharine strength may be determined by testing with Balling's saccharometer or must scale such sweet wine after the evaporation of the spirits contained therein and restoring the sample tested to original volume by addition of water.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the California wine maker may produce his wine spirits free of tax and use the same to fortify his wine. The foregoing sections 42 and 43 remained unchanged until 1894, when, by section 68 of the act of August 28, 1894, there was added to said section 43 the following:

*Provided*, That the addition of pure boiled or condensed grape must or pure crystallized cane or beet sugar to the pure grape juice aforesaid, or the fermented product of such grape juice prior to the fortification provided by this act for the sole purpose of perfecting sweet wines according to commercial standard, shall not be excluded by the definition of pure sweet wine aforesaid: *Provided, however*, That the cane or beet sugar so used shall not be in excess of 10 per cent of the weight of the wine to be fortified under this act.

It will be seen from this last-quoted law that in addition to the 14 per cent of tax free wine spirits permitted by the act of October 1, 1890, 10 per cent of sugar might be added by permission of the act of August 28, 1894, thus making a total of 24 per cent of foreign materials that might be added to the pure fermented grape juice, and within the meaning of the internal-revenue law the product would still remain "pure sweet wine."

But it appears that the California wine makers were still not satisfied, and it appears that Congress was willing to do even more for them. Congress had already given them the right to use tax free spirits to the extent of 14 per cent, and the right to use sugar to the extent of 10 per cent, but it seems this was not enough. They were again benefited by more liberal legislation. Congress gave them the right to use tax free spirits, but compelled them to manufacture it by the distillation of fermented grape juice. Now, if they could get permission to make this tax free spirits from what would be left of the grapes after they had pressed most of the juice out of them, or in other words the residue or the grape pomace, it would be a very material gain. So it appears that they again sought the help of Congress and got it in section 1 of the act of June 7, 1906, which not only gave them the right to manufacture the tax free spirits from the residue of the grapes, but also gave them a right to add 10 per cent of water to their wine in addition to the 10 per cent of sugar and the 14 per cent of spirits already authorized, making a total of 34 per cent of substances, other than grape juice, that might be added to their wines and these California wines still be designated "pure sweet wines."

As a matter of fact, the Californians may actually add 24 per cent of water on account of the way the law is worded. For instance, the law expressly permits the addition of 10 per cent of water, because section 43 provides—

That the cane or beet sugar or pure anhydrous sugar or water so used shall not in either case be in excess of 10 per cent of the weight of the wine to be fortified under this act.

But section 42 provides—

That wine spirits so used free of tax shall not be in excess of the amount required to introduce into such wines an alcoholic strength equal to 14 per cent of the volume of such wines after such use.

It will be observed from this language that the limitation of 14 per cent is placed on an absolute alcohol basis. That is, wine spirits may be added to such an extent as "to introduce into such wines an alcoholic strength equal to 14 per cent of the volume of such wines after such use." Now, wine spirits are not absolute alcohol. They always contain a certain amount of water. Absolute alcohol is 200 proof, which means that it is pure alcohol free from water. But wine spirits may be only 100 proof, which means that they contain 50 per cent water and 50 per cent absolute alcohol. For instance, ordinary whisky is 100 proof—that is, it contains 50 per cent water and 50 per cent alcohol. Now, it can be seen that if the wine spirits added contain only 50 per cent alcohol, then in order to increase "the alcoholic strength equal to 14 per cent of the volume of such wine after such use," it is necessary to actually add approximately 28 per cent of wine spirits. Therefore, by this operation 14 per cent of water is added. In order to prove that we are not merely imagining such a situation, we refer to regulations No. 28, revised, dated May 14, 1913, of the United States Internal-Revenue Office, which contains a table on page 100 showing how much wine spirits it is necessary to add to sweet wines to increase the alcoholic strength not to exceed 14 per cent, and the table contains calculations on wine spirits of various proof or alcoholic strength. The calculations are made on wine spirits containing from 95 per cent alcohol down to only 50 per cent alcohol. The table shows that in order to introduce into 100 gallons of sweet wine a sufficient amount of wine spirits containing only 50 per cent alcohol to increase the alcoholic strength of said sweet wine not to exceed 14 per cent of the volume of such wine after such introduction, it is necessary to add to every 100 gallons of sweet wine 38.46 gallons of 100 proof wine spirits; that is, wine spirits containing only 50 per cent alcohol and 50 per cent water.

So that, as a matter of fact, the total amount of foreign substances that the law permits to be added to California sweet wines may be shown to be as follows:

| | Per cent. |
|---|---|
| 10 per cent of water for mechanical purposes, and approximately 14 per cent of water contained in wine spirits of only 100 proof | 24 |
| 14 per cent absolute alcohol contained in wine spirits added | 14 |
| Cane, beet, or anhydrous sugar | 10 |
| Total foreign substances | 48 |

NOTE.—The above calculations are based on the percentages of these foreign substances in the wine after being introduced. That is, they are percentages of the finished product; in other words, the finished product consists of 48 parts added foreign substances and 52 parts of natural substances.

We now set out section 43 of the law showing all the amendments. The parts in italics show the amendment by the act of August 28, 1894. The parts capitalized show the amendment of the act of June 7, 1906.

SEC. 43. That the wine spirits mentioned in section 42 of this act is the product resulting from the distillation of fermented grape juice (act of 1906) TO WHICH WATER MAY HAVE BEEN ADDED PRIOR TO, DURING, OR AFTER FERMENTATION, FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF FACILITATING THE FERMENTATION AND ECONOMICAL DISTILLATION THEREOF, and shall be held to include the product (act of 1906) FROM GRAPES OR THEIR RESIDUES, commonly known as grape brandy; and the pure sweet wine, which may be fortified free of tax, as provided in said section, is fermented grape juice only, and shall contain no other substance whatever introduced before, at the time of, or after fermentation (act of 1906) EXCEPT AS HEREIN EXPRESSLY PROVIDED; and such sweet wine shall contain not less than 4 per cent of saccharine matter, which saccharine strength may be determined by testing with Balling's saccharometer or must scale, such sweet wine, after the evaporation of the spirits contained therein, and restoring the sample tested to the original volume by addition of water: (act of 1894) *Provided, That the addition of pure boiled or condensed grape must or pure crystallized cane or beet sugar* (act of 1906) OR PURE ANHYDROUS SUGAR (act of 1894) *to the pure grape juice aforesaid, or the fermented product of such grape juice prior to the fortification provided by this act for the sole purpose of perfecting sweet wines according to commercial standards* (act of 1906), OR THE ADDITION OF WATER IN SUCH QUANTITIES ONLY AS MAY BE NECESSARY IN THE MECHANICAL OPERATION OF GRAPE CONVEYORS, CRUSHERS, AND PIPES LEADING TO FERMENTING TANKS (act of 1894) *shall not be excluded by the definition of pure sweet wine aforesaid: Provided, however, That the cane or beet sugar* (act of 1906) OR PURE ANHYDROUS SUGAR OR WATER (act of 1894) *so used shall* (act of 1906) NOT IN EITHER (act of 1894) *case be in excess of 10 per cent of the weight of the wine to be fortified under this act:* (act of 1906) AND PROVIDED FURTHER THAT THE ADDITION OF WATER HEREIN AUTHORIZED SHALL BE UNDER SUCH REGULATIONS AND LIMITATIONS AS THE COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, MAY FROM TIME TO TIME PRESCRIBE; BUT IN NO CASE SHALL SUCH WINES TO WHICH WATER HAS BEEN ADDED BE ELIGIBLE FOR FORTIFICATION, UNDER THE PROVISION OF THIS ACT WHERE THE SAME, AFTER FERMENTATION AND BEFORE FORTIFICATION, HAVE AN ALCOHOLIC STRENGTH OF LESS THAN 5 PER CENT OF THEIR VOLUME.

To sum up, these acts give the California wine makers the following privileges:

By the act of October 1, 1890, the right to make wine spirits free of tax from grape juice fermented and use the spirits to the extent of 14 per cent in wines.

By the act of August 28, 1894, the right to add 10 per cent of sugar to wine so fortified.

By the act of June 7, 1906, the right to add 10 per cent of water and to recover the spirits from the residue of grapes instead of entirely from fermented grape juice, and the right to use pure anhydrous sugar as well as cane or beet sugar.

We are aware of the fact that our interpretation of the foregoing law as to the total amount of foreign ingredients that may be added to a sweet wine under said law is disputed by the Californians, and there seems to be some question as to whether said law permits the addition of a total of 34 per cent of foreign substances, viz, 10 per cent water, 10 per cent sugar, and 14 per cent distilled spirits, or whether it simply permits the addition of 10 per cent of a mixture of sugar and water and 14 per cent distilled spirits, making a total of 24 per cent of added substances. Nevertheless, the principal thing we are concerned with is the fact that said law does permit the use of 14 per cent wine spirit free of tax, and about that there can be no dispute.

By adding wine spirits to an extent of 14 per cent alcoholic strength, which equals 28 proof spirits, the Government rebates at $1.10 per proof gallon an amount of exactly 30.8 cents per gallon of sweet wine.

THE FOREGOING LAW DISCRIMINATES AGAINST EASTERN WINE MAKERS.

From a careful reading of the foregoing law it will be seen that it throws certain restrictions around the use of free distilled spirits, and upon a more careful analysis of same, it will be seen that these restrictions are of such a nature as to prohibit the use of said free spirits by eastern wine makers while permitting their use by the Californians. Here are the reasons why the eastern wine makers can not take advantage of the provisions of said law:

Reason No. 1: The law provides that any wine maker to be entitled to use the distilled spirits free of tax, must be a producer of pure sweet wine, a distiller, and must have his winery located at his vineyard. In California the wineries are at the vineyards, as the vineyards are extensive in area, but in the States east of the Rocky Mountains the grapes are grown in farmers' vineyards scattered throughout the country, while the wineries are located in the cities and towns. The farmers in the East haul their grapes to the wineries and sell them to the wine makers, the same as they haul their grain to the grain elevators. Sometimes they enter into yearly contracts with certain wine makers to cultivate and produce a certain acreage of grapes for the benefit of such wineries. Thus it will be seen that in the Eastern States the grape-growing industry is separate and distinct from the wine-making industry. The wine maker of the East, as a rule, does not have his winery located at his vineyard, or at any vineyard, and consequently he can not take advantage of that provision of section 45 of said law which provides that—

"The use of wine spirits, free of tax, for the fortification of sweet wines under this act shall be begun and completed at the vineyard of the wine grower where the grapes are crushed and the grape juice is expressed and fermented."

Reason No. 2: Section 43 of said law provides that the pure sweet wine which may be fortified free of tax is fermented grape juice only, and shall contain no other substance whatever introduced before, at the time of, or after fermentation, except as provided for in the amendments to said section, which will be noted from the section as hereinbefore printed. On account of natural conditions of climate and soil, eastern wine makers are compelled to correct natural deficiencies in practically all wines made east of the Rocky Mountains. The moment they make such corrections their wines are no longer "pure sweet wine which may be fortified free of tax" within the meaning of the said section 43. The United States Department of Agriculture has been investigating the subject of the manufacture of eastern wines for several years. That department has recognized the fact that wines made in the eastern part of the United States, as well as wines made in Germany and other parts of Europe, can not be produced from the uncorrected juice of the grape, but that natural deficiencies must be corrected. In food-inspection decision No. 120 of the United States Department of Agriculture, issued May 13, 1910, the use of a certain amount of water and a certain amount of sugar to correct deficiencies in eastern grapes was duly authorized. Among other things, that decision says:

"However, it has been found that it is impracticable on account of natural conditions of soil and climate, to produce a merchantable wine in the States of Ohio and Missouri without the addition of a sugar solution to the grape must before fermentation. This condition has recognition in the laws of the State of Ohio, by which wine is defined to mean the fermented juice of undried grapes, and it is provided that the addition, within certain limits, of pure white or crystallized sugar to perfect the wine or the use of the necessary things to clarify and refine the wine, which are not injurious to health, shall not be construed as adulterations and that the resultant product may be sold under the name "wine." Furthermore, it is permitted in some of the leading wine-producing countries of Europe to add sugar to the grape juice and wine, under restrictions, to remedy the natural deficiency in sugar or alcohol, or an excess of acidity, to such an extent as to make the quality correspond to that of wine produced without any admixture from grapes of the same kind and vintage in good years. It is conceived that there is no difference in principle in the adding of sugar to must in poor years to improve the quality of the wine than in the adding of sugar to the must every year for the same purpose in localities where the grapes are always deficient."

However, the United States Department of Agriculture has now abrogated said food-inspection decision No. 120, and changed the same in so far as the use of water is concerned; that is, the department now permits the use of sugar, but will not permit the use of a sugar solution in eastern wines. However, in lieu of the water for reducing acidity, the department now prescribes the use of neutralizing agents. The new regulation is known as "Food Inspection Decision No. 156," and is as follows:

As a result of investigation carried on by this department and of the evidence submitted at a public hearing given on November 5, 1913, the Department of Agriculture has concluded that gross deceptions have been practiced under food-inspection decision 120. The department has also concluded that the definition of wine in food-inspection decision 109 should be modified so as to permit correction of the natural defects in grape musts and wines due to climatic or seasonal conditions.

Food-inspection decisions 109 and 120 are therefore hereby abrogated, and, as a guide for the officials of this department in enforcing the food and drugs act, wine is defined to be the product of the normal alcoholic fermentation of the juice of fresh, sound, ripe grapes, with the usual cellar treatment.

To correct the natural defects above mentioned the following additions to musts or wines are permitted:

In the case of excessive acidity, neutralizing agents which do not render wine injurious to health, such as neutral potassium tartrate or calcium carbonate.

In the case of deficient acidity, tartaric acid.

In the case of deficiency in saccharine matter, condensed grape must or a pure dry sugar.

The foregoing definition does not apply to sweet wines made in accordance with the sweet-wine fortification act of June 7, 1906 (34 Stat., 255).

A product made from pomace by the addition of water, with or without sugar or any other material whatsoever, is not entitled to be called wine. It is not permissible to designate such a product as "pomace wine" nor otherwise than as "imitation wine."

D. F. HOUSTON,
*Secretary of Agriculture.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 12, 1914.*

But even wines produced under this new decision of the United States Department of Agriculture can not be fortified under the free brandy law aforesaid. It can be noted that said food-inspection decision No. 156, set out above, expressly provides that it shall not apply to sweet wines made under said free brandy law, no doubt for the reason that said law permits the addition of water to such California sweet wines, while said decision classes wines containing added water as adulterated.

In California in 1899 (see census of 1910) the amount of grapes grown was 721,433,400 pounds.

In 1899 in the States of Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia the number of pounds of grapes produced was 273,940,655 pounds.

In California in 1909 (see census of 1910) the amount of grapes grown was 1,979,686,525 pounds.

In 1909 in the Eastern States above named the amount of grapes grown was 204,843,551 pounds.

The foregoing figures, taken from the census of 1910, show that during the period from 1899 to 1909, 10 years, there was an increase in production in California of 1,258,253,125 pounds of grapes.

During the same period of time in the Eastern States above named there was a decrease in the production of grapes of 69,097,104 pounds of grapes.

According to the census of 1910 the total number of pounds of grapes grown in the States above named during the year 1909 was 204,843,551 pounds. These were grown on 787,463 farms.

During the same year (1909) California grew 1,979,686,525 pounds of grapes. These were grown on only 17,703 farms.

These figures show the great concentration in California.

WHERE IS THE FREE ALCOHOL USED?

The total amount of free brandy used by all wine makers for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, is as follows:

| | Proof gallons. |
|---|---|
| Hawaii | 16,598.9 |
| New Jersey | 1,329.6 |
| North Carolina | 7,820.1 |
| New York | 143,422.8 |
| Total | 169,171.4 |
| California | 6,153,132.5 |
| Grand total | 6,322,303.9 |

See annual report of Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, page 67.

It will be seen that the amount of free brandy used in the State of California during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, was 6,153,132.5 proof gallons. The following calculation will help to form some idea of this enormous amount:

A barrel of brandy, including cooperage, weighs 500 pounds. The usual weight of a carload is 24,000 pounds. This makes 48 barrels to a car. A barrel holds 50 gallons. This makes 2,400 gallons to a carload. Two thousand four hundred gallons divided into 6,153,132.5 gallons makes 2,563.8 carloads of free brandy used within California for the year mentioned. Thirty carloads make an ordinary train. Thirty divided into 2,563.8 makes 85.5 trains of 30 cars each of free brandy used in California for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912.

Loss of revenue at $1.10 per proof gallon equals $6,768,445.75, and this only for one year.

WHO GETS THE BENEFIT OF THIS ENORMOUS LOSS OF REVENUE?

The amount of brandy used in California alone for the fiscal year endiny June 30, 1912, free of tax, was 6,153,132.5 proof gallons. At $1.10 per gallon this amounts to $6,768,445.75.

The records of the Internal-Revenue Department show only 86 wine makers in California using free brandy, although there were 17,793 growing grapes according to the last census.

This makes an average bonus of $78,702.85 to each of the 86 wine makers using free wine spirits in California for the year mentioned. But it should be borne in mind that only a very few used the great bulk of this. The following report taken from pages 5874–5875 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 2, 1913, shows who used all this brandy:

APPENDIX.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
*Washington, October 2, 1913.*

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
*United States Senate, Washington.*

SIR: In compliance with the resolution of the Senate adopted on the 1st instant, calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for a statement containing the names and addresses of manufacturers of sweet wine who use wine spirits or grape brandy in the fortification of sweet wine, together with the number of gallons of wine spirits or grape brandy so used during each of the five preceding fiscal years, also a statement showing the amount of revenue received during each of said years from the wine spirits or grape brandy so used, I have the honor to transmit herewith statements containing the information called for.

Respectfully,

W. G. MCADOO,
*Secretary.*

*Statement showing quantity of grape brandy or wine spirits used in the fortification of sweet wines by the various wine makers in the United States during each of the fiscal years 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913.*

| District. | Year ending June 30— | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 |
| DISTRICT OF ALABAMA. | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* |
| Fruithurst Wine Co. | 179.4 | | | | |
| FIRST DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA. | | | | | |
| Cordilia Winery | | | | | 326.4 |
| Da Roza, J. L. | | | | | 35,572.6 |
| Nagasawa, K. | | | | | 829.9 |
| Sacramento Valley Winery | | | | | 6,604.4 |
| Frasinitti, J. | | | | | 726.3 |
| Elk Grove Vineyard Association | | | | | 49,461.9 |
| Pelkovich, J. | | | | | 1,791.8 |
| Rogers, E. B. | 23,914.1 | 41,715.1 | 37,654.8 | 25,327.0 | 20,637.3 |
| Armbrust, H. | 389.7 | 790.0 | 1,321.2 | 1,441.1 | 1,871.3 |
| Roessler, F. M. | 36,950.4 | 31,107.4 | 42,055.7 | 40,549.5 | 33,457.7 |
| Pereria, J. M. | 1,378.0 | 1,801.6 | 2,455.5 | 2,540.8 | 2,363.4 |
| Woodbridge Vineyard | 48,404.9 | 82,294.7 | 212,999.7 | 177,390.5 | 171,277.1 |
| Joyce, Lawrence | 814.9 | 1,258.2 | 1,848.6 | 1,729.6 | 1,796.0 |
| Giovinni, F. | | 14,257.3 | 21,969.2 | 13,959.0 | 12,284.3 |
| La Paloma Wineries and Distilleries | | | 96,338.4 | 127,910.7 | 165,681.6 |
| Vieth, Wm. A. | 35,045.0 | 49,718.9 | 51,405.8 | 89,651.4 | 36,061.9 |
| Bradford Sons | | | | | 90,326.4 |
| California Winery | | | | | 15,247.3 |
| California Wine Co. | 281,327.6 | 399,695.2 | 241,451.8 | 502,886.4 | 574,141.8 |
| Geo. West & Son | 759,183.4 | 493,061.8 | 885,800.6 | 1,125,279.4 | 765,621.3 |

*Statement showing quantity of grape brandy or wine spirits, etc.*—Con.

| District. | Year ending June 30— | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 |
| FIRST DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—continued. | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* |
| Fresno Vineyard Co. | 81,700.0 | 112,730.2 | 73,289.5 | 105,243.4 | 121,168.8 |
| Eisen Vineyard Co. | | | 98,041.9 | 8,842.1 | 97,145.9 |
| Granz, Herman | 26,974.3 | 24,982.9 | 38,439.7 | 33,124.7 | 14,205.5 |
| Granz, Emil H. | 22,849.8 | 58,185.6 | 38,273.6 | 11,070.2 | |
| Schell, H. R. | | 2,441.9 | 1,987.1 | | 1,745.5 |
| Barton Vineyard Co. | 187,116.2 | 260,644.5 | 144,305.2 | 207,632.5 | 138,138.3 |
| Mattie, A. | 111,188.9 | 192,342.6 | 161,724.8 | 187,553.2 | 177,595.2 |
| Italian Swiss Colony | 505,385.9 | 494,605.5 | 383,923.4 | 554,737.1 | 505,805.7 |
| Ruschupt, H. T. W. | 13,205.8 | 25,927.4 | 15,637.6 | 11,727.9 | 15,073.4 |
| Great Western Vineyard Co. | 171,712.6 | 327,190.8 | 329,613.4 | 373,127.0 | 259,404.4 |
| Las Palmas Wineries & Distilleries | 33,370.7 | 157,505.5 | 187,803.1 | 96,074.3 | 76,375.7 |
| Lodi Cooperative Winery Co. | | 256,626.6 | 289,814.1 | 307,100.1 | 63,910.9 |
| San Gabriel Vineyard Co. | 7,165.4 | | | | |
| Vache, E., & Co. | 18,622.7 | | | | |
| Placer County Wine Co. | | | | | 35,244.3 |
| Kuchel, Geo. C. | 1,491.7 | | | | |
| Mesnagel, L. C. | 2,171.2 | | | | |
| Ritter, J. G. | 234.8 | | | | |
| Etienne Bros. | 21,196.9 | | | | |
| Baker, J. S. | 3,102.7 | | | | |
| Golden Gate Fruit Co. | 5,700.3 | | | | |
| Daneri, E. | 1,029.7 | | | | |
| Sandoz & Guichan | 1,370.8 | | | | |
| Cucamonga Winery | 87,445.8 | | | | |
| Espian, Pierre | 990.2 | | | | |
| Stern, Alfred | 120,284.1 | | | | |
| Southern California Wine Co. | 16,384.9 | | | | |
| Lafourcade, Jack | 3,045.8 | | | | |
| Rust, Chas. Otto | 4,710.5 | | | | |
| Baldwin Distillery | 2,847.3 | | | | |
| Giovanni, Piuma | 4,087.9 | | | | |
| Downey Vintage Co. | 2,977.5 | | | | |
| Sierra Madre Vintage Co. | 59,579.8 | | | | |
| Boege, Z. F. | 1,452.6 | | | | |
| Delply, Jules J. | 1,485.0 | | | | |
| Randisi & Sons | 1,378.6 | | | | |
| Demaitin, P., and Laughlin, A. | 556.9 | | | | |
| Engler, German | 203.4 | | | | |
| Kans, John | 3,370.3 | | | | |
| Giovanni, Gai | 4,806.6 | | | | |
| West Glendale Wine Co. | 13,853.4 | | | | |
| Celeno, Peter | 443.9 | | | | |
| Artesia Vineyard Co. | 24,496.1 | | | | |
| Yung, Lanie | 429.8 | | | | |
| Ardans, John | 214.9 | | | | |
| Samuel, Paul | 130,553.6 | | 77,007.0 | | 1,622.3 |
| Mazal, J. C. | | | | | 481.6 |
| Azevedo, M. J., & Co. | | | | | 2,553.6 |
| Welsch, A. | 354.6 | 347.1 | 244.4 | 273.1 | 390.6 |
| Kaufman, Marcus | | 92,263.2 | | | |
| Fresno National Wine Co. | 115,179.2 | 29,907.4 | | 21,263.9 | |
| Fresno Mutual Wine Co. | | 20,653.1 | 23,200.5 | | |
| Luid Vineyard Co. | 2,681.9 | 3,474.5 | 3,714.2 | | |
| Anderson, C. G. | 1,723.8 | 4,047.6 | 3,553.1 | 4,424.1 | |
| Buhach Producing and Manufacturing Co. | 16,964.4 | 22,236.2 | 14,690.1 | 25,391.6 | |
| Padista, E. P. | | 707.8 | | | |
| St. George Vineyard | 13,462.1 | 7,739.2 | | 6,695.4 | |
| Lint, Franklin Peter | | | 1,383.9 | | |
| Olson Winery Co. | | | 15,622.7 | 14,310.7 | |
| Farmers' Mutual Winery Co. | 11,350.8 | | 15,865.5 | | |
| Sumida, Hookchi | | | 2,740.4 | 3,076.0 | |
| Armonia Winery & Distillery Co. | 31,804.8 | | | 55,141.5 | |
| Italian Vineyard Co. | 119,430.6 | | | 25,700.3 | |
| Hughes, Jules | 1,687.8 | | | | |
| Seinturier, Jean | 5,434.1 | | | | |
| Krebs, Richard | 2,361.0 | | | | |
| McClure, John | 21,964.8 | | | | |
| Jannegui, Pierre | 1,438.5 | | | | |
| Brechtel, Henry | 346.5 | | | | |
| Used and not included in the above | 75,371.4 | 140,913.4 | 1,940.0 | 98,016.2 | 0.5 |
| FOURTH DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA. | | | | | |
| Azevedo, M. J., & Co. | 10,589.9 | 10,733.6 | 8,806.7 | 8,821.1 | |
| Bradford & Sons, J. B. | 43,012.8 | 68,565.7 | 85,899.3 | 89,829.4 | |
| California Winery | 103,709.3 | 122,181.3 | 141,255.3 | 75,209.4 | |
| Cordelia Winery | 36,120.8 | 31,722.2 | 51,509.7 | 28,170.4 | |
| California Wine Association | 52,042.9 | 95,431.1 | 45,384.1 | 62,768.4 | |
| Da Roza, J. L. | 36,907.3 | 57,352.1 | 46,051.4 | 53,637.2 | |
| Fasinetti, James | 973.0 | 768.7 | 265.9 | 1,795.4 | |
| Gundlach, Charles | 3,179.6 | | | | |
| Italian Swiss colony | | | | | |
| Korbal & Bros., F. | 2,206.6 | | | | |
| Mangels, Louis | 508.4 | | 569.9 | 581.1 | |
| Mazel, John C. | 1,125.0 | | 2,096.6 | | |
| Moulton Hill Vineyard Co. | 2,703.5 | | | | |
| Nagasawa, K. | 4,022.6 | 3,236.3 | 4,822.9 | 5,581.8 | |
| Pioneer Winery | 8,887.9 | | | | |
| Placer County Winery Co. | 24,587.8 | 74,650.2 | 70,627.3 | 74,146.9 | |

*Statement showing quantity of grape brandy or wine spirits, etc.*—Con.

| District. | Year ending June 30— | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 |
| FOURTH DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA—continued. | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* |
| Red Bank Wine Co | 635.0 | | | | |
| Sink, W. D | 713.4 | 650.1 | 2,677.7 | | |
| Silver, Joseph | 573.6 | 1,548.9 | 630.6 | 734.7 | |
| Board of Trustees, Leland Stanford University | 129,620.2 | 160,488.6 | 112,302.9 | 223,963.2 | |
| Elk Grove Vineyard Association | | 60,043.8 | 70,743.4 | 82,680.8 | |
| de Latour, G | | | 1,757.4 | 1,781.9 | |
| Kostuna, Louis | | | 371.0 | | |
| Pethovich, John | | | 277.3 | | |
| Sacramento Valley Winery | | | 30,775.4 | 37,580.4 | |
| Zinimi Bros | | | 147.4 | | |
| Silva Bros | | | | 3,734.2 | |
| Used and not included in the above | | | | 18,000.0 | |
| SIXTH DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA. | | | | | |
| Cucamonga Vintage Co | | 55,669.9 | 95,983.0 | 181,349.7 | 132,673.3 |
| Italian Vineyard Co | | 145,800.3 | 160,473.6 | 229,283.6 | 156,139.6 |
| Baldwin Distilling Co | | 4,329.9 | 5,081.8 | 3,288.8 | |
| Giovanni, Pieuma | | 3,652.5 | | 2,943.9 | 3,506.2 |
| Sierra Madre Vintage Co | | 57,791.7 | 64,361.4 | 65,513.0 | 45,289.8 |
| Timm, J. F. Boege | | 2,483.4 | | | |
| Delpy, J. J | | 1,817.4 | 2,366.9 | | |
| San Gabriel Vineyard | | 11,292.0 | 16,627.4 | 13,304.3 | 4,084.1 |
| Vacheo, E | | 17,812.9 | 19,674.3 | 24,207.0 | 17,028.7 |
| Kuchel, Geo | | 2,115.9 | 2,097.5 | 2,120.9 | 3,288.1 |
| Eteinne Bros | | 23,120.8 | 21,061.8 | 29,016.9 | 5,692.6 |
| Baker, J. S | | 3,165.7 | 2,640.8 | 2,632.1 | |
| Saren, E | | 1,379.2 | | | |
| Sandoz & Ginchon | | 1,485.4 | 2,113.6 | | |
| Cucamonga Winery | | 81,383.8 | 48,732.8 | 114,715.6 | 61,380.9 |
| Espian, P | | 567.6 | 906.9 | 506.6 | |
| Stern & Son, Chas | | 160,708.3 | 91,499.5 | 201,885.5 | 257,227.4 |
| Southern California Wine Co | | 13,859.5 | 11,540.0 | 8,444.3 | 9,313.6 |
| Lafourcode, J. B | | 1,680.5 | | 1,717.6 | 1,513.6 |
| Rust, C. O | | 3,261.3 | 5,740.9 | 1,401.8 | 1,447.7 |
| Gai, G | | 6,383.1 | 6,604.1 | 10,571.3 | 5,360.2 |
| Hart, J | | 444.4 | 352.6 | 405.3 | 607.9 |
| West Glendale Wine Co | | 7,903.2 | 21,950.3 | 23,231.3 | 6,642.5 |
| Caleno, P | | 422.4 | | | |
| Artesia Vineyard Co | | 18,526.1 | 31,042.8 | 16,749.3 | 1,266.2 |
| Young, Louie | | 1,266.2 | | | |
| Hughes, J. J | | 1,229.1 | | | |
| Pellisier, A | | 4,456.3 | 2,976.2 | 7,641.0 | 6,371.8 |
| McClure, John | | 23,781.5 | 27,603.2 | 21,009.6 | 17,753.6 |
| Brechtel, H | | 413.3 | 430.8 | 2,506.9 | 1,082.9 |
| Bandisi & Sons | | 930.1 | | 1,423.8 | 386.8 |
| Nebbia, G | | 1,933.5 | | | |
| Davin, E | | | 1,111.7 | 5,553.4 | |
| Downey Vintage Co | | | 5,902.1 | | 1,872.9 |
| Mission Vineyard | | | 69,289.9 | 123,849.7 | |
| Mesnager, L. C | | | 3,820.4 | | |
| Golden Gate Fruit Co | | | 1,737.6 | | |
| Doueri, E | | | 1,368.8 | 1,422.5 | 685.2 |
| Ardaus, J | | | 560.6 | | |
| Krebs, R | | | 1,599.6 | | |
| Jamazay, P | | | 1,628.7 | | |
| Garret & Co | | | | | 75,780.8 |
| Meyer, H. E | | | | 717.1 | 511.8 |
| Smith, O | | | | | 4,854.0 |
| Bidart, J | | | | | 267.9 |
| Bitter, J. G | | | | 737.6 | |
| HAWAII. | | | | | |
| Haupakalua Wine & Liquor Co. (Ltd.) | 4,764.5 | 7,569.6 | 8,746.1 | 9,512.6 | |
| Jose Gomes Serrao | | 644.4 | 1,441.1 | 7,086.3 | 7,776.3 |
| TWENTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK. | | | | | |
| Irondequoit Wine Co | 9,701.5 | 10,019.2 | 12,592.1 | 8,675.8 | 8,030.4 |
| Taylor Wine Co | 713.9 | 920.6 | 975.0 | 1,527.6 | 2,665.2 |
| Hammondsport Wine Co | 9,219.2 | 19,434.2 | 704.2 | 4,901.3 | 11,737.6 |
| Le Roy McCorn | 1,392.0 | 1,232.9 | 1,627.2 | 1,954.8 | 2,751.9 |
| Germania Wine Cellars | 10,696.8 | 11,820.8 | 14,340.6 | 13,575.9 | 10,823.4 |
| Pultney Wine Cellars | | | | | 549.8 |
| Pultney Vintage Co | 182.8 | 180.6 | 181.2 | 276.9 | 276.9 |
| Hammondsport Vintage Co | 6,210.5 | 6,435.2 | 4,991.2 | 6,609.9 | 7,611.4 |
| Fee Bros | 5,949.8 | 6,161.9 | 5,262.2 | 4,592.4 | 4,125.4 |
| J. S. Hubbs | 10,726.9 | 10,063.4 | 5,880.1 | | 20,630.0 |
| E. J. Mulvaney | | | | | 1,781.8 |
| Lake View Wine Co | 2,757.3 | 4,547.4 | 6,221.1 | 7,155.4 | 10,626.8 |
| D. H. Maxfield | 9,098.4 | 9,145.1 | 14,638.2 | 6,806.1 | 14,295.5 |
| Vine City Wine Cellars | | | | | 2,923.3 |
| Empire State Wine Co | 8,966.5 | 11,318.1 | 8,779.8 | 6,160.9 | 8,648.0 |
| Frudell Wine Co | 2,237.6 | 2,230.6 | | 1,880.5 | 555.6 |
| Pleasant Valley Wine Co | 16,029.8 | 9,034.3 | 17,760.6 | 36,141.7 | 13,345.3 |
| Urbana Wine Co | 14,403.3 | 14,939.9 | 15,343.3 | 19,149.4 | 19,428.7 |
| J. J. Widner | 3,656.6 | 9,293.6 | 12,626.8 | 9,443.2 | 9,429.1 |
| Henry Card & Co | 889.4 | 917.1 | 912.3 | 2,654.7 | 3,721.7 |
| John Cushing | 2,718.9 | 2,637.5 | 3,407.1 | 3,211.1 | |
| E. G. Ryckman Wine Co | 4,640.2 | 1,899.7 | | 6,394.8 | |
| Lake Ontario Wine Co | 1,643.0 | 713.4 | | | |
| Lake Keuka Vintage Co | 3,635.3 | 3,721.1 | | | |

*Statement showing quantity of grape brandy or wine spirits, etc.*—Con.

| District. | Year ending June 30— | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 |
| TWENTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT OF NEW YORK—contd. | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* | *Gallons.* |
| J. S. Foster | | 271.9 | | | |
| Francis M. Acker | | 364.2 | | | |
| M. L. Taylor & Son | 233.6 | 428.0 | 137.5 | 230.1 | |
| Antonio April | 383.8 | 378.5 | | | |
| Rutonio D'Angelo | | 252.0 | | | |
| Wm. N. Wise | | 909.0 | 6,167.4 | | |
| Dubelbeiss Wine Co | 1,570.1 | | 561.2 | | |
| Geo. Graff | 1,370.6 | | | 1,341.4 | |
| Rheims Wine & Vineyard Co | 455.4 | | | | |
| Raymond Raymond | | | 226.3 | 735.9 | |
| FIRST DISTRICT OF NEW JERSEY. | | | | | |
| Dewey & Sons | | 1,632.0 | 459.0 | 1,329.6 | 977.9 |
| FOURTH DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA. | | | | | |
| Sol Bear & Son | 1,354.9 | 4,570.1 | 5,834.4 | | 17,115.8 |
| SECOND DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA. | | | | | |
| Garrett & Co | | 31,924.9 | | | 88,206.4 |

The amount of revenue (3 cents per gallon) so far derived from the spirits so used is as follows:

| During the fiscal year— | |
|---|---|
| 1909 | $115,876.37 |
| 1910 | 145,697.25 |
| 1911 | 152,389.37 |
| 1912 | 189,292.11 |
| 1913 | 148,056.36 |
| Total | 751,311.46 |

It will be observed from the foregoing figures that in California 16 wine makers alone used in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, approximately 4,744,841 gallons of free wine spirits, and that one firm alone, during that fiscal year used the enormous amount of 1,125,279⅘ gallons.

NOTE.—The amount of revenue received by the Government at 3 cents per gallon, referred to at the end of the tabulation, was received for supervising the use of the free brandy in the sweet-wine making establishments in which said brandy was used and can not be said to be a revenue, because it simply covered the cost to the Government of supervising such use of free brandy.

It will be noted from the foregoing tabulation that a number of eastern wine makers have used free brandy in the fortification of sweet wines. Without knowing all the facts and circumstances as to how these wine makers secure the free brandy and how they made the wines into which they put it, we are unable to explain how they could legally use this free brandy while other eastern wine makers can not do so. We can only say that we have found no way in which it is possible for eastern wine makers to use brandy free of tax in manufacturing eastern sweet wines without violating the law.

BENEFIT TO THE GRAPE GROWERS.

It is our contention that the so-called "free brandy" law, instead of working to the benefit of the grape growers of California, actually works against the interests of those grape growers, and that the grape growers of the Eastern States are better treated by the wine makers of the East and fare better all around than do the grape growers of California, notwithstanding the fact that the wine makers of California enjoy the benefits of that law, while the eastern wine makers have to struggle against such tremendous odds.

The eastern wine makers protect their grape growers by charging for eastern wines such prices as will enable them to pay the grape growers an equitable price for grapes. We quote the following statement in our behalf from the printed report of the hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate in 1913, page 75:

Mr. Bell made a plea for California grape growers. We have grape growers to protect as well as the Californians. We do protect our grape growers by charging for our wines a price that will enable us to pay our grape growers a fair compensation for their grapes. We pay for our grapes from $30 to $80 and sometimes $100 per ton. The average price of grapes in California is about $8 per ton. Our grape growers are not complaining, while their grape growers are. In California the wine makers pay the grape growers such a small price for the grapes that they practically crush the grape growers as hard as they crush their grapes in order that they may sell wines at a price which they voluntarily make so low that no one can compete with them. As a matter of fact, they have no competition on such wines, so far as price goes, and no reason why they should have such prices if their

wines are of the quality they claim for them. They can not complain that our wines compete with their so far as price is concerned, because the cost price of our wines is higher than the selling price of the California wines. Furthermore, our answer to Mr. Bell's plea for sympathy for his thrifty immigrants is that our German grape growers of the Eastern States are just as thrifty as any class of people on earth, and from the oldest to the youngest of the family are able to work, and all do work. They are entitled to at least the same consideration at the hands of Congress as the immigrant families referred to by Mr. Bell.

Now, note the following statement from a representative of the California wine makers, published on page 63 of the printed report of the hearings above referred to:

The cost of raising the grapes, as shown, is $10.50 per ton. This varies with different varieties, and in the sweet-wine districts contracts for grapes are made from $10 to $12 per ton, averaging approximately $10.50.

Also note the following excerpt from a letter dated April 28, 1913, from A. Sbarboro, one of the largest grape growers in California, to the editor of American Wine Press. (See American Wine Press for May, 1913, p. 25.)

Only last year sweet-wine grape growers were paid as low as $5 per ton for their grapes, who in many instances, rather than pay $2 or $3 a ton for picking and hauling, turned the hogs into their vineyards.

QUALITY DISREGARDED.

One of the effects of the so-called "free-brandy" law is to cause a disregard of quality of the wine made under that law, and a consideration only of the alcoholic strength of such wines, and one of the strongest talking points in regard to sales of such wines to dealers is that they have such high alcoholic content. Salesmen of such wines can point out that they contain from 20 to 23 per cent of alcohol (because they get the brandy free); while salesmen of eastern wines have to sell wines containing only 18 per cent of alcohol (because eastern wine makers do not get brandy free).

THE ERRONEOUS CONSTRUCTION PLACED ON THE LAW BY THE INTERNAL-REVENUE DEPARTMENT HAS PERMITTED TRAFFIC IN FREE BRANDY.

Section 45 of the law in question provides, in part, as follows:

That under such regulations and official supervision, and upon the execution of such entries and the giving of such bonds, bills of lading, and other security as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall prescribe, any producer of pure sweet wines as defined by this act may withdraw wine spirits from any special bonded warehouse free of tax, in original packages, in any quantity not less than 80 wine gallons, and may use so much of the same as may be required by him under such regulations, and after the filing of such notices and bonds and the keeping of such records and the rendition of such reports as to materials and products and the disposition of same, as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall prescribe, in fortifying the pure, sweet wines made by him, and for no other purpose, in accordance with the limitations and provisions as to uses, amount to be used, and period for using the same set forth in section 53 (42) of this act * * *.

The object of the foregoing law was just this: The internal-revenue laws existing at the time this free-brandy law was passed provided that distilled spirits, including brandy, should be placed in bonded warehouses within a certain number of days after being produced in the distillery, unless the tax was paid. The tax was not required to be paid on them at the time of production, unless the distiller wished to pay it, but unless the tax was paid they were required to be put in bonded warehouses, from which they could not be removed until the tax was paid. But the framers of this free-brandy law saw that the following situation might arise: Grapes might be plentiful in a given year and a wine maker might have such a large production of grapes that he would early in the season fill up all his tanks and casks with wine and still have a surplus of grapes on his hands. If the law would only permit him to do so, he might ferment this surplus of grapes and distill brandy from the same and store it for use for fortifying purposes at some future time. As the law stood at that time, he must either pay the tax or store the brandy in a special bonded warehouse, and once stored there it could not be withdrawn until the United States Government was paid the tax per proof gallon on such brandy. Therefore section 45 was put into the law as an enabling act to permit such a wine maker to distill and store his brandy in bountiful years until such time as he could use it to advantage.

Another reason for this enabling act was this: Sweet wine must be fortified, according to the California method of making it, within a few days after the grapes are crushed; that is, within two or three days after fermentation starts. In other words, according to the California method of making sweet wine, as hereinbefore explained, the fermentation of the grape juice must be arrested by the addition of wine spirits when the fermentation has reached a certain point, otherwise the wine will not turn out as a sweet wine. Therefore the California sweet-wine maker must take the precaution to have on hand a sufficient amount of brandy to fortify his wine at the right moment. If it happens that his distillery is not of a sufficiently large capacity to produce brandy fast enough to fortify his sweet wines as fast as he ferments these sweet wines, then it is necessary for him to have a reserve stock of brandy on hand to take care of such an emergency. He could not keep this emergency stock of brandy stored at his distillery without paying the tax under the laws that existed then or under the laws that exist now, and as explained above, once he put it in the bonded warehouse, he could not get it out without the payment of the tax; hence the enabling provision contained in section 45 of the law permitting sweet-wine makers, who are also distillers, to withdraw wine spirits from any special bonded warehouse free of tax.

Our contention in regard to the meaning of section 45, above quoted, is that according to the plain wording of the law, as well as according to the plain meaning of the law, to be gathered from all its sections taken together, the only person who is authorized to withdraw brandy from a special bonded warehouse free of tax is a sweet-wine maker who is also a distiller and who has himself placed that brandy in that warehouse. In other words, he is permitted to withdraw his own brandy that he himself has stored there. We contend that a sweet-wine maker can not take brandy out of a bonded warehouse unless he distilled it himself and put it in the warehouse. The very word "withdraw" presupposes the prior placing of the thing to be withdrawn. But the Internal-Revenue Department has so construed this law as to permit distillers of brandy to place the brandy in a bonded warehouse and then go out and sell the brandy to wine makers anywhere in the country, such distillers not necessarily being sweet-wine makers themselves. Thus California distillers ship the brandy in bond to the special bonded warehouse nearest their customer, the sweet-wine maker, and then the distiller withdraws it out of bond without paying the tax on it and lets the sweet-wine maker to whom he sold it use it free of tax for fortifying sweet wines. The distiller, as pointed out above, may or may not be a sweet-wine maker, and the sweet-wine maker who buys this brandy under this operation is not the man who placed it in the warehouse. By this practice it has been possible for distillers to traffic in free brandy at a large profit to such distillers, while the Government supervises the various operations of producing the brandy at the distillery and taking care of it at different warehouses at a great expense, for which it receives no returns. The Government no doubt has a record of such transactions, and we contend that there is a tax due the Government from such distillers of $1.10 per proof gallon on every gallon that has been sold and used as above indicated, and that these back taxes amount to several millions of dollars. This traffic in free brandy not only works a further injustice against the eastern wine makers who have to buy tax-paid spirits, and can not legally use such free brandy for fortifying sweet wines, but also works an injustice against the eastern distillers of tax-paid spirits, who can not sell their tax-paid spirits in competition with free spirits.

Surely it was never intended that the Government should stand the great expense of supervising the production of such brandy in distilleries and then keeping track of it in the warehouses where first stored, and again keeping track of it in the warehouses to which it is subsequently transferred in furtherance of a sale to the wine maker who buys it without any compensation whatever to the Government.

THE LAW DISCRIMINATES AGAINST INDUSTRIES WHICH MAKE NECESSARIES FOR EVERY HOME.

The sweet-wine makers of California alone have the privilege of using (undenatured) alcohol free of tax. It may be used free only in the production of sweet wine, and it is necessary to use alcohol for that purpose.

But it is absolutely necessary also to use alcohol in the manufacture of flavoring extracts. Lemon extract contains 85 per cent of alcohol, which is almost twice as much alcohol as is contained in whisky, as bottled-in-bond whisky contains only 50 per cent alcohol. Vanilla extracts also contains from 30 to 60 per cent of alcohol. This is also true of many other flavoring extracts. These are common household articles. These flavoring extracts can not be made without the use of alcohol. Any extract made from an oil (such as lemon oil) must contain alcohol to dissolve the oil. This is commonly called "cutting" the oil. It is a matter of common knowledge that oil and water will not mix. A flavoring extract that is made from a resinous substance, such as vanilla beans, which contain resins, must contain alcohol to dissolve or "cut" the resins. It is also a matter of common knowledge that resins will not dissolve in water. The fact that these common household articles contain alcohol in greater quantities than does whisky is not, however, generally understood. Yet it is a fact that they do, and of necessity must contain alcohol. Practically all soda-water flavors, such as vanilla, lemon, orange, rose,

and practically all flavors also contain alcohol, and must contain alcohol for the reasons above stated. On all this alcohol a tax of $1.10 a proof gallon is paid into the Treasury of the United States, and this revenue is paid by the consumer. Every housewife helps to pay it. Every farmer helps to pay it. Every laborer helps to pay it. Every schoolboy and every schoolgirl who tenders a penny or a nickel for a glass of soda water or a dish of lemon or vanilla ice cream or a piece of candy helps to pay it. Because all these things are flavored with extracts containing alcohol. But the gentleman or lady of leisure who drink their after-dinner California sherry, tokay, or muscatel do not help to pay it—the alcohol that is used to produce the drink that contributes to their pleasure is given to the wine maker free of tax. Manufacturers of flavoring extracts can not use free brandy or free alcohol.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "PROOF."

The word "proof" is a word that is peculiar to the internal-revenue law and to the distilling industry. What it means is to denote the amount of alcohol that may be present in a liquid. Pure alcohol, 100 per cent pure, is designated as "200 proof." This is the highest proof possible. The moment any water is added to pure alcohol it lowers the proof. Thus, if 50 per cent water is added to pure alcohol, the mixture is designated as "100 proof," which means that it contains 50 per cent water and 50 per cent alcohol. Whisky is ordinarily 100 proof—that is, it contains 50 per cent water and 50 per cent alcohol. If we say a liquid is "50 proof," we mean it contains 25 per cent alcohol and 75 per cent water or other liquid. California wines containing 22 per cent alcohol are 44 proof. The words "taxable gallon" mean the same as "proof gallon." The internal-revenue tax of $1.10 a gallon on alcohol is on proof gallons.

EFFORTS TO HAVE FREE-BRANDY LAW REPEALED IN 1913.

When the tariff act of 1913 was pending before Congress, Senator POMERENE, of Ohio, submitted to the Senate Finance Committee an amendment to the bill as it came from the House, which amendment sought to repeal the free-brandy law. This repeal would have raised a revenue of approximately $7,000,000 annually, and, we understand, this $7,000,000 was figured in the estimates of the Senate. But no sooner had the amendment been submitted to the Finance Committee than the Californians succeeded in having the wording of the amendment changed in such a way that, while it would repeal the free-brandy law and cause them to pay a full tax on all spirits used, the same as eastern wine makers have been doing, still it would put an additional tax of about 25 cents a gallon on all eastern wines, which tax they would not have to pay in California. This was accomplished by getting into the matter the question of standards for wines and thus involving the pure-food issue. The Californians succeeded in getting the repealing clause so worded that it would destroy the entire eastern wine-making industry. This dragging in the question of standards for wines involved a consideration and careful study of the entire art of making wine. The Senate Finance Committee started out by giving a hearing of an hour to both sides—30 minutes to each—but at once saw that the subject was so complicated, from the standpoint of standards, that they could get head nor tail of it in such a short space of time. They then gave further hearings, amounting in all to about three days, and some of the members at the end of that time stated that they were more bewildered on the subject of wine making than they were before the hearings were had, and that they did not feel like legislating on such an important subject without a better understanding of what they were doing, especially when two great sections of the country were making contentions diametrically opposed to each other. It addition the Department of Agriculture sent a letter to the Senate Finance Committee stating in effect that it was a very inopportune time to legislate on the subject of wines, as it might interfere with work that department was doing. The Secretary of Agriculture, however, finally admitted that the question of whether the Californians paid $1.10 a proof gallon for the brandy they used in wines or got the brandy free would not have any bearing on the subject of proper standards for wines. Nevertheless by that time the question of standards for wines had hopelessly befogged the real issue. The amendment passed the Senate in such form as to give the eastern wine makers some little recognition and relief, but the whole amendment, including the repeal of the free-brandy law, and which would have raised $7,000,000 for the Government from brandy, was thrown out by the conference committee, and this amount was either never made up or proportioned by tax on other products so as to make it up. This action of the conference committee had been predicted in positive terms by certain of the Californians several weeks before the conference committee even convened, and on the strength of this prediction they refused to even consider the question of compromise on the question of the repeal of the free-brandy special privileges.

THE AFTER EFFECT OF OUR EFFORT TO HAVE FREE-BRANDY LAW REPEALED IN 1913.

During the time the said amendment was under consideration every recommendation that came from the Internal Revenue Department or Treasury Department on the subject of the amendment was unfavorable to the cause of the eastern wine makers and decidedly in favor of the California wine makers, notwithstanding the enormous loss of revenue to the Government that has been pointed out in the foregoing pages of this pamphlet, and which was repeatedly brought to the attention of the said Treasury Department. Since that time the Internal Revenue Department has been particularly antagonistic to the eastern wine makers, and has published a special Treasury decision prohibiting the manufacture of pomace wine, which is a product that has been made in the East ever since wine has been made in America, and which is a cheap and wholesome beverage, consumed by laboring classes, who could not afford to buy a more expensive wine.

Immediately after Congress adjourned in October, 1913, the United States Department of Agriculture also took up the subject of the manufacture and labeling of wines and repealed a decision that had been adopted by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor under the former administration relating to the manufacture of eastern wines, which decision had been promulgated after a full hearing and consideration of the subject. The decision was known as food-inspection decision No. 120 of the United States Department of Agriculture. That decision permitted eastern wine makers to correct natural deficiencies in grapes grown east of the Rocky Mountains by means of the addition of a solution of sugar and water, the same as permitted under the wine laws of Germany, where wines similar to our eastern wines are produced. The decision of the Department of Agriculture issued in 1914, known as food inspection decision No. 156, and printed in the foregoing part of this pamphlet, not only takes away from the eastern wine makers the right to manufacture wine in the manner in which it has been made in the East ever since wine has been made in America, but it is positively favorable to California, and expressly provides that it shall not apply to wine made under the so-called free-brandy law. It positively prohibits eastern wine makers from using any water, while expressly providing that it shall not apply to wine made under the free-brandy law, which, as we have pointed out, permits the addition of 10 per cent water and 24 per cent other ingredients to California wines, making a total of 34 per cent added to those wines, and still permitting them to be classed as pure wines. This food-inspection decision No. 156 of the Department of Agriculture is still in full force and effect. The eastern wine making season is now at hand, and the eastern wine makers are confronted with the proposition of either ignoring that decision and taking their chances in the courts of the land to secure justice for their industry or produce wines under that decision that they and all other practical wine makers know full well will be unmerchantable, unwholesome, and of inferior quality when produced. This is the reward that the eastern wine makers have received for their attempt in 1913 to have the free-brandy law repealed and raise $7,000,000 annually in revenue and to secure equality under the laws of the land.

THIS IS ONE EASTERN WINE THAT IS BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST.

[Song for Catawba wine, by Henry W. Longfellow.]

This song of mine
Is the song of the vine,
To be sung by the glowing embers
Of wayside inns,
When the rain begins
To darken the drear Novembers.

It is not a song
Of the Scuppernong,
From warm Carolinian valleys,
Nor the Isabel
And the Muscatel
That bask in our garden alleys.

Nor the red mustang,
Whose clusters hang
O'er the waves of the Colorado,
And the fiery flood
Of whose purple blood
Has a dash of Spanish bravado.

For the richest and best
Is the wine of the West,
That grows by the Beautiful River [the Ohio River];
Whose sweet perfume
Fills all the room
With a benison on the giver.

And as hollow trees
Are the haunts of bees,
Forever going and coming;
So this crystal hive
Is all alive
With a swarming and buzzing and humming.

Very good in its way
Is the Verzenay,
Or the Sillery soft and creamy;
But Catawba wine
Has a taste divine,
More dulcet, delicious and dreamy.

There grows no vine
By the haunted Rhine,
By Danube or Guadalquiver,
Nor on island or cape,
That bears such a grape
As grows by the Beautiful River.

Drugged is their juice
For foreign use
When shipped o'er the reeling Atlantic,
To rack our brains
With the fever pains
That have driven the Old World frantic.

To the sewers and sinks
With all such drinks,
And after them tumble the mixer;
For a poison malign
Is such Borgia wine,
Or at best but a devil's elixir.

While pure as a spring
Is the wine I sing,
And to praise it, one needs but name it;
For Catawba wine
Has need of no sign,
No tavern bush to proclaim it.

And this song of the vine,
This greeting of mine,
The winds and the birds shall deliver
To the queen of the West
In her garlands dressed,
On the banks of the Beautiful River.

[The foregoing poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is said to have been written upon the occasion of his visit to Nicholas Longworth, the pioneer Ohio grape grower and wine maker, who first planted the grapes along the bluffs of the Ohio River, and furnished the young plants to the settlers in the valleys of the Ohio and Missouri Rivers.]

References: Hearings before and briefs filed with the subcommittee of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Sixty-third Congress, first session, on paragraph 254½, Pure sweet wines, etc., H. R. 3321, an act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes. (See printed report.)

Speech of Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, of Ohio, in the United States Senate, September 18, 1913. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

Speech of Hon. ATLEE POMERENE, of Ohio, in the United States Senate, October 2, 1913. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

WINES AND WINE MAKING.

[By A. Haraszthy, commissioner on the improvement and growth of the grapevine in California to the honorable Senate and Assembly of the State of California, 1862.]

Page 262, he quotes an authority:

"We find that wine consumers estimate as good wines only those whose contents of acids do not exceed 6 parts in 1,000. He shows a table by Dr. Hiubeck on vintages of 1841, showing that wines of too high acid brought the lowest market prices:

| | Acids. | Alcohol. | 15 gallons, price in United States money. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brandner | 5.0 | 9.8 | $5.52 |
| Murberger | 5.9 | 8.3 | 4.65 |
| Radkersburger | 6.2 | 8.4 | 4.42 |
| Kerschbacher | 7.1 | 9.5 | 3.86 |
| Wiseller Johannisberger | 8.3 | 8.9 | 3.31 |
| Sauritschor | 9.1 | 10.2 | 3.03 |
| Marburger Koschacker | 12.0 | 6.7 | 2.25 |

"It illustrates that even though the alcohol was higher in some, they brought a lower price, owing to their higher acids."

Haraszthy further states:

"That all wines, in order to be estimated as good and palatable, must contain at least 4½ pro mille of free acids (counted as vinegar acid) and not more than 6½.

"That all containing more than six-thousandths of free acids must be considered as having not enough water in proportion to its acids.

"That experience has taught us, for more than 10 years, in all the different German grape districts, that a proportionable addition of water and sugar forms the means to produce, even from the most sour must, as drinkable and as good a wine as is otherwise produced in good medium seasons."

On page 269, A. Haraszthy quotes Dr. L. Gall, as follows:

"The price of wines is, in general, more regulated by a medium degree of acids of no more than 6 and not less than 4 pro milles, than by a higher degree of alcohol than 8 per cent."

On page 269, Progress of Wine Fabrication since 1850:

"In France we see a lady, Mrs. Cora Millet, a landed proprietress, taking the lead in adapting a rational manner to increase the quantity of the wine by more than 5 per cent, without harming the quality; soon others convinced by the good results followed in the wake. In the year 1856 a district class was founded at the Royal College at Dijou, the capital city of the rich Burgundy district, for the instruction of students in the application of chemistry to the culture of the grape.

"In this the different newly invented methods of making and increasing the wine are clearly discussed and taught inasmuch as they are based upon proportionate additions of sugar and water. A similar class was founded at Rheims, the capital of the Champagne district."

On page 282 A. Haraszthy states:

"The eminent technician, Mr. Dubrunfant, promulgated for the first time, in the year 1854, in France, his opinion based upon many trials:

"'That an addition of sugar-water to the must, regulated according to the quantity of its acids, will be the unfailing means to produce from every vintage, no matter what locality, always wines of like quality as those of the best seasons, and to quintuple their quantity if necessary.'

"The proposition of Dubrunfant was carried out in the largest measure the year following by a Mr. Abel Petiot de Chanirey, a large vineyard proprietor in Burgundy, and an essay on the manner employed and its results was handed by him to the Imperial Society of Agriculture."

[From The Literary Digest.]

ANOTHER FOOD SUBSTANCE IN WINE?

Those who affirm and those who deny that alcohol has true food value agree that certain nutritive substances may be found in alcoholic drinks. That glycerin and cream of tartar, which are found in wines, are foods no one would deny, though probably no one ever drank wine solely for the purpose of profiting by their nutritive properties. To these, however, has now been added a food of great value, namely, a lecithin, one of a class of substances recently found to be especially promotive of rapid growth. We quote the following from a note contributed to La Nature, Paris, August 6, by Dr. E. Varenne, formerly preparator in therapeutics to the Paris Faculty of Medicine. Says Dr. Varenne:

This valuable vital principle was discovered in the yolk of egg, which contains it in large proportions. * * * Yolk of egg is, as everyone knows, a food of the first order, and Gobley, the celebrated chemist professor at the school of pharmacy (who discovered lecithin in 1846), has published numerous interesting papers about it.

But there are vegetable as well as animal lecithins, for lecithins seem indispensable to life. The lecithin that seems to be most widespread is "stearic lecithin," whose chemical name is "distearo-glycero-phosphate of trimethyl-hydroxyl-amine-ammonium." This lecithin is also met with in milk, corn, peas, oats, etc.

Messrs. Weirich and Orthieb have also discovered it in grape stones. These chemists, in an investigation of pure natural wines, remarked the superiority of a Greek wine of Thyra (Cyclades) when used for the purpose of rehabilitating "sick" wines. The analysis of this wine indicated that it contained 0.095 per cent of phosphoric acid. A white Malaga contained 0.049 per cent; a Tokay 0.068 per cent; and another sweet wine 0.054 per cent.

Now, from their researches Messrs. Weirich and Orthieb have concluded that the phosphoric acid thus found came from organic combinations formed in the grape stones and dissolved in the wine during the fermentation of the must and proportionally to the quantity of alcohol produced. * * *

We must then accept the fact that lecithin exists in very appreciable quantities in natural wines, and the more as these are richer in alcohol. Here, however, we must make a distinction and remark that only wines rich in alcohol by fermentation contain lecithin.

Weak wines artificially strengthened by the addition of alcohol after fermentation do not contain it. Again, as lecithin alters at about 50°—60° C. (122°—140° F.), the so-called "pasteurized" wines lose this precious principle during heating. Also, pink and white wines, which have fermented without the pulp and the stones, contain no lecithin.

Hence we draw an important conclusion—that wine is a real food, not only from the alcohol, the glycerin, and the cream of tartar that it contains, but especially from its licithin.

But in order to fulfil this condition the wine must be pure, made not chemically but by old and honest methods. Such wines may easily be found at modest prices. And still another point must be noted. * * * Use, do not abuse. (Translation made for The Literary Digest.)

[K. A. Helleńthal's Manual for Wine Growers and Wine Dealers, or The Perfect Wine Cellar Master. Eighth improved and enlarged edition. After long years and practical experience of the author, and by using the most renowned authorities on oenology and chemistry. J. Beyse, author.]

(Page 368.)

As early as the period of the first settlement in America it appears that the there existing wild grapevine attracted the attention of the colonists, and it is asserted, that in the year of 1564

they already made wines out of grapes grown in Florida. The earliest attempt to plant vineyards was made in Virginia, in 1620, and after 10 years the vineyards were so promising, that they had French vineyardists come, who through unsuitable treatment are said to have caused the grapevines to perish.

In 1647 we again find wine production in Virginia, and in 1651 prizes were issued to encourage the wine growers.

In the year of 1648 grapevines were raised in the State of Delaware, then called Uvedale, which grapevines were supported by mulberry trees and sassafras trees. Four varieties were cultivated: Toulous Muscat, Sweet Scented, Great Fox, and Thick Grape; all varieties imported from Europe. The first two produced a strong, red sherry, the third a light claret, and the fourth a golden colored wine. In 1633 William Penn tried to plant vineyards near Philadelphia, however, without success. From that time on the viticulture in Pennsylvania was entirely in the hands of the Germans.

In 1796 French colonists made wine in Illinois from wild grapes; at the same time Frederick Rapp and others planted a vineyard of 10 acres near Pittsburgh, Pa.

In 1790 a Swiss colony also formed to pursue viticulture. Their first experiment by planting foreign vines was an utter failure; then they tried it with native vines and better results followed; yet after 40 years no trace of the vineyards was to be found as the colony scattered.

Viticulture on a large scale first began at the time when the Germans settled in the Ohio and Missouri Valleys.

They experimented with vines from foreign countries. However, they gained better results with the Catawba grapevine, which originated in the State of Virginia.

This variety, which is subject to mildew and rot, in many localities is replaced by other varieties of native vines, regarding whose larger productiveness and endurance they were convinced. In the vicinity of Cincinnati there are now 3,000 acres of vineyards along the Ohio River, and these were planted within a period of 30 years. These vineyards produce annually about 4,000,000 gallons—i. e., 250,000 buckets of wine.

Still later the wine growing began in the Missouri Valley. At Hermann, a German locality, the first vineyard was planted in the year 1845. The first vines were the Catawba grapevines, which flourished particularly well in this valley. Now, Norton's Virginia Seedling is cultivated there, from which a red wine is made, which boldly can match itself with every fine red wine of the old world, and which has a similarity to Burgundy and port wine.

A third native variety of wines which is extensively cultivated is the Concord. Besides the grapes mentioned, one now also finds, the Herbemont, Delaware, Hartford-prolific, the Maxatawney, all cultivated from the native wild grapes, by cross breeding and refining.

Toward the north, for Minnesota, the Clinton is splendidly adapted.

There are now already 50 American varieties of grapevines, which are preferably adapted for the Middle West. The first three varieties named comprise the largest in number. The wine in those localities is still called Catawba wine.

At Hermann, Mo., there are 1,000 acres of vineyards, which in the year 1865 left an income of $200,000; this year was a particularly bad year.

Furthermore, wine growing is done on a large scale at Boonville, in Cooper County; at Augusta, in St. Charles County, Mo.; at Hannibal, Mo., on the Mississippi River; and at St. Joseph, on the Missouri River.

In the State of Illinois we find vineyards at Alton, Belleville, Mascoutah, Warsaw, Nauvoo, and Makanda.

In the State of Iowa wine growing has just begun at Burlington and Davenport.

In the State of Kansas wine growing is going on since two years.

With the large German immigration the wine culture there will in a few years increase enormously.

The gallizing of wines is done extensively, especially in unfavorable years; the gallizing proves good in American, just as in Europe.

In the Union there, furthermore, is wine growing in the vicinity of New Orleans, in Massachusetts, in Texas, in Virginia, and in Florida.

In California viticulture has taken on large dimensions. It started there in the year 1852, and California now furnishes the Union with 600,000 buckets of good wines, of a character reminding one of Sherry, Maderia, Tokay, and port wines.

After they finally stopped experimenting with the acclimating of Europe grapevines and took to the native wild-growing varieties, and cultivated and improved them, then the wine growing in the Union had a great future before it.

The latest vineyards cultivated are those of the Mormons, in Utah, said to bear excellent grapes, which, however, are used for the table only. Brigham Young does not want to hear anything about wine—no wine, but, on the other hand, many wives.

In America the early as well as later attempts of the Frenchmen, Englishmen, Spaniards, and Portuguese to cultivate grapevines were failures; only the Germans were victorious. They threw overboard the prejudiced idea that American soil is not adapted to grape culture, and they scouted around for varieties which would thrive and after they found same, then viticulture made fast and vigorous headway.

GALLIZING.

(Page 60.)

In the last edition of my works I dwelt upon the method of improving the must, which, as named after the discoverer, Dr. Gall, is called gallizing. This method has since then completely opened its way into general use. All wine, Moselle and Neckar wines—in fact, all German wines shipped to America—are gallized, and exactly this circumstance has created a very important market in America for these wines.

These gallized wines offer important advantages:

First. Always are uniform wines, even in poor seasons.

Second. Stand transporting without undergoing changes.

Third. Never get cloudy, don't form mold (mycoderm), and only careless cellar treatment can cause them to turn into vinegar.

Fourth. After the first year they hardly require any cellar treatment.

Fifth. They are stronger without any alcohol being added, and this strength makes same adapted for far-off markets.

Sixth. The wines became cheaper, because considerable more than was the case formerly was called for by the trade.

The erecting of numerous grape-sugar factories (dextrose factories) in the Confederated German States, in Austria, in France, proves the extent to which gallizing of wines has made headway. Only for this purpose and no other is grape sugar (dextrose) used.

The many screechers who condemn gallizing have become mute; those who protested the most now gallize their wines. No person now can do without it. The practice has created a revolution in wine making and it is one of the greatest progresses to be recognized in the making of wines.

It has this advantage, that it is exceedingly simple, and that the smallest producer can avail himself of the method, because it does not require the buying of new cellar apparatus.

After this short introduction, I now take up the practical procedure. In order to make good wine out of must, it must contain 24 per cent of sugar and not over 6½ per cent acids. Accordingly, 100 pounds of such must would consist of sugar, 10×24 per cent=240 pounds; free acids, 1×6½ per cent=6.5 pounds; water (inclusive of other wine-producing ingredients), 753.5 pounds. Total, 1,000 pounds.

This compilation forms the so-called normal must for good wine and serves as the foundation for all calculations.

The must containing less sugar and more acids (and such is always the case in medium and in poor years) is, therefore, fit to be improved in order to be equal to normal must of good years with regard to sugar and acids.

If a mild summer has formed a deficiency of grape sugar in the grapes, but, on the other hand, an excess of acids, then it is the human aid which restores the deficient grape sugar and diminishes the excessive acids. This is done through the principle of improving the must. On the part of the producer it requires a little more knowledge, more labor, and a further expense for grape sugar (dextrose). In return the producer in poor years secures a good wine, and, besides, more wine than he presses from the grapes. (Translated by O. G. Stark, St. Louis.)

THE SUGAR.

The natural varieties of sugar we divide into grape sugar and cane sugar. The sugar mingled with acids in fruit juices is grape sugar; the sugar dissolved in neutral fluid is cane sugar.

The former prevails in all ripe fruits, sometimes as grape sugar alone, sometimes mixed with cane sugar. The second is found in sugar cane, in the palm, and so forth.

Ripe grapes invariably contain only grape sugar, yet before the ripening of the grape the grape sugar is mixed with cane sugar.

The cane sugar crystallizes very easily and in large crystals; the grape sugar, however, crystallizes only incomplete.

Cane sugar, through the actions of acids, is transformed into grape sugar.

Cane sugar is composed of the following elements:

| | |
|---|---|
| Carbon | 72 |
| Hydrogen | 11 |
| Oxygen | 88 |
| Total | 171 |

That means in 171 grains sugar there are contained 72 grains carbon and the elements of 99 grains water, since hydrogen and oxygen are found in sugar in the same proportions as in water.

Grape sugar, in comparison, is composed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Carbon | 72 |
| Hydrogen | 12 |
| Oxygen | 96 |
| Total | 180 |

That illustrates: To the same amount of carbon, 72 grains, there are contained in the grape sugar the elements of 108 grains water; therefore a little more than in cane sugar.

The grape sugar to be had in commerce is prepared from potato starch (and from corn starch).

When sulphuric acid takes effect on potato starch, then this is first converted into dextrin; the dextrin is then further converted into grape sugar.

The composition of grape sugar derived from potato starch is precisely the same as that of the grape sugar contained in grape juice.

All sugars, however, when dissolved and mixed with lees—yeast—will undergo a wine-spirituous fermentation.

This is very important. It follows that when you add to a must which is poor in sugar contents, either cane sugar or sugar prepared from potato starch, these will ferment exactly as though there were in the must only grape sugar contained in the grape.

Page 106: In Rhine wines the sugar represents six-sevenths of the extracts.

In the residue, therefore, there are six parts sugar and only one part of all salts and nonvolatile substances together.

In the red Bordeaux wines we find only very little sugar.

In Muscat Rivesaltes, however, there is 24½ per cent extract against 22 per cent sugar. Much sugar is also contained in Muscat Lunel. True enough, the must in this wine is condensed, and in Cette, France, a large amount of rock candy is added besides.

Rich in natural sugar are Ruster, Meneser, and Tokayer.

The red wines contain only one-half per cent sugar; without that same would not taste agreeable and the astringent taste of the tannic acid would be too domineering.

Among the sweet wines some contain one-fourth of their weight in sugar.

UTILIZING THE PRESENT POMACE.

The richest utilizing of pomace is gained through the Petiot method. Where, however, wines are treated according to ordinary methods, the pomace taken out of the press is mixed with water and grape sugar added, and subjected to another fermentation. A medium-grade wine is derived, which is given to laborers. Often same is distilled to produce brandy. The thus obtained pomace brandy is not exactly as palatable, but is more intoxicating than cognac, which is obtained through the distillation of the wine. (Translated by O. G. Stark, St. Louis, Mo.)

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THE CONSERVING OF WINE AND MUST AND THE ADMINISTERING OF SALICYLIC ACID IN THE CELLAR TREATMENT—CRITIC'S PERUSAL OF THE WAYS AND MEANS EMPLOYED UP TO NOW IN THE CONSERVING OF WINE AND MUST FOR WINE PRODUCERS AND WINE DEALERS.

[By Antonio dal Piaz, author of Utilizing Wine Residues, of Wine Making and Cellar Treatment, etc. Published by A. Hartleben's Verlag, of Vienna, Pest, and Leipzig, 1878. Written by Antonio dal Piaz in April, 1878, at Kloster Neuburg (Cloister Newburgh), Austria. Translated from German by O. G. Stark, St. Louis, Mo.]

(Pages 20 and 21.)

Alcohol or wine spirits as a conservative in wine deserves the fullest consideration because the clean spirits of alcohol is added to the wine for the purpose of keeping it in sound condition. Then no foreign or deleterious substances get into wine, and there is only a moderate increase in the volume of wine. Alcohol in the pure concentrated condition, as well as diluted within certain bounds, is a substance which suppresses the vegetable life and can be administered in all directions as a ferment germ destroyer and conservative.

The natural alcoholic conditions of wines always act conservingly, and the stronger the wines are the better they will be in regard to keeping. This has been recognized in early times, and it was therefore sought to increase the keeping qualities of wines through corresponding alcoholic additions. Apparently in such countries where, through favorable conditions, large wine exports were built up the necessity at the same time arose to make wines fit for transport; that is, to put same in such condition that same in transport, even when exposed to unfavorable circumstances, would not take on a change nor undergo a second fermentation. It was therefore the addition of alcohol, or the so-called alcoholizing, especially customary in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France, where all wines intended for export receive a stipulated addition of alcohol, which is not only governed to suit the country to which the wine goes, but their prevailing taste, and also is governed with special regard for the quality of the wine itself. In France even the addition of alcohol to the wine is legally regulated and permits of wines destined for export an addition of wine spirits up to 5 per cent.

(Page 22.)

Ordinarily wines with low alcoholic strength are always more subject to the various sicknesses and have keeping qualities only to a smaller extent. With the increase of alcoholic contents the keeping qualities of the wine also increases. Wines having an alcoholic strength of 12 per cent by volume and over will not form moldy scum (mycoderm), and also have good keeping qualities. Wines, however, with alcoholic strength of 14 to 15 per cent by volume are secure against any afterfermentation or cloudiness, even though there will be some unfermented sugar contained therein and it be exposed to a high temperature; likewise it is impossible for such wine to become sick, owing to the influence of ferment germs (yeast cells), because in the fluid containing about 12 to 15 per cent alcohol the development of germ propagation can not take place. If, therefore, enough alcohol is added to the wine so as to raise the alcoholic strength thereof up to 12 to 15 per cent by volume such wine will no longer become sick, even if it is stored or transported under the most unfavorable conditions. In the case of must of high saccharine percentage, when same contains more than 30 per cent sugar, the fermentation will produce about 15 per cent of alcohol, and a further fermentation will then be interrupted even if a larger quantity of unfermented sugar is still on hand in the wine, because the fermenting germs or yeast cells are killed under such alcoholic strength, and thereby the further fermenting is made impossible. With a corresponding addition of alcohol therefore wines of low alcoholic strength can be made of good keeping qualities and be protected against becoming sick, which same otherwise are easily subjected to. If the corresponding quantity of alcohol is added to such light wines this will enable same to be transported to great distances. The increase of the alcoholic strength can be accomplished in such manner that either the necessary alcohol is added immediately and directly to the wine, or else the alcoholic conditions of wines can be increased at a time when the wine is produced by adding to the must before fermentation double as many per cents of sugar as the desired increase of alcoholic strength, just as is the case in the method of wine improvement known as chaptalising. The high alcoholic strength not only makes the wine of better keeping qualities, but through the addition of alcohol, sicknesses of wines can be suppressed at the time the sickness is developed. Mold germs which form on the surface of the wine can be removed and destroyed entirely if one carefully pours and distributes rectified alcohol over the surface of the wine. The (specific) lighter alcohol will spread over the surface and completely destroy the developing mold germs (Mycoderma vini). * * *

When fortifying with alcohol, it is advisable to pay strict attention that only clean alcohol fully free of fusel oil is used.

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TABLE FOR CALCULATIONS FOR PERFECTING MUST OR WINE ACCORDING TO DR. GALL'S SYSTEM OR MANUAL FOR EVERY WINE PRODUCER.

[By Henri Schlippe.]

Following many requests made of me, I give with this third edition a compact but fully sufficient illustration and interpretation of the entire Gall system to whenever necessary improve or perfect Rhine wines and similar wines.

ELUCIDATION AND UTILITY OF THE GALL SYSTEM.

Dr. Gall's real fundamental system to improve and perfect inferior must or wine, which system continues more and more to improve itself practical, substantiated, and world-wide known, rests solely and alone on the rule how to scientifically establish the quantity of acid and of sugar or alcohol present in the must or wine; then, to see if one or the other, compared with good wine as nature furnishes, does not show an excess or deficiency, and finally how to regulate the excessive acid and deficient sugar by the addition of water and sugar so that the total acid and sugar contents are brought into such proportions with each other and the remaining characteristics of the wine as we expect same from nature, if same shall be agreeable to our taste and to our well-being or, better, our health.

Water and sugar, or alcohol created from sugar through fermentation and closely united with the wine, are both substances which are contained in every must or wine in more or less quan-

tities. Sugar and water are, therefore, no foreign substances which are added, but only augmentations based on art and science, and as well known are two principal ingredients of wines; therefore, additions entirely fitting nature, and the Gall process is, therefore, entirely in conformity with nature a truly perfecting, against which in the interest of agricultural economy on the whole as well as the single producer and consumer, no objection can in a sensible way be offered, but on the contrary deserves protection and support, inasmuch as the process transforms a more or less inferior unsalable and unhealthful nature's product into a merchantable article sought and well paid for everywhere even in foreign countries, and therefore circulates money and brings welfare in general and to the individual, and what really is the main point renders a fine tasting, full-bodied, and strong drink, which not only refreshes and invigorates our body but also beneficially enlivens and cheers our mind and disposition. * * *

(Page 13.)

When adding water, use clear well water. When distilled water is available, I recommend it, because well water contains other substances. However, I do not believe that the difference is sufficient as to make it worth the trouble to secure distilled water under difficulties and at an expense.

When adding sugar, use either loaf sugar, rock candy, or grape sugar (dextrose). As to which sort is most serviceable, opinions are not quite well established. Some claim to know that cane or beet sugar produces more alcohol, against which others claim grape sugar gives the wine a peculiar mellowness, only it must not be yellow, but almost white, at least hard, about like wax; better, however, entirely dry and minus the bitter taste. From my own observations I can, nevertheless, assure that with grape sugar (dextrose) the wine is fermented through and completed sooner; but one may use only good quality, without undesirable taste, otherwise the wine easily also will have an undesirable aftertaste.

I must here call attention that in all directions and calculations as to the additions of sugar, cane or beet sugar—that is, loaf sugar or dry, clear rock candy—and that when using grape sugar (dextrose), when it is not dry, more must be used than the general calculation indicates. For instance No. 1: If not entirely dry, then use 10 parts more; i. e., instead of, for instance, 60 pounds cane or beet sugar, use 66 pounds grape sugar. No. 2: When using solid grape sugar, like wax, then one-seventh times as much; i. e., instead of 60 pounds use 69 pounds, which, according to Balling, will equalize the differences.

Balling quotes the saccharine strength of dry (anhydrous) grape sugar (dextrose) at 89 to 90 per cent, and the solid grape sugar, like wax, at 80 to 84 per cent.

(Concluding remarks, page 15.)

Here I must remark that gallized wines, after the chief fermentation, often have a disagreeable, insipid, or bitter taste. This, however, must not cause us to become uneasy, as that will pass away and delights us usually with a so much more surprising result.

Many persons now probably ask, Would it not be, in many respects, easier and more simple, instead of sugar, to immediately add the finished alcohol?

I reply thereto that such a procedure is always promptly recognized by its odor and taste as an obnoxious bothing and is contrary to nature, because it is something entirely different to mix the finished alcohol with the wine than it is to let the sugar, by way of fermenting the wine, turn into alcohol, peculiarly develop, and then in the closest manner chemically combine with the wine, to which fact I promptly pointed in the very beginning of my editions.

The supposition that alcohol may be used instead of sugar is therefore entirely erroneous, without taking into account that sugar will, besides, always impart aromatic and antheric particles. (Translated by O. G. Stark, St. Louis, Mo.)

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THE WINE CULTURE—A GUIDE TO THE PLANTING AND TREATMENT OF THE GRAPEVINE AND THE WINE IN THE MIDDLE STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

[By John Becker, member of the Viticultural Society of Evansville, Ind., formerly for many years member of the Baden (Germany) Agricultural Society, Evansville, Ind., 1860.]

(Page 101.)

The peculiarity, however, must not be overlooked, that from freshly crushed grapes it is not as easy to press out the juice as from such crushed grapes which were allowed to remain some time in the fermenting vats.

In Europe, therefore, the crushed grapes often are permitted to remain in the fermenting vats from two to three weeks and ferment, the wine underneath separating fairly clear, and the pomace floating on top. The wine is then drawn off into casks. * * *

The sooner the crushed grapes are crushed, the more so will the color of the wine be pale. If, however, red wine is wanted the crushed grapes must be allowed to ferment several days, so that the color in the grape skins will dissolve, because only in the skins is located the color.

In the regions of France which produce red wines the pomace is repeatedly stamped down, so as to have the color dissolve faster and the wine be more colored.

The pressed-out pomace can be packed into vats and casks and used for distillation and will produce a good brandy. The packing away of the pressed pomace, however, must be done at once into air-tight containers, otherwise the developing alcohol (spirits) will evaporate and the pomace get moldy after the pomace has gone through the distilling process, same will prove to be a valuable fertilizer for vineyards, which contains especially much potash and is very beneficial for the grapevine. (Translated by O. G. Stark, St. Louis, Mo.)

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THE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN WINES—THEIR SICKNESS AND THE CURE.

[By Charles H. Frings, editor of Grape Culturist; founder of Deutschen Wein Zeitung (German Wine Newspaper) in Mayence, Germany; superintendent of Bluffton Wine Co., St. Louis, Mo. Conrad Witter's Book Store, St. Louis, Mo., 1869.]

(Page 6.)

While the sugar under its process of separating from the lees is transformed into alcohol and carbonic gas, other ingredients of the must also become changed, inasmuch as they either undergo new combinations with one another (for instance, fragrant ethers are formed from alcohol and acid) or they precipitate part of them (for instance, hydrogen potassium tartrate, commonly known as argols). The transformation takes place more rapidly in warm temperature than in low temperature.

Cold temperature interrupts the fermentation, since it makes impossible the propagating of the yeast cells (fermenting germs); the germ then sinks to the bottom and the wine becomes clear without being fully developed. As soon, however, as it again is exposed to warmth fermentation again sets in and keeps up until cold temperature again interrupts the fermentation or until all the sugar or all ferment stuff is consumed.

This refermenting sometimes repeats several years in succession before the wine is fully developed and can be called bottle ripe; wherefore the German wines, which almost without exception are stored in very cool cellars, seldom can be drawn off into bottles before the third year.

Very many German wines of 1865 vintage, which showed a high percentage of sugar, were not even bottle ripe in 1869. Under such circumstances it is easily comprehensive why German wines are valued higher the older they get. * * *

(Page 8.)

A room in which during the winter the temperature can be kept at 15° Réaumur or 65° Fahrenheit will suffice fully to make the wines bottle ripe by the fourth or fifth month following the vintage, and it requires therefore, even during the hottest summer, no other room to store the wine and keep it from spoiling. On the contrary, through the warmth to which they are subjected they will become more perfect, acquiring the character of older wines.

To warrant this claim, which may appear to most as incredible, probably even paradoxical, I refer to following historical facts. Already in ancient times the Greeks and Romans, as Plinius and Dioskorides proved, kept their wines in the uppermost parts of the houses and in parts exposed to the south. These places are called "horreum vinarium."

In the seventeenth century in Bacharach, Steeg, Diebach, and Manubach on the Rhine wines were made from must by rapid fermentation and then hurriedly taken to Holland, where they were appreciated extraordinarily owing to their agreeable taste. This rapid fermentation was accomplished by heating in so-called "fire chambers," and called the resultant wine "fired wine." Since the custom was abandoned to offer a reward for the first cask produced in the manner for Holland, no one thereafter was in a hurry, and the "fire chambers" are now no longer to be found either in Bacharach nor in the surroundings.

Madeira wines formerly were allowed to pass the Equator several times to improve them, and the Englishmen shipped some to East India and back for this purpose, whereupon such Madeira, commanding enormous prices, was called East India Madeira.

In the meantime the practical Englishmen discovered that a quiet rest in a warm place will improve the wine just as well as an expensive trip past the Equator, and since 70 years they avail themselves of large rooms heated by stoves or pipes.

If, however, they desire to produce a very fine Madeira wine, which they call "Vino de rota"—meaning traveled wine—then

they bury the well-corked bottle of wine in deep ditches filled with horse manure, which manure undergoes fermentation, thereby developing such a warmth that the young wine kept a few months in the manure will acquire the character of old wines five or six years old. * * *

(P. 14.)

The riper the grape is the more sugar it contains. However, the distance of the grapes from the ground has an influence from one and the same grapevine. The must of the grapes close to the ground showed 1,089, the higher one 1,072, and the still higher ones 1,069 specific weight.

Burned sugar—caramel—often is found in grapes which were exposed to intense and extended heat or were dried in the sun. It imparts to the wine a deep color, heavy body, and a Madeira taste.

In general, the sugar contents of must from cultivated American grapes is between 15 and 20 per cent. The lowest percentage—15 per cent—I found in Concord, and the highest—20 per cent—in a Norton's Virginia Seedling, which was pressed from overripe grapes.

One part sugar yields in fermentation one-half part alcohol. A sugar content of 20 per cent accordingly yields a wine of 10 per cent alcoholic strength, while more than 25 per cent sugar could not all ferment. As soon as the 25 per cent of sugar has fermented, then the alcohol produced therefrom will stop any further fermentation, and the wine will remain sweet.

The volume of free acids, just like the sugar, depends upon the degree of ripeness of the grape. With increasing ripening the malic acid diminishes and the tartaric acid increases.

Inasmuch, however, as tartaric acids in the same proportion, bound by potash, is turned into hydrogen potassium tartrate (argols) the effect on the whole of the increasing ripening is that the free acids diminish. The acids are to be found not only in the expressed juice but also in the skins of the grape as well as in the stems (combs). A wine containing 5 per mill, that means in 1,000 pounds wine 5 pounds acids, is a palatable wine If it contains less acid, then it tastes insipid; if it contains more, then it tastes too sour.

(Page 15.)

The longer must ferments on the pomace the more powerful will be the color, because the coloring matter can only be extracted by the alcohol which forms through fermentation.

In the American grapes is to be found—as a result of the immense fertility of the soil—by far greater quantities of those nitrogenous albuminous substances which we call gluten.

As necessary as these components are to bring about fermentation, it can be positively accepted that the juice of the fully ripened American grape contains such a surplus of gluten that there is sufficient of it to ferment the double quantity of must, while the pomace still contains great quantities of it besides.

(Page 20.)

One more chief component of the must and of the wine will I especially have remembered. That is, the water, which forms 70 to 80 per cent of the must and 80 to 90 per cent of the wine. It is present in the grape in larger quantities, if the seasons of the year were more wet, and if the respective soil was damper, and also if the same received richer fertilizing; furthermore, if it rains before or during the grape picking (a rain lasting a few hours can increase the volume of water from 1 to 1½ per cent), or, if the grapes were picked before the morning sun has dried the dew. (Translated by O. G. Stark, St. Louis, Mo.)

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## Speedy Settlement of the Affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS.

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 6, 1916.*

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, the speedy settlement of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes is important to every citizen, both Indian and white, in Oklahoma. The Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes was appointed under an act of Congress dated March 3, 1893, charged with the responsibility of negotiating agreements with the Five Civilized Tribes, looking to the allotment of their lands and a division of their moneys. Agreements were made and ratified by the Government of the United States and the tribes. All the lands agreed to be allotted have been allotted among the enrolled members thereof.

I promised the people of my district that if elected to Congress I would do everything in my power to bring about the sale of the remaining tribal property and a division of all of the moneys belonging to the several tribes among the members entitled thereto.

CHEROKEES.

For several years prior to June 30, 1914, I was national attorney for the Cherokee Tribe of Indians. Their lands were all allotted, except some fractional lands which were sold and the proceeds paid out per capita. Upon coming to Washington in November, 1915, I found that the Cherokee Tribe had approximately $138,000 remaining to its credit. I immediately suggested to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the advisability of paying this money per capita to the enrolled members, which was done in February and March, 1916, the payment amounting to $3.30 per capita. The Cherokees have no other tribal funds or tribal property, and their affairs are completely wound up.

CHOCTAWS AND CHICKASAWS.

All of the lands agreed to be allotted by agreements with the Government have been allotted among the enrolled members of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. On January 4, 1916, I introduced a bill (H. R. 6883) providing for a per capita payment of $300 to the members of the Choctaw Tribe and $200 to the Chickasaw Tribe, and for an annual per capita payment thereafter out of their funds. I went before the Indian Committee with the other Members of the Oklahoma delegation and assisted in arguing this matter. A payment of $300 to the Choctaws and $200 to the Chickasaws was included in the Indian appropriation bill, which has already become a law.

I have cooperated with the other Members of the Oklahoma delegation in preparing a bill providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt lands. I went before the Indian Committee and assisted in presenting the same. It has been favorably reported and is upon the calendar waiting action by the House. We hope to get favorable action upon it during this session of Congress.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws have some unsold unallotted lands, timber lands, and what is known as the surface of the segregated coal lands. The sale of these lands needs no legislation. On May 17, 1916, I addressed a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggesting the advisability of offering these lands for sale during the month of August, 1916, when the per capita money was being distributed throughout the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. On June 30, I invited the commissioner's attention to it again by letter, and on July 3 I invited his attention to it in person. I was assured by him that the same would receive early consideration. It will be seen, therefore, that I have done everything possible to urge upon Congress and the Indian Office here the advisability of speedily winding up the affairs of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes.

CREEKS.

It is represented by the Creek authorities that certain persons who were not in existence have been erroneously enrolled, and that valuable tracts of land have been allotted them. Suits have been brought to cancel these allotments and to secure these tracts for the whole Creek Tribe. It is urged that some of them are valuable, and that if recovered to the tribe it would be unfair for any one of them to be taken by any single enrolled member of the Creek Nation. Two resolutions (H. J. Res. 50 and H. J. Res. 194) have been introduced providing for the withdrawal of these lands from allotment in the event any are recovered for the tribe. The first resolution provides for the sale "or lease" of them. The second resolution, which was introduced by myself, is in exactly the same language as the first, except that the words "or lease" are omitted. In other words, the resolution that I introduced provides for the sale of these lands. The records in the Indian Office on April 25, 1916, showed that there was upon that date to the credit of the Creek Tribe $2,264,978.61. My contention is that none of this money can be paid out to the enrolled members of the Creek Tribe until all of their lands are sold and the proceeds converted into cash and added to the above funds, so that the money can be apportioned at one time. Now, if a single tract is recovered and leased it means that the above sum of money will not be prorated for years to come and the settlement of the affairs of the Creek Tribe will be prolonged until the lease expires or the land is sold. This is important to the members of the Creek Tribe, and they should understand it. They have the above sum of money. There are a few tracts of land the titles to which are being contested in the courts. You can not make a lease for less than 15 years, and for this reason I have advocated, if any of the lands be recovered, that under rules and regulations prescribed by the department to insure the Creeks getting a fair

value for the same, the lands be sold and the proceeds added to their other funds, and that all these funds at the earliest possible date be prorated among the enrolled members of the tribe. This resolution is upon the House calendar, and members of the Creek Tribe should acquaint themselves with these resolutions and indicate to the Indian Office and Members of Congress their views with reference to the matter. I went before the Indian Committee on May 5, 1916, and urged that the lands be sold and not leased.

The loyal Creek Indians claim that the Government of the United States is indebted to them in the sum of $600,000, as provided in a treaty of 1866. I introduced a bill (H. R. 9326) on January 18, 1916, providing for the payment of the above amount, or the balance due the loyal Creek Indians. It was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and has been favorably reported. It is now on the calendar awaiting action by the House.

The Creeks claim that they were each entitled to allotted land equal in value to $1,040, but that they received land equal in value to $800. This is a legal question. I introduced a bill, H. R. 13478, to refer the matter to the Court of Claims, and it is pending before the Indian Committee of the House.

It will thus be seen that I have been diligent in doing everything possible to assist in winding up the affairs of the Creek Tribe of Indians.

On the first day Congress met I introduced H. R. 108, to confer the administration of individual restricted Indian matters upon the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee. This bill was referred to the Indian Committee and extensive hearings were had upon it. It was finally reported unanimously and is now upon the calendar awaiting action by the House.

In addition, the Indian appropriation bill contains items appropriating $185,000 for the office of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes; $85,000 for probate attorneys; $275,000 in aid of rural schools; and $47,500 for the Cherokee Orphan Training School at Tahlequah. I assisted the other members of the delegation in securing the inclusion of these items in the bill.

You can readily see that I have been as active as it was possible to have the departments, committees, and Congress issue orders and enact legislation looking to the speedy settlement of the affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes. The people of my district may rest assured that it will be my purpose to do everything in my power to aid in all further legislation for the final settlement of these Indian estates.

I am sure that I voice the sentiment of every Indian in my district without exception, when I say that they want whatever remaining money is due, paid them. The Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes has been 23 years in winding up the affairs of these tribes. One-third of the enrolled members of the tribes are dead, and surely it is not too much to ask of the department and of Congress that the Indians now living be paid the balance due them.

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**Dedication of New Labor Temple—Speeches of President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, and President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWARD KEATING,

OF COLORADO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 6, 1916.*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, organized labor is no longer a tenant in the Capital of the Nation. It owns its own home.

The dedication of the American Federation of Labor's new office building in this city on the Fourth of July was an event of historic significance. It furnished a new and convincing bit of evidence that the American labor movement is not an ephemeral agitation, but a progressive and enduring movement in defense of human rights.

The dedicatory ceremonies were marked by a dignity in keeping with the importance of the occasion. The Secretary of Labor, Hon. William B. Wilson, was master of ceremonies, and the President of the United States and the president of the American Federation of Labor delivered addresses. As the program was originally arranged, President Wilson was to have spoken first, but at the last moment, at the President's earnest solicitation, the schedule was changed, and President Gompers delivered the first speech.

SECRETARY OF LABOR WILSON.

In introducing President Gompers Secretary Wilson said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, members of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions: I congratulate you upon the construction of this temple, dedicated to the welfare of the wageworkers on a basis of justice to all mankind. The labor movement represents the struggle of the ages to establish those principles of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. And what a glorious struggle it has been. The fight to break through the crust and to abolish slavery and serfdom; the contest for political liberty; the effort to secure equality of economic opportunity. Then the rebirth of the inventive genius of man; the coming of our modern industrial system with all of its complications and the effort to secure for those who toil a share and a fair share of the increased productivity of man so that they may aspire to greater mental and spiritual development. The building of trade unions to assist in the accomplishment of that purpose and their coming together in later years in the form of the American Federation of Labor, intelligently directed, accomplishing more for human uplift in its 35 years of existence than had been accomplished in a century before; an association in which can be found a multitude of altruistic men and women willing to sacrifice their own comfort and personal welfare in order that the future might benefit thereby. A great body of struggling humanity making an effort for the improvement of the entire race, and the selected leader of that body I have the honor of presenting to you, President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor."

PRESIDENT SAMUEL GOMPERS.

President Gompers spoke as follows:

"Fellow working men and women, fellow citizens and friends, in the name of the great labor movement of our country I greet you and bid you welcome on this day and on this occasion, when we are assembled to perform a double duty—the one which primarily brings us together here to dedicate this splendid temple of labor, and the day, the celebration of our independence as the Republic of the United States.

"Several of our friends have asked me whether the day was not illy chosen and whether we might not have more fittingly celebrated or dedicated this structure on Labor Day. My answer was, in substance, that in the Capital of our Nation the American Federation of Labor Building could be dedicated on no day quite so fitting as the Fourth of July, when we hoped, as we have realized, that the President of the United States would address this assemblage.

"My friends, it is a most difficult task for me to know just how to address you and what to say, and yet, I take it, you would not have me deal in a few generalities and thank you for your attention. May I, then, not say that this occasion affords the opportunity for the deepest reflection. Bear in mind that in the cycle of time—it has been only a few short years since the formation of the American Federation of Labor—thirty-five or six years count but little. If, however, we take a retrospective view of the conditions of the toiling masses even of our country, and compare the physical conditions, the economic situation and standards, the political contrasts and the wonderful changes which have come about in the life and the work and the rights and the hopes and the aspirations and the ideals of the toilers of our country, it is sufficient to cause us not only to pause but to give credit to those who have gone before, to renew the confidence we have in the men and the women of our time, and to look forward with an eye and a vision for the future that promises a world of happiness, of justice, of freedom, and the best concepts of humanity for all our people.

"In the early days of the American labor movement it happened that through inexperience coupled with high-mindedness, altruism, selfishness, sordidness, our movement could not have any cohesive existence nor a long-continued career, and thus the organizations of labor sprung up overnight and died in the morn. It has been to the credit of the American Federation of Labor that for the first time in the history of the organized movement of the workers of our country there have been a steadfast growth and development, a continuity and expansion of thought and hope and activity, always maintaining one star in our mind to lead on and on and on. Though you and you and you and I have all been impatient with the apparent slow growth, the superficially slow growth in the achievement of the

rights to which we claim the toilers are entitled, all too slow in the abolition and the remedying of the wrongs to which the toilers have too long been compelled to endure, yet our progress onward and upward has been sure and steady. I am as impatient as the most impatient among you, but when I take a retrospective view of the material, of the political, and of the social conditions at the time when the American Federation of Labor was given to the world and compare them with the conditions on this Independence Day, July 4, 1916, there is cause for gratification and jubilation which gives us the incentive and whets our appetities and desires to the determination to go on and on and on in the attainment of every right to which the toilers are entitled and the abolition of all wrongs which they have too long endured.

"If those of you who are of mature years will bring your minds back, and if you of more recent times who may have read or heard of conditions prevailing in the olden times will imagine the contrast when the doors of men and women in decent homes were closed in the faces of the men who dared preach the gospel of the rights of labor and contrast that situation with now, this glorious era in which we live, when at the dedication of this magnificent structure, erected for the service in the cause of labor, justice, freedom, and humanity, we find the President of this great Republic of ours adorning this occasion with not only his presence but the presence of members of his Cabinet you will find a marvelous change. From the time of slavery, when all the workers, not only the blacks but the whites, were slaves; when the owner, the master, was the lord of all; when there was none to say to him nay against his overlordship over those men and women workers whom he owned; from the time of serfdom to our institutions of industry of to-day there has been a growth that dazzles the mind.

"This is a wonderful age in which we are privileged to live. There has been running through the course of history the struggle of the masses of the people, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. Wherever injustice and tyranny were exercised it was the masses, it was the people, the workers, who suffered. It was and is the mission of the masses of the people, it is the mission of the workers of our time, it is the mission of the much misunderstood and misrepresented organized labor movement, to carry on the work to its fulfillment so that the wonderful sentiment and view and rights declared in our Declaration of Independence, that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, shall not only be a declaration that was given to the world but shall establish a new status and a new concept of new rights of man.

"That declaration gave to us this Republic of ours with all its opportunities, and it is the purposes of the organized-labor movement of America to make these declarations a charter of human rights, the living, actual rules of our everyday life. Men are not necessarily free because declarations of independence so declare. Men are not necessarily free because the Constitution guarantees freedom. Men are given the opportunities for freedom, and they must, if they aim to be free, exercise the activities that come with the intelligent free men.

"Through a long series of years there have come to the workers influences and activities that place them in a different category and occupying a different status from the rest of the citizenship of our country. This is not the time nor the occasion for criticism. All that is required or appropriate is to mention or to refer to facts that under interpretation of laws and extension of jurisdiction the men and women of labor were placed in the category of products, inanimate products of labor. It was not conceded or understood in such concepts that in contrast to attributes of property and products the worker had a heart and a mind and a soul and that his labor could not be separated from his very being, his very life. To place human labor in the same category with wood, and coal, and beef, cloth, and wool, and iron is to declare at the same time that the man who purchases that labor power is the master and owner of the worker.

"It was because of the recognition of this injustice, this unjust status into which we were temporarily forced, that the American labor movement resolved that, come what may, every effort must be bent toward securing a legislative declaration, solemnly enacted into law, that the labor power, the labor of human being, is not a commodity or article of commerce. Due to the campaign of organization and agitation and education and the driving force of our cause in the political arena, we finally prevailed upon our Congress to pass the labor provisions of the Clayton antitrust law. The Hon. Woodrow Wilson was afforded the grand opportunity to affix his signature to the law.

"My friends, there is not an overabundance of our own people who understand what is really contained in that declaration in section 6 of the Clayton antitrust law. It solemnly enacts this declaration into law, that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and for the first time in the history of the struggles of the human race, for the first time a high legislative body, or, for that matter, any legislative body in the whole world, repudiated the old doctrine that the labor of a human being is property, that the labor of a human being is a commodity, that the labor of a human being is an article of commerce.

"In addition to that, supplementary to it, the enactment of the seamen's law gave greater security to life and property at sea, and at the same time gave the opportunity to the seamen of the United States to be free in the ownership of themselves and their labor power when their vessels are in safe harbor. Quite apart from the other constructive legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States and by the legislatures of our several States, if they were entirely barren of any results, the enactment of these two laws—the labor provisions of the Clayton antitrust law and the seamen's law—are themselves a monument to our civilization, larger vision, broader humanitarianism, and highest concepts of human liberty. These two acts in themselves stand out as such a monument.

"Just a word and I shall have done. The labor movement of our time is concerned in securing a larger share, a better reward, as the result of the services that the workers give to society; but quite apart from a demand for a higher wage, for a shorter workday, for relief from burdensome toil, for the securement of safety, sanitation, workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, the labor movement of our country and our time demands the right and opportunity to take part in all the affairs and in all the activities of our public life. The demand is justified by the service rendered, without which even civilization itself could not endure.

"The toilers, the sovereign citizenship, together with the sovereign citizens of all other groups, make a demand that there shall be but one purpose, one hope, one struggle, and one ideal—the perpetuation of this Republic, improved, handed down to those who follow us, that they may in their time say, 'Well done, good and faithful servants.'

"There is not any act on the part of our Government, there is no activity in any group of our people, in which the wage workers, the toiling masses, are not concerned. Let us do all that we can do to help the man at the head of the affairs of our country, who is weighted down with great responsibilities—the President of the United States—to see to it that we are kept out of actual war with any nation. We know how seriously and earnestly he is striving to achieve peace; but in order that his wise and humane purposes may be carried into effect it will require the loyal and intelligent support of the masses of the people of our country. We, his fellow citizens, who want peace, have a duty to perform. No man in all the world can stand alone. A man may become a hermit and try to free himself from his former environment, but he is not alone and can not be alone. There are new conditions which confront and surround him. So I say, my friends, it is not only to believe in peace, it is not only the desire for peace, but let us give out the clarion call to our people that we by every honorable means at our command are going to see to it that the policy of trying to maintain peace shall be sustained. And yet I say that if after every honorable effort has been made and peace is not longer possible and the horrors of war shall come to us or be forced upon us, let me say this not only for myself but for all the workers, for I believe I express the spirit and the purpose of the men in the labor movement of America, that they may be counted upon to give a good account of themselves.

"Men and women, friends, and those of you who are wage earners, I doubt the necessity, and yet I can not close without abjuring you to see to it, that those who are not members of organized labor join that movement at once. We may not always be right—we are human and are liable to err. If you know better than we, come in and make the contribution of your intelligence to the sum total and leaven it up. If you are honest and earnest and patriotic, come into the organizations and help us in the great work of upbuilding and to spread the gospel of the rights of labor and the duties and the obligations of the workers.

"And you business men and public men and professional men, may I not appeal to you to take a broader view of this labor movement of ours than many of you have taken in the past? See to it that you endeavor to conduct your affairs in accord with the ideas and the purposes of the labor movement. Help us in this great, rational, natural constructive work to bring

light and hope into the life and the work of the toilers of our country, and to help build up character and manhood and womanhood in the life and the hearts and the minds of the toilers. Help us that the children may have a broader and a better day than the men and the women of our time had during their child life. See to it that the citizenship shall have the opportunity of growth and development and to become one homogeneous citizenship, the manhood and the womanhood of to-day and the children of our time that they may take up the work where we were compelled to lay it down and carry on the good work to carry the good word on and on and on until the time shall come when man to man shall be a brother 'for a' that and a' that.' So that time may come I plead with you on this sanctified holy day to be true to yourselves, true to each other, true to the organized labor movement, true to the institutions and the flag of our country, which we shall uphold in all times and against all obstacles, no matter from which quarter they may come."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

At the conclusion of Mr. Gompers's remarks, the master of ceremonies presented the President of the United States, who spoke as follows:

"Mr. Secretary, Mr. Gompers, and my fellow citizens, Mr. Gompers is generally very happy in his choice of words, but he used one word just now from which I wish to demur. I am not here to adorn the occasion, but I am here to express my very deep interest in it and to show how near it lies to my own heart that the legitimate objects of the great labor movement should be achieved.

"It seems to me that it is a happy conjunction of time and occasion, because we should never make any new move or establish any new instrumentality which will affect the national life without thinking of the national life and how it will be affected and how we can serve it. It is very proper that this great building should in this wise be dedicated on the birthday of the Nation. You know, my fellow citizens, that the mind needs air to breathe just as the body does. You can not rise to the tasks of the day with any kind of zest and interest unless you know their significance; and they have a very narrow significance if you merely look upon them as a means of keeping body and soul together. It seems to me, therefore, that the most heartening thing that a man can do is to think as often as he can of the relation which his work bears to the place he lives in, to the State he lives in, and to the country he lives in. You know that every man who is a man takes some pride in doing his work well, but why should he take pride in it? Merely to glorify and distinguish himself from the common run of workers? That will only make a prig of him. A man who works in order that he may be distinguished is sooner or later going to do some selfish thing that will disgrace him, because his object is himself and not the ideals which he serves. And therefore it seems to me that every one of us should remind himself every day that he is working for something besides wages; that he is working for some persons whom he loves, for some community that he wishes to assist, for some nation that he is ready to serve and defend. That is the reason why, it seems to me, that this is a happy conjunction of day and occasion. Because, my fellow citizens, you will realize that in a position such as I occupy for the time being, I am not at liberty to think of any one class of our fellow citizens to the exclusion of any other class, and since I have been asked to make the dedicatory address of this building, I am going to take the liberty of dedicating it to common counsel and a common understanding. I am going to take the liberty of dedicating it to the thing that I believe in most, the accommodation of the interests of various classes in the community by means of enabling those classes to understand one another and cooperate with one another.

"The way we generally strive for rights is by getting our fighting blood up, and I venture to say that that is the long way and not the short way. If you come at me with your fists doubled, I think I can promise you that mine will double as fast as yours; but if you come at me and say, 'Let us sit down and take counsel together and, if we differ with one another, understand why it is that we differ with one another, just what the points at issue are,' we will presently find that we are not so far apart after all; that the points in which we differ are few and the points in which we agree are many, and that if we only have the patience and the candor and the desire to get together we will get together.

"The trouble in a great many of the labor contests we have had, my fellow citizens, as you will bear me out in saying, is that one side or the other did not wish to sit down and talk it over and that the great difficulty in the settlement of a great many labor disputes has been the difficulty of getting candid and dispassionate conference with regard to the points at issue. The great difficulty about the relationship between capital and labor is this: Labor is in immediate contact with the task itself, with the work, with the conditions of the work, with the tools with which it is done and the circumstances under which they are used, whereas capital in too many instances is at a great remove. It is owned and controlled by many who have not taken the pains to go and see the workers at their work and know just what the circumstances are; and the thing most to be desired is that capital should be humanized by being brought into a comprehending contact with the conditions of labor. You have seen what has happened in some instances. You have seen men who had sat in their offices in some great city and directed the use of capital presently realize that they did not know how it was being used and themselves go to the factory which their capital operated or the mines which were worked by the use of their capital, themselves don overalls and go into the bowels of the earth or through, it may be, greasy processes of the factory and come out with an entirely different range of comprehension as to what it was all about and a signally increased capacity to understand the point of view of the man who was actually doing the work. That is the kind of thing which I like to see done, and that is the kind of thing that we ought to talk about on the Fourth of July.

"The Fourth of July was a day when a great union was formed, but it was not a union of any one class or body of persons in that little Nation of 3,000,000 that formed it. It was a union of all the people for common objects, and no man is a true American who does not realize that all the objects of our national life are common objects, and not separate objects. But it is easy to say, my fellow citizens, and it is very hard to put it into practice. A great many men come to see me and tell me a great many things, some of which I believe; but if I were to listen with greater comprehension than I have to everything that they tell me, I would realize when the day's work was over that I could not hold in my single comprehension the infinitely varied, complex life of this great country to which we belong. It takes a multitude of minds to comprehend the United States, and that is the reason that I think a building like this should be devoted to the processes which pool our understandings. Nobody has got enough by himself to run the country. We have got to pool our understandings, and with regard to every problem which affects labor, this great building ought to be the place to pool our understandings. Every counsel that goes forth from these offices should be a counsel of conference, of mutual comprehension, if possible of mutual accommodation, because every one of us has some part in the infinitely difficult task of driving this Nation as a team, not as a body of contesting elements. We ought to be all comprehended in one spiritual organization from which no individual or group of individuals will allow himself or itself to be torn away.

"You know we used to hear very ornate orations on the Fourth of July. All the highly colored words of the very varied vocabulary of our great language were called into commission on that day to glorify the Stars and Stripes, and I remember that when I was younger and had been immersed in fewer difficulties than recently, I used to thrill with those words and think they meant something, but I now know that rhetoric does not get to the heart of it. Flag after flag went by in that procession just now; every one of those flags ought to have suggested to every one of us that we have not yet fulfilled the full conscientious duty of America in understanding each other and, through comprehension of each other, understanding and serving the world. America did not come into existence to make one more great nation in the family of nations, to show its strength and to exercise mastery. America opened her doors to everybody who wanted to be free and to have the same opportunity that everybody else had to make the most of his faculties and his opportunities, and America will retain its greatness only so long as it retains and seeks to realize those ideals. No man ought to suffer injustice in America. No man ought in America to fail to see the deep dictates of humanity.

"Mr. Gompers was referring just now to the sixth section of the Clayton antitrust law, the section in which the obvious is stated, namely, that a man's labor is not a commodity, but a part of his life, and that, therefore, the courts must not treat it as if it were a commodity, but must treat it as if it were a part of his life. I am sorry that there were any judges in the United States who had to be told that. It is so obvious that it seems to me that that section of the Clayton Act were a return to the primer of human liberty; but if judges have to have the primer opened before them, I am willing to open it. If any part of the United States, through habit, through ancient prejudice, through long addiction to technical ideas, insists upon living in an age which everybody else with his eyes open knows

has gone by, why, then, we have got to sound some great note that will wake them up, but wake them up always to the same thing, with which we should thrill as well as others; that it is take as well as give; that the other man has as much right as we have; that we are not to seek for an advantage, but for an equality; that though we have been put upon, we do not desire to see any other man put upon, or any other class, but that we should all have as our highest ideal merely to bask in that only nourishing sun that has ever shone upon the human heart, the sun of justice and of truth and of humanity.

"Mr. Gompers spoke just now, and I dare say truthfully, as if it were somewhat a matter of surprise that the President of the United States should recognize the great labor movement by his presence on an occasion like this. I am sorry for any President of the United States who does not recognize every great movement in the Nation. The minute he stops recognizing it he has become a back number. And how anybody could overlook this movement I can not imagine—a movement so fraught with all sorts of things that appeal to the reason and to the heart. You can not go deep into any argument with a workingman interested in the rights of other workingmen as well as his own without finding that a deep emotion underlies the argument. And, my fellow citizens, I want to remind you that we are governed by our emotions very much more than we are governed by our reason. It is a very dangerous fact, but a very profoundly interesting one, that a man follows his heart more often than he follows his head, and when he follows his heart it is of primary importance that his heart should be right and not wrong. Somebody said to me once that this was the day in which mind was monarch, and I replied that if that was true I ventured to say that mind was one of those modern monarchs that reigned but did not govern; that, as a matter of fact, we were governed by a great popular assembly made up of the passions, and that the most we could effect was that the handsome passions should be in a working majority. It is the business, therefore, of every organization like the American Federation of Labor to see to it that the handsome passions have a working majority, and to summon everybody with whom they deal to put their best representative handsome passions into the conference, so that heart may meet with heart as well as mind with mind, and one great emotion shall at once sway and unite us, the emotion of a mutual affection and a mutual comprehension."

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### Army Appropriation Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. WILLIAM L. LA FOLLETTE,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 26, 1916.*

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. Speaker, this bill making appropriations for the needs of our Army, including our coast defense and the proper outfitting and maintenance of our National Guard as provided for in the Army reorganization bill lately passed by the House of Representatives, is, I think, a very reasonable and commendable appropriation bill, even though it calls for many millions of dollars more than was ever asked for in any previous appropriation bill for the maintenance of the Army.

Mr. Speaker, I do not consider it necessary or wise for this Republic to ever maintain a large standing army or that we should ever build up a great military establishment in the United States. I think it would not only be unwise but dangerous to the perpetuity of our political freedom and our democratic institutions. I believe that history shows, without an exception, that each and every nation that has established great standing armies for the safety of the nation has seen the force thus created become the dominating factor in the nation, and that it has usually led to the coercion of the civil power that created it, and caused either the total downfall of such a nation or a general realignment of conditions that led to the misery and degradation of the masses. Mr. Speaker, the disclosure by history of this fact has never been, in my judgment, any reason why a nation should go to the other extreme and not make reasonable and proper provision for national defense and adequate appropriations of money to make our units of organization for defense potent and workable; and for this reason I have persistently voted since I have been a Member of the House of Representatives for the largest appropriations for the maintenance and equipment of our Army and Navy that have been asked for. I have made some study of American campaigns from our earliest times down to the present day, and the fact has been indelibly fixed upon my mind that the Congress of the United States has always been derelict in its duties, when it came to making proper provision for the furnishing of necessary ordnance and general supplies necessary to make effective the Army and Navy of the United States in case of trouble. It was so in the War of 1812, again in the Mexican War, the War of the Rebellion, and, later, our Spanish-American War, and we would find ourselves in the same condition should we become at the present time involved in war with Mexico. We have always, with our wonderful resources and ability to handle emergencies, been eventually successful in all our wars, and the difference in money cost of not being properly equipped and prepared could be overlooked and condoned if that were all that was involved.

It was the unnecessary suffering of our soldiers and the enormously increased toll by death, wounds, and disease that could have been avoided had our armies been properly equipped and prepared, which can not be excused or condoned and which makes lack of the necessary equipment of ordnance and all Army supplies inexcusable and almost brands the Congresses that have been derelict in their duties with criminal negligence. There has always been too much politics and not enough patriotism shown by Congress in dealing with supply bills for the Army and Navy. We had a fair sample of that when the Kahn amendment was offered to the Army reorganization bill lately. The bill provided for the reorganization of the Army on a sound basis, specifying the various units of Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery, Engineers, Signal Corps, and so forth. The Kahn amendment added additional enlisted men without increasing the number of organizations in the Army and without providing for the assignments of the enlisted men to the organizations already carried in the bill.

The amendment not only did not provide any organizations for the increased number of enlisted men but did not authorize any additional officers, and this legislation would have been practically worthless without additional legislation following it. It was simply a political expedient. I do not believe in playing politics when questions of magnitude and importance are being considered. I supported the House bill and likewise the conference report, wherein practically the same number of men provided for in the Kahn amendment were provided and in such a form as to be practical, properly officered, and really efficient.

I think the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee [Mr. HAY] and his associates are to be congratulated that in framing this bill they did not let the extremists either for or against national preparedness influence them unduly in either direction, and have calmly and dispassionately made the necessary provisions for taking ample care of the Military Establishment with its added burdens in a manner worthy of the country and its ability to adequately provide for its proper maintenance.

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### Democracy's Great Revenue Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. EDWARD KEATING,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the members of the Committee on Ways and Means are to be congratulated on having presented the pending bill to the House. My good friend Mr. KITCHIN, of North Carolina, the distinguished leader of the majority, has referred to it as a nonpartisan measure. Of course, he smiled when he made the statement, because he knows, as every Member of this House knows, that this is a Democratic bill. It would not be here if we did not have a Democratic majority in this House and a Democratic majority at the other end of the Capitol and a Democratic President in the White House. The Democratic Party assumed the responsibility of its preparation, the responsibility of its passage; and when we go before the voters this fall it will be the Democratic Party, and not the Republican Party, which will shoulder the burden of explaining and defending its provisions.

This is a pleasant responsibility, Mr. Speaker. We have no desire to shrink from it, because this is the kind of legislation which causes Democratic majorities to spring up all over the country like daisies after a June shower.

NO TAX ON NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

The bill provides for a total of $225,000,000 of new revenue, and not one dollar of that vast sum will be raised by a tax on the necessaries of life.

The primary purpose of the bill is to provide the money needed to pay for President Wilson's "preparedness" program. Every dollar will come from the purses of those who are most capable of making the contribution—the very rich men of this country.

The increase in the income tax will produce more than $100,000,000. The inheritance tax is expected to produce $17,000,000 the first year and $54,000,000 each year thereafter, and the tax on munitions of war will bring in $71,000,000 a year while the European war lasts.

Heretofore the cost of conducting the Federal Government has been met by the imposition of taxes which increased the cost of the things men must have in order to sustain life.

Men did not contribute in proportion to their wealth but in proportion to their consuming power. Every time you purchased a hat or a suit of clothes, or a pound of sugar or meat for your table, or furniture for your home, or a cigar, or a sack of tobacco, a certain sum was added to the price on account of the tariff or the internal-revenue tax. Of course, you did not know you were paying something for the upkeep of the Government, because the manufacturer quietly added the tax without annoying his customer with a discussion of the matter. But every dollar of the vast total required to keep Uncle Sam in business came out of the pockets of the consumers.

It was the indirect, the Republican, the easy way of raising revenue.

INJUSTICE OF OLD SYSTEM.

One of the worst features of the system was that it took as much from the poor man as from the rich. We all agree that every citizen under the flag should contribute his just share of the money needed to keep that flag flying in security over a Nation of free people.

But no one will contend that the man of moderate means should give as much as the multimillionaire.

Yet, it was not until the advent of the Wilson administration that any serious attempt was made to equalize the burden by compelling wealth to bear something like its just share. The masses of the people still contribute to the support of the Government through tariff and internal-revenue taxes. In fact, they are paying practically as much per capita as they did in former years, but the Democrats have refused to add to those burdens by piling on the cost of "preparedness."

That item will be taken care of by the income, inheritance, and munitions taxes. As I have explained, the munitions tax will end with the war, but the income and inheritance taxes are permanent institutions—at least, they will remain on the statute books if the Democrats remain in power.

What the Republicans would do with them, if they should secure control of the Government, I do not know.

HUGHES OPPOSED TO INCOME TAX.

I do know, however, that their candidate for President, Hon. Charles E. Hughes, while governor of the great State of New York, used all the influence of his position to defeat the income-tax amendment to the Federal Constitution. If he has changed his mind on that subject he has not taken the people into his confidence. Presumably he still believes that the burdens of government should be placed on the back of industry instead of wealth.

The reasoning which led him to oppose the income tax will lead him to fight the inheritance tax.

So, Mr. Speaker, if Judge Hughes is inaugurated President of the United States on the 4th of March next, and finds himself supported by Republican majorities in the House and Senate, we may expect him to convene Congress in extra session for the purpose of removing from the statute books the bill which we are about to enact, and replacing it with legislation more in keeping with the traditions of his party.

FOUGHT FOR 25 YEARS.

For more than a quarter of a century the people of this country demanded the enactment of an income tax, but their desires were not gratified until Woodrow Wilson entered the White House. The Underwood tariff bill, enacted in 1913, contained a provision levying a tax on all incomes in excess of $4,000 for married men and $3,000 for single men. During the last fiscal year that tax produced $124,000,000. Under the pending bill we are reenacting that law, but increasing the rates so as to produce about $225,000,000 instead of $124,000,000.

The records show there are 173 individuals in this country whose income exceed $500,000 a year. Their gross income for 1914 was $246,327,000, and under this bill they will be compelled to contribute 12 per cent of that staggering amount, or about $30,000,000, to the support of the Government which safeguards their lives and property. Is that unreasonable?

Prior to the present war it was estimated that the annual income of John D. Rockefeller was about $25,000,000. As a result of the unparalleled prosperity which this country is experiencing the experts tell us that Mr. Rockefeller's income has practically doubled, and that he is now in receipt of approximately $50,000,000 a year. If that be true, he would contribute under this bill $6,000,000 a year to the support of this Government. What is more, experts estimate Mr. Rockefeller's wealth at $1,000,000,000. No other man in the history of the world has controlled such a vast fortune. Compared with the owner of Standard Oil, Croesus was a village banker. Mr. Rockefeller's holdings are represented on the tax rolls of every State in the Union; his fleets plow the seven seas and his dollars are laboring for him in every land and under every flag between the Arctic and the Antarctic Circles.

As an individual, he would be helpless to safeguard those mighty investments. As an American, he demands and receives the protection of the flag.

Deprived of the shelter of the ægis of the giant Republic of the west he would be as helpless as a peon on a Mexican desert, but resting in its shadow he is as secure as a Cæsar in his palace.

Will we be considered unreasonable if, in return for this protection, we demand that Mr. Rockefeller contribute to the National Treasury 12 per cent of his income, or six-tenths of 1 per cent of the estimated value of his holdings?

On the contrary, Mr. Speaker, I believe the sober judgment of Mr. Rockefeller himself will be that Congress has exercised unusual moderation in its use of the taxing power conferred on it by the Constitution.

In using Mr. Rockefeller's name I have not been actuated by a desire to indulge in personalities. He is the best known figure in the financial world. His name suggests wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and I have used it because it seemed best adapted to complete the illustration I desired to make. What I have said about Mr. Rockefeller applies with equal force to every individual called upon to pay this income tax.

They are all required to contribute in proportion to their wealth. What system could be more just or more democratic?

REPUBLICAN AUTHORITY CITED.

Before I leave this subject of an income tax I want to call to my support a very distinguished Republican authority. I have said that under the old system of raising Federal revenue the poor man paid as much as the rich man. In support of that statement I want to quote from a speech delivered in this House by one of the ablest and most courageous gentlemen who ever occupied a seat in this Chamber—Judge Prouty, of Iowa. Judge Prouty, as you know, is a Republican, an earnest, loyal party man, and this is what he said in discussing the income tax in the Sixty-second Congress:

I have living near me at home a section man that has eight children, with an actual income of $504 a year. Now, I will wager everything that I have that this section man pays more for the support of the Government than does John D. Rockefeller.

Now, let us analyze for a minute. Where do our taxes come from to support the Federal Government? From internal revenue and tariff duties.

Now, what are the items from which we collect internal-revenue duties principally? Spirits, tobacco, and oleomargarine.

Now, my friend Rockefeller does not smoke, he does not chew, he does not drink, he does not take snuff, and he does not eat oleomargarine, and therefore he does not pay a cent to the Federal Government on its internal-revenue tax. I am sorry to say that my section-hand friend uses a small amount of all of those items and therefore pays the tax on them.

Mr. CANNON. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. PROUTY. Certainly.

Mr. CANNON. The statistics show that the gentleman's State has a larger per capita wealth than any other State in the Union.

Mr. PROUTY. I agree with you on that, sir, and yet the same statistics, I am sorry to say, show that the average income of the people of my State is only a little over $600. And yet I am prepared to say that the people of my State, with an average income of $600 per year, pay more per capita than does John D. Rockefeller for the support of this great Government that lends its entire power to the support of his vast property. The armies and navies of the United States are always held in readiness to defend his holdings in every quarter of the globe.

Now, take the articles upon which tariff duties are levied. There is sugar. I venture the assertion that my section hand and his family use 10 pounds of sugar to 1 used by the dyspeptic Rockefeller and his good wife, and therefore he pays ten times as much tax to the Federal Government. And this is true of pepper and every other article on the tax lists, and this is largely true of wearing apparel.

My section man and his good wife and eight boys and girls wear out more boots and shoes, more hats, more pants, more coats, more dresses, more neckties, more collars than does my peripatetic friend J. D. and his good wife. If the reports in the newspapers are to be credited, J. D. has most of his clothes made for himself and wife in Paris, which he brings in duty free; and I saw by the papers that the last time he was in Paris he bought wigs enough to last him the rest of his life. [Laughter.]

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman should be fair enough to admit that Mr. Rockefeller's revenues are diminished by the amount of the corporation tax given to the Federal Government.

Mr. PROUTY. No. His amount is not diminished by the tax. Any man who has been watching the matter can see easily that if the corporation tax is from Standard Oil, enough is collected from the people that use oil to cover expense, tax, and dividends. Having, as they do, a practical monopoly, they do not allow the tax to interfere with dividends. They just raise the price enough to the consumer to equal the tax. If the dividends are from railroad stocks or other public-service corporations, it is just as true. The public pays the fares that cover the tax to the Government and the dividend to Rockefeller. If there was no tax, the fares could be less. The public, therefore, pays the corporation tax—not Rockefeller.

Now, when our forefathers started on this system, it was not a bad one. Our people were none of them very poor and none of them were very rich. But with the advancement of our civilization, with the vast accumulations of property, with the enormous incomes that some have, with the corresponding poverty brought to others, the present system is made practically intolerable, whether you found it upon a basis of a protective tariff or upon the basis of a tariff for revenue only. [Applause.]

Mr. McCall stated on the floor of the House the other day that the per capita tax for the Federal Government was about $7. That is about correct. This makes my section hand pay $70 per year as taxes for the support of the Federal Government. My friend J. D. possibly pays $14, but I seriously doubt that. If we had an income tax, J. D. would contribute in proportion to his wealth, but not a dollar of it would come out of his necessities or even luxuries. But when you take $70 out of the meager income of the poor man, with his large family, you take it out of the necessities of life. It means privation and want. It means children poorly fed and thinly clad. It means children going to school with holes in their shoes, holes in their stockings and in their pants, fore and aft It means the taking of children out of school at tender years and crowding them into the factory to help splice out the family living. It means sick children and no doctor. It means that the wan, gaunt specter of dread and want accompanies the holy stork. It means real pinching, poverty, and distress.

Such a system as that is intolerable and indefensible as a just system of collecting revenue. It violates every principle of equity and equality. It puts the burdens on those least able to bear them and practically relieves those who are best able to carry them.

WORLD'S OLDEST TAX.

There is nothing new, Mr. Speaker, about the income tax. Those of you who are familiar with your Bibles know that this form of taxation was established by divine command in the days when the prophets walked the earth and foretold the coming of the Saviour of Mankind. Practically all the great nations of the earth avail themselves of its beneficent provisions. In England, for example, the rates are very high, and Lord Northcliffe, the owner of the London Times, announced only a few weeks ago that he expected to be compelled to contribute 50 per cent of his income to the support of the Government, and that he did not believe the rate would be materially reduced at the conclusion of the war.

In this country we enacted an income tax in 1861 to help meet the expenses of the Civil War. The rates were much higher than any now proposed. For instance, those who had incomes of between $600 and $5,000 a year were compelled to pay 5 per cent; between $5,000 and $10,000 per year, 7½ per cent; and over $10,000, 10 per cent. In a period of 10 or 11 years this law produced a total of $376,000,000. It was repealed in 1870.

When the Democratic Party came into power in 1893 an income tax was enacted. It was attacked on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court sustained the objection under most unusual circumstances.

There are nine members of that august body. When the income-tax case was being considered, involving at that time tens of millions of dollars of revenue, one of the justices was absent by reason of sickness. The remaining justices found they could not reach a decision. Four believed the law unconstitutional and four eloquently maintained that it was constitutional. They decided to await the return of the sick justice. After hearing the arguments, he announced himself as convinced of its constitutionality.

Then an extraordinary thing occurred. One of the judges who had argued in favor of the constitutionality of the law changed his mind and joined those who insisted it was unconstitutional.

Thus because a supreme judge changed his mind the income-tax law was kept off the statute books for 20 years, and this Government was deprived of revenue of over fifty to one hundred million dollars a year, or a total for the 20 years of from 1,000 million to 2,000 million dollars.

WHY "STANDPATTERS" FIGHT LAW.

The motive which prompts Republican statesmen of the standpat variety to object to the income tax may be found in a speech delivered by the late Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, in the Senate on June 29, 1909. He declared frankly at that time that he was opposed to the income tax because it was "a tax which was sure in the end to destroy the protective-tariff system."

I know there are Democrats who are opposed to the income tax, and I know there are Republicans who have ably and consistently supported it, but a careful examination of the congressional history of this country will sustain the statement that the income tax is peculiarly the child of Democracy and that the leaders of the Republican Party have never overlooked an opportunity to mutilate or destroy it.

AN INHERITANCE TAX.

There is just one more feature of the pending legislation that I desire to consider, and that is the inheritance tax. We will be told that we should not levy an inheritance tax for Federal purposes because it is a source of revenue for the States. It is true that most of the States levy an inheritance tax, but from the very nature of things those statutes can not be effectively enforced. It is mighty easy for men of great wealth to conceal their holdings from the representatives of a State. It would be much more difficult for them to avoid Uncle Sam's tax collectors.

According to the best information I have been able to obtain the States collect about $25,000,000 a year from inheritance taxes. This is a mere bagatelle when one considers the enormous wealth of this country. It is estimated by those who are in a position to know that we have twice the wealth of Great Britain. Personally it is my judgment, based on rather careful investigation, that that is a very conservative estimate.

Now, no one will contend that the English Government, which is controlled in large port by a land-owning aristocracy, would levy an unreasonable tax on large estates. Yet during the years immediately preceding the European war Great Britain collected about $100,000,000 a year through its inheritance tax. In other words, with one-half our wealth it collected four times the amount of revenue we secured from an inheritance tax.

If the States of the Union had taxed inheritances at the same rate as England did before the war, they would have secured a revenue of approximately $200,000,000 instead of the $25,000,000 they placed in their coffers.

It is because the States have utterly failed to take advantage of this source of revenue and are in fact not in a position to fully avail themselves of it that a Federal inheritance tax becomes a political and economic necessity.

A VERY CONSERVATIVE LAW.

The bill we have under discussion is really a very mild statute. It will not affect estates with a net value of less than $50,000. That means that after all expenses of every character have been paid there must remain to the credit of the estate $50,000 before Uncle Sam will levy a tax. The framers of the bill inserted this provision because they did not deem it necessary to oppress widows and orphans in order to support the Government.

The tax is graduated from 1 to 5 per cent, and larger amounts being levied on estates above $450,000.

TAX ON MUNITIONS OF WAR.

There are other very important provisions in this bill, Mr. Speaker, which I would like to discuss if I had the time. For instance there is the tax on munitions of war. The experts tell us it will bring in $71,000,000 during the coming year. Who can better afford to pay that sum than the men who are gathering hundreds of millions of dollars of blood-soaked profits as a result of the Old World's fearful tragedy? I have never been able to reconcile myself to the thought of Christian America growing rich through the manufacture of the instruments with which Europe's war-maddened people are murdering each other. It has been a bloody business, and I believe that in the years to come we will have reason to curse the day when a few of our people embarked upon it.

Then, there are the provisions for a tariff commission, the antidumping clause, and temporary protection for the dyestuffs industry. I have not changed my views on the subject of a protective tariff, but I believe that a tariff commission properly constituted can furnish the Congress of the United States with needed information to be used in framing tariff laws. The power to fix the rates could not and should not be surrendered by Congress.

The antidumping clause is a precautionary measure. Some of our people seem to think that when this war is over the floodgates of European industry will be opened and that our markets will be swamped with the products of the mines, mills, and factories of the Old World. I do not share that belief, but nevertheless, I believe as reasonable men we should take the precaution suggested by the President and his advisers. It will give our business men a sense of security which they would otherwise lack, and it has been my experience that the prosperity of the country is largely based on confidence.

This war revealed the fact that our country was dependent on Europe for dyestuffs. The pending bill gives those who are interested an opportunity to establish that industry in this

country, and we are assured by capitalists that they will gladly take advantage of the opening.

BILL DRAFTED BY STATESMEN.

This fragmentary review of the bill under discussion will suggest, Mr. Speaker, that it was drafted by farsighted statesmen, who were not building for to-day or to-morrow, but for the long years of the coming century.

I said in the beginning it was a Democratic measure; and yet, when the roll is called you will find that many of our Republican brothers will vote for it. They may criticize some of its provisions; they may clamor to dot an "i" or cross a "t," but they know that the folks at home want this bill placed on the statute books, and that the man who bars its progress with his vote will have a most embarrassing experience when he is forced to face his constituents and "tell the reason why."

## Widows' Pensions.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, this bill increases the pension of a widow who was the lawful wife of a soldier during the period of his service in the Civil War from $12 to $20 per month. This cares for the so-called war widows. The surviving widows of this class is comparatively small.

This bill will also give a pension of $20 per month to all Civil War widows who have now reached, or may hereafter reach, the age of 70 years who are now on the pension rolls or who may hereafter be placed thereon, and the fact that a widow of a soldier married a civilian who has died or from whom she has been divorced will not, under this bill, prevent her drawing a pension.

Under the act of June 27, 1890, no widow who married a soldier after that date is entitled to a pension. This bill raises the marriage limit 15 years or until June 27, 1905.

No woman who married a soldier during the past 11 years or who may hereafter marry a soldier will be entitled to a pension under this bill.

No woman who has married a soldier during the past 26 years—since 1890—can be charged with having married the soldier with the expectancy of receiving a pension, therefore the committee thought it was fully warranted in leaving this restriction for a period of 15 years.

I indorse this bill, Mr. Speaker, and hope it will become a law at the earliest possible time.

Widows of the Civil War did not receive a pension until 1890, or nearly 25 years after the close of the war, and then only $8 per month, which was increased to $12 per month in 1908.

A pension of $12 per month for a person three score years and ten is absolutely inadequate at this time.

Only a small percentage of widows live beyond the age of 70 years, and none are able to earn their own support who live beyond this age, and a pension of $20 per month is small enough to provide for their wants.

All honor to the brave men who enlisted in that war, that meant more for free government and civilization than any war in history. Every man that served his country in that terrible struggle made a sacrifice that entitles him to the everlasting gratitude of all mankind.

I have voted for every pension bill that has come before this body, and no act incident to my service in Congress has given me greater satisfaction than supporting and voting for bills making provisions for the soldier, his widow and orphans; and I now reiterate what I said upon this floor on one occasion in supporting a pension bill, that I believed every soldier who had served his country in time of war was entitled to a sufficient pension from the Government to provide him with a decent, comfortable living in his declining years, and that his widow and orphans were entitled to equal consideration.

When men enlisted back in the sixties this Government made a solemn pledge that the widows and dependents of soldiers should be treated as the honored wards of the people and that this Government would stand between them and want. This legislation is but a fulfillment of that sacred promise.

Wisconsin at the time of the Civil War was but a young State, it having been admitted to statehood less than a dozen years. With a population of only a trifle over 700,000, she sent to the front an army of between ninety and one hundred thousand of as brave men as ever shouldered a musket.

The sacrifices that the people of this young State made at that time can be seen to-day, over 50 years after the war and by reason of those sacrifices, there is hardly a pioneer home in the State of Wisconsin that has not vacant chairs about its fireside.

The men who returned to civil life after the terrible conflict were rare exceptions that did not come out of the struggle with wounds or other disabilities that handicapped them in business and in their future life. These disabilities grew heavier with the years and often caused even a valiant soldier to lose out in the unequal competition of business and many times hurried him to an untimely grave.

The soldier's widow, who perhaps waited in vain at the cottage door for a husband that never came; the wife who stood by her husband's side in the hour of adversity, who helped her husband fight the battles of life against poverty and sickness, who sat by his bedside and nursed and comforted him in sickness, did her share in the rehabilitation of this Republic which the men in blue had saved.

The soldier's wife enlisted in a service not for a few years, but fore a lifetime. She fought the good fight uncomplainingly and alone, with only the stars as witnesses, and her silent victories were as important for civilization as those of the husband.

All honor to the soldier who served his country in time of need; all honor to the soldier's widow who served her soldier husband and his family in their time of need.

This Government owes both a debt of gratitude that it can never repay. Congress can perform no more sacred and patriotic duty than to make provision for its soldiers and the widows and dependents of its soldiers.

## Memorial Day Address.

An address by Hon. A. P. GARDNER at Gettysburg, Pa., on Memorial Day, delivered from the Rostrum in the Soldiers National Cemetery to Corporal Skelly Post of the Grand Army of the Republic and many thousands of school children and visitors who gather there annually to pay homage to the Nation's heroic dead.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. C. WILLIAM BEALES,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. BEALES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered at Gettysburg, Pa., on Memorial Day, by my colleague, Representative A. P. GARDNER.

The address is as follows:

MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS IN GETTYSBURG, PA., MAY 30, 1916.

On the spacious farm of the western prairie, under the giant chimney of the New England factory, in the subterranean gallery of the Pennsylvania mines—everywhere in this broad land where Union hearts were found a pause has come to-day. Men and women and children are gathered together to do you honor and with you to do honor to your comrades who have gone before.

Other nations, barbaric and civilized alike, since the dawn of history have exalted the memory of their chieftains slain in their country's service. Kings and princes, generals and admirals—all have been honored by storied urn and marble pillar. It has remained for this Nation to decorate the grave of the plain soldier, of each soldier individually, as he lies forever in his narrow cell. Granite and brass and marble endure, though flowers perish. They perish, indeed, but year after year they are renewed by gentle, loving hands, while the sculptured urn in the great cathedral is soon forgotten or serves at most to awaken a moment's wonder as the traveler passes by.

"WHEN THERE IS NO PEACE."

In the cloistered seclusion of the study men of letters may dream that the day has already come when mankind will at last beat its useless swords into plowshares and that the awful roar of battle will be heard no more. My friends, the dawn of such a day is still afar off. Kings may no longer rise against kings, in defiance of their people's wishes, but nations will rise against nations just so long as the wishes and rights and hatreds of one part of the earth conflict with the wishes and

rights and hatreds of another part of the earth. May the Lord defend this Nation from pestilence and from war, but let us see to it that our martial spirit is not stifled. Gentlemen will continue to cry, "Peace, peace," as gentlemen have always cried, "Peace, peace"; but let us not forget that it is heroic work to trample out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored.

The Almighty has given to every living being an almost irresistible instinct of self-preservation. The ability to overcome that instinct is the measure of a man's courage. The strongest motive power known to man is the instinct to preserve his own life. The greatest task which man must face in war is the struggle against that involuntary impulse. If he yields to the instinct of self-preservation, he is useless as a soldier. If he overthrows it, he wins immortal renown. To follow the command of his manhood into the teeth of danger, while his poor mortal body trembles with the fear which his immortal soul subdues; that is the awful task set before the soldier. If his fear is conquered, he is great, but his greatness may be only the greatness of a heroic death.

So long as woman crowns the brave with laurel, so long as contempt for death kindles our admiration, just so long will the memory of those who died for our country be kept green in the hearts of our countrymen, and the plaintive protests of the high priests of circumspect tranquillity will fall on inattentive ears.

THE CALL TO ARMS.

For most Americans the Civil War is only history or, at best, a confused and faint recollection. For you soldiers it is a living memory, and in that memory on Memorial Day we of the younger generation are proud to join.

We dream of ourselves at your side when Lincoln told you that your country was in danger, when the call came for men, when the patriotism of the country caught fire amid the rolling of drums, the echoing of bugles, and the billowing of flags. In our imagining we think of you as you scrutinized your hearts while you listened to the inspiring words at the war meetings. How searching was the examination to which each one of you subjected yourself. Shall I be brave on the stricken field or will my spirit give way and my name be disgraced? Have I the right to leave my young wife and my children or the girl whom I love and who loves me? What will become of my loved ones if I fall? Will a grateful country protect them or will a bankrupt Nation turn to them with words of thanks and empty hands?

And so you took counsel with your women, and they bid you follow the trumpet which shall never sound retreat. The answer went out to Father Abraham, "We are coming."

From the church and from the college, from the farm, the factory, and the store, leaving the aged mother, leaving the bride of to-morrow, boys and men cast from them the opportunities of life and freely offered themselves as a sacrifice to the Nation's needs. Follow these men and boys through the dull routine of the camp of instruction, follow them through the privations of the march and the bitter bivouac of the rain and cold. Follow them with McClellan to Antietam, with Meade to Gettysburg, with Grant through the Wilderness; follow them through all the campaigns East or West. Everywhere you will find them doing their duty through pain and through sickness, meeting death in the stricken field or in the pestilential camp, bearing their agonies that their country might live.

DUTY.

What a lesson of duty well done the soldier teaches us. Duty! It is a noble word, of which we hear too little. Men think and quarrel too much about their rights, but to most of us the word "duty" signifies only a sacrifice which some one else ought to make. Rights and duties should go hand in hand. They should be inseparable one from the other. They should be fitted to each other like lock and key. What is wrong with the world that we delight to honor the plausible demagogue who furiously incites us to demand some obscure right while we turn our backs on the sincere divine who solemnly urges us to perform some obvious duty?

I was born at the end of the war, and yet my head has grown gray. My step is not so light as it was, and life's shadows begin to lengthen as my sun heralds the oncoming of early evening. It may be that my fire is beginning to burn a little lower; but to-day I find other things in this world more sacred to me than my clamorous rights. Loyalty, love, honor, truth—if God gives us those blessings, he has no greater gift in store.

THE GOLDEN AGE.

Oh, I know that in this Nation much has been wrong which has been called right. I know that our laws have sometimes mingled injustice with justice. To do good without an admixture of evil is the prerogative of the Divinity alone. The golden age is an epoch of the future, not of the past. The world has passed through a barbarous age, a cruel age, a murderous age, an unjust age, a dishonest age, an unfaithful age, but never has it passed through a golden age. Read your Bible, read your history, read anything except the printed mirage which we call the news of the day, and you will find that America is nearer the golden age than ever before. Never was man so far removed from the haunting specter of penury, never was justice more certain, never was the standard of right living higher, never did men exact or practice more rigid honesty, never did the sun of publicity banish so completely the dark places in human dealings. Comrades, I say to you that this world is not going backward.

TAPS.

To you who have survived those perilous war times may the Lord grant a ripe fullness of years. While you are still with us the Nation owes you more than can be gauged by any pension scale. Though after a fashion a grateful Republic may be able to show its good will to the living, to the dead we owe a debt which must ever remain unpaid. Three hundred thousand Union soldiers did not live to see the dawn of peace. Three hundred thousand gallant gentlemen were called to their eternal reward before their fellow countrymen could show their love and gratitude.

I would that every soldier of that noble host slumbered to-day in hallowed ground where tender hands could deck his grave with garlands. But no, many and many a tortured body found its last resting place in the blood-soaked earth of some southern field.

Many a soul ascended to its Maker amid the wrecks of war, leaving its mortal shell to be interred by friend or foe, as chance would have it. Over those nameless graves no flowers can be scattered by loving hands to-day, and only nature knows which wild flowers bloom the brighter springing from honored turf where soldiers lie at peace.

But where we may, year after year, old and young will gather with flowers to strew on the graves of your departed comrades.

LISTEN TO THE POET'S WORDS.

Cover them over with beautiful flowers,
Deck them with garlands, those brothers of ours,
Lying so silent, by night and by day,
Sleeping the years of their manhood away.
Years they had marked for the joys of the brave;
Years they must waste in the sloth of the grave;
All the bright laurels that promised to bloom
Fell to the earth when they went to their tomb.
Give them the mead they have won in the past;
Give them the honors their merits forecast;
Give them the chaplets they won in the strife;
Give them the laurels they lost with their life.
Cover them over—yes; cover them over—
Parent and husband and brother and lover;
Crown in your hearts these dead heroes of ours,
And cover them over with beautiful flowers.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT M. SWITZER,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. SWITZER. Mr. Speaker, our Democratic friends ask the Republican Members of the House to support the pending revenue bill on the ground that the appropriations it is to care for have been necessitated by the great preparedness program of this session, creating, according to their contention, an emergency, and that a negative vote means an attempt to cripple the present administration.

I do not see it is that way. This is not an emergency measure. The extraordinary expense on account of the Mexican situation, we are told, is to be taken care of by a bond issue. The appropriations to be taken care of by the revenue raised by this bill are permanent in their nature and not temporary. These appropriations next Congress will be larger, and still larger at the next Congress, and so on; but it is not true that all of the revenue derived from the pending measure is to be used in caring for the appropriations on account of the additional preparedness program. Forty millions or more of it will be used in paying the salaries of that great army of 30,000 increased Democratic officeholders, and so I could enumerate.

The Underwood tariff bill when before the House for consideration in the Sixty-second Congress contained an income tax and an antidumping provision which I favored, but I voted against it for the reason that the basic method of the bill pro-

vided for the raising of revenue was a free-trade tariff method instead of a protective tariff one. This free trade basic method then became the law and it still remains the law, and as long as it remains unchanged and not protective I feel constrained to vote against all Democratic revenue measures, although they may carry isolated protective duties, the tariff commission, and antidumping provisions, all of which as carried in the pending bill and with some modifications I would gladly support and vote for if they were disconnected from the revenue features of the bill. The antidumping provisions of the pending bill are absolutely worthless as additional protective measures and the tariff commission provision as it now stands does not contemplate the ascertainment of the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad for the purpose of protecting American industries, and it authorizes President Wilson, a free trader, to appoint six members of a tariff commission, having tenures of office from 2 to 12 years, respectively, each drawing a yearly salary of $7,500, and a secretary to receive $5,000 a year, with an army of special experts, stenographers, clerks, and employees, and makes an appropriation of $300,000 for the first year's maintenance of many deserving Democrats and authorizes a like amount each year thereafter. Should I vote for this bill as it now stands I would say to my constituents that I am satisfied with the existing Underwood tariff law and that I favor raising all additional revenue needed by the Government in the future by taxation methods other than protective tariff duties.

If the Underwood law is revised and made protective, it would raise more than $100,000,000 of additional annual revenue, the greater part of which would be paid by the foreigner. I am in favor of compelling the foreigner to pay a tax for the use of our markets, and to pay tariff duties sufficiently high to adequately protect American industries and to give to American labor certain and full protection. I will therefore vote to recommit the bill with instructions to amend it so as to raise an equitable portion of the required revenue from a protective tariff, "sufficient to protect adequate American industry and American labor, and to be so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts."

During the debate on this bill several dyed-in-the-wool Democrats have enthusiastically stated that the Federal reserve banking law, which went into effect about a year and a half ago, had succeeded in throttling the money power of Wall Street and was working marvelous benefits to the people. So far as Wall Street is concerned, when fifty or one hundred million dollars is needed, the officials of the Government, as well as private individuals, still journey to Wall Street.

I have in mind a national banking institution located in the State of Ohio, having a capital stock of $100,000, that has been compelled by reason of this much-lauded Federal reserve law to subscribe and pay for $7,500 of stock in the Federal reserve bank, from which the national bank has received no dividend, and it is compelled to keep on deposit with the Federal reserve bank $12,500, for which it is paid no interest; in other words, one-fifth of the capital of the bank is rendered useless as an income producer, and I know of no advantages the bank has received up to this time by reason of its connection with the Federal reserve bank.

The pending revenue bill increases the tax from 1 to 2 per cent on the net income of all banking institutions. I would like to have some of the enthusiastic defenders of the Federal Reserve System explain just how these serious handicaps and immense burdens placed on national banks benefit such institutions and their stockholders and in what way it enables customers of the banks to obtain cheaper interest rates.

The Democratic platform of 1912 denounced lavish appropriations and high taxes and demanded a return to simplicity and economy, but the appropriations for this Congress will be in the neighborhood of one billion six hundred millions of dollars and, likely, authorizations to the amount of two hundred millions more, and in three years they have increased the number of officeholders 30,000, and at this rate it will be 35,000 by March 4 next, drawing annual salaries of more than forty millions of dollars. To pay this enormous increase in appropriations direct taxation has been resorted to of every conceivable nature, and the rates have been yearly going higher, but in the long category of failures to fulfill their platform pledges last but not least is the ignoring of their pledge to labor to enact an employees' compensation law, so far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, providing adequate compensation for injury to body or loss of life. The House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress, by a vote of 218 to 81, passed a workmen's compensation act fixing the amount of compensation due from every common carrier engaged in interstate and foreign commerce by railroad to an injured employee or to his widow and dependent children under the age of 16, and so forth, in the event of his death, but it failed to pass the Senate. The House was then Democratic, and the Democratic national platform, under the conspicuous title of "Rights of Labor," contained the pledge I have just referred to. Since the 1st day of March, 1913, Democratic ardor for this proposition seems to have become much chilled, for while it was a conspicuous pledge of their platform then, their more recent expressions of platform promises of this year are just as conspicuous because of the absence of any reference whatever to workmen's compensation legislation.

One Democratic Congress has come and gone and another is fast nearing the closing months of its existence and no bill has been reported for consideration, and I am informed that none will be. A bill was introduced in the last Congress as well as in this Congress, and the committees to which they were referred had acess to an exhaustive, full, clear, and comprehensive report of the law and the facts upon the subject of workmen's compensation, known as Senate Document 338 of the second session of the Sixty-second Congress, consisting of more than 200 pages, as well as the printed compilation of all the hearings before a joint commission appointed by President Taft and the two Houses of Congress, containing nearly 1,500 pages of printed matter. The Sixty-first Congress, a Republican Congress, passed a joint resolution creating this commission, in pursuance of which two Senators were selected by the President of the Senate, two Representatives by the Speaker of the House, and two members selected by President Taft. The bill recommended by the Taft commission would give compensation for injury or death to all employees or their widows and dependents regardless of the old common-law defenses, assumed risk, contributory negligence, or for any other act or neglect on the part of the employee or by his fellow employees, and nothing can defeat the recovery except willful negligence of the injured party or the deceased, or willful act of his fellow employees, or unless the injury or death be the direct result of intoxication. This proposed legislation has the indorsement of the Order of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Trainmen, and the Republican Party in its national convention at Chicago this year has also indorsed it.

Statistics show that upward of 100,000 railway employees are injured annually and that from 4,000 to 5,000 receive injuries resulting in death, and the railroads pay damages in not more than 10 per cent of the cases, and that of the 10 per cent who recover damages not more than 35 per cent of what the railroad paid went into the pockets of the claimants, and the remainder went to damage-suit lawyers and to pay the cost of litigating the claims. It is estimated that the railroads pay annually $10,000,000 or $12,000,000 on account of personal injury and death claims of their employees, and that if a law were enacted carrying rates recommended by the Taft Joint Commission, the railroads would not have to contribute to exceed $18,000,000 annually on account of such claims, and that practically all of the 100,000 employees annually injured would receive a fair compensation and that practically all of the families of the 4,000 or 5,000 annually killed would also be reasonably compensated for the loss of the deceased. I suppose when the Democratic Members of Congress look back upon the miserable records of broken promises and smashed pledges of the Baltimore platform, they have concluded to throw this pledge also upon the scrap pile for good measure and let the dead Past bury its dead.

I had the privilege of voting for the workmen's compensation bill, which passed the House March 1, 1913, and I hope to have the privilege of voting for the same in the next Congress, which will be Republican.

Before bringing these promiscuous remarks to a close I desire to call the attention of the people to the procrastination of the Democratic Senate of this Congress in taking final action on the Burnett immigration bill. I voted to pass a similar bill over the veto of President Taft in the Sixty-second Congress and to pass a similar bill over the veto of President Wilson in the Sixty-third Congress, and I voted with the majority Members of the House in passing the Burnett bill in March last. Within a few days after its passage it went over to the Senate where it seems to have been pigeonholed by the chairman of the Committee on Immigration. I have no doubt that he is holding it up at the instance of the friends of President Wilson, who do not want the bill to be presented again to him for the second time on the eve of the presidential election. Three-fourths of the Members of the Senate are for the bill, and there is no question of its passage should it be allowed to come to a vote, and there is not much doubt that it will receive a two-thirds vote of both Houses and become a law should the President again veto it, but it is very evident that a great effort is being made by the President's friends to put off a final vote on the bill in the Senate until after the election, at the short session of Congress.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. THOMAS W. MILLER,

OF DELAWARE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. MILLER of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, on the floor to-day we witnessed the Representatives of Arizona and Montana protesting against the tax on copper in this bill, and if their predictions are true as to the effect of this bill on this great industry in their States, and no one has reason to doubt their assertions, a great injury will be done to their people should this bill be enacted into law, on account of only one provision in this bill, viz, the copper tax. Arizona is represented on this floor by one Representative, a Democrat, and Montana by two Members of the same political faith. As I listened to their well-expressed appeal for a fair deal I could not help but be impressed as to the utter futility of their appeal, because with only three votes in this body their voting strength was practically nil, and therefore the great copper industry within the confines of their respective States must submit to the terms of this measure and be satisfied with the verbal protest expressed by their Representatives. These men were performing their duty in bringing to the attention of this body the effect that this bill will have upon one of their great industries; and the fact that I, too, occupy the position of lone Representative of my State on the floor does not deter me from making this statement in the RECORD concerning the effects of this measure upon the people of my State.

The banks of my State are numerous and prosperous, but they are already taxed as much as they should be without having assessed against them the provisions of section 302 of this bill. Bank failures are practically unknown in Delaware, and the banks throughout the State, in the rural and city districts, have helped considerably to make the farmers and city people of my State thrifty and prosperous. It is only natural that they should protest against double taxation, which will be the case with section 302 included in the bill. Happily it was stricken out, not only in Committee of the Whole but also in the House on a roll-call vote. In order to show some expressions of opposition to this provision in the bill I will insert here some copies of telegrams received from banks of my State in this matter:

WILMINGTON, DEL., *July 10, 1916.*

Hon. THOMAS W. MILLER,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Federal omnibus bill. Will you please use best effort for repeal of bankers' special tax, which we regard as gross discrimination and wholly unwarranted.

DELAWARE STATE BANKERS' ASSOCIATION,
OTHO NOWLAND, *President.*
W. G. TAYLOR, *Secretary.*

ODESSA, DEL., *July 10, 1916.*

Hon. THOMAS W. MILLER, M. C.,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

This bank is opposed to the increase of income tax proposed in the omnibus revenue bill. Use your influence to defeat it.

NEW CASTLE COUNTY NATIONAL BANK,
JOS G. BROWN, *Cashier.*

WILMINGTON, DEL., *July 8, 1916.*

Hon. THOMAS W. MILLER,
*Washington, D. C.:*

This company urges the defeat of the Federal omnibus revenue bill, and asks that you use your efforts to this end.

DELAWARE TRUST CO.

WILMINGTON, DEL., *July 10, 1916.*

Hon. THOMAS W. MILLER,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Banks and trust companies are already overburdened with Federal taxation. It would be a great injustice to increase burden. Please do all you can to convince the House that this feature of the pending Federal omnibus revenue bill should be eliminated.

SECURITY TRUST & SAFE DEPOSIT CO.,
BENJ. NIELDS, *President.*

Another section of this bill to which I desire to address myself is the munition manufacturers' tax. There is no denying the fact that the people of my State will be affected by the provisions of this munition section, and are just as much and as vitally interested in its provisions as are the people of Arizona and Montana in the copper tax. Coming from the State of Delaware I may be said to be prejudiced, but granting that I am, I feel that it is my duty to present facts on the other side of the question of the munition tax. I have no hesitancy in saying that, in my opinion, a number of the provisions in this bill taxing the makers of munitions of war are almost confiscatory in their effect.

I realize full well that the temper of this body is inimical to this great industry located in part within my State and am fully aware that the mention of the word "munitions" or "powder" almost drives certain of our friends on the floor into a frenzy which may explain why certain industries in the munitions trade are taxed with a viciousness that amounts to almost penalization.

Since the outbreak of the European war the Democratic Party has been forced to pass two revenue-raising measures, and this is the third one proposed. The first was the so-called "War-tax bill" passed in October, 1914. This was made necessary according to the claim of the administration and the party in power because of the falling off of customs receipts due to the stopping of imports on account of the war. It was apparent to the country, however, that there was a deficit in the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year on June 30, 1914, the first full year under the Democratic administration and after the Underwood Tariff Act had been in operation for almost a year and some months before the European war was started. There can be no disputing the statement that had there been no war in Europe the Democratic Party would have been compelled just the same to pass this legislation which was dubbed a "war tax" although this country was at peace. The second measure passed was a resolution presented to Congress in December, 1915, extending the provisions of the so-called "war tax," which is repealed in this measure presented to-day.

The prosperity which this country has enjoyed since the outbreak of the European war is due to the trade in munitions of war supplied by this country to the various belligerents, and in that respect it may be termed a "fictitious" prosperity for which no party be it Democratic, Republican, Progressive, and so forth, can take any individual credit.

The industrial conditions existing in this country at the time of the elections in 1914 are not forgotten, and they represented the true conditions that would have existed in this country had not the great war in Europe favored this country with a trade that has made practically every industry hum. Why is it, therefore, that this bill discriminates against the manufacturers of explosives while others engaged in the manufacture of other munitions of war and making equal or greater profits are permitted to go free?

It is interesting to note the exports of other commodities from the United States to belligerent nations since the beginning of the war, and which might rightfully be considered as munitions. Within the 20 months after the outbreak of the war rubber to the value of $42,000,000 was exported from the United States for military purposes; likewise automobile trucks and passenger automobiles to the value of $142,000,000 were sold for military purposes abroad; aeroplanes and parts to the value of about $8,000,000; motor cycles to the value of over $4,000,000; and woolen goods to the value of $70,000,000. These are authentic figures with respect to only a few of the commodities which may rightfully be termed as munitions. There could be added to the list such articles as canned meats, army rations of various kinds, shoes, harness, saddles, blankets, kerosene, gasoline, acids, alcohol, locomotives, parts of submarines, range finders, stamped metal military equipment, swords, bayonets, bromine and other military gases, barbed wire and other products of iron and steel.

It is probably forgotten that since the outbreak of the war horses to almost the value of $130,000,000 and mules to the value of $31,000,000 have been exported for military purposes; that guns and ammunition used by the belligerents are taxed, but the animals that haul and make it possible to use these terrible engines of war are permitted to be sold at just as great profit without any tax being placed on the beneficiaries from that sale. I make the above statements and comparisons not necessarily in advocacy of a tax upon them but more as a comparison to bring out the inequalities of this tax measure.

Having compared the method by which gunpowder and other explosives are taxed in comparison with other munitions of war which are untaxed, it might be in order to illustrate further inequalities as compared with other material classed as war munitions on which the bill provides a tax. Why should a dollar received from gunpowder, or some other explosive, bear a tax of 8 per cent while a dollar received from the gun that burns this gunpowder bears a tax of only 5 per cent, and the copper for shell cases but 3 per cent?

The value of almost every raw product entering into the manufacture of gunpowder and other explosives has advanced many times since the outbreak of the war. The value of copper has more than doubled, but there has been no material increase in

the cost of production. It is interesting to note the increase in cost of various chemicals used in the powder industry, such as benzol, originally selling for 20 cents per gallon, now 80 cents; toluol, which has advanced from 20 cents to $4 per gallon; and fuming sulphuric acid from $15 to $150 per ton.

Let us consider the amount of cotton that has been used since the outbreak of the war, and which is necessary for the manufacture of explosives. Coming from a State that lies almost wholly south of the Mason and Dixon line, I can not be accused of sectionalism when I call attention to the great prosperity that must have accrued to the Southern States by reason of the use of cotton in this industry. Before this great product of the South commenced to be used in larger quantities than ever before used for the manufacture of powder the situation created in the opening months of the European war seriously threatened the prosperity of the Southern States because of the injury to the cotton trade by reason of the war. We all remember the campaign to "buy a bale of cotton." A few months ago the House passed a joint resolution authorizing and directing the Director of the Census to collect and publish additional statistics with respect to cotton, and I remember at the time I was one of about eight Republicans who voted for this measure on the roll call in spite of the fact that certain proponents of the measure asserted that certain industries existing in my State were fighting the bill for ulterior reasons. I thought it proper that the public should know just how much cotton was being used in the manufacture of explosives. Since that time I have taken the trouble to find out the correct figures as to the amount of cotton used. The figures of the estimates show that one of these powder companies has used over 600,000 bales of cotton of all grades from December, 1914, up to and including May, 1916, and in addition thereto other munition manufacturers and purifiers of cotton for the manufacture of munitions have used as much as 300,000 bales, almost 1,000,000 bales in all. This cotton, which has sold as high as 8 cents per pound, advancing from 2 cents per pound in some grades, has meant prosperity for the cotton producers of the Southern States, and in that I sincerely rejoice. The votes for the passage of this bill come in a large measure from the section of the country that has prospered in the demand for cotton.

While it is to be admitted that the manufacturers of gunpowder and other explosives have enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity during the past 18 months, the fact seems to have been lost sight of that their prosperity has been so distributed that it has permeated other lines of industry and been of benefit to thousands of working people throughout the country. The other industries which have shared the prosperity that has been passed on to them are not forced to bear any taxation, but the burden of taxation has been placed upon the source without being equitably distributed. There seems to be an idea that all manufacturers of gunpowder and other explosives have made exorbitant profits, and therefore that they should be "soaked" to the limit. It seems to have been forgotten that while these manufacturers may have received what appeared to be high prices for their products, they have been forced to meet unusual expenses and they have faced an ever-ascending scale of prices on raw materials.

Under the retroactive feature of this bill manufacturers of munitions are forced to pay a tax upon the gross receipts upon all business done since the 1st of January of this year. When contracts were made for this work no such expense item as this was considered in fixing the price of the product, and in many cases where the contracts have been filled and the money received therefrom distributed in either additional equipment, wages, salaries, and dividends, it is impossible for the retroactive tax to be recovered, and therefore it must be borne in the future and out of what contracts with the belligerents that remain to be filled. Can any one deny that this feature is unfair?

I am reliably informed that the largest company engaged in this business—the Du Pont company—employs about 60,000 men in its various plants throughout the United States, and in the last year and a half it has paid directly, in wages alone, for the manufacture of military explosives $45,000,000. The men employed in their plants have been worked on eight-hour shifts, and, in addition to receiving a scale of wages higher than has been paid heretofore for similar work, they have been granted an additional 20 per cent bonus in wages. In addition to this sum expended in wages, this company has been indirectly responsible for the expenditure of a greater amount to labor on raw materials and machinery which it has purchased.

I have inserted the above remarks because I not only deem it my duty to do so but, after investigating the facts, I fully believe that this bill is unfair and drastic in many of its provisions and as such is not warranted by the conditions existing at this time.

There are some features of this bill for which I would like to vote, as, for instance, the tariff commission, the dyestuff section, as well as the provision regulating unfair competition. A tax on munitions of war, distributed equitably and fairly, would not be opposed by me, in view of conditions the country faces to-day, for which, however, the Republican Party is not responsible. I have no hesitancy in saying that I favor an income tax, but believe that this tax should be collected on incomes as low as it is profitable for the Government to collect this tax, believing that it tends to better citizenship and interest in government if more individuals bear the burden of this income tax, even though it means in many cases not even a dollar a year, which is the kind of income tax leviest in other countries of the globe which use this as a means of revenue. I shall therefore vote against this measure as a whole.

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### The Estate or Inheritance Tax.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CHARLES F. CURRY,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. CURRY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to vote for this bill, but I can not on account of the estate or inheritance tax provision and on account of the excessive tax on wine and the legalizing of the manufacture and sale of spurious wine as wine.

That the Federal Government has the power to levy an inheritance tax is admitted; that it has the moral right to do so I deny. Inheritance taxes have been levied from the time of the Roman Empire in countries where under the laws of primogeniture and entail vast estates under the terms of the original grant escaped all ordinary taxation, and the only way they could be made to pay their just share of taxation for the expenses of the Government was to collect an inheritance tax upon the transference of the property from the dead to the living. Usually, however, the inheritance tax is a local and not a national tax. It has up until now been so considered in this country. Forty-two States now collect an inheritance tax. By what shadow of right would the Federal Government filch this revenue from the States or punish thrift by double taxation.

California was one of the first States to enact an inheritance tax law. Under the original act all of the tax went into the school fund. The law was declared to be unconstitutional by the Superior Court of San Diego County. The case was not appealed, but the courts and county clerks accepted the judgment and ceased trying to collect the tax. I was elected county clerk of San Francisco in 1894. During my term the estate of Senator Leland Stanford was probated. I caused suit to be commenced against the estate for the inheritance tax. The superior court held the law to be unconstitutional. The case was appealed to the supreme court, which reversed the superior court and upheld the constitutionality of the law. The final result was that the Stanford estate paid over $500,000 into the school fund of the State before the final decree of distribution was entered.

Since then the law has been amended, and now $250,000 of the tax goes into the school fund; 5 per cent into the teachers' retirement or pension fund, and the balance into the general fund of the State.

In 1907 the National Taxation Association, composed of revenue and tax officials from every State in the Union and from Canada, passed strong resolutions against the levying of a Federal inheritance tax, taking the position that the inheritance tax should be a State tax. Similar resolutions have been passed at each of the subsequent meetings of the association.

In 1908 an inheritance tax provision was in the tariff bill as it passed the House but was struck out of the bill in the Senate. A number of State legislatures were in session at the time and they all passed resolutions against the tax.

I have received a strong argument against the tax from Hon. John S. Chambers, the State controller of California. He also sent me copies of letters he received against it from the Wisconsin tax commission and the comptroller of New York. I shall include them as a part of my remarks. The county auditors' association, the tax collectors' association, and the boards of county supervisors of California also passed reso-

lutions against the Federal Government levying this tax. Following is a list of the States that levy an inheritance tax and the amount of the revenue derived from this source for certain specified fiscal years:

*Inheritance-tax revenue by States.*

| State. | Year. | Revenue. |
|---|---|---|
| Arizona | 1914–15 | $12,132.45 |
| Arkansas | 1913–14 | 44,361.49 |
| California | 1913–14 | 1,796,478.57 |
| Colorado | 1912–14 | [1] 232,531.51 |
| Connecticut | 1914–15 | 807,293.27 |
| Delaware | [2] 1914–15 | 13,463.96 |
| Georgia | 1914 | 6,086.40 |
| Hawaii | 1913–14 | 30,634.00 |
| Idaho | 1913–14 | 9,994.90 |
| Illinois | 1913–14 | 2,092,960.20 |
| Indiana | 1914–15 | 233,559.83 |
| Iowa | 1912–14 | 318,565.70 |
| Kentucky | 1914–15 | 270,429.89 |
| Louisiana | 1913 | 97,290.72 |
| Maine | 1914 | 283,869.36 |
| Maryland | 1914–15 | 256,814.84 |
| Massachusetts | 1913–14 | [3] 2,308,460.46 |
| Michigan | 1913–14 | 501,710.02 |
| Minnesota | 1913–14 | 650,756.85 |
| Missouri | 1914 | 411,160.94 |
| Montana | 1913 | 31,273.94 |
| Nevada | 1915 | 4,415.10 |
| New Hampshire | 1914–15 | 114,014.61 |
| New Jersey | 1913–14 | 1,090,298.78 |
| New York | 1914–15 | 8,263,893.67 |
| North Carolina | 1913–14 | 19,899.19 |
| North Dakota | 1914–15 | 7,680.57 |
| Oklahoma [4] | 1912–14 | [4] 4,822.14 |
| Oregon | 1913–14 | 85,051.61 |
| Pennsylvania | 1913–14 | 2,516,790.43 |
| Porto Rico | 1914–15 | 33,431.65 |
| South Dakota | 1913–14 | 25,412.04 |
| Tennessee | 1913–14 | 210,831.10 |
| Texas | 1913–14 | 43,105.75 |
| Utah | 1913–14 | 437,228.55 |
| Vermont | 1913–14 | 93,280.30 |
| Virginia | 1914–15 | 42,497.89 |
| Washington | 1913–14 | 141,319.57 |
| West Virginia | 1913–14 | 231,660.20 |
| Wisconsin | 1914–15 | 570,170.73 |
| Kansas | (5) | (5) |
| Nebraska | (5) | (5) |
| Ohio | (5) | (5) |
| Wyoming | (5) | (5) |

[1] One-half of receipts for two years.
[2] Fiscal year ending Jan. 12, 1915.
[3] Interest not included ($23,352.28 interest).
[4] Common school fund.
[5] Revenue paid to counties.

For the fiscal year 1914–15 California collected more than $3,000,000 from inheritances, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, more than $3,500,000, 5 per cent of the tax going into the teachers' retirement fund, $250,000 into the school fund, and the balance into the general fund.

*Sources of information.*

| State. | Source. | State. | Source. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arizona | Treasurer's report | Montana | First report of the tax commissioner, p. 11. |
| Arkansas | do | Nevada | Treasurer's report. |
| California | State comptroller's report. | New Hampshire | Do. |
| Colorado | Treasurer's report | New Jersey | Do. |
| Connecticut | do | New York | Comptroller's report P. XIV. |
| Delaware | do | North Carolina | Treasurer's report. |
| Georgia | Comptroller-general's report, p. 22. | North Dakota | Do. |
| Hawaii | Treasurer's report | Oklahoma | Do. |
| Idaho | Auditor's report, p. 31. | Oregon | Do. |
| Illinois | do | Pennsylvania | Do. |
| Indiana | Treasurer's report | Porto Rico | Do. |
| Iowa | Report of the executive council, p. 83. | South Dakota | Do. |
| Kentucky | Auditor of public accounts. | Tennessee | Comptroller's report. |
| Louisiana | Treasurer's report | Texas | Treasurer's report. |
| Maine | do | Utah | Do. |
| Maryland | Comptroller of the treasury. | Vermont | Do. |
| Massachusetts | Treasurer's report | Virginia | Do. |
| Michigan | do | Washington | State tax commissioner's report. |
| Minnesota | do | West Virginia | Treasurer's report. |
| Missouri | Auditor's report | Wisconsin | Do. |

STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
*Sacramento, June 5, 1916.*

Hon. C. F. CURRY, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I am transmitting herewith copy of a resolution adopted by the State board of equalization relating to inheritance-tax laws.

As you know, California since 1893 has had an inheritance-tax law, which, by amendment in 1905, produces considerable of California's revenues going to maintain the State government. The loss of this revenue, or any great proportion thereof, would seriously cripple the State and more than likely compel it to levy an ad valorem tax upon the people generally to make up the deficiency.

We earnestly trust that you will use all honest endeavors to check any congressional legislation looking to the enactment of a Federal inheritance-tax law.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. COLLINS,
*Chairman State Board of Equalization.*

STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION OF CALIFORNIA RESOLUTION AGAINST A FEDERAL INHERITANCE TAX.

Whereas information has been received from reliable sources that the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives has determined to recommend to Congress the enactment of a Federal inheritance tax law; and

Whereas further information is to the effect that the States will be requested to abandon their inheritance tax systems to the end that such revenues may be collected by the Federal Government, with the understanding that a certain percentage of such collections, now understood to be 50 per cent, less overhead costs, shall be returned to the States on the basis of collections within each State; and

Whereas many of the States have incorporated the inheritance tax as a part of their taxation system and have developed its application with remarkable success; and

Whereas the State Board of Equalization of California, convinced that the passage of an inheritance tax law by the Federal Congress will inflict serious injury upon the States, particularly California, which derives an average annual revenue from inheritance taxes of about $3,000,000; and

Whereas the average annual revenue to California from this source will be reduced about one-half, on the basis of our present collections and a 50 per cent return, or $1,500,000, and as a consequence the common schools may be deprived of approximately $250,000 annually now given them by the State from its inheritance tax collections; the teachers' pension fund will suffer a loss of one-half the revenue derived from this source; and the general fund of the State treasury will lose about $1,000,000 annually; and

Whereas a loss in State revenues of this magnitude will seriously affect the entire State revenue system and place a higher tax upon corporations or a general property tax upon the people, who in either event must bear the burden: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, representing the State Board of Equalization of the State of California, do disapprove of inheritance-tax legislation by the Federal Congress, and urgently request our Representatives and Members of the Senate to do all in their power to discourage and defeat such legislation, for the reason that the States need this revenue; that the Federal Government has far more sources upon which to draw for revenue than have the States, and therefore should not encroach upon the rights and needs of the States in the matter of inheritance-tax revenues; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the chairman and secretary of this board send a copy of these resolutions to each Member of the California delegation in Congress.

STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION,
R. E. COLLINS, *Chairman.*
T. M. EBY, *Secretary.*

Since these resolutions were adopted the Ways and Means Committee changed its tentative plan to collect an inheritance tax and pay half of it back to the States. It provides in this bill for the collection of an estate tax by the Federal Government and the retention of all of the tax. This policy once established will result in time to a larger and larger tax being levied until the States will in decency be compelled to repeal their inheritance tax.

COUNTY AUDITORS' ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA,
*Woodland, June 5, 1916.*

Hon. C. F. CURRY,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The county auditors of California, in State convention assembled in the city of Yreka, adopted last week resolutions against a Federal inheritance tax. I was directed by the association to send you a copy of the resolutions, which you will find inclosed.

Our information is to the effect that it is the purpose of Congress, or at least of the Ways and Means Committee, to recommend legislation of this kind. Of this there appears to be no doubt; and further information reaches us also that the committee favors the plan whereby the States shall abandon their inheritance-tax systems and that the Federal Government shall collect such taxes, returning to each State a certain percentage of the taxes collected within each State, less cost of collection.

It appears certain that the Federal rates, in any event, would be so high as to force the States either to reduce their rates materially or else to abandon their systems entirely. If such a plan should be adopted as the Ways and Means Committee is said to favor, on the basis of California's present annual average collections, her revenue would be reduced from $3,000,000 a year to probably less than $1,500,000.

We trust you will give this matter your earnest consideration. It means much to California.

Yours, very truly,

COUNTY AUDITORS' ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA,
By R. P. WALLACE, *Secretary.*

Following are the resolutions. Similar resolutions were adopted by the County Tax Collectors' Association and by the boards of county supervisors of California:

RESOLUTIONS AGAINST FEDERAL INHERITANCE TAX.

Whereas the United States Commission on Industrial Relation in its report, which was made public in August, 1915, strongly urged the imposition of a tax upon inheritances by the Federal Government; and

Whereas the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives has been in correspondence with the State controller of California, John S. Chambers, and with like officials in other States of the Union, asking for data as to the collections, by the States, of

revenue under their inheritance tax laws, with the undoubted object in view of utilizing such information in connection with the plan of the Congress to enact Federal legislation of the kind; and

Whereas press dispatches and letters received by the State controller of California from Washington proclaim the determination of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives to recommend to the Congress the enactment of a Federal inheritance tax law; and

Whereas further information is to the effect that the States will be requested to abandon their inheritance-tax systems to the end that all such revenue may be collected by the Federal Government, with the understanding that a certain percentage of such collections, less overhead costs, shall be returned to the States on the basis of collections within each State: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the county auditors of California in State convention assembled in the city of Yreka, on June 1, 1916, do disapprove of such proposed legislation by the Federal Congress, and hereby protest; that the States, and more particularly California, would be done a grievous injury by such legislation; that under the State of California's system of taxation it is essential not only that the State derive revenue from inheritance-tax sources, but also that the average annual collections of about $3,000,000 should not be materially reduced without just cause; that the proposed plan of a partial return to the States by the Federal Government, even if 50 per cent, less the cost of collection, would reduce California's revenue from this source to less than $1,500,000 a year; that as a consequence the revenue of the common schools of the State would be imperiled to the extent of $250,000 annually, the sum now given them under the present average revenue; that the teachers' retirement fund, commonly called the teachers' pension fund, which receives 5 per cent of the total inheritance-tax collections each year, would suffer a loss of more than half the revenue derived from this source; that the general fund of the State treasury would lose approximately $1,000,000 annually; that the State can not spare this revenue, and would be forced to obtain it from a higher tax upon corporations, or a general property tax upon the people—the people under either plan carrying the additional burden; that the States have developed the inheritance-tax system with remarkable success; that they need this revenue, and that the Federal Government, if in need of more revenue, has many sources upon which to draw, far more than have the States, and therefore should not encroach upon the rights and the needs of the States in the matter of inheritance-tax revenue; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the secretary of this association send a copy of these resolutions to each member of the California delegation in Congress.

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WISCONSIN TAX COMMISSION,
*Madison, June 1, 1916.*

Hon. JOHN S. CHAMBERS,
*Comptroller, State Capitol, Sacramento, Cal.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of 24th instant to Hon. John S. Donald, secretary of state, is referred to this department for attention. Under our law the administration of the inheritance tax is placed in charge of the tax commission.

I have to say that we are in cordial agreement with your views as to the serious objections to a Federal inheritance tax. It is objectionable upon the grounds that you mention, to wit, that it is an especially suitable source of revenue for the State, and that the State needs all of the revenue that can be imposed with justice upon inheritances, devises, and bequests.

But another very serious objection is that the Federal administration of the law through the county, probate, or surrogate courts of the several States involves an interference with and confusion of the jurisdiction of these courts and a duplication of work that will add very greatly to the expense of the settlement of estates and to the labors of the judges and other officers of these courts.

With a Federal inheritance tax it would seem necessary to have Federal records kept in the courts and a duplication of orders, notices, appraisals, and hearings. In case of dissatisfaction the appeal would probably be to the Federal courts, while the appeal from the determination of the State inheritance tax is to the circuit or other State courts and to the State supreme court. There might be two appeals in the same estate—one where the United States is appellant against the executor of the estate and another where the executor is appellant against the county and State. A little thought will suggest to you quite a variety of complications that might arise.

Notices, orders, and appraisals will also be necessary perhaps in most estates from which no tax is found eventually to be due; but in the meantime the estate has been placed at much expense. I am satisfied that our commission will be glad to do anything it can within reason to aid in the prevention of a Federal inheritance tax law.

Very truly, yours,

WISCONSIN TAX COMMISSION,
JOHN HARRINGTON,
*Inheritance Tax Counsel.*

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STATE OF NEW YORK,
COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
*Albany, June 1, 1916.*

Hon. JOHN S. CHAMBERS,
*Sacramento, Cal.*

DEAR SIR: I acknowledge receipt of your communication of May 24, relative to a Federal inheritance tax. I greatly appreciate your interest in the matter.

I have already been energetically at work to bring about the defeat of such a measure. As soon as I was informed of the introduction in Congress of a measure providing for a Federal tax on inheritances, I immediately prepared and had introduced in both branches of the New York State Legislature a resolution opposing a Federal inheritance tax and calling upon the United States Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State to vote against it. I also wrote the chief fiscal officers of the various States calling attention to this measure and urging their cooperation in bringing about its defeat. I am informed recently that the Democratic leaders in the Senate and House are planning to enact such a bill. This should, in my judgment, be opposed in every possible way and I shall continue so to oppose it. The taxing of inheritances has long been considered as peculiarly a State function and one which ought not to be availed of by the Federal Government.

If you can suggest any further way to make our opposition effective I shall be glad to hear from you.

Very truly, yours,

EUGENE M. TRAVIS,
*Comptroller.*

AUGUST, 1915.

## THE INHERITANCE TAX.

[By John S. Chambers, State comptroller of California.]

Before taking up the inheritance-tax system of California I would like, first, as briefly as is practicable, to discuss taxation in general with especial reference to the powers of the State thereto; second, the broad question of the taxation of inheritances and certain important issues thereunder; third, its possibilities in the matter of the control of the distribution of vast fortunes; and, fourth, the future attitude of the Federal Government toward the States as to this form of taxation.

### TAXATION IN GENERAL.

The lack of information upon the part of the public as to the theory of taxation, the principles underlying it, as all of you know, is appalling. Generally speaking, the average man feels that only two things are certain in this world—death and taxes. He can't escape the first and, directly or indirectly, the latter gets him, too. He will admit, more or less reluctantly, that taxation of some kind, to some extent, is necessary in order that organized government may be maintained, but he believes that more money is called for than is needed, and is firmly convinced that, in so far as he himself is concerned, he pays more than his proportionate share. And as a result some of them seek to offset this state of affairs by methods of their own.

### UNTOLD WEALTH.

It probably was the knowledge of this mental attitude upon the part of most men that prompted a newspaper humorist to perpetrate the following story:

"Pa," asked the boy, "what is meant by the expression 'untold wealth' that I see in the papers so often?"

"My son," replied the wise father, "I'm glad to note your inquiring mind. 'Untold wealth' is wealth about which we fail to say anything to the assessors. Make a note of it."

### MISUNDERSTOOD INHERITANCE TAX.

But if the lack of information upon the part of the people as to taxation generally is appalling, it not only is more so as to the inheritance tax in particular but much of the misunderstanding and opposition to this tax comes from people who ought for their own interest to strongly support it.

The wealthy pay the bulk of it, the well-to-do a small part of it, and the rest of us not a cent.

In California about 15 estates out of every 1,000 pay one-half of this tax. Surely this is significant!

### THE STING OF DEATH.

I think it was St. Paul who once upon a time exclaimed, "O death where is thy sting!" According to the great apostle, the sting of death is sin. But in these latter days, at least in so far as many heirs of rich estates are concerned, the sting of death seems to be the inheritance tax. No matter how hard you try to explain the justice of the tax or to convince them that in any event they are getting something for nothing, they insist upon feeling they have been "stung."

### TAXATION—POWERS OF THE STATE.

While it is true that the primary purpose of taxation is to produce sufficient revenue for the proper support of the Government levying the tax, other considerations, nevertheless, not only legitimately may be but should be borne in mind by the taxing power as relating to the general benefit and welfare of the political society—the public. This, in substance, is Justice Cooley's declaration in his great book on taxation.

Further, he asserts, and the assertion can not be successfully disputed, that "all subjects over which the sovereign power of the State extends are, in its discretion, legitimate subjects of taxation; and this may be carried to any extent which the Government may choose to carry it. In its very nature it acknowledges no limits."

It was Chief Justice Marshall, it will be recalled, who stated in one of his opinions that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy." In other words, as Justice Cooley says, there is no limit.

And further, as pointed out in a decision of the Massachusetts court (Amesbury Nail Factory *v.* Weed, 17, Mass., 52), "neither is it necessary that the object of the tax should benefit the party who is required to pay; for example, a tax for school purposes levied upon a manufacturing corporation."

### ORGANIZED SOCIETY CREATES VALUES.

Hon. John H. Underwood, professor of economics in the University of Montana, in an address before the National Tax Association a few years ago, set forth the situation very clearly, in my judgment, when he said, insubstance: "What we claim as ours simply becomes ours through organized society, under government, and is so retained. A multitude of things contribute to opportunity and create value—the State, people, society, growth, development. The individual may contribute by sagacity and industry to this situation and profit accordingly, but after all, his part is the least. Property values are political and social creations."

In other words, organized society—the State—is not only a copartner but the partner who contributes by far the greatest service. Therefore, the State is entitled, practically, to whatever it may care to take of such accumulations, in the form, say, of taxes.

But sane judgment requires that it should not demand more than is needed for support and development, the proper regulation of business and the accumulation and distribution of wealth and such other matters as may relate to the general welfare of society.

### INHERITANCE TAX ABOVE QUESTION.

I think the foregoing citations are sufficient to establish the power of the State in matters of taxation. The State is supreme. This being so, to take up the particular subject of this paper, it follows that there can be no question whatever as to the right and the power of the State to levy and collect a tax upon inheritances.

Such a statement would seem to be superfluous. The inheritance tax has been an established institution so long, not only in this country but throughout the civilized world, that its practicability and justness would not appear to be debatable. Yet, as I have stated, the ignorance that exists concerning it and the prejudice and consequent hostility that have developed because of this ignorance, is disquieting. This is why I made my preliminary statement. I wanted to lay a foundation that could not be questioned.

### SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS TAX.

Let me clinch it by one more illustration: In the case of Knowlton *v.* Moore (178 U. S., 41), Chief Justice White, of the United States Supreme Court, indulged in a full discussion of death duties and dis-

tinctly recognized the inheritance tax as a legal, just, and firmly established mode of taxation.

In fact, the courts everywhere have sustained this tax; but not, let me add, as a tax upon the property transferred, but as a tax upon the privilege of making the transfer, or a succession tax, measured, however, by the value of the property.

To the lay mind, especially to the heir concerned, this may look like a distinction without much of a difference. He receives just that much less in any event and the State just that much more. It is a situation, I may add, with which the State has no quarrel.

UNIFORMITY, PERSONAL PROPERTY, PROGRESSIVE RATES.

Let us now take up three important issues under the general administration of the inheritance-tax laws: First, as to the practicability of uniform rates and exemptions as between the States; second, the taxation of personal property; and third, progressive rates.

There can be no question in my mind of the desirability of uniform rates and exemptions as between the States, but conditions vary so in the different States that such a thing might not be practicable. I am inclined to think, however, that it would be. Certainly a much nearer approach to uniformity as to rates and exemptions could be made than now exists, and also as to other issues under the administration of this law.

On direct heirs there is now as between the States a variance as to maximum rates of from 1 per cent to 15 and on collateral heirs of from 5 per cent to 30. Such a variance offers opportunities for tax dodging that uniformity or a near approach thereto would greatly minimize or stop entirely.

UNIFORMITY UP TO THE LEGISLATURES.

I would like very much to have the various State legislatures consider this suggestion. But if uniformity comes, it will not be soon. It would mean that a few States would have to materially lower their rates, while a large number would have to raise theirs, since a happy medium would have to be found, to say nothing as to exemptions. And then the trouble would start.

We must always bear in mind the varying conditions in the different States, their trend toward taxation in general and toward special taxation in particular, their wealth development, and the character of their people. The outlook for uniformity, desirable as that stage is, certainly is not encouraging.

RESIDENT'S PERSONAL PROPERTY OUTSIDE STATE.

Now, as to an inheritance tax upon personal property: First, let me remark there is no issue as to such taxation upon real estate. It should be, and is, taxed in the State of its situs.

But there is no such unanimity concerning the taxation of personal property. That is frequently made subject to an inheritance tax in two States and sometimes in three. This means either double or triple taxation.

Double taxation may be justified under certain circumstances, but should be avoided as far as practicable. It will prevail, however, in my opinion, until the States adopt uniform inheritance-tax legislation.

THE COURTS' EMPHATIC STAND.

It has been the law and the policy of California, as well as of other States, to impose an inheritance tax upon the personal property of a decedent who was a resident of this State, no matter where the personal property might be located, whether in or out of California. The right of the State having the primary administration of an estate—the State of the domicile of the decedent owner—to tax personal property having its situs outside of the State, is not only the law of California, but it has been upheld by the courts even as affecting personal property which never was in this State and, moreover, under the will of the decedent (estate of Hodges, Cal.) was bequeathed to nonresidents and so in all probability never will be brought here.

OUR INCONSISTENT POLICY.

With this ruling I have no quarrel. I think it a just one. The domiciliary State is the logical taxing power under such circumstances. It certainly should not be deprived of this power.

But California and other States are not consistent in this regard. They insist upon following the personal property of a deceased resident to the ends of the earth, so to speak, but, on the other hand, also insist upon taxing all personal property of a nonresident found within their borders.

And California, as well as certain other States, likewise tax the stock of corporations incorporated under their laws, which is held by nonresident decedents.

WOULD MEAN REVENUE LOSS.

I have not time in this paper to pursue this topic much further. I consider the policy inconsistent, if not unjust. Yet to abandon it would cost California several hundred thousand dollars a year. And while I hold a State had better lose revenue than obtain it unjustly, it is difficult to see how California can cut off this source of income unless all the other States do likewise.

And so, again, we are back to the issue of uniformity.

RETALIATORY PROVISIONS.

It would seem that if the States could not have uniform rates, at least they could have uniform laws as to other issues.

A number of States did have, and several still have, retaliatory or reciprocal provisions in their inheritance tax laws whereby each treats the personal property or intangible property of a nonresident found within its borders just as the domiciliary State of such a nonresident treats such property.

In other words, the personal property of a Californian found in one of these retaliatory States would be taxed because we would treat a nonresident's intangible property in exactly that way.

NEW YORK'S EXPERIENCE.

New York and Massachusetts have abandoned the policy of imposing an inheritance tax upon the personal property of the estates of nonresidents within their jurisdictions and thus have set good examples. But I suspect this change upon their part was not prompted so much by a desire to do right as because they found, under the other plan, they were getting the worst of it.

New York a few years ago materially raised the rates, but, when it was discovered that millions in cash, stock, bonds, and other personal property was being taken out of the State and that wealthy citizens were registering elsewhere, promptly lowered them again.

PROGRESSIVE RATES.

Let us now turn to the subject of progressive rates. By this I mean rates that ascend with the value of the inheritance, say, by divisions of fifty and one hundred thousand, a quarter and a half a million dollars,, and which also are graded according to the degree of relationship that existed between the decedent and his heirs—the wife or children, for example, paying a lower rate than a nephew, niece, or cousin, while a stranger in blood would pay the highest rate of all.

I think no argument is necessary to convince you that wife and children are entitled to the lowest rates and most liberal exemptions, with near relatives coming next, and so on.

Nor can I see any room for argument as to progressive rates where they apply uniformly to heirs of a certain class, as wife or child, brother or sister, uncle or aunt, or stranger in blood.

STATE'S POWER TO CLASSIFY AND TAX.

You will recall that in the beginning of this paper I quoted you an authority to prove the State's unlimited power as to taxation and also showed you that organized society, through government under the State, contributed the opportunities and created the values that made it possible for a citizen to accumulate wealth—the individual's part being by far the least.

The State, first a copartner, upon the death of the citizen became a coheir, also the heir with the largest claim upon the estate. And with just as valid a claim, let me say, though not named as an heir under the will, as it held as an unnamed partner. And just as it could have done during the life of the individual, when it could have taxed him as it pleased upon his possessions, so, as an heir, it has an equal right to tax his estate as seems good to it. But here, as in taxation during one's life, sanity should rule.

It is for the State to say whether a single rate, as 5 per cent, upon the sum total of an estate will satisfy it, or whether it prefers to classify the sum total and have ascending rates upon the divisions, as 2 per cent, say, upon $25,000 to $50,000, 4 per cent upon $50,000 to $100,000, and, passing over other likely divisions, 15 per cent or more on $1,000,000 and over.

WEALTH'S SPECIAL OBLIGATION.

Bear in mind, too, that it is not the property which is taxed under the inheritance-tax laws, but the transfer of that property from one ownership to another or to several. The privilege of passing it on, of receiving it, is what is taxed.

As men who accumulate wealth owe a special obligation to society in accordance with the value of their estates, so, too, do those who inherit such properties owe a peculiar obligation to the State. Through a progressive income tax these wealthy men pay their special obligation, or a part of it, while they live, and through a progressive inheritance tax do those who inherit—those who reap where they did not sow—pay a part of their obligation to organized society.

In short, if a tax upon inheritances is justifiable—and that is not open to question—then equally certain is the justice of and the State's power to collect this tax by classification and ascending rates.

A FEDERAL INHERITANCE TAX.

From this discussion of progressive rates it is natural to turn our attention to the point first raised, in public at least, by Col. Roosevelt while President, and, again, very recently by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and that is that the income tax and the inheritance tax, by means of high, progressive rates, should be used to control the distribution of swollen fortunes.

In other words, that, by means of these high rates, a very material portion of an estate of this character would be diverted from the so-called natural heirs into the Public Treasury and then, as used in the support of the Government, be distributed widely among the people.

SCATTERATION HAS BEGUN.

There is no question that such a policy would result as anticipated; and I think it will come—in fact, it is pretty well on the way now in a few States, including California.

You will recall at this point, perhaps, my quotation from Justice Cooley's work on taxation, to the effect that, while the primary purpose of taxation is to produce revenue, other considerations not only could be but should be borne in mind by the taxing power.

The scatteration of swollen fortunes, which may menace the welfare of the Nation unless dissipated, is one of the considerations beyond question.

THE STATES ARE NATURAL AGENCIES.

But who shall perform this duty? Col. Roosevelt and the Industrial Commission look to the Federal Government. But is there any reason to believe that Washington can do this work more effectively than the States? Has the Federal Government administered the income tax so successfully as to warrant the belief that it can handle the inheritance tax more efficiently than the States? It certainly has not.

Thirty-eight States now levy and collect taxes upon inheritances. Most of them have been very successful, and a number remarkably so. Why, then, should the Federal Government, which has consistently neglected this source of revenue all these years, step in now or later to interfere with the States in a field they have developed?

True, it may be said that both the Nation and the States can impose inheritance taxes. But this, manifestly, is absurd. What would be left the latter under practically confiscatory rates by the former?

STATES WOULD LOSE VAST REVENUES.

New York's largest single item of revenue in 1914 was from its tax upon inheritances, over $11,000,000 having been collected. California's income from this source is averaging $3,000,000 a year.

By what right would the Federal Government take away this source of State support? And if it should, how will the States make up the loss? By increased local taxation, of course. The revenue can not be spared. If taken, it must be made good in some other way. Do the people at large want to add this burden to that which they already carry?

WHY THE STATES SHOULD TAX.

The inheritance tax naturally belongs to the State. The burden of producing and protecting estates is primarily a function of the State, not of the Federal Government. The interest of the local community is greatest in the contribution of the estate as to social welfare. Conditions, too, may not justify the same kind of administration in all the States. The estates of decedents must pass through the probate courts of the State. An estate is accumulated under State laws, is willed away under State laws, and likewise so distributed upon the order of a State court.

Why, then, should the State, having gone this far, be estopped from reaping payment for its services?

NATIONAL TAX ASSOCIATION'S ATTITUDE.

In 1907 the National Tax Association, composed of Federal and State officials, economists, tax experts, and students of taxation from every State in the Union, adopted a resolution against a Federal inheritance tax and went emphatically on record in favor of the States. In 1908 this resolution was affirmed, and for several succeeding years was reaffirmed, so that there could be no misunderstanding as to the position of this influential organization.

I do not see how the States can do otherwise than stand together upon this issue. And surely, so standing, they should be able to control their Senators and Representatives in the Congress.

BRIEF WORLD HISTORY OF THE TAX.

Let us now turn to the inheritance-tax system of California. But, first, a brief history of the inheritance tax as an institution.

There is every reason to believe that the Egyptian Government, prior to the coming of Christ, collected a tax similar in effect to that which we now call the inheritance tax. Such a tax was established, as the records prove, by the Emperor Augustus in the year 6 A. D.; like taxes were levied during the Middle Ages and on down, with variations, by a number of the European Governments, until now, as in England, for instance, it yields in one form or another from $80,000,000 to $100,000,000 a year.

The United States in its early history enacted a stamp tax which included a tax upon the inventories of the effects of deceased persons, upon the probate of wills, and the administration of estates. During and following our Civil War the Government levied a straightout inheritance or succession tax that yielded, between 1865 and 1870, $2,000,000 a year.

THE STATES.

Pennsylvania was the first of the States to have such a tax; in fact, as a colony she enacted a law of the kind as far back as 1626. New York, of all our States that now have inheritance-tax laws, and nearly all of them have, secures the greatest revenue therefrom, as might be surmised because of her wealth. Her first law of the kind was enacted in 1885, and frequently has been amended. Last year her revenue from this source was $11,000,000, and during several years prior thereto had averaged $8,000,000 annually.

CALIFORNIA'S LAWS.

California did not have an inheritance-tax law until 1893, and it applied only to collateral heirs. In 1905 the law was amended in several important respects and made applicable also to direct heirs. The rates of taxation and the exemptions are based upon the Wisconsin law. In 1911 the rates and exemptions were raised, and in 1913 the rates were adjusted to new classifications, but liberal exemptions left as they were. This year, 1915, the rates were again readjusted and, in some instances, very materially increased.

THE GROWTH OF OUR RATES.

The law of 1893 exempting direct heirs carried a flat rate of 5 per cent on all other bequests, save as to charities, etc., with only a $500 exemption.

In 1905 the law also embraced direct heirs, the rates running from 1 to 3 per cent, the latter applying to all bequests in excess of $500,000, while widows and minor children were exempt from taxation up to $10,000 and adult children up to $4,000. The rates on distant kin and strangers ran from 5 to 15 per cent, with $500 exemption.

In 1911 the maximum rate on direct heirs was raised from 3 to 5 per cent, but the exemptions were increased from $10,000 to $24,000 as to widows and minor children and from $4,000 to $10,000 as to adult children. The maximum rate on collateral heirs was increased from 15 to 25 per cent.

In 1913 two classifications were added—one covering bequests from $500,000 to $1,000,000 at 7½ per cent for direct heirs and 27½ for indirect, and the other bequests of $1,000,000 and over at 10 per cent for direct and 27½ for collateral. This led to a readjustment of certain rates upon estates under a half million.

This year—1915—the maximum rate as to straight heirs was advanced from 10 to 15 per cent, and in indirect from 27½ to 30 per cent. No change has been made as to exemptions since 1911.

1913 AND 1915 AMENDMENTS.

Prior to 1911 the inheritance-tax act of this State was very defective. That year it was strengthened, and in 1913 very materially so.

One of the most important of these amendments was that more clearly defining the phrase, "Contemplation of death," thus making it far more difficult to evade the inheritance tax by transferring property before death by gift or otherwise than by will.

Another important amendment imposed a very heavy penalty upon banks, trust companies, or corporations that transferred deposits, securities, or other assets standing in the name of a decedent or in the name of a decedent and one or more persons. Save for this amendment, with its heavy penalties, it is likely the State would lose many thousands of dollars every year through failure to locate cash, bonds, stocks, and other securities usually kept in safe-deposit boxes.

INHERITANCE APPRAISER ALSO PROBATE.

A third amendment, and a very important one, was that giving the comptroller authority to name one or more inheritance-tax appraisers in each county, and further providing, by amending section 1444 of the Code of Civil Procedure, that the court must appoint one of these appraisers as a probate appraiser in any estate where an inheritance tax might be made.

This year this feature of the law was further strengthened by making it mandatory upon the court to appoint an inheritance-tax appraiser as one of the probate appraisers, or the sole appraiser if the court so wishes, in every estate passing through probate.

Thus the State now must have a representative on hand while the probate appraisement is under way and additional opportunity is accorded accordingly for learning all about an estate. And this, too, should be done at a minimum cost to the heirs. The way thus afforded to prevent duplication of work, one appraisement can be made the basis of two. Cooperation on the part of the courts, attorneys, and appraisers not only will enable the latter to render more efficient service but will prove to the best interests of all estates involved.

ATTORNEYS AND SEARCHERS.

The last important amendment of 1913 to the inheritance-tax laws was that giving the comptroller authority to name two assistant inheritance-tax attorneys at a salary of $3,000 a year each, one to be located at San Francisco and to represent the bay region and adjoining territory and the other at Los Angles, to act with the appraisers in the southern California counties. These two attorneys are assistants to the legal head of the department, who resides in Sacramento.

The legislature of 1915, which gave by far the most liberal appropriation ever made for the support of the inheritance-tax department of the controller's office, authorized the appointment of two experienced attorneys as assistants to the heads of the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices and also of two more attorneys for the Sacramento office.

In addition the position of searcher of records was created and each office now has such an assistant. His present duty is to check the records from 1905 to date. Unquestionably in past years, before the law was made effective and the force increased, many estates escaped the inheritance tax. Even this early we are getting results and I look to see much money recovered.

NEW METHOD OF COMPENSATION.

Next to readjusting rates and materially raising certain of them, as already indicated, the most important amendment made by the 1915 legislature to the inheritance-tax laws was that doing away with the $5 per diem allowed an appraiser and providing that hereafter the court and the controller should fix his compensation in each estate.

There is no question that the fixed rate frequently worked an injustice. This was acknowledged. The trouble, however, was to overcome this without opening the door to abuse of the department to criticism. We hope we have solved the problem. The work in each estate will be considered upon its merits and a proper allowance made. But in addition a maximum amount has been fixed beyond which an appraiser's yearly compensation can not go.

The absurdity of appraisers possessing ability to appraise complex estates that brought the State anywhere from $250,000 to $430,000 in taxes alone, for a compensation of $100, or an amount in that neighborhood, should be apparent. The executor of such an estate would think he got off well if he paid such an expert in private service anywhere from $1,000 to $2,000, or perhaps more. The State's old policy put temptation in a man's way. We now pay an appraiser what he is worth.

MANY ARE THE COMPLICATIONS.

Not only is California's inheritance-tax act new to her, but in many respects it contains many novel features. Gradually the courts are passing upon the problems involved, precedents are being set, and the way cleared for the better working of the law.

Complex wills devising life interests or bequeathing property to this person and that upon the happening of this eventuality or that open up hard questions in nearly every instance. The difficulty is in figuring the proper tax under such uncertain conditions. How can the tax be fixed, when, for example, there is no way to tell whether this man or that will die first, and yet the property is to go one way or the other, according as one shall live or die. The safest way for the State is to take the highest tax collectible, subject to a refund later if found excessive.

Joint accounts, family corporations, transferring property before death, alleged business partnerships between husbands and wives, and so on, all mean trouble and call for care, study, and eternal vigilance.

UNIFORMITY—STANDARDIZATION.

There is much to be done, too, toward securing uniformity in appraisements, toward standardizing such work. One appraiser may value a certain stock as worth 10 cents, another in the same city as worth 50 cents. An appraiser may fix the value of a piece of real estate at so much, while another representing another estate may take adjoining property identical in character and estimate it at much less or much more.

There should be, too, more uniformity in the making of reports by appraisers and also in the matter of court procedure. All these things are being worked out gradually.

THE APPRAISERS' CONVENTIONS.

A departure that has contributed much to this desirable end is that of holding annual conventions of inheritance-tax appraisers. The first convention of this kind ever held I called in November, 1913, at Los Angeles for the southern appraisers. A second was held in January, 1914, at San Francisco, for the northern men.

This year, in the exposition city, we held a full State convention of all the appraisers, few being absent. Very much good has resulted from these meetings, and I hope they have become a permanent institution. They are clearing houses of information and experience. They increase knowledge and efficiency, stimulate industry and loyalty.

INHERITANCE TAX COLLECTIONS.

You may have noticed in the press some time ago a statement given out as to inheritance-tax collections for the year 1914–15. The figures were divided into two groups—those for the settlement year and those for the fiscal year. The county treasurers settle with the comptroller twice each fiscal year—in December and in May—while the fiscal year runs from July 1 to June 30. In other words, after the May settlement, which includes collections up to May 1, two months, May and June, remain of the fiscal year.

Now, for the settlement year of 1914–15 the actual cash turned into the State was $2,783,089.56, a gain of $1,080,663.82 over the 1913–14 settlement year. But there came into the hands of the county treasurers during the other two months of 1913–14 enough money to raise these collections to $2,493,948 for that fiscal year.

And so with the fiscal year 1914–15. With the settlement year totaling $2,783,089, sufficient money came in during May and June to run the collections for that fiscal year to $3,000,000, the biggest year California ever had in so far as revenue under the inheritance-tax law is concerned.

For the three years preceding 1913–14 the collections averaged $1,500,000 yearly. And for the 17 years prior thereto averaged annually only $348,632. So, as you can see, we have progressed.

COMPARED WITH OTHER STATES.

Taking the actual cash turned in for the settlement year of 1913–14 (complete figures for 1914–15 are not available), California, with $1,702,425, ranked fifth, being exceeded by the following States: New York, $11,163,680; Pennsylvania, $2,516,790; Massachusetts, $2,277,832; and Illinois, $2,243,583. On the basis of her 1914–15 settlement year ($2,783,089), California, as compared with the foregoing figures, would rank second.

For the fiscal year of 1913–14 California, with collections of $2,493,948, ranked third, New York and Pennsylvania exceeding her revenue. With $3,000,000 as her total collections for the fiscal year of 1914–15, the probabilities are that California is second.

HOW STATE USES THIS MONEY.

Under the law a quarter of a million dollars annually is given of this revenue to the permanent school fund, and 5 per cent of the total receipts from this course are also set aside each year for the benefit of the teachers' retirement fund. The balance goes into the State treasury, to be used as the legislature may direct.

CALIFORNIA'S RATES AND OTHERS.

Briefly, I would like to tell you how California now compares with the thirty-eight other States that collect inheritance taxes as to rates and exemptions. The rates were those effective in 1912, most of which still are in force, except as to three States (Arkansas, California, and Oklahoma), the rates of which are those of 1915.

In the matter of rates as applied to lineal heirs the California rates run from 1 to 15 per cent, the latter applying to estates of over $1,000,000. The nearest approach to these rates are those of Arkansas, which run from 1 to 8 per cent. A number of States have flat rates, of 1, 2, or 5 per cent, the 1 per cent rate predominating, while 11 States do not tax direct heirs at all.

But if we run high as to rates as applied to lineal descendants, we are, to offset it, the most liberal State as to exemptions. These run in California from $10,000 to $24,000, North Dakota being second, with from $10,000 to $20,000, and West Virginia third, with from $10,000 to $15,000. Iowa, with a flat exemption of only $1,000, is least generous, but her rate as to lineals is a flat 5 per cent.

As to collateral heirs, California, with rates running from 2 to 30 per cent, again leads, with Arkansas again second, with rates of from 3 to 24 per cent. Kansas, Minnesota, and West Virginia each has from 3 to 15 per cent, while 17 States have a flat 5 per cent rate.

In the matter of exemptions for collaterals California is not as generous in proportion as she is to lineals. Her exemptions run from $500 to $2,000, as also is the case with Idaho, Illinois, and Texas. Nebraska, Colorado, and Connecticut run each from $500 to $10,000, while Utah has a straight exemption of $10,000 for both direct and collateral heirs and a flat rate of 5 per cent for both.

UNJUST TAX UPON WIFE.

I have left to the last, but not because I hold it the least important, a certain phase of the administration of the inheritance tax laws of California that I consider very unjust and which, I am sure, all fair-minded men will condemn as I do when they understand the situation. I will only briefly refer to it here, as I plan to take it up in detail later through the press and in public speeches.

I refer to the ruling of the courts and a law later framed upon this opinion, whereby a wife is forced to pay an inheritance tax upon her half of the community property accumulated by her husband and herself upon the death of her husband, while the husband, upon the death of the wife, not only pays no such tax but succeeds to his wife's half of the community property as a matter of course, without any act of court or any administration whatsoever.

The Supreme Court, in certain cases where the inheritance-tax law was not an issue or even considered, decreed that the wife succeeds to her half of the community property as the heir of her husband. There was nothing left to do, therefore, in so far as the inheritance-tax law was concerned, but to tax the wife upon her share, and the legislature in 1911 accordingly imposed such a tax. But it is illogical and unjust.

THE PROBLEM IS COMPLEX.

I am aware that amendments to the laws governing the control and disposition of community property should be considered in fear and trembling; that deep issues, grave questions, and results far-reaching as to our social life and business structure are involved.

But I do not wish to disturb any of these things. It seems to me that the legislature could give relief, in so far as the inheritance-tax phase of the matter is concerned. I intend to try to secure it, at any rate.

California may not be in a position to do as I would like to see her do in the matter of the taxation of the personal property of non-residents coming under her jurisdiction, because she is not alone there, but one of many States interested. But she is alone and free of entanglements as to the wife's half of the community property, and she should see justice done.

USE OUR POWER JUSTLY.

California's attitude in this matter reminds me of the story of a dock laborer. "I'm not bating ye, Bridget," he said to his wife, "because I'm displeased with ye, but just to show ye I've got the power."

And, having the power, let us not abuse it.

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[From the Sacramento Bee, July 4, 1916.]

TAX BILL SLAP AT 28 STATES—CHAMBERS, STATE CONTROLLER, POINTS OUT WHERE MEASURE WILL WORK MUCH INJUSTICE.

The tax bill introduced in Congress by the Democratic Ways and Means Committee is a direct slap at the States and will work a great deal of injustice, according to State Controller John Chambers, who is waging a vigorous fight to prevent the Federal Government gobbling up a big share of inheritance taxes.

Chambers discusses that portion of the bill which affects inheritance taxes, as follows:

As I understand this proposed law, a straight exemption of $50,000 is allowed, but no distinction is made as between near relatives, distant relatives, or strangers in blood. The failure to make this distinction is contrary to the policy pursued by the States, and, in my judgment, will work a great deal of injustice.

IN CALIFORNIA.

In California, for example, widows and children are given the largest exemptions; brothers and sisters, smaller exemptions; uncles and aunts, smaller still; and other degrees of relationship or strangers in blood the very smallest of all, in this State amounting only to $500.

STATE GETS LESS.

The straight exemption of $50,000 is, of course, larger than that granted by California or any other State. California gives an exemption of $24,000 to widows and minor children and $10,000 to adult children. The tax runs from 1 to 2 per cent. The Federal tax on the first $50,000 above the exemption is 1 per cent.

As a matter of fact, this apparently generous exemption by the Federal Government is more or less immaterial in so far as the States are concerned. Our rates on estates under $50,000, as just stated, run from 1 to 2 per cent, and necessarily bring in very little money. The bulk of the revenue derived by California from her tax upon inheritances is upon estates ranging from $150,000 to $500,000, and the rates on estates of these values run from 7 to 10 per cent. The Federal Government's proposed rates run from 3 to 5 per cent.

In other words, should this proposed bill pass, the estates, if California should retain her present rates, would pay, instead of from 7 to 10 per cent, as now, from 10 to 15 per cent, the Federal Government taking about one-third of the tax so collected.

MANY WITH HIM.

Since the information first came to me that it was the purpose of the Ways and Means Committee to place a Federal tax upon inheritances, I have done what I could to bring opposition to bear upon its program. Many State controllers and auditors joined with him.

BELONGS WITH STATES.

It was felt, in view of the Democratic assertion that they had a handsome surplus, that there was no need to invoke an inheritance tax upon the part of the Federal Government, but that if additional money was needed, this form of taxation should be left to the States, where it naturally belongs. Inheritances have to do with estates, which affect local communities and which are developed under State laws, and upon the death of the owner are administered upon and settled through State courts.

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[From the Oakland Tribune, May 25, 1916.]

REVENUE FROM INHERITANCES.

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo has submitted to the Ways and Means Committee of the House a revised estimate of revenue required to meet the expense of the National Government for the fiscal year 1916–17. He believes $150,000,000 additional revenue—that is, that much more than is promised under existing revenue-raising machinery—will be sufficient. This estimate is surprisingly low, and with the preparedness measure, rural credits, good roads, and flood-control projects to be carried out it is difficult to see how this extra sum will provide against a big deficit in 1917.

Inheritance taxes, extra income tax, and a tax on war munitions are expected to provide the additional amount required. President Wilson has approved these three tax features, but it is not yet know whether Mr. McAdoo has abandoned his scheme to tax gasoline and internal-combustion engines.

While it seems foolish for the National Government, with its many resources for raising revenue indirectly and with the country sadly in need of a protective tariff, to impose these direct burdens on the people, they are certain to be levied. The Democratic majority is an assurance that they will be.

The question of a Federal tax on inheritances is a new one and will meet with strong opposition from the minority party in Congress. Comparatively few persons realize that such a tax will injuriously affect State revenues in States where inheritance laws are in operation. The Federal Government is planning to grab this handsome source of State revenue and compel the States to meet their expenditures from other sources.

California for this fiscal year will collect nearly $3,500,000 under its inheritance tax law. This money is needed for the proper support of the State government. Five per cent of it goes into the teachers' retirement fund each year, and $250,000 into the general school fund. The balance goes into the general treasury and can be used for general State purposes. If the Federal Government should impose a tax upon inheritances it will mean that the States either will have to reduce their rates and thus greatly curtail their revenue from this source, or else will have to abandon this system of taxation entirely. But the States can not do without this money. It follows, therefore, that if we can not secure it from a tax upon inheritances, it will have to be secured in some other way. State Controller Chambers intimates that the burden will be shifted to the public utility corporations and adds this observation:

"While it is true that California now derives by far the greatest part of its revenue from a tax upon corporations, especially the public utility corporations, that tax is, of course, considered by these corporations when they fix their rates, and so, after all, the consumer in the long run bears, proportionately, the greatest part of the burden. The inheritance tax is not a burden upon people generally. Statistics show that in California about 15 estates out of every 1,000 pay half of the total tax collected each year. Moreover, it is a tax that can not be shifted to the consumer. In addition, it is a tax that belongs logically to the States, and is a system that has been developed by the States with very great success."

There will be other effects, but they all will mean heavier burden for the consumer—the people. Why have the Democrats repudiated their campaign promises to levy "tariff for revenue only"?

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[From the Mail of Woodland.]

ENCROACHING ON STATE REVENUES.

The proposal of the Democrats to impose Federal taxation on inheritances in order to make up the deficiencies of their near-free-trade tariff law as a revenue producer, and to liquidate their extravagances in appropriating public moneys, has raised a storm of protest all over the country.

All but six States of the Union have an inheritance-tax law. The exceptions are Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, New Mexico, Rhode Island, and South Carolina. Upon this tax the States depend for a considerable portion of their revenue. The Democrats could hit upon no more vexatious tax than that of inheritance, because the States believe this to be a subject peculiarly within their own purview. As a State institution it is complicated enough, but when to those complications is added the provision for a Federal inheritance tax, it is pointed out by students of the subject that not only will the cost of collection be greater than the returns therefrom, but the interference with State revenues will be productive of incessant bickering and dispute.

As Mr. John Harrington, of the Wisconsin Tax Commission, points out, in discussing the inheritance tax before the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

"The inheritance tax is administered in the usual process of settling the estate in the probate court. These are State courts, over which the Federal Government has no jurisdiction nor control. With a Federal inheritance tax, it will become necessary for Federal authorities to intervene in the State courts to protect the interests of the Government and collect the tax. The Federal Government, to be effective, would doubtless require its own appraisers, its own forms of notices, orders, records, reports, and so on, duplicating the procedure of the probate court. All of this procedure must necessarily create a confusion of jurisdiction and of practice that would be irritating and expensive to the representatives of estates, and that in a great majority of cases

would cause the estate a greater expense than the amount of tax derived by the Government. It would also appear to be an unwise and improper encroachment by the Federal Government into a just and proper field of State taxation."

Countless questions arise in regard to the enforcement of the tax. The inheritance tax on real estate is due in the State where located. Where personal property is owned in a foreign State it has been held to follow the residence of the owner. But numerous States have held it subject to taxation in the State where located, thus subjecting the same property to double tax. The Federal inheritance tax would hit this property in one State or the other, thus subjecting it to triple taxation. There is an actual instance in which railroad stock of the deceased was subject to the tax in Wisconsin because that was the State of his residence, in Illinois because the stock was in a safety-deposit box in Chicago, and in Utah because the railroad company was a Utah corporation. Should another such instance arise, would the Federal tax take a chop at it?

Another thing: There would be no estimating the probable revenue from such a tax, on account of the uncertainty of human life. With the conclusion of the European war and the consequent slacking up of business, free-trade products swamping the American market, and business going into bankruptcy, the only hope for succor from this tax which the Democrats might have would be a national visitation of the black plague.

THE WINE TAX AND SPURIOUS WINE.

The excessive tax levied on the wine industry in the so-called emergency war tax measure by Congress in 1914 has not produced the revenue expected by its proponents. I stated at the time it would not, but that it would reduce the production of wine and the price the grower would receive for his grapes, and if it was retained on the statute books for any length of time would destroy the viticultural industry in California. That act has already had its effect. From the vintage of 1915 was produced 10,500,000 gallons less sweet wine than was made in 1914, 4,000,000 gallons less dry wine, and over 700,000 gallons less brandy; and more than 100,000 tons of grapes rotted on the vines for lack of a market. Very few of the grape growers made expenses. No bank would lend money on the crop as security.

My colleague, the Hon. Mr. KENT, has worked hard and conscientiously to secure, if possible, a recommendation from the Treasury Department to Congress to grant some measure of relief. All of the members of the California delegation have cooperated with him.

Mr. Sheehan, the secretary of the State viticultural commission; Mr. Welch, representing the sweet wine and table grape growers; and Mr. Alpers, a dry-wine grape grower, spent months in Washington. We had numerous conferences with the collector of internal revenue, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and had hearings before a subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee. The Kent bill, which is the basis of the wine-tax provision in this bill, is the result. Early in the campaign for relief I told my colleagues it would not be granted to any appreciable extent, and it has not. The scale of taxation provided in this section will more scientifically extract revenue from the industry as long as it lasts, but it will destroy the industry in the end. Two cents a gallon on wine under 14 per cent and 7 cents a gallon on wine over 14 per cent is all the industry can stand.

I suppose my colleague, Mr. KENT, after vainly trying to have his friend the Secretary of the Treasury recommend a tax under which the viticultural industry might live and prosper in California, finally, under protest, submitted to the rates in this bill as being some better than the the present law, and with the hope that it would not kill the industry before some Congress and administration in the near future would treat it fairly.

All civilized nations encourage viticulture—the cultivation of the grape and the manufacture of pure wine from the juice of the grape. The United States Government until recently has encouraged viticulture, particularly in California. Under that encouragement 340,000 acres of land have been planted in vines in my State—170,000 acres in wine grapes, 110,000 acres in raisin grapes, and 60,000 acres in table grapes. One-half of the raisin and table grapes are of no value except to make sweet wine and brandy.

[From the Oak Park (Cal.) Ledger.]

The principal reason for the great strides made by the California grape industry during the past half century has been the encouragement given to it by both the State and the Federal Governments. Our State legislature alone has appropriated more than $300,000 in fostering the industry.

Both State and Nation have established experimental stations, investigated methods of combating the ravages of insect pests, and distributed vast quantities of literature for the benefit of the vineyardist.

To afford facilities for solving grape problems, the United States Bureau of Plant Industry has established 12 experimental vineyards on the Pacific coast. One of these is at the Plant Introduction Field Station at Chico, and the others are located at Oakville, in Napa County; Fresno; Guasti, in San Bernardino County; Brawley, in Imperial County; Colfax, in Placer County; Geyserville and Sonoma, in Sonoma County; Livermore, in Alameda County; Lodi and Stockton, in San Joaquin County; and Mountain View, in Santa Clara County.

Characteristic clusters of over 500 varieties of wine, raisin and table grapes were collected last vintage by Prof. George C. Husmann, in charge of the United States experimental stations in California, and sent to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. There they attracted great interest and proved a revelation to foreign and eastern visitors.

It is doubtful if any other State or nation can display a wider variety of grapes than California, whose soil and climate enable us to produce practically every variety of wine, raisin, and table grapes grown anywhere on the face of the globe.

There are 15,000 vineyards in the State, some of them ranging in size from 200 acres to one of 3,200 acres, but most of them are in small holdings of from 10 to 25 acres each.

Seventy-five thousand people are supported by grape culture in California. They depend on raising and selling grapes for a living. This does not take into account the number of people and their families engaged in the wineries, making wine from the grape. They number 75,000 more.

The amount of money invested in vineyards and wineries is over $200,000,000.

The cost of making a vineyard of bearing vines averages $300 per acre.

Grapevines yield from 4 to 8 tons per acre per annum, and are sold to the wineries at from $7.50 to $11 per ton. Some years extra choice dry wine grapes may be sold for as much as $25 a ton.

The net profit to the grape grower is small, as the cost of developing and cultivating a vineyard is great.

A ton of grapes makes from 150 to 160 gallons of dry wine or 80 gallons of sweet wine. The reason that a smaller quantity of sweet wine than dry wine is made from a ton of grapes is because a portion of the grapes in the manufacture of sweet wine is distilled into brandy, which is used to fortify the sweet wine.

It costs about 14 cents per gallon to make dry wine and 16 cents per gallon to make sweet wine.

Dry wine is sold at the wineries in bulk for about 19 cents per gallon, and sweet wine at an average of 29½ cents per gallon.

Dry wine is an article of diet used as a drink with their meals by a large number of our citizens, particularly those of foreign birth and their children, and more particularly by those from France, southern Europe, and parts of Germany. Dry wine is also regularly used on the tables of many Californians and Louisianians. They use it with their meals as most people use tea and coffee. This tax on dry wine will add to the cost of living of many frugal, hard-working people in moderate circumstances.

In 1914 the production of sweet wine was 16,620,212 gallons. The production of brandy 3,320,744 gallons. The production of dry wine about 25,000,000 gallons.

In 1915 the production of sweet wine was, as near as can be ascertained, about 6,000,000 gallons. The production of brandy 2,613,286 gallons. The production of dry wine 20,921,000 gallons.

It is estimated that 100,000 tons of grapes, including wine grapes and raisin and table grape culls were left unpicked on the vines for lack of ability to sell to the wineries on account of the excessive Federal tax on brandy used in fortifying sweet wines.

The annual production of table grapes amounts to about 250,000 tons, one-half of which has in the past been sold to the wineries.

The annual production of raisins is about 125,000 tons, and one-half of the raisin grapes must be sold to the wineries, as only the best clusters are used for drying for raisins.

Last year the winemen, because of the prohibitive tax on brandy used in fortification, dried 4,000 tons of raisins out of wine grapes, and the raisin-grape growers made 200,000 gallons of dry wine out of raisin grapes. The raisins and wine thus manufactured were of inferior quality and have not been and will not be marketed. To maintain the high standard of California raisins and wine the Fresno raisin producers purchased the 4,000 tons of raisins from the wine association, and the wine association purchased the 200,000 gallons of wine from the raisinmen, and neither the inferior raisins nor the inferior wine will be marketed.

During the early part of May, 1916, a heavy frost killed a large part of the grape crop in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valley. It is estimated that over 85,000,000 worth of grapes were destroyed. A frost at that time of the year had never before been known to occur in the valley, and during the first week in July a heavy rain mildewed half of the grapes remaining on the vines. As a result of the frost and rain, grapes will bring from $15 to $25 a ton this year, but also as a result of the frost and rain very few grape growers will have much, if any, grapes to sell.

The tax placed by Congress in the emergency revenue bill two years ago has not produced the revenue you expected, and I told you at the time it would not. But it has diminished the production of wine as I told you it would. The present wine-

tax provision in this bill is unjustly excessive and instead of relieving the situation will still further discourage the making of wine. If it is enacted into law and remains on the statute book for any length of time, it will drive every small independent producer out of business and will reduce the price of grapes to such a point that a large acreage of vineyards in small holdings will be so unprofitable that their owners will be compelled to dispose of them to large holders at a sacrifice, if they have a chance, and otherwise will have to dig-up their vineyards that have cost them much money and years of labor to develop, and where the soil is favorable start all over again in some other branch of farming.

No other country—not even one of those engaged in war—has imposed such a burden of taxation on its viticultural industry. The grape and wine industry of California does not wish to escape its just share of taxation to meet the emergency in the Federal Treasury, but the tax provided in this bill is unjust and excessive.

Grades of dry wine sold in bulk to our people as a part of their regular dietary should not be taxed at all. We do not tax ten nor coffee; neither should we tax the dry wine that is used as a drink with their meals by many poor people—particularly by a large proportion of our foreign-born population from France, Germany, and the Mediterranean and by their children. California protests against any change in the legal definition of wine.

We do not want the Pure Food Bureau's definition of wine changed by law or by the bureau.

Under section 43 the manufacture of spurious rot-gut wine is legalized and recognized as wine, as will be evident to anyone who reads that section from the word "fermentation," on page 72, line 8, down to the end of the section, on page 73, line 9.

The Government ought not to permit impure wine to be made and sold. To be healthful wine must have age and be made from the juice of the grape.

Among the many letters, telegrams, and resolutions I have received against the rate of taxation on wine provided for in this bill and against legalizing the manufacture and sale of spurious rot-gut wine are the following, which I shall read and include as a part of my remarks:

CALISTOGA, CAL., *May 17, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. CURRY: I herewith hand you a duplicate set of resolutions regarding the so-called Kent bill, which originated actually in the United States Revenue Department, and the proposed change in the definition of wine, contained, I think, in the pure food law, which allows compounding materials and calls it wine, against all of which the dry wine men protest most heartily. You will find that the so-called Kent bill, and the change as to definition of wine will have the approval of our sweet wine men and of the trust, and the large independent wine makers, since it will reduce the small man to the necessity of quitting.

We respectfully ask that these resolutions, and this letter, if you wish, be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, since we do not want it to pass and allow it to be said there was no objection. Of course, we have no hope from the present administration, history shows that which they start they drive through. And out of their need for money, and perhaps also their desire to ruin our business from a prohibition standpoint, comes the proposed changes in the definition of pure wine, which allows the eastern fellow to make it out of water, etc., and also puts him in the class with our pure grape juice. All we hope to gain from the present administration is that the RECORD shall show that we protested.

You will see that this Grape Protective Association comprises 34 wineries, owned by both Democrats and Republicans, all alike protesting.

Very truly,

ELMORE M. BILLINGS.

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CALISTOGA, CAL., *May 17, 1916.*

TO CALISTOGA GRAPE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION:

Your committee to which was referred the matter of drafting resolutions opposing the proposed Kent bill and the change in the definition of wine, allowing adulteration, as directed by this Association, begs leave to report as follows:

We have given this matter serious consideration, taken counsel with many leading citizens, friends of the dry wine industry of California, and are assured and believe that any law that attempts to put the dry wine industry in the same class with the sweet wine industry or with the compounded, "stretched" or "sophisticated" wines of the Eastern States can only do serious injury to the dry wine industry of California. We believe that it will be found difficult to put all the different kinds of wine into one class and do justice to all, we refer especially to the eastern wine maker, the sweet wine maker, and the California dry wine maker.

We believe that the proposed Kent bill will do injustice to the farmers who grow grapes used by dry-wine makers, especially in the following particulars:

The Kent bill puts the burden of the tax on the humble grower, whose profit is very little beyond a living. It should be remembered that for more than 20 years we have been compelled to sell our wines at an average price of 15 cents per gallon. This wine is used by thousands of poor and middle class people as a table beverage as commonly as others use tea or coffee. All of the tax proposed in the Kent bill will be paid by the farmer.

There are 34 small wineries in the vicinity of Calistoga. Five hundred gallons per acre is probably a conservative estimate of the average production of the hill and valley vineyards in this locality. The proposed Kent bill would therefore impose an average tax of at least $15 per acre in addition to all other taxes, and is more than any farmer can stand and permit the wine industry a chance to continue.

The grower of corn or barley pays no such tax, and he can use his crop for some other purpose. But if the farmer growing grapes suitable only for dry-wine making is taxed out of existence, his grapes are worthless; they can be used for no other purpose.

We wish to emphasize the fact that we are defending nothing but the pure, unadulterated dry-wine industry of California.

Another objection to the proposed law is that it permits "stretching" or "sophisticating" of wines by adding water and acids. All materials for producing pure wines are found in the California grape. Our trade in pure wine made of pure grape juice has long been established, and our dry-wine makers demand that the producers of compounds be not permitted to sell their product without specifying their composition. To simply state "Missouri wine," "Ohio wine," "Michigan wine," as has been proposed, will deceive the public, which will think that it was made in these localities, but is pure wine. This alone would, we believe, ruin the dry-wine industry of California. Ninety per cent of all grapes grown for wine purposes in the United States are grown in California. Half of the remainder are used to make grape juice. It would seem, therefore, that the producers of 5 per cent of the total wine output of the United States are to win at all points.

We believe that clause in the Kent bill which fixes a certain tax for wines having an alcohol content of less than 10 per cent and a higher tax on wines containing more than 10 per cent and up to 14 per cent is objectionable. As any of our dry wines containing less than 11 per cent alcohol are not considered merchantable, we would never derive any benefit from the lower tax. Our marketable dry wines range in alcohol from 11 per cent to 14 per cent, and we therefore urge that there should be but one tax on all wines up to 14 per cent alcohol and that that should not be to exceed 2 cents per gallon.

The California wine industry has been fostered by both State and Nation, inducing our people to dig out stones and stumps on the mountain sides, and now in addition to all other ever-increasing taxes the Federal Government wants $15 per acre tax. This would be an excessive burden. No other farming industry is asked to stand it.

We understand that the Kent bill would turn every one of our 34 little wineries into bonded warehouses, placed under the control of the United States Treasury and Revenue Departments, with a minimum penalty for the smallest infraction of the law of $500. This law would permit the Revenue Department to make regulations, and violation of which is thus penalized. This would tend to reduce the wine business of Napa Valley into one large monopoly. It is practically certain that not one of the 34 wineries in the vicinity of Calistoga could survive these added burdens. If such conditions, governmental restrictions, burdens, and taxes are to be permanent, we can only look forward to the time when we can alter our business or produce crops less hampered.

It must be remember that very much of our land devoted to grapes will not grow hay or grain, and we would be compelled to experiment with trees or orchards after grubbing out our grapes.

"Whereas the proposed law would injure if not destroy the dry-wine industry of California; and

"Whereas these matters are undoubtedly clouded by want of full understanding: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent to our Representatives and Senators in Congress and that they be urged to do all in their power to save the dry-wine industry of California."

Which was unanimously adopted.

A true copy.

E. L. ARMSTRONG, *President.*

Attest.

WM. W. KORTUM, *Secretary.*

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[Western Union telegram.]

CALISTOGA, NAPA COUNTY, CAL.,
*March 13, 1916.*

Hon. CHARLES F. CURRY,
*Washington, D. C.:*

Wine growers urge that no adulterations be permitted in the manufacture of wine. Object to use of sugar, water, or neutral spirits. We consider any such law a most fatal blow to the honest wine industry.

ELMORE M. BILLINGS.
EPHRAIM LIGHT.
CHARLES N. PICKETT.
R. F. GRIGSBY.

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[Western Union telegram.]

OAKVILLE, CAL., *March 14, 1916.*

Congressman C. F. CURRY,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

The position taken by the State Viticultural Commission authorizing Representative KENT to introduce a measure providing for the legalizing of wines made from sugar and water and the fortification of such wines or pure wines with neutral spirits other than grape brandy will cause the reverend clergy of America to suspect all California wines shipped to them for sacramental purposes. Sacramental wines can only be made from nothing but the pure product of the grape. I would appreciate it very much if you would register my protest with the Ways and Means Committee against any act providing for the legalizing of adulterated or spurious wines or for the fortification of wines by the use of neutral spirits.

REV. P. BLAKE.

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[Western Union telegram.]

NAPA, CAL., *March 14, 1916.*

Hon. CHARLES F. CURRY,
*Washington, D. C.:*

Our attention has been called to fact that certain California interests not affiliated with dry-wine interests have given their approval to use of spirits and sugars in manufacture of wines. We being one of largest independent dry-wine manufacturers in State of California desire to be placed on record before Ways and Means Committee as opposed to any change in manufacture of pure California wine as now defined under pure-food laws. We would prefer to see 8 cents per gallon wine tax stand as at present rather than allow big interests adulterate and ruin vineyards of dry-wine section.

MIGLIAVACCA WINE CO.,
JOSEPH A. MIGLIAVACCA,
*President.*

[Western Union telegram.]

ST. HELENA, NAPA COUNTY, CAL., *March 14, 1916.*

Hon. CHARLES F. CURRY,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

Grape growers of Napa County in a meeting this morning unanimously voiced their objection to the passage of any bill by Congress that will permit the use of sugar, water, grain, or neutral spirits in the manufacture of pure wines, and request that you appear before committee and present our objections. We desire that the definition of pure wines remain as at present provided by pure-food laws.

Napa County Growers' Association (Wm. Bornhorst, president) Frank Pellett, Chas. Davis, John N. Wheeler, Mrs. M. Holje, French American Co., L. Kortum, Migliavacca Wine Co., F. W. Ewer Co., I. Light, C. N. Pickett, Chas. Krug Winery, Bismarck Fruck, E. M. Billings, Charles Fauver.

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TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
*Washington, May 19, 1916.*

Hon. HENRY T. RAINEY,
*Chairman Subcommittee on Ways and Means,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. RAINEY: I have the honor to submit herewith for consideration in connection with the pending wine bill (H. R. 13282) statements and estimates, prepared by Representative Kent, of the production of wines, cordials, etc., and the quantity of brandy used in the fortification of wines during certain stated periods.

The statement of collections under the present wine law is found to agree with the records of this department, except as to the tax collected on brandy. During the period from November, 1914, to October, 1915, which, including the month of October, 1915, is found to be $162,997.40 instead of $162,197.14 as given in the statement submitted. While somewhat less than the tax assessed on the brandy so used, the actual collections from this source, as well as the tax on the wines produced, would seem to furnish a fair basis for comparing such receipts under the present law with the estimated receipts under the proposed law.

The records show that since the enactment of the present wine law there has been a large falling off, not only in the production of certain grades of wines but in the quantity of brandy used for fortifying purposes. This large decrease is doubtless due mainly, if not wholly, to the high rates of tax now imposed, and it is reasonable to conclude that, under the reduced rates of tax provided for in the pending bill, the wine industry will again assume normal proportions, and that the revenue to be derived therefrom will at least equal that now estimated by Mr. Kent.

In view of the probable increase in revenue under the lower rates of tax and the fact that the administrative features of the bill would doubtless prove far more effective than those contained in the present law, I regard the bill as now drawn a meritorious one and would recommend its passage.

Respectfully, W. G. MCADOO, *Secretary.*

The monthly reports of the Internal-Revenue Bureau show that the amount of fortification of sweet wine in August to October, 1914, was unprecedented. It is obvious that wine makers rushed fortification so as to evade the burdensome fortification tax of 55 cents a gallon, which was then being discussed.

It was assumed at that time that the next season would show a return to normal conditions under the operation of the emergency law, as the next season's output would be unaffected by change of legislation.

Furthermore, the wines on which taxes under the emergency-revenue law were collected were the product of a season which started long before the enactment of the law itself, and a comparison of 12 months subsequent to its enactment (which period, from October, 1914, to October, 1915, included the end of one normal season and the beginning of another season—an abnormal season), a comparison of receipts from mixed seasons with receipts from a normal season, is not a fair nor an accurate method of computation. The division of the year, as October to October, brings into calculations the productions of two different seasons, one of which may be extremely large and the other extremely small, and there is consequently difficulty in proving the cause of reduced production.

The law having been in effect about 18 months, the only reasonably accurate method of estimating the effect of the law is to compare the receipts of the first 12 months with the receipts of the last 12 months, and then to compare the gallonage producing this revenue with the output of an average year prior to the enactment of the present intolerable tax. Inasmuch as the past 12 months, from April, 1915, to March, 1916, inclusive, practically covers a season's production under the operation of the emergency-revenue law, the production during this period as compared with the production of any season prior to the enactment of the emergency law will show conclusively the effect of the law on the wine industry

Inasmuch as official figures are available on the sweet-wine industry only, as against the total of all other branches, the effect of the law can most readily be ascertained on this branch of the industry, as, for instance, the normal production of sweet wines prior to the enactment of the emergency-revenue law was about 20,000,000 gallons, whereas during the last 12 months only 6,000,000 gallons of sweet wine have been fortified.

The tax on the sweet-wine industry was increased by the emergency law from three-fourths of a cent a gallon to about 23 cents a gallon, or approximately 3,000 per cent.

When the law went into effect it was confidently expected that 20,000,000 gallons of sweet wine would alone produce, at the rate of 23 cents a gallon (8 cents stamp tax and 15 cents fortification tax), $4,600,000. The actual collections, however, were as follows:

*November, 1914, to October, 1915, inclusive.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales of wine stamps | $2,985,032.33 |
| Assessments (includes penalties) on unstamped wines | 28,995.57 |
| Tax collected on brandy used in fortification (corrected) | 162,997.40 |
| Total | 3,177,025.30 |

*April, 1915, to March, 1916, inclusive.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Sales of wine stamps | $2,498,270.28 |
| Assessments (includes penalties) on unstamped wines | 78,534.19 |
| Tax collected on brandy used in fortification (corrected) | 307,861.29 |
| Total | 2,884,665.76 |

The following table shows the revenue which can reasonably be expected under the pending bill as based on the estimates contained in the letter from the Secretary of the Treasury March 15, 1916. The revenue figures on domestic cordials, sparkling wines, and champagnes were obtained from recent letters from internal-revenue collectors, furnished through the courtesy of Commissioner Osborn, and do not pretend to be comprehensive:

| | |
|---|---|
| Estimated revenue, exclusive of domestic cordials, sparkling wines, and champagnes | $3,684,914.00 |
| Domestic cordials, etc. (incomplete) | 653,762.43 |
| Domestic champagnes, sparkling wines, etc. (incomplete) | 103,080.96 |
| Total | 4,441,757.39 |

*November, 1914, to October, 1915, inclusive.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Estimated receipts | $4,441,757.39 |
| Actual collections | 3,177,025.30 |
| Difference | 1,264,732.09 |

*April, 1915, to March, 1916, inclusive.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Estimated receipts | $4,441,757.39 |
| Actual collections | 2,884,665.76 |
| Difference | 1,557,091.63 |

The above figures, based on incomplete returns, show conclusively that the pending bill, even though it reduces the present rates of taxation from 35 per cent to 50 per cent, will provide an increase of revenue of over a million and a half annually.

Moreover, the bill provides a permanent tax, whereas the present law was enacted merely to provide a temporary source of revenue.

Another advantage is that with the improved administrative features of the pending bill there will be little opportunity to evade payment of taxes. Under the present law there have been discovered flagrant abuses and evasions.

It is reasonable to assume that for the next year or two there may be a slight increase in revenue under the present law over actual production, inasmuch as much of the sweet wine that is now being marketed was fortified under the 3-cent fortification tax, and the Government is collecting stamp tax on this old stock. As soon as this stock of wine is sold off (it is alleged that there were 40,000,000 gallons in California at the time of the passage of the law) it is evident that the Government will then be collecting revenue from the annual production, which will afford an opportunity of computing the actual effect of the emergency law on the wine industry.

It is furthermore evident that the Government is receiving revenue at the present time from only 35 per cent of the normal production of still wines, and unless the present rates of taxation are lowered there is no reason to hope that receipts can be increased. On the other hand, an immediate reduction of 65 per cent of production during the first year and a half under the operation of the emergency revenue law raises the presumption that, without relief, the discouragement and the fight for actual existence will tend to create a progressive decrease in production, and consequently in revenue.

*Table showing percentage of reduction in production of sweet wine.*

| | Gallons. |
|---|---|
| July, 1914, to March, 1915, inclusive | 17,133,228.66 |
| July, 1915, to March, 1916, inclusive | 6,051,565.49 |
| Difference (a drop of 65 per cent in production) | 11,081,663.17 |

The season of 1914–15 was divided between two rates of tax. A comparison between the season of 1915–16 and an average of the seasons of 1910–11, 1911–12, and 1912–13 follows:

| | Gallons. |
|---|---|
| Sweet wine produced in 1910–11 | 19,498,767.24 |
| Sweet wine produced in 1911–12 | 24,198,626.19 |
| Sweet wine produced in 1912–13 | 19,281,758.12 |
| Total | 62,979,151.55 |
| Average for three seasons | 20,993,050.516 |
| Production 1915–16 season (a drop of about 72 per cent) | 6,051,565.49 |

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*Table showing percentage of reduction in production of sweet wine and percentage of reduction in amount of brandy used to fortify sweet wine.*

SWEET WINE.

| | Gallons. |
|---|---|
| July, 1914, to March, 1915 (inclusive) | 17,133,228.76 |
| July, 1915, to March, 1916 (inclusive) | 6,051,565.49 |
| Difference (a drop of 65 per cent in production) | 11,081,663.17 |

The season of 1914–15 was divided between two rates of tax. A comparison between the season of 1915–16, and average of the seasons of 1910–11, 1911–12, and 1912–13 follows:

| | Gallons. |
|---|---|
| Sweet wine produced in 1910–11 | 19,498,767.24 |
| Sweet wine produced in 1911–12 | 24,198,626.19 |
| Sweet wine produced in 1912–12 | 19,281,758.12 |
| Total | 62,979,151.55 |
| Average for three seasons | 20,993,050.516 |
| Production, 1915–16 season, or a drop of about 72 per cent | 6,051,565.49 |

BRANDY USED TO FORTIFY SWEET WINE.

| | Gallons. |
|---|---|
| July, 1914, to March, 1915 (inclusive) | 4,489,720.4 |
| July, 1915, to March, 1916 (inclusive) | 955,515.5 |
| Difference (a drop of 79 per cent in amount used) | 3,534,203.2 |

Comparison with average of prior seasons:

| | Gallons. |
|---|---|
| Brandy used in 1910–11 | 5,081,517.5 |
| Brandy used in 1911–12 | 6,322,393.9 |
| Brandy used in 1912–13 | 4,939,464.7 |
| Total | 16,343,286.1 |
| Average for three seasons | 5,447,762.0 |
| Amount used in 1915–16, or a drop of 83 per cent | 955,515.5 |

[NOTE.—All figures taken from annual reports of Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and reports furnished by his office for period subsequent to issuance of last annual report.]

**Response of Vermont.**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PORTER H. DALE,
OF VERMONT,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. DALE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, an item which has been quite extensively copied by the press of the country from the Springfield (Mass.) Republican announces that—

Of the States in the eastern department, New York, up to Sunday, had sent forward 5,643 men to the Mexican border; Massachusetts, 5,437; New Jersey, 4,056; Pennsylvania, 3,398; and others fewer numbers. Considered as an actual pro rata contributor the Bay State is nearly at the top of the list. It is something of an expert in preparedness.

While admitting the claim that Massachusetts is something of an expert in preparedness, and gladly assenting to her conspicuous place in that respect so long as she is represented in this House by the well-informed, superb advocate of that policy [Mr. GARDNER], yet a citizen of the little State of Vermont can not help feeling that the number and quality of men from that State and the dispatch with which they responded may justly be called to notice.

As an actual pro rata contributor the Green Mountain State is not only nearly, but quite at the top of the list, and with almost twice the number of men on the border in proportion to its population that the Bay State has sent.

In the manner of its response Vermont is sustaining a reputation recorded in history. In 1861 the governor of Vermont issued his call for a special session of the legislature on the same day that the President called for troops. The legislature was opened by the national salute from the two brass field pieces captured by Stark at Bennington, appropriated a million dollars, provided for the raising of volunteers and the support of their families, and adjourned. Within a week thereafter the first regiment was ready to go. During the next four years not only more men enlisted, but more men gave their lives for the Union from Vermont in proportion to its population than from any other Northern State. Not till a year after the close of the war did the last regiment come home from its service on the banks of the Rio Grande, when the scheme of a foreign power to establish an empire in Mexico had been abandoned. Vermont in that war sent a soldier for every ten of its population, including men, women, and children, within a month of the President's call offered twice the number of companies the Government was ready to accept, raised the first full regiment of mounted men from New England, at the close of the war had exceeded by more than fifteen hundred men its quotas under all calls, and brought back all its colors, never having lost one in action.

In 1898 a new generation in Vermont responded to the President's call with energy and celerity similar to their fathers. The First Regiment of Infantry was ready in a few days. Capt. Clark brought the battleship *Oregon* from California round the continent 13,000 miles in the quickest record time and put it in place for the naval engagement that sunk the Spanish fleet in Santiago Bay. And before this another Vermonter, in command of the Pacific Squadron, had steamed out from Hongkong and met his instructions to "find the Spanish fleet and destroy it." This Admiral Dewey did without the loss of a single man in Manila Harbor.

The old martial spirit, fortified by the stern sense of civic duty, still survives in Vermont. Her troops are not only so many in proportion to her population, they were not only among the first to reach the border, but they are, officers and privates, men of superb character. The chaplain of the Vermont regiment now on the border is Rev. Dr. Thomas, president of Middlebury College. The reason why he went, simply and briefly stated, is a little forceful sermon.

I had to come. I have been for three years chaplain of this regiment, have had the benefit of the training, and was regarded by officers and men as their friend and chaplain. When they were called to the front I simply could not refuse to offer to go with them. How could I ever stand up and urge my students or anyone else to do their duty even in the face of sacrifice, if I flinched in this great crisis? A man must stand by his conscience or his force is gone. So a great load was lifted when I offered to go, and I will try to do my duty by the boys.

The colonel of the regiment is Ira L. Reeves, president of Norwich University, which ranks as a military training school next to West Point. He has seen years of Regular Army service; was an officer in Cuba and the Philippines; has met the experiences of the march and the battle, and has been severely wounded. Col. Reeves is in the prime of splendid physical and moral manhood. He is a man with a great deep intellect, who speaks briefly, but with a volume of power. His deeds are based on a sound conscience. Col. Reeves was inaugurated president of the university a few days prior to his leaving for the border, and the quality of the man is indicated by the strong, quiet power of his remarks. He said:

This is an unusual time for an inauguration. An inauguration usually occurs at the beginning of an administration. For all I know, it may be at the end of mine. I have been asked if I want to go back into active service. If war breaks out, I want to go. I am quite sure that none of these young men have asked to be released. I am quite sure if they did not go at this time, the time would come when they would regret it. We all have an obligation. Somebody must fight these battles. If I could not go out as a colonel I would go out as a private. My young men, it will some time be a source of pride to you and to your children to feel that you went out when your country needed you. I have often had inquiries as to who were the bravest men in battle. It is usually those who with white faces and jaws firmly set have the determination to go right in.

Wherever we go, I think we can depend on Vermonters doing their duty, for they have made one of the best military records in this country. Let us hope that I will make good in my command. I want to assure you that your sons will receive my most conscientious support. I have in my regiment one of the sons of the governor. I have the sons of a great many fathers and mothers, and I want to assure you that your son will receive every attention that I can give him. If I can't do all I hope to, to make the First Vermont Regiment one of the best, if not the best in the United States, I will get out and give some other man a chance.

Mr. Speaker, Vermont has only sent the first of many regiments if they are needed. A squadron of Cavalry is fast being recruited at Fort Ethan Allen by Maj. Wallace Batchelder, who was one of Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders. The character of the man and his desire for troops of quality are both made clear in his plain, direct talk to officers and men on a recent Sunday, when he said:

Boozing and soldiering do not mix well. You can't do both in this command. If you want to soldier, we will soldier. If you want to booze, get out and let the rest of us soldier. I stand for fair play. These splendid officers and men have a right and their families have a right to be absolutely certain, and each officer and man has a right to feel secure in the assurance that if he ever goes under fire his comrades, his noncommissioned officers, and his officers shall be perfectly sober and in full possession of all their faculties.

Mr. Speaker, it may be that Vermont can not keep pace with other States in the ratio of population, but with martial mettle, civic courage, and genuine, reverent, preeminent devotion to the death she will respond more than pro rata to the Nation's call.

**Harking Back on the Tariff Commission.**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, July 7, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in extending my remarks in opposition to the Democratic deficiency bill, which proposes to compromise Republican votes upon the tariff question by the tender of a "nonpartisan" tariff commission to be appointed by President Wilson in line with the St. Louis platform of the Democratic national convention, I wish to submit for the information of some of my Republican colleagues who are being urged "to pull the Democratic Party out of its financial hole," to present a few extracts from great speeches by leading Democrats, who were not so enthusiastic about a "nonpartisan" tariff commission, when we had one under the Taft administration in 1909 and 1910, as they have been since the Democratic convention of 1916 has awakened to the fact that there was something in a protective tariff after all.

And before I introduce these honest expressions of Democratic faith I wish to remind the Republicans who have been in this House for one or two terms only that in their failure to appear in the Sixty-first Congress, when the Democrats were preparing to take away the gavel from Speaker CANNON and turn it over to Speaker CLARK in the Sixty-second Congress, they missed one of the most tragic incidents in our legislative history—the defeat and burial of a tariff board which had been gathering data for Congress at less expense and on lines substantially as comprehensive as are proposed in the $300,000 Wilson tariff commission, with its six $10,000 specialists, who are to have no practical experience but only a theoretical knowledge of the tariff question, and who—Heaven save the mark!—are not to have been guilty of service in the House of Representatives.

The death of the Taft Tariff Board was accomplished by a remarkable filibuster, conducted principally by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARNER], which lasted all of the night of March 3, 1911, and continued until successful, a few minutes before the expiration of the Sixty-first Congress, March 4, of the following day. One of the grievances of the Democrats who opposed the board was that it was too expensive, and that it had employed a secretary at the enormous salary of $6,000 per annum, which is the amount fixed in the present Wilson tariff commission proposition, plus the six $10,000 economic specialists, who are to superintend the work that is already being done in the various departments and commissions of the Government.

When the filibuster had reached the point where it threatened the failure of several of the important appropriation bills, Mr. Payne of New York, the leader of the majority, arose and made this statement:

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, it is evident that this bill can not pass before 12 o'clock. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And I understand that the sundry civil bill has not yet been engrossed; and in order to do that, this bill will have to get out of the way.

As I have been very earnestly for this bill, as has been a majority of the House, I regret to break in at this time, but I ask unanimous consent, and I ask the friends of this bill to join with me, to vacate the order now pending and to allow the resolution to be withdrawn.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

In the excitement—for it was an exciting occasion—before the Republican leader threw up the sponge, a vote was had on a motion to agree to the resolution of the Committee on Rules, reporting the Tariff Board measure, and on that vote, which was recapitulated because of the confusion under which it was taken, substantially all of the Democrats who are now in the House voted in the negative. They are prepared now to vote for a Wilson-Underwood free-trade tariff commission, although they were then unwilling to continue a board of five, two of whom were Democrats, one of the latter being a former highly respected Member of this House, who hailed from the State of Georgia. It will be interesting for Republicans who watch the vote on the Wilson-Underwood tariff commission bill, to know that amongst the present Ways and Means Committee members who voted against the Tariff Board on March 4, 1911, were the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], chairman of the committee; the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY], who introduced the Wilson-Underwood tariff commission bill; the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLLIER]; the gentleman from New York [Mr. CONRY]; the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. DIXON]; the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GARNER]; the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HULL]; the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DICKINSON]; and the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. OLDFIELD]. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] voted in the negative, while on the last vote the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] did not vote. Taken as a whole, it was a solid and emphatic Democratic protest against a tariff board or commission—in striking contrast to the present unanimous Democratic demand for a tariff commission, as will be seen from the speeches which are to follow. It is fair to new Republicans in this House, who are now being swayed by eloquent Democratic appeals for Republican support "to help them out of a hole," that they shall be informed as to the kind of a "nonpartisan" tariff commission they may expect, if in voting for preparedness, as they believe, they swallow the political pills which have been prepared for them in this bill.

Listen to the kind of appeals that were made to us on January 30, 1911, when Mr. Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, brought in a rule to make it in order under the sundry civil bill to provide for a tariff board to cost $240,000.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MISSOURI.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], now the Speaker of the House, commenting on a tariff commission to fix rates—and the Wilson-Underwood commission proposition gets very close to it—said:

I was opposed to that last year and I am opposed to that this year because it is idiotic. It is idiotic because the Constitution of the United States absolutely precludes such a performance. * * * The proposition for a tariff board has been so amended in this pending bill that the board shall report to the Senate or report to the House. On the motion of the Democrats in the committee it was fixed so that the House shall be able to select the subjects which this board shall investigate. That makes an entirely different situation. We Democrats will have the House after the 4th of March, and we propose to carry out in good faith the promise to revise the tariff down, and we are going to do it just as soon as we can. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The old board is not a bipartisan board. The new board is to be a bipartisan board. I use the word "bipartisan" advisedly. Such a thing as a "nonpartisan" board is an impossibility in nature, and if the word "nonpartisan" is in this bill I will move to strike it out. I wish we could fix it so there would be three Democrats and two Republicans on that board at once, but that we can not have; but on the 4th of March, 1913, we can get three Democrats and two Republicans on that board, and that is the way this board will then stand. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

* * * * * * *

Mr. RUCKER of Missouri. Does the gentleman from Missouri think that we will need any experts that the President may appoint to aid us in making a Democratic tariff?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Information is information, wherever it comes from.

* * * * * * *

Mr. RUCKER of Missouri. Does the gentleman think we are going to sit idly by while this commission, appointed by the President, collects information for the Democrats elected to perform their duties?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Not at all. As far as I am concerned I am willing to take the Ways and Means Committee as at present selected and go into a room and frame two new schedules before Saturday night. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

* * * * * * *

Mr. HITCHCOCK of Nebraska said paragraph 7 "provides that said board, composed of three Republicans and two Democrats, shall submit the results of its investigation, together with any explanatory report," and asked:

I should like to ask him whether he does not think the minority member of that board should have the right to submit a report? Otherwise it would be controlled absolutely by the Republican members of the board.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Undoubtedly; and I believe under any parliamentary procedure known among men that the minority of the committee have a right to file a minority report; but if there is any doubt about that I am in favor of putting that in the bill.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM NEW YORK.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I am not only opposed to the rule, but I am opposed to the bill. I do not believe that it is intended to help the Democratic Party, but that it is intended to embarrass the Democratic Party in carrying out the will of the people in the next Congress. [Applause.] * * * I do not profess to be an expert upon the tariff, but I do know and I believe that the country is convinced that any man of ordinary intelligence has all of the information necessary to make radical changes in practically all of the schedules of the present infamous law.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM INDIANA.

Mr. CULLOP. I am opposed to this bill and every provision contained in it, because it violates a well-established and venerated principle in the doctrine of the Democratic Party. [Applause.] I am as much opposed to a government by commission as I am opposed to a government by injunction. Both are inimical to the underlying principles of the Republic and a menace to its perpetuity. * * * The Constitution confers solely upon the House of Representatives the duty of originating bills for revenue, * * * and any attempt to surrender this great function of government should be resisted. The people selected the commission last November to revise the tariff. They selected the commission delegated with that power under the Constitution, and we should see that that power is not transferred to any other body not provided for in the fundamental law of our Government. The transfer of this duty would be a confession to the world that we felt ourselves unable to perform the duties for which we were selected and an attempt to evade the responsibility we have assumed. * * * Let us revise the tariff as soon as we come into power, relieve the people, and let the tariff barons wait. * * * Sir, if I voted for this bill I should consider it my imperative duty to go back to the legislature of that State [Indiana] which is now in session and petition it to rescind the action taken by it just two weeks ago, when it elected the Hon. JOHN W. KERN to the United States Senate [applause] and in lieu thereof elect his opponent, the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge. How could I do otherwise and keep faith with the people of the great State who have so generously honored me with a seat in this great lawmaking body? [Applause.]

THE GENTLEMAN FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

The rule was adopted—two hours being agreed upon by Messrs. Payne and CLARK for debate on the bill. Then the fight was resumed.

In the course of Mr. LONGWORTH'S speech as to a meeting of the national tariff commission "somewhere in Washington" the following ensued:

Mr. KITCHIN. Where did that association, that tariff association, hold its meetings?

Mr. LONGWORTH. In the city of Washington.

Mr. KITCHIN. Were any Democrats present and made any speeches?

Mr. LONGWORTH. There was a distinguished member of the Democratic Party present

Mr. KITCHIN. Who was it?

Mr. LONGWORTH. He was a member of another body.

Mr. KITCHIN. No Democratic Member of this House was present?

Mr. LONGWORTH. A distinguished member of the Democratic Party made a very eloquent speech.

Mr. KITCHIN. All the other members were protective-tariff Republicans, were they not?

* * * * * * *

THE GENTLEMEN FROM ALABAMA AND TENNESSEE.

Mr. CLAYTON of Alabama. I desire to know, if this bill becomes a law, when this tariff board will report either to the House or to the Senate or to the President or reach any conclusion whatever.

Mr. LONGWORTH. Why if the gentleman will read the bill he will observe that they will report whenever either the House or the Senate or the President calls upon them to do so.

* * * * * * *

Mr. CLAYTON. Is not this board intended for delay, and not for the reduction of the tariff?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I decline to yield further.

* * * * * * *

Mr. SIMS of Tennessee. May I ask the gentleman a real question?

Mr. LONGWORTH. I would like to have a real question.

Mr. SIMS. Why do men who believe in a tariff for revenue only want to know what it costs to make or not to make foreign goods that come in competition with our own?

Mr. LONGWORTH referred this question to the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee.

WAIT UNTIL THE DEMOCRATS GET IN.

Mr. Brantley, of Georgia (for the bill). I am too hopeful and optimistic a Democrat to read in the future, as some of my brethren do, disaster for by party by reason of the enactment of this bill, because by reason of our victory in November, 1910, I am assuming that in November, 1912, a Democratic President will be called to the White House.

[Applause on the Democratic side.] If that occurs, then, in July, 1913, the board authorized by this bill will be a Democratic board and will so continue throughout that Democratic administration. * * * Democracy, as I understand it, believes in a tariff for revenue and abhors the doctrine of protection, but does not close its eyes to the fact that a tariff, even for revenue alone, does affect the industries of the country. * * * The Democratic Party will take charge of the House in the Sixty-second Congress. Its first duty will be to revise the tariff downward. * * * We expect to frame our tariff legislation in the coming Congress without the aid of the board.

MR. UNDERWOOD AGAINST COMMISSIONS.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, the American people have commissioned the Democratic Party to revise the tariff. That was the issue in the last campaign. There are sufficient facts obtainable for the Democratic Party to revise the Payne tariff bill downward to an honest revenue rate, and it is going to be done, commissions, tariff boards, or anything else notwithstanding. Now, I am not in favor of a tariff commission and never have been. A tariff commission carries with it the idea that a set of men outside of the Congress of the United States should advise the Congress of the United States how to transact the business that the people of the United States have commissioned the Congress to do. I am thoroughly opposed to a tariff commission in any form whatever.

THE PRESENT GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. HARRISON. I oppose it (the tariff-board bill) because I believe it is a useless expenditure of public money. I oppose it because I do not see any place in the framing of a Democratic tariff bill for revenue only for an inquiry into the difference of cost between production here and abroad. [Applause on the Democratic side.] That is the main purpose if the bill upon its face, and to that I enter a demurrer that it is no part of the Democratic scheme to entertain such an inquiry. * * * I believe that the members of the Ways and Means Committee are not only as competent but more reliable than can be any board of men appointed by the President for a six years' term, while we have to go before the people for reelection every two years. [Applause on the Democratic side.] * * * I am opposed to this waste of public money. Why, Mr. Speaker, this bill is nothing more nor less than a plank to help the Republican Party across a swamp. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The purpose of the creation of each one of these commissions which they are presenting to us with such frequency nowadays is but to asphyxiate some reform. The purpose of this bill is to harass, to delay, to prevent Democratic tariff reform, and if it does not accomplish that it will accomplish nothing at all. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

* * * * * * *

Mr. BORLAND. Does the gentleman know that the Democratic House could lick off the earth the tariff board at the next session?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; by withholding the appropriation.

* * * * * * *

Mr. KITCHIN. Have you ever known a Democratic district convention, a Democratic State convention, or a Democratic national convention that ever declared in favor of a tariff board or tariff commission of any kind?

Mr. HARRISON. Not only that, but I believe it is absolutely opposed to all Democratic tariff principles.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM GEORGIA.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. Speaker, it does not seem to me as though it is good Democratic politics to assist our Republican friends in pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. They are in trouble with the tariff question. It beat them last November and it will beat them in 1912 just as certainly as the sun rises and sets on election day that year unless we help them out of the hole. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CULLOP. Unless we are sidetracked by such galvanized projects as the one presented here.

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes; and for one I am opposed to giving them any such aid and comfort.

* * * * * * *

"What sort of Democrats are to be appointed on this commission? What are to be their tariff views? How much 'protection' does it take to constitute revenue in the minds of those two minority members of the board? God alone knows, and the President of the United States alone can answer. For one, my friends, I am opposed to running any such unnecessary risk. For one, I stand on the traditional ground of opposition to these commissions; of opposition to legislative encroachment on the constitutional functions of Congress."

DEMOCRATS DO NOT NEED INFORMATION.

Mr. SIMS. Our first duty is to pass a bill repealing the Payne bill without the information that this board would gather. How long do you suppose our bill will last if we pass one? If it lasts as long as the Dingley bill, we will not need the work of the board for 10 or 12 years. Why not wait until there is a Democratic House here, and when the 84 new Democratic Members come here and can help make a tariff board, if we have to have one, for the Democrats? * * * The people thought they elected men who knew enough about the tariff to revise the Payne-Aldrich bill without the aid of a newly created Republican tariff board.

A WASTE OF PUBLIC MONEY.

Mr. RICHARDSON of Alabama. Practically every Democrat stood courageously against such a board being formed. We denounce the useless waste of public money ($250,000, sundry civil bill) for a purpose, a makeshift, a false pretense, and its only object was to appease and placate the public and avert the overthrow of the Republican Party in November.

PRESIDENT, EVEN, WOULD BE PARTIAL.

Mr. BORLAND (for the bill). I realize that this tariff board will be appointed by a President who has affirmed his belief in the doctrine of protection. I am not shallow enough to believe that he can divorce himself entirely from personal and political interests, or that he will appoint a board entirely at variance with his own economic and political views.

SEES THE MANUFACTURERS IN IT.

Mr. COX of Indiana. I can not bring my mind to support this measure. I believe it to be wrong in principle; I believe it to be wrong in policy * * *. I am a little suspicious that, as the manufacturers are solidly for a tariff commission, they see behind this bill some way, some manner, whereby their interests will be protected. * * * I fear that this measure will ultimately lead Congress to enact a measure based along protective lines.

TRYING TO TRAP THE DEMOCRATS.

Mr. SISSON of Mississippi. I can not, as a Democrat, subscribe to this bill to create a tariff commission. It is a concession to the Republican idea of protection. * * * It is an admission that the "right to steal," using the language of the gentleman from Wisconsin, should continue until you get a report from this commission, giving Congress the facts as to the amount stolen. * * * When the Republicans were in power in this House, they wrote tariff bills without a commission to report facts. * * * They come now and endeavor to lead the Democrats into a well and smoothly set trap. * * * What has become of our Democratic courage? Shall we now surrender all the fruits of our victory? [Applause on the Democratic side.] * * *

WOULD NOT TRUST THE PRESIDENT.

Are you not transferring the rights of this House under the Constitution to the Executive when you permit the Executive to select these men on this commission to gain information for you? * * * If we had a Democratic President, I would be more opposed to the passage of this bill than I am now, because this would be a surrender of the dearest of Democratic principles. * * * Within the last few years the Executive lash has been wielded as never before, and like dumb, driven cattle the Members of this House have been lashed into line and have been compelled to do the Executive bidding. Unless this tendency is checked our free institutions will perish from the earth, and in their stead we will have an imperial despotism. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I appeal to the Democrats not to vote for this Republican measure.

MEANS PLUNDER AND SPOLIATION.

Mr. BYRD. When did anyone ever hear of a Republican advocating any measure touching the tariff that did not mean the plunder and spoliation of the people? [Applause.] Briefly stated, this bill proposes a permanent tariff board or commission composed of three stalwart Republican protectionists and two weak-kneed Democrats who shall exploit the world in search of data; * * * but in the light of 40 years of Republican history, how can any Democrat be convinced otherwise than that this board will be named and dominated by the minions of the trusts? [Applause.]

MR. KITCHIN SEES NO AID TO DEMOCRATS.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I would not take away from the American farmer the best market in the world and divide it with anybody.

Mr. CLAYTON of Alabama. That sounds like one of the old-time Republican speeches.

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is my doctrine, and it is the doctrine that my party has been standing for ever since 1860.

Mr. CLAYTON. You rob him with the tariff.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; we give him a market with the tariff; and I would protect every American industry that needs it, including the market of the farmer.

Mr. JAMES. President Taft would not.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, I think he would.

Mr. CLAYTON. Would you protect cotton, for instance?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would if it needed it.

Mr. CLAYTON. How?

Mr. CAMPBELL. By protecting any industry that would suffer from foreign competition, including cotton.

Mr. KITCHIN. You really believe, then, that this tariff commission is an aid to protection?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I believe it is. If I did not think it was, I would not vote for it. If I were a free trader, or opposed on general principles to a tariff for protection, I would not vote for this bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. You do not think, then, that a tariff commission will aid the Democrats in the next Congress in writing a good Democratic bill?

Mr. CAMPBELL. No; nothing could aid the Democratic Party to make a good tariff bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. It will be a hindrance to that, will it not?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am not opposed to putting obstacles in the way of the Democratic Party.

Mr. KITCHIN. And you believe this tariff commission will be an obstacle, do you not, now, honor bright?

Mr. CLAYTON. Come down to brass tacks and tell us.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM ARKANSAS.

Mr. MACON (on motion to strike out the enacting clause). I believe that this is an attempt on the part of the administration to fasten upon this country a tariff board to gather partisan information * * *. I have never heard of a Democratic convention, small or great, declaring in favor of a tariff board * * *. This is just as obnoxious as a tariff commission would be * * *. I have made the motion to strike out the enacting clause, knowing that if that is done the bill will be dead, it being my desire to kill it at the earliest possible moment.

THE GENTLEMAN WHO PRESIDED AT BALTIMORE AND ST. LOUIS.

Mr. JAMES. Of course, we may say that the President of the United States is a great and good man. I shall not dispute that. But to say that he is more than human, I deny. [Applause on the Democratic side.] You lodge in him by this bill the right to go into my party and take members of that party whom he calls Democrats and place them upon this board for the purpose of gathering this information. Now, there are Democrats and there are Democrats. [Laughter.] * * * Personally I have always been against boards and commissions. I believe the fathers of the Republic were wise, even wiser than they knew, when they lodged with the great House of Representatives of the people the right to formulate tariff legislation. [Applause.] * * * I believe that Democrats know better who are Democrats than a Republican President knows who are Democrats, and for that reason I offer this amendment.

WHEN THE DEVIL WAS SICK.

And so the speeches ran. There were many more of them all of the same tenor. Even our amiable friend from Indiana [Mr. BARNHART], now chairman of the Committee on Printing, got into the discussion.

I think—

Said he—

I understand what the word "bipartisan" means, but I am not quite ready to admit that the present President of the United States is able to comprehend fully the word "bipartisan."

When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.

The Democratic devil was feeling pretty good about the time he was coming into power at the close of the Sixty-first Congress. The Payne bill had left the country in a prosperous industrial condition and the Treasury was full. There was plenty of money to experiment with and the Underwood bill was put into effect. It has been tried for three years and has been found wanting. The Treasury is in need of funds more than ever in our economic history, and the "well devil" of 1911, which destroyed a tariff board, upon which a Republican President had placed three Republicans and two Democrats, is now "the sick devil" of 1916, which seeks Republican support for a tariff commission, to be appointed by a Democratic President, who has not yet appointed a single Republican to any of the numerous boards he has been authorized to fill. Clinging to his idols, "the sick devil" of 1916 has still the audacity to ask Republicans in an appeal to patriotism to vote for a Wilson-Underwood tariff commission upon the strength of an indorsement of the Underwood tariff law by the Democratic National Convention lately assembled at St. Louis.

Before they vote for the Democratic program as submitted in the bill presented by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] it is suggested that those Republicans who at least believe in protection shall peruse the frank and open sentiments of the Democrats of 1911, who are going to vote for a tariff commission in 1916. For one I prefer, if I am to vote for a tariff board or a tariff commission, to wait until the auspices are a little more favorable. I do not believe we are called upon to sacrifice our party principles to help the Democrats out of the financial hole which they deliberately dug for themselves.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. NELSON E. MATTHEWS.
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege of extending my remarks, I desire to present my views on the pending revenue measure prepared in secret by the majority members of the great Ways and Means Committee of the House without consulting any one of the minority members on that committee, and, for that matter, no one on the minority side knew anything about the bill until it was introduced, accompanied by a rule from the majority members of the Committee on Rules which allowed two days of general debate, after which the bill must be read in full without interruption, and no chance to offer any amendments to any section of the bill until the reading was finished. Then one day was permitted to offer amendments with only five minutes' discussion on any amendment by any Member, and the hour was fixed at which a vote on all the amendments must be taken, and then the bill to be voted on as a whole.

Here is a bill that proposes to raise about $200,000,000 of additional revenue over and above the revenue raised by laws now in force, and by a system of internal taxation, which is a direct tax levied on the people, and is a well-timed, bold, and deliberate attempt on the part of President Wilson—as he absolutely controls the present majority—to sidetrack and, if possible, destroy all hope of ever framing a tariff based on the theory of protection to our manufacturing and agricultural interests against cheap labor in other parts of the world.

The bait offered Republicans to abandon their time-honored principles and come over and help our Democratic friends out of the mire in which they are floundering is a "tariff commission," composed of six members, all to be appointed by the President, who are to each receive a salary of $7,500 per year and all expenses; also a secretary, with a salary of $5,000 per year, together with a host of clerks and retainers. The bill appropriates $300,000 for the first year's expenses of the commission, and the expenses of the second year will probably be $500,000.

In passing let me say that for years prior to 1912 the Democrats were complaining and crying out against the very large number of persons in the employ of the Government, and yet during the first three years of Mr. Wilson's administration over 30,000 employees have been added to the pay roll, causing an increase of expense for salaries from that source alone of $36,000,000 or over per annum. And this increase has been caused by the numerous new commissions and offices created since March 4, 1913. At the rate we are going in creating new offices and commissions to regulate the affairs of corporations, firms, and individuals it will not be long until even the farmer will have to employ a lawyer to find out whether or not he is carrying on his business of farming in such a manner as not to violate any of the thousand and one laws passed not only by the General Government but by the States as well. Many, if not all, of them tend toward paternalism. A few short years will find the country governed by commissions entirely.

An increase in the present "income-tax" law, doubling the tax and then some.

A small duty on dyestuffs for a period of five years, after which, if the manufacturers of dyes do not produce 60 per cent of all the dyestuffs used in the country, the duty goes off. If they do, they take off 20 per cent each year for five years. How much capital can be induced to invest under such a law?

A tax on munitions of war. Rather late, is it not, after these people have made hundreds of millions of dollars on shipments to Europe and are now ready to quit shipping abroad and will soon have only the United States for a customer?

A direct inheritance tax levied on estates. As it is now, 30 States have taxes on inheritances of this kind, and 12 other States levy taxes on shares of estates passing to collateral heirs. This looks very much like double taxation, as the States will never give up this method of raising taxes.

Then, last and worst of all, comes the antidumping clause. An attempt to get up some scheme to counteract, if possible, the ruinous effect of the present Underwood tariff law, which Secretary Redfield warns the majority is sure to come about as soon as the war in Europe is over. Importations are now the largest this country has ever known, with the central empires of Europe unable to send us any of their products except as England permits. It is admitted by all that if the Payne-Aldrich tariff law had been in force during the past three years hundreds of millions of dollars of additional revenue would have been collected, the Public Treasury would now be overflowing with money, and we would not now have to resort to all sorts of taxation to raise the revenue necessary to carry on the Government, even with the extraordinary expense incurred by reason of the increases of the Army and Navy, and it would not be necessary to issue bonds to pay for the expenses brought about by our uncalled-for interference in Mexican internal affairs, as this bill now proposes to do.

Chairman KITCHIN calls this a sugar-coated pill and begs the Republicans to swallow it. Says he does not like it himself, but will hold his nose and swallow it because, forsooth, some one told him the President wanted him to do so.

Suppose we do as he requests. Our Democratic friends will at once send out word all over the country and try and fix the odium that may be attached to the bill on the minority, and point with glee to the fact we voted for the bill and have abandoned our principles of indirect taxation and protection theories, and no doubt will claim we have indorsed the President's Mexican policy.

By the way, what are the President's Mexican policies, and, for that matter, what are his policies generally? We may think we know to-day, but judging by the past no one knows what they may be to-morrow. When he first went into office we all supposed the Democratic platform adopted at Baltimore represented his views. Since then about every plank in that platform has been broken and discarded.

Then, again, we imagined we had him where he could not escape when he sent his notes to Germany, Austria, and England. "Where, oh, where, are we at?" Does anyone know, including the President? No administration ever talked more and did less than the present.

Let me close by reading an article appearing in the Republican, of Paulding, Ohio, which I think states the case exactly so far as our foreign policies are concerned. The editorial is headed, "He kept us out of war":

He kept us out of war, while millions of dollars' worth of our property shipped in neutral bottoms was sunk by the unwarned and unlawful attack of submarines.

He kept us out of war, while cargo after cargo of our goods, consigned to neutral ports and lawfully upon the highway of the seas, was seized and taken to belligerent harbors, there to be condemned or confiscated to the use of the seizing power, leaving the American owners to pursue the tollsome process of litigation to procure payment for their property.

He kept us out of war, while our mails, including even diplomatic communications, were delayed, opened, and censored by unskillful clerks who acted without the sanction of international law.

He kept us out of war, while innocent nationals of the United States, lawfully sojourning in Mexico, were despoiled of their possessions, were wounded in their bodies and in their souls, or even gave up their lives.

He kept us out of war, while pious men and women from these United States, who had gone to Mexico on an errand of the highest import, were deprived of their homes, of their virtue, and of their lives.

He kept us out of war, while untold millions of American property on Mexican soil was plundered, illegally levied upon, and destroyed.

He kept us out of war, while armed bands of desperadoes, equipped with guns and cartridges shipped to them by his consent, violated our soil, insulted our sovereignty and our flag, burned our buildings, and murdered our people in their own homes.

He kept us out of war, while a thin blue line of heroes penetrated the Mexican deserts in search of a former pet of his—now under the ban—and found themselves surrounded and shot down by soldiers wearing the uniform of a government which he had recognized and which could never have existed, and which could not exist now, except by his favor.

He kept us out of war, until, confronted by impending defeat for re-election, he realized that some show of force and of forcefulness was necessary, and then he permitted his own Congress to hamstring the legislation designed for the national defense and summoned the militia to do the work which experts have long been telling him and the country could best be done by an enlarged and better equipped Regular Army.

I can not see my way clear to support this bill unless amended in many particulars.

## Tariff Commission.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY A. BARNHART,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 7, 1916.*

Mr. BARNHART. Mr. Speaker, the tariff question has been the most disastrous political scarecrow that has ever beset American business tranquillity and prosperity. Not that the tariff itself has really had good or evil influence on commercial and industrial pursuits, but the beneficiaries of a high tariff became so deeply intrenched through special-privilege legislation they built up or destroyed prosperity just as it suited their selfish purposes. If a reduced tariff, as a benefit to the consuming millions, was proposed, the high-tariff capitalists threatened business depression and were powerful enough to coerce and frighten the country into hard times. On the other hand, if they were favored with legislative assurance that they could make fat profits they would turn their money loose and lead business activity into prosperous times—especially for themselves. They were always ready to let business go along undisturbed if Shylock was assured his pound of flesh, but if not the curse of the high-finance gods was upon us and business stood still and the people and the country suffered.

But in recent years the people have had their eyes opened to the fact that big business was making a political football of the tariff to pad already fat bank accounts, and they put the scheming high-tariff agents out of Congress and elected a majority of Representatives who favored the kind of tariff legislation that would permit everybody to prosper rather than a favored few. Then the high-tariff Shylocks commenced crying, "Panic! panic! A panic will get you if you interfere with our power and our profits!" But there was no panic, because President Wilson and Congress at once blocked this unholy undertaking by enacting a banking and currency law which prevents disgruntled capitalists from precipitating panics if they can not have their way. And this banking and currency law has been the most important factor in our present matchless prosperity.

But the high protective tariff leaders are again howling calamity if they can not have their way, and this can be forever silenced, just as we silenced the panic threats by the banking and currency law, which makes honest banking safe and the people's deposits secure. We can create a nonpartisan tariff commission that can, will, and ought to take the tariff question out of politics. I favored this when I first entered Congress, openly fought for it two or three times in tariff legislation, and several times introduced bills proposing such legislation. My last effort in this respect was a tariff-commission bill introduced at the beginning of the present session of Congress. And now that we have such legislation favorably reported for passage, I hope it will go through by such an overwhelming vote that no future Congress will ever dare to repeal it and industry and commerce and general business prosperity in our country will be free from the possibility of a combination of capitalists and politicians disturbing business at the time of every presidential election.

Such a nonpartisan tariff commission will have power to go into every phase of the tariff question, such as ascertaining the difference in wages at home and abroad, the cost of production, the cost of raw material, the need of Government revenue, and, indeed, analyze all details of the tariff question so that such changes may be made from time to time as justice to home business and Government welfare demands. Pass this bill and every honest business man in the country will call us blessed and we will be forever free from the danger of evil business agencies blighting our possibilities and from the scheming politicians who would sacrifice any business and industrial stability and security in order to win elections. Pass this bill and take the tariff so surely out of politics that the politician who hereafter attempts to ride into office on a self-created business scare will ride himself into political oblivion.

## Work of Hon. William E. Humphrey in Congress.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to print in the RECORD an editorial from the American Reveille, of Bellingham, Wash., in regard to the work and character of Hon. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY, of Washington. I indorse the editorial fully and commend it to the people of his State as giving only just and merited praise to one who has served them so long and well. Perhaps I am more intimately acquainted with Mr. HUMPHREY than is any other Member of this body. I have known him ever since he entered Congress, and for 10 years served with him upon the same committee. No Member of this House more faithfully or honestly represents his people. I never knew a more industrious, courageous, and patriotic and upright man than Mr. HUMPHREY. All of us recognize him as one of the leaders of this House. His speeches are circulated throughout the country, and are among the ablest made upon this floor. Several years ago he made a speech in my home town, and the people still remember it and speak about it.

These are perilous times in our country's history. The editorial states a truth that should not be forgotten when it says:

More great questions will probably come before Congress within the next six years than during any other six-year period in our history.

This is a time when the Nation demands strong men, able men, courageous men, and patriotic men in the Senate, and such a man I know Congressman HUMPHREY to be. His transfer from this body will be a loss to the House, but he can be of greater service to his State and the country in the Senate. His work upon the great Rivers and Harbors Committee, so far as his own State is concerned, is practically complete, every important project having been cared for, if the pending bill is enacted into law.

Mr. HUMPHREY will at once take front rank in the Senate. It would take any other man from Washington years to command the influence in that body that Mr. HUMPHREY will possess the day he enters it. He has served in this House with a large number of men that will compose the next Senate. He will take from here the good will and best wishes of all his colleagues. He will have the advantage that 14 years of legislative experience will afford.

His election means so much to the country and to the Republican Party that I take pleasure in letting the people of Washington know, in so far as I can, the estimate that his colleagues and the Republican leaders throughout the country place upon his services and ability. I make no apology for speaking of him as I do. I know him well from years of intimate association, and if all the people of Washington knew him as well as I do there would be no opposition to his election. His election concerns not only the State of Washington but the entire country. It would be a national loss for him to quit public life, especially at this time.

Mr. HUMPHREY is acquainted with public affairs. He knows the wants and needs of the present and has courage and ability to meet the demands of the future. He knows by actual experience the methods and procedure of Congress and how legislation is written upon the statute books.

This I do know, that the State of Washington could do nothing that would place her so high in the councils of the Nation and in the councils of the Republican Party as to send WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY to the Senate. I have too much confidence in the good judgment and patriotism of the people of the State of Washington to believe that at this crucial time, when big men, men of ability, men of energy, men of courage and patriotism are so needed in high office, that they will fail at the

coming election to send Congressman HUMPHREY to the United States Senate.

The editorial mentioned is as follows:

[From the American Reveille, Bellingham, Wash., June 27, 1916.]

CONGRESSMAN HUMPHREY'S RECORD.

Congressman HUMPHREY, after 14 years in the House, is a candidate for the Senate. He is the best known and most influential man in public life from the Pacific coast. He is one of the Republican leaders of this Nation and one of the foremost orators in the country. His speeches are as widely read and circulated as those of any man in Congress. He commands the confidence of the Republican leaders throughout the Nation. Congressman HUMPHREY has always been a Republican. He has stood true to his convictions when it meant much to stand by his party. He will be of far greater benefit and will have more influence in the Senate than any other man that the State of Washington could possibly select. Like Burton and WEEKS, who went from the House of Representatives, he will at once become a leader in the Senate. It would be the height of folly for the State of Washington to fail to elect Mr. HUMPHREY in this critical period in our history. More great questions will come before Congress for settlement within the next six years than perhaps in any other six-year period in our history. It would be a grave mistake, if not a calamity, to our State and a loss to the entire country if Mr. HUMPHREY should, particularly at this time, be retired to private life.

By request we give a condensed statement of Congressman HUMPHREY'S record.

Congressman HUMPHREY voted and worked for the following legislation:

LABOR.

He voted for—
Employers' liability act.
Workmen's compensation bill.
All safety-appliance laws.
All eight-hour laws.
Eight-hour law for women in the District of Columbia.
Immigration bills.
Law limiting hours of service for men on railroads.
Law prohibiting importation of convict-made goods.
Law creating the Bureau of Mines.
Law creating the Children's Bureau.
Law creating the Department of Labor.
Child-labor law for the District of Columbia.
General child-labor law.
Law requiring material for the construction of the Panama Canal to be purchased in the United States.

And many other laws similar to the above. In fact, Mr. HUMPHREY has voted for all laws that have been of benefit to those who earn their bread by the sweat of their face.

PENSION LEGISLATION.

He voted for—
Age pension law.
Law increasing pension of widows.
Indian veterans' pension law.
Bill to pension widows and orphans of Spanish-American War veterans.
And for every other bill, public and private, that came before Congress to assist the soldiers, their widows, or their orphans.

THE FARMER.

He voted for—
Rural credits.
For good-roads bill.
For all acts to strengthen and extend the rural free delivery.
For postal savings banks.
Mr. HUMPHREY was one of the first men in Congress to advocate the postal savings bank law.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

He voted for these amendments to the Constitution:
For the election of Senators by the direct vote of the people.
For the income-tax amendment.
For the equal-suffrage amendment.
For the national prohibition amendment.

REFORM MEASURES.

He voted for—
The Hepburn law, prohibiting rebates and discriminations by the railroads.
Law enlarging the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission so as to give it power, among others, to fix rates, to fix through rates on rail and water lines, and to compel terminal connections and facilities.
For law to ascertain the physical valuation of railroad, telephone, and telegraph lines.
For law prohibiting the giving of passes.
For law prohibiting corporations making contributions to campaign funds.
For law requiring publicity of campaign contributions both before and after election.
And many other reform measures similar to those enumerated.

HEALTH AND MORALS.

He voted for—
The Federal meat-inspection law.
Pure-food law.
"White slave law."
Law prohibiting the importation of opium for other than medicinal purposes.
Mr. HUMPHREY was very active in his support of the above measures.

ALASKA.

He voted for—
The law giving Alaska a Delegate in Congress.
He drew and had passed the present Alaska game law.
Was one of the most active and influential men in Congress in favor of the law providing for the Government to construct a railway in Alaska.

PANAMA CANAL.

Mr. HUMPHREY gave his earnest support to every measure looking to the building of this great work. No man had more to do with the passage of the law making the canal free to American ships in coastwise trade than Mr. HUMPHREY, and no man fought harder to prevent the present Democratic administration from repealing this law.

LOCAL LEGISLATION.

While taking an active part in all legislation of a general character, Congressman HUMPHREY never neglected his own State or district. In the House Mr. HUMPHREY has had charge of the legislation giving, among others, the following appropriations to our State:
Puget Sound Navy Yard, $5,000,000.
Fortifications on Puget Sound, $4,000,000.
Public buildings, over $1,000,000.
Lake Washington Canal, $2,600,000.
Other river and harbor improvements (including Columbia and Snake Rivers), $20,000,000

These are some of the needed appropriations that he has helped to secure for the State.

Congressman HUMPHREY has never hesitated to take a position on all great public questions and has not waited to discover whether or not they were popular before doing so. In other words, Mr. HUMPHREY has been a leader and not a follower. Looking over his record to-day in the light of the present, there are few that will contend that he has not been right on all great measures that have come before Congress during his term of service.

WHERE HE STANDS TO-DAY.

Congressman HUMPHREY for several years has been preaching what we now term "preparedness," and was one of the first men in the country to advocate what all parties now indorse upon this proposition. He is opposed to militarism and believes in preparedness only as an insurance of peace and as the best means of preventing the awful horrors of war. He wants our country so prepared that no foreign soldier can land on our soil.

For a decade he has been urging a battleship squadron for the Pacific strong enough to protect our coast from attack and invasion.

He believes in an American merchant marine, not only to make us commercially independent, but also as a necessary measure of self-defense.

He believes the Panama Canal should be free to every ship that flies the American flag.

He believes most emphatically in protection and in a tariff commission.

He believes that American markets belong to the American producer; that our work and wages should be given to American labor.

In other words, he believes in America first.

Mr. HUMPHREY believes that the Underwood law should be immediately repealed and that there will be no great prosperity in our State until it is. As he himself has expressed it, he believes in "patriotism, preparedness, protection, and prosperity."

## Pension Appropriation Bill.

### SPEECH

OF

# HON. GEORGE W. RAUCH,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15775) making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. RAUCH. Mr. Chairman, the bill which I have presented to the House of Representatives is the pension appropriation bill. It appropriates $158,000,000 for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

This country owes a debt of gratitude to its soldiers that it can never adequately pay. They left the comforts, the pleasures, and the safety of home and assumed the hardships, the trials, and the dangers of war to fight for the preservation of their country. While it is true that some of them did not see long service, at the time of their enlistment none of them could see the end.

War is a terrible engine, and when once set in motion no one can tell where it will stop. It is projected by human hands, but no sacrifice has been sufficient to satisfy it and no sorrow deep enough to touch it. It comes with the mighty sweep of an onrushing flood, leaving death and destruction in its path. It took from us the flower of our American citizenship, because the rank and file of the American soldiery always came from the common people. Of them it has been truly said:

They are our strength, and should be our pride. They are the ones who in times of peace produce the wealth of this country, and they are the ones who in times of war bare their breasts to a hostile fire in defense of the flag.

Money can not compensate them for their suffering or their valor, but we can see to it that no one of the faithful and brave soldiers whose services contributed to the victory should ever suffer either for the necessaries or the comforts of life.

Mr. Chairman, the policy of the United States with reference to pensions is a well-fixed and established policy. Attempts to show that the Democratic Party has been unfriendly to pension legislation must fail upon an examination of the record. I expect to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a list of the pension laws that have been passed by Democratic Congresses. It was not my intention to do so if reference had not been made during the discussion of this bill to various bills which have been passed increasing the rates of pension and enlarging the scope of our pension laws by either party when in power.

Mr. DYER. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. RAUCH. Yes.

Mr. DYER. Will the gentleman be able to state whether or not during this adminstration any such law has been enacted increasing pensions?

Mr. RAUCH. I will be able to state, I will say in answer to the gentleman, that the most liberal pension law ever enacted in our Government was passed by a Democratic Congress. I will state——

Mr. DYER. When was that?

Mr. RAUCH. That was the Sherwood bill.

Mr. DYER. That was a Democratic House, a Republican Senate, and a Republican President. I am speaking of since President Wilson came into office that the Democratic Party has no right to lay claim in their platform about having been liberal to the old soldiers, or any soldiers, by passing any general legislation on that subject whatever.

Mr. LOBECK. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. RAUCH. Not just at present.

Mr. LOBECK. Simply for a question. Did not a Democratic House in the Sixty-second Congress pass the original Sherwood bill which was more liberal than the conference bill which came back from a Republican Senate?

Mr. RAUCH. That is undoubtedly true. The bill which came back from a Republican Senate was not as liberal as the provisions of the House bill. It is the object of this bill, however, to appropriate money for the payment of pensions under existing law. The Committee on Invalid Pensions has jurisdiction, as we all know, of bills which in their subject matter proceed to increase the rates or to enlarge the scope of our pension system. This bill appropriates $158,000,000 for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States, and $65,000 for the payment of fees and other expenses of examining surgeons. The appropriations for 1916 were $164,000,000 for the payment of pensions and $100,000 for the payment of fees and expenses of examining surgeons. The bill, therefore, represents a reduction in expenditure of $6,035,000 under that of last year. This reduction is in accordance with the estimates and recommendations of the Commissioner of Pensions. There is no doubt in my mind, nor in the mind of the committee, but what the amount carried in this bill will be adequate for the payment of pensions under existing law.

At this time I wish to refer to another feature of the bill, and that is a provision on page 2, as follows:

*And provided further*, That all allowances made, or hereafter to be made, to medal of honor pensioners under the act of Congress approved April 27, 1916, shall be paid from the moneys appropriated for the payment of invalid and other pensions, and section 3 of the said act of April 27, 1916, is amended accordingly.

I suppose this provision is subject to a point of order, but I do not think there is a disposition on the part of anyone to make it. On April 27, 1916, Congress passed an act creating an Army and Navy medal roll of honor. The men on this roll are paid a pension of $10 a month. According to the language of the act these pensions are to be paid by the Commissioner of Pensions in the Department of the Interior out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated. To have this law as it is requires that separate certificates of these particular pensions be issued and that a separate roll be made up; that a separate account be kept and separate requisitions made by the commissioner. This provision, therefore, amends the act of April 27, 1916, so as to provide for the payment of these pensions out of this appropriation bill. The amount of money is not large. It amounts, I am told, to only about $12,000. This proposed change in the law has the recommendation and the approval of the Commissioner of Pensions, and also of the chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, the bill coming from that committee, and having been considered by that committee before it was passed by the House. This amendment is intended to facilitate the work in the Bureau of Pensions, and I trust that no one will make a point of order against it.

I wish also, Mr. Chairman, to insert in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a table showing the amount of money expended for pensions by the United States Government. It may be interesting to this House to know at this time that for the War of the Revolution the United States Government paid out $70,000,000 in pensions, for the War of 1812 $45,972,895.76, for the Indian wars $13,315,227.19, for the War with Mexico $49,618,948.68, for the Civil War $4,614,643,267.43, the War with Spain and the Philippine insurrection $49,944,441.84, Regular Establishment $35,472,408.77, unclassified $16,508,447.41.

We are all in favor of our pension system. I know of no one who would abandon it. Criticisms have been made that here and there we find abuses. I submit that that would be true under any system that might be devised. It is impossible to always ascertain all the facts in each and every case. My experience with the Bureau of Pensions has been that that bureau has at times maintained what I thought was an attitude of hostility toward the granting of pensions, but I have been met with the suggestion and the statement that the bureau regarded it as its duty to safeguard the Treasury against abuses which have existed and did exist, few in number, perhaps, but which have caused criticisms of one kind and another to be made against it. One thing is true, no fit man in the United States who is called upon to volunteer or to enlist in the service of his country can help but feel that the Government will take care of him and his in the event of misfortune coming to him as the result of his military service. I believe it contributes largely—I will not say to the patriotism of our people—but I believe it would contribute to a great extent to the enlistments that we would have in the event we should be confronted with a war of such magnitude as to make it necessary for us to call upon our citizenship to volunteer.

I will not pursue the discussion further at this time, as I am very anxious to have this bill passed.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAUCH. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. I see that the estimate for this appropriation bill last year was $166,500,000 and some odd, but we actually appropriated at that time, I believe, only $164,000,000.

Mr. RAUCH. I will say in reply that these reductions have been made as a result of subsequent estimates submitted by the Commissioner of Pensions, and the reductions are made possible by reason of the fact that the pensioners are now all very old and rapidly passing away.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. The fact is that they are dying at the rate of approximately 100 every day, is it not?

Mr. RAUCH. I think that is approximately correct.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. This year, I believe, the estimate was $160,000,000, and I understand you to state that this bill carries $158,000,000.

Mr. RAUCH. This bill carries $158,000,000 approximately.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. About $2,000,000 less than the estimate that was made only a few months ago?

Mr. RAUCH. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. I will ask if this bill will not annually decrease in about the same proportion, two or three million dollars a year, unless we do enact some other general legislation?

Mr. RAUCH. I think I can say to the gentleman that the bill, according to the opinion of the Commissioner of Pensions, will be reduced more rapidly in succeeding years than it has been in the past.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. And the probability, you think, will be that if no other general legislation is passed calling for additional money, the appropriation necessary a year from this time would fall down to $155,000,000, or less than that?

Mr. RAUCH. I think if there should be no additional pension legislation the next pension appropriation would not carry more than $152,000,000.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. I notice that of the amount appropriated at the last session of Congress, $164,000,100, I believe it was, there was about $500,000 of that unexpended?

Mr. RAUCH. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. Is it not probable, then, that this $158,000,000 being appropriated by this bill may not all be necessary to pay the pensions, but some of it may lapse into the Treasury, as it did a year ago?

Mr. RAUCH. Of course, it is not the policy of the Committee on Appropriations to unnecessarily appropriate money. But, on the other hand, it is the policy of the committee to give these various departments of the Government a working balance when it is impossible for them to submit absolutely correct estimates as to what the expenditures will be for the next fiscal year.

The following record shows that the insinuation that the Democratic Party has not been friendly to the soldiers is absolutely without foundation. In fact, the laws resulting in the greatest benefit to them have been passed when the Democrats were in power. A Democratic House passed—

First. Act of August 15, 1876, providing for the issuance of artificial limbs, or commutation therefor, to disabled soldiers and seamen, and providing transportation for the purpose of having the same properly fitted.

Second. Act of February 28, 1877, increasing the pension of those who lost both an arm and a leg.

Third. Act of March 9, 1878, granting pensions on account of service in the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War, requiring a service of but 14 instead of 60 days on the part of the survivors of the War of 1812, and granting pensions to widows regardless of the date of marriage to soldiers of this war. It also granted pensions to widows of soldiers of the Revolutionary War on a service of 14 days. Former laws required a marriage prior to the treaty of peace in the case of widows of the War of 1812.

Fourth. Act of June 17, 1878, increasing to $72 per month the pensions of those who lost both hands, both feet, or the sight of both eyes incident to the service.

Fifth. Act of March 3, 1879, increasing to $37.50 all pensions on account of amputation at the hip joint. This sum was afterwards increased to $45 per month by a Democratic House.

Sixth. Acts of January 25 and March 3, 1879, granting arrears of pensions from the date of discharge, generous measures which benefited more than 225,000 pensioners at once and caused the annual pension rate to leap from $33,780,526.19 to $57,240,540.14. The Republican Party had control of both Houses of Congress for more than 10 years after the close of the war, but passed no legislation of this character.

Seventh. Act of June 21, 1879, abolishing biennial medical examinations and providing that in no case shall a pension be withdrawn or reduced except upon notice to the pensioner and a hearing upon sworn testimony.

Eighth. Act of June 16, 1880, giving $72 per month to all those who became totally helpless from any cause incident to the service.

Ninth. Act of February 26, 1881, for the protection of pensioners in the Soldiers' Home.

Tenth. Act of July 4, 1884, which established the proper relations which should exist between attorneys and clients and fixed by law the fees to be allowed in pension cases. By this act a Democratic Congress placed the strong arm of the law between the helpless applicant and the rapacious agent.

Eleventh. Act of July 14, 1892, establishing an intermediate rate of pensions between $30 and $72 per month and fixing the rate at $50 for all who required frequent and periodical, though not regular and constant, personal aid and attention.

Twelfth. Act of August 5, 1892, granting pensions to Army nurses and forbidding the demanding of a fee by claim agents for prosecuting this class of cases. This was a generous recognition of the noble heroines who, leaving home and loved ones behind, in self-sacrifice braved pestilence and hardships to minister to the sick in the hospitals of the Army.

Thirteenth. Act of December 21, 1893, making a pension a vested right.

Here are some other contributions to the pension laws which were either approved by a Democratic President or passed by a Democratic House of Representatives:

Fourteenth. Act of April 18, 1884, making it a felony for any person to falsely or fraudulently represent himself to be an officer of the United States.

Fifteenth. Act of March 19, 1886, increasing from $8 to $12 per month the pensions of 79,989 widows and dependents on the roll at the time, as well as tens of thousands who have since been placed there. These certificates were issued by a Democratic Commissioner of Pensions without any expense or unnecessary delay to those deserving beneficiaries.

Sixteenth. Act of May 17, 1886, amending the reports of the War Department, which discriminated against a large and worthy class of soldiers, relieving thousands of unfortunate veterans of the hardships worked by the resting of charges against them based upon technical errors in the records.

Seventeenth. Act of August 4, 1886, increasing the pensions of 10,030 cripples—armless and legless veterans.

Eighteenth. Act of January 29, 1887, benefiting about 30,000 survivors and widows of the Mexican War.

Nineteenth. Act of June 7, 1888, granting arrears to widows from the date of the death of the husband and providing that all United States officials authorized to administer oaths should administer all oaths required to be made in pension cases in the execution of vouchers for pensions free of charge. This arrearage act benefited at once more than 200,000 soldiers' widows.

Twentieth. Act of August 27, 1888, increasing pensions on account of deafness.

Twenty-first. Act of February 12, 1889, granting an increase in pensions from $72 to $100 per month to all persons who lost both hands in the service and line of duty.

Twenty-second. Act of March 1, 1889, relating to the payment of pensions to the widows or dependent heirs where subsequent to the issurance of the check the pensioner dies.

Twenty-third. Act of March 2, 1889, removing certain technical charges in the record and relieving a large and meritorious class of soldiers.

Twenty-fourth. Act of March 2, 1895, which abolished the rates of $2 and $4 and fixed the lowest rate of pension at $6 per month.

Twenty-fifth. The act of May 11, 1912, known as "Sherwood law" by which the present rates were fixed based upon present age of soldier, sailor, or marine and the length of service rendered by him during the late Civil War. This law carried substantial increases to practically every survivor of that war.

Twenty-sixth. The act of March 4, 1913, amending act of May 11, 1912, and providing automatic increases from date of birth of pensioners on the roll without further formal application therefor.

Twenty-seventh. Act of February 19, 1913, granting an increase to Indian war survivors from $8 to $20 per month.

Twenty-eighth. An act which passed the House February 16, 1916, known as Key bill, providing pension for widows and orphans for soldiers, sailors, or marines who served during the late Spanish War and Philippine Insurrection regardless of the cause of death. This is the third Democratic House of Representatives which has passed this bill. It has never reached a vote in the Senate. It is now on the Senate calendar with excellent prospects of becoming a law at an early date.

Twenty-ninth. February 16, 1916, the House of Representatives passed the Keating bill, which provides a pension of $20 per month for surviving soldiers, sailors, or marines, and $12 per month for their widows, with $2 additional on account of each minor child, who served 30 days during Indian hostilities from 1865 to 1891. This bill was passed by the United States Senate May 9, 1916, with certain amendments, and is now in conference and will become a law at an early hour.

Thirtieth. June 19, 1916, the House of Representatives passed what is known as the Ashbrook bill, which provides a rate of

$20 per month for every widow of a soldier, sailor, or marine who served during the late Civil War or during the late Mexican War, who was his wife during any portion of his service, and who is entitled to pension under any existing law, or the widow of any soldier, sailor, or marine who is entitled to pension under any existing law, who is now 70 years of age or shall hereafter become 70 years of age; also that any widow whose name has been dropped from the roll by reason of remarriage and whose second marriage has been dissolved without fault on her part shall be entitled to have her name restored to the roll at the rate of $12 per month; and further providing that marriage subsequent to June 27, 1890, and prior to June 27, 1905, shall give title to Civil War widows under the act of April 19, 1908. This bill is now on Senate Calendar and has been amended to the effect that instead of June 27, 1905, marriage prior to the date of approval of this act shall give title under the act of April 19, 1908, thus moving up the bar of June 27, 1890, 26 years. The bill was further amended so that widows who had remarried and whose second marriage had been dissolved without fault upon their part should now have title if at the date of the death of their first husband they would have had title under any law that now exists. It will be seen from the foregoing résumé of the Federal pension acts that the most rapid strides and liberal legislation for soldiers, sailors, or marines, their widows, minors, and other dependent relatives have been provided for by legislation at the hands of the Democratic Party.

PENSIONERS BY STATES AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

*Pensioners and amounts paid, arranged by States, insular possessions, Canal Zone, and foreign countries, during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915.*

| | Number. | Amount. |
|---|---|---|
| STATE OR TERRITORY. | | |
| Alabama | 2,949 | $652,706.23 |
| Alaska | 73 | 16,243.82 |
| Arizona | 817 | 180,791.61 |
| Arkansas | 8,040 | 1,779,647.63 |
| California | 26,441 | 5,852,416.37 |
| Colorado | 7,347 | 1,626,280.65 |
| Connecticut | 9,132 | 2,021,195.34 |
| Delaware | 2,374 | 525,498.13 |
| District of Columbia | 8,203 | 1,815,721.57 |
| Florida | 4,642 | 1,027,368.89 |
| Georgia | 2,734 | 605,240.52 |
| Idaho | 2,049 | 453,561.21 |
| Illinois | 51,542 | 11,409,082.92 |
| Indiana | 45,613 | 10,096,919.78 |
| Iowa | 25,397 | 5,621,416.89 |
| Kansas | 29,562 | 6,543,877.69 |
| Kentucky | 19,491 | 4,313,894.54 |
| Louisiana | 4,902 | 1,085,593.49 |
| Maine | 13,018 | 2,881,484.94 |
| Maryland | 11,355 | 2,513,362.00 |
| Massachusetts | 31,143 | 6,893,418.56 |
| Michigan | 31,302 | 6,928,648.67 |
| Minnesota | 11,596 | 2,566,734.55 |
| Mississippi | 3,660 | 810,081.42 |
| Missouri | 36,031 | 7,975,940.97 |
| Montana | 2,158 | 477,610.51 |
| Nebraska | 13,113 | 2,902,369.85 |
| Nevada | 364 | 80,586.22 |
| New Hampshire | 5,988 | 1,325,453.54 |
| New Jersey | 18,813 | 4,164,685.43 |
| New Mexico | 1,731 | 383,101.01 |
| New York | 62,303 | 13,791,017.65 |
| North Carolina | 3,315 | 733,714.37 |
| North Dakota | 2,675 | 592,161.08 |
| Ohio | 70,768 | 15,666,077.11 |
| Oklahoma | 10,404 | 2,302,826.21 |
| Oregon | 7,119 | 1,575,650.56 |
| Pennsylvania | 69,011 | 15,275,745.00 |
| Rhode Island | 4,092 | 905,645.72 |
| South Carolina | 1,547 | 342,385.93 |
| South Dakota | 4,922 | 1,089,390.75 |
| Tennessee | 15,477 | 3,425,758.39 |
| Texas | 7,870 | 1,697,584.69 |
| Utah | 937 | 207,372.41 |
| Vermont | 5,970 | 1,321,445.32 |
| Virginia | 7,950 | 1,759,606.55 |
| Washington | 9,075 | 2,008,748.78 |
| West Virginia | 9,693 | 2,145,450.02 |
| Wisconsin | 18,053 | 3,995,768.81 |
| Wyoming | 766 | 169,610.80 |
| Total | 743,327 | 164,537,494.15 |
| Canal Zone, total | 1 | 240.00 |
| INSULAR POSSESSIONS. | | |
| Guam | 2 | 504.00 |
| Hawaii | 69 | 15,189.03 |
| Philippines | 55 | 12,235.60 |
| Porto Rico | 33 | 7,383.17 |
| Total | 159 | 35,311.80 |
| FOREIGN COUNTRIES. | | |
| Algeria | 1 | 5,208.92 |
| Argentina | 12 | 144.00 |
| Australia | 93 | 2,508.32 |

*Pensioners and amounts paid, arranged by States, etc.*—Continued.

| | Number. | Amount. |
|---|---|---|
| FOREIGN COUNTRIES—continued. | | |
| Austria-Hungary | 32 | 20,400.18 |
| Azores | 5 | 1,374.16 |
| Bahamas | 3 | 720.00 |
| Barbados | 2 | 330.00 |
| Belgium | 17 | 4,624.32 |
| Bermuda | 7 | 1,008.14 |
| Bolivia | 1 | 360.00 |
| Brazil | 6 | 1,344.25 |
| British West Indies | 9 | 2,142.37 |
| Bulgaria | 1 | 144.00 |
| Canada | 2,421 | 483,120.85 |
| Cape de Verde Islands | 1 | 96.00 |
| Chile | 11 | 3,006.23 |
| China | 16 | 2,906.04 |
| Colombia | 1 | 144.00 |
| Comoro Islands | 1 | 120.00 |
| Costa Rica | 3 | 768.00 |
| Cuba | 42 | 8,784.05 |
| Danish West Indies | 1 | 144.00 |
| Denmark | 46 | 9,360.62 |
| Dominican Republic | 2 | 348.00 |
| Dutch West Indies | 3 | 708.00 |
| England | 420 | 88,206.48 |
| Egypt | 1 | 144.00 |
| Finland | 8 | 1,620.50 |
| France | 63 | 14,331.54 |
| Germany | 427 | 85,314.85 |
| Greece | 10 | 1,368.19 |
| Guatemala | 3 | 708.00 |
| Honduras | 5 | 1,584.21 |
| Hongkong | 2 | 375.00 |
| India | 10 | 1,788.46 |
| Ireland | 387 | 80,795.94 |
| Isle o' Pines | 13 | 2,622.88 |
| Italy | 54 | 14,054.64 |
| Japan | 34 | 6,600.12 |
| Liberia | 6 | 1,296.54 |
| Luxembourg | 4 | 756.00 |
| Malta | 1 | 144.00 |
| Mexico | 53 | 9,978.75 |
| Morocco | 1 | 144.00 |
| Netherlands | 9 | 1,452.17 |
| Newfoundland | 5 | 876.48 |
| New Zealand | 17 | 3,624.91 |
| Nicaragua | 2 | 324.00 |
| Norway | 71 | 13,577.82 |
| Panama | 3 | 588.00 |
| Peru | 9 | 1,584.24 |
| Portugal | 4 | 792.00 |
| Roumania | 1 | 144.00 |
| Russia | 12 | 1,992.81 |
| Samoa | 1 | 96.00 |
| Scotland | 60 | 14,186.16 |
| Servia | 1 | 204.00 |
| Seychelles Islands | 1 | 144.00 |
| Siam | 1 | 180.00 |
| South Africa | 12 | 2,772.74 |
| Spain | 5 | 1,092.51 |
| St. Helena | 1 | 144.00 |
| Sweden | 76 | 15,140.88 |
| Switzerland | 70 | 14,874.72 |
| Tasmania | 1 | 276.00 |
| Tonga Islands | 1 | 216.00 |
| Trinidad | 2 | 372.00 |
| Turkey in Asia | 12 | 2,052.10 |
| Turkey in Europe | 2 | 330.00 |
| Uruguay | 2 | 504.00 |
| Venezuela | 1 | 144.00 |
| Wales | 30 | 5,886.08 |
| Total | 4,660 | 945,220.19 |

SUMMARY.

| | Pensioners. | Payments. |
|---|---|---|
| Pensioners residing in States and Territories and payments to them | 743,327 | $164,537,494.15 |
| Pensioners residing in insular possessions and Canal Zone and payments to them | 160 | 35,551.80 |
| Pensioners residing in foreign countries and payments to them | 4,660 | 945,220.19 |
| Total | 748,147 | 165,518,266.14 |

CIVIL WAR SURVIVORS.

The following shows the loss and percentage of loss to the pension roll by death of Civil War soldier pensioners from the year 1911 to 1915, inclusive:

*Losses to pension roll, 1911 to 1915.*

| Year. | On roll at beginning of year | Loss by death during year. | Percentage of loss |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 562,615 | 35,243 | 6.2 |
| 1912 | 529,884 | 33,981 | 6.3 |
| 1913 | 497,263 | 36,064 | 7.2 |
| 1914 | 462,379 | 33,639 | 7.3 |
| 1915 | 456,370 | 33,255 | 8.4 |

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR PENSIONS.

Amounts paid by the Government in pensions to soldiers, sailors, and marines, their widows, minor children, and dependent relatives, on account of military and naval service since the foundation of the Republic:

| | |
|---|---|
| War of the Revolution (estimated) | $70,000,000.00 |
| War of 1812 (service pension) | 45,972,895.76 |
| Indian wars (service pension) | 13,315,227.19 |
| War with Mexico (service pension) | 49,618,948.68 |
| Civil War | 4,614,643,267.43 |
| War with Spain and Philippine insurrection | 49,944,441.84 |
| Regular Establishment | 35,472,408.77 |
| Unclassified | 16,508,447.41 |
| Total | 4,895,475,637.08 |

The following table, also compiled from the annual reports of the Commissioner of Pensions, shows the number of pensioners on the roll, the annual value of pensions, the disbursements on account of pensions, the number of original applications filed, and the number of original claims allowed each fiscal year from 1879 to 1915, inclusive:

| Fiscal year. | Number of pensioners on the roll. | Annual value of pensions. | Disbursements on account of pensions. | Total number of applications filed, original. | Total number of claims allowed, original. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879 | 242,755 | $25,493,742.15 | $33,664,428.92 | 57,118 | 31,346 |
| 1880 | 250,802 | 25,917,906.60 | 56,689,229.08 | 141,466 | 19,545 |
| 1881 | 268,830 | 28,769,967.46 | 50,583,405.35 | 31,116 | 27,394 |
| 1882 | 285,697 | 29,341,101.62 | 54,313,172.05 | 40,939 | 27,664 |
| 1883 | 303,658 | 32,245,192.43 | 60,427,573.81 | 48,776 | 38,162 |
| 1884 | 322,756 | 34,456,600.35 | 57,912,387.47 | 41,785 | 34,192 |
| 1885 | 345,125 | 38,990,985.28 | 65,171,937.12 | 40,918 | 35,767 |
| 1886 | 365,783 | 44,708,027.44 | 64,091,142.90 | 49,895 | 40,857 |
| 1887 | 406,007 | 52,824,641.22 | 73,752,997.08 | 72,465 | 55,194 |
| 1888 | 452,557 | 58,707,220.92 | 78,950,501.67 | 75,726 | 60,252 |
| 1889 | 489,725 | 64,246,552.36 | 88,842,720.58 | 81,220 | 51,921 |
| 1890 | 537,944 | 72,052,143.49 | 106,094,250.39 | 105,044 | 66,637 |
| 1891 | 676,160 | 89,247,200.20 | 117,312,690.50 | 696,941 | 156,486 |
| 1892 | 876,098 | 116,879,867.24 | 139,394,147.11 | 246,638 | 224,047 |
| 1893 | 966,012 | 130,510,179.34 | 156,906,637.94 | 119,361 | 121,630 |
| 1894 | 969,544 | 130,120,863.00 | 139,986,726.17 | 57,141 | 39,085 |
| 1895 | 970,524 | 130,048,365.00 | 139,807,788.78 | 45,361 | 39,185 |
| 1896 | 970,678 | 129,485,587.00 | 138,215,174.98 | 42,244 | 40,374 |
| 1897 | 976,014 | 129,795,428.00 | 139,949,717.35 | 50,585 | 50,101 |
| 1898 | 993,714 | 130,968,465.00 | 144,651,879.80 | 48,732 | 52,648 |
| 1899 | 991,519 | 131,617,961.00 | 138,355,052.95 | 53,881 | 37,077 |
| 1900 | 993,529 | 131,534,544.00 | 138,462,130.65 | 51,994 | 40,645 |
| 1901 | 997,735 | 131,568,216.00 | 138,531,483.84 | 58,373 | 44,868 |
| 1902 | 999,446 | 132,152,800.00 | 137,504,267.99 | 47,965 | 40,173 |
| 1903 | 996,545 | 133,029,090.00 | 137,759,653.71 | 52,325 | 40,136 |
| 1904 | 994,762 | 134,130,203.00 | 141,093,571.00 | 55,794 | 44,296 |
| 1905 | 998,441 | 136,745,295.00 | 141,142,861.33 | 52,841 | 50,027 |
| 1906 | 985,971 | 136,237,749.00 | 139,000,288.25 | 37,212 | 34,974 |
| 1907 | 967,371 | 140,850,880.60 | 138,155,412.46 | 43,619 | 29,945 |
| 1908 | 951,687 | 159,495,701.00 | 153,093,086.27 | 46,619 | 37,691 |
| 1909 | 946,194 | 160,682,870.32 | 161,973,703.50 | 35,789 | 45,086 |
| 1910 | 921,083 | 158,332,391.82 | 159,974,056.08 | 31,777 | 28,027 |
| 1911 | 892,098 | 154,834,237.80 | 157,325,160.35 | 30,601 | 25,519 |
| 1912 | 860,294 | 151,558,141.40 | 152,986,105.22 | 27,692 | 22,777 |
| 1913 | [1] 820,200 | 171,490,784.82 | 174,171,660.80 | 27,856 | 19,346 |
| 1914 | 785,239 | 166,449,333.26 | 172,417,546.26 | 33,869 | 19,287 |
| 1915 | 748,147 | 161,172,441.78 | 165,518,266.14 | 28,110 | 17,112 |

[1] Does not include 72 pensioners, class, "Brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters" under "general law," formerly carried on the New York agency roll.

## River and Harbor Appropriations.

## SPEECH

OF

# HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

*Thursday, May 11, and Friday, May 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, May 9), 1916.*

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12193) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I understand that the rules which govern the Commerce Committee ordinarily would keep the curtain of secrecy on the transactions of that committee, but our capable and kindly chairman of the committee has removed that obstruction; and, for myself, I very cordially join with him in doing so. If any objection should therefore be raised to divulging what has occurred in the committee, it must not be charged to the chairman or to myself nor to the watchful Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], who preceded me.

With this preliminary observation, I read from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 9, 1916, on pages 8680 and 8681. The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS] used the following language:

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, the Senator from Iowa has denounced the Democratic Party for extravagance and he has cited the present river and harbor bill as an illustration of the failure of the Democratic Party to carry out its platform pledge of economy. I wish to ask the Senator if, as a member of the Committee on Commerce, he is not tht only Republican membtr of that committee who voted against reporting this bill in the form in which it now is?

Mr. KENYON. I think not.

Mr. SIMMONS. Then, I ask the Senator if there were others?

Mr. KENYON. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], I think——

Mr. SIMMONS. The Senator from Illinois, I think, voted against some of the provisions of the bill.

Mr. KENYON. He voted against reporting the bill, I think. I know he signed the minority report.

Mr. SIMMONS. He voted against some of the new items of the bill.

Mr. KENYON. He signed the minority report.

Mr. SIMMONS. Tht Senator from Illinois voted against some of the new items of the bill, but I do not understand that the Senator from Illinois, or any other Republican Senator on the committee, voted against the bill as a whole.

Mr. KENYON. I will say that, in my judgment, as I remember the matter, the Senator from Illinois voted against reporting the bill as it was reported; but I am not absolutely certain as to that.

Mr. REED. Mr. President——

Mr. KENYON. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I think I can throw a little light on the attitude of the Senator from Illinois. I think he voted in favor of every appropriation for his State, but was very economical as to other States.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Illinois did not hear the statement which has just been made by the Senator from Missouri; it is a very unfair statement; for the Senator from Missouri, as I remember, was seldom present at committee meetings, and the Senator from Illinois claimed the right to file a minority report, and said that he objected to many items in the bill. I think the Senator from Missouri is not fair in his statement.

Mr. REED. I think the Senator from Iowa did not understand me, or he would not say I am unfair. I say, as I understood the attitude of the Senator from Illinois, he voted in favor of all appropriations for his own State, but when it got to other States he was economical.

Mr. KENYON. I will say this about the Senator from Illinois——

Mr. SHERMAN. I will answer that.

Mr. KENYON. That the Senator from Illinois——

Mr. SHERMAN. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KENYON. I will yield.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will answer the statement made by the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] in due time, when I have more leisure, and when I can do so under the rules as they might be administered here without taking the Senator from Iowa off his feet.

The cutting off of the appropriations for my own State will not deter me in the least from criticizing or voting against any of the items of this bill, should I deem it proper to do so when I get the opportunity. If the penalty for such criticism is to be the cutting off of appropriations from this bill that may affect my own State, I will challenge the Senators to cut them off at their pleasure, and I will take the consequences.

Mr. KENYON. I hope the Senator from Missouri will join in that challenge.

Mr. SHERMAN. That possesses no terror whatever for the Senator from Illinois; and I refuse to be punished or afflicted in that way.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, no one has made the slightest suggestion that anything could at all imperil the courageous attitude of the Senator from Illinois. I did not charge that the Senator from Illinois was not economical with reference to appropriations for other States; but I failed to notice him practicing any particular economy when it came to the State of Illinois. That is all I said. I know that the high courage and magnificent patriotism of the Senator from Illinois will lead him to take an exalted ground when it comes to the discussion of this bill; and yet I venture to say that he will in no single instance move to reduce an Illinois appropriation.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, the Senator——

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President——

Mr. KENYON. Just a moment. The Senator from Illinois asked the committee that the State of Illinois be permitted to spend $5,000,000 of its own money. That is all the Senator from Illinois asked of the committee. I suppose that remarks of the kind we have heard must be made about men who express their convictions about this bill, but they seem to me very unfair to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. President, I, of course, do not care to enter into the controversy as to how the Senator from Illinois voted, because I do not remember as to that. I was, however, under the impression that the Senator from Iowa was the only Republican member of the Committee on Commerce who voted against this bill as a whole. I thought the Senator from Illinois voted against some new items which were put on the bill, as some Democratic members of the committee probably did; but there are eight Republicans on the committee; and, if the Senator from Illinois joined the Senator from Iowa in voting against the bill, they are the only two Republicans, I am sure, who did pursue that course. I think the bill comes here with the joint approval of all the members of the committee, except those two Senators. I am speaking of the bill as a whole; I am not speaking of items, because I think there were differences in the committee as to items.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, may I interrupt the Senator from Illinois, my colleague?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I desire to say that I take joint responsibility for the consequences of the incorporation into the bill of provisions concerning the waterway of the State of Illinois; and if there be any objections concerning it, those objections should not fall wholly upon my colleague, but should fall equally upon me. I desire, however, to ask the Senator if he will not state from the record that the item discloses no sum of money to be drawn from the Treasury of the Federal Government, but a mere permission on the part of the Federal Government for the State of Illinois to spend its own money upon a

waterway of the State that cooperates with the Federal Government, without extracting money from the Federal Treasury.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEWIS. Such is the exact statement of the item, is it not?

Mr. SHERMAN. The statement is true, Mr. President. There are—and I shall get to that in due season—some items which relate to Lake Michigan, the Calumet River, and certain improvements in the harbor of Chicago, for the breakwater, for certain improvements along the lake shore; but those are matters that do not particularly belong to the State of Illinois, any more than the million-dollar appropriation for the Passes of the Delta of the Mississippi River is local to the State of Louisiana or local to the State of Arkansas. Although the Mississippi River washes the shores of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Illinois, the expenditures are not local in their character.

The only expenditure local in character for any of these improvements would be that item referred to by my colleague, the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LEWIS], calling for an expenditure by the State of its own funds, not one dollar of which, either in the way of appropriations, bond issues, surveys, or any expense of administration, will be drawn from the United States Treasury. It is a matter that will fall wholly upon the taxpayers of that State.

The 65-mile link that is sought to be improved and connected with the waterway system of the Mississippi Valley will, when completed at the expense of the State, be added as a part of a great waterway system. The Erie Canal, the Great Lakes, the sanitary district channel, 27.15 miles in length, the 65 miles proposed to be improved, together with the improvement of the Illinois River to its mouth, where it empties into the Mississippi, will form a waterway that will join the Hudson River with the Gulf of Mexico via the Mississippi River. This 65 miles is to be paid for entirely by the State. That is the only amendment which the Senator from Illinois in the committee offered to the bill, and the committee had the fairness and the courtesy, especially through its chairman, to adopt the amendment. It was done accordingly, and it is found in the bill as printed.

So far as the other items are concerned, I will get to them in due time. Concerning none of them, I apprehend, did either my colleague or myself appear before the committee either in the House or in the Senate and make any request. The various interests concerned, the navigation interests on the Great Lakes, the manufacturing interests of the Mississippi Valley, and the transportation interests may have been before the committee. Of that I do not know, as I have not read the proceedings published by the House committee having charge of this bill. So it is possible that some of our constituents may have been before the committee or may have interviewed Representatives or Senators. I do not know as to that, nor do I regard it as reprehensible if they did.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I must say that my colleague is in no wise responsible for the appearances I did make from time to time before administrative bodies, such as the Engineers, seeking recommendation to the committee on behalf of these different projects. My colleague is absolutely innocent, if there is any offense in the matter one way or the other, and I am altogether responsible, and he is accurate absolutely in his statements that he in no wise participated in presenting them before the committee. I am wholly responsible, if any responsibility attaches.

Mr. SHERMAN. I thank my colleague for the statement which I know to be correct.

The first of those items, Mr. President, is for the harbor at Waukegan, which is on the west shore of Lake Michigan, the item involving an expenditure of $16,000. The Government has built near this point a naval training school, at which there are a number of students in constant attendance. The other items are:

Harbor at Chicago, Ill.: Continuing improvement, by the construction of a breakwater to form an outer harbor, $714,300.
Harbor at Calumet, Ill.: For maintenance, $25,000.
Chicago River, Ill.: For maintenance, $30,000.
Calumet River, Illinois and Indiana: For maintenance, $20,000: *Provided*, That the upper limit of said project shall be at the intersection of the Grand Calumet River and the Indiana Harbor Canal.
Illinois River, Ill.: Continuing improvement and for maintenance below Copperas Creek, $55,000.

There are two locks, one at Copperas Creek and one at Henry, in this river, both of which are maintained by the State, as well as having been built almost entirely by the State. My recollection is, that the Copperas lock on the Illinois River was in part paid for many years ago by an appropriation from the Government. Below the Copperas Creek locks there are two locks at Lagrange and Kampsville, before it empties into the Mississippi River. Those are the locks for the improvement and maintenance of which this $55,000 item is allowed.

For my part, Mr. President, if any Senator sees fit to criticize those items or sees fit to move to strike them out, one of them, some of them, or all of them, I shall not criticize the Senator for doing so, nor will I burst the vials of my wrath and empty my sarcasm upon his devoted head if he does so and leaves every item for his own State intact. I am perfectly willing so far as it affects the junior Senator from Illinois if the Senate wishes to move to strike them out, some of them or all of them. I will vote against such a motion, as I have a right to do if I wish; but if every one of them were struck out Mr. President, amounting in the aggregate to $855,300—if they were struck out entirely and the improvements or maintenance should suffer accordingly and the interests concerned, my colleague and myself could well afford to suffer whatever the result would be for the purpose of the greater good, if only the Senate would follow the precedent thereby made and strike out other items, so that millions might be saved from waste for the few thousands that would be stricken out.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] had the kindness to suggest that I voted in favor of every appropriation from my own State, but became afflicted with economy when voting on other States, and that I practiced no economy when it came to Illinois. This tacit admission that he has a vulnerable spot somewhere in his own State does not lead him to attack the Illinois items. He rather attacks the motions of those who oppose the waste in this bill. It is unavailing to argue with those who can not or will not discriminate between the useful and the useless. I had no part whatever in placing the Illinois items in the bill; they are there pursuant to recommendations of the Board of Engineers. Some of those which the Senator from Missouri is defending are in the bill after being rejected by the Board of Engineers. The Senator is at liberty to move to strike out any item he does not approve. I shall continue to oppose much of this bill, although it may excite the unfavorable comment of the Senator.

Then, continuing after the item last read, there has been added at my request the following, which is the amendment I referred to a moment ago:

And the improvement of navigation of the Illinois River, authorized by an act of the Illinois General Assembly providing for an expenditure of $5,000,000 therefor by the State of Illinois, be and is hereby authorized in accordance with said act.

Now, I wish, following the amendment which I have read, to add the act to which it refers, with some comment which I desire to make. This act was approved, as I remember, on the 18th day of June, 1915.

It was the culmination of a long agitation which began many years ago—about the time, likely, that the sanitary district of Chicago first cut through the limestone bench that separates the headwaters of the Illinois River from Lake Michigan.

At some remote age, geologists tell us, the waters of Lake Michigan and the Great Lakes generally had their outlet down the Illinois Valley into the Mississippi. Through some change resulting from a gradual recession of the waters or a convulsion of nature, the exit of the waters was changed in another direction, and they found their way through the Niagara River. The cuts that have been made in the limestone, the geological sections that are exhibited, furnish strong circumstantial evidence of that condition.

So the sanitary district engineers, in the blue prints and plans that were made, and borings, finally got the levels, and constructed a ditch that joins Lake Michigan with the headwaters of the Illinois. A permit was obtained from the War Department, in proper season, for the diversion of a part of the waters of Lake Michigan through this artificial channel, using it primarily as a sanitary measure for the disposition of the sewage from the city of Chicago. A great deal of litigation resulted from it. A final decision was had in the Supreme Court here some years ago, in a case to which the State of Missouri was really a party, and the State of Illinois a party defendant, in an application on which an original hearing was had in the Federal Supreme Court and commissioners were appointed to take evidence in what the court held was in substance a controversy between two States. The validity of that legislation under which the channel was dug was upheld.

About the time it began there was an agitation to make this a part of the connecting link between the Great Lakes and the Gulf; so a considerable campaign was carried on for some years, until finally, on November 3, 1908, an amendment was adopted to the State constitution. We can not incur a State debt in Illinois unless by an amendment of our constitution, and that was done accordingly.

The adoption of this amendment and the canvass of the vote was proclaimed by the governor of that State November 24, 1908. That constitutional amendment I shall read.

I offer no apoligies whatever for reciting these proceedings at length in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I do so because in the welter of appropriations in all the rivers and harbors, great and small, with their merits and demerits, that have been provided in the last 40 years, for the first time an improvement in a great scheme of interstate waterway transportation that did not cost the Government a penny was put up to the War Department, and the War Department refused the permit to expend the money.

I recognize that there are a great many things that may become hallowed by time and precedent. The most obnoxious of all these holy usages, the very acme of governmental devilry, consists in everything being unconstitutional or improper unless it draws money out of the Government Treasury. I suppose if $5,000,000 had been provided that the Government should expend, it would have been regarded as a most meritorious project; and everybody, with glad acclaim, would, with tumultuous and offensive haste, have fallen over each other, in the committee and elsewhere, to vote the $5,000,000 out instanter, as they did these other large sums of money. But the precedent that an administration could be found in any State that asked for an improvement that was not to be paid for by the Government was so novel, so shocking to the sense of senatorial and congressional propriety, that it could not be indulged in for an instant. A precedent would be created; some improvement would be made where money would be expended, and the War Department or the Chief of Engineers or Congress would not be consulted about it and be required to insert an item in the bill. So I apprehend that this being out of the ordinary usage, and it being such exceedingly bad taste not to ask for an appropriation here, of course it might be regarded as dangerous, and be looked upon with more or less suspicion. That is the reason why I insert these proceedings at length in my remarks.

This amendment, adopted November 3, 1908, is in the following language:

*Provided further,* That the general assembly may, by suitable legislation, provide for the construction of a deep waterway or canal from the present water-power plant of the sanitary district of Chicago, at or near Lockport, in the township of Lockport, in the county of Will, to a point in the Illinois River at or near Utica, which may be practical for a general plan and scheme of deep waterway along a route which may be deemed most advantageous for such plan of deep waterway; and for the erection, equipment, and maintenance of power plants, locks, bridges, dams, and appliances sufficient and suitable for the development and utilization of the water power thereof; and authorize the issue, from time to time, of bonds of this State in a total amount not to exceed $20,000,000, which shall draw interest, payable semiannually, at a rate not to exceed 4 per cent per annum, the proceeds whereof may be applied, as the general assembly may provide, in the construction of said waterway and in the erection, equipment, and maintenance of said power plants, locks, bridges, dams, and appliances.

All power developed from said waterway may be leased in part or in whole, as the general assembly may by law provide; but in the event of any lease being so executed the rental specified therein for water power shall be subject to a revaluation each 10 years of the term created and the income therefrom shall be paid into the treasury of the State.

In pursuance of this constitutional provision, on the 18th of June, 1915, an act was approved as passed by the Illinois General Assembly. This act provided:

That a deep waterway or canal be constructed by the State of Illinois as soon as practicable, to be known as the Illinois Waterway, from the water-power plant of the sanitary district of Chicago, at or near Lockport, in the township of Lockport, in the county of Will, to a point in the Illinois River at or near Utica, in the county of La Salle; and that there shall be erected, equipped, and maintained by the State of Illinois power plants, locks, bridges, dams, and appliances sufficient and suitable for the development and utilization of the water power of said waterway or canal; and that the cost of constructing, erecting, and equipping the aforesaid public works shall be paid out of the proceeds of bonds of the State of Illinois, to be issued and sold as hereinafter provided.

The other provisions concern the details of the bond issue and the marketing of the bonds, the letting of contracts for the construction of the improvement, and providing for a commission to carry into effect the powers conferred by the act. The act contains, among other things, a provision in section 18, as follows:

When the said waterway shall have been completed in conformity with the provisions of this act, and paid for with the proceeds of bonds authorized to be sold under the provisions of section 12 hereof, and said bonds shall have been paid either out of the earnings of said waterway or by the State, or both, then the said channel, or so much thereof as shall have been completed, shall be tendered to the Government of the United States for navigation uses, conditioned upon the obligation or agreement of said Government to maintain the channel as a waterway free from tolls for navigation and to operate and maintain the locks free of cost to the State of Illinois. For all uses other than navigation the channel and it appurtenances shall be, and forever remain, the property of the State of Illinois.

I wish to insert the whole of this act, without reading it, except as I may refer to it in the course of my remarks, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WALSH in the chair). Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

ILLINOIS WATERWAY.

[House bill No. 914. Approved June 18, 1915.]

An act to provide for the construction of a deep waterway or canal, to be known as the Illinois Waterway, from the water-power plant of the sanitary district of Chicago, at or near Lockport, in Will County, Ill., to a point in the Illinois River at or near Utica, in La Salle County, Ill., to provide for the issuance of bonds to pay for said deep waterway, to provide for the development and utilization of the water power that may be generated from the water flowing through said waterway, to create a commission, to be known as the Illinois Waterway Commission, and to make an appropriation to carry out the provisions of this act.

*Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the general assembly,* That a deep waterway or canal be constructed by the State of Illinois as soon as practicable, to be known as the Illinois Waterway, from the water-power plant of the sanitary district of Chicago, at or near Lockport, in the township of Lockport, in the county of Will, to a point in the Illinois River at or near Utica, in the county of La Salle, and that there shall be erected, equipped, and maintained by the State of Illinois power plants, locks, bridges, dams, and appliances sufficient and suitable for the development and utilization of the water power of said waterway or canal, and that the cost of constructing, erecting, and equipping the aforesaid public works shall be paid out of the proceeds of bonds of the State of Illinois, to be issued and sold as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. The construction, management, and operation of said waterway or canal, power plants, locks, bridges, dams, and appliances shall be under the control of a board of five commissioners (at least one of whom shall be a civil engineer), to be known as the Illinois Waterway Commission; no more than three of which said commissioners shall belong to or be affiliated with the same political party.

The said commissioners shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. If appointed while the senate is not in session, their tenure of office shall, nevertheless, begin from the date of their appointment. The governor shall each year designate one of said commissioners to be the chairman of said commission.

Of the commissioners first appointed, two shall hold office until the 1st day of July in the year 1917; two shall hold office until the 1st day of July in the year 1919; and one shall hold office until the 1st day of July in the year 1921. The successors in office of the commissioners first appointed as aforesaid shall also be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and each successor in office thus appointed shall hold office for a term of six years from the date of the expiration of the term of his predecessor and until his successor is duly appointed and qualified, except that members who shall be appointed to fill vacancies occurring otherwise than by lapse of time shall hold office only for the unexpired term of the member in whose place the new member shall be appointed.

The said commission shall adopt an official seal and may authenticate all its official acts with the same.

For all legal purposes the said commissioners shall be deemed officers of the State, and all business, contracts, writing, and acts shall be done and made, and suits prosecuted by them or against them, in the name of the Illinois Waterway Commission. Before entering upon the duties of his office, each commissioner shall take and subscribe the following oath:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of Illinois, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of member of the Illinois Waterway Commission according to the best of my ability; I do further affirm that I do not own land on or adjoining the route of the Illinois Waterway or Canal, and that I am in no manner, either directly or indirectly, interested in any land within 5 miles of center line of said contemplated waterway or canal which will be directly affected by its construction other than a common interest as a citizen of this State, and that I will not buy or trade in any land which will be so directly affected on the route or within 5 miles of center line of the same during the time that I act as commissioner under this act."

Each commissioner shall also give an official bond, payable to the people of the State of Illinois, in the sum of $50,000, with at least two sufficient sureties, to be approved by the governor, conditioned for the faithful performance of the duties of his office and for a faithful accounting for moneys intrusted to him as such commissioner whenever and as often as he shall be lawfully required. Such oath and bond shall be filed in the office of the secretary of state.

SEC. 3. The said commission may, by and with the approval of the governor, appoint a secretary, a chief engineer, an attorney, and such additional accountants, engineers, experts, inspectors, and other employees as it may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this act and perform the duties and exercise the powers conferred by law upon the commission.

The positions of secretary, chief engineer, attorneys, private secretary, and experts temporarily employed shall be exempt from the classified civil service of this State.

The commission shall each year select one of their number to act as the treasurer of the commission, and the total bond of the member acting as such treasurer shall be $75,000, or such larger sum as the commission shall fix. The chairman shall be the executive officer of said commission, and shall sign all official documents emanating from or authorized by said commission. All appointees of said commission shall hold their respective employments during the pleasure of the commission, and said commission shall prescribe the duties and, with the consent of the governor, fix the compensation of all its appointees, agents, and employees.

Said commission shall have power to pass all ordinances, rules, and regulations which may, in the opinion of said commission, be necessary for the proper management and conduct of its business and to accomplish the objects for which it is created.

All business of said commission shall be transacted at regular meetings of the commission or at meetings held in accordance with its rules.

The affirmative vote of at least three members of said commission shall in all cases be necessary to transact business and to authorize the making of any contract or appropriation or expenditure of money.

SEC. 4. Each of the aforesaid commissioners shall receive a salary of $5,000 per year, payable in equal monthly installments, and that one of the said commissioners, who shall be designated as chairman of the commission, shall, in addition to his annual salary of $5,000 as commissioner, receive the further sum of $1,000 per year, making his salary $6,000 per year, so long as he shall be chairman of said commission.

SEC. 5. The secretary shall furnish such bonds as the commission shall prescribe, and he shall be the custodian of the records of said commission and shall enter upon a permanent record the official minutes of all meetings of said commission, in which shall be entered all the official acts of said commission and the record of the votes of the several members of the commission upon all ordinances, acts, or resolutions authorizing the making of contracts or the expenditure or appropriation of moneys.

The said commission, before entering into any contract for the construction of any part of said waterway or canal, or any other of the said public works connected therewith, shall cause to be made plans and specifications for said public works, together with reliable and carefully prepared detailed estimates of the cost of constructing, completing, and installing all of said public works. No change of plan which shall materially increase the expense of any such work or create any claim against the State for damage arising therefrom shall be made, unless a written statement, setting forth the object of the change and the expense thereof is submitted to the commission and its assent thereto be obtained at a meeting when at least four members of the commission are present. The commissioners may at any time suspend any contract while the work is in progress if, in their judgment, the work is not being performed to the best interests of the State, and may complete the same in such manner as will be to the best advantage of the State, and the cost of completing the said contract shall be paid by the bondsman for the contractor or by the contractor failing to perform the work.

SEC. 6. "A." The route adopted for said waterway or canal shall be through and along the sanitary district channel or tailrace from the water-power plant at Lockport, where the existing lock, 22 feet in width and 130 feet in length, between the upper and lower gates, shall be reconstructed to a width of not less than 55 feet, and in length between the upper and lower gates not less than 300 feet, or an additional lock alongside of the existing lock shall be constructed not less than 55 feet wide and not less than 300 feet long. The existing drop under normal conditions of flow shall be maintained, such lock to connect said Illinois waterway with the main channel of the sanitary district of Chicago.

"B." The channel of the tailrace of the sanitary district of Chicago's power plant from the aforesaid lock to its junction with the upper basin at Joliet, a distance of about 2 miles, shall be used substantially as it now exists.

"C." From the junction of the aforesaid tailrace to the State dam at Jackson Street, Joliet, the basin shall be improved by the removal of existing sediment and obstructions, so that a channel of not less than 8 feet in depth and 200 feet in width shall be obtained.

"C–1." *Provided*, If the sanitary district of Chicago at any time develops water power in the Desplaines River below Joliet and destroys thereby all or any part of the water power at said Jackson Street Dam, said district shall restore to the State at said point in electrical energy 10,000 horsepower, now existing at said dam, or as much thereof as shall be destroyed, and the State shall have the rental therefrom.

"D." The existing lock at the lower end of said upper basin and at the entrance to the Illinois and Michigan Canal shall be rebuilt, or a new lock constructed, to a width of not less than 45 feet and in length of not less than 250 feet. The lift shall remain substantially as at present. This lock shall be designated as Lock A.

"E." From Lock A to Lock B, which last mentioned lock is to be constructed immediately north of Du Page River, the channel shall follow and occupy the present Illinois and Michigan Canal, and said canal shall be enlarged so as to obtain a minimum depth of 8 feet and a minimum width of 36 feet on the bottom and minimum width of 60 feet at the water line.

"F." The said Lock B shall have a width of not less than 45 feet and a length of not less than 250 feet, and a lift of about 12 feet.

"G." From Lock B to Lock C (which said Lock C is hereinafter provided for) a distance of about 1,500 feet, the channel of the Illinois & Michigan Canal is to be followed and utilized. This section of the channel is to be deepened so as to have a depth of not less than 8 feet and a bottom width of not less than 36 feet and a water-surface width of not less than 60 feet. This is the section of the channel crossing the Du Page River.

"H." Lock C shall be constructed at or near the present Lock No. 7 of the Illinois & Michigan Canal and shall have a width of not less than 45 feet and a length of not less than 250 feet, and a lift of about 4½ feet.

"I." From Lock C to Lock D (which said Lock D is hereinafter provided for), a distance of about 6 miles, the channel shall follow and utilize the channel of said canal, deepened to not less than 8 feet. The width of the surface of the water shall be maintained at not less than 60 feet and the width upon the bottom shall be not less than 36 feet.

"J." At or near a point opposite the upper end of Dresden Island, Lock D shall be built connecting the Illinois & Michigan Canal with Illinois River and shall be of the following dimensions: Width of not less than 45 feet, length not less than 250 feet.

*Provided, however*, That if the alleged rights now claimed by the Economy Light & Power Co. to a dam and water power in the Desplaines River near its junction with the Kankakee River shall be finally declared invalid by any court of competent jurisdiction or shall in any manner be terminated or in any manner acquired by the State so as to permit the use for such waterway of the Desplaines River between Brandon Road and Dresden Heights, then, and in that case, the commission shall, with the written approval of the governor, change the route of the waterway from a point at or near Brandon Road in the Illinois & Michigan Canal, where a lock not less than 45 feet wide and not less than 250 feet in length shall be constructed, thence a channel constructed not less than 36 feet wide on bottom and not less than 60 feet wide at water surface, to a point in the Desplaines River at or near Brandon Road, and thence in the Desplaines River to Dresden Heights where the channel shall not be less than 8 feet in depth and 150 feet in width. At or near Dresden Heights a lock and dam shall be constructed of suitable size, that shall conform in dimensions with other locks as provided in the Illinois River as hereinafter mentioned and water power developed as the property of the State of Illinois.

No work shall be done toward reconstructing Illinois & Michigan Canal between a point at or about Brandon Road and Dresden Heights prior to April 1, 1916; unless, before that time, the alleged rights now claimed by the Economy Light & Power Co. to a dam and water power in the Desplaines River near the junction with the Kankakee River shall be finally declared valid by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The commission is authorized to collect data—make surveys, maps, etc., for the purpose of estimating and reporting to the governor and the next general assembly the cost of developing that part of the Desplaines River between Joliet and Brandon Road, and also the cost of developing power at Brandon Road and probable income from such power developed, with a view at an early date of incorporating the channel of the Desplaines River between the sanitary district power house at or near Lockport, Ill., and Brandon Road into the Illinois waterway, and for the purpose of conserving, preserving, and developing for the State the water power that can be developed at or near Brandon Road in the Desplaines River, which would accrue to and be the property of the State.

"K." From a point at or near Dresden Island, hereinbefore described, the waterway shall follow the channel of the Illinois River for a distance of about 24 miles, to a point in the Illinois River at or about the west end of Ballards Island, thence on an angle to a point on south bank about 1,000 feet east of the south end of dam at Marseilles, Ill. This channel shall be dredged where necessary so as to secure a minimum depth of 8 feet and a width of not less than 150 feet.

"L." From this point in the south bank of the river there shall be constructed a channel for purposes of navigation only, which shall afford a waterway not less than 8 feet in depth and a width of substantially 100 feet, with practically vertical walls, the center line of said channel extending for a distance of about 600 feet in a southwesterly direction to a point not less than 500 feet south of the top of the south bank of said river, and thence in a westerly direction, substantially parallel to the Illinois River, to a point at the south bank of the Illinois River near or opposite Bells Island, but the northerly boundary line of the right of way for said channel through section 24, township 33 north, range 4 east of the third principal meridian shall nowhere be farther north of the center line of said channel than 100 feet nor shall it anywhere approach the top of the south bank of the Illinois River nearer than 450 feet. No material excavated from said channel, in the first or most easterly 2,000 feet thereof, or so much of same as is situated in said section 24, shall be placed or deposited on the northerly side of said channel.

Except as is hereinabove otherwise provided, the center line of said channel shall be as nearly as practicable the center line of the proposed waterway, as recommended by the United States engineers in their report and survey of the Illinois River during the year 1902 and 1904, as appears from sheet No. 52 of said report and survey of the Illinois River now on file in the War Department of the United States Government.

That portion of the channel above described as the first 600 feet thereof, or any other part thereof as may be necessary for the requirements of navigation, may in the discretion of the commission be widened to a width of approximately 150 feet. A suitable guard lock or other safety device shall be installed in said channel. At the westerly or lower end of said channel, at or near its place of junction with the Illinois River, a lock shall be constructed of not less than 55 feet in width and of not less than 300 feet in length, and of a sufficient depth to maintain not less than 8 feet of water for navigation purposes between upper and lower levels. Said lock to be known as Lock "E." But nothing in this act contained, nor anything the said commission may do thereunder, shall ever have the effect of, or be construed as creating, recognizing, establishing, or enlarging any right, title, interest, or claim of any person or corporation whatsoever in and to the said Marseilles Dam or any interest therein, or the right to maintain the same, in or to any water power thereby developed; nor as waiving, restricting, or limiting any right or power of the State of Illinois with respect to said dam or water power, or at any time hereafter preventing or interfering with the State of Illinois in the exercise of any right, power, or option it may lawfully have in respect to or concerning the said dam or water power.

"M." Thence the channel of said waterway shall continue in the Illinois River at a depth not less than 8 feet and a width of channel of not less than 150 feet, for a distance of about 16 miles below Marseilles Dam to a point just above Starved Rock, where a dam and lock shall be constructed; said lock to be designated and known as Lock "F."

"N." At the aforesaid point (described in paragraph "M") above Starved Rock in the Illinois River there shall be constructed a permanent and substantial dam of concrete of the most modern design and type, at least equal to or better than the design and type of the dam across the Mississippi River at or near the city of Keokuk, Iowa, sufficient to control the water in the pool created by said dam to an elevation of 1½ feet above previous maximum high water at the highway bridge across the Illinois River at Ottawa. The elevation of the crest of this dam shall not exceed minus 121 Chicago city datum, and the water in the pool above said dam at the highway bridge at Ottawa shall be so controlled during all except flood stages of water that the elevation of the water at said highway bridge shall not exceed an elevation of minus 121 Chicago city datum. Whenever the stage of water at the highway bridge in the city of Ottawa shall exceed minus 121 Chicago city datum the sluice gates shall be immediately opened and the stage of water shall be maintained at minus 121 Chicago city datum, as nearly as possible, and the said gates shall remain open, if necessary, to their full capacity to maintain said water at said stage, and if the excess water, with the sluice gates all open, shall still raise the stage of water above minus 121 Chicago city datum, said sluice gates shall be kept open until the stage of water at said highway bridge shall again reach minus 121 Chicago city datum.

The sluice gates in said dam shall be of capacity at least 30 per cent larger than any flood water flow of record, and shall be so controlled, operated, and manipulated that the stage of water at the highway bridge at Ottawa shall at no time exceed 1½ feet above the high water heretofore existing at said highway bridge across the Illinois River at Ottawa, Ill. A lock designated as Lock "F" shall be constructed in connection with this dam; said lock shall have a width of not less than 55 feet and a length of not less than 300 feet. Provision shall also be made at this site for enlarging this lock to a width of not less than 80 feet and a length of not less than 600 feet, or an additional lock may be constructed not less than 80 feet wide, and not less than 600 feet in length.

"O." In the construction of said dam at Starved Rock provision shall be made for the development of water power which may be created at this site. This power, as well as other water power created by water passing through said waterway or canal, shall be utilized by the

State and may be leased and the income therefrom shall be applied to the payment of the interest and principal on bonds issued for the construction of the work named herein.

"P." The channel of the Illinois River below the aforesaid dam shall be improved so as to secure a depth of not less than 8 feet of water and a width of not less than 150 feet to a point at or near Utica.

"Q." The said Illinois Waterway shall be constructed so as to afford for navigation a channel of a depth of approximately but not less than 8 feet throughout its course at all times. Additional depth of the channel as commerce may require may be hereafter provided for through appropriate legislation, by and with the cooperation of the State and the Federal Government, when a sufficient depth of channel in the lower Illinois River and the Mississippi River shall have been attained or provided for by the Federal Government to warrant the deepening of the channel of the aforesaid Illinois Waterway, it being deemed and hereby declared that the said Illinois Waterway is practical for a general plan and scheme of deep waterway along the route hereinbefore mentioned, and is deemed most advantageous for such plan of deep waterway.

SEC. 7. Wherever, in the construction, maintenance, use, and operation of any dam, controlling works, embankment, wall, crib, or other improvement or structure, any existing drainage or sewer system constructed and maintained by any city, village, or incorporated town is destroyed or materially interfered with, then it shall be the duty of the Illinois waterway commission to alter, rebuild, or reconstruct or otherwise provide for so much and such parts of such drainage and sewer systems as to restore the same to as good efficiency as before the passage of this act. In the altering, rebuilding, and reconstructing of such drainage and sewer systems, streets, avenues, alleys, and private property shall be replaced and restored to as good a condition as they were before said work was commenced. The work of altering, rebuilding, and reconstructing or otherwise providing for such drainage and sewer systems shall be done by the commission under the general supervision of the city council or board of trustees of the city, village, or incorporated town affected, and to its reasonable satisfaction, the whole cost thereof to be paid by the Illinois Waterway Commission, and the work to be done and completed prior to the completion of any dam or other work or structure causing such drainage or sewer system to be changed or interfered with.

Modern bridges of adequate size and of suitable design, including all necessary piers, abutments, substructures, superstructures, and approaches, shall be constructed across the full width of the channel to replace present structures owned by municipalities, townships, and counties, wherever changes or rebuilding in said existing bridges shall, in the opinion of the said Illinois Waterway Commission, become necessary, the original cost of the same to be borne by the Illinois Waterways Commission. One-half of the cost of maintaining these bridges shall be borne by the municipality, township, or county, and one-half of such cost shall be borne by the State.

The work of building, constructing, and paving approaches, retaining walls, and sidewalks, and other work made necessary by the raising and lengthening of bridge spans as aforesaid, shall be done by the Illinois Waterways Commission, under the supervision of city councils of cities, boards of trustees of villages, or the highway commissioners or other authorities having supervision of roads and bridges in the municipalities affected, and shall be paid for by the Illinois Waterways Commission.

At the city of Ottawa, dykes shall be built along the east side of the Fox River and along the north side of the Illinois River commencing at or near a point at the center line of Shabbona Street produced to the Fox River and extending along the banks of the Fox River and Illinois River to a point at or near the intersection of Chester and Canal Streets, and the lowlands back of said dykes shall be filled with sand, earth, or other material to an elevation of not less than —117 Chicago city datum, all at the cost and expense of the Illinois Waterway Commission. In filling that part of said lowlands lying back of said dykes and lying south of Main Street and west of Division Street, the Illinois Waterway Commission shall fill the same to a depth of 18 inches from the top surface of said fill with good soil suitable for the raising of a good grass sod thereon. It shall also be the duty of the Illinois Waterway Commission to dyke and fill with sand, earth, or other material the ravine in said city of Ottawa, commonly known as the West Side Ravine, from its junction with the Illinois River to a point at or near Ottawa Avenue, the elevation at the top of said dyke and fill to be —110 Chicago city datum, all at the expense of the Illinois Waterway Commission.

All that land lying north and west of Fox River in the city of Ottawa from a point about midway between Madison and Jefferson Streets to a point at or near the aqueduct of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and all that land lying north of the Illinois River between the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad bridge and Clay Street shall be filled with earth, sand, or other suitable material, so that no part of the surface of said land shall have a lower elevation than —119 Chicago city datum. No filling shall be done north of River Street, west of Ontario Street.

It shall be the duty of the city council of the city of Ottawa to procure the consent of the property owners whose lands are to be filled, but in case consent can not be obtained by said city council, the said lands may be taken or damaged as is in this act provided.

It shall also be the duty of the Illinois Waterway Commission, at its cost and expense, to dyke and fill with sand, earth, or other suitable material, to an elevation of —110 Chicago city datum, the following described property now owned by the State of Illinois, to wit:

All that land lying to the west of the Fox River, north of the Illinois River, east of LaSalle Street, and south of the lateral canal or side cut, situated in the city of Ottawa.

Said land above described, excepting that portion thereof which is north of the south lines of blocks 20 and 21 of State's addition to the city of Ottawa, shall, when dyked and filled to the elevation aforesaid, be and the same is hereby dedicated to the public as a public landing, subject to any existing rights of any lessee thereof until the expiration of any such lease.

If, when said Illinois Waterway Commission is ready to fill said land last above described, there shall be any valid and binding lease of or right to use any part of said land for a tailrace, then such tailrace shall be inclosed and covered by a suitable structure.

The work of building said dykes and of making the fills hereinbefore mentioned in this section shall be begun by said Illinois Waterway Commission immediately after the water is turned in on said dam and shall be completed by said Illinois Waterway Commission within one year from the time said water is first turned in against the said dam.

It shall be the duty of the Illinois Waterway Commission to build, construct, and maintain, wherever necessary, along the north and south sides of the Illinois River, exclusive of islands, from the dam at or near Starved Rock eastwardly to the city limits of the city of Ottawa, good, substantial, and permanent walls or dykes of such character and materials as will prevent seepage from the river to the lands adjoining, the said walls or dykes to have a core of concrete, extending from top of said wall or dyke down to bedrock or hardpan, said core to be in thickness not less than 1 foot. The center line of said dykes or walls, from a point not more than 1,000 feet east of said dam to be constructed at or near Starved Rock shall not exceed a greater distance than 150 feet back from water line at normal stage of water: *Provided*, This requirement of proximity of 150 feet to the water shall not have any application to that part of the north bank, shore, or edge of said river lying or situate between the proposed dam and the commencement or beginning of the high land or elevation to the east thereof constituting the westerly end of Buffalo Rock; along which said stretch of territory said Illinois Waterway Commission shall have the right to construct said walls or dykes as far north from the north edge of the water in said river as may be absolutely necessary in order to create a practical waterway under the provisions of this act, said dykes or walls, however, in no case or event to be north of, upon, or to interfere with the right of way of the Chicago, Ottawa & Peoria Railway as now existent.

It shall be the duty of the Illinois Waterway Commission to build, construct, and maintain the dykes or walls herein described, so that, together with the natural banks of said river, impervious to seepage, the elevation of the banks of said river on both sides thereof between the points aforesaid shall in no place be less than an elevation of minus 105 Chicago city datum.

It shall also be the duty of the Illinois Waterway Commission to build, construct, and maintain between the points last above named on both sides of said river drains, ditches, or intercepting sewers of sufficient character and description to dispose of all the water from all creeks, ditches, drains, and all surface water naturally flowing into said river between said points.

SEC. 8. When it shall be necessary, in the opinion of said commission, for the economical and successful construction, operation, and maintenance of said waterway and other public works herein specified to enter upon and use any public property or property held for public use said commission shall have the power to do so and to enter upon, occupy, use, widen, deepen, and improve the waterway, canal, pool, or lakes, but the public use thereof shall not be unnecessarily interfered with. The property which the said commission is authorized to enter upon and use under this section includes all property and all interest in property which the State of Illinois has lawful power to appropriate to the use of said waterway or other public works without making compensation therefor.

SEC. 9. Whenever the said commission shall pass an ordinance or resolution for the construction of any part of the said waterway or canal or other public works or adjuncts thereto the making of which will require that private property should be taken or damaged, such commission shall cause the compensation therefor to be ascertained and paid and acquire possession thereof in the same manner, as nearly as may be, as is provided for in an act entitled "An act to provide for the exercise of the right of eminent domain," approved April 10, 1872, and the amendments thereto: *Provided*, That the proceedings to ascertain such compensation shall in all cases be instituted in the county where the property sought to be taken or damaged is situated in the circuit or county court of said county. The property which the said commission is authorized to acquire under this section shall include all property and all interest in property which the State of Illinois has not the lawful power to appropriate to the uses of said waterway and other public works without making compensation therefor.

The State of Illinois shall be liable for all damages to real estate or other property which shall be overflowed or otherwise damaged by reason of the construction, enlargement, or use of any channel, ditch, drain, outlet, embankment, wall, dam, crib, or other improvement or structure of any kind made under the provisions of this act and action to recover such damages may be brought against the said Illinois Waterway Commission in the county where any such real estate or property is situated or in any county through which said Illinois waterway extends or in which any part of it shall exist, at the option of the party whose property shall be claimed to have been so damaged; and all suits to recover any such damages shall be begun in the circuit court of the county so selected by such party in which to bring the same, and service of summons shall be had in the manner as provided by law for the service of summons at common law upon corporations by leaving a copy of such summons with any member of the said commission who shall be found in the county where the suit is brought or by leaving a copy thereof at the principal office of said commission and informing the person in charge of said office of the nature thereof; and in case judgment is rendered against the defendant in such action the said judgment shall be held, deemed, and considered as a binding and conclusive judgment against the State of Illinois in all respects and for all purposes; and the same shall be promptly paid in like manner and out of the same funds as other payments are made for the expense and cost of constructing said waterway. Nothing herein contained shall deprive either party to said judgment to right of appeal or writ of error as in other cases.

And in case judgment shall be rendered against the defendant for damages as aforesaid the plaintiff shall also recover his reasonable attorney's fees, to be taxed as costs of such suit: *Provided, however*, That in order to recover such attorney's fees it shall appear on the trial that the plaintiff had duly notified the commission in writing at least 60 days before such suit was commenced by leaving a copy of such notice with some one of such commissioners, stating in such notice that the plaintiff claims damages to the amount fixed in such notice by reason of the causes which shall in such notice be stated, and that he intends to bring suit for the same: *And provided further*, That in case it shall appear that the said commission did prior to the beginning of such suit offer the plaintiff in settlement of such damages an amount which shall be as large or larger than the amount of damages recovered by the plaintiff in such suit no such attorney's fees shall be recovered. This section shall extend to and apply to any corporation, municipal or otherwise, which shall be a plaintiff in any such action, as well as to natural persons.

SEC. 10. Subject to the limitations contained in this act, the said commission is hereby authorized to acquire by purchase all property, real and personal, which in the opinion of said commission is necessary or desirable for the construction, equipment, and maintenance of the

public works hereinbefore specified, and to appoint and employ all assistants, agents, and employees, to enter into all contracts, and to do all other acts which in the opinion of said commission may be necessary or desirable for the construction of said waterway and for the erection, equipment, and maintenance of said power plants, locks, bridges, dams, and appliances and the necessary adjuncts thereto. All contracts for work to be done and material required by said commission under authority of this act, the expense of which will exced $500, shall be let to the lowest responsible bidder therefor upon not less than 30 days' public notice. The terms and conditions upon which said contract shall be let shall be given by publication in three newspapers of general discussion in the State of Illinois printed in the English language, and also in two engineering papers for circulation in the United States; and said commission shall have power and authority to reject any and all bids and readvertise: *Provided, however,* That said commission shall or may cause any piece or pieces of work to be performed by direct employment of labor without the letting of a contract, which, in the discretion of the commission evidenced by the affirmative vote of not less than three of the commissioners, can be most economically performed by that method; and all labor so employed shall be under the direction of the chief engineer and his properly authorized assistants: *And provided further,* That with the approval of the governor machinery for doing said work may be purchased upon a like vote without soliciting competitive bids where in the judgment of the commission the machinery to be purchased is not subject to competition.

The said commission is hereby directed, in letting contracts for the construction of the aforesaid public works, to require of all contractors, as a condition precedent to the acceptance of their bids, that such contractors and their subcontractors shall adequately insure all workmen and other employees employed by them against risk of all injury or death suffered in the course of their employment. All compensation for either injury or death shall be paid according to a law approved June 28, A. D. 1913, entitled, "An act to promote the general welfare of the people of this State by providing compensation for accidental injuries or death, suffered in the course of employment within this State, providing for the enforcement and administering thereof, and a penalty for its violation, and repealing an act entitled 'An act to promote the general welfare of the people of this State by providing compensation for accidental injuries or death suffered in the course of employment.'"

The commission shall further require all contractors and subcontractors to file with said commission the name of the company or companies furnishing the insurance and the acknowledgment of such company or companies that such insurance has been furnished.

In case the State shall undertake the construction of said public works, or any part thereof, by the direct employment of labor, any employee of the State injured in the course of his employment, or in case of his death in consequence of said injury, his dependents shall be relieved and compensated out of the funds under the control of said commission in accordance with the workmen's compensation act heretofore referred to in this section.

SEC. 11. Said commission is hereby vested with all police powers necessary to preserve the peace and protect property and preserve health within the territory contiguous to said waterway, within a distance of 2 miles on either side thereof, but excluding therefrom all territory within which any incorporated city, town, or village is vested by law with the same police powers which are hereby granted to said commission. For the enforcement of said police power the said commission is authorized to organize a police force, said police force to be disbanded and discharged when said waterway shall have been completed. The members of said police force shall have all the powers vested by law in police officers and constables. The said commission shall also have power to prescribe sanitary regulations for all camps, boarding houses, and dwellings where employees of said commission or contractors are domiciled; and any violation of any police or health rule or regulation of said commission shall be deemed a misdemeanor punishable as such upon trial and conviction as provided by law in other cases. Said commission shall have power to appoint a health officer, who shall be a physician, and to prescribe his powers and duties.

SEC. 12. For the purpose of defraying all expenditures of said commission made by authority of this act, there is hereby appropriated to the Illinois Waterway Commission the following sums:

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| For channel excavation and dredging | $1,240,200 |
| For locks and dams | 1,404,550 |
| For right of way and damage to land | 318,250 |
| For levees, land filling, road work, bridges, sewers, and drains | 437,000 |
| For power and electrical equipment | 1,000,000 |
| For office expenses, salaries of appointees and employees of the commission, and other administrative and contingent expenses incurred by the commission | 600,000 |
| Total | 5,000,000 |

or so much thereof as may be necessary, payable out of the "Waterway funds" hereinafter provided for; and for the raising of which sums so appropriated there shall be issued and sold in the manner and at the time or times as hereafter recited, bonds of the State of Illinois to an amount not exceeding $5,000,000, as authorized to be issued by an amendment or provision of the constitution of the State of Illinois, which was duly ratified by a vote of the people on November 3, 1908, and proclaimed adopted by the governor on November 24, 1908, and the proceeds thereof shall be paid into the State treasury and shall be kept in a separate fund to be known as the "Waterway fund." The commission shall be charged with the duty of selling said bonds, or any part thereof, to the highest bidder after advertising for a period of 10 weeks and at least once each week, in at least two daily newspapers, one of which shall be published in the city of Springfield and at least one other in the city of Chicago. The said commission may reject any and all bids made in pursuance of said advertisements, and in such events is authorized to readvertise for bids in the manner above described as many times as may be necessary to effect a satisfactory sale. Two-fifths of each issue of said bonds shall be in denominations of $500 each, and three-fifths in denominations of $1,000 each; and in the sale of said bonds, as hereinafter provided, the Illinois Waterway Commission shall, in the case of intending purchasers who bid the same price, give the preference to those who bid for the smaller quantity. Said bonds shall not all be issued and sold at one time, but shall be issued and sold from time to time, as the work progresses, in amounts necessary to meet the obligations incurred by said commission as they shall be estimated by the chief engineer and reported to and approved by said commission. The bonds issued shall be dated as of the 1st day of January, or the 1st day of July, next preceding the date of their issue, and shall draw interest, payable semiannually, evidenced by interest coupons, at a rate not exceeding 4 per cent per annum. All bonds issued shall be made payable in 20 years from the date of their issue, and, in the discretion of the said commission, may be made redeemable in 10 years from the date of their issue. They shall be engraved and printed under the direction of the governor, shall be under the seal of the State, shall be signed by the governor, and countersigned by the treasurer and auditor of the State, and until sold shall be deposited with the State treasurer. The estimate made and approved, as aforesaid, of the funds which will be required to meet the obligations for the said work, including maturing interest on outstanding bonds for a period of six months, beginning with the 1st day of January or July next ensuing thereafter, shall be made and filed with the governor of the State of Illinois in the months of April and October of each year.

SEC. 13. All payments for salaries, wages, work done under contract, materials, supplies, machinery, lands, damages to lands and other expenditures made under this act shall be made by the State treasurer out of the aforesaid waterway fund upon warrants drawn by the auditor of public accounts, based upon bills of particulars and vouchers certified by the official or agent of said commission having knowledge of the facts upon which the said vouchers are based, audited by the secretary and approved by the chairman of the commission and the governor. The said commission shall prescribe the manner in which payments shall be made for the current and emergency expenses and provide for safeguarding all disbursements of funds on this behalf. The said commission shall have power to keep under its control a fund not exceeding at any one time $50,000, to meet immediate demands and expenses, and for the purpose of creating the said fund the auditor of public accounts is authorized in the first instance to issue his warrant for the sum of $50,000 at the direction of the said commission and payable to its treasurer; and the auditor of public accounts is authorized thereafter, upon approval of the governor, to issue warrants for the purpose of maintaining said fund at the sum of $50,000, but shall only issue said warrants upon the presentation to him of receipted bills of particulars and vouchers, certified by the official or agent of said commission having knowledge of the facts upon which the vouchers are based, audited by the secretary, and approved by the chairman of the commission and the governor, showing the disbursements made by said commission out of the aforesaid fund.

SEC. 14. The said commission shall, on or before the 1st day of January in each year, make a full report to the governor of the State of Illinois of all business transacted by it during the year ending on the preceding 30th day of November, including a statement of all expenditures, contracts entered into, work done, and obligations outstanding or contracted for at the date of the making of each report. The governor shall cause the books and affairs of said commission to be audited in each year by an accountant or accountants employed by him for that purpose, and the cost of such audit shall be paid as a part of the cost of the work authorized by this act, upon vouchers approved by the governor.

SEC. 15. There shall be included in and added to the tax levied for State purposes a direct annual tax for such amount as shall be necessary to pay and sufficient to pay the interest on each bond issued under this act as it falls due, and to pay and sufficient to pay and discharge the principal of each of such bonds at par value as they fall due. The rate of such annual tax shall be fixed by the officers charged by law with fixing the rate for State taxes on the valuation of real and personal property in this State subject to taxation, as provided by law. The tax imposed as herein provided shall be assessed, levied, and collected in the manner prescribed by law, and shall be paid by the several county treasurers into the treasury of the State. The proceeds of such tax shall be invested by the State treasurer in securities in which he is authorized by law to invest the trust and sinking funds of the State, and, together with the interest arising therefrom, any premium received on the sale of said bonds and interest accruing on deposits of money received from the sale of said bonds and from miscellaneous sources shall constitute a sinking fund, known as the waterway sinking fund. Said fund shall be used solely for the purpose of paying the principal and interest of bonds issued in accordance with the provisions of this act, and to the application of which sinking fund to the payment of said bonds and interest, and to the payment in full of which said bonds and the interest the faith of the State of Illinois is hereby pledged.

SEC. 16. Said commission shall have power from time to time to develop and to lease any water power created by the water passing through said waterway or canal, subject to the following conditions:

Before any such lease shall be made at least 60 days' public notice of the intending letting shall be given by publication in a daily newspaper published in the city of Springfield, and also at least one in the city of Chicago and three others elsewhere in Illinois, and such other notice as the commission shall deem best. The said commission shall require the bids to be accompanied by security, and may reject all bids not satisfactory to them and readvertise until they receive satisfactory bids; whereupon they shall lease said power to the highest responsible bidder. No lease shall be for a period exceeding 10 years, but the said commission may provide for not more than one extension of any lease for a further period of 10 years at a rent to be fixed by appraisal to be made by three disinterested appraisers, to be selected or appointed in such manner as shall be provided in the lease. Said commission shall also have power to lease from time to time any of the lands or lots acquired by said commission, upon the same terms and subject to the same limitations as are hereinbefore provided in regard to water power: *Provided,* That after such lease or leases shall have been so entered into the same shall by such commission be transmitted to the governor; unless such lease or leases is or are ratified by the governor, then the same shall have no binding force and effect on either party thereto.

SEC. 17. Said commission shall establish and collect reasonable rates of toll for the use of said waterway, and all tolls, rents, and other moneys received by the said commission, from the operation of the aforesaid public works, shall be deposited in the State treasury as a part of the aforesaid waterway sinking fund, which shall be kept and used to meet the interest and principal falling due upon said bonds, and to be used by said commission in its discretion, in buying up for cancellation any of said bonds before maturity at not more than the par value thereof, together with accrued interest thereon. The method of disbursing the said waterway sinking fund shall be the same as is hereinbefore provided for the disbursement of the proceeds of the said bonds: *Provided,* The use of said canal or waterway and locks shall be free for transportation of any property of the United States or persons in their service passing through the same.

SEC. 18. When the said waterway shall have been completed in conformity with the provisions of this act, and paid for with the proceeds of bonds authorized to be sold under the provisions of section 12 hereof, and said bonds shall have been paid either out of the earnings of said waterway or by the State, or both, then the said channel, or so much thereof as shall have been completed, shall be tendered to the Government of the United States for navigation uses, conditioned upon the obligation or agreement of said Government to maintain the channel as a waterway free from tolls for navigation and to operate and maintain the locks free of cost to the State of Illinois. For all uses other than navigation the channel and its appurtenances shall be, and forever remain, the property of the State of Illinois.

SEC. 19. This act shall not be construed to interfere with the prerogatives and duties of the rivers and lakes commission otherwise than as herein provided.

SEC. 20. This act shall in no wise and in no manner disturb or oust the Illinois & Michigan Canal as a legal entity and existing institution, until such time as the said Illinois waterway shall be completed, pursuant to the terms of this act, and neither shall this act, nor the operation thereunder, interfere with the operation and conduct of the said Illinois & Michigan Canal as at present carried on and conducted, save only and except so much as may be necessary in the construction proposed under this act, and then only when absolutely necessary, until the said Illinois waterway shall be completed, as provided by this act. And, pursuant to the above, the present commissioners of the Illinois & Michigan Canal, and other officers and appointees thereof, or their successors in office, shall continue in office as said commissioners of said Illinois & Michigan Canal, clothed with the same power and authority as at present vested in them until said Illinois waterway shall be completed, as provided herein.

SEC. 21. All acts and parts of acts in so far as they are in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 22. If any section, subdivision, sentence, or clause of this act is for any reason held invalid or to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining parts of this act.

Approved June 18, 1915.

Mr. SHERMAN. Following the passage of this act application was made to the War Department for a permit for the construction of this improvement. Originally many of those who supported the improvement believed in a deep waterway. That is the language used. Just what a "deep waterway" is is a matter of opinion. From the report made by an Army engineer who considered that question a 14-foot channel in depth became fixed in the minds of a good many people. Lyman E. Cooley, a civil engineer who somewhat specialized on waterways, perhaps was responsible for the 14-foot channel. I think he is one of the original engineers, probably the first, who presented in blue prints a practicable scheme for the construction of the Panama Canal. At any rate the public—a part of it—and certain distinguished gentlemen in public office regarded a deep waterway and a 14-foot depth to be maintained in the channel as synonymous; that one could not exist without the other; and that that is what it meant; and that anything else was a departure from the purposes of the constitutional amendment and the authorized expenditure of the money, and hence arose a difference of opinion that exists to this time.

After the adoption of this amendment various general assemblies met—one following it in 1909, another in 1911, another in 1913. In none of them was anything done. Differences of opinion developed—both the one that I have referred to and two others. One of the principal differences grew out of a by-product of the general scheme. Originally it was intended to be a waterway improvement, using the sanitary district channel as a part of the improvement. But the water power had become a material question, and so when these general assemblies came along differences of opinion among the promoters of the scheme developed. In the minds of some it became much more important to develop water power and use it for various purposes than to improve the waterways, and so the incident in the controversy at times assumed the proportions of the principal.

Possibly political differences may have arisen. It is barely possible at times that contractors had something to do with it. I do not like to be overly suspicious, but I have learned to be somewhat incredulous, when $20,000,000 in contracts are in sight, about the disinterestedness of the views that may be held by some who are concerned in the contracts thereafter to be let. At any rate, the controversy grew apace, and nothing was done between 1909 and 1915. A part of this controversy grew out of the practicability or use of a 14-foot channel.

A good many people in the Mississippi Valley country, not only in my own State but in several of the adjoining States, became obsessed, as I look at it, with the idea that if a 14-foot channel were dug, and a sufficient amount of water could be turned in from Lake Michigan, with the quantity derived from tributary streams, it would make a deep-water channel sufficient to bring up the lower Mississippi River steamers or Gulf steamships from below and to bring down the Lake steamers from above. I never regarded such a thing as any more than a dream, to be promoted solely for the expenditure of the whole $20,000,000. The inherent difference between the construction of a Lake boat and a Mississippi River boat presented an insuperable objection. It was idle to think for a moment that a waterway of that kind could ever be excavated or maintained if the water should be obtained from the Lake and tributary streams to a depth of 14 feet that would permit an ocean-going boat from the Gulf to navigate the artificial channel, although some people even argued that Gulf boats could come up the Mississippi River, under the improvement suggested by this $20,000,000 appropriation and with appropriations to be furnished by the Government, so that navigation from tidewater to the Great Lakes would be complete.

Some people had pleasing aquatic visions every once in a while, about some of the Mexican Gulf steamers—that steamships would come up under an improvement of that kind; that they would be something like the Ward or Mallory line steamships, navigating the river with the artificial channel as easily as a flat-bottomed Mississippi steamboat. I have heard it argued; I have heard it in speeches; I can find printed documents of that kind.

I do not know, Mr. President, that there is anything more startling in that pleasing vision than a large part of the items in this river and harbor bill. They are very similar. I do not question the motives, but I do have some doubts about the soundness of the judgment, of the interests of the individuals backing the respective schemes of inland waterway improvement. Nothing seems to start an otherwise sensible person to "seeing things" like visions about waterways.

At any rate, these differences continued, and prevented any enabling act being passed pursuant to the constitutional powers duly given by this amendment, until 1915. Meanwhile, several gentlemen collected data. River engineers interested themselves. Some navigation interests began to find out, on a practicable basis, what could be done and what could not be done. They began to figure on how money could be expended, what kind of a water-carrier system could be built up, and it was found after a while that the average depth of water maintained by the Government between St. Louis and Cairo was about a maximum of 8 feet. Down at a certain point, Chain of Rocks, unless there was a considerable sum of money spent, and much blasting done, and many other improvements made in the Mississippi River between St. Louis and Cairo, where the mouth of the Ohio River is, there would be no more than an 8-foot depth maintained in the Mississippi. This gave the 14-foot advocates some valuable food for thought. Of course those who were entirely and irrevocably and enthusiastically committed to the 14-foot channel saw no difficulties, and they waved it away with an airy statement that the Government would soon make a 14-foot channel in the Mississippi.

Well, if they do not move faster in that particular than they move in some other things, there is no one in this generation that will ever be drawing dividends from any water carrier over a 14-foot channel. For instance, Mr. President, if the Government does not move faster than it does in opening the Plaza out here, which is almost under the senatorial nose, how many years would it take, proportionately, to complete this scheme for a 14-foot depth from St. Louis to Cairo, much less from St. Louis to Minneapolis?

I came here over three years ago—the first time my startled vision observed this Senate Chamber, except from the galleries—and contemporaneously with my arrival the Plaza was a "chestnut" on our desks. Litigation had followed. Condemnation proceedings, under the right of eminent domain conferred by an act of Congress, had been had in due form. Divers verdicts had been returned. Objections had been filed. The Baltimore & Ohio Railway Co., it was said, had received an exorbitant sum. The company promptly denied it, and so the matter stands, and the per diems of employees go on. My attention was called to it among the first things I noticed. I suppose, like all other novices, we begin having our experience on the District of Columbia Committee; and a Senator realizes, after a few meetings have been held, that he is only a Government alderman, a "city dad," so to speak, listening to complaints, as all of us do, about the height of the curbing and the level and the overflow of somebody's cellar and the shutting off of light and the addition of a street lamp or two at some corner where it will be more convenient for the public that pass that way. So one of the principal things that served to distract myself and my colleagues serving on that committee was the Plaza. Some money had been appropriated; but, a good deal like some things of larger moment, a change of administration had occurred; and it seemed to me that the Plaza, and the small owners of property in the condemned area, got caught in the whirl, a good deal as Huerta did in Mexico. The change of administration was a grievous burden to be borne by both. Some of the Plaza property owners are bankrupt, but they are not dead. Huerta is dead, but the Plaza is still undone.

If I were to draw a picture of Father Time it would not be the common one with a flying beard like Abraham of old, not

with a scythe curving over his spine, not with an hourglass with the sands of time swiftly falling. I would change it. If I were a cartoonist like Clifford K. Berryman or John T. McCutcheon, I would draw a picture of the Plaza in Washington as being something that is not only aged but will go on, like Tennyson's brook, forever. I do not expect to live long enough to see it wound up. It is a Government undertaking. So these visionary enthusiasts who expect to see a 14-foot channel in the Mississippi River are doomed to disappointment. It may be that it will be seen 100 years from now, if the money holds out. I do not know whether the money will hold out or not, unless some new sources of taxation are discovered; and by the time that is done possibly the scheme will be abandoned because some more improved methods of transportation will be discovered. Navigation of the air may be complete in that time. I remember years ago, Mr. President, of hearing a traveling showman of some kind, who was somewhat given to reciting elocutionary selections, recite "Darius Green and His Flying Machine," and very likely many of my colleagues of my generation can remember that that was regarded by many as a standing jest. If anything was supposed to be Utopian, things hoped for but never to be realized, it has been flying machines. They are flying a good deal nowadays, especially in Europe. They are not a jest there; they are an ever-existing menace.

We are beginning in earnest here to try to find out how we will develop that branch of our public defense. By the time we get to the improvement of the Mississippi River so that it will be possible to bring a Mexican Gulf steamship up and land it in Chicago with a 14 or 30 foot channel, that will be so far in the future that these improvements in aerial navigation will have come and transportation by rail and by water will be as much out of date as transportation with an ox team would be if it were attempted to-day.

But this was all done and the disputes had continued for some time. In 1915, because of learning at last that the 8-foot channel in the Mississippi River was an insuperable obstacle in the average stage of water to navigate with anything that drew more than 8 feet, people began to come to mother earth on such improvements, and so they drew the conclusion very sagely that it was useless to make more than an 8-foot channel any place in the Illinois River or in the connecting links between the headwater of the Illinois and the sanitary district.

It was at this stage of the proceedings, Mr. President, that a lucid interval occurred in Illinois in waterway legislative affairs, and the general assembly planted its feet on some specific, sane sort of a measure. That is what led to the enactment of the measure I have referred to and inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It provides for a channel of a given width and with other requirements, according to the estimates of the engineers, and a depth of 8 feet to correspond with the maximum average depth, except in flood water of the Mississippi River, between the mouth of the Illinois River and Cairo.

From St. Louis, Mo., to Cairo, Ill., is a link in the Mississippi River improvement that is always treated separately in appropriation bills. That has held true for a good many years. So in keeping with the depth that has been maintained there at an average stage of water during these years this improvement for an 8-foot depth was given by this act of the general assembly.

An application was made to the War Department and was referred to the engineers. The Board of Engineers, in all fairness to it, I ought to state, heard the application, referred the legal questions involved to their counsel, who prepared a report, and on that they combined their engineering knowledge, coupled with that opinion from their legal authority, and arrived at a conclusion. That conclusion was favorable to the application of the State for a permit to make this improvement.

The Chief Engineer, under the provision of the law governing that subject, had a final opinion to render on the subject. At about this time the governor of the State came, and in an interview with the Secretary of War he sought—and that was before the decision was known—to present some of the general questions outside of the ones passed on by the engineers to the Secretary. The whole subject is covered in the following communication from Gov. Dunne, of Illinois:

I received by mail yesterday a communication from the Secretary of War ad interim Gen. H. S. Scott, inclosing "memorandum" signed by Gen. Kingman, Chief of Engineers. I am amazed to learn the conclusions arrived at by the Chief of Engineers. When, as governor of the State of Illinois, I appeared before Secretary of War Garrison on October 26, 1915, I was aware that certain legal questions and questions of public policy had been raised in the department against the granting of the permit, applied for in July, 1915, and I was prepared with counsel and briefs to argue these questions of law and public policy, to wit: First, the question of the right of the State to develop water-power rights incidental to the building of the waterway; second, the question of the right of the State to impose reasonable tolls upon vessels passing through the waterway.

I stated to Secretary of War Garrison and Chief of Engineers Kingman that we were prepared to argue these questions of law and policy, whereupon I was informed by Mr. Garrison that these matters had been referred to the Judge Advocate General and had been disposed of by him favorably to the State of Illinois, and it would be unnecessary for myself or counsel of the waterway to enter into a discussion of these subjects. Since that time I have been favored with a copy of the opinion of the Judge Advocate General, B. H. Crowder, from which I quote as follows:

"Proceeding now to the legal questions and discussing, first, the objection that the granting of this application would confer upon the State the right to construct power dams, appropriate public navigable waters of the United States to its own use, and charge tolls through the improved portion of the river. I can not see that the departmental approval of the plans, together with its permission to the State to affect the navigable capacity of the waterway as here requested, is of the nature of a grant at all, but rather is only the necessary Federal assent whereby a State may exercise a jurisdiction which is its own. The State already has the sovereign authority to do all that is here contemplated subject to the legislation enacted by Congress under its paramount power. It is not a question of the department granting to the State something which it could not otherwise have, but permitting the State to use what it already has, subject to any existing Federal legislation."

"The United States is not the owner of the bed or banks of a navigable waterway of the United States, nor of the water therein (which, indeed, except in a limited sense, is not the subject of ownership at all), but such property and jurisdiction are in general in the State or in the individual riparian owner according to local law." * * *

"Upon similar principles and it is so settled, the State of Illinois, in the absence of Federal legislation to the contrary, has the right to charge tolls for the use of improvements made by it to the navigable capacity of its rivers. So it was decided, in Huse *v.* Glover (119 U. S., 543). The principle is well established. Sands *v.* Minnesota River Improvement Co. (125 U. S., 288); Monongahela N. Co. *v.* United States (148 U. S., 312, 329); Minnesota Rate Cases supra; Kellogg *v.* Union Co (12 Conn., 6); Bank *v.* Lovell, (18 Conn., 500)."

After Secretary of War Garrison had made the announcement that it was unnecessary for us to take up any time in discussing these questions he dictated a memorandum referring the application for the approval of the plans and permit to the Engineering Department for examination and consideration, upon public hearing at Chicago by the local engineer, and in Washington by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, and then to be sent to the Chief of Engineers and him for final hearing. Both myself and counsel thereupon rested confident in the assumption that the engineering department was to pass only upon the engineering features of the project. Indeed, during the public hearing at Washington it was announced by the Board of Engineers, through its chairman, Col. Black, as follows: "There are a number of legal questions involved in the matter with which the board has nothing to do, and inasmuch as the time of the board is valuable and your time is valuable as well we request you to confine yourselves this morning to any arguments you have to submit to the engineering and navigation features, which are the parts to be considered by this board."

I was there at that hearing and within the very limited time, bounded by a limited knowledge of the subject, I helped in the presentation of the matter to the Board of Engineers. Continuing from this statement of Gov. Dunne:

Moreover, as I understand it, the power and authority of the Chief of Engineers and of the Board of Engineers of the War Department is confined by the Federal statutes to passing engineering plans, which is what the local engineer, the division engineer, and the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors actually did. Judge of our amazement then to find that on January 15, without any notice to us and without any opportunity to be heard and contrary to the instructions of former Secretary of War Garrison, who had agreed to give us a hearing before finally determining the matter, the whole subject is summarily disposed of by the Chief of Engineers on two questions, neither of which are engineering problems, and both of which had been passed upon favorably to the State of Illinois by the Judge Advocate General in his written report to Secretary of War Garrison.

The Judge Advocate General correctly decided, in accordance with the law, that the United States had no control over the water-power rights incidentally developed by the building of the waterway, and that such rights were the property of the State of Illinois, and correctly decided that the State had the right to impose reasonable tolls for the use of the improved waterway until paid for. Moreover, the policy of the Federal Government, in so far as the canal connecting the Chicago River and the Illinois River is concerned, has been to permit the collection of tolls. The Illinois and Michigan Canal constructed by the State of Illinois pursuant to authority, given by the Federal Government was permitted to charge these tolls in the State of Illinois for three-quarters of a century, and is now doing so without any objection from the War Department of the United States. The Chief of Engineers in his "memorandum" handed to the Secretary of War ad interim admits that the proposed Illinois waterway "is an engineering possibility," but, in my judgment, has acted beyond the scope of his authority and jurisdiction in discussing questions of law and public policy, and I believe that if the Secretary of War ad interim had been as fully cognizant of the whole situation as was Secretary of War Garrison that we would have been given an opportunity to present our case to him before any final action was taken, and that after such final hearing we would have been granted a permit.

It is the intention of the State of Illinois, through its governor and its waterway commission, to apply for a rehearing on this matter, and I confidently believe that upon a full presentation of law and facts that a permit will be granted.

E. F. DUNNE.

FEBRUARY 29, 1916.

I wish now to read from a memorandum prepared by the Chief Engineer for the Secretary of War. It is dated January 15, 1916, headed "Memorandum for the Secretary of War in the matter of the construction of Illinois waterway." This is

signed by Dan C. Kingman, Chief of Engineers, United States Army:

[Memorandum for the Secretary of War in re for construction of Illinois waterway.]

JANUARY 15, 1916.

This waterway is a route, partly natural and partly artificial, from the navigable portion of the Chicago Drainage Canal to the improved portion of the Illinois River, which thus forms a link between the waterways of the Great Lakes and the waterways of the Mississippi River systems. This is proposed to be developed to a ruling depth of 8 feet. Improvement is to be effected by locks and dams and by channel excavation where necessary. In connection with the dams a large water power is to be developed, possibly as great as 80,000 horsepower.

The State of Illinois proposes to execute these works of improvement and to retain for itself in perpetuity all rights to the water power developed and to collect in the form of tolls from these utilities—that is to say, from navigation and water power—a sum sufficient to pay the interest on all the bonds which it may be necessary to issue for the improvement, to provide a sinking fund to pay the bonds themselves in 20 years, and provide all money necessary for operating and caring for these works.

I pause here for the purpose, Mr. President, of reminding the Chief of Engineers that he is in error in a necessary question of fact. He says that it is proposed—

To collect in the form of tolls from these utilities—that is to say, from navigation and water power—a sum sufficient to pay the interest on all the bonds which it may be necessary to issue for the improvement, to provide a sinking fund to pay the bonds themselves in 20 years, and provide all money necessary for operating and caring for these works.

It must be that the Chief of Engineers, although very learned in other things, did not sufficiently inform himself before he prepared this opinion. On military matters or matters of river or lake engineering I have no doubt this gentleman is possessed of superior and technical information. I do not know what the reason is—it may be lack of time; it may be an inadvertent opinion—but I can see no well-grounded excuse for an error of this gravity. It has to a considerable degree impaired my confidence in the Chief Engineer. The Board of River Engineers are practical men who have detailed knowledge of the problems they are called on to solve. Usually or in a matter of consequence they carefully survey the ground in person, they collect all of the available data, they get both the low stage during the driest period known in the history of a waterway as well as the flood period. They avail themselves of currents of shifting channels, of erosion, accretion, formation, and a thousand things that are found in the course of the inland waterway, so that they are informed sufficiently before they undertake to give an opinion or to enter upon an improvement involving the expenditure of any considerable sum of money. But here is the Chief Engineer under his signature saying that a State proposes to collect from tolls and water power enough to pay the entire indebtedness incurred to raise money to make the improvement.

I do not think this engineer ever read section 18 of the act. If he did read it, Mr. President, it made no impression upon his understanding, or his understanding was such that all of the impressions made this side of the New Jerusalem would have availed nothing. That is the reason why I am putting it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and placing it before Senators, who habitually analyze and take the full measure of statutes and sections and principles and inform themselves of facts before they decide. Section 18 says:

When the said waterway shall have been completed in conformity with the provisions of this act, and paid for with the proceeds of bonds authorized to be sold under the provisions of section 12 hereof, and said bonds shall have been paid—

Now, observe the language—

either out of the earnings of said waterway or by the State, or both, then the said channel, or so much thereof as shall have been completed, shall be tendered to the Government of the United States for navigation uses.

Now, I wish to read section 12, or so much of it as is applicable to this particular principle. It provides for the issue of an amount not exceeding $5,000,000 in bonds. The commission shall be charged with the duty of selling said bonds or any part thereof to the highest bidder after advertising, and so forth; and it provides for the denomination of the bonds, when they shall be dated, the rate of interest they shall draw, and then continues with the following provision:

All bonds issued shall be made payable in 20 years from the date of their issue, and, in the discretion of the said commission, may be made redeemable in 10 years from the date of their issue.

That is what this provision means when applied to section 18. In 10 or 20 years at the utmost these bonds will be paid. If there is anything derived from the water power developed, which by any mishap should reach the State treasury or any toll should be collected for lockage or for the use of this channel, it would be used as far as it would apply.

There is a provision in all the creation of indebtedness in that State, both for municipalities and for the State itself, which has been in force since 1870. Every bond issue or indebtedness of any character at the time of its creation shall by the same act that creates it and authorizes the issue of the security provide for a levy of a direct annual tax that shall pay both principal and interest of the entire indebtedness within a time not exceeding 20 years.

It is in pursuance of that requirement that section 12 of the act of June 18, 1915, is drawn. So in 10 years, if the State sees fit, or not exceeding 20 years at the outside, the money of taxpayers or whatever income the State may have will be used to satisfy this indebtedness.

But as the language of the act is, if from one or both sources the indebtedness shall be paid, the waterways when completed shall be tendered to the General Government. It becomes theirs absolutely for all navigation purposes; and I do not understand that the Government has any business with an inland waterway within the borders of a State for any other use whatever. It is only by virtue of the interstate-commerce act or the power, rather, contained in the Federal Constitution.

So this portion of the Chief Engineer's opinion is an error. This improvement, practically the whole of the $5,000,000, a part of the $20,000,000, will be paid for by direct taxes upon the assessed value of property in that State.

Continuing the opinion of the Chief of Engineers:

After the State is completely reimbursed for its expenditures it proposes to offer the navigation facilities to the United States as a gift, subject to the condition that the United States shall operate and care for them ever afterwards without any tax or tolls whatever.

That this is a good business proposition for the State of Illinois, I think there is no doubt. That it is an engineering possibility, I think there is also no doubt. But I do not think that it is the best engineering solution of the problem that sufficient study could devise, although I think it would be admissible if anyone chose to adopt it, were it not for certain conditions which render its enforcement uncertain and its results unfair and inequitable.

It would be a very simple matter, if this waterway in question were a stream lying wholly in the State of Illinois, its source and its mouth being both in that State, and the public rights on the river being no greater for the citizens of that State than those of any other. But this is very far from being the case.

I do not know what he means. I apprehend anybody who knew the physical condition of the land and water in that part of the country would be unable to tell what the Chief Engineer means by that. The mouth of this river is wholly inside the borders of that State. The headwaters of that river are wholly inside the borders of that State. It is formed by the junction of the Kankakee and the Desplaines Rivers. These rivers constitute the southwestern slope of the watershed that lies between the Mississippi Valley and Lake Michigan. On the southeasterly slope of that watershed all the waters run into the lake, and so reach the ocean through the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence River, and connecting waterways that unite the various lakes in the system. All the parts of the river he refers to are within the borders of the State. What he means by saying if it were entirely within the State it would be a matter easily disposed of I am unable to say. To give a very liberal construction, however, to his opinion I connect it with the following portion of the same paragraph. He continues:

There now exists a waterway, partly natural and partly artificial or artificially improved, from the city of New York, at the mouth of the Hudson River, via this river and the canals built by the State of New York; thence via the Great Lakes to Chicago, passing through the connecting waters and harbors improved at the cost of the United States; thence to Lockport over waters improved by the State of Illinois; thence partly by canal and partly by improved waterway to be built by the State of Illinois to the improved portion of the Illinois River below, and finally by the Illinois River (improved in part by the United States) to the Mississippi; and thence to the sea by the navigable waters which connect with this river and form this system.

I referred a bit ago, in reading his opinion here, to the fact that this river lies wholly within the limits of a single State. Both its headwaters and its mouth, together with every tributary stream that flows into it, are in the State of Illinois. None of the waters that come from Wisconsin, none of the rivers that are navigable, in fact, connect with the Illinois River. The Rock River runs down by another course and over a territory not connected with this controversy.

The riparian rights of every inland waterway are determined by the local laws and provisions of the respective States. We referred to that in the consideration of the water-power bill. It was discussed here at considerable length. Until I came to this body three years ago I do not think that for the last 16 years I have been out of some kind of waterway litigation connected with either the Illinois River or the Mississippi River.

In connection with this opinion of the Chief of Engineers, I wish particularly to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the undisputed condition of titles within the borders of that State

affecting riparian owners, whether they be public or private in character. All riparian owners on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River own to the center of the navigable channel of the river. The freehold found in the river bed is owned by a farmer, for instance, on the banks of the Mississippi River until it reaches the center of the channel used by the pilots in navigating the river. At times its channel changes. Considerable litigation has arisen because of the changes in the channel. Such changes are occasioned sometimes by some elemental convulsion in the navigable channel; once by an earthquake, many times by great freshets, by the flood waters that come from above; and at times by the erosion of the banks and the breaking through of the river which cuts off old land and old channels and forms new ones.

As to the whole of Kaskaskia Township, in Randolph County, Ill., may be a little questionable whether it may not be in the State of Missouri, if the strict common-law rule had been applied. The old channel of the Mississippi River on the west side of the township suddenly changed by the river breaking over during high water and bodily appropriating the channel of the Kaskaskia River, that ran parallel with it for nearly 6 miles, the whole length of the township. It broke into it and took the channel, so that now the old channel of the Mississippi River opposite Kaskaskia Township, between Illinois and the Missouri, part of the stream, is almost dry and the former bed of the river is covered with water lillies and swamp grass. The old channel has therefore ceased to exist as a boundary line, and the new one is moved over on the east side of the township. That litigation—for it will result in that at some time; it will come in due season—will settle the question, and I need not go into those details.

The riparian owner holds to the center of the Mississippi River. That is a part of his freehold. I have a right, as the owner on the Illinois side of the bank, to enjoin anyone from cutting ice that arrests the particles of water and imprisons them, and so makes them a part of my freehold. I can stop anyone from cutting grass; I can stop him from hunting and fishing, because the Mississippi River bed annexed to my freehold, covered though it is by water, subject to the right of navigation only—a perpetual easement for the public, subject to that right only—the bed of the Mississippi River is as much my land as is the place where my homestead is. That is the law in that State.

On the other side, the Iowa shore, for instance, between high water and the center of the navigable channel, is a belt of land owned by the State of Iowa. That is the precise question that affected the water-power bill here. If I had any interest in the State of Iowa, if I were its law officer or its governor, the first time that a corporation created under the laws of the State of Iowa, or of any other State, or under the laws of Congress, should undertake to condemn the riparian ownership of the State of Iowa in the Mississippi River in this belt of land, extending from high-water mark to the center of the channel, I would apply on behalf of the State and see whether this Government, by the exercise of such legislative power, could take away from a State without its consent that belt of land.

I do not think the property of a sovereign State is subject to the law of eminent domain. How can one sovereign in our form of government undertake to condemn the property of another sovereign inside of its local rights and within its own undoubted reserve powers in the interior of the State?

The owner on the Illinois River, for instance, owns to the center of the navigable channel of that river. If he owns on both sides, he owns the entire bed of the Illinois River, and it is appurtenant to and a part of his freehold, and it passes by conveyance in the ordinary way.

It has been decided not only by repeated adjudications in that State by the court of last resort, but it has been recognized by at least three well-considered and lengthy opinions in the Federal Supreme Court that that is a matter first to be decided by the supreme court of the State concerned, and that the United States Supreme Court will not interfere to set aside the adjudication of a sovereign State on the local rights within its own borders. So as to the part of the Chief Engineer's opinion, in which he says that if it were a matter that lay wholly within the borders of a State it would present a very simple question; if that is what he means, the question is much simpler than he thinks, because it is wholly within the power of the State, and the General Government has nothing to do with it, except to see in the one instance that the rights of navigation are not interfered with. The power to do that arises from the commerce clause of the Constitution.

While on this portion of the argument I had as well notice what he says about the charges that might be imposed on this 65-mile piece that furnishes the connecting link between New York City and the inland waterway transportation by way of the Hudson River, the Erie Canal, the Great Lakes, and the Sanitary District Channel of Chicago—this 65-mile improvement of the Illinois River, of the Mississippi, and so to the Gulf. The Engineer continues, in this part of his opinion, and I will read this much before I comment further:

> The rights and interests, therefore, of a great many people are affected by this short piece of canalization, about 62 miles in length—

It is 65 miles, as a matter of fact—

> as this is the link between what might be called the Mississippi Valley waterways and the Great Lakes and Hudson waterways.
>
> The State of New York has already expended more than a hundred millions in the last enlargement of the Erie Canal. The United States has spent enormous sums in the Hudson River improvements, the Great Lakes improvements, the Illinois River improvements, and the Mississippi River system of improvements.

The engineer is in some error about the great sums that have been expended on the improvement of the Illinois River. No very large sums, as we measure them nowadays at least, have ever been poured into that devoted river if they all be looked up. There has been much more expended by the State itself, collected from the taxpayers of that section, than in any other way. He continues:

> The value and importance of a short waterway connecting very extensive ones can not be measured by its length alone. There existed an admirable waterway from the city of New York to the port of Colon, thence from Panama to Yokohama or any other eastern port, and there was a short gap, less in length than this Illinois waterway, where there was naturally no navigation. It was considered worth while to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to open up this route, and the control of the Panama route was the virtual control of the entire distance. If one were to consider the tolls which it should carry, it would not be based upon a proportionate mileage between the two termini, but would be based upon what the whole traffic would bear. Something of this kind would occur in the case of through business on the Illinois waterway improvement, which is the link connecting these two long water routes.
>
> Freight can be carried by water under favorable conditions for one-tenth of a cent per ton-mile, or for 6.2 cents for the entire length of the route, but I think it evident that a very much higher rate than this would be charged by the power that controlled this waterway.

I want, first, to say that the Illinois and Michigan Canal, as already intimated in some former documents from which I read, has for 75 years been charging tolls. When it did business at all it collected tolls—of late years, like most canals, it has fallen into decay and shippers have quit using it—and at one time it collected over a million dollars in tolls per annum. It reached about the high-water mark in 1882. Since that time it has declined, until practically there is nothing there worth considering at the present time; but it charged tolls, and no complaint was ever made; no terms were imposed when the sanitary district channel was excavated. Nearly $80,000,000 have been paid by the property owners resident in the sanitary district; $100,000,000 will be expended finally. It began about 1889. In that improvement no terms were exacted; no limitations were imposed by the War Department at the time when the permit was given for this improvement. The authorities of the sanitary district, the trustees, came here some years ago upon the opening of the channel; they needed more water. They sought and received the necessary permit from the War Department to divert the waters of Lake Michigan. Some data were presented, and the water is still drawn from Lake Michigan to flood the channel.

I remember the testimony of both expert and nonexpert witnesses as to how much the permanent level of the Illinois River had been raised when the water from Lake Michigan was turned into the headwaters of the Illinois. About 5 feet and an inch was the permanent raising of the level of the river. That was purely an artificial change made by this improvement. It drew a considerable volume of water from Lake Michigan, but still no terms were exacted by the Government when that permit was given. There was no provision made that the sanitary district trustees should not utilize the water power. As a matter of fact, the gravity fall of the dam where it begins its first great drop on the way down the valley has been utilized, and the hydroelectric power generated there has been wired off, and is in use now, both for lighting and for power purposes, up and down the valley and in the city of Chicago; but no terms were exacted at that time of any kind, although they really asked for something on which the Government possibly might have exacted terms. It might absolutely have refused the right to take water from Lake Michigan by way of the Chicago River and turn it into this artificial canal, but it did not do so.

There are two locks built wholly by the State, one at Henry and one at Copperas Creek. Both of these locks charge tolls for boats going through. They have charged tolls for many years. Those locks were put in under permits from the War Department. The only thing the War Department was vigilant about was that navigation should not be impeded, and that no

obstruction should be placed in the river by the contemplated improvements. So the tolls are only such as are reasonably necessary to maintain and operate the locks.

Under the act which I have read into the RECORD, or asked to have inserted, there is a provision that the commission having charge of this improvement may fix the tolls for freight and passengers. Under that power I have here a certified copy of the tolls which have been fixed, and I read this provision:

That the toll charges for freight and passenger boats, launches, scows, barges, and other crafts navigating the Illinois waterway between Lorkport, Ill., and La Salle, Ill., or any part thereof, will be at the rate of one-tenth of 1 mill per ton-mile—

As I figure that out, it is one-tenth of what the Chief Engineer said it would be—

to be estimated upon the displacement of such craft, and in addition thereto the sum of 25 cents for each lock in said waterway through which such boat, launch, scow, barge, or other craft passes.

So the fears of an excessive charge are groundless.

In this connection I should like to add another reason why there is nothing to be feared. If in this same bill which we are considering no point of order is made, an amendment can be added giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to fix rates on the entire water haul. It has the power now to fix rates on a part rail and part water haul. There is no reason why in this bill or in a separate bill the Interstate Commerce Commission should not be given power to fix the rates over the 65 miles or the whole of the waterway in question at what they think is reasonable. In an indirect way the Interstate Commerce Commission has power to do so now. They have power to fix the rates where the transportation is part rail and part water, and in the distribution of the part that would be charged to the 65 miles they can arrange for such a reasonable part to be charged to the 65-mile link as they think proper. That would prevent any abuses whatever.

The Chief of Engineers continues:

All of the rivers and waterways of the United States that have been improved by the General Government have been made absolutely free of tolls, and the same has been done by the State of New York with its magnificent system of canals. Articles of commerce originating along the Illinois waterway, when they leave it, can pass without tolls through all the improved sections of water, including the canals of New York, until it reaches the sea. And everything that originates from the sea to Chicago will pass without charge until it reaches this llittle section and then will be compelled to deliver to the toll gatherer its percentage of tax. It is true that tolls are now charged by the State of Illinois on the upper portion of the Illinois River which is at present maintained by said State, but on no other part of the entire route is any toll charged. I do not think it good engineering to tax in this peculiar and very exceptional way one little section of a long inland route I do not think that, owning to this very peculiar and exceptional condition, any executive branch of the Government should undertake to permit this unusual thing to be done without special instruction from Congress.

That is what I am seeking to have given.

There are several dams capable of developing a large amount of water power in the aggregate. The whole question of dams on navigable waterways, however slight the navigability may be, is now up for consideration by Congress. I do not think it wise or prudent for any executive department at this time to snatch this question out from under the control of Congress and to attempt in one particular case to settle it in advance of the pending action.

With the exception of the State of New York, none of the States, I think, have successfully maintained and developed their canals. The Government has given up a good deal of public land at one time or another with a view to securing improvement in navigation. It has generally turned out a failure and the amount contributed by the Government has been lost. To prevent the failure of this improvement in the course of its accomplishment and after the interstate commerce affected has been taxed for the construction of the works of improvement, very definite and very binding laws should be had to govern the matter. No executive department can make laws at all, and any attempt to regulate or govern such a matter where a State was a party against an executive officer would result in failure.

In order that any engineering project should be a success, a means of paying for it and maintaining it must be assured, and where two things are being developed at the same time—in this case navigation and water power—and each one is contributing toward the cost, it must be determined and carried out what portion each of these interests should pay. It ought to be determined just what proportion navigation should pay, and there ought to be some means of enforcing this proper proportion. It should also be decided whether power houses, transmission lines, and similar things pertaining to the production and transmission of hydroelectric power should be charged to the cost of construction and assessed upon navigation or not.

There are other similar things that further study and thought would doubtless reveal, but it is submitted that enough has been said to indicate that every principle of sound engineering requires that the decision of what shall be done and how to do it should rest with the primary source of power—that is, with Congress.

DAN C. KINGMAN,
*Chief of Engineers, United States Army.*

That is the whole of the opinion. It expressly says that it ought to be submitted to Congress, and that is the reason why the amendment I offered in committee was prepared and offered. So, upon the whole, he undertook to decide two questions, neither of which was submitted to him. One, the question of public policy, the other as to the right of the State to charge or collect tolls for this improvement.

I wish to state that an application for a rehearing is pending before the department. I have a copy of that application, which I shall not read except as I refer to it in the comments I may make hereafter. The petition is signed by Gov. Dunne of Illinois and by the counsel representing the waterway commission, Mr. Mathias. I ask that the petition be inserted in the RECORD as part of my remarks without reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The petition referred to is as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *March 31, 1916.*

To the honorable SECRETARY OF WAR and
The honorable CHIEF OF ENGINEERS,
*Washington, D. C.*

SIRS: On behalf of the State of Illinois we have the honor to request that a rehearing be granted of the application of the State of Illinois made by its governor, Hon. Edward F. Dunne, dated June 16, 1915, for the approval of the plans for the improvement of certain portions of the Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers and the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

Under the provisions of sections 9 and 10 of the act of March 3, 1899, it is required that the plans be approved by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers.

The approval of the plans was refused by the former Chief of Engineers, Gen. Kingman, on considerations which seemed to him to involve important questions of public policy without having given to the sovereign State of Illinois an opportunity to be heard upon these questions. It is most respectfully urged that when two sovereign powers (the Federal Government and the State government) have coordinate jurisdiction and duties respecting any function of government, the genius of our institutions requires, for the sake of harmonious cooperation, that full consideration be given and an opportunity to be heard be granted concerning every doubt or question which arises to affect the relative rights of the two sovereign powers. This was not done by the former Chief of Engineers, Gen. Kingman, and we believe that had an opportunity been afforded the State of Illinois to present its views upon the questions of public policy which seemed to have controlled his decision, Gen. Kingman, as Chief of Engineers, would have approved said plans.

The State of Illinois therefore respectfully petitions that it be granted an opportunity to be heard upon the following questions of public policy:

1. The purpose of the act of March 3, 1899, was "simply to create an additional and cumulative remedy to prevent such structures (dams, etc.), although lawfully authorized, from interfering with commerce." (Lake Shore & Michigan Ry. Co. v. Ohio, 195 U. S., 365.)

The fact, if it is a fact, that Congress has at some time or other ordered a report by the engineering department upon the Illinois waterway, which has resulted in no congressional action, and the fact that Congress is considering, with a great contrariety of opinion, several bills for the amendment of the general dam act, neither one nor the other nor both are any justification for the War Department failing to consider the said plans upon the merits in relation to navigation interests nor any excuse for refusing to execute the laws of the land.

2. The public policy of the Nation which in most cases is doubtful and difficult to ascertain is best exemplified by the laws rather than by agitation to amend the laws.

3. The jurisdiction of the Federal Government over navigable waters of the United States is limited by the Constitution to regulations respecting interstate and foreign commerce.

4. The State of Illinois has full power to legislate concerning the improvement of navigation of the Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers, so far as intrastate commerce is concerned, and also subject to such Federal regulations as exist, so far as interstate commerce is concerned.

5. Any law of Illinois affecting interstate commerce on navigable waters in Illinois is binding so long as Congress has not legislated thereon. Yet the Federal Government by appropriate legislation may supersede and render ineffective such Illinois law, so far as interstate commerce is concerned.

6. The Federal Government has the power to regulate toll charges on navigable waters of the United States and to prevent excessive or unreasonable toll charges thereon.

7. The State of Illinois has no power or right to discriminate as to toll charges on interstate and intrastate commerce.

8. The Interstate Commerce Commission in regulating toll charges on interstate commerce on improved waterways of the United States may take into consideration in the determination of reasonable toll charges the revenue derived from hydroelectric power created as incidental to the improvement of the waterway for purposes of navigation.

9. It is not just that the people of the State of Illinois should expend $5,000,000 to improve a waterway for the use of intrastate and interstate commerce unless the people of the United States who engage in interstate commerce thereon pay their fair proportion of its cost and maintenance, unless the State wishes to do so for the incidental benefits resulting therefrom.

10. The Federal Government has the power whenever it chooses to exercise it to take over by appropriate proceedings any structures built in aid of navigation by any State in any navigable wafers of the United States and to operate and control the same.

11. The presumption must be indulged that the State of Illinois in the fixing of toll charges will be controlled by considerations most conducive to the general welfare of the whole people of the Nation and the State. They must and will be treated alike.

12. Section 18 of the act providing for the construction of the waterway provides that when the waterway shall have been completed and paid for out of the proceeds of the bonds and the bonds shall have been paid, whether out of the earnings of the waterway or by the State, or both, then the waterway shall be tendered to the Government of the United States for navigation uses conditioned upon the obligation of the United States to maintain the channel as a waterway free from tolls for navigation and to operate and maintain the same free of cost to the State of Illinois. This shows that it is not the intention of the State to charge unreasonable tolls, because provision is made for paying the bonds at maturity, notwithstanding the earnings of the waterway may not be sufficient for that purpose.

13. It is just and lawful that the State of Illinois, upon surrendering the waterway to the United States, should retain the hydroelectric power created as incidental to the improvement of navigation. The jurisdiction of the Federal Government in the premises is limited to interstate and foreign commerce. It will obtain these proposed im-

provements to navigation costing $5,000,000 free. If it is required to pay a reasonable sum for electric power to operate the locks at the dam at Starved Rock, the charge would be a very small fraction of 1 per cent of what it would cost the Government to build such a dam and locks.

14. The proposed improvement will provide a navigable waterway where there is no usable waterway now.

15. The State of Illinois has the same interest to foster and protect with reference to the waterway as has the United States.

16. The act of March 3, 1899, should be considered as a complement to rather than a check upon the sovereign power of the State.

17. The approval of the plans does not ratify, affirm, or approve the Illinois waterway act, nor impose any obligation upon the United States, nor prevent Congress from passing a law taking exclusive jurisdiction of the Illinois River for purposes of interstate commerce, nor impose upon the United States any duty to accept the tender of the waterway 20 years hence if it does not choose to do so. The United States may impose the terms and conditions of such transfer under its power of eminent domain if not by agreement.

We further respectfully request that if there are any objections to the plans of an engineering nature which appear to you as important that we be given an opportunty to be heard concerning the same. It may be that your knowledge and experience have suggested to you certain changes that would improve the locks or other features of the proposed public improvement and we would be most grateful to be advised of them and would cordially adopt them, provided we can do so under the provisions of the law.

The importance of an early disposition of this matter is called to your attention in order that the State of Illinois may proceed in the performance of a service not only to its own people but to the whole people of the United States.

We therefore respectfully request that a rehearing of said application be granted and that the said plans be approved.

Most respectfully submitted.

E. F. DUNNE,
*Governor of the State of Illinois.*
LEE D. MATHIAS,
*Counsel of the State of Illinois in this behalf.*

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I wish to explain, at some risk of repetition, the details of this improvement, in order that it may complete what I have to say on this branch of this bill.

On September 24, 1914, a report was made by the board of engineers acting on behalf of the State. They present the following facts based on the investigation they had made:

At the present time a navigable depth of over 7 feet exists normally for a distance of 262 miles of a total of 327 miles between Chicago and the Mississippi River. This distance of 65 miles between the Illinois River at La Salle and the Chicago Drainage Canal at Joliet is now limited to a draft of 4½ feet through the Illinois & Michigan Canal.

Various projects following the Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers have been presented during the past 14 years providing an adequate depth for navigation from the southern terminus of the drainage canal at Joliet to the Illinois River at La Salle. These projects have not matured. This has been due not so much to inherent defects in the projects or to lack of appreciation of the economic worth of the undertaking, but rather it has been due to undetermined legal factors affecting the available flow of water from the drainage canal and to opposition by water-power claimants.

Your board of engineers has based its investigation upon the following premises:

(a) That the proposed waterway would be available for immediate construction and use.

(b) That the construction now contemplated be in harmony with possible future developments, permitting an increase in size at such time as existing obstacles may be removed and as commerce may demand.

The Illinois & Michigan Canal may be utilized for this waterway in part or as a whole by deepening the channel and by enlarging the locks. Some of the existing locks may be dispensed with by constructing new locks of greater lift. The channel thus formed, however, is poorly adapted to future enlargement, both as to increase in width and in depth, and the relative frequency of the locks limits the speed of water transportation by this route.

The Illinois River may be utilized in part for this waterway by raising the stage and by deepening its bed. The river waterway possesses advantages over the canal type, in that it gives a greater present width and depth, is readily adapted to any desired future enlargement, and creates a channel requiring a minimum for maintenance and operation and affording a maximum in waterway facilities. The greater speed of transportation in a river waterway of ample channel and unobstructed by frequent locks results in cheaper freight costs and consequent benefit to the public.

The plan involves the deepening of the Illinois River from La Salle to Starved Rock; the construction of a lock and dam in the Illinois River at Starved Rock; the construction of a connecting channel and lock between the Illinois River and the Illinois & Michigan Canal at Walbridge Creek, just below Marseilles; the construction of a crib dam in the Illinois River just above Marseilles and a connecting channel and lock between the Illinois & Michigan Canal and the Illinois River at this point; the construction of a connecting channel and lock between the Illinois River and the Illinois & Michigan Canal at a point just below Dresden; the improvement of the Illinois & Michigan Canal by deepening the bed and constructing new locks from Dresden to the southern terminus of the drainage canal at Joliet; and the construction of a new lock at the sanitary district power house at Lockport. This plan utilizes the Illinois River as a waterway for 45 miles of the total distance of 65 miles from Joliet to La Salle.

In this plan the channel of the Illinois & Michigan Canal is to remain 60 feet in width at the water surface, is to be 36 feet in width at the bottom, and is to have a uniform depth of 8 feet of water. The minimum width of the channel in the Illinois River is to be 150 feet and the minimum depth of water 8 feet.

The locks contemplated in the Illinois River at Starved Rock and at the sanitary district power house at Lockport are to have a width of 55 feet, a length of 250 feet, and a depth of 8 feet, while the locks in the Illinois & Michigan Canal are to have a width of 45 feet, a length of 250 feet, and a depth of 8 feet. Locks of the dimensions adopted for the Illinois & Michigan Canal with a 12-foot lift will cost approximately $90,000,000, while locks of the same lift and depth, but having a width of 35 feet and a length of 170 feet, the size of those on the Hennepin Canal, would cost approximately $60,000,000.

The construction of the larger locks will permit employment upon the contemplated work and upon subsequent work on the waterway of large dredge boats in the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, as well as of those in the Great Lakes, and will insure competition upon dredging contracts in the waterway unrestricted to one locality or to any one combination of contractors. Your board of engineers is therefore of the opinion that foresight and ultimate economy warrant the increased expenditure for the larger size locks even in the Illinois & Michigan Canal.

The comparative estimated cost of the plan is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Illinois & Michigan Canal, Joliet to Dresden | $509,480 |
| Locks and river connections at Marseilles | 682,130 |
| Dam, lock, etc., at Starved Rock | 1,583,000 |
| New lock at sanitary district power house, Lockport | 300,000 |
| Total estimated cost, say | 3,075,000 |

By modification in the design of the dam and at somewhat increased cost, electrical power may be generated at Starved Rock. The energy of the stream under the proposed conditions with a flow of 10,000 cubic feet per second is 23,600 horsepower on the turbine shaft. The cost of this power plant is not included in the foregoing estimates.

Your board of engineers recommends the adoption of the plan herein outlined, since at slightly increased cost, it provides a channel not only of greatest present efficiency, but one which best lends itself to future progressive development for future commercial needs. This plan requires least for maintenance and operation, allows the highest speed of transportation, and results in consequent lowest freight costs. The adoption of this plan puts under immediate development the major portion of the ultimate Illinois waterway.

Respectfully submitted.

LYMAN E. COOLEY,
*Consulting Engineer.*
E. J. KELLY,
*Assistant Chief Engineer, the Sanitary District of Chicago.*
WALTER A. SHAW,
*Member Illinois Public Utilities Commission.*
LE ROY K. SHERMAN,
*Member Illinois Rivers and Lakes Commission.*

I now wish to read from a report made by the War Department under date of January 23, 1911, on this same question and relating to this specific proposition:

THE MOST ADVISABLE DEPTH AND DIMENSIONS FOR THE WATERWAY.

SIR: Waterways from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River have been proposed, varying in depth from 4½ to 24 feet. In determining the most advisable depth of the waterway it is necessary to consider the probable commerce, its character, its origin, its destination, and the dimensions of the vessels in which it can be most economically transported. Experience has shown that as a general rule coarse and bulky articles seek water transportation, while the finer manufactured products are shipped by rail. Of the 62,363,218 tons transported through the St. Marys Falls Canals in 1910 about 97 per cent consisted of iron ore, coal, grain, and lumber. Crude manufactured products, such as pig iron, ingots, and steel rails, are also naturally shipped by water, and in thickly settled communities like New York there is a large water commerce in building materials, such as brick, stone, lime, cement, sand, and gravel.

The Illinois River flows through one of the richest farming regions of the United States. There are along its banks large mineral deposits, especially coal, building stone, and the ingredients for making cement, so that the valley itself is capable of producing a large amount of the commodities which seek water transportation. The natural markets for this section are now Chicago and St. Louis, and were both New Orleans and the Northwest connected with the Illinois River by suitable water transportation they might become additional markets. * * * In addition it is the expectation of many of the advocates of a waterway from Chicago to the Gulf that much of the commerce of the Great Lakes can be diverted thereto, although it now generally moves in an east and west direction. Finally there is the commerce of the Gulf, expected to largely increase with the completion of the Panama Canal, some of which, it is claimed, would be carried to Chicago were an adequate waterway provided. There are, therefore, four sources of possible commerce for the proposed waterway—first, its immediate banks; second, the tributary rivers; third, the Great Lakes; and, fourth, the Gulf of Mexico.

TYPES OF VESSELS.

The types of vessels which can most economically handle such commerce differ radically. A vessel navigating the ocean has to combat violent storms and severe wave action, and requires such relations between length, width, and depth as to secure good lines, great stiffness of hull, and maximum stability. For ocean service the experience of the past 50 years has evolved an economic freight steamer with a draft between 20 and 30 feet, though at a few of the principal ports vessels from 30 to 40 feet are being introduced.

On the Great Lakes, since storm waves are not as large as on the ocean, and harbors of refuge are more frequent, less structural strength is necessary in vessels, and for the same draft the displacement may be much greater than on the ocean. Experience on the Great Lakes has evolved an economic bulk-cargo steamer with a length of 550 to 600 feet, which, when loaded to an ultimate draft of 21 to 24 feet, carries a cargo of 10,000 to 15,000 tons. The package freighter employed on the Lakes by the various railway corporations is of somewhat smaller dimensions and has a draft of 18 to 19 feet. These two types of vessels now carry the bulk of the iron ore, coal, grain, and merchandise of the Great Lakes, and the cost of transportation has been reduced at least half in the past 20 years.

On rivers vessels are not exposed to wave action, and their structural strength and draft for the same displacement can therefore further be diminished. The early river packet was a frail stern or side-wheel steamer having a draft of 3 to 10 feet, but as a freight carrier it has now been generally displaced by barges, which experience has demonstrated to be more economic. These barges have a draft not exceeding 8½ feet and a capacity up to 3,000 tons. They are assembled in tows and handled by a powerful towboat, in which the same economies in steam consumption are obtained as in the modern lake or ocean steamship.

The experience of foreign nations in river navigation is similar to that of the United States, as is illustrated by the enormous traffic of the River Rhine, which, according to the "Statistik des Deutschen Reichs. Band 226," amounted in 1908 to about 54,000,000 tons between Strassburg and the Dutch frontier. The low-water depth of the channel upon which this large volume of freight was carried, as described in the preliminary report of the United States National Waterways Commission, 1910, was only 9.8 feet for 110 miles from the Dutch frontier up to Cologne, thence 8.2 feet for 82 miles to St. Goar, thence 6.6 feet for 79 miles to Mannheim, and thence 4 feet for 84 miles to Strassburg. About 30 per cent of the traffic of 1908 used the river above Cologne, where the available depths vary, as above stated, from 4 feet in the section immediately below Strassburg, to a maximum of 8.2 feet in the section immediately above Cologne. Bulky commodities are transported in fleets of barges towed by special steamers designed for the purpose. The United States general consul at Berlin reported to the Department of State under date of August 18, 1909, that the capacity of the largest Rhine barges is over 2,600 tons, with a length of 336.6 feet, a beam of 39.6 feet, and a maximum draft of 9.4 feet; that the largest Rhine towboat has a length of 249.3 feet, a breadth of 29.5 feet, and that the most powerful have from 1,300 to 1,450 horsepower. Under date of March 7, 1910, he reported that the Rhine boats on an average are 237 feet long and 30.6 feet beam, with carrying capacity of from 480 to 1,000 tons on drafts of 4 to 7½ feet. Package freight is carried in separate steamers, and he stated that the capacity of the largest Rhine freight steamer is 975 tons, with a draft of 7.9 feet, a length of 278.9 feet, and a breadth of 29.5 feet. According to a report made by Maj. F. A. Mahan, retired, Corps of Engineers, in 1903, the total number of sailing vessels and towed barges on the Rhine was then 8,379, and the total number of towboats was 745, while of other steamers of all classes there were but 378, including 156 package-freight steamers. According to information furnished by the American consul general at Frankfort, in 1908 the Rhine fleet consisted of 1,318 steam vessels, with indicated horsepower of 295,849, and 9,759 barges, with a carrying capacity of 3,960,378 tons, or 11,077 vessels in all. These figures plainly show the predominating character of towboat navigation. No other river of Europe carries a commerce comparable with that of the Rhine, and it is clear that for the proposed waterway a channel equal to that now found on the Rhine would be adequate for an immense traffic. * * *

SIZE OF CHANNEL.

As a channel of 8 feet depth is now maintained from Cairo to St. Louis, and can be extended from St. Louis to Utica at relatively small cost, business caution dictates that a waterway of this depth be obtained and tested before entering enormously expensive projects of questionable utility.

Should commerce respond to these comparatively moderate expenditures and utilize the waterway provided, and should an increasing traffic demonstrate the necessity for additional depth, then a channel of 9 feet depth can be constructed from Cairo to Utica. This can be obtained at a small additional cost and will correspond to the depth provided by the existing projects for improving the Ohio and lower Mississippi Rivers. * * *

The board considers a bottom width of 160 feet in canal and 200 feet in the open river above the mouth of the Illinois sufficient for a channel of 8 or 9 feet available depth. For safety and ease of navigation the channel should be excavated to 11 feet in rock cuts and canals, and the locks should be given 11 feet depth, 80 feet width, and 600 feet useful length. With these lock dimensions three barges, carrying about 9,000 tons of freight, may be locked through with their towboat. A waterway of these dimensions would have a capacity exceeding 100,000,000 tons per annum, and would accommodate barge tows carrying about nine times the ordinary trainload of this vicinity. In addition, the vessels using it would be capable of navigating the Ohio and lower Mississippi Rivers. * * *

ILLINOIS & MICHIGAN CANAL.

By virtue of the act of Congress of March 30, 1822, dedicating to the State of Illinois the land necessary for a canal connecting the Illinois River with Lake Michigan, the act of March 2, 1827, granting to the State certain public lands for the purpose of aiding in its construction, and the acceptance by the State of the conditions imposed therein, the State of Illinois obligated itself to construct a suitable waterway from Lake Michigan to the navigable waters of the Illinois River. In accordance with this agreement the State constructed the Illinois & Michigan Canal, from Bridgeport to La Salle, and improved the upper portion of the Illinois River by the construction of locks and dams at Henry and Copperas Creek.

For many years this waterway was a valuable transportation route, but in recent years the State has neglected it and failed to maintain it abreast of the needs of commerce. The work now proposed by the State in connection with the canal of the Chicago Sanitary District contemplates a waterway from Lake Michigan to Utica, which, although departing from the line of the old canal, substitutes a waterway more than sufficient for any probable navigation. This will in effect fulfill the original agreement between the State and General Government for this section and incidentally develop a water power which the State considers a profitable business investment. State or local agencies are better adapted than the General Government for conserving water power for their citizens.

W. H. BIXBY,
*Brigadier General, Chief of Engineers, United States Army.*
C. McD. TOWNSEND,
*Colonel, Corps of Engineers.*
C. KELLER,
*Major, Corps of Engineers.*
J. B. CAVANAUGH,
*Major, Corps of Engineers.*
JOHN BOGART,
*Civil Engineer.*

I have read this at length in order that it may be heard in the Senate. I know how difficult it is to read matters that are inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD after they are printed, because of lack of time and the press of other urgent matters.

I particularly call attention to the reason for limiting this improvement to 8 feet in depth. The paragraph from the engineers' report under this date of January 23, 1911, which I have read, indicates the wisdom of this experiment. It says that—

Caution dictates that a waterway of this depth (8 feet) be obtained and tested before entering upon enormously expensive projects of questionable utility.

A good many expect that this whole $20,000,000 will be spent. The more prudent part of the population, as well as the public officers in that State, think it wise to experiment with an 8-foot channel. Accordingly this law of June 18, 1915, was enacted.

I think the only profitable inland water transportation will be the barge service. If there was anything that could be done profitably with a deeper channel and a different type of boat, it would have been done long ago in the lower Mississippi River. No reason exists why, from Cairo to New Orleans, there has not developed a very large river transportation. No inherent navigation or engineering difficulties are presented. There is no lack of depth of channel the year round; and during the greater part of the year, even above Cairo, on the 8-foot channel, the closed channel, because of winter, much of the time is not found. From Cairo below there is an open channel practically 12 months of the year in excess of 8 feet—9 feet part of the way—and very much in excess of 9 feet the remainder of the way to the Gulf.

This channel has been in existence for many years. It was in existence in Mark Twain's time, when he was a pilot running from New Orleans to St. Louis and return. It was there before the railroad had come as a rival. It was there for many, many years before a locomotive ever framed itself in the imagination of George Stephenson. An examination of an old map I have, published in the year 1849, of the Mississippi Valley country shows that there was not a single railroad then entering the city of Chicago. There was in the whole Mississippi Valley of the now populous States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, and the adjoining State to mine of Indiana, but a total of 120 miles of steam railroad in existence, and that was struggling, as the reports show, under an insufferable load of bankruptcy, and ultimately failed; and the holders of the indebtedness took it over, and thought they had an elephant upon their hands when they got it, in 1850 or 1851.

In 1850, by an act of Congress, a grant of land was made to the State of Illinois for the purpose of constructing a railroad. Each alternate section on each side of the road for the whole length of the State was given, beginning with Chicago for the Chicago branch and running to what is now Centralia, Ill., and thence to Cairo; and from Centralia running through the central part of the State to Dunleith, where it connected or now connects with a bridge which crosses the Mississippi River and connects with the railroad systems of the Northwest. This was the nucleus of the Illinois Central Railway, the charter lines of which are now about 705 miles, but the purchased, leased, and operated lines of which now aggregate many thousand miles. It extended itself by leases and purchases and by the construction of lines from Cairo, until ultimately it reached the city of New Orleans.

While this development took place, when I think of the projects provided in this bill and the hopes that seem to spring eternal in the statesman's breast when he approaches river and harbor legislation, I inevitably recur to the channel of the Mississippi River from Cairo to the Gulf. It has been open for years. By referring to the reports from the War Department, having charge of that matter, it will be seen that the Passes of the Mississippi River have been extended, deepened, and cleaned by a self-dredging operation, using the forces of nature, devised by Capt. James B. Eads many years ago, so that the flow of the water deepens the passes and opens them up for navigation by boats of heavy draft coming up from the Gulf to New Orleans. All that has been there during all these years—a channel free to the boatman, free to the captain, free to all the rivermen, free to everybody that would build a craft of any description, place it upon the channel of the Mississippi River, and float it or navigate it from Cairo to the Gulf and return.

That has been open all these years, with no tolls, no charges of any kind—the greatest inland river in the world. Its navigable properties exceed those of the Orinoco. It runs through the most fertile agricultural country in the world. Mr. President, if we return to the days of Herodotus and Josephus, if we read ancient and modern history, no place in the civilized world or in ancient times has been found with a population and an area equal to the Mississippi Valley. The Euphrates and the Nile and their population, and the cities builded upon their commerce and their agriculture, the mighty peoples that have passed away, the days of Nineveh and Babylon and Tyre, all pale into insignificance alongside of the accomplished results

of the mighty growth of Chicago and New York, and the great inland cities that are second or third to these.

Mr. President, to show what growth has been possible under those conditions with steam transportation, while sitting at one of the innumerable banquets that I have been guilty of attending in the last 25 years with Fernando Jones—and I feel like inserting it in the RECORD—Mr. Jones spent the whole evening in telling me how he remembered seeing Indians coming to the trading post, old Fort Dearborn, in Chicago, with their furs from the Northwest, and exchanging them for other merchandise at the trading post of the Indian traders at that point. There is a living memory of the growth of that city. Mr. Jones died only a few years ago; so there is the memory of a recently living man reaching from the aboriginal inhabitants, from the wilds of nature, to a city of two and a half million people.

I cite this not for mere historical reference, but as introductory to a conclusion I shall draw. While all this improvement was made, while a great population settled on the borders of this great valley, while agriculture, commerce, banking, manufacturing, and transportation grew up, here was the Mississippi River, the greatest free channel of inland water transportation in the world. The water still flowed; the seasons came and went; a paternal and beneficent Government sent the snag boats up and down the river; and even before the war, in the days when Mark Twain held a pilot's wheel, he speaks in his Life on the Mississippi of what the snag boats were doing. They pull out trees and logs and stumps and snags and sawyers, dredged out bars, and have been doing so many years. All of that was done during these years to improve navigation and make it safer to attract that form of transportation.

I turn back. I will not read that. I have the report here of what happened during these years. When I went to St. Louis many years ago, about 1877, the first time that I left the hayfield and got that far from home, I remember then the line of steamers that was drawn up, tied to the levees along the river. It was a fairly good line of boats in those days, although they were then somewhat decayed. I need only to turn back to many years ago to find a record of the number of steamboats that drew up at St. Louis engaged in the lower Mississippi trade, because practically the lower Mississippi River from St. Louis down or from Cairo below was open the year around.

Its glory has passed away. It departed years ago. The magnificence of the Mississippi River trade has vanished. With all these advantages, with the open channel, with the paternal Government improving the channel, removing obstructions of every kind, there grew up right alongside the river in that time the Illinois Central Railway Co. Steam power could be as well used on a river steamboat at one time as another. It was applied then in a locomotive and it was put upon an iron rail and later on a steel-surfaced rail. So the extent of the St. Louis steamboat trade melted away. It has been gone for years. More than 40 years ago the river trade vanished. When the war broke out, when trade was cut off between the northern and southern sections, when the pilots left the wheel and the crews forsook their boats and took the musket, they did not know that that was the end of river traffic, but it was. By the time the war had concluded, 1865 or 1866, the steam railroad had begun to develop itself. Consequently when the old boat owners at the close of the war undertook to resume their traffic they found no shipping. Business was at an end.

In 1850 or 1851 the Illinois Central Railroad began to be constructed, reaching from Chicago and from northwestern Illinois south to Cairo. It was only opened for local traffic. It continued to develop, as I have indicated. In a little while it reached out and bought and leased lines and built new lines, and built a bridge across the Ohio River, and leased the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railway line down to New Orleans.

Bear in mind, we must keep it in mind in the Senate in all future legislation on this subject, this was done while the great father of waters carried his flood from Lake Itasca to the Gulf, and while a steam railroad builded itself up in competition with the channel from Cairo to the Gulf and drove the river traffic away from the Mississippi.

However, if I turn to the boats that came to St. Louis about the time the war broke out and compare them with the number of boats tied up at the levees this afternoon, it can be seen that the inevitable drift of the larger affairs of the world to the transportation question has solved itself by the fitness of things. It is not a question for the puny hand of man to attempt to legislate against the laws of trade. It can not be done. The inevitable course of commerce, the development of mechanical power applying the forces of nature to transportation, are stronger than any laws we can pass. They will beat any river and harbor bill in the world. So during this time inevitably we kept on with the development of steam railroads.

*Friday, May 12, 1916.*

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to hear encomiums delivered upon one of the thirteen original States. I do not know what this country would have done had it not been for the State referred to by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MARTINE]. I know that the world of art would have lost something that would have been irreparable. From my earliest recollections, my fond gaze has dwelt upon "Washington Crossing the Delaware"; if it had not been for that State that pleasant reminiscence of my early life would have been absent. I very cheerfully join in all that the Senator from New Jersey has said of that State, that is great in commerce, in agriculture, and in many other things which I forbear to mention.

I was referring last night, Mr. President, to some of the causes for the decay of inland waterway transportation. They are very numerous, and I shall not undertake to detail all of them. I shall only refer to such of them as may be material in view of proposing some reasonable remedy. If nothing can be done by organized society, acting through the instrumentality of government to restore the inland waterway traffic, then it would be useless to discuss it, and much more useless to provide these large sums of money in this and previous bills of a like kind.

I have thought, however, that possibly there was a remedy for a part of the loss of the water-carrier system of the country. It has been so far the larger part of my effort to direct attention to the amendment which I have offered to the bill, which would permit the improvement of this 65-mile link that would complete the water communication between the Hudson River and the Gulf of Mexico via Chicago.

The National Waterways Commission some years ago—I think about 9 or 10 years ago—began their investigation of this same subject. They drew upon many sources of information; they prepared a voluminous report, gathering a multitude of facts, arrived at some conclusions, and embodied many papers from authorities on the subject. These three volumes of the report constitute a mine of information for all of those who are interested in this and kindred subjects.

Some of the principal reasons for the decay of inland water transportation are found in one of the volumes of this report containing Documents Nos. 11 to 22, and I refer to page 66 of that volume. It notes the lack of development of river equipment already referred to.

It has been based—

The report continues—

It has been based in large part upon legitimate grounds—an unwillingness to invest capital in an industry so highly speculative. The risks are not alone those of railway origin, but they arise in part from the natural difficulties of navigation. Obstructions due to snags and bars on all the rivers, except the Missouri, have to a considerable extent been removed, although they are constantly reappearing. The barrier at the mouth of the Mississippi, which until 1878 gave the railways a decided advantage, is now gone. But there still remain many obstacles. Ice stops navigation for many months of each year in the upper river. The swiftness of the current demands a costly adjustment of business methods to meet the requirements of upstream traffic—a difficulty absent in the Lakes. The shifting and irregular current and the uncertainty of the water supply menace navigation. To such an extent is this true on the upper Mississippi that the one line now operating between St. Louis and St. Paul declines to make season contracts, and accepts shipments for single trips only. Then, there are the variations in depth of water, most strikingly shown on the upper Ohio with the January and February floods, when the river sometimes rises at Cincinnati to 70 feet above low-water mark. This variation in water depth is not alone dangerous to navigation but it prevents the application of capital to the greatest economic advantage. On the Lakes, with an assured depth of water, the largest vessels can be employed and loaded to their capacity. It is not profitable to build vessels on the rivers which can run only in the best stages and which must lie idle during the rest of the year. But light-draft vessels are not economical in good stages of water. Moreover, these sharp and sudden variations in the stage of water have made fixed wharves impossible and have compelled the use of the less efficient floating dock. In low stages the cost of loading and unloading is sensibly increased in many places by reason of the steep and high river banks.

But navigation is hindered not alone by variations in stage of water due to floods and droughts, but also by the normal difference in depth of the different sections of the river system. The lack of development in the past of any through traffic from the upper Mississippi to New Orleans and the persistence of the costly practice of transfer at St. Louis have been due to this difference in depth of the lower and upper river and to the consequent difference in draft of vessels employed. It was to meet this difficulty that the barge system was introduced, whose units, similar to railway cars, could be dropped or attached at will and handled on different stretches of river without the necessity of transfer of load.

I read so much of this report at this stage of my comments for the purpose of connecting it with the improvement which we propose to make in the Illinois River. It costs more to transfer freight—and the bulkier the freight the more truth there is in the criticism—between points where the bulk must be broken and the transshipment made than it does often for many hundreds of miles of the original shipment. The upper Mississippi River has not been and will not, without the expend-

iture of an impossible sum of money, ever be dredged, leveed, or improved in such a way as to make its depth, that will be steadily maintained, equal to that of the lower stretches of the river.

The Mississippi River from Cairo to the Gulf is necessarily, because of its many tributaries which join it at and below that point, of great minimum depth. At that point the Ohio River adds its volume. Above there, not to mention the smaller rivers, such as the Kaskaskia and the Illinois, the Missouri River at Alton on the Missouri shore adds its floods to the Mississippi. From that point on down below it is not an exaggeration to say that the volume of the Mississippi River water is doubled. So from Cairo, where the Ohio River joins the Mississippi, there is a constant and permanent increase in the minimum depth even at low-water stages.

This is one of the best stretches of navigable inland river waterway in the world, and, as I suggested yesterday afternoon, if there was anything in the development or in the maintenance of inland waterway transportation as it existed prior to the railroad era, this part of our inland waterway system would have successfully met the competition of the steam railways. However, it was not done.

Yesterday afternoon I referred to the unsuccessful rivalry between the Mississippi River from Cairo to the Gulf and the steam railways, and especially of the competition with the Illinois Central Railway. Here on the headwaters of the river above Cairo to the end of navigation in Minnesota was the most favorable area for gathering freight in the world, and especially the bulky kind of freight. The great staple grains that came from the agricultural sections and in later years manufactures were able to furnish a volume of traffic that, if it were possible for a waterway to compete with steam railways, would have successfully met that competition in an open field, but it did not do so. When we add to it the condition of the river channel from St. Louis north, except during the low-water stages, it would require the bulky freight to be broken at St. Louis if continuous river transportation were desired. It is useless, even for the most enthusiastic advocates of river-and-harbor bills and such internal improvements, to think that the upper stretch of the Mississippi River can ever be so developed as to furnish a depth of channel that will accommodate traffic equal to that from Cairo south. So, the river, at least for practical purposes, is to be divided by physical reasons into two sections, making continuous water transportation impossible throughout the whole length of the river because of its difference in depth.

To avoid this difficulty, which was inherent in the ordinary steamboat traffic of the earlier days and of what remains of it at the present time, it has been hoped that the barge service would be a practicable way of using the river throughout its whole length. This much of the suggestion is embodied in the report from which I have just read.

I wish to add here to this report what has happened since the report was prepared. Since this investigation was made, a considerable development has occurred. Some changes have been made in motive power. Gasoline has been substituted for steam power. The future of electrical power no one can foretell. Like the navigation of the air, it possesses boundless undeveloped possibilities, but the barge service has become a very practical way of transportation of freight on the inland rivers. Barges for many years have been used on the Ohio River. They are employed in the down-river traffic as a rule. From Pittsburgh and vicinity, near the headwaters of the Ohio, a considerable commerce in coal, coke, and coarse or bulky freights has been developed and has been carried down the stream in considerable volume. The figures for many years are accessible in the reports and I shall not allude to them here because I do not wish to take the time to do so.

I wish to say sincerely that I am attempting no filibuster; I shall not engage in one. I am making these comments on this bill solely for the purpose of addressing myself to public sentiment. I am not overly optimistic about defeating this bill or any objectionable features in it this session so as to bring about any great economy, but I do believe that the time that my colleagues and myself shall take in criticizing some features of this bill will be well employed in the public interest. I hope ultimately that it will arouse public sentiment and result in economies that would justify much more time than my colleagues and myself will take, or desire to take.

The barges carried in tows by powerful motor boats can effect a considerable saving in transportation. In addition to that, the self-propelled barge is coming into use. This would avoid the necessity of tows; it would allow each barge drawing a limited number of feet of water, flat-bottomed barges, to propel themselves over the comparatively shallow waterways of these inland rivers on the artificial channels in question. If this were done, it would furnish a very effective kind of transportation—more so than existed at any previous time. Some of the barges will carry 3,000 tons. This is an extra large size; but an average tow of barges, even under the old method of transportation, will carry 1,500 tons of freight. A single tow of barges on a seven or eight-foot depth is equal to an average trainload of box cars with an average capacity per car of something like 40 tons. An average train would consist of from 37 to 38 cars; and a single tow of barges that can be used in such waterways would equal the capacity of an entire freight train by rail transportation.

The rate by water is very much lower. The speed does not at all approximate that by steam-road transportation. Because of these and some other differences—the lack of reaching many general markets—it will not be available for the transportation of all species of merchandise. It will limit itself to certain kinds. The coarser, less advanced manufactured forms of merchandise will naturally be the ones that will seek this form of transportation. The forms of merchandise more advanced in manufacture, being relatively less bulky and more valuable, necessarily will seek steam-road transportation, whereby they may reach markets at more certain intervals and with less loss of time.

Because of these changes it has been deemed by river men that it is possible to restore a great portion of the river traffic upon certain lines. It is possible with a 7 or 8 foot channel to carry all of the barge traffic that is likely to be developed in this country. I believe I am correct in that statement and am sustained by the authorities on the subject.

Keeping this in mind, and remembering that between St. Louis and Cairo there is a depth of only 8 feet, there is found the reason for this act of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, approved June 18, 1915. It provides for an 8-foot depth. It will extend from the city of Chicago by a contemplated barge service with a continuous minimum depth of 8 feet until it reaches the Mississippi River. The Sanitary District Channel of which I spoke yesterday can maintain that average depth or more. A portion of the 65-mile link in the waterway in question is the old Illinois and Michigan Canal, and the remainder of it uses the channel of the Illinois River. The improvements made as contemplated by this act will be of the character that will maintain at least 8 feet depth at all stages of water. It will enable this barge service, which seems to be the only profitable method of utilizing the inland waterways, to be established and maintained. If this can not be done, then it is useless to talk about the development of waterways in order to furnish cheaper transportation facilities.

I think it is proper here to state, Mr. President, that the conclusions at which I have arrived I think are sustained by the physical conditions of the Mississippi Valley and of continental United States. I think the transportation world has gradually settled to the fixed conditions I shall enumerate.

There are three methods of inland or coast transportation that are worthy of the support of appropriations by Congress. Beginning with the larger and more important, they are the harbors and inlets or rivers opening into tidewater that are immediately upon the shores of the two oceans or the Gulf. In other words, tidewater transportation is one of the purposes for which Congress can appropriate money and not be extravagant, if it is done prudently and within reasonable limits.

Secondary to that is the great system of inland fresh-water lakes. The Supreme Court of the United States declared them to be inland seas for practical purposes. In their importance, in the number of miles covered by the known transportation lines on the Lakes, and in their great area, these bodies of water properly rise to the dignity of seas. If they were in Europe they would have been denominated seas long ago. But the early pioneers called them lakes. The old maps of the days of Marquette and La Salle, of Hennepin and his associates, refer to these great bodies of water as lakes; they can be successfully given support in their harbors, their breakwaters, their piers, their terminal facilities, their shore improvements, by proper appropriations by Congress. So, because of the magnitude of the interests involved and the traffic that may be carried economically over their bosoms, these bodies of water constitute a proper subject for congressional help.

The third, and as I think the last, of the waterways of our country that can be properly helped by Congress are the large inland rivers. These must be confined to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and a very few of their tributaries. Among all the numerous projects that have enlisted the attention of Members of this body, of the river improvements there are none that possess any attractive features outside of the Mississippi River, the Ohio, and possibly certain of their tributaries; and the limitations on the tributaries would make them very few in number.

I think, when these three subjects have been considered, there is nothing more of merit.

The barge service can be used on all the inland waterway improvements, including the Lakes. It is more particularly applicable to the rivers, because the Lakes have a type of boat that is peculiarly adapted to lake transportation. Having that in mind, therefore, the Illinois General Assembly thought it fit to attempt an improvement of this kind. They were strengthened in that decision by the report I read yesterday from the War Department, prepared by the engineers having this matter in charge, where they said it was prudent, instead of starting these improvements on a large scale, with a great depth of water, to confine them to something like 8 feet in the first instance.

I remember when my colleague [Mr. LEWIS] and myself left our seats here and went to Illinois—it was along in March, 1915, as I now remember—for the purpose of advocating the passage of this act. The bill was then pending, and in joint session the legislature heard what we had to say. We used this paragraph and recommendation of the Army engineers as one of the reasons for the passage of the act.

Another reason I referred to very briefly yesterday, that we had authorized—I think in a somewhat unguarded moment—by constitutional amendment the expenditure of $20,000,000 for this waterway, lying wholly within the borders of that State. I have always been quite outspoken in my views on that subject. I voted against the constitutional amendment when I voted in my home precinct in Springfield, Ill. I never made any secret of my doing so. I thought it unwise, in view of the available accurate knowledge on the subject, to embark in a $20,000,000 expenditure at a venture. The $20,000,000 has been available for every legislature since January, 1909. For various reasons—largely differences of opinion in the legislature and in the administration, both Democratic and Republican—there never has been a majority of the legislature that could agree upon any specific project of improvement; but the $20,000,000 remains a constant menace, as I consider it, to every taxpayer in that State.

When the barge service had been investigated it was found to be a practical measure, and that if the barge service did not present anything for the restoration of the river traffic, then there was not anything that would ever effect the change.

So I came to the conclusion that the best way was to experiment. Gov. Dunne, of that State, came to the conclusion that the proper thing to do was to proceed along the line indicated by the Army engineer in his report. So competent engineers in Chicago began to investigate. They made extensive surveys; they prepared plans; and finally they agreed on one that was practicable for an 8-foot channel, with an expenditure of a little less than $5,000,000. But most public projects cost more than the estimate; and so the bill was prepared and approved, after its passage, by the governor, providing for this expenditure of $5,000,000, to which I referred on yesterday. This was for the purpose of developing a barge service.

Certain objections were made. I think two Representatives in Congress from Illinois made strenuous objections to the improvement. As I get it, their objections are based upon two grounds—maybe more, but I have heard of two: That it ought to be a deep waterway, and that 8 feet depth was not within the meaning of the constitutional amendment. They urged that it ought to be 14 feet. How they ever became obsessed with the notion that anything was not deep unless it was 14 feet deep, nobody has ever explained. Eight feet is deep at times. If a man is only 6 feet tall and can not swim and is in 8 feet depth of water, it is deep water for him.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President——

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. SHERMAN. Certainly.

Mr. KENYON. That was a sort of a slogan, was it not, that was adopted—"Fourteen feet to the Gulf"?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KENYON. How did that slogan originate?

Mr. SHERMAN. It originated partly from the report of Lyman E. Cooley, who prepared the first plan for the Illinois Valley improvement. It originated partly from the superheated imaginations of certain statesmen in Chicago. It was contributed to by some very good citizens outside of Chicago, down the Illinois Valley, whom I consider visionary on that subject. But from both sources or all sources the 14-foot channel became, as the Senator has suggested, a slogan.

We went out into the campaign of 1908. I was asked to lend my voice for whatever it might be worth to the promotion of this project, but I preserved a discreet and, I trust, a dignified silence. I said, because both political parties had indorsed it in that State, I would not fight it. I thought it was useless. I have done a great many useless things in my life and I do not like to do any more than I can help. I am not feeling that what I am doing now is useless, because we hope at some future time it will bear fruit in economy that will make a living, breathing thing out of that plank of the platform adopted in Baltimore in 1912, and we have some such platform in our party. I do not want to make this a political question, I do not know, and I am a little prejudiced it may be; but I think our platform has probably got a little more spirit in it and it is executed in performance a little better than the other. However, I do not want to discuss that. I want to speak about waterways.

At any rate the 14-foot channel got in the public mind. I declined to contribute to that obsession. I informed everybody privately when I was not on a platform and was at liberty to speak my honest sentiments that I intended to vote against it, and I did, and I always said so. I was warned that it was somewhat unpopular to vote against a project of that kind. I said I am a private citizen. At that time I was not a candidate for any office, and I considered not being an applicant for public favor I could do as I pleased individually, which I proceeded to do. I voted against it, but I got beat, like I have suffered a great many times there and elsewhere.

It went through. Immediately after its passage the trouble began. There was a Republican governor and a Republican legislature, but the legislature, sad to relate, was divided. We have had family troubles in that country like we have had over many other jurisdictions in this Republic of ours. So the legislature divided, and as they had two ideas which became so important they forgot the 14-foot slogan in the melée that occurred. One wanted waterway and another wanted water power. The by-product of this unfortunate project became of more consequence than the principal object of the improvement. So out of these controversies, like the unfortunate Kilkenny cats, they hung about for an unprecedented period and literally consumed each other in fruitless quarrels. No legislation resulted. I was at that time in private life, engaged in the practice of law in Springfield, and the only things I heard of legislative difficulties were the rumbles about the lobbies of hotels at night. But so it was that no legislation was had in 1909.

The 14-foot slogan was revived in the 1910 election, and both sides and all parties accused each other with great enthusiasm with lack of patriotism and of being against internal improvements. I was still in private life and I took great satisfaction, I enjoyed myself without measure, in telling both sides what I thought of them. I only say this in explaining what the junior Senator from Iowa asked about this slogan, its origin, its progress, and its elimination.

The 1911 legislature repeated the program with some variations. Some thrills were added; some new chapters were written. Meanwhile my predecessor during the 23 months I first served here had come to the Senate. The legislature in 1909 had ignored the primary nomination of Albert J. Hopkins and had elected Mr. Lorimer to the Senate. He was an advocate of the 14-foot depth of waterway.

I remember some of the addresses made on that subject when the 14-foot slogan was literally making the welkin ring through that part of the country. The people from the lower Mississippi River were given to understand that not only steamboats but craft from the Gulf would be able to navigate it on a 14-foot channel. From the Lake Michigan way very graphic portrayal was made of magnificent lake steamboats coming majestically down through the cornfields of the Illinois Valley. It had cool, alluring sort of sound. Everybody thought that he could get his freight hauled for nearly nothing, the taxpayer mostly footing the bill, and he forgot he was one for the time being when he listened to this 14-foot slogan.

So between the two the thing went along until 1911, and it failed again; 1913 came, and by that time everybody had forgotten the waterway. There was no real attempt made in 1913 to pass any legislation.

Meanwhile there had been a change of administration, not only here, but in a good many other States outside of that one. A new governor had come in. A legislature came in that was nondescript in character. It was composed of the somewhat disturbed remains of the two old parties and a new one that had appeared upon the scene. The newcomer was very lusty in the noise it made and respectable somewhat in numbers. So in 1913 nothing was done.

In 1915 the public mind had become somewhat restored to a normal basis following the elections of 1914. The 14-foot slogan had been forgotten. It was aroused, but in that time, measuring from 1909 up to 1915, the barge transportation had not only been investigated but had been found practicable. This National Waterway Commission had made its report. Every thinking person in the Mississippi Valley interested in those

problems had a copy of the report. I procured a copy, and I have one in my library in my office. Yet I went through it in those days. I was interested, because I pay taxes in that country. I wished to see what could be done. The governor and the legislature took the matter up and it resulted in the passage of this act of June 18, 1915, that carried out in a practicable way, as I think, the barge service over this proposed improvement.

There is no place else in the Western Hemisphere that presents as fair a test of whether inland river traffic can ever be restored or not as this does. I think I investigated all of the possibilities, and I will not stop to place in the RECORD the millions of tons of merchandise that will contribute to this traffic. Forty-eight trunk lines of railway are in the city of Chicago that either begin there or end there, having offices where a major part or a large part of the business is transacted. The lines that pierce the Pacific coast radiate from that center.

In a very recent time another continental plan has been builded from that city. The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Road that reached into the West and Northwest for many years and stopped many miles before it reached tidewater in the West built an addition. The Puget Sound division was added to the St. Paul road. It went over to the coast. Its terminal is on the water of Puget Sound.

There was not so much uproar about it—not much excitement. I was in the city when the first freight train went through carrying through traffic from Lake Michigan to Puget Sound. A few railway engineers noted it; the Railway World was alive to the importance of it; but beyond that the general public made little note of the change. Not near as much publicity was given it as the campaign for the $20,000,000 amendment, under which nothing is done yet.

These facilities for transportation bring in a tremendous tonnage to this point. In addition to that, manufactures, that I will not stop to show the annual output of, are there. All along the Northwest country are cities of smaller size with a very great acreage of highly productive territory. The agricultural productions from the wheat fields of the Northwest and all the Mississippi Valley and its varied agricultural possibilities contribute to the merchandise that may be carried here.

So it seems to me here is the greatest of all that can be tried on this form of transportation. The barge service, carrying from a thousand tons to 3,000 tons in a barge, either in tows or self-propelled, by this proposed improvement will open up this second largest freight center in North America to water transportations of the Gulf, and on the way it furnishes not only the outbound traffic but the inbound coming from the opposite direction, with all the river cities of St. Louis and below.

So the possiblities here are very great. Based upon this and upon the further idea that it was safer to make an experiment, as the river engineers recommended, with a part of this appropriation rather than to take a plunge and spend it all, we provided for an appropriation of $5,000,000.

So the next thing that was necessary was to obtain the permit from the War Department. I regret to say that certain representatives, already referred to, from that State had so firmly embedded in their minds the 14-foot slogan that they appeared and opposed the granting of the permit. I do not know whether it would be just for me to say that they were somewhat behind the procession or not; I would not want to be so unkind as that; but I believe their claim that nothing but a 14-foot channel will answer the purposes of the amendment and the expenditure of the whole of the $20,000,000 and more is not in accordance with existing conditions. I believe they are not up with information on the most practicable methods of carrying freight by water inland. So they have opposed it in appearing before the Board of Engineers and possibly before the Secretary of War they have succeeded or contributed something to the opinion of the Chief Engineer that I read and incorporated in the RECORD yesterday.

I continue some extracts from the same volume of the National Waterway Commission's report which bear on the same question:

> Although it must be admitted that from a navigation standpoint the condition of the Mississippi is much superior to what it was in the days of its commercial prosperity, yet much remains to be done, and much which is once done has frequently to be repeated.

We are in a struggle with nature all the time on this. I have lived along these rivers ever since I can remember. I think I know their moods, their conduct, their high and low water behavior as well as any layman in that country. I have gone to sleep, Mr. President, in a tent upon the hillside and I have wakened in the morning and gone down and found a sand bar formed over night during high water that prevented a steamboat from navigating that portion of the channel where it had been accustomed to run theretofore. That is one of the continual problems that mother nature is putting up against us on this question all the time, and it will last forever. There may be in the wisdom of the river engineers some time a method discovered of harnessing up these forces so that we will use them somewhat as we do the currents at the jetties down at the mouth of the river.

In the estimated cost of water transportation I do not find that any part of this $850,000,000, the part of it that has been distributed to inland waterways, is ever taken as a continuing principal in estimating water freight. Money ordinarily is worth 4 per cent. Large concerns, whose bond issues run up to $160,000,000, pay 4 per cent. That is about the best rate that the market will command. When the Government enters upon one of these improvements, it is proper, from a business viewpoint, to charge the cost of the improvement as a capital-stock investment.

If that were done, about 4 per cent ought to be included as either interest or dividends on the cost of the undertaking. If that were figured in on the part of the $850,000,000 that would be distributed to the inland waterways, it would be found that the Government or the taxpayers were contributing to every shipper on an inland waterway to the cheapness of his freight. That is a continuing problem. Every time a river and harbor bill goes through Congress it is from twenty to fifty million dollars added to the charge of the original cost of these improvements; and there ought to be always figured some kind of an income which could be had, either call it interest or dividends, on the appropriation as a part of the freight cost. Still, that is the vice in all public undertakings.

I do not know of anything that is managed by the public that is managed like a private concern of a like character. A good deal of the supposed cheapness of the governmental performance of a service or the production of a commodity grows out of that fact. We delude ourselves very often in estimating cheap water freight when the Government makes these improvements in the same way.

So, it seems to me, that when we approach this question we ought to figure out that ultimately somebody has got to pay the bill. I do not know what benefit is received by the man who lives far inland, the farmer, who is a hundred miles from any of these waterways that the Government is making appropriations to subsidize, so as to make them competitive with steam roads, in order that he may have cheap freight by railway to get his product to market; but still every person who is accessible to an inland waterway insists that the improvement be made, so that he may be given cheaper rates. The principle ignores the great body of people who live outside the zone of water freight competition.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] made a very proper suggestion, it seemed to me, in connection with this matter, that it is only a limited part of the population that is benefited. Even if it be considered as a reduction of freight rates on the steam and electric lines, still that benefit does not go beyond the territory affected, whereas, as he very pertinently suggested, the charge or the appropriation itself is distributed throughout the entire area of the country.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President——

Mr. SHERMAN. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. KENYON. If we are going to concede as a principle that we must dig canals and improve rivers to regulate freight rates, and that that is the only way we can regulate freight rates, then we confess, do we not, the impotency of Congress to deal with that question, and we concede that the railroads are more powerful than is the Government?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir; it is a confession of that failure.

Mr. KENYON. I assume the Senator from Illinois is not willing to concede that we can not by law handle freight rates in this country, and not by the building of canals and the canalization of streams at tremendous expense?

Mr. SHERMAN. No, sir. If we can not handle the question through the medium of law and of governmental agencies already established, it is useless for us to undertake to regulate railways by building inland waterways and canals and bringing them to a juster rate.

Mr. KENYON. And if this Congress or any other Congress is unable to grasp that question and solve it, would it not be a good idea for them to go home and let a new Congress come in?

Mr. SHERMAN. It certainly would. I think it would be most eminently just, if that conception of public duty has firmly fixed itself upon this Congress, that it pass through the fiery furnace of another campaign and an election, in order to find out what our beloved constituents think about us. That is one of the reasons I am talking here, Mr. President.

I know in certain States that nobody has ever been beaten on a certain ticket, but it is an open field in other places. In the territory from which the Senator from Iowa hails or the one which my colleague [Mr. LEWIS] and I have the honor to represent, it is always an open question who will be elected. It does not make any difference, because a man merely is nominated on some ticket. It is never a foregone conclusion that he will be elected. He must go out and give evidence of the faith that is in him, and he must count that faith in a sufficient number of votes. I know that there are 12 or 13 States where there is no campaign other than for the nomination; but I am not referring to them. I will let that matter be fought out in the primaries in those States by such as do not agree with this proposed method of controlling freight rates. I do not know whether it will make much change or not. I think in many ways those States have more political sense than we have in the other States, because some of the States which I have mentioned keep sending their men back here all the time. Farther north, principally the Senators and Representatives wear themselves out in continual primary fights or in elections. So Congress is converted for some of us into a kind of sanitarium. The only regular hours we have are when we get back here. I know for my part I always gain in weight when I come to Washington, and that I run it off when I go home.

The wise thing, however, to do, as the Senator from Iowa suggested on the day before yesterday and as I have said my purpose is, is to arouse public sentiment upon this question. In a smaller area, and dealing with smaller sums, I have had the same experience. I think more fervent curses have been poured out upon my head at different times when I took my hatchet and went out in an appropriation committee on the floor of the Illinois Legislature during the time that I had the misfortune to do penal service in that body, and killed favorite appropriations, than for any other thing that ever happened to me. I have now enemies whom I made 20 years ago, Mr. President, because I cut off $40 in one place. It hurt worse than if I had chopped off a million dollars.

I have had a number of telegrams from my State beseeching me to support this bill and saying that it will be hurtful to certain of their appropriations if I do not do so. I should dislike very much to see any meritorious appropriation reduced or cut out of the bill, but if the price of obtaining these appropriations is the supporting of what I consider unjust appropriations in many particulars we must temporarily pay the penalty. The next time it will be the same old fight over again. So, like the Senator from Iowa, I am willing to arouse public sentiment and take the chances.

This thing has grown to be a scandal. I know somebody said that a long time ago. Some one will exclaim "platitudes!" Yes; very well, call it a platitude. Extravagance of all kinds is a platitude. All folly is a platitude because it is so common. Of course, river and harbor bills are platitudes. They have been here for the Lord knows how long. It is the same thing over and over. I am not going to undertake to discuss all the numerous items in this bill, because I have not been here long enough to absorb the particulars of the various projects. Some of them, I am told, are old familiar friends. They are like the poor, we have them with us always; and until they are killed they will "bob up serenely" at every session, demanding liberal appropriations. There it not anything more popular in this country than to yell for the flag and liberal appropriations at the same time and to invoke the name of preparedness by claiming that in order to reach an enemy with troops and supplies we must have waterways of all kinds, from Racoon Creek in New Jersey down to the Gasconade in Missouri.

Well, I remember one time, probably 15 or 20 years ago, Mr. President, reading a report to secure some information in regard to the Illinois and Michigan Canal. I knew it was dead long before some of the canal commissioners did. For several years the pay roll of the Illinois and Michigan Canal exceeded its receipts. One year the pay roll exceeded the receipts by $27,000. I began to look it up in order to see whether it would not be better to kindly but firmly chloroform a foundling of that kind by cutting off its appropriation. So I investigated and found among one of the reports of the old trustees of the Illinois-Michigan Canal something that related to preparedness, although I was not thinking about it then, and that question was not before the country. It said that one of the reasons why this great improvement ought to be made was that in case of war—and this was long before the Civil War—troops and supplies could be transported from Great Lake points down the Mississippi River and to all connecting points; that it would be a valuable waterway in the event of war and would facilitate the public defense. Well, since then I have thought a good deal about the transportation on the Illinois-Michigan Canal. It has decayed steadily. The railroads took the business, and, anyhow, if we were to depend upon the transportation on the canal or on any waterway to reach the front with supplies, with men and munitions, the enemy would have conquered us, burnt our capital, and subjugated our people months before supplies could ever reach a given point. For facility of transportation and for its furtherance there is nothing to take the place of steam and electricity on the railway lines.

This report continues—and there is much of it so applicable to present conditions that I think I am justified in making these quotations:

The destruction of banks, due to shifting channels, and the fact that the Missouri uses the lower Mississippi as a dumping ground make continuous dredging necessary, and any lessening of vigilance in this direction through failure of congressional appropriations is promptly punished by a serious impairment of the navigability of the stream. Yet, however serious navigation difficulties may appear to us, they can not, except to a small degree, explain the decline of river commerce. For, in spite of all obstruction, we possess free waterways which are in many respects superior to those of Europe, yet we have but a fraction of their tonnage. A dead low-water channel of 4½ feet prevails throughout the year from St. Paul to the mouth of the Missouri. Four feet draft prevails on the Missouri at low water as far as Kansas City. From St. Louis to Cairo there are only a few days in the year when a boat drawing 8 feet can not operate freely. Below Cairo for 840 miles there is a 9-foot depth during low water, and for the last 270 miles boats of 25 to 30 feet draft can operate. On the Ohio, from Cairo to Pittsburgh, there is a 9-foot depth during medium stages of water, which is being improved to a 9-foot depth at low water. In comparison with these figures, it should be noted that much of the canal and up-river boat traffic of Europe is performed on 1 meter (3.28 feet) draft; most of it is done on 2 meters (6.56 feet) draft, and 10 feet draft is exceptional. Hence it is lack of uniformity in different sections of the river, and a resulting inability to use equipment to the best advantage, rather than the shallowness of the streams which must be accounted the important navigation obstacle.

This only confirms what I have already said: That this difference in the navigable depth of the two stretches of the river—the upper and the lower Mississippi—renders it impracticable to use a river boat, because the upper-river boats of comparatively light draft can only be used on the upper river—they are constructed in that way—and, as a rule, they do not run below St. Louis. When it comes to the transportation from St. Louis down, a larger boat is used, and that boat can not be used on the upper river because the waters above are inaccessible to a boat of that draft. And so this returns us to the barge question. At every interval where this subject has been approached in the last 12 or 15 years, both by engineers and by practical river men used to the forms of transportation, the consensus is that the practical form of freight carriage is by barge and nothing else.

Again—

Whether, as a result of the two causes just mentioned, railway competition and navigation obstacles, or whether, because of a lack of initiative on the part of river interests after the war, the steamboat business has been wholly lacking in the administrative organization necessary to cope with so superbly organized an industry as the railway. Capital has kept out of it. The river steamboat, except that it has changed from a passenger to a freight carrier, is the same craft as always. As late as 1906, out of a total of 1,435 steam vessels on the Mississippi River system, 1,358, or 95 per cent, were of wood. The old inefficient "roustabout" labor is still employed, and no attempt whatever has been made to introduce mechanical appliances for loading and unloading. There are very few satisfactory wharves and docks, many of the landings being made on the river bank and the goods dumped on shore without cover. As the rivers are at the lowest levels, goods must be hauled uphill to reach a place of sale. Good natural landings are few and artificial ones are too expensive to be within the reach of small communities. Thus the terminal expenses as compared with the more flexible railway are very heavy.

Adequate terminal facilities are in very few instances owned or controlled by water lines.

St. Louis, Mo., has little wharfage, either public or private, except the graded river bank; East St. Louis has almost no public landings and few private ones; Cairo, Ill., has several piers and slips and some few floating-boat landings and warehouses, but all under private monopoly; Memphis and Vicksburg have limited public landings, consisting merely of graded banks and occasional floating warehouses. The other cities are less well provided. Such transfer facilities as exist at the Lake Superior and Lake Erie grain, ore, and coal harbors are unknown on the Mississippi. The injury to freights and cost of transfer by reason of necessary rehandling at the water's edge, and the subsequent cartage up the bank and across the city to the consignee are usually sufficient to outbalance a decided higher freight rate by rail.

In many cases all satisfactory terminal property has been acquired by the railways. For example, portions of the river front at Pittsburg, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Vicksburg are owned by railway corporations. The primary purpose of the railways is not to check the development of water transportation, but to secure desirable land for switch tracks and yards, yet its effect upon the development of steamboat traffic is disastrous.

I do not subscribe to the generally accepted view that railways are continually endeavoring to destroy water transportation. In some instances, where there are parallel lines between competitive points, this probably is done. It has not been the primary purpose, however, but with a large part of water transportation, it is to the advantage of steam railways that it be improved. Much of this can not be carried to the point where the ultimate consumption is had, or to large distributing centers, and so it finally comes to a point where the railway

takes it and carries it to some interior point where waterways do not penetrate. In that event a portion of the haul is absorbed by the railways. They receive a benefit in the divided traffic which results from the initial river traffic.

I can not refrain here from saying that a steam railway itself, if based upon that ground alone, could not destroy river traffic. River traffic, if it were desirable and conducted at a reasonable rate, would continue, even though railways were builded at all competitive points. Transportation is a part of commerce. It is one of the necessary elements in our country—more so even than in countries in the Old World, where distances are less, where population is more dense, and where the primitive forms of the collection and distribution of merchandise could still be indulged in. Our railways have taken the traffic away from the waterways because they are a superior carrier. They are superior in many ways, both in saving of time and in reaching points where waterways are impossible, and can not be by any possible species of artificial improvement ever conducted. So I regard it as a part of the natural development of transportation that the railway carrier has taken the traffic away from the rivers inland. It might be regarded as artificial to a very large degree. All commerce is artificial, because it follows the centers of population—great peoples—where the markets are afforded, and where the exchange is made between the producer and the consumer.

Nearly half of the steam vessels operated on the Mississippi, representing, however, only about one-quarter of the tonnage, are owned by individuals and are run independently, with very little thought of securing united action toward better organization of river traffic. This makes it impossible for shippers to arrange for through handling of goods. Repeated rehandlings by irresponsible steamboat captains cause damage to the goods and make location of responsibility for the damage difficult and the settlement slow and costly. Practically the only traffic which is well organized is that of coal on the Ohio, and this is largely under the control of a single corporation. Of the total tonnage in 1906 of unrigged vessels, 98.6 per cent was owned by corporations.

Finally there was and still is a fundamental cause of decline of river commerce to be found in the relation of traffic movement to traffic agencies. So long as wheat and corn were produced near the waterways and could be disposed of at markets located on the rivers traffic by river continued, but so soon as either of these conditions was no longer present the railway began to take the business. If grain were shipped from a river port and required transfer to rail for delivery at a primary market, like Chicago, the expense of transfer and the lack of all facilities for satisfactorily handling turned the traffic at its source to the railways. When grain began to be produced away from the waterways it had to be loaded at first into railway cars, and once in the cars it remained there until it reached its market. The movement of the wheat area northwestward to a region west of Lake Superior and the advance of the corn area westward enhanced this tendency, and the railways encouraged it both by the provision of suitable facilities for storage and handling and by the adjustment of their rates.

The corn belt of the United States reaches very nearly 1,400 miles from east to west and about 800 miles from north to south. It is estimated that if that part of the corn belt of North America were suddenly rendered sterile there would not be enough corn produced on earth, not even including Argentina, to render it one of the staple articles on the great grain exchanges of the world. The barge service that I am referring to on an 8-foot channel will reach the whole of this corn belt. It will also reach a great deal of the cotton belt, cotton being another great agricultural production of this country.

The effect upon the Mississippi River is strikingly shown by the fact that although in the fifties there were many towns with prospects of rapid and successful development, yet at the census of 1900 there was not a river town from St. Paul to St. Louis with 40,000 people and only three—Quincy, Davenport, and Dubuque—with over 25,000 inhabitants.

I could add there, to this report, what is literally true—that a large part of the development of manufactures, commerce, and transportation and the increase in population in the river towns is in such towns as are liberally supplied with steam railways. Some of them are division points or terminals of great railway lines. The city of Rock Island, for instance, draws a large part of its population, business, and manufacturing from the steam railroads, with which it is well supplied. The same thing can be said of Davenport, across the river. It practically makes the two cities one single point for commercial purposes. If the railways were taken away from such places, they would relapse into their former condition.

Again—

Madison and New Albany, Ind., both declined in population between 1890 and 1900, and neither of them had 25,000 people in the latter year, whereas Indianapolis, preeminently a railway center, which in 1840 had less population than either of the towns mentioned, and in 1850 almost exactly the same number, had in 1900 a population of 169,000. So far as export business by way of New Orleans is concerned, the long, roundabout journey, combined with lack of satisfactory steamship facilities at New Orleans, has had its influence in turning traffic eastward by rail.

The kind of business which has most satisfactorily developed on the Mississippi River system has been that transported in the form of rafts, the lumber business, and that handled by barges, of which coal is the best example. The former flourished on the upper Mississippi and is still prosperous on the lower Mississippi and the Ohio and tributaries, because, as already indicated, it can be slipped into the water and carried to its market with little expenditure of labor and with no necessity of transfer. So soon as the forests were cut off on the banks of upper Mississippi River tributaries rafting began to decline and a rapidly increasing proportion of lumber and log output was carried by rail.

The Ohio River coal traffic illustrates peculiarly well the kind and method of business to which the river system is at present adapted. In this industry, to be sure, are some of the advantages which are lacking in any other, namely, administrative organization, mechanical loading appliances, and the highest development of barge traffic. But, in addition to all this, coal can be loaded direct from the mines into the barges and can then be transported without any rehandling to its destination, which is the river steamboat, the ocean-going steamship, the sugar plantation on the bay, or the railway coal yard on the river bank. In other words, the Mississippi can at present handle traffic successfully which begins and ends within its banks, but traffic requiring transfer to the railway at any point on its course will have a tendency to resort to the railway for the entire distance. Whether this situation is due to a control of terminal and transfer facilities by the railways and a refusal to prorate with the waterway, whether it is due to lack of initiative on the part of river interests in developing transfer facilities, or whether it is due to the greater cheapness of an all-rail haul, the fact remains that carriage involving transfer no longer makes use of the Mississippi River system.

At this point I wish to consider the importance of opening up, if it is possible to do so, the barge system of transportation. It is to be hoped that at some time the Panama Canal will be relieved of the trouble with its banks and will be open for navigation. At that time there will be a change in the trade channels and in the transportation world. We began to see some small effects of it during the time it was open. Since the opening of the Panama Canal the commerce of the Mississippi River has been revolutionized. We only felt some of the elementary impulses, some of the effects that would follow in a very large measure when traffic had adjusted itself to the new channel. It seems, from some data that I have, that it is cheaper to-day for many manufacturers, when the Panama Canal is open, to ship their manufactured products by rail from the Mississippi Valley to New York, and thence transport it by ocean steamers to the Pacific coast by way of the Panama Canal, than it is to ship such products directly by rail from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast.

This condition will present itself in a much more acute form after the Panama Canal shall have been opened and well established as a part of the waterway system of the world. The first and most immediate effect in certain parts, especially the central and southern Mississippi Valley country, will be to draw a large part of the merchandise south toward the Gulf. It will make of New Orleans and other Gulf ports inevitably important centers for the collection and distribution of that merchandise. Instead of going by way of the continental railway lines that reach tidewater on the Pacific coast it will reach that market by way of the Mexican Gulf, the Panama Canal, and the Pacific Ocean.

This necessarily will change the trade channels of the Mississippi Valley. The rates that I have just quoted from Chicago and surrounding points in the West and Northwest indicate that instead of trade taking for the Pacific coast the overland way across the western country it will change, as stated, its direction. It will seek in some instances an Atlantic coast port by rail, and there, by transfer to steamship, it will reach, by way of the Panama Canal at a joint rate, the market on the Pacific coast. That joint rate will be less than the all-rail haul from the northern Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast.

So this amounts to a change of travel or a change of transportation of merchandise—two ways. One will draw it south, the other east, cutting off the transportation that has heretofore been had west and northwest for much of the larger freight intended for Pacific coast points.

If Alaska should be developed it too is affected by this question. So this again to the people in the northern Mississippi Valley country is a powerful reason why the barge service contemplated in this act of the general assembly of that State should be carried into execution as speedily as possible. In that event it will give to tidewater from these interior points a cheap water transportation, so that they may avail themselves of a rate that will enable them to compete with other points east and south. If this be not done, then competitive points of production in agriculture, the mine, and manufacturing will be laboring at a very marked disadvantage in the northern and western Mississippi Valley as compared with the competitors east and south.

The State represented in part by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], the Minnesota and Wisconsin country, my own State, Indiana, and Missouri are vitally connected with this problem. If we shall be able to compete with points south of

us and east of us when the canal shall be opened, so that we may survive and transact business upon a profitable basis, we must have some cheaper freight rates in order so to do.

This is one of the larger questions presented in the denial of the War Department of the right to make this improvement. To us it becomes a vital problem. It was the larger problem that presented itself to us who supported this measure in 1915 before the general assembly of that State, which, when we arrived at the conclusion that barge service was practicable and at a rate that would render us able to compete with points east and south, led us to the conclusion that the States could profitably expend $5,000,000 for the development of this 8-foot channel.

It seems to me that to deny this permit under such circumstances would be a blow to the public interest not only of the State that I represent in part but to all the surrounding States and to the States even that lie far beyond and which the Mississippi River does not touch. Take the great wheat belt of the northern spring-wheat country and the Dakotas, take the country that lies even west of the Dakotas, and they are interested in the same question, because a large part of their traffic is to Chicago and Duluth and Great Lakes points where the merchandise or the grain is collected for distribution to other countries or for the export trade.

New Orleans is 900 miles nearer the Panama Canal than New York. This waterway of 1,400 miles between Lake Michigan and the Gulf of Mexico ought to be opened up at once, it seems to me, to the commerce of the Mississippi Valley. Here is the largest practicable waterway in length in the world. When the 65-mile link shall have been constructed, with an 8-foot depth minimum, it furnishes from Chicago to the Gulf 1,400 miles of waterway connected with the Great Lakes.

I am not overly optimistic about what will be the result, but if it should fail it costs this Government nothing. There is not a dollar of it comes out of the Public Treasury of the United States. It comes from the taxpayers of the State concerned, and if it fails, as a matter of prudence, the other $15,000,000 will be saved. If the gentlemen who are opposing the granting of this permit representing certain districts from Illinois should be successful in their contention and the 14-foot depth should be constructed, it, too, would fail for the same reason that an 8-foot channel or depth would fail. If a barge service is not possible with 8 feet, it is equally impossible with 14 feet. If it should fail in the one instance, it would cost us $5,000,000; if it failed in the other instance, it would cost us $20,000,000; and out of prudence we ask the safer way that would develop the water traffic as much, and by which if it failed we would save the other three-quarters of that sum in the bonded indebtedness of that State.

I wish to speak here of a matter of general public concern. I do it somewhat reluctantly. It is not a very pleasant task. It is an old saying that the Constitution never ought to stand between friends. I am sure, remembering my short experience on the Commerce Committee and that the bar of secrecy has been lifted, that the law of economy applied to the Public Treasury never has come between friends on that committee. I fail to remember a single criticism on that committee in the expenditure of what aggregates $42,000,000 of the public funds.

I remember two items stricken out, one relating to an improvement in Connecticut, the other to an improvement in the East River. They went out for some incomprehensible reason although both of them are on tidewater, although the New York improvement concerns have access to the Brooklyn Navy Yard. We have heard a great deal about how convenient these inland waterways would be in case of war, how on the Gasconade River in Missouri the embattled West could reach the enemy expeditiously and destroy them by being carried over its raging depths, and that Raccoon Creek in New Jersey would be another that would aid to spread great devastation among the foe. But I failed to hear a single argument raised why it was not necessary to make access to the Brooklyn Navy Yard for the ordinary deep seagoing vessels. So out went the appropriation.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BRANDAGEE] appeared and he asked for a very modest appropriation, it seemed to me, where the people of Connecticut had already spent by taxing themselves voluntarily about $1,000,000 for the improvement and at a point where a very large commerce comes and goes every year. It too was denied.

I am sure that it may grate upon the susceptibilities of some who have already announced that it is disagreeable to them for me to refer to some figures I have. I do not do so for the purpose of annoying those gentlemen, but in order that it may be in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the purposes indicated by the junior Senator from Iowa and myself, the effect it will have upon the public by making it a little more accessible for them if placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

New York, for instance, pays of individual income and corporation tax $27,638,744 annually. This is for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915. It will be a no less sum for the current year and no less in the future. She gets altogether for every purpose, for her harbors, for every facility for the greatest commerce there is in the Western World, a return of $2,167,500 reported in this bill, allowed by the committee, with the East River provision stricken out.

Connecticut, for instance, is an Atlantic Coast State and, like New York, it is a highly developed State in its manufacturing and in its commerce. Like most of the old States along the Atlantic coast, it is true, they have the advantage of many years of development. They have, like New York, some century or more back of them. But that is not to their discredit. They seem to have used both in this generation and all proceeding ones the advantages that have been given them. They have not been sluggards in the race. They have not slept upon the facilities furnished them by either civilization or by nature.

Their great manufactures, their inventive genius, their banking, their transportation, the men that they have raised in years past and have given to the public service—all that they have done indicates that not one talent that either of those States has has been buried like the slothful servant's so that it has produced nothing. On the contrary, they have so used every facility that they have that they have produced some of them a thousandfold. Still when they come in and ask that a small part of the many millions in one State shall be allowed for an improvement it is stricken out.

In Connecticut a total of $211,000 is allowed by the bill as reported by the committee, not including the item I have referred to that was not allowed by the committee.

I repeat here the same figures for this State of her income tax, individual and corporate. Connecticut, with her small territorial area as compared with some of the other States, paid $1,283,695 income tax for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915. And still what I consider a tidewater improvement that would be proper because it falls within one of the three classes that I have announced, that I think contains the only justifiable improvement for rivers or harbors in this country, is denied.

I might go a little further into some of the Pennsylvania items. Of course there are no waterways nor harbors within the borders of that State that seem to be asking for very much. Some improvements are allowed at the junction of the two rivers that form the Ohio and at certain other points, Erie Harbor and elsewhere, but in the aggregate the total amount allowed for improvements in that State was $60,960, and the total amount of public revenue contributed by direct taxation, by individual and corporate income tax, is $9,367,696.

I come now to another State. Virginia has $236,000 allowed exclusively for that State, and its income tax is $627,938. It gets something over a third of it back. If New York got a third back, it would have $9,000,000. Then, of course, that is not a fair way to look at it. I do not offer that as a conclusive argument but only a significant comparison.

North Carolina and Virginia have certain improvements in common, as the territory and the coast line are adjacent or contiguous, and for the two States their combined appropriations for river and harbor purposes are $1,503,600, as I have collected and aggregated them here. The income tax collected in North Carolina is $381,378. So the combined income tax of both States would not pay by half a million dollars the appropriations that go to those States alone. They are not to be blamed for not having more income tax. I have considerable sympathy for a person who does not have enough income to get caught by the internal-revenue collector. But that does not justify this omniverous demand for some of these improvements.

The Senator from Iowa spoke of one item connected with North Carolina that has been reappearing here for many, many sessions. I could not, if I tried, add to the graphic, picturesque, and complete description of that alleged improvement as he gave it.

South Carolina pays $161,401 individual and corporate income tax altogether, and it gets $255,000 back for appropriations for its various harbors and inlets and coves.

Georgia is not quite so well treated, but it has no ground of complaint. I might remark here that because some of the States are wealthy and have those who pay income taxes it has been said that they ought not to complain, that they have made it off of somebody else, that they have grabbed it from some of the less fortunate States, that they are old, that the centuries have dealt kindly with them and their forebears. Well, how old is Georgia? I have a book some place in my library written by John Locke, and in that is Georgia's Grand Model, his form of government that was framed by those old Englishmen in the privacy of their studies across the sea. That was in the days

of Oglethorpe or before. It is one of the thirteen original States.

It dates back almost to New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut. Almost at the time the second generation from Roger Sherman in Connecticut were inventing some of the devices that they subsequently sold to us out West, Oglethorpe and his colony had left England and had colonized themselves in what is now the State of Georgia.

Now, what have these men and their successors been doing? Why could they not have had incomes just as well? It would hardly be fair to stop there, because a great Civil War came and a part of their property was confiscated by emancipation and by subsequent constitutional amendments. If you keep on going in this Congress with nitrate plants, with shipping bills, with armor-plate plants, with Government ownership and operation of railways, with income taxes, with emergency taxes, with all forms of direct taxes, it will not be very long until you confiscate all the property of everybody else except the people who have no income, and then there will be a stoppage. After you have confiscated everything you will either have a socialistic Government or we will all start in new, bankrupt together.

You are thinking about everything else in this Congress except how you are going to get the money. Thirty-two million dollars in this bill, $85,000,000 in hard roads, $10,000,000 or $15,000,000 in an armor-plate plant, $18,000,000 in a nitrate plant—all in the name of preparedness. By the time we are prepared to fight we will be bankrupt. If I were at the head of a hostile country which contemplated activities against this Republic of ours, I think I would maintain some kind of an espionage, a secret service that would promote river and harbor bills and just keep on promoting them and kindred schemes, and by the time we got ready to fight we would be financially exhausted. That is where we seem to be headed.

Still it was sarcastically suggested a day or two ago that I was very patriotic, which meant just the reverse of what it appeared. Anybody who opposes extravagant appropriations is a suspicious character in this Capitol.

Georgia, in individual and income tax and corporation tax, paid $440,600 the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, and it got back by the report of this committee and in this bill $727,250. This is thrift. You give a little and you get much. This is statesmanship, because you tax the other fellow, and that is always the highly desired thing in revenue legislation. It is highly desirable to get the burden on somebody else's shoulders. They have succeeded admirably, beyond even their own expectations, possibly.

Here is the State of Florida. I believe in improving a great part of the Gulf and coast country. It paid in income tax, corporation and individual, $229,509 the same fiscal year, and it gets back in this bill $985,500.

The confiscation of the Civil War is being recouped by river and harbor bills and income taxes on the ones who, or their ancestors, were largely responsible for the confiscation attending the war amendments. I am only alluding to this as one of the conditions that attend the mutations of government. It is a part of this educational process of which I spoke.

Alabama, for instance, with a total of $261,760 paid in income tax, has in this bill $295,000 for its various rivers and harbors; Mississippi paid $108,180 income tax, and it gets $321,000 for rivers and harbors; Louisiana paid $626,177 income tax, and it gets back $1,191,000, in even numbers—not quite twice as much. Then Texas comes along, and it has got an income tax to its credit of $1,048,277, while it has in this bill $2,728,500 for various items, all the way from the Trinity River down to meritorious measures.

Some of these Gulf ports ought to be developed just as the East River item ought to be allowed, just as the one in Connecticut ought to be allowed; just as many of them on the coast are properly allowed. These fall within one of the three classes that I consider the only ones that are justified by any river or harbor appropriation in this country.

Here is the whole State of Michigan. As my memory serves me at present, Michigan, of all the interior States, apart from tidewater, has more coast on the fresh-water lakes than any other State in the Union, and can show more proper traffic points, because about its border are the greater number of the chain of lakes, and these connecting waterways, like the one at Detroit, which link one great lake with another. Michigan gets a total of $1,525,775 in this bill, but it pays $2,913,307 in income tax alone, to say nothing about the war tax or the emergency tax under the act of October 22, 1914.

I wish to say that probably the emergency act of October 22, 1914, will produce in the neighborhood of approximately $80,000,000 annually. On the 30th day of June, 1916, this fiscal year will have expired. We shall then have a report of the total moneys collected under that act for that year; but from the 22d of October, 1914, to the 30th of June, 1915, we collected about from fifty-two to fifty-four million dollars for the fragment of the year, with the act in its infancy. So, by estimating per month, and making due allowances for collection, we shall have about $80,000,000 out of this act in this fiscal year, ending next June 30. Three-fourths of that, Mr. President—$60,000,000—will be collected outside of the States that get the great bulk of this appropriation in the river and harbor bill. It is a tax that is not distributed throughout the country; it is distributed upon the people who are transacting business. It is a tax upon the energetic, a tax upon the producer, a tax upon the active man who is doing something in the world; and the more a man does under this administration the more he is penalized for doing it.

That is the only tinge of politics that I will permit to enter this discussion, for I do not myself wish to approach the political features, the differences between the two parties in the discussion of this bill, and I only refer to this tax to show the extremely unfair methods of its distribution throughout the country.

Wisconsin pays $875,352 in income tax and receives $265,000 in appropriations for rivers and harbors. Illinois pays $5,654,157 in income tax and gets $855,300 of total appropriations around the Great Lakes. I think all these appropriations are either directly or indirectly connected with Lake Michigan.

I have aggregated the entire income tax collected from 12 of the States, being Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Kentucky. They have paid a total into the Treasury of $5,340,234 of income tax for the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, and they have in this bill a total aggregate appropriation of $10,820,250. Of that $10,000,000 and more, I will approximate my criticism, but at least one-half of it could be stricken out, and the cause of water transportation in this country would not be thereby diminished a particle.

I now take up the question to which I alluded a while ago, somewhat prematurely, it is true, but I thought it advisable to discuss the questions that I have, rather than to take up the one that I had in mind at the time—a somewhat distasteful task, as I have stated.

There is evidently a more or less insidious lobby about Congress in more things than that of the revision of the tariff act of 1913. There is a joinder of interests. A water-power bill went through here not very long ago. I am not particularly affected by it. So far as it does interfere with any of the property rights of citizens of the State that my colleague and I help to represent, or attempt to take away property rights of that State, we shall appeal to the courts in due season for such necessary protection under existing law as we think we ought to have. The water-power bill has undertaken to authorize, as I said yesterday, the confiscation or the condemnation of the property of a State. It has attempted to invade that part of a State that is within the domain of its reserved powers; a part of the State powers that are as sovereign and unassailable as any of the granted powers of the General Government. These efforts, of course, will be resisted in the proper way.

In addition to that, it has authorized corporations to be created, or it has vested in the hands of local corporations now created under the laws of the several States the power of eminent domain. All of the riparian rights along the northern Mississippi country and its tributaries are in the hands either of private or public owners—public, the State; and private owners, individual and corporate ownership. Still, under the bill to which I have referred, a corporation created under the laws of the State of Iowa is vested with the power of eminent domain. It may apply by petition to any court of proper jurisdiction, and there may have determined the value by a jury of any of the riparian rights in the hands of a private owner. It may even go further and attempt to take the State property under the same proceedings. When that is done with a private owner it concedes that the power can lawfully be exercised. It takes from you or me, Mr. President, the riparian right that is an individual right; it takes from us unwillingly the title of our land and vests it in the hands of a private corporation, for what purpose? Is it for the purpose of building a railroad, a common carrier, a part of the system, State or National? Not at all. It puts it in the hands of a company to develop hydraulic power for purely private purposes, to sell it, to run factories, to run electric lines, to be substituted for steam on what are now steam railroads, to be used for lighting purposes, to be wired off and relayed for hundreds of miles away from the generating point.

If that had been done by some State legislature, if that act had been passed by the legislature of my State, not a newspaper in the city of Chicago would have hesitated to criticize, in the baldest and most reprehensible language, the faithless legislators who had so grossly abandoned and betrayed the rights of the citizens of that State; but here there was little said, here hardly a word of criticism was heard; not a great eastern newspaper anywhere raised its editorial voice to protest against it. I suppose that, too, was done in the name of "preparedness."

So the water-power scheme went on apace. Now there is a waterway scheme, but it does not "scheme" unless there are appropriations, and thereby hangs the tale of a river and harbor bill.

I am not thin skinned about lobbying. I am perfectly willing to throw my office door open and let any citizen of the United States, representing himself or a corporation, come in and talk about what he wants in the way of legislation, provided he does it in broad daylight. I keep open house for every constituent I know of in the country. I have no objection to people coming here and talking about their affairs and urging legislation. I think you will find, Mr. President, in the report of the Committee on Finance some testimony of your humble servant. Nearly a thousand people came into my office in the summer of 1913 and the fall of that year, while the tariff legislation was pending here, and I had no objection to their coming. I am not particularly animadverting on what I consider to be a combination here; I am only stating the facts.

The river and harbor bill is inextricably tied up with the water-power interests. All of them have double teams. That is the reason why the strength of Samson is developed in pulling down the pillars of the temple of economy. It is the easiest thing in the world to get votes enough. All these bills are written, it may be, with that end in view. I know a Senator reprobated that idea a few days ago, and he said the suggestion was almost not to be borne that a bill had been framed with a view of getting votes enough to pass it. I do not think, in view of common practices here, that is very reprehensible. I do not think many of us ever wrote a contested bill in our lives that we did not have in our minds the different sections that might be drawn in in a certain way to get votes enough to pass the measure.

If it is a good measure, I do not see any objection to that. It is a question of expediency. Practical legislation is always tied up with the question of how many votes you can get for a bill. You would never get beyond the bill-writing stage; you would otherwise never be a statesman; you would be simply a bill carpenter, if you did not get votes enough to pass the measure. I am not referring to these matters, I hope, in a way to wound the sensibilities of anyone; but there is a joinder of these interests in this Capitol. There is the most shameless, reprehensible logrolling in river and harbor bills that is known in any form of legislation.

If you took any one of the projects which has been criticized by the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON] alone and made it stand on its merits, it would go down into oblivion with the criticism justly made of it and be met with the merited ridicule which it would provoke. But when you join a great number, Mr. President, of these items in a bill the forces behind it, by the simple process of aggregation, soon produce a majority sufficient to pass the measure, and that is what has happened here. It accounts for the strength of such measures.

I think it would be proper now to refer to the portion of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which I read yesterday at the beginning of my remarks. I was temporarily diverted from taking it up in due form and place because my colleague [Mr. LEWIS] referred to some of the items in this bill which were local to the State of Illinois. I ought properly to have said whatever I cared to say at that time. The matter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD related to occurrences in the Committee on Commerce.

I wish to say, first, that there is no record kept of any roll calls there, so far as I know, and I do not think any roll calls were had, because no Senator asked for them. If a roll call had occurred it would not have changed anything. I think substantially the same result would have been arrived at. When some of the items which were objectionable to me were voted on I voted against them. The vote was oral, and to many items no objection was made. On some of the additions of new items I voted "no." I offered the amendment to which I have referred relating to the act passed by the Illinois Legislature, to which I have devoted the greater part of the time since I have been commenting on the bill.

Mr. President, this amendment concerning the ruling of the War Department, and making a peremptory direction by Congress to permit this improvement, was adopted and is in the amended bill as reported by the committee.

Some color is given to the offering of this amendment by the opinion of the chief engineer himself. He says that if this permission should be given it rests with Congress to direct it to be done. So this amendment simply follows out a suggestion of the chief engineer.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 9, 1916, the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] is recorded as having made the following statement:

I think I can throw a little light on the attitude of the Senator from Illinois. I think he voted in favor of every appropriation for his State, but was very economical as to other States.

I did not vote on any appropriation for my own State, nor was any question raised about it. There was no necessity of voting one way or the other. I suggested to the Senator on the floor here that if he desired to make any motions to amend or to strike out any of the appropriations it was within his power, and that it would not change my attitude in relation to this bill if he did so. I will add to that that even if it should result in losing these appropriations it would not induce me to withdraw my opposition to some features of this bill.

I regard that as of the very substance of the evil that is sought to be prevented by the opposition to a bill of this character. It is, however subject to criticism and however void of merit any item or items in the bill may be, that if one item in the bill concerns the immediate locality that you represent you are either by way of necessity or by way of prudence, at least, or in common honor, bound to take the whole of the bill, good and bad, in order to secure what you want yourself. No regard is had to the merits of the item.

That is what is the matter with bills of this kind and all similar legislation where a great number of interests are united. The strength of the bill thereafter becomes not its merit but the union of interests, whether meritorious or otherwise, that are combined for the purpose of producing votes to pass the bill. If all the vicious projects were stricken from the bill, it would lose its voting strength. That, from the earliest ages of this country, in the history of legislation, has been the groundwork of the somewhat hackneyed word "logrolling." It has flourished, and in the river and harbor bill it has reached the greatest development ever known in this country. That is probably because the interests involved are more extensive, covering a wider area of country, and because the improvements that are meritorious in character, calling for larger expenditures of the public funds, furnish a barricade behind which indefensible schemes may hide. So, under this cloak, there have gradually crept in a great number of illegitimate expenditures that are sought to be protected by the good measures that impliedly are threatened with destruction unless the improper ones are included in the bill and let go through unscathed and uncriticized.

If the Senators who object to my attitude, or the attitude of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], will point out anything that is improper, and give any reason for having any one or more of those items stricken out, I anticipate that the Senate will strike them out, as they are in duty bound to do.

It was further said by the Senator—and I have no controversy with him, and I am not saying this by way of criticism, or with any desire to arouse his antagonism:

I did not charge that the Senator from Illinois was not economical with reference to appropriations for other States; but I failed to notice him practicing any particular economy when it came to the State of Illinois. That is all I said. I know that the high courage and magnificent patriotism of the Senator from Illinois will lead him to take an exalted ground when it comes to the discussion of this bill; and yet I venture to say that he will in no single instance move to reduce an Illinois appropriation.

I will say to the Senator that he is at perfect liberty to move to strike out any of those items, if he wishes, and I will vote as my judgment requires when that motion is made. If he will point to an item that does not refer to the navigation on the Great Lakes, or elsewhere which is without merit, I am perfectly willing that it shall be stricken out, and will vote to strike it out myself. By recurrence to those items it will be found that all of them are in connection with the Calumet or the Chicago River, either in Indiana or in Illinois. If the Senator will examine the locality, he will find, from the shore in Lake County near Waukegan until it reaches around the south shore of the lake to Indiana Harbor and beyond, a continuous network of harbors, piers, factories of all kinds, foundries, machine shops, blast furnaces, and every species of manufacture known to iron and steel.

There is a crescent on the west and south shore of Lake Michigan that, outside of New York City, handles the greatest commerce—and these are the recorded figures—the greatest commerce there is in the new world. If the Senator thinks that these appropriations are unworthy of maintenance or improvement, he can vote accordingly. I shall have no harsh words for him, neither will I endeavor to empty upon him the

sarcasm or ridicule he so often employs if he does so. I do not desire to take time that way nor to apply any of the moments that I shall occupy in the Senate in doing so.

I continue on that same subject that my recollection is I saw the Senator in the committee room but twice during the entire consideration of this bill. I think I was present at every meeting that was held concerning the river and harbor bill. He may have been there oftener than that time, I do not know, but I only saw him there upon the two occasions referred to. At one of those he presented with his usual ability and conciseness the claims of the Missouri River improvement which, so far as I could see, in spite of its condemnation by the Army Engineers, was in no immediate danger of strangulation at the hands of the committee. But when any apprehended fears were dissipated, he promptly withdrew. I saw no more of him about the committee.

So what I might have done in his absence he can not himself know, except as he gets it by second-hand information. I did not vote for the motion, and no roll call was taken to report this bill favorably. The junior Senator from Iowa and myself, I think, both audibly voted against reporting it. No roll call was asked; and the result, as I have heretofore said, would have been the same if there had been a roll call.

I have seen on some occasions some criticism of the chairman of the Commerce Committee growing out of the nature of this bill. It is wholly unjustified. I do not sympathize at all with such criticism as I have seen here and there in the press. The chairman could not prevent this bill from being reported if he wanted to. He acts only as chairman of the committee, and permits the majority of the committee to conduct its deliberations and to report favorably or unfavorably such bills as may be referred to his committee. He does not assume to be the committee.

His fairness in administering the duties of the chairmanship and uniform courtesy to all its members entitle him to better treatment than there has been sometimes accorded him. For my part, I do not think he was any more responsible for some features of this bill of which I do not approve than any other Member of the Senate, no more for that matter than I am myself, because he did not place those items to which I refer there.

So when it comes to the bill upon its merits it appears before the Senate with a minority report from the committee which the junior Senator from Iowa and myself signed. I do not understand that we lay ourselves open to any particular criticisms by doing so. It is exercised as a matter of right by many other Members of the Senate who are serving on various committees appointed by this body.

So I leave it in this way without further comment except to add that in certain parts of the Mississippi or Ohio Rivers country there have been improvements, so called, made by the Government in years past. One of them is several miles above Cairo. It is understood, of course, that the Ohio River empties into the Mississippi River at this point, Cairo lying on the narrow peninsula that is washed by the shores of both rivers. At this point several miles above in the Ohio River a levee was builded by the Government some years ago. The object of the alleged improvement was to improve the navigation of the Ohio River. It was thought that it would act partially as a sort of a jetty, and would throw the current of the Ohio River across from the shallows where the levee was built into a channel and concentrate the waters and thereby deepen it and improve it for the navigable channel used by the steamboats going that way. It succeeded in changing the current, especially during higher water than the normal stage. When the great floods up in the States above and at the headwaters of the river empty their contents into the upper river, it comes down and strikes this levee and is deflected to the opposite shore, causing the danger sought to be avoided. In the earlier time, before drainage was so complete and affected so rapidly as it is now, there was not such a manifest injury, but when it strikes the levee now, this great volume of flood water is thrown across on the opposite bank and has by erosion eaten away the bank, undermined the foundation of the levee, and has encroached upon the north shore of the river until it is threatening all that part of the country. The citizens in the Cairo levee district have levied and have paid either in current taxes or have issued bonds to raise money to the sum of $775,000. The Government several years ago appropriated and there was expended with the $775,000, $250,000 from the Public Treasury.

This improvement, costing over a million dollars, is in danger of being entirely destroyed with the city of Cairo. This alleged improvement has resulted especially during flood water in throwing it across to the opposite bank and eating away the land until now it is almost up to the foundations of the levee. The next flood water coming down the Ohio with the currents continuing as they are will undermine the foundation of this million-dollar levee and wash enough of it down the river to destroy the system.

The city of Cairo has about 18,000 population. It was safe up until recent years, until the aggregation of water above caused by the difference in drainage and by the concentration of surface water has made the problem of flood control different from that of previous years. So the city is now in imminent danger, unless some provision should be made. It is only by good fortune that a public calamity has been averted. It has so happened in the operation of the forces of nature up to this time that simultaneous high water has not occurred on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers at the same time. If the flood water contained in both rivers came at the same time the levee under present conditions would be totally destroyed and the river would overwhelm the city.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Illinois if the railroad embankment at Cairo would be a protection to the city. As I remember, there is a very large railroad embankment there along the Ohio River. Is the levee on the Ohio River?

Mr. SHERMAN. The levee is on the Ohio River, the greater part of it.

Mr. KENYON. If the levee breaks would the embankment of the railroad protect the city?

Mr. SHERMAN. No, Mr. President, it would not be an adequate protection. The Illinois Central, the Mobile & Ohio, and other roads come down and converge at that point. In effect this levee that I am referring to, if it were broken, would destroy the railroads that have access to the city at that point.

It in former years was not a problem as it is now. As things are now, the river is higher than the city of Cairo. You can stand on the street in Cairo and look to the Mississippi River, and the level of the channel is higher than some of the streets, and it is only the embankment thrown up that keeps it from overflowing that part of the city. The part of the levee that I refer to when it was builded originally was sufficient. It gave all the protection the city needed.

Below there is another improvement that has not tended to make matters any better. I think it is down in the neighborhood of Columbus, Ky. There were levees built for a twofold purpose—to protect the adjacent country from high water and to deepen the channel, and to some degree wash the sediment that came from above, that had a tendency to collect, and especially as the shoal water increased had a tendency to destroy the navigable channel and to make more dredging necessary at that point. So these levees were built by the Government. I think if they were not entirely paid for by Government appropriation they were mostly so. Perhaps some local money was used by the immediate neighborhood that was benefited by the levee. But the increased flood water, as it is now, rushes down in an immense volume from both rivers after the Ohio River has joined it, being below between the levees, and this great volume of water, while it deepens the channel, often has a tendency, I am told, to back it up, and the concentrated, narrowed channel can not carry all the great quantity of water presented without raising the level above the levee. That increases the danger on both the Ohio and the Mississippi River to the city. During one high water about two or two and one-half years ago the level of the flood water at its highest point only lacked, as I remember, about 13 inches of reaching the top of the levee. Of course, if the top of the levee had been reached nothing but destruction awaited the entire city.

When the levee was built originally it was supposed to be far enough above the highest stage of water that had been presented on the river to be absolutely safe; but from the Mississippi River all along from Minnesota down, and from Pittsburgh all the way down on the Ohio River, most of us are familiar with the very great rapidity, with the concentration of surface water that falls either in the melting of snows or in continuous rains, so that such floods as at Dayton, Ohio, the Muskingum River at Shawneetown, the trouble on the Ohio and Wabash, and all the way down has resulted from this vastly increased flood of water that comes in at uncertain intervals either in winter or in summer.

So a part of the flood-control problem must necessarily take into account the changed conditions under which high waters are created in these two rivers. To some degree I suppose the same thing applies to the Missouri River.

This, I understand, was taken into consideration by the Committee on Commerce when an amendment was added that placed discretionary power in the hands of the Mississippi River Commission, of which Col. Townsend, I believe, is still the chair-

man. It gave discretion to that commission, if they wished, to use a certain portion of the general appropriation within the section referred to by this item for the strengthening of the levee that I have referred to near the city of Cairo.

I have already said, Mr. President, that this amendment, together with the one that I have offered referring to the Illinois River, are the only ones in which I was personally interested. They did not increase the sum of money provided by the bill. The item already provided for the Mississippi River Commission had been fixed, and it is only in the distribution of it at the points where emergencies exist that any part of it could be spent under the power conferred upon this commission.

On the other, if any complaint should be made that I ask permission for the expenditure by my own State of $5,000,000 to be paid out of the treasury of that State, I am willing to take such criticism as may come. It may be, as I suggested yesterday, that it is a breach of precedent. It may be such an unusual thing that it would be regarded as extremely dangerous for the future to ask the privilege of spending your own money instead of spending somebody else's money. I know that it is not the usual legislative precedent. It is very seldom that legislation assumes that form and it may be a very dangerous example. The spirit of the thing may lead to trouble if it should be regarded as a precedent, and, like the ghost that Hamlet saw, he fears it, because he says:

> The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil; and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
> As he is very potent with such spirits,
> Abuses me to damn me.

That is the only menace I can see in it, that it may take advantage of our weakness and our melancholy, because I suppose we have the ups and downs that belong to legislative bodies like everybody else, and this would be a dangerous precedent, an evil spirit boding some strange eruption to the State that might be intruded here.

I have heard from time immemorial almost, Mr. President, about the control of rates. The junior Senator from Iowa asked particularly about it this morning, and he referred to it in a very cogent way himself. I have heard that ever since I opposed appropriations in the State legislature beginning back nearly 20 years ago. I opposed for many years the appropriation of money to the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

It had a sort of traffic stoppage. The channel had fallen in—decayed. You could not get over it unless you had a mud boat. I think at one time I christened it "Tadpole Ditch," which adhered to it for many years. It may have had something to do with ridiculing out some seven or eight hundred thousand dollars of an appropriation for its benefit at one time. But when I was doing that I was assailed as a friend of the steam railroads. Some newspapers along the Illinois Valley were disposed to see it that way. They wasted a good deal of printer's ink to no effect. It did not change anybody's opinion that I know of. All the friends of the appropriation were for it, anyhow, and those of us who were opposed to it were still against it. But the principal argument was that it controlled railroad rates and that we were bought by the railroads. I have been alleged to have been bought by so many things in my time that I suppose my epidermis has become somewhat hardened; it ceases to have the effect on me that it had in the earlier times when I used to lie awake nights and worry about a great many villainies charged against me. All I am solicitous about is that the allegations are not true.

So these charges that the control of rates rested with appropriations to keep waterways going are as old as the contest not merely in legislatures, but the contests between water carriers and railway carriers. That is a contest that began before legislatures considered it. That is a contest that began in the very nature of things in economics, not in law. It began when railroads first seized the commerce of the country and began to draw it away from the waterways. The earlier settlers of this country in pioneer days always settled along the waterways. That is the reason why in the history of the country especially the early settlements are found along the rivers. They were the avenues of communication. If a person was off the river it is now like being off the railroad, miles away from the outside world. They furnished the communication. At that time all the carriers traveled over their bosom. So when the railways came this contest began.

The railways of this country have fought their way through, until they have taken from the waterways their commerce. I do not believe that by any of the methods of human legislation will a single ton of commerce naturally falling to the railways be withdrawn from the steam railways of this country. I think, rather, that they will continue their encroachment.

I am willing to take the chance of this appropriation, as I have said, because it is an experimental move to see whether the barge commerce, with a self-propelled barge, with modern motors carrying from one to three thousand tons on a single boat and traveling over an 8-foot depth, will to some degree solve the question of cheaper rates, and whether they can take away from the railways some of the traffic that they have absorbed. That is the question, and I am willing to try it. But I want to be reasonably prudent. I do not want to spend the whole of the money—the whole of the $20,000,000—so that if it proves to be a failure it will all go together. I would spend 25 per cent of it and take a chance on it that way.

So when it comes to the control of rates it is an old argument and, I think, an ineffective one, because this small area of this immediate improvement does not concern the control of rates. It only affects the rate for such as were within a convenient distance of water points. Wherever the elevators were located at points where the grain barges could take their cargoes down the river, where they sought the market at St. Louis, the rates were affected. There were better rates at those points necessarily than where there was no water competition. But that was only for a comparatively thin ribbon of population that bordered each side of the waterway. At best it was only 20 miles; it seldom went beyond.

It must be kept in mind that no railway in the Illinois or Mississippi Valley ever loads grain into a box car and carries it to a water point on the river and there transships it into a grain barge. It is not profitable. There may be isolated cases here and there of shipments made in that way, but the universal rule is that when merchandise goes into a box car it stays there until it reaches its destination. So the comparatively small population that bordered each side of a navigable stream in that country were the only ones that received any benefits from the lower rates. Outside of that, the same rates prevailed as in other places.

The question arose then upon a consideration of all the freight carried on these navigable rivers, comparing it with the appropriations made by the legislature, whether they were not paying an excessive price to regulate the charges of the steam roads. The people, outside of the small area affected, insisted very strenuously that they were all taxed, some millions of them, to benefit a few thousands residing within the area of water competition. I think their complaint was just. It was upon that ground that we objected to further appropriations, running up into some millions of dollars, levied by direct taxes upon the assessed property of the State to further regulate rates in that way, and we made the same argument that the junior Senator from Iowa has well made.

We had our railroad and warehouse commission in that State, which has since been succeeded by a public-utilities commission, having the same and more extensive powers than had its predecessor. We asked, I think reasonably, why the railway and warehouse commission did not fix rates at a reasonable figure, as it was a poor way to attempt to create an expensive competitive carrier for the sole purpose of reducing rates by competition, performing a service we had created a commission to perform.

Now, we come to the same thing here. I remember in 1887, when Senator Cullom introduced the interstate commerce bill in this body. Of course, most of the carriers were against it. They questioned its constitutionality; they had some doubts about whether a common carrier of that character, built by private funds, although it was quasi public in its services, could be regulated by the Government, State, or national. So the litigation proceeded apace until it reached the court of last resort here in this Capitol, and they sustained such legislation. In the Ruggles case in Illinois, in the Bowman case from Iowa, and in many other cases of a like kind the question was fully litigated, both as it affected the warehouses and the common carriers; and the principle was firmly established that the Government, whether State or National, had a right to fix reasonable maximum charges. I think that, so far as transportation charges are concerned, we could well amend the act as suggested by the Senator from Iowa, and provide minimum rates under certain conditions below which the railroads could not carry merchandise. In that event, the waterways could be made more serviceable, if there is anything in competition, and I see no objection now to such a change in the law.

From 1887 the legislation proceeded. It will soon be 30 years since that bill was introduced. That marks more than the lifetime of an average generation. We have legislated; we have litigated; we have administered in a great variety of ways one of the most stupendous problems there is in this country, affecting more than 250,000 miles of common railway carriers, with an aggregate capital stock of many billions of

dollars, and with bond issues and various forms of indebtedness, amounting to very great sums; and still we have the Interstate Commerce Commission. It has continued; it is in operation to-day; it is one of the chosen instruments for the purpose of working out this great problem.

If the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. President, is for the purposes designed, why do we need, at the expense of many million dollars, to create some other form of regulation for the railways that are all under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission? It is proposed not to regulate them by law enacted by Congress, but to regulate them by species of economic competition; to create water carriers, to let the water carrier reduce the rates, and to make the railways meet the reduction. We do not need to maintain two such instruments.

I am reminded a good deal of a lawyer whom I one time heard in court. He had 11 objections filed, and the court asked him what he thought of them. He said, "There are 11 fatal objections." The court said: "State one fatal objection, and that will be enough; we will let the other 10 go over until some other time." If we have one instrument of regulation, and if it is effective, if it can accomplish anything, let us use it. If it is a failure, let us destroy the whole system. If the Interstate Commerce Commission, after we have tried it for 30 years, can not regulate, we ought to find that out. We ought to have found it out before; but if we have not done so, let us find it out now.

I believe the Interstate Commerce Commission has justified its existence; I believe it has accomplished the purposes designed by those who framed and enacted the measure which created it. I think it is an adequate mechanism for the regulation of rates, reasonably protecting the shipping public and the railways themselves. I believe we are working out those problems each year in detail, so that instruments of that kind become more effective in protecting both the carrier and the shipper and the investor.

If we have an effective instrument for the regulation of rates, what is the use of creating a system, the cost of which runs into the millions of dollars—$20,000,000 at the last session of the Sixty-third Congress, $42,000,000 here in this bill? And like most of such measures, unless they are restricted by the unpleasant duty which the Senator from Iowa and myself are trying to perform here, these bills never grow less. I never knew a bill on matters of this kind, in either State or National legislation, to grow less unless somebody took the scalpel and operated on it. In the very nature of things, like other evils, both in legislative bodies and outside of legislative bodies, they are always bound to increase; they never minimize, they always, like Oliver Twist, are crying "for more." Their appetite grows constantly by gratification.

One thing I wish particularly to allude to in connection with this bill, as a separate subject, is the tremendous governmental expenditures we are facing. I do not know how the tax rates run in the different States in the shape of direct taxation for local purposes, for State, county, school district purposes, and for boulevards and libraries and strictly municipal purposes; but they are high enough. They run something like 7 cents in many cities in our State; that is, direct taxation for all purposes, from the State tax through to the last local tax charge.

In addition to that, in many districts there are levee taxes, drainage taxes, and other local burdens. As I have stated, something near $80,000,000 has been spent for the Chicago sanitary district channel. It will reach $100,000,000 before it is completed. That is a distinct form of taxation, as such measures always are, because there are special districts created for a defined purpose. There is a constant increase of taxes within State lines; there is a constant increase in taxes levied by congressional action. I see no evidence, and less prospect, of economies here, so far as I can tell.

Expenditures are not to be charged alone to preparedness. The naval and military bills will carry ultimately many million dollars. They will be distributed through, say, a five-year period or through some stated interval, whatever it may be; but, at any rate, there is no prospect of a diminution in a solitary branch of public expenditure in this Capitol. I have alluded to some of these and I wish to take them up in their turn.

Under the bill for making more efficient the Military Establishment of the United States at this time, it is impossible to predict what sums will be required ultimately to care for that item of expenditure. The military department of this Government will cost more for a given number of men than probably in any other country in the world. That is inevitable. In time of peace we pay $15 a month to a private in the Regular Army during his first year of service. That is increased in his subsequent years of service. As I remember, the bill reported by the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] increased—one bill did, at least—the compensation of a private in the Regular Army the first year of his service from $15 to $18 a month—an increase of 20 per cent.

I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some weeks ago a tabulated statement of the compensation paid both privates and officers in the armies of the principal civilized countries of the world. I did that in order to have some convenient standard by which to compare our appropriations. I will not undertake to quote from memory save to say that the compensation of the private soldier in many of the principal countries of Europe in time of peace serving in the army is from 1½ to 7 cents a day, while our privates are paid in the neighborhood of 60 cents a day. In time of war the amounts are increased; but, even then, the per diem pay is trifling, and that is true of the soldiers now serving in the titanic struggle in progress in the Old World.

Our officers are paid correspondingly larger sums. All of the officers in the European armies are underpaid, compared with our standard. Their methods of living are below the standard of our living. Both privates and officers in their mess are better cared for in this country than they are elsewhere. Their housing, whether in barracks or in camps, costs more money and is better than the housing of the soldiers of other countries. If better results are produced in Europe, it is because the military and the medical authorities in the Old World have learned to "sanitate" and safeguard and to economize and get more for an expenditure of money than we do in this country.

I think we are the most extravagant of all the countries of the world, both in public and in private expenditures. We have to a very large degree squandered the birthright that has been given to us by a bountiful Providence. We have cut down our forests; we have robbed our soil; we have wasted our minerals; we have destroyed millions of dollars by fire until our fire bill is greater than that of any other country of the world. It is an absolute loss. But still we are headed in the same general extravagant direction, and the most unpopular thing in the world is to talk economy in either public or private life.

We take a just pride in our savings banks. Certainly in manufacturing centers they show a most commendable increase in deposits. The building and loan associations show an increase in the number of homes and roofs which they have been instrumental in placing over the heads of members of the family; but after all, when we consider that our wealth is the greatest of any civilized country; when we consider our expenditures, our standards of living and kind of living, we are squandering our precious inheritance at a rate that ought to bring up with a sharp turn everybody who thinks about it for a moment.

We have just passed a rural-credit bill. It is not a rural-credit bill at all; it is a Government credit bill. There is not a farmer without means in all this country who will ever borrow a dollar any easier because of the rural-credits bill. A man has to have 50 per cent of assets to go on before he can borrow. That is the theory of the bill. I say the "theory of the bill," because if a man's assets are small, if his margin of security does not run 50 per cent, he will have to beat the Government by seeing the appraiser and have him raise the valuation on the land, and that is what will be done. All the free and easy ways in which Uncle Sam gets the worst of every transaction will manifest themselves inside of a five-year period on Government loans in a way that will return to plague and curse the very house that caused it.

I handled some millions of dollars a period of years without the loss of a single dollar of principal or interest, largely in the form of investment on first mortgages on corn-belt land, and to a considerable extent in the form of bonds of various kinds, and I know from my experience, Mr. President, that it is harder to invest money and keep it and get the principal back, with the contract rate of interest, than it is to make it.

When the rural-credits bill, which is a part of the reason why we ought to trim this bill under consideration, shall have become operative I know just how it will work, I think, in certain parts of the country. Where land has reached a settled value, where it is now selling for $200 or $250 an acre, it is not wanted—it will be of no use. No land banks will be organized in such a section of the country, unless when they are organized the Government becomes a subscriber, and in that event the Government will pay out of the Treasury its subscription. Nobody in that country will borrow in that way, and the inevitable result will be that that money raised in that way naturally will come out of the Treasury and be loaned elsewhere—not directly, but in an indirect way—because in parts of the country where land is of more unsettled value, where loans are more difficult to obtain, the rates are higher because the security is less and

more precarious in character. Rates do not obey laws made by men. They are made by the laws of business, and it will continue to be an irrepealable law long after the present membership of the Senate has passed away. So in such localities where loans are now difficult to make the mortgages will be deposited and the debenture bonds will be issued on them. The debentures will then be sold and will be taken up in localities where nobody is using the bank to borrow, and the money will be drawn out of the land banks to buy farm-loan bonds and sent down below, where they do not have the money to loan. It is a part and parcel of the same kind of a scheme that has been operated under another measure.

Look at the report of the Federal reserve bank. Where do they rediscount and where are their notes in circulation? In a few places. Richmond, Va., Dallas, Tex., and Atlanta, Ga., have a greater part of them all, and the rural-credits scheme will operate in exactly the same way, to take money from some parts of the Union and transmit it to other parts involuntarily, by the exercise of governmental power under the guise of taxation. Taxation means placing money ultimately into the Treasury, and out of the Treasury will be drawn $42,000,000 for the river and harbor bill. That is what this means.

If there is any politics in this I face it now; but those portions of the United States unfavorably affected by what I regard as an unjust operation of governmental power will realize before many months what these combined legislative results are, and they will understand that the power of government has been used involuntarily to exact money from them by the power of taxation and involuntarily to loan it to people where, by the laws of commerce or the rules of sound investment, it will not now go. You can attract money, but you can not drive it unless you employ the Government under the guise of confiscation so to do.

When we get through with that the Navy comes along. How much money it will take nobody knows. In airships, submarines, dreadnaughts, and the whole train of auxiliary equipment that sustains a symmetrical Navy we are to be equal, we are told in some sources, to any country in the world. The only real relief that I can see is that if the submarines keep blowing up the navies of the world it will not be so hard to catch up with them after a while, and it may be that we could be equal to any first-class naval power without very greatly burdening ourselves if we wait a year or two. That problem will be worked out in the fullness of time; but just now the naval bill is pending in the Naval Committee of the other House and soon will be out on the floor of that body, and in due time will make its appearance in this body, and again more money will be required. Nobody can tell how many millions will be appropriated, for we are no longer dealing with thousands and hundreds of thousands; we are dealing now with millions and hundreds of millions. It was said some years ago that ours was a billion dollar country, and I suppose we will be soon able to say that it is a two billion dollar country. That sounds large and it flatters the national vanity to think so. We are headed in that direction and traveling toward it with great rapidity, and everything here accelerates the movement. It is easy to spend, but it is hard to pay. Anybody can pass appropriation bills, but the test comes when we frame taxation and try to justify it.

There is nothing as dangerous as taxation. In the Hundred Years' War in the low countries, when the Duke of Alva had laid waste the Netherlands, they defended themselves. There was only a necessary resistance to him and to the manifold cruelties which King Philip enjoined upon him to inflict in order that he might destroy the Dutch people. They were imprisoned; they were scourged with many stripes; they were burnt at the stake; they were buried alive, and all the nameless cruelties that could be devised by a military tyrant of that age were practiced upon them. All that has been written in the eloquent language of a Motley conveys to us the horrors of their situation; but still there was no decisive resistance among the people. In an evil moment King Philip, being pressed for money, as he was a great part of his life, taxed the low countries the tenth penny of their income. He did not ask for the Stadtholders to levy the tax; he did not ask the consent of the Dutch people to pay the tax; he himself levied it arbitrarily by an edict of the Crown. Then they forgot all the other cruelties which they had endured, and on the question of unjust taxation Dutchmen who had for centuries fought the tides with the dike and conquered rose, and the Hundred Years' War came to an end, and they conquered the greatest military nation of that age. The Spanish invader was destroyed, not necessarily because of the nameless cruelties he had inflicted, but because he would not levy taxes according to the laws of the Netherlands.

It is in every northern race. It is in every Anglo-Saxon, in every person of north Europe or Germanic origin. Do not mistake it, Mr. President. You and I know what it means. We all know. The English stood it from the time of Charles I a long time. They were imprisoned in the tower; they were beheaded for treason unjustly; they were banished from the realm. They stood the horrors of an ancient law coming down from the feudal ages for many years, as the Hollanders did, without complaint; and finally Charles levied ship money, an unjust and arbitrary tax, without the consent of the Commons. What happened? They rose in revolt at this unspeakable outrage. That was as instinctive with the English people as the drawing of their breath or the beating of their hearts. They took arms in rebellion against the Crown, and at Naseby Field and Marston Moor they fought the taxpayers' battles against the King's troops. They made him prisoner. They indicted him for murder. Read the old writs. They proceeded with their capias, their mittimus, with their writs for execution, just as the forms are now, with but little change. They beheaded him on the streets of London in a struggle against unjust taxation. Our Revolutionary War that founded the American Republic duplicated their experience.

Our institutions are borrowed from those of England. Our traditions are their traditions. Our dislike for taxes is their dislike. And here we are voting away money as if millions were shillings and as if hundreds of millions were merely a few pounds or a few dollars. We are voting money to Raccoon Creek and to Oyster Creek. We pour some thousands into Black River. Bear Creek comes along, and with an almighty hug it takes from the Treasury its measure of tribute. The Osage River comes galloping down the ages as another great waterway that is to regulate the steam roads of the country, and keeping pace with it is the Gasconade; and it goes thundering down through the corridors of time until it hits the White River, I believe, down some place about Poplar Bluff.

Why, the only improvement, the only live thing there is there, is a snag boat. If you are going to vote for it as a matter of entertainment for the public, all right, but put it on the right ground. Do not call it a public improvement. Call it a public show. When the snag boat gets up steam and lifts its steam shovel in operation, or the clamshell, or whatever it is, the populace comes for miles. It is a curiosity. The Zoological Garden out here has nothing on a dredge down in some of these inland rivers, Heaven knows. But the thousands go on, and the dredge boat still digs out a few tons of sediment per annum.

I wish I had in one vast heap all the logs and trees and snags and sawyers and sediment that have ever been pulled out of the Mississippi River. You remember Mark Twain had some statistics on the Mississippi. He had figured out from the engineers' report how much sediment was carried down through the Delta each year, the number of cubic feet; and it kept piling up until it reached out into the Gulf of Mexico, and they had the number of feet steadily rising toward the surface—that was before the jetties were built—so he figured out from the annual deposit of sediment that in a certain number of years the mouth of the Mississippi River would be many hundred feet above the surface of the water in the Gulf of Mexico.

There is no more of an exaggeration in that than there is in the effort to improve some of these inland rivers. Along the Trinity and the Anahuac, down in Texas, it will be some 35 or 40 years before the project that was entered upon some years ago will be carried out or completed. Now, the Lone Star State is a law unto itself, very largely. It was once a sovereign State, and down near some of those rivers is the country where Sam Houston fought his battle with Santa Anna. Sam Houston was once a Member of the Senate. He used to sit over in the old Senate Chamber and whittle cypress shingles a good part of the time the Senate was in session, so his biographer says. We could afford to have bought Santa Anna, his whole army, including the cork leg that he lost in that fight, and have given it to him, let him go out of the country, and pay all the costs of the Texan War, if they could have taken the Trinity River with them. It runs up so that if you go down there you see more locks than you do river. When they get through with it all the way up to the head of navigation it will be mostly locks and dams. They will have to start a pipe line from the Gulf, with a pumping station, to get enough water into the headwaters of the river to keep the flow going down, and they will not have anything but a down-river traffic when it is done; it will not work both ways, and I am opposed to a rule that will not work both ways. [Laughter.]

I do not care a rap how many of my appropriations you kill around in my country. Vote them out if you want to. I will take the consequences. I have slaughtered so many appropriations in that country, anyhow, that I might as well have a

little more misery. I can likely stand a few more enemies. I am perfectly indifferent; but you will never get me to vote for any such double-barreled abomination as this bill. [Laughter.] Some parts of it, if they were separated, I would gladly vote for. It is not a question of the locality. It is the character of the improvement. There are proper appropriations in Florida; there are proper ones all around the coast, south and southeast; but there are some that the less said about the better.

This bill reminds me of a good many other things I have seen, Mr. President. Under its cloak, which conceals apparently a sound body on the inside, there is so much of the vermin of worthless appropriations that have fattened themselves on it that the parasites will sap the strength of the virtuous body.

It is going to be 4 o'clock pretty soon, and I vowed I would quit before that time. I wanted to read in conclusion here, as I come near it, the plank for economy. Did the junior Senator from Iowa insert that in his remarks—the Baltimore plank on economy?

Mr. KENYON. Not just as it appears there. I referred to it.

Mr. SHERMAN. I want to insert this, not with a view of any political effect, but as a warning to my Republican brethren that they do not go and do likewise—make fair promises, and then appropriate in utter forgetfulness of those promises.

I read from a historic document, penned by divers hands in the city of Baltimore in 1912.

There sat in that convention many eminent patriots, all the way from Bryan to Ryan. [Laughter.] In addition to other things there was a positive inhibition against second terms, the source of which I think I know. It was written, as the lawyers say, with malice aforethought. It was intended to be an antidote, in order that the author of that plank might possibly himself have a chance to run the fourth time.

The language is as follows:

> We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Now think of it! I refrain from comment on it because that would be foreign to my purpose. I only insert it here in view of what I say about these items of expenditure, running up into some millions; and I understand there is on the way and will soon be along, a shipping bill. It will not be quite like the one that died of strangulation here at the end of the Sixty-third Congress. It is more like a subsidy. It has all the weaknesses, if there be any such, of a subsidy, without a particle of a subsidy's strength. It is proposed to limit the enterprise to five years' ownership by the Government. It is problematical how much money it will take, but perish any groveling thought that it will take anything less than fifty millions! We shall not deal with merely a few millions. If we can not have a fifty or forty million dollar bill, as it was before, at least, we will stamp ourselves as cheap and unworthy cheeseparers among the statesmen of the world. Let us have a fifty-million-dollar enterprise; and when it is all done, what will happen? Draw the money out of the Treasury, start a few shipyards, build a few boats, start a few lines, get terminal facilities, secure business. All that is to be done in five years. Well, I think I see five years speeding away into the great unknown, and a lot of us will pass through nature to eternity before that ship line is ever started.

I referred to the Plaza improvement. We have not done with the Plaza; it is a wilderness of weeds and hope deferred. It is a Government job, and it is more than three years old now. We are going to start a shipping line—not one, but many—all the way from the Atlantic coast to Europe, and from the Pacific coasts down through the Straits of Magellan to South American and oriental trade. If there is anything that sets a statesman's imagination aflame it is to talk about foreign commerce. We shall hear that spoken of until I almost fear I shall lose my wits, myself, under the stress of a fervid imagination. Foreign commerce! Well, what is the use of foreign commerce? If the Government does not protect us better than it has been protecting us in Mexico, I will stay at home. I will not advise any client of mine to engage in foreign commerce and be advised to flee for his life the first time trouble appears over the horizon.

The head of this administration wants our citizens to get out of Mexico. They have been in there a long time. They went in there during a period of 28 years of peace under Diaz. My colleagues, my friends here who voted to have people not already in to stay out of Europe were denounced as un-American. Our people who were already in Mexico are told to abandon their possessions and flee. I was only trying to keep other people from going in.

Foreign commerce and a shipping bill! Why, suppose the Government owns the ships, and by any mishap or miscalculation we get them completed before the five-year period has elapsed, and the ships go abroad. If some country seizes one of them or blows it up with a submarine, how would we act? It is a Government boat. What will we do? Lose it, of course, and say nothing about it; send them a few notes, and tell them not to do that any more; it is unseemly and unladylike to behave in that way. Our Chief Executive never wants to knock anybody down and sit on his neck except in his speeches.

Now, we get through with forty or fifty million dollars in a shipping bill. These things, some of them, we have done. These are not in the future. They are in the past, unhappily.

Nitrates! That is to make powder, in large part, and extract nitrogen from the air; and what we do not need for powder we will use for fertilizer. There we are, all the way from battleships and merchant ships to fertilizer; all the way from powder to Bear Creek. The nitrates will take about $18,000,000 more. If war occurs with any ordinary first-class power, if we wait for a Government nitrate plant to contribute to the manufacture of enough explosives to defend ourselves we will be relegated to the class of Nineveh and Tyre long before we ever defend ourselves by anything made by the Government in a nitrate plant.

You know what the history of almost all republics is. You know what the history of this Republic is, and the history of England. When we get into war you have to kill off about everybody there is in office before they can defend themselves and get ready for actual fighting. They destroyed nearly all the generals in the Civil War before they found anybody who was a real general. That is the bane and the weakness of republican government. It has been so since time began. The early republics exhausted themselves in their forums and market places talking about it. They died from governmental inertia and from a surplus of public conversation. [Laughter.] They had more tongue than they had fight; the republic failed and a monarchy succeeded it, because a king can make up his mind to do something and do it promptly. The more things the Government undertakes to do in this country, not only the more burdens we have the Treasury assume, but the more incompetent we are in the way of public defense. I will pit private resources at 66 cents on the dollar against 100 cents of every dollar of public undertaking, and I will beat you and pay dividends and conquer the world on that basis. That is the truth of it.

If this country ever is overcome by a foreign power it will be because the Government undertakes, by Government undertaking, to do these things that are necessary for public defense and trusts nothing to the private enterprise of her citizens. The individual initiative of the Anglo-Saxon race for hundreds of years has reached that point in our civilization when it has invented more, developed more, and done more, and reclaimed more wastes of the world than at any period in our history. Not from remote times have I seen a country that was dominated by government enterprises until but little was left for private enterprise ever succeed in the race with other civilized powers. We are having the Government undertake to do it all, and doing it in the name of "preparedness."

Nitrates, and then $85,000,000 for public highways! Well, if a public enemy comes, and we do not do better on this undertaking than we do on some others, it may be a blessing if the highways are not completed when war comes, because it would enable the enemy to reach the interior and chase us all the faster and reach us for destructive purposes more speedily. [Laughter.] I am not sure, unless we safeguard ourselves better, but that I would rather have bad roads if we get into war. Then, when the enemy reaches our shores he may decimate the coast towns a little, but by the time he reaches the interior, if the roads are as bad as they are in the corn belt, he will be exhausted. It will be a comparatively simple matter to wade in and dispatch him with a club. [Laughter.] This will be a reversion to the primitive form of combat, which will not take so much time to prepare.

There are some other things coming along—new offices, a number of them, and increases in salaries, a number of them. I have not had time so far to figure them up, but in due season I will take an accounting and find out just how the audit stands; I have no doubt but that many deserving patriots—and I am saying that in no invidious sense—will have received the reward that is due them for their laudable conduct.

How many more of these are coming down the way? Nearly all the great departmental bills are yet to come in. A few of them are passed—the Indian appropriation bill, the legislative bill—but a great number are yet to come, and not in a solitary one of these great supply bills for the departments will there be a reduction.

On top of that is a fixed charge proposed by Senate bill 706, for the retirement of judges. You go back to the appropriations and you find about $140,000 being paid out every year now for retired judges, and when this bill gets through nobody can tell what the amount will be. I think some Senator estimated that there would be some 37 eligible for retirement by March, 1917. I do not state that on my own responsibility. I only quote it; but it is evident, Mr. President, that it will add to the judicial item a very considerable expense before we have a chance to repeal it.

What is the excuse for this? This is not political. It is that judges 70 years of age and eligible to retirement under existing law, shall be involuntarily retired by the operations of this proposed measure, just because they are 70 years old. Well, how many Senators do you suppose there are in this body who are 70 years old? Eleven, and as I look them over truth compels me to say that I believe they are the most efficient and wisest of all the 96. They have the best balance wheel, and they can see further ahead, on either side of the Chamber—those that have passed the allotted Biblical age of threescore years and ten—of all the number here. Then from 67 to 69 there are eight, and I should say about the same thing for them. About us giddy young things I will not say anything. If, happily, our constituents permit us to survive and remain in this body, we will learn in time, and by the time we are 70 years of age we will be fit to be real Senators.

This bill is based on the idea that a man is not qualified to do anything after he is 70 years old. Life in the Senate is just about as strenuous as it is on the bench. There is at least one ex-Federal judge sitting in this Senate, and I anticipate that if he would give honest expression he would say that it was just as difficult to carry on a filibuster on a shipping bill as it was to hear a case. [Laughter.]

Still they say when a man is 70 years old he ought to be retired and we ought to add to the expense of the Government some hundreds of thousands of dollars, not for this year but for perpetuity. What for? I do not want to discuss that part of it. I will get to that some other time, if the bill ever comes up again. I have more material laid away on the coals cooking for that when it comes, and it would not be entirely fit to interpolate it at this stage of my comment on the river and harbor bill, because I promised myself I would close at 4 o'clock.

When all these things come marching home in the way of appropriations, see where we are getting to. The Army bill, the Navy bill, the increases that are normal and many increases that are abnormal or Democratic, whichever way you want to put it. They come along in due course, all these great bills; we have yet to hear from all these I have enumerated, one after the other. Not a few million but many million are here. Is anybody's voice ever raised to cut it down? Not until the junior Senator from Iowa raised his protest against this bill has anything ever been heard, not once against these expenditures of many millions of dollars. There is an old saying, "Tell the truth and shame the devil." We do not need to do that. We can tell the truth and let him go his evil way. The Senate ought to take care of these extraordinary expenditures. If I had anything to do with the majority party, instead of increasing I would be joining my voice in an attempt to execute this plank in the Baltimore platform which I have inserted in the RECORD. If I were a real Democratic economist, I would insist on it. I would insist from prudential motives. I would do that because there is an election coming in November, and the American people are a good deal like the Dutch and the English and all the races of north Europe—they are opposed to unnecessary taxation.

A large part of this river and harbor bill is utterly unjustifiable. These great undertakings, calling for millions of dollars, are enterprises which the Government ought not to undertake at its own expense to promote and operate. All the way from the railway in Alaska down to the nitrate plant that will be ultimately by these same considerate engineers, I think, located at Muscle Shoals, on a well-known river—all the way through, when they are aggregated, they will run up into hundreds of millions of dollars of additional expenditure. What will happen? You will have to pay the bill somehow, some time. You will not issue bonds. What else? Taxation. Your revenue bill will exceed anything ever seen in our history.

I will vote against all these appropriations. When it comes to paying the debt, I have been somewhat afflicted with a habit of paying my debts all my life, and I am likely to help you pay your debt, but I will vote against your contracting a large part of the debt. I do not know just what form I will vote to raise the money, but some form. If we contract the expenditures, we must pay them. So we may expect other emergency taxes like that of October 22, 1914. We may expect more taxes on conveyances, on promissory notes, on mortgages and bonds, and various evidences of indebtedness; an increase in income taxes, an excise tax on certain manufactures, inheritance taxes, which will only multiply the burdens saddled upon the States; and I do not regard any State that has grown wealthy as having caused some other State to grow poor. I do not believe in that system of economics. I believe the wealthy States—the men in them who have worked and saved and invested, engaged in commerce, have sailed the sea, have built railroads, have been the competent men to do the great things of the country—have profited accordingly, as they ought to do. I do not think they have subtracted in New York from the wealth of my part of the western country. I think they have only gathered to themselves by legitimate means the capital and merchandise from all over the world. I do not think Chicago has made New Orleans any poorer or that New Orleans has made Des Moines, Iowa, any poorer in that each city has gathered within its borders large banks, large investment establishments, large mercantile establishments, factories, and transportation lines of various kinds.

I go on the idea that the States that have incomes have by the ingenuity, the industry, the thrift, the enterprise, and the activity of their men legitimately made all the wealth that they have accumulated through the years, and they are not to be regarded as malefactors simply because they have incomes. A man of wealth is as necessary as anybody else. It is not the question as to the owner of the wealth, it is the question whether he accumulated it honestly. If he did, I believe in protecting the man with millions as much as I do in protecting the man who has only his homestead and his daily wage for his support.

These are some of the things we are considering here. All of these questions are inseparably connected with the river and harbor bill. It is only one of the many leaks in the Public Treasury, and the more we pass these measures the more taxation will inevitably follow. The tax gatherer will take his toll from us in the full measure of our appropriations. We who are serving our brief time on the stage of public affairs here ultimately will be called to account by those who pay finally these great sums that we are appropriating with scarcely a protest.

## A Protective Tariff Is Necessary for the Country's Prosperity.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote against this measure. I shall do so in order to register my most emphatic protest against a rule which forces the passage of a revenue bill designed to raise over $200,000,000 and yet prevents by the shortness of time allowed for amendments any Member not a member of the Ways and Means Committee offering any amendments. I am not going to describe at length the scene which occurred in the House on Monday afternoon, when numerous gentlemen, not members of the Ways and Means Committee, were unable to offer a single amendment, although standing on the floor and doing all in their power to get recognition. The presiding Chairman desired to and made every effort to be fair, as he always is, but he could do nothing except to recognize members of the Ways and Means Committee on account of lack of time. It is important, however, for the people of our country to know that although Congress will probably not adjourn for six weeks at least their Representatives had no opportunity to offer amendments to as important a bill as this.

I was exceedingly anxious to offer an amendment that would not tax our charities, including orphan asylums, hospitals, and religious schools, when they receive bequests or legacies. I propose to change the Federal inheritance-tax law, which is part of the bill, by inserting therein a section which is in the inheritance-tax law of the State of New York making such exemptions. The proposed amendment, which was sent by me to the Clerk's desk, which could not be reached or even put into the RECORD, was as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ISAAC SIEGEL:

On page 54, line 19, after the word administered, add the following: "and any property devised or bequeathed for religious ceremonies, observances, or commemorative services of or for the deceased donor, or to any person who is a bishop or to any religious, educational, charitable, missionary, benevolent, hospital or infirmary corporation, wherever incorporated, including corporations organized exclusively for Bible or tract purposes, shall be exempted from and not subject to the provisions of this article. There shall also be exempted from and not subject to the provisions of this article personal property other than money or

securities bequeathed to a corporation or association, wherever incorporated or located, organized exclusively for the moral or mental improvement of men or women or for scientific, literary, library, patriotic, cemetery, or historical purposes, or for the enforcement of laws relating to children or animals or for two or more of such purposes and used exclusively for carrying out one or more of such purposes. But no such corporation or association shall be entitled to such exemption if any officer, member, or employee thereof shall receive or may be lawfully entitled to receive any pecuniary profit from the operations thereof except reasonable compensation for services in effecting one or more of such purposes or as proper beneficiaries of its strictly charitable purposes; or if the organization thereof for any such avowed purpose be a guise or pretense for directly or indirectly making any other pecuniary profit for such corporation or association or for any of its members or employees, or if it be not in good faith organized or conducted exclusively for one or more of such purposes."

I am opposed to a Federal inheritance-tax law unless States shall receive back therefrom the amounts each State has been collecting under its own particular inheritance law, as otherwise they will be losing what they have been obtaining and at the same time such a law will tend to encroach upon and interfere with what has been deemed to be the field of each State for providing for its own necessities. As an example, the great State of New York has been collecting annually over $12,000,000 from such a tax, and if this measure becomes a law the people of the State of New York will have to obtain these $12,000,000 in some other manner and thus a new kind or form of taxation in the State of New York will have to be evolved in order to obtain such tax revenue.

It is useless to deny the fact, nor can it be concealed, that the State of New York is paying to-day the largest amount of revenue, whether it be by income tax, corporation tax, internal-revenue tax, or import tax, and yet, in return, the people of the State of New York are receiving less each year from the Federal Government than ever before. This bill strengthens the principle of the Democratic Party to tax the people of the State of New York more than ever before for the benefit of the rest of the country. One of the striking examples of the way the city of New York is treated is the very fact that for years it has been clamoring and asking for a presentable home for the United States court in the southern district of New York.

Articles in magazines, weeklies, and daily newspapers have been written by judges and others who are interested in the best welfare of the country urging the passage of a bill that would result in the building of a Federal courthouse in New York City that would house the various parts of the court, instead of having same scattered in different buildings and part of it in private office buildings, yet no affirmative favorable action can be had. Men have protested against the conditions that prevail when naturalization hearings are had in New York City, but the judges and clerks can do nothing if the room and space required are not provided by Congress. I have only to call attention to the fact that New York City has the hardest task of any community in the land to obtain appropriations for river and harbor improvements, and then they are niggardly when given, although half of the commerce of the country with Europe passes through that port. I might even call attention to the fact that when appropriations are made for the United States Public Health Service that very little, if any, is given for children's diseases, although millions of dollars are appropriated for good-road movements, flood control, nitrate plants, and numerous public buildings in other parts of the country.

Let me say at this time that the total income tax for the year ended June 30, 1916, was $56,909,941.78 from corporations, and that individuals paid $67,957,488, with New York City contributing one-fifth of the corporation levy and one-third of the individual tax. The following article is from the New York Times:

The figures show that one-fifth of the corporation tax was paid by the first and second New York districts, embracing New York City, and that more than one-third of the individual income tax was paid by residents of those two districts. These two districts paid more than $12,000,000 of the corporation income tax and more than $25,000,000 of the individual income tax, an aggregate of more than $37,000,000, which means that the net income on which the tax was paid in the two New York districts was more than a minimum of $3,700,000,000.

The receipts from corporations and individuals under the income-tax law paid into the Treasury during the fiscal year ended June 30, listed by internal-revenue districts and subject to revision upon analysis of complete returns, were announced to-night as follows:

| Districts. | Corporations. | Individuals. |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama (Alabama and Mississippi) | $279,665.43 | $177,440.48 |
| Arkansas | 112,074.11 | 44,278.79 |
| First California (including Nevada) | 1,477,773.84 | 932,576.28 |
| Sixth California | 460,992.73 | 540,813.24 |
| Colorado (Colorado and Wyoming) | 573,503.74 | 364,102.37 |
| Connecticut (Connecticut and Rhode Island) | 1,692,183.43 | 2,132,866.89 |
| Florida | 108,664.80 | 133,560.82 |
| Georgia | 367,291.95 | 199,546.46 |
| Hawaii | 341,938.37 | 112,144.95 |
| First Illinois | $5,103,164.99 | $4,848,593.96 |
| Fifth Illinois | 172,301.65 | 90,362.59 |
| Eighth Illinois | 169,753.98 | 178,740.36 |
| Thirteenth Illinois | 127,931.37 | 48,993.20 |
| Sixth Indiana | 666,812.66 | 347,875.54 |
| Seventh Indiana | 147,395.32 | 62,441.50 |
| Third Iowa | 547,887.96 | 277,038.45 |
| Kansas | 377,189.54 | 139,303.47 |
| Second Kentucky | 34,195.83 | 8,734.57 |
| Fifth Kentucky | 277,156.05 | 103,183.91 |
| Sixth Kentucky | 28,252.37 | 12,985.61 |
| Seventh Kentucky | 45,717.31 | 33,991.88 |
| Eighth Kentucky | 26,529.97 | 6,216.78 |
| Louisiana | 406,416.45 | 290,341.75 |
| Maryland (Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, and Accomac and Northampton Counties of Virginia) | 1,787,681.69 | 2,741,761.59 |
| Third Massachusetts | 2,668,144.82 | 4,193,873.08 |
| First Michigan | 1,680,147.64 | 1,730,859.95 |
| Fourth Michigan | 340,925.52 | 145,885.67 |
| Minnesota | 1,854,147.24 | 866,357.90 |
| First Missouri | 1,031,501.65 | 818,411.74 |
| Sixth Missouri | 551,734.96 | 388,316.94 |
| Montana (Montana, Idaho, and Utah) | 735,027.04 | 225,728.01 |
| Nebraska | 332,705.69 | 100,206.31 |
| New Hampshire (New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont) | 507,536.08 | 556,570.31 |
| First New Jersey | 357,474.11 | 679,997.90 |
| Fifth New Jersey | 1,180,259.63 | 2,293,392.18 |
| New Mexico (New Mexico and Arizona) | 321,563.21 | 94,523.23 |
| First New York | 648,514.10 | 1,751,547.57 |
| Second New York | 9,247,778.24 | 14,713,335.36 |
| Third New York | 2,869,263.42 | 10,618,663.03 |
| Fourteenth New York | 646,389.73 | 1,500,339.94 |
| Twenty-first New York | 144,589.64 | 472,456.77 |
| Twenty-eighth New York | 1,098,512.44 | 1,240,294.80 |
| Fourth North Carolina | 116,862.67 | 52,429.44 |
| Fifth North Carolina | 207,740.69 | 123,483.24 |
| North and South Dakota | 176,141.82 | 58,594.39 |
| First Ohio | 727,979.95 | 515,339.32 |
| Tenth Ohio | 765,438.82 | 262,010.74 |
| Eleventh Ohio | 286,083.86 | 229,258.44 |
| Eighteenth Ohio | 1,868,139.25 | 1,389,672.34 |
| Oklahoma | 401,603.80 | 489,415.08 |
| Oregon | 197,795.61 | 118,437.49 |
| First Pennsylvania | 3,153,893.79 | 3,750,180.27 |
| Ninth Pennsylvania | 202,329.16 | 170,615.55 |
| Twelfth Pennsylvania | 428,480.90 | 461,048.11 |
| Twenty-third Pennsylvania | 3,005,529.16 | 1,924,354.35 |
| South Carolina | 173,188.91 | 76,250.01 |
| Tennessee | 329,015.11 | 207,318.37 |
| Third Texas | 897,670.97 | 672,456.10 |
| Second Virginia | 367,234.40 | 239,984.88 |
| Sixth Virginia | 279,554.76 | 49,647.24 |
| Washington (Washington and Alaska) | 398,638.64 | 219,167.14 |
| West Virginia | 331,947.96 | 132,064.13 |
| First Wisconsin | 597,898.64 | 503,143.74 |
| Second Wisconsin | 180,437.27 | 56,805.24 |
| Total | 56,909,941.78 | 67,957,488.50 |

They tend to prove and establish beyond contradiction that the reasons actuating Representatives from certain sections of the country to favor a Federal inheritance tax and increased income tax are because the people of their States pay practically nothing under such a method of taxation, but, on the contrary, are always deriving tremendous benefits. It will also be found upon investigation and examination of the records of their votes that they favor tremendous expenditures of the money collected from the great States like New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. They show their views by their acts, namely, voting in favor of every measure that calls for an expenditure of millions of money that directly benefits their particular section of the country, but when it comes to the question of making appropriations for New York immediately the effort is made to satiate us with the cries of economy.

I am also opposed to the amount of duties to be levied upon dyestuffs, as it will not be denied that the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. HILL] has given the matter more thorough or equal study, as has any Member of the House, and he states most emphatically that this measure will not encourage the manufacture of dyestuffs in this country. I do not pretend to have any personal knowledge on the subject, but we must rely upon the men in the House who specialize upon a particular line of industry. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. HILL] has done so, as far as dyestuffs are concerned, and I shall take his views in this matter, namely, that the present measure is insufficient and, as he says, useless, as far as encouraging dyestuffs manufacture in this country.

Mr. Speaker, nothing that I can say can more emphasize the whole present situation regarding the country's views on the dyestuff duties proposed by the bill than what is contained in an editorial that appeared this day in the New York Sun. I read it at length:

IMPORTS IN DRIBLETS NOW—NEXT IN AVALANCHES.

While the central powers of Europe are locked within a ring of steel ashore and afloat, it takes a submarine merchantman to deliver a million

dollar cargo of German merchandise at one of our ports. There may be dozens, there may be scores of these undersea voyagers to follow the *Deutschland's* triumphant course and lay down in our markets dyestuffs and other products of German enterprise and genius. Yet, at the best, what this submarine transportation can put into our markets will be as a few drops of rain spilling out of the clouds into the sea.

But when the armies of the Old World have laid down their arms, when 20,000,000 warriors are 20,000,000 workmen again, when every blockade has been lifted from every port, when the highways of the seven seas are as open and as free as ever they were to all ships under all flags, of the great powers and of the small powers, of the victors and of the vanquished, we shall not have mere submarine marvels seeking our shores by stealthy and crooked voyages, with driblet cargoes of 800 tons. We shall have countless argosies coming from the Germans and the Austrians, as from the British and the French, as from every nation that trades in any craft that can float.

They will be coming from the peoples who are now at peace and from the peoples who are now at war, as they never came before. For with the markets of belligerents restored to the world, the nations that keep out of the war can find there no rich and prosperous buyers, as they found them before August, 1914; just as now they must seek them here.

And the belligerents of to-day, sending their soldiers back to work, must ask of them, after all they have done on the fields of battle, to find, at whatever pains, their livings on the fields of industry. All, as individuals and as nations, will work in whatever way they must work, will do whatever things they must do, will suffer whatever pinch they must suffer, to freight their fleets with products of the farm and the mine, of the mill and the factory, to get our gold—our gold which already is piled high in our public and private vaults as never gold was piled before, as perhaps never again it is to be in the history of the human race. That is what is due when the peace clock strikes, beyond our present imports. And see what they are already.

For the fiscal year ending with June they were, in round numbers, $2,000,000,000. But since the beginning of the calendar year they have been coming at the rate of more than $2,250,000,000. For several weeks they have been rushing in at the rate of more than $2,500,000,000.

Let the war go on and this calendar year will surpass in imports $3,000,000,000. Let the war go on and this fiscal year just begun will run hundreds of millions beyond $3,000,000,000.

And while the submarine merchantman *Deutschland*, bringing her cargo of precious dyestuffs, was feeling her way into the waters of Chesapeake Bay, the present control of the United States Congress was rejecting the Republican proposal to place on dyestuffs an import duty which would save the American industries established since the allied blockade of the central powers, to provide articles which are essential to the industrial existence of this country. And only a few days earlier a great American industry announced that it was scrapping its munition plants and turning out of employment in those plants hundreds of workmen, because the war-order dream of fabulous wealth and endless prosperity is already beginning to fade.

So shall all our war-order business collapse, not after the war, but even as the peace negotiations begin. So shall the cream of our present exports become sour milk. So shall American wage earners troop out of the pay line and into the bread line by the tens and hundreds of thousands. If while we lose the foreign war markets to the extent of hundreds of millions a year there are no peace industries to which they may turn for their bread and butter, because the fleets of all the world will be pouring their cargoes into our markets.

But at Washington, in this as in all other national dangers, there is nothing but "watchful waiting."

How our country views the measure passed on Monday is expressed in an editorial that appeared in the Washington Times, and is as follows:

A MEANINGLESS COMPROMISE.

It would seem that the House Democrats, having decided to adopt a protective policy as to dyestuffs, might well have "gone the whole hog" and placed their rates high enough to give real protection and be of some avail.

As it is, there is sound reason to believe that they have sacrificed their theory of tariff for revenue only, and gone over to the protection side, on the plea of emergency; and yet have not done the thing with the frankness and thoroughness that will produce results. The chemical authorities and financial interests concerned in development of a dyestuffs industry on this side insist that the rates fixed by the Kitchin bill are not high enough to make the proposition safe or attractive.

Having admitted, as they do, that there is necessity for departure into the field of protection, the Democrats ought to have done the thing right. As a matter of politics, they could not afford to admit the inadequacy of their tariff policy, unless they were going to create an industry to which they might point with pride. They will have neither a policy nor an industry, as a result of what they are now doing.

This case illustrates the impossibility of adjusting the program of the party now in power, to the needs of a country in the position that America now occupies. The dyestuffs industry is only one of many that will demand special consideration of a new sort because of war conditions. There is absolute necessity for a broad, liberal, and untrammeled policy of dealing with every industry according to its special needs. That sort of a policy can not be devised if efforts are to be hampered by academic theories which render it impossible to make legislation that shall meet particular emergencies. This dyestuffs provisions is neither fish, flesh, nor fowl; it is neither protection that will build, nor free trade. What is wanted now is a constructive program, all along the line; and that program will not be developed under Democratic ideals of tariff making.

I would have been glad to have voted for a real tariff commission if it had been a separate measure. Nothing that has been said on the floor of this House has convinced me in the slightest degree that the opinion which I have held and frequently expressed should be changed, namely, that a protective tariff that would be fair to American labor, the American consumer, and the American manufacturer would produce the necessary revenue to run this Government. We have at the present time a land that is apparently prosperous, but all of our thinking citizens know and have realized during the past two years that our temporary prosperity is based upon the sufferings and anguish of the wounded and dying in Europe and that words fail to describe the bitter feeling that has been created and must long survive in Europe; that instead of seeking to bring peace amongst the combatants and exerting every effort to obtain it we have shut our eyes and closed our ears to their appeals for peace as long as we could build up a delusive prosperity by selling the munitions of war and by such movement indirectly extending the length of the conflict. I still feel and I express the belief that when this war is ended and those of our people who have been engaged in the sale and manufacture of munitions of war are suddenly thrown out of employment, as they are bound to be, that we will find ourselves in the position which will necessitate the hasty assemblage of Congress, if not in session, in order that a protective tariff can be enacted. We have made our greatest progress when the country has been at peace with the world and when a protective tariff has been upon our statute books. Realization of it will come home to our people when this war is over and war-munition orders shall have been completed and none more to be had. At such a time the name of William McKinley, our lamented President, will come to mind and with it the demand for a protective tariff in such strong terms that Congress will not dare refuse it.

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**Effects of Democratic Tariff Before War Were Disastrous.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article written by Thomas O. Marvin, which appears in the National Republican. The article is as follows:

[From the National Republican.]

EFFECTS OF DEMOCRATIC TARIFF BEFORE WAR WERE DISASTROUS.

[By Thomas O. Marvin.]

In the chief cities of the country the local authorities were appealed to to provide work for the unemployed during the period between the enactment of the Underwood law and the beginning of the European war. John H. Martin, president of the Massachusetts Real Estate Exchange, in a telegram to the Secretary of the Navy urging the granting of a supply ship contract to the Charlestown Navy Yard, said: "One-fifth of labor in this section now unemployed. Contract would assist in relieving some of this condition."

In St. Louis on February 8, 1914, 500 homeless men carrying a banner inscribed "We want work, not alms," and singing "Throw out the lifeline," marched to city hall and appealed to the mayor for appropriations for the relief of the poor. The parade was called the "pageant of the unemployed."

On February 24 Gov. Walsh, of Massachusetts, and Mayor Curley, of Boston, were asked by a committee selected at a meeting of the unemployed to throw open the armories and other public buildings for sleeping purposes, and the distribution of food for those out of work, and to provide work for the idle.

It was not surprising that the administration viewed with alarm the gathering storm and that its spokesmen tried to minimize the appalling evil of idleness and unemployment.

THE COUNTRY'S BROKEN BUSINESS.

As Thomas B. Reed, referring to an earlier epoch of Democratic control of national legislation, said, "They are simply earnest men standing by the broken business of a whole country and trying to tell who destroyed it."

The Democrats promised to "free" business, to strike the shackles from our commerce, and inaugurate an era of tremendous expansion in our foreign trade. The official figures of the Department of Commerce show that our total foreign trade for the first six months of the Wilson-Underwood tariff amounted to $2,267,783,000. For the same six months under the Payne-Aldrich tariff our foreign trade amounted to $2,845,251,000, a loss in six months of nearly $100,000,000.

Exports of leather from Leeds, England, to the United States under the new tariff amounted in three months to $211,000. For the corresponding months under the protective tariff leather exports to the United States from Leeds were only $47,507.

New England's great shoe and leather industry felt the effect of the prevailing depression. Shoe factories were working on short time and a large leather concern near Salem complained of the excessive competition of German tanners. For the first time since their business was incorporated in 1901 they ran at only 75 per cent of their capacity and on only five days a week. They claimed also that they could sell only 60 per cent of their reduced production.

Trade statistics from all directions told the same story of distress and depression. President Wilson said that the cause was "psychological." Mr. Wilson may be a good psychologist, but Vice President Vaucluin, of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, showed that he was a better logician when he declared at a convention in Philadelphia that the reduced tariff lies at the root of the stagnation of business. "If this stagnation continues," he said, "the manufacturers of the United States will have no alternative but to cut wages to European levels." He told the Master Boilers' Association tha tthe average weekly wage in the boiler works of France is $6.20, while in the Baldwin works the weekly average is $15.50. The French product is just as well made as

the American, he said. When the Underwood law was passed, Mr. Vauclain said, the Baldwin works had 18,500 men on its pay roll; six months later 12,000 of them were looking for jobs.

SUMMARY OF DEMOCRATIC EFFECTS.

Let me summarize some of the features which marked our industrial condition during the first year of the Underwood-Simmons law, features which President Wilson called "a state of mind." Among them are 18,280 failures during the year 1914, the worst record in history in number, and exceeded in amount of liabilities only by another fateful Democratic year, 1893. Bank clearings, a fair measure of the country's business, were nearly $20,000,000,000, or 11.1 per cent less than they were in 1912, the last year of Republican administration. Capital invested in new enterprises was less by over $600,000,000 in 1914 than in 1913, and over $700,000,000 less in 1912. Railroad gross earnings declined 4.4 per cent, iron production 25.3 per cent, and copper deliveries 15 per cent. Steel mills were reduced to 40 per cent of capacity 40 per cent of the looms of our woolen mills were idle on December 1, and capital amounting to $41,000,000, invested in cotton mills, was unproductive. The prices of cotton goods at the mills fell off nearly 30 per cent, and the dividends the last quarter of 1914 in 27 New Bedford mills averaged 0.98 per cent; in 38 Fall River mills, 0.96 per cent. The importation of boots and shoes, though still not alarmingly large in amount, more than doubled. The importation of cotton cloths increased 80 per cent. England's exports of woolens to the United States showed the phenomenal increase to 8,219,000 yards in 1914, as compared with 2,190,000 in 1913, while in worsteds England's shipments to the United States were 32,790,000 yards against only 9,218,000 in the preceding year.

The severity of the business depression of 1914 is emphasized by the annual reports of the great steel-manufacturing plants of the country of their operations during the year. The United States Steel Corporation reported for the last quarter of the year the smallest earnings of its career and was forced to pass the dividend on its common stock.

REDUCED EARNINGS.

The showings made by some of these companies in 1914 are an unanswerable argument against the present low-tariff system. Net results of several companies, as set forth by the Daily Iron Trade, were as follows:

The Cambria Steel Co. earned 4.36 per cent on its outstanding capital in 1914.

The Republic Iron & Steel Co. earned 4.12 per cent on its preferred stock, as compared with 12.4 per cent the previous year. It passed its September and December dividends.

The J. G. Brill Co., Philadelphia, car manufacturers, earned 3.47 per cent on its preferred, which compares with 19.63 per cent in 1913. Dividends were reduced in November and February from 1¾ per cent to 1 per cent.

Net earnings of the Republic Iron & Steel Co. for the fiscal year ended December 31, 1914, were equivalent to 4.12 per cent, as compared with $3,101,300, or 12.4 per cent, last year. The Republic Co. experienced its full share of the depression ruling in the iron and steel trade. Chairman John A. Topping, in his remarks to stockholders, stated that the year was decidedly the worst in the history of the company.

Hard as the blow was that fell upon the industries of the country, as manifested in curtailed production and decreased dividends, the most disiressing result of the Democratic tariff was the loss in wages to our workingmen and the appalling increase in unemployment.

The eighth annual report of the State free employment offices of Massachusetts, covering the year ending November 30, 1914, shows that for the first time since 1906, positions offered in the four offices fell off 27.32 per cent in 1914 from the preceding year; the number of positions reported filled fell off 15.13 per cent, the number of persons furnished employment fell off 18.95 per cent, and the number of persons applied for by employers fell off 19.53 per cent.

The offers of positions in the Boston office fell off 36.36 per cent in 1914 from 1913; the number of positions reported filled, 25.02 per cent; the number of persons furnished employment, 29.53 per cent; and the number of persons applied for by employers, 27.83 per cent. For the Springfield office the decrease in the number of offers of positions was 36.04 per cent; in the number of positions reported filled, 25.93 per cent; in the number of persons furnished employment, 31.47 per cent; and in the number of persons applied for by employers, 32.14 per cent. For the Fall River office the decrease in the number of offers of positions was 20.56 per cent; in the number of positions reported filled, 11.35 per cent; in the number of persons furnished employment, 23.90 per cent; and in the number of persons applied for by employers, 25.26 per cent.

The superintendent of the Springfield office reports as follows for the year 1914:

"The business of the Springfield office this year, for the first time since the office was opened, shows a decrease as compared with that of the preceding year."

PARTIAL LIST OF UNEMPLOYED IN GREATER NEW YORK.

From a census of the unemployed, by Samuel A. Stodel, from December 15, 1914, to January 9, 1915:

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|---|---|
| Clothing workers (all branches garment industry) | 125,000 |
| General unskilled laborers | 100,000 |
| Building mechanics (32 trades) | 75,000 |
| Store and office workers (bookkeepers, clerical help, and stenographers | 75,000 |
| Machinists and general metal workers | 30,000 |
| Drivers and general help (wholesale food supply and dry goods distributors) | 25,000 |
| Hotel and restaurant workers | 25,000 |
| Longshoremen | 15,000 |
| Cigar and tobacco workers | 15,000 |
| Domestic help | 15,000 |
| Department store employees | 10,000 |
| Railroad workers (all grades) | 10,000 |
| Printing and allied trades (lithographers, etc.) | 10,000 |
| Shoe workers | 8,000 |
| Laundry workers | 7,500 |
| Millinery workers | 6,000 |
| City employees | 3,000 |
| Firemen (steamboat and stationary) | 3,000 |
| Engineers (steamboat and stationary) | 1,500 |
| Jewelry workers | 3,000 |
| Diamond workers | 700 |
| Total | 562,700 |

The most careful surveys showed that where there was one man unemployed in 1913–14 there were two unemployed during the winter of 1914–15. Without exaggeration, it was conceded by those familiar with conditions that one out of every five breadwinners was unemployed. This unemployment was concentrated in cities primarily, but the small towns and villages also felt the shock and found it necessary to organize relief measures.

An official canvass in Philadelphia showed 200,000 men unemployed; the house-to-house canvass of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. of its policyholders in New York, thrifty people ordinarily, gave the basis for an estimate of 357,000 men and women out of work in the entire city. The labor organizations in New York City estimated that 472,102 were either out of work or on part time. In Chicago in January the municipal markets commission estimated 189,866 out of work. A Cleveland survey in December showed 61,000 unemployed. The city charities in Philadelphia estimated that Philadelphia's unemployed numbered 175,000.

NEED OF PROTECTION WHEN WAR ENDS.

Such is the story of the havoc wrought up to the outbreak of the war by the Democratic tariff law which President Wilson signed on the evening of October 3, 1913, with so much complacency and with such great satisfaction.

It did not reduce the cost of living. It did not increase our export trade. It did not bring prosperity to business or employment to our workingmen. It did not yield sufficient revenue for the Government. It reduced a favorable trade balance and sent import figures to an alarming height.

Then came the great European war, which for a time put a stop to the increasing rush of imports. But the channels of ocean trade did not remain permanently closed. Competition from German mills and factories very largely ceased, but England continues to ship her surplus products here. And when the war closes, as close it will, a renewal of competition fiercer than any we have ever known will come upon us.

War orders to an enormous amount have given a temporary stimulus to business, but war munitions can not form a safe or lasting basis of American prosperity.

Before long we shall face a world seeking to recover the ground which has been lost; strained and ruined lands that will seek our markets for means to rebuild their shattered fortunes. To hold our own under the present tariff law will be impossible. National safety demands the reenactment of a protective tariff. Preparedness is as much needed for the economic and industrial safety of our country as it is for military and naval defense. We do not want to employ our Army in the stern business of war, but we do want to employ all of our wage earners in the pursuit of peace. This can not be done under the Democratic tariff policy. It can be done only under the Republican policy of protection, and all patriotic Americans should enroll under the Republican banner and march to the polls, an invincible army, to demand a return of protection and prosperity.

## Address of Hon. John J. Fitzgerald.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MICHAEL F. CONRY,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. CONRY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address of Hon. JOHN J. FITZGERALD at Madison Square Garden at the mass meeting of the Irish Relief Society on June 10, 1916.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD AT THE MASS MEETING OF THE IRISH RELIEF SOCIETY, AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, JUNE 10, 1916.

Every true American should sympathize with the purpose of this meeting. It deserves the hearty indorsement of every man who makes claim to the faintest trace of Irish blood.

That the recent occurrences in Ireland have aroused the people of our liberty-consecrated country is manifested in innumerable meetings in every section of the land, culminating in this great gathering of the friends of Ireland.

The awakened conscience of the people of our imperial city will be given expression to-night. A message will go hence to gladden the hearts of Irishmen the world over. It will be in denunciation of tyranny and of oppression; it will be an irresistible demand to the nations for justice for the Emerald Isle; it will be in sympathy with the never deadened aspirations of the Irish people for freedom and for national independence.

The events of the past 20 months apparently have dulled our sensibilities. War—horrible in execution and unparalleled in destruction—has devastated such vast expanses of territory that death has seemed to have lost its terror. Because of almost incredible losses of life in unceasing conflict, calamities which heretofore would have shocked mankind now make but little impression.

The world is quickly reconciled to what must be. Unable to fathom the situation, it patiently awaits the end. But woe to the nation that under such conditions acts upon the belief that the pulse of civilization is ever so feeble as to fail to quicken when stimulated by the mighty appeal which the spirits of noble patriots, who have been ruthlessly butchered, make for vengeance and for justice.

A dispassionate consideration of the events which have led to this gathering, and to many similar ones, mystifies and shocks the impartial student. The situation can only be understood by those whose knowledge of Ireland's woes is comprehensive, and whose confidence in British cruelty and injustice can not be shaken.

Within two years Ireland has witnessed two revolutions. In the earlier one troops threatened to mutiny, high officers of the army gave up their commissions, civil officials counseled armed resistance when Parliament proposed to enact a law which in a slight degree only would gratify the yearnings of a people who for countless generations had been contending for the precious right to govern themselves.

Military forces were organized, equipped, and drilled. Their purpose was not to maintain the law and to sustain the Government in the hour of peril; the object of their efforts was to resist the law and to defy the Government.

For such acts of treason punishments were determined by the Imperial Government.

Meanwhile, however, the present world war had begun. The soldier who had defied his superiors and relinquished his commission was punished by being put in command of the British forces in the field; the civilian official who had openly advocated armed resistance to the duly constituted authorities was punished by being elevated to the cabinet to aid in preserving the Government whose authority he had defied; the soldiers who had armed and drilled to make rebellion effective were punished by being permitted to retain their arms and to remain at home, while an insistent demand was being reiterated that those of their countrymen against whom they had prepared to battle should supply England's needs on battle lines in foreign lands.

Such action seems incredible. Had the British Government sought to reward, rather than to punish, those threatening rebellion its conduct would be comprehendable. It can only be explained by the fact that, although ostensibly directed against the Government, the rebellion in reality was in hostility to the Irish people and tended to prevent any action beneficial to them and to their native land.

Subsequently, and quite recently, there was another revolt. Mayhaps doomed to partial failure from the beginning, its blood-drenched story has horrified the world. It adds another blackened page to Ireland's unhappy history. It swells the demand arising from every quarter of the globe, which inevitably will become irresistible, that the nations procure for Ireland the rights and prerogatives to which every liberty-loving and enlightened race are entitled by the dictates of justice, humanity, and of liberty.

In many respects this latter uprising was unlike the previous one. It was not widespread nor publicly agitated. It was projected by a comparatively small group of men of extraordinary culture and talent. Scholars, artists, poets, men of lofty ideals and ennobling motives overcome by uncontrollable emotion launched this latest revolt against British misrule. Unusually gifted, had their talents been utilized to their own enrichment, they could have attained ease and comfort and the plaudits that follow the achievement of distinction in the arts or in the literary field. But single minded in purpose, their ambitions were unselfish and of a noble character.

Scholars all, they were well versed in Ireland's sad story. They knew every page of the recital of over 700 years of unparalleled tyranny and of the bloody oppression to which their beloved land had been subjected. They were familiar with the long list of vicious laws which had been enacted to destroy Irish nationality, to still the patriotic beats of Irish hearts, to make servient and subordinate the Irish race. Their souls were embittered by the memory of their country's wrongs; their hopes were fatally encouraged by the justice of their cause. They saw their countrymen successful, prosperous, respected, and honored in every foreign land; while in their native isle they were constantly diminishing in numbers and being embroiled in ever-increasing difficulties.

The blight of misrule and of alien government had long cursed their country. Unrivalled harbors were empty. Mighty rivers upon which had been borne the commerce of an empire now flowed idly to the sea. Wooded hills had been denuded, fertile fields lay fallow, the hum of industry was hushed, and agriculture was but a pretense instead of a blossoming reality. But one harvest was desired by England. To feed alien cannon in foreign lands she sought the healthy progeny of the intrepid Irish race.

But the Bishop of Limerick checked that harvest. His clarion declaration that "this is England's not Ireland's war" echoed and reechoed throughout the isle, and Irishmen declined to squander their precious lives to perpetuate a Government that to their land signified misery and misrule.

With the knowledge of all of those facts crowding fast upon them, is it to be wondered that a revolt was launched by patriotic men of pure and lofty motives, who were idealists as well as practical men?

The end was speedy; the sacrifices were deplorable. Those who participated conducted themselves in so heroic and manly a manner as to win the admiration of all men.

Realizing the odds in the strife, the contest ended and the principals surrendered. Then came the shocking and horrifying feature of the revolt. It was not a time for bloody recrimination. England needed sympathy and material aid from every possible place in civilization. The very continuance of the empire was trembling in the balance, and it was an exceptional opportunity to win the gratitude rather than to accentuate the animosity of Irishmen both at home and abroad.

The leaders of the revolt were not desperate criminals nor evil men. They were among the most cultured of a gifted race, and their action was prompted by the loftiest motives of patriotism.

But the leopard can not change its spots, nor can England deviate from its historic policy in dealing with Ireland. Those men were denied the protection to which the usages of civilized nations entitled them. Without trial, or with secret and inadequate hearings, they were condemned and destroyed, sacrifices, perhaps, to misguided zeal and victims undoubtedly of incompetent government.

But those heroic men have not died in vain. Skeffington and the Pearses, Clark, MacDonagh, Plunkett, the Kents, and those other martyred patriots form a new constellation which will shine undimmed forever in the firmament of liberty. Their virtues will inspire generations yet unborn to noble deeds for their native land and their names will be inseparably linked with Emmett, Meagher, and Mitchel in the memories of a grateful and devoted people.

Their deaths have stirred mankind more deeply than the destruction of fleets and the decimation of armies. In their untimely taking off they may have rendered a most valuable service to Ireland. They will have done so if the movement resulting will promote the realization of national independence for their native land.

In palliation of their destruction it is asserted that their deaths were essential to maintain British authority in Ireland. If government can be maintained only by the slaughter of the most gifted of a heaven-kissed race, it is unworthy to exist. Resistance to such government is not only justifiable but may become mandatory. A whole people can not be expected to live happily, contentedly, and loyally under such authority, nor can such conditions much longer survive the indignation of civilized men.

As men of Irish birth, of Irish blood, or of Irish sympathies we join to-night in denouncing the British Government in the forum of enlightened Christian public opinion for its long-continued and ever-increasing misdeeds and misrule in Ireland. In the name of humanity we demand an immediate change. Existing conditions are intolerable; they are irreconcilable to the elements of Christian civilization. Ireland has too long endured burdens unjust, oppressive, and indefensible.

We appeal to history to justify our assertion that Great Britain's pretended protection of weak nations is a hypercritical mask to cover her selfish and aggrandizing purposes. Her heavy hand has never been placed upon any land or any people except for her own enrichment at the expense of her victim. Her imperial banner is symbolical of tyranny and of oppression. Wherever it floats in foreign lands subject and unhappy people exist.

It was driven from our own soil at the cost of many precious lives and after years of heroic effort. We insist that its blighting influence be withdrawn from Ireland, so that unrestrained by alien control the Irish people may assume that independent position among nations to which by the laws of nature and of nature's God they are entitled.

The close of the present war will result in many adjustments of the existing relations of peoples to one another. Neutral nations will not remain aloof while questions of momentous importance to every people are being determined. Ireland is entitled to be heard in her own behalf when the day of settlement arrives. We voice to-night a demand that she be given representation. It will not suffice to have her interests guarded by her inveterate enemy and oppressor. She does not wish to be represented by those who have profited by her miseries. Men of the spirit and with the ideals of her recently martyred sons must be her spokesmen. Not as a privilege, but as an unquestioned right, is this demand made. Ireland is entitled to determine her own destiny. England has tried to shape it and has failed. Distress and disaster have marked her over 700 years of misrule. It must not, it shall not, continue forever.

Voicing the manifest desire of Irishmen, our action to-night should be far-reaching in results.

We should send a message to the nations that will be heard above the thunder of battle and that will reecho in the hearts of men long after the guns of war are stilled, and, being based upon reason rather than force, be more potent than armed forces in bringing long-delayed justice and national independence to the Emerald Isle.

## River and Harbor Appropriations.

# SPEECH

OF

# HON. LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

*Monday, May 22 (legislative day of Thursday, May 18), 1916.*

The Senate had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12193) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, to this amendment, submitted by the committee on May 9, I offered an amendment to make more definite the act referred to of the general assembly of the State named. The first part of the amendment adds, in line 25, after the word "assembly," the words "approved June 18, 1915." This is done for the purpose of specifically naming the act, so that there can be no misapprehension about the law referred to. On line 2, page 32, after the word "act," I have offered the following amendment:

The Interstate Commerce Commission is hereby given power to fix reasonable charges and tolls for the use of and navigation upon the waterway created under said act of the general assembly of said State in all interstate transportation.

This latter amendment was for the purpose of meeting an objection made by Gen. Kingman, the Chief Engineer. At the time that the State applied for a permit for this improvement such proceedings were had that finally it reached the Chief Engineer. He refused the permit, alleging, among other reasons, the fact that this 65-mile improvement between the lower end of the Sanitary District Canal and the Illinois River or its headwaters, the lower end of which would terminate at La Salle, a point on the Illinois River, would give an undue advantage to the State over interstate commerce. He went on to elaborate it by showing that there was a 1,400-mile waterway reaching from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico, with New Orleans as the terminal at that end. He further took occasion to say that in the case of traffic going from New York City by way of the Hudson River, the Erie Canal, and the Great Lakes, together with the Sanitary District Canal and by way of Chicago, this 65-mile stretch of improvement would constitute a connecting link between New York Harbor and the Gulf of Mexico. He argued in that opinion that the act of the general assembly which sought to impose reasonable tolls upon transportation for this 65-mile link was in effect a power that would be vested in the State, if granted by the War Department, to charge unreasonable tolls, to enable them to levy undue charges upon the 65-mile link of the carriage; that they might make it so intolerable that it would be unfair, and it would be a burden on interstate commerce passing that way.

To avoid any question of that objection made I have added this amendment, which places the control of the transportation through this 65-mile link in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission. There is no objection from any source, as I understand, to this amendment as far as the State authorities or the city of Chicago or the Drainage Canal people are connected with it. The governor of Illinois was here only a short time ago, and this amendment meets with his approval. I am sure that it furnishes a complete protection to all shippers who have occasion to use the proposed waterway. There can be no advantage taken, with the Interstate Commerce Commission having jurisdiction of every interstate shipment, with the specific power vested in it to regulate the rates. So I have offered this amendment for the purpose of obviating that portion of the Chief Engineer's objection.

The only other objection of any consequence in his opinion was the claim by the State, set out in this act of the General Assembly, that the water power to be developed should belong to the State, and that the income to be derived from it should pass into the State treasury. That, as I understand, is a question in regard to which there is some difference of opinion. The gentlemen here and in the House who supported the water-power bill were rather inclined to the opinion that the gravity fall of water generating power might belong to the General Government in all of the rivers where the Government has control. I do not care to argue that at any great length. Senators have expressed their opinions on it. In a river that lies wholly within a State, where it is connected, though artificially, with other bodies of water in such a way that it becomes a part of an interstate carriage, it is conceded that the War Department, acting on behalf of the Government, has the power to regulate, and does regulate navigation. When that is conceded, I think we have gone to the limit.

I do not understand that the Government has anything to do with a waterway of either character, either within a State or an interstate one, except to regulate navigation. It derives that from the power given in the Constitution to regulate commerce. When the power that is generated by the water in this proposed improvement is made available, it seems to me that it belongs to the local owner or authority. I know of no more reason for taking the power away from the State, if it has the riparian rights, than to take it away from a private owner. In all the older States the bank, especially where the common law prevails, is owned as a matter of riparian right as much as the dry land itself is owned. There is no exclusive right vested in the Government simply because it regulates navigation. Navigation uses water merely as a medium for floating vessels. It uses it for no other purpose. It could not be said that the Government has power to take water out of the Illinois River and convert it into steam, at least to the extent of materially decreasing the volume of water. It has, I think, nothing to do with the water power except to see that in the development of the water power there is no such obstruction placed within the navigable portions of the river as would impede the ordinary traffic going that way.

So it seems to me that this portion of the Chief Engineer's objection is one that is not well taken, in the first instance; and in the other the law department of the Secretary of War had passed on it adversely to the Chief Engineer. The legal question was not referred to the Chief Engineer; and, without seeking in any way to reflect upon his knowledge, I do not understand that he is a great legal authority, or that his opinions upon questions of that kind possess any expert or technical value. His opinions on that point would be entitled to no more weight than any other layman's opinions, however much weight would be attached to them on a question of engineering. So I offered this amendment to cover one objection made, and have referred to the other in a way that, while it is very brief, I think covers all that I care to say on that subject. The objection that is made—and I will anticipate that much of it—by certain shippers and manufacturers of Michigan and the upper Lake region is based upon the lowering of the level caused by the diversion of the water through the sanitary district channel. I will say now what I wish to say on that question, reserving whatever right I may have, if any argument should be offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH], to make additional observations later on.

The sanitary district channel, which was begun about 1889 or 1890, is practically completed. It has already expended, or will expend, raised by taxes upon the assessed value of the property within the district, about $100,000,000, in round figures, when the enterprise is completed. This includes some additional expenditures that are not yet actually made; but by the time the fiscal year shall have closed in 1916 about $100,000,000 will have passed into this improvement. That includes everything—not only the excavation of the channel, but the bridges and the improvements and all of the work that has been done to bring it into its present state. This improvement, therefore, is not one of a very few hundreds of dollars. It is more important than some of the larger improvements covered by the items in this bill. This bill in its amended form carries about $42,000,000 for the whole United States, and we have already expended nearly two and a half times as much for this single improvement.

In addition to that, we propose to expend $5,000,000 more for the purpose of completing the connection of the lower end of the sanitary district channel with the Illinois River by a 65-mile improvement that will carry it to the point where profitable traffic can be had over the Mississippi River, and in that way to the Gulf. About the time this improvement was begun, some question was raised about the diversion of water from Lake Michigan. That was taken up later, before the water was turned in through the Chicago River. The controlling works were completed. The sanitary district authorities came to the War Department and presented their petition. The records that are preserved here show the character of the petition, together with the permit that was granted at that time. Such

proceedings were had that finally about 10,000 cubic feet per second for a 24-hour day were permitted to be diverted from Lake Michigan and carried through the Chicago River and the district channel, finally reaching the Illinois. No objections were made at the time that seemed to possess much weight. Some protest was made by the Canadian authorities. Some protest came from the upper Lake country. Certain manufacturers, certain steamboat lines, and some shippers who had access to certain markets by way of the Great Lakes made their complaints. They were duly considered by the War Department.

Mr. CLAPP. Mr. President, will the Senator pardon an interruption?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMPSON in the chair). Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLAPP. Has the Senator at hand a copy of the act of the Legislature of Illinois referred to in his proposed amendment?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes, sir. I have a copy. I will get it to the Senator at my earliest convenience.

Mr. CLAPP. All right.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Canadian authorities, together with those of the upper Lake region, filed a very lengthy petition or protest. Considerable expert testimony was heard. A large part of that is preserved, or a synopsis of it, giving the material points. The War Department, after due consideration of these protests, overruled them, and permitted the diversion of the water. At the time the first protests were made, my recollection is that only about $42,000,000 had been expended by the sanitary district. After the water was permitted to be turned in, the sanitary district authorities gained confidence. They considered that their rights were secure. Additional taxes were levied. Some additional legislation for the enlarged taxes was had from the general assembly of that State, and they proceeded to the completion of these improvements in the way that was intended, which will result in the expenditure, as I have said, of about $100,000,000.

The people inhabiting the area concerned, all the property holders paying taxes, contributing this improvement, now aggregate three million, including all the population of the city of Chicago. There is a certain population outside, in that part of the district which is not embraced in the territory within the city limits.

To this great expenditure there are precisely the same objections that were made in the protests presented here a few days ago by the Senator from Michigan and found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. After all that was done orders were had from the War Department and the improvement proceeded.

Now, here is the larger question. It is not the matter merely of a single improvement like the St. Clair River, and that is the reason why I referred to it a few moments ago. It is a series of improvements. It is the whole system of improvement connected with the Great Lakes.

It is supposed that the upper Lake region has different reaches and is affected in a different way by the proposed improvements than the lower Lake region. As a matter of fact, all of them are identical. The whole series of lakes and connecting waters are an entirety. It goes even farther than that. The Niagara River is the outlet into the last of the Great Lakes on the east or northeast, and the ultimate outlet of the Great Lake system through which its waters reach the Atlantic Ocean; the ultimate outlet of all their waters is the St. Lawrence River. This is largely a Canadian waterway. A great deal, it is true, of our water-borne traffic goes that way from the parts of the country immediately tributary to it; but the larger question, Mr. President, is merely one that is raised by the protest filed by the upper peninsula shippers and places interested in those harbors. It is a question as to which way this transportation will go.

Originally the St. Lawrence River had no such depth even where tidewater came up from the ocean to carry vessels that are now reaching as far above as Montreal, Canada. I have some of the improvements made here showing the increase in depth. Montreal is up the river, the last of what may be called the ocean ports. Quebec is another. These have commerce necessarily with the Lake system. Some of the Great Lakes carry their water-borne freight that way. They reach the Atlantic Ocean by going over the St. Lawrence River.

Commerce has no national boundaries. It does not make any difference as far as the people living within the United States and that part of the country are concerned, if they can have an advantageous water freight they are not concerned in the improvement down the Mississippi Valley way.

So it resolves itself into a question whether the Canadian authorities with their increased facilities for traffic in Montreal, Quebec, and Toronto and other points where their shipping might be diverted if the Mississippi Valley way were open, protest in order to protect their waterway system; it is not surprising that the Canadian Government has come to the War Department here. It is no wonder that they have filed their petition and that numerous hearings have been had, and that every effort made to open this waterway from Chicago to the Gulf has met with the objection of the kind filed by the gentleman of the upper lake region and by the Canadian authorities. The basis of their opposition is their effort to divert traffic that would naturally follow the Illinois and Mississippi Valleys south through Chicago and New Orleans. If they can block the Illinois waterway it sends trade their way. Their efforts, if successful, will be at the expense of Chicago, St. Louis, and the Mexican Gulf ports. This is the real question.

It is an old controversy. It began more than 20 years ago. They have heretofore been overruled when they sought to restrain the sanitary district authorities from diverting enough water through the channel to answer its purposes. In all those years these improvements have gone on.

Here we find that renewed. I would pay a little attention to the protest here in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the last few days if I did not know that the Canadian authorities are joining with the ones who actually instigated these protests to be filed. It is much better to make the protest in the name of citizens of the United States than it is for the British-Americans to come here and do so themselves.

So the contest is not one merely, as it appears, of a few amendments or improvements of this kind. The contest is whether the great portion of water-borne freight shall continue to go east and northeast through the Great Lakes, and a large part of it through Canadian waters, through Canadian ports by way of the Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. The question is whether that system of transportation shall prevail or whether the improvements that are sought to be made here in this 65-mile link in the waterway from Chicago to the Gulf of Mexico shall be permitted, with the consequent change in traffic for the benefit of the Northwest country. That is the larger question. It is the vital one to the people of Chicago, not only to those people but to every section that is tributary in the Mississippi Valley to the waterway improvement.

I wish to repeat here what I said in connection with these matters raised by this protest, that, if there is anything in inland-waterway transportation, here is the most favorable plan in which to make the test. With 1,400 miles, with all of it completed except a 65-mile link, if there is anything in a waterway, here is the place to make the experiment. It is to be made not at the expense of the Government; it is to be made at the expense of the State that seeks to fill in the sole remaining link that joins the Great Lakes with the Gulf. Improvements that are covered by this amendment, as the St. Clair River, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is somewhat skeptical as to whether it has anything to do with the levels of the upper lakes. I do not want to read at great length. I shall ask later on to put such portions of it without reading in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as I think material. But I am quite anxious to consider here the lake level in connection with just such improvements as that contemplated by the St. Clair River appropriation of some $83,000.

All the connecting waters of the Great Lakes were just like other waterways. Their natural condition at times has been changed and required improvement. These improvements were made. These narrow straits between the lakes are changed very materially, both in depth and width. I want to call attention particularly to some of them:

The improvement of the St. Lawrence River for a depth of 27.5 feet produced a local lowering of water level of about 1 foot at Montreal. (Rept. United States Deep Waterways Commission, 1896, p. 28.) These channels are now broader and 30 feet deep, and are in process of deepening to 35 feet, and sensible lowering must follow.

A permanent lowering of the levels of Lake Michigan-Huron by about 1 foot, and occurring in the years 1886–1889, is stated by the Board of Engineers on Deep Waterways in the report of 1900. Some 0.20 foot of such lowering is attributed to the improved channels between the head of St. Clair Flats Canal and Lake Erie, and 0.7 foot to the enlargement of the channel into St. Clair River from Lake Huron, by which the steep declivity at this locality has been cut in two. The facts and conclusions in the premises are set forth on pages 37, 83, and 280.

The stages of water have been kept and tabulations preserved showing the effect of these improvements.

A trial examination has been made of the tabulation of volumes and stages of water, 1860–1907, in the report on the regulation of Lake Erie by the International Waterways Commission, 1910. No systematic relation of slope to volume is disclosed for St. Clair River. The months of October and November are assumed to represent most nearly all conditions entrain, and the average declivity for these two months

compared for similar volumes indicate a material change culminating about 1890. The average for these two months for nine years prior to 1891 gives a fall of 6 feet from Lake Huron to the head of St. Clair Flats Canal and a volume of 204,455 second-feet, while the average for 12 years subsequent to 1890 gives a fall of 5.32 feet and a volume of 197,666 second-feet. The difference is 0.68 foot and the volumes are sufficiently close to eliminate material variations due to such cause. The five years of lowest volumes—all since 1890—average 184,880 second-feet and a fall of 5.12 feet.

* * * * * * *

An actual interference with the levels of the Lakes has occurred through obstructions placed in the outlet of Lake Superior at the controlling point of the rapids of the St. Mary's River, by the International Bridge and the water-power companies, in 1888, 1892, and 1901, and the effect of such obstructions seems to have escaped notice for a number of years. The subject matter is discussed at length in the report of the International Waterways Commission, for 1910, on the regulation of Lake Erie.

There is much more of this that is material that I shall not take time to read.

Oscillations in lake surface are so variable and continual that changes in lake level are recorded by monthly means rather than by the actual daily and semidaily observations, as in the case of river stages. These oscillations are due to winds and barometric changes, and are frequently periodic, as seiches, with intervals of minutes or hours, but all diminish after the exciting cause. Such fluctuations sometimes attain a considerable range, they are irregularly persistent and unforeseen, and they are never quite absent.

Lake currents are due to winds and barometric changes and vary therewith in direction and amount, and there are counter currents in deep water.

* * * * * * *

Changes in lake level—

I am still reading from "Lake Diversion at Chicago," a volume published by the Sanitary and Ship Canal authorities, and I am reading now from page 67, having previously read from pages 63, 64, 65, and 66. I am now following on page 67:

Changes in lake level occur with the seasons, in the years and through a cycle of years, and are primarily due to differences in precipitation and evaporation, and these are conditioned by other meteorological causes, and by soil texture and vegetal cover as affecting amount and rate of run-off. The several Great Lakes are equalizers of the flow in their outlets and thus distribute the effects of water supply and evaporation in streams of more or less uniformity of flow. Changes of level are recorded by monthly means, as noted above, and some of the leading facts are exhibited in the following tabulation.

Here follows all those levels recorded during those years.

I now read from the same volume on page 47. It refers to the condition in the upper Lakes:

The volume of water stored in the upper Great Lakes would supply the average rate of flow at Niagara for about 150 years, or would provide for a flow of 15,000 second-feet at Chicago for over 2,000 years.

The normal precipitation for the several Lake basins was deduced in 1899 by the United States Weather Bureau from the records in the United States and Canada, and these determinations have since been used in the bulletins of the United States Lake Survey, and are as follows: Lake Superior, 28 inches; Lake Michigan-Huron (average), 32.5 inches; Lake Erie, 36 inches, and Lake Ontario, 33 inches.

This study disclosed the fact—

Here is the reason the Canadian authorities make complaint. It is a condition imposed upon them by nature:

This study disclosed the fact that the precipitation on the Canadian watersheds was generally less than that for the watersheds in the United States.

The relation of precipitation to water supply and outflow has not been comprehensively studied, but several partial investigations have shown their mutual dependence.

Another material fact, Mr. President, is the elevation of the Great Lakes above the sea level. It is very material, when this proposed deepening of channels like the St. Clair River and other connecting waters of the Great Lakes are concerned, to remember that the wider and deeper these channels are cut the greater the flow of water and reduction of the upper lake levels.

Lake Superior is 600.68 feet above the sea level; Lake Michigan and Lake Huron, 579.60; Lake Erie, 571.35; Lake Ontario, 244.53.

These figures indicate the drop of the water and the tremendous volume that, with a comparatively small enlarging of the width and depth, may be carried from the upper to the lower lake region. An improvement like that in St. Clair River will carry out a vast quantity of water, and with other improvements ultimately added will make the changes of the lake level that are complained of in the protest presented here some days ago.

On page 124 of the same report I read, concerning the effect of the diversion of water through Chicago into the sanitary district channel:

The levels of the several Great Lakes, from a variety of causes, change continually through limits measured by inches and by feet. Causes are so diverse and so complexly conditioned, and are so incapable of fore valuation that the order, time, and measure of phenomena can only be forecasted in the most general way, if at all.

And on page 125:

The record exhibits average and aggregate effects of prior causes. Lake levels are known as compared by monthly means which mask local or temporary effects. From the Niagara River discharge measurements, 1897-98, 72 in number, 28 were eliminated as too erratic for expert analysis in the determination of the discharge formula. Such illustrations caution against attaching to conclusions greater certainties than pertain to the underlying data.

After stating all the causes that contributed to the discharge of water from the upper lakes by the improvement made by connecting waters, they come to the conclusion that the discharge even of 10,000 cubic feet per second has not contributed to lower the level of any of the points complained of to exceed fifty-two one-hundredths of an inch.

The complaints made by the signers of this protest and in former years by most of the residents of the upper lakes and by the Canadian authorities are caused by improvements in navigation, with which the sanitary district enterprise has nothing whatever to do.

Another objection that has been made is that it diverts the water until eventually it will affect the flow of Niagara Falls. This has been provided for with other points and by treaty in 1909. I will not stop to read the portions of the treaty that refer to it, but ask leave to insert such parts in the RECORD as are material.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

The matter referred to is as follows:

TREATY RELATING TO BOUNDARY WATERS AND QUESTIONS ARISING ALONG THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES, SIGNED AT WASHINGTON JANUARY 11, 1909.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the United States of America, being equally desirous to prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters and to settle all questions which are now pending between the United States and the Dominion of Canada involving the rights, obligations, or interests of either in relation to the other or to the inhabitants of the other, along their common frontier, and to make provision for the adjustment and settlement of all such questions as may hereafter arise, have resolved to conclude a treaty in furtherance of these ends, and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:

His Britannic Majesty, the right honorable James Bryce, O. M., his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Washington; and

The President of the United States of America, Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States;

Who, after having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

PRELIMINARY ARTICLE.

For the purposes of this treaty, boundary waters are defined as the waters from main shore to main shore of the lakes and rivers and connecting waterways, or the portions thereof along which the international boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada passes, including all bays, arms, and inlets thereof, but not including tributary waters which in their natural channels would flow into such lakes, rivers, and waterways, or waters flowing from such lakes, rivers, and waterways, or the waters of rivers flowing across the boundary.

ARTICLE 1. The high contracting parties agree that the navigation of all navigable boundary waters shall forever continue free and open for the purposes of commerce to the inhabitants and to the ships, vessels, and boats of both countries equally, subject, however, to any laws and regulations of either country, within its own territory, not inconsistent with such privilege of free navigation, and applying equally and without discrimination to the inhabitants, ships, vessels, and boats of both countries.

It is further agreed that so long as this treaty shall remain in force this same right of navigation shall extend to the waters of Lake Michigan, and to all canals connecting boundary waters and now existing which may hereafter be constructed on either side of the line. Either of the high contracting parties may adopt rules and regulations governing the use of such canals within its own territory, and may charge tolls for the use thereof but all such rules and regulations and all tolls charged shall apply alike to the subjects or citizens of the high contracting parties, and the ships, vessels, and boats of both of the high contracting parties, and they shall be placed on terms of equality in the use thereof.

ART. 2. Each of the high contracting parties reserves to itself, or to the several State governments on the one side, and the Dominion or Provincial Governments on the other, as the case may be, subject to any treaty provisions now existing with respect thereto, the exclusive jurisdiction and control over the use and diversion, whether temporary or permanent, of all waters on its own side of the line which in their natural channels would flow across the boundary or into boundary waters; but it is agreed that any interference with or diversion from their natural channel of such waters on either side of the boundary, resulting in any injury on the other side of the boundary, shall give rise to the same rights and entitle the injured parties to the same legal remedies as if such injury took place in the country where such diversion or interference occurs; but this provision shall not apply to cases already existing or to cases expressly covered by special agreement between the parties hereto.

It is understood, however, that neither of the high contracting parties intends by the foregoing provision to surrender any right which it may have to object to any interference with or diversions of waters on the other side of the boundary the effect of which would be productive of material injury to the navigation interests on its own side of the boundary.

ART. 3. It is agreed that, in addition to the uses, obstructions, and diversions heretofore permitted or hereafter provided for by special agreement between the parties hereto, no further or other uses or obstructions or diversions, whether temporary or permanent, of boundary waters on either side of the line, affecting the natural level or flow of boundary waters on the other side of the line, shall be made except by authority of the United States or the Dominion of Canada within their respective jurisdictions and with the approval as hereinafter provided, of a joint commission, to be known as the International Joint Commission.

The foregoing provisions are not intended to limit or interfere with the existing rights of the Government of the United States on the one side and the Government of the Dominion of Canada on the other,

to undertake and carry on governmental works in boundary waters for the deepening of channels, the construction of breakwaters, the improvement of harbors, and other governmental works for the benefit of commerce and navigation, provided that such works are wholly on its own side of the line and do not materially affect the level or flow of the boundary waters on the other, nor are such provisions intended to interfere with the ordinary use of such waters for domestic and sanitary purposes.

Mr. SHERMAN. I make this general observation on the treaty between the United Kingdom of Great Britain for and on behalf of the Dominion of Canada and the United States, that it is expressly reserved, in the part relating to the diversion of water from the lakes that lie on the border line between the two countries, that it shall not affect any possible project or any improvement that has been made at the time. This treaty was entered into between the two countries in 1909. The Sanitary District Canal was created by the Illinois Legislature in 1889 and had been in existence 20 years before this treaty was concluded. In 1909 the sanitary district improvement was practically done. In the intervening seven years between then and now it has only been the completion of plans that were then formed or improvements that were then partially made. It was an existing improvement at the time the representatives of the two countries met, and it is idle to think for a moment that these authorities did not have in mind an improvement at that time that had over $40,000,000 expended and that since then carried out the identical plan, having expended the whole by the end of the fiscal year—$100,000,000 in round figures.

No specific mention is made, it is true, of the sanitary district improvement in the treaty of 1909, but there were a number of those improvements all along the lake region on the borders of the United States. They have been constantly made for nearly a hundred years. No attempt was made to enumerate in the treaty these different improvements. It would have led to an enumeration of detail and to a length of treaty that is not permissible. So in lieu of them there were certain sections in the treaty that related to the improvement or diversions of water in projects then existing, and by that general clause matters like the sanitary district were covered.

So, taking these matters altogether, Mr. President, I submit that this amendment ought to be adopted, and especially in view of the amendment to the committee amendment that I have offered on the floor of the Senate, placing it in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate these rates.

## A Low-Tariff Commission.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY I. EMERSON,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the American Economist.

The article is as follows:

A LOW-TARIFF COMMISSION—THAT'S WHAT IT WILL BE IF THE WILSON-RAINEY BILL IS PASSED.

[From the Textile World Journal.]

Although the Rainey tariff-commission bill has not yet passed either branch of Congress, politicians are busily engaged in selecting their candidates for the six $12,000 plums borne by the commission and in discussing the probable appointees. The business and quasi-business organizations which played such an important part in forcing this bill upon Congress, and which should be well aware that its personnel is quite as vital a matter as the character of the measure itself, are apparently indifferent, for the only candidate prominently mentioned who might be considered representative of business interests is John H. Fahey, of Boston, a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. According to Washington newspaper correspondents, the others "prominently mentioned" are all men identified with Government departments, including Dr. Edward E. Pratt, Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, who is slated as chairman; Daniel C. Roper, Assistant Postmaster General; and Frank M. Halstead, Chief of the Customs Division of the Treasury Department.

Until the Rainey bill carries President Wilson's signature there can be no certainty that any of these men will be appointed, but it is safe to assume that the exigencies of Democratic politics will demand its early passage, so it is not presumptuous to consider the character of men political Washington is lining up for the commission. The board, by the way, is to be bipartisan, three members to be Democrats and three Republicans, the President being the final arbiter of their political and other qualifications. Messrs. Pratt, Roper, and Halstead are efficient officials of a Democratic administration, and, although they might rise in time to the inane height of nonpartisanship in their treatment of tariff problems, it is a safe guess that they qualify now as nonprotectionists. At least, Dr. Pratt has done his best to prevent the granting of slight additional protection to the dyestuff industry, and Mr. Roper, having been clerk of the Ways and Means Committee when the Underwood bill was framed, may be presumed to hold tariff views more in harmony with those of OSCAR UNDERWOOD and CLAUDE KITCHIN than those of JOSEPH FORDNEY and EBENEZER HILL.

The most significant candidate is Mr. Fahey, of Boston. So far as our knowledge goes, he has never taken an active part in politics. As a director of the Boston Chamber of Commerce and of the United States Chamber of Commerce, he has been prominent in initiating business legislation, is a deep student of business affairs, and a man of irreproachable character. These qualifications, and his advocacy of the idea of taking the tariff out of politics by the operation of a tariff commission, would seem to vouch for his nonpartisanship and make him an ideal seventh member of a board equally divided between Bourbon Democrats and standpat protectionists, but most assuredly he would not qualify as a stanch defender and advocate of adequate protection to domestic industry. And that is why his consideration by political Washington as one of the three non-Democratic members of the commission is significant. Political Washington expects the appointment of a nonprotectionist commission—one that President Wilson feels confident will make the Underwood tariff permanent. From his viewpoint the present tariff bill is nonpartisan, so why change it? If the United States Chamber of Commerce and other business organizations think differently, their only recourse is to put as much time and energy into a campaign for industrial preparedness as they did into their struggle for a nonpartisan, low-tariff commission.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES W. GOOD,
OF IOWA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. GOOD. Mr. Speaker, I can not agree with my friend from Washington [Mr. HUMPHREY] that there is no reason why Republicans should vote for this bill. In so far as it is political it contains so much of Republicanism and so little of Democracy that I am unable to see how a Democrat can consistently vote for it.

AMERICANISM.

This bill ought not to be a partisan measure. This Congress will appropriate many millions more for preparedness than was ever appropriated for such purposes by any preceding Congress. The liberality with which we pledged the people's money for this cause is unprecedented. The cooperation of Members of Congress, irrespective of political allegiance, in making these increased appropriations is without a parallel. There was no politics in contracting the bills for preparedness; they were authorized in the spirit of true Americanism. There ought to be no politics now in providing the money with which to pay these bills. That act, too, ought to be performed in the spirit of true Americanism.

COST OF PREPAREDNESS.

The fortifications law just enacted aggregates $19,687,833.10 in excess of the fortifications appropriation law of the preceding year. The sundry civil law just enacted carries an aggregate of $7,424,846.70 chargeable to preparedness in excess of the sums appropriated for such purposes for the preceding year. It is safe to assume that the Army and Navy acts as reported to the Senate will not be materially decreased. Guided by precedents, we would infer that the amounts will be increased. Yet the Army act as reported to the Senate carries an aggregate of $228,624,814.23 in excess of the Army appropriation act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916. So, too, the Navy act as reported to the Senate carries an aggregate of $166,164,978.67 in excess of the Navy appropriation act for the last fiscal year. These appropriations do not include more than $38,000,000 appropriated on account of our trouble with Mexico. In other words, when this Congress adjourns it will have appropriated for military purposes more than $420,000,000 in excess of the military appropriations for the last fiscal year. And one trouble with this bill by which it is sought to raise $210,000,000 annually, is that it does not provide sufficient additional revenue to pay for this enormous increase in the cost of military preparations alone, to say nothing of the many extravagant appropriations of this Congress.

And the end is not yet. The administration proposes that the preparedness program shall be completed in five annual increments. These appropriations, therefore, must be practically duplicated for the next four years, and when completed at the end of the five-year period the annual expense for the support, maintenance, and upkeep of the Army and the Navy can not fall much below the annual appropriations for such purposes for this year. We have struck a new level, we are traveling at a swifter pace, and we can not escape payment of the cost.

Can we reasonably hope that in the future the annual appropriations for military purposes will fall much, if any, below the appropriations made for preparedness this year?

HOW WILL WE PAY FOR PREPAREDNESS?

Naturally enough, we are not all of the same mind as to the source from which this greatly increased revenue must come. We on this side of the Chamber are a unit advocating that the first thing to do is to repeal the Underwood tariff for revenue measure, and enact a protective tariff law levying duties on all articles imported into this country, that will equal the difference in the cost of production here and abroad. If I understand the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. HILL] correctly, and he is a recognized authority on this subject, by the enactment of such a law we could increase our revenue by $100,000,000 annually. From a Republican standpoint, this much of our problem is easy of solution. The difficulty arises when we seek the source for the balance of this enormous sum required to pay the cost of preparedness.

HOW WOULD WE HAVE PAID BILLS?

Let us assume that this demand for preparedness had struck the country in 1909, when our side of the House was in power. To what source would we have turned to secure additional revenue to pay for preparedness? At that time we were engaged in writing a protective tariff bill. We believe the Government was then economically administered, yet with comparatively small appropriations for the Army and Navy we were compelled to supplement the Payne law with a tax on corporations in order to secure sufficient funds to run the Government. Let us examine the figures as candid Americans and see whether or not there is or ought to be any politics in this question. The total revenues from all sources, including postal revenues, for the fiscal years 1909 to 1912, inclusive, by years, were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1909 | $837,882,881.12 |
| 1910 | 899,640,372.64 |
| 1911 | 962,610,083.63 |
| 1912 | 972,170,865.40 |
| Total for four years | 3,672,304,202.79 |

The total expenditures for all purposes, including postal services, for the fiscal years 1909 to 1912, inclusive, were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1909 | $956,678,800.75 |
| 1910 | 919,121,125.07 |
| 1911 | 929,108,715.05 |
| 1912 | 945,195,312.54 |
| Total for four years | 3,750,103,953.41 |

The expenditures above given include items totaling $137,722,001.77, paid out of ordinary receipts for the construction of the Panama Canal. Obviously, if during this period we were engaged in a big undertaking to enlarge our Army and Navy establishments, Panama expenditures would have been paid out of the sale of Panama bonds, and not from ordinary receipts.

A comparison of the appropriation bills for the Army, Navy, and fortifications for this year with the years 1909 to 1912, inclusive, shows that we would have paid during each of these years, if we had engaged in preparedness then instead of now, at least $420,000,000 a year in excess of the amounts actually appropriated for such purposes. In other words, during those years we would have paid out $1,680,000,000 more for preparedness than we actually expended.

A DEFICIT.

We have already seen that the receipts for those years from all sources were but $3,672,304,202.79. The expenditures were $3,750,103,953.41, and if from this we deduct the expenditures on Panama Canal, amounting to $137,722,001.77, we have a total of expenditures exclusive of Panama Canal of $3,612,381,951.64. If to this we had added the cost of preparedness for four years, estimated on the cost of this year, which a great many people still think is insufficient, we would have had a grand total of expenditures, including preparedness, of $5,292,381,951.64. If from this we deduct the total revenues from all sources of $3,672,304,202.79, we would have had a shortage under Republican tariff laws, supplemented by a tax on corporations, of $1,620,077,748.85 for the four years.

CAN NOT PAY FOR PREPAREDNESS BY TARIFF DUTIES ALONE.

Where would we have obtained the money to pay for this increased cost of preparedness? Certainly we would not have increased the tariff duties. The defeat of the Republican House in 1910 was so universally charged to excessive duties in The Payne law that in 1912 in our Republican platform we said: "Some of the existing import duties are too high, and should be reduced." But with the provisions of the Payne law in force to-day, it is estimated that we could not hope to collect under it more than $100,000,000 a year in excess of the annual collections under it, while it was in force. Where then shall we get the funds with which to pay the bills so freely contracted for preparedness?

The prudent business man does not consider his task completed when he contracts for extraordinary expenditures. With many the big task—that of raising the money to pay the bills—is just commenced. I have consistently voted against many of the increases made this year in the Army and the Navy Establishments. I thought then, and still think, many of these increases are unnecessary, but they are made, and I realize many of these increases were made by votes on our side of the House. I for one do not propose by my vote to impair the Government's credit by refusing to make provision for the payment of the bills which were so freely and patriotically contracted.

If this bill was offered to raise money to pay for the useless and extravagant appropriations of this Congress, a different question would arise. I could not by my vote approve of the rivers and harbors, flood control, nitrate plant, and other pure "pork" appropriations of this Congress. But the money raised by this bill, together with ordinary receipts, will not pay the ordinary expenses of the Government and the authorizations for preparedness alone, to say nothing of the useless "pork" appropriations. When I view the work of this administration I realize that it has plastered the resources of the Government with mortgages. The day of maturity is approaching. A Republican administration will have to carry the burden and finally pay the debt. Where will we get the money if we do not resort to the very subject of taxation provided for in this bill? We have seen that we can not hope to collect it through the customhouse by the imposition of protective duties, though that will greatly help. Are we to overturn the cardinal principle of protection and enact a tariff law imposing duties on those things we do not produce, such as a duty on tea and coffee? That would not be Republican doctrine, and the American people will never consent to a tax on the breakfast table, even to pay the cost of great military preparation, and the party that attempts it is headed for defeat.

A careful examination of this bill compels me to conclude that it recognizes the principle of protection, which is the corner stone of Republicanism. The bill contains seven substantive propositions.

TARIFF COMMISSION—A REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE.

First. It creates a tariff commission. Tariff-commission bills before this House have heretofore been introduced by Republicans only, supported by Republicans only, and voted for by Republicans. A tariff-commission bill passed the House in 1910 by almost a strict party vote, every Republican voting for it, and practically every Democrat voting against it.

Certainly it can not be claimed that this is Democratic doctrine. There is need for a tariff commission to ascertain the difference in the cost of production in this country and abroad, if Congress is to intelligently impose duties that will equal the difference in the cost of production here and abroad. But what need is there of a tariff commission if all tariff legislation is to be predicated on the Democratic doctrine of free trade or a tariff for revenue only? If tariff legislation is predicated on free trade, what fact could be ascertained by a tariff commission that would aid in the framing of the legislation or the administration of the law. If legislation is bottomed on a tariff for revenue only, what fact not now ascertainable could be adduced by a tariff commission that would aid in the enactment or administration of such a law? We have demanded this kind of legislation in our platform, and now that we have an opportunity to secure it shall we vote against it because it happens to be introduced by an administration that does not honestly believe in the principles of a tariff commission, but on account of public sentiment is practically forced to accept this legislation? Certainly not.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF ON DYESTUFFS—A REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE.

Second. This bill provides for protective duties on dyestuffs. Oh, what a surrender of the historic principles of Democracy! I never expected to live to see the day when the Democratic Party would bring in a bill providing for a protective tariff in the interests of American industry and American labor, and now, at such a time, when Democrats have reversed themselves and have repudiated every platform they have adopted in half a century and accepted the principles of protection, shall Republicans surrender their convictions and repudiate protection, the cardinal principle of Republicanism?

ANTIDUMPING LAW—A REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE.

Third. The bill contains an antidumping provision. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH], a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, who has made a study of the antidumping provisions in the laws of other countries, stated the other day that the antidumping provisions contained in this bill are the strongest he has ever read. An antidumping law is designed to restrict foreign importations. A Republican tariff law is in effect an antidumping law. There is no place in the Democratic creed of free trade or a tariff for revenue only for an antidumping law. Here again we find a Republican measure, and because it is favored by Democrats, is that a sufficient reason why it should be opposed by Republicans? We ought to welcome these recent converts to the cause of protection.

REPEAL OF WAR TAXES 1910—REPUDIATION OF DEMOCRACY, A REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE.

Fourth. This bill contains a provision repealing the odious and troublesome stamp tax, the so-called "war tax of 1910," enacted in times of profound peace, a tax to pay for Democratic extravagance and Democratic inefficiency. All of us on this side of the House voted against that odious measure; it was un-Republican; it was unnecessary. This bill is an admission by Democrats that their Democratic revenue law was odious, vexatious, ought never to have been enacted, and should now be repealed. We ought at this time to welcome the opportunity to vote for the repeal of this obnoxious legislation.

The bill has already been amended since introduced by striking out the additional tax on banking institutions, and the bill now levies no additional tax on banks not borne by other corporations.

TAX ON INHERITANCES—A REPUBLICAN DOCTRINE.

Fifth. The bill contains a provision for a tax on inheritances in estates where the total inheritance, after the payment of all debts of the deceased and the administration of his estate, aggregates $50,000 or over. When the Payne bill was before the House, we on this side with but a single exception voted for a tax on inheritances, and the Democratic side of the House without exception voted against an inheritance tax. The enactment of an inheritance tax was strongly recommended by Presidents Roosevelt and Taft.

I can not refrain from quoting a part of the remarks of Mr. Payne, author of the Payne bill. In support of his bill which contained an inheritance-tax provision he said:

> We have provided in this bill 1 per cent from $10,000 up to $100,000, 2 per cent from $100,000 to $500,000, and after that 3 per cent. That is, where it is a direct descent, but in case of collaterals in this bill we provide a tax of 5 per cent on all legacies and inheritances exceeding $500.
>
> The question is asked whether the States will give up the tax. I do not know. I think some of the States have contemplated making the tax greater than it is now. I think that if these people have to pay both the State and the national tax they are not overburdened with taxation if this bill should become a law. What easier tax to pay than this? A man gets a legacy, a stranger perhaps to the testator, a clear gain to him; why should not he pay a part of that to the support of the Government?
>
> What easier tax to pay? A father leaves a legacy to his children. When he leaves $10,000 the tax is 1 per cent from $10,000 up to $100,000; that is not a burdensome tax. From $100,000 to $500,000 he can afford to pay more, and this bill proposes to tax him 2 per cent. From $500,000 upward 3 per cent, and in the case of collaterals, in the case of a stranger the Government takes 5 per cent on all legacies exceeding $500.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> But, after all, I do not believe there is, in the whole range of possibility, any tax by which you can raise $20,000,000 that will have less objection than this provision of this bill.

At the time that bill was reported 33 of the 45 then States of the Union had enacted a State tax on inheritances, and the year before the enactment of the Payne law the State represented by Mr. Payne collected from this source $5,600,000. But even this did not deter the patriotic and honored author of the Payne bill from including in that measure provisions for an inheritance tax. It certainly can not be said that an inheritance tax is not Republican doctrine.

INCOME TAX, MADE POSSIBLE BY REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION.

Sixth. The bill provides for an increase in the income tax. There are inequalities in the income-tax provision in this bill. I believe the limitation in this bill is too high, and that an income tax should be collected on incomes of less than $4,000. So too, the graduated scale of this proposed measure is imperfect. Obviously, the man with an income of $15,000 or $20,000 is better able and ought to pay a higher rate of taxation than the man with a small income of $4,000. And yet the bill makes no distinction in the rate on incomes between $4,000 and $20,000. But the principle of the income tax has come to stay. It is recognized by the legislation of every progressive country in the world. The right to tax incomes was made constitutional by the adoption of a resolution introduced by a Republican Senator, passed by a Republican House and a Republican Senate, and signed by a Republican President. I take it that nobody would ever be foolish enough to attempt to bring about the repeal of an equitable tax on incomes. Certainly no great political party will ever father such a proposition.

TAX ON MUNITIONS OF WAR—A JUSTIFIABLE TAX.

The bill contains a provision for a tax on munitions of war. It is estimated in the report that this provision for the first year will yield revenue aggregating $71,000,000. Certainly this tax will not be a burden on anyone. It will be paid out of earnings unequaled by any legitimate industry in this or any other country; earnings so large that if any Member of this House stated the actual facts here on the floor his statements would be questioned by many people.

I shall put in the RECORD, therefore, two articles, one taken from the Wall Street Journal of February 28, 1916, and the other taken from the same publication of February 29, 1916. The Wall Street Journal is, perhaps, the most conservative financial paper in the world, and the article is a compilation made from statements of the companies themselves.

The following is the headline of the article of February 28:

> Du Pont de Nemours earned 94.3 per cent on common—Amazing increase in business last year as result of this great European war—Net earnings of $57,840,758, compared with $5,603,153 in 1914.

The headlines of the article referred to of the 29th of February are as follows:

> Has the stock market discounted war orders?—Contracts for 2,000,000,000 gross have been reported by about two score companies—Twenty-six of these concerns account for $1,737,000,000, and their market price has appreciated $919,000,000.

Will it be a great hardship on the du Pont de Nemours Powder Co., with a net earning of 94.3 per cent on its common stock last year, to pay the slight tax provided for in this bill? Will a little tax be a great hardship on the stockholders in the 26 corporations which have war orders for 1916 delivery aggregating $1,737,000,000, when the market value of their stock increased in a single year from $1,287,658,000 to $2,212,986,000? The value of their holdings have doubled because of the war. Is it unjust to lay a little tax on concerns like the Bethlehem Steel Co. to help pay for the cost of a preparedness, for which it and similar concerns created a great public sentiment, when the market price of the $14,682,000 of its common stock advanced from $29.50 per share in 1914 to over $500 per share in 1915? This advance was because of its manufacture of munitions of war.

Shall we give these concerns all of the benefits growing out of war and preparation for war, and not place upon them any of the burdens? If we can not look to concerns such as these, who thrive and prosper, and the value of whose holdings double in a single year because of war and preparation for war, to help pay some of the expense of the preparedness for war, then indeed our Americanism is at low ebb.

In urging large appropriations for preparedness we have pointed to our great wealth, totaling more than the wealth of any nation in the world, and yet when we come to pay the cost, are we to look to poverty or to the wealth of the country to pay the bills? Shall we pay for preparedness by a tax on the breakfast table, or shall we lay a portion of it where it will be no burden to anyone? The tax on munitions will practically cease with the close of the European war. A Republican Congress and a Republican administration will find it necessary to enact a tariff law to secure revenue to take the place of the munitions tax, and I firmly believe that the corporation and inheritance tax provisions contained in the bill, possibly with some modifications, will remain the law of the United States for many years to come.

Viewed from a political standpoint, what a pitiable spectacle Democracy presents in offering and supporting this bill. It is contrary to every Democratic utterance on protection. It repudiates every Democratic platform. I can vote for it as a Republican, because it is bottomed on the principles of Republicanism. Standing separately, each of these seven substantive propositions contained in the bill command my support. Taken then in its entirety, can I vote against it simply because it is introduced by the Democratic side of this House? I can not bring myself to believe that this is a justifiable reason for opposing this measure.

PROTECTION.

The first duty of a Republican Congress and a Republican administration will be to enact a protective tariff law. The

principles of protection are stronger and better fortified to-day than ever before. In the beginning the fathers laid deep and broad the foundation of protection. The first law signed by George Washington as President of the United States was a statute providing for protection to American industry and American labor, and from that day to this protection has been our beacon light, illuminating the way to an industrial and commercial supremacy unapproached in all the history of the world.

The record of our achievements under this policy is the industrial history of the Republic, portraying a progress unrivaled and unchecked, except when the policy of protection was abandoned to make a temporary trial of free trade or a tariff for revenue only. Under this policy ours has become a Nation of individual prosperity, a land of opportunity, a country of such marvelous industrial and commercial achievement that it is the hope and inspiration of the world. When the great war that is now devastating Europe shall cease, manufacturer and laborer alike will in this country feel the need of this policy of protection as he has never felt it before, and I for one welcome the belated admission of democracy that protection is not only constitutional but correct in principle, and it only remains for the Republican Party to again put it into operation and start the wheels of legitimate industry.

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## APPENDIX I.

DU PONT DE NEMOURS EARNED 94.3 PER CENT ON COMMON—AMAZING INCREASE IN BUSINESS LAST YEAR AS A RESULT OF THIS GREAT EUROPEAN WAR—NET EARNINGS OF $57,840,758, COMPARED WITH $5,603,153 IN 1914—STOCK INCREASE $29,955,799, TOTAL SURPLUS $8,968,217, AGAINST $2,518,413—COMMON STOCK DIVIDENDS $24,136,572 IN STOCK.

The E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. reports for the year ended December 31, 1915, surplus available for common dividends of $55,542,275, an increase of $51,513,912 against same figure of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. previous year.

The E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. reports for the year ended December 31, 1915, compared with the figures of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. (old company) for the previous year, follows:

| | 1915 | 1914 |
|---|---|---|
| Net earnings [1] | $57,840,758 | $5,603,153 |
| Bond interest | 583,450 | 771,360 |
| Balance | 57,257,308 | 4,831,793 |
| Preferred dividends [2] | 1,715,033 | 803,430 |
| Balance [3] | 55,542,275 | 4,028,363 |
| Common dividends [4] | 24,136,672 | |
| Balance | 31,405,603 | 4,028,363 |
| Adjustment credit | | 165,979 |
| Stock increases [5] | 29,955,799 | |
| Surplus | 1,449,804 | 4,194,342 |
| Previous surplus | 7,518,413 | 3,324,071 |
| Total surplus | 8,968,217 | 7,518,413 |

[1] After necessary adjustments, including amounts written off for construction work for military business.

[2] Paid on preferred stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. and on debenture stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

[3] Equal to 94.3 per cent earned on $58,854,200 common stock compared with 13.6 per cent on $29,428,708 common stock previous year.

[4] Paid on common stock of E. I. du Pont Powder Co. and common stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

[5] Amount capitalized in reorganization, now represented by portion of stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., issued in October.

The balance sheet of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. December 31, 1915, compares with previous year as follows:

| | 1915 | 1914 |
|---|---|---|
| **ASSETS.** | | |
| Cash and accounts, receivable | $155,533 | [1] $26,379,477 |
| Debenture stock of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co | 34,029,700 | |
| Investment securities | | 11,435,018 |
| Realty, not including plant real estate | | 530,999 |
| Investment in manufacturing property, patents, etc | | 45,086,950 |
| Total | 34,185,233 | 83,432,445 |
| **LIABILITIES.** | | |
| Bills payable | 1,500,000 | 2,681,760 |
| Deferred liabilities | | 291,629 |
| Funded debt | 2,471,000 | 17,046,000 |
| Preferred stock | 631,801 | 16,113,807 |
| Common stock | 29,427,283 | 29,328,707 |
| Profit and loss, surplus | 155,149 | 7,518,413 |
| Total | 34,185,233 | 83,432,445 |

[1] Includes materials and finished products.

The consolidated balance sheet of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., with subsidiary companies, December 31, 1915, follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| **ASSETS.** | |
| Cash, accounts receivable, materials, and finished product (includes advances and balances on open accounts with affiliated companies, amounting to $1,943,527) | $64,894,106 |
| Investments in short-term notes and quickly marketable securities | 49,332,874 |
| Securities held for permanent investment | 21,295,367 |
| Realty, not including plant real estate | 516,697 |
| Permanent investment in manufacturing, property, patents, etc | 122,224,176 |
| Total | 258,263,220 |
| **LIABILITIES.** | |
| Accounts payable | 9,108,627 |
| Miscellaneous deferred liabilities | 4,102,673 |
| Debenture stock issued | 60,774,033 |
| Debenture stock—held in reserve (the consolidated balance sheet, as given above, assumes that all shares of the subsidiary companies are owned by the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., and the debenture and common stock shown as "held in reserve" on the balance sheet represents the estimated value of the few remaining shares not actually owned) | 45,067 |
| Common stock issued | 58,854,200 |
| Common stock—held in reserve (the consolidated balance sheet, as given above, assumes that all shares of the subsidiary companies are owned by E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., and the debenture and common stock shown as "held in reserve" on the balance sheet represents the estimated value of the few remaining shares not actually owned) | 31,425 |
| Contingent liabilities, including advance payments on contracts and reserves for depreciation, accidents, etc | 116,379,036 |
| Profit and loss surplus | 8,968,217 |
| Total | 258,263,220 |

Pierre S. du Pont, president of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., in his remarks to stockholders says:

"New world conditions found E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. in a unique position. In this country our company alone was possessed of a most complete organization and equipment for the filling of moderate orders, and for the rapid enlargement of factories for further production of materials suddenly required in enormous quantities. In consequence, the officers and employees of the company have been called upon to put forth their utmost efforts in order to meet extraordinary demands. Contracts undertaken have required the designing and building of immense plants whose construction and operation have necessitated an increase in men employed from 5,300 in October, 1914, to 62,168 on January 1, 1916. Due to the cooperation of men throughout the entire organization, the company has been able to deliver nearly every pound of explosives on contract time, and a great percentage of all contract deliveries have been anticipated by large margins.

"The record of the commercial business of the company for the year 1915 was satisfactory, and there are indications of a large volume of business during 1916. Some new lines of investment have begun to pay well and others have passed their trial stage and have added to the earnings of the company.

"It is hoped that new manufactures will be developed to take the place of the abnormal military business, but we can not expect to employ all of the large explosives plants recently built; we are therefore amortizing this investment by heavy charges against the profits of this temporary business."

The report also calls attention to the fact that the Arlington Co., manufacturers of high-grade celluloid, has been acquired, and that its business promises to add materially to the income of the du Pont Co.

In carrying out the change in the organization of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. into the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. on October 1, 1915, in order to bring the capitalization more in accord with the magnitude of the company's business, the 5 per cent bonds of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. have been retired, as have also all but $2,066,000 of the 4½ per cent bonds. There have been exchanged 1,084 shares of the preferred stock for the 6 per cent debenture stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. There now remains with the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. sufficient 6 per cent stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. to retire the preferred stock and bonds not yet exchanged, and in addition to liquidate share for share the common stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. now outstanding.

In connection with the profit-sharing plan with employees, the report shows that distributions equivalent to 12,626 shares of the common stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. and 25,452 shares of the common stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. have been made under the plan during the years 1905 to 1914, inclusive.

There have been distributed 5,037 shares of the common stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. and 14,444 shares of the common stock of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. on account of earnings for 1915.

Directors have offered for subscription this year 3,000 shares of debenture stock, making a total of 13,441 shares purchased by employees since 1909. (Wall Street Journal, Monday morning, Feb. 28, 1916.)

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## APPENDIX II.

HAS THE STOCK MARKET DISCOUNTED WAR ORDERS?—CONTRACTS FOR $2,000,000,000 GROSS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BY ABOUT TWO SCORE COMPANIES—TWENTY-SIX OF THOSE CONCERNS ACCOUNT FOR $1,737,000,000 AND THEIR MARKET PRICE HAS APPRECIATED $919,000,000, OR 53 PER CENT OF THE GROSS—COMPARISON, BY COMPANIES, IN REGARD TO GAIN PER SHARE AND TOTAL ORDERS.

Has the stock market discounted war orders placed with American manufacturers by European Governments? Will the price of certain stocks continue their advance of the past year or so? This has been a real bull market, but how much longer will it last? These are the interrogations in the back of everybody's mind, from the biggest financier down to the casual observer of the stock market.

War orders of $2,000,000,000 gross, at our lowest estimate, have been received by some 42 companies. War orders of 26 of these concerns amount to $1,737,000,000; the market price of the stocks of these 26 concerns has appreciated $919,000,000, or approximately 53 per cent of the gross war orders.

This war-order business is in terms of gross and not net profits. However, when net profits from war orders of 25 per cent to 50 per cent are not uncommon, the natural inquiry arises as to whether the full importance of this business has been realized marketwise, in view of the credit restorations and the possibilities of repeat orders.

THE MARVELOUS CHANGES.

Changes which have taken place in the value of the stocks of these 26 companies that are working on war orders are shown in the following table:

| | |
|---|---|
| War orders (26 companies) | $1,734,500,000 |
| Par value stock (26 companies) | 1,737,389,000 |
| Market value before war | 1,287,658,000 |
| Recent high price | 2,212,986,000 |
| Appreciation | 919,323,000 |
| Appreciation in market price—per cent | 71 |
| Appreciation in par value—do | 53 |
| Appreciation to war orders—do | 53 |

Although the average appreciation is 53 per cent of the gross war orders, variations from the average in the case of individual companies are worthy of consideration. The following tabulation gives in the first column the number of shares of stock (common and preferred); second column, dollars per share appreciation; third column, dollars of gross war orders per share of stock; fourth column, ratio between gross war orders and appreciation:

| | Number of shares of stock.[1] | Dollars per share. | | Ratio per cent appreciation to war orders. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Appreciation. | War orders. | |
| Allis-Chalmers | 416,190 | $32 | $19 | 168.4 |
| Aetna Explosives | 85,554 | 20 | 409 | 4.9 |
| American Can | 824,660 | 38 | 49 | 77.5 |
| American Car & Foundry | 600,000 | 35 | 12 | 291.7 |
| American Locomotive | 500,000 | 29 | 100 | 29.0 |
| American Woolen | 600,000 | 34 | 50 | 68.0 |
| Baldwin Locomotive | 400,000 | 69 | 357 | 19.3 |
| Bethlehem Steel | 297,700 | 333 | 839 | 39.6 |
| Cambria Steel | [2] 900,000 | 20 | 5 | 400.0 |
| Canadian Car | 109,750 | 39 | 1,330 | 22.9 |
| Chicago Pneumatic Tool | 64,850 | 39 | 108 | 36.1 |
| Crucible | 500,000 | 58 | 180 | 32.2 |
| Du Pont | 455,000 | 330 | 880 | 37.3 |
| Electric Boat | 76,660 | 387 | 1,304 | 29.6 |
| General Electric | 1,015,103 | 46 | 68 | 67.6 |
| Hercules | 125,000 | 187 | 200 | 93.5 |
| Steam Pump | 291,120 | 53 | 25 | 212.0 |
| Lackawanna Steel | 350,000 | 67 | 29 | 231.0 |
| New York Air Brake | 100,000 | 106 | 200 | 53.0 |
| Pettibone-Mulliken | 98,750 | 72 | 182 | 39.6 |
| Pressed Steel Car | 250,000 | 26 | 60 | 43.3 |
| Studebaker | 417,580 | 124 | 47 | 262.4 |
| United States Steel | 8,685,830 | 25 | 2 | 1,250.0 |
| Westinghouse Air Brake | [2] 393,700 | 29 | 46 | 50.0 |
| Westinghouse Electric | [2] 907,434 | 23 | 104 | 22.1 |
| Winchester Arms | 10,000 | 1,525 | 10,000 | 15.3 |

[1] Common and preferred, if more than one class of stock exists.
[2] Par value $50, allowance for which has been made.

As striking as are the deductions when the total capitalization is considered, the showing made by the corporations with regard to war orders is even more remarkable when the preferred stock outstanding is entirely disregarded. The deductions in the following tabulation are made upon the assumption that all profits from war orders are to go to common stockholders. Otherwise the compilation is identical with the preceding one, which treats of the total preferred and common capital.

| Company. | Number common shares. | Dollars per share. | | Ratio, per cent appreciation to war orders. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Appreciation. | War orders. | |
| Allis-Chalmers | 257,708 | $43 | $31 | 138.7 |
| Aetna Explosives | 53,561 | 25 | 653 | 3.9 |
| American Can | 412,333 | 49 | 99 | 49.4 |
| American Car & Foundry | 300,000 | 54 | 23 | 234.8 |
| American Locomotive | 250,000 | 54 | 200 | 27.0 |
| American Woolen | 200,000 | 45 | 150 | 30.0 |
| Baldwin Locomotive | 200,000 | 113 | 715 | 15.8 |
| Bethlehem Steel | 148,620 | 570 | 1,682 | 33.7 |
| Cambria Steel | [1] 900,000 | 60 | 5 | 1,200.0 |
| Canadian Car & Foundry | 39,750 | 70 | 3,673 | 1.9 |
| Chicago Pneumatic Tool | [3] 64,488 | 39 | 108 | 36.1 |
| Crucible Steel | 250,000 | 95 | 360 | 26.3 |
| du Pont | [1] 294,271 | 480 | 1,359 | 36.0 |
| Electric Boat | [3] 49,996 | 390 | 2,000 | 19.5 |
| General Electric | [2] 1,015,103 | 46 | 68 | 67.6 |
| Hercules Powder | 71,500 | 320 | 350 | 91.4 |
| Steam Pump | [1] 177,625 | 13 | 42 | 30.9 |
| Lackawanna Steel | [3] 350,000 | 68 | 29 | 234.4 |
| New York Air Brake | [3] 100,000 | 106 | 200 | 53.0 |
| Pettibone-Mulliken | 70,000 | 72 | 257 | 28.0 |
| Pressed Steel Car | 125,000 | 44 | 120 | 36.7 |
| Studebaker | 300,000 | 167 | 67 | 249.3 |
| United States Steel | 5,083,025 | 37 | 5 | 740.0 |
| Westinghouse Air Brake | [4] 392,769 | 24 | 46 | 52.1 |
| Westinghouse Electric | [4] 827,460 | 9 | 114 | 7.8 |
| Winchester Arms | [3] 10,000 | 1,525 | 10,000 | 15.3 |

[1] Old capitalization; not reorganization.
[2] No preferred outstanding.
[3] Old company; new company, Submarine Boat, has stock all one class, nonpar value.
[4] Par value $50.

WHAT THE PERCENTAGES IDICATE.

The more study devoted to the foregoing tables the more light is shed upon the stock-market movements of these war-order companies. It must not be lost sight of that the war orders per share are gross and not net profits available for dividends. The column of percentages would seem to indicate that the stocks of certain companies have not yet discounted war orders; also that in certain instances the appreciation in price has many times outstripped the possible profits which the company will derive from war orders, or else orders credited to these corporations are but an insignificant amount of the real total of such business. There is one thing the table does not show, and that is some companies are dependent for the maintenance of present market value on the credit of the allies in the United States and on the continuance of their war business. This, of course, involves the question of duration of the war.

AGGREGATE APPRECIATION.

In the accompanying tabulation is set forth the combined outstanding common and preferred stock of these 26 companies, combined market value before the war, approximate market value at the high at the end of 1915, and the appreciation.

| | Par value, common and preferred. | Approximate price. | | Appreciation. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Before war. | Recent high. | |
| Allis-Chalmers | $41,620,000 | $7,097,000 | $24,832,000 | $17,734,000 |
| Aetna Explosives | 8,555,600 | 8,795,000 | 11,170,000 | 2,375,000 |
| American Can | 82,467,000 | 41,027,000 | 72,571,000 | 31,543,000 |
| American Car & Foundry | 60,000,000 | 42,750,000 | 63,900,000 | 21,150,000 |
| American Locomotive | 50,000,000 | 29,063,000 | 43,500,000 | 14,438,000 |
| American Woolen | 60,000,000 | 30,800,000 | 51,400,000 | 20,600,000 |
| Baldwin Locomotive | 40,000,000 | 20,200,000 | 53,800,000 | 27,600,000 |
| Bethlehem Steel | 29,770,000 | 16,534,000 | 115,803,000 | 99,269,000 |
| Cambria Steel | 45,000,000 | 36,000,000 | 54,000,000 | 18,000,000 |
| Canadian Car & Foundry | 10,975,000 | 8,451,000 | 12,773,000 | 4,322,000 |
| Chicago Pneumatic Tool | 6,486,000 | 3,243,000 | 5,836,000 | 2,593,000 |
| Crucible Steel | 50,000,000 | 25,252,000 | 55,036,000 | 29,784,000 |
| Du Pont | 45,500,000 | 49,748,000 | 200,000,000 | 150,252,000 |
| Electric Boat | 7,667,000 | 1,283,000 | 31,052,000 | 29,768,000 |
| General Electric | 101,510,000 | 141,068,000 | 187,752,000 | 46,684,000 |
| Hercules Powder | 12,500,000 | 11,284,000 | 34,753,000 | 23,469,000 |
| International Steam Pump | 29,112,000 | 1,214,000 | 16,486,000 | 15,272,000 |
| Lackawanna Steel | 35,000,000 | 9,275,000 | 32,900,000 | 23,625,000 |
| New York Air Brake | 10,000,000 | 5,800,000 | 16,400,000 | 10,600,000 |
| Pettibone-Mulliken | 9,875,000 | 840,000 | 5,880,000 | 5,040,000 |
| Pressed Steel Car | 25,000,000 | 16,400,000 | 23,000,000 | 6,600,000 |
| Studebaker | 41,758,000 | 17,100,000 | 68,961,000 | 51,861,000 |
| United States Steel | 868,584,000 | 647,391,000 | 868,835,000 | 221,444,000 |
| Westinghouse Air Brake | 19,638,000 | 47,132,000 | 56,166,000 | 9,034,000 |
| Westinghouse Electric | 45,372,000 | 58,411,000 | 79,430,000 | 21,019,000 |
| Winchester Arms | 1,000,000 | 11,500,000 | 26,750,000 | 15,250,000 |
| Total | 1,737,389,000 | 1,287,658,000 | 2,212,986,000 | 919,323,000 |

No account has been taken of the appreciation which now has taken place in the bonds of the companies.

DETAILS OF WAR ORDERS.

The details of war contracts of the 26 companies under consideration, classified as "confirmed" or "unconfirmed," follows:

*Confirmed war orders.*

| Company. | Amount. | Materials ordered. |
|---|---|---|
| Ætna Explosives | $35,000,000 | Powder, etc. |
| American Can | 41,000,000 | Ammunition, etc. |
| American Car & Foundry | 7,000,000 | Shells, etc. |
| American Locomotive | 50,000,000 | Shrapnel. |
| American Woolen | 30,000,000 | Blankets and cloth. |
| Bethlehem Steel | 250,000,000 | Shrapnel and guns. |
| Canadian Car & Foundry | 146,000,000 | Miscellaneous. |
| Chicago Pneumatic Tool | 7,000,000 | Shells, etc. |
| Crucible Steel | 17,000,000 | Miscellaneous. |
| du Pont | 400,000,000 | Powder. |
| Electric Boat | 100,000,000 | Boats and submarines. |
| General Electric | 69,000,000 | Heavy material. |
| Hercules Powder | 25,000,000 | Cordite. |
| International Steam Pump | 7,500,000 | Shells. |
| Lackawanna Steel | 10,000,000 | Rails and steel. |
| New York Air Brake | 20,000,000 | Shrapnel. |
| Studebaker Corporation | 20,000,000 | Harness, vehicle. |
| United States Steel | 25,000,000 | Steel. |
| Westinghouse Air Brake | 18,000,000 | Shrapnel, etc. |
| Westinghouse Electric | 95,000,000 | Rifles and shells. |
| Total | 1,372,500,000 | |
| Unconfirmed war orders: | | |
| Allis-Chalmers | 8,000,000 | Shells, etc. |
| Baldwin Locomotive | 143,000,000 | Miscellaneous. |
| Cambria Steel | 5,000,000 | Rails, steel, etc. |
| Crucible Steel | 73,000,000 | Munitions. |
| Pettibone-Mulliken | 18,000,000 | Shells. |
| Pressed Steel Car | 15,000,000 | Cars. |
| Winchester Arms | 100,000,000 | Rifles, etc. |
| Total | 362,000,000 | |
| Grand total | 1,734,500,000 | |

Under the head of "confirmed" are included those concerns the amount of whose contracts has been announced, or can be estimated with comparative accuracy. Among the "unconfirmed" are placed companies which are known to have booked war business, the amount of which must be estimated from outside sources. In both parts of the table are companies which are known to have taken larger orders than are indicated, or to have others under negotiation, but which at this time can not be intelligently estimated.

THE MATTER OF DUPLICATION.

These orders, of course, contain a number of duplications arising from the practice of subletting parts of the work. So interwoven with one another are the contracts for munitions that it would be impossible to make accurate allowance for duplications. If these duplications could be determined, it would reduce somewhat the total of war orders; but it must not be lost sight of that the duplications do not affect the profits of the companies concerned, for each subcontract must carry with it a profit; therefore, in measuring up the appreciation in value of the securities against the war orders, it is perhaps not advisable to make allowance for duplication. (Wall Street Journal, Tuesday, Feb. 29, 1916.)

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire only to make my position clear on the pending revenue measure. It has been said to be a sort of mongrel affair, a cross between the donkey and the elephant, and yet the report in its favor from the Ways and Means Committee is signed only by the Democratic members. The bill was introduced July 1 and was then referred to this, the greatest committee of the House, and ordered to be printed. After, presumably, considering it until July 5, the Democratic members of the committee reported it to the House, with their favorable recommendation containing 10 pages of printed explanations. The bill itself contains 101 pages. The minority members of the committee, although refraining from joining the majority, are as dumb as oysters so far as any minority report is concerned. The Republican Membership of the House, generally speaking, are therefore left without party guide or compass, each being expected without sufficient time for consideration to act intelligently for himself on perhaps the most important fiscal measure ever before an American Congress.

Its figures are colossal and startling; they contemplate an estimated expenditure for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, of $1,579,000,000. Good reasons should be given for such a measure.

I have read the bill and the majority report and listened intently to the arguments of our so-called leaders of finance usually enlightening on the floor of the House, and I confess yet to some uncertainty in judgment.

The ranking member of the committee, perhaps the ablest tariff exponent in the House, or in Congress for that matter, Mr. FORDNEY, has argued with rare good judgment to convince his fellow Republicans that because the bill fails to embody the full position of the Republican Party on the subject of protection it should be repudiated.

I yield to no man in or out of Congress in devotion to the time-honored protective policy of the Republican Party. I represent a district in which this principle is paramount and all important. I was nominated and elected mainly because of my well-known position on this subject, and every card circulated or item of publicity distributed carried for me this individual plank:

> I favor adequate protection to American industries and labor wherever brought into unjust or unequal foreign competition, either through cheap labor or cheaper conditions of foreign production, to the extent at least of equalizing the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, and also a tariff board to furnish Congress with expert information for intelligent use in removing, if possible, from the arena of partisan politics, the troublesome tariff problems which have too long vexed and disturbed the legitimate business of the country.

Very little of this plank appears in this bill. There is just enough salt in the five-year experiment tariff on dyestuffs and the recognition of the Democratic platform as to a tariff commission to entice the unwary bird.

I can not excuse myself, therefore, for voting for it, like the distinguished leader of our Ohio delegation [Mr. LONGWORTH], if, as all admit, no amendments are to be allowed so as to conform its provisions more nearly to Republican ideas, more nearly to the elephant side of the hybrid combination. He suggests, and very properly, that inasmuch as he voted for all the increases in the expenses of the Government authorized by the Democratic majority, even insisting on larger increases being made than they were willing for, that it is only fair that he should now join them in voting for this bill, even though designed to destroy the Republican policies of raising public revenue. Some of us, however, did not vote with our eloquent colleague in support of the large appropriations for which this bill is intended to provide, and therefore occupy a somewhat different position. While not allowing ourselves to become mere obstructionists to the preparedness program mapped out, we steadily voted for the minimum instead of the maximum amounts sought, so that we are not now embarrassed by former voting. We are free to consider all features of this bill on their merits.

A serious condition confronts Congress and the country. Public revenues are as vital to the existence and welfare of the Government, more so, possibly, than the defense causes which are supposed to have made necessary these immense expenditures. A bankrupt United States Treasury can not be thought of for a moment by patriotic citizens. Manifestly, it is the duty of good citizenship to stand by the Government in financial stress as much as if attacked by an armed force. The Republicans believe in a protective tariff as the principal method of raising revenue; they believe that in the main it is least burdensome to the people. But the Republican Party is out of power, and will be until the 4th of March. The Democratic Party is in power and charged with responsibility for the conduct of the Government. Financially speaking, their methods are as wide apart as the poles.

Speaking for myself, I am free to say that if standing alone or presented separately there are some things in this bill that I should vote for, but they are so bound up and connected with objectionable features to be voted for without separation that, as a Republican, I am constrained to vote against the bill. It is the only way I can act consistently, leaving the Democratic majority to take all responsibility for the bill, or separate the provisions in it so as to be voted on separately. In separate bills I should be glad to vote for a tax on the manufacture of munitions of war, on estates amounting, after payment of all debts, to $50,000 or more, and on incomes of not less than $5,000 in case of single persons and $4,000 if married. Standing alone, I should be glad to vote to do away with the war stamp tax as proposed.

Possibly it may have some other meritorious features, but as a whole I look upon the bill as a crafty attempt, by a little sugar coating here and there, to bring about a total and permanent abandonment of the Republican policy of protection, and as such I think it only fair and patriotic to let the Democratic majority have sole responsibility for its passage. The Republican Party can afford to wait for the full triumph and vindication of its fiscal policies until after the inauguration of Hughes and Fairbanks in March, 1917.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, I submitted to the House, but without obtaining action, the following amendment:

> I move to amend section 602 by striking out, on line 24 of page 100, the period and inserting ": *Provided*, That when such article or articles shall be on the free list a duty of 20 per cent ad valorem shall be levied and collected thereon."

An examination of the so-called antidumping clause provided in this bill shows the following remedies:

First. A penal remedy where an importer receives cheap goods in large amounts from the exporter with view to unfair competition may be prosecuted in the criminal courts.

Second. Provision is made for civil action by any persons injured by such unfair competition, with punitive damages.

Third. There is provision for tariff punishment, that in case an offense is committed against the provisions of this act the rate of duty may be doubled. All the foregoing relates to the importation of goods where a duty is levied at our ports, but as nearly three-fourths of our goods now being imported is upon the free list these remedies would have no application whatever.

The Underwood tariff law places nearly all farm products upon the free list and a doubling of no rate of duty would have no terrors to either importer or exporter.

My amendment would have special application to goods now being entered free and would provide in case of unfair compe-

tition through importation a duty of 20 per cent to be placed on all goods now on the free list where unfair competition should arise.

The value of this antidumping clause is largely in its intention to protect, and the fact that those who have heretofore opposed the principle of protection now in this crude way admit the fallacy of their former beliefs in tariff for revenue or free trade, and offer to adopt a protective measure. They acknowledge the principle but do not seem to have the courage to place its application in those practiced hands where good effects might be wrought and inefficiency and blunders avoided. Further, it seems that in gradually working away from their tariff for revenue and free trade back to protection they desire to recognize the farmers' right last.

In this connection I desire to say that I had prepared two other amendments to the revenue part of this bill as applied to places of amusement, theaters, and so forth, but the limited time permitted for the presentation of these amendments prevented them, with perhaps hundreds of others in the hands of waiting Members, from receiving action, to say nothing about consideration by the House of Representatives. Some day the American people, feeling the heavy hand of taxation by its taxing power, will, upon investigation, not only note the effect and character of the burdens placed but the arbitrary and un-American method of laying their taxes. And when the American people discover how little the representatives of the real tax-paying portion of the country are permitted to exercise the laying of their taxes the offending organization will receive a well-merited rebuke.

## United States Grain Grades.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, I would consider myself remiss if I did not say a word in favor of a most significant and practical measure, the United States Grain-Grades act, which the gentleman from Missouri has offered as an amendment to the Agricultural appropriation bill.

This so-called grain standardization bill is a measure of great importance in as much as it affects the entire agricultural interests of the country, and I am confident that great good will result from the enactment of this legislation.

Briefly defining this measure, it provides for the Federal investigation of the handling, grading, and transportation of grain and gives the Department of Agriculture authority to fix and establish the standards of quality and condition of corn, wheat, rye, oats, and other grain as the usages of trade may permit; this also empowers the Secretary of Agriculture to alter or modify such standards whenever the necessities of the trade may require such changes.

While the different States of the Union have from time to time endeavored to perfect some grain-inspection laws, and while in some States the laws pertaining to grain are quite fair, yet it is impossible to secure uniformity and adequate protection unless by Federal action. In the past grain, the most important product of the farmer, was the basis of speculation, and prices have been lowered and raised to meet the needs of the designing speculators. Some of our States have endeavored to do away with these abuses, and to some extent by their grain-inspection laws have safeguarded the farmer from the manipulator of grain grades in the big markets. But, Mr. Speaker, I believe that State management of grain inspection can never work out favorably and satisfactorily, as most of the grain is shipped out of the State, and every State has different laws. Under the State inspection system each market has some variation of the State standard established, and grain is liable to be graded differently in each State. Under national supervision, however, and under the provisions of the Rubey bill the work of unifying the system among the States will be perfected, and the Department of Agriculture will cooperate with the individual States in giving each of them a uniform standard, so that a grade of grain of one State will bear the same grade in other States.

The Department of Agriculture has made exhaustive and comprehensive investigations in promulgating standard grades for grain. It has been found that the grades established by the Department of Agriculture are equitable and satisfactory.

I have found few objections to this legislation except from large exporters, but, on the other hand, I have received many petitions and letters from farmers, as well as grain dealers, urging the passage of some measure that would safeguard the grain industry and eliminate local and political influence which so often has a tendency to injure the honest sale and trade in grain.

Now, gentlemen of the House, what is the exact practical consequence resulting from the enactment of this legislation? How will an adequate grain-grading act affect the prices to the producer? As everyone knows the price of wheat is based on Liverpool quotations.

Liverpool prices are based on seaboard grades which may be far below the grades of Kansas grain or any other of the various grain-producing States. Now, here is where the uniformity and benefit of this measure is evident: A Liverpool merchant buys seaboard grades of wheat and pays a price according to the article he receives, therefore if the seaboard grades are lower than the grades quoted in Kansas or any other grain States, and the price is, as everyone agrees, fixed by the Liverpool rates, then it is clear that the Liverpool prices fixed on an inferior grade of grain would give to the Kansas grain a lower price. In other words, if seaboard No. 2 is inferior to Kansas No. 2 under the Kansas grain-grades law, then it shows that the price for Kansas No. 2 is fixed in Liverpool by an inspection of the inferior No. 2 sent them from the seaboard. Thus, if a local dealer quotes Liverpool No. 2 as worth so much he adds the total cost of freight and insurance charges, deducts this from the Liverpool price and gives us the price of wheat for the interior States.

Basing this, as I have said, on seaboard grades, which are lower than our grades, naturally the local dealer in good faith makes an offer to the farmer of a price less than the same grade of wheat would sell for if delivered direct to the purchaser in Liverpool. If this law is enacted, No. 2 wheat quoted in Liverpool will be just the same as No. 2 grade of wheat in Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, or, in fact, any State in the Union.

Mr. Speaker, the grain-grades bill is a practical and significant measure, and one that will meet the demands of a large proportion of our people engaged in the growth, milling, and transportation of grain. I believe this act will benefit the farmer, because he will get nearer the actual value of his corn, wheat, or whatever the grain may be he has to sell, the dealer will have a more uniform grade of grain and the consumer a more uniform quality.

This bill having had the careful consideration of the subcommittee and the full committee, the approval of the House, and indorsed as it is by all the farmers' organizations, and, in fact, nearly everyone who is directly or indirectly connected with the grain industry. I hope the Senate will take favorable action on this legislation so that we may dispose of another meritorious and valuable measure tending to the betterment and safeguard of one of our greatest industries in this country.

## Compensation for Injuries to Federal Employees.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HARRY E. HULL,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill. I believe in the principle involved, and I think it is a step in the right direction. It is time that the Government passed a law that will adequately compensate its employees who are injured and killed. If this bill passes, the Government will not be a leader, but a follower, in the principle involved. Already in a large number of States workmen's compensation laws are now in force, and when a man is injured while employed by a private corporation or even an individual he knows just exactly what he is to receive for his injury. It is entirely different with the Government. The haphazard method of introducing a special bill for every injured employee results in an unequal distribution of justice. Some are paid much more than their injuries should entitle them to, others who were injured through no fault of their own while in Government employ receive nothing. This condition is a detriment to the Govern-

ment in securing capable employees. Men are not going to take the hazard knowing that if an injury occurs there is little chance for them or their families to recover. Our committees in the House and the Senate are right now loaded down with claims filed by employees who have received injuries and are incapacitated for life by some accident while in the employ of the Government. This bill will bring order out of chaos. It will put the Government on the same status with its employees as are private employers. In a general way I think the schedule of remuneration for the different classes of injuries are fair. As I understand it, they have been worked out after due consideration has been given to similar laws relating to private manufactures and are based largely upon similar scales of compensation. If in the course of time it is ascertained that these schedules are not fair, it is a minor matter to readjust them. The point I am trying to make is that the principle involved in this bill is a just one. Providing for its injured employees is a responsibility that the Government has no right to shirk. It is a responsibility that Governments have placed on the private individuals. Why should the highest Government in this land be exempt?

## Patriotism and Preparedness.

# SPEECH

OF

# HON. JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 2, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15947) making appropriations for naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Chairman, during the consideration of the pending Army and Navy appropriation bills Members of Congress have spoken frequently and comprehensively on the twin subjects of patriotism and preparedness. Indeed, for many months those subjects have engrossed the attention of the entire country. Everywhere they have been and continue to be the chief topics of study and discussion.

And interest in those subjects is not confined to our own shores. Wherever throughout the world the awful consequences of the European war, the most destructive martial conflict of the ages, are felt or known this interest is manifest and active. Every newspaper we read, every gathering we attend, every person we meet is deeply concerned.

### THE LOVE OF COUNTRY.

From time immemorial love of country has been esteemed the chiefest of civic virtues, but until within a comparatively recent period the world's conception of patriotism has been very limited, very circumscribed. Even now the prevailing notion of duty to country reflects in large measure the ideals and customs of a remote and barbaric past. Except among the most enlightened patriotism and warfare are always closely associated in meaning. When we think of a great patriot most of us think also and in the same connection of a great soldier, a great warrior.

This old-time idea of patriotism grew out of the condition of universal strife which for so many centuries obtained among the nations. It held that a person's patriotic duty was fulfilled by a willingness to fight for his country in time of war. Between wars he was at liberty, without detriment to his reputation as a patriot, to indulge in unethical practices in most of the relations of life. Even when their Governments were honeycombed with graft and reeking with corruption, the citizens of ancient Greece and Rome idolized their heroes of war, by whom their Governments were administered.

In all ages and among all peoples this historic idea of patriotism has been stressed. It has been inculcated in home and school; it has been preached from pulpit and platform; it has been promoted in journalism and literature; it has been embalmed in song and story. As a natural consequence, the ideal patriotism came ultimately to be regarded as inseparably connected with warfare; the greatest glory, as invariably associated with the wholesale destruction of life and property. The world's warriors have been the world's heroes. To them have been accorded the highest places of honor and power.

### THE ORIGIN OF MILITARISM.

In this ancient conception of patriotism modern European militarism had its origin. And militarism exists in America as well as in Europe. Let us not be deceived about that matter. If it is less highly developed here than there, which is true, that fact is due to our form of government, to our national youthfulness, and to our geographical isolation rather than to the innate character of our people; for, after all, the people of America are very similar to those of European countries. In fact, we are bone of their bone, sinew of their sinew, blood of their blood.

Transfer to America the principles, policies, and practices that obtain in Europe, and soon will be found here the same systems, conditions, and tendencies. Indeed, in the development of militarism we seem to be following irresistibly in the footsteps of those countries. Already, of every hundred dollars raised annually by taxation for the support of the Federal Government the sum of approximately $70 is expended in preparation for future wars or in payment for past wars. Excluding appropriations for war pensions and for interest on war debts, which appropriations approximate $200,000,000 per year, we are now expending annually for war purposes—that is, upon the Army and Navy—the tremendous sum of $250,000,000, which is excelled by only one other nation.

On other words, we are now spending quadrennially the enormous sum of a billion dollars for the development and maintenance of our Army and Navy Establishments. Yet there are unmistakable indications that the people of the United States desire Congress forthwith to make largely increased appropriations for those purposes, which, as a matter of course, will result in greatly and permanently increased taxation burdens.

Judging the future by the past, since like causes produce like results, the time may come when militarism will dominate in America as it now dominates in Europe.

### THE EUROPEAN WAR AND ITS LESSONS.

And militarism does dominate there. The present European war, the mightiest, the costliest, the bloodiest, the deadliest, the most barbarous in many respects in all history, is a direct result of that domination there. Each nation denies responsibility for the war. Each claims to be fighting a defensive war. They are equally honest, equally correct. The peoples of those countries did not make the war. The rulers now declare that they did not, though in the beginning some, if not all of them, claimed a copartnership with the Almighty in the conduct of a holy war. It is significant that none now boasts such coalition.

The truth is the principles, the policies, and the practices obtaining throughout Europe for centuries past were responsible for that war. The trouble lies with the European system, which is one of highly armed States always expecting to be attacked, and therefore always ready and quick to anticipate attack. It is a system of alliances founded upon suspicion, jealousy, hatred, fear, and greed. Stupendous and burdensome armaments, secret and selfish diplomacy, hasty and unnecessary ultimatums are peculiar to the European system, and those things have ever been the most prolific causes of war. All history warns us to beware of those dangers. [Applause.]

The war in Europe has taught the world many lessons, chief among which is that relating to the settlement of international differences. If civilization is to be preserved and promoted, if humanity itself is not to perish from the face of the earth, it is obvious that new methods must be adopted. And new methods in international relations are not impossible.

In this age of invention, organization, and cooperation; in this time of transportation, communication, and visitation; in this day of the railroad, the steamboat, the automobile, the airship, the cable, the telegraph, the telephone, and the wireless, the remotest nations are not nearly so isolated, not nearly so widely separated, as were the subdivisions of even a small country a century ago. It is entirely feasible, therefore, for nations now to cooperate in a manner that would have been utterly impossible before the inventions and discoveries which have so completely annihilated time and distance.

### GOVERNMENT AN EVOLUTION.

Governmental development has been an evolutionary process, and like most other such processes has been slow. The enlargement of authority by consent or by compulsion and the expansion of territorial jurisdiction through conquest or through voluntary combination have characterized this development. In the remote past each man redressed his own and his family's wrongs. Within itself the family was a complete and independent government. Then followed the tribe, or group of related families; then the State, or combination of tribes; then the Nation, or union of States. The logical or evolutionary next step will be the internation, the omnination, or the confederation of nations, which might appropriately be called the United Nations of the World, and whose motto should be "peace on earth." [Applause.]

This logical next step in the evolution of government should be taken as soon as possible, and it ought to be possible after

the cessation of European hostilities. That it be taken is demanded by reason and conscience, by patriotism and religion. Both selfishness and altruism demand it. If this step be not taken, civilization and humanity may disappear in some world-enveloping cataclysm, of which there are those who fear that the pending European war is the precursor.

UNIVERSAL WAR POSSIBLE.

Indeed, the fear that the entire world may become involved in that war may not be founded in mere pessimism, for existing conditions, developing tendencies, and multiplying possibilities are such as to give alarm to the most optimistic. Already more than half of the inhabited area and more than 50 per cent of the population of the earth are involved directly. Indirectly and in varying degrees much larger portions of the earth's surface and population are implicated.

The combined population of the world is estimated to be approximately 1,600,000,000, while that of the countries at war is about 1,000,000,000. If our country and Mexico should resort to arms for the settlement of pending or developing differences, almost three-fourths of the earth's area and population would be involved. War between the United States and Mexico would probably involve both Governments in the European conflict. In that event every country on earth might be swept irresistibly into that hell of destruction.

A COURT OF NATIONS.

It is apparent that there must be a change, a universally accepted change, in the methods employed for the settlement of international misunderstandings. The time has come when nations must cooperate in the establishment and maintenance of a judicial tribunal for the adjustment of differences which can not be settled by diplomacy, and diplomacy itself must be reorganized, reorganized upon a basis of publicity and equity. As individuals, cities, counties, and States submit their disputes to arbitration in courts of justice, none sitting as judges in their own cases, so must nations settle their disputes. The judicial decree must be substituted for the diplomatic ultimatum.

Our own States voluntarily abandoned war as a method of settling their differences, and as a substitute established here at Washington a Supreme Court of States, where all of their disputes are settled by arbitration. I believe that the nations of earth should in a somewhat similar manner unite in the organization of a supreme court of nations, where all of their misunderstandings would be settled by arbitration. [Applause.]

SELF-DEFENSE A NECESSITY.

Until the leading nations join in the establishment of such a world court, agreeing individually and collectively to abide by and enforce its decrees, each of the nations will be compelled in self-defense to make provision for its own protection, and until such international court for the settlement of differences arising between nations is firmly and permanently established it will be necessary for our Government to pursue a policy of adequate military preparedness for defensive purposes.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. I prefer not to yield.

Mr. MADDEN. Just for a simple question?

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. I mean no discourtesy, but my time is so limited that I am compelled reluctantly to decline to yield. When I have finished, if granted sufficient time, I shall be pleased to answer such questions as may be propounded.

Mr. Chairman, what constitutes a state of adequate military preparedness for defensive purposes is the question now under consideration. I am persuaded that by the passage of the pending Army, Navy, and fortifications bills as recommended by the committees of the House we will meet the present needs of the country for such purposes, though prior to the outbreak of the European war and the development of the perplexing Mexican situation I confess that I found myself in agreement with many others in the opinion that with a continuance of the present quadrennial billion-dollar expenditure for Army and Navy equipment and maintenance we would satisfy the demands of reasonable preparedness.

THE POWER TO DECLARE WAR.

I have thought during the past year a great deal about war and its awful consequences, and I have come to the conclusion that rulers and their cabinets should not have the full power to declare war. Fortunately for us in this country our President and Cabinet can not declare war. Only Congress can do that. The fact remains, however, that in crises like those with which we have been and now are confronted our President and Cabinet, if so disposed, could bring about such a situation as would compel Congress to declare war. I have no doubt that if President Wilson desired to do so, he could within a few days, possibly within a few hours, develop such a condition as would involve our country in the European conflict or in war with Mexico. Let us thank God that he is not so disposed. [Applause.]

The truth is, I have about come to the conclusion that not even Congresses should possess the absolute power to declare war, except possibly in cases of actual and continued aggression resulting in a flagrant violation of sovereignty or in the destruction of human lives. Who bears the burdens of war? Who sacrifices life in time of war? Who pays for war? The people. Why not therefore permit the people of a nation, as far as possible, to say when that nation shall go to war? [Applause.] And when I say the people, I mean what I say—I mean women as well as men. I thank God that women are coming to be regarded as people. [Applause.]

FAITH IN PRESIDENT WILSON.

While it is not my purpose to make a partisan speech, I feel confident that, regardless of political affiliations, I will be pardoned for saying in this connection that our country is exceedingly fortunate in these critical times to have in the presidential chair a man like Woodrow Wilson. [Applause.] I have never known a man more calm, more calculating, more courageous, more determined, or more patriotic. He has filled, and is filling, his high office with matchless statesmanship, and if there is any honorable way by which our country can be kept out of this world-threatening conflict, President Wilson will find and follow it. The country is safe in his keeping. [Applause.]

MODERN CONCEPTION OF PATRIOTISM.

The past century has been characterized by several world-wide movements, notably those looking toward universal education and universal democracy. While these movements are the natural fruits of the germs of aspiration and growth implanted in the human soul by Almighty God, they have been nurtured and accelerated by that other and greater movement, all-comprehensive in scope, which was inaugurated some 2,000 years ago when the angels sang, "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

One of the most encouraging results of this spread of education and democracy is that which is manifesting itself in a changing and enlarging conception of patriotic duty. The world, the thinking world, notwithstanding the present awful carnage in Europe, is coming more and more to realize that people are under no greater obligation to die for their country in time of war than to live for it in time of peace; that real patriotism is not a virtue to be assumed when one's country is struggling with a foreign foe, and to be discarded between wars when one's country may be contending with internal enemies no less destructive; that the most patriotic citizen is not the one whose devotion to country manifests itself only spasmodically in his country's wars, but the one who so lives day by day as to render it unnecessary for his country to go to war; that the true patriot demands nothing for his own country which he is not willing to concede to humanity in general; that war between civilized nations is unnecessary, foolish, wicked, destructive, damnable; that he who serves fellow man best, best serves self, home, country, and God. [Applause.]

This growing view of patriotic duty is coming none too soon, for there has never been a time when there was greater need for the application of high ethical principles to the solution of life's problems, whether those problems relate to home, business, society, government, or religion; or whether they be local, State, National, or international. [Applause.]

## Salaries of United States Employees.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 11, 1916.*

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, I presented the following amendment to the House of Representatives on the 10th day of July, 1916, when H. R. 16763 was up for consideration.

I move to amend H. R. 16763 by adding a title to be numbered 7½, and to be inserted after line 3, on page 101, as follows:

TITLE 7½.

That for the period of the fiscal year of 1917 all Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers, and servants of the United States Government receiving salaries of more than $4,000 per year from the United States Government shall receive, first, the sum of $4,000; second, in addition thereto, they shall receive 90 per cent of the excess over $4,000 of such salaries as now provided by law: *Provided*, That this

shall in no wise affect the salaries of the President, Vice President, or Members of the Supreme Court or inferior courts of the United States, and the amounts hereinbefore stated shall constitute all the salaries to be in any wise paid the persons herein designated for the period stated.

From the time when the first legislative organizations were established in the early colonies down through the Confederation and under the Constitution legislation has taken a general course. The legislative body, whether a committee or a house, in determining legislation would have the bill or resolution read at large and then by clerk or presiding officer. A reading would be had substantially in the following manner: Paragraph would be read, when, at its close, there would be given opportunity for the proposal of amendment and debate. In that way the strong as well as the weak and the favorable as well as the unfavorable features would challenge attention. Moreover, ordinary defects not in themselves important or substantial, and yet proper to be considered, would receive attention.

In this great bill, providing over $200,000,000 for taxes, this method was distinctly denied, both in the standing committee—Ways and Means—and afterwards in the Committee of the Whole and in the House. So the American people will understand that this burden is placed upon them, so far as the House of Representatives is concerned, the constitutional body having jurisdiction to originate legislation of this character, without the well-settled form of procedure being observed.

I wondered if those who made haste to lay these heavy burdens upon the people were willing to be treated themselves, they having the power, as they treated others.

In all the varying paragraphs of this legislation I sought some feature suggesting economy. I did not find it, and for that reason I prepared the foregoing amendment.

The ancient saw that "a penny saved is twopence gained" seems to have found no place in the summary action of the authors of this measure. The foregoing amendment would fairly test first these hasty tax leviers as affecting themselves and demonstrating their patriotism, and also indicate their special care for their many partisan friends who draw munificent salaries from the Government. I hold that it would be a fit and proper method of demonstrating the disinterestedness of the membership of this House. But the rule, which specially limited time for amendment and debate, prevented consideration of this amendment. It will be here of record, however, as a suggestion to be used should later opportunity here or elsewhere along the line of legislation be presented.

## Taxing War Munitions.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, it is proposed to raise $71,000,000 by taxing war munitions. The period within which these are to be taxed is limited to the period following January 1, 1916. It is generally agreed that the period within which the United States munition makers have been most busy making munitions of war for foreign Governments was from August, 1914, up to early in 1916, more particularly in 1915. During that time the European belligerents who had been in the lowest state of preparedness drew heavily on the American product. This was while they were building and equipping their own munition plants.

So the important period was rather in the calendar year of 1915 than in 1916. If the theory of taxing munitions can relate back to any extent, as it does in this bill, it should have been begun at least January 1, 1915. Because, beginning with 1916, and assuming that the head of our Government as well as those in charge of our military and naval affairs in consonance with their public speeches were undoubtedly arranging for a large purchase of American munition products. A relative decrease has occurred in the contracts made with foreign powers for supply of munitions. So that the effect of establishing January 1, 1916, as the date upon which taxes should be levied on munitions would have the appearance and effect of encouraging the manufacture of munitions for foreign use and discouraging their manufacture for our own use when trouble begins to appear.

I am not opposed to a special tax upon munitions of war, but in this as in all other matters I do not believe in penalizing America in the interest of the foreigner. That seems to be a characteristic running through this legislation. A distinct favor to foreign belligerents and a burden upon our people.

Already the great accessible nations announce their complete ability to produce in abundance their needed munitions. Already large munition plants in this country are closing up while others are reducing their output. It appears as if we are simply taxing the shell of the revenue nut, leaving the kernel entire to the thrifty stock handlers and holders of munitions corporations. I am ready to have this voted upon without further debate.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 16763) to increase the revenue, and for other purposes.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, this bill is for the purpose of raising more money for a wasteful, extravagant, and incompetent Democratic administration to spend. It is admitted even by the Democrats that since the purse strings of the Government have been in the hands of the Democrats more money has been spent, and much uselessly, than under any preceding administrations. This Congress has been the most extravagant of all, and this even before the question of increasing the Army and the Navy was considered. Back in December, 1914, we have leading Democrats of the House criticizing extravagance in appropriation. No less a personage than the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON] gave utterance to this proof then. He said:

> Principle has gone to the four winds of the earth, and we are writing ourselves down in the history of the country as being the most outrageously and most criminally extravagant Congress that ever sat on the American Continent. * * * I said that in a speech before, in the last session, and when I made that speech Members of the Democratic House came to me and asked me not to put it into the RECORD, because it would be used by the Republicans in their campaign book. Let them use it. * * * You may use the statement now, gentlemen, because when Democrats get to be so violently extravagant that it makes its own record look bad as compared to the very marked record of the Republicans, I must apologize to you Republicans for having ever used the words "criminally extravagant" in criticizing the appropriations that you made, for if that expression "criminally extravagant" was proper to apply to you, my God! the English language has never found an adjective strong enough to apply to Democratic extravagance.

This bill has many things in it, some of which are there for the purpose of fooling the people and the Republican Members in this House. For instance, there is the protective duty on dyestuffs, borrowed from the Republican principle of protection; then there is the tariff commission, which only a short time ago the Democrats claimed to be useless, and killed the one established when the Republicans were in power by failing to appropriate money for it; then there is the antidumping clause. This is another admission by the Democrats that the Republican policy of protection is the only one for this country. This provision, in effect, says that many of our industries would not be able without protection to withstand competition of foreign-made goods, where cheap labor can be had, as opposed to our high-wage scale. This is an admission that the Democratic Party realizes that when the war is over there will be an invasion of our markets by European manufacturers, and that there must be a law to prevent the dumping of these cheap-made goods in this country to be sold in competition with those manufactured with our high-price labor. Is there any better proof needed of the efficacy of the Republican doctrine—the protective tariff? This bill also provides for raising money by what is known as the inheritance or estate tax. For a long time this has been a source of revenue to the States. In some States it has been used to further education and has gone to the State universities. This is particularly so in my State. Now the Government must have that also. Then there is a provision for increasing the income-tax rates. This is a direct tax, of course, and puts the great burden of it upon a few sections of the country. This bill also proposes to reenact into law certain of those obnoxious special taxes provided in the so-called emergency revenue war-tax act of October 22, 1914. This was the most inexcusable act of them all—putting war taxes upon the people in times of peace.

These various matters are combined in this bill by the Democrats with the hope that it will get them support from the Republicans, so that the measure will not receive the criticism it warrants in the coming campaign.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS] well expressed my view as to this when he said:

Last Saturday the Speaker of this House made a very earnest plea, not on behalf of the bill, but for votes; not for votes on that side of the House, because he has them, but for votes on this side of the House; not because he needs them, because this bill will pass, if necessary, without a single Republican vote cast for it.

You have already enough votes, and it is a pertinent question to be asked now, Why the concern of the leader of the majority and the distinguished Speaker of this House to get Republican votes on this measure? It is not to pass the bill, but it is to estop argument against the direct-tax system in the days preceding November. And in order to win the votes on this side they have thrown out sops. The first is the tariff commission, that you opposed, and are now willing to swallow in the hope that we will vote for it. Our support of the tariff commission does not depend upon the action to-day. We will write it after March 4. The second sop is an antidumping clause, that you ridiculed in the discussion of the Underwood tariff bill, when we Republicans urged it upon you, and now you swallow it in the hope that you will get votes from this side of the House, not to carry it; you have the votes to do that, but you want this side to surrender to your scheme. We will write an antidumping clause that will be a revision of the Underwood tariff law, and write it in a protective measure. The dyestuff proposition is another effort of estoppel. You say it is protective, and my distinguished friend from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN] literally holds his nose, because it is hard to swallow. Why do you swallow it? To get Republican votes. Why? To use as arguments against us when the discussion is on in the days between now and next November against your method of raising the tax totally by the direct method in opposition to and suppression of the protective-tariff system.

I, for one, will not be led into this trap. I have favored a tariff commission in the past. I am in favor of one now, but not such a one as would be created by the present administration. The members of the tariff commission appointed by the present Democratic President would not be one that would work to get the facts as to show the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, so as to change the present tariff law along the lines of the too well known policy of the Republican Party as to a protective tariff. The sudden change of heart of the Democratic Party with reference to the tariff board, the protective duty upon dyestuffs, and the antidumping clause does not warrant the belief, in view of their past record, that they are sincere. While in the words of the gentleman from Wyoming—

We welcome this tardy Democratic recognition of the virtue of Republican policies, but we decline to desert the altars of the true faith to participate in the acts and incantations of those who, though unable to longer entirely resist the penetrating power of truths they have long spurned and denied, still in the main adhere to their idols of free trade and their fetishes of burdensome direct taxation.

Even as the ancient Israelites in the very shadow of the mountain of the law set up an altar to the worship of the golden calf, so Democrats in this day of their proclaimed enlightenment as to the wisdom of Republican principles of protection still set up their altars to and worship their discredited idols of free trade and of direct and burdensome taxation upon the people and their industries.

We still have in mind the ancient warning, long since crystallized into a proverb, "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts."

Yet we know this party of old. We know that it has been false to every pledge and promise. We recall their promises regarding the tariff law they enacted.

The Democratic Party has made a failure with its Underwood tariff bill. The leader of their party, President Woodrow Wilson, substantially admits same when he urges Congress to continue the protective duty on sugar, put one on dyestuffs, enact an antidumping law, and the creation of a tariff commission. The time is not long until the Republican Party will be in control of the affairs of this Government, and I prefer to wait for that time when a real Republican protective tariff can be again put upon the statute books. The Democratic Party has demonstrated its inability to manage the affairs of this Government. It has waivered, changed its position many times, and, in fact, has completely reversed its position upon many important matters. Its inconsistency has been the most potent thing since it has been in power. Even Members of this House have become so used to the changing of the mind of the President that even the most intense of the Democrat Members no longer pay any attention to the matter. They no longer preach that "The principles of the Democratic Party are eternal." Most of them now quietly admit that the Democratic Party has no lasting principles.

During this administration it has changed from everything it has heretofore claimed to stand for. Its Baltimore platform has been torn completely to pieces by the President it nominated at that convention. The country knows now that the Democratic Party stands for one thing only, and that is to get into office and to stay in office, regardless of what they are compelled to do in order to do so. The Democratic Party, in order to do this, is willing to accept the Republican doctrine of protection, the creation of a tariff commission, the putting of a duty on dyestuffs, and so forth. They no longer consider consistency a virtue. The following apparently now represents their thoughts:

Tush, tush, my lassie! Such thoughts resigne.
Comparisons are cruel;
Fine pictures suit in frames as fine;
Consistencie's a jewell.

The Republican Party is in favor of a protective tariff. It believes now, and has since the party was organized, that a tax upon imports should be levied and collected at the custom-houses in this country to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government. They have always believed that these taxes should be the difference between the cost of producing like goods here and those abroad that seek markets in this country. This policy has been tried out upon the statute books for many years, and it has always proven a success. Under its administration we have always had all necessary money to support the Government and to maintain a large balance in the Treasury. When the Democratic Party came into power they changed this and enacted into law a revenue free-trade tariff. It failed in every respect, as claimed by its author, Mr. UNDERWOOD. One day after his bill had become a law Mr. UNDERWOOD made the following statement:

This bill will do four things: First, it will reduce the cost of living; second, it will not disturb the business of the country; third, it will increase our foreign trade; and fourth, it will collect revenues sufficient to meet the necessary expenses of the Government.

We note now that everything claimed by Mr. UNDERWOOD has failed. As soon as this law went into effect imports began to greatly increase. This law was in force about 10 months when the European war broke out, and during that period imports increased over the previous time by $101,977,779. During the same period our exports decreased by more than $150,000,000. The European war caused all industries in Europe to practically shut down. We have had no competition from those sources since that time. We have therefore been able to keep all of our mills and factories busy and offer employment and labor in the munition plants, and so forth, to supply the armies in Europe with everything they need. We furnish them not only munitions of war, but we furnish them shoes and all other necessary clothing, foodstuffs, saddles, harness, horses, mules, and so forth. Had it not been for the European war, the Democratic free-trade tariff law would have ruined our industries and brought us to the greatest panic this country has ever witnessed. Our prosperity is due entirely to the European war. The Democratic Party is claiming credit for it, but every intelligent man and woman in America knows that our prosperity is due to the war alone. They also know that our prosperity has been bought with many lives in Europe. They know that our prosperity in selling munitions of war, and so forth, to Europe has directly caused hundreds of thousands of deaths and made many widows and orphans. Such prosperity I would not consider it an honor to brag about. The Democratic Party, however, in its eagerness to remain in office and to fool the people, are laying claims to this bloodstained and widow and orphan prosperity. My judgment is that there are not many people in this country who will be fooled by them in this regard when the elections in November come around. The Democratic Party knows that it is to-day a minority party, and that it is in control of the Government by accident. This bill is an effort by that party to divide with the Republicans its responsibilities. I hope that no Republicans in this House will be fooled by them and vote for this bill.

This bill is, in effect, to increase direct taxes upon the people, as opposed to the protective-tariff policy of the Republican Party, which proposes to collect the taxes on imports from foreigners. I do not have to vote for this bill to show that I am in favor of a tariff commission. I voted for that in the previous Congresses. I want a tariff commission that will work along the lines of the Republican policy of protection. I do not have to vote for this bill because I believe in a tax on munitions of war. I have stated many times I was in favor of such tax. I do not have to vote for this bill to let it be known that I am against what is known as a war-revenue and emergency tax that was enacted into law on October 22, 1914. I voted against that then, and I still think it was an outrage upon the American people. Since the Democratic Party has been in power it has continually and extravagantly spent the people's money in many useless ways, and to make up for this extravagance they have levied special and direct taxes upon the people, until to-day the people are overburdened with these taxes. To-day they are paying taxes to the Government in many ways and without receiving ample returns for the expenditure.

A direct tax is never an equitable tax. Some few people have to pay most all of it. It is never equitably distributed, and

especially is this so with reference to the present bill. Take, for instance, the income tax paid by corporations and individuals. We find that of the first Missouri (St. Louis) district for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, in income corporation tax was $1,031,501.65, and that in individual income tax it was $818,411.74, a total of $1,849,913.39. During that same period some of the States represented on this floor by a solid Democratic membership paid little in comparison. For instance, we find that during that same period Alabama and Mississippi combined paid only $279,665, as against $1,849,913.39 as paid by the first Missouri, or St. Louis, district. We also find that during the same period Arkansas paid $112,074, Georgia $367,291, Florida $108,664, and North Carolina $324,532, and so forth. During this same period the entire State of Missouri paid $2,789,605.28. During this same period the four States of Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois paid a total income and corporation tax of $71,868,586.28, while the other 45 States paid a total of $55,788,488. These figures show how unjust are special taxes in any case.

For instance, here are four States that pay more of the income and corporation tax than all of the other States of the Union combined, yet the representation of these four States in this House is very small in comparison with that of the other States combined. The result is that we are helpless, and are compelled to submit to these drastic and unjust special taxes without means to prevent it.

Commenting upon this part of the bill, the great minority leader of this House [Mr. MANN] said:

> The present bill proposes to raise the additional money asked for by putting all the burdens upon a few. It proposes that all the people shall enjoy the benefits of government and the preparation which is made but that the few shall bear all the burdens of taxation. We raise now a considerable sum of money by income taxes and a considerable sum by customs duties. If the present method is at all equitable, then in your increase of taxes the burdens should be distributed among the different ways now used in collecting money, and the large proportion of the additional revenue might well be exacted at the customhouses, equally distributing the burden and at the same time guaranteeing the American industrial independence of the world.

Those of us who are acquainted with the history of the Democratic Party and of its administration in the affairs of this Government when it has been in power and out of power justify us in paying little heed to their manifestations of changing of heart and of their willingness to accept in part that which the Republican Party has been in favor of since its formation. I can not put any confidence in the Democratic Party, and I know their only object and purpose is to maintain office. This is so with reference to the tariff commission. Upon this proposition we have not only the President changing his mind but Members of this House doing likewise. When the Republican Party was in power in this House an effort was made to provide a tariff commission. A filibuster was carried on near the closing days of Congress and throughout March 4, 1911, in order to prevent a bill passing to create such a commission. A number of the leaders of the Democratic Party then and now of the House spoke against a tariff commission. Among them was the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], who was one of the great orators at the recent Democratic convention in St. Louis. Here is what Mr. HEFLIN said then:

> No wonder you demand a tariff board or tariff commission. The interests back of you have always demanded that power be placed in the smallest number of men possible, for it would be easier for them to influence a board of five members or a commission of five members than it would be to influence a House of Representatives of over 400 men coming up from all sections of the country. They favor a tariff board or a tariff commission, and, in my judgment, the American people will never submit to a tariff board or tariff commission, which is one and the same thing, the insurgents favoring one and the standpatters favoring the other.

Now, Mr. HEFLIN will vote for a tariff board.

Here is what the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CULLOP], one of the loudest-voiced Democrats, had to say:

> I am opposed to this bill and every provision in it, because it violates a well established and venerated principle in the doctrine of the Democratic Party.
>
> Sir, if I voted for this bill I should consider it my imperative duty to go back to the legislature of that State, now in session, and petition it to rescind the action taken by it just two weeks ago, when it elected the Hon. JOHN W. KERN United States Senator, and in lieu thereof elect his opponent, the Hon. Albert J. Beveridge.

Now, Mr. CULLOP will vote for a tariff board.

Here is what the distinguished leader of the Democratic Party in this House, Mr. KITCHIN, said during a speech being delivered at that time against the tariff commission by the present Governor General of the Philippine Islands, Mr. Harrison:

> Have you ever known a Democratic district convention, a Democratic State convention, or a Democratic national convention that ever declared in favor of a tariff board or tariff commission of any kind?
>
> Mr. HARRISON. Not only that, but I believe it is absolutely opposed to all Democratic tariff principles.

Now, Mr. KITCHIN asks me to vote for a tariff board.

Another great Democrat, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SISSON], delivered himself at this time as follows:

> I can not, as a Democrat, subscribe to this bill to create a tariff commission. It is a concession to the Republican idea of protection. It admits that the doctrine of protection is proper.

Mr. SISSON will now vote for a tariff commission.

But why mention lesser lights of the Democratic Party to show this change of front? Have we not the President, Woodrow Wilson, himself doing it? On this tariff commission proposition we find him on January 26, writing to Mr. KITCHIN, as follows:

> MY DEAR MR. KITCHIN: Our conversation yesterday made me realize that in my letter of the 24th I had not set forth as I should have set them forth my reasons for changing my mind upon the question of creating a tariff board, for I must frankly admit that I have changed my mind since I last spoke on that subject.

How can the people trust a party to manage its affairs that does not know one day what it will stand for to-morrow? The Democratic leader, the President, has shown his changing of opinions on the running of the Government so often that no one ought to be so foolish as to want to give that party another lease of power. Here are some of the few things Mr. Wilson has been upon both sides of:

The Garrison army plan; increasing the Navy; labor unions; Mexico; military training; preparedness; initiative and referendum; free trade; intervention in Mexico; Panama Canal tolls; woman suffrage; presidential primaries; publicity of campaign contributions; economy in expenditures; civil-service reform; free sugar; a single presidential term; neutrality; an adequate army; tax on automobiles, bank checks, and so forth; foreign merchant vessels; Wall Street; special rules in legislation; the tariff.

On this question he has been a protectionist, a revenue-tariff advocate, and a free trader, and has also claimed it unconstitutional to levy a tax for the purpose of protecting our industries; he has been against a tariff commission, is now for it, and so forth. The above are only some of the important questions that the President has been on both sides of. He has been for and against all of them. There are many others that could be mentioned, but these are sufficient to demonstrate his inconsistency and to furnish real and fundamental proof why the Democratic Party and Woodrow Wilson are not qualified and capable of managing the affairs of this great Republic. We must have the real friends of the American people at the head of our affairs when the European war is over and our temporary prosperity ends, as it will then.

All this will vanish when the war is over, unless we put the Republican Party back in power and reenact the laws that the Democrats have repealed. Let no one be fooled about this great matter. The present Democratic administration is moving heaven and earth to stay in power. It is doing everything it can to mislead and fool the people. This is so as to Mexico and all other important matters. The policy of the administration as regards Mexico has been and is to-day that which is not intended for the best interest of the people of that country or our own people. The policy is based upon nothing less than a desire and effort to deceive the people in the belief that the President of the United States is doing great things and is keeping his country out of war. Our conduct of affairs with regard to Mexico has been most disgraceful to our people and to our Government. This policy and this method will go on until after the election with the hope that it will persuade the American electorate to vote for the retention in power of the present administration. I am glad to state, however, that the American people are well informed upon the Mexican situation. They also are so informed as to our weak, vascillating, and unneutral policy as regards European affairs. To-day the United States Government has no friend in any foreign power. That we are despised and disliked is due entirely to the way that our foreign affairs have been handled. The American people are disgusted with both the way our foreign and domestic affairs have been handled. We want an American administration for the American people. In these trying times we want those to handle the affairs of our Government who have ever been loyal and true to the United States first, last, and all the time. The American people want those that they can trust. They want the Republican Party put back in power. They know the history of our country and who made it great. They know what masters builded the Republican Party and what that party accomplished for humanity and the Nation. They are unwilling to again place this great responsibility in the hands of that weak, wavering, and office-seeking party—the Democratic. The Republican Party now stands together for the country and to rid it of the extravagant and incompetent administration of its affairs by the "Know Nothing"—the Democratic Party.

**Fourth of July Oration of Hon. S. D. Fess, of Ohio, at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1916.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. GEORGE W. EDMONDS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 11, 1916.*

Mr. EDMONDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the oration of Hon. S. D. FESS at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., July 4, 1916.

The oration is as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, I know of no more impressive scene than to witness these thousands of our citizens doing honor to this day, in this place, the city of Philadelphia. Our city of brotherly love, for we all have a claim upon her, as a possession of the Nation, has the unique honor of being the birthplace not only of the immortal Declaration of Independence but also that other equally important document, the Constitution of the United States. The first was an announcement of fundamental governmental principles; the second was a performance in a practical application of those principles in the science and art of civil government. Either one would have been sufficient to immortalize any city, but when we note that both belong to the same city, then the title 'our city' is easily interpreted.

"I desire to commend the practice you have inaugurated. One hundred and forty years ago, as related by Daniel Webster in his famous speech in 1826, on the occasion of the death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, John Adams declared that future generations would celebrate this event of the signing of the Declaration of Independence by bonfires and illuminations. That prophecy has been and is being fulfilled in every portion of the Nation. While no one would refuse to make it a joyous day, there is a well-defined determination on the part of our people to compel what is well termed a safe and sane Fourth of July. I wish to commend that feature so prominent here, not only on Independence Square but throughout the city as well as country.

"The reading of the document to which we have just listened is splendid. Too many of our citizens of to-day would never know what is in it unless it was so read. I say it with some degree of humiliation. It is easily the greatest document of human liberty ever penned in ancient or modern history, and ought to be posted on the very doorposts of all seeking a democratic form where the right to govern comes from the consent of the governed.

"It would be well for me to emphasize one feature which is almost entirely overlooked, but which is plainly written in the document. The Declaration of Independence is an indictment composed of at least 28 counts, every one of which, save one, begins with the personal pronoun 'he.' It declares 'he' did so-and-so; 'he' refused to do so-and-so, etc. My fellow citizens, it will not be out of order to here remind you that this document, world-wide in significance, is not an indictment of a people but of the head of a Government. The personal pronoun singles out George III, then as now known to be a narrow-minded, thick-headed ruler, temperamentally as well as mentally and morally incapacitated to think in the terms of the rights of the Colonies. The English people as well as Government have generally agreed to mention the American Revolution, and especially George III, just as infrequently as the exigencies of history will permit.

"This instrument was wonderfully significant 140 years ago, when first announced. It is no less so to-day. It deals in fundamentals. All men are created equal. That does not mean the same height or the same weight. It does not mean equal mental ability or moral equipment or physical skill. It means equal rights under the law; equal in opportunity to make the most out of our talent of mind, of heart, and of hand. It means no discrimination as between man and man. I might as well say here and now that this right extends to woman, a fact rapidly gaining recognition.

"The real spirit of this great principle is antagonistic to many demagogic tendencies in modern legislation, as all of you must have observed, where we are asked to enact laws which will declare an act if done by one man or one corporation is a crime, but if done by another man or another association is exempt from such terminology.

"My friends, I am persuaded that the reading of this famous document should be required in our modern halls of legislation. Its lessons of wisdom should be conned by those of us who essay to write our laws. We must not forget that the men who insist upon laws discriminating in their favor may see the day when laws will be demanded discriminating against them. This is a blade that cuts both ways. If we ever open the gates to such dangerous dogmas that under our law we can legislate for one class as against another, the controlling dictum which we have ever hoped to maintain that all men are equal under the law has passed and no man can say what its end will be.

"This instrument declares the purpose of all government to secure to the people certain inalienable rights, and it specifies three—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"I am here reminded of a story of the teacher's effort to impress upon Charlie the three items in the Declaration of Independence. After many failures she resorted to a device. One morning she said, 'Charlie, here are three buttons, the red stands for life, the blue for liberty, and the black button for pursuit of happiness. To-morrow I shall call on you to recite.' On the morrow she called on Charlie. 'How many rights does the Declaration of Independence demand?' 'Three,' piped out Charlie. 'What are they?' inquired the teacher. They were gone again, as usual, and Charlie hung his head. 'Well, where are your buttons?' demanded the teacher. In the boy's frustration to find them he replied, 'Here is life and here is liberty, but the pursuit of happiness mother sewed upon my trousers.'

"I am warranted in relating this story, for it is a Philadelphia story. I read it in the Ladies' Home Journal.

"But, my fellow citizens, not in levity, I mean to say that these fundamentals are just as much, if not more, to be demanded to-day than they were 140 years ago.

"This year of 1916 we must restate the principle. Government is a means to secure specified ends. It is instituted to secure rights among which is life. Life in the city, life in the country, life throughout the Nation, life in Mexico, life upon the high seas; in fact, life wherever that flag, the symbol of dignity, of honor and of power, is unfurled.

"Government is instituted to secure liberty; not the liberty of the jungle that knows neither order nor society; not the liberty of the bandit whose blood-stained dagger defies all law; not the liberty of the armed submarine which refuses to discriminate between the armed war vessel and the defenseless merchant ship, nor the liberty of the haughty prize court that recognizes no commercial rights of neutrals upon the high seas. The Declaration of Independence sharply distinguishes liberty from license. It is the liberty to pursue legitimate processes to make the largest use of one's talents. It is the liberty of opportunity in the rivalry of life's activities. It is the liberty that prevents class, that spells order, that insures the right to live the largest and fullest life. Such liberty as here defined will never extend beyond the right of others. No man has the legal liberty to interfere with another's right. Such is not liberty, but quite the opposite.

"In these days of so much legislation we often hear the utterly vicious demagogic statement that the time of opportunity for the individual to pursue his legitimate happiness is gone. Individual initiative and responsibility are giving way to collective bargaining. In my mind the most serious tendency, noticeable in America, is this note of excusing the individual for failure and fixing the blame upon the community or government, which is strikingly un-American as well as unpatriotic. It frequently breaks out in the halls of legislation and states the form of suggested law where attempts are made to restrict achievement of individuals, upon the basis that it is directly connected with the failure of others. If you succeed and I do not, although we have the same opportunity, it is not my fault but yours. Such agitation creates the impression that ills of life are due to laws of legislation or else the lack of them. Efforts are made by would-be leaders to make men succeed by law. The viciousness of such efforts lies in the general attitude of mind such doctrine creates, which generally displays itself in charges against the Government. We are already in the stage where many never think of the Government save as a debtor—an institution where something is to be gotten rather than to be given. I desire here and now to say to this assembled multitude that this Government, under the freedom and possibilities of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, reveals to-day the greatest opportunity for the individual who is willing to use his brain, his heart, and his hand in real achievement for himself and humanity. Those who constantly complain of it should think of a country without government, such as Mexico. There never was a time in the past when such success could be achieved by the youth who is willing to pay the price of devotion to duty, of industry, of reasonable frugality, and of application to the task at hand as to-day. These practices pursued by any youth in any city or county in the land will insure good results.

"But the youth who is taught that he can safely substitute indolence for industry, the habits of the spendthrift for those of frugality, will be disappointed and will soon be attacking society and the Government. His failure will be laid at the door of the Government that did not protect him from himself. The youth that insists upon spending each week a little more than he makes will not only soon be without income, but will be a pauper—a public charge in time. The youth who allows the idle rich or even the well to do to fix his standard of expenditure and insists upon indulgences that forbid the regulation of the outgo by the size of the income will see but one end. On the other hand, he who will lay by but a mere pittance each day or each week will end a well-to-do man, capable of looking the entire world in the face, if for no other cause than the self-respect that comes from a success achieved by simple prudence.

"Need I enumerate examples? Philadelphia is full of them. They tell the commonest story in American life to-day. Everywhere can be found examples. The country abounds in both classes. The triumphs of our National life are but a detailed statement of the one class, while much of the failure among us can be as definitely pointed out and is as distinctively well known, both in cause and effect. My message to the youth of the land is, 'Take your work, stand by it, success will be yours.'

"But, my fellow citizens, upon this day you expect me to say a word about the theme that absorbs all our minds. When I left my Ohio home yesterday I saw the troops detrain for a short march for rest. It was an inspiring sight. They had the air of the Nation's defenders. They were Pennsylvania boys on their way to the border. It was an inspiring suggestion of what this Nation may be willing to pay for the honor and dignity of our country.

"The present situation is serious. When the Carrizal attack was made upon our boys who wore the uniform, and it was learned many were killed and others taken prisoners, the country was stirred to its depths, which found expression in every circle of the Nation. Our patience has been tried for more than three years. Destruction of American lives and property as well as the destruction of property of England, France, and Germany in Mexico has caused deep concern in this country. The latter because it involves the Monroe doctrine, which will be severely tested. The frequent incursions along the border, the stray shots from the Mexican side constantly endangering American life on our side, called loudly for action. Finally the crossing over in Columbus, N. Mex., by an armed band led by Villa, and the murder of our own citizens, some of them serving the colors, thrilled this country from ocean to ocean, as did the sinking of the *Maine* in the afternoon of February 15, 1898, when 266 of our brave boys went down into the muddy waters of Habana Bay.

"The President sent a punitive expedition to capture the bandits, with the permission of the de facto government and upon the representation that it was friendly to Mexico. This expedition is now in Mexico. The bandits are still at large, but our soldiers have been ordered by Carranza not to move in any direction except the north. This order was plainly an offeuse to the Nation, which expected cooperation from Carranza. The clash at Carrizal came and many of our boys were killed and others captured and imprisoned.

"Whether it was wise or not to send the expedition I am not saying. However, I rather think if the President had said '$100,000 for Villa, dead or alive,' we would not have waited long, and we would not have depended upon American soldiers. The bandit would have been delivered and American lives would not have been sacrificed. Some might think this on the part of a great Nation would not have been dignified. But Villa proved himself a murderer, and on American soil, and the world would have justified treating him as any other murderer. It was but one more added to the frightful list attached to his career, which is not yet ended.

"But, my fellow citizens, we took another course. Our troops crossed the border. We are now in Mexico, whether wisely or not; we can not come out under fire, nor by the orders of a totally irresponsible head, even though we had recognized him as responsible. We should come out when our mission is complete, and then upon our option, not Carranza's. We must be the judge as to further movements.

But, ladies and gentlemen, this is not the only serious phase of this Mexican trouble. There is an international angle quite acute. The European property owners in Mexico went into that country as Americans did, by invitation. They were welcomed, as capital for development was the chief need of the country. This capital and development, so rapidly growing under President Diaz, have been mostly destroyed. The war in Europe will close some time, we sincerely pray it will be soon.

"When it is over an adjustment in Mexico will most certainly be demanded by the governments interested and a settlement ordered.

"There is not the slightest thought that Mexico will be able to pay an indemnity. That is simply impossible. All stability is gone; no capital can be attracted in the light of the last three years. These countries will most likely demand in lieu of an indemnity in money, coaling stations, or portions of territory, or both. In that case what will be our attitude? Are we ready to abandon the Monroe doctrine? Will we guarantee to these countries their rights in Mexico?

"If we maintain the Monroe doctrine, we in justice could not say to these countries, 'You stay out of Mexico,' unless we assure them we will protect their interests. But we have neither protected their interests nor our own property rights. What representation are we ready to make?

"My fellow citizens, speaking as an individual, I give it as my opinion that we will not abandon the Monroe doctrine. Neither do I think we will take the position with these countries that we will not allow them to go into Mexico to take care of their property, unless we agree to protect it for them. I do not believe that we will say they had no right in there, as some seem to think, and must therefore suffer the loss of an adventitious venture that should not have been undertaken. Then what will be our position?

"This, in my judgment, is the real problem in Mexico that this Nation will be called upon to solve. I am convinced that the Monroe doctrine is to have its chief test growing out of present conditions. It was with that conviction that I joined the splendid representation of your city to ask for a stronger defense.

"When our troops were killed and many were taken prisoners, I said to Mr. KITCHIN, the Democratic floor leader, 'Mr. KITCHIN, I expected when I learned of what had taken place at Carrizal to hear the administration say to Carranza, "Deliver those prisoners in 48 hours or the Army of the United States will be sent to get them." That would have brought him at once.' To which Mr. KITCHIN replied, 'Can you be sure of that? When we send such an order as that we must be sure we can make good.' We did not have the Army to send.

"This means that our troops will continue to mobilize on the border. We all hope they may not be compelled to cross it. War must be the very last resort. However, we are now in a state of war, only we have not so named it. While we all stand by the efforts to prevent war, yet I have no doubt that another attack upon our soldiers by Carranzistas will see our troops landed at Vera Cruz, not to compel a salute, not to capture a bandit, but to move in force to Mexico City with the demand that further banditti crimes will mean an American protectorate over the country to be continued until such time as in the judgment of this country we can withdraw with honor to ourselves and safety of life and property to all concerned.

"This is the real meaning of the Declaration of Independence to-day. We ask nothing of any people that we would not be willing to grant to them. But patience too long continued may produce a spirit of defiance that will not only lead to insecurity but to national dishonor. If war is to be averted it will be done, not by vacillation, but by a clear understanding that this Nation will not tolerate further crimes upon American soil. If Mexico can not prevent them, a stronger hand may be compelled to take hold of the helm."

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. LUTHER W. MOTT,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. MOTT. Mr. Speaker, this bill, enormously to increase taxation, is excused as a result of the effort to prepare the country for war. This is a sham apology. Had not the Democratic Party inexcusably reduced appropriations for preparedness at the beginning of their administration, with the approval of President Wilson, and vastly increased expenditures for other and often unnecessary purposes, while greatly reducing the revenue from imports, this legislation would be unnecessary. This is assuming that the Government had otherwise been wisely administered, which is far from the case.

Mexico offers a fair illustration. Bonds are to be issued for $125,000,000 to meet the extraordinary expenses incurred because of the trouble with that country. That $125,000,000 is in addition to the $400,000,000 of taxation imposed by the pending measure. Had President Wilson done his duty in regard to Mexico from the start and defended American lives and property, there would be no trouble there now. But he did nothing of the kind. He employed secret agents, often incompetent persons, to do the work of the regularly appointed officials; and, guided by these agents, he ordered Americans to leave Mexico, sacrifice their property there, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars in value, and in many cases to become dependent on charity. This was done, he said, to avoid war. But he sent soldiers and sailors to take Vera Cruz, which was accomplished by a sacrifice of American lives and at a cost of millions of dollars—for what purpose? To compel Mexico to salute the American flag, which had been insulted.

The flag was not saluted, the American forces were withdrawn, and nothing tangible was accomplished. Villa, the bandit, was furnished with arms and ammunition and encouraged in every way, and then abandoned, and, as a result, there came his bandit invasion of towns on the American side of the boundary line. Carranza was treated in much the same way. We sent an army to capture Villa, and after a large expenditure and another sacrifice in American lives we have accomplished nothing. We are now assembling an army on the border and, according to estimates, this will cost $125,000,000, to be met by a bond issue, and what will be the result? More notes concerning negotiations, with little prospect of anything else. American investors in Mexico have suffered enormous losses; hundreds of American lives have been lost needlessly; foreign property and lives have gone in the same way through relying on the United States for protection; friendliness to the United States has vanished and hatred has taken its place, while the chaotic condition of Mexico increases rather than diminishes. The Democratic policy of so-called "watchful waiting" has been a shameful failure in Mexico and everywhere else where tried. But in the case of the little Reublic of Santo Domingo or that of Haiti that policy has not been followed and the beneficial results are apparent.

TAXATION THE RESULT OF INCOMPETENCY.

The Democratic Party is floundering in a maze of indecision, ignorance, and extravagance, and this bill to impose $400,000,000 of taxes, with the $125,000,000 bond issue to come, is what the Nation must pay as a small part of the cost of an incompetent Government. We had a like experience under the last Cleveland administration. Part of the $400,000,000 tax bill is made up of some tax items already imposed, but they were inexcusable. Many of us favor an income tax when such a tax is necessary, but we do not believe in relieving foreigners from paying duties on their goods sold in this country, in order to collect the amount from home producers. But this is what has been done under the Underwood tariff law. And President Wilson said not long ago that his belief in the wisdom of that law had not changed in the least, while the Democratic Party, in its recent national convention, warmly approved that law, which means if the Democrats are continued in power, we will have four years more of such distress as we experienced in the 10 months after the bill became a law and before the European war that caused such a demand for American products and brought relief. It is unnecessary to tell of the decrease in exports, the enormous increase in imports, the 3,000,000 workmen thrown out of employment, the vanishing surplus the Republicans left in the Treasury, and the distress that prevailed generally as a result of that legislation.

WAR A RELIEF TO THE DEMOCRATS.

The war brought relief, through the wholesale slaughter of human lives in Europe. In the same way the Crimean War, the discovery of gold in California, and other events helped out, during the period the free-trade Walker law was in force before the Civil War; but when those things failed to help further, dire distress followed—President Buchanan, a free trader, in a message to Congress, declaring that the situation was the worst in the history of the Nation. In 1896, under the Cleveland administration, there was a similar situation, and a worse one will follow as soon as the European war ends, if the Underwood law remains in the statutes. Already the allied powers in Europe, with the aid of Japan, are beginning to supply their needs for war munitions and have canceled a number of American orders, with a result of closing several munitions factories. There have been large profits and large outlays, but this appears to be an inopportune time to impose special taxes on this industry, with an expectation of raising $71,000,000. The attempt to raise $227,000,000 from the income tax makes it almost confiscatory. The tax on inheritances is a serious interference with the taxes imposed for like purposes by 42 States.

A SECTIONAL MEASURE.

Now, why are these particular methods of taxation followed instead of imposing duties on products competing with similar products in the United States? The answer is self-evident—nearly all of these taxes fall almost exclusively on the inhabitants of Northern States. The 12 Southern States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas, with 27 per cent of the population of the country, paid only 6.4 per cent of the income tax last year and they paid only 10.9 per cent of the corporation tax. New York State alone paid more than twice as much as the entire South. That is why the Democrats increase the income tax. The 12 Southern States have a majority of the Democratic caucus. All business is done by that party in caucuses; thus the South dictates all legislation. Then, too, the most important committees, with one exception, are in the hands of southern men, many of whom are from rural districts, without any wide business experience or knowledge.

DEMOCRATS IMPOSE ALLEGED PROTECTIVE RATES.

Much has been said of the need of protective duties on coal-tar dyes. When the war began we produced 3,300 short tons annually of coal-tar colors and imported 25,700 short tons, valued at some $12,000,000. We made or assembled semimanufactured products. Seventy-five per cent of the imported dyes came from Germany. All cotton, silk, wool, paint, and wall-paper manufacturers must have these colors, while many other industries require them. These dye plants are valuable for manufacturing war munitions. That is why Germany has been so independent in the European war, for, not producing dyes to any extent, the other powers could not manufacture sufficient munitions until after expending much time and money. It is doubly important for the United States to produce all of its own dyes. The Democratic Party has admitted the value of protective rates by imposing, in this revenue measure, from 40 to 53 per cent duties in the case of coal-tar dyes.

They have made rates one-third less than the General Chemical Society requested levied, and have added a clause to the effect that if a substantial quantity of the dyestuffs is not produced within five years, a gradual reduction in duties shall take place until they have been all removed. This clause, with the insufficient rates and the fierce competition that may be expected from Germany will retard development of our dye industry. The Democrats will then assert the correctness of their original free-trade view of this case. Their free-trade views are admittedly wrong in this dye matter. But it is only one case of many where they have changed their views because of the admitted failure of their experimental legislation.

A DEMOCRATIC TARIFF COMMISSION FOR DELAY.

The creation of a tariff commission by incorporating a provision for one in the pending bill is another experimental case. The Democratic national convention of 1912 opposed such a commission, and the Democrats repudiated the efficient bipartisan commission in existence when they came into power and paid no attention to the facts the commission reported in reference to costs of production and other essentials of trade and manufacture. A year ago the President rather gloated over having obtained such powers for the trade commission without, as he alleged, the knowledge of the Republicans in Congress. That was not true, but it demonstrates his cunning partisan bent. Now he wants a tariff commission, and the Democrats provide for one to be appointed by him. The object is—as Representative HEFLIN has admitted in a speech on the subject—the postponement of tariff revision. The Republicans, if they carry the coming elections, as I believe they will by an enormous majority, will not delay tariff revision because of any bipartisan board the President may appoint. Practically all of his commissions have been made up without recognition of the Republican Party, even when the law required such appointments and when a sense of ordinary justice and fairness would dictate that Republicans be given representation. His predecessors followed a different course.

THE DUMPING CLAUSE.

Another sugar coating for this $400,000,000 tax bill is the dumping clause. When goods are imported intentionally at prices less than their value or wholesale price at home at the time of exportation, punishment is to be inflicted. It is not easy to prove "intent" in such a case, while, at the same time, prices at home may be made intentionally low for the purpose of evading this provision of the measure. Take dyes, for instance. Germany consumes a small percentage only of her production. She could sacrifice profit on that percentage to kill the industry in the United States. However, while remembering the foregoing, it is well to consider that something of an achieve-

ment has been brought about by having the Democrats change so quickly and admit the advantage of a tariff commission to gather facts for future use and reference, and to have them advocate as a party measure a dumping clause as one of the provisions of their administration revenue bill. Chairman KITCHIN admitted that until two months ago the Democrats were opposed to a tariff commission. Their enormous losses in the last congressional election probably helped to bring about a conviction that all was not well with their policies as regards the thinking people of the country.

NO CHANGE IN TARIFF RATES IN GENERAL—FOR BRITISH FREE TRADE.

It is the evident intention to make no material change in the Underwood-law rates, which will leave our markets open to the world, while European and other countries have been increasing their tariff rates, and in many cases prohibiting imports altogether. The Democrats want the British free-trade system. They admit as much. In the pending measure they "point with pride" to the fact that the United Kingdom obtains 58 per cent of her taxes from incomes and inheritances, and constantly hold up that country as an illustration of how to impose taxes. A British royal commission which not very long ago made an investigation into the causes of pauperism in that country reported that it was impossible to ascertain the exact facts, but that there were over twice as many paupers as the British Government reports show. These reports give the number of paupers in poorhouses on a certain day only, taking no account of those there on other days and those maintained at home, and so forth. But the Government report shows 1 pauper to every 45 of the population, as compared with 1 to every 1,081 of population in the United States. Then, too, a very large percentage of the British population is on the threshold of pauperism all of the time. The system that leads to that condition the Democrats want to copy for the United States. Over 5,000,000 acres of land in England have ceased to be cultivated since free trade was adopted as governmental policy there. Many industries have ceased to exist. The dye and other industries in which England was in the lead are now located in other countries, on which England has been dependent. That is the condition the Democrats want to put into being in the United States. They will never succeed in that shameful effort.

FINANCIAL EXTRAVAGANCES AND BLUNDERS.

This Democratic administration has made a woeful failure in the administration of the Government business. It has used $12,000,000 obtained by the sale of two battleships, $5,855,780 by postal savings deposits, and $29,325,934 of the money deposited to retire bank notes, which have not been retired. It used up nearly $150,000,000 that the Republicans left in the general fund. It had an advantage in the fiscal year of 1914 of $36,859,000 excess duties from the Payne law, aside from the sugar duty. Then in 1915–16 it had $135,569,126 from stamp and excise taxes, $157,842,529 from sugar duties repudiated by the party in its platform of 1912 and now reenacted in violation of promises, and gathered $275,000,000 from corporation, internal-revenue, and income taxes, and yet the national debt has been increased over $32,000,000. What a record!

IMPORTS VASTLY INCREASED—HIGHER PRICES.

Over $563,664 in value of cotton goods were imported in a single week recently. In the same week $491,191 of cotton laces and embroideries were imported, as compared with $336,774 in the corresponding week last year. The Democrats deliberately misrepresent the facts by asserting that the war has decreased imports and thus reduced the revenue. The war has retarded imports, but they were $368,000,000 greater for the fiscal year 1916 than for 1913, the last under the protective tariff, while in 1916 the customs revenues was $106,276,122 less than in 1913. Enormous increase in imports and $106,000,000 less revenue, and not a thing cheaper, but everything very much higher in price. The average rate of duty last year was 9.7 per cent as compared with 17.6 per cent in 1913. This is where the trouble arises in part. Had the Payne duties been imposed on last year's imports, the revenue would have been $189,400,000 greater. The imports for May were, in value, $229,300,000, or $95,410,384 more than in May, 1913, under the Payne law. The highest in any month before the Underwood law became operative was $177,987,000 in October, 1912. That shows the hollow mockery of trying to excuse taxes because of a decline in imports.

INCREASE IN EXPORTS DUE TO THE EUROPEAN WAR.

The exports of domestic breadstuffs, cottonseed oil, food animals, meat and dairy products, cotton and mineral oils for the fiscal year 1916 were many millions of dollars less in value, though prices were higher than in 1915, but there was a large increase in exports, due to the demand for war purposes. The export of 31 classes of articles necessary to modern warfare made up 52 per cent of all exports, and those classes do not include all war exports. Exports, excluding war materials, were $153,660,000 less in 10 months of the last fiscal year than in the previous one. This demonstrates conclusively what the war has done for our foreign trade, and what a dark shadow, so far as that trade is concerned, will be cast on this country when the war ends.

DEMOCRATIC WASTE AND EXTRAVAGANCE.

What are the Democrats going to do with the money they are raising by this tremendous increase in direct taxes? For a nitrate plant to compete with private ownership, $20,000,000 has been appropriated, chiefly for the benefit of the South; for an armor-plate plant, wholly unnecessary except to make places for Democratic officeholders, $11,000,000; to build roads, a work that belongs to the States, $35,000,000; two flood-control projects for the South, $50,000,000, and so forth. Outside of the rivers and harbors bill and the public buildings bill, $216,000,000 is called for in these projects alone. Then, $50,000,000 is wanted to buy ships to put the Government in the mercantile shipping trade, something no Government ever before attempted. The President, who has been the greatest boss Congress has ever had, says the shipping bill must be passed, though it was defeated at the last session. Possibly he may be able to force it through, but there is serious opposition in the Senate to such inexcusable expenditure.

A COMMERCE REPORT ON SHIPPING.

A report published by Secretary Redfield states: "For many years no country of importance other than the United States has required that ships flying the national flag shall be of domestic construction, although practically every country has made this requirement in the case of steamships receiving postal subventions." It is related that all practically pay such subventions. Germany gives lower railroad rates—she controls 95 per cent of her railroads and her favoritism has enabled German manufacturers to sell their products at lower prices in countries reached by German steamship lines and thus increase German trade. France also does the same thing to a limited extent. Countries pay bounties on construction and thus induce home building. Austria granted loans to shipowners at low rates of interest, or without interest. Britain loaned nearly $13,000,000 to the Cunard Line at 2 per cent, lower rate of interest than the company could have secured it elsewhere, and for much less than the Government paid, and then paid the line a subsidy. Postal subvention antedates the bounty or subsidy system and is in more general use throughout the world than the latter system. Great Britain began that system in 1838. The purpose has been to encourage the maintenance of fast mail service on regular routes and schedules, and to foster the domestic shipbuilding industry by limiting payments to domestic-built ships. With two important exceptions, all financial aid extended to shipping by Great Britain has been in the form of postal and admiralty subventions. France pays direct bounties or subsidies. Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and Japan do likewise.

And yet, without any such Government aid, and with the payment of wages two or more times as great, and under laws regulating food, hours of labor, and so forth, American shipowners are expected to compete with foreign owners! They are even compelled by the Democratic Party to pay tolls in the Panama Canal while foreign Governments reimburse their shipowners for such expenses. The expenditure of $50,000,000 by the Government in the purchase and operation of ships would not help, but would greatly injure American vessel owners, as they could not compete with the Government operating at a loss. It is amazing that President Wilson should advocate so strenously, such a proposition.

AN UNJUST TAX ON COPPER PRODUCTION.

The revenue bill imposes a special tax on copper products as alleged munitions of war. Nothing more unfair could well be imposed. A mine doing its own smelting or refining is subject to a tax on the gross value of the entire product. A mine not smelting or refining will not be subject to the tax. Most copper mines of this country refine their own copper, therefore the tax is practically direct on copper mining. Only a small part of the product enters into munitions. A great portion of the smelting and refining of foreign copper ore is done in this country.

The proposed tax will drive out this industry and will also drive out the refining of a part of the domestic production. The proposed tax is therefore class legislation, as applying to copper production and not to the production of other metals entering into munitions manufacture. The exports of aluminum, furs and manufactures, rubber goods, tools and machinery,

woolen goods, and other things for war purposes have increased to a much greater extent than copper, but no alleged war tax was imposed on them. Such discrimination is inexcusable.

FAILURES INCREASE—IDLE CARS.

Commercial failures under the Democratic tariff law have been greatly increased. The American Railroad Association reported 67,588 idle freight cars on June 1. Ex-Gov. Glynn, in addressing the St. Louis Democratic convention, said: "There is not an idle car on our railroads." That was perhaps as near the truth as the average Democratic orator gets, and is illustrative of Democratic campaign methods. The Government must return $30,000,000 for excess duties collected on imports coming in foreign vessels, according to a recent court decision. This may be added to the blunders of the Democratic legislators.

CIVIL-SERVICE HYPOCRISY.

While there was great profession of reducing the alleged number of useless officeholders by the President and his party, they have increased the number of said officeholders by 30,000 and placed the greater number of them into the civil service without examination. What a comment on the civil-service professions of the President and his party! No wonder a Democratic Representative—Mr. SISSON, of Mississippi—said: "Principle has gone to the four winds of the earth, and we are writing ourselves down in the history of the country as being the most outrageous and the most criminally extravagant Congress that ever sat on the American Continent."

Fortunately the Republicans have chosen in Justice Hughes a most admirable candidate for President, in whose success at the polls there is no room for doubt. A man of higher character and greater ability could not have been chosen, and his election, with that of a Republican Congress, will soon remove all the black spots on our national escutcheon, put there by the incompetence of the Democratic Party. And in carrying forward this good work we will have the efficient aid of former President Roosevelt and his progressive followers.

## The Revenue Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY W. WATSON,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. WATSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, a system of taxation to meet the favor of all classes of men in their private, industrial, and commercial pursuits is an end which has not been attained by any nation. Theories upon theories have been advanced, tried, and abandoned. The growing extravagance of public legislation is making the question of revenue as perplexing to-day as in the ancient times. Man is not born to ease, for he can not live in luxury and indolence, save under the law of neutralization, thus every citizen, as a unit of his government, must bear his proportional tax in accordance with the value of his property and the increased strength and efficiency of his country. A nation's wealth depends upon its resources, the virtue of its citizens, and the skill of its workmen. The first and highest motive of a government is to protect its citizens in their social, industrial, and commercial lives. Labor is the ultimate source from which rises all forms of taxation, therefore it is of great consequence that a government should enact legislation to develop and guard its industries from foreign competition. Luxuries and those things enjoyed by the rich should be moderately taxed, that the necessities of life may be purchased by the poor.

A community is taxed in accordance with the value of its land, its industries, and the wealth of its residents, in order to meet the fixed taxes and those levied for specific purposes. In both instances the law wisely protects the poor by limiting the rate of taxation, although a precinct may be willing to be assessed a higher rate for a public improvement, that might inure to the benefit of its inhabitants.

While I am convinced that the Democratic Party is sincere in its policies of free trade, yet I am almost persuaded that this great party is being enlightened by the experience of time. It not only asked Congress to retain the duty on sugar, in order to meet the greatly increased expenses of the Government under its administration, but to protect the sugar industries of Louisiana. This revenue measure framed by the Democratic Party bears marked evidence of the failure of the Underwood tariff act. The present administration seems to have been born in a favorable House as to the positions of the stars and planets, for commerce in munitions and other necessities of war and the limited importations of foreign goods, caused by the continued hostilities, have prevented a great financial and commercial depression which otherwise would have occurred, if we can prophesy, by the free-trade policies of the past. The inheritance tax and the increased tax on incomes, tobacco, wines, and beers under this bill, which the Democratic Party prays the people to accept as evidence of its statesmanship, strongly exemplifies what would have been the result if there had not been an abnormal foreign demand for our goods, a short list of which is exhibited in the following table:

*Domestic merchandise exported.*

| Articles. | For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914. | For the 11 months from July 1, 1915, to May 31, 1916. |
|---|---|---|
| Explosives | $6,272,197 | $404,655,383 |
| Woolen goods | 4,790,087 | 50,883,822 |
| Copper | 146,222,556 | 149,566,700 |
| Cotton | 610,475,301 | 336,682,127 |
| Breadstuffs | 165,302,385 | 407,998,746 |
| Zinc | 405,208 | 40,563,710 |
| Iron and steel | 251,480,677 | 545,018,533 |
| Horses | 3,388,819 | 69,008,116 |
| Mules | 690,974 | 21,121,410 |
| Total | 1,189,029,204 | 2,025,498,547 |

The unparalleled exportations that have brought prosperity to us can not be attributed to the Underwood Tariff Act and the administration of the Democratic Party. The universal war has forced England, Germany, France, and other countries to seek our markets, as is shown by the increased exportations of explosives and breadstuffs.

A nation, whether young or old, can not afford to throw open its commercial doors and permit foreign manufactured goods to pass through into its markets without regulations that will protect its workmen and its industries. Wages paid in our country are higher than those of any other, and in no part of the world are the people as well fed and clothed and as many own their homes as in the United States. These conditions were evolved by the protective policies of the Republican Party.

The measure purposes to raise a large part of its revenue from inheritance and income taxes, a system whereby but four of our States pay two-thirds of this revenue, as is shown in the following table:

*Individual income tax of States.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Alabama | $177,440.48 |
| Arkansas | 44,278.79 |
| Florida | 133,560.85 |
| Georgia | 199,546.46 |
| Kentucky | 165,112.82 |
| Louisiana | 296,341.35 |
| New Mexico and Arizona | 94,523.23 |
| North Carolina | 175,922.67 |
| South Carolina | 76,250.01 |
| Tennessee | 207,316.37 |
| Texas | 672,456.10 |
| Virginia | 289,632.12 |
| Total | 2,532,381.23 |
| Illinois | 5,166,689.91 |
| Pennsylvania | 6,312,204.29 |
| New York | 30,286,607.61 |
| Massachusetts | 4,193,873.08 |
| Total | 45,959,374.89 |

The total individual income tax paid into the United States Treasury during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916, amounted to $67,957,488.50; of this the State of Pennsylvania paid nearly three times the tax that was collected from the above-mentioned 13 Southern States. Pennsylvania and New York paid over one-half of the income tax collected for the past year. These figures will serve also to indicate that the inheritance tax, a new provision under this bill, will be distributed amongst the States in about the same ratio as the income tax.

A protective-tariff policy is the only one that will develop the great cotton and sugar fields of the South and bring into value the millions of acres of grazing lands in the mountain ranges of the West. It is the only policy that will unite the interests of the citizens of our Nation and bury the provincial differences.

As the growth of industries and the accumulation of individual wealth expands and a higher and more general education extends to the children of the workmen, as well as to those of the magnates, then all classes will unconsciously depend upon each other, and these conditions must be brought about before any nation can claim it is truly great.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

# HON. EDWARD E. DENISON,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to briefly extend my remarks on this bill because I have not had an opportunity to express my views as fully as I desired on the floor of the House, on account of the limited time allowed for discussion of the bill and for amendments thereto by the Rules Committee.

I think the four principal amendments that have already been made to-day have greatly improved the bill. I am glad we have been able to amend the bill, reducing the salary of the tariff commissioners from $10,000 to $7,500 per year and of the secretary of the commission from $6,000 to $5,000 per year. I heartily approve of the amendment proposed by the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD], changing the manner of making the appropriations to pay the expenses and the salary of the tariff commission. The provision in the bill disqualifying gentlemen who have served in the House of Representatives and the Senate from eligibility as members of the tariff commission should never have been incorporated in the bill, and I am glad that with the solid vote of the Republican side of the House we have succeeded in amending the bill by striking out that provision.

A special tax of $1 per thousand on the capital stock and surplus of all the banks of the country was an unfair and unjust provision in the bill. The banks are already compelled to pay a heavy tax on their capital and surplus to the State and local governments. They are also under this bill required to pay a heavy tax upon their incomes. A further special tax upon their capital and surplus, which would amount to a double Federal tax, in addition to the usual State taxes imposed upon the banks, could only be justified under circumstances of most urgent necessity, such as an unexpected war, which certainly does not exist at this time. If the banks of the country are taxed too heavily they will naturally recoup by charging a higher rate of interest to their borrowers or by paying a lower rate of interest to their depositors, and in either case the burden of the tax would fall where it should not be; and I think that provision was very properly stricken from the bill by amendment.

But even after the improvements of the bill which these amendments have made, I can not give it my support. I am opposed to the bill partly for what it does contain, but mostly for what it does not contain.

In preparing this bill the majority on the Ways and Means Committee have been willing apparently to abandon one of the time-honored principles of the Democratic Party and resort to what I think is a political trick in order to gain support for their revenue measure from among the Republican Members of Congress, and thereby embarrass the Republicans in the coming campaign. I do not think there should be any playing of politics in such important and serious matters as revenue legislation, and I will not approve such practice by supporting the bill.

It is well known over the country, but especially here in Congress, that the Underwood tariff law has been a disappointment in failing to produce sufficient revenue to run the Government. The logical and wise thing to do is to pass a new revenue law which will better protect American industries and labor and turn into the Treasury a greater amount of revenue from the customhouses; and I believe that the country will be disappointed at the failure of the majority party to bring in a bill that will at least increase to some extent the tariff revenues of the Government.

But the Democrats, following their traditional policy, refuse to disturb the Underwood law and choose to resort to direct taxation not only to meet the deficit in the ordinary expenses of the Government, but also to meet the extraordinary expenditures that have been made by this Congress in its effort to meet the demand of the people for a stronger Army and Navy and for other much-needed internal improvements.

The present Congress has passed some very large appropriation bills. Responding to the demand for greater preparedness, which has seemed to come from all parts of the country, we have made unusual appropriations for the Army and Navy and for the improvement of our industrial conditions, and I have supported all of these increased appropriations. But Congress has gone further than this and has unnecessarily and, I think, unwisely appropriated many millions for other purposes which should have been at least postponed, if not entirely rejected. The appropriations for a nitrate plant, for a Government armor-plate plant, and a Federal venture into the shipping business, as well as a greatly increased number of Federal jobs with salaries amounting to many millions of dollars, have been wholly unjustifiable and have been crowded through Congress over the objections and protests of the Republicans.

To these unusual appropriations for the increase of the agencies for national defense and for other important internal improvements, however, we have given our support; and I am willing to join with the majority in any fair and reasonable method of raising revenue to pay the bills.

But under the circumstances I think the majority party should have laid aside for a time all political considerations and brought in a revenue bill that would stand or fall upon its own merits. I do not think that simply because they could do so with the aid of their majority and a stringent special rule, they should have included in the revenue bill a number of other independent propositions which Congress should have thoroughly considered and had an opportunity to support or reject separately. Several of these provisions represent Republican, rather than Democratic, principles, but are inserted in the revenue bill purely for political purposes. I wish to speak briefly of but three or four of them.

At the beginning of this session a bill was introduced by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. HILL] to provide a protective tariff on dyestuffs, in order that the investment of American capital in that industry might be encouraged and the economic independence of this country promoted. Before the European war practically all dyes used in this country were obtained from Germany. With the complete blockading of the German ports we were entirely deprived of all dyestuffs, and there was a universal demand for the enactment of such protective legislation as would encourage American capital to invest in the business and establish the industry on a firm footing in this country, so that after the close of the war our investments would not be destroyed by competition from abroad and we would be independent of the German monopoly.

The Ways and Means Committee, after a full hearing, approved of the purpose of the bill, but instead of reporting it to the House as a separate measure, where the Members could have had an opportunity to express their approval or disapproval of this plain Republican principle of protection to an industry which circumstances demanded should be encouraged and protected, the committee have incorporated this provision for a protective tariff on dyestuffs in the revenue bill.

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party has always been opposed to the principle of protection. All of their national platforms down to and including the platform of 1912 have declared that there is no authority under the Constitution for levying a protective tariff. And I am unwilling to believe that they have been suddenly converted at heart to believe in the principle. It is quite apparent to my mind that they have included this provision for a protective tariff on dyestuffs in the revenue bill for three reasons: First, because they did not want to submit the proposition to Congress for a separate vote upon its own merits; second, because by doing so they hoped to give the semblance of nonpartisanship to their revenue bill, and thereby lead some misguided Republicans to support it; third, by gaining the support of Republicans for their revenue bill they hoped to go before the country in the coming campaign and claim that their method of raising revenues, as well as their appropriation measures, had been approved by the Republican Members.

I believe in the policy of protection. If we had been given an opportunity to do so I would have voted for the Hill bill, which would have provided an ample protective tariff on dyestuffs, not only to enable American capital to invest in the industry and successfully operate after the close of the European war, but it would have placed this country in a position of economic independence in the future. But I do not think the protective schedule provided for in this bill will be sufficient to secure American capital invested in the industry from competition that will follow the close of the European war, and I will not support their revenue bill simply because it contains this protective-tariff provision which, under other circumstances, I might approve.

This bill further proposes to meet the increased expenditures of the Government by doubling the tax on incomes. I am in favor of the principle of an income tax. When properly distributed and administered I think it is a fair and equitable source of Federal revenue; but I do not believe that our Gov-

ernment should resort to a tax on incomes, or to any other direct tax, to meet the larger part of the ordinary expenditures nor the extraordinary appropriations which the present Congress has made for the future defense of the country.

In the very nature of things an income tax can not be fairly apportioned among the different States. It is bound to fall largely upon three or four States where the greatest wealth is accumulated and the largest incomes are earned. This fact was made plain to the House by the figures which were to-day presented by my colleague from Illinois [Mr. MANN]. Since the burden of an income tax will fall most heavily upon four or five States, whose representation in the House and particularly in the Senate is small in comparison with the representation of all the other States who do not pay so much of the tax, an income tax can never be entirely fairly distributed under our form of Government. So far as the individual who pays the tax is concerned I think an income tax is as fair as any that could be imposed. But when considered in connection with the right of representation in the legislative branch of the Government where revenue laws are made, it is necessarily unfair, because those States which pay the largest part of the income tax can never have a proportionate representation in Congress.

For this reason I believe that the Government should resort to a tax on incomes as a supplementary rather than a principal source of its revenues. I believe the principal source of revenue for this Government should be a tariff on imports, which would not only produce revenue but afford protection as well. But when a reasonable tariff law does not produce sufficient revenue to meet the increase in the expenditures of the Government, and especially when war or other emergency would require additional expenditures, I believe the Government should levy a fairly graduated tax upon incomes. But the amount of such tax should never be greater than necessity would dictate.

At this time imports into our country are increasing enormously; they will be even greater after the war in Europe closes. If the Ways and Means Committee had been willing to increase the duties on imports, the increase in the tax on individual incomes provided for in this bill would have been wholly unnecessary. I am ready to support any measure increasing the tax on individual incomes, whenever it can be shown that the Government can not fairly raise sufficient revenues to meet its expenditures by an increase of tariff duties on imports, or whenever an emergency arises which will justify the use of such a means of raising revenues. But at this time when our country is at peace with the world, when there is no danger threatening us from abroad, and when the ports of our country are thrown wide open to the enormous imports free of duty from foreign countries, I do not approve of the increase in income taxes provided for in this bill. I disapprove of it not because I disapprove of the principle of a tax on incomes but because I think that such an increase of the tax on incomes is unnecessary, unwise, and unfair at this time.

Moreover, an analysis of this bill will show that it increases the tax on small incomes by a greater percentage than it increases the tax on large incomes. I can not see any fairness or justice in this discrimination, and this is another reason why I disapprove of that provision of the bill.

As another means of securing support for this bill from among the Republican Members, the majority of the committee have incorporated in it a provision for a special tax on the manufacturers of munitions of war. Of course, there is a popular prejudice against those concerns who are engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war. They have made enormous profits for the past two years. The materials which they are furnishing to the belligerents abroad increase their fortunes about in the same proportion as they increase death and destruction on the fields of battle. Nobody cares particularly how much of their ill-gotten gains are taken from them, by taxation or otherwise, for the average American has a prejudice against incomes derived from such a source. The Democrats are always ready to seize upon any scheme that they think will prove popular. So they have incorporated in this revenue bill a special tax on the manufacturers of munitions of war, because they believe that Members on the Republican side of the House will vote for the entire bill rather than vote against this tax on munitions of war.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the Government has a perfect right to resort to special taxes on the manufacture of munitions of war where there is an emergency or other necessity such as will justify the resort to that method of taxation. But there is just one justification of such a tax; and that is, that the manufacturers of munitions of war are making such enormous profits out of their business they can easily pay the tax without feeling the burden. There are a great many other industries in this country that are to-day making enormous war profits out of materials which they are furnishing belligerents in Europe, and which could, with equal justice and fairness, be specially taxed. Why these should have been overlooked by the Ways and Means Committee I do not know unless it be that their earnings have been more fabulous, perhaps, and that popular prejudice is more generally focused upon the manufacturers of munitions.

I suppose I share, to some extent, the popular sentiment that the manufacturers of munitions of war have been earning more than fair profits from their business and that they can pay a special tax of this kind without feeling the burden, and if we were given an opportunity to vote for this proposition in a separate bill I would give it my approval. But because I might approve a special tax on the manufacturers of munitions of war if I had an opportunity to vote for it separately, I will not, for that reason, vote for this revenue bill rather than vote against the provision for a tax on war munitions.

There are a great many good people in this country who do not believe that American citizens should be allowed to ship munitions of war to the belligerents in Europe; that an embargo should be placed upon all such traffic. There are a great many more who, at least, do not believe that such business should be encouraged by the Government. There is no doubt great fortunes are being made by those who are helping to prolong the struggle in Europe by the shipment of arms and munitions of war. So far as I am concerned, I do not have much sympathy for any of these war-profit concerns. But the Democratic Party seems to be willing to treat them as continuing industries; and they now say that the Government itself should have its share of the war profits by levying a tax upon the business. When I remember that the enormous profits which the manufacturers of munitions of war are now making is largely a tribute paid by the belligerents of Europe to continue the struggle that is bleeding Europe to death, I confess I can not grow enthusiastic over the proposition advanced by the majority here that our Government should by its taxing power demand a share of these ill-gotten gains in order to meet either its ordinary or extraordinary expenses.

But be that as it may, I do not doubt the legal right of the Government to do so, nor its propriety in doing so under circumstances of great emergency which would justify it.

Mr. Speaker, there is something amusing about the thought of a Democratic tariff commission. I am in favor of the appointment of a commission of experts to investigate the relations between the rates of duty on raw materials and finished or partly finished products, the effects of ad valorem and specific duties, and all questions relating to the arrangement of schedules and classifications of articles in the several schedules of the customs laws, and the relative cost of production and of manufacture in this and foreign countries, for the purpose of enabling Congress to act wisely in the enactment of protective legislation. But I am not to be misled by the action of the Democratic Party in including this provision for a tariff commission in their revenue bill. They have been too suddenly converted to the tariff-commission idea to suit me. When the creation of a tariff commission has been up for discussion in Congress heretofore the Democrats, with possibly one or two exceptions, have consistently opposed it as undemocratic. They ridiculed it. They legislated out of existence the tariff commission appointed by a Republican administration. They do not believe in the fundamental principle of a protective tariff. Not believing in a protective tariff, why should they want to appoint a commission of experts and maintain it at a great expense to the Government, when the services they would render would be useless except for the purpose of framing a proper protective-tariff law.

The very idea of a tariff commission is inconsistent and irreconcilable with the fundamental principle of the Democratic Party, and this provision in the revenue bill is for political purposes purely. The business interests of the country have for a number of years been demanding a more scientific and economical adjustment of tariff schedules and have been urging the appointment of a tariff commission. The Republican Party has favored the appointment of such a commission; but the Democratic Party, bidding for the support of the business interests of the country in the approaching national campaign, have suddenly become converted, apparently, to the tariff-commission idea; and this provision in the revenue bill is one of the present administration's baits thrown out to get the support of business men in the industrial centers of the country.

I do not believe for a moment that the Democratic Party will ever support protective-tariff legislation. They have always claimed that it was unconstitutional. I do not believe there is any sincerity in their advocacy of the appointment of a tariff commission, nor do I believe very many people will be deceived

or misled by it. The tariff question is one of policy as well as economics. I believe that the Government should have a commission of experts empowered to study and investigate all questions pertaining to tariff duties and the cost of production at home and abroad. But I think such a commission should be appointed by a President who believes in the policy of protection and who would respect the findings of such a commission if their findings should be such as to justify the enactment of protective-tariff legislation. If the Democratic Party believes now as they have always believed—that a protective tariff is unconstitutional—then this so-called tariff commission should be called what it, in fact, will be—a "revenue commission" with powers to investigate tariff questions only so far as they might pertain to Federal revenues.

My colleague from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY], at the beginning of this session, introduced a separate bill for the appointment of a nonpartisan tariff commission. The provisions of that bill were substantially the same as those that are incorporated in this bill. Why did not the Ways and Means Committee report out the Rainey bill and give Congress an opportunity to vote upon that question separately? Why should they have chosen to incorporate this provision for a tariff commission in a revenue bill which does not raise revenue by means of tariff duties?

The answer is plain. The tariff-commission provision, which is a Republican measure, has been incorporated in the revenue bill for exactly the same reason that the provision for a tariff on dyestuffs and for a tax on the manufacturers of munitions of war were inserted in the bill—in order to gain Republican support for their revenue bill. It is their hope, apparently, that by gaining support for this bill from the Republican Members of Congress they will place the Republican Party in a position where they can not criticize the Democratic method of raising revenues. This method of playing politics may accomplish its purpose with some of the Members, but I will not support their bill even if they have included in it these Republican policies which I might otherwise support.

Mr. Speaker, I consider as childish that provision of this bill prohibiting what is called "unfair competition"; it is commonly referred to as "antidumping," and pretends to protect American industries by making it unlawful for any person importing or assisting in importing any articles from any foreign country into the United States to commonly and systematically sell or cause to be sold such articles at a price substantially less than the actual market value or wholesale price of such articles in the principal markets of the country of their production or of other foreign countries to which they are commonly exported after adding to such market value freight, duty, and other charges or expenses necessarily incident to the transportation thereof in the United States.

It would be interesting to know just what wise man gave birth to this wonderful idea of preventing unfair competition in our markets by the imposition of legislative penalties. I am informed that we are indebted to our ingenious Secretary of Commerce for the discovery and first expression of this most remarkable economic principle.

The Democratic leader, Mr. KITCHIN, in making his statement to the House, said that the Republicans should support this bill because this provision against unfair competition is a protective measure and is a Republican policy. My suspicions are again aroused when a shrewd and partisan Democrat like the majority leader asks the Republican Members to support his bill because it contains Republican provisions. I have been wondering what the people will think when it is made known to them that the Democratic Party has offered to the country a law making unlawful foreign competition that will hurt American industry, a law that will allow the American producers to charge the people more for their products than they otherwise could charge. Like Cicero of old, may we not say "O tempora! O mores!" when the party of free trade will offer to the country a law that makes competition unlawful and that protects American manufacturers by allowing them to charge the people higher prices for their products?

In 1912 the Democratic Party declared it to be a fundamental principle of their party that the Federal Government had no right under the Constitution to impose or collect tariff duties except for revenue purposes, and that the high cost of living was due to the Republican policy of protection and high tariff. They promised the people to reduce the cost of living. The way this has been done has been frightful. And now, in the face of another approaching campaign, that party would enact a law not only providing for a protective tariff on dyestuffs but also providing a legislative penalty for unfair competition by foreign importers.

This proposed law against unfair competition is either a complete reversal of its principle of free trade by the Democratic Party or it is a political fraud pure and simple. If the Democratic Party has in fact abandoned its policy of free trade and is ready to accept the Republican policy of protection, there should be presented here a revenue bill which will provide real protection to American industry and afford sufficient revenue to pay the current expenses of the Government. If this bill becomes a law, and if there be any virtue in the provision against so-called unfair competition, then the result will be that Congress will by law compel foreign importers to raise the prices of their products and increase their own profits, whether they want to or not, and charge higher prices for the articles they sell to the American people. Briefly stated, the difference between this Democratic "unfair-competition" law and a Republican tariff protection law is that under the former the foreign importer would be compelled to raise the price of his imported articles before selling them to the American consumers and place the profit in his own pocket, whereas a Republican tariff protection law would compel the foreign importer to pay the protective tariff into the Treasury of the Government and allow him to charge the American consumer more for his article, if he wished to do so. Under the former law the foreign importer will get the benefit of the increased prices charged to the American consumer; under the latter the Government will get the benefit through its customs revenues. I can see neither wisdom nor sound policy in our Government compelling foreign importers to charge a higher price for their goods than they otherwise would before they can sell them to the American people, and allow them to put these increased profits in their own pockets, rather than compel them to pay import duties into the United States Treasury. Such a policy seems to me childish and absurd, and I will not give it my approval.

But, Mr. Speaker, I do not think many of us will be lulled into the belief that our Democratic friends have for one moment been converted to the Republican principle of protection. There is a general belief that when the struggle in Europe ends and the millions of men that are now under arms return to the fields and the factories there will be an enormous increase of imports into this country, and our markets will be flooded with foreign imports to such an extent that our industries will be paralyzed unless some sort of protection is afforded. None is given by the Underwood tariff law. Our ports are thrown open to the world, and it seems that the Democratic Party is unwilling to provide proper tariff protection. Realizing the effect that this prevailing fear of a trade war after the end of hostilities in Europe will have in the approaching election, the Democratic Party has offered to the country as a sort of decoy this so-called antidumping provision in the revenue bill. I consider it a mere sham for campaign purposes only, and I predict that there will never be a single prosecution under its provisions. A mere superficial scrutiny of the bill leads to this conclusion.

The bill provides that before the so-called unfair competition can be found to be unlawful it must appear that such act or acts were done with the intention of destroying or injuring any industry in the United States or of preventing the establishment of any industry in the United States or of restraining or monopolizing any part of trade and commerce in any article in the United States. This proviso, for all practical purposes, completely nullifies the entire law. It would make no difference how far the competition of foreign importers might go; it would be impossible to prove that it was done with the intention of destroying or injuring any industry in the United States. How could such intention be proven? It will not be sufficient under this law to show that an industry in the United States has been destroyed or injured. Before there could be a conviction the Government would have to prove that the foreign importer intended to injure or destroy the industry, which in the very nature of things would be almost impossible. And this shows more clearly than all else the object or purpose back of this provision of the bill. It is put there for political purposes as a bid for the support of the large business interests of the country in the coming campaign and to gain support of this bill from the Republican Members of Congress. It is believed, no doubt, that many will accept this as a real protection measure and vote for the bill rather than be placed in the attitude of voting against a protective measure.

Mr. Speaker, if this so-called unfair-competition bill had been brought before Congress as a separate measure, and if time had been allowed for a full discussion of the measure on its merits, it would not have received the support of 50 Members of the House. The Democrats would not have voted for it, because it is un-Democratic; the Republicans would not have voted for it, because it is a mere sham and will not accom-

plish what its authors pretend. And I do not believe that the people will be misled by it.

Section 305 of the bill repeals the act of October 22, 1914, known as the stamp act, and the joint resolution approved December 17, 1915, extending the provisions of the so-called stamp act for another year.

It is unnecessary for me to say that I am heartily in favor of that section of the bill. If I were given an opportunity to vote to repeal this obnoxious stamp tax law by a separate act I would not hesitate to do so, and I feel sure there is no one on the Republican side who would. I voted against the resolution extending the provisions of that act in December, 1915, and had I been a member in October, 1914, when the original stamp tax law was enacted, I would have voted against it then. It is a Democratic and not a Republican method of raising money to run the Government. No Republican administration would impose such a method of raising revenues on the country except at a time when our own country would be involved in war and immediate additional revenues would be necessary. While the President in his address to Congress suggested the continuation of these stamp taxes, the able leader of the majority, Mr. KITCHIN, and those working with him have learned the public sentiment and have wisely provided in this bill for the repeal of the law. And the majority of the committee, knowing the sentiment of the country as well as the sentiment of most of the Members of Congress to be opposed to this obnoxious revenue law, have put this provision for its repeal in the bill to raise revenues for the Government. Thus again the Republican Members of Congress are placed by the majority in the embarrassing position of either having to vote in favor of the Democratic revenue bill, to which we are opposed, or, by voting against it, to thereby have to vote against repealing the obnoxious stamp tax law which we as a party have opposed. While I want to see that law repealed, I will not allow myself to be driven into voting for this revenue bill in order to secure that result.

In conclusion I wish to say that I am in favor of a fair and equitably distributed tax upon incomes as an auxiliary source of revenue for the Federal Government. But I do not approve of the increase nor the method of distribution of the income tax as provided in this bill, for there is no national emergency or danger threatening us which justifies it. Ordinarily I believe that direct taxes upon inheritances should be left to the different States. But if emergencies should arise which would justify it I would approve of a direct Federal tax upon inheritances as a means of raising revenues to meet extraordinary expenditures.

I am opposed to the "unfair-competition" provision of this bill because I believe it is an economic absurdity inserted in the bill for political purposes and will not accomplish what it is claimed it will accomplish, because it is nullified by its own proviso requiring that the "unfair competition" to be unlawful must be done with the intention of injuring or destroying American industries.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this bill principally because of what it does not contain. In view of the conditions which are almost certain to prevail in this country after the close of the European war I think the Ways and Means Committee should have reported a bill providing such protective import duties as would protect American labor and American industries when American labor and industries will be in such great need of protection and that would provide revenue with which to pay the expenses of the Government.

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## Naval Appropriation Bill.

# SPEECH

OF

# HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, May 30, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15947) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, on this Decoration Day, sacred to the memory of America's heroic dead, I, in common, I believe, with every other man on the floor of this House, regret that in considering this essentially patriotic bill the words "Republican" or "Democrat," the words "the Republican Party" or "the Democratic Party," "the Republican record" or "the Democratic record," should be bandied from one side to the other.

I want to discuss this bill from the standpoint of increased battleship power. I am for the addition of two dreadnaughts, not because I have always voted when opportunity presented for at least two battleships but because I believe the exigencies and the occasion, as well as the future of the Nation, demand that we furnish these two additional battleships. We should furnish them not, as the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BORLAND] suggests, as a matter of buncombe. I do not believe that a man on the committee, majority or minority, or a man on the floor of this House, either opposes or favors two battleships as a mere matter of buncombe.

I prefer to pay a higher tribute to every man on either side of the House. I believe that the man who sees in a small Navy the best policy for this country is a patriot, just as much as the man who would want us to have an overpowering monster Navy for the United States. I believe that in 1898, when the Spaniards, fleeing with Cervera down in Cuban waters, looked at their speeding captors they did not know the difference between Republican boys and Democratic boys, but each of them looked larger than my distinguished friend from Texas, DAVIS, and as big as SULLOWAY, of New Hampshire. [Applause.]

I am in favor of two battleships, and I desire to give reasons for my position. I have listened with a good deal of interest to the debate by men of learning on both sides of the House, and I believe that the force of the logic as it has been presented up to this time favors an addition to the real fighting force of our Navy. I think the experts who came before the committee practically agreed upon that. But I desire to cite to you gentlemen what I believe the best authority in the world as to the efficiency and necessity of a real increased fighting force in the Navy.

It is not the experts who have studied their books or watched records, but they are to be found over in the chancelleries of Europe, especially of Britain and Germany. What has taken place during the last nearly two years, while the battles have been going on in Europe? There has been fighting upon the land at enormous expense of blood and treasure; fighting on the sea practically little; fighting on the land with a resulting deadlock; fighting on the sea with a complete victory. And why? The commerce of the allies covers the seas of the world. The commerce of the central powers has been driven from the waters of the earth. Half of the great world battle is on the land, measured in expense; measured in importance, half of it is on the sea. What is the difference, and what has caused it? It is not in the clash of great vessels thus far, but it is in the confidence of the naval authorities of Great Britain in her real fighting force, combined with the conviction of the naval authorities of the central powers that after the aeroplanes have scouted over the fleets, after the submarines have made their dashes and destroyed commerce to some extent here and there, after the cruisers have coursed over the waters of the earth and returned, ultimately, if anything is to be settled, it will be in the death grapple of the real fighting forces, the battleships of the two great powers engaged.

The confidence of the one side and the reluctant conviction of the other caused the commerce of the allies to cover the ocean, while it withdrew from the waters of the earth the commerce of the central powers. It was the great dreadnaught system of Great Britain that has determined half of the great war now going on. And if that is true it seems to me that with the cruiser additions we are making, with the other auxiliary forces we are providing, the one thing that we ought not now to neglect is to furnish a large addition to the great, real fighting force, the battleships of the United States. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SLOAN. The foregoing speech was delivered upon the floor of the House in support of an amendment adding two battleships to the fighting machinery, presented in the naval appropriation bill from the Committee on Naval Affairs. Now, under the leave to extend I desire to say further that the presentation of the foregoing reasons did not convince a majority of the House of Representatives that we should have at least two real fighting machines involved in a bill which appropriated $270,000,000 of the people's money for national defense.

I can see how men might differ as to appropriating or not appropriating such a large sum of money. But why such enormous appropriations should be made without adding a real fighting machine which would add real punch and shock in a naval conflict and at the same time would be able to resist shock and blow, it is difficult to understand.

In the time which has elapsed between delivering that speech and the presentation of it for the RECORD two important events

have occurred. First, the North Sea great naval battle between the fleets of Germany and the British Empire took place and the world is now familiar with the details and result.

That great sea battle was creditable to each of the great contending powers. But the large outstanding result is that the commerce of the British Empire still covers the sea and that of Germany is suppressed. The reason for it, as agreed by practically all naval critics, is in that great battle the British had the preponderance of great battleships. The light cruisers did excellent scout service. The submarines and torpedo-boat destroyers inflicted damage here and there. The battle cruisers with their high speed, light armament, and heavy guns did much damage in offensive, but themselves they could not save. The real, determining shock, crash, and result were effected by the heavily armored, heavy gunned, intelligently handled, modern sea monster known as the dreadnaught.

That is why the allies can command the flocks, granaries, mines, and factories of the world; while the central powers with an army, the most powerful and effective land fighting machine ever organized in the world, must depend for food and munitions upon a limited area. A fact which may be the ultimate determining factor in this the world's greatest conflict.

It was for two of these that I contended on the floor of the House. It seemed to me that in these warring times in presenting such an enormous appropriation bill and omitting battleships was like a great banquet, with soup and wine in plenty, salad and dessert in abundance, with meat omitted from the menu.

Second. The Senate, which acquired possession of this bill, has apparently taken home the lesson of the North Sea battle and is now proposing four great dreadnaughts to be added to the bill, evidently convinced that if hundreds of millions are to be expended for fighting machinery there should be some real battling units.

The following is an interesting editorial taken from the Nebraska State Journal, giving a clear midcontinent view of the battleship controversy at this time:

MORE DREADNAUGHTS.

The effort of President Wilson to have the navy-building program include three or four dreadnaughts is without doubt influenced in some degree by the naval engagement off Jutland. The loss of three battle cruisers of the first class from the British fleet is enough to make the advocates of this type of vessel thoughtful. The battle cruiser is a swift, lightly armored, and heavily armed ship which under normal conditions is able to keep out of the way of enemy guns while pouring a destructive fire upon him from its tremendous batteries.

But conditions are not always "normal." When the great fleets came together on the last day of May in the North Sea a haze prevented the battle cruisers from picking up the enemy at the long distances that are needed to give the cruisers immunity from attack and effectiveness with their own guns. Slipping in out of the fog the German battleships poured salvos at short range at the British fleet. The heavily armored dreadnaughts were able to resist these shots. The lightly armored battle cruisers were pierced in vital places before they could maneuver out of range, and three of the finest and most modern specimens in the British Navy went to the bottom with all on board. These "eggshells armed with hammers," as Winston Churchill calls them, failed because conditions were not favorable for their use. They were caught in a trap and destroyed before their speed and their guns could save them.

The Jutland battle does not condemn the battle cruiser. What it does is to give more confidence than ever in the superdreadnaught, the big ship with fair speed and heavy guns and heavy armor which must make up the fighting line and bear the brunt of the combat when two fleets meet in real earnest on the high seas. Without doubt the President has been advised by the naval experts that the latest naval battle makes the construction of more dreadnaughts advisable if the American Fleet is to be rounded out for effective duty. Senator TILLMAN'S request for a 60,000-ton battleship is an extravagant but not illogical deduction from the lessons of Jutland.

The following excerpt from an article by Admiral George Dewey, retired, shows what the best naval authority on this subject is:

[Taken from the Scientific American of July 1, 1916.]

There is a constant tendency on the part of the public to go off at a tangent in its enthusiasm for the class of ship that at a given time is attracting wide attention. Last fall, for instance, the public clamored for many submarines and favored disregarding appropriations for dreadnaughts or battle cruisers. Later the battle cruiser has been attracting much attention to itself because the incidental clashes of the present war have been battles between scout ships. So the clamor this spring has been very largely for battle cruisers.

The dreadnaught has attracted very little attention because she has not heretofore been in the fighting. The public did not see that the very existence of British dreadnaughts in the North Sea resulted in the bottling up of all Germany. It did not generally realize that the battleship was performing its purpose without the necessity of fighting. The present clash, however, demonstrates that in the final issue it is the dreadnaught which means victory or defeat.

Expenditures for preparedness in this country, neglected for the last two or three years, while current events should have been effective warnings, now burst forth in staggering figures and bewildering amounts.

My study has convinced me that as our large competitor nations are separated from us by wide seas, that our large preparation should be upon the sea. This not only for our relation with the world, but on account of its effect upon ourselves.

History teaches that the tendency of great standing armies is to consume the substance of the people, dominate their councils, subvert their liberties, and finally overthrow their Governments. This has not been true of great navies. Navies, as a rule, have been used as battling instruments with other nations and peoples. They have never become instruments of oppression or means of governmental destruction at home.

It would probably not be out of place at this time to refer to some legislative history closely related to our present naval policy. For some time prior to the Sixty-second Congress in the upbuilding of our Navy two battleships per year were favored. With the incoming of a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives that policy was changed, and a one-battleship policy of the House of Representatives was set over against a two-battleship policy of a Republican Senate.

Late on the night of March 3, 1913, within a few hours of the inauguration of President Wilson and the complete taking over of all the branches of this Government by the party now in power, a contest was on in this Chamber on the conference report on the naval appropriation bill, which had long been considered by the conferees representing the two legislative bodies. The Senate conferees had finally yielded to a one-battleship appropriation. The adoption or the rejection of the report was before the House. Hon. GEORGE E. FOSS, of Illinois, then ranking Republican member on the Naval Committee, yielded me time to favor two battleships.

In addition to my statement there at that time, I might observe that had two battleships been provided at that time they could now have been completed. The cost of the extra battleship would have been at least 25 per cent less than its cost at this time. There would have been a saving of from four to five million dollars. But the prestige of the incoming administration forecasting its naval policy as one of retrenchment prevailed in the vote at that time taken, and but one battleship was provided.

In discussing the two-battleship program, I spoke as follows:

[Sixty-second Congress, third session, March 3, 1913, page 4809.]

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, at this late hour, I should not have trespassed upon the time of this House to favor two battleships if, in the various debates concerning this question, the reason for my vote had been given. The controlling consideration of whether or not the ruling power of this country, or that which will be the ruling power of this Government to-morrow, shall live up to the responsibility it has assumed. I, in common with perhaps every man on the floor of this House, would be pleased to see the necessity for battleships absolutely removed. The hammers and forges of the world, busy in the construction of battleships, know no sunrise, sunset, or midnight. It is a sound or preparation in every quarter of the globe. It was thought that America would take the lead in disarmament. The President of the United States, whose term expires to-morrow, negotiated treaties with the great powers of the earth looking toward this precise end; that is, the removal of the necessity for the construction of battleships. The treaty-ratifying power is at the other end of this Capitol Building, and as that body was constituted during the last year neither party was in control, because it took two-thirds to adopt or ratify a treaty.

Those treaties, which if put into effect by the Senate of the United States would give the other side of this House an excuse for opposing the construction of battleships, were emasculated and their effectiveness absolutely averted and destroyed, and the other high contracting powers would not agree to the emasculated agreement. These amendments were not made by those who supported the President of the United States, but by the votes of the side of the House which upon to-morrow will assume control of this Government.

Two important amendments were used for the purpose of defeating those treaties. One was known as the Bacon amendment. The amendment is as follows:

"*Provided*, That the Senate advises and consents to the ratification of the said treaty, with the understanding, to be made a part of such ratification, that the treaty does not authorize the submission of arbitration of any question which affects the admission of aliens into the United States or the admission of aliens to the educational institutions of the several States, or the territorial integrity of the several States of the United States, or concerning the question of the alleged indebedness or moneyed obligation of any State of the United States, or any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe doctrine, or other purely governmental policy."

For the Bacon amendment 7 Republicans voted and 39 Democrats, while 36 Republicans and no Democrats voted against the Bacon amendment. The committee amendment, which proposed to strike out the third paragraph of article 3, is as follows:

"It is further agreed, however, that in cases in which the parties disagree as to whether or not a difference is subject to arbitration under article 1 of this treaty that question shall be submitted to the joint high commission of inquiry; and if all or all but one of the members of the commission agree and report that such difference is within the scope of article 1 it shall be referred to arbitration in accordance with the provision of this treaty."—

For this amendment, 36 Democrats and 6 Republicans; against the amendment, 3 Democrats and 37 Republicans. So that from the members of the party which to-morrow will assume the control of the affairs of this Government, when the President of the United States said, "We desire to remove the necessity for the construction of battleships by entering into treaties of peace with the great battleship-making powers of the earth," came the vote that emasculated those treaties

and prevented their effective adoption. It came as a challenge to the world, "We are ready to fight." You gave the "defi" to the battleship countries of the world, and you would better not bluff. You would better prepare to make good.

That is the reason why I vote for two battleships, and because we, through your action, gave the "defi." If we have not a substantial Navy when the "defi" is accepted, by whatever power on earth sees fit to accept it, then our Navy will be passed, our shores will be reached, and our battles must be fought by our young men, the volunteer soldiery of the United States; and when foreign enemies approach us, however superior we may be, our loss in land battle will be great. If our battles be fought on the sea, it will be largely by professional warriors; the result will be swift and decisive; while if we fight on land fighting will be done by our sons, drawn from our homes. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, you will find that battleships are cheaper than boys. [Applause.]

## The Revenue Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, we have not yet reached the crisis where our very existence depends upon taxes. If such were the case, we would all gladly give all that we have.

Under our present system we raise money by customs duties, by internal revenue taxes, and by income and corporation taxes.

INCOME TAX.

I first want to take up that section of the bill which refers to the income tax. I do not believe that the people of this country want to put the burden of all taxes upon a few. It makes thrift only the object of taxes, and I do not believe that we should single out a few because they have acquired wealth and make them bear all the burdens of the Government.

I want to insert in my remarks a table of figures which have just been made public by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo:

| Districts. | Corporation income tax. | Individual income tax. |
|---|---|---|
| Alabama (Alabama and Mississippi) | $279,665.43 | $177,440.48 |
| Arkansas | 112,074.11 | 44,278.79 |
| First California (includes Nevada) | 1,477,773.84 | 952,576.28 |
| Sixth California | 460,992.73 | 540,813.24 |
| Colorado (Colorado and Wyoming) | 573,503.74 | 364,102.37 |
| Connecticut (Connecticut and Rhode Island) | 1,692,183.45 | 2,132,866.89 |
| Florida | 108,664.80 | 133,560.83 |
| Georgia | 367,291.95 | 199,546.46 |
| Hawaii | 341,938.37 | 112,144.95 |
| First Illinois | 5,109,164.99 | 4,848,593.96 |
| Fifth Illinois | 172,301.65 | 90,362.39 |
| Eighth Illinois | 160,753.98 | 178,740.36 |
| Thirteenth Illinois | 127,931.37 | 48,993.20 |
| Sixth Indiana | 666,812.66 | 347,875.56 |
| Seventh Indiana | 147,395.32 | 62,444.50 |
| Third Iowa | 517,887.96 | 277,098.45 |
| Kansas | 377,189.51 | 139,393.47 |
| Second Kentucky | 34,195.83 | 8,734.57 |
| Fifth Kentucky | 277,159.06 | 103,183.91 |
| Sixth Kentucky | 28,252.37 | 12,985.61 |
| Seventh Kentucky | 45,717.31 | 33,991.88 |
| Eighth Kentucky | 26,520.97 | 6,216.78 |
| Louisiana | 406,416.45 | 296,341.35 |
| Maryland, (Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, and Accomac and Northampton Counties of Virginia) | 1,787,680.69 | 2,741,761.76 |
| Third Massachusetts | 2,668,144.82 | 4,193,873.08 |
| First Michigan | 1,680,447.64 | 1,730,859.95 |
| Fourth Michigan | 340,025.52 | 145,885.67 |
| Minnesota | 1,854,447.24 | 866,557.90 |
| First Missouri | 1,031,501.65 | 818,411.74 |
| Sixth Missouri | 551,734.96 | 388,316.93 |
| Montana (Montana, Idaho, and Utah) | 735,927.04 | 225,728.01 |
| Nebraska | 332,705.69 | 160,206.31 |
| New Hampshire (New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont) | 507,536.98 | 556,570.31 |
| First New Jersey | 357,474.11 | 697,997.95 |
| Fifth New Jersey | 1,180,259.69 | 2,230,302.18 |
| New Mexico (New Mexico and Arizona) | 321,563.21 | 94,524.23 |
| First New York | 648,514.10 | 1,751,547.57 |
| Second New York | 9,237,778.23 | 14,713,305.36 |
| Third New York | 2,869,293.42 | 10,618,663.03 |
| Fourteenth New York | 646,389.73 | 1,500,339.99 |
| Twenty-first New York | 443,589.64 | 472,456.77 |
| Twenty-eighth New York | 1,098,512.44 | 1,230,294.89 |
| Fourth North Carolina | 116,802.67 | 52,439.44 |
| Fifth North Carolina | 207,730.69 | 123,483.23 |
| North and South Dakota | 176,141.82 | 58,594.39 |
| First Ohio | 727,979.96 | 515,339.32 |
| Tenth Ohio | 765,438.82 | 282,010.74 |
| Eleventh Ohio | 286,080.86 | 229,258.43 |
| Eighteenth Ohio | 1,868,139.25 | 1,389,672.34 |
| Oklahoma | 404,600.80 | 480,415.08 |
| Oregon | 197,795.61 | 118,437.49 |
| First Pennsylvania | $3,153,890.79 | $3,756,186.27 |
| Ninth Pennsylvania | 202,329.16 | 170,615.55 |
| Twelfth Pennsylvania | 428,480.90 | 461,048.11 |
| Twenty-third Pennsylvania | 3,005,529.16 | 1,924,354.36 |
| South Carolina | 173,188.91 | 76,250.01 |
| Tennessee | 329,015.11 | 207,316.37 |
| Third Texas | 897,670.97 | 672,456.10 |
| Second Virginia | 367,234.40 | 239,984.88 |
| Sixth Virignia | 279,554.76 | 49,647.24 |
| Washington (Washington and Alaska) | 398,638.64 | 219,167.13 |
| West Virginia | 331,947.96 | 132,064.13 |
| First Wisconsin | 597,898.64 | 503,143.74 |
| Second Wisconsin | 180,437.27 | 56,805.24 |
| Total | 56,909,941.78 | 67,957,488.50 |

Under this bill the taxes are nearly doubled and the people of the North have got to stand the burden of Federal taxation for the benefit of the Southern States.

Four States—New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts—have to pay nearly three-fourths of the entire revenue to be raised under the provisions of this bill.

And what do we get in return for the money paid into the National Treasury?

A few weeks ago there was a provision to widen Boston Harbor, one of the greatest ports in America.

This project was immediately voted down, and the very same day these same Democratic Congressmen who voted against this measure appropriated millions of dollars for unnavigable streams of the South.

I had hoped that the necessity for revenue at this time would cause the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee to put on an adequate tariff, which would not only protect the manufacturers, laborers, and farmers, but would bring in a great revenue to our Treasury.

TARIFF.

The Underwood tariff has been a dismal failure. The majority of the people of this country are in favor of a protective tariff. In order to mislead the voters at the coming election there is a provision in this bill for a tariff commission.

The Democratic Party does not protect our American industries, and their attempt to create a tariff board does not give any assurances that the policy of protection will be recognized. It does not give any assurances that an adequate tariff will be enacted.

Before this European war commenced there were more than 4,000,000 idle workers in this country. In the chief cities of the country the local authorities were appealed to to provide work for the unemployed during the period between the enactment of the Underwood law and the beginning of the European war. John H. Martin, president of the Massachusetts Real Estate Exchange, in a telegram to the Secretary of the Navy urging the granting of a supply-ship contract to the Charlestown Navy Yard, said:

> One-fifth of labor in this section now unemployed. Contract would assist in relieving some of this condition.

In St. Louis on February 8, 1914, 500 homeless men, carrying a banner inscribed "We want work, not alms," and singing "Throw Out the Life Line," marched to the city hall and appealed to the mayor for appropriations for the relief of the poor. The parade was called the "pageant of the unemployed."

On February 24 Gov. Walsh, of Massachusetts, and Mayor Curley, of Boston, were asked by a committee selected at a meeting of the unemployed to throw open the armories and other public buildings for sleeping purposes and the distribution of food for those out of work, and to provide work for the idle.

The eighth annual report of the State free employment offices of Massachusetts, covering the year ending November 30, 1914, shows that for the first time since 1906 positions offered in the four offices fell off 27.32 per cent in 1914 from the preceding year, the number of positions reported filled fell off 15.13 per cent, the number of persons furnished employment fell off 13.95 per cent, and the number of persons applied for by employers fell off 19.53 per cent.

The offers of positions in the Boston office fell off 36.36 per cent in 1914 from 1913; the number of positions reported filled, 25.02 per cent; the number of persons furnished employement, 29.53 per cent; and the number of persons applied for by employers, 27.83 per cent. For the Springfield office the decrease in the number of offers of positions was 36.04 per cent; in the number of positions reported filled, 25.93 per cent; in the number of persons furnished employment, 31.47 per cent; and in the number of persons applied for by employers, 32.14 per cent. For the Fall River office, the decrease in the number of offers of positions

was 20.56 per cent; in the number of positions reported filled, 11.35 per cent; in the number of persons furnished employment, 23.90 per cent; and in the number of persons applied for by employers, 25.26 per cent.

Such is the story of the havoc wrought up to the outbreak of the war by the Democratic tariff law which President Wilson signed on the evening of October 3, 1913, with so much complacency and with such great satisfaction.

It did not reduce the cost of living. It did not increase our export trade. It did not bring prosperity to business or employment to our workingmen. It did not yield sufficient revenue for the Government. It reduced a favorable trade balance and sent import figures to an alarming height.

Then came the great European war, which for a time put a stop to the increasing rush of imports. But the channels of ocean trade did not remain permanently closed. Competition from German mills and factories very largely ceased, but England continues to ship her surplus products here. And when the war closes, as close it will, a renewal of competition, fiercer than any we have ever known, will come upon us.

War orders to an enormous amount have given a temporary stimulus to business, but war munitions can not form a safe or lasting basis of American prosperity.

I want at this time to call your attention to a number of reports, which I believe will prove to you that the prosperity of the country is due to the European war.

I will give these figures for the last 10 months of the fiscal year, as they are the last available figures. I will also compare these same 10 months with the same 10 months of the last year before the war.

In the shipment of mules and horses prior to the war the exports amounted to $3,533,000, and now, in the 10 months of the fiscal year just closed, they amount to $84,293,000. Were they sent over there for any purpose other than the war? Now, let us take the manufacture of brass, going into munitions of war chiefly. I shall leave off the odd hundred thousand dollars and give you the millions. Prior to the war it was $6,000,000, since the war began, $366,000,000; aeroplanes, before the war, $194,000, and after the war, $6,270,000; automobiles and parts thereof, prior to the war, $20,000,000, subsequent to the war, $116,000,000.

Railway cars, chiefly sent to Russia, $10,000,000 prior to the war, $21,000,000 now; motorcycles, $911,000 prior to the war, $2,771,000 now; chemicals used in making explosives across the sea, $22,000,000 before the war, $93,000,000 after the war; cotton manufactures, articles used by the soldiers chiefly, $43,000,000 prior to the war, and now $88,000,000; explosives—and is there any doubt that they are used for any other purpose than the war?—$5,000,000 before the war, after the war started, $336,000,000; iron and steel, used extensively in the manufacture of munitions over there, $212,000,000 prior to the war, now $472,000,000; leather and manufactures thereof, saddles, harness, boots, shoes, going in large quantities to the men on the battle fields, $47,000,000 prior to the war, now $120,000,000; ment and dairy products, chiefly canned goods, $124,000,000 prior to the war, $231,000,000 after the war; beans and dry peas, absolutely for the soldiers, $741,000 before the war, now $4,500,000; wool and manufactures of wool—and we never exported any wool to amount to anything prior to the war—prior to the war, $3,900,000, now $47,500,000; zinc and manufactures thereof, before the war, $328,000, now $36,800,000. Is not this convincing that our increased exports are largely due to the war in Europe?

It now appears that the Democrats will mistake the present again. They fail to recognize the fact that our gain in export trade is due to war orders; that war orders have caused a revival of business; and last, and most important of all, they fail to heed what is being demonstrated by this war and prepare for trade conditions when the war is ended. Imports, retarded when the war was commenced in Europe, are now coming to our shores in ever-increasing volumes. Right at this time if it were not for the enormous war orders imports would greatly exceed our exports. On 16 classes of products, all of which are used in large quantities by the armies in Europe, exports have increased during the 10 months ending April 31, 1916, no less than $1,480,001,000 compared with the corresponding 10 months two years ago, which was prior to the war. On 16 classes of products our exports increased from $650,855,000 to $2,130,856,000, or an increase of 227 per cent. During the same 10-month period all other exports decreased from $1,367,231,000 in 1914 to $1,213,571,000 in 1916, a decrease of $153,660,000. Do not make the fatal blunder of "mistaking the present." It is a matter of vital importance to American prosperity. The war can not last forever; how about industrial preparedness?

Prior to the war in Europe 52.7 per cent of Russia's imports came from Germany, 20 per cent of England's imports came from Germany, 18 per cent of France's imports came from Germany, and 15 per cent of Italy's imports came from Germany.

The nations named are at war with Germany, and if reports are true, after the war all of these nations will exclude German goods from their shores. Germany has left nothing undone to foster German industries and has been the most aggressive nation in the world in seeking foreign markets for exports.

Germany after the war will invade this Nation's markets with German-made goods, and they will displace American-made goods and labor.

DYE SITUATION.

As a manufacturer and one whose district has suffered as the result of the lack of dyes, I want to call your attention to the inadequate provisions which have been made in this bill.

It is absolutely necessary for us, in order to encourage the American investor and manufacturer, to build up a dye industry in this country, to insure him proper protection against foreign-made goods.

The bill that we have before us only adds a specific duty of 2 cents per pound. If the gentlemen who claim to know the facts are correct, this added duty will have but little or no effect in encouraging investment in the manufacture of dyes.

DEMOCRATIC EXTRAVAGANCE.

The Democratic Party has proved that it is not qualified to run a great business like our Government.

It does not understand the needs of our Government, neither does it understand the industrial side of our life. Through its majority in Congress it managed to pass appropriations which should cause every fair-minded voter to rebuke the party at the polls next November.

Let me just point out a few instances where this Democratic Congress has thrown away the people's money. I voted with my Republican brethren against these measures, but I was in the minority.

They appropriated $20,000,000 for a nitrate plant which could have been saved.

They appropriated $75,000,000 for Federal road building. In spite of the fact that the people of the North pay a large per cent of this appropriation, the Northern States receive very little benefit from it. This money should never have been appropriated.

Of the river and harbor bill, I believe that at least $25,000,000 is wasted. The Democrats appropriated $44,000,000 to pay for the salaries of 30,000 useless clerks. Fifty millions of dollars was appropriated for flood control, and I believe that this money will not control the floods. Fifty millions of dollars was appropriated to buy ships. Eleven millions of dollars was wasted on an armor-plate plant.

Here is at least $255,000,000 that could have been saved to this Government. The reductions in the tariff have caused the Treasury to lose approximately $110,000,000 this year.

This would make a difference of $365,000,000 which the people in my section of the country are compelled to pay in additional taxes.

In spite of this extravagance, our Democratic friends will endeavor to tell the voters this fall that these additional taxes are due to our preparedness program.

The Democrats promised to reduce the cost of living. Have they done it? Is it not a fact that the cost of living has increased under the Democratic administration?

I am against war with Mexico and pray that it may be prevented. At the same time it should be remembered that President Wilson's flopping and vacillation spread over three years must eventually lead to war unless we are to accept all manner of indignities, offense, and insult without retaliation. President Wilson's wavering invited just this sort of thing. We must swallow it or in the end we must act.

On the other hand, a firm hand and intelligent and well-conceived policy with respect to Mexico would have, by this time, brought us out of the woods and Mexico under some measure of stable government.

We are also told that there is a dearth of ammunition for our troops. But what have we done for Mexico in the meantime? On March 14, 1912, President Taft placed an embargo on ammunition and guns going into Mexico from the United States. On February 3, 1914, this embargo was taken off by President Wilson. On April 21, 1914, at the time of the Vera Cruz occupation, Mr. Wilson restored the embargo, and on September 9, 1914, he "changed his mind," and again lifted it. On October 21, 1915, when the A. B. C. conference was in session, or soon thereafter, he again restored the embargo on ammunition and guns consigned to everyone in Mexico but Carranza and his followers. This was done to aid the irreconcilable Carranza against Wilson's old ally, Villa.

During the fiscal year 1914, Mexico secured from us $750,000 worth of gunpowder, $488,000 worth of firearms, and $69,000

worth of other explosives. During the fiscal year 1915 the Mexicans were supplied with $3,000,000 worth of American cartridges, 2,400,000 pounds of dynamite, 36,000 pounds of gunpowder, $1,280,000 worth of firearms, and $116,250 worth of other explosives. On April 11, at a time when the Mexican situation was most acute, 332,000 rounds of ammunition left Laredo, Tex., consigned to Carranza, and on April 14 a dispatch from Douglas, Ariz., stated:

The State Department has issued a permit to the de facto government of Mexico to pass 1,000,000 rounds of small-arm ammunition across the line to Agua Prieta during the next few days. The ammunition is now en route to the border.

These are two instances which were reported by the press, and there is no telling how many escaped notice.

In conclusion, the Democratic Party has been guilty of wasteful extravagance of the people's money.

It has refused to protect the lives and property of Americans in foreign lands.

It has taken away from the States the revenue which belongs to them by application of the principle involved in the inheritance-tax section of the bill.

It has levied taxes on the people without limit.

The people of the country do not forget, and on November 7 next will register their protest against this administration by electing a Republican President, a Republican Senate, and a Republican House.

## Dagley Supports Wilson and Moon.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THETUS W. SIMS,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article from the Chattanooga News of July 8, a paper published at Chattanooga, Tenn., giving a letter of Mr. C. A. Dagley, secretary of the Progressive Party committee of Tennessee, to my colleague, Hon. JOHN A. MOON.

The article is as follows:

[From the Chattanooga News, Saturday, July 8, 1916.]

DAGLEY SUPPORTS WILSON AND MOON—SECRETARY OF PROGRESSIVE COMMITTEE NOW DEMOCRAT—FINDS MORE IN THAT PARTY THAT APPEALS TO PROGRESSIVES—WRITES LETTER TO JUDGE JOHN A. MOON AND WILL ACTIVELY SUPPORT HIM FOR CONGRESS.

C. A. Dagley, secretary of the Tennessee Progressive committee, can not stand Hughes for President, and will support Woodrow Wilson. He makes this announcement in a letter to Hon. JOHN A. MOON, Democratic candidate to succeed himself in the third district, who Mr. Dagley also will support. The prominent Progressive in this letter gives his reasons why he will from henceforth be a Democrat. He reviews the Wilson administration approvingly, and finds in the record of the Democratic Party, in its platform in this campaign, grounds for throwing the Progressive support to its candidates. Many other Progressives are making a similar decision to Mr. Dagley. His letter to Judge MOON is as follows:

Hon JOHN A. MOON, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Please permit me to state that as a sincere Progressive, I desire to offer you my hearty support in your campaign to be returned next November to the Congress of the United States for another term of two years. I will further state that I have decided, should the Progressive Party not have a candidate for President, that I will support Woodrow Wilson for reelection in the present campaign to the full limit of my ability. I believe that the Democratic Party has, in the past four years, done much to commend it as a political party to all independent and Progressive voters. As a party in power, it has actually given the people considerable constructive, progressive legislation. It was the party in power to reform the banking and currency system, and, instead, to give the people stable, satisfactory currency legislation which had been a crying need for many years, and which was considered by all Progressive leaders one of the most needful reforms contained in the Progressive Party platform of 1912.

As a party to-day, standing as it does for a nonpartisan tariff commission, the eight-hour day law, and indorsing the principle of woman's suffrage and other progressive measures, and with a leadership far more progressive than the Republican Party, I have slowly and conscientiously come to the conclusion that as a Progressive, without a party organization, that I can more harmoniously affiliate with the Democratic Party in the present political campaign than I can with the Republican Party, whose most powerful and dominant leaders in the organization to-day are, I believe, opposed to progressive principles that it seems to me should be properly recognized in party candidates, organization, and platform.

I appreciate the fact that the Democratic leaders upon recognizing the action of Theodore Roosevelt in declining the nomination for President on the Progressive ticket, and the action of the Progressive national committee in indorsing the Republican candidates, must have believed that there were thousands of honest Progressive voters left, at least temporarily, without a party of their own, and that the Democratic leaders have sought to make it possible for Progressives to affiliate with a party that was not controlled through its organization by standpat leadership and men whose whole life work in politics has been in opposition to progressive principles and a square deal for the common people and the plain everyday voters.

I am pleased to see that Mr. Wilson has chosen as the chairman of the Democratic national committee a clean, forward-looking, progressive Democratic leader. In 1914, when the people of Pennsylvania were smarting under the power of the Penrose Republican machine, thousands of decent Republicans and Progressive voters supported Mr. Vance C. McCormick for governor on the Democratic ticket in preference to the Republican candidate nominated and backed by the Penrose Republican political organization. It is a fact that the man chosen as the Democratic national chairman was Progressive enough for the regularly nominated Progressive Party candidate, William Draper Lewis, to withdraw in favor of Mr. McCormick and for Theodore Roosevelt to stump the State for him as a Progressive-Democratic candidate for governor in 1914, along with Gifford Pinchot, a radical Progressive, for United States Senator.

With kindest regards, I beg to remain,
Sincerely, yours,

C. A. DAGLEY,
*Secretary Tennessee Progressive State Committee.*

## Address of President Wilson.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. SAMUEL W. BEAKES,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 13, 1916.*

Mr. BEAKES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address by the President of the United States at Salesmanship Congress, Detroit, Mich., July 10, 1916.

The address is as follows:

THE PRESIDENT, AT SALESMANSHIP CONGRESS, DETROIT, MICH., JULY 10, 1916.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is with a great deal of gratification that I find myself facing so interesting and important a company as this. You will readily understand that I have not come here to make an elaborate address, but I have come here to express my interest in the objects of this great association and to congratulate you on the opportunities which are immediately ahead of you in handling the business of this country.

These are days of incalculable change, my fellow citizens. It is impossible for anybody to predict anything that is certain in detail with regard to the future either of this country or of the world in the large movements of business; but one thing is perfectly clear, and that is that the United States will play a new part, and that it will be a part of unprecedented opportunity and of greatly increased responsibilities. The United States has had a very singular history in respect of its business relationships with the rest of the world. I have always believed—and I think you have always believed—that there is more business genius in the United States than anywhere else in the world, and yet America has apparently been afraid of touching too intimately the great processes of international exchange. America of all countries in the world has been timid; has not until recently—has not until within the last two or three years—provided itself with the fundamental instrumentalities for playing a large part in the trade of the world. America, which ought to have had the broadest vision of any nation, has raised up an extraordinary number of provincial thinkers, men who thought provincially about business, men who thought that the United States was not ready to take her competitive part in the struggle for peaceful conquest of the world. For anybody who reflects philosophically upon the history of this country, that is the most amazing fact about it.

But the time for provincial thinkers has gone by. We must play a great part in the world whether we choose it or not. Do you know the significance of this single fact that within the last year or two we have, speaking in large terms, ceased to be a debtor Nation and become a creditor Nation; that we have more of the surplus gold of the world than we ever had before, and that our business hereafter is to be to lend and to help and to promote the great peaceful enterprises of the world? We have got to finance the world in some important degree, and those who finance the world must understand it and rule it with their spirits and with their minds. We can not cabin and confine ourselves any longer, and so I said that I came here to congratulate you upon the great rôle that lies ahead of you to play. This is a salesmanship congress, and hereafter salesmanship will have

to be closely related in its outlook and scope to statesmanship, to international statesmanship. It will have to be touched with an intimate comprehension of the conditions of business and enterprise throughout the round globe, because America will have to place her goods by running her intelligence ahead of her goods. No amount of mere push, no amount of mere hustling, or, to speak in the western language, no amount of mere rustling, no amount of mere active enterprise will suffice.

There have been two ways of doing business in the world outside of the lands in which the great manufactures have been made. One has been to try to force the tastes of the manufacturing country on the country in which the markets were being sought, and the other way has been to study the tastes and needs of the countries where the markets were being sought and suit your goods to those tastes and needs, and the latter method has beaten the former method. If you are going to sell carpets, for example, in India, you have got to have as good taste as the Indians in the patterns of the carpets, and that is going some. If you are going to sell things in tropical countries, they must, rather obviously, be different from those which you sell in cold and arctic countries. You can not assume that the rest of the world is going to wear or use or manufacture what you wear and use and manufacture. Your raw materials must be the raw materials that they need, not the raw materials that you need. Your manufactured goods must be the manufactured goods which they desire, not those which other markets have desired. So your business will keep pace with your knowledge, not of yourself and of your manufacturing processes but of them and of their commercial needs. That is statesmanship because that is relating your international activities to the conditions which exist in other countries.

If we can once get what some gentlemen are so loth to give us, a merchant marine—the trouble with some men is that they are slow in their minds; they do not see; they do not know the need and they will not allow you to point it out to them—if we can once get in a position to deliver our own goods, then the goods that we have to deliver will be adjusted to the desires of those to whom we deliver them, and all the world will welcome America in the great field of commerce and manufacture. There is a great deal of cant talked, my fellow citizens, about service. I wish the word had not been surrounded with so much sickly sentimentality, because it is a good, robust, red-blooded word, and it is the key to everything that concerns the peace and prosperity of the world. You can not force yourself upon anybody who is not obliged to take you. The only way in which you can be sure of being accepted is by being sure that you have got something to offer that is worth taking, and the only way you can be sure of that is by being sure that you wish to adapt it to the use and the service of the people to whom you are trying to sell.

I was trying to expound in another place the other day the long way and the short way to get together. The long way is to fight. I hear some gentlemen say that they want to help Mexico, and the way they propose to help her is to overwhelm her with force. That is the long way to help Mexico, as well as the wrong way, because after the fighting you have a nation full of justified suspicion and animated by well-founded hostility and hatred, and then will you help them? Then will you establish cordial business relationships with them? Then will you go in as neighbors and enjoy their confidence? On the contrary, you will have shut every door as if it were of steel against you. What makes Mexico suspicious of us is that she does not believe as yet that we want to serve her. She believes that we want to possess her, and she has justification for the belief in the way in which some of our fellow citizens have tried to exploit her privileges and possessions. For my part, I will not serve the ambitions of these gentlemen, but I will try to serve all America, so far as intercourse with Mexico is concerned, by trying to serve Mexico herself. There are some things that are not debatable. Of course, we have to defend our border. That goes without saying. Of course, we must make good our own sovereignty, but we must respect the sovereignty of Mexico. I am one of those—I have sometimes suspected that there were not many of them—who believes, absolutely believes, the Virginia Bill of Rights, which was the model of the old Bill of Rights, which says that a people has a right to do anything they please with their own country and their own government. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that, and I am going to stand by that belief. That is for the benefit of those gentlemen who wish to butt in.

Now, I use that as an illustration, my fellow citizens. What do we all most desire when the present tragical confusion of the world's affairs is over? We desire permanent peace, do we not? Permanent peace can grow in only one soil. That is the soil of actual good will, and good will can not exist without mutual comprehension. Charles Lamb, the English writer, made a very delightful remark that I have long treasured in my memory. He stuttered a little bit, and he said of some one who was not present, "I h-h-hate that m-man"; and some one said, "Why, Charles, I didn't know you knew him." "Oh," he said, "I-I-I don't; I-I can't h-hate a m-man I know." That is a profound human remark. You can not hate a man you know. I know some rascals that I have tried to hate.

I have tried to head them off as rascals, but I have been unable to hate them. I have liked them. And so, not to compare like with unlike in the relationship of nations with each other, many of our antagonisms are based upon misunderstandings; and as long as you do not understand a country you can not trade with it. As long as you can not take its point of view you can not commend your goods to its purchase. As long as you go to it with a supercilious air, for example, and patronize it, as we have tried to do in some less developed countries, and tell them that this is what they ought to want, whether they want it or not, you can not do business with them. You have got to approach them just as you really ought to approach all matters of human relationship. These people who give their money to philanthropy, for example, but can not for the life of them see from the point of view of those for whose benefit they are giving the money, are not philanthropists. They endow and promote philanthropy, but you can not be a philanthropist unless you love all sorts and conditions of men. The great barrier in this world, I have sometimes thought, is not the barrier of principle, but the barrier of taste. Certain classes of society find certain other classes of society distasteful to them. They do not like the way they dress; they do not like the infrequency with which they bathe; they do not like to consort with them under the conditions under which they live; and, therefore, they stand at a distance from them and it is impossible for them to serve them, because they do not understand them and do not feel that common pulse of humanity and that common school of experience which is the only thing that binds us together and educates us in the same fashion.

This, then, my friends, is the simple message that I bring you: Lift your eyes to the horizons of business; do not look too close at the little processes with which you are concerned, but let your thoughts and your imaginations run abroad throughout the whole world and with the inspiration of the thought that you are Americans and are meant to carry liberty and justice and the principles of humanity wherever you go. Go out and sell goods that will make the world more comfortable and more happy and convert them to the principles of America.

## Compensation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN M. EVANS,
OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 14, 1916.*

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill because it is a humane measure and marks a new step in the humanitarianism of our Government. No man need apologize for his vote for this bill, nor do I believe it should be necessary for anyone to make an argument to secure its passage. The time has long since gone by when the wisdom of a compensation law can be questioned, even if put upon an economic basis, and a bold man he would be to ignore the humanitarian side of the question.

For many years workmen of the private employer were left to resort to the courts to secure compensation for an injury occurring without fault of their own. The method was fraught with so much red tape, so much injustice, and proved so expensive that nearly every State in the Union has remedied the matter by enactment of compensation laws. But the situation with the Federal employees is different, the injured employee is even deprived of the right of a hearing in the courts in case of injury through no fault of his own.

This bill provides for compensation for every employee of the Government who is so unfortunate as to be injured while in the performance of duty, unless, of course, the injury is the result of the voluntary act of the injured party. Men may differ about the details of such a measure, but the fundamental principle that the Government should do what it compels the private employer to do can admit of no dispute.

Our civilization is so complex and life is so constituted that in the every-day routine of our affairs accidents will happen that place upon the individual a burden that is impossible for him to bear, and in such cases this burden should be borne by society at large, and it is now being recognized that this is one of the burdens that society at large should bear. It is for this reason that everybody has come to recognize the wisdom of compensation laws.

Many of the States have such compensation laws which are working with most excellent results, and now it is proposed that the United States shall have a compensation law for the protection of all its employees, and thus give relief from the cumbrous and inefficient system of presenting private claims to Congress for its action, and to give its sanction to this great principle of humanity.

This bill H. R. 15316 seeks to supplant the existing inadequate Federal compensation law of May 30, 1908, with a new law providing adequate compensation for all civilian employees of the United States suffering injuries received in the course of their employment.

As the existing law applies only to specified branches of the service deemed to be especially hazardous, it covers only about 100,000 of the Government's 400,000 employees. The bill here reported will cover all civil employees of the United States and the Panama Railroad Co., about 400,000 in all. It seemed to me that if an employee is injured in the performance of his duty he is entitled to compensation regardless of his occupation. This is the law in 21 of the 32 States having compensation laws. The present law, in denying compensation to an injured employee, if his occupation was not "hazardous," goes counter to the theory on which all compensation acts are based, viz, that the industry shall bear the burden of injuries caused by it.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that the extension of the existing law in this particular will not increase the cost in proportion, for although the number of employees covered is four times as great as under the existing law, the number of accidents will not be proportionately increased, since the accident risk in the added employments is considerably less than in the branches of service already covered.

In addition to the confusion caused by having three distinct systems of compensation in operation in different branches of the service, valuable legislative time is taken by the private-claim bills which are presented to Congress when injuries occur in branches of the service not covered by the present law. Nearly 300 claims for injuries in the Government service have already been presented to this Congress. This bill will provide one uniform system of compensation throughout the Federal service, doing away with the great delay and uncertainty in congressional action on meritorious cases.

The bill provides compensation for disability or death of an employee resulting from personal injury sustained in the performance of his duty. No compensation is allowed if the injury is caused by the willful misconduct of the employee, by the employee's intention to bring about the injury or death of himself or of another, or if intoxication of the injured employee is the proximate cause of the injury or death.

The bill establishes a separate fund in the Treasury to be known as the "employees' compensation fund." The bill appropriates $500,000 to establish this fund and provides that there shall be added to it such sums as Congress may from time to time appropriate. The commission is to submit annually to the Secretary of the Treasury estimates of appropriations needed for the maintenance of the fund.

The amount here appropriated is deemed ample for the first year. It is thought that the expense will be somewhat less. The committee has secured an estimate of the cost under this bill prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the basis of the cost under the existing law and of the probable number of accidents which will occur in the future. (Hearings, Jan. 28, pp. 48–52.)

This careful official statement shows there were 2,467 claims made during the year ending June 30, 1913, under the present law. It is estimated that under the proposed bill there might have been 2,316 cases added, but of those 1,464 were for a period varying from 3 to 15 days.

With a reduction of the rate of compensation to two-thirds of the pay, and the limitation of $66⅔ as the monthly maximum amount that any workman could receive as compensation, regardless of the amount that he may be receiving as earnings when employed, there would be afforded a degree of stimulus to return to work, while the opportunity of continuing unemployed without loss of pay would be withdrawn. It is believed, therefore, that the proposed bill would involve an expense for the first year not exceeding the amount named, namely, $500,000, and in all probability falling below it, by reason of the fact that in the $482,000 paid out in the year 1910–11, for instance, there were many cases in which the amount of compensation paid was to persons receiving in excess of $66⅔ per month as benefits.

Referring now to the fact that the Government is at the present time paying out between four and five hundred thousand dollars under existing laws, which provide for full payment of wages during the term of disability, not exceeding one year, it is evident that the substitution of a law providing two-thirds pay during the term of disability would reduce the expense for the first year by one-third, in so far as the law applies to persons receiving benefits under existing laws. Inasmuch as at least one-half the additions would be for short-term disabilities, it seems probable that the extension of the law to cover all classes of employees would result in no actual increase in the amount expended.

The State of Montana, which I have the honor, in part, to represent adopted a compensation law two years ago, and though we have had only that brief experience under it, both employer and employee are satisfied and my advices are that should that question be again submitted to our people scarcely a vote in that State would be cast against it. So I conclude that if the several States are sufficiently progressive to adopt this sort of legislation, the Federal Congress can not afford to be less progressive and humane in dealing with its half a million faithful employees. For these, and other reasons, Mr. Speaker, I favor the immediate enactment of this legislation.

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**Speech of President Wilson at Detroit, Mich.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 14, 1916.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address at luncheon tendered by Salesmanship Congress, Detroit Athletic Club, July 10, 1916.

The address is as follows:

THE PRESIDENT AT LUNCHEON TENDERED BY SALESMANSHIP CONGRESS, DETROIT ATHLETIC CLUB, JULY 10, 1916.

Mr. Chairman, Judge Murphy, ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to find myself as popular as Judge Murphy, and I must say in his behalf that you know him better than you know me. I am glad to find myself in Detroit and face to face with the men who have played the principal part in giving it distinction throughout the country and throughout the world. Looking about among you, I see that it is true in this matter, as in others, that the only men fit for such a job are young men and men who never grow old. There is the liveliness of youth in the eyes even of those of you who have shared with me the painful parting with the hirsute appendage.

I have been interested in some things that Mr. Denby has said to me to-day. He has shamefacedly admitted that he has found himself enjoying the companionship of Democrats. Now, I have long enjoyed the friendship and companionship of Republicans, because I am by instinct a teacher, and I would like to teach them something. We have been trying, some of us, for a good many years to teach in politics, as well as elsewhere, this lesson, that we are all in the same boat; we have common interests, and it is our business to understand and serve those common interests. The great difficulty that has confronted us, gentlemen, has often been that we have deliberately looked at these common interests from self-chosen angles which made them look as if some of us were separated from others and as if some of us wanted to depress business, for example, and others of us wanted to exalt business. I dare say that you have noticed that the same necessity to make a living is imposed upon Democrats as Republicans, and I dare say you are ready to believe that Democrats are just as willing to make a good living as Republicans. Therefore it seems to me logically to follow, though I have been quoted as having no regard for logic, that Democrats are naturally as much interested in the business prosperity of the United States as anybody else. So that if you believe that they are not as fitted to guide it as other persons you can not be doubting their interest; you are only impugning their intelligence. And some Democrats had noticed that the inclination to suppose that only some persons

understood the business of America had a tendency to run into the assumption that the number of persons who understood that business was very small and that there were only certain groups and associations of gentlemen who were entitled to be trustees of that business for the rest of us.

I have never subscribed in any walk of life to the trustee theory. I have always been inclined to believe that the business of the world was best understood by those men who were in the struggle for maintenance not only, but for success. The man who knows the strength of the tide is the man who is swimming against it, not the man who is floating with it. The man who is immersed in the beginnings of business, who is trying to get his foothold, who is trying to get other men to believe in him and lend him money and trust him to make profitable use of that money, is the man who knows what the business conditions in the United States are; and I would rather take his counsel as to what ought to be done for business than the counsel of any established captain of industry. The captain of industry is looking backward and the other man is looking forward. The conditions of business change with every generation, change with every decade, are now changing at an almost breathless pace; and the men who have made good are not feeling the tides as the other men are feeling them. The men who have got into the position of captaincy, unless they are of unusual fiber, unless they are of unusually catholic sympathy, unless they have continued to touch shoulder with the ranks, unless they have continued to keep close communion with the men they are employing and the young men they are bringing up as their assistants, do not belong to the struggle in which we should see that every unreasonable obstacle is removed and every reasonable help afforded that public policy can afford.

So I invite your thoughts, in what I sincerely believe to be an entirely nonpartisan spirit, to the democracy of business. An act was recently passed in Congress that some of the most intelligent business men of this country earnestly opposed—men whom I knew, men whose character I trusted, men whose integrity I absolutely believed in. I refer to the Federal reserve act, by which we intended, and succeeded in, taking credit out of the control of a small number of men and making it available to everybody who had real commercial assets; and the very men who opposed that act, and opposed it conscientiously, now admit that it saved the country from a ruinous panic when the stress of war came on, and that it is the salvation of every average business man who is in the midst of the tides that I have been trying to describe. What does that mean, gentlemen? It means that you can get a settled point of view and can conscientiously oppose progress if you do not need progress yourself. That is what it means. I am not impugning the intelligence even of the men who opposed things, because the same thing happens to every man if he is not of extraordinary makeup, if he can not see the necessity for a thing that he does not himself need. When you have abundant credit and control of credit you, of course, do not need that the area of credit should be broadened.

The suspicion is beginning to dawn in many quarters that the average man knows the business necessities of the country just as well as the extraordinary man does. I believe in the ordinary man. If I did not believe in the ordinary man, I would move out of a democracy, and if I could find a decent monarchy I would live in it. The very conception of America is based upon the validity of the judgments of the average man, and I call you to witness that there have not been many catastrophes in American history. I call you to witness that the average judgments of the voters of the United States have been sound judgments. I call you to witness that this great impulse of the common opinion has been a lifting impulse, and not a depressing impulse. What is the object of associations like that which is gathered here to-day, this salesmanship congress? The moral of it is that a few men can not determine the interests of a large body of men, and that the only way to determine them and advance them is to have a representative assembly chosen by themselves get together and take common counsel regarding them. And do you not notice that in every great occupation in the United States there is beginning to be more and more of this common counsel? And have you not noticed that the more common counsel you have, the higher the standards are that are insisted upon?

I attended the other day the congress of the advertising men, and their motto is, "Truth and fair dealing in what you represent your business to be and your goods to be." I have no doubt that in every association like this the prevailing sentiment is that only by the highest standards—I mean the highest moral standards—can you achieve the most permanent and satisfactory business results. Was that the prevalent conception before these associations were drawn together? Have you not found the moral judgment of the average man steady up the whole process and clarify it? Do you not know more after every conference with your fellows than you did before? I never went into a committee of any kind upon any important public matter, or private matter, so far as that is concerned, that I did not come out with an altered judgment and knowing much more about the matter than when I went in; and not only knowing much more, but knowing that the common judgment arrived at was better than I could have suggested when I went in. That is the universal experience of candid men. If it were not so, there would be no object in congresses like this. Yet whenever we attempt legislation we find ourselves in this case: We are not in the presence of the many who can counsel wisely, but we are in the presence of the few who counsel too narrowly, and the thing that we have been trying to break away from is not that these gentlemen who constituted the narrow circles of advice should be excluded from the advice, but that they should be associated with hundreds of thousands of their fellow citizens.

I have had some say that I was not accessible to them, and when I inquired into it I found they meant that I did not personally invite them. They did not know how to come without being invited, and they did not care to come if they came upon the same terms with everybody else, knowing that everybody else was welcome whom I had the time to confer with.

Am I telling you things unobserved by you? Do you not know that these things are true? And do you not believe with me that the affairs of the Nation can be better conducted upon the basis of general counsel than upon the basis of special counsel? Men are colored and governed by their occupations and their surroundings and their habits. If I wanted to change the law radically I would not consult a lawyer. If I wanted to change business methods radically I would not consult a man who had made a conspicuous success by using the present methods that I wanted to change. Not because I would distrust these men, but because I would know that they would not change their thinking over night; that they would have to go through a long process of reacquaintance with the circumstances of the time—the new circumstances of the time—before they could be converted to my point of view. You get a good deal more light on the street than you do in the closet. You get a good deal more light by keeping your ears open among the rank and file of your fellow citizens than you do in any private conference whatever. I would rather hear what the men are talking about on the trains and in the shops and by the fireside than hear anything else, because I want guidance, and I know I could get it there, and what I am constantly asking is that men should bring me that counsel, because I am not privileged to determine things independently of this counsel. I am your servant, not your ruler.

One thing that we are now trying to convert the small circles to that the big circles are already converted to is that this country needs a merchant marine and ought to get one. I have found that I had a great deal more resistance when I tried to help business than when I tried to interfere with it. I have had a great deal more resistance of counsel, of special counsel, when I tried to alter the things that are established than when I tried to do anything else. We call ourselves a liberal Nation, whereas, as a matter of fact, we are one of the most conservative nations in the world. If you want to make enemies, try to change something. You know why it is. To do things to-day exactly the way you did them yesterday saves thinking.

It does not cost you anything. You have acquired the habit; you know the routine; you do not have to plan anything, and it frightens you with a hint of exertion to learn that you will have to do it a different way to-morrow. Until I became a college teacher, I used to think that the young men were radical, but college boys are the greatest conservatives I ever tackled in my life, largely because they have associated too much with their fathers. What you have to do with them is to take them up upon some visionary height and show them the map of the world as it is. Do not let them see their father's factory. Do not let them see their father's countinghouse. Let them see the great valleys, teeming with laborious people. Let them see the great struggle of men in realms they never dreamed of. Let them see the great emotional power that is in the world, the great ambitions, the great hopes, the great fears. Give them some picture of mankind, and then their father's business, and every other man's business, will begin to fall into place. They will see that it is an item and not the whole thing; and they will sometimes see that the item is not properly related to the whole, and what they will get interested in will be to relate the item to the whole, so that it will form part of the force and not part of the impediment.

This country, above every country in the world, gentlemen, is meant to lift; it is meant to add to the forces that improve. It is meant to add to everything that betters the world;

that gives it better thinking, more honest endeavor, a closer grapple of men with men, so that we will all be pulling together like one irresistible team in a single harness. That is the reason why it seemed wise to substitute for the harsh processes of the law, which merely lays its hand on your shoulder after you have sinned and threatens you with punishment, some of the milder and more helpful processes of counsel. That is the reason the Federal Trade Commission was established, so that men would have some place where they could take counsel as to what the law was, and what the law permitted, and also take counsel as to whether the law itself was right, and advice had not better be taken as to its alteration. The processes of counsel are the only processes of accommodation, not the processes of punishment. Punishment retards, but it does not lift up. Punishment impedes, but it does not improve. And so we ought to substitute for the harsh processes of the law, wherever we can, the milder and gentler and more helpful processes of counsel.

It has been a very great grief to some of us year after year, year after year, to see a fundamental thing like the fiscal policy of the Government with regard to duties on imports made a football of politics. Why, gentlemen, party politics ought to have nothing to do with the question of what is for the benefit of the business of the United States, and that is the reason we ought to have a tariff commission and, I may add, are going to have a tariff commission. But, then, gentlemen, the trouble will be with me. The provision as it stands makes it obligatory upon me not to choose more than half the commission from any one political party. The bill does not undertake to say how many political parties there are. That just now is a delicate question. But I am forbidden to take more than two of the same variety, and yet the trouble about that is I would like to find men for that commission who were of no one of the varieties. I would like to find men who would find out the circumstances of American business, particularly as it changes and is going to change with perplexing rapidity in the years immediately ahead of us, without any regard whatever to the interest of any party whatever, so that we should be able to legislate upon the facts and upon the large economic aspects of those facts without stopping to think which party it was going to hurt and which party it was going to benefit. But almost everybody in this country wears a label of some kind, and under the law I suppose I will have to turn them around and see how they are labeled, how they are branded, and that is going to be a very great blow to my spirit and a very great test of my judgment. I hope after the results are achieved you will judge me leniently, because my desire would be not to have a bipartisan but an absolutely nonpartisan commission of men who really applied the tests of scientific analysis of the facts and no other tests whatever to the conclusions that they arrived at.

Did you ever think how absolutely supreme and sovereign facts are? You can make laws all the year through contrary to the facts and the facts will overrun the laws. Do not let a fact catch you napping, because you will get the worst of it if you do, and the object of the tariff commission is that we should see the facts coming first, so that they could not get us. I remember a cynical politician saying to me once when I was thanking him for having voted the way I hoped he would vote, knowing that that had not been his initial inclination, "Well, Governor, they never get me if I see them coming first." He had heard from home, and he saw them coming. Now, I have that attitude toward facts. I never let them get me if I see them first, and it is because I want to see them that I want commissions of this sort and the spirit of this sort that I have tried to describe in the commission as it is constituted.

Because, as I was saying this morning, there is a task ahead of us of most colossal difficulty. We have not been accustomed to the large world of international business, and we have got to get accustomed to it right away. All provincials have got to take a back seat. All men who are afraid of competition have got to take a back seat. All men who depend upon anything except their intelligence and their efficiency have got to take a back seat. It will be interesting to see the sifting process go on. I have some men in mind to nominate for back seats, and I will not draw all of them from the same party. It will not need an act of Congress for that purpose. And some men are going to be surprised at the keenness of the air into which they are thrust out. They are going to be thrust out, and we are either going to make conquest, peaceful conquest, of the markets of the world or we are going to be prevented forevermore of boasting of the business ability of America. I have never been afraid of trusting an American business man out in the air, but some men have. They have said, "Give us a wall to crouch behind for fear those fellows should get us," and when it has come to finding out who was crouching behind the wall it was found that all sorts were crouching behind the wall—the capable and the incapable—and that the main object of the wall was to shelter the incapable. As an American, I am too proud to submit to anything like that. I believe that Americans can manufacture goods better than anybody else; that they can sell goods as honestly as anybody else; that they can find out the conditions and meet the conditions of foreign business better than anybody else, and I want to see them given a chance right away, and they will be whether I want them to be or not. We have been trying to get ready for it. The national banks of the United States, until the recent currency act, were held back by the very terms of the law under which they operated from some of the most important international transactions. To my mind that is one of the most amazing facts of our commercial history. The Congress of the United States was not willing that the national banks should have a latchkey and go away from home. They were afraid they would not know how to get back under cover, and banks from other countries had to establish branches where American bankers were doing business, to take care of some of the most important processes of international exchange. That is nothing less than amazing, but it is not necessary any longer. It never was necessary; it was only thought to be necessary by some eminently provincial statesmen. We are done with provincialism in the statesmanship of the United States, and we have got to have a view now and a horizon as wide as the world itself. And when I look around upon an alert company like this it seems to me in my imagination they are always straining at the leash. They are waiting to be let loose upon this great race that is now going to challenge our abilities. For my part I shall look forward to the result with absolute and serene confidence, because the spirit of the United States is an international spirit if we conceive it right. This is not the home of any particular race of men. This is not the home of any particular set of political traditions. This is a home the doors of which have been opened from the first to mankind, to everybody who loved liberty, to everybody whose ideal was equality of opportunity, to everybody whose heart was moved by the fundamental instincts and sympathies of humanity. That is America, and now it is as if the nations of the world, sampled and united here, were in their new union and new common understanding turning about to serve the world with all the honest processes of business and of enterprise. I am happy that I should be witnessing the dawn of the day when America is indeed to come into her own.

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## The Business Outlook After the War.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 13, 1916.*

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House, I insert in the RECORD an article by Hon. WALTER R. STINESS, of Rhode Island, a Member of the House, on the subject of "The business outlook after the war," which appeared in the Providence (R. I.) Magazine for June, 1916, published by the Providence Chamber of Commerce, as follows:

[From the Providence (R. I.) Magazine for June, 1916, published by the Providence Chamber of Commerce.]

THE BUSINESS OUTLOOK AFTER THE WAR—CONGRESSMAN STINESS SAYS THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT HAS BEEN NO BAR TO FOREIGN COMMERCIAL INVASION—WHEN PEACE PREVAILS A PROTECTIVE TARIFF MUST PREVENT AMERICA FROM BECOMING A DUMPING GROUND FOR OVER-SEA MANUFACTURES.

IS OUR PROSPERITY SUBSTANTIAL?—NO CHASING AFTER SHADOWS—PROTECTION ONLY WILL CONSERVE OUR GREAT INDUSTRIES.

[By Congressman WALTER R. STINESS.]

"Undoubtedly this country is enjoying a certain kind of prosperity. Is it substantial? Is it built upon a sure foundation? Without pessimism, both of these questions admit of but one answer, and that in the negative. For admittedly the present expansion of business is chiefly if not wholly due to the European war, which has abnormally swollen our exports of foodstuffs and created a favorable trade balance, converting us from a debtor into a creditor nation. But these conditions are, as we must humanely hope, but temporary, evanescent; what we now call prosperity is only the veneer of prosperity.

"There is prosperity and prosperity. That which we are now experiencing is one kind; that which we have experienced in times past is another kind; the one fleeting and unstable, because dependent upon a horrible war, the other permanent, because dependent on a peaceful and sound business policy—that of a protective tariff. The present brand of prosperity, such as it is, is welcome while it lasts, and, despite its cause, is preferable to the terrible industrial depression during the first year of President Wilson's administration preceding the commencement of the European war. The balance of trade for the five months before the war ran against us. Men and money and mills were idle. These adverse conditions continued until the war was well under way.

"Under the impetus of tremendous exports of food and of firearms to the belligerents labor and capital in this country again found not only remunerative but superabundant employment.

"At the war's end, what then?

"Bearing in mind business conditions just before the war and that the then economic policies—especially the tariff policy—still obtain to-day, it ought to be clear to thoughtful men that we should prepare now for the inevitable consequences to follow cessation of war.

WAR NO BAR TO IMPORTATION.

"It was said when the war commenced that the war in itself operated to protect us from foreign commercial invasion. And for a time this was true. But it is no longer true. February of this year saw $193,000,000 of foreign goods enter our ports, the high-water mark in all of our history, and March, 1916, went $20,000,000 better (or worse) than February, with $214,000,000 of imports.

"This represents a free list of nearly 80 per cent, practically placing us on a free-trade basis. This, despite the war and the fact that ships are scarce and freights high. So that the war has not checked imports, but apparently has stimulated them. If this can be done in the green tree, what may we expect in the dry, unless we change our tariff policy? Already the warring nations, especially Germany, are preparing for the titantic commercial struggle to ensue. Foreign manufacturers of every description, according to reliable trade reports, are preparing to use this country, under present tariff conditions favorable to them, as a dumping ground for all sorts of wares.

"How do we purpose preventing this being done? An antidumping law such as is proposed, nor any so-called antidumping law, will not, in my judgment, meet the situation adequately; because these foreign countries when ready to dump will sell here at their own domestic wholesale market price, and we can not prevent it by any method other than a protective tariff that will either keep out such goods altogether or else admit them upon terms of equality with our own that protective rates of duty will insure.

JAPAN AND THE SEAMEN'S ACT.

"Our legitimate export trade, our normal foreign business, may be resumed after the war, and may and ought to be augmented. It suffered by comparison with imports when the war commenced, and if we are to judge by the Japan trade, for instance, we may expect a decrease of exports to Japan, for notwithstanding the fact that her usual source of supply has been curtailed by the war, we have not increased our exports over the 1913 figures; but, on the other hand, Japan has greatly increased her exports to us. Japan, thanks to the Underwood tariff law and the seamen's act, is now mistress of the Pacific, having driven our ships out of business, and the carrying trade of the Orient is now done in Japanese bottoms.

"What is true of the Pacific is true in a more marked degree of the Atlantic. We can not hope for improved or extended foreign trade unless we have our own ships. I do not mean Government-owned ships. I am opposed to Government ownership and voted against the shipping bill for this reason, and for the reason that the purchase of interned ships would invite international complications, of which we already have enough. In my judgment it is not a legitimate governmental function. I am in favor of encouraging private shipbuilding and shipowning, and in favor of removing the harassing restrictions that now govern the few ships flying our flag. Until this be done, and we have an adequate merchant marine that can compete with foreign-owned ships, we can not hope to get either the South American trade, which by every token should be ours, nor the near nor the far eastern trade, our share of which we can secure only by commercial conquest.

NO CHASING AFTER SHADOWS.

"But while an enlarged foreign trade is desirable, we should not seek it at the expense of our own vast home market. We should not lose the substance in chasing the shadow while we are crossing the difficult stream that lies in our pathway. Our supremacy does not lie beyond the seas now any more than in the past. Our supremacy now, as in the past, lies here in our own wonderful home market, to neglect which in our endeavor to reach out for foreign trade would be suicidal. It is now time, in my judgment, to inaugurate a policy of reciprocity, not the kind of reciprocity we attempted to negotiate with Canada, which Canada had the wisdom to reject and which proved politically disastrous to President Taft, but reciprocity of the Blaine sort—Pan American reciprocity—that would encourage the free interchange of strictly noncompetitive articles and products between this country and South American Republics. This policy might be made universal. We now admit free of duty, without a quid pro quo, certain products of South American countries which we do not produce. In the case of hides, we reduced the duty and Argentina at once absorbed the reduction by an export duty; we lost the revenue, Argentina got it, and the price of leather, instead of going down, went up.

"The present tariff law also whipsaws the manufacturer in many instances, placing a duty on his raw material and admitting free his finished product.

"All this could and should be corrected by reasonable rates of duty and by reciprocal arrangements.

"Put up the gates against the oncoming products of European cheap labor, not too high, but just high enough to protect our own people, and thus prepare industrially against an invasion of foreign-made goods, the blighting effect of whose competition would be as disastrous as would the shot and shell of an aggressive foreign enemy.

PROTECTIVE DUTY ESSENTIAL.

"It has been demonstrated that the high cost of living is due to economic causes other than the protective tariff. The fallacy of free trade as a remedy for the high cost of living is equally proven. Therefore the American policy of protection must first of all again be restored if we are to keep our home market and be in a position ourselves to invade the markets of the world with our surplus products. That there will be a surplus of products, both of foodstuffs and of manufactures, when the war is over there is little doubt. This, however, is not to be apprehended with fear. Prices have been abnormal. Producers, because of the foreign demand, have received toll at home as well as abroad, to their own great profit, and it will be time that our own people enjoy reduced prices by the operation of the law of supply and demand.

"The need of a protective duty on dyestuffs is apparent, even to low-tariff advocates. The textile industries in this country sorely need a source of domestic supply, so as to be independent of the foreign products. The war has brought this home to us vividly. And I indulge the hope, even though vain, that when this Congress provides for a tariff on dyestuffs, as seems imminent, it will also frame a protective-tariff law, one that will effectually prevent dumping and at the same time provide indirect and sufficient revenue, so that our people will be relieved of the onerous and, to a great extent, unnecessary direct taxes now imposed upon them, to say nothing of the harassing features attending their collection.

"In our efforts for industrial preparedness we should not forget the old story of the house built upon the sands and the house built upon the rock. Which shall it be for us? The shifting sands of untried economic policies, or those proven to be fallacious, the sands of socialism, and of a placid patriotism? Or shall it be upon the solid rock foundation of true and tried principles of business and of government, industrially honest and fair, and constitutionally sound and just? If upon the latter, neither the storms of European war aftermath, nor of domestic social unrest, will or can disturb its tranquillity or its progress and real prosperity."

I also append an editorial published in the Washington Post of July 13, 1916, entitled "The great American market":

THE GREAT AMERICAN MARKET.

The nations at war in Europe which can obtain supplies from abroad are a hungry market for war munitions and foodstuffs, as the huge exports from the United States show, but the best market in the world is the United States. Here there is a demand for everything under the sun, and money in abundance to pay for it.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find enterprising foreign nations rushing goods to America, in spite of the war. The total imports for the fiscal year ended last month were valued at $2,000,000,000, but since the calendar year began the imports have been increasing rapidly. They are now running at the rate of $3,000,000,000 a year. Unless conditions change on account of cessation of the war, or legislation by Congress, the producers of the United States will see competition from foreign producers in this market grow more and more severe. The foreigners are cutting into domestic producers at the rate of $1,000,000,000 a year.

For the 11 months ended last May the United Kingdom jumped its exports to the United States $42,000,000 over the same period of last year. Canada's exports to us were $41,000,000 more. The British East Indies increased their exports to us $79,000,000. Japan exported

$40,000,000 more than before. Australia and New Zealand's increase was $36,000,000. France sold $30,000,000 more to us than before, and Egypt's exports to America increased $17,000,000.

This is during war times, when the nations and possessions mentioned have been busy fighting or feeding their fighters. What will the shipments to us amount to when these nations turn from war and get down to business?

No account is taken of the flood of goods that will be sent from Germany, Austria, Italy, and other big producing nations.

There is no barrier now against admitting cheap foreign goods into the American market, to take away the gold that has been piled up. The American manufacturer and laborer have no means of competing with the foreigner unless the United States Government steps in and protects them. With American labor getting higher wages, the only thing the manufacturer can do is to cut wages or shut up shop.

The greatest pile of gold ever accumulated in the history of the world is in the United States. This gold has come here in payment for American goods and foodstuffs. Europe and Asia want this gold again, and they will get it by selling goods to us if they can. They will not be worried because the United States produces most of the goods offered by them. They will take advantage of the difference in wages and other costs of production, and will swamp the American market with cheap goods unless the tariff is raised against them.

The question that now confronts Americans is whether they will buy foreign goods because they are cheap, regardless of the fate of American industry and labor, or whether they will place foreigners on a level with American producers by raising the tariff rates, thus giving Americans a chance to sell in their own market, in spite of the fact that they pay higher wages.

When a foreign nation builds merchant submarines and sends them through a gantlet of warships to deliver goods to the American market it is evident that when peace comes there will be a tremendous effort to develop business here at the expense of American producers.

The administration and Congress should immediately take steps to guard against this threatened flood of cheap foreign goods. The prosperity of the country depends upon the activity of its industries. Capital must be enterprising and labor must be employed in production or the country will soon feel hard times. The American market is big enough to keep Americans busy meeting its demands, and this market is absolutely in control of the Government. But foreign markets are not under American control, competition in them is keener, and conditions are subject to change without notice.

The first duty of the United States is to preserve its own great market for its own people. After having done that, it can afford to make deals for extending American business in foreign markets.

## Patriotism—Pennsylvania Still the Keystone State—Grandmother Bierer's Patriotism.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ROBERT F. HOPWOOD,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 14, 1916.*

Mr. HOPWOOD. Mr. Speaker, from time to time we hear men, sometimes in high station, express doubts as to the patriotism of our citizens, or some particular section thereof.

As I looked out of my window this morning I saw a funeral procession passing by. It was a military pageant, the caskets being carried on gun carriages, and cavalrymen rode silently on either side. These that were being carried to their last resting place at beautiful Arlington were the boys who went singing to their death at Carrizal a few weeks ago. They were men of the black skin, but braver hearts never offered their all for their country's honor. May they not have died in vain.

Some classification of our citizens has been made at times, on account of their place of birth, and doubts cast upon the loyalty of men born in other lands.

I believe that in the day of our need 99 per cent of those who have sworn allegiance to our flag will be found true to the Stars and Stripes.

I live in a State and county where more foreign-born men make their homes than in any other section of our Union, and I can say that they are good citizens of Pennsylvania and of the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I noticed yesterday that Gen. Wood announced that 38,189 National Guardsmen from the Eastern Department had arrived at the Mexican border, and that 12,779 men and 662 officers were from Pennsylvania, more than one-third of the entire number.

Pennsylvania is still the Keystone State.

From that birthday of the Republic, July 4, 1776, when the old bell rang out in jubilant acclaim the glad tidings that had been so prophetically inscribed on it years before, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof," down to this one hundred and fortieth year of our independence, Pennsylvania's sons and daughters have always led the way in every struggle for liberty.

Those who dwell in this great Commonwealth, with its glorious mountains, its sparkling rivers, its fertile valleys, and its splendid citizenship, have imbibed a love for the Old Flag that floats as the symbol of all our forefathers fought for and bequeathed to us, that this generation is as ready as were the signers of the great charter of our liberties to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to perpetuate and hand down to succeeding generations the liberties we enjoy. As an illustration of the patriotism that dwells yonder in the grand old State, and with the hope that the younger States that sometimes like to criticize Pennsylvania may rather ponder upon and strive to emulate her virtues, let me read to you a clipping from one of my home papers:

MILITANT GRANDMOTHER HAS SWORD FOR SOLDIER GRANDSON WHO WINS IT.

The old sword which was presented to Capt. John Bierer in 1865 and with which his son, Maj. Everard Bierer, helped carve out the name of "The Fighting Tenth" for the boys of 1898, is hanging on the wall of Mrs. Julia Bierer's home, in Pittsburgh Street, ready for its patriotic owner to hand it over to the first of her grandsons who is entitled to wield it. Edward Bierer, a son of that Maj. Bierer, and a grandson of Capt. John Bierer, is now mobilized with the National Guard of West Virginia to which he belongs, and from all indications the old sword will receive its third baptism of fire on the Texas border.

Meanwhile the gentle, pink-cheeked, snowy-haired old lady, who has seen four generations go off to war, is not worrying in the least about the future. Almost a year ago, on the eve of her ninetieth birthday, Mrs. Bierer said: "I don't want war; but if they are needed I have eight grandsons whom I will give for the defense of our country. I would rather have them shot down when fighting for their country than be slaves."

War has no terror for Grandmother Bierer. The daughter of Henry Wathen, who served in the War of 1812; the wife of Capt. John Bierer, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers; the mother of Maj. Bierer, of the famous Tenth Regiment, and of Capt. Daniel M. Bierer, of Company C, of the same regiment, she is ready and willing to be the grandmother of soldier boys who may serve in the present conflict.

May the women of our country emulate the example of this noble American "grand" mother.

The long day of Grandmother Bierer's life is drawing to a close. May the closing day be as peaceful as that portrayed by Tennyson:

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea,

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;

For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar.

## Speech of President Wilson at Toledo, Ohio.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 14, 1916.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address by the President at Toledo, Ohio, on July 10, 1916.

The address is as follows:

THE PRESIDENT, AT TOLEDO, OHIO, JULY 10, 1916.

My fellow citizens, this is an entire surprise party to me. I did not know I was going to have the pleasure of stopping long enough to address any number of you, but I am very glad, indeed, to give you my very cordial greetings and to express my very great interest in this interesting city.

I think you will bear me witness, fellow citizens, that in advocating preparedness I have not been advocating hostility. You will bear me witness that I have been a persistent friend of peace, and that nothing but unmistakable necessity will drive me from that position. I think it is a matter of sincere congratulation to us that our neighbor Republic to the south shows evidences of at last believing in our friendly intentions; that while we must protect our border and see to it that our sovereignty is not impugned, we are ready to respect their sovereignty also, and to be their friends and not their enemies.

The real uses of intelligence, my fellow citizens, are the uses of peace. Any body of men can get up a row, but only an intelligent body of men can get together and cooperate. Peace is not

only a test of a nation's patience, it is also a test of whether the nation knows how to conduct its relations or not. It takes time to do intelligent things, and it does not take any time to do unintelligent things. I can lose my temper in a minute, but it takes me a long time to keep it; and I think that if you were to subject my Scotch-Irish blood to the proper kind of analysis you would find that it was fighting blood, and that it is pretty hard for a man born that way to keep quiet and do things in the way in which his intelligence tells him he ought to do them. I know just as well as that I am standing here that I represent and am the servant of a Nation that loves peace, and that loves it upon the proper basis; loves it not because it is afraid of anybody, loves it not because it does not understand and mean to maintain its rights, but because it knows that humanity is something in which we are all linked together, and that it behooves the United States, just as long as it is possible, to hold off from becoming involved in a strife which makes it all the more necessary that some part of the world should keep cool while all the rest of it is hot. Here in America, for the time being, are the spaces, the cool spaces of thoughtfulness, and so long as we are allowed to do so we will serve and not contend with the rest of our fellow men. We are the more inclined to do this because the very principles upon which our Government is based are principles of common counsel and not of contest.

So, my fellow citizens, I congratulate myself upon this opportunity, brief as it is, to give you my greetings and to convey to you my congratulations that the signs that surround us are all signs of peace.

## Rivers and Harbors Conference Report.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 11, 1916.*

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, having already expressed my views in some detail when the rivers and harbors bill was before the House, I will only briefly refer to the conference report under consideration to-day. This report increases the bill from $39,608,410, as it passed the House, to $42,886,065. Having opposed the original bill, calling for the smaller sum, I am naturally opposed to the conference report carrying the larger amount.

The increase of over three millions certainly can not be justified by the nature of the items where the increases are made. There are, however, three items in the conference report which are well worthy of the support of Congress, namely, the appropriations for New London Harbor, Conn.; San Diego Harbor, Cal., and Weymouth Fore River, Mass. These three items total $590,000.

Let me call attention to a few of the items we are accepting. For instance, the amount for the Altamaha, Oconee, and Ocmulgee Rivers, in Georgia, was not only left in the bill, but was increased. The absolute lack of water and necessarily the lack of navigation on these streams was clearly shown when the bill was under discussion. The advocates of the appropriation were even obliged to secure a foreign-built engine for the one boat on one of the streams in order to have it draw a small enough amount of water to be used at all.

Pascagoula Harbor, Miss., has a liberal increase in the amount of its appropriation. The item for the Passes at the mouth of the Mississippi is increased $400,000. The item for the Red River, Ark., is materially increased. The item for the Arkansas River, which has received an adverse report from the Board of Engineers, is not only left in the bill, but is increased by $25,000.

These are examples of the extra slices of "pork" put into the conference report. It has been clearly shown that "pork" abounds in the original bill, and the slices are larger and more palatable in the bill before us to-day. It has been frequently said that in certain sections it was necessary to secure all the appropriations possible, as this would be the best rivers and harbors bill. I hope that is not the case, but nevertheless a change in the method of making the allotments must come about in the near future or the great rivers and harbors work of the country will be seriously hampered.

We should not permit of unmeritorious projects being mixed with good projects and thereby destroying the entire work of rivers and harbors improvements. In these days of active effort to secure additional revenue to meet the unexpected expenditures of Government, those in whose hands the responsibility rests at the present time should not forget that old adage, "A dollar saved is a dollar gained." We could gain many millions by saving them from this "pork" barrel rivers and harbors bill.

I am heartily in favor of a continuation of rivers and harbors improvement, but I am just as strongly opposed to securing money from the Federal Treasury under the guise of rivers and harbors work which absolutely comes within the accepted definition of "pork."

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. C. C. DILL,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 14, 1916.*

Mr. DILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks on the subject of the revenue bill just passed by the House, I desire to insert in the RECORD a copy of a speech delivered by Mr. John F. McCarron, of Farmington, Ill., before the National Democratic Women's Club of America at the Ebbitt House, Washington, D. C., March 31, 1916.

The address is as follows:

For the past three years the Democratic Party has been in control of the Government, and shortly that party will be called upon by the American people for an account of its stewardship. It seems to me to be the duty of every loyal Democrat to assist in rendering that account. With that object in view it is necessary to review the work of the administration since it took control of the Government in all its departments on March 4, 1913, in order to be able to show how the party's pledges have been redeemed.

With your kind indulgence I shall call to your attention to-night seven of the large achievements of the Wilson administration. They are the tariff, currency act, Clayton antitrust law, Federal Trade Commission act, seamen's act, the building of a Government railroad in Alaska, and the foreign policy of the administration. I shall briefly point out the important features of each.

UNDERWOOD TARIFF.

Realizing the important and paramount duty resting upon him our great President on April 8, 1913, called the Congress together in extraordinary session to enact into law at the earliest possible moment a revision of the tariff. With dispatch and thoroughness a Democratic tariff law was placed upon the statute books that produced in 1914, $23,796,313 more revenue than was produced under the Payne-Aldrich Republican protective-tariff law in 1912.

It will be said that the 1914 receipts were aided by the retention of the Payne rates on wool until December 1, 1913, and on woolens till January 1, 1914, and on sugar until March 1, 1914. In order, therefore, to consider a period, when the Payne wool and woolen rates were not in effect, we will compare the customs and income-tax receipts from January 1 to August 1, 1913, with those from January 1 to August 1, 1914. This comparison will show that the receipts under the present tariff law during the aforementioned period exceeded those for the same period under the act of 1909 by $17,000,000.

Customs receipts, January 1 to August 1, 1913, compared with those from January 1 to August 1, 1914:

*Payne-Aldrich law, 1913.*

| | |
|---|---|
| January | $29,334,124.09 |
| February | 27,605,115.83 |
| March | 27,457,489.20 |
| April | 23,693,966.36 |
| May | 20,434,749.21 |
| June | 24,417,650.12 |
| July | 27,806,654.54 |
| Total | 180,749,749.35 |

*Underwood law, 1914.*

| | |
|---|---|
| January | $23,528,079.83 |
| February | 17,609,603.70 |
| March | 25,927,212.90 |
| April | 22,232,766.57 |
| May | 20,800,573.25 |
| June | 23,863,859.82 |
| July | 22,988,465.04 |
| Total | 156,950,561.11 |

Corporation-tax receipts, January 1 to August 1, 1913, compared with income and corporation-tax receipts from January 1 to August 1, 1914:

*Payne-Aldrich law, 1913.*

| | |
|---|---|
| January | $306,683.84 |
| February | 519,234.28 |
| March | 992,642.62 |
| April | 773,581.83 |
| May | 1,235,394.37 |
| June | 28,860,275.29 |
| July | 1,853,298.88 |
| Total | 34,481,111.12 |
| Total customs and corporation-tax receipts | 215,230,860.47 |

*Underwood law, 1914.*

| | |
|---|---|
| January | $384,016.03 |
| February | 778,762.88 |
| March | 1,008,432.94 |
| April | 1,497,626.39 |
| May | 3,955,785.70 |
| June | 60,948,044.10 |
| July | 7,133,640.62 |
| Total | 75,706,308.66 |
| Total customs, corporation, and income-tax receipts | 232,656,869.77 |

The Underwood law brought into existence the income-tax law which places the burden of taxation upon those who are able to bear it, and is a just and equitable tax upon wealth. This provision of the tariff law in all probability will produce this year $100,000,000. Recently Senator UNDERWOOD showed conclusively upon the floor of the Senate that the Democratic tariff law is superior to the Payne-Aldrich Republican tariff as a revenue-producing measure. It has not been shown how much this law is capable of earning under normal conditions as it has never had a fair chance, due to the war in Europe. All fair-minded people concede this. Of course the Republicans do not agree as to this, for they are seeking an issue, as they find it hard in these fruitful Democratic times to find one, and they rant and howl about the Democratic tariff and endeavor to show that it is a failure. So far they have been unable to present a bill of particulars that will stand the test of public opinion. A demurrer can always be filed, and when the record is opened the old Republican bogy of calamity stands up, but he is almost dead and not even a Republican protective-tariff pulmotor can revive him. When the roll was called on final passage of the bill in the Senate, 42 Democrats, 1 Republican, and 1 Progressive voted for it. In the House, 274 Democrats, 2 Republicans, 4 Progressives, and 1 Independent were recorded in favor of it.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

Probably the most important act of the administration has been the enactment of the Federal reserve act. I read just the other day in one of the leading and widely read publications of the country that the Federal reserve act is probably the most important act of the last 20 years. I think it is safe to say that it is one of the greatest legislative acts of the last 50 years.

From the very beginning it established confidence in the banking system of the country and gave to the United States sound financial legislation, beneficial alike to the banker and depositor. By providing an expansible, elastic currency based on commercial paper, with the credit of the United States behind the reserve currency issued by the Federal Reserve Board, it insures a safe protection to the finances of the country. So well did the Democrats perform the work in perfecting this act that on the final passage in the House the bill received the votes of 248 Democrats, 29 Republicans, 9 Progressives, and 1 Independent. In the Senate 47 Democrats, 6 Republicans, and 1 Independent voted for it.

CLAYTON ANTITRUST LAW.

It was found necessary to amend the Sherman antitrust law, and the Democratic Party, with effective dispatch, enacted into law certain amendments that seek to prevent the creation of illegal trusts, conspiracies, and monopolies. Discrimination in prices for the purpose of wrongfully injuring or destroying the business of competition is prohibited. Various monopoly promoting contracts, holding companies, and interlocking directorates are made illegal. Labor is exempted from prosecution under it as a commodity class. Organized labor had been fighting for years for this just legislation, and it was the Democratic Party who placed it upon the statute books. On final passage in the Senate 38 Democrats, 7 Republicans, and 1 Progressive voted for the bill. In the House the vote is recorded, as favoring—233 Democrats, 40 Republicans, and 14 Progressives.

FEDERAL TRADE-COMMISSION BILL.

The purpose of this commission is clearly set forth in the majority report of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I give it in part:

"The bill provides for an interstate-trade commission in accordance with the views of the President expressed in his message to Congress on the subject of trusts and monopolies. The recommendation of the President in that message was for the creation of such a commission as an instrument of information and publicity and as a clearing house for the fact by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided. Moreover, he suggested in that message that the commission ought to be made capable of assisting the courts in the shaping of corrective processes."

The vote in favor of this bill in the Senate was 41 Democrats and 12 Republicans. In the House it passed without a yea-and-nay vote being taken.

THE SEAMEN'S ACT.

Another important act is the seamen's bill, which provides for the safety at sea of passengers and crew, and it is in line with the other great humanitarian acts of the administration. Its importance is summed up in the words of Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor:

"In the struggle of the centuries gone by, step by step all classes of labor save one have achieved a measure of freedom, until in this country workmen are no longer compelled to work against their will or by physical force to fulfill a civic contract of labor. The single exception is the seamen of the world, including those of the United States. After a legislative struggle of more 20 years the seamen's bill was enacted into law by the Sixty-third Congress, and the last vestige of serfdom by legal requirement was thereby wiped from our statute books. The seamen are free men now and are able to stand erect before the world, the owners of themselves and their own labor power.

"This act not only says to the American shipowner that American seamen shall be free to leave their vessel when the vessel is in a port in this country, but it says to the foreign shipowner, 'When your seamen come into American ports, the very fact that they are in our waters and under our jurisdiction makes them free men.'"

This bid passed both Houses without a yea-and-nay vote being taken.

ALASKAN RAILROAD.

The appropriation of $35,000,000 for the building of a railroad in Alaska will go down in history as one of the great acts of the administration. The necessity of this legislation is seen in the well-chosen and timely words of President Wilson to the Congress in December, 1913. He said, in part:

"Alaska as a storehouse should be unlocked. One key to it is a system of railways. These the Government should itself build and administer, and the ports and terminals it should itself control in the interest of all who wish to use them for the service and development of the country and its people."

On final passage in the House 148 Democrats, 66 Republicans, 12 Progressives, 5 Progressive Republicans, and 1 independent voted for it. In the Senate 30 Democrats and 16 Republicans are recorded in favor of it.

I have pointed out the most important legislation that has been enacted up to this time. And I have shown by the record that quite a number of Republicans in both Houses thought so well of Democratic legislation that they voted for it. Those Republicans were men who saw the light and voted their convictions. In view of the splendid example shown by those gentlemen it is earnestly believed that thousands of other Republicans have seen the light and will cast their votes at the polls this fall in support of the Democratic Party in approval of the splendid legislation placed upon the statute books in behalf of the interests of the whole people.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Let me call your attention to another important feature of the Democratic administration, and it is a thought that is constantly in the minds of the people, "President Wilson has kept our country out of war."

Criticism may be hurled at the President, but the fact remains that the diplomacy of Woodrow Wilson has maintained the honor of the United States and kept our country out of the terrible cataclysm of the European Continent. This is the time when every true American stands behind the President and backs him to the limit as he informs the world:

"America asks nothing for herself but what she has a right to ask for humanity itself."

God grant that our able and patriotic President shall be given the power to continue to guide safely the ship of state in its stormy and turbulent voyage. It is the duty of every citizen in these trying days to heed the call of our great President which he uttered in those eloquent words:

"I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

A SUGGESTION.

My friends, before I close, I desire to call your attention to a very important matter. It is distressing to observe that little or nothing has been done to place before the public the splendid achievements of this administration. We owe it to the people to inform them of the splendid character of legislation that has been enacted and the efficient and economical policies that have been worked out and placed in operation. The other day a certain official told me of the actual saving of $1,000,000 to his bureau last year without detriment to the service, and yet, I dare say, very few people know of it.

If we adopt a systematic method of getting information of the work of this administration to the public you may be quite sure that there will be an overwhelming Democratic sentiment in the country when election day comes around.

The press of the country outside of the large cities is eager and anxious to lay the news of Democratic achievement before the public. Give them the copy and they'll print it.

Back in the country where the real sentiment of America is made there are alert citizens watching for the news. They are the people who not alone read but digest the doings of the administration.

A way is open to you to proceed to bring this about. I'll tell you how to do it. Get your Members and your friends to write to the national Democratic committee and the national congressional committee and ask them to get busy. Let those two organizations be the pivot around which the work shall be centered. Start now and keep writing and interviewing them until they begin in earnest. This work is, in my opinion, one of the most important things you can do at this time. I hope you will act on my suggestion.

In conclusion, let me say that it is the duty of every Democrat to put forth his or her best effort in the great cause of Democracy which has for its underlying principles equal and exact justice to all, in order that the grand old flag may be always the symbol of right and justice.

## Compensation to Certain Families of the Drafted Forces of the United States.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM H. CARTER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 13, 1916.*

Mr. CARTER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in favor of legislation providing compensation for certain families of the drafted forces of the United States. This is a meritorious measure, which surely must appeal to the patriotism of every Member of this House, and it was with much real pleasure that I voted in favor of this bill.

I voted for this measure not only from the standpoint of duty but because I know personally many of these men who are now down on our border, and I know what their families will suffer unless we pass a measure of this sort.

I was very proud of the fact that my native State demonstrated her patriotism, as she has always done in the past.

It is up to us right here in this Chamber to pass this bill and therefore assure the brave boys who are at the front that they need not fear for the welfare of their families during their absence.

A great many of the boys of my district, members of the National Guard, are laboring men, and their only source of income was from their salaries. These men who left their families, gave up their business, and went to the front to uphold the dignity and honor of our flag display a courage and patriotism that should be an inspiration to every citizen living under our flag.

Not only does this great sacrifice on their part call forth our commendation, but it demands substantive recognition. This great country of ours, the richest in the world, is well able to finance this legislation.

If we fail to pass this legislation, it would show ingratitude on our part.

This Nation has never in the past hesitated with generosity toward its defenders.

I have voted for every pension bill that has come before me for consideration this session. I have voted for the bill to pension widows of veterans of the War with Spain, the bill providing pensions for the Indian War veterans, and also voted to increase the pensions of the widows of Civil War veterans from $12 to $20 a month.

I have always endeavored to help deserving and needy constituents of my district in endeavoring to secure pensions for them or to assist in having their pensions increased by a special act.

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**The La Follette Amendment Limiting the Flow of the Sanitary District of Chicago to 250,000 Cubic Feet Flow per Minute. The Health and Safety of the People of Chicago Involved.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, June 12, 1916.*

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the amendment to the rivers and harbors bill, known as the La Follette amendment, vitally affects the lives and health of the people of the State of Illinois. It directly affects the people of the city of Chicago and its environs—half the population of the State, two million and a half of people—who depend upon Lake Michigan for their domestic water supply. The amendment, among other things, provides:

*Provided further*, That the amount of water to be diverted from Lake Michigan through this system of waterways shall never exceed the rate of 250,000 cubic feet per minute.

This amendment was adopted by the Senate with but little consideration. The far-reaching effect of the amendment requires the fullest consideration by Congress, everyone approaching the proposition with an open mind. Untrue statements, designed to create prejudices, are everywhere current. This matter is one which affects not only all the people of Illinois, but the people of the entire country. The health of the people of a great metropolitan city like Chicago is a matter about which all must be concerned.

During a single year people from all parts of the United States and the world visit the city of Chicago on business or for pleasure. If the health conditions in that city are bad, those persons who come to the city are liable to be infected with disease, not only injuring their own lives and health but endangering the lives and health of those with whom they may come in contact upon leaving the city. The death rate from typhoid fever for 100,000 of people is a sort of a thermometer or gauge by which the general health of all the people within a particular locality may be determined. It is well established that for each increase in the death rate from typhoid fever it may be presumed that there is an increase in the death rate from other diseases, in the ratio of one for typhoid to three or four for other disease. This relation was worked out by Allen Hazen and is known as "Hazen's Theorem." This is well recognized by sanitarians.

Prior to the opening of the drainage channel, which diverts from Lake Michigan a certain amount of water for each 100,000 of the population of Chicago and its immediate environs—20,000 cubic feet per minute for each 100,000 of the population—there were great epidemics of typhoid fever, and at times the death rate per 100,000 reached as high as 175 per year, and for the 10-year period immediately preceding the opening of the drainage channel the death rate was approximately 65 per 100,000 per year. Since the opening of the drainage channel the death rate from typhoid fever has steadily diminished, so that for the 10 years following the rate was approximately 18 per 100,000 of population per year, and for the last three years it has been below 7 per year per 100,000—less than that of any city within the United States.

Permit me now to go back and trace the history of the creation of the works necessary to protect the water supply of the people of Chicago, to show you with what deliberation, caution, and intelligence the people of that city went about it in order to protect their health and lives from the ravages of typhoid and other water-borne diseases.

In building the drainage channel and diverting the water from Lake Michigan the State of Illinois was merely exercising the rights granted it by the act of Congress of March 2, 1827, under which the United States granted to the State of Illinois a certain amount of land for the purpose of aiding the State "in opening a canal to unite the waters of the Illinois River with those of Lake Michigan."

Under that act the State constructed the Illinois & Michigan Canal, extending from the Chicago River to the Desplaines River and from thence to Utica. The topography of the earth in this locality is such that the building of this canal to draw water from Lake Michigan for drainage and navigation purposes is ideal, for the Continental Divide, separating the great basin of the Mississippi from that of the St. Lawrence, whose summit is only 6 or 8 feet above the normal surface elevation of the water of Lake Michigan, is distant from the mouth of the Chicago River westerly only a few miles. To cut through this divide with a canal was an easy matter.

In 1889, when the general assembly adopted the act under which the sanitary district of Chicago has constructed the works by which the water is diverted from Lake Michigan, provision was made for the replacement of that portion of the Illinois & Michigan Canal between Joliet and Chicago with the main drainage channel of the sanitary district thereafter constructed, so that in building the channel the State assumed to act, as it had a right to do, under and pursuant to the provisions of the act of Congress of March 2, 1827, and the Supreme Court of the United States, in the famous case of State of Missouri *v.* State of Illinois (200 U. S., 496, 526), in which case the State of Missouri sought to enjoin the sanitary district from operating the main drainage channel, has put the same construction upon the act in the following language:

> Some stress was laid on the proposition that Chicago is not on the natural watershed of the Mississippi because of a rise of a few feet between the Desplaines and the Chicago Rivers. We perceive no reason for a distinction on this ground. And if under any circumstances they could affect the case, it is enough to say that Illinois brought Chicago into the Mississippi watershed in pursuance not only of its own statutes, but also of the acts of Congress of March 30, 1822 (ch. 14, 3 Stat., 659), and March 2, 1827 (ch. 51, 4 Stat., 234), the validity of which is not disputed.

Aside from the question as to whether Congress has directly authorized the construction of these works, the acquiescence of the Government in the course pursued estops it now from objecting to the withdrawal of the water to the extent of the capacity of the drainage channel—12,000 cubic feet of water per second.

In section 16 of the act of 1836 of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, which provided for the construction of the Illinois & Michigan Canal, there is the following language:

> The said canal shall not be less than 45 feet wide at the surface, 30 feet at the base, and of sufficient depth to insure navigation of at least 4 feet, to be suitable for ordinary canal-boat navigation, and to be supplied with water from Lake Michigan and such other sources as the canal commissioners may think proper.

At the time Illinois was providing for the construction of this canal there were two plans considered for that portion of the canal between Joliet and Chicago known as the "summit level." One was known as the "deep-cut plan" and the other the "shallow-cut plan." By the "deep-cut plan" water to feed the canal was to be drawn entirely from Lake Michigan by gravity flow, and by the "shallow-cut plan" it was to be drawn from the Desplaines River and the Little Calumet River. The "deep-cut plan" was originally adopted, and the State entered upon the construction of the canal upon that plan, but about 1846 it was found that the State could not raise sufficient money to construct the canal on that plan, and it adopted the "shallow-cut plan," by which the water to feed the canal was obtained

by means of the Calumet feeder, which extended from the canal at or near Sag, Ill., to the Little Calumet River near what is now Blue Island, Ill. But almost immediately after the completion of the canal, in 1848, because of the filthy condition of the Chicago River, agitation was initiated to draw water from Lake Michigan through the canal for the purpose of cleansing the Chicago River, and pumps were installed at Bridgeport, where the canal connects with the Chicago River, for this purpose. In 1871 the canal was deepened and completed on the "deep-cut plan" by the city of Chicago at an expense of $3,000,000, in order that a greater amount of water might be withdrawn from Lake Michigan to cleanse the Chicago River and to keep the sewage of the city from discharging through it into Lake Michigan, and to prevent to some extent sewage from polluting the water supply. This condition existed until approximately 1881, when, pursuant to an act of the general assembly there was constructed, at the expense of the city of Chicago, pumps at Bridgeport by which a great deal more water was to be and was afterwards withdrawn through the canal from Lake Michigan for the purpose of keeping more sewage out of Lake Michigan, reaching it by way of the Chicago River. In the meantime the city of Chicago had been making phenomenal increase in its population.

Typhoid epidemics were frequent, and the condition of the Lake Michigan water supply, produced by sewage flowing into it, was unbearable. The Chicago River was a seething mass of septic sludge, giving forth most unspeakable odors, and upon its surface it was stated one could walk. In the middle of the eighties every one reached the conclusion that some comprehensive method must be devised to protect the lives and health of the people. So in 1887, pursuant to ordinance of the city council of the city of Chicago, there was established the drainage and sewerage commission "to report on the whole matter committed to it in the most full and comprehensive manner, with maps, plans, and diagrams complete, and accompanying the report with estimates of the first costs and annual requirements for the maintenance of the system proposed." Upon this commission there were the most eminent engineers of that time—Messrs. Rudolph Hering, Benezette Williams, and Samuel G. Artingstall. The commission made its report in January, 1887, and recommended the construction of works now practically completed and operated by the sanitary district. Pursuant to the recommendation of the commission the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, on May 29, 1889, passed the act under which the sanitary district of Chicago was created, and it has constructed and placed in operation the works involved in this so-called La Follette amendment. Immediately after the passage of the act the entire matter was considered by the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, and reports with reference to same and the effect of the act and the construction of the works provided for thereunder were published in the Chief of Engineer's reports for the year 1890, and in each year subsequently in the Chief of Engineer's reports the progress of the construction work and the effect of such work were reported to Congress. In 1895 a commission of United States Army Engineers, of which Gen. O. M. Poe was chairman, made a report to the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers, which report was sent to Congress stating the effects upon the levels of the Great Lakes of the proposed withdrawal of water by means of the works to be constructed. In order that the works might be of any use to the people of Chicago it was necessary that the amount of water provided by the statutes of Illinois—20,000 cubic feet of water per minute for each 100,000 of population—should be withdrawn from Lake Michigan.

During the years of construction from 1890 to 1900, and subsequently until approximately 1907, no objection was ever raised to the withdrawal of the water because of its supposed effect upon the levels of the Great Lakes. On the contrary, the Secretary of War, beginning with the year 1896, granted numerous permits for the construction of part of the works, the operation of which is now sought to be limited; and finally on May 8, 1899, the Secretary of War, pursuant to the recommendation not only of the Chief of Engineers, but also of the resident engineer at Chicago, gave to the sanitary district a permit to open and place in operation the sanitary district channel, which was in these words:

> Now, therefore, the Chief of Engineers having consented thereto, this is to certify that the Secretary of War hereby gives permission to the said sanitary district of Chicago to open the channel constructed, and cause the waters of Chicago River to flow into the same, subject to the following conditions:
>
> 1. That it be distinctly understood that it is the intention of the Secretary of War to submit the questions connected with the work of the sanitary district of Chicago to Congress for consideration and final action, and that this permit shall be subject to such action as may be taken by Congress.
>
> 2. That if, at any time, it become apparent that the current created by such drainage works in the south and main branches of the Chicago River be unreasonably obstructed to navigation or injurious to property, the Secretary of War reserves the right to close said discharge through said channel, or to modify it to such an extent as may be demanded by navigation and property interests along said Chicago River and its south branch.
>
> 3. That the sanitary district of Chicago must assume all responsibility for damages to property and navigation interests by reason of the introduction of a current in Chicago River.

The enumeration of specific conditions upon which the flow of water through the drainage canal might be limited by the Secretary of War excludes, according to well-known rules of construction, the injection of any other condition, such as the effect of the flow upon the levels of the Great Lakes, the only objection now being raised. The condition as to the effect upon the lake levels was not considered important and must be treated as waived, for the effect which the withdrawal of the water might have upon the lake levels was a subject of discussion, not only among engineers of the United States Army, and, as before stated, the commission of which Gen. O. M. Poe was chairman, who made specific report, but it was a subject of discussion by a number of eminent engineers of the country, as appears by the Transactions of the Western Society of Engineers for the year 1890.

The reason for the injection of the condition with reference to the effect upon navigation in the Chicago River arose because of the fact that at that time the Chicago River was narrow, tortuous, and only 17 feet deep; and it was recognized that in order to carry the required amount of water through the Chicago River without injury to navigation it would be necessary to widen and deepen that river, and the Secretary of War wisely desired to control the flow until such time as the river would be placed in condition to form a feed channel for the main channel of the sanitary district, without injury to navigation. Accordingly in 1900 the sanitary district of Chicago adopted a project for deepening and widening the Chicago River from its mouth to its junction with the drainage channel, and on July 11, 1900, the Secretary of War approved the plans presented by the sanitary district for such improvement. And again in 1902 detailed and more specific plans for such improvement were approved by the Secretary of War. The purpose of the improvement was stated. Pursuant to the plans so approved by the Secretary of War the sanitary district has practically completed the improvement, whereby the Chicago River has been widened to 200 feet at all points and deepened from 17 to 26 feet; so that now it has sufficient cross-sectional capacity for the flow of water, and the current in the Chicago River with the water required by the sanitary district law flowing through it does not and will not injure navigation and will not exceed one mile and a quarter per hour. The sanitary district has expended approximately $12,000,000 in this improvement, and it was all done for the purpose of removing the objection made to the flow because of injury to navigation in the Chicago River.

Prior to the time the sanitary district completed the improvement of the Chicago River the Secretary of War, upon objections being made by navigation interests upon the Chicago River, limited the flow of water from time to time, and finally the last limitation was made December 5, 1901; but at that time the river had not been improved.

Now, it so happens that after the people of Chicago have expended, with the knowledge, acquiescence, and cooperation of the United States Government, not only the money necessary to construct the various channels and works, but also the money necessary to improve the Chicago River, all aggregating over $80,000,000, it is sought to limit the flow upon a ground not considered by the Government important and which was waived while this money was being expended. One can not conceive of anything more unfair than the position which the United States is now taking with reference to the operation of these works. Such action by any individual in his dealings between himself and his neighbor or his business associates would entitle him to ostracism by his fellow men.

The sanitary district of Chicago has always considered that it has the legal right to flow for the people of Chicago water required by the sanitary-district act, notwithstanding the supposed limitation upon the flow of water by the Secretary of War on December 5, 1901, because—

1. The reason for such limitation has been entirely removed, as before pointed out.

2. The United States has acquiesced in the construction and operation of the canal.

3. The safety of the people of the State demands the use of the water, which use does not unreasonably, if at all, affect navigation interests.

Nevertheless it sought in 1912 to obtain the removal by the Secretary of War of the limitation of 1901 upon the flow. The Secretary of War, however, refused. Finally the Chief of Engineers in February, 1913, wrote a letter to the sanitary district stating that measurements had been made of the flow of water, which measurements indicated that the sanitary district was withdrawing from Lake Michigan more than 250,000 cubic feet of water per minute—approximately 450,000 cubic feet per minute—and the Chief of Engineers asked the sanitary district what it proposed to do about it. Thereupon and almost immediately thereafter the attorney for the sanitary district had a conference with the Chief of Engineers regarding the matter, at which conference the position of the sanitary district was stated—that as a matter of law and equity the district was entitled to flow for the people of Chicago the water required by the sanitary-district law.

There was also discussed an injunction suit then pending, United States *v.* Sanitary District, district court of the United States, northern district of Illinois, instituted in 1908, involving a channel which is an adjunct to the main channel of the district, in which suit a great deal of expert and other evidence had been presented. All this evidence would be useful and material in a suit which might be instituted by the United States to enjoin the sanitary district from flowing more water than 250,000 cubic feet per minute. The sanitary district, through its attorney, then offered to stipulate that such evidence might be used in any new proceedings instituted by the Government involving that question, and that it would cooperate with the Government to try both cases involving both questions to the end that an early decision might be had. The position of the sanitary district and its offer in connection with the new suit instituted was set forth in a letter dated March 24, 1913, to Maj. Bromwell, which letter was thereafter transmitted to the Chief of Engineers, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney General of the United States. In accordance with said conference and letter the United States in October following filed its bill for an injunction in the district court of the United States, northern district of Illinois, eastern division, to enjon the sanitary district "from diverting or abstracting any waters from Lake Michigan over and above or in excess of 250,000 cubic feet of water per minute, as already authorized by said Secretary of War" The sanitary district and the Government then immediately proceeded to take testimony in the cause, and the entire matter is now submitted to the court and is awaiting decision. The record contains approximately 6,000 printed pages, and the printed record of the testimony and evidence taken, index to same, and briefs, is contained in approximately 10 volumes. The Government and the sanitary district have expended upwards of $100,000 in the trial of the suit since the arrangement was made to submit the questions involved to the court. I ask you again, is it fair for the Government now while this matter is on hearing in one of the courts of the United States, and is being taken care of by the Attorney General, to do anything which would prejudice or affect the rights of either party to the litigation.

Some statements have emanated from those opposing the diversion of water through the Chicago Drainage Channel, to the effect that the allowance of such diversion violates treaty obligations between the United States and Great Britain. I believe that the facts show the contrary, and that a fair construction of the treaty of 1909 with reference to boundary waters, under which the International Joint Commission was established, clearly shows that the treaty expressly recognized the validity of this diversion.

On June 13, 1902, Congress passed an act, section 4 of which is, in part, as follows:

That the President of the United States is hereby requested to invite the Government of Great Britain to join in the formation of an international commission, to be composed of three members of the United States and three who shall represent the interests of the Dominion of Canada, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report upon the conditions and uses of the waters adjacent to the boundary lines between the United States and Canada, including all of the waters of the lakes and rivers whose natural outlet is by the St. Lawrence River to the Atlantic Ocean.

Great Britain acted and accepted the invitation extended by the President pursuant to said act, and there was established in or about the year 1902 what is known as the "International Waterway Commission." This commission made investigations and reports upon numerous and various matters relating to the uses of, obstructions in, and diversions of boundary waters. Each year the commission issued a report known as the "progress report," and from time to time special printed reports were issued upon important matters.

The treaty of 1909 involves only matters investigated and under the jurisdiction of the International Waterways Commission. The basis of the treaty was composed of facts established and recommendations made by the International Waterways Commission. In case of any ambiguity in the meaning of the treaty, it must be construed in connection with the reports of this commission.

On January 4, 1907, the International Waterways Commission made an exhaustive report entitled "Report upon the Chicago Drainage Canal by the commission." The report was signed by all the members of the commission from Canada, as well as by the United States commissioners. The history of the creation of the drainage channel, its operation and effects, were thoroughly discussed. Among other things, it is stated in the report:

(G) The Illinois law, which authorized the canal, required a flow of 333 cubic feet per second for each 100,000 of population in order to render the sewage inoffensive. This amount of dilution is probably not excessive. * * *

(N) The diversion of large bodies of water from Lake Michigan for supplying the drainage canal has not been authorized by Congress, but there appears to be a tacit general agreement that no objection will be made to the diversion of 10,000 cubic feet per second as originally planned. * * *

43. * * * We therefore recommend that the Government of the United States prohibit the diversion of more than 10,000 cubic feet per second through the Chicago Drainage Canal.

This commission of representative men, the personnel of which is made up of three members representing the United States and three members representing the Dominion of Canada, did not recommend a limitation of below 10,000 second-feet. Canada can not now gracefully make objection to this diversion.

Moreover, the treaty of 1909 provided for the equal diversion of waters of international rivers, and in only one instance was the diversion unequally divided, namely, the waters of the Niagara River for power purposes. With reference to that matter, article 5 of the treaty provided as follows:

The United States may authorize and permit the diversion within the State of New York of the waters of the said river—Niagara River—above the Falls of Niagara for power purposes not exceeding in the aggregate a daily diversion at the rate of 20,000 cubic feet of water per second.

The United Kingdom, by the Dominion of Canada or the Province of Ontario, may authorize and permit the diversion within the Province of Ontario of the waters of said river above the Falls of Niagara for power purposes not exceeding in the aggregate a daily diversion at the rate of 36,000 cubic feet of water per second.

There has never been one single reason advanced why the United States should have been limited by this treaty to 20,000 cubic feet per second and Canada given 36,000 cubic feet, except because of the diversion at Chicago for sanitary purposes; and it must be assumed that the difference in favor of Canada was provided for in the treaty for that reason alone, particularly because the diversion of other international river waters was made equal.

Article 6 of the treaty provided:

The following order of precedence shall be observed among the various uses enumerated hereinafter for these waters, and no use shall be permitted which tends materially to conflict with or restrain any other use which is given preference over it in this order of precedence.

1. Uses for domestic and sanitary purposes;
2. Uses for navigation, including the service of canals for the purposes of navigation;
3. Uses for power and for irrigation purposes.

The foregoing provisions shall not apply to or disturb any existing uses of boundary waters on either side of the boundary.

Article 2 of the treaty provided:

* * * but it is agreed that any interference with or diversion from their natural channel of such waters on either side of the boundary, resulting in any injury on the other side of the boundary, shall give rise to the same rights and entitle the injured parties to the same legal remedies as if such injury took place in the country where such diversion or interference occurs; but this provision shall not apply to cases already existing or to cases expressly covered by special agreement between the parties hereto."

The International Waterways Commission has made a complete report, as heretofore stated, upon this subject and treated the diversion to at least 10,000 cubic feet per second as established and existing. Besides, in 1909 the main channel of the sanitary district was entirely completed and had been in operation for nine years. The sanitary district law required the withdrawal of water from time to time to the capacity of the channel as the population increased. The population of the district then was approximately 2,300,000, requiring a flow of 460,000 c. f. m. Fourteen thousand cubic feet per second is the capacity of the main channel.

The diversion of 1,000 cubic feet per second through the Illinois and Michigan Canal had long existed, and the pumpage of Chicago through intakes for domestic supply amounting to approximately 1,000 cubic feet per second, making 16,000 cubic feet per second, which equals the difference between the diversion allowed for Canada and that allowed for the United States under the treaty.

In 1906 the General Assembly of Illinois in special session by joint resolution memorialized Congress and the President of the

United States, protesting against any limitation of the amount of water to be withdrawn from Lake Michigan through the Sanitary District Canal by treaty between the United States and Canada or by any act of Congress. The treaty was then under consideration. The resolution, among other things, provided:

Whereas the amount of water to be diverted for domestic and sanitary purposes should under no circumstances be limited by a treaty with a foreign power, or by any legislation to be enacted by Congress, thus placing the sanitary district of Chicago—organized to preserve the health of the people—upon the same plane as commercial enterprises organized for private gain: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the State of Illinois convened in extraordinary session (the house of representatives concurring therein)*, That in any treaty to be hereafter entered into no statement whatever binding the trustees of the sanitary district of Chicago shall be made, and the local conditions of such canal and the volume of water to be accommodated therein should be left wholly and solely to the regulation of the Federal Government, as the conditions of the canal's drainage may require.

It was further provided that copies of the joint resolution should be sent to the Congress of the United States, the President of the United States, and the Secretary of State. It must be presumed that, in view of the solemn action taken by the General Assembly of the sovereign State of Illinois in regard to a matter particularly under negotiation with a foreign government, the wish of the people of the State as expressed by the resolution would be carried out, unless there are some expressed provisions in the treaty to the contrary.

In view of the International Waterways Commission report, providing for a diversion by the Dominion of Canada of the waters of the Niagara River to an amount in excess of that provided for the United States, which excess is equal to the diversion required by the sanitary district and the people of Chicago, and in view of the provisions of the treaty that it should not affect in any way existing diversions, and in view of the protest by the representatives of the people of the State of Illinois, it must follow that the treaty itself contemplated and recognized a diversion of water from Lake Michigan to the extent of the maximum capacity of the drainage channel. I believe no other conclusion can be drawn from the treaty itself and the surrounding circumstances.

Considerable has been said as to the effect upon the levels of the Lakes of the diversion of water through the drainage channel and as to injury to navigation. No Lake captain or other practical lay person interested in the commerce of the Lakes or in navigation has ever noticed any injury to navigation from this source. The claimed injury is arrived at by the most subtle expert analysis made by technical engineers from measurements of the discharge of various of the outlets of the Great Lakes referring such discharges to various elevations of the Lakes. Whether these calculations are correct or not is a matter of conjecture. Suffice it to say that the engineers who have been engaged in this work have never agreed upon the exact theoretical effect. Some of them place it at 4 inches; others as high as 6½ for 10,000 cubic feet per second diversion for Michigan and Huron. It is most probable that this small theoretical effect can cause no material injury to navigation, for the oscillations of the Lakes constantly exceed this small amount, and no boat can be loaded for a trip within such a small margin. Furthermore, since the opening of the drainage channel all the great boats upon the Great Lakes, carrying ore, grain, and coal, have been constructed. They were placed in service by the owners with full knowledge of the diversion of water and the possible effect upon the levels of the Lakes.

All of the connecting channels, harbors, and critical points of navigation, where any lowering of the lake levels would injure navigation, have been improved since 1900, when the drainage channel was opened. The cost of making these harbors and channels deeper by virtue of the diversion at Chicago would have been inconsiderable and so small that the matter of expense could not form a basis for failure to dig the channels deeper to compensate for this diversion. It must be presumed that the Government engineers in providing for the reference plane of improvements for the connecting channels of the lake and its harbors since 1900 have taken this matter into consideration and made the reference plane lower. If they did not, they were derelict in their duties, for the extra expense would be nothing. So, I say that compensation has already been made for any injury to navigation, and the owners of boats constructed them with full knowledge of the diversion and its possible effect.

Maj. Keller in his report of August 13, 1913, with reference to the diversion at Chicago, said:

* * * but the flow into each lake is, as has been explained, constantly varying, and while the discharge from the Lakes is also ever changing, so as in the long run to tend to counterbalance changes and supply, yet these adjustments of supply and discharge are not simultaneous, and the surface levels of the Lakes are therefore constantly fluctuating, as is readily seen from the plates attached.

7. These regular but uncontrollable changes in lake level mask the effect produced by an artificial diversion.

Pursuant to the rivers and harbors act of June 25, 1910, a special board of engineers on waterways from Lockport, Ill., to the mouth of the Illinois River was appointed. The president of the board was Brig. Gen. William H. Bixby, of the United States Army. The report of this special commission was approved by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, of which Gen. William M. Black was senior member.

It was approved by the then acting Chief of Engineers. The report was presented by the Secretary of War to Congress on February 18, 1914. The special board was to report—

Upon such measures as may be required to properly preserve the levels of the Great Lakes and to compensate, so far as practicable, for the diminished levels in said lakes and the connecting waters thereof by reason of any diversion of water from Lake Michigan for the maintenance of the proposed waterway herein described, or diversion for any other purpose. * * *

The special board in its report to the Chief of Engineers, dated August 15, 1913, said:

Compensation for the loss of elevation on Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, and their connecting waters, due to an assumed diversion from Lake Michigan of 10,000 second-feet, will by the plan above outlined involve an expenditure of about $475,000, to which should be added an amount for the maintenance of the weirs, estimated at about $15,000 per year, the total cost being much less than the cost of restoration of depths by dredging. It is the opinion of the board that while other plans have been proposed, compensation by fixed contraction works similar in general to those above described affords the cheapest and most satisfactory method of preserving the levels of the Great Lakes.

The senior member of the Board of Engineers on Rivers and Harbors, Gen. William M. Black, now Chief of Engineers, in transmitting a report of the special board to the Secretary of War on December 16, 1913, said:

It is the distinct recommendation of the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors that the term "control of the new waterway thus created, so far as needed for navigation," shall be interpreted to include such control of the use of water for power purposes as shall be necessary to insure the conditions of flow required for navigation. Further, the board believes that the total volume of water to be diverted from the natural discharge channels of the lakes should be definitely fixed by Congress; that a project, with estimate of cost, for works necessary to compensate for such diversion should be prepared to the satisfaction of the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War; that before any diversion is made beyond that at present existing, the State of Illinois shall transfer to the Secretary of War the funds necessary for such works as given by the approved estimate of cost; that the works shall be built by the United States with the funds so provided, and that the control and maintenance of such works shall be in and at the cost of the United States.

The expenditure of $475,000 to compensate for the claimed effect of the diversion of the waters of Lake Michigan through the Chicago Drainage Canal is, indeed, small compared with the probable injury to the lives and health of the people of Chicago and its environs, and the expense that might be required to construct sewage purification works in place of the works already constructed. Should the Congress act hastily upon this matter and cast such an immense burden upon almost half the people of the State when a remedy may be provided at a very small expense? The limitation of the flow to 250,000 cubic feet per minute will not keep the Chicago River at all times reversed, and the sewage of Chicago will be discharged into Lake Michigan, directly polluting its water supply, from which there is no escape. The typhoid death rate and the death rate from other water-borne diseases will increase. To partially remedy this effect with works, which no one can say will operate properly, would cost at least $100,000,000, with an expense of operation of from $5,000,000 to $7,000,000 per year more than the cost of operation of the present works of the sanitary district. Taking the construction cost and capitalizing the yearly operation and depreciation expense the burden upon the people of Chicago and its environs will exceed $200,000,000, and then they will have installed works which have never been found effective or practicable for a great metropolitan area with such an immense population. There is no city in the United States with a population in excess of 250,000 that has been able to or has installed artificial sewage purification works. The sewage works must be placed near the origination of the sewage, in order that they may be at all effective. The works themselves give forth odors which are intollerable to the people living in the vicinity thereof, and it is impossible, the way the population of Chicago lies, to convey the sewage to sparsely populated districts and there treat it effectively.

Furthermore, and I say this without fear of contradiction, no sanitary engineer can now recommend works for the artificial purification of sewage of Chicago which may prove entirely effective.

The claim of damage to commerce arises from a calculation as to the loss in carrying capacity of large boats upon the Lakes, and it is calculated that for each inch loss of draft there is a loss of 100 tons for each trip; and that the loss in draft

is 6 inches, and therefore on each trip there is a loss of 600 tons in capacity. Then, it is determined how many boats there are that lose this tonnage, and in order to get the dollars and cents loss each year to navigation interests they multiply the freight rate of 55 cents per ton by the loss in tonnage. Obviously, this is an entirely improper method, for the bottoms exceed largely the amount of freight to be carried each year. The true method is to determine the number of extra trips that would be required and the capital and cost of operation and maintenance cost for these extra trips to take care of the loss in tonnage. When this is done, and I say it without fear of contradiction, it will be found that the loss per year does not exceed $200,000; and this is based upon the proposition that the claimed lowering of the lake levels is directly transferred to the loss in draft of the boats and a decrease in tonnage capacity.

This so-called La Follette amendment, above mentioned, to the rivers and harbors bill has no connection whatever with the plans for the construction of the Illinois waterway, pursuant to the act of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, approved June 18, 1915; in force July 1, 1915. The amount of water flowing through the Sanitary District Canal does not affect the project. Neither the Illinois Waterway Commission nor the State of Illinois have control over the operation of the sanitary district works or the amount of the flow of water. The southern terminus of the drainage channel is at or near Lockport, Ill., where the water flowing through the channel is discharged into the Desplaines River. The Illinois Waterway Commission, organized under the act, proposes to improve the Illinois and Michigan Canal from Joliet to Dresden Heights, a distance of about 19 miles; from thence to Starved Rock the Illinois River is improved by means of dredging locks and dams, so that it will have a minimum depth of 8 feet suitable for navigation purposes.

The water power to be developed by the Illinois Waterway Commission is at Starved Rock and is merely incidental to the construction of a navigable waterway. The revenue to be derived from the water power does not affect in any way its success, as the general assembly has provided for a tax levy to take care of the principal and interest on the bonds to be sold to defray the expense of construction.

The corporate authorities of the sanitary district of Chicago, the trustees thereof, are elected by the people within the territorial limits of the district, which is within the county of Cook. The trustees are responsible only to the people within the limits of the district.

The La Follette amendment, having to do with the limitation of the flow of water of the sanitary district, was dragged into the Illinois waterway proposition by the heels.

This waterway and the development of water power along it does not require the diversion of any more water from Lake Michigan than is diverted by the drainage canal. The two projects are in no points related. This amendment would operate to nullify the great works now in operation, protecting the health of the people of Chicago and its environs, and would destroy the effect of the immense expenditure of money which has been made in constructing those works. They were constructed for two purposes:

First. For sanitary purposes; and second, for navigation purposes.

I therefore say that the House should not concur in this amendment passed by the Senate. It was passed without due consideration. It was never considered in any committee. It will undoubtedly create a material and far-reaching injury to one thirty-fifth of the entire population of the United States.

## New Freight Traffic on the Mississippi.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JACOB E. MEEKER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 14, 1916.*

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, under the permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD in regard to the new barge line now operating between St. Louis and New Orleans, I wish to insert for the information of Congress the following news item which appeared in the St. Louis Republic of July 11. The evidence not only of the desire of shippers to again use the river as they did of old, but also the material savings to the waterway shippers is brought out in this brief note. I trust that every friend of restoring the Mississippi River trade and every opponent of appropriations for this great waterway will file this bit of information away for future reference:

SHIPPERS SAVED $5,600 IN THREE TRIPS OF BARGE "INCO 1."

The first three round trips of the barge *Inco* of the Inland Navigation Co. saved St. Louis shippers $5,600, as compared to the rail freight rates charged for the same shipments, according to a formal report for the first three months of the barge service submitted yesterday to Mayor Kiel.

The company informed the mayor that it now is constructing two additional barges, and that before September 1 it expects to install a weekly barge service between St. Louis and New Orleans.

This service, based on the proven saving to date, will amount to a saving of about $2,000 a week to shippers in the St. Louis district, or about $90,000 a year, the report says. This lowering of cost to the community would amount to about five times the cost of the temporary municipal dock, and would entirely repay the cost of the dock in less than three months.

## The Crosser Colonization Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD KEATING,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the House was good enough to grant me the privilege of extending my remarks in the RECORD on the bill introduced by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CROSSER] providing for the colonizing by the Government of unemployed workers on the public lands.

Mr. CROSSER's bill has attracted nation-wide attention. Newspapers from Maine to California have devoted a great deal of space to it. I am submitting two editorials from leading newspapers as examples of this editorial comment.

The first is from the Cleveland Press of February 17, 1916. The Press is probably the most influential paper in the State of Ohio. The editorial follows:

[From the Cleveland Press, Feb. 17, 1916.]

LANDLORD UNCLE SAM.

That bill of Representative CROSSER's, providing for the colonizing of unemployed workers by the Government on public lands—agricultural, grazing, and forest—still remaining under Government ownership, is mighty interesting. No doubt it would solve in a large measure the problem of unemployment, but just for the moment our interest is in the following paragraph from our Washington correspondence on the subject:

Title to the lands is to remain forever in the Government. The land is to be theirs and their heirs so long as they use and occupy it.

In effect, isn't the title of all our land—our farms, our home lots, our business sites—already in the Government?

Doesn't the Government really own all our land, and aren't we owners of acres and lots in reality only renters?

When we pay our taxes we are paying the Government our rent. When we don't pay our taxes the Government takes our lot or our farm away from us.

It is true that the Government allows a lot of speculation and changing hands with the lots and acres it owns and rents to us. After we have established a home by hard work on some of the land Uncle Sam rents to us for a certain price, called taxes, he lets a lot of sharks take advantage of our urgent needs in the task of making a living, and it is of no interest to him if we are forced off this land for which we pay rent to him. The shark will pay him rent just the same after we have gone to the debtors' junk heap.

But if CROSSER's bill goes through "the land is to be the settlers' as long as they use or occupy it." That is, Uncle Sam will assert his ownership to the extent of not letting bankers, land monopolists, and sharks generally force occupants off the lots and acres where they are toiling for a living. And in order to keep the sharks away he'll be the banker who will loan the money to the hard-working tenant who needs the cash to improve the land and make a living for himself, his wife, and his children.

That's fine! That plan appeals to us. It will mean a real blow at the growing landlordism in this country. It will mean more crops, less unemployment, more liberty, more homes, lower cost of living—and—ah, pshaw! there isn't room here to tell all the important things it will mean to the common people of America.

The second editorial is from the Johnstown Democrat, of which the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BAILEY] is the brilliant and well-loved editor:

[From the Johnstown Democrat, Thursday, June 22, 1916.]

CROSSER'S BIG IDEA.

One of the most vital measures which has been brought before the Sixty-fourth Congress is that of Representative ROBERT CROSSER, of Ohio, known as the Crosser colonization bill. It is understood to have the full indorsement of the Department of Labor and the support of many influential members of the administration. It is certain to command strong consideration in Congress.

Under the terms of the Crosser colonization bill, unemployed workers are to be given access to lands in the public domain. It is believed that this would solve one of the gravest problems of the day. It is not our purpose here to go into the details of the measure. These have been carefully worked out and are thought to be entirely adequate. It is sufficient to say that a colonization board, consisting of the Secretaries of Labor, Agriculture, and the Interior, is empowered to set apart from the public domain as farm-colony reserves areas or locations suitable for colonization projects, and to make all necessary plans for colonizing and developing such reserves. The plans are to provide for necessary clearing of land and for roads, ditches, and other reclamation work. The title to all such lands shall remain forever in the Government of the United States, the cost of improvements to be assessed against each parcel of land, the board to collect each year an amount equal to 4 per cent of the cost of improvements assessed against the parcel in question, plus a fraction of the cost assessed against the lands, so as to reimburse the Government within 50 years. A tax on the value of the land is likewise to be collected annually.

Out of the revenues thus derived it is provided that the colonization board shall pay the expenses of local governments within the areas reserved for colonization purposes to an amount not exceeding 3 per cent of the assessed value, the balance to go into the colonization fund.

It is further provided that the colonization board may assess colonists to build upon and otherwise improve their holdings, and the interest of a colonist in such improvements may be assigned.

The benefits which would flow from this measure are almost obvious. Mr. CROSSER reveals in it an understanding of the problem with which he is dealing that is all too rare. He is not only a lawyer of ability; he is also a student of the more vital questions of government and society. Not only is his heart right, but he has the knowledge in addition which is so essential to actual achievement. There are many men whose hearts are right and whose sympathies are with the people who have not the faintest conception of the causes underlying social unrest or any plan whatever for giving permanent relief. It is the high merit of Congressman CROSSER that he has both the ability and the training which are so necessary in dealing with great constructive propositions.

It is hardly to be thought of that the people of Cleveland will fail to keep him in a place he is filling so admirably, and which has given and is giving that city a new distinction. He ought to be retained at the National Capital at least until he shall have worked out the large plans to which he has been so sedulously devoting himself for the last four years.

## Improvement of Missouri River.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, the adoption of the conference report of the pending rivers and harbors bill marks another victory for the Missouri River, and assures its continued improvement for the season of 1917.

The merchants of Kansas City have reason to feel proud of the successful fight which they have made to keep their project from being killed by the powerful interests which were united against it, and I feel a pardonable degree of pride in the personal part which I was able to take as their Representative.

We had just escaped a deliberate attempt to wreck the entire project when it was advancing with assured success toward the solution of the transportation problem of the Missouri Valley. Only the splendid vigilance and fighting spirit of Kansas City prevented the success of this attack and turned what was meant to be a fatal blow into a victory for the river as a legitimate and necessary factor in the commercial development of the West.

The groundwork for the permanent improvement of the Missouri River as a channel of commerce was laid by my predecessor in Congress, Hon. E. C. Ellis, during the two terms he represented the fifth district. The Missouri had been put off the map, and all attempts at permanent improvement had been abandoned. Mr. Ellis secured a resurvey of the project and a report by Capt. Schultz, the district engineer, outlining a feasible engineering plan for securing a permanent 6-foot channel. I succeeded Mr. Ellis before the final adoption of the project, and it became my duty to urge Congress to approve the Schultz report and begin the work of permanent improvement.

The first success in that direction was the appropriation in 1910 of $1,000,000 for construction work, but it was coupled with a condition for the reexamination of the project by a new board of engineers to secure accurate data as to its cost and possibilities. The business men of Kansas City left their employment and journeyed to Washington at their own expense to lay the facts before the committee of Congress, making every sacrifice necessary to secure the growth and prosperity of their city. They believed, and still believe, that the destiny of Kansas City depends upon our securing water rates with a successful method of water transportation; that we had reached the limit of our growth as a purely inland city; and that we must be connected up with the seaboard, the Panama Canal, and the great foreign trade of the world.

The reexamination of the project was favorable, and in 1912 Congress formally adopted it and entered upon the work of carrying out the engineering plan. Meanwhile, the Kansas City men, in pursuance of their promise to Congress to restore navigation, even upon the unimproved channel, organized a boat line, which has been an assured success. It is now carrying freight for 80 per cent of the rail rates, absorbing switching and marine insurance, and has grown in public confidence by the reliability of its service and the safety and good order in which it delivers freight.

The work under the engineering plan has progressed favorably, although not as rapidly as Congress had at first intended, and the boat line has had to contend with all the difficulties of navigating an unimproved channel. The banks have been revetted for a portion of the way to St. Louis. The channel has been improved; much valuable agricultural land has been saved from destruction; Kansas City has provided itself with a municipal wharf; and the amount of freight carried by river has steadily increased with each season.

As the river became a factor in transportation problems, the opposition to it increased. Each year we had a fight for a renewal of the appropriation, in face of the fact that every reason which actuated the original adoption of the project had been justified by the progress of events. The Missouri River stands to-day as the one inland waterway proposition which has more than realized the expectations of its advocates. The opposition to it has resulted in a continual holding back of portions of the appropriation, but each time the business men of Kansas City have enthusiastically responded to the call and rushed to the firing line at the first sign of danger.

In the rivers and harbors bill of 1915 there was added in the Senate an amendment providing for the reexamination of certain projects, including the Missouri River. Although the act was not approved until March 3, very shortly thereafter, on April 22, 1915, the then district officer made a report advising the abandonment of the improvement. His report was not based upon any engineering difficulties, as he expressly stated that the project could be carried out for the original estimated cost, but he condemned it on commercial grounds. This report was not made public until August 4, 1915.

On August 17 there assembled at Kansas City several hundred delegates from all the Western States and all the river cities from Minneapolis to New Orleans to protest against the abandonment of the Missouri River. The district officer's report was based on the commerce of 1913, the first year after the act was adopted by Congress, and the commerce had steadily increased in 1914 and 1915. The matter was so grave that the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors decided that instead of taking the matter up at Washington they would come to Kansas City for a special hearing, and they so advised me. This hearing was held on October 19 and 20, 1915, and the commercial interests of the entire Missouri Valley placed the matter before the board from every standpoint in the clearest possible manner.

They reviewed the growth of the river navigation, the work of the boat line in perfecting river craft, the development of terminals and interchange of traffic, the rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission giving the boat line the advantage of rail connections to the seaboard, the tremendous growth of tonnage in the Western States moving to the East through the gateway of Kansas City, the increase of manufacturing and jobbing business at Kansas City and other river points, the development of the grain, lumber, live stock, and kindred markets, and the eastward movement of the raw material and manufactured products from the producing sections of the West. The record of this hearing at Kansas City, which is found in House Document 463, of the Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, is the most complete and remarkable history of transportation and inland waterway navigation which has ever been published.

The evidence was so overwhelming that the Board of Engineers reversed the decision of the district officer and recommended Missouri River in the highest terms. We feel that if the Missouri River had been a mere pork barrel, designed to absorb public money for political purposes, no powerful interest in the United States would have stood in its way, but when it became a real factor in the transportation problem and was cutting the rate on commodities moving from the producing regions of the Mississippi Valley to the industrial centers of the East and to foreign ports, then the alarm went out that the Missouri River was no joke and must be crippled or killed in Congress.

The real secret of this victory is preparedness. The business men of Kansas City have been on hand with the facts. Having taken hold of the idea that the transportation problem of Kansas City must be put upon a competitive basis, they are ready to sacrifice their time, money, and energy to win the fight. No call has ever gone out from Washington that has not been instantly responded to by strong, active, and well-informed committees of business men. These business men were fighting, not their own battle alone but the battle of Kansas City and the battle of the great empire which constitutes its trade territory. For eight years they have been constantly on the firing line, and each time a clash has occurred they have come off victorious.

The end is not yet; for, as the river further demonstrates its ability to serve the commercial interests of the West the attacks upon it will become more determined. But each fight has strengthened the confidence of Kansas City in its project, and each fight will, I trust, result—as this last has done—in strengthening the position of the river and in justifying those who advocated its being among the great channels of commerce.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES H. DILLON,
OF SOUTH DAKOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. DILLON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to the inheritance tax features of this bill.

The authority conferred upon Congress by section 8 of Article I of the Constitution, namely, "To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises," is a sufficient grant of power for levying a tax on succession to property of a decedent. Uniformity is required by the following provision: "That all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The Constitution further provides, "Direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States."

If this tax is on the property, it would be a direct tax and would be unconstitutional because there is no apportionment provision in the bill. In 1894 an act was passed laying a tax on incomes from all classes of property, but no apportionment was made. Its validity rested upon the assumption that it came within the classification of taxes, duties, excises, and imposts which was subject to the rule of uniformity but not subject to the rule of apportionment. The act was held unconstitutional on the ground that it was a direct tax on property.

The Supreme Court, in Pollock *v.* Farmer's Loan & Trust Co. (158 U. S., 161) held that the income tax provided for a direct tax and was void for want of apportionment. To get away from this effect the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution was adopted, which provides, "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration." It is evident that the sixteenth amendment applies only to incomes and takes incomes out of the apportionment rule.

The tax on inheritance is a tax upon succession, a tax on the right to succeed to property. It is not a tax on property. There being no natural right to inherit the legislative department of Government has the right to fix the conditions upon which the succession may be permitted.

The framers of this bill have overlooked the basic principles on which this character of tax is made. Section 101 provides, "that a tax equal to the following percentages of the value of the net estate * * * is hereby imposed upon the transfer of the net estate of every decedent." The percentages imposed are upon the amount of the net estate. Section 102 provides, "that the value of the gross estate of the decedent shall be determined by including the value at the time of his death of all property, real or personal." Section 103 provides, "that for the purpose of the tax the value of the net estate shall be determined." The gross value is taken and funeral expenses, cost of administration, debts, mortgages, and an exemption of $50,000 are deducted. Returns must show the value of the gross estate with the deductions.

It will be observed that no provision is made for levying the tax on legacies or distributive shares, nor upon the right of the heirs or legatees to succeed to the same. The tax is levied upon the aggregate amount of the decedent's property and not upon the amount of each distributive share.

Inheritance taxes were levied under the old Roman law. France, Germany, and other European countries enforce these laws by way of stamp taxes. These taxes have never been regarded as direct taxes on property, but have always been levied against the beneficiary who receives the property.

Congress passed the first legacy tax by the act of July 6, 1797, which remained in force until June 30, 1802. This tax was a charge against the distributive share going to the heir or legatee. By the act of June 30, 1864, Congress again exercised the right to impose a legacy tax. The tax was on legacies or distributive shares of personal property. By the act of June 13, 1898, Congress again levied an inheritance tax.

In Knowlton *v.* Moore (178 U. S., 41), the court in passing upon this statute used this language:

> An inheritance tax is not one on property but one on the succession. The right to take property by devise or descent is a creature of the law and not a matter of right, a privilege, and therefore the authority which permits it may impose conditions upon it.

The court further says:

> The statute clearly imposes the duties on legacies or distributive shares and not upon the whole personal estate.

In United States *v.* Perkins (163 U. S., 625), is is said:

> The tax is not a tax upon the property itself but upon its transmission by will or descent.

In Snyder *v.* Bettman (190 U. S., 249), it is held:

> The taxes are not imposed upon the property itself but on the right to succeed thereto.

Under the terms of this bill the tax is imposed upon the mass of the estate. It does not impose a tax upon each legatee or beneficiary. The exemption provision of $50,000 is likewise an exemption on the whole estate. It makes no provision for an exemption for an heir or legatee.

Under the provisions of the bill it is a tax against the property held temporarily by the executor or administrator, and is therefore a direct tax because it does not levy the tax upon the right of succession. No one would claim that this tax could be imposed upon the decedent if living. The right of the administrator or executor in the property is that of trustee for the beneficiaries. If he pays the tax no provision is made for a charge against the beneficiaries. How is he to settle the rights between numerous beneficiaries where the tax is increased in proportion to the value of the estate? If it be argued that the administrator or executor would be required to pay the tax in the first instance and then collect it from the heirs or legatees then it becomes pertinent to know in what ratio he is to assess the heirs and legatees.

All legatees and heirs would be jointly assessed regardless of the amount of their shares. If there be but one legatee he would be entitled to $50,000 exemption, while if there are 100 legatees and heirs they would be jointly entitled to but one exemption.

There would be no difficulty if the tax was levied on each legatee or distributive share, but when the rate each is to pay is increased by the value of the property received by other legatees, you have all kinds of confusion. We would tax separate legatees regardless of the value of property received. The taxation would be measured by the value of all property received by the numerous legatees or heirs. For instance, the tax on A's

house, valued at $1,000, would be determined by the value of numerous other houses, and the tax on A's house would be increased in proportion to the increase of the value of the property of the other legatees.

Suppose that a decedent willed all of his property of the value of $60,000 to a hospital. Deducting the exemption, the hospital would pay $100 inheritance tax. If a millionaire across the street willed the same hospital $60,000 and distributed among numerous legatees the balance of his estate, valued at $4,940,000, the hospital would pay an inheritance tax of $2,862. To obtain these bequests the hospital would be required to pay over twenty-eight times as much tax for the second bequest as for the first of the same amount. In the first instance the rate of tax on the amount received would be one-sixth of 1 per cent, while in the second it would be 4.77 per cent.

Again, the exemption of $50,000 should apply equally to those succeeding to the estate or be a classification to each person similarly situated. It may be conceded that Congress can make classifications, but every issue of a decedent who may receive property should be entitled to the same amount of exemption because the property he is to receive is to bear a share of the tax.

In Black against State, One hundred and thirteenth Wisconsin, page 205, and Ninetieth American State Reports, page 853, it was held that a statute authorizing an inheritance tax where the whole estate was of a specified amount or more, but not authorizing such tax where the estate was less than that amount in value, the beneficiaries being in the same class and the tax being levied without regard to the amount received by the individual beneficiary, was unconstitutional as being arbitrary and unlawful discrimination between beneficiaries of the same class.

If the tax can be taken from the distributive share of the heir, then the heir ought to be entitled to a definite fixed amount of exemption; yet under the provisions of this bill, if the decedent left his entire estate to one son, the son would have an exemption of $50,000. If, on the other hand, the decedent left surviving him 10 sons they would have to join in an exemption and each son would have only $5,000 exemption; yet who could claim that this exemption was uniform in its operation?

It seems to me that the framers of this bill have overlooked all the congressional acts heretofore passed imposing a tax upon the right of succession to property and have overlooked the fact that the tax must rest against the legatee or heir who received the distributive share of the estate. The tax not being levied on the succession to property of the decedent but on the property itself becomes a direct tax which must be apportioned among the several States.

This Congress has outstripped every other Congress in making wasteful and extravagant appropriations. It is evident that we must continue many of the special taxes provided in the emergency act of October 22, 1914. It has usually been only in war times that we have been compelled to levy these special taxes to obtain revenue for running the Government. This revenue bill, however, largely shifts the burden of the taxes upon the wealthy classes of our people. The increase in tax on incomes, the inheritance tax, the tax upon the manufacturers of munitions of war, the repeal of many objectionable features of the stamp tax act, the creation of a tariff commission, the antidumping clause, and the placing of a duty on certain specified articles are features which call for support of this bill.

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## The Prosperity of the United States.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRY E. HULL,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 15, 1916.*

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this measure because it has eliminated the principle on which, I believe, the prosperity of the United States is founded, namely, that we should rely principally on the protective tariff for securing the necessary revenue with which to run this Government. Just now we are in the throes of temporary prosperity, but my Democratic brethren who are trying to delude the Nation with the idea that our present prosperous condition is due to the Underwood tariff bill are like the ostrich that hides its head in the sand. The people of the United States are not so short-sighted that they are going to forget the intolerable conditions that existed before the terrible holocaust in Europe broke out and brought with its bloody carnage a demand for weapons of death that has kept our factories busy, our men employed, and our prices abnormal. It has been estimated that 2,000,000 men in the United States are now employed in making arms and ammunition to supply the demand of the allies. The war will soon be over, and already the papers are telling of an immense ammunition plant being dismantled. This is only the forerunner of what is soon to come, and then we will have these millions of men seeking employment.

The real test of the practical abolition of the tariff as promulgated by the Underwood tariff law, for which this administration stands sponsor, came in the first two years of the administration. In 1914, or just before this war broke out, the United States was in the throes of a business depression the like of which has never been exceeded in this country. Millions of men were unable to secure employment, failures were frequent, banks refused to loan money, business was stagnant, and we were on the eve of a panic. It is my belief, and I believe it is the belief of a large majority of the thinking people of the United States, that this condition was brought about by the abolition of the tariff law that existed prior to the time the present administration succeeded to office. The protective tariff has been tried and found sufficient. Look back over the long years in which this country has prospered and you will find that it was during those years that our industry and our products were protected by an adequate tariff. It has become an axiom that the Democratic Party has broken into our national halls and hard times have broken out at one and the same time. The Democratic Party has, as far as it has been in its power, dethroned the idea of a protective tariff. The principle of the protective tariff is that those who seek to do business within our borders must pay for the privilege the same as our citizens.

The principle of the Underwood tariff bill is that the foreigner should be given preference over the citizen of the United States. It is a long-proven fact that an industrial depression is preceded by a depression in price of agricultural product. When corn, wheat, oats, cotton, and those things that come from the soil are in big demand and the prices are high, it is a sure sign that the men are working and business is good. When, however, grains are low and the market is poor, you will find that men are unemployed, manufacturing plants are closed, and money is hard to get. I call your attention also to the fact that it is the Republican protective tariff that has maintained our high standard of prices on the cereal. Whenever we have had a protective tariff, the farmer has been able to obtain good values for his products. Whenever the Democrats have been in power, the farmers' products have been low in value. We are prosperous right now, due to the terrible conditions that exist in Europe, due to the fact that our men are busy making weapons of death for foreign countries. Let us not forget, however, that during the first two years of this administration things were different. Let us not forget that prices were low, and the industrial depression as usual was preceded by a depression in prices. Lest a few of our Democratic friends might forget, I quote you articles from some of the leading commercial journals of the United States:

First, let me give you a market quotation from the highest known authority there is in this country. Howard Bartel's Official Trade Bulletin of June 20, 1914, of the Chicago market, says:

> Corn closings for the week were one-fourth to 1 cent lower. Conditions in the Argentine Republic have had more or less to do with the lowering of the price of this article in the United States during this week than anything else to come to the front as a potent factor. The weather in Argentina has changed and is now favorable for the handling of the crop that is offering at lower prices. It is expected that buyers of corn, not only in the United States but in the Old World as well, will be placed in a position to name the price of the cash grain to come, out of the Southern Hemisphere. In addition to the increased offerings of Argentina, the Danubian supply is larger, and that country is pressing its grain for sale. The fact that the corn in the Argentine Republic is of better quality than a few weeks ago is attracting buyers, and it will help the markets of the world no little. Argentine corn is offering at New York for June selling at 67½ cents, and for the first week in July that grain was obtainable at 6 cents c/l. f. Atlantic ports.

This is just one report taken at random of many hundreds that we have in our files from the same high authority, and we are prepared to prove to any inquiring minds that the depression of corn from about 75 cents before the passage of the Underwood tariff bill, down to less than 65 cents during the winter months of 1914, was due absolutely to the importation both actual and threatened of Argentine corn. Allow me now to submit a quotation showing the effects upon butter and eggs,

of this same outside competition. I quote from the Produce News of Chicago, Saturday, January 31, 1914:

NEW YORK, *January 30, 1914.*

It is seldom the butter market gets in as demoralized condition as for the last few days. Slump after slump has sent fresh extras down to 29½ cents from the highest price at the close of the year, 37½ cents. This is a drop of 11 cents during the month, almost unprecedented in the history of the trade. All the month trade had dragged because consumers seem to have cut out butter to some extent.

Present conditions are caused largely by the free import of foreign butter, especially from Argentina. There are due from Argentina to the Pacific coast 10,000 packages and 5,000 packages to Chicago early in February. California is oversupplied with foreign butter, and all western markets are demoralized.

I will not tire you with any more market quotations, simply saying that we have in our office, from these and other of the same unquestioned high authorities, any number of actual market quotations, proving beyond all doubt our contention that the prices of the farm produce, such as corn, oats, barley, butter, eggs, potatoes, beef, and so forth, were depressed by this outside competition, and that without lowering the price to the consumer one penny. In addition to these market quotations I wish to submit to you a few opinions of well-known authorities on this same subject.

Henry Wallace, in Wallace's Farmer of February 13, 1914, says:

One thing we consider certain is that farmers hereafter, as long as the present tariff is in court, will have to sell corn in New York much of the time at the price at which the Argentine corn grower can lay it down there. He is already underselling us at least 5 cents per bushel, and this accounts for the recent drops in the price of the markets of the West.

D. W. Snow, in the Orange Judd Farmer of February 21, 1914, says:

The new tariff placing corn upon the free list brings corn growers of the Central West face to face with new and serious problems. The price of American corn has always been fixed by our domestic situation, or, in other words, prices have been determined by American farmers. The free admission of foreign-grown corn makes ours a world's market, or, in plain English, allows the Argentine corn grower to dictate the price at which the American farmer shall sell his corn.

George A. Wells, in Wallace's Farmer of February 27, 1914, says:

The question as to the effect of the price on our domestic corn by the removal of the duty is perhaps debatable, and will unquestionably become involved as a political issue. The removal of the duty has undoubtedly placed the corn-belt farmer of this country on a world basis of competition, whereas heretofore he received prices for his corn that were above an export basis, owing to the large demand by the manufacturers and the high price of meat products. It would thus seem that the corn-belt farmer has lost his hold on the situation and will be obliged to accept lower values for his corn as a consequence of the removal of the import duty.

Henry Wallace, in Wallace's Farmer of April 3, 1914, says:

There is no doubt now that when there is a good crop in Argentina there will be considerable importation of Argentine corn into the Atlantic and Gulf cities, where it will come into competition with corn from the West. The United States has no longer a practical monopoly of the corn growing of the world.

P. V. Collins, editor of the Northwestern Agriculture, editorial of July 14, 1914:

THE FARMER WITH NO FRIEND.

The free traders are in power. There is no possibility of curbing their power until the next presidential election in 1916. There is a possibility of the people going on record at the coming election this fall by electing protective Congressmen. That will help some, although it must be frankly confessed that if all Congress were unanimously in favor of repealing the free-trade law, it could not be repealed until a protective President was put in the White House, for President Wilson would veto any such action; but it is important that Congress be taken in hand by the people and shown that it can not trifle with American prosperity without rebuke. Every Member of Congress who supported the Underwood tariff, which has brought such distress upon the country, should be defeated to the end that this country shall be "governed by the people and for the people."

[Editorial in the Daily Farmers and Drovers' Journal of March 19.]

Now, we are learning who gets tariff benefits. Chicago interests dominate Argentine beef trade, says Government report, but live-stock men knew this before the meat tariff was removed. Some weeks before the tariff bill was passed, the Farmers and Drovers' Journal made the statement editorially that the South American meat trade with the United States, provided the tariff was removed, would be dominated by the great packing interests of Chicago. It was declared at that time that the Chicago packing companies had in the past few years made heavy investments in South American cattle properties and also in slaughtering establishments, and only awaited the removal of the meat tariff to open up to them a profitable business in transporting beef this way. Congress went ahead more or less blindly and removed the tariff. The contention was that it would mean cheaper meats to the American public, but that prediction of our statesmen at Washington has failed to materialize. There has been, however, a decidedly bearish undertone prevailing in the market for home-raised cattle practically ever since the tariff came off. Congress made a mistake when the meat tariff was removed. It has benefited thus far only the interests which wholesale beef in this country, and what it will do later can only be guessed at, but a reasonably good guess would be that free meats will not benefit the consumer but will have some effect in hurting the producer.

Now comes the Department of Agriculture announcement that we are receiving about 9,000,000 pounds of Argentine beef a month from Argentina. We are also informed that of the nine big meat concerns in the Argentine five of them are the properties of Chicago companies. The Government also states that while it had supposed that Argentine beef would cause a reduction in the prices for beef in the United States, "it is not assumed that the American-controlled companies in Argentina are using the Argentine beef to beat down the prices on Chicago beef."

A little investigation by congressional committees into the ownership of the Argentine beef interests prior to the removal of the tariff might have resulted in a tariff arrangement at least equitable to the American producer.

As it is now, the chief beneficiaries of the beef free list are the five American-owned Argentine packing concerns.

When the consumer is actually given some relief from high beef prices and the producer is not feeling its repressive influence, then will it be time for the majority Members of Congress to feel that they really did something in the way of tariff tinkering which brought relief to that part of the public most in need of it.

Referring to the hearings before the Agricultural Committee of the House, I cite the testimony of Mr. Eddy, on page 131, and more especially that of Mr. Goemann in reply to a question by Mr. SLOAN:

Now, take an illustration to-day: I am out of business on corn in the old channels in which I was trading up to six months ago, for the reason that the pressure of Argentine corn in all the consuming sections, from Florida to Maine, has driven me out. Now, all that is taken away from us because the grain is headed here from Argentina, and the consumer realizes that he can buy Argentine corn cheaper than he can buy mine, and he realizes the enormous quantity which he can get, and therefore he buys from hand to mouth, and in his buying from hand to mouth he depresses the corn price in this country, and in consequence of the competition corn has declined 10 cents a bushel; it has declined in the future market.

That this importation of foreign produce affects our markets far beyond what it might if it was only the actual amount of the importation that had to be taken into consideration is very true. Any student of markets understands this, and I will give one quotation from a market letter to illustrate this psychological or sentimental effect.

John F. Wright & Co., in the Chicago Post, June 26:

CORN.

This market seems to be singularly under the hypnotic influence of South American advices. When following the jurisdiction of light supplies at home, indisposition of the producer to sell for shipment, increasing feeding requirements on the farm, threatened impairment of the growing crop through drought and army worms, it is only necessary to report the sale of a cargo of Argentine corn to New York or Galveston to nullify every effect of the domestic situation and turn the price sharply downward.

My district contains an industry that illustrates the woeful effect of the tendency of free trade contained in the Underwood tariff bill. I shall simply give you the history of the pearl-button industry.

The McKinley bill made the pearl-button industry in the United States possible. Before that act pearl shells were practically worthless and wage scale $5 per week.

In 1912 shells worth $30 a ton; wage scale averaged over $15 a week; business worth over $10,000,000 a year; Muscatine had $500,000 worth of machinery; Muscatine had a pay roll of $35,000 to $50,000 a week.

In 1914 tariff cut over 60 per cent; no market for shells; factories closed, or running on short time; 99 per cent of American button industries shut down, unable to sell their buttons; Muscatine pay roll cut down from $35,000 to $5,000 a week; thousands of people thrown out of employment, and button men losing money every day.

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**Correspondence of Volunteer Soldiers.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN H. CAPSTICK,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 15, 1916.*

Mr. CAPSTICK. Mr. Speaker, in offering the resolution to facilitate and encourage correspondence between the volunteer soldiers, their families, and business associates, I am prompted by the practical and economic benefit such an innovation would work, and am also conscious of the sentimental feature it embodies.

I think the country generally realizes now the full meaning of the changed conditions of the men along the border. They

returned to their homes from business as usual one day recently, and next day went into camp. There was no time for preparation of their private affairs or to fortify their families for the indefinite separation.

Now they are encamped along the Mexican border and have time to think of the things they would like to have done and the things they would have said in parting. I feel they would like to spend some of their spare time writing. It will be an easy matter to get paper and envelopes to do this, but quite another thing to get postage stamps. I do not believe any of the men are without funds to buy stamps.

The purpose of the resolution is not a financial one, but is to provide a convenience to these men to keep in touch with their personal affairs, and as an incentive for them to write oftener than they otherwise would, thereby relieving the monotony of camp life and keeping them profitably engaged.

It will also have a stimulating effect on the folks at home. They will write oftener. A letter from home at regular intervals will mean a great deal to those men. This idea is not new. It is employed by the nations abroad with troops in the field, and it has proven a boon to the men. Investigation shows this and also that the cost to the Government is very small. Proper regulations can be adopted to prevent abuse of this franking privilege, for that is what it amounts to. I have designated the ranking commissioned officer of each company of volunteers as the official to mark the envelope in lieu of postage. It seems to me that his name, or initials, the company and regiment, could easily be placed on the letters of the men in his command and forwarded from headquarters with other mail or in the usual manner.

## Organization and Equipment of the Flying Corps of Great Britain, France, and Germany.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Thursday, July 13, 1916.*

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to insert the following:

I.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Royal Flying Corps consists of two wings—the naval wing and the military wing.

The naval wing is administered by a director of the air department at the Admiralty.

On January 1, 1914, all airships in the hands of the army were turned over to the navy.

There were (1914) four sea-plane stations in England and two more in course of erection in Scotland.

One hundred and nine sea planes and aeroplanes were in the possesion of the Admiralty and 20 more had to be ordered.

There is a naval flying school at Eastchurch equipped with some 50 machines.

In 1912 important changes were undertaken.

The military wing was to consist of seven aeroplane squadrons, with the necessary personnel, and an eighth squadron was to be organized and equipped with balloons and kites.

The reserve was to be divided into two classes, the first to consist of those who performed a number of flights across country in each quarter and received a retainer fee, and the second to consist of those who did not make the prescribed number of flights, but who were available in the time of war.

The army and navy wings were to be placed on a war footing and to be so maintained at all times; in peace and war the establishments were to be the same.

In 1914 Great Britain had 1 battle airship, 7 mine-laying and scout airships completed and 7 building. Some of the reconstructed machines were used for training purposes only. There were about 250 efficient aeroplanes and sea planes in the possession of Great Britain.

Subdivisions of the military wing are attached to divisions, corps, and armies as circumstances may require.

The wing is divided into aeroplane squadrons, which consist of a headquarters of 7 officers and 14 men, and three flights of 4 officers, 7 noncommissioned officers, and 32 mechanics and assistants each. There are 12 planes to be attached to each squadron. The transportation that accompanies a squadron is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Light aeroplane tender for headquarters and 2 for each of the three flights | 1 |
| Heavy aeroplane tenders for each of three flights | 2 |
| Motor-repair lorries | 2 |
| Shed lorries, with trailers | 6 |
| Reserve equipment lorries | 3 |
| Motorcycles | 6 |

With a supply train is one motor lorry carrying supplies for headquarters.

There is also a "headquarters detachment" of the military wing, which is attached to divisions, corps, or armies, as circumstances may require, and which consists of 3 officers, 11 men, and 2 motors.

The present field service regulations indicate the presence of an airship and kite squadron, which consists of two airships and two flights of kites.

The headquarters of this force comprises 1 officer and 11 men; to the airships are assigned 8 officers and 98 men, and to the kites 4 officers and 87 men. The transport of the airships is composed of 1 light airship tender for headquarters, and 2 for light 4-motor gas wagons; 2 repair lorries, and 4 motorcycles. With the train is 1 motor lorry for baggage supplies. For first-line transportation of the kites there are 2 carts, 6 wagons (horse-drawn vehicles), and 4 bicycles.

On the line of communication is established a flying depot, the personnel of which consists of 3 officers and 67 noncommissioned officers and men; 1 motor car, and a gas train consisting of a tractor and 3 trucks are attached to this unit.

Source: (The Service of Information, Jan. 6, 1916, pp. 159–161.)

During five years up to 1914 the following sums of money were spent for aviation:

| | |
|---|---|
| Government expenditures | $3,000,000 |
| Public subscription | None. |
| | 3,000,000 |
| Appropriations for 1913 | 3,000,000 |

Source: (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—House, May 18, 1914, p. 8796.)

When the European war broke out Great Britain had 400 aeroplanes.

Source: (Rep., Natl. Adv. Comm. for Aeronautics, Feb. 27, 1915, p. 3.)

II.

FRANCE.

In February, 1914, a decree was issued creating two posts of the ministry of war, one to be known as the technical inspector of aviation and the other as the technical inspector of aeronautics. These officers were to perform technical duties, such as making inspections of troops and material, making studies of improvements and extensions, and keep in touch with technical instruction. About the same time a decree was issued creating a "superior council of military aeronautics."

The duty of this council was to coordinate the efforts of the Government and private parties toward securing progress in both the science and technique of military aeronautics.

The council was composed of the following officials: The minister of war, president of the council, four senators, four deputies, four members of the Institute of France, four technical representatives of aviation, the chief and assistant chief of staff of the army, the chief of staff and the chief of section of the second staff of the navy, the director of aeronautics, the minister of public works, a representative of the minister of colonies, the director of postal administration, and the director of military aeronautics of the army, who was made the recorder of the council. Two officers of the army aviation service were made secretaries.

The troops are divided into companies and sections. The aerostatic organizations are divided into sections, while the aviation sections are divided into flotillas and squadrons. The division of the flotilla (or squadron) is the unit assigned to the various tactical organizations in time of war. It consists of 4 sections, each with 2 aeroplanes, 2 tractors, 1 truck, 1 work truck, and 2 automobiles, with 55 men, who are provided in addition to the observers. A company of aerostatic troops (3 officers and 108 men) is also assigned for use of troops upon mobilization. Aviation detachments are attached to cavalry divisions, army corps, and armies.

Source: The Service of Information, January 6, 1916, pages 161–169.

During five years up to 1914 the following sums of money were spent for aviation:

| | |
|---|---|
| Government expenditures | $22,000,000 |
| Public subscription | 2,500,000 |
| | 24,500,000 |
| Appropriations for 1913 | 7,400,000 |

Source: CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, House, May 18, 1914, page 8796.

When the European war broke out France had about 1,400 aeroplanes.

Source: Rep., Ntl. Adv. Comm. for Aeronautics, February 27, 1915, page 3.

III.

GERMANY.

In 1914 the German Army had nine battle airships and two more were available, privately owned but subsidized. The navy had one, with another hired, and two building. Five mine-laying and scout airships were in the hands of the army and one building for the navy.

There were at that time about 8 sheds in Germany capable of holding the new model 32-ton ships and 13 capable of holding the 22-ton ships, with a total of 32 sheds built, and 4 building in various parts of the country. The new type of sheds adopted for the housing of aircraft cost 70,000 marks. Sea-plane stations were established at Putsig, Kiel, Wilhelmshaven, and Heligoland.

There were about 500 aeroplanes of all descriptions in Germany in 1914.

The aeroplane sections of the German Army are organized as complete units. Each army corps has its section and each army one or two sections. A section normally consists of six machines, each machine having two officers—an observer and an operator—with a chief of section in charge. The fliers are generally lieutenants, while the chiefs of the detachments are captains. About 6 noncommissioned officers and 100 men are assigned to each section. From 7 to 12 trucks are provided for carrying the spare parts, supplies, workshop, baggage, etc. Automobiles are furnished for the transportation of the personnel, but the aeroplanes themselves, as a rule, fly to their destination. There was one type, however, with folding wings, that by the insertion of a forward axle and wheels can be attached to a motor truck and pulled along the road.

Up to January, 1915, the German aviation had reached a high state of development. There were evidently 75 or more detachments, or, as the Germans call them, "abteilungen." In October, 1914, there were over 50 such detachments, but in the beginning of 1915 there number must have been over 100, as it was probable that Germany had at that time no less than 90 army corps.

A flieger abteilung, or flying detachment, consists of six fliers, with the necessary machines and spare parts—usually seven machines in each abteilung, with the extra parts in the hangars. There are also observers with each abteilung, and the latter is commanded by a captain, who is generally a flier. The fliers are divided up into battalions.

There are some 14 motor trucks to each abteilung for the carriage of the aeroplanes, benzine wagon, repair wagon, two—now generally three—automobiles for the use of the officers and one or two automobile busses for the enlisted personnel.

Source: The Service of Information, January 6, 1916, pages 169–174.

During five years up to 1914 the following sums of money were spent for aviation:

| | |
|---|---|
| Government expenditures | $28,000,000 |
| Public subscription | 3,500,000 |
| | 31,500,000 |
| Appropriations for 1913 | 5,000,000 |

Source: [CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—House, May 1, 1914, p. 8796.]

When the European war broke out Germany had 1,000 aeroplanes.

Source: Report National Advisory Commission for Aeronautics, February 27, 1915, page 3.

## Revenue.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,
OF NEW JERSEY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 16763) to increase the revenue and for other purposes.

Mr. PARKER of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, this is called "An act to increase the revenue." The principal revenue has always been from a tariff. The present tariff proved insufficient either for revenue or protection. Our first duty is to amend it by a revenue and protective tariff; but this bill is so drawn that this question could not be raised. The bill, it is true, contained some tariff provisions as to certain articles. A small duty is imposed upon dyestuffs, but that duty is not one to encourage manufacture, for it is to be reduced one-fifth every year and abolished at the end of five years. There is no permanent protection, such as would encourage the building of a costly plant and the assembling of a corps of workmen and experts. The Republican Members vainly tried to increase this duty and to make it more permanent. They were voted down. And there is likewise a provision against dumping goods in this country at prices below cost. This is in Title VII, but it is only penal—oppressing the jobber and not touching the foreigner who dumps the goods here. Of course, these provisions are only small parts of a tariff and could not be amended so as to include the tariff scheme so as to get rid of the Underwood free list, which deprives our factories of protection, and so as to get rid of the ad valorem duties which are such fertile sources of undervaluation and fraud.

The minority did think that they could move to recommit the whole measure to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to bring in a bill which should protect American industries and give us revenue by a really protective tariff. But the rules have been so amended that we could not even have a vote upon this subject and were forced to vote yes or no upon the bill itself.

As for myself I have no hesitation in voting "No." Republicans have been used to making the foreigner pay the expenses of our Government in time of peace, reserving all taxes upon our own industries and wealth for time of war. I am unwilling to ratify any other policy. If the Democratic Party chooses to tax our industries in time of peace, they must be responsible for doing so.

This bill is likewise so drawn as to enable 99 people to tax the hundredth man and to put the bulk of the taxation upon the thousandth man. The so-called graduated income tax has been doubled. It only touches one-half of 1 per cent of the community and it divides that one-half of 1 per cent into classes, so as to put 10 times higher rates upon one class than upon another. There are times in the history of the world when it was thought that wealth had to be confiscated. It was so in the confiscation of the abbeys in England. It was so during the French Revolution, when all that was owned by aristocrats was seized for the benefit of the State and sold at auction, so that it really went into the hands of rich contractors for a song. In cases of great public distress and revolution it may be necessary to make taxation unequal. It is at least dangerous to do so now in time of profound peace and prosperity, and it is at least a question whether all legislation for the purpose of equalizing the wealth of the people should not more safely to be intrusted to the States than exercised by the central authority of the United States. We can not favor doubling the income tax in time of peace, or until there is an urgent need for such a measure in time of war.

Another thing contained in this bill is the so-called inheritance tax, by which the United States takes from 1 to 5 per cent even of the share of any estate which goes to widows and orphans, levied according to the amount of the estate. This is called a tax. It is not a tax in principle, but an alteration of the law of descent and distribution, so that the widow, heirs, and next of kin shall not take the property of the dying man but shall share it with the State.

This appropriation of part of the property of the decedent by the State has been supported so far as State legislation is concerned. Each State has full control over the law of descent and distribution, and can say who shall receive a share in the property of the decedent. The United States has no such power. It has the power to impose excise taxes, such as a reasonable stamp upon a deed for the transfer of property, and probably this so-called inheritance tax will be supported in law as a tax. In reality, it is no such thing. It is the confiscation or escheat of part of the property of the subject into the hands of the sovereign.

As a matter of practice, it has been urged that inheritance tax should be imposed only by the State and not by the United States. As a matter of law and right, this change of the law as to the inheritance and distribution of property should only be made by the State and not by the United States.

It is not to be forgotten that this so-called inheritance tax is an appropriation of a part of the capital of the country. It is dangerous when a man has to use his capital for his ordinary expenses. It is just as dangerous when a nation has to seize its capital in order to pay its current outlay. This inheritance tax is an English and foreign invention, which the United States are adopting from lands that are not able to pay their expenses. This tax sometimes is over 20 per cent of a large estate in England and Germany, and if there be several deaths within a few years, such an estate is sometimes destroyed. If an estate consists of land, it is wholly oppressive to ask the heir to pay even a small per cent of the value of that land in cash. It is sure to result in oppression that the widow and orphan children should be asked to pay part of the market value of worn-out lands which have descended to them. It is not a tax which ought to be imposed except in cases of emergency.

My State of New Jersey allows it only when the property goes to others than the widow and children. This statute will rob the widow and children of part of what comes to them, and when it is remembered how urgent their need is when the head of the house is gone and the property that his energies have made valuable is left idle and divided into many shares; when we remember how many such cases of distress we have seen, I can not bring myself to collect the expenses of this great country by seizing the share of the widow and the orphan.

Another part of this bill doubles the tax on the net profits of corporations. This tax on corporations imposes an income tax on some of the people whose earnings are excepted. A man may have an income of less than $3,000 per year, and that income will be free from taxation, but if he owns stock in a corporation, the profits of that corporation will be subject to tax. This is not scientific. It has been well argued that even the poorest should bear some share of the expenses of the Government, even if the share is less, proportionately to their property, but this corporation tax adjusts the matter without any equality whatever, so that if the poor man has bought a share of stock he pays tax on its dividends and on nothing else.

And, then, to make the matter still less governed by principle, a large number of corporations are excepted, such as labor, agricultural and horticultural associations, mutual savings banks, fraternal societies, building and loan associations, cemeteries, religious, charitable, scientific, and educational corporations, boards of trade, civic leagues, clubs, farmers' mutual companies for insurance, telephones, crop sales, and so forth.

This corporation tax is in the nature of an income tax. It is right that the United States should use these great organizations that we call corporations as a means of taxation. The tax is easily collected at the source. The whole scheme of the bill in this respect tends to injustice and inequality. Graduated taxes are imposed by the bill upon money received by manufacturers for sales of munitions of war and copper.

New Jersey does more refining of copper than any other Eastern State. The American Smelting & Refining Co., the United States Smelting & Refining Co., the Balbach Smelting & Refining Co., and the Raritan Copper Works have made copper during years of peace. It was used in enormous quantities for electrical purposes. It is now being exported not only for electrical purposes but for ammunition cases. It could be understood how copper should be taxed if so exported. It can not be understood why peaceful manufacturers of this essential article should be taxed, nor why a small factory should be taxed only

1 per cent and a large factory 3 per cent. Nor should we discourage the manufacturer of munitions for our own country by taxes of 2 to 5 per cent. The United States should spend money if needful to encourage our factories to put in plants with dies, jigs, and gauges which will enable them to supply us with ammunition in large quantities in time of war. In 1808 Mr. Jefferson gave out contracts for arms and munitions without the authority of Congress. The United States ought to pay our factories to learn how to make what the country will need in time of war. Instead of this, this bill taxes all such factories largely on any receipts. This policy is suicidal as to preparedness.

The bill likewise contains an odious tax upon trades and professions. Every money and stock broker is to pay $30, pawnbrokers, $50; ship brokers, $20; customhouse brokers, $10; theaters, from $10 to one-half per cent of gross receipts. Circuses are to pay $100 for each State. Barnum & Bailey can readily afford this, but it may bankrupt the small traveling show. This tax on occupations is odious. It is still more odious to select a few occupations and put the tax only on them, and it is a trifle anyhow—playing with finance.

We stand in the midst of manifold and great dangers. It is our duty to encourage the establishment of munition plants which can make arms and ammunition for the United States in case of need. This bill does the contrary. It is our duty to provide for the hard times that will come after this war ceases by protecting our own market for our own manufactures and seeing that our people shall then have something to do. This bill imposes burdens upon private and public enterprise by seizing its profits and by taxing the right to carry on a trade or profession.

No one can tell how soon we shall be brought face to face with a change such as our business enterprise has never had to meet before, when we shall no longer be asked to send goods to other nations, but shall have to meet their competition in our own markets. The first eight months of the Underwood tariff told us what that meant. Factories were closing, men were out of work, prices were falling. It is only two years ago, but the Democrats can not remember even two years back, and, instead of bettering our conditions, they leave the tariff alone and now pass a bill placing express burdens of taxation upon our home enterprise. I can not vote for this bill. A real revenue bill for protection of our people must come after next November.

## To Study Tariff Scientifically—No Longer To Be Football of Politics.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 15, 1916.*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is with much pleasure that the people of this country will receive the news of the passage by this House of the act creating a nonpartisan tariff commission. Upon its passage by the Senate the prosperity of the United States will no longer be disturbed by political tariff talk. The salient features of this act and of the so-called "anti-dumping" act, both of which will become laws, are here given:

TARIFF COMMISSION.

That a commission is hereby created and established, to be known as the United States Tariff Commission, which shall be composed of six members, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party. In making said appointments members of different political parties shall alternate as nearly as may be practicable. The first members appointed shall continue in office for terms of 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 years, respectively, from the date of the passage of this act, the term of each to be designated by the President. The President shall also designate biennially the chairman and vice chairman, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of 12 years, except that any person chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. No member shall engage actively in any other business, function, or employment. Any member may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. A vacancy shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the commission, but no vacancy shall extend beyond any session of Congress.

That it shall be the duty of said commission to investigate the administration and fiscal effects of the customs laws of this country now in force or which may be hereafter enacted, the relations between the rates of duty on raw materials and finished or partly finished products, the effects of ad valorem and specific duties and of compound specific and ad valorem duties, all questions relative to the arrangement of schedules and classification of articles in the several schedules of the customs law, and, in general, to investigate the operation of customs laws, including their relation to the Federal revenues, and to submit reports of its investigations as hereafter provided.

That the commission shall have power to investigate the tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries, commercial treaties, preferential provisions, the effect of export bounties and preferential transportation rates, the volume of importations compared with domestic production and consumption, and conditions, causes, and effects relating to competition of foreign industries with those of the United States, including dumping and cost of production.

UNFAIR COMPETITION.

That it shall be unlawful for any person importing or assisting in importing any articles from any foreign country into the United States, to commonly and systematically sell or cause to be sold such articles within the United States at a price substantially less than the actual market value or wholesale price of such articles, at the time of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country of their production, or of other foreign countries to which they are commonly exported, after adding to such market value or wholesale price, freight, duty, and other charges and expenses necessarily incident to the importation and sale thereof in the United States: *Provided*, That such act or acts be done with the intent of destroying or injuring an industry in the United States, or of preventing the establishment of an industry in the United States, or of restraining or monopolizing any part of trade and commerce in such articles in the United States.

That if any article produced in a foreign country is imported into the United States under any agreement, understanding, or condition that the importer thereof or any other person in the United States shall not use, purchase, or deal in, or shall be restricted in his using, purchasing, or dealing in, the articles of any other person, there shall be levied, collected, and paid thereon, in addition to the duty otherwise imposed by law, a special duty equal to double the amount of such duty.

## Federal Employees' Compensation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DANIEL J. GRIFFIN,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 15316) to compensate Government employees sustaining injury while on duty.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy in the thought that at last the opportunity is mine to vote for the pending bill, H. R. 15316, popularly known as the "McGillicuddy compensation bill."

That the bill will pass the House with little or no opposition, I have no doubt. It is my earnest hope that the same aroused public sentiment that is finally forcing this bill to a vote in this body will compel the Senate to pass this bill before the adjournment of this present session of Congress.

The McGillicuddy bill is so full of merit that it is hard to understand how its passage could be delayed so long.

This bill was reported favorably from the Judiciary Committee on April 21, 1914, only to die on the calendar of the House without a vote being reached.

Mr. Speaker, I have followed the fate of this bill in the present Congress since it was introduced on December 6, 1915. I know of the earnest and persistent efforts that have been made by its author and by its friends to have it favorably reported from the Judiciary Committee. The record shows that Mr. MCGILLICUDDY introduced the bill a second time on March 23, 1916, with certain amendments calculated to lessen the opposition to it, and the records further show that the bill was again introduced on May 3, 1916, as finally amended by the Judiciary Committee and as recommended to this House by the committee for passage.

I am in favor of the passage of this bill because it is essentially humanitarian and because it embraces in its provisions a just recognition of the principle that every industry, either public or private, must assume responsibility for the proper compensation of its employees and their dependents on account of death or disability arising out of accidents or injuries sustained in the line of their employment.

Indeed, I regret that the committee found it necessary to strike out a provision contained in the bill as originally introduced, which provided for compensation in the event of death or disability caused by occupational diseases. I am convinced from the study that I have given to this legislation that there are scores and scores of very pathetic cases involving either the death or disability of an employee directly traceable to disease occasioned by the nature of their occupation.

However, the enactment of this bill as reported by the committee will mark a tremendous step of progress in the relations that should exist between the Government as an employer and its employees.

The time has gone by when the wisdom of compensation legislation can be seriously questioned. No legislator can conscientiously vote in favor of compelling the private employer to submit to the terms of compensation legislation without at the same time doing everything within his power to secure the enactment of legislation to compel the Government, in its capacity as an employer, to submit to the same terms.

I do not believe that the people of this Government have approved the conduct of the Government in failing to provide for its workers suddenly left dependent because of injury and accident sustained in the course of their employment. There are very few private employers, either individuals or corporations, so heartless as not to take care of their stricken employees, even though not always obliged to do so by the terms of any special contract.

Civilization to-day recognizes the home as the very bulwark of our institutions, and public opinion cries out against the injustice involved in the breaking up of a home because its head may have suddenly lost his earning capacity through an occupational injury.

The law under consideration is intended to supersede the existing Federal compensation act of May 30, 1908. This act of May 30, 1908, although twice amended, on March 11, 1912, and again on July 27, 1912, to include certain other groups of employees engaged in so-called hazardous employments, is still very inadequate because it covers only about 100,000 of the more than 400,000 civilian employees of the Government.

These acts sought only to afford protection to those employees engaged in employment involving a recognized risk or hazard. But, Mr. Chairman, we are all glad to know that enlightened public sentiment of to-day refuses to draw the line of responsibility after such a policy of unsound reasoning. The fact that an employee may be injured in the discharge of his duty, regardless of the nature of that duty, establishes the fact of the hazard of his particular employment. This principle is definitely recognized to-day in the laws of 21 out of 32 States that have compensation laws on their statute books. These laws recognize that each industry shall bear the burden of the accidents caused by it.

In 1901 Congress made a small appropriation—$25,000—to employ acting clerks in the place of railway mail clerks who might be injured in the discharge of their duties. This provision was further amended in the Post Office appropriation bill of 1903 to include a benefit of $1,000 to the survivors of railway mail clerks fatally injured. In 1910 this benefit was increased to $2,000, and further provided for the payment of full salary for a period of one year and for half pay for another year should the disability continue that long.

By the terms of the so-called Reilly amendment, the benefits of this legislation heretofore confined to employees of the Railway Mail Service was extended to include city and rural letter carriers and clerks and other employees in first and second class post offices.

It will be observed that under the provisions of this legislation, applying to employees of the Postal Service, no benefit extended beyond a period of two years. So also, under the provisions of the act of May 30, 1908, and amending acts, no benefit extended beyond the period of one year.

None of the so-called Federal compensation legislation now existing makes any provision for the support of dependent children or parents.

The McGillicuddy bill, which we are now considering, carefully provides for all of these contingencies.

The McGillicuddy bill contains a most excellent proviso in the following paragraph of section 1 of the bill:

> But no compensation shall be paid if the injury or death is caused by the willful misconduct of the employee or by the employee's intention to bring about the injury or death of himself or of another, or if intoxication of the injured employee is the proximate cause of the injury or death.

The law providing for the compensation of postal employees has the following proviso:

> *Provided*, That no compensation shall be paid any such employee for any injury occasioned by his own negligence.

The benefits to be derived by Federal employees through the McGillicuddy bill, under section 1, as contrasted with the present compensation law for postal employees which has just been quoted are apparent.

Hundreds of postal employees have been denied benefits that Congress no doubt intended they should have, because of narrow-minded constructions of this provision by different officials of the Postal Service.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to observe that the McGillicuddy bill follows the trend of up-to-date legislation in respect to getting away from the antiquated and unjust theory of "contributory negligence," which has ever been taken advantage of to the detriment of the employee by close-fisted employers.

In conclusion, I wish to voice the sentiment that the public has a right to look to the Government as an ideal employer. Each year society comes to recognize more and more its obligation to care for its more unfortunate members. The McGillicuddy bill in every sense may be accepted as a recognition by the Government of this principle.

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## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I can not give the pending measure my support, and hence will record my vote in the negative when the roll is called. During the discussion two statements have been made on the floor of the House which I believe should be controlling, and should influence every Member to go on record against this bill. I refer to the statement of our great Speaker [Mr. CLARK of Missouri], who said that he could take the tariff schedules and write a tariff law which would produce a sufficient amount of revenue to run this Government. The second unchallenged statement was made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY], that if the duties carried by the Payne-Aldrich law were in force to-day a sufficient amount of money would be raised, from the present importation of foreign-made goods, to meet the extraordinary expenses which we are called upon to provide for by the Ways and Means Committee.

We are not justified in forcing upon the people of the United States additional and largely increased direct taxation when the money can be raised by increasing the lowest known tariff duties—by compelling our foreign competitors to pay for the valuable privilege of selling their goods in our home market.

At present more than 70 per cent of all imported goods entering our ports are on the free list. It is unjust to burden the American people with additional taxes and at the same time permit foreigners to have free entry and access to our markets on more than 70 per cent of all the goods they sell in the United States.

The foreign manufacturers who furnish over 70 per cent of our foreign goods pay no direct or indirect taxes in the United States, but we make our American plants which compete with them in this country pay Federal, State, county, and city taxes. This is unjust and unfair, and the party which stands for such a policy should not be intrusted with power to legislate for the American people.

In this connection I do not believe I can render a more valuable service to the American people than to call attention to two articles bearing upon the subject of "How shall we prepare for peace?" and "The effects of the present Democratic tariff law." These articles were prepared by Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman and chief executive officer of the United States Steel Corporation, the greatest industrial plant in the world, and by Mr. Thomas O. Marvin, the efficient and well-informed secretary of the Home Market Club, of Boston.

The articles are as follows:

#### HOW SHALL WE PREPARE FOR PEACE?

[By Elbert H. Gary.]

It is to be hoped, and I think we may expect, that nothing will occur to disturb the international relations existing at the present time between the United States and each of the foreign belligerents. We have no inclination, nor have we the present ability, to engage in war. We can prepare and we should prepare, as rapidly as possible, so that if obliged to defend ourselves, we can not be overcome. But war should be the last resort. When the present combat shall have ceased, we must be on a friendly footing with all other nations.

I would not attempt to decide, at this time, the exact influence that the entering of this country into the war would have upon industry. A discussion would be purely academic, for it is hardly probable that we shall have war. Our great and pressing problem is to prepare against war and for peace, to have an adequate Army and Navy for defense and to conserve our present prosperity so that industry may be put upon a permanent and satisfactory basis.

I am loath to believe that the European war will be long protracted. I think that the warring nations are starving for men and for money and for other essentials. They do not acknowledge this situation, but there are many signs which indicate that the supply of money, men, food, and munitions is getting low. Among these signs are the extraordinary measures of economy which all of the nations have been forced to adopt to maintain their armies and navies.

There are signs of coming peace. There is substantial proof that all of the countries deeply regret that the war was ever started, and they are really, though not admittedly, surprised that it has been prolonged to this date.

The belief is almost universal that little, if any, benefit can accrue to any belligerent country or to the world at large, unless it be the adoption of means to prevent future protracted international contests. It seems doubtful that either group of nations will absolutely conquer. The leaders of all the nations realize and appreciate these facts and are likely soon to act upon them. If not, then the masses of the people will see and decide. Any nation that prolongs the war beyond the time when it can be reasonably and honorably discontinued is slowly but surely committing suicide.

What then is our own condition, and what is the condition of the world as peace draws nearer?

The United States is doing an enormous volume of business with very high prices obtaining for raw materials and for labor. Our exports are increasing at the rate of 77 per cent over the year 1913 and these exports have considerably changed in character. We are now exporting proportionately less raw material and proportionately more fabricated material. The increase in the fabricated material means that more work is being done in this country, and that therefore we are receiving a greater proportionate amount of money for our products. A very considerable proportion of the exports is made up of war supplies for the belligerents. We can not export to Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, or Turkey, and the volume of our exports to South America, the Orient, and the others at peace is greater than before the war.

The period preceding the war and the first few months of the war were marked by an acute industrial depression. Thousands of men were idle, factories were closed or running on part time, and little money for industrial enterprises was available. The stimulating influences of war orders quickened the whole pulse of industry, and for many months past there has been work for every man who cared to work, and nearly every industry is running at its full capacity, with orders booked ahead. The United States Steel Corporation now employs 50,000 more men than it employed last year, and they receive an average of more than 20 per cent greater wage. The corporation will, perhaps, during the present year, spend $70,000,000 in betterments and improvements.

The rate of production in the iron and steel trade at the beginning of the year was about 38,000,000 tons of pig iron and about 41,000,000 tons of steel ingots annually, and at the present time is even greater. Last year the rate was only 19,000,000 tons of pig iron and 16,000,000 tons of steel ingots. Our highest previous records for production were 33,500,000 tons of pig iron in 1913 and 35,000,000 tons of steel ingots in 1912. The entire capacity of the United States Steel Corporation is booked for the current year with many orders running well into 1917.

So far as I am able to estimate, about three-fourths of the total consumption is for domestic use and the balance is exported.

Other lines of industry are also prosperous. There are evidences all about us, certainly of a great turnover, and probably of a large profit. It is still too soon to estimate the measure of our prosperity. It is unquestionably true that many enterprises in the United States have been making exceptional gains during the past 12 months. Others, however, despite an increased volume of business, are not realizing net profits commensurate with the tremendous production; the cost of labor and raw material is very high. The Federal reserve bank of Philadelphia recently asked 369 business houses the question: "Have profits increased proportionately with cost?" Ninety-seven replied, "Yes," while 212 replied "No." This investigation, extending over 33 lines of business, brought out the fact that there had been an average increase of 11 per cent in labor cost and 46 per cent in the cost of materials.

It may be that we are not quite so prosperous, taking the country far and wide, as the volume of business would indicate.

Our accumulation of gold is very great; in fact, we have a supply nearly equal to that of all the warring nations combined. Therefore we have a vast fund for credit extension.

A very important development is that success in business has again become popular. During the months of adversity preceding the war the idle men, competent and willing, but unable to find work, the unemployed tools and implements of industry, the uninvested and unremunerative dollars—in fact, every inactive agency for obtaining the comforts of life—protested in convincing language against unnecessary business adversity, until all are now alive to the fact that it is work—the legitimate and natural employment of all the utilities for production—that is demanded. For some time past there has been a wave of thought throughout our country in favor of such a change in authority as will permit a restoration of normal business conditions.

Apparently we are to have a period of industrial peace and success. Many of the antagonisms which have hitherto been so hurtful and which have prevented natural business growth have disappeared. Legitimate business will therefore have opportunity to progress in accordance with its deserts.

The United States is in a splendid position to take industrial supremacy. But we must be alive to our opportunities.

Now as to Europe. The belligerent nations are passing through a cataclysm of destruction of life and property. The debts which they have incurred are beyond our comprehension. The worth of the lost lives and property is equally beyond estimate. The countries at war are now working on the uncreated capital of the future; their currencies have been inflated through tremendous credit issues.

It does not follow, however, that when the war closes the nations now engaged will be prostrate. The wars of the past have not destroyed industrial efficiency. France, in 1870, although crushed with a great indemnity in addition to the war debt, rose thereafter to greater power than before. It may be expected that the nations will take a new start, and, in many respects, a new course, and will begin immediately to build on a better, firmer, and more permanent basis for success and high achievement. We shall see the most active and persistent efforts to rebuild and extend and to succeed in the international race for supremacy that the world has ever witnessed. From adversity will come greater prosperity than ever before, from necessity will spring thought and study and effort that will enable the survivors to reach greater heights of success than has been supposed to be within reach.

Europe is now buying on national credit, but once the war is over she will be forced to buy on personal credit and will have but a fraction of the present buying capacity. She will have men, trained and disciplined, but she will need money, and this money must come from the nations whose stores have not been depleted by war. Therefore it is to be expected that the cost of production, including wages, will decrease in Europe and that every effort will be concentrated upon gaining gold abroad through sales at lower prices.

The greatest ready-money market will be our own country, and therefore we must expect and prepare against a heavy drive upon our own markets. We have an abundance of money and a high cost of production. We will be an excellent market to sell in and a bad market to buy in.

The close of the war will not immediately check our prosperity, although undoubtedly a large number of the men now working in munition factories will be compelled within a few months to seek other employment. Our business is progressing at such a rate that its very momentum will carry on for some time to come, but I do not agree with the statements which have been made that at the close of the war we may expect in this country a prolonged continuance of the great prosperity now existing. Therefore I think that we should recognize the more or less temporary character of our prosperity and prepare ourselves for its conservation. Left to itself, our prosperity will not continue.

Our chief danger is in refusing to admit that danger is ahead. There are so many factors which are unknown and which it is impossible to predetermine that we should proceed as the careful captain of an ocean steamship might proceed through a lowering, but not impenetrable, fog. We are going at a very rapid rate. We may be going too rapidly. There is at present very great expansion and possibly some inflation. We ought to pause and look about from time to time. The soundest corporations are not now dispersing the bulk of their great earnings in unusual dividends. They are preparing a surplus for the jars and jolts which will mark the stoppage of the present high-speed run.

We must be ready to adapt ourselves to changed conditions. Our producers, including our wage earners, will find themselves in commercial antagonism with the most persistent competition ever experienced. Most of the foreign producing countries—and probably all of them—will be thoroughly protected by tariff provision, and we should be equally protected by reasonable and sufficient laws. This question of protection ought not to be one of politics, for it is a question of economics and good business; it affects all the people, and any protection which is given must be given with a view to the needs of all the people. Just before the war foreign merchants, because of cheap labor and the low transportation, were selling their products here below our cost of production. Although our products were in considerable volume, our prices often meant a net loss to the manufacturer, as the selling price of the foreign goods made the market price. Therefore, to conserve our industries to the proper extent our industries must have an adequate, scientific, and carefully considered protection.

By the very nature of things we will always be compelled to import certain commodities, but we should so organize ourselves as to be prepared to pay for these commodities not with gold but with finished goods. To thus pay in finished goods requires an industrial efficiency such as we have not previously attained, and this industrial efficiency can only be brought about by a well-balanced combination of the financial, commercial, and industrial interests in active cooperation with all classes and departments, both private and public.

In other words, Government and business must work together. We need not fear active competition, provided we are properly protected by our Government. The lack of continuous prosperity and success in this country for a number of years past has in part been the direct result of undue, ill-considered, or unjustifiable assaults which have been made by governmental agencies. Business success has not been fostered or encouraged as it should have been, and the vast possibilities of the country have not been fully utilized.

The business men of the country must give no cause for complaint in the management of their affairs; and, by thus acting, they can and should insist that the Government, with all its agencies and influences, cooperate with them and aid them in establishing credit, in extending commerce, in increasing capacity, and in the development of natural resources.

In the same connection there is ground for improvement in the business methods of the National, State, and municipal governments throughout the country. These governments have extravagantly or uselessly expended many millions of dollars. I believe that if the business methods of the United States Government were as careful and economical as those of many corporations hundreds of millions would be annually saved to the people of this country. It is self-evident that if the Government wastes money, and thereby increases the taxes, the cost of doing business will be increased, and by the amount of such increase will we be handicapped in our competition with foreign producers.

The whole trend of our times is toward lessening the cost of doing business, and the surest means to that end is cooperation, which will eliminate the wastes of business. Certainly there is a great waste if a large number of distinct and antagonistic factors are present in any business. When we find that small units will not permit us to compete with the world, we should combine those small units into larger ones that, under proper regulations, can produce the best results.

We must be prepared for radical changes in volume, in prices, and in resources. There is danger of overproduction, overextension of credit and liability, overconfidence. Business men should realize there is possible danger ahead and should proceed with cautious aggressiveness. With its great and increasing wealth, its natural resources, its productive capacity, its location, and with a well defined and settled policy, it is impossible to measure the future growth and strength of the United States. We have the opportunity to become the leading nation of the world financially, commercially, and industrially. I have seen statements that we already occupy this position. I do not quite agree with this claim. I do not think we are thus permanently established, but it seems certain that we may accomplish this result if we properly conserve our resources. If we live up to the responsibilities that circumstance has thrust upon us, we shall obtain a national reputation and influence greater than ever before possessed by any nation.

Much depends upon the management of affairs. There has never in the history of the world been so great a necessity for wise and disinterested statesmanship or for loyal and honorable conduct on the part of practical business men as at present.

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### Effects of the Democratic Tariff.

[By Thomas O. Marvin.]

On the evening of October 3, 1913, an interesting group gathered in the oval room of the executive offices at the White House. On September 30 the House of Representatives, by a vote of 255 to 104, had agreed to the conference report on the Underwood-Simmons tariff bill, and on October 2 the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 36 to 17. It had received the signature of the Speaker of the House and the presiding officer of the Senate, and only awaited the signature of the President to become a law. It was to observe that final formality, the signing of the Underwood-Simmons law by the President, that this group met in the executive office.

It was 10 minutes after 9 when this formality was concluded, and Mr. Wilson rose to speak. "I feel a very peculiar pleasure in what I have just done," he said. "I have had the accomplishment of something like this at heart ever since I was a boy." The Underwood-Simmons law, then, is not the result of a temporary impulse nor of a political compromise. It registers the definite and determined purpose of the Democratic Party, and on its success or failure the Democratic Party must stand or fall.

The "peculiar pleasure" which the President experienced when he signed this tariff act was not shared to any noticeable extent by the business men of this country. On the other side of the ocean, however, there were many who rejoiced with him when the Democratic tariff law was signed.

One of the leading Democratic papers of Boston, in an editorial printed a few days after Wilson signed the tariff law, said: "From London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, and far-away St. Petersburg continue to come the hearty plaudits of foreign producers over our new tariff law. Especially in the great English manufacturing centers, Birmingham, Manchester, the West Yorkshire milling towns, and in South Wales is the jubilation enthusiastic. British producers are making arrangements to boom their American trade. The Yorkshire Observer rejoices with the manufacturers in this vast market now opening up to them."

BRITISH MANUFACTURERS GLEEFUL.

An American business man who returned to this country shortly after the President had signed the Democratic tariff law said that he "found English manufacturers very gleeful and happy over the change in the tariff rates of this country. They one and all said that it is a great good thing for their business, and some of them went so far as to tell me that it enabled them to increase their prices on exports to this country to almost the same amount as the saving effected by the reduction in the tariff."

Charles M. Schwab, president of the Bethlehem Steel Co., found Europe in high glee over the low rates of the Democratic tariff. "Everywhere throughout Europe," he said on his return from Europe in October, 1913, "the merchants are preparing to ship heavy consignments of their products to America. It will take some little time before the invasion is well under way, but it will surely come."

A London report, dated October 7, said: "As a consequence of the removal of the American tariff and the remarkable activity in the British boot and shoe trade, British manufacturers are quietly preparing for an invasion of America, and large shipments are expected to be made soon. British bootmakers want to secure the custom of the American middle-class consumer and American workingman, and confidence is expressed that a great percentage of the market will be captured."

The morning after President Wilson signed the tariff law the New York Tribune received a dispatch from Paris which said the new tariff law is welcomed in France and that it "gives satisfaction to the leaders in French industries and commerce." A director of the German Association of Industrialists said to an American correspondent: "Unquestionably the adoption of the new American tariff is the occasion for sincere satisfaction to German exporters. It will bring about a vast increase in our export business." He, therefore, congratulated German manufacturers on "the brilliant opportunities" afforded by the Democratic tariff of invading the American market.

A RUSH OF IMPORTS.

It is certainly an unpropitious outlook when a tariff law signed by an American President receives its warmest welcome in England, France, and Germany. There is little prospect of prosperity for us in a tariff law that causes foreign manufacturers to rejoice at the opportunities for increased business which it brings to them. Increase the sale of foreign goods and you decrease the production of American goods. Send orders to England, France, and Germany and you take them away from the manufacturing towns and cities of the United States—orders for products which can be and should be manufactured here.

And this is just what happened when the tariff law which President Wilson signed took effect.

On the morning of October 3, 1913, when Mr. Wilson, in the evening shadows, gathered his little company of admiring friends to witness the signing of the Underwood-Simmons law, there were held in the bonded warehouses of the country, waiting to be released under the lower duties of the new law, foreign goods to the estimated value of $170,000,000. As the New York Tribune said, the enactment of the new tariff law with its lower duties acted "like a March thaw on the Maine landscape."

In the 48 bonded warehouses of New York $73,000,000 worth of goods were waiting for the lower duties to take effect. The value of the foreign-made goods in the New York bonded warehouses, waiting for the new tariff law to take effect, would much more than equal in value the amount of the total products for an entire year of such manufacturing cities as Lawrence, Fall River, or New Bedford.

The Boston customhouse showed an equal amount of activity. October 4 was the busiest day in its history. It was necessary to treble the number of clerks in the warehouses, and other departments had to have extra help. It was estimated that the value of foreign goods released was between $18,000,000 and $20,000,000, an amount nearly equal in value to the annual product of all the manufacturing plants of the city of Fitchburg, and as large as the total production of the city of Holyoke for the entire year of 1911.

This was one day's story of the effect of the new tariff law. It was an exceptional record and was not duplicated every day throughout the year, but the increased importation of foreign-made goods was so great that before the first year was over the effect upon the industries and workingmen of this country was shown in idle mills, unemployment, and bread lines.

When it is remembered that every thousand dollars' worth of goods imported displaces $1,000 worth of goods made here, and takes from $200 to $500 out of the pay envelopes of our working men, the effect of the new tariff law upon the prosperity of the country and upon the welfare of our workingmen can not remain in doubt.

SUDDEN DECLINE OF BUSINESS.

It was not long before the effects of the Democratic tariff law began to manifest themselves.

The New York Sun of December 15, 1913, a little over two months after the tariff law took effect, said that it is almost unanimously admitted by business men that the volume of commerce continued good until the last week in October, when a general falling off occurred.

On December 17, just two days later, the New York Journal of Commerce, in a review of business conditions in the West, said: "The West continues to be very much depressed in sentiment, and business is steadily slowing down. Business slowed down much earlier in the East than it did in the West, due chiefly to local causes and the tariff. During that period business in the West continued active under the impetus of crops. When the slowing-down process did start it amounted to almost a slump, for new orders fell off in a way that was alarming."

CURTAILMENT AND DEPRESSION.

That paper, whose antiprotectionist leanings are well known, reported that the curtailment in the iron and steel industry amounted to 30 per cent, and that in some instances this meant, too, the laying off of 30 per cent of the employees. According to the Journal of Commerce there was more unemployment in Chicago than there had been for several years.

Hon Martin W. Littleton, a Democratic Member of the Sixty-second Congress, at a dinner of the North Carolina Society, December 17, said: "New York is at this moment the center of the most remarkable pessimism I have ever known. There is a sense of depression and dismay here that I have not seen before in this great city during the 17 years that I have known it."

The Daily Trade Record of December 15 said: "With their business offices crowded with men seeking employment, labor officials are inclined to view present business conditions in a far from optimistic light. Labor is suffering and union leaders declare that they have not faced such a crisis in many years."

The Daily Iron Trade, a nonpartisan paper published in Cleveland, Ohio, said on January 15: "The steel situation continues to grow worse. The Connellsville, Pa., district coke workers' wages are being reduced 10 per cent, and 2,100 coke ovens closed down this week for an indefinite period."

Hon. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY, Representative in Congress, in a speech said: "This is the story of the iron and steel industry after 87 days of the 'New Freedom.'"

More than one-third of all the steel mills in the United States closed. More than a million men idle. More than $2,000,000 a day in wages gone. More than $125,000,000 invested in closed mills. An annual pay roll of more than $746,000,000 wiped out."

The output of bituminous coal decreased between 40 and 50 per cent; 270,000 miners were out of employment, involving a monthly loss of $12,000,000 in wages, and thousands of railroad men were thrown out of employment because over 190,000 freight cars became idle 60 days after the Democratic tariff law was passed.

Congressman HUMPHREY presented a list of 227 lumber and shingle mills that closed in the State of Washington as a result of the tariff law.

The Westinghouse Electric Co. reduced the wages of 200 employees 16⅔ per cent. The Burden Iron Works, of Troy; the Alan Wood Iron & Steel Co.; and the J. Wood & Bros. Co. also reduced wages. Of 306 blast furnaces in operation in the spring of 1912 only 183 were active three months after the new tariff law became effective.

R. G. Dun & Co. reported four months after the Democratic tariff law took effect a large increase in failures and a decrease in bank clearings of 9.3 per cent. There was a decrease in the March dividend payments of $4,637,000.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISTRESS.

It is impossible to get official figures of the unemployment of 1914, but this is no excuse for ignoring such testimony as is furnished by the charitable organizations of New York, which estimated the number of unemployed in that city from 320,000 to 350,000, or the testimony of the United Charities of Chicago that there was "almost unprecedented business depression in many circles. It has resulted in more unemployment among small wage earners than Chicago has ever experienced. We believe fully 25,000 families (or over 100,000 individuals) suffer the cruel sting of poverty here this winter. Appeals for aid from homeless men and boys have increased nearly 400 per cent over last year"; or of this testimony of William H. Farley, superintendent of the free employment office of the State of Rhode Island: "We have no record of the unemployed and know no one who could give you such data; but we find that the number of persons applying for work during the past two months is about three times that of a year ago.

A sensation was created in administration circles when the Federal Commission of Industrial Relations announced that it would inaugurate an investigation to extend from Boston to Kansas City, for the purposes of finding work for the thousands of unemployed walking the streets of all our large cities. Members of the commission tried to explain that they meant that conditions were only normal for that season of the year. An answer from Princeton, N. J., to this statement was sent to the New York Sun by a farmer who had seen the army of the unemployed marching along the highroad from Princeton to Trenton. He said that "the number of laborers (not tramps) on the march along this highway in search of work is simply appalling. I have never seen anything like it in all the years I have lived here. These tramping laborers are easily distinguished from the professional hoboes, who may be seen along the highways in the most prosperous times, and they are only too willing to work for food or a night's shelter. We are largely Democrats in this part of the State, but these are the cold facts nevertheless, whether our Democratic Senators and Representatives like them or not. It is indeed a pitiable spectacle for such a land as ours."

APPEALS FOR WORK.

In the chief cities of the country the local authorities were appealed to to provide work for the unemployed. John H. Martin, president of the Massachusetts Real Estate Exchange, in a telegram to the Secretary of the Navy urging the granting of a supply-ship contract to the Charlestown Navy Yard, said: "One-fifth of labor in this section now unemployed. Contract would assist in relieving some of this condition."

In St. Louis, on February 8, 500 homeless men, carrying a banner inscribed "We want work, not alms," and singing "Throw out the lifeline," marched to city hall and appealed to the mayor for appropriations for the relief of the poor. The parade was called the "Pageant of the unemployed."

On February 24 Gov. Walsh, of Massachusetts, and Mayor Curley, of Boston, were asked by a committee selected at a meeting of the unemployed to throw open the armories and other public buildings for sleeping purposes and the distribution of food for those out of work and to provide work for the idle.

It was not surprising that the administration viewed with alarm the gathering storm and that its spokesmen tried to minimize the appalling evil of idleness and unemployment.

THE COUNTRY'S BROKEN BUSINESS.

As Thomas B. Reed, referring to an earlier epoch of Democratic control of national legislation, said, "They are simply earnest men standing by the broken business of a whole country and trying to tell who destroyed it."

The Democrats promised to "free" business, to strike the shackles from our commerce and inaugurate an era of tremendous expansion in our foreign trade. The official figures of the Department of Commerce show that our total foreign trade for the first six months of the Wilson-Underwood tariff amounted to $2,267,283,000. For the same six months under the Payne-Aldrich tariff our foreign trade amounted to $2,345,251,000, a loss in six months of nearly $100,000,000.

Exports of leather from Leeds, England, to the United States under the new tariff amounted in three months to $211,000. For the corresponding months under the protective tariff leather exports to the United States from Leeds were only $47,507.

New England's great shoe and leather industry felt the effect of the prevailing depression. Shoe factories were working on short time, and a large leather concern near Salem complained of the excessive competition of German tanners. For the first time since their business was incorporated, in 1901, they ran at only 75 per cent of their capacity and on only five days a week. They claimed also that they could sell only 60 per cent of their reduced production.

Trade statistics from all directions told the same story of distress and depression. President Wilson said that the cause was "psychological." Mr. Wilson may be a good psychologist, but Vice President Vauclain, of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, showed that he was a better logician when he declared at a convention in Philadelphia that the reduced tariff lies at the root of the stagnation of business. "If this stagnation continues," he said, "the manufacturers of the United States will have no alternative but to cut wages to European levels." He told the Master Boilers' Association that the average weekly wage in the boiler works of France is $6.20, while in the Baldwin Works the weekly average is $15.50. The French product is just as well made as the American, he said. When the Underwood law was passed, Mr. Vauclain said, the Baldwin Works had 18,500 men on its pay roll; six months later 12,000 of them were looking for jobs.

SUMMARY OF DEMOCRATIC TARIFF EFFECTS.

Let me summarize some of the features which marked our industrial condition during the first year of the Underwood-Simmons law, features which President Wilson called "a state of mind." Among them are 18,280 failures during the year 1914, the worst record in history in number, and exceeded in amount of liabilities only by another fateful Democratic year, 1893. Bank clearings, a fair measure of the country's business, were nearly $20,000,000,000, or 11.1 per cent less than they were in 1912, the last year of Republican administration. Capital invested in new enterprises was less by over $600,000,000 in 1914 than in 1913, and over $700,000,000 less in 1912. Railroad gross earnings declined 4.4 per cent; iron productions, 25.3 per cent; and copper deliveries, 15 per cent. Steel mills were reduced to 40 per cent of capacity; 40 per cent of the looms of our woolen mills were idle on December 1, and capital amounting to $41,000,000 invested in cotton mills was unproductive. The prices of cotton goods at the mills fell off nearly 30 per cent, and the dividends the last quarter of 1914 in 27 New Bedford mills averaged 0.98 per cent; in 38 Fall River mills, 0.96 per cent. The importation of boots and shoes, though still not alarmingly large in amount, more than doubled. The importation of cotton cloths increased 80 per cent. England's exports of woolens to the United States showed the phenomenal increase to 8,219,000 yards in 1914, as compared with 2,190,000 in 1913, while in worsteds England's shipments to the United States were 32,790,000 yards, against only 9,218,000 in the preceding year.

The severity of the business depression of 1914 is emphasized by the annual reports of the great steel-manufacturing plants of the country of their operations during the year. The United States Steel Corportion reported for the last quarter of the year the smallest earnings of its career, and was forced to pass the dividend on its common stock.

REDUCED EARNINGS.

The showings made by some of these companies in 1914 are an unanswerable argument against the present low tariff system. Net results of several companies, as set forth by the Daily Iron Trade, were as follows:

The Cambria Steel Co. earned 4.36 per cent on its outstanding capital in 1914.

The Republic Iron & Steel Co. earned 4.12 per cent on its preferred stock, as compared with 12.4 per cent the previous year. It passed its September and December dividends.

The J. G. Brill Co., Philadelphia car manufacturer, earned 3.47 per cent on its preferred, which compares with 19.63 per cent in 1913. Dividends were reduced in November and February from 1¾ per cent to 1 per cent.

Net earnings of the Republic Iron & Steel Co. for the fiscal year ended December 31, 1914, were equivalent to 4.12 per cent, as compared with $3,101,300, or 12.4 per cent last year. The Republic Co. experienced its full share of the depression ruling in the iron and steel trade. Chairman John A. Topping, in his remarks to stockholders, stated that the year was decidedly the worst in the history of the company.

Hard as the blow was that fell upon the industries of the country, as manifested in curtailed production and decreased dividends, the most distressing result of the Democratic tariff was the loss in wages to our workingmen and the appalling increase in unemployment.

The eighth annual report of the State free employment offices of Massachusetts, covering the year ending November 30, 1914, shows that for the first time since 1906 positions offered in the four offices fell off 27.32 per cent in 1914 from the preceding year; the number of positions reported filled fell off 15.13 per cent, the number of persons furnished employment fell off 18.95 per cent, and the number of persons applied for by employers fell off 19.53 per cent.

The offers of positions in the Boston office fell off 36.36 per cent in 1914 from 1913; the number of positions reported filled, 25.02 per cent; the number of persons furnished employment, 29.53 per cent; and the number of persons applied for by employers, 27.83 per cent. For the Springfield office the decrease in the number of offers of positions was 36.04 per cent; in the number of positions reported filled, 25.98 per cent; in the number of persons furnished employment, 31.47 per cent; and in the number of persons applied for by employers, 32.14 per cent. For the Fall River office the decrease in the number of offers of positions was 20.56 per cent; in the number of positions reported filled, 11.35 per cent; in the number of persons furnished employment, 23.90 per cent; and in the number of persons applied for by employers, 25.26 per cent.

The superintendent of the Springfield office reports as follows for the year 1914:

"The business of the Springfield office this year, for the first time since the office was opened, shows a decrease as compared with that of the preceding year."

*Partial list of unemployed in Greater New York.*

[From a Census of the Unemployed, by Samuel A. Stodel, from Dec. 15, 1914, to Jan. 9, 1915.]

| | |
|---|---|
| Clothing workers (all branches garment industry) | 125,000 |
| General unskilled laborers | 100,000 |
| Building mechanics (32 trades) | 75,000 |
| Store and office workers (bookkeepers, clerical help, and stenographers) | 75,000 |
| Machinists and general metal workers | 30,000 |
| Drivers and general help (wholesale food supply and dry goods distributors) | 25,000 |
| Hotel and restaurant workers | 25,000 |
| Longshoremen | 15,000 |
| Cigar and tobacco workers | 15,000 |
| Domestic help | 15,000 |
| Department store employees | 10,000 |
| Railroad workers (all grades) | 10,000 |
| Printing and allied trades (lithographers, etc.) | 10,000 |
| Shoe workers | 8,000 |
| Laundry workers | 7,500 |
| Millinery workers | 6,000 |
| City employees | 3,000 |
| Firemen (steamboat and stationary) | 3,000 |
| Engineers (steamboat and stationary) | 1,500 |
| Jewelry workers | 3,000 |
| Diamond workers | 700 |
| Total | 562,700 |

The most careful surveys showed that where there was one man unemployed in 1913–14, there were two unemployed during the winter of 1914–15. Without exaggeration it was conceded by those familiar with conditions that 1 out of every 5 breadwinners was unemployed. This unemployment was concentrated in cities primarily, but the small towns and villages also felt the shock and found it necessary to organize relief measures.

An official canvass in Philadelphia showed 200,000 men unemployed; the house-to-house canvass of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. of its policyholders in New York, thrifty people ordinarily, gave the basis for an estimate of 357,000 men and women out of work in the entire city. The labor organizations in New York City estimated that 472,102 were either out of work or on part time. In Chicago in January the municipal-markets commission estimated 189,866 out of work. A Cleveland survey in December showed 61,000 unemployed; the city charities in Philadelphia estimated that Philadelphia's unemployed numbered 175,000.

NEED OF PROTECTION WHEN WAR ENDS.

Such is the story of the havoc wrought up to the outbreak of the war by the Democratic tariff law which President Wilson signed on the evening of October 3, 1913, with so much complacency and with such great satisfaction.

It did not reduce the cost of living. It did not increase our export trade. It did not bring prosperity to business or employment to our workingmen. It did not yield sufficient revenue for the Government. It reduced a favorable trade balance and sent import figures to an alarming height.

Then came the great European war, which for a time put a stop to the increasing rush of imports. But the channels of ocean trade did not remain permanently closed. Competition from German mills and factories very largely ceased, but England continues to ship her surplus products here. And when the war closes, as close it will, a renewal of competition fiercer than any we have ever known will come upon us.

War orders to an enormous amount have given a temporary stimulus to business, but war munitions can not form a safe or lasting basis of American prosperity.

Before long we shall face a world seeking to recover the ground which has been lost; strained and ruined lands that will seek our markets for means to rebuild their shattered fortunes. To hold our own under the present tariff law will be impossible. National safety demands the reenactment of a protective tariff. Preparedness is as much needed for the economic and industrial safety of our country as it is for military and naval defense. We do not want to employ our Army in the stern business of war, but we do want to employ all of our wage earners in the pursuit of peace. This can not be done under the Democratic tariff policy. It can be done only under the Republican policy of protection, and all patriotic Americans should enroll under the Republican banner and march to the polls, an invincible army, to demand a return of protection and prosperity.

## Address of Hon. Isaac Siegel.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 18, 1916.*

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address of Hon. ISAAC SIEGEL, at Mount Morris Park, New York City.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. ISAAC SIEGEL TO 10,000 CHILDREN AT MOUNT MORRIS PARK, NEW YORK CITY.

We are here to-day to celebrate the one hundred and thirty-ninth anniversary of the birth of our flag, for it was on June 14, 1777, that the Continental Congress resolved:

That the flag of the 13 United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

Let me remind you that the white stripes stand for justice, purity, and fair dealing amongst men as well as nations; the red stripes exemplify the blood that has been freely given on numerous occasions in its defense, and that the Union might live; the blue denotes our belief that Heaven's blessings are necessary in order for the Republic to exist and prosper.

Our flag is the symbol of opportunity. It waves over a land where every man can reach the highest goal to which he may aspire, but he must be honest and recognize that the fundamental principles upon which this Government is founded are faithful service to the people and conscientious devotion to duty. His loyalty to our flag and country must be beyond question.

Where, outside of the United States, could you have as the nominee for President of a great party a son of an immigrant? Gov. Charles E. Hughes was born in 1862, but his parents came here only seven years before. Yet there are men living in this land who are pessimists and who try to tell you that the doors of success here are closed.

We ask no man his religion or where he was born. We ask no man to make sacrifices for the Nation's best welfare that we would not personally make. We have come to a time, however, in this country when we shall and must refuse to tolerate in our midst those who burn our flag and refuse to give it that homage and respect which all patriotic Americans owe to it. For such we have no room. The sooner they realize that liberty of speech and freedom of action does not license desecration of our flag or denunciation of our institutions, the better not only for their own personal liberty but for the common good of our whole country.

To see our flag respected and honored, both abroad and at home, should be the desire of every good and true American man, woman, and child. To have our passports recognized everywhere and American travelers protected under the folds of Old Glory is the devout wish of red-blooded American citizens.

We shall never be the aggressor in any war. Our mission is peace. We desire peace. We shall never seek war, but should the time ever come that our flag is fired upon and our land attacked, then we must have ready a navy equal in efficiency to any Government in the world. We do not need the largest navy, but we must have men, guns, and ships of the highest class.

New York is a patriotic city. Its citizens in the future, as in the past, will never forget Dix's famous message, "If any man attempts to haul down our flag, shoot him on the spot."

In their ears ring the words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship." We do not propose either to give up the ship or ever haul down our flag. We are going to teach our children and the growing generation the full meaning of what Nathan Hale meant when he said, "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country." The sooner those words are thoroughly instilled in the minds of our children the sooner we shall have our people thoroughly know that no country is worth living in unless it is worth fighting for.

The boys of Harlem are in the Army and Navy. They are doing their duty everywhere. We have a right to be proud of them. You remember how a few weeks ago one of our boys was killed at Glen Springs, Tex., and how he was brought home. You remember how we marched through the streets to the tune of fife and drum and bugle, taking him to his last resting place. I refer to William Cohen, of Troop A, Fourteenth Cavalry. He died for our flag. He died for you and me. He willingly gave up his life that we might live in security and peace. He knew what the flag meant to him. It meant love and devotion to his country. He knew that men, women, and children have come here from all the four corners of the earth to make this their permanent home. To learn to thoroughly understand our institutions and to give their children the best education that can be had are their ambitions in life. They seek to make progress in every line of endeavor and are doing so. They help to make America what it is, and they are prepared to make every sacrifice that the Nation may require in its hour of need. They love America. They revere our flag. They know its sentiments. They cherish every fold of it, and they have no use for anyone who would tear it down. Whether native or foreign born, we must be prepared to repel our foe. We must educate our children to know that each and every one of them must grow up into law-abiding citizens, respecting our flag and determined to help make our country greater and grander in every way. We must teach them that this is a country of laws, not men.

We must have them learn early in life that they must share the burden of citizenship some day, and that in order to intelligently do so they must study our form of government and never to forget that this is a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Let me also at this point say that great credit is due to Mrs. Prisk for doing so much to bring about the observance of this day this year.

In conclusion let me read to you a poem that brought forth tremendous applause at Chicago last week:

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

Your flag and my flag, and, oh, how much to-day
In your land and my land and half a world away;
Rose red and blood red its stripes forever gleam,
Snow white and soul white, the good forefathers' dream;
Sky blue and true blue, with stars that gleam aright;
The gloried guidon of the day, a shelter through the night.

Your flag and my flag, and, oh, how much it holds!
Your land and my land, secure within its folds;
Your heart and my heart beat quicker at the sight,
Sun kissed and wind tossed, the red and blue and white;
The one flag—the great flag—the flag for me and you,
Glorifies all else beside, the red and white and blue.

## The Cambridge Post-Office Situation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 18, 1916.*

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following:

LETTER OF HON. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE EIGHTH MASSACHUSETTS DISTRICT, TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CAMBRIDGE BOARD OF TRADE RELATIVE TO THE CAMBRIDGE POST-OFFICE SITUATION.

WASHINGTON, *April 7, 1916.*

GILBERT A. A. PEVEY, Esq.,
*Chairman Special Post-Office Committee, Board of Trade.*

DEAR MR. PEVEY: In justice to the thorough and painstaking investigation which your committee has been making of the question of improved postal facilities, I feel it my duty to give your committee a clear and unequivocal statement of my position.

As you well know, for many years there has been much complaint from the residents and business men of Cambridge in regard to our postal service. A number of different committees have investigated the matter, and it has been found impossible to get any adequate relief from the postmaster of Boston, who has 80 substations under his supervision and finds it difficult, if not impossible, to secure enough carriers to keep up with the increase of population.

Cambridge differs from the other suburbs of Boston in the fact that, in addition to being a residential city, it is a great university center, as well as a large manufacturing community. The university and the population residing in its immediate vicinity, being close to the Cambridge office, have, as a rule, enjoyed excellent service so far as promptness of delivery is concerned, although there have been occasional complaints from some of the college officials regarding delays in the mail, particularly as to mail coming from a distance. From the other parts of the city, however, complaints of constant and exasperating delays have been on the increase.

After a careful investigation of the subject in all its phases I became convinced that the fault was not due to the clerks and carriers employed in our four substations but to the fact that these substations are treated as simply four of a large number of residential stations and that Cambridge is not treated, as a whole, by some one whose sole business it is to see to it that the different parts of the city are given the postal facilities that they require.

The remedy suggested by my predecessor was the erection of a large building in Cambridge at an expense to the Federal Government of $300,000, a bill for which he introduced in the first session of the Sixty-third Congress. Failing to see how this would remedy the situation in the slightest degree and believing that it is the duty of a Representative in Congress not only to do what he is asked to do but to propose remedies for existing evils, I continued my investigations further and found that the only other large manufacturing city in the metropolitan district, namely, Lynn, had been recently consolidated with the Boston postal district, but that, after six months' experience, with practical unanimity, it demanded to be restored to its in-

dependent status. This was done at the instance of Congressman PHELAN, with the approval of Mr. Murray, then a Member of Congress. Finding that the business men of Lynn, as well as the business men of other manufacturing cities, were getting more prompt and satisfactory service than that enjoyed by Cambridge, I publicly advocated the separation of Cambridge from the Boston postal district and its establishment as an independent first-class office, both before and after my election, and introduced a separate bill for that purpose last December. Wherever I spoke in Cambridge I advocated the change, and everywhere the proposition met with enthusiastic approval. Moreover, I talked the matter over with citizens and business men of all parts of the city and also with many of the clerks and carriers, all of whom seemed to think that the change would prove beneficial both to the public and to the postal employees. This seemed about the only way in which we could get the necessary number of carriers to keep up with the rapid growth in population in many parts of our city.

I expected when I came to Washington that it would take at least a number of years to secure the passage of my separate bill. After talking the matter over, however, with members of the Post Office Committee, I decided to offer my bill as an amendment to the Post Office appropriation bill. Practically all of such amendments during the week and a half that this bill was under discussion were ruled out on points of order or defeated by the House.

Fortunately, however, I was able to convince the House that my amendment was a reasonable one, and it was unanimously adopted. Up to that time I had supposed that everyone, including the people living in the vicinity of Harvard Square, were in favor of the proposed change as the only means of securing the postal facilities which we ought to have and which other communities similarly situated are enjoying. The fact that I asked for no appropriation for any public building, and the further fact that I offered my amendment under a Democratic administration was conclusive proof that I was neither after "pork" nor desirous of patronage, but was actuated solely by a desire to improve existing conditions.

Some little time after the passage of the Post Office appropriation bill by the House one of the Democratic Congressmen from Boston told me that he understood that Postmaster Murray feared that his salary might be reduced if the proposed change went through. Immediately afterwards I heard that the postal clerks and letter carriers of Cambridge had held a meeting, which was addressed by Mr. Murray's assistant, and that they, under the misapprehension that the proposed change would involve a reduction in the number of deliveries and a corresponding reduction in the number of clerks and carriers, accompanied by a reduction in their salaries, were telling people on their routes that their service would be impaired rather than benefited. I also learned that a majority of the members of the city council had been practically pledged to vote against the proposed change, and that a special committee of five members of the council were to hold a public hearing on the question at City Hall. At considerable inconvenience I came on from Washington to attend that meeting, believing that I could convince the clerks and carriers, as well as the public, to whom they had spoken, that they were wrong in their premises, as the department in Washington assured me that none of the things which they feared would take place, and that they had not taken place when Lynn was separated from the Boston postal district. I found, however, that I was unable to convince them, and that they honestly believe that they, as well as the public, will not be so well off if Cambridge is made a separate post office. Moreover, in spite of the facts which I have caused to be published, and in spite of the fact that with one exception all the newspapers published in Cambridge have advocated the change, a great many of our people, including many of the business concerns for whose benefit the proposed change was intended, have apparently believed the clerks and carriers and have signed petitions against a separate post office.

Furthermore, the fact that, with few exceptions, the business men and manufacturers most vitally interested in improved Postal Service have not taken the trouble to attend either of the public hearings or to publicly advocate the change, while, on the other hand, a large number of the citizens and business men of Cambridge have appeared in opposition to it, has convinced me that, as a representative of the people of Cambridge, the opposition to the proposed change is so great that I ought not to press the matter further, but should allow the amendment for a separate post office to be stricken off in the Senate without insisting upon its retention when it comes back to the House. Even if this opposition, based, as I believe, upon a complete misunderstanding of the facts, did not exist, nevertheless the fact that the present postmaster of Boston is evidently determined to oppose the change in the case of Cambridge, although he cooperated to make the separation of Lynn a success, combined with the honest although mistaken belief on the part of the clerks and carriers that they would not be so well off, would make the success of the proposed change exceedingly difficult if not impossible.

I wish to say in conclusion that if the people who have seen fit to oppose this proposed change had given it, as I had every reason to expect they would, their enthusiastic support, I am absolutely convinced that I would have been able to secure not only enough more carriers to insure a prompt delivery of mail to all parts of our city, but I should also have been able to secure a new substation at Inman Square and one at Kendall Square, with connections by pneumatic-tube service through the Cambridge subway from the North and South Stations to Kendall, Central, and Harvard Squares, as well as from the North Station to East Cambridge by way of the viaduct, together with adequate automobile service not only inside of Cambridge but also between Cambridge and the adjoining suburbs. I was willing to take the responsibility of securing all of these benefits and also the delivery of mail to our business men at least 12 hours earlier than they are now getting it, and of securing for our city the best Postal Service of any in the country.

Under all the circumstances, however, while I have not changed my mind in the slightest degree as to the wisdom of the proposed change, if inaugurated under favorable conditions, I believe it inexpedient to force the issue at a time when the powers that be are evidently determined to throw every obstacle in the way of the success of a remedy which has worked so successfully elsewhere. I feel that in this whole matter I have done my full duty and can not be held responsible if Cambridge continues to fail to receive from the department at Washington the Postal Service to which a city of its size and importance is entitled. The fact that the postmaster of Boston has for the first time admitted that the Postal Service is unsatisfactory is certainly one good result of the agitation.

Regretting that the situation here will not permit the keeping of this matter in abeyance until after the report of your committee and the next meeting of the board of trade, I remain,

Very truly, yours,

FREDERICK W. DALLINGER.

Mr. Speaker, the following is an article on the Cambridge post-office situation, published in the Cambridge Chronicle of April 29, 1916:

POSTAL SERVICE FOUND INADEQUATE—SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF BOARD OF TRADE SUSTAINS CONTENTIONS OF ADVOCATES OF AN INDEPENDENT POST OFFICE—RECOMMENDS THAT PRESENT SYSTEM BE GIVEN BUT ONE MORE YEAR'S TRIAL.

Congressman DALLINGER'S stand in favor of an independent post office for Cambridge was unanimously indorsed by the special committee of the board of trade, which has been investigating the matter, in a report submitted at the monthly meeting held Wednesday night. While the committee, in view of the Congressman's decision not to press the matter for the time being, did not recommend an independent office at this time, it did recommend that the organization give Postmaster Murray a year in which to improve the local service, and in case he did not accomplish it that the movement for legislation for an independent office be taken up again. The report was a most exhaustive consideration of the whole subject. The service was condemned and every argument made for an independent office. The bugaboo that there would be a reduction in the number of employees under an independent office was dispelled by comparisons with Worcester and Fall River. The special committee consists of G. A. A. Pevey, Dr. David C. Dow, Alton H. Hathaway, M. R. Jouett, jr., and James J. Scully.

The report in full is as follows:

PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE BOARD OF TRADE.

GENTLEMEN: Perhaps no question of such importance to the interests of Cambridge, and to its individual inhabitants, has been presented to the board of trade as that of the postal facilities of the city, and the question as to whether or not the present arrangements are the best that can be secured under all conditions and circumstances as they now exist. Whether or not these facilities can the better be used for the benefit of Cambridge in the establishment of an independent post office is the direct inquiry you have placed before your committee upon which to report its conclusions.

When your committee was appointed considerable agitation and interest were manifest in this matter, more especially due to the fact, perhaps, that the Congressman from this district, the Hon. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER, made this question a direct issue of his political campaign, and after his election at once moved to put the idea into effect. Very recently he caused an amendment to be attached to the Post Office appropriation bill, separating Cambridge from the Boston postal district. This amendment was favorably acted on by the National House of Representatives and was referred to the National Senate for further consideration.

This question is so comprehensive that your committee desires to take as much time as was practicable for investigation. It received assurances from Washington that if the report was submitted on April 26 and acted on by the board of trade at that time, such action could be considered by the Senate committee before it took final action on Congressman DALLINGER'S amendment. The committee was, of course, unable to foresee the Congressman's decision to allow his amendment to be stricken from the bill, and this report is therefore submitted at a time when no immediate action is contemplated.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION.

Your committee has made personal inquiries of and conferred with two of the local superintendents, and also with Congressman DALLINGER and Postmaster Murray. Letters have been sent to over 500 business and professional men, asking them to state whether or not their service is satisfactory and what improvements they could suggest. The committee has also conferred with a large number of men who were particularly well informed on this subject, being most scrupulous to obtain all shades of opinion. Reliable information regarding the service in other cities has been secured. Important phases of the problem have been subject to individual investigation and the facts submitted to the committee. The committee has had at its disposal the services of Secretary Crane, and is especially indebted to Mr. Crane, and also is indebted to Clement T. Bates, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, for highly efficient service in collecting data and special investigation.

FACTS OF INTEREST.

The Boston postal district includes within its jurisdiction 80 substations, of which number Cambridge constitutes 4. With the exception of Boston, Cambridge is the largest city within this postal district, having a population of 108,855. It stands fourth in the list of Massachusetts cities in its wealth, and eighth in the value of its manufacturing products. No other independent city of this size, wealth, and business interests in the country is thus connected as a subdivision or part of a large postal district, but in every case each city has an independent and separate postal service within distinct divisions. Even the city of Brooklyn when made a part of metropolitan New York retained its independent postal service.

ANNEXATIONISTS OPPOSED SEPARATE POST OFFICE.

Some 40 years ago, when the agitation for a "Greater Boston" was active, and efforts were being made to include Cambridge within this "Greater Boston," an act was passed by Congress making Cambridge a part of the Boston postal district. At that time Cambridge was not entitled as now to a first-class office. In 1896 Congress laid down the rule in the general Post Office appropriation bill that every county seat in the United States should be an independent post office. Cambridge, however, was exempted from the provisions of this act, so that, as the law now stands, every county seat in the United States is an independent post office except Cambridge, Mass., Clayton, Mo., and Towson, Md.

Since then this agitation for the annexation of Cambridge to Boston has arisen several times, but has not met with much encouragement, and Cambridge has retained its identity as a separate municipality. As a tendency perhaps toward this consolidation of interest, however, there now exists by force of statutes a metropolitan park and boulevard system, including highways, and a metropolitan sewerage system, toward the maintenance of which Cambridge contributes its proportional share with other cities and towns in the metropolitan district. Cambridge, however, has not yet been made a part of the metropolitan water system, established by the metropolitan water district, but has a distinct water system of its own. There can be no question that this act before mentioned, placing Cambridge in the Boston postal district, has to some degree lessened the identity and individuality of Cambridge as a city, and that the establishment of a separate post office would have a tendency, at least to some considerable extent, to promote and make more apparent the individual existence of Cambridge as an independent city and municipal unit.

REASONS FOR DELAY UNDER PRESENT SYSTEM.

Complaints of the mail service in Cambridge have, in the final analysis, been confined to those cases where there has been delay from one of two main causes. Delays have been due either to the system by which mail is actually brought to Cambridge—and this includes its transportation between the different substations—or to the peculiar sectional problem by which mail intended for Cambridge A, B, or C has been sent to the Cambridge office.

PRESENT METHODS OF TRANSPORTING MAIL.

Under the present system all mail intended for Cambridge and coming in over the railroads goes to Boston and is then sent back to Cambridge by automobile. This automobile system does not serve Cambridge alone, but serves it merely as part of a larger route. Similarly, outward mail is carried to Boston by automobile and then sent out by train. There can be no question that one of the chief causes of delay is the inadequacy of this automobile service. This service is run on a schedule, but this schedule is not adapted to the needs of Cambridge alone but also to other points which are included in the route. If the service breaks down, as has frequently happened in the past, mail lies dead for a long period in the various local substations. Even when the service is on schedule there seems to be unnecessary delay, which can be obviated only by adapting this service to the needs of Cambridge alone. The committee emphasizes this point because it believes that this constitutes one of the chief defects in the present system.

A, B, C DIFFICULTY.

Delays under the present system have been due not only to the loss of time incident to carrying the mail into Boston and back but to the peculiar sectional problem in Cambridge as well.

In Cambridge at present there are four substations—Cambridge (Harvard Square), Station A (Central Square), Station B (North Cambridge), Station C (East Cambridge). Each substation has a superintendent. Mail coming by rail for Cambridge is sorted in the trains by railway mail clerks. If directed to Cambridge, without designations "A," "B," and "C," such mail will mostly go to the Cambridge station (Harvard Square). In this way a large amount of mail which was meant for other portions of Cambridge is misdirected. The number of pieces of mail so misdirected and sent to the Cambridge substations will average about 4,000 a day, causing inconvenience, if not loss, to as many individuals.

This difficulty has existed ever since the A, B, C designations were adopted, and no material progress has been made toward effecting improvement. It seems to be a hopeless task to make much progress in solving it by attempting to educate the public on this point, as comparatively few persons can be expected to know that a letter addressed to a person residing on a certain street should be directed to a specific substation. The railway mail clerks can not be expected to be sufficiently well informed concerning Cambridge streets to be able to put mail into the channel which will lead to the correct substation.

Over a year ago the grievance committee of the board of trade made a report on the Postal Service and designated this A, B, C, difficulty as the chief cause of complaint. That committee recommended that a separate department for Cambridge be created at the Back Bay station, to which all mail received at the central Boston office or other stations in the Boston district could be concentrated for sorting, and there sorted by clerks whose sole attention would be directed to sorting Cambridge mail, and who could, therefore, become thoroughly familiar with Cambridge designations.

No progress has been made for putting such a plan into operation. In this connection it should be said that Postmaster Murray has plans in mind for solving this problem, with which the committee will deal later.

DELAY IN EARLY MORNING MAIL.

Considerable complaint has been made as to delay in the early morning mail, especially by business men. This delay is doubtless largely caused by one or both of the reasons outlined above. It may also be due to the fact that Cambridge is treated as four residential stations, and the particular attention to which Cambridge is justly entitled, applicable to special phases of the local situation, is not given.

POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS.

Your committee recognizes the fact that any system of operation is subject to improvement. We recognize that expert knowledge is necessary in order to correctly diagnose this problem of improving the Cambridge mail service, but we venture to submit the following suggestions, which our study and investigation lead us to believe would benefit the situation.

Arrangements might be made by which pouches for Cambridge could be left by means of arms at the Allston station of the Boston & Albany, the Cambridge station of the Fitchburg division of the Boston & Maine, and possibly near-by stations on the southern, western, and eastern divisions of the Boston & Maine. Such an arrangement would not be unprecedented. Before entering the Boston district Watertown was able to have mail pouches dropped at Newton, and the pouches were then carried to Watertown by wagon. The result was much more satisfactory than the present arrangement by which the mail goes to Boston first. If Watertown was able to do this, there can be little doubt that the larger and more important station of Cambridge would be entitled to similar arrangements. There should be little or no trouble in getting the independent automobiles for this service, as but two or three light trucks would be necessary, and a city like Cambridge is certainly entitled to equipment of this nature, devoted solely to local use. Such an arrangement as this should result in a reduction in time necessary to transport mail from or to Cambridge.

As pointed out above, it ought to be possible to get the mail into Cambridge in a shorter time than at present. Under an arrangement, such as proposed above, much of this mail would be in separate pouches for the four offices in Cambridge, for the mail would still continue to be worked by the railway mail clerks. These pouches would be taken by the Cambridge trucks direct to the individual stations, but there would still remain the so-called misdirected mail. This would go to the office called Cambridge and from there would be sent to its proper designation. In order to send this mail on promptly adequate interstation transportation and adequate clerical forces would be necessary. As to the former, the automobiles for transporting the mail pouched to and from the trains would serve, and as to the latter, if the present force of clerks and carriers were not adequate, a sufficient force should be obtained. A sufficient force of clerks to sort this misdirected mail and the independent and direct automobile service would do much to solve the present difficulty.

PRESENT FACILITIES FOR CAMBRIDGE.

We have at present, as above stated, four substations fairly equipped for efficient and speedy work. In the substations, besides the superintendents, we have in Cambridge 23 clerks and 40 carriers; in Cambridge "A," 20 clerks and 36 carriers; in Cambridge "B," 6 clerks and 15 carriers; and in Cambridge "C," 8 clerks and 9 carriers. This number of employees provides for Cambridge three or four deliveries, varying with the locality. In this connection the committee desires to call attention to the fact that in Cambridge "B" (North Cambridge), despite a large increase in population, there has very recently been a reduction in the number of deliveries.

PER CAPITA RECEIPTS AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES.

The attention of the committee has been directed to the fact that at present the Cambridge post office as part of the Boston district enjoys the benefit of being part of a service which has per capita receipts of $6.45, while as an independent office the per capita receipts of Cambridge would be but $3.29. Furthermore it has been argued that the number of clerks and carriers depends on the per capita receipts of the office, and that the number would be reduced if Cambridge were to become independent. The commmittee is convinced, on the other hand, that receipts are not the sole factor, for it is informed by Washington that while receipts do not enter the problem, population, amount, and character of the mail, and other factors are considered in determining the number of clerks and carriers. But even granted that the per capita receipts are the determining factor, it is by no means clear that Cambridge would lose if it became independent.

At present, as part of the Boston post office, with per capita receipts of $6.45, Cambridge has in the four stations 157 employees. That is, as part of the Boston district, for every $0.0410 of per capita receipts, Cambridge has one employee. Worcester has per capita receipts of $3.89 and 206 employees, or one employee for every $0.0188 of per capita receipts—the rate is much lower in Worcester. The advantage of being in the Boston system does not seem to be very clear, for at the same rate, per employee, as in Worcester, Cambridge independent and with per capita receipts of $3.29, should have 174 employees instead of 157 as at present. The same thing holds true if Cambridge is compared with other cities. New Bedford, for example, has one employee for every $0.0194 of per capita receipts, and at the same rate Cambridge should have 169 instead of 157 as at present. Moreover, the receipts of the Cambridge offices have been steadily increasing. The receipts of the Cambridge A office, for example, have increased 29 per cent since 1911. It is interesting to note in this connection that the number of employees in the Cambridge A office has increased but 14.5 per cent in the same time. From these facts it would appear that there is no validity in the argument that a reduction in the amount of per capita receipts which Cambridge is considered as having at present would result in a reduction in the number of employees, but on the contrary, that Cambridge would be able to get any increase in the force if such an increase is necessary to good service.

It is therefore apparent that other considerations than per capita receipts are factors in determining the needs of any particular district and the service to which it is entitled; the character of the occupation of each district, the locality of its business interests, and of its

residential population. In regard to Cambridge more especially, its colleges and other educational and public institutions would seem to enter into the question of service and vitally affect the number of clerks and carriers necessary.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF AN INDEPENDENT POST OFFICE.

Among others the following forcible and pertinent arguments were made to your committee in favor of an independent post office:

That Cambridge is entitled to such service because Cambridge is a county seat, and, as before stated, one of the largest manufacturing cities in the Commonwealth, and the seat of Harvard University; that an independent post office would tend to gain for Cambridge that respect and favorable treatment at Washington and elsewhere to which its position entitles it; that it would help to establish Cambridge as a separate city with an individuality, and that good postal service in Cambridge would have an appreciable effect in getting Cambridge manufacturers with offices in Boston to move their offices and post-office boxes to Cambridge. It is argued this would mean more deposits in Cambridge banks, as the deposit of the company follows its office; that the banks would gain through an independent office, as all postal deposits would be kept in Cambridge banks instead of in Boston, as at present; and that an independent office would afford an opportunity for southern and western mail to come direct to Cambridge by utilizing local and near-by railroad stations.

An independent post office would mean an independent postmaster, and would bring about several improvements in service. In the first place, the postmaster would necessarily be a local man and as such thoroughly in touch with local conditions and local problems. His entire time would be devoted to the solving of these local problems, and his sole aim would be to serve the Cambridge public. In contrast to this, under the present system, the Boston postmaster must care for Cambridge stations along with 76 others; he must, as his first duty, care for the great business interests of Boston and only incidentally try to improve the service in the suburban districts. As an example of this, the condition of affairs in the business districts of Cambridge may be cited.

The time and number of deliveries is causing considerable dissatisfaction there, and the cause seems to be simply that Cambridge is administered as part of a larger system having a uniform service. In Fall River, on the other hand, with much smaller per capita receipts, the business district gets five deliveries a day and six on Fridays and Saturdays. Not only would the independent postmaster give his entire time to Cambridge problems, but he would be directly responsible to and more easily reached by the Cambridge public. The present superintendent must always try to please the Boston postmaster by economy as well as serve the Cambridge public; he can not decide questions of local policy; and he can not even be reached by telephone from Cambridge without first calling up the Boston office. The greater responsibility and accessibility of the independent postmaster, combined with his greater knowledge of and interest in local affairs, would be highly advantageous to the public.

The experience of the city of Lynn is a strong argument in favor of an independent post office for Cambridge. Lynn was independent, but was suddenly consolidated with the Boston district. The people of Lynn were content to remain part of the Boston district but a few months and then insisted upon leaving it and becoming independent. The Lynn Chamber of Commerce is authority for the statement that the service now provided is far superior to that which was secured as part of the Boston district.

ARGUMENTS IN OPPOSITION.

Those who appeared before the committee in opposition to the proposed change based their contentions on the advantages to be gained from affiliation with a great metropolitan district. They believe that the postmaster of such a district could secure service for all his substations which could not be secured by the postmaster of a smaller city. They pointed out that Cambridge was geographically a part of the Boston district and was located practically in its heart. They believe that Cambridge would suffer by being deprived of the facilities of the larger district. They pointed out that an independent office would lose for Cambridge certain privileges which it now enjoys in the way of forwarding second-class mail and in parcel-post rates. They claimed that it was better for Cambridge manufacturers to be more closely identified with the city of Boston, as at present.

The committee is aware that there has been opposition to an independent post office, in which local postal employees have taken an active part. The committee does not feel called upon in this report to comment on this phase of the situation.

DALLINGER AMENDMENT WITHDRAWN.

On April 4 your committee was notified by Congressman DALLINGER that in view of this opposition that had arisen and the attitude of the post-office officials in the Boston district, that he made it clear that he understood the defects in the service and was anxious to remedy them. He has in mind plans to improve the transportation system to and from Boston and between the substations. In this connection your committee again wishes to emphasize its belief that this problem can be handled satisfactorily only by giving the city service particularly adapted to its needs, and not making this service incidental to a schedule including too large a territory. The postmaster suggests the possibility of quicker service between Boston and Cambridge by the installation of pneumatic tubes. This would be a highly satisfactory innovation and would assist in solving the problem of rapid service. Postmaster Murray suggests the possibility of caring for the misdirected mail by establishing a sorting station in Boston or Cambridge where mail can be sorted direct to carriers' routes. Such an arrangement might solve the A, B, C difficulty.

The postmaster also told the committee that he would endeavor to improve the service provided for the business men.

Your committee held a long conference with Postmaster Murray, and he had concluded to abandon any further efforts for the time being for the establishment of an independent post office in Cambridge.

Your committee therefore finds itself in a different situation than it was when it began its investigation.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

As a result of its study of the situation your committee arrives at the conclusion that under present arrangements the service provided for Cambridge is not up to the standard to which a city of its size and importance is justly entitled. The chief defects are in the transporting of mail to and from Cambridge and between the various substations, the inadequate and unsatisfactory method of dealing with the situation arising from the A, B, C designations, and the failure to provide satisfactory service for the business interests.

Your committee recommends that during the coming year the board of trade keep in close touch and actively cooperate with the postmaster in his efforts to secure these needed improvements.

The present Boston postmaster has held this office for a comparatively short time and is fairly entitled to a reasonable period to demonstrate the advantages which it is claimed Cambridge should receive from being identified with a large consolidated district but which have not as yet materialized.

Your committee therefore recommends that the board of trade take no steps toward attempting to secure an independent post office for Cambridge until a year from this date. If during the interim Postmaster Murray can make definite progress toward bringing about the improvements he suggests, the change in the present system will be unnecessary. If he fails to do this, the Post Office Department will have less justification for advocating a continuance of the present arrangement, and ought not to oppose a remedy which has worked to advantage in other communities.

Under all the circumstances and conditions as above set forth, although very strong arguments exist in favor of an independent post office for Cambridge, your committee at the present time does not deem it advisable to make a recommendation either for or against the proposed change; but, on the other hand, would suggest that the present postmaster of the Boston postal district have the opportunity to demonstrate, within a reasonable time—say a year from date—that the wants and necessities of Cambridge can be amply taken care of under the present postal system and facilities provided at least equal to those at present enjoyed by municipalities having independent post offices.

If, however, at the end of this year no material progress shall have been made toward the establishment of such improvements—better methods of transporting the mail, the installation of pneumatic tubes between Boston and Cambridge, arrangements for a sorting station as above mentioned, improved service for business men—in the opinion of your committee, the board of trade should then go on record in favor of an independent post office for Cambridge, and use its best endeavors to secure the passage of legislation to put such a project into effect.

In other words, if Cambridge, as a part of a larger postal system, can not or does not secure the facilities enjoyed by cities of equal size and importance, Cambridge then should demand a separation from the Boston postal district and the establishment of an independent first-class post office of its own.

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## The Federal Workmen's Compensation Bill.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WARREN GARD,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 15316) to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries sustained while in the performance of their duty, and for other purposes.

Mr. GARD. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a high privilege that to me was referred for investigation and report to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives certain bills having for their purpose the payment of compensation to civil employees injured in the performance of their duty.

Being most heartily in accord with this humane law, I gave the subject my very best attention and carefully considered the several bills, finally rewriting the text of H. R. 13621 and submitting it as a committee bill, which was approved and later introduced as H. R. 15316.

By subsequent direction of the committee, I wrote the report to accompany this bill, being report No. 678, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.

This bill is a departure from existing law. It is a splendid example of modern, progressive, humane legislation, and in my discussion of it I shall not approach it in any attitude of partisanship, but in full recognition of its absolute merit.

I think there are many people in the United States who do not know that this country has had a compensation law for Federal employees. But there was a law passed, and there is an existing law—the law of May 30, 1908—which provides a compensation for certain classes of persons in governmental employment. The idea of that bill was conceived in the development of modern conditions. Under the old common law there was absolutely no recovery for damages for injury or death unless there could be proven that it was not caused by the negligence of the employee himself or of anyone associated with him in employment. This was probably wise in its day, when industry was small; wise when the man in charge of the business had the actual personal knowledge thereof and could look after the welfare of those employed by him; but as time and conditions changed, as development and industry grew, as from a small wayside blacksmith's shop a mammoth manufacturing plant has been developed, from the time when a few men were employed to-day when many thousands of men are employed, radically different conditions have arisen; and so the present belief and the trend of modern thought is that a man who is injured in an accident in a manufacturing plant does not become a broken

human chattel, but that industry and society owe to him the continuing duty of call and attention during disability.

It is not to place a man in the same category as a wheel or a cog that, if broken, is to be cast aside on the scrap heap, but, instead of the injured man and his family having to assume all the responsibility of the injury, the responsibility is now placed on the industry. That is the distinction; that is what makes the difference between the old law and the new law.

The new law in effect is that because the United States of America is to-day the greatest employer of labor in the world, that same employer should put the brunt of the disability upon the industry. This bill merely asks and has for its purpose the extension of aid to a man or his family at a time when aid is needed.

Under the existing law, and the limit of existing law is that if a man be injured or if he be killed, under certain conditions a bill may be brought into Congress and one year's pay may be given him or his family, and under certain other conditions an additional year's pay may be given him. But the distinction this law seeks to write in the statutes and on the record of humane legislation of the United States of America is that from the beginning of a man's injury the United States seeks to protect him and seeks to protect his family.

This bill embodies the most wise and most humane provisions. In the first place, it says that when a man is injured there shall be afforded him immediate temporary relief. He shall have a physician; there shall be called at once medical attendance; he is to have hospital treatment, if necessary, all for the purpose of bringing him speedily back to health and strength.

The next proposition is that if the injury be but trivial, for some slight injury they shall wait a time—three days—and if at that time the injury has developed, then the compensatory protection of the United States begins. This bill provides, and it is a limitation, that to receive compensation one must have been injured while in the performance of his duty. I say with entire frankness that when the bill came to the Judiciary Committee it was not the bill that is here presented—it was wider in its scope—but under the guidance of this committee the bill has been redrafted and reintroduced.

It starts with the primary idea that the injury must occur in the performance of duty. Secondly, it has an exception, that if a man be injured because of his own willful misconduct, then he may not properly recover compensation. If he be injured because of intoxication, he may not have compensation. But in all other cases, subject to the provisions of this bill, the aid of the Government of the United States is tendered for the benefit of the man and of his family.

Of course this bill eliminates the fellow-servant rule. In all modern legislation there is a tendency to eliminate the fellow-servant rule. The tendency of such legislation in every State seems to do away with this timeworn and abandoned idea of one's not being allowed to recover because of the negligence of a fellow servant. This bill starts, then, after an injury has occurred and places before the man who has received the injury two things: First, the best aid of the Government in getting him back to his health and strength; and, second, if the disability be continuing it provides for a two-thirds payment of whatever his salary may be, with the maximum of $100 and the minimum of $50 a month, so that in no event could there be any recovery under the provisions of this bill for an amount in excess of $66.66 per month. The other amounts, based on the sum of $50 or intervening amounts, according to what a man earns, would be in the ratio of two-thirds, but never in excess of $66.66 per month. It is the idea of the law that this sum of money is to protect a man and his family and keep the family together. It is not the idea to pay a large sum of money to encourage malingering, but it is the primary object of the bill to place the benefits of what it contains for the workman and his family in order that the man may be restored to health and strength and ability to work.

This law is administered by a commission. It provides that a commission of three shall be appointed, of whom not more than two shall be members of the same political party. It provides for the administration of this enactment under the guidance of that commission. The commission is vested with the power to employ investigators. It is vested with the power to employ physicians and with the power to afford nursing and hospital treatment, all for the purpose, I reiterate, of restoring the injured man to health. It seems to me that this bill, the outlines of which I have briefly sought to give the members of the committee, is such a bill as must be recognized as a step far in advance toward needed humane legislation. It is a legislative provision which recognizes the human right, that right whose recognition has often been made subservient to the property right. It establishes the dominant rights of life, health, and happiness, and seeks again to rebuild the man and restore him to his family.

Another provision in which the committee may be interested, and it is a very practical one, is to know that since this law of 1908 has been in existence a great number of reports of accidents have been made, and as the existing law applies to something more than one-fourth of those who are the employees of the Government of the United States, I believe that something like $1,800,000 has been paid in the five years of which accurate reports have been made under the present law.

This proposed law carries an authorization of $500,000, and the best evidence that the Committee on the Judiciary could get was that there would not be needed a larger sum of money than this for the first year's operation of the new law.

Under the old law there have been different numbers of accidents and different amounts returned as compensation with about the aggregate I have given. The new law provides, as I have said, this authorization, with the idea that $500,000 will be sufficient for the first year, and with the thought that from the development of this at its maximum the amount of compensation to be paid will never exceed one-half of 1 per cent of the entire governmental pay roll.

The law is comprehensive; it is one law which takes into its provisions all the civil employees of the United States of America. It provides that any of these men or women, or any persons under the age of majority, who may be injured while in the performance of their duty may be compensated as provided herein. It affords safeguards both to the person injured and the Government, of which he is an employee. It provides that an application for compensation must be made, that the application be given consideration, and that a continuing examination be made of the man who has sought compensation under this new Federal law, all to the end that assistance and aid may be given him as he requires it, but that as soon as possible he be again self-sustaining.

Injuries to workmen in the course of their employment may be due to negligence or to accident. Where negligence is the cause, the fault may be that of the workman or his employer, of a fellow workman, or even a stranger. Where accident is the cause, no one is at fault. In all cases the suffering and the loss fall on the injured person and his dependents, except in so far as the law permits the loss to be compensated.

The rules of the common law, which were formulated at a time when industrial operations were simple and conducted in small establishments where responsibility could easily be fixed, permitted recovery only where the workman or his representatives could establish negligence on the part of the employer and denied relief if his own negligence in any way contributed to the injury or if the injury was due to the negligence of a fellow servant or a stranger, and also compelled the worker to assume the risks incident to a dangerous employment. For injuries due to accidents alone there could be no recovery, since a legal wrong could be imputed to no one. The altered situation growing out of the immense changes made in industrial conditions brought a realization of the great injustice worked by established rules of law. Irrespective of the negligence of the employer or a fellow servant or a stranger, and irrespective of the risks incident to dangerous occupations, it was recognized as grossly unjust that the victim alone should be allowed to bear the entire consequences and all the burden of an industrial accident or injury. It was seen that the employment itself, if not the cause of the injury, at least furnished the occasion or the condition without which it could not have occurred. The principle was then formulated and accepted that the financial loss occasioned by injuries received in the course of employment was a proper charge against the industry itself, at least where the injury was not plainly due to the negligence or misconduct of the person injured. A means was thus provided whereby the burden in such cases could be shifted in a measure from a single victim and distributed among many persons.

The Rubinow standard accident table, which is the basis of actuarial calculations for casualty insurance, gives but 2.5 per cent as the percentage of accidents in which total disability lasts longer than three months. According to the same table, less than 1 per cent of accidents result in death.

The following is a summary of reasons why a proper workmen's compensation law should be extended for the benefit of all Federal employees:

1. To secure uniformity, as there are now three different laws in force which all told cover but one-third of the Federal employees.

2. To relieve Congress from hundreds of personal-injury claim bills yearly.

3. Because the need of employees disabled in nonhazardous occupations is as great as in so-called "hazardous" occupations to which the existing law is confined.

4. Because the United States should shoulder the responsibility to its own employees instead of throwing it upon the States.

5. Because the United States as an employer should treat its employees as justly as private employers are required to.

6. Because the United States should be made to feel responsibility for reducing accidents.

Reasons both economic and humanitarian irresistibly bring us to the conclusion that when one suffers injury not through

his own misconduct, the hardship should not fall upon him and his family but it should be considered as an incident—an unfortunate incident—of the industry, and by the industry compensated.

That which may be a tremendous burden upon one suffering man is hardly appreciable upon society at large, and it is now very generally recognized that it is unfair to make the one suffer not alone the injury, but the resultant poverty and distress.

So it follows that if the great industrial concerns of the world compensate their injured workmen, likewise a great Government "ought not to leave helpless those who are working for it when accidents happen to them." This Government relief must be by legislation.

The protection of the life and health of employees against injury sustained while in the performance of duty is to-day recognized as one of the very vital principles in the scheme of government.

It should be the purpose of all employers of labor to give to their employees the most complete protection possible against injuries resulting from their employment, but despite the best efforts to protect employees against injury accidents will occur and the trend of the best thought of the country is to afford relief to the victim of such accident, his family, those dependent upon him, from the dire results of misfortune.

One of the most beneficial effects of this bill will be the safeguarding of employees against accident.

We have given of our thought and effort to prevent "waste" in the conservation of many utilities, but the greatest conservation is that of human health and life; and the work of the commission carrying out the provisions of this act will be to at once give immediate supervision to working conditions in every shop, office, warehouse, in fact every place and position where labor is employed by the Government, so that conditions in which men and women work may be the best and the ratio of accidents and injuries resulting from such employment be reduced to the very minimum.

This act is intended to be a model workmen's compensation act, and to have proper influence with the legislatures of our several States in working out principles for the protection of the workingmen and their families within State limits, and as such and through its own wise provisions it is destined to be of great benefit to hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children.

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## The Platform of the Democratic Party.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in the platform of the Democratic Party for 1912 at the Baltimore convention, which nominated President Woodrow Wilson, I find this statement concerning the tariff and the high cost of living:

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican Party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject, and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high-tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican Party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people without import duties on the necessaries of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

The Democratic Party made its campaign and came into power under that platform. I wish briefly to consider some of the planks of that platform. The above plank is a complaint against the high cost of living, and it was heralded from every Democratic stump during the campaign that elected Mr. Wilson President. The cause of excessive cost of everyday living mentioned in this plank is attributed to the tariff, and that no substantial relief could be had except a reduction of the tariff duties therein imposed. What has since happened? We all know. The tariff was revised after the Democratic Party came into power. Everything the farmer produces, almost without exception, was put upon the free list. Our markets were thrown open to the Canadian farmer and the producers of other countries, but the cost of living has been the highest during the present administration of any time in the history of our country, aside from the time of the Civil War. Perhaps that is the outcome of natural conditions. It surely proves one thing, that putting all the farmers' products on the free list and putting him in competition with the world has not brought down the high cost of living. I mention this fact because this plank is so certain that the high cost of living was due in a measure to a protective tariff, and subsequent prices have proven that this claim is not well founded.

But now they say that the high cost of living is due to the war in Europe; we hear a good deal about high prices caused by that terrible war. That war has made an extra demand for our products and our produce. But it is the statement in the above platform that has not worked out by free trade, and that is what I want to call attention to.

PLATFORM 1916.

I find the following plank in the present Democratic platform, adopted at St. Louis, 1916:

We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges, and our constructive legislation with that of any party of any time.

Here is a direct challenge for a comparison, not only of the accomplishments of the present Democratic administration, but also an announcement that it has kept faith with the people, and that it has kept the pledges it made when it came into power in 1912.

The platform of 1912 contained this plank, and I quote it here to show how the Democratic Party in convention at Baltimore when Mr. Wilson was nominated regarded its platform pledges:

CONCLUSION.

Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign * * *.

Of course, due allowance must be made for the unexpected extraordinary war conditions which have arisen since that platform was first adopted. But there are many pledges it made that seem to have been lost track of that have no relation to war conditions, and let me here mention a few of them.

ONE TERM.

This one-term plank has rather gotten on the nerves of the Democratic Party. It is so familiar as to be almost trite to repeat it, but in order that all may see just what is the exact wording of that plank I wish to repeat it. From subsequent conditions I think it can be truthfully said that it was never seriously regarded or intended to be kept by the Democratic Party after coming into power, although it makes such a great pretense of keeping its party pledges in letter and spirit, and was so bent on keeping them as to enact a plank that their platform and pledges were to be sacredly maintained:

TERM OF PRESIDENT.

We favor a single presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for reelection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

It might be a sufficient explanation of this one-term plank to say that they had not been in power for some 16 years, and that even a single term might be all the people would care to trust the Democratic Party with. It looks at this time as if the people would take the Democratic Party at its word, and that the people will keep this one-term plank for the Democratic Party, even though the party itself ignores it.

PANAMA CANAL.

The Democrat platform containes a plank that they were in favor of American ships passing free and without toll through our American canal, as follows:

We favor the exemption from toll of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal.

Soon after coming into power the Panama Canal tolls act passed the House. The Senate also passed it. The President signed it giving free toll to American shipping through the Panama Canal. I voted for that bill. I thought that the Panama Canal was built and owned by the United States. I know it was built at a cost of some $400,000,000 of the American people's money. I think possibly the expenditures made by our Government on the Mississippi River have quite equaled a like amount. American ships can sail the Mississippi River ad libitum and without tolls. American ships can also sail our rivers and into our harbors without tolls. I thought it but just and proper that as long as we built and paid for the Panama Canal and owned it that American shipping in the interest of American commerce was entitled to free tolls. But the free tolls act had not been passed but a very short time when the President appeared before Congress and read a message asking that the free tolls act be repealed. He gave no reason. He kept the reason to himself. No one has been able

to find out since that time why he called on Congress to repeal that act. He claimed that he wished a free hand in some other negotiations, whatever they were, and that he could not act comprehensively and with a free hand unless this free-toll act was repealed. He kept secret his purpose. I did not think we ought to repeal the act without we did so upon a full understanding. The secret has been kept by him ever since as far as I am able to find out, and no one seems to be fully comprehensive of his purpose in making that request to this day. One thing certain about it, before it was repealed our Speaker of the House, Hon. CHAMP CLARK, and the Democrat floor leader, now Senator UNDERWOOD, certainly gave a strong dissertation on the floor of the House as to why party platforms are made and should be kept. Perhaps an emergency existed. If so the President has so far kept it to himself.

ECONOMY.

I wish to call attention to the plank in the Democratic Party of 1912 as to Republican extravagance:

REPUBLICAN EXTRAVAGANCE.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

In this platform, as in others adopted by the Democratic Party, the Republicans are charged with great extravagance. In this the American people were not deceived; they continually returned the Republican Party to power, although this plank had been in the platform of 1908 and earlier platforms of the Democratic Party. The largest annual appropriations made by the Republican Party was $1,100,000,000.

When the Government expenditures amounted to $1,100,000,000 it was considered very extravagant by our Democratic friends, and took away their breath, proverbially speaking. They thought it a great waste of the people's money. We are a great Nation and a growing Nation. We are all proud of our progress, of our citizenship, and of our national prosperity. Every thinking man knows that as we continue to progress it calls for additional appropriations. The appropriations for the fiscal year of 1917 will approximate $1,750,000,000 or more, and exceeding any appropriation made by the Republican Party by over $600,000,000. Our Democratic friends claim this increased expenditure is necessary on account of war conditions.

But the great slogan of the Democratic Party for the present campaign will be peace, and that the President has kept us out of war. If we are at peace, it might look to the average man that the appropriation of $1,750,000,000 might be excessive. I am for national defense and sufficient protection to give substance and vitality to maintain our rights among the nations of the earth and to defend our country against the aggression of any foreign power. I think our people generally agree to that position now and that this counry is in favor of preparedness, but it is not in favor of extravagant appropriations in our civil expenditures.

USELESS OFFICES.

Here is a plank found in the Democratic platform to which some attention might be given, although it is seldom referred to:

We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

From the Official Registers of the United States on the 1st day of July, 1913, after the Democratic Party had been in power four months, and on the 1st day of July, 1915, two years thereafter, is given the number of employees in the different departments:

Number of employees July 1, 1913 ..... 470,015
Number of employees July 1, 1915 ..... 488,711

Some of the noticeable increases being as follows:

| | 1913 | 1915 |
|---|---|---|
| Department of State | 1,328 | 1,372 |
| Treasury Department | 27,595 | 31,108 |
| Department of Justice | 1,976 | 4,700 |
| Post Office Department | 292,049 | 297,531 |
| Department of the Interior | 14,304 | 19,851 |
| Department of Agriculture | 14,478 | 16,229 |
| Department of Commerce | 7,693 | 10,355 |
| Department of Labor | 1,906 | 2,036 |
| Interstate Commerce Commission | 719 | 1,890 |
| Government of District of Columbia | 4,977 | 7,248 |

This does not exactly show a decrease in the number of employees in these departments. It is presumed they are all needed and used. I call attention to these figures for the purpose of showing that there has been no material reduction of employees since the Democrats came into power. Maybe this little plank has been overlooked or forgotten.

TRUSTS.

Permit me in this connection to also call attention to the plank condemning the Republican Party for failure to prosecute the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trusts, especially mentioned in its platform of 1912:

We condemn the action of the Republican administration in compromising with the Standard Oil Co. and the Tobacco Trust, and its failure to invoke the criminal provisions of the antitrust law against the officers of those corporations after the court had declared that from the undisputed facts in the record they had violated the criminal provisions of the law.

As far as we are able to learn, the Republican Party has prosecuted as many trusts as the Democratic Party has. During the four years President Taft was in office there were many trusts prosecuted, and the judiciary were active in the enforcement of the Sherman antitrust law. We are not hearing much about suits or actions against the officers of the trusts at the present day. Since the Democratic Party especially mentioned our failure to prosecute the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trusts it is not out of place to inquire what the Democratic Party has done by way of prosecution of these or other trusts. Is it the purpose of the Democratic Party to allow prosecution against trusts to become obsolete procedure? Much was heard about the Clayton antitrust law at the time of its passage, but we are not hearing so much about it now.

AT HOME AND ABROAD.

But I am most in favor of that part of the Democratic platform which reads as if it was inspired in comparison with the other provisions. I especially refer to the constitutional rights of American citizens wherever they may be. Its provision is as follows:

The constitutional rights of American citizens should be protected on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property.

The question with me is whether or not the Democratic Party has in any manner kept faith with this provision. It is one that swells the heart of every true American citizen.

I am sometimes asked if I am in favor of going to war. Oh, no. But what did the Democratic Party have in mind when it adopted this plank of its platform in 1912? And what has it in mind now in 1916 when its platform contains a similar plank? It seems to me that almost ever since I can remember the atrocities inflicted on the Armenians have been shocking and revolting. Many equally shocking and revolting crimes have been inflicted on American citizens in Mexico. Innocent women and children have not been exempt.

Something is said in the Democratic platform about having maintained the honor and dignity of the interest of the United States, and at the same time retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world. How I wish that was true. How they hate us down in Mexico. One can scarcely pick up a paper that does not contain an account of some heinous outrage on American lives or property in Mexico, showing utter disregard of the rights of our American citizens and of the dignity and honor of our Nation. I say this in relation to Mexico. If American citizens have no right to be in Mexico they should be told so plainly and further told to depart from that country and go to some other or come home. If Americans have a right to be in Mexico under treaty or otherwise, is it right to ignore that right and to permit them to be slaughtered?

The American people, while they are for peace, are also for the protection of American citizens and maintaining the honor of our Nation throughout the world.

## Indian School at Morris, Minn.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 18, 1916.*

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, to correct some erroneous impressions current in some quarters as to the history of the legislation that transferred the Indian school at Morris, Minn., now the Morris State Agricultural School, from the United States to the State of Minnesota, this statement is submitted.

It can be verified from the official records and by those who took an active part in securing the legislation.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. F. E. Leupp, became convinced that the work done by some of the nonreservation Indian schools were not accomplishing satisfactory results. In several places, including Morris, great difficulty was experienced in securing the requisite number of pupils. This difficulty was greatly aggravated at Morris when the Wahpeton Indian school was completed. After these facts became known to me a visit was made to the school, and after having seen the superintendent of the school and obtained from him and from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and others what information could be secured the matter was submitted to the Indian Committee of the House with the request that, as the school was not needed, it be turned over to the State upon condition that the State should maintain it as an agricultural or industrial school and allow Indians free tuition and equal treatment with white pupils. This request was refused on the ground that the committee considered it necessary to first have an official investigation to determine what schools could be dispensed with; but the committee promised to secure such an investigation and inserted in the Indian appropriation bill, then in course of preparation, the following direction:

> The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is hereby authorized, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to ascertain whether and upon what terms it may be possible to dispose of any of the nonreservation schools which, in his judgment, are no longer of value to the Indian Service and to report the result of his investigation to the next session of the Congress.

This occurred during the first session of the Sixtieth Congress.

This direction became a law (35 Stats., 70), and at the opening of the second session, on December 4, 1908, the commissioner reported that seven schools, including that at Morris, were not needed; he also reported that he had consulted with the governors of the States where the schools were located and had suggested to them that if the schools were to be maintained as educational institutions the foremost consideration for the transfers would be that Indian pupils be given "free tuition, paying uniform charges for everything else, just as non-Indian pupils would." Upon this report another application was made to the Indian Committee of the House to have the school turned over to the State. This application was successful in securing the insertion in the Indian appropriation bill (H. R. 26916 of the Sixtieth Congress) of a provision directing the Secretary of the Interior to dispose of and convey the school on conditions to be prescribed by him. This language was broader and less definite than desired, but when the committee was asked to amend it I was answered that the governor of the State, Mr. Johnson, had refused to express an opinion on the question whether the State would accept it or not, and that as the State might not accept it the authority should be broad enough so the school might be disposed of either to the State or perhaps to the city or county where located. The conditions upon which it might be granted to the State were not in dispute. When this item was reached for passage in the House Hon. James S. Sherman, then chairman of the Indian Committee and afterwards Vice President of the United States, among other things said:

> The thought in disposing of these schools is to dispose of those remote from the reservations, to dispose of those which have not a sufficient number of pupils to make it worth while and expedient to maintain the schools—that is, that have not enough pupils within the reasonable radius of the school; at the same time to provide in the disposal of them that there shall be free tuition to the Indians at that school and to dispose of them to the State upon the proviso that they shall maintain them as educational institutions.

And he added that the department was authorized to dispose of this school on that condition.

Hon. JAMES R. MANN, the present Republican leader in the House, commenting on this statement, said:

> There are a large number of Indians in Minnesota. Are we going to get ourselves into the position in giving away the present school that in a year or two we will be asked by the gentlemen who represent Minnesota to provide another school up there?

This provision authorizing the school to be turned over to the State passed the House February 16, 1909. If it had been adopted in the Senate in the same language that it passed the House the school would have been conveyed to the State; but, desiring to have the language made more definite, I called Senator CLAPP's attention to it and expressed the wish that he would have it amended when it reached the Senate. That was the practical way of securing the amendment, as the House Indian Committee was opposed to the change. Senator CLAPP had it promptly amended in the Senate Indian Committee, of which he was chairman, by substituting for the language of the House bill the provisions of a bill which he had introduced and recently passed in the Senate, and which I had reintroduced in the House and used in applications for this legislation before the Indian Committee of the House, Senate bill 7472 and House bill 25407. This amendment of the House provision became the law granting the school, except for a slight correction subsequently made in the description in a part of the land.

The Indian appropriation bill, as reported and presented to the House, provided only for the disposition of two schools, the one at Morris and one at Chamberlain, S. Dak. This latter authorization had, as I was informed, been inserted just before the bill was reported, at the request of Hon. E. W. Martin, of South Dakota, who was then a member of that committee. When the bill was considered in the House the expected happened—it was amended by adding two more schools, one in Colorado and one in Nebraska, and two more were added in the Senate. The language used in the House in authorizing the disposition of these schools was, as to all of them, amended in the Senate, except as to the one in Nebraska, which was stricken out.

It is not an easy task to induce Congress to give away a school such as that at Morris, costing the Government upward of a hundred thousand dollars, and especially is that true where the precedent established would result in giving away several hundred thousand dollars' worth of like property, and hence in securing action in the House other Minnesota Members were not only consulted but induced to take an active interest with me in the matter, notably Hon. F. C. Stevens, of St. Paul, who appeared with me before the Indian Committee and otherwise actively aided in securing the legislation. Hon. C. A. LINDBERGH was then a member of that committee, and there supported it strongly.

The legislation granting the school originated in the House, was first passed there, and was afterwards amended and passed in the Senate. Senator CLAPP was actively interested in passing it in the Senate, and took care of it there.

Aside from the Members of the House and Senate who participated in the passage of this legislation, Hon. L. C. Spooner was especially solicitous to procure it and took a very active part with others in having the State accept the grant.

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## Our Last Natural Resource, Water Powers.

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### SPEECH

OF

### HON. JOHN J. ESCH,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (S. 3331) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the construction of dams across navigable waters," approved June 21, 1906, as amended by the act approved June 23, 1910, and to provide for the improvement and development of waterways for the uses of interstate and foreign commerce.

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Chairman, the history of the legislation with reference to dams goes back to the river and harbor act of 1890. In that act it was provided that no bridge or breakwater or pier or abutment should be constructed beyond the harbor lines where they were established, and where they were not established such obstructions could not be made without the previous consent of the Secretary of War. That legislation in the river and harbor act of 1890 was supplemented by sections 9 and 10 in the river and harbor act of 1899. In that act the consent of Congress was required for the putting in of obstructions upon navigable waters, and I call attention to this fact at this time because of the difference between the Senate and the House bills as to what authority shall grant consent.

The precedent of Congress granting consent was established by the act of 1899, and in that same act, where the dam or bridge or obstruction was on an intrastate navigable water, and the legislature gave consent, nevertheless the Secretary of War passed upon the plans and specifications and the location. After the plans and specifications and location had been approved by the Secretary of War it was not permitted to change them without the approval of the Secretary of War, a provision in the pending bill.

No further legislation was enacted until the general dam act of 1906. This, too, required the consent of Congress before a dam could be constructed over a navigable water. It required approval of the plans and specifications and location of site by the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers. It also prohibited any deviation from plans, specifications, and location without the approval of the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers. It contained this suggestive stipulation as indicating a

power which should inhere in the Government that the person receiving the grant—

shall construct, maintain, and operate, without expense to the United States, in connection with said dam and works, a lock or locks, booms, sluices, or any other structure which the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers at any time may deem necessary.

It also provides that in approving such plans and location—

such conditions and stipulations may be imposed as the Chief of Engineers and Secretary of War may deem necessary.

Those words "stipulations and conditions" were construed by President Roosevelt in his veto message of the James River Dam bill as a sanction of the power of Congress to make a charge, and, if I remember the debates on these dam bills in recent years correctly, that was the contention of the minority leader who is the author of this act of 1906. The act of 1906 further provides that the grantee shall construct the locks requested by the Government at his own expense, that he shall light the locks at his own expense, furnish the operative power, and establish such fishways as the Secretary of Commerce and Labor may require. All these conditions have been imported into the pending bill. There is also reserved to the United States in the act of 1906 the right to build a lock if it so desires. That right is reserved in the pending bill.

The grantee under the act of 1906 is liable for any damage for overflow. That is in the pending bill. All rights under the act of 1906 cease for failure to comply with the stipulations and penalties are prescribed for failure to comply with the orders and regulations of the Secretary of War and Chief of Engineers.

While no time is specified in the act of 1906, time to begin the construction is one year and for completion three years after the approval of the act. This provision is modified in the pending bill. The right to alter, amend, or repeal is reserved in the act of 1906, with no liability upon the General Government for such alterations, amendments, or repeal. This provision is also incorporated in the pending bill.

Under the act of 1906 several special acts were passed by Congress, one in 1908 for a dam across the Rainy River, an international boundary stream. That act followed the provisions and stipulations in the act of 1906, but was vetoed by President Roosevelt on the 3d of April, 1908. In his veto message he specified these as the conditions which in his opinion should be placed in every grant for the construction of dams across navigable waters:

First. Grant should be annulled if work was not begun or plans carried out in accordance with the authority granted.

Second. Proper official should see that in approving plans the maximum development of the navigation and power is assured.

Third. There should be a license fee or charge, which, though small or nominal at the outset, could be adjusted in the public interest.

Fourth. There should be provision for the termination of the grant at a definite time, leaving the future to determine its course.

Two salient features of the veto message of 1908 were a fixed charge for the power and a limitation on the period of the grant. Now, in view of this veto message an arrangement was entered into with the Rainy River Power Improvement Co. whereby it agreed, practically, to comply with these conditions set forth in the veto message, and the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, by an agreement with the White House, consented to pass an amended dam bill that would in a way meet the contentions or demands of the President; but it was not done immediately. I find that on April 13, 1908, President Roosevelt in a letter to the Senate Committee on Commerce gave notice that he would not sign any bills thereafter which did not provide specifically for a charge and a definite limitation in time of the rights conferred. Notwithstanding this notice, Congress passed a bill for the construction of a dam on the James River in Missouri, and on January 15, 1909, President Roosevelt vetoed that bill, setting forth as reasons for such veto the reasons he had set forth in vetoing the Rainy River dam and adding another reason in this: He insisted that the license should be forfeited upon proof that the licensee joined in any conspiracy or unlawful combination in restraint of trade, a provision found in the Alaska coal-land act.

These vetoes in 1908 and 1909 practically discouraged the introduction of special bills for dams on navigable waters. Under the act of 1906, 25 special bills were passed, and out of that number only 6 were carried to completion—only 6.

As a result of the veto messages the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce no longer gave consideration to dam bills because it did not believe in doing a useless thing. In consequence of the agitation caused by the veto messages of the President and as a result of the great movement throughout the country in the interest of conservation of our natural resources, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce passed the general dam act of 1910. That act practically incorporated the provisions which I have already set forth as being contained in the act of 1906, but it added these provisions by way of concession to the contentions of the then President and to the demands of conservationists.

First, it required that there should be a comprehensive plan for the development of a river or waterway system. That each particular dam project should be given consideration with a view not only to the locality, where located, but with reference to the entire water system of which it constituted a part and that the plan should be so framed as to bring about the greatest possible development of navigation and also of water power. That provision enlarged, elaborated, and strengthened, you will find in the pending bill. Second, another change was made in the act of 1910 in this, that it provided for certain charges, charges to restore the stream to the condition of navigability at the time the dam was first constructed, or if it was not so restored the Government could restore it and the cost charged to the original grantee. That provision is not in the pending bill for reasons which will be discussed under the five-minute rule.

Another charge was authorized to reimburse the Government for expenses of examining plans and specifications and of viewing the sites and locations of the dam. Another charge was authorized to in part reimburse the Government for headwater improvements in the way of reservoirs and forested watersheds. This latter provision is retained in the pending bill with a limitation that the charge shall not exceed annually 5 per cent on the cost of the improvement to the Government. Personally, I do not think that either of these charges for restoring navigability at the point of construction of the dam or this charge for reimbursement for headwater improvement, including reforested watersheds, amounts to very much in the last analysis. There are no other charges provided in the act of 1910, and the chief contention of President Roosevelt that there should be a charge for water power was not incorporated. There was incorporated, however, in the act of 1910 the right to revoke a charter upon payment of just compensation. Third, there was also incorporated the right to terminate the grant at the end of 50 years after the passage or approval of the project. The 50-year term was incorporated in the act of 1910, pursuant to the message of the President, and we have retained it in the pending measure; but I believe the definiteness of the termination of the grant is not what it ought to be, and I shall offer an amendment to make it more definite and certain.

Under the act of 1910 there were 14 special acts passed by Congress, and out of the 14 only 2 went to completion and became working projects. So that under the act of 1906 and under the act of 1910 there has been a total of 29 special acts passed and only 8 dams have been constructed thereunder, developing a total horsepower of only 140,000, an amount quite inconsequential when we consider the enormous possibilities in water-power development still available.

In regard to the amount of possible horsepower, it may be said that an estimate has been made showing that there are 7,000,000 horsepower available on the navigable streams of the United States, with the possible addition of 20,000,000 more on the upper reaches and the feeders of the navigable streams of the United States, making a total of 27,000,000 of possible horsepower. When we contemplate these figures we begin to realize the importance and the value of this pending legislation.

Hydroelectric power is still in its infancy. In the report of the Secretary of Agriculture, made to the Senate in January last, it was disclosed that there are in the United States 28,000,000 of primary horsepower and a maximum of 56,000,000 horsepower outside of any power which we may develop by the construction of reservoirs at headwaters. There is a total of 30,000,000 horsepower used to-day in the United States, derived from all sources; coal, oil, gas, and water, so that the horsepower available on navigable streams and tributaries is almost equal to the total horsepower now being developed by every source of power.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Of the possibility, how much is now realized?

Mr. ESCH. In horsepower?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Mr. ESCH. There are between six and seven million horsepower developed to-day by water power, not a large fraction. It will be stated in the course of this debate that water power will supplant steam power, but this will never be. In 29 States of the Union to-day they are already using more horsepower than the primary water power available in those States. Those States, therefore, are already getting the maximum of water horsepower possible within their boundaries. Therefore, all

other additional power would have to come from coal, oil, or gas, unless the tremendous potential water power of the Rocky Mountain region can be sent farther and farther from its source than it is now being sent, the limit of transmission now being a little over 200 miles. So that while hydroelectric power will always play an important part in many States of the Union, unless the distance it can be transmitted is greatly enlarged its use must of necessity be very greatly restricted.

In some of the Western States the yield or production of hydroelectric power already exceeds the demand. If it can be transmitted to the Mississippi Valley and still farther east, it will add to the prosperity of the United States.

There is an ever-increasing use of hydroelectric power in the matter of transportation. The most remarkable achievement in this line is the electrification of 115 miles of the Milwaukee Transcontinental Line in the mountain region. It is contemplated to equip at least 450 miles. The 115 miles are already in operation and are proving a wonderful success.

As a tribute to hydroelectric power I wish to read a little headline that I saw in an advertisement of the new electric trains on the Milwaukee system. The lines are as follows:

The kingdom of steam was a limited monarchy.
The empire of electricity is an absolute but benevolent despotism.
Steam has its limitations in power and achievement—electricity has none.
The hundred years of steam have done their work and are now subordinate.
The thousand years of electricity have come to stay.

With reference to the pending bill, I wish to state that I agree with the chairman of the committee in the assertion that Congress should retain its control in the granting of consent to the grantee to build dams across the navigable waters of the United States. The Senate bill gives such power to the Secretary of War. The public-lands bill gives that power to the Secretary of the Interior. In this bill the applicant must come to Congress to get his permit. In river and harbor works every item and project is first passed upon by Congress; and the Chief of Engineers, for the most part, only superintends the construction, based on the plans he has devised. He has no authority to obstruct a navigable stream or make any improvement in the interest of navigation without first getting his warrant from Congress.

When we started the Reclamation Service we gave the money to the Department of the Interior to expend it on projects, leaving their selection and the amount to be expended on each to an administrative officer. But when its receipts fell behind its expenditures, when many projects that had been started could not be completed, when Congress found it necessary to come to the rescue by voting bonds or certificates of indebtedness to the extent of something like $20,000,000, Congress thought it was time to assume control. And so these projects and the amounts allotted to each are now passed upon by Congress. In my opinion, we should retain control over the granting privilege for the construction of bridges and dams across or upon the navigable waters of the United States. Is there anyone here who would favor investing any administrative officer with the right to determine the location of a dam like the Keokuk Dam across the Mississippi River, a project entailing an expenditure of over $20,000,000, and affecting the navigation of the greatest waterway we have in the United States? Your committee believes that we should lodge this jurisdiction in Congress itself.

Another matter as to which I shall offer an amendment is in giving the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers the right of demanding that a lock and accessory works be installed in any dam or dam project at the expense of the grantee at any time after the completion of the work and during the period of the grant. This bill does not have that provision, but the lock must be ordered installed when the original grant is made. Thereafter, if there is to be any lock constructed, it is to be done at the expense of the United States. When I offer my amendment I will discuss that more at length.

One of the great and crucial questions in this whole proposition is the right of demanding a charge by the Government for the water power that is developed. This bill, as I have already stated, omits any such proposition. The Senate bill omits such a proposition. The Ferris bill, covering dams constructed on streams in the public domain, permits a charge to be made, basing the right on the fact that the Government is not merely the sovereign but owns the riparian rights.

This question of a charge was ably debated on this floor in 1914, when the dam bill of that Congress was passed, and an amendment was offered giving the Secretary of War the right to impose a charge, with the right of changing the rate at certain specified periods. That amendment passed this House, if I remember rightly, by a vote of 143 to 45. A like amendment will doubtless be offered during the consideration of the pending measure.

In my opinion there can not be the slightest doubt as to the constitutional right of Congress to impose such a charge, and I base the right not upon the fact of riparian ownership, not upon the fact of the ownership of the bed of the stream, not on the right of State sovereignty, but upon the simple principle that whatever the Government has the right to grant as to that the Government has the right to name conditions. [Applause.]

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. What does the gentleman think about the wisdom of requiring such a charge?

Mr. ESCH. I believe it should be made.

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. SMALL. Of course, under the present law and this bill it has application to navigable waters?

Mr. ESCH. That is the only thing over which we have jurisdiction.

Mr. SMALL. And the Supreme Court has defined "navigable waters" as streams which may be navigated.

Mr. ESCH. Which are navigable, in fact.

Mr. SMALL. Now, suppose the streams are not navigable at this time, but by improvement through the necessary locks and dams they become navigable. This law would have application to such a stream?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. SMALL. Now, as to a stream that is not navigable, the jurisdiction of the water power developed thereon still belongs to the State? Is that correct?

Mr. ESCH. I did not catch the last phrase of it.

Mr. SMALL. Streams that are nonnavigable; therefore, they are not affected by existing laws or the proposed amendment; they are under the jurisdiction of the States at the present time, and would be if this law were enacted?

Mr. ESCH. Yes. We have not jurisdiction over nonnavigable streams, intrastate.

Mr. SMALL. Now, the gentleman cited the interesting fact of the Milwaukee road having developed large power for the operation of its trains for a distance of about 150 miles. I do not understand that that hydroelectric power was developed upon navigable streams, but upon nonnavigable, for which no permit was asked or obtained from Congress.

Mr. ESCH. Some of it is on streams on the public domain, and therefore would be subject to such legislation as is contemplated in the Ferris bill, not legislation over which we in this bill would have jurisdiction.

Mr. SMALL. By reason of its being a nonnavigable stream?

Mr. ESCH. Yes; a nonnavigable stream.

Now I wish to call attention to another leading feature of this bill.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there for a further question?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. The gentleman was dealing with the question of a charge. I did not hear all the gentleman said. Is the gentleman in favor of a charge?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. There is none in the bill now?

Mr. ESCH. There is not.

Mr. FERRIS. This matter is a mooted controversy at the other end of the Capitol?

Mr. ESCH. It is.

Mr. FERRIS. But it is not very much mooted at this end?

Mr. ESCH. It was not, if I could judge from the vote on that question in the preceding Congress.

Mr. FERRIS. It is also true as to two bills that recently passed the House affecting the price of a commodity, where both those bills bore a charge?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. The gentleman has recited certain features of the bill concerning which the consent of the Secretary of War is to be obtained, and one was a provision which would require the consent of the Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. ESCH. That was under the act of 1906, for the establishment of fishways, where the consent of the then Secretary of Commerce and Labor had to be secured before the grantee could establish a fishway. We retain that power in the Secretary of Commerce. We still retain it.

Mr. FESS. I am still in the dark. The charge the gentleman refers to is still a limitation on the licensee; that Congress can say what charge he can make to the consumer?

Mr. ESCH. That is a condition precedent to the grant—that he must pay so much per horsepower developed at the dam.

Mr. STERLING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ESCH. Yes.

Mr. STERLING. If the gentleman will look at the first two lines of section 2 of the amendment, on page 23——

Mr. ESCH. The gentleman means of the House bill?

Mr. STERLING. Yes. Does not the gentleman think the language there would give the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers the right to impose charges?

That as a part of such approval such conditions and stipulations may be imposed as the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers may deem necessary to protect the present and future interests of the United States.

Does not the gentleman think that broad enough to permit a charge to be made?

Mr. ESCH. That was the language in the original act of 1906. It was retained in the act of 1910, and we have put it into this bill. As I stated, President Roosevelt, in his veto of the James River dam bill, quoting those very words, said that they gave sanction to his contention that Congress had the right to make a charge; but because some have thought that the language was too indefinite to authorize the grantor to make such a charge it was thought best to set it forth in specific terms.

Mr. STERLING. Have the courts passed on the question?

Mr. ESCH. Not as to that language, so far as I know.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Chandler-Dunbar case made it clear that the owner of the land would not have a property right in the flow of the water of a navigable stream; that the control remained in the Government, and so remaining the Government had the right to exact any conditions it saw fit for its use. Senators Root and Burton, Ex-President Taft, and Ex-Secretaries Stimson, Fisher, and Garrison all concur in the view that there can be no objection based on constitutional grounds to the exercise on the part of the Government of its right to exact charges for the development of water power. In fact, this right is conceded by those who object to the Government's making a charge when they admit its right to require of the grantee the maintenance and operation of locks required to be constructed in the interests of navigation. The cost of maintenance and operation of the locks and their lighting are permanent charges; and if these can be required, the Government can likewise require of the grantee charges based on the development of water power. In granting the right to build bridges over navigable waters Congress has repeatedly imposed the condition that the bridge shall be open to use by others aside from the original grantee, and that the charge per mile on such structures should not exceed the charge per mile on the approaches to such bridge. These conditions are in a sense charges made by the Government as conditions precedent to the granting of the franchise. If, then, there can be no constitutional objection raised to the right to make a charge for the development of water power, there arises the question of policy, Should such charge be made? In my opinion the Government should in specific terms retain the power to make a charge. The amount of the charge is not so material a matter. In fact, the charge in many instances might be small or even nominal, especially during the earlier years of the grant, with authority in the Secretary of War and Chief Engineer to adjust the rates at stated periods. If we fail to retain the power to make a charge in this bill, our action is irrevocable, and the Government loses not merely whatever revenue might be produced, but, what is of greater importance, loses that power of control which is absolutely necessary if these water-power resources are to be developed in the interests of the people to whom they belong. Already we have largely lost our heritage as a Nation in the coal, gas, oil, timber, and mineral lands with which we were so bountifully blessed. These are already in private ownership or in the control of syndicates with right to exact such prices as they see fit. Water powers constitute the last of our great natural resources still within Government control. The lessons of the past and our experiences resulting from our profligate policy with reference to our other natural resources ought to make us resist to the utmost any effort that would deprive the Government of any of its rights in connection with the development of water power. We have no right to rob the next generation of its rightful inheritance. We have no right to transmit to it a natural resource whose ownership in private hands may prove burdensome and oppressive.

To demand a charge for the water power actually developed at a dam built across navigable waters is not the levying of a tax as urged by those who believe that either the Government has no right or ought not to make a charge, but is more in the nature of a license fee. The essence of a tax is that it is not merely uniform but is compulsory. There is no compulsion when men are only subjected to a charge or fee for a project voluntarily entered upon. The Government in recent years adopted a policy too long delayed of charging a license fee in its disposition of coal, oil, and gas lands; but such fee can not be considered as a tax. It is the custom for many municipalities in the United States to charge public utilities such as street car companies, for the use of the streets even in cases where the fee of these streets does not belong to the municipalities but to the abutting owners. No one questions the right of such municipalities to make a charge for such use whether the charge be in the form of a percentage of gross receipts or so much per car.

In recent years Congress itself has established a precedent in the making of a charge for the use of water power in the case of the grant to the city of San Francisco for the development of the Hetch Hetchy Valley. While primarily designed for supplying this city with water a main object of this legislation was to permit this city to develop water power. Some three or four years ago a bill was introduced in the Senate authorizing the construction of a dam across the Connecticut River in Massachusetts. The bill as favorably reported to the Senate contained a provision authorizing the Government to make a charge for the horsepower developed.

It is estimated that under the pending bill, as well as under the Shields bill, at least 50 per cent of the water-power development will be by private individuals, firms, or corporations for manufacturing purposes and not for the purpose of supplying public utilities. As the bill now stands and without the right given the Government to make a charge, such private individuals, firms, or corporations could secure their grants from the Government practically free of charge, and hence free of any control as to rates either through a State commission, the Secretary of War, or the Interstate Commerce Commission. In most instances the power they would develop would be used at the point of development, and there would be no transmission lines giving the business an interstate character, thus subjecting it to control. While it is true that the construction of a dam for such manufacturing purposes might benefit the Government in furnishing slack-water navigation at points in a navigable stream where navigation would otherwise be impossible, and while the locks and accessory works would have to be furnished at the expense of the grantee, nevertheless there would be no regulation either as to service or prices of output. If, on the other hand, the Government by an amendment to this bill were authorized to make a charge, the Government through the control which the imposition of a charge would permit, would be in a position to prevent unconscionable profits. Why under such conditions would it not be the part of wisdom for the Government to offer reductions in the charges for the water power developed on condition that the grantee, the manufacturer, or producer make corresponding or reasonable reductions in the cost of the product to the consumers?

It is contended in this debate that the imposition of a charge by the Government for the water power developed would discourage investment of capital in water-power projects. There has been tremendous development in the mountain States in recent years under revocable permits where there was no definiteness of term and where the Government made a charge for the water power developed. If capital can invest under such conditions, it ought to invest in a project where there is a fixed term of at least 50 years with a certainty that the actual cost of their lands and rights of way and the fair value of the other property, such as buildings, machinery, transmission lines, and so forth, would be repaid to the grantee by the Government or a new grantee at the end of the term. So eagerly have the water powers of the mountain States been taken up by great groups or syndicates that in quite a number of these States the power already developed is considerably in excess of the demand, and in several a majority of the horsepower, both developed and undeveloped, has already gone into the hands of a single corporation or syndicate. The further fact that their rates were subject to the regulation and control of the several State commissions, even to the control in some instances of the issuance of stocks and bonds, did not discourage investment.

As a rule the rates charged by a hydroelectric company to the consumer will be such as the traffic will bear; that is, they will approximate the rates charged for the production of power by steam. Steam therefore will, in a large measure, fix the cost of hydroelectric power. Owing to its greater convenience, there will always be a preferential demand for electric power. If, then, it is an actual fact that hydroelectric power can be generated at considerably less cost than by the use of coal, oil, or other fuel in regions where coal is not found or must be hauled a

considerable distance, there is a possibility of producing power by electricity considerably cheaper than by the use of coal, oil, or other fuel. If, under such circumstances, a charge is made by the Government, such charge will not be added to the cost to the consumer or be reflected in the rates, but will be deducted from the profits which the grantee would otherwise put in his own pocket. It is also to be remembered that whereas our supply of coal, oil, and gas is more or less limited, our rivers will continue to run to the sea for all time to come and hence make available a perpetual power, a power which therefore will continue to grow more and more valuable as time goes on, and this furnishes another reason why this Congress should not relinquish irrevocably the rights it now possesses and the powers it now can exert over the last of our great natural resources—water power. If the terms and conditions of the pending legislation are considered too severe to encourage capital to invest, a subsequent Congress can mitigate the terms and conditions, but if we fail to exercise now the rights which we have under the Constitution we may sacrifice the interest of this and subsequent generations in favor of private interests.

The grant of a permit to construct a dam across a navigable stream gives a monopoly to the grantee. Under the provisions of the bill rights of eminent domain can be exercised in the condemnation of private property. The grantee is thus permitted to exercise rights of sovereignty. From the very nature of things he is given a monopoly, and hence should be subject to regulation and control as is provided in the pending bill. A monopoly of water power may mean a monopoly of transportation, heat, light, and power for manufacturing and public uses. Without regulation no such monopoly could or should be tolerated. In the words of Senator Burton:

> The possibility of a control of a business of a country through the agency of water power is more imminent than any other form of control ever attempted in the history of human endeavor.

The pending bill not merely provides for the regulation of the rates for hydroelectric power charged to consumers, but also gives the Secretary of War control over the stock and bond issues of the grantee, with full access to books and records, and with requirements for accounting and special or regular reports. Under these provisions the unit of cost can be ascertained and profits determined. The stock watering thus curbed or entirely eliminated and profits on only bona fide investment made more certain, the charge prescribed by the Government would be more easily met and the hope of success for the project increased.

The State can tax the physical properties of a power plant within its boundaries, but not the franchise for its construction, which the Government alone can grant, and for the granting of which the Government alone should be permitted to levy a charge. The franchise is in its nature a special privilege, for which, like other privileges, the Government can ask compensation. For a hundred years we have been legislating for and in behalf of contract rights or vested interests, but the day is now here when we should so legislate as to bring the people back to their own.

Upon the termination of the 50-year term, section 10 of the pending bill provides the method by which the Government can recapture or take over the possession of the power plant and its necessary appurtenances, including transmission and distributing lines. Three alternatives are provided: First, the Government may itself take over the property; or, second, authorize a third party to take it over; or, third, make a new grant under the terms of the law then applicable to the original grantee. In taking over the property by the Government or a third party authorized by it, the original grantee is to receive only the actual cost of what may be termed the nonperishable property—that is, the lands upon which the dam is built, the flowage rights thereto, and rights of way for transmission lines—and the reasonable value of the perishable property—that is, the structures, machinery, and transmission and distributing lines—but nothing for the value of the franchise or good will or profits to be earned on pending contracts or any other intangible elements. The unearned increment is not to be reimbursable. It is contended that these provisions as to recapture at the end of the 50-year term are unfair to the original grantee and may discourage the investment of capital. If, however, these terms are compared with those in other countries, where water-power development has been made in recent years, it will be found that the terms of the pending bill are comparatively generous.

Italy grants concessions for water power for a period of not longer than 30 years on annual rental.

In France:

> Power plants on national lands are developed under concessions for periods not exceeding 50 years, at the expiration of which the grantee, if concession be not renewed, is required to restore the premises to the conditions previously existing, or deliver the plant to the nation without indemnity as the nation may elect. The amount of rental to be paid is required to be fixed in the articles of concession.

In Norway:

> The law authorizes the granting of concessions for power development for a period of 60 years and a maximum of 80 years. When the concession expires the land, with improvements and works, reverts to the Government. Various payments for the privilege are required, among them the establishment of a poor fund under public control, the surrender of a certain percentage of produced power to the community, also to the central Government, and in certain specified developments there may be assessed a yearly tax of 1.25 crowns for every horsepower over 500.

In the Dominion of Canada:

> The law authorizes the issuance of licenses for 21 years, renewable for three further terms of like extent at a fixed fee payable annually, and providing that upon the termination of a license the works may be taken over by the Government upon payment of the value of the actual and tangible works, and of any lands held in fee in connection therewith.

In the Province of Ontario, where the term of the lease is not exceeding 20 years with the right of renewal for two further and successive terms of 10 years each upon rentals stated in the lease, and upon such other terms and conditions as the minister may prescribe, the privileges upon the termination of the lease—

> together with all dams and other structures or works made or erected by the lessee in connection therewith, revert to and become the property of the Crown, subject, however, to the right of the lessee to remove machinery, failure in which removal shall become the property of the Crown, also subject to the payment of compensation to the lessee of such sums as the minister may deem proper for buildings or structures of a permanent character and necessary or useful for the development or utilization of the water privilege.

When it is considered that in the construction of some of these dams upon the larger navigable rivers years will be required for the completion of the dams, and in many instances 10 years or even longer may be required before a market can be found for the full horsepower development of a given project, I do not believe that a term of 50 years is too long. A less period would discourage investment and prevent, or at least hinder, financial success.

There is another feature of the bill to which I wish to call attention, and that is to the closing two lines of section 3, where, as between two or more contesting applicants equally well qualified to undertake the work of constructing a dam and developing the region as to water power and navigation, "preference shall be given to the one who has first complied with the laws of the State or States in which the dam is to be constructed."

I shall offer an amendment basing the preference, as follows:

> Which offers in good faith to the United States the most favorable terms for taking over the property at the end of the franchise and the lowest rates for public service under the franchise under the provisions of this act.

When we come to the consideration of the bill under the five-minute rule I shall seek to give my reasons therefor. [Applause.]

I have consumed more time than I had expected. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. SMITH].

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## The Agricultural Department and Practical Farming.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FINLY H. GRAY,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, May 11, 1916.*

Mr. GRAY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, this elaborate and extensive Department of Agriculture provided by the Government and maintained at great cost to the people is in vain unless the same is brought within the reach of farmers and made to serve them.

The farmers of the country, either separately as individuals or as organized associations, must be informed of what information, assistance, and cooperation is available to them from this deaprtment.

They must know where to make application for such information, assistance, and cooperation.

They must have their applications for such information and assistance promptly, fully, and plainly complied with.

They must be able to receive special instruction on particular subjects of farming and as to improved methods of agriculture.

They must have demonstration of such methods made on farms in their own communities and in actual farm operations

and with implements and facilities available to farmers in such communities, instead of being compelled to depend upon reports of demonstrations at specially equipped agricultural stations, and which can not be followed in actual farm operations.

To meet these requirements there must be in the Department of Agriculture a special bureau of farm information, to which every farmer in the country may apply for and receive special instruction in any of the various branches of farming in which he may be interested and may also secure demonstrations in connection therewith and conducted in actual farm operations and on farms in their own communities.

To this end I will introduce a bill to create a bureau of farm information in the Department of Agriculture and, among other functions to be performed, providing duties as follows:

To receive and take up for compliance all applications for information from farmers and to furnish from the proper bureau, division, or office of the Department of Agriculture special instuction in improved methods of agriculture;

To assemble and collate all information published or otherwise available from the various bureaus, divisions, and offices of said department relating to such inquiries and of practical value in farming, and to transmit the same with such special instruction;

To furnish, from time to time, such supplemental information to farmers to whom special instruction has been given as may be necessary to enable such instruction to be properly carried out;

To arrange for demonstrations of improved methods of agriculture under actual farming conditions and with facilities generally available upon farms in the respective localities where conducted;

To conduct all correspondence relative to the above-mentioned functions and duties; to have charge of all papers, books, and writings in connection therewith; and to keep a record of all such applications, the proceedings had in connection with such instruction, and the results obtained; and

To devise means of coordinating, as far as possible, all work done by or under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture, with a view of making the results of such work most available for the information and instruction of farmers, and of farm associations.

## Public Buildings.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK CLARK,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

**Mr. CLARK of Florida.** Mr. Speaker, I dislike very much to again consume the time of the House with relation to the public-buildings bill recently reported by the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, but I am quite sure that it is my duty to take a very few minutes in which to refute a glaring falsehood which is being industriously circulated over the country. A firm of brokers located at 115 Broadway, New York, and known as H. P. Taylor & Co., have issued a bulletin which they call Circular No. 296, and in this document they attack the river and harbor bill, the good-roads bill, the public-buildings bill, and the Congress itself.

Life is entirely too short for me to undertake to follow these creatures through all their misrepresentation of and slanderous statements with reference to these different bills and the committees which reported them. The bulletin as a whole is simply saturated through and through with slander, falsehood, malice, and venom. While this bulletin is so palpably false upon its face, yet, as some good citizen into whose hands it may come might be misled, I shall briefly call attention to the statements made therein with relation to the public-buildings bill. Taylor & Co. say they quote from the New York Times when they print the names of 15 towns which they claim are included in the bill for the respective amounts stated. I do not know, Mr. Speaker, whether they quote from the New York Times or not; but if the New York Times has ever made the statement that these 15 towns were included in the bill, then the New York Times and H. P. Taylor & Co. belong to different classes of falsifiers. The New York Times would be an originating perverter of the truth, and H. P. Taylor & Co. would be a circulating medium of falsehood. I want to submit the main portion of this circular referring to the public-buildings bill, and especially the names of the 15 towns, so that any person may determine for himself from the record what the truth of this matter is. This portion of the circular is as follows:

As for the public-buildings bill, it is entirely within the bounds of fair statement to characterize it as the boldest and most unblushing raid on the Treasury which has been undertaken for a generation. One of the most reliable and reputable newspapers in the country, the New York Times, has felt constrained to expose the "pork" appropriations in the public-buildings bill, and from its exhibit we take the following items:

| Post office. | Population. | Annual receipts. | Cost of building. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grand Canyon, Ariz | 209 | $5,312 | $25,000 |
| Susanville, Cal | 638 | 7,058 | 60,000 |
| Mancos, Col | 567 | 4,040 | 50,000 |
| Brooksville, Fla | 979 | 5,566 | 100,000 |
| Greenville, Pa | 909 | 2,848 | 60,000 |
| Hailey, Idaho | 1,231 | 6,073 | 100,000 |
| McKee, Ky | 146 | 526 | 75,000 |
| Saylersville, Ky | 310 | 1,161 | 75,000 |
| Clayton, N. Mex | 970 | 7,848 | 125,000 |
| Pembina, N. Dak | 717 | 2,027 | 75,000 |
| Franklin, N. C | 379 | 1,433 | 75,000 |
| Pawnee, Okla | 2,161 | 8,714 | 200,000 |
| Seneca, S. C | 1,313 | 5,289 | 100,000 |
| Louisa, Va | 318 | 5,084 | 50,000 |
| Sundance, Wyo | 281 | 2,989 | 75,000 |

Of course, no objection can reasonably be made to the prosecution of deserving and "good-faith" river and harbor works or to the erection of suitable buildings of the Government in cities where they are actually needed. In Pittsburgh, for example, the need of a new post-office building has long been so urgent that the Government paid nearly $1,000,000 for a site 11 or 12 years ago. The site is still unimproved, and the business interests of the community meanwhile suffer from insufficient postal facilities, while southern and western villages destitute of either industry or commerce are the objects of the prodigal generosity above indicated. A Pittsburgh newspaper points out that if Pittsburgh, with its population of 700,000 and its annual postal receipts of $3,000,000, were treated as lavishly as McKee, Ky., or Sundance, Wyo., it would at once receive a new post-office building appropriation of $210,000,000, instead of which it gets nothing.

It is claimed in this article that the bill carries for each of the 15 towns named an authorization for the amount mentioned for each. This statement, I understand, is sent broadcast over the United States and the people asked to believe that it is true, and yet the fact is that only 2 of the 15 towns are mentioned in the bill at all. Nowhere within the bill, from beginning to end, can you find the name of either of the other 13 towns, and this is just about as near the truth as the average critic of the public-building legislation of Congress ever gets. But these people do not even tell the truth about the two towns in their list which are named in the bill. Take Susanville, Cal. These people say that Susanville has a population of 638, postal receipts of $7,058, and gets $60,000 for a building, leaving the impression that the post office is the only Federal activity at Susanville. For a wonder, they came pretty close to the postal receipts and close to what the population was six years ago, but they did not state the further fact that there is at Susanville a United States land office, Weather Bureau, Forestry Service, and veterinary service, the employees of all to be housed in the same building with the employees of the post office. Nor did they state that the bill only carries for Susanville an authorization of $10,000 with which to acquire a site. No building is authorized for Susanville at all.

The next and only other town named in their list of 15 which appears in the bill at all is Greenville, Pa. These people say that Greenville has a population of 909 and postal receipts of $2,848 per annum, and that the bill authorizes a building there to cost $60,000. The truth is that the census of 1910 gave Greenville, Pa., a population of 5,909, and the postal receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, were $31,245.42, and the bill carries an authorization of $75,000 to purchase a site and construct a building. So you see H. P. Taylor & Co. have lied unblushingly about the two towns in their list which do appear in the bill; and as to the other 13, their lies were simply manufactured out of the whole cloth. There is absolutely no excuse under the sun for the circulation of these deliberate, wanton, uncalled-for, and malicious lies. This bill has been printed—it is a public document—and is accessible to any person who may desire to see it, and the facts upon which the committee acted in framing the bill are likewise accessible to the public, and therefore there is not the slightest excuse for the circulation of such infamous, slanderous, false, and malicious documents with which these perverters of the truth are now flooding the mails.

I will simply mention Pittsburgh, to which they refer. Congress did authorize the purchase of a site at Pittsburgh about

10 years ago. The then Secretary of the Treasury went to Pittsburgh in person and selected it, and paid $940,000 for it. It was a site entirely unsuited for the purpose, and the representative citizens of Pittsburgh strongly protested against erecting the Government's building on it, and Congress has been trying ever since to sell it. Although for the past 10 years Pittsburgh has grown wonderfully, and although real estate in Pittsburgh has steadily advanced in value, this Government lot can not be sold to-day, according to the information of the committee, for over $200,000—a clear loss of $740,000 and interest for 10 years. Neither Congress nor its committee bought that lot. Where, then, does the blame lie for this transaction? Why can not H. P. Taylor & Co., and other such slanderers, if they really want to save the country, cease downright and inexcusable lying for a season and pick up a few of these real extravagances and issue a few circulars about them? Will they, or do they just naturally prefer falsehood to truth?

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**The Full Territorial Form of Government for Alaska.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
OF ALASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous-consent leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of "The full Territorial form of government for Alaska," I desire to call special attention to the necessity for the enactment of laws so extending the old organic acts of the Territory as to meet present-day necessities.

The people of Alaska are Americans and proud of their citizenship; as a class they are law-abiding and liberty loving. They were nurtured in free American homes and educated in the common schools. They are naturally democratic in their ideas and devoted to the principles of a republican form of government. When called to assist in constructing government on the frontier they know of but one American plan to follow—that plan which our forefathers embodied in the Constitution and which has been adopted in every American Territory or State organized under the flag of the Union.

But, alas, there was opposition to adopting that plan in the development of Alaskan government. Not only was there opposition but its strongest antagonists were those who were responsible for maintaining government in the northern Territory. The opposition to the creation of an elective legislative body for Alaska, such as all other American Territories had, came from President Taft and his administration. The opposition to the creation of a full Territorial form of government for Alaska now comes from President Wilson and his administration. The invisible forces which organized the opposition to a more perfect government for the people of Alaska under both administrations are those powerful interests which desire to seize, own, and exploit the great undeveloped resources of Alaska, free from governmental control.

The Taft administration sought to impose the Beveridge bill on us, for the creation of an appointive legislative commission composed in part of officers of the United States Army, under the control of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the War Department, with autocratic powers of government over our people and unlimited authority to dispose of and to manage the undeveloped resources of the Territory. The Wilson administration now seeks to withdraw from our people what few legislative powers we captured from the Taft administration, after a long and bitter struggle, and to transfer their exercise to irresponsible appointees and bureau chiefs in Washington, by authorizing them to enact rules and regulations, having the force of law, for our government, without our knowledge or consent.

1. UNDER THE TAFT ADMINISTRATION.

For 45 years under the Government of the United States Alaska was without a law-making body. During that period, though Congress had the power, it did little to encourage the improvement of government there. When the Sixty-first Congress convened in special session on March 15, 1909, no provision had yet been made for the creation of a Territorial legislature for Alaska, and it became my duty to offer a bill to create such an assembly. On June 7, 1909, I introduced the bill H. R. 10418, "to create a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska, to confer legislative power thereon, and for other purposes." The bill was carefully copied from the standard type used by Congress in creating all other Territories, and had nothing new or dangerous in it. But there was instant opposition. It came from those big interests which had already preempted large holdings in Alaskan transportation, coal, copper, fisheries, and other valuable undeveloped resources, and who wished to exploit the Territory without hindrance. So active and efficient was this opposition that it persuaded President Taft to denounce the plan adopted in all other American Territories, proposed by my bill, and this he did in vigorous language in his messages to Congress of December 7, 1909, December 6, 1910, and February 2, 1912. As an offset to the plan of an elective Territorial legislature coming from the body of the people, there was prepared, under Mr. Taft's direction, in accordance with the views stated in his previous message, a bill providing for the appointment by the President of a legislative commission of nine members, including the governor, one or more of whom might be officers in the United States Army, the commission to report to and be under the control of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the War Department and to have autocratic legislative and administrative power in Alaska.

This bill was introduced in Congress by Senator Beveridge, and it is generally known as the Beveridge bill. The issue was squarely made by President Taft in this bill and in his messages. On the one side the Delegate from Alaska contended for the enactment of a law creating the elective legislature, with the powers always theretofore given to Territorial legislatures; on the other the President and his administration, aided by the big-interest lobby, which knew what it wanted, urged the acceptance of the Beveridge bill, which placed all power in the hands of a small body of the appointees of the President.

The struggle between these two contending forces was long-continued and unpleasant. However, in time the Beveridge bill failed in the Senate, and in the Sixty-second Congress the elective-legislature bill was favorably reported, passed, and on August 24, 1912, signed by President Taft. The big interests engaged in exploiting Alaska finally contented themselves with procuring the insertion of amendments in the bill limiting the power of the Alaska Legislature over the fisheries, schools, roads, and other important matters of local concern which had always theretofore been controlled by a Territorial legislature. These limitations, being those most generally complained of by the people of Alaska, are found in section 3 of the act of August 24, 1912, creating the legislative assembly in Alaska and giving it legislative power, and are as follows:

That the authority herein granted to the legislature to alter, amend, modify, and repeal laws in force in Alaska shall not extend to * * * (1) the game, fish * * * and laws relating to fur-bearing animals * * * (2) or to the laws of the United States providing for taxes on business and trade, or to the act entitled "An act to provide for the construction and maintenance of roads, the establishment and maintenance of schools, and the care and support of insane persons in the District of Alaska, and for other purposes," approved January 27, 1905, and the several acts amendatory thereof.

The first group of limitations withdrawing from the control of the legislature the game, fish, and fur-bearing animals of Alaska was put into the bill by amendments on the floor of Congress, over my protest, while the second group, withdrawing power from the legislature over taxes on business and trade, the roads, schools, and insane, was put in through the influence of the Alaska Board of Road Commissioners to prevent the legislature from reducing the amount of money in the Alaska fund or from controlling or limiting the board's activities in Alaska. The Delegate from Alaska protested against these limitations upon the legislative powers in Alaska, but was defeated on the floor of Congress in both matters. These limitations, and others in the bill as it was passed, were not in the bill as introduced.

2. UNDER THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION.

Every one in Alaska hoped that when the Wilson administration was seated a wider range of government would be conferred on the Territory by the proper extension of our legislative powers, until we would be given "full Territorial form of government." Of course, the trouble over the passage of the legislative bill under the Taft administration is water over the wheel, but it seems to be equally as difficult to get legislation from the Wilson administration to remedy the defects which time has disclosed to exist in our organic law, whether by the growth of new demands in the Territory or occasioned by the amendments forced in it on its passage, as it was to get the original enactment.

The deficiencies in the organic act creating the legislature have been purposely exaggerated by those politicians and newspapers in Alaska who prefer to contend for political advantage rather than to assist in securing better government for the people. Their constant effort is to find a way how not to do it, and then cry out that the law is faulty. But there are well-known defects and limitations in all organic acts for Territo-

ries, always were, and always will be, and that fact is well recognized by the people of Alaska. In the Democratic Territorial platform for 1912, among its resolutions that party declared "that the Democratic Party regards and has always regarded Territorial government as but a temporary makeshift and a preparatory step to complete statehood."

And yet until we can secure statehood for Alaska every good citizen of the Territory must seek for the best laws possible with which to maintain and develop its government and resources. While I have not always been patient with my opponents in Alaska in seeking to tear down what I have so laboriously attempted to build up, I have not failed to note suggestions for the betterment of our organic laws. Even when I the benefit of the doubt to the people of the Territory and sought to secure a wider range of power for our legislature, even though, in my judgment, it already exists in statutes which are not heeded.

3. THE FULL TERRITORIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT BILL.

On January 4 last I introduced H. R. 6887 in the House and caused it to be referred to the Committee on the Territories. The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 6887) to establish the full Territorial form of government in Alaska, to amend the act of Congress approved August 24, 1912, entitled "An act to create a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska, to confer legislative power thereon, and for other purposes," and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That there be, and is hereby, created and established the full Territorial form of government in Alaska, and the legislature of said Territory is hereby authorized and empowered to have and exercise the full powers of Territorial legislation heretofore given to and exercised by the Territorial legislatures of other Territories of the United States.

SEC. 2. That the governor of Alaska shall reside in the Territory during his term of office, and he shall be commander in chief of the militia thereof. He may grant pardons and reprieves and remit fines and forfeitures for offenses against the laws of the Territory and respites for offenses against the laws of the United States till the decision of the President can be made known thereon. He shall commission all officers who are appointed under the laws of such Territory and shall take care that the laws thereof be faithfully executed.

SEC. 3 That the Legislature of Alaska is hereby empowered and authorized to provide for county form of government in the Territory; and so much of section 9 of the act of August 24, 1912, entitled "An act to create a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska, to confer legislative power thereon, and for other purposes," as provides that no acts or laws passed by the Legislature of Alaska providing for a county form of government therein shall have any force or effect until it shall be submitted to and approved by the affirmative action of Congress is hereby repealed.

SEC. 4. That all Territorial, township, district, and county officers, including justices of the peace and officers of the militia, shall be appointed or elected in such manner as may be provided by law enacted by the legislature of the Territory; and all other Territorial officers not herein otherwise provided for the governor shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the legislative senate, shall appoint, and the officers so appointed shall hold their offices for the period fixed by law unless sooner removed agreeably to the laws of the Territory. And whenever a vacancy happens from resignation or death during the recess of the legislative senate in any office which is to be filled by appointment of the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Territorial senate, the governor shall fill such vacancy by granting a commission which shall expire at the end of the next session of the legislative senate.

SEC. 5. That the Legislature of Alaska is hereby empowered and authorized to create a supreme court in said Territory, which shall have appellate jurisdiction in all Territorial causes arising therein, to provide for the appointment or election of the judges and other necessary officials thereof, and to fix and pay their compensations.

SEC. 6. That the Legislature of Alaska is hereby empowered and authorized to provide by law for the appointment or election of a Territorial attorney general and county or district Territorial attorneys, to provide their duties and powers, and to fix and pay their compensation.

SEC. 7. That section 3 of the act of Congress approved August 24, 1912, entitled "An act to create a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska, to confer legislative power thereon, and for other purposes," and constituting section 410 of the Compiled Laws of Alaska, 1913, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. That the Constitution of the United States, and all the laws thereof which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States; that all the laws of the United States heretofore passed establishing the executive and judicial departments in Alaska shall continue in full force and effect until amended or repealed by act of Congress; that except as herein provided all laws now in force in Alaska shall continue in full force and effect until altered, amended, or repealed by Congress or by the legislature: *Provided*, That the authority herein granted to the legislature to alter, amend, modify, and repeal laws in force in Alaska shall not extend to the customs, internal-revenue, postal, or other general laws of the United States or to the fur-seal laws of the United States applicable to Alaska. And the legislature shall pass no law depriving the judges and officers of the district court of Alaska of any authority, jurisdiction, or function exercised by like judges or officers of district courts of the United States."

And the provisions of said section 3 not included in the foregoing amended section be, and they are hereby, repealed.

SEC. 8. That section 9 of the act of Congress approved August 24, 1912, entitled "An act to create a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska, to confer legislative power thereon, and for other purposes," and constituting section 416 of the Compiled Laws of Alaska, 1913, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 9. The legislative power of the Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States, but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of nonresidents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents; nor shall the legislature grant to any corporation, association, or individual any special or exclusive privilege, immunity, or franchise without the affirmative approval of Congress; nor shall the legislature pass local or special laws in any of the cases enumerated in the act of July 30, 1886; nor shall it grant private charters or special privileges, but it may, by general act, permit persons to associate themselves together as bodies corporate for manufacturing, mining, agricultural, and other industrial pursuits, and for the conduct of business of insurance, savings banks, banks of discount and deposit (but not of issue), loans, trust, and guaranty associations, for the establishment and conduct of cemeteries, and for the construction and operation of railroads, wagon roads, vessels, and irrigating ditches, and the colonization and improvement of lands in connection therewith, or for colleges, seminaries, churches, libraries, or any other benevolent, charitable, or scientific association, but the authority embraced in this section shall only permit the organization of corporations or associations whose chief business shall be in the Territory of Alaska; no divorce shall be granted by the legislature, nor shall any divorce be granted by the courts of the Territory, unless the applicant therefor shall have resided in the Territory for two years next preceding the application, which residence and all causes for divorce shall be determined by the court upon evidence adduced in open court; nor shall any lottery or the sale of lottery tickets be allowed; nor shall the legislature or any municipality interfere with or attempt in any wise to limit the acts of Congress to prevent and punish gambling, and all gambling implements shall be seized by the United States marshal or any of his deputies, or any constable or police officer, and destroyed: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall be held to limit the power of the legislature from passing laws for the more effectual suppression of gambling; nor shall spirituous or intoxicating liquors be manufactured or sold, except under such regulations and restrictions as Congress shall provide: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall be held to limit the power of the legislature from passing laws to submit to a vote of the people of Alaska the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquor in the Territory; nor shall any public money be appropriated by the Territory or any municipal corporation therein for the support or benefit of any sectarian, denominational, or private school, or any school not under the exclusive control of the Government; nor shall the government of the Territory of Alaska, or any political or municipal corporation or subdivision of the Territory, make any subscription to the capital stock of any incorporated company, or in any manner lend its credit for the use thereof; that all authorized indebtedness shall be paid in the order of its creation; all taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of subjects and shall be levied and collected under general laws, and the assessments shall be according to the actual value thereof; no tax shall be levied for Territorial purposes in excess of 1 per cent upon the assessed valuation of property therein in any one year; nor shall any incorporated town or municipality levy any tax, for any purpose, in excess of 2 per cent of the assessed valuation of property within the town in any one year: *Provided*, That the Congress reserves the exclusive power for five years from the date of the approval of this act to fix and impose any tax or taxes upon railways or railway property in Alaska; and all laws passed, or attempted to be passed, by such legislature in said Territory inconsistent with the provisions of this section shall be null and void: *Provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be held to abridge the right of the legislature to modify the qualifications of electors by extending the elective franchise to women.

And the provisions of said section 9 not included in the foregoing amended section be, and they are hereby, repealed.

SEC. 9. That in addition to the powers now authorized to be exercised by the Legislature of Alaska, its legislative power shall extend to and over all the fish and fisheries of Alaska, and all wild animals and birds thereln, and the legislature shall pass laws for the conservation, protection, and regulation thereof, and may levy and collect for Territorial use a license tax on trades and business, including the fish and fisheries, and may control the domestication of all wild animals and birds, and provide for the erection of fish hatcheries and stocking barren streams and lakes with fish.

SEC. 10. That all the provisions of the following acts of Congress shall extend to and be in force in Alaska, to wit: The act approved July 30, 1886, entitled "An act to prohibit the passage of local or special laws in the Territories of the United States, to limit Territorial indebtedness, and for other purposes"; the act of March 4, 1898, entitled "An act to amend an act to prohibit the passage of local or special laws in the Territories, to limit Territorial indebtedness, etc."; and the act of June 6, 1900, entitled "An act to amend an act to prohibit the passage of special or local laws in the Territories, to limit the Territorial indebtedness, etc.," and all acts amendatory thereof.

4. DEMOCRATIC PLEDGES TO ALASKA.

The Committee on Territories is composed of 10 Democrats and 6 Republicans. The Wilson administration is Democratic in every branch. In his message to Congress, on December 2, 1913, President Wilson said:

A duty faces us with regard to Alaska which seems to me very pressing and very imperative; perhaps I should say a double duty, for it concerns both the political and the material development of the Territory. The people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government, and Alaska, as a storehouse, should be unlocked.

In the Democratic Territorial platform adopted at Skagway, on August 4, 1914, the party declared:

The Democratic Party of Alaska, in convention assembled, therefore pledges itself and its candidate for Delegate to Congress to cooperate with the national administration in securing the following beneficial legislation: (1) An amendment to the organic act, so that, in the words of the President, Alaska may have a "full Territorial form of government," enlarging the powers of the Territorial legislature to every needful subject of legislation not of a strictly national character.

The bill (H. R. 6887) was prepared by me to cover every supposed or known defect in the organic act, and was specially intended to cover those defects pointed out in House joint memorial No. 3, introduced in the Territorial legislature on March 12, 1915, and printed at page 53 of the Journal of the House of Representatives of Alaska. This memorial was publicly approved by those Democratic administration papers

at Juneau as pointing to the amendments to the organic act necessary to give Alaska "the full Territorial form of government." H. R. 6887 was introduced by me to give Alaska just that addition to our powers of government which President Wilson and his official representatives declared we ought to have.

Since the people of Alaska and the Delegate wished to secure those additions, it seemed it would be an easy and pleasant task, with the assistance of the Wilson administration, to pass the bill. But again, alas, for there is still opposition to adding to the powers of the people of Alaska so as to give them "the full Territorial form of Government," even though the President of the United States had personally pledged it in his message to Congress.

5. AN ADVERSE REPORT.

It is the invariable practice in Congress when a bill is introduced having some relation to matters within the jurisdiction of a department for the chairman of the committee to refer it to the Secretary with a request that it be carefully examined, and the committee be advised as to the desirability of its enactment. That course was taken with House bill 6887, and on January 6, two days after it was introduced, Chairman HOUSTON, of the Committee on the Territories, transmitted copies thereof to the Attorney General and to the Secretary of Commerce for examination and report with recommendations. The Attorney General declined to report on or recommend the bill, but the Secretary of Commerce did not fail to come forward promptly with an adverse report. The following official communication was received by Chairman HOUSTON:

WASHINGTON, *January 18, 1916.*

Hon. W. C. HOUSTON,
*Chairman of the Committee on the Territories,*
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Your letter of January 6, directed to the Secretary, inclosing House bill 6887, and stating that you would be pleased to have his recommendation in regard thereto, was, under his instructions, referred by me to the Bureau of Fisheries. I am this morning in receipt of a report from the bureau upon the bill in question, setting forth its objection thereto, which I herewith transmit to you.

If there is any further information in regard to the bill that you care to have, we will be glad to furnish it to you if we can do so. I will also be glad to have a representative of the bureau at your committee hearings on the bill, if you so desire.

Very truly, yours,

A. L. THURMAN, *Solicitor.*

The letter from the Bureau of Fisheries, which was the only answer made by Secretary Redfield to the request for a recommendation on the bill for "the full Territorial form of government" in Alaska, was written by the commissioner of that bureau. It opposes the bill, and not only denounces it but the people of Alaska as well. So far as it is pertinent the letter is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF FISHERIES,
*Washington, January 12, 1916.*

Mr. A. L. THURMAN,
*Solicitor Department of Commerce.*

DEAR MR. THURMAN: In compliance with the request made in your communication of the 7th instant, transmitting a copy of H. R. 6887, providing for a Territorial form of government for Alaska, embraced in the following, will be found the views of the bureau as to why it will be unwise to allow the control of the fisheries to pass from the Federal Government to the Territorial government of Alaska.

* * * * * * *

The taking over of the control of the fisheries of Alaska by the Territory would undoubtedly mean the appointment of local men to enforce the law and administer all of the duties pertaining to the industry. It has been thought by some that the appointment of men who are more or less identified and linked with local interests is not as conducive to an impartial handling of the situation as is the case when men are brought in from the outside.

The time will undoubtedly come when Alaska may be able to administer properly at least certain phases of her fisheries problems, but from present indications that day is quite far distant. Alaska has an extent of approximately 540,000 square miles and a population of about 35,000 whites. This as about 1 person to every 15 square miles. The Territory still partakes of many of the characteristics of the frontier, for although there are citizens of great ability and high integrity it may be said that they are so in the minority that a responsible citizenry scarcely exists and that they have no effective voice in the management of civic affairs. The people come and go in their search for fortune in Alaska, and this itinerant characteristic, which will probably continue for a long time, is not calculated to develop rapidly or increase, except slowly, the comparatively small number of citizens which make the backbone of the Commonwealth. Such a situation as this affords great opportunity for professional agitators and other disturbing elements to create strife and friction between the various diverse local interests. The latter feature is unusually important in Alaska for the reason of the vast extent of the coast line.

* * * * * * *

Until such conditions improve it is scarcely to be thought that the fisheries of the Teritory will receive better attention or will be improved in any way by transferring their control from the Federal Government to the Territorial government.

* * * * * * *

Steps are now under way to transfer jurisdiction over the terrestrial fur-bearing animals of Alaska from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Agriculture. It seems not inappropriate, however, for the bureau to herein state that any move tending to place the control over fur-bearing animals in the legislative body of Alaska will be productive of anything but beneficial results. Such a move would be unwise and unprogressive. * * * The problem is national and international rather than local or Territorial. This is demonstrated clearly and emphatically in the fact that no State has ever been able to handle the conservation of its fur-bearing animals in a satisfactory manner, because it has been almost impossible to approach the problem except from a purely local standpoint and under a policy more or less vacillating and influenced by local political exigencies.

Very truly, yours,

H. M. SMITH, *Commissioner.*

This unfavorable report, which was personally approved by Secretary Redfield, and specially published in the fishery hearings by Acting Secretary Thurman, is the only report which could be dragged out of the Wilson administration in relation to H. R. 6887, "a bill to establish the full Territorial form of government in Alaska." Its insulting and untruthful references to the people of Alaska, where citizens of great ability and high integrity are declared to be "so in the minority that a responsible citizenry scarcely exists and that they have no effective voice in the management of civic affairs," is the answer of the Wilson administration to our prayer that "the people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government," which was promised us by President Wilson personally in his message to Congress of December 2, 1913.

6. SECRETARY REDFIELD OPPOSES FULL TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

Nor is that humiliating rebuff the only unfriendly action by the Wilson administration in opposition to giving Alaska "the full Territorial form of government." In 1914, Dr. E. Lester Jones, Deputy Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Fisheries, held up the bills pending in Congress intended to give the Territory jurisdiction over its fisheries while he took a jaunt along the Alaskan coast to gain some A B C information about salmon. His report to President Wilson is full of beautiful pictures, and his first recommendation is as follows:

The following recommendations are submitted:

"1. That full control of the fisheries and fur-bearing animals be vested in the Department of Commerce. There should be no division of this authority with other Federal departments or with the Territorial Government."

Secretary Redfield, in his annual report of 1915, addressed to President Wilson, approved Dr. Jones's report and recommendations, and declares—

the report is a valuable contribution to the study of Alaskan conditions. * * * The recommendations made in the report of Dr. Jones have been given careful consideration. Many of them were included in the fisheries bill (H. R. 21607, 63d Cong.) introduced with the department's approval at the last session. This bill will be introduced in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

* * * * * * *

On April 29, 1915, the Legislature of Alaska passed an act imposing additional license fees on certain kinds of business, including fisheries, salteries, fish traps, and gill nets. It at once became apparent that if the Legislature of Alaska exercises this power the result is double taxation on persons engaged in such kinds of business, and further a dual control would exist between the Department of Commerce and the Legislature of Alaska over at least a branch of such kind of business. The latter condition is the one that primarily concerns the Department of Commerce. The control of the fisheries of Alaska is by law placed in that department, which is responsible not only for their preservation but also for their growth and development. Clearly if the Territory of Alaska has a joint right of control over the whole or any portion of such fisheries the plans of the Department of Commerce for the growth and development may meet with serious interference, and the result may be most harmful to the industry. If, for example, the Legislature of Alaska may impose license fees and taxes to an extent that might seriously impair the industry by making it unprofitable, the Department of Commerce, charged with the responsibility of caring for this industry, would be practically helpless.

Not even the possibility of such a situation, much less the situation itself, should be allowed to exist. As long as Congress sees fit to continue the control of the Alaska fisheries in the Department of Commerce, that control should be exclusive. It is respectfully suggested that Congress should either repeal the proviso contained in section 3 of the act of August 24, 1912, which authorizes the Legislature of Alaska to impose other and additional taxes or licenses, or so amend it as to exclude fisheries and kindred occupations in Alaska from its operation. This would leave the law as it stood before the passage of the act of August 24, 1912, and all license fees and taxes for the carrying on of fisheries and kindred occupations in Alaska would then be fixed by Congress.

Beginning with the advent of the Wilson administration and the Sixty-third Congress, Secretary Redfield, in collaboration with the Fish Trust lobby in Washington, caused several fishery bills to be prepared and introduced in Congress by Congressmen FLOOD, CARLIN, and ALEXANDER to carry out the policy of the administration to take from the Legislature of Alaska its modicum of power over the Alaska fisheries. The last one, H. R. 9528, was introduced January 20, 1916, by Mr. ALEXANDER, of Missouri, and referred to his Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

7. ATTEMPT TO REPEAL "FULL TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT."

In line with the policy adopted by the Secretary of Commerce, this bill sought to repeal the fishery clause in the organic act of August 24, 1912, and take from the legislature its power over

the Alaska fisheries. Section 21 of the Alexander bill, prepared and introduced at the request of Secretary Redfield, under the general policy of the Wilson administration, is as follows:

SEC. 21. Territorial legislation prohibited: That from and after the passage of this act the Territory of Alaska shall not pass any legislation that has the effect of repealing, altering, or amending this act, nor shall said Territory impose any license fees or taxes upon the business hereinbefore referred to, nor upon the output thereof, nor upon any property, real or personal, used in said business in said Territory, and any such existing statutes heretofore enacted by the Territory of Alaska are hereby expressly disapproved.

The effect of that prohibition is to take from Alaska so much of the present "Territorial form of government" as relates to her fisheries. It had another serious effect, evidently not appreciated by the Solicitor of the Department of Commerce, who says he drew the bill; it repeals the acts of the Territorial legislature laying the tax on fishery output, and having no saving clause would have instantly destroyed the right of the Territory to recover about $250,000 back taxes due from the canneries in Alaska to the Territory.

On the effect of this repealing or disapproving clause in the bill Mr. Thurman, the Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Solicitor, said on the hearings:

Mr. WICKERSHAM. I want to call your attention to the repeal of the acts of the legislature——
Mr. THURMAN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Not to their repeal, but to their disapproval.
Mr. THURMAN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Those acts were passed by the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska?
Mr. THURMAN. I think so; yes, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Approved by the governor of the Territory of Alaska.
Mr. THURMAN. I understand so; yes, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. And until disapproved by Congress they are the law of Alaska?
Mr. THURMAN. I understand so; yes, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Provided, of course, they are within the organic power given by Congress?
Mr. THURMAN. That is correct.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. In the preparation of your bill, I understand, you provided that Congress shall disapprove those acts?
Mr. THURMAN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Without any saving clause; is that correct?
Mr. THURMAN. I think so. The bill speaks for itself.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Why did you not put in a saving clause, saving the taxes that are now due from these people?
Mr. THURMAN. I think—possibly I did not think about it one way or the other, Mr. WICKERSHAM. That phase of it had not occurred to me; we thought this law simply should be disapproved.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Do you know how much is due from the fisheries to the Territory under the laws that now exist?
Mr. THURMAN. I do not.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. You have no idea?
Mr. THURMAN. No, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Have not these gentlemen informed you anything about it?
Mr. THURMAN. No, sir; I do not think they ever said a word to me about it.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. You do not know, then, what it amounts to?
Mr. THURMAN. No, sir; I do not.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Then tell the committee what, in your judgment, would be the effect of the disapproval of those acts, without any saving clause, upon the taxes that are now due.
Mr. THURMAN. I think the taxes would be wiped out.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. If they amounted to $250,000 or $300,000, it would be a very serious matter to the Territory, would it not?
Mr. THURMAN. I am not prepared to answer that, sir; I do not know.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Before you did this did you consult the governor of Alaska—Gov. Strong—or the attorney general of Alaska?
Mr. THURMAN. No, sir. I have told you, I do not know how many times, I wrote that bill under direction of the Secretary of Commerce.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Without paying any attention to the governor of Alaska, the attorney general, or anyone else?
Mr. THURMAN. That is true; yes, sir.
Mr. DOWELL. Or as to what effect it would have?
Mr. THURMAN. That is true. It was written not with the idea of the taxes at all; it was written to do away with this double control which the department felt should not be there and which it felt it was its duty to call to the attention of Congress.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. You realized the Government of the United States was not going to lose anything by the payment of this tax, didn't you?
Mr. THURMAN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. You knew nobody was going to lose anything except these gentlemen my friend Britton over here represents; is that right?
Mr. THURMAN. That is true, if that is the result of the tax.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. You do not know whether they paid any double taxes or not?
Mr. THURMAN. I do not know, sir.
Mr. WICKERSHAM. Why didn't you find out?
Mr. THURMAN. Because, Mr. WICKERSHAM, I was not interested in that phase of it; I was not representing the packers, and I had no interest in it in any way, shape, or form. This was done, as I keep telling you, growing out of the report of the Secretary of Commerce, discovering a condition which he thought ought not to exist.

These admissions of the chief law officer of the Department of Commerce specially representing Secretary Redfield clearly demonstrate the indifference, even the ignorance, with which the Secretary treats the gravest Alaskan problems, and how little regard he has for Territorial officials there, notwithstanding the Wilson administration, of which he is one of the chief representatives, is responsible for them.

On the other hand, you may examine the Alexander bill with a microscope and you will not find in it a word which in any way hurts the Booth Fisheries Co., under indictment in the United States district court at Seattle for violation of the United States antitrust laws in Alaska, or Libby, McNeil & Libby, the Chicago Meat Trust, engaged in monopolizing Alaska fisheries, or any other element of the Alaska Fish Trust.

The Secretary may be indifferent, but not so the trust. While the lawyer representing the Department of Commerce did not know what effect his repealing clause would have, the affable attorney at his elbow, under pay of the Fish Trust, knew exactly that it would save his clients $250,000, and nobody would lose anything but the people of Alaska. That repealing clause was prepared in Secretary Redfield's office by his solicitor, with some assistance, and introduced in Congress at his request. It is his way of giving the people of Alaska "the full Territorial form of government"; his bureau was to have the much-sought-for jurisdiction and power and the Fish Trust the rebate of their Alaskan taxes and the monopoly and ownership of the Alaska fisheries. The people of Alaska be damned!

8. PHILIP DRUNK TO PHILIP SOBER.

The recent Democratic Territorial convention held at Juneau on May 24 adopted a platform in which this specific declaration is found:

The Alaska Legislature under the organic act has no power to enact legislation regarding the game or fish of the Territory. The representatives of the people of Alaska are best qualified to enact laws to protect and preserve our game and fish, and this power should be extended to the legislature. This is a matter of vital importance to every resident of Alaska, and the Democratic Party insists that the people of Alaska should have control over one of its greatest resources and industries, and the National Government should restrict its activities to scientific investigation.

As the Delegate from Alaska and as a citizen thereof I heartily approve that sentiment, but the Democratic administration in Washington does not. As Alaska's Delegate, I introduced H. R. 6887, and other bills from time to time, to secure that power for the people of Alaska, and to save the fisheries of Alaska from monopoly through the present inefficient congressional laws; but in each and every instance the Democratic administration in Washington has opposed the passage of the bill. Dr. Jones denounced it in his report of 1914; Secretary Redfield denounced it in his annual report to President Wilson of October 30, 1915; Dr. Smith, Commissioner of Fisheries, appointed by President Wilson, denounced it on January 12, 1916, in his unfavorable report on H. R. 6887, "a bill to establish the full Territorial form of government in Alaska."

On February 25, 1915, the Delegate from Alaska wrote a letter to President Wilson, calling his attention to the situation and begging him to assist in securing legislative control for the people of Alaska over their fisheries, but he refused; the Fish Trust lobby in Washington this winter has worked hand in hand with the Democratic administration, and successfully, to prevent Congress from giving the people of Alaska control of the fisheries or "the full Territorial form of government."

Let the Democrats in Alaska understand that that plank in their platform is not popular with either the Wilson administration in Washington or the Alaska Fish Trust. It will not be approved by the Wilson administration. Secretary Redfield and his department have drawn and caused to be introduced six bills, viz, H. R. 153 and 21607, Sixty-third Congress, and H. R. 222, 753, 9527, and 9528, Sixty-fourth Congress, to prevent just what the Alaska Democratic platform demands and to take from the Territorial legislature what little power it now possesses under the organic act over the fisheries. The Delegate from Alaska has introduced quite as many bills to secure for the Territory just what that Democratic platform demands, and his effort is successfully opposed by Secretary Redfield with the whole power of the Wilson administration, and he and his bills were defeated before Democratic committees.

In my struggle to secure the passage of my bill, H. R. 6887, "to establish a full Territorial form of Government in Alaska," and to defeat Secretary Redfield's effort to repeal what Territorial power we now have, I have had the active sympathy and support of the chamber of commerce, the mayor, and the pioneers of Alaska at Nome, of the chambers of commerce of Fairbanks, of Seward, and of Petersburg, but not one word from the Democratic organization or administration newspapers at Juneau. These have offered every assistance to Secretary Redfield's efforts—two exceptions must be noted. Gov. Strong and Territorial Senator Aldrich, being in Washington, went before the committees with me at my request and did all they could

to prevent the proposed repeal of "full Territorial form of government" by the Redfield-Alexander bills.

Let me offer this word of warning and advice to Alaskans, born of my experience with the "full Territorial" bill this winter: "Full Territorial form of government" for Alaska will never be accomplished as long as the bureau and Alaska Fish Trust can prevent it. The power thus sought for by the people of Alaska will be obtained through Statehood more certainly than in any other way.

9. DEMOCRATIC BUREAUCRACY IN ALASKA.

Another particular enemy to Territorial government in Alaska these days is bureaucracy. The fundamental laws for the government of Alaska and the control of administrative activities in national work there are necessarily enacted by Congress. These laws are liable to change at any moment by an amendment in any bill before almost any committee of Congress, without notice to or the consent of the citizens of Alaska. It is an easy pay streak for bureaucratic extension and is never overlooked.

Every bureau in Washington with any duty to perform in Alaskan affairs, or whose chief thinks it ought to have jurisdiction there—and they all do—gives some time and thought to lobbying for an extension of its power to the utmost limit. The start is usually made through securing an appropriation in the sundry civil appropriation bill, with some vague phrase of authority, which enables the bureau to get a finger hold. About the second time the appropriation is asked for the phrase is made more specific, and the bureau has arrived. Its chief now begins to talk loudly about conservation and the protection of Alaska's resources from destruction, and his appropriations are demanded as a vested right. He begins to denounce the Territorial government and the people of Alaska and to assume great virtues and the guardianship of the people's rights. Having secured its place in the sun, the bureau now begins to push and crowd other bureaus for a share of their jurisdiction and appropriations and to point out the evils of "the full Territorial form of government."

No department head has so clearly stated the evils of this bureaucratic waste and misgovernment in Alaska as Secretary Lane. In early 1914 he prepared and gave out "Red tape in the government of Alaska," in support of his Alaska development-board bill, introduced in the Senate on February 2, 1914, by Senator CHAMBERLAIN. Here is part of his condemnation of the system:

Alaska's problems are largely peculiar to Alaska. Our present system of government there is heterologous. Instead of one government in Alaska we have a number, interlocked, overlapped, cumbersome, and confusing. In their zealousness for the particular parts of the public welfare they represent, the long-distance representatives of bureaus located in Washington are apt to lose sight of the fact that they all represent the same interest and purpose. There is a government of the forests, a government of the fisheries, one of the reindeer and natives, another of the cables and telegraphs. There is a government for certain public lands and forests, another for other lands and forests. Each of these governments is intent upon its own particular business, jealous of its own success and prerogatives, and all are more or less unrelated and independent in their operation. * * *

While this patchwork system of administrative machinery has answered well enough while the Government's policy has been merely to keep the door shut and discourage development, it will not answer under the new policy. If the work needed in the future were to be purely and solely administrative, it must still be efficient and under responsible and readily responsive supervision. Alaska's remoteness alone makes anything like supervision by bureaus located in Washington more or less perfunctory and superficial. What we now have in Alaska is little more than a number of independent and unrelated agents, acting largely upon their own initiative, each attending only to some special branch of police work, and no branch adequately organized to cope with its own problems, without even attempting to coordinate its work with that of the other branches.

* * * * * * *

I have pointed out in some detail the shortcomings of the present system, its delays, red tape, circumlocution, divisions and overlapping of authority, and ineffectiveness, as well as the discouragements it offers to settlers whom we want to encourage. To secure effectiveness we must eliminate these delays, the red tape, and the confusing and confused machinery now in use and substitute for it machinery that will be direct, prompt, and certain in its operation.

11. WILSON ADMINISTRATION CONDONES BUREAUCRATIC INEFFICIENCY.

After this terrific and truthful arraignment of administrative failure, extravagance, inefficiency, and waste in the government of a helpless people in a Territory, given to the world with the sanction of President Wilson by the strong man in his Cabinet, the public expected, and had a right to expect, some adequate and immediate effort to cure the evils from the Wilson administration. But no such effort was made, and the reason was not far to seek. The arraignment was true and terrific, but feeble to secure action, for it was not made to cure the evil so much as to enable the Department of the Interior to capture from other departments and bureaus their dearly loved jurisdiction over Alaskan affairs, and to centralize it in the Department of the Interior.

Secretary Redfield, in his letter of May 21, 1914, strongly disapproved of the plan, and so did Secretary Houston later. The Lane allegations against the Wilson administration of national affairs in Alaska yet hold good. The conditions are worse than when, two years ago, he pointed them out and condemned them. What has the Wilson administration done to make better government in Alaska since that time? Nothing, except to make the unfavorable report on the bill drawn and introduced by the Delegate from Alaska, H. R. 6887, "A bill to establish the full Territorial form of government in Alaska." President Wilson had promised the people of the country this relief should be given to Alaska in his message to Congress of December 2, 1913, but he did not keep his promise.

11. SECRETARY LANE FAVORS NEW ALASKA BUREAUS.

Worse, Secretary Lane has had a relapse. On April 26, 1916, he addressed a letter to the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on the Territories, in which he said:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
*Washington, April 26, 1916.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: I submit herewith a proposed draft of a bill authorizing the President to make and promulgate such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to preserve order and to preserve the health of the employees and other people living along and in the vicinity of the Government railroad, constructed or contemplated, and within town sites established pursuant to the act of Congress of March 12, 1914. The importance of the Government being able to maintain order and control sanitation in all towns and construction camps along the line of the railroad during the period of construction is apparent.

* * * * * * *

The remarkable success from a sanitary and health standpoint of the construction and operation of the Panama Canal was no doubt made possible by the authority that was given the President by the act of June 28, 1902 (32 Stat., 481), which authorizes him to make such police and sanitary rules and regulations as shall be necessary to preserve order and to preserve the public health. The same reason that justified the granting of that authority to the President in the Panama Canal Zone applies with equal force in Alaska.

* * * * * * *

I have addressed a similar communication under even date to Hon. WILLIAM C. HOUSTON, chairman of the Committee on the Territories, House of Representatives.

Cordially, yours,

FRANKLIN K. LANE,
*Secretary.*

The following is a copy of the proposed draft of the bill submitted by Secretary Lane, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator PITTMAN and in the House by Chairman HOUSTON, of the Committee on the Territories:

A bill (S. 5790) to confer additional authority upon the President of the United States in the construction and operation of the Alaskan railroad, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That in connection with and during the construction and operation of the Alaskan railroad, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved March 12, 1914, entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes," the President is hereby authorized and empowered to make and promulgate such police, quarantine, and sanitary rules and regulations as shall be necessary to preserve order and to preserve the public health along and in the vicinity of said railroad or railroads constructed, being constructed, or located by survey, and within town sites established, or to be established, under and pursuant to said act of March 12, 1914.

SEC. 2. That such rules and regulations shall become effective on a date to be named in proclamation of the President promulgating same, and any person violating such rules or regulations, or any of them, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof in the courts of Alaska, be fined not more than $500 or be imprisoned not less than 10 days nor more than one year, or both.

This letter and bill thus submitted by Secretary Lane are interesting when one stops to consider his arraignment of the misgovernment in Alaska by the 20 bureaus which now muddle there, waste the people's money, and retard the development of the Territory.

No railroad contractor or builder, public or private, on any of the transcontinental railroads in the United States or on any Alaska construction had ever thought it necessary to request, nor did any of them ever have authority—

to make and promulgate such police * * * rules and regulations as shall be necessary to preserve order * * * along and in the vicinity of said railroad or railroads constructed, being constructed, or located by survey, and within town sites established or to be established under and pursuant to said act.

Nor was such enactment in Alaska necessary, for the judges and other officers of the courts there are appointed by the President and perform their duties well, and the Legislature of Alaska had already provided ample laws to control and govern sanitary and quarantine conditions. The truth is it is an effort of the Lane bureau to build up its jurisdiction at the expense of "the full Territorial form of government" by the people. It was an effort on the part of the Lane bureau to establish in democratic Alaska the autocratic military Panama Canal government, with power in its members to "make and

promulgate such police, quarantine, and sanitary rules and regulations" for the government of the people and towns as it saw fit, such laws having the force of penal statutes. The effect will be to establish two or three additional little pestiferous bureaucratic governments in Alaska, such as Secretary Lane condemned in his "Red tape in the government of Alaska," in duplicate of the courts, officers, and laws already sufficient and in being.

12. THE LEASING SYSTEM V. FULL TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

Chief Forester Pinchot, under President Roosevelt, was the father of the system of withdrawing the public lands and their resources from disposal or sale to the people of the country for development, and the originator of the plan of leasing them to monopoly, and Secretary Lane is his prophet. In the report of the Secretary of the Interior to the President on November 20, 1915, the Secretary uses the common formula to express the bureaucratic lack of confidence in democracy and his assurance of the divine right of the bureau to guardianship:

Then, too, there is the matter of the further development of Alaska. That land is a long way off. It would be too hazardous a thing to surrender these resources to local control or disposal, for those who have lived in any new country know how great the temptation is to grant away water-front and power sites, forests, and other exceptional resources to those who come offering large sums for quick improvement.

Secretary Lane's reason for his loss of confidence in popular government is without any basis of fact. No "new country," like Alaska, ever "granted away water-front and power sites, forests, and other exceptional resources" of that type, because none ever had the power to do so. That power when rashly used, as it sometimes was, was invariably exercised by Congress and not by the people of a "new country," like Alaska. But the point is that the Secretary has lost his confidence in the democracy of the people and believes in the system launched by Mr. Pinchot of reserving the public lands and leasing their resources to monopoly. It may be right and necessary; it may be a good system; but it is not "the full Territorial form of government for Alaska," promised to the people of that Territory by President Wilson.

Under the Pinchot idea Secretary Lane's department prepared the Ferris coal-leasing bill for Alaska which passed Congress and was approved by President Wilson October 20, 1914, and which permanently withdrew from sale all coal lands in the Territory, creates and establishes forever a great coal-land reservation, withdraws these lands and all improvements thereon from taxation by the Territory of Alaska forever, and establishes the United States as an absentee landlord for enormous estates there, which must be forever administered by a Government bureau in Washington. I did everything a Delegate could do to defeat that bureaucratic plan for preventing the development of "the full Territorial form of government in Alaska," but the Wilson administration, trying to out-Pinchot Pinchot, forced it on the Territory and its people. We must accept it and do the best we can to persuade the bureau to so administer it as to prevent the curse of Government monopoly. Those Americans who live on those lands must do so as tenants under "rules and regulations" to be established there by the Secretary of the Interior, who will be their real governor. It is a big corporation scheme. It holds no place in it for the poor man and offers him no hope. It is President Wilson's way of keeping his promise to the people of Alaska that they should have "the full Territorial form of government."

The Democratic Territorial convention at Juneau on May 24, 1916, adopted the following plank in its platform:

We demand that Pinchotism be banished from the Territory. The paramount issue between the Democratic Party on the one side and Delegate Wickersham and the Republican Party on the other relates to the question whether Alaska shall be conserved and Pinchotized or thrown open to settlement and development.

On that paramount issue Secretary Lane is in opposition to the declaration in the Territorial platform of his party. He is and always has been a strong supporter of Mr. Pinchot and his policy of withdrawal, reservation, and leasing. The Democrats of Alaska could not secure a specific indorsement of the first demand in the foregoing plank from Secretary Lane, for it would be a complete reversal of his whole policy in dealing with Alaskan problems.

"Pinchotized," in the phraseology of the Democratic platform makers in Alaska, means to stigmatize and condemn the withdrawal of public coal and timber lands, of lands valuable for oil and gas, and their leasing to monopoly for a royalty to be paid into the Public Treasury. Democrats in Alaska condemn that system, but Secretary Lane approves it in Washington and makes his approval good by drawing and procuring the Democratic majority in Congress to enact his Pinchotized ideas into law. The Ferris coal-leasing bill, the water-power bill, the oil and gas bills for Alaska are Pinchotized ideas, but the bills were drawn by Secretary Lane's department, recommended by him, passed by a Democratic Congress, and approved by a Democratic President. Of course, it is no part of "the full Territorial form of government for Alaska," but it is national Democratic doctrine, and the Territorial Democrats of Alaska must take their medicine whether they like it or not.

Quite recently Secretary Lane caused the reservation of 3,000 feet in area around Annette Island, excluded all Alaskans from fishing in the area, and leased the privilege of that fishery to a nonresident Fish Trust employee, giving him a written contract in the name of the United States for a special fishing privilege there for five years. If Alaskan waters are thus subject to the Secretary's contracts the fisheries of Alaska may next be leased to the Fish Trust and all Alaskans excluded.

13. ACT EXTENDING FULL TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

In the Sixty-third Congress the Delegate from Alaska introduced H. R. 11740, a bill to confer additional powers on the legislature, and there being nothing objectionable in it to the bureaus or to the Alaska Fish Trust, it was passed and approved by the President on August 29, 1914 (38 Stat., 710). This act was drawn by the attorney for the Territory and sent to me by the governor for enactment. It is the only specific request for enactment of "the full Territorial form of government" ever made to me, either by the people or officials of the Territory. It is as follows:

[Public—No. 192—63d Congress.]

An act (H. R. 11740) to amend an act entitled "An act creating a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska and conferring legislative power thereon, and for other purposes," approved August 24, 1912.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That nothing in that act of Congress entitled "An act creating a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska and conferring legislative power thereon, and for other purposes," approved August 24, 1912, shall be so construed as to prevent the courts now existing or that may be hereafter created in said Territory from enforcing within their respective jurisdictions all laws passed by the legislature within the power conferred upon it, the same as if such laws were passed by Congress, nor to prevent the legislature passing laws imposing additional duties, not inconsistent with the present duties of their respective offices, upon the governor, marshals, deputy marshals, clerks of the district courts, and United States commissioners acting as justices of the peace, judges of probate courts, recorders, and coroners, and providing the necessary expenses of performing such duties, and in the prosecuting of all crimes denounced by Territorial laws the costs shall be paid the same as is now or may hereafter be provided by act of Congress providing for the prosecution of criminal offenses in said Territory, except that in prosecutions growing out of any revenue law passed by the legislature the costs shall be paid as in civil actions and such prosecutions shall be in the name of the Territory.

Approved, August 29, 1914.

14. SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF "FULL TERRITORIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT FOR ALASKA."

In conclusion let it again be stated that—

1. The Delegate from Alaska drew and introduced H. R. 6887, "A bill to establish the full Territorial form of government in Alaska."

2. The bill was referred to Secretary Redfield for examination and recommendation, and he disapproved it.

3. It was specifically denounced in the letter of the Commissioner of Fisheries, which denunciation was concurred in by Acting Secretary of Commerce Thurman, and thereafter by Secretary Redfield.

4. The bill was disapproved by the Wilson administration, and the Democratic Committee on the Territories declined to report it favorably.

5. The Wilson administration, through Secretary Redfield, has drawn, introduced, and sought to secure the passage of the Alexander and other bills with a special clause to repeal the act of Congress giving the Alaska Legislature power to levy taxes on canneries, purposely seeking to destroy that much of our Territorial form of government.

6. The repealing section in the Alexander bill had no saving clause, and was intended to release the tax lien of the Territory, and throw its suits to recover cannery taxes out of court, to the advantage of the Fish Trust, in the sum of more than $300,000 loss to the Territory.

7. Secretary Lane's department drew and requested Senator PITTMAN to introduce the bill to establish the Panama Canal form of autocratic government in Alaska, which would have enabled him, through the Alaska Engineering Commission, to have arrested the union men at Anchorage and deported them from Alaska without trial; and which now authorizes him to establish an autocratic form of bureaucratic government over the people along the railroad in Alaska.

8. The Wilson administration has opposed the enactment of fair and just laws to establish the full Territorial form of government in Alaska, promised by President Wilson in his message of December 2, 1913.

## Rural Credits Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the subject of rural credits is one of much importance to the people of the United States in general, but more particularly to the farmer. This is apparent by the great interest manifested not only by the farmers themselves but also by the press. It is also of much interest to the banks of the country. It is likewise of interest to the loaning public and people having money to loan and to borrow. All the leading political parties, including the Progressive Party, declared in their platforms in favor of rural credits. The present session of Congress passed a rural-credit bill which has been signed by the President and is now the law of the land. The Republican platform of 1912 contained this plank:

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for another purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

Mr. Speaker, I stand for the principle therein enunciated. I am for a workable rural-credit law—one that is practicable. I think that the law should be broadened. I think it should be made easier for the farmer to obtain a loan under it. I think the law should apply to the man who is trying to own a home in the city as well. I think it should be more economically administered, and not made a harbor for a lot of expensive additional Federal officers.

During the discussion of this bill, May 15, 1916, I introduced the following amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to present an amendment and for five minutes to talk on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan offers an amendment, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Page 109, after section 15, insert:

"'That the Government of the United States shall loan to the Federal land banks created and established (and to all member banks of the present Regional Reserve System) such public money as may be needed to loan on real estate mortgages under this act at 3 per cent interest, such Government loans to be secured by Government bonds or other acceptable bonds or the real estate mortgage bonds issued under this act: *And provided*, That such Government money shall be loaned to borrowers under this act at 5 per cent interest.'"

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] asks unanimous consent to address the committee for five minutes.

Mr. GLASS. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Under this amendment the present banks and banking institutions of the country would be free to loan the farmers money at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent. Under this amendment it will be noticed that the banks were to pay the Government 3 per cent for the money to loan on farm security. Under this amendment the banks were to secure Government loans by Government bonds or other acceptable security. None of which is provided for in the new law.

#### LAW.

Under this new law a new system of banking is to be created. A large number of new banks are to be established. The country is to be divided into 12 regions or districts with a central bank called a Federal land bank in each district. Each of these banks is to have a capital stock of not less than $750,000, and every farmer who borrows money under this law must subscribe for stock in this bank to the amount of 5 per cent of his loan before he can get any money on his mortgage. This amount of stock he subscribes for is to be deducted from his mortgage loan if he does not pay it in cash. The Government may subscribe for the whole of the $750,000 of the capital stock of each one of those central banks providing it is not subscribed by individuals. This for all 12 Federal land banks makes $9,000,000 of the people's money which is put into these farm-loan banks. This money is taken from the United States Treasury without any security, and I mention these facts briefly to show the foundation of this rural-credit banking system and some of the machinery provided.

#### SYSTEM.

It is estimated that the farm property in the United States is valued at $40,000,000,000; that the mortgages upon farm property is estimated at $6,000,000,000.

I wish here to append a table showing the amount of money loaned by insurance companies upon real estate in the United States and the average rate of interest charged and paid in the several States:

TABLE F.—*Farm mortgage loans of life insurance companies December 31, 1914.*

[Amount of mortgage loans on farm property held December 31, 1914, by 126 American life insurance companies, whose total mortgage loans amounted to 97 per cent of all mortgage loans held by American companies, with the average rate of interest received in each State, arranged by States in the order of amount loaned.]

| States, in order of amount loaned. | Farm loans by insurance companies, Dec. 31, 1914. | | Estimated farm values, United States census, 1910. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Amount. | Average interest rate. | Land average per acre. | All farm property. |
| Iowa | $139,511,101 | 5.32 | $82.58 | $3,257,379,400 |
| Nebraska | 62,390,393 | 5.34 | 41.80 | 1,813,346,935 |
| Kansas | 60,395,448 | 5.46 | 35.45 | 1,737,556,172 |
| Missouri | 58,406,800 | 5.35 | 41.80 | 1,716,204,386 |
| Illinois | 49,941,759 | 5.16 | 95.02 | 3,522,792,570 |
| Indiana | 47,014,148 | 5.31 | 62.36 | 1,594,275,596 |
| Minnesota | 33,981,293 | 5.36 | 36.82 | 1,262,441,426 |
| Texas | 32,242,856 | 6.99 | 14.53 | 1,843,208,385 |
| Oklahoma | 28,056,308 | 5.91 | 22.49 | 738,677,224 |
| South Dakota | 26,959,777 | 5.44 | 34.69 | 1,005,080,807 |
| North Dakota | 18,142,658 | 5.88 | 25.09 | 822,656,744 |
| Ohio | 16,588,937 | 5.39 | 53.34 | 1,654,152,406 |
| Georgia | 14,828,323 | 6.28 | 13.74 | 479,204,332 |
| Tennessee | 9,386,015 | 5.56 | 18.53 | 480,522,587 |
| California | 8,736,255 | 6.42 | 47.16 | 1,450,601,498 |
| Kentucky | 6,282,692 | 5.41 | 21.83 | 635,450,372 |
| Arkansas | 3,851,605 | 6.99 | 14.13 | 309,166,813 |
| South Carolina | 3,377,477 | 6.47 | 19.89 | 332,888,081 |
| Colorado | 2,945,316 | 6.02 | 35.81 | 498,518,881 |
| Montana | 2,900,458 | 7.29 | 16.74 | 251,625,930 |
| Idaho | 2,751,254 | 8.53 | 41.63 | 245,065,825 |
| Mississippi | 2,719,324 | 6.99 | 13.09 | 334,162,289 |
| Washington | 2,391,781 | 6.97 | 44.18 | 571,968,457 |
| Wisconsin | 2,003,744 | 5.53 | 43.30 | 1,201,632,726 |
| North Carolina | 1,475,010 | 5.79 | 15.29 | 456,624,607 |
| Louisiana | 1,379,592 | 7.64 | 17.99 | 237,544,450 |
| New Mexico | 1,306,042 | 7.55 | 8.77 | 111,830,990 |
| Michigan | 1,252,126 | 5.41 | 32.48 | 901,138,299 |
| Utah | 1,192,602 | 8.74 | 20.28 | 117,545,332 |
| Oregon | 1,107,912 | 6.66 | 35.23 | 455,576,309 |
| Alabama | 1,102,313 | 7.34 | 10.46 | 288,253,501 |
| Virginia | 645,450 | 6.00 | 20.24 | 532,058,062 |
| Maryland | 423,000 | 5.84 | 32.32 | 241,737,123 |
| Arizona | 407,602 | 7.20 | 33.97 | 47,285,340 |
| Pennsylvania | 331,156 | 5.75 | 33.92 | 1,041,068,755 |
| Wyoming | 241,933 | 7.71 | 10.41 | 97,915,277 |
| Connecticut | 75,050 | 5.26 | 33.03 | 138,319,221 |
| Florida | 66,004 | 6.00 | 17.84 | 118,145,989 |
| Delaware | 45,100 | 5.97 | 33.63 | 53,155,983 |
| West Virginia | 40,907 | 5.70 | 20.65 | 264,390,954 |
| New Jersey | 16,965 | 6.00 | 48.23 | 217,134,519 |
| Vermont | 13,775 | 5.26 | 12.52 | 112,588,275 |
| Nevada | 11,500 | 8.00 | 12.99 | 39,609,339 |
| New York | 10,950 | 5.56 | 32.13 | 1,184,745,829 |
| Massachusetts | 10,100 | 5.19 | 36.69 | 194,168,765 |
| Maine | 5,950 | 5.80 | 13.73 | 189,619,626 |
| New Hampshire | | | 13.70 | 85,916,961 |
| Rhode Island | | | 33.86 | 27,932,960 |
| Total | 646,961,371 | | | 34,801,125,607 |
| Averages | | 5.55 | 32.40 | |

#### MACHINERY.

I wish now to call attention to the law adopted for procuring a loan under the Federal land-bank system.

By section 3 it is provided that there be established at the Department of the Treasury a bureau known as the Federal farm-loan bureau, under the supervision of a farm-loan board. This board shall consist of five members. One, the Secretary of the Treasury, and four other members appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Each of the four shall receive an annual salary of $10,000, and their term of office to be eight years each.

This board shall also appoint a farm register in each land-bank district. It shall also appoint one or more land-bank appraisers for each district and as many land-bank examiners as it shall deem necessary.

The salaries and expenses of the Federal farm-loan board and of the farm-loan registers and examiners shall be paid by the United States. The appraisers shall receive such compensation as the Federal farm-loan board shall fix and shall be paid by the Federal land banks.

The Federal farm-loan board shall be authorized and empowered to employ such attorneys, experts, and assistant clerks,

laborers, and other employees as it may be necessary to conduct the business of the board to be paid for out of the United States Treasury, unless otherwise provided.

FEDERAL LAND BANKS.

It is provided by section 4 that the Federal Farm Loan Board established in Washington shall divide the continent—United States, excluding Alaska—into 12 districts known as Federal land-bank districts and establish in each Federal land district a Federal land bank in such city within the district as shall be designated. Each Federal land bank shall be temporarily managed by five directors appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. They shall receive such compensation as the Federal Farm Loan Board shall fix. They are authorized to employ such attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees as they may deem necessary. Their compensation is to be fixed by the bank, subject to the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board. The board of directors of every farm-land bank shall consist of nine members, each holding office for three years. Directors of Federal land banks shall receive, in addition to any compensation otherwise provided, a reasonable allowance for necessary expenses, in attending meetings of their respective board to be paid by the respective Federal land banks. The compensation for the directors, officers, or employees shall be subject to the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

By section 7 corporations to be known as national farm-loan associations may be organized by persons desiring to borrow money on farm-mortgage security.

Such persons shall enter into articles of association. It shall have a board of not less than five directors. The board of directors shall choose a secretary-treasurer, who shall receive such compensation as said board of directors shall determine. The board of directors shall elect a president, vice president, and a loan committee of three members. The directors and all officers excepting the secretary-treasurer shall serve without compensation unless the payment of salaries to them shall be approved by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

The reasonable expenses of the secretary-treasurer, the loan committee, and other officers and agents of national farm-loan associations and the salary of the secretary-treasurer shall be paid from the general funds of the association. If no such funds are available, the board of directors may levy an assessment on members in proportion to the amount of stock held by each. The associations shall be composed of 10 or more persons who are the owners or about to become owners of farm land qualified as security for a mortgage loan. The aggregate loan of the members of these farm-loan associations shall not be less than $20,000.

Upon receipt of the articles of the association, accompanied by the affidavit and stock subscription to the Federal land bank, the directors shall send an appraiser to investigate the solvency and character of the applicants and value of their land, and the Federal land banks shall determine whether or not charter shall be granted to such association.

APPRAISAL.

By section 10 it is provided that whenever an application for a mortgage loan is made to a national farm-loan association, it shall be first referred to the loan committee. Such loan committee shall then examine the land and make a detail written report signed by all three members, giving the appraisal of said land as determined by them and such other information as may be required by rules and regulations of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

This written report of the loan committee shall be submitted to the Federal land bank, together with the application for the loan, and the directors of said land bank shall examine said written report but they shall not be bound by the appraisal. It shall not be bound by the appraisal of the committee, but before the mortgage loan is made the Federal land bank shall refer the application and written report of the loan committee to one or more of the land-bank appraisers, and such appraiser or appraisers shall investigate and make written report upon the land as a security upon said loan. No borrower shall be eligible as an appraiser.

By section 28 the Federal Farm Loan Board shall appoint as many banking examiners as in its judgment may be required to make careful examinations of the banks and associations permitted to do business under this act.

Such examiners shall receive salaries to be fixed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Sufficient of the law establishing these banks has been quoted to show that it is an expensive and apparently top-heavy procedure through which the farmer must go to make his application, have his land and his abstract examined, to get his money.

I quote from the weekly letter of the United States Department of Agriculture of July 26, 1916, to show:

HOW LOANS ARE OBTAINED.

A member of a national farm-loan association before obtaining a loan must first fill out an application blank supplied to the loan association by the Federal Farm Loan Board. This application blank and other necessary papers will then be referred to a loan committee of the association, which must appraise the property offered as security. Such application as is approved by the loan committee is then forwarded to the Federal land bank and must be investigated and reported on by a salaried appraiser of the bank before the loan is granted. This appraiser is required to investigate the solvency and character of the prospective borrower as well as the value of his land. When a loan is granted the amount is forwarded to the borrower through the loan association.

PRESENT METHOD.

Most of us are familiar with the present method of securing a loan. It is prompt and effective, and in the district in which I reside the rate charged is usually 6 per cent. It is not subject to delay. No appraisers' or lawyers' fees are usually charged to the borrower. I print the cost of a $1,000 loan as submitted by Congressman NORTON, of Minnesota, on page 13205 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 21, 1916, as follows:

"If his application is found satisfactory by the examining committee of the national farm-loan association, and is approved, he would be entitled to a loan of 50 per cent of the value of the real property, or 50 per cent of $1,600, which would be $800, and he would be entitled to a loan of 20 per cent of the value of the improvements on the land, which in this case would be 20 per cent of $1,000, making $200. He would thus be entitled to make a maximum loan upon his property of $1,000. After his loan application has been approved he would execute a mortgage of $1,000 to the Federal farm-land bank of the district. He would then receive as proceeds of this mortgage from the national farm-loan association $1,000 less the cost of appraising the land, the recording fees, the cost of abstract of title, and 5 per cent of the amount of the loan, which would be applied for the purchase of stock in the farm-land bank. This stock in the Federal land bank, amounting in this case to $50, would be held by the national farm-loan association as part security for the payment of the loan, but the borrower would be entitled to all dividends and profits on the stock. The result of the application for a loan of this kind would be approximately as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Security offered by borrower: | |
| Land valued at | $1,600 |
| Improvements valued at | 1,000 |
| Total value of borrower's land and improvements | 2,600 |
| Estimated cost to borrower: | |
| Subscription to stock in land bank | 50 |
| Cost of abstract of title (estimated) | 6 |
| Cost of examining abstract (estimated) | 3 |
| Cost of appraisement (estimated) | 10 |
| Cost of recording mortgage (estimated) | 3 |
| Total cost to borrower | 72 |
| Total loan borrower can obtain | 1,000 |
| Cash to be paid borrower | 928 |

"If, as it is fair to do, his stock in the farm-land bank is considered as an investment, it is seen that the borrower obtains a loan of $950 at an approximate cost of $22."

The law states that the "loan shall not exceed 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the permanent insured improvements thereon, the value to be fixed by appraisal." If this be an approximate estimate of the cost of procuring a loan of $1,000, the costs are much more than charged in the vicinity from which I come. Much is claimed for the amortization privilege given to the borrower under this new rural-credits act. I am not certain that a long period is either profitable or desirable for the mortgagor. I am rather inclined to think that most mortgagors prefer their mortgage to run from three to five years only, with the privilege of paying the same on any interest day after it has run one or two years. I am sure that the person loaning money prefers to have the mortgage loan, if it is well secured, run for a number of years, and usually consult and accedes to the desire of the mortgagor as to the times and installment of payment.

I herewith present a table taken from the weekly letter of July 26, 1916, issued by the United States Department of Agriculture:

The table which follows illustrates how a loan of $1,000, bearing interest at 5 per cent, would be retired in 20 years by an annual payment of $80.24. A study of the columns shows how from year to year the interest is reduced and the proportion of the payment which goes to discharge the principal steadily increases. The final payment cancels the debt.

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.49 | 31.75 | 938.01 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.65 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.72 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.69 | 42.55 | 711.24 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.56 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.33 | 46.91 | 619.65 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.52 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.22 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.37 | 59.87 | 347.47 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.33 | 3.83 | 76.50 | ..... |
| Total | 1,604.89 | 604.89 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

The following table shows the annual payments necessary to retire a mortgage of $1,000 in 36 years:

| Annual periods. | Annual installment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Part of installment paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $60.00 | $50.00 | $10.00 | $990.00 |
| 2 | 60.00 | 49.50 | 10.50 | 979.50 |
| 3 | 60.00 | 48.97 | 11.03 | 968.47 |
| 4 | 60.00 | 48.42 | 11.58 | 956.89 |
| 5 | 60.00 | 47.84 | 12.16 | 944.73 |
| 6 | 60.00 | 47.24 | 12.76 | 931.97 |
| 7 | 60.00 | 46.60 | 13.40 | 918.57 |
| 8 | 60.00 | 45.93 | 14.07 | 904.50 |
| 9 | 60.00 | 45.22 | 14.78 | 889.72 |
| 10 | 60.00 | 44.49 | 15.51 | 874.21 |
| 11 | 60.00 | 43.71 | 16.29 | 857.92 |
| 12 | 60.00 | 42.90 | 17.10 | 840.82 |
| 13 | 60.00 | 42.04 | 17.96 | 822.86 |
| 14 | 60.00 | 41.14 | 18.86 | 804.00 |
| 15 | 60.00 | 40.20 | 19.80 | 784.20 |
| 16 | 60.00 | 39.21 | 20.79 | 763.41 |
| 17 | 60.00 | 38.17 | 21.83 | 741.58 |
| 18 | 60.00 | 37.08 | 22.92 | 718.66 |
| 19 | 60.00 | 35.93 | 24.07 | 694.59 |
| 20 | 60.00 | 34.73 | 25.27 | 669.32 |
| 21 | 60.00 | 33.47 | 26.53 | 642.79 |
| 22 | 60.00 | 32.14 | 27.86 | 614.93 |
| 23 | 60.00 | 30.75 | 29.25 | 585.68 |
| 24 | 60.00 | 29.28 | 30.72 | 554.96 |
| 25 | 60.00 | 27.75 | 32.25 | 522.71 |
| 26 | 60.00 | 26.13 | 33.87 | 488.84 |
| 27 | 60.00 | 24.44 | 35.51 | 453.28 |
| 28 | 60.00 | 22.66 | 37.34 | 415.94 |
| 29 | 60.00 | 20.80 | 39.20 | 376.74 |
| 30 | 60.00 | 18.84 | 41.16 | 335.58 |
| 31 | 60.00 | 16.78 | 43.22 | 292.36 |
| 32 | 60.00 | 14.62 | 45.38 | 246.98 |
| 33 | 60.00 | 12.35 | 47.65 | 199.33 |
| 34 | 60.00 | 9.97 | 50.03 | 149.30 |
| 35 | 60.00 | 7.46 | 52.54 | 96.76 |
| 36 | 60.00 | 4.84 | 55.16 | 41.60 |

These tables are computed at the rate of 5 per cent interest. The law states that the rate shall not exceed 6 per cent.

Under the first table the borrower pays a total of $1,604.80, while under the latter the borrower pays $2,160, a considerable sum or more than double the amount of the loan.

When the bill was signed it is stated that the President used two pens. It is not exactly certain why it was necessary to use two pens, but we presume it was purely a matter of taste or rather to give prominence to the transaction. At that time he felt constrained to give expression to his feelings concerning this legislation by stating:

> I have a feeling of profound satisfaction in signing this bill and of real gratitude that we have completed this piece of legislation which, I hope, will be immensely beneficial to the farmers of the country. The farmers, it seems to me, have occupied hitherto a singular position of disadvantage. They have not had the same freedom to get credit on their real assets that others have had who were in manufacturing and commercial enterprises and, while they sustained our life, they did not, in the same degree with some others, share the benefits of that life. Therefore this bill, along with the very liberal provisions of the Federal reserve act, puts them on an equality with all others who have genuine assets and makes the great credit of the country available to them.

It only remains now to give the law a chance to see how it works out. I for one wish it to succeed. The farmers are entitled to all the benefits of the law, and it will be interesting to note how it will be accepted by them. I do not know of any farmers in my district who would pay $72 for a loan of $1,000 at 6 per cent interest or 5 per cent. I do not think he would pay $22 if his farm was half paid for and the title clear. Neither would he need to pay any such amount. On its face it seems not to be an especial improvement upon the present method of borrowing money upon a farm that is one-half paid for with a perfect title. There is no assurance that the rate will be uniformly less throughout the United States upon farm mortgages or that there will be any appreciable lowering of the rate which was and is the purpose and intent of the act. Especially the procuring of the loan should be made as easy as possible under the law.

## Territorial Capitol Building in Juneau, Alaska.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
OF ALASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given to extend my remarks on the very interesting and ever-present subject of public buildings I wish to advise my constituents of the efforts I have made, alone and without assistance, to establish Juneau as the capital of my Territory and to procure appropriations to erect there a fair public building for Federal and Territorial officials.

The people in my district are mildly and somewhat spasmodically interested in securing appropriations for the erection of public buildings. One of my constituents recently urged me to introduce a bill for the purpose of securing an appropriation for that use in his beautiful and rapidly growing city, where a half dozen or more Federal offices are maintained in rented buildings, liable to fire and the destruction of public records at any moment. He assured me of the public interest and declared the business men in his town would sign a petition favoring the appropriation. An Alaskan newspaper, in urging the public to act vigorously in such an enterprise, also declared:

> Visitors in our midst from the States are so accustomed to the sight of Government buildings that if they happen to visit a town that is not provided with one or more they notice it immediately. It is a well-known fact that every little village in the States has one or more Government buildings, particularly when the importance of the village is such as to demand the presence of representatives of the various governmental bureaus.

Conceding that my editorial friend is getting rather too much pepper in his prayer, still it must be apparent to those who know how well the villages in the States are stocked up with public buildings that the distinguished Floridian who serves with such distinction as chairman of the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and for whose amiable qualities and businesslike activities I have the most profound respect, is holding out on me. The great Territory which I represent, with its hundred prosperous and ambitious villages, towns, and cities, has not to this moment one public building of the monumental type, but scores of Federal officials in rented rooms. We have several shanty courthouses, but generally the Federal officials not intimately connected with the courts hold their business headquarters in rented office rooms in the towns where they are stationed.

The following-named Federal bureaus maintain offices in most of the larger Alaskan towns, and generally in rented quarters: Forest Service, Biological Survey, Agricultural Experiment Stations, Alaska Board of Road Commissioners, Signal Corps, Customs Collectors, Internal Revenue, Revenue-Cutter Service, Post Office, Bureau of Fisheries, Bureau of Lighthouses, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Steamboat-Inspection Service, General Land Office, Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, Bureau of Education, Public Health Service, Weather Bureau, and probably others. Alaska has a horde of bureaucratic officials within her borders, and but few of them have permanent quarters or any security for their public records. There is not a single public building in any town in Alaska capable of holding one-half the Federal officials whose headquarters are in that town.

While public buildings are thus of great necessity to the economical conduct of public business in Alaska, there seems to be an inertia in the Treasury Department in relation thereto which is so inexcitable as to be almost solid. For the benefit of the people of the living, growing, active, and prosperous towns in Alaska, where any private business having employees of a

similar important type would build to house them, permit me to recount my eight years' experience with public buildings, with appropriations therefor, and with the adamantine inertia of the Treasury Department in drawing plans and constructing public buildings in Alaska.

Let me take the thriving city of Juneau, the metropolis and capital of Alaska, as the example. In 1909, when I first came to Congress as the representative of the Territory of Alaska, filled with enthusiasm and the ideas relating to public buildings so innocently and editorially used and quoted from my Alaskan newspaper friend, I introduced two bills to make Juneau what it ought to be and what some day it will be—the most beautiful and romantic capital city on the Pacific coast. The first of the bills mentioned was the bill to create a legislative assembly in Alaska, to organize it into a real Territory, and to establish Juneau as its capital. This bill was most earnestly objected to by President Taft, who was misled and persuaded to do so by the governor of Alaska, who then resided at Juneau, and who was supported in his contest by some of the more influential citizens and mining companies there. For three years the Beveridge bill and other blocks were kept in the way, but at last, after a contest which cost me my place in the political sun, the bill was forced through Congress and approved by President Taft, who, after three years' swearing that he'd ne'er consent, consented.

Section 2 of the bill approved on August 24, 1912, contained this provision, just as I had written it in the first bill introduced on June 7, 1909:

SEC. 2. That the capital of the Territory of Alaska shall be at the city of Juneau, Alaska, and the seat of government shall be maintained there.

When the bill was under consideration before the Senate committee, after its passage in the House, the Senator in charge was determined to change that section, either by removing the capital to a more central town in Alaska, by naming another town there in place of Juneau, or by providing for its location by a vote of the people. I stood by Juneau and prevented such action being taken, and by my own single-handed effort made Juneau the capital of Alaska by law.

My home-rule bill was introduced on June 7, and on June 10, 1909, three days later, I introduced the bill H. R. 10576, Sixty-first Congress, special session, entitled "A bill to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Juneau, in the Territory of Alaska." Before the bill was favorably reported Gov. Clark came to Washington and immediately got busy in opposition. He represented that $250,000, which my bill called for, was too much for a public building at Juneau, and persuaded the committee to cut it down to $200,000 and to appropriate $40,000 of the savings for an executive mansion, which was done. In the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 684), appears this authorization:

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a site and to contract for the erection and completion thereon of a suitable building, including fireproof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, and approaches, complete, for the use and accommodation of the United States post office and other governmental offices in each of the cities enumerated in this section within its respective limit of cost, including site, hereby fixed:

United States post office and customhouse at Juneau, Alaska, $200,000.

United States Territorial executive mansion, furnishings, library, and museum at Juneau, Alaska, $40,000.

It seemed now as if my plan for organizing and building up government and the accessories thereto in Alaska was anchored to a safe holding line. My home-rule bill was being opposed, but since it was right and American in principle there seemed no doubt of its ultimate success, and this authorization for the Juneau public building certainly fastened the capital at Juneau, a promise I had given to the old sour-dough mayor should be done, and now was done. The foregoing bill, however, was only the authorization, so in the following sundry civil appropriation act of March 4, 1911 (36 Stat., 1374), I procured the appropriations of $40,000 for the executive mansion, and for post office and customhouse, for site and commencement of building under present limit, $40,000, to begin the work.

Thereafter, in the appropriation act of June 23, 1913 (38 Stat., 9), I procured an appropriation of an additional $40,000 for continuing the work on the Juneau public building, and by the act of March 3, 1915 (38 Stat., 825), an additional sum of $75,000 for continuing the work. These three items of $40,000, $40,000, and $75,000, aggregating $155,000, were each made "for the fiscal year," and because the Treasury Department made no plans and did not let the contract to build, those three appropriations lapsed at the end of the fiscal year.

I gave much time and attention to urging the people of Juneau to assist in procuring the site for the public building, but it was done so slowly by the Treasury Department and Gov. Clark, that nothing could be done by me to prevent the lapsing of all the appropriations.

When the Sixty-fourth—the present—Congress met I went at the Juneau project again, notwithstanding all my successful labors in the prior Congress had been allowed to lapse and no contract had been let or building begun. On the first day of the Congress I introduced House bill 231. I had also introduced a public-building bill for Fairbanks and secured an authorization in the Sixty-second Congress for Cordova. The rule is that a Congressman may not have two appropriations for public buildings in his district in the same Congress; and in view of the fact that I had three projects in being at the same time, I was called upon to choose which one I would take, the others to be laid aside. On February 25, 1916, I received the following letter from the chairman of the committee:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
*Washington, February 28, 1916.*

DEAR COLLEAGUE: Kindly advise me which particular public-building project in your district you are especially interested in. This information is for the use of the subcommittee No. 1, and is to be used in connection with the preliminary work of preparing a public-buildings bill. We are desirous of securing reports on these bills at once, but we do not wish to burden the Treasury Department with a large number of requests for reports on bills which stand no chance of being included. Hence the necessity of your expressing a preference, which, by the way, will be treated as strictly confidential. After the report is received from the department, you will be advised and it can then be taken up with the subcommittee for a hearing and final action.

With best wishes, I am,
Yours, most truly, FRANK CLARK, *Chairman.*

To that letter I answered as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 29, 1916.*

Hon. FRANK CLARK,
*Chairman Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds,*
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MR. CLARK: I have your note of February 28 asking me to advise you which particular public-building project in my district I am specifically interested in. You ask this information for the use of the subcommittee, etc., and advise me that the matter is confidential.

The situation in Alaska compels me to say that the public-building item for the completion of the Juneau (Alaska) building is the one which ought to be given precedence. This building is so much needed for the general public good of the Territory that I hope the committee can see its way clear to give sufficient appropriation this year to complete it. I will talk to you about the matter personally when I have a little time.

* * * * * * *

Respectfully, JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

Thereafter, on April 12, 1916, I appeared before the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and the following statement is copied from the hearings:

PUBLIC BUILDING, JUNEAU, ALASKA.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now hear Mr. WICKERSHAM on the bill (H. R. 231) introduced by him to increase the limit of cost for the construction of the United States public building authorized at Juneau, Alaska. The bill under consideration is as follows:

A bill to increase the limit of cost for the construction of the United States public building authorized at Juneau, Alaska.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the limit of cost for the construction of the public building at Juneau, Alaska, authorized by section 4 of the public-buildings act approved June 25, 1910, be, and the same is hereby, increased by the sum of $450,000 to meet the cost of additional space needed for rooms for the Territorial legislature and for the Territorial library and museum to be located therein, and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to enter into contract for the completion of said building within the limit of cost provided in the act of 1910 and the additional limit herein authorized.

Thereupon I was cross-examined for pages about Juneau and Alaska and the necessity for the appropriation of money to erect a public building there to house the Federal and Territorial officers. The committee seemed divided on the question whether we were entitled to the large sum asked for or for any amount for housing Territorial officials. The objection to allowing any appropriation for increased space in the building for Territorial officers—for the governor, the legislature, and other strictly Territorial officials—now began to give much trouble. Finally the committee sent for me and advised me they had concluded to cut off that part of the appropriation for Territorial offices, and on July 7 I received the following letter:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
*Washington, July 7, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR JUDGE: When you appeared before the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds yesterday at the committee's request it was because we had been informed by the Treasury Department that it is not the rule to appropriate for erecting a capitol building in a Territory, and the committee wished you to be advised of the objection. I am now instructed by the committee to advise you further that the committee has concluded to recommend for the Juneau public building the sum of $150,000, in addition to the $177,000 now available under your former bill; and I am also instructed to say to you that if you can offer the

committee precedents to support your statement that Congress has heretofore appropriated for Territorial capitol buildings so as fairly to establish our duty to do so, we will add the other $150,000 to the bill for legislative rooms in the building. Otherwise the Territory will be expected to provide its own capitol building.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK CLARK, *Chairman.*

Upon that request I at once entered upon a full and careful examination of the early United States statutes relating to the establishment of Territorial capitals and prepared and submitted the following letter brief in support of my bill:

JULY 10, 1916.

Hon. FRANK CLARK,
*Chairman House Committee on*
*Public Buildings and Grounds, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, advising me the committee has concluded to recommend an appropriation of $150,000 in addition to the amount now available for the erection of the Juneau, Alaska, public building. You also advise me of the objection of the Treasury Department to adding the further sum of $150,000 for providing quarters in the building for the Territorial legislature, but you add you are instructed to inform me that if I can offer the committee precedents to support the statement that Congress has heretofore appropriated for Territorial capitol buildings, so as fairly to establish the duty of the committee to do so, you will add the other $150,000 to the bill for providing legislative rooms in the building. Otherwise the Territory will be expected to provide its own capitol building.

As requested by you, I have given the matter of precedents and jurisdiction very careful consideration, and I beg herewith to present the facts as I found them in the statutes in relation to appropriations for the erection of Territorial capitols in former Territories. I will begin with the one with which you are most familiar, suggesting in advance that Congress has in some way or other treated all the Territories alike in respect to public buildings at the capital.

FLORIDA TERRITORY.

The act of May 24, 1824 (4 Stat. L., 30), granted to the Territory of Florida one-quarter section of land "for the seat of government" and three-quarters of the contiguous section for sale for the purpose of raising a fund for the erection of public buildings at the seat of government.

The act of March 2, 1829 (4 Stat. L., 357), section 3, provided for the survey and sale of public lands at Tallahassee "and the proceeds applied to the erection of public buildings in Tallahassee."

The act of March 3, 1839 (5 Stat. L., 323), enacted "that the sum of $20,000 be, and the same is hereby, granted to the Territory of Florida, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of erecting a suitable state-house or public building in the Territory of Florida for the use and accommodation of the Territorial legislature of said Territory, and in which building, when erected and completed, the office of the secretary of said Territory shall be kept and also the public records and archives of said Territory."

The act of March 3, 1845 (5 Stat. L., 788, sec. 1), is a supplemental enabling act for the admission of Florida as a State, and provided: "That in consideration of the concessions made by the State of Florida in respect to the public lands, there be granted to the said State eight entire sections of land for the purpose of fixing their seat of government."

IOWA TERRITORY.

The act of June 12, 1838 (5 Stat. L., 235, sec. 13), provided: "And the sum of $20,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby granted to the said Territory of Iowa, which shall be applied by the governor and legislative assembly thereof to defray the expenses of erecting public buildings at the seat of government."

The act of March 3, 1839 (5 Stat. L., 330), provided: "That there be, and hereby is, appropriated and granted to the Territory of Iowa one entire section of land, of any of the surveyed public lands in said Territory, for the purpose of erecting thereon the public buildings for the use of the executive and legislative departments of the government of the said Territory: *Provided*, That said section of land shall be selected under the authority of the Territorial legislature, the seat of government located thereon, etc."

The act of March 3, 1845 (5 Stat. L., 789, sec. 6, subdivision 3), provided "that five entire sections of land * * * are hereby granted to the State for the purpose of completing the public buildings of the said State, or for the erection of public buildings at the seat of the government of the said State, as the legislature may determine and direct."

OREGON TERRITORY.

The act of August 14, 1848 (9 Stat. L., 323, sec. 15, p. 329), provided: "And the sum of $5,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated and granted to said Territory of Oregon, to be there applied by the governor to the erection of suitable buildings at the seat of government."

The act of June 11, 1850 (9 Stat. L., 438), is entitled "An act to make further appropriations for public buildings in the Territories of Minnesota and Oregon." In the first section $20,000 is appropriated for the penitentiary in each Territory, and section 3 provides: "That the sum of $20,000, in addition to that appropriated in section 15 of 'An act to establish the Territorial government of Oregon,' approved August 14, 1848, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be applied by the governor and legislative assembly of the Territory of Oregon to the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government of said Territory."

The act of February 14, 1859 (11 Stat. L., 383, sec. 4, subdivision 3), provides: "That 10 entire sections of land, to be selected by the governor of said State, in legal subdivisions, shall be granted to said State for the purpose of completing the public buildings or for the erection of others at the seat of government, under the direction of the legislature thereof."

MINNESOTA TERRITORY.

The act of March 3, 1849, section 13 (9 Stat. L., 403 (407)), provided the legislature should establish the seat of government for the Territory; "and the sum of $20,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated and granted to said Territory of Minnesota to be applied, by the governor and legislative assembly, to the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government."

The act of June 11, 1850 (9 Stat. L., 438), entitled "An act to make further appropriations for public buildings in the Territories of Minnesota and Oregon," in section 1 appropriated $20,000 for the erection of a penitentiary in each Territory, and in section 2 of the act the governor and legislative assembly were specially authorized to expend $20,000 made by section 13 of the foregoing act of March 3, 1849, "for the erection of suitable public buildings at the temporary seat of government of said Territory," etc.

The act of March 3, 1853 (10 Stat. L., 243), provided "That the sum of $25,000 be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the continuation of the public buildings in the Territory of Minnesota, one-half of said sum to be applied to the completion of the capitol at St. Paul and the remainder to the completion of the prison buildings at Stillwater, in said Territory, to be expended under the direction of the legislative authority thereof," etc.

The act of February 26, 1857, section 5, subdivision 3 (11 Stat. L., 166), contained the usual grant of 10 sections given to all new States "for the purpose of completing the public buildings, or for the erection of others at the seat of government, under the direction of the legislature thereof."

TERRITORY OF UTAH.

The act of September 9, 1850, section 12 (9 Stat. L., 453 (457)), provided for locating the seat of government of the newly created Territory. "And the sum of $20,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated and granted to said Territory of Utah to be applied by the governor and legislative assembly to the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government."

The act of July 16, 1894, section 7 (28 Stat. L., 107 (109)), the enabling act provided "That upon the admission of said State into the Union * * * 100 sections of the unappropriated lands within said State * * * shall be, and are hereby, granted to said State for the purpose of erecting public buildings at the capital of said State, when permanently located, for legislative, executive, and judicial purposes."

WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The act of March 2, 1853, section 13 (10 Stat. L., 172 (177–178)), provided for locating the seat of government temporarily: "And the sum of $5,000, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appropriated and granted to said Territory of Washington, to be there applied by the governor to the erection of suitable buildings at the seat of government."

The sundry civil appropriation act of March 3, 1857 (11 Stat. L., 221 (227)), contained this special appropriation: "For the erection of a temporary capitol for Washington Territory, $30,000, and for a penitentiary in the same Territory, $20,000, inclusive of the sites of the buildings," etc.

The enabling act of February 22, 1899, sections 12 and 17 (25 Stat. L., 676 (680–681)), granted to Washington 50 sections of land, and 100,000 acres additional, for public buildings at the State capital, etc.

NEBRASKA TERRITORY.

The act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, of May 30, 1854, in section 15 (10 Stat. L., 277 (283)), stated the general policy, past, present, and future, of Congress in the matter of appropriations to aid newly organized Territories in erecting capitol buildings at the seat of Territorial government:

"SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall hereafter be appropriated, as has been customary for the Territorial governments, a sufficient amount, to be expended under the direction of the said governor of the Territory of Nebraska, not exceeding the sums heretofore appropriated for similar objects, for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government, and for the purchase of a library, to be kept at the seat of government, for the use of the governor, legislative assembly, judges of the supreme court, secretary, marshal, and attorney of said Territory, and such other persons, and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by law."

The act of March 3, 1855 (10 Stat. L., 635), in pursuance of the general policy of Congress announced in the foregoing section, made an appropriation from the Treasury "as has been customary * * * for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government," as follows:

"That the sum of $50,000 be, and the same hereby is, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the continuation and erection of public buildings for the use of the Legislature of the Territory of Nebraska, to be expended under the direction of the governor of said Territory," etc.

The enabling act of April 19, 1864, section 8 (13 Stat. L., 47, 49), grants 20 sections of land to the State of Nebraska, when admitted, "for the purpose of erecting public buildings at the capital of said State for legislative and judicial purposes, in such manner as the legislature shall prescribe."

KANSAS TERRITORY.

The organic act of May 30, 1854, section 33 (10 Stat. L., 277, 279), made the same promise of future customary appropriations for capitol buildings as were made to Nebraska, supra.

The act of March 3, 1855 (10 Stat. L., 635), appropriated $25,000 "for the continuation and erection of public buildings for the use of the Legislature of the Territory of Kansas," etc.

The enabling act of January 29, 1861, section 3 (12 Stat. L., 126, 127), granted to Kansas the usual 10 sections of land "for the purpose of completing the public buildings or for the erection of others at the seat of government," etc.

NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA, MONTANA, AND WASHINGTON ADMITTED AS NEW STATES.

The enabling act of February 22, 1899, section 12 (25 Stat L., 676, 680), provided:

"SEC. 12. That upon the admission of each of said States into the Union * * * 50 sections of the unappropriated public lands * * * shall be and are hereby granted to said States for the purpose of erecting public buildings at the capital of said States for legislative, executive, and judicial purposes."

Section 17 of the same act, on page 681, granted other and additional lands to each of said new States "for public buildings at the capital." South Dakota, 50,000 acres; North Dakota, 50,000 acres; Montana, 150,000 acres; and Washington, 100,000 acres.

CONCLUSIONS.

The foregoing precedents might be extended to include every Territory heretofore created by Congress, for the rule has always been as it was declared in the fifteenth section of the Nebraska-Kansas act of May 30, 1854: "It has been customary to appropriate for the Territorial governments a sufficient amount, to be expended under the direction of the

governor of the Territory, for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government"; that this appropriation has included, in every instance, the erection, as the first building, of a Territorial capitol.

The act of August 24, 1912, section 2 (37 Stat. L., 512), provided: "That the capitol of the Treasury of Alaska shall be at the city of Juneau, Alaska, and the seat of government shall be maintained there," but Congress has not yet made the customary appropriation in a sufficient amount to erect any public building there for housing the Territorial legislature, the governor, and other Territorial officials which it has created to aid it in maintaining and developing good government in that distant Territory.

On the first day of this Congress I introduced H. R. 231, as follows: "That the limit of cost for the construction of a public building at Juneau, Alaska, authorized by section 4 of the public-buildings act, approved June 25, 1910, be, and the same is hereby, increased by the sum of $450,000 to meet the cost of additional space needed for rooms for the Territorial legislature and for the Territorial library and museum to be located therein, and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to enter into contract for the completion of said building within the limit of cost provided by the act of 1910 and the additional limit herein authorized."

This bill was carefully drawn to answer the objections that have been made. Both new items, rooms for the Territorial legislature and for the Territorial library, have universally been appropriated for by Congress in new Territories. This bill authorized the erection of the building, with the additional appropriation for these additional uses, but, contrary to the usual practice, authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, instead of the governor of the Territory, to expend the appropriation. This is done because the Secretary has charge of the expenditure of the former appropriations, and, of course, it is better that he should have entire charge of the whole expenditures for the building.

The objection that it is a departure from the general rule to allow the Territorial officials, the governor and the legislature, and the Territorial library to be located in a United States building is not fundamental, for all these officials are created by acts of Congress, are engaged in assisting Congress to govern the Territory, and are paid out of the same Treasury.

In conclusion, it seems to be established as a general rule, to which there are no exceptions, that Congress has heretofore appropriated for Territorial capital buildings, so as fairly to establish your duty to do so, and under that condition, in your letter to me dated July 7, you said for the committee, "We will add the other $150,000 to the bill for legislative rooms in the building." Please do so in the exact language of my bill, H. R. 231, so there may be both authority and appropriation.

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

While the preparation of that brief gave me some labor, it gave me more satisfaction some days later when I received the following letter from the chairman of the committee allowing the full sum of $300,000, including the $150,000 for the Territorial offices and legislative hall:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
*Washington, July 14, 1916.*

Hon JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

MY DEAR MR. WICKERSHAM: The brief prepared by you in the matter of the jurisdiction of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to make appropriation for additional rooms in the public building at Juneau, Alaska, for use by the governor and Territorial legislature has been considered by the committee, and, in view of its disclosures, the committee has concluded to allow the additional sum of $150,000 asked for by you for that use. It will be included in the bill to be reported at once.

Respectfully,

FRANK CLARK, *Chairman.*

On July 17, 1916, the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds favorably reported the committee bill, H. R. 17052, "to increase the limit of cost of certain buildings," and so forth, and section 1 of the bill provided:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That to enable the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to give effect to and execute the provisions of existing legislation authorizing the acquisition of land for sites or the enlargement thereof, and the erection, enlargement, extension, remodeling, or repair of public buildings in the several cities hereinafter enumerated, the limit of cost heretofore fixed by Congress therefor be, and the same is hereby, increased, respectively, as follows, and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to enter into contracts for the completion of each of said buildings within its respective limit of cost, including site:

United States post office, customhouse, court house, Territorial legislature, and other Government offices at Juneau, Alaska, $300,000.

This additional increase of $300,000 makes the total authorized expenditure for the Juneau public building the sum of $500,000, of which $22,500 has been expended for the site, which leaves $477,500 available for the construction of the building. Here is a sum sufficiently great to erect a splendid capitol building for the use of Federal and Territorial officials. But even authority and appropriations are not enough. There must be civic pride and organization to take hold of the project and keep it moving. When the old pioneer, Emory Valentine, was mayor of Juneau, there was constant effort to procure the site and push the construction of the building, but since that time the people of the capital city seem to have rested in their activities, and the sum of $155,000 of actual appropriation which I secured for construction was permitted to lapse. Of course, this arose in large part from the refusal of the Treasury Department to act, but if a strong local organization had been actively interested, the Treasury officials would not have been permitted to hold up the work until the various appropriations lapsed. This matter is mentioned not in criticism but by way of suggestion, so the people of Juneau may take steps to keep posted on the passage of the acts of Congress authorizing appropriations, and to keep the project moving in the Treasury Department. If prominent newspapers and business men of Juneau had given half as much time and energy to this public-building project as they have to placing tacks under the tires of progress the Juneau capitol would have been completed.

This statement is also made to enable those interested in similar projects in other towns to appreciate the length of time and the effort required to get authorization, appropriation, and to erect a public building in Alaska.

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**Revenue Bill.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. SAMUEL J. TRIBBLE,
OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 14, 1916.*

Mr. TRIBBLE. Mr. Speaker, the necessity for this increase of tax as provided in this bill is largely due to the demand for preparedness. It is interesting to note that the section of the United States most interested in a large Navy and Army will pay the principal part of the tax as provided in the revenue bill now before Congress. Surplus incomes, large estates, and munition plants are required to furnish the additional revenue needed by the Government. Therefore the increase will come from sources where the burden will not fall on those least able to bear tax burdens. We propose to make the personal and intangible property contribute its just portion to the support of the Government.

New York owns about $30,000,000,000 of the wealth of the country, and before the enactment of the income-tax law more than one-half of this $30,000,000,000 escaped the taxgatherer. On the other hand, the taxgatherers never fail to find all the assets of the man with one little farm, one cow, one horse, and small income. His little possessions are visible and his tax burdens heavy. Enormous estates have grown up in this country by the thousands and pay practically nothing to the Federal Government, while they exact much from the Government as protection to the great estates and interest thereto attached.

Why should not these mammoth fortunes be taxed? They require much of the Government revenue to throw around them the arm of Government protection. The incomes are so large that the holders thereof can not consume them even by luxurious living. Therefore, incomes become a dangerous surplus, gnawing at the very vitals of our national life, and they circumscribe the efforts of men in the common walks of life to obtain a competency of this world's possessions. The vast accumulations of wealth can well afford to bear taxation and increase of tax better than any other class of taxable property. I am very happy in realizing that I have contributed my part as a representative of the people in producing this bill, which raises $200,000,000 additional tax from incomes, inheritances, and munition tax, and have the conscious satisfaction of knowing that the masses of people have not been called upon to pay one dollar of it. At the present time the average tax per family is about $33 per year. When it became apparent that a new tax levy would have to be made, I could not give my consent to add this additional burden to the overtaxed poor. It was said among many of the prominent men that the stamp tax could not be repealed during the European war with large increase for preparedness facing Congress, and that the stamp tax would be extended to gasoline and other products. When I appealed to Congress to repeal the stamp tax last winter there seemed to be little hope of success, but we can now thank Congress that the stamp tax is gone, and the needed funds will not be collected from the obnoxious stamp tax or from the poor, but from the sources of wealth untouched by the taxgatherer previous to the enactment of the income and inheritance tax law. It will be of interest to note how much revenue was raised last year by the income tax from the different States. I insert the following statement:

| | Amount collected. |
|---|---|
| Alabama and Missisippi | $177,449.00 |
| Arkansas | 44,278.00 |
| Florida | 133,560.00 |
| Georgia | 199,545.00 |
| North Carolina | 175,922.00 |
| Oklahoma | 489,415.00 |
| South Carolina | 76,250.00 |
| Tennessee | 207,346.00 |
| Louisiana | 296,341.00 |
| Kentucky | 165,109.00 |
| New York | 30,286,607.61 |
| Pennsylvania | 6,312,204.29 |
| Massachusetts | 4,195,873.18 |

### Pensions, War With Spain, Etc.

## SPEECH
OF
# HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, February 16, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 54) to pension widows and minor children of officers and enlisted men who served in the War with Spain, Philippine insurrection, or in China.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. On two former occasions when this bill passed the House there was considerable delay, and it was somewhat late in the session. Its early passage here augurs well for the prospect of its becoming a law in a short time.

Having on previous occasions spoken in favor of the bill, and favoring it to-day, I rise simply to give publicity in this way to the part taken by the State of Nebraska in furnishing, as it did, three regiments and a cavalry troop for that war. Large contributions to each of these organizations came from each of the 11 counties of the district I represent.

The large majority of the enlisted men and many of the officers were unmarried. Still, in many cases coming under my observation wives and little ones were left at home, while husbands and fathers went out in obedience to the humanitarian call President McKinley had made.

Their ages averaged probably 20 to 21 years. They are now nearly two score years. They were then in the first flush of their young enthusiastic manhood. They are now in the ripeness of mature citizenship. They were both strong in body and clear in mind. The bullet of fray, fever of swamp, and fatigue of tropic heat collected a very heavy life toll and left the impress of disease upon many whom death spared.

They all contributed to the last great and brilliant chapter of American martial history. Their valor and achievements made the sunset of the nineteenth century for America memorable and glorious.

They returned to civil life and took up their home, industrial, and civic duties. Many returned to fulfill the tender vows sacredly made before following the mad music of war to southern waters or the far-off antipodes. Brides became matrons and beautiful children, cementing love and radiating sunshine, gladdened new homes.

But valor, triumphant on field where death and danger stalk, insures no immunity against accident or disease along the ways of peace.

So the message that Spanish bullet or Philippine knife could not carry has many times since been delivered in the avenues of peace. Husbands have been taken and fathers called. They had a right to believe that while republics were said to be ungrateful the United States was an exception. They were warranted in believing that the fathers and the fatherless of those who had answered the call of country first, and death thereafter, would be given that aid which, added to a fair measure of industry, would keep them on that plane of life which the sacrifice of the departed had fairly earned for them.

The widow and minor pension measure before us to-day is designed to meet that end. I hope that there will be few voices lifted against it, not many votes to oppose it, and no obstacles or delays submitted to prevent its early enactment into law.

Men talk much of Americanism. I thoroughly believe in it, both in the abstract view and its concrete manifestation. It may, in some parts of the country, seem necessary and proper to discuss Americanism with relation to ancestral strains. It is not and has not been necessary in Nebraska. Of the young men who went forth in 1898 there was a mingling of all the strains which, continuing through generations, has been evolving the American race. Of the young men leaving my home city and neighboring cities there were those who could trace their ancestry to the early Puritan and Cavalier stocks. There were many who, reverting but a generation, would be in one of the great nations now in Europe's great convulsion; while others would hark back to those countries whose steadiness of purpose during the last two years, who although in almost immediate contact with their warring neighbors, have maintained their neutrality.

Well do I remember seeing in these ranks faces and features revealing the fire of France, the indomitable courage of Germany, the bravery of Bohemia, Scandinavian gallantry of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, unyielding England, the sturdy firmness of Scotland, and the fighting passion of Ireland. But they followed and were devoted to the same flag, saw the same beauty in its stripes and the same glory in its stars. They had and gave that flag but one allegiance. I would not inquire into the memory of other flags, other days, and other generations. If men give unto this country the deeds and the hazards of their lives, we should not deny them either the comforts or the sorrows of memory.

Greece could not teach these young men grandeur nor Rome nobility. They had these with all the added charm and strength that an enlightened Christian civilization can confer. They made the name of America transcendent among the nations. Let us not forget them nor neglect the objects of their solicitude and love. [Applause.]

### Indorsement of the Lieb Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. LINCOLN DIXON,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 21, 1916.*

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. LIEB, has introduced in the House a bill for the establishment of a department of aviation, and I desire to extend my remarks by the publication of an article from the July number of the Flying Magazine on that subject. The article is as follows:

[From the July number of the Flying Magazine.]

THE PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF AERONAUTICS.

Only a dozen years ago the flying machine was the merest creature of rumor, its existence doubted by all. Half a dozen years later it had become a reality, but seemingly a useless thing save for sport. Two years ago it had arisen in dignity, it had become an instrument of promised usefulness in warfare. To-day the nations of the earth by means of it as fiercely struggle in the air for mastery as, with all their age-old machinery of warfare, they struggle upon and beneath the ground, upon the sea and within it. Thus the aeroplane and the airship have at a single flight, as it were, taken rank with the most useful weapons of man.

But, what is more strange and enormously more important, aeronautics has brought warfare into the third dimension of space. What does this portend? Let us see. In warfare celerity of action is of the essence of success. As wheel is swifter than keel, so is wing swifter than either. In warfare to see best is often to succeed. For the first time man may look the earth in the face, may study at pleasure its countenance and all that moves thereon. In warfare mobility also is of the essence of success. The groovelike highways of terrestial travel, unknown to the sea, likewise are unknown to the air—to the air, where a third dimension has been added to the mobility of military forces. And ranges. A navy is arrested by a coast, an army by a sea, an aerial armada by neither. Before the flying machine and the airship was there ever such a vehicle of warfare? In any of the long-established instrumentalities of battle does there lie the opportunities for dominion promised by aerial fleets? Has not a wholly new service been born, differing in kind, differing in the method to be employed in its use, differing in the medium in which it works, differing in the universality of its employment above land or sea indiscriminately, regardless of either?

A new species of warfare has come into the world. How shall it be dealt with? After old models, which are wholly unlike it, or after a pattern of its own? Shall it be chained to that sprawling thing aground called an army, or to that plunging thing afloat called a navy? Shall it be divided between them, not above, to be wing clapped, but to be hurt by its halving? Or, having a realm of its own, shall it not be given a scepter of its own?

These are the questions which all Governments must solve forthwith. Indeed, they are already in process of solution. In England the work is in hand. On March 9 Lord Montague, of Beaulieu, then vice chairman of the joint naval and military board in control of the aerial service, asked His Majesty's Government whether, in view of the great and growing importance of aviation in modern warfare, both by sea and land, and the need for special attention and effort being concentrated upon it, they would create a separate ministry to deal with the whole question. Everything must be subordinated to the needs of the war, and although he welcomed the appointment of the committee over which Lord Derby was to preside, which was in itself an admission of weakness, he wished to convince the Government that there was need for something bigger, with wider powers, and with a man of imagination and foresight at its head.

At the present time the air service was merely auxiliary to the fighting forces of the navy and army. He could see a time coming when the air service would be more important than either the army or navy. We must get into the habit of looking at the air service not as an auxiliary to the army and navy but as a great service which was an establishment of itself and to which we should have to look in future years largely for the defense of this country. It would take many years before the full value of air power was realized.

Then, there was another aspect. All war would become more and more scientific, but warfare in the air would become more scientific than anything which had preceded it. There should be one responsibility, and one only.

In the United States also it has been perceived that the aerial service must be a separate service, possessed of its own, its independent, head, whose concern shall be its welfare and nothing else. Our experience already has proven that neither of the other services can satisfactorily develop this new one. It is not of the nature of the case that they should be able to do so. Each of the others has its own particular and pressing needs, and this alone places aeronautics, so long as it remains with either, in the position of foster child.

This Congressman CHARLES LIEB, of Indiana, saw and has essayed to remedy. By means of the provisions of his bill recently introduced at Washington it is purposed to establish a separate department of aviation—it should be made to read "of aeronautics"—having at its head a secretary with a seat in the President's Cabinet. Without undertaking at this writing to discuss the details of the measure, we nevertheless heartily indorse the project and bespeak for it the active aid of all who are interested not alone in aeronautics but in projecting our defenses upon the most forward-looking and durable plan.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ISAAC BACHARACH,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. BACHARACH. Mr. Speaker, this is a billion-and-a-half dollar Congress. The estimated disbursements over the receipts for the year ending June 30, 1917, amount to $266,922,000. The bill before the House contemplates raising the amount needed by a direct tax upon the people. This method of taxation is in direct opposition to the beliefs and policies of the Republican Party, and I therefore regret that I can not support the principles for which this bill stands.

Being a firm believer in the need of a greater and stronger Army and Navy for the adequate and proper protection of our country, I voted for the various bills which were brought before the House for that purpose, and I am very sorry that I can not have an opportunity to vote for the means to raise the revenue necessary to meet these extraordinary expenditures without being forced to subscribe to principles of taxation to which I am antagonistic.

This bill covers every form of direct taxation known to political science, and it is a plain indictment, on the face of it, of the wanton extravagance of the present administration, and an admission, although an unwilling one, of the complete failure of the "tariff-for-less-than-revenue" policy of the Democratic Party, and a public acknowledgment of its profound inability to properly and successfully handle the reins of this great Government.

The total estimated appropriations for the year ending June 30, 1917, is $1,579,000,000, an increase of $435,000,000 over 1916 and $430,000,000 over those of 1915. It is true that the appropriations for the Army and Navy, because of the "preparedness" program, are considerably greater than heretofore, but there are a great many pet projects of the party in power which very easily could have been omitted when the revenue was needed for more important purposes.

I refer particularly to the direct levy upon the Treasury of $50,000,000 for the Government ship ownership bill, which represents a tax of 50 cents on every man, woman, and child in the United States; or, if they were to levy the tax upon the voters of the country only, it would represent a per capita tax of $3.50. The $21,000,000 emergency war tax—forced upon the people when the country is not at war, or at least the administration says we are not at war—is an additional tax of 21 cents; the flood bill, granting upward of $50,000,000 for the reclamation of private lands, is another tax of 50 cents; the appropriation for the Government-owned nitrate plant is a further tax of 20 cents; the rural-credits bill represents a 15-cent tax; the good-roads bill an 85-cent tax; the armor-plate plant an 11-cent tax; the new income, inheritance, and munitions taxes make up another levy of $1.50, while the various commissions, bureaus, boards, and so forth, will add a new tax of 5 cents, or a total of $4.07 upon every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Since Congress met in December it has been spending money at the rate of $10,000,000 per day, excluding Sundays and holidays, and puts a heavier burden of taxes on the American people than any other session of Congress in the history of the Republic.

#### THE UNDERWOOD-SIMMONS TARIFF.

In 1912, a minority President having been elected, and both Houses of Congress being of the same political complexion—the first time such an event had happened in 16 years—in accordance with the pledges made during the campaign, the first important legislation taken under consideration was the revision of the Payne-Aldrich tariff and harmonizing that tariff law with the free-trade ideas and principles of the party.

The historic principle of the Democratic Party since 1876 has been a "tariff for revenue only." As a revenue producer the Underwood-Simmons law has been an abject failure.

The Democrats are insistent that the prosperity which this country has been enjoying since the late summer of 1914 is not a war-order prosperity; on the contrary, they give as a reason for the enactment of the emergency war tax, which was enacted when there was no war for the purpose of augmenting the rapidly growing deficiency in the Treasury, that the war had stopped importation; but in spite of the war, importations for the year ended June 30, 1916, amounted to approximately $2,000,000,000, about $300,000,000 greater than the importations under the Republican tariff.

The Republican Party is equally insistent that our industrial prosperity for the past two years has not been due to the activities of the administration or its policies, but is solely due to war orders which have come to this country. Who among us does not remember the disturbed business conditions that obtained throughout the country for some time prior to the fall of 1914? In the second congressional district of New Jersey, which I have the honor of representing in this House, practically every factory—no matter what the industry—was either closed down or was operating on a greatly reduced schedule. Men and women were out of employment, there were numerous business failures, and there was general depression and stagnation in industrial circles. The American markets were being flooded with the cheap merchandise of European manufacture which was allowed to come in, under the Underwood tariff, either duty free or under a tax so low that American manufacturers were unable to meet the competition. Conditions kept going from bad to worse; business had reached its lowest ebb and the country was on the verge of one of the greatest panics it has ever known.

Such was the industrial and financial condition of this country when the whole world was shocked by the outbreak of the European war. No one at that time could foresee, nor did anyone realize what a terrible conflict that war would prove to be. Almost immediately it became of such magnitude that the resources of practically the whole of Europe, for the manufacture of munitions and other necessary supplies essential in the carrying on of such a gigantic operation, were soon unable to meet the demands made upon them, and it became necessary for the warring countries to look about for other markets to supply their wants.

Naturally they turned to America. Manufacturers here, just at that time, were at their wits' ends trying to find some means to take care of their employees and to find work for them to do, and they naturally welcomed the large orders for ammunition and other supplies which immediately flooded the American markets at prices and upon terms which could not be refused. Immediately there was a transformation in our industrial affairs; factories that heretofore were engaged in peaceful pursuits, but which were then practically lying idle because of the great business depression and dearth of orders, were promptly converted into manufactories of war supplies. New buildings were erected in great numbers to take care of the war orders that were constantly increasing in size and volume. There was an unprecedented demand for labor at wages never before dreamed of, and the mad race for wealth and supremacy was on. The country became extravagantly prosperous, and fortunes were made and lost over night. Prosperity was everywhere in evidence, and labor shared in it proportionately with capital.

The Democratic Party was quick to seize upon, as an excuse and to lay the blame upon, the war as the cause of the business depression that had gripped the country soon after the Underwood tariff law was put in operation, which depression had reached the top mark just prior to the breaking out of the war; but just as soon as there was a noticeable effect upon business as a result of the receipt of war orders, and the country again took on a semblance of prosperity, this same party was very quick to change its wail, and immediately they would have you believe that the wave of prosperity that had so thankfully hit us, was caused not by war orders, but that it was the logical outcome of the policies of a "forward-looking" Democracy. They despise "backward-looking" people, and well they might, for if one will look backward and analyze the

situation that obtained just prior to the war he will find facts and figures which will show beyond the shadow of a doubt to what the country's prosperity is due.

I submit two tables from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce showing the total values of imports and exports for the United States; the first for the 11 months ending November, 1915, and the second for the 11 months ending May, 1916. The first portions of these tables will show the value of imports admitted to this country duty free and the value of those imports which were subject to a duty tax.

*Total values of imports and exports of the United States—November, 1915.*

MERCHANDISE.

[Preliminary figures for 1915, corrected to Dec. 21, 1915.]

| | November— | | | Eleven months ending November— | | | Increase (+) or decrease (−), eleven months, 1914 and 1915. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | |
| IMPORTS. | | | | | | | |
| Free of duty | $91,498,137 | $78,512,793 | $112,210,716 | $874,303,529 | $1,028,493,133 | $1,053,009,509 | + $24,516,376 |
| Dutiable | 56,738,399 | 47,954,269 | 52,108,453 | 734,267,380 | 646,126,323 | 562,577,175 | − 83,549,148 |
| Total | 148,236,536 | 126,467,062 | 164,319,169 | 1,608,570,909 | 1,674,619,456 | 1,615,586,684 | − 59,032,772 |
| EXPORTS. | | | | | | | |
| Domestic | 243,375,068 | 200,008,223 | 324,580,381 | 2,217,801,133 | 1,830,413,538 | 3,136,668,586 | +1,306,255,048 |
| Foreign | 2,163,974 | 5,870,110 | 6,564,146 | 33,021,531 | 37,577,954 | 54,991,389 | + 17,413,435 |
| Total | 245,539,042 | 205,878,333 | 331,144,527 | 2,250,822,664 | 1,867,991,492 | 3,191,659,975 | +1,323,668,483 |
| Excess of exports | 97,302,506 | 79,411,271 | 166,825,358 | 642,251,755 | 193,372,036 | 1,576,073,291 | +1,382,701,255 |

*Imports and exports of merchandise, by months.*

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IMPORTS. | | | | | | |
| December | $138,744,244 | $136,709,874 | $140,674,202 | $154,005,444 | $184,025,571 | $114,656,545 |
| | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 |
| January | 133,670,278 | 130,564,234 | 143,586,408 | 163,063,438 | 154,742,923 | 122,148,317 |
| February | 130,117,980 | 121,694,740 | 134,188,438 | 149,913,918 | 148,044,776 | 125,123,391 |
| March | 162,999,435 | 139,041,928 | 157,577,038 | 155,445,498 | 182,555,304 | 157,982,016 |
| April | 133,921,011 | 119,826,706 | 162,574,159 | 146,194,461 | 173,762,114 | 160,576,106 |
| May | 118,837,907 | 129,814,160 | 155,607,886 | 133,723,713 | 164,281,515 | 142,284,851 |
| June | 119,576,487 | 122,877,184 | 131,030,797 | 131,245,877 | 157,529,450 | 157,695,140 |
| July | 117,315,591 | 118,054,204 | 148,666,738 | 139,661,770 | 159,677,201 | 143,944,737 |
| August | 133,358,907 | 125,945,385 | 154,756,770 | 137,651,553 | 129,767,890 | 141,894,202 |
| September | 117,264,513 | 125,171,644 | 144,819,493 | 171,084,843 | 139,710,611 | 151,236,026 |
| October | 124,046,331 | 132,605,751 | 177,987,986 | 132,949,302 | 138,080,520 | 149,172,729 |
| November | 129,785,537 | 126,162,022 | 153,094,808 | 148,236,536 | 126,467,062 | 164,319,169 |
| Total {11 months ending November | 1,426,194,277 | 1,391,684,958 | 1,663,977,611 | 1,608,570,909 | 1,674,619,456 | 1,615,586,684 |
| Total {12 months ending November | 1,564,938,521 | 1,528,394,832 | 1,803,651,813 | 1,762,666,353 | 1,858,045,027 | 1,730,243,229 |
| EXPORTS. | | | | | | |
| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 |
| December | 172,477,714 | 228,602,683 | 224,907,136 | 250,315,807 | 238,195,628 | 345,632,558 |
| | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 |
| January | 144,461,435 | 197,083,391 | 202,446,273 | 227,032,930 | 204,066,603 | 267,879,313 |
| February | 124,558,030 | 175,957,305 | 198,844,326 | 193,906,942 | 173,929,145 | 299,805,869 |
| March | 143,657,857 | 161,933,204 | 205,411,462 | 187,428,711 | 187,409,234 | 296,611,852 |
| April | 133,110,253 | 157,987,550 | 179,300,342 | 199,813,438 | 162,552,570 | 294,745,913 |
| May | 131,083,890 | 153,152,353 | 175,380,058 | 194,607,422 | 161,732,619 | 274,218,142 |
| June | 127,887,780 | 141,700,737 | 138,233,742 | 163,404,916 | 157,072,044 | 268,547,416 |
| July | 114,627,492 | 127,696,954 | 148,885,355 | 160,990,778 | 154,138,947 | 208,974,610 |
| August | 134,065,378 | 144,185,193 | 167,844,871 | 187,909,020 | 110,367,494 | 261,025,230 |
| September | 168,373,643 | 195,708,647 | 199,678,062 | 218,240,001 | 150,032,333 | 300,676,822 |
| October | 207,709,036 | 210,365,516 | 254,633,504 | 271,861,464 | 194,711,170 | 338,030,281 |
| November | 206,620,377 | 201,732,760 | 278,244,191 | 245,539,042 | 205,878,333 | 331,144,527 |
| Total {11 months ending November | 1,637,256,221 | 1,867,619,610 | 2,148,902,186 | 2,250,822,664 | 1,867,991,492 | 3,191,659,975 |
| Total {12 months ending November | 1,809,733,935 | 2,096,222,293 | 2,373,809,322 | 2,501,138,471 | 2,101,187,120 | 3,437,202,533 |
| 11 months ending November: Excess of exports | 211,061,944 | 475,934,652 | 484,924,575 | 642,251,755 | 193,372,036 | 1,576,073,291 |
| 12 months ending November: Excess of exports | 244,795,414 | 567,827,461 | 569,157,509 | 738,472,118 | 242,542,093 | 1,707,049,304 |

*Total values of imports and exports of the United States—May, 1916.*

MERCHANDISE.

[Preliminary figures for 1916, corrected to June 23, 1916.]

| | May— | | | Eleven months ending May— | | | Increase (+) or decrease (−), eleven months, 1915 and 1916. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 | |
| IMPORTS. | | | | | | | |
| Free of duty | $103,148,377 | $85,400,692 | $150,535,127 | $1,034,056,657 | $934,293,609 | $1,338,892,072 | + $404,598,463 |
| Dutiable | 61,133,138 | 56,884,159 | 78,598,970 | 702,330,570 | 582,180,091 | 613,141,140 | + 30,960,149 |
| Total | 164,281,515 | 142,284,851 | 229,134,097 | 1,736,396,207 | 1,516,474,600 | 1,952,033,212 | + 435,558,612 |
| EXPORTS. | | | | | | | |
| Domestic | 157,482,718 | 269,336,222 | 466,318,418 | 2,175,578,565 | 2,452,033,414 | 3,810,603,768 | +1,358,600,354 |
| Foreign | 4,249,901 | 4,892,920 | 5,511,038 | 31,928,539 | 48,008,510 | 56,421,605 | + 8,413,095 |
| Total | 161,732,619 | 274,218,142 | 471,829,456 | 2,207,507,104 | 2,500,041,924 | 3,867,715,373 | +1,367,673,449 |
| Excess of {imports | 2,548,896 | | | | | | |
| Excess of {exports | | 131,933,291 | 242,695,359 | 471,110,897 | 983,567,324 | 1,915,682,161 | + 931,514,837 |

*Imports and exports of merchandise, by months.*

| | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IMPORTS. | | | | | | |
| June | $119,876,487 | $122,807,184 | $131,030,797 | $131,245,877 | $157,529,450 | $157,695,140 |
| July | 117,315,591 | 118,054,204 | 148,666,238 | 139,061,770 | 159,677,201 | 143,244,737 |
| August | 135,358,307 | 125,945,385 | 154,750,770 | 137,651,553 | 129,767,890 | 141,804,242 |
| September | 117,264,513 | 125,171,944 | 144,819,493 | 171,084,843 | 139,710,611 | 151,236,026 |
| October | 124,046,331 | 132,605,751 | 177,987,986 | 132,943,302 | 138,080,520 | 149,172,729 |
| November | 129,735,537 | 126,162,022 | 153,091,808 | 148,236,536 | 126,467,062 | 155,496,659 |
| December | 136,709,874 | 140,674,202 | 154,095,444 | 184,025,571 | 114,656,545 | 171,832,985 |
| | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
| January | 130,561,234 | 143,586,408 | 163,063,438 | 154,742,923 | 122,148,317 | 184,350,942 |
| February | 121,694,746 | 134,188,438 | 140,943,918 | 148,044,774 | 125,123,391 | 193,935,147 |
| March | 139,041,928 | 157,577,038 | 155,445,498 | 182,355,304 | 157,982,016 | 213,589,785 |
| April | 119,826,706 | 162,571,159 | 146,194,461 | 173,702,114 | 160,576,105 | 218,236,397 |
| May | 129,814,160 | 155,697,886 | 153,723,713 | 164,281,815 | 142,284,851 | 229,134,097 |
| Total (11 months ending May | 1,404,418,921 | 1,522,234,137 | 1,681,762,357 | 1,736,396,207 | 1,516,474,600 | 1,952,033,212 |
| Total (12 months ending May | 1,524,295,408 | 1,645,041,321 | 1,812,793,154 | 1,867,642,084 | 1,674,004,050 | 2,109,728,352 |
| EXPORTS. | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 |
| June | 127,887,780 | 141,709,737 | 128,233,742 | 163,404,916 | 157,072,044 | 268,547,416 |
| July | 114,627,492 | 127,699,954 | 148,887,355 | 160,990,778 | 154,138,947 | 268,408,702 |
| August | 134,666,378 | 144,185,193 | 167,944,871 | 187,909,020 | 140,367,494 | 260,009,935 |
| September | 168,873,643 | 195,798,647 | 199,678,062 | 218,240,001 | 156,052,323 | 300,054,921 |
| October | 207,709,086 | 210,365,516 | 254,633,504 | 271,861,464 | 194,711,170 | 336,152,009 |
| November | 206,620,377 | 201,752,760 | 278,244,191 | 245,530,042 | 205,878,333 | 327,670,253 |
| December | 279,002,683 | 224,907,136 | 250,315,897 | 233,195,628 | 245,632,558 | 359,306,302 |
| | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
| January | 197,063,391 | 202,446,273 | 227,032,930 | 204,060,603 | 207,879,313 | 330,036,410 |
| February | 175,957,305 | 198,844,326 | 193,998,042 | 173,920,145 | 299,805,860 | 401,783,974 |
| March | 161,933,204 | 205,411,462 | 187,426,711 | 187,499,234 | 296,611,852 | 410,742,034 |
| April | 157,987,550 | 179,800,342 | 199,813,438 | 102,552,570 | 294,745,913 | 399,861,157 |
| May | 153,152,353 | 175,380,058 | 194,007,422 | 101,732,619 | 274,218,142 | 471,829,456 |
| Total (11 months ending May | 1,907,643,462 | 2,066,068,667 | 2,302,479,233 | 2,207,587,104 | 2,500,041,924 | 3,867,115,373 |
| Total (12 months ending May | 2,035,501,242 | 2,207,795,404 | 2,440,712,975 | 2,370,912,020 | 2,657,113,968 | 4,135,662,789 |
| 11 months ending May: Excess of exports | 503,194,541 | 543,834,530 | 620,716,876 | 471,110,897 | 983,567,324 | 1,915,082,161 |
| 12 months ending May: Excess of exports | 511,205,834 | 562,754,083 | 627,919,821 | 503,269,936 | 983,109,918 | 2,025,934,437 |

**If one will take the time and trouble to analyze the figures given in these tables, it will be seen that immediately following the going into effect of the Underwood tariff law the imports into this country steadily increased and our exports just as systematically decreased, showing a steady decline of the favorable trade balance which this country had enjoyed. This decline regularly progressed month after month until April, 1914, when the balance of trade in our favor was entirely wiped out and our imports exceeded our exports in the enormous amount of $11,209,544, which represented the balance of trade against us for that month. At no time from the month of April to the month of September, 1914, did our exports exceed our imports. In May the balance of trade against us amounted to $2,548,896; in June it amounted to $457,406; in July, $5,538,344, while in the month of August it overtopped all other months to the tune of $19,400,396.**

**The Democratic Party was finding itself pretty hard pressed to give a suitable explanation for this loss of our country's prestige when—happily for that party—the war in Europe broke out, and they immediately put the blame on the war, stating that because of it there was no demand for our goods in Europe.**

**As stated above, the balance of trade against us for the month of August, 1914, was $19,400,396; in that month the war broke out, and, notwithstanding the fact that there was no market for our goods, according to our Democratic friends, the month of September showed an increase of exports over imports amounting to $16,341,722, representing the balance of trade in our favor, and this favorable balance steadily and increasingly mounted up and up until it reached the astounding sums of approximately $131,000,000 in December, 1914, and $187,000,000 in December, 1915. Thirty-one articles properly characterized as munitions of war made up 52 per cent of our total exports.**

**From the Department of Commerce I obtain the following figures showing exports of ammunition and firearms for each month from August 1, 1914, to the latest date for which statistics are available, June 29, 1916:**

***Exports of ammunition and firearms from the United States during each month from August 1, 1914, to the latest date for which statistics are available.***

| Month of— | Cartridges. | Gunpowder. | | Other explosives. | Firearms. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1914. | | *Pounds.* | | | |
| August | $154,080 | 30,946 | $16,821 | $26,336 | $208,644 |
| September | 421,982 | 193,037 | 65,465 | 187,510 | 201,556 |
| October | 1,452,740 | 90,982 | 24,395 | 56,305 | 692,146 |
| November | 1,231,235 | 63,064 | 23,027 | 78,062 | 1,194,510 |
| December | 1,098,875 | 55,352 | 27,989 | 980,665 | 1,092,158 |

*Exports of ammunition and firearms from the United States*—Con't.

| Month of— | Cartridges. | Gunpowder. | | Other explosives. | Firearms. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1915. | | *Pounds.* | | | |
| January | $1,381,970 | 372,085 | $129,617 | $1,039,961 | $2,156,757 |
| February | 1,909,774 | 73,015 | 34,884 | 1,020,904 | 584,694 |
| March | 1,615,625 | 181,043 | 65,481 | 1,081,860 | 545,716 |
| April | 2,648,667 | 645,690 | 417,919 | 2,863,014 | 464,913 |
| May | 3,028,083 | 1,591,136 | 1,048,607 | 4,439,777 | 1,101,751 |
| June | 2,467,378 | 4,376,677 | 3,234,549 | 5,911,186 | 914,118 |
| July | 2,427,761 | 5,504,772 | 4,567,929 | 9,329,303 | 1,948,717 |
| August | 2,284,540 | 6,653,841 | 5,296,118 | 6,907,046 | 693,413 |
| September | 1,412,144 | 11,183,468 | 8,026,411 | 8,743,149 | 1,047,722 |
| October | 1,648,329 | 9,205,229 | 6,593,691 | 10,836,147 | 550,740 |
| November | 1,737,673 | 20,892,232 | 16,730,384 | 13,495,527 | 1,197,768 |
| December | 2,260,734 | 23,204,516 | 20,201,180 | 23,366,260 | 954,102 |
| 1916. | | | | | |
| January | 3,343,497 | 13,149,659 | 10,104,525 | 12,569,635 | 1,513,087 |
| February | 3,616,702 | 13,483,939 | 12,043,610 | 32,235,724 | 1,902,020 |
| March | 4,174,827 | 20,066,043 | 16,868,622 | 29,150,515 | 1,568,379 |
| April | 3,963,133 | 26,997,792 | 22,245,946 | 29,351,236 | 1,933,953 |
| May | 5,390,715 | 27,487,570 | 21,300,333 | 41,384,610 | 2,576,447 |
| Total, 22 months | 49,602,465 | 185,493,090 | 149,067,503 | 235,143,732 | 25,050,311 |

A total of $458,924,011

I submit also a table showing the amount of exports of the same articles for the three years prior to the war:

| | Cartridges. | Gunpowder. | Other explosives. | Firearms. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | $98,361 | $46,554 | $998 | $373,054 |
| 1912 | 156,631 | 109,964 | 50,098 | 566,680 |
| 1913 | 296,960 | 43,410 | 100,269 | 736,227 |
| | 551,952 | 199,928 | 151,365 | 1,675,961 |

A grand total for the three years of $2,579,206.

From these tables it will be seen that the total amount of exports of ammunition and firearms for the 22 months beginning August 1, 1914, and ending May 30, 1916, exceeds the total amount of like exports for the 36 months beginning January 1, 1911, and ending December 31, 1913, by the appalling sum of $456,344,805.

But to show that the increase in our exports is not entirely due to the shipment of munitions, which, together with copper, are the only war items subjected to a tax under this bill, I incorporate the following table.

If we are going to put a tax on war orders, why not distribute it equally, and not discriminate against any class of people?

*Exports of American Products.*

| Articles. | Seven months ending January, 1914. | Seven months ending January, 1916. |
|---|---|---|
| Cattle | $355,000 | $2,000,000 |
| Horses | 1,653,000 | 51,183,000 |
| Mules | 389,000 | 14,116,000 |
| Total exports of animals | 3,000,000 | 67,693,000 |
| Brass and manufactures | 4,331,000 | 44,511,000 |
| Corn | 3,832,000 | 10,104,000 |
| Breadstuffs | 63,897,000 | 125,000,000 |
| Cars, carriages, etc | 69,000 | 4,654,000 |
| Automobiles and parts | 13,251,000 | 54,000,000 |
| Cars for steam railways | 6,249,000 | 13,000,000 |
| Chemicals, drugs, etc | 15,531,000 | 58,000,000 |
| Manufactures of cotton | 17,937,000 | 24,767,000 |
| Wearing apparel | 5,965,000 | 17,595,000 |
| Cartridges, dynamite, gunpowder | 3,367,000 | 180,782,000 |
| Canned salmon | 5,882,000 | 10,592,000 |
| Glass and glassware | 2,273,000 | 6,307,000 |
| India-rubber manufactures | 1,882,000 | 9,755,000 |
| Iron and steel and manufactures of | 4,349,000 | 16,482,000 |
| Cutlery | 724,000 | 1,908,000 |
| Firearms | 2,213,000 | 7,911,000 |
| Locomotives | 2,311,000 | 10,702,000 |
| Metal-working machines and tools | 8,209,000 | 25,196,000 |
| Total exports of machinery | 59,279,000 | 92,524,000 |
| Steel rails | 7,567,000 | 10,640,000 |
| Tin plate | 1,825,000 | 9,104,000 |
| Wire | 5,961,000 | 25,118,000 |
| Leather and tanned skins | 20,855,000 | 46,666,000 |
| Boots and shoes | 10,584,000 | 26,787,000 |
| Harness and saddlery | 12,263,000 | 38,933,000 |
| Meat and dairy products | 91,482,000 | 170,671,000 |
| Silk, manufactures of | 1,242,000 | 2,449,000 |
| Vegetables | 3,866,000 | 8,617,000 |
| Manufactures of wool | 2,741,000 | 29,066,000 |
| Spelter, zinc, etc | 261,000 | 25,579,000 |
| Total | 395,528,000 | 1,242,412,000 |
| Increase, 1916 over 1914 | | 846,884,000 |

The showing for the nine months ending March 31, 1916, is even more impressive:

| | |
|---|---|
| Exports, nine months ending Mar. 31, 1916 (war period) | $2,995,875,232 |
| Exports, nine months ending Mar. 31, 1914 (anti-war period) | 1,883,221,915 |
| Increase in war period | 1,112,653,317 |

Our great agriculturists of the South and West will perhaps find in this table the cause of the prosperity which they have been enjoying for the past two years. In foodstuffs alone the total amount of exports far exceeds the munitions business; and whether the war soon ends or not, the demand for foodstuffs will continue for some time to come, since the crops of all European nations are greatly below the normal. America must feed Europe whether Europe fights or not. And some of our Democratic friends from the great agricultural districts, especially of the West and South, would have you believe that the tremendous prosperity of the farmers and the never-before-dreamed-of prices which they are receiving for their products is due not to the European war but to the benefactions and benedictions of the Underwood tariff and the other so-called constructive policies of the Democratic Party. If there had been no war in Europe to furnish a market for the products of the American agriculturist will anyone believe this class of citizens would be enjoying the prosperity which is now theirs? You may draw your own conclusions as to the truth or fallacy of the claims of the Democratic Party.

Tuesday, June 6, was the high record day for shipments of exports from the port of New York. On that date domestic exports left the United States to the value of $25,744,411. Of this sum, loaded projectiles made up $3,686,127; fuses, $2,351,588; cartridges, $291,162; gunpowder, $5,131,322; refined copper, $2,365,610; cotton for making guncotton, $202,744; firearms, $455,723; metal-working machinery used by the allies for turning out war material, $1,055,456; barbed wire for entanglements, $124,761; shoes for Russian soldiers, $345,450; sole leather, $310,493; automobile tires for English war motors, $125,171. Total value of these 12 war commodities, $16,445,607. And this does not take into account clothing, medicines, brass and steel products, cutlery, commissary stores, and a thousand and one other things being used by the belligerents in this war. Seventy-six vessels were required to transport the day's shipments.

This is the high-water mark in Democratic prosperity, and they try to make you believe that it is not a war-order prosperity. Do you believe it? If you do, it is purely psychological.

It is interesting, particularly from a local standpoint, to quote here abstracts from some letters which I have received from manufacturers in the second congressional district of New Jersey, which are on file in my office. The first is in reply to a letter which I had written to a concern in whose factory the post office is located, calling their attention to the fact that the office had been relegated to the "fourth class." The reply, which follows, was most instructive and impressive:

Thanks for your letter of June 21, just received. I note all you say, our old-line business, woodworking machinery, has been in a very much depressed state for sometime, and in order to keep busy we have taken some orders caused by the war in Europe, principally for iron-working machinery; we have taken several orders of about $50,000 to $100,000 each, which has helped us out very much, but where one order of $100,000 would only cause us a correspondence of perhaps 8 or 10 letters that many orders in our old line would keep half a dozen stenographers busy all the time till such orders were completed; hence inasmuch as in our old line we haven't done over 50 to 75 per cent of our normal business, our post-office receipts have fallen off very much. Another thing, when there is no business there is no use in advertising, and where ordinarily we might send out one or two hundred letters a day of advertising matter, we have been sending out very little of late. I regret to learn that we will probably go to "fourth class," but if we only get a change in the administration, revise our tariff laws, I am not at all alarmed but what we will get back into third class. The country would have been in a bad fix to-day in my opinion if the war in Europe hadn't caused us manufacturers to get busy, and I do most sincerely hope that the Republican Party will get back into power; if I can do anything to help the party here in New Jersey I am bound to do it.

—

I have most of my life been a Republican with medium rather than high-tariff ideas, as I think a very high tariff extensively applied would mean taxing the poor people rather than the rich, which is wrong.

There is no doubt, however, but what in the present condition of things we need tariffs to protect certain industries, which, without them, would languish. On the other hand there are some imports which should be taxed as little as possible to prevent poor people paying too high prices for their necessities.

In general, I have no doubt but that the best course to follow is to have a good nonpartisan tariff commission—if we can get a good one—to regulate all such taxation scientifically and logically.

In politics I am a Roosevelt man who rather expects to vote for Mr. Hughes, as we certainly should all pull together; and this seems the best way.

—

The writer believes we should have a tariff sufficiently high to keep out manufactured products from abroad; not only this, but we should most certainly have a strong dumping clause similar to the one in Canada, which will prevent shipments of materials to us, sold on a basis lower than the same materials would be sold in the home country. At the conclusion of the European war there is undoubtedly going to be a tremendous lot of scrap and other materials of iron thrown on the market at very low prices. We certainly should guard against any danger of these materials being dumped into the United States at low prices. If the submarine carried scrap iron as ballast, we presume all the steamers on the other side would be likely to carry cast-iron pipe on their first trip to this country, and we should like to see a tariff sufficiently high to prevent it. Roughly, living expenses I believe have gone up, say 105 per cent, and probably wages in our plants have gone up 40 to 45 per cent in the last 10 years.

—

I have your favor of the 13th instant and regret very much that the time is too short to allow me to get any facts or figures together that would be of real value. However, roughly speaking, would state that we commenced to feel the effect of importations in our line of product from abroad, from April 1, 1914, to October 1 of that year. From October on to about the middle of January, 1915, we experienced a period of considerable dullness and depression, due to the uncertainty and hesitancy caused by the outbreak of the war. About the middle of January, however, business commenced to improve, and has been steadily increasing up to the present time. Just now we are running at the top notch of our capacity and almost entirely on domestic orders. We find that the volume of our sales for the first half of 1916 is equal to practically the entire volume of sales for the year 1914, and the rate of wage and average weekly pay roll to-day is almost 50 per cent greater than in 1914. There have been several advances in wages this year and the present rate is at a figure which could not possibly be sustained in the event of a resumption of foreign importations and the consequent competing with low-priced foreign labor costs.

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In reply to your letter of July 7, would state that our case is exactly parallel with the dye people. Before the European war there was little or no scientific glassware made in this country. The absolute cessation of all European importation in scientific glassware created conditions in America that were startling. Supplies were running entirely out for hospitals, boards of health, and educational institutions, and it was upon their solicitation that glass manufacturers of this country went into the question of the manufacture of glassware for scientific purposes. This meant to them that entirely new plants had to be built and equipped for this especial purpose. Workmen had to be schooled in a technique wholly new to them, all of which required a great outlay of money and time. The result of this is that American manufacturers are to-day supplying the entire demand from the hospitals, governmental, educational, and industrial laboratories. Now there is existing and has been for 30 years a duty-free clause for educational and industrial institutions, which allows the entry into America of glassware made under conditions that it is absolutely impossible for American manufacturers to compete with or exist under. Of course at the present time we are protected from these conditions by the war, but we are confronted in the West by Japanese importations of ware made under even more impossible conditions from a labor standpoint than in European countries. We shall not only be up against absolutely free trade in the scientific-glassware markets but are now threatened with a Japanese invasion of ware that will be even worse than European competitions. It is needless for us to explain to you that American manufacturers who employ nothing but high-priced labor in scientific-glassware plants and who have stepped into the breach to prevent what would have been a calamity to the entire medical, surgical, and chemical professions, want to be protected by at least the abolition of this duty-free clause and by a tariff that will enable them to continue in business

after the war. The present union scale of wages for lamp blowers on laboratory glassware is from $3.50 to $6 per day. Lamp workers make approximately the same under the union scale.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT THEN?

After the European war is over this country is going to face a world competition which will make intelligent handling of the tariff an imperative necessity, if we are going to meet this competition successfully.

We will be flooded with merchandize from abroad, for that is the only thing the nations at war will be able to pay their debts with; they will have no money to spare, and they will have to sell their goods where they can get the most money for them.

Probably never before was it so easy to sell goods, get credit, find a job, or get an increase of salary than it is at the present time. How long this sunny condition will last or to what heights it will go, no one can foretell with any degree of accuracy; just one thing is certain, and that is that it will not last forever, and wise is the man who sets something aside from the prosperity which he is now enjoying, for to that extent he is going to be the winner no matter what happens.

It is truthfully said that enormously as the country has profited in money as the result of the European war, it may be doubted whether to-day we can point to a single benefit that has come to us in the two years with confidence that it is permanent and substantial.

At no time in the country's history has there been a greater need for cooperation between capital and labor. What may be in store for us industrially after the war is over our wisest statesmen or business men can not forsee. That the world will witness an industrial upheaval is not doubted. We do know that great changes will take place and that the best thought and effort of a united people will be necessary for the preservation of our industrial welfare.

INCOME TAX AND INHERITANCE TAX.

When all other means of revenue fail the Democratic Party proceeds to double the tax on the living and on the dead.

The Democratic Party is exceedingly fond of taking the credit for the adoption of an income tax. They fail to remember, however, or at least to tell about it, that the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States—which provides for the adoption of an income tax—was submitted to the legislatures of the several States by a resolution of Congress, being Senate joint resolution No. 40, by Mr. Aldrich, a Republican, passed on July 12, 1909, at which time there was a Republican majority in both the House and Senate, and signed by President Taft. The vote on the amendment was practically unanimous, only seven votes in the whole House being recorded against it. The thirty-sixth State to ratify the amendment—the necessary number for its adoption—was Wyoming, on February 3, 1913. New Jersey and New Mexico ratified it on February 5, 1913, and the announcement of the ratification was made by the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, on the 25th day of February, 1913. Four States ratified the amendment subsequent to the announcement made by Mr. Bryan.

There was, therefore, nothing left for the Democratic Party to do but to follow out the directions thus given it and formulate a plan for the collection of an income tax. This they did, and hailed it as the greatest piece of constructive legislation that had ever been enacted. It was a panacea for all revenue ills, and, used in conjunction with the Underwood tariff bill, it would reduce the cost of living and yield more than a sufficient sum to take care of the Government's expenditures.

Evidently they were mistaken, for in the present bill they increase the normal tax on incomes and the tax on corporations from the present rate of 1 per cent to 2 per cent, with a proportionate increase in the surtax.

I favor a just and equitable income tax, for I believe that an income tax is nothing more or less than a tax on brains. The greater one's brain power the more tax one is obliged to pay, and, conversely, if your brain is small, your tax is small.

And it is well to note that the greatest amount of revenue from income tax comes from those States north of the Mason and Dixon line. Four States—New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts—paid more than $75,000,000 of the $124,867,429 in income taxes turned into the National Treasury during the fiscal year of 1916, which ended June 30. A table issued by the Treasury Department of payments by internal revenue districts shows that New York alone paid $45,230,579, and that the greatest percentage of increase which raised the total from the $80,000,000 collected last year came from the four States headed by New York.

It is very interesting, indeed, to hear some Members, coming from that part of the country which yields the least return on incomes, tell how they are for an increased income tax because it removes the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the farmer and laborer and places it upon the shoulders of the millionaire, the capitalist, the banker, and those of like means. Show me the farmer and laborer who can truthfully say that his taxes have been any less since the advent of the income tax? Show me, also, if you can, the man or woman who is not willing to pay a just tax for the privilege of being classed among those who have "brains"? I know of no farmer, mechanic, or laborer who would not be willing to pay a tax of $20 for an income of $1,000 over and above the exemptions and deductions allowed under the income-tax law. The adoption of an income-tax law was the logical evolution of an economic necessity; it would have been written on the statute books no matter what party was in power; there was no choice; the amendment was adopted by a Republican Congress and was ratified by more than three-fourths of the States; there was no alternative for the Democrats but to carry out the instructions thus placed upon them.

No man, no matter what his avocation may be, wants to be relieved of paying his just share of taxes for the maintenance of the Government. Throw around American citizens the mantle of protection so that their labors and their efforts will bring them a just return and you will find them ever willing and ready to pay their share of the burden. To exempt them from paying an income tax will not reconcile them to meeting the free-trade and cheap-labor competition of the Underwood Tariff. I have great respect for the intelligence of the farmer—the most independent of Americans. I respect, also, the keen intellect of the American mechanic and laborer, and, if I am any judge of human nature, both these classes of American citizens, as well as every other class, will know how to vote at the coming election for the proper protection of their interests.

DEMOCRATIC PROTECTION (?)

The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee appeals to our patriotism for support of the bill, and supplements that plea with the statement that it ought to have our entire approval because it contains certain provisions that are sufficiently Republican in character to command our respect.

These items are: A duty on dyestuffs, which is not in accordance with the ideas of the dyestuffs experts. It is limited in its operation or application to a certain period after the war, and it will by no means give the dyestuff industry in this country the protection it needs for its industrial development.

Another item of a supposedly Republican nature is the antidumping clause, which provides that it shall be unlawful for any person importing or assisting in importing any articles from any foreign country into the United States, to commonly and systematically sell or cause to be sold such articles within the United States at a price substantially less than the actual market value or wholesale price of such articles at the time of exportation to the United States in the principal markets of the country of their production, after adding to such market value or wholesale price freight, duty, and other charges incident to the importation and sale of such articles in the United States.

The second congressional district of New Jersey is, perhaps, not a tremendously heavy industrial center, yet there are a number of industries therein of considerable importance in their respective lines, among which are glass factories; boot and shoe factories; factories for the manufacture of wire rope, cable, fence wire, and so forth; woodworking machinery; machine tools; cast-iron pipe, hydrants, fittings, and other water-power supplies; gas engines; and much other merchandise of a similar character.

Can anyone imagine the manufacturers of these goods selling their output at a price to compete with the cheap labor of the markets of Europe? Does anyone suppose that they could get the necessary mechanics and laborers to work for such wages as are paid to similar tradesmen in foreign countries? Whatever good there might be in this antidumping clause is taken from it by the proviso which places upon American manufacturers the burden of proving that such act or acts as described in the clause is done with the intent of destroying or injuring an industry in the United States or of preventing the establishment of an industry in the United States or of restraining or monopolizing any part of trade and commerce in such articles in the United States. We must rely solely upon the veracity of the European manufacturer as to whether or not his intention of sending his goods into the United States at a price substantially less than the actual cost, plus the cost of freight, and so forth, is for the purpose of destroying or injuring an industry in this country.

The next item in the bill which is supposed to appeal to the Republican Members of the House is that providing for a tariff commission. After legislating out of office a Republican tariff

commission by failing to provide an appropriation for its continuance on the ground that it would be only a waste of money, and that anyway such a commission was not needed, the Democratic Party now seeks our support for a so-called nonpartisan tariff board. From the very nature of things any tariff commission appointed by President Wilson would be a partisan free-trade body, if we are to judge by his appointments to the other nonpartisan boards and commissions that have come into being under his administration. I am, and always have been, in favor of a permanent tariff commission, but I would not want to see such a commission made up of a set of men who are dyed-in-the-wool tariff-for-revenue-only advocates.

The bill as originally prepared by the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee provided that no person should be eligible for appointment on the tariff board who had been elected or served in the House of Representatives or Senate of the United States, nor should any member of the board be engaged in any other business, function, or employment. This excluded from service on the commission the only men who are really qualified to act in the capacity of tariff experts. The absurdity of this provision was recognized by many of the Democrats, who supported the amendment offered by Mr. LONGWORTH striking out the clause which prohibited ex-Members of Congress from serving on the commission.

A FORECAST.

Mr. Speaker, on the 7th day of November next the Democratic Party and the Democratic administration will be called up before the voters of the United States to be judged for its four years of errors of omission and commission. What will be the verdict of the people? Will they vote to return to the conditions of business stagnation and industrial depression, that prevailed throughout the country before the European war came to our rescue, by returning Mr. Wilson and his followers to power? I think not. They are going to put in power in his stead Mr. Charles Evans Hughes and a Republican Congress that is consecrated to the principles of protection for American industries and American labor.

## To Provide Service Honor Flags to Volunteer Soldiers Now on Service Along the Mexican Border.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. CAPSTICK,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. CAPSTICK. Mr. Speaker, in the introduction of this resolution I have in mind the accomplishment of three things:

First. To convey to the soldiers some lasting material evidence that their high patriotism is appreciated and taken into account by the Government, aside from the financial considerations involved.

Second. To in a measure fittingly recognize their relatives for the sacrifices being made in so many homes all over our land by reason of the absence of one of the household.

Third. To add another incentive to stimulate enlistments in the reserve forces upon which we must rely in times of emergency.

The men comprising the Volunteer Army along the border a few short weeks ago were engaged in the daily pursuit of peaceful occupations. Such had been their lives for years. Now they are a warlike organization. They are not warlike in spirit, but should circumstances require it, I feel confident they will all be true to our Nation's traditions. Meanwhile they are preparing. Incidentally they must withstand the midsummer heat of a tropical sun and the other discomforts of the climate and changed conditions. To these they will adapt themselves, but before this is attained there will be yearnings and homesickness. I am not trying to paint a doleful picture. I merely mention these things as reasons for the resolution I have offered.

Its provisions are designed to give to these soldiers inducement and encouragement to remain constant to the cause they have sworn to uphold and defend. In the long hours of night picket duty they can think with satisfaction of the pride felt by the folks at home each morning when they unfurl the "service honor flag," proclaiming abroad that "Here is the home of a true son doing his patriotic duty." In the burning hours of the day, whether on drill or unengaged, they can recall, with a thrill of pleasure, the memories and thoughts that flag constantly suggests to relatives and friends alike.

In homes all over our land is being cherished some token or souvenir associated with an event of bygone days in which some member of the household participated. Why can not this generation increase that highly prized little store with a token of how these men creditably acquitted themselves during these trying times? Why would not a souvenir, as indicated in the resolution, be a fitting one? I feel it would be carefully preserved and would materially quicken the patriotic impulses of our children's children.

It is my earnest hope and prayer that the present emergency will pass without the necessity of firing another shot or going a step farther across the Rio Grande. Let the termination come with honor and no relinquishment of any of our rights. Have it fully understood that the limit of our endurance has been reached and we will avenge with force any violation of the sanctity of our sovereignty as a liberty and peace loving people.

## The Revenue Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK PARK,

OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, the necessity for the passage of this great revenue bill grows out of the demand by the people of the country that Congress make provision for adequate preparedness. The extraordinary increases in the appropriations for the Army and Navy and fortifications of our country required the enactment of a revenue law to provide the money necessary to meet these additional appropriations. It will be noted that the section of the United States most concerned about our having a large Army and Navy will be required, under this law, to pay the principal part of the tax. By increasing the tax on surplus incomes, levying a tax on large estates and war-munition plants this additional revenue needed by the Government will be raised. In this way the burden will not fall on those least able to bear tax burdens, but the increase will come from sources that have not heretofore contributed their just portion to the support of the Government.

This bill provides for an enlarged income-tax law; doubles the present normal tax and levies an additional or surtax beginning with 1 per cent on incomes of $20,000 and increasing up to 10 per cent on annual incomes of $500,000 and over. It also proposes an increase in the normal tax on incomes and the tax on corporations from the present rate of 1 per cent to 2 per cent. The following table shows the tax rates imposed in lieu of the present income-tax law:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 per cent additional on incomes over $20,000 and not exceeding | $40,000 |
| 2 per cent additional on incomes over $40,000 and not exceeding | 60,000 |
| 3 per cent additional on incomes over $60,000 and not exceeding | 80,000 |
| 4 per cent additional on incomes over $80,000 and not exceeding | 100,000 |
| 5 per cent additional on incomes over $100,000 and not exceeding | 150,000 |
| 6 per cent additional on incomes over $150,000 and not exceeding | 200,000 |
| 7 per cent additional on incomes over $200,000 and not exceeding | 250,000 |
| 8 per cent additional on incomes over $250,000 and not exceeding | 300,000 |
| 9 per cent additional on incomes over $300,000 and not exceeding | 500,000 |
| 10 per cent additional on incomes over $500,000. | |

The bill leaves the income exemption at $3,000 for unmarried persons and $4,000 for married persons, or heads of families. It is estimated that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, the income tax proposed by this measure will yield $227,000,000, or $107,000,000 more than would be received by the Government under the rates provided in the present law. Provision is also made for levying a Federal estate tax upon inheritances in excess of $50,000. Deductions are allowed for all valid claims against the estate from the gross value of the estate in addition to the exemption of $50,000 in determining the value of the estate. These taxes are levied as follows:

One per cent of the amount of the net estate not in excess of $50,000.

Two per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $50,000 and does not exceed $150,000.

Three per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $150,000 and does not exceed $250,000.

Four per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $250,000 and does not exceed $450,000.

Five per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $450,000.

This revenue bill further provides for a tax upon the manufacturers of munitions of war. It is estimated that the munitions tax will yield during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, $71,000,000.

This bill also provides for a nonpartisan tariff commission, free from political control, so much desired by the business world, which will greatly change the method of making tariffs.

About $30,000,000,000 of the wealth of the country is owned by New York. Prior to the enactment of this income-tax law at least half of this huge amount escaped the tax assessor, whereas the taxgatherer seldom fails to find all available assets of the one-horse farmer. What little he possesses is easily found, and he is heavily burdened with taxes. The enormous estates that have grown up in this country by the thousands, which pay practically nothing to the Government, while exacting much from the Government, should bear their proportionate share of the burden of taxation.

I insert the following statement showing the amount of revenue raised last year by the income and inheritance tax law:

| | Amount collected. |
|---|---|
| Alabama and Mississippi | $177,440.00 |
| Arkansas | 44,278.00 |
| Florida | 133,560.00 |
| Georgia | 199,546.00 |
| North Carolina | 175,922.00 |
| Oklahoma | 489,415.00 |
| South Carolina | 76,250.00 |
| Tennessee | 207,316.00 |
| Louisiana | 296,341.00 |
| Kentucky | 165,109.00 |
| New York | 30,286,607.61 |
| Pennsylvania | 6,312,204.29 |
| Massachusetts | 4,193,873.48 |

When it became evident that a new tax levy would have to be made, I opposed any plan that would add this additional burden to the already overtaxed poor. I appealed to Congress last year to repeal the iniquitous stamp-tax law for this same reason. It is a pleasant realization to know that I have contributed my part as a representative of the people in providing this bill which raises over $200,000,000 for adequately preparing our country for defense purposes without calling upon the masses of the people to pay one dollar of it.

## Genuine Protection by the Present Democratic Administration for the Producers and Consumers of Butter.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MICHAEL E. BURKE,
OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, April 27, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege of extending my remarks I desire to present a brief review of the splendid record made by the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, under the direction and administration of the Hon. William H. Osborn, Commissioner of Internal Revenue during the present administration, in the enforcement of the oleomargarine laws, and in the protection of the producers and consumers of genuine butter.

We have under consideration to-day the bill H. R. 12717, a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes. Among the laws of greatest importance to the agricultural industry of this Nation are the oleomargarine laws and their enforcement. It is proper that there should be presented in connection with the consideration of this important bill a history and a review of the administration of those laws under the present Democratic administration by the present honorable Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Hon. William H. Osborn.

Let me observe in the beginning that this is one of the largest appropriation bills that receives consideration and action by Congress each year. This year it contains an appropriation for expenditures during the year commencing July 1, 1916, and ending June 30, 1917, of the sum of $24,501,093, exclusive of permanent annual appropriations, which is an increase of $1,529,311 over the appropriations for the current fiscal year. Congress has during each year of this Democratic administration increased the annual appropriations to be expended by the Agricultural Department.

For the year commencing June 30, 1914, there was appropriated $17,986,945; for the year commencing July 1, 1915, $19,865,832; for the year commencing July 1, 1916, $22,971,582. This is ample evidence that the agricultural interests of this Nation are being treated amply and liberally by a Democratic Congress. While our Republican friends frequently charge—unjustly, however—this Democratic Congress with being extravagant in many directions in the expenditure of the public funds, yet from no source have we ever heard any complaint or any charge of extravagance in the matter of appropriations for the Agricultural Department. Neither have we heard any complaint that such appropriations have not been sufficient for the proper transaction of the duties of that department and the promotion of the welfare of our agricultural interests. The history of our country proves conclusively that the Democratic Party always has been the friend of the farmers, and there is every reason for the farmers of this country having in the future as in the past confidence of receiving liberal treatment whenever the Democratic Party is in power.

STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF OLEOMARGARINE LAWS DURING PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

The record of the present Bureau of Internal Revenue, Commissioner William H. Osborn, in the enforcement of the oleomargarine laws during his administration, commencing on the 4th day of March, 1913, is not only interesting but a splendid and admirable record, entitling the honorable commissioner of this administration to the gratitude and admiration of both the producer and consumer of genuine butter. It is a record of which the honorable commissioner, as well as the administration, may feel gratified and honored. It is one which has never been equaled by any commissioner of that bureau. It is one for which the creamery and butter farmers of the Nation have reason to feel grateful.

The present oleomargarine law and its proper enforcement is of the greatest value and importance to the dairy farmers of all the Northern States, and especially to the State of Wisconsin, which I have the honor in part to represent.

In 1915 Wisconsin produced 203,727,000 pounds of condensed milk from 464,000,000 pounds of whole milk. It also produced 182,000,000 pounds of cheese and 130,000,000 pounds of butter during the season. Expressed in another form, 1,700,000 dairy cows in Wisconsin in 1915 produced sufficient milk, in addition to their other products, so that at every tick of the clock the condenseries were able to turn out 65 pounds of condensed milk, the cheese factories 5½ pounds of cheese, and the creameries 4.2 pounds of butter. Wisconsin produces over one-half of the cheese produced in the country, and for many years it has led in the production of butter. It has the honor of being the largest productive dairy State in the Union.

I have the honor of representing the largest productive dairy district in the United States, and in my district—consisting of six counties—there are situated 10 condenseries, 350 cheese factories, and 107 creameries; besides large quantities of excellent dairy butter are made by individuals and placed upon the market. It therefore is perhaps fitting as the Representative of such a district that I should undertake to submit in my humble way to House and the country a brief review of the efforts of the administration in enforcing the oleomargarine laws during the present administration.

ORIGIN OF PRESENT OLEOMARGARINE LAWS.

It may be urged that it was most appropriate for this Democratic administration to strictly uphold and enforce the oleomargarine laws. Those laws are of Democratic origin. The original oleomargarine laws were enacted in 1894, by being passed by a Democratic Congress and approved by a Democratic President, Hon. Grover Cleveland. Perhaps it has required Democratic officials at the head of the Internal-Revenue Bureau to recognize the merits of these Democratic laws, for during 16 years of Republican administrations preceding the present Democratic administration these laws were left in a state of innocuous desuetude.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE OLEOMARGARINE LAW BY PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

To the use of radical statements in the consideration of legislative matters President Cleveland was not addicted. He was known as a conservative man, and not given over to radical statements. Therefore I am sure that his remarks in justification of the passage of the oleomargarine bill will be of interest to those who have been and are now trying to produce oleomargarine at the expense of butter. I quote from Mr. Cleveland's message to Congress:

The Constitution has invested Congress with a very wide legislative discretion, both as to the necessity of taxation and the selection of the objects of its burdens.

Those who desire to see removed the weight of taxation now pressing upon the people from other directions may well be justified in the hope and expectation that the selection of an additional subject of internal taxation so well able to bear it will in consistency be followed by legislation relieving our citizens from other numerous burdens by the passage of this bill, even more than heretofore unnecessary and needlessly oppressive.

Referring to the Cassandra wail, then as now ascending, he said:

I am convinced that the taxes which it creates can not possibly destroy the open and legitimate manufacture and sale of the thing upon which it is levied. If the article has the merit which its friends claim for it, and if the people of the land, with full knowledge of its real character, desire to purchase and use it, the taxes exacted by this bill will permit a fair profit to both manufacturer and dealer. If the existence of the commodity taxed and the profits of its manufacture and sale depend upon disposing of it to the people for something which it deceitfully imitates, the entire enterprise is a fraud and not an industry.

Not the least important incident related to this legislation is the defense afforded to the consumer against the fraudulent substitution and sale of an imitation for a genuine article of food of very general household use. Notwithstanding the immense quantity of the article described in the bill, and notwithstanding the claims made that its manufacture supplies a cheap substitute for butter, I venture to say that hardly a pound ever entered a poor man's house under its real name and in its true character.

OLEOMARGARINE FRAUDS EXPOSED AND FINES COLLECTED.

During the administration of Mr. Osborn widespread violations of the oleomargarine law, extending over the entire 13 years that the present law has been on the statute books, and resulting in the loss of uncounted millions of dollars in revenue to the United States Government in the past, have been effectively checked by a sweeping investigation and vigorous prosecution by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. The comprehensive scope of the investigation and its startling results up to this time were announced in a preliminary report recently submitted by Commissioner Osborn, which has been briefly summarized as follows by the Treasury Department:

As far as estimates can be made, the Federal Treasury has lost at least $27,000,000 in stamps and special taxes through these frauds during the period mentioned. These figures alone show that since 1902 more than 200,000,000 pounds of colored oleomargarine have been manufactured and fraudulently sold as uncolored oleomargarine or as butter. It is believed that a great proportion of this product reached consumers as butter. This amount represents more than twice the average yearly consumption of both colored and uncolored oleomargarine by the people of the United States since the present law went into effect.

Approximately 185,000,000 pounds of this 200,000,000 pounds were sold by oleomargarine manufacturers to dealers as uncolored oleomargarine, and then, in many cases, sold to the ultimate consumer as butter. The remaining 15,000,000 pounds were made by butter manufacturers and sold as butter without the payment of any tax.

The commissioner has already recovered and deposited in the Treasury $851,000, with the prospect of further very large collections. Forty-two violators have been convicted since January 1, 1915, 29 of whom have been sentenced to terms in prison ranging from 30 days to 3½ years. Total fines of $148,000 have been imposed.

These fines are exclusive of the recoveries mentioned above. Ten other of the more flagrant violators of the law are under indictment awaiting trial. In addition there are many smaller criminal cases pending in the courts.

While the facts set forth in the commissioner's preliminary report relate primarily to oleomargarine frauds developed during the past year, the activities of the bureau during the past two full fiscal years have resulted in the detection of a total of approximately 6,000 frauds or illegal practices of this character. As a consequence of this rigid enforcement of the statute, the receipts of the Government from oleomargarine taxes during these two years have been the greatest in the history of the law, more than 24 per cent of the total collections of oleomargarine taxes from 1902 to 1915 being received during the fiscal years 1914 and 1915.

Among the larger cases are the following:

One company, whose president and treasurer pleaded guilty and were sentenced to one year and one day in the penitentiary and to pay a fine of $1,000 each, and whose plant was seized, has been assessed $798,696.

Another concern, six of whose officials and employees pleaded guilty and were fined an aggregate of $8,000, and whose plant was seized, has been assessed $612,391.

In St. Louis 34 persons were convicted, 27 being given prison sentences, and fined a total of $138,000.

In another city one manufacturer was assessed by the commissioner $32,000 special and stamp taxes on account of the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine colored with tumeric, which has been paid. As it appeared that he was ignorant of the fact that the oils used contained tumeric, the United States attorney reported that criminal proceedings could not be sustained.

One company, whose president, treasurer, and secretary are under indictment on charges of oleomargarine frauds, and whose plant was seized, has been assessed $916,523 for evaded taxes.

Another concern, whose president and secretary-treasurer likewise have been indicted, and whose plant was seized, has been assessed $193,413.

A company, five of whose officers or agents are under indictment and whose plant was seized and sold by the Government, has been assessed $2,090,027.

These are the more striking cases developed since May 1, 1914, and, as stated above, the Treasury Department will take steps to recover all taxes due in each case.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO OLEOMARGARINE FROM THE 1915 ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

The operations in oleomargarine for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, show a slight increase over the preceding fiscal year, there being reported produced 138,214,907 pounds of the uncolored and 7,595,141 pounds of the artificially colored product, or a total of 145,810,048 pounds of both classes, compared with 137,637,054 pounds of the uncolored and 6,384,222 pounds of the colored product, making a total of 144,021,276 pounds of both classes produced during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914.

From these figures it will be noted there was an increase during the fiscal year 1915 of 577,853 pounds of uncolored and 1,210,919 pounds of the artificially colored goods, or a total net increase of 1,788,772 pounds in the two classes over the previous year.

During 1915 there were withdrawn, tax paid at one-fourth cent, 137,693,610 pounds, and 3,753,012 pounds tax paid at 10 cents, as against 137,747,982 pounds and 3,831,706 pounds of the two classes, respectively, in the previous year, or a net decrease of 54,392 pounds in the uncolored and 78,694 pounds in the colored product, making a total net decrease of 133,086 pounds in the withdrawals of the product tax paid in both classes.

In 1915 the withdrawals for export amounted to 31,172 pounds uncolored; 3,081,356 pounds of colored goods—a total of 3,112,528 pounds, or an increase of 968,826 pounds over the previous year in these items.

There were withdrawn free of tax for use of the United States in 1915 a total of 734,030 pounds of artificially colored oleomargarine and none of the uncolored product, as against a total of 579,360 pounds of both classes in 1914, or an increase of 154,670 pounds in the withdrawals for this purpose during the past year.

The collections from oleomargarine sources during the fiscal year 1915 amounted to a total of $1,695,256.95 as against a total of $1,325,219.13 in 1914. Of this amount $761,200.63 was from stamp tax at 10 cents per pound; $347,141.81 from stamp tax at one-fourth cent; $586,914.51 special taxes of manufacturers and of wholesale and retail dealers in the two classes, this being an increase of $341,326.49 in stamp taxes at 10 cents per pound, $3,229.65 from stamp tax at one-fourth cent, and $25,481.68 from special taxes of manufacturers and dealers, or a total net increase in collections from all oleomargarine taxes of $370,037.82 in 1915.

These figures do not include amounts collected by compromise in cases growing out of violations of the oleomargarine law on account of the manufacture and sale of the product without payment of special and stamp taxes, or on account of placing the product on the market as uncolored goods under one-fourth cent stamp or as butter, without payment of any tax thereon, and thus evading tax at the rate of 10 cents which was due on the artifically colored product so manufactured and sold.

The investigations instituted and conducted into oleomargarine violations during 1914 were continued with renewed energy during 1915 with gratifying results, as a number of the largest cases involving extensive frauds in stamp taxes due, in which investigations were begun the latter part of the preceding year, were completed and additional new cases of lesser importance discovered during the current year.

The total amount of taxes out of which the Government had been defrauded on account of artifically colored oleomargarine being placed on the market under stamps at one-fourth cent instead of at the rate of 10 cents per pound due on such product in four of the largest cases of this character ever discovered were definitely determined during 1915, and the sum found due reached the enormous total of $17,692,410.47, representing the tax on practically all of the oleomargarine produced and placed on the market as uncolored oleomargarine under the one-fourth cent stamp by the manufacturers in question since the inception of the present law on July 1, 1902.

In addition to the completion of these four cases, one other case was discovered during the current fiscal year where the amount out of which the Government had been defrauded amounted to $1,503,203.30, which sum represented the tax of 10 cents per pound on the product manufactured for a period of six years that these frauds had continued undetected, and during which time all of the product in this case was placed on the market as butter without payment of any tax. These five cases alone involved a total of $19,195,613.77 stamp tax due the Government, which figures do not include special taxes of dealers incurred on account of the purchase and sale of the product.

Of this latter amount only $4,611,051.83 was within the assessable period of two years, the remainder being collected only by suit. Assessments of stamp taxes to this amount were made on suits instituted to recover the balance, or such portion thereof as might be possible, and during the fiscal year 1915 there had been collected approximately $751,000 from these five cases and arrangements perfected whereby further recoveries of these taxes are expected to be made within the next fiscal year.

The principal officers and employees of the companies involved in the above-mentioned frauds were indicted, and in three cases

where trials have been held all were convicted or plead guilty and received sentences of fines or imprisonment, or both.

In addition to these cases a large number of violations involving illicit coloration of white oleomargarine and sale of the product without payment of tax at 10 cents per pound due, and in many instances as and for butter, and of other infractions of the law, were discovered during 1915 and prosecutions instituted in all of these cases where the facts warranted such action.

Convictions upon trial by jury or pleas of guilty have been secured in every case tried since January 1, 1915. A summary of this work shows a total of 2,777 violations discovered during 1915 involving 2,411 persons, as against 2,704 violations involving 2,327 persons reported during 1914. These violations reported during 1915 were against 75 persons as manufacturers, 95 as wholesale dealers, and 2,241 as retail dealers.

DEMOCRATIC PROTECTION OF BUTTER.

Far more important than any tariff that may be imposed upon butter imports is the protection of the American farmer butter maker and creamery man from the fraudulent competition of oleomargarine and other substitutes for butter. For years this sort of competition has been going on, notwithstanding a statute sufficient, if enforced, to protect the American farmer. Great losses have been sustained by the American farmer through want of the enforcement of this law. Those Republican partisans who are now singing in chorus the calamity howl, for 16 years sat idly by winking at the fierce competition to which the American butter makers were forced by the Beef and Oleomargarine Trusts, and never once did they raise their hand to protect the American butter maker against this sort of competition.

Since the Department of Justice has been in charge of a Democratic administration the American farmer has witnessed the doing of things for his protection against those who would compete with him by fraud and deception.

Take the case of John F. Jelke, the millionaire oleomargarine manufacturer, convicted on the 4th day of May, 1914, in the United States district court at Chicago, and sentenced by Judge F. A. Geiger to serve two years in the Federal penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and fined $10,000 for conspiring to defraud the United States Government of taxes on oleomargarine, the sentence imposed upon him being the maximum under the law.

Nine of the associates and employees of this oleomargarine manufacturer, Jelke, were fined $2,500 each for conspiring with him in the perpetration of oleomargarine frauds.

It is true that Jelke was indicted under the Taft administration late in the summer of 1911. After commencing the prosecution of this millionaire manufacturer who had colored white oleomargarine and sold it without paying the Federal tax, Federal suits were started by the Government during the Taft administration in Chicago, to recover $800,000 in oleomargarine tax from this violator of the law. When the case was gone into on preliminary examination, it was found that the oleomargarine manufacturer, the J. F. Jelke Co., owed the Government over $2,000,000 in oleomargarine taxes which they failed to pay the Government, instead of $800,000, which Secretary of the Treasury MacVeagh, a Republican Cabinet Member, had compromised for $101,000. Upon the coming into power of the Wilson administration the proposed compromise with this millionaire violator of the oleomargarine law was set aside.

Commissioner Osborn, the present faithful Demoratic Commissioner of Internal Revenue, is pushing the investigation of these cases of violation of the oleomargarine laws for the collection of $2,000,000 that was overlooked by Commissioner Cabell and Secretary MacVeagh, under the Taft administration, and a Democratic Department of Justice has commenced proceedings to recover the same.

The butter interests of the country owe a debt of gratitude to the present Democratic administration in bringing the facts concerning these cases out in the open and showing up the unfaithful officials under the Taft administration who had sworn to perform their duties to the American people, but were caught compromising with the oleomargarine manufacturers who had gouged the Government out of $2,000,000, and were allowing them to be let off criminally and financially with the payment of only $101,000. A sentence of this oleomargarine manufacturer of two years in the United States penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, and the payment of a fine of $10,000, will go further toward purifying the butter markets of the country of spurious and fraudulent butter competition than all the tariff duties that can be piled upon imported butter.

This is only one conspicuous example of what the present Democratic administration has done in trying to stamp out this fraudulent competition on the part of oleomargarine manufacturers against real butter produced by the genuine farmer. There are many other examples or cases of prosecution started to punish oleomargarine offenders which time and space forbid to specify at this time. Such work is the kind of protection this Democratic administration is giving the real butter makers of the country. If oleomargarine were made to stand upon its own bottom, the genuine butter producers of this country would need have absolutely no fear of foreign competition.

This is one of the few instances in which a millionaire has been sentenced to prison for violating the law. It will have a far more reaching effect in protecting the farmer from such fraudulent competition than a thousand ordinary sentences by fine for such violations, and it will have a most wholesome effect.

There is now pending similar criminal prosecutions against the Moxley Oleomargarine Co., of Chicago, who are slated to be tried on a similar charge. For years the farmers have been complaining of the looseness and lack of enforcement of the law when violated by oleomargarine manufacturers, but this is the first administration in the history of that law in which violators have been given the stern sentence of imprisonment. This is genuine protection for the farmer.

ENFORCEMENT OF OLEOMARGARINE LAW BY JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT.

The Judiciary Department of the present Democratic administration has shown an active and particular interest in the protection of the butter interests of the country. Before this administration the enforcement of the laws controlling and regulating oleomargarine was considerable of a joke and produced insignificant results. A sample of the interest taken by this administration in the welfare of the farmer is shown by its vigorous prosecution of John F. Jelke, a millionaire oleomargarine manufacturer, who was convicted on the 4th of May last, in the United States district court at Chicago, for various violations of the oleomargarine laws. He was given the maximum penalty and sentenced to serve two years in the Federal penitentiary and pay a fine of $10,000 for conspiring to defraud the United States Government out of taxes on oleomargarine.

CLAIM THAT OLEOMARGARINE IS THE POOR MAN'S BUTTER IS FALSE.

The friends of oleomargarine in their attacks upon the present laws protecting genuine butter claim and pretend that oleomargarine is the poor man's butter, and that the present tax of 10 cents a pound upon oleomargarine when colored as butter is a discrimination and a hardship upon the working man and poorer class of people.

It may be stated here that at no time have the friends of butter objected to the sale of oleomargarine for what it really is. They demand, however, that oleomargarine should not be sold as a subterfuge and counterfeit of butter. When it is so sold, then it is sold as a counterfeit of butter and injurious to the butter interests of the country. No better answer to the claim that the present oleomargarine law is a discrimination against the poorer class of consumers and in favor of the dairy producers can be found than a statement made by Hon. James H. Maurer, president of the State Federation of Labor, and a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature for several terms, given to the secretary of the National Dairy Union, which is as follows:

For the past six years, or the three last legislative sessions of Pennsylvania, I opposed all proposed legislation which aimed to legalize the coloring of imitation butter by manufacturers or dealers. My objections are not based on any thought that coloring matter is unhealthful or that imitation butter is not fit for human consumption. My objection is solely an economic one. At present imitation butter, in its natural state, sells for from 18 to 22 cents a pound in Pennsylvania, while the genuine dairy product costs 36 cents a pound. The purer the imitation is, the whiter it is. If the manufacturers and dealers in the imitation article were permitted to color their product, the imitation would be complete, so much so that nothing short of an analysis would reveal its component parts. This is, at least, true of the great majority of consumers.

The imitation article, therefore, like any other imitation which closely resembles the genuine, comes in direct competition with it. Once we allow it to be colored, its price will begin to soar dangerously close to the real article, and, as a consequence, the consumer who is now buying oleomargarine or butterine for 20 cents a pound will pay the advanced price.

One thing sure, the farmer never could hope to compete with the manufacturers of the imitation article. As a result, many of the dairy farmers would be compelled to go out of the dairy business and turn their farms to raising something else. And just as fast as this happens, the price of the imitation article will rise until finally the great packing companies will have a monopoly, then the consumer will pay more for the imitation article than we are now paying for the genuine. Besides, the imitation will, most likely, not be as pure as it is now, if colored, because the purer the whiter, and the consumers know this. When colored, a certain amount of impure, foreign matter may be used and can not be detected by sight because of the coloring.

On the other hand, if the farmers can not find a profitable market for their milk and turn their farms to other products, it means the starving of their land, as fertilizers produced by cattle are the life of the soil.

Therefore, looking at the question from every angle possible, I can see but two reasons why some dealers and manufacturers want a law giving them the right to color their product in imitation of butter: One is to charge more for their product and the other is to give them a monopoly of the butter market.

Let oleomargarine and butterine and all other substitutes stand on their own feet and sell for what they are and not for what their manufacturers can make people believe they are.

EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION BY DAIRYMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

The faithful, honest, and efficient work of Commissioner of Internal Revenue William H. Osborn in discharging the duties of the important office committed to his trust is widely manifested by various State and county dairymen's associations throughout the country.

The same labor leader, in testifying before a committee of the Pennsylvania State Legislature a few years ago, said:

That if oleomargarine were colored it came into competition with the dairy cow—that the dairy cow could not stand up against such unfair competition, and if allowed in a few years we would have the same story repeated as we have in the beef business, and then we would pay the same price for oleomargarine that we are paying for good dairy butter to-day.

If this is the poor man's butter, give it to him uncolored, for he will buy it cheaper and better. Statistics show that in the State of Pennsylvania, where oleomargarine is required to be sold uncolored, that it is selling cheaper and better in quality and more of it than in any other State of the Union.

It is a well-known fact in manufacturing, and in many other businesses, that if one concern can practice dishonesty the others in order to meet the competition must follow similar tactics, and so it goes from bad to worse until to-day we are buying shoddy for wool, pasteboard for leather, loaded silks and hundreds of other imitations palmed off on the public as genuine articles at profitable prices to the dishonest manufacturers, but ruin to honest dealers and robbery to the consumers.

Further proof can be had from a letter written by Hon. James H. Maurer, president of the State Federation of Labor of Pennsylvania, to Samuel Gompers, in which he says, in concluding his letter, the following:

Therefore, looking at the question from every angle possible, I can see but two reasons why some dealers and manufacturers want a law giving them the right to color in imitation of butter their product—one is to charge more for their product and the other to give them a monopoly of the butter market.

Hon. James Foust, dairy and food commissioner of Pennsylvania, also says:

The oleomargarine sold in Pennsylvania now is practically white, and everyone who sells the product sells it for oleomargarine and at oleomargarine prices. All packages are marked, the places of business are placarded, and the consuming public know just what they are getting.

The practice which was conducted years ago of some unscrupulous dealers with wagons, claiming to be farmers and selling dairy butter, is a thing of the past.

The product is purer and more wholesome than it was when all sorts of schemes were devised to impart to it color or a tint by adding cottonseed oil and other oils, which depreciated its flavor and quality. This manipulation was only carried on by some manufacturers and was for the purpose of escaping the 10-cent tax on colored goods.

We are having practically no trouble in Pennsylvania now, and the consuming public is better satisfied with the flavor and quality of the product.

I desire to further add that we charge $100 a year for the privilege of selling oleomargarine at retail, and it is sold just as cheap in Pennsylvania as it is in any State in the Union, notwithstanding the license fee is paid; and the product is better than it is in States that permit the goods to be sold having a shade of yellow or that are tinted, for the reason that the yellow color is imparted to the product by the addition of cottonseed oil or other oils, which depreciate its quality and almost destroy its flavor.

At the annual convention of the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association held last December the following resolutions expressing the appreciation of the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association for the work done under the supervision of Commissioner Osborn were unanimously passed:

Whereas the Internal-Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Osborn, has effectively enforced the oleomargarine laws and thereby protected the dairy industry from much fraud and imposition from oleomargarine: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we, the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association, in our forty-fourth annual convention, extend to him our sincere appreciation of this splendid service; be it further

*Resolved*, That we believe the present oleomargarine law should be retained upon the statute books until a better and more comprehensive law can be secured.

At the 1915 annual convention of the Nebraska State Dairymen's Association the following resolutions were adopted:

Regardless of party affiliations, we hereby extend our sincere thanks to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Hon. William H. Osborn, for the careful and conscientious enforcement of the law regulating the oleomargarine traffic. The enforcement of the definite and specific laws now upon our statute books affords protection to the producers and consumers of this Nation.

We do not object to oleomargarine when uncolored and sold as oleomargarine; however, we realize that there must be a distinction between the two products, and we feel that a color line is the most logical way of making the distinction.

In various other States at their recent annual conventions State dairymen and county dairymen's associations have commended the good work of Commissioner Osborn in protecting the interests of both the producer and consumer of genuine butter.

FAIL TO LEARN AND OBEY.

Notwithstanding the strenuous campaign of exposure and prosecution waged by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the Judiciary Department of the United States against offending manufacturers of oleomargarine and their agents, the oleomargarine interests appear to have learned nothing, but are still actively and strenuously engaged in ways that are dark to undermine the interests of genuine butter producers and consumers. One would think that after the extensive exposures and prosecutions to which such interests have been subjected during the last three and one-half years there would be in the future compliance and obedience to such laws without prosecution. But the oleomargarine interests have everything to gain and nothing to lose by pursuing their past criminal and fraudulent policies. They have everything to gain in overcoming and undermining the present laws, which protect the producers and consumers of genuine butter. Their agents are more active in trying to undermine the butter interests of the country and prejudice it in the minds of the public than ever before.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 137.

On the 11th of February, 1916, there was introduced in the House of Representatives by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM] a resolution known as House joint resolution No. 137, the essence of which was the appointment by the Speaker of the House of Representatives of a committee of five Members of the House, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report, as speedily as practicable, whether conditions prevailing in the dairy industry seriously menace the property and health of the citizens of the United States; whether to the reasonable protection of the property and health of the United States it is necessary to establish Federal inspection of dairies, creameries, and so forth, and if so, then the best and most economic methods of enforcing such inspection and supervision.

This resolution on its face appeared fair and prompted many of the leading dairymen and dairy papers of the country to hasten to its support. Undoubtedly it was the expectation of the friends of this resolution that it would meet with vigorous opposition from the dairy interests of the country if its true purposes were made known. Such, however, was not the case, as is amply evidenced by the attitude of several important dairy papers, which at first failed to suspect its real objects. As proving that the dairy interests of the country were not opposed to this resolution, but, on the other hand, were supporting it, I herewith insert an article published last March in Hoard's Dairyman, published at Fort Atkinson, Wis., in my district, heartily approving of the purposes of House resolution 137.

In this connection I desire to say that Hoard's Dairyman is one of the oldest, one of the best edited, and most experienced dairy papers to be found in the United States, and carries the largest number of subscribers of any dairy paper to be found in this country. It was founded by Hon. W. D. Hoard, one of the most distinguished editors of dairy papers that America has produced. Under his investigations, experiments, experience, and wisdom the great dairy interests of the Northwest have been built up and placed on a solid and prosperous foundation.

He has done more to further the development of the dairy interests in the North, and especially the Northwest, than any man living. His work is so well known and appreciated in the State of Wisconsin that in 1915, when the governor of the State was invited by the San Francisco Exposition to name Wisconsin's greatest citizen, a board appointed by the governor of that State, composed of distinguished citizens, unanimously selected ex-Gov. Hoard as Wisconsin's greatest and most famous citizen.

He has always stood true and loyal to the dairy interests of the State. He has always kept abreast of the times. He has always advocated progressive ideas in the dairy business, and he has not been afraid to condemn whenever he found it necessary those dairymen of the country who were slack, unclean, and insanitary in their business.

As showing that the dairy interests of this country, at whose head stands Hoard's Dairyman, are in favor of any reasonable set of laws or regulations which will insure and enable consumers of milk and dairy products to obtain pure and sanitary dairy products, I insert the following article commenting favorably on the Linthicum resolution:

DAIRYMEN FOR INVESTIGATION.

Congressman LINTHICUM, of Maryland, has introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives requesting that the Speaker appoint a committee of five Members whose duty it shall be to investigate the sanitary and other conditions of the dairy industry. It is the purpose of the resolution to determine whether it is feasible to establish Federal inspection, in cooperation with the States, of dairies, cheese factories, creameries, and milk-bottling plants. If it is found that the Federal Government should establish an inspection system, this committee shall determine the most economic method of inaugurating and enforcing it.

Hoard's Dairyman can see much good in a movement of this kind, provided capable and sincere men are appointed on this committee. There is no question but that there is opportunity for the Federal Government to assist the State governments in securing a higher quality of dairy products. The time has come when the slovenly and do-not-care milk producer must go out of business and permit the dairymen who produce wholesome dairy products to enjoy a larger market and receive a better price for them. One of the great drawbacks to the dairy industry has been those who have taken no pride in their work and have been willing to sell unwholesome milk. They have not only been the means of curtailing the consumption of dairy products but have depressed the prices of butter, cheese, and milk and produced a prejudice in the minds of city consumers against dairy products, to the great hurt of the industry. In the make-up of such a committee there ought to be included two or more men who are thoroughly posted as practical dairymen. If they can not be found among Members of Congress, then provision should be made to select dairymen of understanding and integrity outside of Congress.

Dairy products are the most nutritious and economical foods on the market, and if the consumer knew their value and could always be assured that they were wholesome the consumption would be greatly increased. The consumer must be taught the food value of dairy products and that a reasonable price must be paid for them when they are produced in the right way. An intelligent, comprehensive Federal inspection of dairy products and conditions under which they are produced would be of material assistance to the good dairymen, as it would provide a larger and a better market for dairy products.

EXPOSURE OF OLEOMARGARINE INTERESTS ATTEMPTS AT DECEPTION.

The above article approving of the adoption of House resolution 137, for the purpose of investigating the purity and sanitary conditions of the dairy products supplied to consumers, was published after the publication of such resolution, yet it was but a short time before the real purposes of the same and the hypocrisy which prompted the introduction of this resolution were indirectly exposed in this House by a speech made by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. LINTHICUM], delivered on the 1st day of April, 1916.

In various parts of the speech of the gentleman from Maryland can be found positive evidence that such resolution was introduced and is being urged for passage not by those who are unselfishly interested in the promotion and maintenance of the public health by preventing the sale and distribution of insanitary dairy products. Certain remarks of the gentleman and quotations from certain alleged dairy and farm papers show conclusively to the friends of dairymen that the main purpose behind such resolution is to attack, to degrade, and to prejudice butter in the minds of the consuming public.

Upon such speech coming to the attention of the editors of Hoard's Dairyman, an editorial answer was made to the same in its edition of May 5, 1916, the title of the same being "The Rights of Butter." It is in my humble opinion a complete answer to the speech of the gentleman from Maryland and an exposure of the secret purposes of House resolution 137. It brands in a convincing manner the purposes of that resolution; it shows in a convincing manner that it is the oleomargarine interests which are behind and actively supporting the same. It shows that it is an attempt on the part of the oleomargarine interests to create in the public mind a hostility to the present law protecting the butter producers and consumers by engendering in the minds of consumers of dairy products a widespread suspicion against the genuine butter product.

I herewith take the liberty of inserting the editorial above referred to from Hoard's Dairyman, in so far as it relates to the question raised by the gentleman from Maryland in his said speech:

THE RIGHTS OF BUTTER.

In previous issues of Hoard's Dairyman we have mentioned Congressman LINTHICUM'S resolution which provides for an investigation of the dairy industry and Federal inspection should the results of the investigation warrant it. The dairy industry has nothing to fear from an honest and capable investigation. Institutions which do not measure up to sanitary requirement should be forced to do so or close up shop. Farmers who persist in selling unclean milk should enter other fields of endeavor and give the good dairyman a better market for his product.

We have read carefully Congressman LINTHICUM'S speech pertaining to his resolution as reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In his remarks he expresses the desire to secure a most wholesome milk supply for the people of this country. He well says that milk properly produced is the most nutritious, useful, and healthful food of all. Running through his entire speech are false and misleading statements which indicate strongly that he has not prepared his resolution with the high motive that should characterize a work of this kind. He makes the following statement:

"The question of the use of coloring matter in butter, so that no matter how impure, no matter how long it has stood, no matter how unclean it might be, it could be covered and hidden from the general consuming public by this coloring matter, the contents of which in itself is usually impure and unhealthy."

This statement is untrue. Color does nothing of the kind. If butter is made from overripe or from off-flavored cream, it is shown in its quality and by its flavor. Color can not and does not cover up any such defects. It simply gives the butter a uniform shade of yellow color, which is so much demanded by the consumer. When butter is made from the milk of cows grazing on grass it is yellow; certain breeds of cattle produce yellow butter the entire year, and certain combinations of feed produce yellow fat in winter, no matter what the breed may be, and under such conditions no color is needed to produce yellow butter. It is plain that under such conditions there would be various shades of yellow fat produced and there would be no possible way of providing a uniform shade of yellow butter without color. Butter color is not made from impure and unhealthful products. The juice of carrots was used by our forefathers and now the juice from the fruit of the annatto tree provides the material for making commercial butter color. The coloring material obtained from the pulp of annatto is mixed with some neutral oil, and neither of these products is injurious to health. It might be said that the pure-food laws prevent the use of any injurious products in the manufacture of butter. The coloring of butter is a commercial question and not a health question.

Here is another paragraph from Congressman LINTHICUM'S remarks:

"It is not commonly known among consumers that the great bulk of butter is colored in imitation of the June product. The butter thus painted sells for considerable over its true value, while if not colored it would mean a saving of millions of dollars to the consumers, money which at the present time is being spent in the innocent support of a fraudulent practice. If butter is to be sold artificially colored, why should it not be made obligatory to state this fact upon the label?"

Butter was colored by the good housewife on the farm long before there was a dairy industry or a creamery, and Congress has recognized color as an ingredient of butter. There may be consumers who do not know that butter is colored to give it a uniform shade of yellow. There are undoubtedly those who do not know that butter is made from the fat of cow's milk and that butter contains casein, milk sugar, ash, and water. It is not the fault of the butter manufacturer if the consumer does not know the composition of butter, nor does his ignorance make the use of color in butter a fraud any more than the use of salt is a fraud or a deception. If the natural color of butter were white, as is the case with oleomargarine, then some objections might be raised against the practice of coloring butter. Butter is colored to please the taste and to make it a uniform shade of yellow throughout the year, for under certain conditions which we have mentioned butter is a deep shade of yellow, and man can not help it. Yellow is the trade-mark of butter and made so by nature. This, together with the long-continued practice of coloring butter, indicates that the use of color in butter is neither a fraud nor a deception. It is still butter and never sells for anything but butter. Butter is not colored to make the consumer think it was made in June, for butter made in June and held in storage till winter is not as good as butter made in the winter. Congressman LINTHICUM shows his ignorance of market conditions and standards. He has meddled with something that he does not understand. The main consideration in the market sale of butter is its fresh flavor and not color.

If butter were not put upon the market in a certain shade of yellow, it would be misleading to the consumer. For years the consumer has been buying butter colored yellow to suit his fancy, and if Congress had not by an enactment made color an ingredient of butter it would be so considered, because it has been used for a great many years. Popular uses and customs not in conflict with statutory law become common law. Of course, an evil practice, one that is detrimental to the welfare of society, can not be accepted as common law. But the material used for coloring butter is harmless and gives to butter a mark by which the consumer may judge whether it is butter or an imitation of butter. The butter interests hold that yellow is not only a trade-mark of butter but a demarkation for distinguishing butter from oleomargarine. Butter has a right to demand that oleomargarine be not colored in imitation of yellow butter. When oleomargarine is colored in imitation of yellow butter, fraud and deception follow. It is for this reason that the dairy interests demand that oleomargarine be sold in its natural color and not in the shade of yellow which is the trade-mark of butter. Color can not cover up impurities, flavors, or anything in butter that might be deleterious to health. If butter was a uniform shade of yellow the entire year, there would be no excuse for using any coloring matter.

LABELING PACKAGES.

Since butter is not colored to deceive, and since color is an ingredient of butter, so recognized by an act of Congress, there is no reason to require butter packages to be labeled "artificially colored" when containing butter which has been colored, unless Congress considers it desirable to have stated upon the butter packages all the ingredients of butter. We can see no good reason for mentioning one ingredient of butter and not the rest. If Congress should require the ingredients of butter to be put upon the packages in which butter is sold, then the ingredients of oleomargarine should also be printed upon the packages in which it is sold.

Congressman LINTHICUM also makes the charges that butter contains too much moisture and too much salt. If butter containing 16 per cent or more of moisture is sold or offered for sale, the Internal Revenue Department has the power of levying a tax of 10 cents a pound and imposing heavy penalties besides. If the department desires, it may confiscate the butter. The Federal law is already ample to take care of frauds of this character, and Congressman LINTHICUM knows it. Consumers vary in their tastes as to the amount of salt they desire in butter. Some want a light-salted butter, others a medium-salted butter, and some demand a heavy-salted butter. If the manufacturer puts in more salt than the consumer desires he injures no one but himself, for the consumer can easily obtain butter salted to his taste. There is no argument here worth considering.

REVENUE FRAUDS.

In the press notices of his speech as sent out by Congressman LINTHICUM, he does not hesitate to insert the report of the Internal Revenue Department in such a way that the casual reader would gather that the butter interests were committing revenue frauds against the Government. He says:

"It is charged that certain butter factories have practiced fraud. The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1915 says: 'One case was discovered during the current year where the amount out of which the Government has been defrauded has reached a total of $1,503,203.30. All of the product in this case, while not butter, was placed on the market as butter without the payment of any tax.'"

Note this product was not butter but was placed on the market as butter, then read the opening sentence of the quotation from Congressman LINTHICUM'S own report of his speech. We let the reader draw his own inference.

Here is what the Secretary of the Treasury's report for 1915 says:

"The total amount of taxes out of which the Government had been defrauded through artificially colored oleomargarine being placed on the market under tax-paid stamps at one-fourth of 1 cent per pound instead of at the rate of 10 cents due on such product, in four of the largest cases of this character ever discovered, was definitely determined during 1915, and the sum found due reached the enormous total of $17,692,410.47, representing the tax on practically all of the oleo-

margarine produced and placed on the market as uncolored under one-fourth cent stamps by these manufacturers since the inception of the present law.

"In addition to the completion of these four cases, one case was discovered during the current year where the amount out of which the Government had been defrauded reached a total of $1,503,203.30, which sum represented the tax on the product manufactured for a period of six years that these frauds had continued undetected, all of the product in this case having been placed on the market as butter without payment of any tax.

"These five cases alone involved a total of $19,195,613.77 stamp taxes, which does not include special taxes of wholesale and retail dealers incurred on account of the purchase and sale of the product."

What does Congressman LINTHICUM mean when he tries by inference to place these revenue frauds at the door of the butter industry? What has his statement pertaining to the coloring of butter, about too much moisture and too much salt in butter, and references to revenue frauds as perpetuated by the oleomargarine manufacturers got to do with the necessity of a dairy investigation?

Instead of entitling his remarks "Federal regulation and inspection of milk, butter, and other dairy products," it would have been better to have entitled them "An inaccurate tirade about a subject of which I know nothing." He has misquoted those who have made statements concerning the dairy conditions which should be improved; he has misquoted reasons given as to why milk should be produced by clean methods, and the necessity of healthy cows; all of this to such a degree that it is impossible to recognize that which is true and that which is untrue.

There is opportunity to improve the sanitary conditions upon some dairy farms; to improve the health of some herds; to provide better sanitary methods in some institutions where dairy products are manufactured; but to say conditions are worse now than years back is unwarranted and is disproved by the facts.

DAIRY PRODUCTS.

Dairy products are more wholesome now than they ever have been in the history of the dairy industry. In the past few years sanitary barn equipment companies have sprung up everywhere in the dairy sections, indicating that the dairy farmers desire to produce a better grade of milk. These companies could not have existed in the early days of dairying, as the average dairy farmer did not see the necessity of providing clean and wholesomer surroundings for his cows. The demand for sanitary equipment for creameries has increased. There would not be a demand for better machinery and better equipment for our creameries, cheese factories, and milk concerns if the owners were not improving the quality and wholesomeness of dairy products. A few years ago milk or cream used for making butter was not pasteurized, but now the practice is very common, and each year finds a larger number of creameries pasteurizing both milk and cream. Within the past few years the big milk companies began to pasteurize milk for direct consumption, and now the cities like New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Washington, Milwaukee, and many others are well supplied with pasteurized or certified milk, and no one of necessity must use unwholesome milk. Inspection of the dairy farms is becoming more general, and there has been a substantial improvement in the production of sanitary milk the past few years.

Congressman LINTHICUM utters not a word of commendation for the sanitary improvements that have been made in recent years, but rather distorts statements appearing in old Government reports and in dairy papers that had been made for the purpose of indicating the necessity of better methods of producing dairy products.

There is still opportunity for improving conditions under which dairy products are produced and handled, but it is unfair to the dairy interests and to the consumer to ignore the fact that there are more wholesome dairy products produced and offered for sale now than at any time since dairying became an industry. It is easy to knock; it is easy to distort statements made for the purpose of bringing forth better dairy conditions; it is easy to weave wrong interpretations into Government reports; but it requires knowledge, work, and sincere motives to outline methods that will bring about the desired improvement in all dairy practices.

Unfortunately it is true that some better regulation in order to protect the consumers may be necessary, but wholesale condemnations of dairy products are unjustified. The intelligent dairy interests of the country will be found supporting, as Hoard's Dairyman has, any just and legitimate measures honestly intended to improve the sanitary conditions of dairy products wherever necessary; but those interests will oppose with all of their might the making of an investigation of dairies and dairy products as a weapon with which the oleomargarine interests may slander and libel the legitimate dairy interests of the country.

THE FUTURE.

The dairymen of the country, in view of the splendid record of this Democratic administration in investigating and discovering repeated violations of the oleomargarine laws and in prosecuting offenders for such violations, and in enforcing that law as much as possible, have found a friend in the Democratic Party. That party upon this question has been weighed and found not wanting. They have had 16 years of Republican administration of the oleomargarine laws. The Democratic Party in coming into power three years ago inherited a vast system of violations of the oleomargarine laws from previous Republican administrations. They have corrected all abuses of the law and are strictly enforcing the same, and the dairy farmers of this country may safely rely upon the Democratic Party in the future to protect their interests as that party has in the past. It is a protection for the dairy farmer that is actual and can be seen and appreciated by them. The best interests of the dairy farmers of the country can best be promoted by maintaining the present administration in power for another four years.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD COOPER,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the revenue bill, I take this opportunity of making some observations on this bill.

The same methods heretofore pursued by the Democratic Party in collecting revenue are used in this bill to make up the deficit which to-day is apparent to all will exist in the near future. There is no attempt made to meet the inevitable which will occur as soon as the war in Europe is over; but the only fixed purpose in the minds of the makers of this bill is to collect revenue, and the method is adopted which will prove the easiest way to get the money. To do this the past as well as the future earnings of the munition corporations will be called upon to pay into the National Treasury the cash necessary to carry out the expenditures of an extravagant administration of the affairs of the Government.

Not satisfied with taxing the future earnings of the corporations, it is proposed to make this bill effective from January 1, 1916, and call upon the industries of the Nation to furnish the cash to pay the bills conceived by the leaders of the majority of this Congress. All of this under the plea of "preparedness," when it is a well-known fact that had a policy of retrenchment been adhered to there would have been no occasion whatever for this special revenue bill.

In view of the unrest of the world for the past two years and the apparent necessity for the adoption of a proper program of preparedness by this Congress, I am one of the Members of this Congress who believe the present agitation for much of the expensive and extensive legislation at this session could have been deferred until a later day. But even though the appropriations passed were necessary, and they were not, I feel it would have been much better to have raised the greater part of the needed revenue by a reasonable protective-tariff law, which would have protected our industries and our laboring men by at least the difference in the cost of the production of an article of commerce at home in the United States and abroad in Europe.

I know it has been said we need have no fear; that after the great European war is over Europe will be bankrupt; that after the guns and swords are laid down and peace again reigns supreme Europe will be depleted and not able to compete with the United States, but so far as I am concerned I do not believe one word of it.

To-day the whole of Europe is a workshop—men and women working day and night to keep the men at the front supplied with every conceivable article used in the defense of their country; labor better drilled to realize the necessity of production on a cheaper, broader, and quicker scale—the life of the nations at stake; organization the battle cry of Governments; and thousands of skilled workmen at the front fighting for the preservation of their country. As soon as the men at the front lay down the gun and sword and return to their respective countries they will reenlist, not in the army to fight with the gun and sword, but they will reenlist in the great body of workingmen to fight for bread and meat, and for the reestablishment and preservation of their country's commercial supremacy through the mills and mines of Europe. They are men with military training, knowing how to receive and obey orders, knowing but one command: "Find the enemy and conquer him."

With this organized force of skilled workmen, enlisted in every line of commercial industry, ready to make sacrifices to win battles of commerce, the same as of war, pray tell me what chance will an honest American industry of workmen have against these men and this organization, unless our Government meets the inevitable by protecting our interests and our laboring men by reasonable tariff laws?

I believe it is the duty of Government so to adjust the laws of this country that the burden of living be made as light as possible, and in the coming fight for life every protection should be given our industries and thereby protect the men depending upon the success of our industries for employment. Any policy adopted which falls short of giving protection to our industries and fails to drive away the coming clouds of depression

will be a complete failure and will be resented at the ballot box in November.

No taxation, whether direct or indirect, can in the end be levied which will not be a burden upon the whole people. Taxation, like water flowing downstream, some day will seek its level and cover those who have and those who have not, and the very people upon whom you are attempting to place the burden of taxation will shift the proper share to the people whom you are attempting to make believe you are relieving from taxation. The interests of labor and capital are identical, and no law which is constitutional can be made which will favor the one but which will not benefit the other. Public sympathy may cause the operators of Pennsylvania to increase the wages of the miners in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, but the public in the end pays the increase of wages for the miners by paying an increased price for their fuel. Taxes against industry may be laid, and the fair burden of taxation will be shifted to the public by an increase being made on the products of the mines and mills.

The landlord who has a large income from rentals, and whom this bill will make pay a large share of this tax, will in the end transfer the proper proportion of the tax to the parties to whom he rents his properties, by the simple method of increasing his rents, so I am led to believe that in the end the direct tax is a failure, and it is much better to make the collections necessary for the expenses of Government at the customhouses and not by a patched-up system of taxation such as we now have.

I am now, have always been, and shall continue to be, for that system of taxation known as the "protective-tariff system," under which system of taxation our country has grown to be the foremost country in the world, the wealth of the Nation having increased beyond all expectations, and under which system the people of our fair land have always been contented, happy, and prosperous.

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**Fourth of July Oration of Hon. Ashton C. Shallenberger, of Nebraska, Delivered at the One hundred and twenty-eighth Celebration of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order, New York City, on July 4, 1916.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the oration of my colleague, Hon. ASHTON C. SHALLENBERGER, of Nebraska, delivered at the one hundred and twenty-eighth celebration of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order, New York City, on July 4, 1916, as follows:

"Our Republic has become the richest, the most powerful, the most commercial Nation in all the world. Our armies are undefeated upon land and our Navy rides triumphant upon every sea. In trade, in commerce, in everything that makes for world power, we now excel not only every country of this day and age, but every nation told of in history.

"But what is the source of our strength? What does it all rest upon? It is not dependent upon the size of our standing Army, because when it comes to mustering men in line of battle ready for warfare at the blast of a bugle Germany, with her 10,000,000 trained soldiers, can outnumber us 20 to 1.

"It does not rest upon the size of our war fleets upon the sea, for England can marshal 30 miles of warships in line of battle on a single day if she needs them and outnumber us 3 to 1.

"Our material strength is primarily dependent upon the productive capacity of the Nation.

"We are invincible because American intelligence and American industry produces each year more than a thousand millions of surplus products which we do not need and which we can spare to sell to the rest of the peoples of the world, and we send those products eastward across the Atlantic; we send them westward beyond the Pacific; we send them north and south to our sister countries in America, and with them we lay hold upon the gold and the silver of the world. Not alone that dug this year, but, if necessary, the accumulation of 4,000 years of civilization is tribute to us, and we sweep it across these mighty seas and pour it into the lap of American industry, and with it we can build navies and equip and feed armies when the Nation needs them. The youth of the Nation has always been ready to furnish the men for the fighting line in the hour of peril.

"They have never failed us in the past; they will be even more anxious for the sacrifice of service in the future, because, with the example of Europe before them, they now know that upon the perpetuity of this Republic and the ideals for which it stands depends the future advancement of civilization—the real freedom of mankind.

"America is the young giant among the nations of the earth, a land of youth—of glorious youth—and therefore the land of opportunity. I presume the door of opportunity opens wider here in this great State of New York, in this imperial city of your Commonwealth, than in any other spot upon earth; yet I sometimes wonder if the youth of our land appreciate the glorious opportunities that belong to them and realize and understand that it is not wealth or power or numbers that shall determine the destiny of the Nation or the influence we shall have upon the progress of mankind, but rather the things we stand for and the things we do for the advancement of humanity and the betterment of the race. It is good for them to know that without a proper patriotism and just pride all opportunity is of little avail, and with them all things are possible, even to the most humble. Let me illustrate that thought for a moment.

"I have in mind this moment a boy born upon a stony hillside farm in far-off Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago. He was born to penury and want. No boy of the east side in this great city was ever born to more abject poverty than the boy of whom I speak.

"He could never hope to secure a liberal education such as you give free and without price to the youth of this great city, and he never did obtain it. He could never expect to achieve wealth, power, or position because of the environment in which he lived, and he never did acquire it. On the contrary, he felt the cruelest grip of poverty throughout all the years of his short life. But in spite of it all he loved the very land upon which he lived; he loved nature which was about him, the trees, the birds that sang in the trees, the flowers that bloomed and blossomed upon the land. He knew the history of his country was behind him for 2,000 years and that he had a race heritage in it all that couldn't be taken from him.

"He loved the language that his people spoke, and he knew that with that language he could build monuments for himself that would live forever. It is only with the human language we can build everlasting monuments. The boy loved the accent with which his people speak our language, but above everything else he loved the songs that they sing in their accent of our language; and so inspired by it all, when yet a youth, he wrote these matchless lines:

E'en then, a wish (I mind its pow'r),
A wish that to my latest hour
Shall strongly heave my breast,
That I for poor auld Scotland's sake
Some usefu' plan or book could make,
Or sing a sang at least.
The rough burr-thistle spreading wide
Amang the bearded bear,
I turn'd the weeder-clips aside,
An' spar'd the symbol dear.
No nation, no station
My envy e'er could raise;
A Scot still, but blot still,
I knew nae higher praise.

"And Robert Burns, although he died in penury and want at 37 years of age, sang the songs of his country so well that he only of all the poets that have ever lived in the tide of time has had his name honored by having his birthday made the national holiday of a great people the world round. And that is what this flower of patriotism and just pride can do when it blooms and blossoms in the humblest human heart. We will never go very far, either as individuals or a Nation, until we begin to feel this sort of thing, and feel it very deeply.

"If you would try to make the world the better for your having lived in it, or mankind regret when you are gone, you will have to get outside of yourselves and resolve to do something to make the load of life easier upon the backs of others.

"This is true of our own Republic as it to-day confronts the great problem upon our southern border and faces its duty to civilization in the world crisis beyond the seas.

"We can not shirk our duty or responsibilities either as men or as a Nation even if we would. The future of human civilization will be largely determined by the action of this great Republic in this hour of trial for humanity and American ideals.

"The youth of the Republic are given an opportunity right now to show the compelling power of patriotism to unite a people in the face of a national peril.

"For the second time in 50 years the President has summoned the young men of the land to the colors for the defense

of the flag and the Nation which it represents. It seems as though the faces of our soldiers are always turned to the southward when the Republic is threatened with the trial of battle.

"What a picture it is of a united country when once more at the call of the President the youth of the Nation can all be seen hurrying in countless thousands to where a new-born duty points to a flag which flashes in the sky, glorious with the memory of a thousand brave deeds done in its honor both by flood and field. Thank God, not this time to fight breast to breast upon those southern battle fields where their fathers fought, but all crowding in generous emulation to see which shall stand closest beneath that flag which now, henceforth, and forever shall float for all of us.

"To make a human shield, a mighty ring about Old Glory against which no power on earth shall evermore prevail.

"Let the foes of this Nation remember that from this day forth they must reckon with the blood and brawn of that race of men who fought with Grant at Vicksburg, Shiloh, and Cold Harbor, together, side by side, shoulder to shoulder, with those who died with Lee at Gettysburg, Antietam, and the Wilderness.

"They tell us it may mean sacrifice and struggle for the Nation, but struggle and sacrifice bring to the surface the best there is in nations as well as individuals. Mankind has never secured anything worth having without sacrifice and struggle before it was won. The longer we have to fight for a thing the more we value it after we win it.

"What is the most priceless thing that belongs to the American people to-day? It is this thing we call constitutional liberty and representative government. It is our right under the flag to elect the men who make the laws for us, to elect the judges who should interpret the law, to choose the governor and the President who should enforce the law.

"But we do not always hold this right as sacred as we should, a thing never to be used except upon conscience and upon honor. The reason, in my opinion, is that we have never had to struggle as a Nation to secure it. It was a gift to us from our mother country, England. When we chased the Englishman from our shores 140 years ago he left this thing of constitutional liberty and representative government behind him. It is the proudest achievement of the Anglo-Saxon race that they won it first among all the civilized people of this earth.

"Men have been fighting for that right in Russia within a generation, and they died for it over there, but they haven't won it yet in Russia. Men were fighting for that right in Turkey within five years, but they haven't won it yet in Turkey.

"Men are dying for it in Mexico to-day. That is the source of all trouble in Mexico. They have no constitutional liberty nor representative government in that land as you and I understand it and enjoy it. And there can be no lasting peace there, there ought not to be in any land, until the common man has some rights the fellows above him are bound to respect. Englishmen did not win that right easily to hand down to you and me. They won it only after fighting for more than 300 years against the power and prerogatives of kings and princes in that land. Men gave their lives for it and died, and kings and princes declared the idea was dead with the men who had died for it. But it lived on and on, and finally, after 700 years, it has come down to you and me as the very corner stone and bulwark of American liberty, of all liberty the world around.

"If we will go back 700 years to the beginning of this struggle, we can learn a lesson that will apply to our national duty to-day.

"For there stands stout old Simon de Montfort, the first real fighter for constitutional liberty among English-speaking people. He was ambushed at the Battle of Evesham by the overwhelming forces of the King of England, and a follower who rode beside him said to him, "My Lord, the King's men outnumber us 10 to 1; nothing is left to us but to surrender or to flee." But De Montfort said to him, "Not so; one other thing we can do to-day as Englishmen for England, and that is to die like men upon the field of battle in a just cause." And as he laid his lance in rest to make his last charge, before he drove spurs into his horse's flanks, he rose in his stirrups and called to the little band of faithful knights about him, "Gentlemen, commend your souls to God, for our bodies are the enemy's." And so he died, fighting gloriously, that you and I and every man that speaks the Saxon tongue might have a representative form of government; might be free. The names of those who won upon that fatal field are lost amid the oblivion of 700 years and will be heard of no more in human history, but the name of him who fell in behalf of constitutional liberty and representative government, who gave his life that you and I might be free, his name will live until the English language is forgotten.

"And so it is in every great struggle in this world—permanent and lasting fame is only for him who has the courage to fight upon the side of justice and the great mass and body of the people. The world will judge our actions in the present Mexican crisis by the degree that we live up to the duty that we owe to civilization and humanity.

"If we are forced to intervene in Mexico, it must be to bring peace and justice to the struggling people of that distracted land rather than to insure profit and opportunity for more profit to those who have great investments there.

"There are men in this country who were not satisfied with the opportunities for profit at home, profits made upon investments under our own flag that has the stars of heaven upon it, but risked their money under the flag of Mexico, that has a snake emblazoned upon its center, and now they would have our President send the boys of America to death in the desert beyond the Rio Grande to make secure and safe the silver pesos that they have risked with the snake in Mexico rather than under the Stars and Stripes.

"But I have faith to believe that President Wilson will never wage war in such a cause. In the face of continued efforts to plunge us into the great maelstrom of war that now roars around the world, he has stood steadfast as a rock for peace and has kept the peace with our national honor unsullied.

"The brave message of the President's speech at the New York Press Club, in which he declared his devotion to American ideals of peace and justice, went right to the hearts of the American people. He never sounded a higher or truer note than rang through that great speech. It was filled with true Americanism from end to end. When he bravely declared he would rather lose the Presidency than win it by action adverse to his own convictions of right and justice as to Mexico he spoke as the American people would have their President voice the conscience of the Nation. At one stroke he won the hearts of all the people. He demonstrated once again that he is responsive to the heart-deep demand of the Nation that we keep steadily in the paths of peace.

"We are at peace while all the rest of the world is in arms. There is war in Asia, there is war in Africa, there is war in Europe; the fiercest war ever fought in all the tide of time is being fought over there in the very center of civilization. There is war in Mexico, but in our own dear land peace still reigns. Why are we spared the awful curse of war while all the rest of the world is taken? Two years ago all Europe was at peace; not one person in a million over there believed that war could come to them.

"Their statesmen, their philosophers, their thinkers all united in declaring that a great European war was no longer possible.

"But about that time we sent thousands of regular soldiers to Vera Cruz, professional soldiers armed to the teeth and trained to kill. We backed them up with a great war fleet upon the sea, but we didn't fight. We are sending hundreds of thousands of soldiers to our southern border at this time, but they do not fight. Why are we still at peace and all Europe at war? We are the same kind of men and women as those over there, the same flesh and blood, they enjoy the same civilization as ourselves. I know they are the same kind of men and women, because America is what she is because she is the son or the daughter of Europe. We are all proud to trace our lineage there, and most of us do not have to go very far back in our pedigrees until we land over there either.

"Yes; Europe is peopled by the same kind of flesh and blood, it has a like civilization, but, thank God, not the same form and ideals of government, the same opportunity for public opinion to express and demonstrate its power.

"In Europe, kings and emperors yet rule. Upon questions of peace or war, they get together in secret conclave with their councillors and bring war upon the nation and the people are powerless to prevent it. The only thing the common people of kingdoms and empires are allowed to do is to fight the battles in time of war and pay the debts in time of peace. But in America, thank God, public opinion is still supreme.

"The reason American boys have not died in countless thousands upon the cactus-covered plains of Mexico, just as the boys of Europe are dying in untold millions in the trenches over there, is because our President at Washington knows that the great mass and majority of the American people are in favor of peace and opposed to war. The American people want no war. They believe that Woodrow Wilson intends to keep them out of war and therefore they intend to keep him in the White House. Public opinion is still supreme as a potential power in determining the destiny and action of this Nation, and this constitutes the wonder, the glory, and the everlasting honor of the Republic.

"It is a marvelous country, a wonderful civilization, a matchless opportunity that we commemorate here to-day. All that our

Nation and our civilization stands for is represented by the flag which I see displayed upon every hand in this historic hall. It typifies and epitomizes the spirit of American institutions. It is the most beautiful flag in all the world. You see it shining here in all the radiance of its matchless and glorious colors, the red, the white, and the blue! That flag whose crimson bars are dyed with the blood of heroes, that you and I might be free, and striped with the purest white from freedom's highest mountain top! Whose blue field was torn from the azure dome of high heaven and spangled with the stars of Almighty God. Watch it as it floats on high! Look in its upper corner, there are 48 bright stars there now and every star stands for a State. With that thought and inspiration upon us all, here in this great city of the Empire State, a city destined to become the greatest city in all the world, let us pledge mutual fealty to each other to do all that lies within our power to keep the patriotic fire ablaze in every star that shines upon the broad shield of our Nation's flag with the spirit of a just pride in all that we have done and hope to do for the advancement of civilization and justice for all mankind."

## Analysis of the Federal Rural-Credit Law and Suggestions as to How Farmers May Secure Loans.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARL VINSON,
OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 15, 1916.*

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, the act in question provides for the establishment in the city of Washington, in the Treasury Department, a Federal farm-loan bureau, which shall be charged with the execution of this act.

FEDERAL FARM-LOAN BOARD.

The bureau created by this act shall be under the supervision, charge, and control of what is known as the Federal farm-loan board, which shall consist of five members, including the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall be a member and chairman ex officio. The other four members of the board are to be appointed by the President, not more than two being from one political party. Each member of said board is required to be a citizen of the United States and appointed for a term of two, four, six, and eight years, respectively, and shall receive a salary of $10,000 per annum.

One member of the said board shall be designated by the President as the farm-loan commissioner, who shall be the active executive officer of said board.

No member of the board shall, during his continuance in office, be an officer or director of any other institution, association, or partnership engaged in banking or in the business of making land-mortgage loans or selling land mortgages.

The Federal farm-loan board shall have the authority to appoint a farm-loan registrar in each land-bank district to receive application for issues of farm-loan bonds and to perform such other services as may be prescribed by law.

In addition to the appointment by the Federal Farm Loan Board of a farm loan registrar, they shall also appoint one or more land bank appraisers for each land bank district throughout the United States and as many land bank examiners as the business and necessity may demand. All of the officers appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board shall have no connection with any other institution, association, or partnership engaged in banking, or in the business of making land mortgage loans or selling land mortgages.

The salaries of the various officers appointed by the board shall be regulated by it and shall be paid by the Federal land banks and the joint stock land banks which they serve in such proportion and in such manner as the Federal Farm Loan Board shall order.

To carry out the provisions of this act, the board is permitted to employ such attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees as they find necessary. Each Federal land bank shall semiannually submit to the Federal Farm Loan Board a schedule of the salaries or rates of commission paid to its officers and employees, and the Federal Farm Loan Board shall annually make a report of all its doings to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall submit the same to Congress.

The board shall, from time to time, require examinations and reports to be made of the conditions of all land banks established and shall publish consolidated statements of the results and standings of the same.

It shall also cause to be made appraisals of all farm lands as provided for by the act and shall prepare and publish an amortization table which shall be used by the National Farm Loan Association and the land banks organized by the same.

FEDERAL LAND BANKS.

As soon as practicable after the appointment of the four members of the Federal Farm Loan Board it shall become their duty to divide continental United States, excluding Alaska, into 12 districts, which shall be known as Federal land bank districts, for the purpose of making long term loans on real estate on the amortization plan.

The stock in each one of the 12 Federal land banks established by this act shall not be less than $750,000, and this stock, unless subscribed within 30 days, is to be taken by the Federal Government, but the Government shall not participate in any dividend declared by the bank.

In the location of the land-bank district no fractional part of any State shall be included. After the districts have been established the Federal farm-loan board charters the Federal land banks, and after they obtain their charter they become a body corporate and have all the powers of a corporation, which I will not enumerate, but which authorize the Federal land bank to carry on the business of exclusively making long-term loans on real estate, and no one loan made by a Federal land bank shall be less than $100 nor more than $10,000.

The right to make loans by a Federal land bank is limited to the following purposes:

(a) To provide for the purchase of land for agricultural purposes.
(b) To provide for the purchase of equipment and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the farm.
(c) To provide buildings and for the improvement of farm lands.
(d) To liquidate the indebtedness of the owner of the land mortgaged existing at the time of the organization of the farm-loan association.

The Federal land bank under this act is permitted to loan 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements situated thereon.

The loan can not be made for a period of less than 5 years nor more than 40 years, and no loan on a mortgage can be made under this law at a rate of interest exceeding 6 per cent per annum, exclusive of amortization payments.

No person can avail himself of this act to borrow money from a Federal land bank who is not at the time or shortly to become engaged in the cultivation of the farm mortgaged.

Each Federal land bank shall be temporarily managed by five directors who shall be appointed by the Federal farm-loan board. These directors are required to be citizens of the United States and residents of their respective land-bank district. Their compensation, like other employees, shall be fixed and regulated by the Federal farm-loan board. They shall choose from their number, by majority vote, a president, a vice president, a secretary, and a treasurer, and these directors selected in the manner above pointed out are authorized and empowered to employ such attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, and other employees as they may deem necessary, and to fix the compensation subject to the approval of the Federal farm-loan board, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the act relative to the Federal land banks.

After the subscription to stock in any Federal land bank shall have reached the sum of $100,000, the officers and directors of said land bank shall be chosen by the national farm-loan association and the Federal farm-loan board as follows:

Six of said directors shall be known as local directors and shall be chosen by and be representatives of the national farm-loan association; and the remaining three directors shall be known as district directors, and are appointed by the Federal farm-loan board and represent the public interest. Therefore, each Federal land bank shall be controlled by nine directors, each holding office for a term of three years.

It will be observed that when the subscription reaches the amount of $100,000, the borrowers who own the stock in the bank will control the same.

NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATION.

The national farm-loan association, provided for by this act, must be composed of not less than 10 men in any community or county within a Federal land-bank district, who desire to secure loans and who organize into what is termed and classified by the act as a national farm-loan association.

When 10 borrowers desire to organize for the purpose of creating a national farm-loan association they shall in a general way specify in articles of agreement for what purpose the

association is formed, the territory, community, or political subdivision within which it is to do business.

They then draft what is termed articles of agreement, send a copy of the same to the Federal land bank of the district, accompanied by a subscription of stock in said Federal land bank amounting to 5 per cent of the aggregate amount of the loans desired by the 10 men who organize the national farm-loan association.

These 10 men elect not less than 5 directors from their membership and also select a secretary-treasurer. The board of directors then select from the 10 men who desire to organize the national farm-loan association what is termed a loan committee, which shall consist of 3 members. They forward their application, articles of agreement, together with their subscription to stock, to the Federal land bank in that district. The aggregate amount of loans desired by the incorporators can not be less than $20,000.

Then the Federal land bank shall send an appraiser to investigate the solvency and character of the applicants and the value of their land, and upon receipt of the report shall determine whether or not in their judgment a charter shall be granted to the 10 men who desire to be incorporated.

The Federal land bank of the district in which the national farm-loan association is seeking to be created shall forward all articles of agreement and the evidence submitted by the 10 men to the Federal Farm Loan Board at Washington City with their recommendation.

If said recommendation of the Federal land bank is unfavorable, and it is agreed to by the Federal Farm Loan Board, a charter is refused.

If said recommendation is favorable, then the Federal farm-loan board shall thereupon grant a charter to the 10 applicants, designating the territory in which said association may make loans, and shall forward to said applicants, through the Federal land bank of that district the charter.

Upon receipt of the charter authorizing the establishment of the national farm-loan association it would be authorized and empowered to receive from the Federal land bank of the district in which it is organized and chartered to do business sums of money to be loaned to its members who organize the same.

These three organizations, first, the Federal farm-loan board, which is located at the Treasury Department at Washington City; second, the Federal land bank, located in a city in each Federal land-bank district; and, third, the national farm-loan association, constitute the machinery of this act.

METHODS BY WHICH A BORROWER SECURES A LOAN.

Having briefly outlined the organization and machinery for carrying out the provisions of the act under discussion, it becomes important now to explain to you the methods by which one may secure a loan.

At the outset let me impress upon you this fact, that no borrower can secure a loan from a Federal land bank unless he is a member of the national farm-loan association of the community or county in which the borrower's land is situated.

When a national farm-loan association has been organized in the method I have just pointed out, for a borrower to obtain money he must become a member by making application to the secretary-treasurer of the association, who submits his application for a loan to the loan committee of the association.

The loan committee appraises the value of his land and the improvements thereon. Then the board of directors pass upon the loan. His application must be accompanied by an agreement to take 5 per cent of the amount of the loan in stock in the Federal land bank of that district. The application, the agreement to take stock, the chain of title, and the recommendation of the local farm-loan association are then forwarded by the secretary-treasurer of the association to the Federal land bank.

The Federal land bank, if it so desires, can have another appraisement of the land and the improvements, and the loan is then approved or rejected.

If the loan is approved, he then becomes a member of the National Farm Loan Association and obtains his loan from the Federal land bank.

Now, to cite a concrete case: Suppose A has a piece of land worth $1,800, and the improvements thereon being worth $500—the total value of land and improvements, $2,300. He desires a loan, therefore A must become a member of the association in the manner I have pointed out, and under the law he can borrow 50 per cent, or $900, on his land and 20 per cent, or $100, on the value of the improvements. A does not get in cash the whole sum of $1,000 because he must take 5 per cent of the amount of the loan in stock. In this case A would be required to take $50 in stock in the Federal land bank of that district. However, A is entitled to whatever profits are made on his stock, and when his loan is paid off he is credited with the $50 worth of stock, and it is then canceled.

In addition to this purchase of $50 worth of stock A must at the time he becomes a member sign an agreement guaranteeing a liability to the extent of 10 per cent, or twice the amount of stock. In other words, in the case now used, A is required to assume $100 liability for his loan of $1,000.

Under the law regulating the farm-loan association, supervised as it will be by the Federal land bank and the farm-loan board, it is not believed that the borrower will ever have to pay any loss on account of this guaranty, and this amount is not deducted from the loan and not paid at all unless a loss is sustained by the farm-loan association.

Of course when the borrower's loan has been liquidated his stock is canceled and the agreement is at an end. In other words, his stock is simply an investment which he must make to secure his loan.

The results, as far as I have been able to estimate ahead of time in the case referred to, would be about as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Security A offered: | |
| Land valued at | $1,800 |
| Improvements valued at | 500 |
| Total value of A's land and improvements | 2,300 |
| Estimated cost to A: | |
| Subscription to stock in land bank | 50 |
| Cost of abstract of title (estimated) | 10 |
| Cost of examining abstract (estimated) | 5 |
| Cost of appraisement (estimated) | 5 |
| Cost of recording mortgage (estimated) | 2 |
| Total cost to A | 72 |
| Total loan A can obtain | 1,000 |
| A receives in cash | 928 |

Counting his stock as an investment, he borrows $950 at an expense which it is believed will not exceed $22.

At this point let me digress and call your attention to the absolute necessity that the General Assembly of the State of Georgia adopt the Torrens title system or some other similar system which will shorten the initial expense and reduce the cost of abstracting.

Of course, if the borrower already has an abstract of title, that cost will not have to be borne again. Even the initial fee may be paid by the bank and deducted from the loan.

REPAYMENT OF THE LOAN.

Having analyzed in a brief manner how a borrower becomes a member of the association and obtains his loan, it is important now to point out for your benefit how a loan will be repaid.

Of course the borrower regulates the period of time for the loan to run, and it can extend for a period of not less than 5, nor more than 40 years, and the interest rate at no time can be over 6 per cent per annum.

Now, let us take the case of A who has real estate valued at $1,800 and improvements thereon valued at $500. He desires to secure a loan of 50 per cent of the value of his land, which would be $900, and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements, which would be $100—the total amount of the loan that A can obtain being $1,000, on his land and improvements. A desires this loan for a term of 20 years at 6 per cent interest and to repay the same on the amortization plan, which is an annual payment consisting of part of the principal and the interest. He would repay the loan according to this table:

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 6 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount on principal unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $87.19 | $60.00 | $27.19 | $972.81 |
| 2 | 87.19 | 58.36 | 28.83 | 943.98 |
| 3 | 87.19 | 56.63 | 30.56 | 913.42 |
| 4 | 87.19 | 54.80 | 32.39 | 881.03 |
| 5 | 87.19 | 52.86 | 34.33 | 846.70 |
| 6 | 87.19 | 50.80 | 36.39 | 810.31 |
| 7 | 87.19 | 48.61 | 38.58 | 771.73 |
| 8 | 87.19 | 46.30 | 40.89 | 730.84 |
| 9 | 87.19 | 43.85 | 43.34 | 687.50 |
| 10 | 87.19 | 41.25 | 45.94 | 641.56 |
| 11 | 87.19 | 38.49 | 48.70 | 592.86 |
| 12 | 87.19 | 35.57 | 51.62 | 541.24 |
| 13 | 87.19 | 32.47 | 54.72 | 486.52 |
| 14 | 87.19 | 29.19 | 58.00 | 428.52 |
| 15 | 87.19 | 25.71 | 61.48 | 367.04 |
| 16 | 87.19 | 22.02 | 65.17 | 301.87 |
| 17 | 87.19 | 18.11 | 69.08 | 232.79 |
| 18 | 87.19 | 13.96 | 73.23 | 159.56 |
| 19 | 87.19 | 9.57 | 77.62 | 81.94 |
| 20 | 86.85 | 4.91 | 81.94 | ..... |
| Total | 1,743.46 | 743.46 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

It will be observed by the above table, which I have worked out on the amortization plan, that the amount paid annually is $87.19, making a total of $1,743.46.

The calculation of principal and interest on $1,000 for 20 years at 6 per cent totals $2,200; therefore one can save $456.54 on a loan of $1,000 at the same rate of interest under the amortization plan.

It is claimed that the interest rate will be less than 6 per cent per annum, and, of course, the interest will be regulated by the sale of bonds which are issued and sold by the Federal land bank, from which sale the money is derived to make the loan to the borrowers.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the interest rate will be below 6 per cent, but under no condition can it be above that amount. I have made a calculation and insert a table showing the loan of $1,000 for 20 years at 5 per cent interest, on the amortization plan, which is as follows:

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.00 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.56 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.46 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.24 | 3.82 | 76.50 | ..... |
| Total | 1,604.80 | 604.80 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

BENEFICIAL TO TENANTS.

I shall endeavor to show you how this act can be of material benefit to the tenant farmer.

For the purpose of illustrating, take the case of A, who is a tenant of B, renting annually 100 acres of land, on which A conducts a three-horse farm and pays in rent to B two bales of cotton per plow, or six bales per year. At 10 cents a pound for the cotton, A is paying an annual rental of $300.

A (the tenant) is thrifty, industrious, and honest, and desires to purchase the 100 acres of land which he has been renting year by year from B.

B agrees to sell the land to A at $10 per acre, or $1,000, provided A can make a substantial cash payment and also agrees that the balance is to be paid in four annual payments, with interest at 8 per cent, on the amortization plan.

A accepts the terms and the trade is consummated on the conditions above stated. A at the time of purchase has no cash to make the first payment; therefore he obtains from B a warranty deed to the 100 acres of land for the purpose of mortgaging the same to the Federal land bank in order to secure money to make the cash payment, and also files his application to become a member of the national farm-loan association of the district in which the land is situated, and asks for a loan of 50 per cent of the value of the land, or $500, which loan is to be for a period of 20 years, at 6 per cent interest, on the amortization plan.

When A files his application, accompanied by the warranty deed and the chain of title, he is also required to subscribe to 5 per cent of the amount of the loan for stock in the Federal land bank, which in this case amounts to $25. This is an investment, and under the calculation above set out I estimate that the abstracting, and so forth, would amount to about $22, making the investment in stock and the expense that A has to bear to obtain his loan amount to $47, which sum is to be deducted from the loan of $500.

A would obtain in cash from the Federal land bank $453, which he would pay to B as his cash payment and at the same time transfer to B the bond which the Federal land bank had given to A when he executed his mortgage, or, if he desired to do so, make to B a second mortgage on the 100 acres of land. By this transfer of the bond or the execution of the second mortgage it would insure B from any loss in the event A could not meet the payments to the Federal land bank or the deferred payments for the purchase of the land.

I insert below a table showing A's loan of $500 for 20 years at 6 per cent on the amortization plan to the Federal land bank.

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 6 per cent. | Paid on principal | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $43.59 | $30.00 | $13.59 | $486.41 |
| 2 | 43.59 | 29.18 | 14.41 | 472.00 |
| 3 | 43.59 | 28.32 | 15.27 | 456.73 |
| 4 | 43.59 | 27.40 | 16.19 | 440.59 |
| 5 | 43.59 | 26.43 | 17.16 | 423.38 |
| 6 | 43.59 | 25.40 | 18.19 | 405.19 |
| 7 | 43.59 | 24.31 | 19.28 | 385.91 |
| 8 | 43.59 | 23.25 | 20.34 | 365.57 |
| 9 | 43.59 | 21.93 | 21.66 | 343.91 |
| 10 | 43.59 | 20.63 | 22.96 | 320.95 |
| 11 | 43.59 | 19.25 | 24.34 | 296.61 |
| 12 | 43.59 | 17.80 | 25.79 | 270.80 |
| 13 | 43.59 | 16.25 | 27.34 | 243.46 |
| 14 | 43.59 | 14.61 | 28.98 | 214.48 |
| 15 | 43.59 | 12.87 | 30.72 | 183.68 |
| 16 | 43.59 | 11.03 | 32.56 | 151.23 |
| 17 | 43.59 | 9.07 | 34.52 | 116.71 |
| 18 | 43.59 | 7.00 | 36.59 | 80.12 |
| 19 | 43.59 | 4.81 | 38.78 | 41.33 |
| 20 | 43.81 | 2.48 | 41.33 | ..... |
| Total | 872.02 | 372.02 | 500.00 | ..... |

It will be observed by the table above set out that A pays $43.59 each year, which includes the interest and a portion of the principal to the Federal land bank.

At the same time that A would be making his annual payments to the Federal land bank, he would be required also to make payments to B on the deferred notes that he had given him for the balance due, which in this case amounts to $547.

I insert a table below showing the amount, interest, and installment payments that A would be due to B, according to the terms of the trade, and also the payments to the Federal land bank, and the total amount paid by A to both parties during the four years that A is liquidating the debt to B for the balance due on the land:

| Year. | Deferred payments on amount due B. | | | | Annual installment to Federal Land Bank. | Total payment each year. | Saved by A in buying farm instead of renting during first four years. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total annual payment. | Interest at 8 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Principal unpaid. | | | |
| 1 | $165.17 | $43.76 | $121.41 | $425.59 | $43.59 | $208.76 | $91.24 |
| 2 | 165.17 | 34.05 | 131.12 | 294.47 | 43.59 | 208.76 | 91.24 |
| 3 | 165.17 | 23.56 | 141.61 | 152.86 | 43.59 | 208.76 | 91.24 |
| 4 | 165.09 | 12.23 | 152.86 | ..... | 43.59 | 208.68 | 91.32 |
| | 660.60 | 113.60 | 547.00 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

From the above table it will be seen that the total annually paid by A to B, including both interest and principal, amounts to $165.17. At the end of four years A will have complied with the terms of the sale and liquidated his indebtedness to B, and he will then be required to pay but the annual payment of $43.59 to the Federal land bank for a period of 16 years, at which time he will have paid the entire amount due on the loan.

It will also be further noted from the above table that the total payments, both to the Federal land bank and to B, during the four years in which he is making payments to both, is $91.24 less than the rent which A has been paying.

I have by the case used above demonstrated to a mathematical certainty how a tenant can buy land and become a home owner under the provisions of this act without at the date of the purchase of the land having had one dollar in cash, yet having made a substantial cash payment when the trade was consummated.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION AND FEDERAL DEPOSITS.

The act provides that the Federal land bank, the mortgage and bonds issued by it, are exempt from Federal, State, and municipal taxation. This exemption will save to the owners of the bank, who are the borrowers, large amounts and will also increase the demand for the bonds and make them sell for a better price, thereby reducing the cost of money to the borrower.

The act provides, in the event any disaster should occur in any section of the country and the farmers who have borrowed money should be unable to meet the payment, that the Government is authorized to deposit in each land bank a sum not exceeding $500,000 to enable the borrower to meet the interest obligations on the bonds, thereby guaranteeing to the bond-

holder that his bond is good and also assuring the borrower that under such circumstances he will not be closed out and his farm sold.

HOW THE MONEY IS OBTAINED BY THE BANKS.

When the Federal land bank begins operation and secures these farm first mortgages, then it is given the right to issue its own bonds. The security of these bonds is: (1) The capital stock of the bank itself; (2) whatever earnings and reserves the bank may have made; (3) the indorsement of the local farm-loan associations, which will be backed by the guaranty of all members of the association to the extent of 10 per cent of the loan of each; (4) the first mortgages of farm lands at 50 per cent of their value, and on improvements at 20 per cent of their value; (5) the bonds are exempted from local, State, county, and national taxation; (6) the supervision of the Federal farm-loan board; (7) the act makes the bonds a lawful investment for all fiduciary and trust funds.

Under these circumstances these bonds ought to be just as good as any United States Government bonds and ought to sell at a very low rate of interest, and, no doubt, soon after the system gets in good working order, the rate of interest at which a farmer will be enabled to obtain money will be low indeed. From the sale of these bonds the banks will get the money to lend to the farmers.

In my opinion the Government should have underwritten the bonds. It should have guaranteed to the holders of the bonds their redemption.

If the act had done this, it would have been the same that the Federal reserve act did for commercial banking—guarantee the observance of all of its contracts and the redemption of all of its obligations.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

In my opinion this is the joker in the bill. The joint-stock land banks should be made as lonesome as a martin on a fodder stack by the farmers' refusal to patronize them.

The farmers should not obtain the money from these private banks, but should patronize the Federal land banks and make them a success.

The Federal land bank, of course, will be interested in reducing the interest rate. The joint-stock land banks will be interested in increasing the interest rate.

The farmer who is a borrower should not be misled by borrowing from these private institutions thus authorized. It was a serious mistake to authorize these private land banks, and one that ought to be remedied by amendment, but the farmers can themselves remedy this error by not patronizing them.

The bill is not perfect. It is not all I wanted, but it is only a beginning in the right direction. It is a recognition of the kind of legislation that we need, and it is to be sincerely hoped that the members of the Federal farm-loan board will construe the provisions of the act liberally; and with the right kind of men on the Federal farm-loan board, placing the proper constructions upon the numerous provisions of the act, great good will come, and it will be to the farmers of this Nation like "a pillar of cloud to lead them the way" and "a pillar of fire to give them light."

## Compensation for Injuries for Federal Employees.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CYRUS CLINE,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I want to give the bill under consideration my most hearty approval. The very greatly increasing business of the country, the rapid advancement in the complicated mechanism with which business is accomplished, and the great and constantly increasing number of employees give rise to the necessity for this legislation. There are several angles from which this bill may be viewed as a very worthy one. The growth of popular conviction that the man who is employed should not bear all of the evil consequences of his employment, the belief that the man or corporation that profits out of the employment should divide the results of the injury, the rising tide of humanitarianism, all give force to the proposition that the man who toils should have a recourse if he suffers injury or death during his employment through no negligence of his own for the injury or loss of life that he may sustain. The several States of the Union have recognized the merit of this legislation and have taken advanced stands to give labor that protection that all men who have investigated the subject declare that it justly deserves. The man who enters the employment of the State or the corporation, and there can be no difference in principle in the relationship, offers his best service and his honest effort for the advancement of his employers' interests. He ought not to be asked to take all of the dangers incident to his employment. No man will willingly and voluntarily incur a risk of bodily injury simply to be remunerated for the injury he may sustain. So there is no reason springing from moral decrepitude that enters into this problem. Conceding that no motive of that kind could influence the employee, then we have the simple proposition, When an injury occurs and the employee or his family suffers from the injury, who in equity and good conscience ought to bear it? The Government to whom he has given his honest efforts or the employee? That is the proposition in a nutshell. I have no hesitation in saying who should respond. States recognize the duty of great corporations to take care of their employees. They recognize that if they are compelled to do that they will be careful first to see to what extent they will suffer employees to meet hazardous conditions; they will exercise judgment and care in that direction and to a great degree lessen the opportunity for accident or injury. Then, too, the man with a family depending upon his employment for their daily bread, and the father in a degree being compelled to accept such employment as his environment offers, always with more or less danger from accident, should not be required to make the sacrifice resulting in injury or loss of life when the injury or loss of life occurred without his negligence. The injury to the father is an injury to the family directly, especially when their daily food and sustenance depend upon his daily toil. I support this bill especially for the reason that it is a great humanitarian measure. The time is here when the great masses of the workers in the Government employ in this Republic should have the care and protection that similar employment guarantees to them by the State. When great employers of labor find that it is to their best interest to provide their workers an insurance against damage or injury, they find that they not only get better service but a willing service. Men render their best service when they are assured that injury to themselves does not mean a total loss to their families. When such conditions exist in the States it is not too soon for the Federal Government to take the necessary steps to safeguard the life and limb of the laborer in its employ. I do not pretend to discuss the details of this bill or its administrative features, but simply to voice my approval and indorsement of the principle upon which a workmen's compensation act is based. The bill should pass without a dissenting vote. It marks another instance illustrating the willingness of the Democratic Party to meet emergency conditions and constructive legislation in the interest of labor.

## Explanation of the Mexican Situation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK PARK,
OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. PARK. Mr. Speaker, on March 13, 1914, two and a half years ago, when reports of Mexican attacks and outrages against American citizens in Mexico and against settlers on the border of Texas and New Mexico filled the press of the country, I introduced a resolution to acquire by treaty, by purchase, or by conquest the northern States of Mexico, including the Mexican border States. I was actuated then by some resentment against people who seemed determined to annoy and harass our people without cause, feeling that American life and property should be guarded by the American flag when endangered by foreign foes. I still feel that America should protect her citizens within her borders, who have the right under the Constitution to live in peace. Within two months after introducing the resolution I abandoned it, and it has been dead for over two years.

I have kept in touch with the Mexican situation, have studied the problems and relationship between their country and ours.

Since my resolution was introduced opportunity has been afforded to all American citizens to leave Mexico, and expense money has been provided for their departure and travel to this

country; besides this the largest standing army since the Civil War is now guarding our border and protecting the lives and property of our citizens. This revolutionizes the conditions, and there is no need for intervention, no need for war with Mexico, unless Mexicans shall force it upon us.

The Mexican people have much cause for unrest. They have been plundered and murdered by bandits whom their Government could not control. The Government itself has confiscated their lands and sold them to Chinese, Japanese, and others who have gone there to exploit their country and not to benefit Mexico. The knowledge of these conditions excites my sympathy and I feel that assistance should be extended them, if they will permit, in their blind efforts to establish a stable government and return peace and prosperity to these war-tortured people. If Mexico is capable of self-government, the United States will assist them.

It has been the law of my life to upbuild and not tear down, and I would prefer that we had Mexico as a friend and neighbor rather than as an enemy and menace. I would rather help them establish good government than to annex them, if it can be done in peace and our citizens be unmolested.

To have peace it may be necessary to intervene, but only will intervention come because Mexico forces it.

The Congress is anxious and willing for Mexico to work out its own salvation, if it can be done without imposing too great burdens on us to protect those whom we are legally bound to protect.

I am for peace and not war, and am for intervention only as an absolute necessity; and I trust the necessity will never arise.

When the question of intervention has been brought recently to the attention of Congress by transactions in Mexico that made war at one time seem imminent, I heard only expressions of regret from Members at conditions, and none desired intervention only as a last resort.

We can not be unmindful that American blood has freely spilled on Mexican soil in two wars in the past—once for the independence of Texas and after the annexation of Texas to fix the boundary between their country and ours. These wars were fought largely by southern soldiers, who have ever been ready to give their lives at their country's call or when wrong oppresses right.

And when we of the South consider that our land has not yet recovered from the awful four-year conflict, when we can still look about us and see the armless sleeve, the crutch, and wooden leg, wreckage of the truest band that ever faced a great foe, and realize and know that the wounds of our beautiful and beloved Southland are still unhealed, we shrink from opening them afresh by war with any country. We shall not intervene unless Mexico forces intervention. We shall not intervene until the honor of our country shall no longer permit inaction.

I oppose any step which may precipitate a war that will sacrifice our young men, every one of which is needed in the great preparedness movement of our section which will restore her to her former proud position of supremacy in the Union.

The President of the United States alone knows the facts in the Mexican situation. He alone can make the decision that will conserve the national interests. While orators are making their declarations in public places the people by wire and letter are telling the President that they, who must make the sacrifices and who will not ask that some other mother's son make it for them, want peace so long as it is compatible with the Nation's honor.

President Wilson with all the facts before him was able to win a diplomatic victory in the submarine controversy, satisfying the Nation's honor without the frightful toll of war.

The relationship between this country and Mexico is unstable, unsettled, and each month during the past three years it has presented material pointed differences from the preceding month.

On the one side, in the Nation to-day, as in all crises in the past, there are those who, without knowing all the facts on which the great decision must be made, agree for immediate action against Mexico regardless of the consequences. On the other side are those who are praying that peaceful means of protecting the Nation's honor shall be completely exhausted before there is recourse to arms and a sacrifice of the blood of American soldiers.

Those orators who cry out for a given course of action in the name of the national honor without having before them all the facts that exist to-day and which affect the nation! interest in a crisis merely demonstrate their lack of responsibility and their callous selfishness.

It speaks well for the American people that they have never chosen a President who has been stampeded into war by false advisers or critics.

Strong as is the desire to preserve the strength of the United States for the more civilized purposes of humanity, the American people as a unit will be ready to fight and to die if necessary to preserve the national honor.

It is not the corporations, the landowners, or the captains of industry who have the vital interest in the question of war or peace. It is not the politicians or orators, the organizations of public preparationists, or public pacifists that have the most at stake. It is the average citizen—the citizen who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, the citizen who loves his family and wants to continue giving that family his support and protection who has the most at stake.

If the honor of the United States can be maintained by peaceful methods, who shall say that our Nation should go to war?

Those who want war must be willing themselves to sacrifice their lives upon the altar of national devotion.

None but a poltroon and a coward would care to make the sacrifice if the honor of the country were at stake, but only those who are in full possession of all the facts in the Mexican situation can decide what the national interest demands.

What man in public life, what official or orator in the market places can say that he is more jealous of the national honor than are the people themselves? The honor of the Nation is safe in the hands of the American people.

And what are the people saying? What are they thinking as they walk through the streets and travel the roads? What are they saying about their own supper table after they have returned from their daily work?

In one of his speeches the President said:

> I would great deal rather know what the men on the trains and by the wayside and in the open shops and on the farms are thinking about and yearning for than to hear any of the vociferous proclamations of policy which it is so easy to read by picking up any scrap of printed paper.
>
> Those who are expected to sacrifice their sons on the battlefields, the fathers and mothers who yield their sons and who yield them willingly when the honor of the Nation is at stake, should have something to say about the question of war.

The Secretary of the Interior has concisely stated the Mexican situation step by step up to this time. He says:

> The doctrine of force is always fighting with the doctrine of sympathy, and the trouble with the two schools of warism and pacifism is that neither one will recognize that both philosophies have a part to play in the life of every individual and of every nation, and in the production and advancement of that strange thing we call civilization.
>
> Now, the doctrine of force has been worked to its limit in Mexico. President Wilson believes that the doctrine of sympathy should have its chance in that country and this is the foundation of his Mexican policy. Not that Mexico wants our sympathy. It does not—and that is one of the great difficulties we have to contend with. Another is that it takes a long while to make a Mexican believe that we intend his country good and not evil. The people of Mexico have inherited the pride of Arragon, and the thing above all others that they do not want and will not stand for is that kind of sympathy which is nothing but pity.
>
> Mexico is a bad neighbor now. There is no use in denying this. We live at peace with Canada on our northern border, without a soldier along 3,000 miles of land, while, as a matter of necessity, we are obliged to keep an armed force on our Mexican border all of the time, and have now gathered there the largest army assembled in the United States since the Civil War. The superficial reason for this is that Mexico can not settle her own troubles at home and that the "de facto" government has been unable to prevent bandits from harassing us.
>
> Our neighbor's sewage is running over into our lot, and we must find some way to stop it even if we have to go over the boundary line and stop the pipes ourselves. This is the easiest thing in the world to say, but to respect the letter of the law and at the same time abate a nuisance that is not on your own property is one of the most difficult things in the world.
>
> Mexico will always be a nuisance to us until a few fundamental reforms are put into effect there. If it is to be lasting, however, some one inside of Mexico must do it. It can not be done by us unless we are prepared not only to conquer Mexico but to annex Mexico. We should not only have to make war on Mexico and impose peace by force, but after giving it a preliminary cleaning up we should have to establish and maintain indefinitely a government there.
>
> Diaz was a great man. The peace that he maintained was an imposed peace, not coming from the people themselves.
>
> Diaz ruled by fear. He had gone into office with promises upon his lips, and I am willing to believe that he meant to keep them. But once in power he was appalled by the span of years necessary for the slow process of constructive civilization, and he determined that to gain time Mexico was to be saved by two things—force and wealth.
>
> And so, while observing to some extent the letter of the constitution, he cynically avoided its spirit. He always placed property rights before human rights. Although he sought to improve and did improve Mexico's material condition, it was without even so much as a thought of her moral progress. He kept the masses of the people in subjection by keeping them in ignorance. When he died 83 per cent of the people could neither read nor write, and as far as her political development went Mexico was no further forward and no more fitted for self-government than in 1821, when, having wrested her independence from Spain, she was first recognized as a sovereign nation by the United States.

A great lawyer in Mexico City stated:

> "I am a constitutionalist. Either before Diaz dies or immediately upon his death a revolution will break out in Mexico having for its purpose three things—the restoration of the land to the people, the establishment of public schools throughout the country, and a judicial system in which the courts will decide according to law and not according to executive desires."

The Madero revolution followed exactly on these lines, but Madero was a dreamer, an idealist, a man who took his constitution seriously and who failed for two reasons, or, rather, because of two weaknesses of his own character. He was not strong enough to suppress the rapacious rascals who surrounded him, and he was not practical enough to deliver the goods that he had promised. Men in Madero's own Government saw in his revolution only another opportunity for getting rich quick, and they ruined him while he was still dreaming.

Huerta was his commander in chief, a soldier trained by Diaz and dominated by Diaz's friends. He, too, believed in saving Mexico by force and wealth; he was in complete sympathy with the philosophy expressed in the Diaz administration. There is no truth in the oft-repeated allegation that all the trouble with Mexico would have been avoided if President Wilson had recognized Huerta. I ask anyone who wishes to be fair to this administration to look back three years and read the newspapers of that day and the debates in Congress in which the murder of Madero and Suarez was denounced.

WHY WE SAID "HUERTA MUST GO."

Had we recognized Huerta or had we not taken a positive stand against him the criticism this administration has received for the policy we have pursued would be as nothing to what would now overwhelm us. Who were the American statesmen who demanded Huerta's recognition? What one of our leaders of either party set forth the principles upon which a better feeling between this country and all of our sister Republics of the south could be simulated by taking a position that was abhorrent to our American conscience?

We know what we have suffered in the past three years, and it is too easy now to say that all this would have been avoided if Huerta had been recognized, but the only demand made at that time by the more solid of our men of affairs who were antagonistic to the administration's policy was that we should intervene, that we should bring order to Mexico by force.

No one then believed and no one really believes now that the recognition of Huerta would have solved the Mexican problem. We do know, however, one thing that we were not conscious of them, that Huerta himself had so slight a hold upon Mexico that he did not dare to leave the capital and that he was to all intents and purposes a prisoner of the reactionaries, able only to reach the sea at its nearest point.

Although it is self-evident that this country, as the champion of constitutional government in America, can never recognize a military despotism based upon assassination, it is not necessary to call Huerta an assassin in order to justify our refusal to recognize him. His attempted dictatorship was but a fiction of government. With the elected President and Vice President murdered and the Minister of State, who was their lawful successor, cowed into submission, Huerta took the reins of power at the best as a temporary stop-gap.

The revolution against Huerta broke out immediately upon the news of Madero's death. The correspondence between Huerta and Carranza recently published shows that every practical inducement was held out to Carranza to put an end to his revolutionary movement. To Carranza's credit be it said, he refused to come to terms with those who he believed had been the cause of the President's death and who had set to one side the laws of his country.

A NEW WORLD CIVILIZATION.

It is not to be forgotten that Huerta did not pretend even to be a constitutional ruler. He sent word to the United States that he had taken the Government of Mexico into his own hands and that he was all the law that was to be found in Mexico. His statement was so bold that even the supreme court of Mexico uttered a feeble protest, which was somewhat more loudly echoed in the Mexican Senate.

In the face of this, Huerta asked for recognition from the United States, but President Taft felt that he could not conscientiously grant it, and he left the problem to be dealt with by his successor, who had already been elected. That was the situation when President Wilson took office. Could President Wilson have recognized Huerta? Surely there can be but one answer to that question—No!

To have recognized Huerta would have been a twofold injustice. First, to the people of Mexico; and, secondly, to all the people of South and Central America. To give to the commander in chief of an army recognition as President under such circumstances would have been to announce to all ambitious military officers that they had but to ally themselves with a successful junta, seize the Government by force, murder the lawful incumbents, and announce the overthrow of all law and a supreme military dictatorship in order to gain the recognition of the United States, we being thoroughly aware of all that had happened.

Americans are justified in the pride that through the operation of the Monroe doctrine there is gradually growing up in the New World a civilization that will make old-time revolutionary methods impossible, that will carry forward all of the 21 Republics to the unification of our international interests in the true spirit of Pan Americanism. We have so amplified the Monroe doctrine that we are virtually the co-partners of the Republics to the south of us, and to proclaim that the violation of their constitutional laws would not in the slightest interfere wih our recognition of a conspiracy to murder lawful executives and overthrow their established republican forms of Government would have been rightly considered by the American people as the most cowardly and shortsighted policy imaginable. Condemnation would have arisen not only from the people of the United States but from all the nations of the Pan American Union.

HIS FACE SET AGAINST INTERVENTION.

During Huerta's régime we learned much of the ability of the Mexican as a casuist. The notes that came from Mexico were models of the seventeenth century style of diplomatic state paper. President Wilson attempted, it will be remembered, to find a basis upon which there could be set up in Mexico a Government that we could recognize. There was nothing peremptory about our attitude in the beginning of the diplomatic exchanges.

Our whole effort was to the obtaining of a republican form of Government in Mexico which would have the people back of it and guaranties against the establishment of an absolutism on our southern border under which the people of Mexico would so chafe that we should have a constant state of revolution there.

Many of the best Mexicans were in sympathy with the attitude that the United States took toward Huerta. They knew that stability of Government was not to be hoped for under a man of his temperament and disposition. After it became evident, by continued negotiation, which ended nowhere, that Huerta was standing, so to speak, in the City of Mexico heaping insolence on the United States President Wilson gave notice that Huerta must go.

Then followed the Tampico incident. Our sailors landed at Tampico and were arrested, marched through the streets in ignominy, and eventually returned to their boat. The admiral in charge was so incensed at their treatment that he immediately made upon Huerta a demand that a national salute should be fired in atonement for the insult to the flag. Again the Mexican Government attempted to continue its policy of diplomatic quibbling.

Meanwhile the revolution had gained such headway in the north that it was difficult from day to day to say which force had or occupied the greatest portion of Mexican territory. Huerta was keeping up his resistance because he was being supplied with ammunition from abroad. A ship was reported ready to land at Vera Cruz with a cargo of arms, and as a warning to Huerta and in proof of the seriousness of our purpose to bring Huerta to a recognition of our attitude the order was given to seize the customhouse and occupy the port of Vera Cruz.

We did not go to Vera Cruz to force Huerta to salute the flag. We did go there to show Mexico that we were in earnest in our demand that Huerta must go, and he went before our forces were withdrawn. The occupation of Vera Cruz was carried out without difficulty, with the loss of 19 of our brave sailors and marines, and if aggression and intervention had been our aim we could have easily seized the railroad to Mexico City and occupied the capital.

The menacing attitude of the Mexican troops surrounding our force of occupation at Vera Cruz made hostilities appear imminent, and again the strongest kind of pressure was brought to bear upon the President to intervene, that we should go into Mexico and take matters into our own hands. This is the one thing that the President has set his face against from the first. It is the thing to which this administration is opposed so long as any other hope holds out.

Secretary Lane, being questioned whether the United States could do in Mexico what it has done in Cuba, replied that we could not.

That is a very common delusion, but the Mexican situation is not at all that which we met in Cuba. We went in there at the request of the revolutionists and after the *Maine* had been sunk in Habana Harbor and such authority as there was in Cuba had thus evidenced its hostility. We could go in and did go in there with some heart, fighting alongside of the revolutionists against a monarchy, but we could not go in with any heart to fight against the Mexicans, who are struggling to find a way to popular government.

We had sought to bring to our sympathetic support all of the South American countries. They also were anxious for a settlement of this trouble upon some basis that would safeguard the interests of Mexico and conserve that unity which is the soul of the great Pan American movement. Some of them thought that they saw a greedy hand from the north reaching down with no benevolent purpose, and if it laid hold of Mexico none of them knew but that it might be their turn next.

This fear of the big brother is a very real one in Latin America. They do not know us intimately; they are suspicious of our motives. They think of the Mexican War of 1846 as an unjustifiable aggression on our part; they think of the Panama incident as a robbery; they misconstrue our purpose in Santo Domingo, and in Nicaragua; and they do not trust us. They fear that the spirit of imperialism is upon the American people, and that the Monroe doctrine may be construed some day as a doctrine that will give the whole Western Hemisphere to the United States; that it is a doctrine of selfishness and not a doctrine of altruism.

MEDIATION ACCEPTED.

Those who are familiar with the feeling of the South and Central American countries toward the United States know that just at that time when our forces occupied Vera Cruz a very intense fear had seized upon Latin America. They believed in their hearts that we were on our march southward, and that the President's Mobile speech and other generous utterances of the same sort were to be taken in a Pickwickian sense.

When they presented a plan of mediation the United States had no choice but to accept it. Indeed, if we had refused to accept it, Latin America would have been justified in doubting our good faith. No one that I am aware of, either Republican or Democrat, has ever criticized the President for accepting the mediation of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, and abiding strictly by the agreement reached at Niagara Falls.

By the protocols there signed on June 23, 1914, the United States agreed that the selection of a Provisional and a Constitutional President be left wholly to the Mexicans, and we guaranteed our recognition of them when chosen. This made clear our desire not to interfere in any way in the settlement of Mexico's domestic troubles, and as a further proof of our disinterested friendship for the Mexican people the United States agreed not to claim any war indemnity or other international satisfaction from Mexico. We had gone to Vera Cruz "to serve mankind." Our only quarrel was with Huerta, and Huerta got out on July 16, 1914. Our forces were withdrawn from Vera Cruz on November 23 following.

Three days after Huerta left Mexico Villa began levying taxes on his own authority, and it was plain that the successful revolutionists would soon be fighting between themselves. Both Carranza and Villa agreed to a conference at Aguascalientes, and it was stipulated that no soldiers were to be there; but Villa turned up with an armed force that terrorized the convention and prevented it from recognizing Carranza, and in a short while open warfare began between the two factions.

Villa and Carranza had broken, and there was a double sovereignty claimed even on our border in northern Mexico. Things were going from bad to worse, and it was suggested in the Cabinet that there should be some determination by the United States as to which of the rival claimants to power in Mexico as leader of a successful revolution should be recognized as a de facto government.

WHY WE ARE IN MEXICO.

Secretary of State Lansing thereupon called a conference of the representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Guatemala and asked them, from their knowledge of the situation—for a considerable portion of the information in the hands of the United States came through the representatives of these countries in Mexico—to cooperate with him in the determination of the claimant to be recognized. These six Latin-American Catholic countries unanimously recommended the recognition of Carranza, and in furtherance of our Pan American policy this recognition was at once given by the United States and Latin America.

Since Carranza's recognition we have seen Americans who have gone into Mexico on peaceful errands murdered; we have seen our own towns upon the border raided and Americans slain on American soil.

These outrages prompted President Wilson to send our own troops into Mexico, and this course can not be otherwise construed than as a recognition of the fact that the de facto government in Mexico recognized by ourselves and by other nations is not fulfilling the duty which one government owes to another.

We are in Mexico to-day, and how long we shall stay and how far we shall go depends upon the policy and the power to keep the peace of the Carranza government, but we shall go no further than we have gone until every effort to secure effective Mexican cooperation fails.

Mr. Lane then proceeded to an examination of the principles governing the policy of the United States toward Mexico and of the needs of the Mexican people. He said:

"There are things that a democracy must always be willing to fight for. But what thing is there that any American can say we ought to be willing to fight for in Mexico? Is it because railroads built with American capital have been damaged, that mines have been shut down, or even that American citizens have been killed by outlaws and bandits?

"All those things we can and do very much regret, but who will say that they are great principles for which a democracy should be willing to sacrifice the blood of its sons? Who can formulate out of the whole history of the past six years any other determination than this: That we should resist the temptation to fight where pride and interest move us in that direction, and that we should and will fight when we are attacked and when we find no other means by which our interests can be safeguarded and Mexico be given any hope for itself?

"We have been on the edge of war with Mexico several times in the last three years, but each time, before the determination was made that we should discard our hopes, there has opened some way by which reasonable men might expect that Mexico could prove herself able to take care of her own problems. The one man who can justifiably criticize President Wilson for his Mexican policy is the man who honestly believes that Mexico can not be brought to stability of government and responsibility except through the exercise of outside force. That man is consistent, and the only criticism I have to make of him is a criticism of his judgment.

"SEEKING MEXICAN COOPERATION.

"There is no question that we could easily overrun Mexico. I believe we could do it with a comparatively few men, although we would have a united Mexico against us. There would be no glory in such a war, and there is not one man in ten thousand in this country who really wants such a war. It would be repugnant to every American tradition and would discourage the friendship of every other American nation. Of course we could conquer Mexico, and after a good deal of guerilla warfare we could bring Mexico to a state of quiet.

"Then we could hold her while we administered to her the medicine that we believe she needs. We could have what we call a general cleaning up, the rebuilding of her railroads, of her wagon roads, the construction of sewers for her cities, the enforcement of health regulations and all the other things that go to make up the outward and visible signs of order and good government.

"But don't you see that the peace we would bring would be a peace imposed by force, the government we would give to Mexico would be the kind of government that we have and which makes life tolerable to us in our communities? Its standards would not be Mexican standards, its ideals would not be Mexican ideals, its genius would not be Mexican genius. The moment we withdraw from Mexico there would be a return, after a very short time, to Mexican standards.

"What Mexico really needs and must be allowed to do is to raise her own standards; it is to give herself a cleaning up by herself. That is bound to take time, but in no other way can Mexico get a government that will be expressive of her own ideals, that will be expressive of some aspiration of her own as to what her civilization should be, and in this we want to be of help to Mexico if she will allow us to do so.

"The Mexican problem, as a problem, depends upon your attitude toward other peoples. Mexico is a land to conquer, and the Mexican people are a people to be conquered and subordinated, and the country and its resources made ours, if you look upon a smaller and less highly civilized country as a proper object of exploitation. On the other hand, Mexico is a country out of which something greater can be made, and the Mexican people are a people who have possibilities and can be helped to become a self-governing nation, and if you take that attitude toward Mexico you are bound to sympathize with their struggle upward.

"In other words, where we find that conditions justify revolution, if we think it our business to go in and work the revolution to our profit, we must condemn the President's policy; but if, where we find conditions justify revolution, we want to give that revolution a chance to work out from the inside, we must hold up his hands.

"The things that Mexico needs are few, but they are fundamental. A land-tax system which will make it impossible to hold great bodies of idle land for selfish reasons, and which will make is unnecessary for the Government to sell concessions in order to support itself. A school system by which popular education may be given to all the people as it is given in the United States. If Diaz had done this, as he promised, he would have created an active public opinion in Mexico which would have made present conditions impossible.

"Along with the primary schools should go agricultural schools in which modern methods of agriculture should be taught. The Army might well be used as a sanitation corps so as to insure against the recurrence of those plagues which so affect trade relations with Mexico and the health of her people. With these things Mexico would be well started on her way toward that better era which her more intelligent revolutionists thought she had reached in the early days of the Diaz administration, some 40 years ago.

"UNJUST LAND SYSTEM.

"Everyone in Mexico is united upon the proposition that the present land system is based upon privilege and is unjust. I have talked with 20 of the wealthiest and most intelligent men who belonged to the Diaz régime. All have admitted the fact. Some have even volunteered the statement that Mexico is in a feudal state and that the land belongs to great proprietors, who work the peons and keep them in a semislave condition. If the facts were better realized, the people of the United States would not stand for the labor conditions that exist in Mexico, and for the peonage, which is only a form of slavery. I have some personal knowledge of these conditions.

"One morning 10 years ago I was on a coffee finca—a great estate high up in the Sierra Madre—and I asked a peasant who labored from sunrise to sunset what he was getting for his day's work. His answer was 60 cents in Guatemalan money, which was equal to 10 cents gold. Here was a strong, able-bodied agricultural laborer earning 83 a month. I asked him why he did not go down to the railroad, where the American contractors would pay him 50 cents or more a day. His answer was: 'I would not be from here 1 mile before Don Porfirio would have reached out his hand and drawn me back to jail.' I said, 'Why could he arrest you?' and the answer, given me falteringly and in fear, was, 'Because I owe the store.'

"He had lived and worked on that finca for 12 years, and, alive or dead, he is there to-day, unless he has run away to join an army in the revolution. I asked that Mexican peon where he had come from, and he pointed across the mountains to a valley where his people had lived for a thousand years. 'Why did you leave there?' I inquired. His answer was that Don Porfirio had given the land where he was born to a Chinaman.

"From an investigation I made myself I found out that this was literally true; that the land, which was the hereditary possession of these Indians, had been taken from them by the Government and given to a greater 'company' on terms which one can only guess; that the 'company' had sold the land to a syndicate, in which there were no Americans, upon condition that it should be populated under a law somewhat similar to our homestead law, with the reservation that it was neither to go to Mexican natives nor to citizens of the United States, and the immigrants with which the syndicate was populating that part of Mexico were Chinamen.

"I crossed a bridge on the Camino Real. 'The last time I crossed that bridge,' said the peon who was with me, 'the governor of the State was lying there dead. He had become ambitious and presented to the people a program of reform. Doubtless he hoped to be another Juarez, and Don Porfirio had ended his ambitions.' The peon of Mexico—and out of possibly 15,000,000 inhabitants at least 12,000,000 are peons—is a kindly and gentle creature under normal conditions, disregardful of his own life, but not anxious to make war on anyone. The peon has it forced upon his mind that he belongs to a definite sphere of life, and so he is without ambition and without foresight, but he is not without intelligence, and he makes an excellent workman when taught. All he needs is a chance to live and a chance to learn, land to cultivate and schools to go to. Is it conceivable that to add to the miseries of these struggling people any American citizen would want to make war on them?

"AMERICAN IN MEXICO.

"We of the United States have the impulse that all virile people have. We feel conscious of our ability to do a job in nation making much better than anyone else. Read over Kipling's poem, 'The White Man's Burden.' It was not so much the white man's duty to clean up unsanitary conditions on the outskirts of civilization and to develop the backward peoples of the earth that he was expressing as it was our perfect, self-complacent appreciation of our supreme ability to do the cleaning up better than any other people on the face of the globe.

"There is a good deal of the special policeman, of the sanitary engineer, of the social worker, and of the welfare dictator about the American people. We are quite conscious that in the development of this great country of ours, in our march across the continent, we have done a perfectly good job, and the pioneering spirit is very much alive. It is one of the most fundamental instincts that have made white men give to the world its history for the last thousand years.

"As a great Nation, dedicated to democracy, we can not undertake a war of conquest against a people because their moral development has been neglected by their former rulers. We can, however, insist, and we must insist, that these people shall make safe our borders and give protection to the lives and property of our nationals who have settled in Mexico at her invitation.

"To directly offer help to Mexico would be looked upon by them as an insult, like slapping them in the face. This is a kind of pride that is purely Latin. It is an inheritance that comes to Mexico by way of Spain along with the ideals that Cervantes ridicules in Don Quixote; but it is so real a thing that no progress can be made without recognizing it. So I say that to tell Mexico what she shall do in our straight-out American fashion, to say to Mexico we are going to help you without being invited to do so, is equivalent under present conditions to a declaration of war.

"DOUBT OUR ALTRUISM.

"The Mexicans do not believe in our professions of altruism. We must say to Mexico one of two things. Either you must keep our border safe and protect the rights of our nationals in Mexico, which you have not done, or we will invade your country and restore order ourselves; or we must say to Mexico we understand the effort you are making to give the people a chance for life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness and we will gladly help you if you ask our help to accomplish this end.

"The last is the policy that the United States has been seeking to put into effect. The difficulty in doing this arises almost solely out of the difficulty we Americans have in persuading the peoples of Latin America that our intentions are really honest.

"Nor is this altogether to be wondered at: Latin America has known the American chiefly as a seeker after concessions, a land-grabber and an exploiter. Even where the American has bought property, as many have who to-day hold perfectly legal title to the land, they are absentee landlords, and every just criticism that the Irishman has had to make against the absentee English landlord can be made against the absentee American landlord in Mexico.

"He does not become a part of Mexico; he does not throw in his lot with the Mexicans. He is willing to spend his money there and employ labor, but he has nothing in common with the people of the country. The Mexican feels that the American goes there only to get rich out of the land and labor of Mexico; that he comes 'to exploit, not to develop.'

"There has never been a time since the United States established the present Mexican border under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo when raids, small or great, have not taken place across that border, and sometimes Americans have been the raiders—we may as well acknowledge the fact. Furthermore, there never has been a time since the United States was founded when Mexico itself was as a whole in the control of any one Government. Even Diaz never had the Yaqui Indian country, never really controlled Sonora.

"A police force alone has been a failure in Mexico. A failure both as far as the Mexicans are concerned and in protecting American life and American property. American life and American property have both been repeatedly assailed and destroyed during every administration. The protection of our people there has always been a problem, and I believe always will be a problem. This hazard any foreigner takes who goes into a country filled with people who would risk their lives for a horse or a saddle.

"Further, I say this: That looking at Mexico solely from the standpoint of allowing our miners, our engineers, and our capitalists to develop that country for their own benefit, and only incidentally for the benefit of Mexico, a policy of force is all that Mexico needs. It is the only policy that has ever been tried upon the Mexican people, and it has proved a success for the exploitation of the country by outsiders. If, however, we look at the Mexican question from the standpoint of the Mexican, Is the policy of force adequate to the problem? No one who has studied it will say so. The truth is this:

"THE VERDICT OF MANKIND.

"Mexico will never be a nation in any real sense, nor will the Mexicans ever be a people of agricultural, commercial, industrial, or political consequence until the individual Mexican has had an economic and an educational chance. He must be tied to Mexico, and not to a landlord, by the ownership of a piece of land; he must be able to read and write so that he may know what the needs of civilization are. This policy is that which I characterized as a policy of hope and hopefulness. It is not founded on doubt and despair. It refuses to recognize the Mexican who can only be shot into keeping order.

"If we despair of these people, who is to be their friend? Are we Americans to see Mexico forever remain a land of a few rich and cultivated gentlemen, and 12,000,000 half-starved, ill-clothed, and illiterate peasants—men, women, and children—kept in slavery and subjection and ignorance, a people into whose lives comes nothing that raises them above the beasts of the field?

"The people of the United States can not conceive of such conditions. Is it not time to try another policy than that of force alone, which has failed so miserably and wrought such woe? Is President Wilson to be criticized because he believes that it is not idealistic, not outside the range of reasonable hope, to think of America as the helpful friend of Mexico? Why may not Mexico be led to see that we are honest in our willingness to help and that we can do it?

"President Wilson has clearly seen the end that he desired from the first, and he has worked toward it against an opposition that was cunning and intensive, persistent and powerful. If he succeeds in giving a new birth of freedom to Mexico, he most surely will receive the verdict of mankind."

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## Hon. Wm. Schley Howard's Statement of Democracy's Achievements.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 17, 1916.*

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks, I wish to insert a very interesting, accurate, and informing statement of promises performed and deeds done by the present administration, as set out in a statement recently issued by my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. HOWARD, to his constituents asking for his renomination.

This is the record to which Gov. Glynn and Senator JAMES referred to kindle the pride and arouse the wild enthusiasm of that recent representative gathering of Democracy's hosts at St. Louis. This is the record on which the party to-day appeals to the people of the Nation for the renewal of their confidence. This is the record which led the Democracy of the Nation to call again, without a dissenting voice, Woodrow Wilson as its standard bearer in November.

Though the President has played an important part in the making of this marvelous record, yet we must not forget, as he himself has often reminded us, that his efforts would have been in vain had it not been for the loyal, patriotic, and able cooperation of those distinguished Democratic Members of Congress, who first framed and wrote into law these important measures, submitting them finally to the President for his signature and approval. Among these none has rendered more signal and capable service than the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HOWARD], who, as a member of the important Committee on Appropriations, is in position to speak with exceptional knowledge of this record in the statement which I herewith set out from him:

"No matter what the critics of the Democratic Party may charge, no administration in 50 years has enacted as many constructive measures as has the present administration. It has proven its ability and willingness to legislate for the masses.

"Permit me to review briefly some of these measures:

TARIFF.

"We reduced the tariff upon necessities, increased it upon luxuries, and provided for one hundred millions of revenue by a tax upon incomes.

BANKING AND CURRENCY REFORM.

"The Federal reserve act supplanted the inelastic national banking act, which was created to meet a great emergency in time of war and was influential and powerful enough to go unmolested by any regulatory legislation for 50 years. Under the provisions of this financial monstrosity the volume of currency could only be expanded as the Government incurred additional liabilities, and the national-bank currency was predicated upon liabilities of the Government rather than upon assets. A panic could be created overnight. Clearing-house certificates were being frequently resorted to in the frantic efforts of honest bankers and respectable business to avoid bankruptcy and commercial stagnation.

"In the place of this financial freak the Democratic Party has given to the country a banking system that is panicless, a system by which any man with collateral and character can finance his capital demands. Crops can be moved at fair prices and the supply of currency necessary to meet unusual conditions is expanded and contracted automatically.

CLAYTON ACT.

"The Clayton Antitrust Act put real teeth into the Sherman law, affording a place of refuge for the small business enterprise that sought an opportunity to employ its capital. In other words, it threw the cloak of protection around competition and freed it from the effects of unlawful combinations that sought its destruction.

AGRICULTURE.

"The most liberal appropriations ever made in the history of the country have been made by this administration for the encouragement of the farmers.

"1. Agricultural extension act: In practical effect this bill undertakes to provide such machinery as will bring to the attention of the farmer, the farmer's wife and children, in the most striking manner such demonstrated truths and practices of successful agriculture which, lived up to, make rural life desirable and profitable. Georgia's share in this fund in 10 years, by annual increases each year, will amount to $182,020 per annum.

"2. Federal warehouses: This bill, when in full operation, will be of incalculable benefit to our cotton growers. The Federal Reserve Board has ruled that farm notes secured by proper warehouse receipts are rediscountable. The essential purpose of this bill is to provide machinery by which imperishable farm products may be brought into the most intimate contact with the commercial and banking world. The warehouse receipt as to weight and grade being of unquestionable integrity makes it prime collateral at any Federal reserve bank.

"3. Bureau of Markets: The purpose of this bill being to direct the truck and fruit grower and farmer in scientific shipping and crating, and to give information and direction as to the best markets at a given time, thus saving millions to the grower in avoiding a glutted market.

"4. Nitrate plant: The most expensive of all necessary ingredients entering into plant food is nitrates. The Army bill carries a provision for the establishment of a Government-owned nitrate plant. Necessarily a large surplus will be available for agricultural purposes, and this bill provides that the surplus shall be sold direct from the Government to the farmer. This will be of great value to the farmers of our section particularly.

"5. Good roads: As the first man to introduce a bill and deliver a speech in the Democratic Congress in advocacy of Federal aid to public highways, I am gratified to be a Member of the body that has passed a bill appropriating $75,000,000 to be expended in five years, prorated among the States. Georgia will receive approximately $780,000 per annum of this sum, and the fifth district about $100,000 per annum.

"6. Rural credits: It is also a source of much gratification to me to have been the author of the first rural-credits bill introduced in the American Congress. Many of its features are carried in the bill as finally passed. The bill as passed did not meet with my best judgment in many details, but it is a long step in the right direction, and creates for the first time in our history a system of land-mortgage banks solely for the farmer. Its defects will be corrected; its benefits will be manifold.

"7. Parcel post: This beneficent legislation is in its swaddling clothes, so far as its effectiveness has been realized. Good roads and rural-delivery extension will bring about its maximum usefulness to the farmer.

LABOR.

"We have given to labor a seat in the Cabinet and a department of Government for the uplift and betterment of the American wage earner. We have enacted into law much to bring about a more cordial relation between employer and employee. We have provided for a method of conciliation and arbitration in trades disputes. In other words, we have given the workingman a voice in the councils of the Nation.

MERCHANT MARINE.

"The European war has brought the American people face to face with our helpless and dependent condition with regard to

ships in which to carry our commerce. The shipping bill recently passed by the House is the first step in the rehabilitation of the American merchant marine and the reestablishment of the Stars and Stripes upon the seas. We must and will free the American manufacturer, merchant, and farmer from the uncertainties involved in a dependency upon foreign nations for bottoms in which to ship our commerce to the markets of the world.

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

"While we have materially increased the standing Army, we have taken the one step necessary to insure an adequate defense for our country by trained and equipped soldiers—encouragement to the National Guard and stimulation to the citizen to become a soldier. My judgment is that under the Army bill just enacted we will have in 10 years 750,000 trained citizen soldiers, representing the highest and most patriotic type of American citizenry.

"The Navy is our first line of defense. The Democratic Party inherited from the Republicans a top-heavy, unbalanced, ineffective, and inefficient Navy. When the present building program is completed we will have, irrespective of whether Germany and England meet again in battle, the second largest navy in the world and the best and most powerful navy, ship for ship, that ever plowed its way through the seas.

"These are the chief achievements of the Democratic administration. The humble part I played in their accomplishment is a source of pride to me, and I believe every Democrat will place the stamp of his approval upon this record.

IMMIGRATION.

"The European war and the overflowing dinner pail of the American wage earner vindicate my record as an advocate of restrictive legislation, preventing the great influx of undesirable immigrants. The liberality of existing law is becoming an alarming factor in our economic and political existence. It is my earnest hope that the Senate will concur in the action of the House and pass the Burnett bill. I firmly believe that the President will approve this bill in the light of European conditions."

In conclusion, permit me to say that Mr. HOWARD'S able résumé of Democracy's achievements make a splendid platform on which the party can well plead title to the suffrage of the American people, a platform which administers largely to the peace, prosperity, and welfare of the masses of our people and enables us to-day to truly say that, though the rest of the world is at war, we are at peace; though most of mankind is in want, we have plenty.

Who can doubt that the American people in November next will give very enthusiastic and glad indorsement to a record like this?

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 10, 1916.*

Mr. CONNELLY. Mr. Speaker, there has been a seeming demand from over the country for larger expenditures of money to improve our Army, our Navy, and our coast fortification. There has been a demand that we have more guns, more soldiers, more marines, more battleships, more submarines, and a greater reserve in ammunition. I am free to say to you that we have made greater appropriations along this line than I can persuade myself to believe is expedient, and Congress and the country have each felt the effect of an organized effort to scare the people into a great expenditure along this line, but these expenditures were made by practically a unanimous vote of the Members on both sides of the House, and I think it a reasonable assertion to make to say that the matter of making appropriations for the so-called preparedness was in no sense a partisan measure. When the Army and Navy bills were being considered the Republican Members of the House voted almost unanimously to increase by amendments the amounts to be expended, and upon the final passage of the Army bill only one Republican voted against the bill.

The vote on the naval bill was almost as unanimous and only 10 Members voted against the bill out of a total of 435 Members. I say that the matter of making these appropriations was a matter of no partisan division and no man has a moral right to vote an appropriation onto the country and then refuse to vote for a tax to raise the money to defray the expense that he has voted to contract for. I can not permit myself to believe that there are any great number of men and women in this country who are so blinded by partisan prejudice that they will say that any Member is justified in voting for large appropriations and then, in hopes of making political capital out of the matter of raising money to pay these debts, vote against a reasonable and fair tax to raise the money. The only hope a Republican who has voted against this bill can have is that he can convince his people that the bill just passed was not a just and equitable tax measure, and if he can not do this then no fair man, regardless of what he believes politically and no matter what party he has affiliated with in the past, will excuse the Member who votes for great expenses and refuses to support a bill that has for its purpose the raising of the money to pay for the increase. The so-called preparedness measures have entailed an additional expense during this year of something over $300,000,000; these bills have, as I have said before, been supported by all Members of the House. This bill proposes to raise the money from the people of the country and it is just a question of how the money shall be raised. The Republican members have quite generally insisted that it should be raised by increased tariff, which would necessarily be paid by the people who consume the goods imported into the country, and the only thing that this system has to commend it from a revenue-raising standpoint is that the people unconsciously pay it and it is so hidden that they do not know when or how much they are paying. No one will seriously contend that in the final analysis the people do not pay this tax which is assessed and collected at the customhouses, whether the tax is laid either for protection or for revenue.

The Democrats have brought in a bill which has the approval of all the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, and we are informed that four of the Republican members voted to report the bill favorably. Let us see what this bill proposes and where the Democrats want to place this tax that must be raised and which must be paid by some one. They first go to the people who have incomes of more than $50,000 and say to them, "You have more property to protect and more interests at stake than the day laborer and those who are merely existing in the country, and we are going to ask you to pay something over a hundred million dollars of this increased expenditure for national defense." Then the Democrats go to the munition makers, who have made fabulous fortunes in the few months just past and who will reap a great benefit from further expenditures of money by the Government, and we say to them, "You shall pay the sum of $70,000,000 of this money that is needed to increase the armaments." Then we go to the estates where they amount to more than $50,000 and we lay a graduated tax upon inheritances, and we say that these estates shall pay a tax of from 1 to 5 per cent, and this raises $17,000,000 for the year 1917, and after that it is estimated to bring into the Treasury something more than $50,000,000 per year. Thus it will be seen that for the first two hundred millions of this additional money that is needed for increased preparedness the Democrats have gone to those who have much and have asked for a small tax out of their plenty, rather than to have gone to the man who works for $2 a day and ask him to take from his meager store the wherewith to defray this expense. It is a matter of some pride to those of us who believe that the taxgatherer should call at the mansion of plenty rather than at the hovels of the poor that we note that every Democratic vote cast at this time was cast for this bill, while the Republicans by their actions in voting against the bill took the position that they are not in sympathy with the plan to take the bulk of the taxes from those best able to pay. We doubt that the man out in the precincts who wants to see right and fairness prevail, regardless of the theory of politics that he has embraced, will quite excuse the Republicans for voting millions of appropriations and then refusing to place the burden of taxation where it equitably and rightly belongs, and that he will accept the excuse given by a prominent Republican Member, who, during the discussion of the bill, said:

> I will not vote for this measure because I will not allow the Democrats under a claim of emergency to manufacture arguments against the protective system.

There you have the extreme partisanship that at least prompted some Members from giving this bill support.

This bill also created a nonpartisan tariff commission, which was promised the country by both the Progressive and Republican Parties in their platforms of 1912. There was no claim that the commission was not a fair one or that it was not nonpartisan; those who voted against it, after they had declared

for it in their platforms but a short time ago, did so on the flimsy excuse that it was Democratic legislation. I can not believe that such an excuse will fully satisfy the man who honestly believes that tariff legislation often disturbs business and that a tariff revision should be made only after a board of fair men from both political parties have recommended the revision. In refusing to vote for such a law, which no one claims does not provide for a fair tariff commission, does it not give some weight to the Democratic claim that the purpose for which the Republican leaders desired a tariff commission is to prevent an honest revision rather than to aid such a revision? All that any honest man, be he a Republican or a Democrat, can ask for in the way of a revision of the tariff is that it be revised honestly and fairly and after a board has given the revision on each article careful and honest consideration. The fact that such a tariff board had not, prior to this year, been demanded by any Democratic platform is no reason that the Democrats had not the right to create such a board, and it certainly is not a good reason that the Republicans should refuse to support such a measure because they had promised in their platform four years ago that they were in favor of such legislation. I will not believe that the honest and sincere men and women of the country will agree that a bill that has been advocated for a long time by both Republicans and Progressives should be defeated merely because it was proposed by the Democratic Party. That is the position that 139 Republicans took on the proposition, and in so doing I can not persuade myself that they honestly represented the thousands of Republican voters at home who have honestly voted for the Republican platform with promises for a tariff commission in it.

ANTIDUMPING LEGISLATION.

One of the claims that Republican speakers and newspapers over the country have persistently made is that when the war is over there will be great quantities of cheap goods sent into this country from the countries of Europe, and they have made this the basis for many long speeches and many editorials. Yet when they were given a chance to vote for a law which specifically forbade, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, this very thing that they had claimed to be so fearful of, they voted against that provision and against the bill. It may be that these Republicans have a constituency who they can inveigle into indorsing such political perfidy, but I am free to say to you that I have too much respect for both the intelligence and patriotism of the men and women whom I represent here to accuse any considerable number of them of being ready to approve of such votes. The whole procedure has smattered too much of an attempt to make an issue and find something out of which they might make some political capital in the coming campaign. The frantic efforts of the Republican politicians to find an issue with which they dare go before the country and make an appeal to the patriotism and intelligence of the voters have at times been pathetic. They have not dared to fight the regional banking and currency act passed by the Democrats; they have not cared to make an issue out of the fact that the country has been given a rural-credits law which will enable the farmer to hire money at a reasonable rate of interest and a long time for payments; and they have not relished the idea of going before the country in the attitude of being opposed to the many enactments of constructive, progressive legislation that this administration has placed upon the statute books; and yet, realizing that they must have some issue, they have refused to indorse the income tax, the inheritance tax, the tax on munitions, the tariff board, and the antidumping clause that forbids unfair competition, merely because the legislation was proposed by a Democratic Congress. In their efforts to find an issue they have found much fault with the administration for not going to war with Mexico, although they have carefully refrained from declaring that they would go to war if they are intrusted with the running of the Government.

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party goes to the country conscious of the fact that it has been a minority party for many years, but also with the consciousness of the fact that they are to make their plea to an honest and fair-minded people, and they will submit their claims to the people of the country fully conscious of the fact that they have given to the country such an honest and fair administration that they deserve to win in this campaign. They will take the commission of power that was given them four years ago back to the people and ask for a renewal of that commission, believing that they have been fair and have met the demands of the country in a fair and businesslike manner. They point to a country of well-employed and well-paid people, a people at peace with all the world, a people happy and contented. They can do nothing more toward winning at the coming election than to show the people that they deserve to win. If with this record the people still believe that honest and efficient administration does not entitle the party to the renewal of its commission to keep the reins of the Government for another four years, it will still be a matter of much satisfaction to those who have been given the one opportunity in many years to put Democratic laws and Democratic legislation in force to feel that to deserve to win and then lose is far better than to win without deserving to do so.

There will doubtless be much said during the coming months about the benefits to the farmers of a protective tariff. Every farmer who has reached the middle age in life will recall that the Republican Party passed every line of tariff legislation for 30 years after they came into power in 1861. Not a line of Democratic tariff legislation was placed upon the statute books from March 4, 1861, until August 24, 1894, and yet many times in the late eighties and the early nineties the farmer sold his corn for 20 cents per bushel and less, his wheat for 40 and 50 cents per bushel, his cows for $10 a head, and his hogs for 2 cents per pound. In the face of these facts, which will be verified by every man who lived on the farm in those days, we shall not expect the high protectionist to mislead any great number of intelligent farmers and make them believe in the face of the present good prices and his general good condition that he has been materially harmed by the Democratic revision of the tariff.

Of course, I would want to be fair enough to say that I do not claim that other causes than the tariff have had no influence upon the prices of what the farmer has to sell; every intelligent man knows that other causes have had an influence. But what I desire to emphasize is that some of the hardest times the farmers of this country have ever seen were during periods when the Republican Party was in power and after they had had ample time to show what a high tariff would do for the farming element of the country.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, let me say that there has never been a time since I could remember when there was less demand for partisan politics than at this hour. The greater part of the world has been for many months engaged in the most deadly conflict of all the ages. We have as a nation escaped any part in that dread catastrophe; we are to-day at peace with all the world. Those who have at times clamored loudest for war have shown the least inclination to enlist. The people are beginning to know who fights the wars and who pays the bills. They are willing to do both when it is necessary to preserve the honor of the country, but they will not be mislead. When the time comes there will be no divisions along party lines; every home will make the sacrifice. But the best men of all the ages have deprecated war and wished for the time when nations would cease the crime of conflicts. Every thinking man knows that when the nations of Europe have exhausted themselves they will then have to gather around a table of arbitration and find some grounds upon which all can agree to quit the fight and again live in peace. The question that good men and women all over the world are asking to-day is: Why could not these agreements be made before the war is waged rather than after the best blood and brawn of the nation is lost and future generations are mortgaged with a debt to pay the bills? So long as such problems are yet to be solved by the civilizations of the earth let us commend ourselves to the higher work of seeking a solution for these problems rather than to spend our time in carping criticisms or petty partisan politics.

## The Federal Workmen's Compensation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

On the bill (H. R. 15316) to provide compensation for employees of the United States suffering injuries sustained while in the performance of their duty, and for other purposes.

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, we have before us to-day for consideration the Federal employee's compensation bill, a measure drafted in the interest of the men and women in the employ of our Federal Government, which extends compensation to all of our 400,000 employees who sustain injuries while on duty. This bill meets with my hearty approval, as I believe it is an advance step taken by the Federal Government toward industrial and humane justice for its own employees.

The protection of the life and health of employees against injury sustained while in the performance of duty is to-day recognized as one of the very vital schemes of the Government.

During my service in Congress I have earnestly advocated and supported every measure which has come before the House looking to the betterment and the safeguarding of the laboring classes, and I am much gratified to note the interest taken by the Members of the House in the bill now before us.

I shall not attempt to go into a lengthy discussion of this progressive legislation at this time, but I merely wish to state a few facts concerning its merits.

The Federal employees compensation bill, introduced in the House by the distinguished gentleman from Maine [Mr. McGILLICUDDY], provides compensation for disability or death of any employee of the United States resulting from injury sustained in the performance of his duty. It provides for a compensation at the rate of two-thirds the wages lost by such employee during his disability. In the event of his death the dependent wife will be allowed 35 per cent of his wages, and 10 per cent additional for each dependent child under 18 years of age. The act as submitted by the committee also provides for an administrative commission, consisting of three commissioners, appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

This commission would be authorized to make the necessary rules and regulations for the enforcement of this act and would have the power to decide all questions arising therefrom. The commission would also be empowered to employ physicians, nurses, and secure hospital treatment so that every opportunity may be given to the injured employee to recover from his injury.

We have a few Federal compensation acts on our statute books, but they are very inadequate and do not cope with the strides of progress made by the industrial world. The compensation act of 1908 offers protection to a small portion of the 400,000 employees of the United States, chiefly those engaged in hazardous occupations. Under the present system hundreds of our postal employees are denied protection on account of the loose construction placed on the provisions of the law of 1908, by some of our Post Office officials. "So large have become the works of industry, and so great has been their development through improved machinery and appliances that the necessity of safeguarding those who must operate these modern inventions has long been manifest."

Our Government demands high qualifications and first-class service of its employees, but it has not up to this time offered them any reliable safeguards or employment guaranties in return for their best services.

Up to this time the man in the employ of a private individual or corporation has seemingly enjoyed a greater advantage over the employee of the Government, because if the former sustained injury or disability while in line of duty he is assured of medical attention and knows that his dependent ones will be taken care of during the time of his disability.

Nearly all of our large factories and corporations of this country come under the provisions of some workmen's liability law, and we find that more than 21 States have enacted compensation laws for accident in employment, which have proved practical, thus they have recognized that each industry shall bear the burden of the disabilities caused by it. Inasmuch as the Federal Government is one of the largest employers of labor in the world, shall it be said of us that we have been unmindful of the protection and welfare of our own employees? Under the present law a Government employee who sustains an injury or accident while at work must bear the burden of his misfortune for which he probably was not responsible.

The bill before us, however, will take care of all civil employees of the United States and Panama, and while the proposed extension of the present law will cover four times as many employees, the number of accidents will not be proportionately increased since the accident risk in the added employments is much less than in the branches of the Government already covered.

The author of this meritorious legislation, as well as the members of the committee who unanimously reported the bill favorably to the House, are to be commended for the careful and exhaustive investigation they have given to this act. The recognition thus given to the protection of the life and health of our Federal employees against injury while in the performance of their duty shows conclusively that this House is placing all partisanship aside and taking into consideration the welfare of the working force that aids in turning the wheels of the machinery of our Government.

I realize, Mr. Speaker, the urgent necessity of this legislation if we intend to keep up with the rapid strides of progress. By giving to it our favorable consideration we show our readiness to work and vote for humanitarian measures. Since many of our individual States have enacted successful workingmen's compensation laws and most of our large factories offer protection and care to their employees, it behooves the National Government to set the finest example by granting the just laws to its own employees.

The Kern-McGillicuddy bill is a step in the right direction that will relieve Congress from hundreds of personal injury claims that come up at every session. This act as proposed by the committee will tend to create more cordial relations between the Government and result in greater efficiency in the work of our Government.

I sincerely hope that the Senate may give to this act the same liberal consideration that has been given to it by the House and have this act placed on our statute books before the close of this session.

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## Prohibition Does Not Prohibit, but Increases Intoxication.

### SPEECH
OF
### HON. WILLIAM J. CARY,
OF WISCONSIN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Wednesday, June 7, 1916,*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13383) making appropriations for the Diplomatic and Consular Service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917.

The Clerk, proceeding with the reading of the bill, read as follows:

Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism: To complete the arrangements and provide for the entertainment of the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism to be held in the United States, to be expended under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, $10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, together with the unexpended balance of previous appropriations for the holding of said congress in the United States.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SLAYDEN. If we are going to invite people to visit us, I believe we ought to extend hospitality like a prince.

Mr. CARY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. CARY. Will the gentleman inform me how many delegates there would be?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I can only say to the gentleman that there are about 3,300 or 3,400 members of the Interparliamentary Union, and experience indicates that there will be approximately 10 per cent present.

Mr. CARY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SLAYDEN. It is a long way, and they will have to pay their expenses here and back to their homes.

Mr. CARY. Does the gentleman think $40,000 would be too much to entertain them?

Mr. SLAYDEN. I said it would be too much to entertain them if it were confined to their stay in the city of Washington.

Mr. CARY. But it would be plenty if they remained in the city of Washington?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Forty thousand dollars is enough, if we care to do so, to transport them to Chicago or Milwaukee—that city made famous by certain enterprises—to St. Louis or Chicago; they all want to go to those great cities; and to entertain them handsomely and bring them back to New York, the usual port of embarkation.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Chairman, reserving a point of order on this section, I would like to ask the gentleman from Virginia a question. Is it not a fact that there is $40,000 now laid aside for this purpose?

Mr. FLOOD. Forty thousand dollars was appropriated, but some of it has been used. I do not know how much; probably three or four thousand dollars. There is a considerable sum remaining; over $35,000 certainly.

Mr. CARY. I asked the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN] a question in regard to the other convention coming here, if $40,000 would carry it through, and he said it would be a plenty. If $40,000 was enough to carry that convention through, surely $40,000 ought to be enough for this.

Mr. FLOOD. I will say to the gentleman that this is a great moral congress of unselfish, devoted men and women from all over the world, and it is apt to be more largely attended and more enthusiastically attended than a congress of the Interparliamentary Union that is principally for the purpose of bringing together the members of the different parliaments of

the world and having a good time. These gentlemen and ladies who attend this congress come here for serious work.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Chairman, in reserving the point of order or making the point of order, which I will do, it is not with the intent of embarrassing the committee or the Secretary of State or this Government. All I wish stricken out is the $10,000, not the law or section itself. If the gentleman is willing to do that, I will merely confine my point of order to the $10,000 in the section.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman's point of order to the section or to the $10,000?

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that he can not make it to the whole section now. It is too late.

Mr. FLOOD. He does not make it to the whole section, as I understand.

Mr. MANN. He made it to the paragraph. Now, just a word more on the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. CARY] has the floor.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

Mr. CARY. I will.

Mr. FLOOD. As I understand, the point of order is only made to the $10,000.

Mr. CARY. I make the point of order to the whole section, but the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] asked me if I would change it and restrict it to the $10,000, and I said I did not wish to strike out the whole section if it would embarrass him.

Mr. FLOOD. Then the gentleman will withdraw the point of order?

Mr. CARY. If you will guarantee that the $10,000 shall be stricken out, I will.

Mr. FLOOD. I will not guarantee anything. I can not tell what the Senate of the United States is going to do. I concede the point of order on the $10,000. I think the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] is right, and I take it that the Chair will rule that the point of order against the $10,000 is well taken. That is all I can guarantee.

Mr. MANN. I do not think he will, as it is not well taken.

Mr. FLOOD. He ought not to.

Mr. MANN. I can throw the gentleman's last argument out of the water so quickly that he would admit it himself.

Mr. FLOOD. If the gentleman concedes the point of order on the $10,000, it is not necessary for the Chair to rule.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Chairman, there seems to be a great deal of dispute in the minds of the parliamentarians here; so that, in order not to continue the agony longer, I make the point of order on the whole section.

Mr. HARRISON. I make the point of order, Mr. Chairman, that it is too late. I asked the gentleman if he made the point of order to the whole paragraph or to the $10,000, and he said he made it to the $10,000.

Mr. CARY. I said I made it to the whole paragraph, but would restrict it to the $10,000.

Mr. FLOOD. When the gentleman from New York [Mr. FITZGERALD] took the floor I had risen to say that my view of the parliamentary situation was that the point of order as to the $10,000 was well taken, but that it would not be well taken as to the whole paragraph. I concede the point of order as to the $10,000, if that is the point of order the gentleman makes.

Mr. CARY. As long as the chairman of the committee concedes the point of order as to the $10,000, I am satisfied to make it as to the $10,000 instead of to the section, so that the $10,000 will be stricken out.

Mr. FLOOD. The gentleman can move to strike it out.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Do not move to strike it out. It goes out.

Mr. CARY. What I want to accomplish is to have the $10,000 stricken out of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule on the whole question.

Mr. FITZGERALD. The gentleman from Wisconsin makes the point of order to the $10,000, and the gentleman from Virginia concedes it.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman make the point of order only to the $10,000?

Mr. CARY. Yes; at the suggestion of gentlemen on that side.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. CARY. Recent developments and occurrences, Mr. Chairman, have convinced me that before this session of Congress closes the usual attempt to foist prohibition of the manufacture and the sale of all kinds of intoxicating, and of even some non-intoxicating, beverages upon the people will be made by that small but resourceful band of self-constituted reformers who have haunted these legislative Chambers for many years and have made life miserable for those Members of Congress who think different than they do. If prohibition did prohibit, as these reformers claim it does, and as every observant citizens of the Republic knows it does not, there might be some reason for this periodical agitation of a question that endangers the fundamental principles upon which this great country has been founded. Personal liberty is guaranteed by the Constitution, but our prohibitionists, antisaloonists, and would-be reformers have no conception of personal liberty, and attempt to dictate to their fellow men what they should eat and drink.

To the prohibitionist the temperate man is an unknown quantity. Only the complete eradication of the liquor traffic will satisfy him; and he condemns even the use of beverages that have proven to be of benefit to the human body. The prohibitionists always claims that the medical profession condemns the use of liquor as deleterious to the human body, although nearly every doctor uses alcohol in his prescriptions. I admit that some members of the medical profession condemn the use of any and all alcoholic beverages. Most do not. Some doctors pronounce a man to be a crank, if not a lunatic, who is regarded by other doctors as a remarkably bright and able man. "You pays your money and you takes your choice," holds good with our scientists. The professional reforming prohibitionist, the kind we mostly come in contact with here at the Capitol, always lays great stress upon the moral side of the prohibition question. He never admits that prohibition, wherever it has been tried, has made liars and hypocrites out of men who formerly were honest and truthful. The prohibitionist prefers the hypocrite to the honest man who in openly taking a drink in a public place assumes the responsibility for his act.

But the hypocrite who takes his drink—and I firmly believe that all prohibitionists do drink, even if it be only patent medicine, containing 20 or 25 per cent alcohol—in the dark recesses of his cellar or closet places the responsibility upon the law he himself caused to be enacted. The professional reforming prohibitionist of the brand we see around here are not at all scrupulous as to the ways to carry on their propaganda for their pet and only idea—the abolition of liquor. They violate law as easily as they violate every dictate of common sense. Some years ago one of these professional reforming, acrobatic prohibitionists used the frank of a great United States Senator on many hundreds of thousands of inflammatory documents, thereby depriving the Post Office Department of several thousands of dollars. The Senator was sharply criticized for allowing the use of his frank, but as far as I know the Government has not yet recovered the money it lost by transporting the literature of the professional reforming prohibitionist. And does anybody believe that the reverend doctor himself paid the Government? Oh, no. All contributions made to this, that, or the other professional reforming business are used mainly to support a lot of white-necktied, well-fed, and sanctimonious-looking gentlemen, who have made reforming the business of their lives and who, I do not think, could earn an honest dollar at any other occupation. Only to-day, when the Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill was before the House, we had occasion to observe some of the tricks of these professional reforming prohibitionists. I can describe this trick best by quoting the following editorial from the Washington Herald:

President Roosevelt some years ago appointed a society leader as an expert to investigate the sanitary conditions of the Chicago stockyards, and no one laughed louder than the President when asked to define the expert qualifications of his commissioner. That joke appears to have become a precedent. It was brought out in the House debate on the Diplomatic appropriation bill that for some years Congress had been appropriating money to send "scientists" abroad to attend a congress for the scientific study of alcohol, and that these American "scientists" have invited that congress of alcoholic scientists to hold its next session in Washington at the expense of the United States Government, so that an appropriation of $40,000 had to be made to keep our social engagement.

The whole affair illustrates the power of precedent. There are world congresses held somewhere almost every week in the year, but the delegates, whether scientists or plain citizens, pay their own way. But we now have the precedent for the Government footing the bills, and it will give an impetus to world congresses to be held in Washington. We will have no difficulty in arranging for a world congress every day in the year, and while Congress haggles over appropriations for legitimate diplomatic intercourse to place our ambassadors, ministers, and consuls on an equal footing with those of other nations the Treasury vaults will be opened to anyone who can arrange for a world congress of dancing masters or pigstickers who have influence enough to convince the Foreign Affairs Committee that it is for the scientific study of those great questions.

An interesting sidelight on this appropriation for the expenses of the alcoholic congress was given in the list of scientists who have for some years made these excursions abroad at the expense of the Government. The Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie heads the list of each delegation of "scientists," and has associated with him those other eminent "scientists" Wilbur F. Crafts, the Rev. S. E. Nicholson, Ernest R. Cherrington, the Rev. James K. Shields, and other gentlemen and their wives who have ordinarily been known as officers and agitators of the Anti-Saloon League. In fact, they have always advertised themselves as connected with that organization. Any Member of Congress can testify to the scientific attainments of Dr. Dinwiddie and Dr. Crafts as promoters of legislation for the extraction of money from the Treasury; but the irreverent have classed them with other gifted lobbyists, and not with

the men who patiently work over retorts in the laboratory to extract knowledge from nature's elements. It was a revelation to some of the Members of Congress that they had for years been appropriating money to send these "scientists" abroad to study the science of alcohol, and had also authorized them to invite other scientists, possibly with the same scientific attainment, to come to Washington and hold a congress at the expense of the Government. Chairman FITZGERALD cited the law that no one, not even the President, could, without the authority of Congress, invite anybody to come to Washington and be entertained at public expense; but what is the law as between such scientists as Dr. Dinwiddie and Dr. Crafts and the Foreign Affairs Committee. Chairman FLOOD insisted that one of the powers of the American Congress is to appropriate money to encourage the development of science, and the appropriation of $40,000 was made to entertain our scientific guests. Where will this congressional encouragement of science stop?

I am opposed to the whole procedure because it is one-sided. Would Congress appropriate $40,000 to entertain a body of scientists on the other side of this question? I think not.

National prohibition spells national financial ruin, as State prohibition has proven financial ruin for more than one State in the Union. Take the State of West Virginia, for instance. It has become bankrupt since it adopted prohibition. It is unable to pay a judgment rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States—a judgment that must be paid, even if every citizen of the State should have to sacrifice his individual property. There is not a dry State or a dry community in a State that does not feel the ruinous financial consequences of prohibition. Many States and many smaller communities would be only too glad to return to the old license system, but few will dare to do it. Their leading citizens are either fanatics themselves or they are moral cowards. Even my distinguished friend William Jennings Bryan, the inventor of the grape juice panacea against all the ills the human race is heir to—the apostle of peace, the peerless political flopper—has dropped prohibition, even if only until after the next national election. He fought war and he fought preparedness and he fought liquor. But now when he has discovered at St. Louis that he is indeed a Democratic "lame duck," he remains silent on prohibition, and in promising his most enthusiastic support to the presidential nominee of the Democratic Party—the party that has been the sponsor of prohibition in most of the States now dry—he repudiates himself.

In this Congress we have already appropriated more money than any prior Congress ever did, and before we can give an account of our stewardship to the people we will have to appropriate many millions more. Where is this money going to come from? Our professional reforming prohibitionists, our "Billy" Sundays, our Dinwiddies, and our Crafts have never shown any great willingness to pay any more than they are forced to pay. They are receivers of, not contributors to, the national wealth. National finances have never bothered them.

Now, look upon the moral side of the prohibition question. Wherever prohibition has been forced upon the people there has been an alarming increase of crime and disorder. Even in Maine, the oldest prohibition State in the Union, more drunkards are seen on the streets than in many States where the sale of intoxicants is permitted by license laws. I venture to say that no city in the United States is more orderly than the city of Milwaukee, Wis., which I have the honor in part to represent, and it should be remembered that the biggest and the best breweries are located in Milwaukee.

It is an indisputable fact that prohibition means an increase of drunkenness. A decrease in the consumption of beer and other mild beverages means an increase in the consumption of whisky and other strong liquors. The illegal moonshiner of the South is, without exception, an ardent prohibitionist; at least he is an advocate of prohibition. Under liberal license laws his occupation, like that of Othello, would be gone. Our prohibition friends have made some decided gains during the fiscal year now rapidly drawing to a close, and the result is a most decided increase in the production and consumption of whisky. According to the figures of the Internal Revenue Office, this increase by the 1st of July will amount to 10,000,000 gallons; and, of course, this is legitimate production, from which the Government derives great revenues. No man is able to estimate the increase in the output of moonshine, from which the Government derives no revenue. And these figures show a great decrease in the production and consumption of beer and other malt liquors, for the very good reason, as given by a newspaper published in my city the other day: If a man inclined to refresh himself has a chance to quench his thirst in company with friends in a public place, duly licensed, he is not very apt to lay in a large stock of liquor or of beer at his home; but if he is prevented from taking a drink in an orderly and licensed public place, as he is in all prohibition communities, he will carry alcoholic liquors to his home. He will not carry beer or other malt beverages, as they are too bulky to escape detection by the officers of the law.

Let no man imagine that your prohibitionist is a pacifist, an angel, or a dove of peace. He is a very different man. He is a militant fighter, who intolerantly wants to force his fellow men to swallow his ideas and who hesitates at nothing to force his views of temperance in eating or drinking upon whole States and communities.

The real motive of the fanatical prohibitionist or of the professional reformer has not yet been discovered; but in most cases, however, it will be found to be pure and unadulterated selfishness. The latest example of the pernicious effects of prohibition is furnished by Des Moines, the capital city of the great State of Iowa. On the 1st of January Iowa became as dry as the desert of Sahara, and at once a wave of drunkenness followed by a tidal wave of crime has made the streets of the town and the roads of the State unsafe. The treasurer of Des Moines has to guard his office with detectives, and the police of the city are unable to cope with armed bands of marauders roaming the streets at night. Timid citizens do not venture into the streets at night. Now, what do you think of that? Almost the same news comes from Denver, in Colorado, and from other centers of population wherein prohibition is being tried.

In closing perhaps I can do no better to prove that prohibition is a lie and a snare than by quoting the following item from the Washington Post, the author being a reliable business man residing in Kansas City, Mo., who travels very extensively in prohibition States:

"Prohibition in Kansas," said the visitor, "is not an economic or moral question, but a political one. It is the football of Kansas politicians. At times a town is wide open, and the stranger has merely to mention his desire for a little refreshment in order to have his choice of a score of brands. It will go on this way for a while until the reform element makes a loud outcry, and a new administration soon makes the town as dry as Sahara.

"There are certain districts in our land of the free where the dispensers of various forms of ethyl alcohol find it necessary to engage in uncongenial occupations in order to at least present an appearance of virtue. Business made it necessary for me to visit a certain medium sized town in Oklahoma, and while there I was unfortunate enough to sprain my ankle. Painfully limping into a near-by drug store, I called for a bottle of liniment which could be plainly seen in a show case. The clerk in charge looked at me in unconcealed disgust.

"'If I sell you that I'll have to buy another bottle,' he said.

"I was about to leave when an inspiration seized me.

"'Have you any peroxide?' I asked.

"'What in the dickens is peroxide?' asked the clerk.

"Lowering my voice and winking, I said, 'In my State they don't call it peroxide.' The clerk's smile instantly changed, and, going into an adjoining room for a brief space he reappeared with a wrapped package. This he handed over, and I put two good dollars into his hand. I had time during the return trip to my quarters in a rickety carriage to examine the 'peroxide.' It was a full quart of Kentucky bourbon, but I was never able to muster sufficient nerve to finish it, and the major portion ultimately tickled the palate of the hotel bootblack."

I also wish to insert the following resolution, which I presented to Congress:

Resolution.

Whereas prohibition, wherever it has been tried, has had a most baneful influence upon the life, health, conscience, morality, and liberty of the people; and

Whereas so-called prohibition not only threatens legitimate business, but also the employment of thousands of workers who are engaged in the production and dispensation of beer, light wines, and liquors, as well as the employment of thousands of workers engaged in supplying the needs of these industries and people therein; and

Whereas the organized labor movement by its insistent demand for higher wages, which is the means of a higher standard of living and better homes and surroundings, and by establishing a shorter workday, which affords the opportunity for the cultivation of better tastes, greater aspirations, and higher ideals—these will prove a more potent factor in establishing true temperance and temperate habits than the passage of sumptuary or prohibitory laws; and

Whereas there is now pending before Congress a number of similar joint resolutions, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which reads: "*Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution:

"'ARTICLE —.

"'SECTION 1. That the sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, and importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory, subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and exportation thereof, are forever prohibited.

"'SEC. 2. That Congress or the States shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation'"; and

Whereas the manufacturing of beer and other beverages is a principal industry in the State of Wisconsin, and particularly in Milwaukee County, which is the means of employment that gives a livelihood to thousands of our people, and the adoption of such an amendment will be no less than a calamity to the people of this Commonwealth: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council stands opposed to the adoption of such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States or to the ratification by the legislature of such an amendment.

[SEAL.] FRANK J. WEBER,
*Secretary Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.*

## Water-Power Bills.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. WILLIAM KENT,
OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. KENT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a comparative analysis of the Senate and House water-power bills as concerns navigable waters.

*Comparison of the provisions of the Shields bill (S. 3331), as passed by the Senate March 8, 1916, and the House substitute, as passed by the House of Representatives July 15, 1916.*

| SHIELDS BILL (S. 3331). | HOUSE SUBSTITUTE. |
|---|---|
| GRANTING AUTHORITY. | GRANTING AUTHORITY. |
| Authority given directly to Secretary of War to grant permit or permits for construction of dams, etc. (Sec. 1.) | Authority or consent to construct dams, etc., must first be obtained from Congress. (Sec. 1.) |
| | Comment: This proviso conforms to the present dam act (June 21, 1906), except that the word "consent" has been added. |
| GRANTEE. | GRANTEE. |
| Permits or grants may be acquired by municipal corporations, political subdivisions of States, by private corporations, companies, or associations (apparently not by States or by individuals for public-service use). | "To any persons." (Sec. 1, line 2.) |
| In addition, when any power under grant is used for public-utility purpose or purposes, "grantee must possess lawful qualifications under that State's laws." | |
| Comment: The proviso of section 1 states that whenever power is to be developed for a "public-utility purpose" within a State which has "made provisions for authorizing municipal corporations, political subdivisions, or other agencies of the State or public-utility corporations" to engage in the business of furnishing water, heat, or electric energy, permits or grants will be made only to such public or quasi public agents. There is not a single State in the Union in which there are not both public-service corporations and municipalities engaged "in the business of furnishing water, heat, or electric energy for public or private use." The sole effect of the proviso of section 1 is, therefore, to absolutely exclude individuals or associations of such individuals from engaging in the public-utility business. It is difficult to comprehend what reason, if any, there could be for discrimination against individuals or associations, since they would be as amenable to public regulation as would corporations. It can scarcely be for the purpose of giving preference to municipalities or public agencies, for public-utility corporations stand on precisely the same footing as municipal corporations, and nowhere in the bill, except in the case of leases of power rights at Government dams (sec. 10), is a preference right in favor of strictly public agencies expressed. | Comment: Nowhere in the bill is there a description of "persons." In the Adamson bill, passed by the House August 4, 1914 (sec. 16), the word "persons" was described to include "corporations, companies, and associations." This was taken from the present law (June 23, 1916.) The debate in the House on this substitute would indicate this proviso had been overlooked. |
| DURATION OF GRANT. | DURATION OF GRANT. |
| Two years' preparation. (Sec. 9.) Indefinite time of construction. (Time limit to be placed in original permit by Secretary.) | Two years' preparation. (Sec. 1.) Four years for construction. (Sec. 7.) Fifty years' tenure. (Sec. 9.) |
| Indefinite grant thereafter; unless taken over at expiration of 50 years "such rights shall continue until revoked for cause as provided in section 8 (penalty clause) of this act" or "until terminated and compensation has been made to such grantee for its property as provided in section 6 of this act" (recapture clause, sec. 5). | |
| Comment: The grants of rights to erect and maintain power structures on navigable streams and to utilize surplus power at Government dams are in the nature of easements, irrevocable except for breach of condition for 50 years and indeterminate thereafter. And not only is the grant indeterminate, but it is to continue under the original conditions, unaffected by any change in the law, until such time, if ever, as the United States may elect to take over the properties under the conditions named in the bill or authorize others who may be able to qualify to take them over under similar conditions. | Comment: The tenure clause in the House substitute was amended by committee to read that grant was to continue "from and after the completion of the dam, or diversion structure, or lock and dam or diversion structures." The bill passed by the House August 14, 1914, provided grant should begin "from and after original approval." |
| Since the United States would doubtless be limited to purchase for governmental purposes only; since the grant, if transferred to another, would be "upon the same terms and with the same restrictions and preferences provided in this act" (sec. 6)—that is, would be merely a transfer of the existing permit and property to another permittee "upon the payment of its (the property's) fair value in all things" (sec. 6); since the permit, if renewed to the original grantee, is also "upon the same terms and with the same restrictions and preferences" (sec. 6); and since in case neither of renewal nor of transfer are the terms of the new or renewal permit to be determined by then existing law, the grant for all practical purposes is perpetual. This condition is further emphasized by the fact that the bill provides no procedure by which even the United States may exercise its reserved right to purchase. In order to take action it will be necessary to pass additional legislation, either general or special. As far as the proposed bill is concerned, the public is given no greater rights than it would have if the grants were in perpetuity, for the rights to recover the properties and the conditions of recovery are not more favorable but less favorable, because deferred for at least 50 years, than they would be if no legislation at all were enacted. | The substitute proviso will allow grant to begin six years after original approval, making grant for 56 years in any event. |
| RECAPTURE. | RECAPTURE. |
| Grant shall extend until taken over by Government; and burden of termination is placed solely on Government, because it must assume "all the property of the grantee, dependent in whole or in part for its usefulness and acquired, necessary, appurtenant, valuable, or serviceable, in the distribution of water, or in the generation, transmission, and distribution of water." (Sec. 6.) | At termination of grant the United States "or any person authorized by Congress" may take over the property. |
| Comment: The bill provides that upon two years' notice after the expiration of the 50 years the United States may terminate the grant and take over all the properties of the grantee used in the generation, transmission, and distribution of power which have been constructed or acquired and which are necessary and appurtenant or valuable and serviceable in the business (sec. 6). No procedure is provided, however, by which the United States can take the proposed action. The bill provides merely a reserved right which could be exercised only in accordance with additional legislation. Since no provision therefor is made in the bill, and since the United States is not given the right to take over the properties for the purpose of transferring them to some other public agency, it can only be assumed that the United States may exercise the right of purchase in the event that the properties are desired for governmental ownership. | The Government will take over dam, locks, and properties appurtenant to navigation and properties used by grantee "for the generation and transmission of electrical energy which are dependent for their usefulness on the continuance of the grant." A definite description is made of "transmission." Upon taking over the Government may purchase (if Congress consents) lands and property necessary which have been purchased originally by grantee; but shall pay, first, only for the "reasonable value not exceeding the actual costs" of lands, and, second, for "the reasonable value" of property. (Sec. 10.) |
| The price to be paid for the properties includes every element of value that could possibly be brought forward, save only a price for the grant itself. Every other franchise of every form or nature, such intangible values as going values, anticipated profits, etc., as well as all increases in land and water-right values, would have to be paid for by the United States, as well as by every other purchaser. | |
| COMPENSATION. | COMPENSATION. |
| Provides for no compensation for the valuable privileges granted. | Provides for "reasonable annual charges" for benefits accruing to grantee; to be readjusted at |

Comment: When the Shields bill was before the Senate several amendments were offered to provide for compensation, but were defeated.

LEASES AT GOVERNMENT DAMS.

The Secretary of War may lease, on such terms as he may provide, the right to develop power from surplus water at dams owned by the United States and where the cost of construction is borne by the United States or jointly with lessee. No limit to the lease is made, and it assumes a grant similar to that in the bill. Preference is given to "utility corporations," and to the largest development and concern. (Sec. 10.)

Comment: This section, taken with the other parts of the bill, confers upon the grantee an easement which is indeterminate, and because of the recapture proviso is, in effect, a perpetual lease.

No preference is given to municipalities, although a utility corporation and the biggest concern is so favored.

PUBLIC LANDS JURISDICTION.

Provides that the Secretary of War may determine that any lands of the United States shall be subject to grants whether concerned with navigation or power. Former grants (like Hetch Hetchy) are excepted. (Sec. 2.)

Comment: This is designed to take jurisdiction from the Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of the Interior as to water-power control on public lands and national forests. In 1912 Secretary Fisher intervened and protested approval by War Department of permit (which contained no safeguards) on Canyon of Pend Oreille River. (170,000 horsepower capacity.)

Withdrawals under the act (June 25, 1910) are open to private appropriation under the mineral-land laws for metalliferous minerals. To refer to that act in this bill would subject reservations for navigation lands to that kind of private appropriations; moreover, it would imply that all reservation for "any public purpose" (the words of the withdrawal act) is open to that kind of private appropriation.

TRANSFER AND ASSIGNMENT.

No assignment, except for purpose of financing, without approval of Secretary of War, "shall be made to any transferee not having the qualifications herein specified for a grantee." (Sec. 1.)

Comment: Grants may be transferred unlimitedly among transferees having the qualification of applicants under the act, while transfers may be made regardless of qualifications if the transfer is effected by a "trust, deed, or mortgage, issued for the bona fide purpose of financing the business."

APPROACHES, ETC., TO THE LOCKS.

Grantee shall construct, without expense to United States, lock or locks, booms, sluices, etc., "to the extent necessary to preserve and improve navigation facilities at least equivalent to those existing prior to the construction" and "in accordance with plans, etc. * * * made a part of permit." (Sec. 2.)

Comment: This provision is vague and indefinite. It means, if it means anything, that no navigation improvements would be made by grantee.

In this connection section 7 of the bill provides that the cost of locks or other aids to navigation and all other capital expenditures end of 20 years and every 10 years thereafter. (Sec. 2.)

Comment: The Ferris water-power bill, as twice passed by the House, and the Adamson bill, passed by the House August 14, 1914, contain a compensation feature. The failure of the general dam act (June 23, 1910) to contain this feature was set forth by both Presidents Roosevelt and Taft as vital grounds for their vetoes of general dam bills.

LEASES AT GOVERNMENT DAMS.

Provides that Secretary of War is authorized to lease surplus water and water power generated at Government dams for not to exceed 50 years upon terms provided by the Secretary, with periodical readjustment of rentals. Information regarding all leases shall be reported annually to Congress. Preference shall be given to the "bid solely for municipal use of any municipal corporation * * * not operated for profit." (Sec. 20.)

Comment: This section is similar to the proviso in H. R. 16053 (the Adamson bill). However, the House committee substituted in the portion regarding a preference for municipal development the words "other conditions being equal" and "the bid solely for municipal use." This limits the preference to municipal development for the consuming public.

PUBLIC LANDS JURISDICTION.

Provides that the grantee may use public lands certified by the Secretary of War and withdrawn by the President "for the sole purpose of promoting navigation," and, further, that the President shall have withdrawn them for that reason.

Comment: This proviso is identical with section 5 in the bill, H. R. 16053, Sixty-third Congress. It is an amendment which caused a great deal of debate, because a proviso similar to that in the Shields bill was thought by many Members of the House that it would take jurisdiction from the Ferris bill then pending. (H. R. 408.)

TRANSFER AND ASSIGNMENT.

No assignment or transfer made without the consent of Secretary of War. (Sec. 8.)

Comment: This provision is identical with similar language in H. R. 408 and H. R. 16053, as passed by the House.

APPROACHES, ETC., TO THE LOCKS.

The bill provides that the grantee shall provide, without expense, lock or locks, booms, sluices, etc., which the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers or Congress at any time may deem necessary in the interest of navigation.

In case Government constructs locks, grantee must convey land and furnish power to construct same free to Government; and, at discretion of Secretary, may be required to operate same. (Sec. 2.)

Comment: These provisions are somewhat smilar to the present law and to those in H. R. 16053. It is evident that the requirement to construct navigation facilities "at any time" is an unusual hardship on the grantee.

required by the Government may be considered as part of the operating property of the grantee in any valuations made for rate-making purposes.

RIGHTS RESERVED FOR NAVIGATION.

Control of level of pools to be regulated by Secretary. Regulation to include operation by grantee of lights and signals and fishways at expense of grantee. (Sec. 3.)

Comment: Similar to House substitute proviso.

PLANS, KIND AND CHARACTER.

Plans, specifications, etc., must conform to judgment of Secretary as to comprehensive improvement of waterways. (Sec. 2, second.)

RATES AND SERVICE.

Provides that interstate rates and services are conferred upon the Interstate Commerce Commission whenever the State authorities are unable to agree that rates, charges, or services are "reasonable, nondiscriminatory, and adequate to the public and to the ultimate consumer." (Sec. 7.)

Comment: According to this, section begins with the proviso that if the grantee engages in the public-utility business, all charges, rates, and service "shall be subject to regulation in accordance with the laws of the State in which the service is rendered." This provision is valueless, because Congress could not confer authority for such regulation upon a State if such authority did not otherwise exist, or take it away if it did exist. No attempt is made in this section to confer a right of regulation when the project under grant is used in intrastate business in a State which has provided no means of regulation. The part of the section providing regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission "whenever the States directly concerned are unable to agree" is vague. There are a large number of companies now transmitting business across interstate lines.

EMINENT DOMAIN.

When grantee is a public-utility corporation right is conferred to condemn and damage any lands or property necessary in the construction or operation of the business. (Sec. 4.)

Comment: The bill does not specify that the right of eminent domain granted shall apply to the lands of the United States, but the words "lands or properties of others" could be held to include the public lands.

PENALTY.

Failure of grantee to comply with provisions of the act or any of the conditions of the permit issued, is to be a misdemeanor, subject to a fine of not exceeding $1,000; "and if the unlawful maintenance and operation continues after final judgment in either a civil or criminal proceeding, "the court may decree revocation of the grant and may either sell the property or appoint a receiver." (Sec. 8.)

Comment: By failure to place any effective control in the hands of the Secretary of War, it is clear regulation is made a court procedure.

REPEAL.

In reserving rights to alter, amend, or repeal it confers property rights upon any grantee who has exercised rights hereunder. (Sec. 13.)

PUBLICITY.

Grantee is required to maintain a system of accounting in accordance with rules and regulations of the Secretary of War to submit under oath statements, representation of reports, annual or special, including full information as to assets and liabilities, capitalization, cost of project, cost of op-

RIGHTS RESERVED FOR NAVIGATION.

Control of level of pools regulated by Secretary, to also include operation of lights, signals, and fishways at expense of grantee. (Sec. 6.)

Comment: This proviso nearly identical with section 3 in S. 3331. It is also similar to the present law.

PLANS, KIND AND CHARACTER.

Provision identical with those in S. 3331, which are similar to present law. (Sec. 3.)

RATES AND SERVICE.

Secretary of War given authority to regulate rates and service in interstate business and supervision of the issuance of stock and bonds. (Sec. 7.)

Comment: This proviso is similar to the section in Ferris bill (sec. 3) regarding interstate business.

EMINENT DOMAIN.

Under section 13 of the House substitute a right of eminent domain similar to that in the Shields bill is granted. (Sec. 13.)

Comment: The eminent-domain proviso of the House substitute was a committee amendment; it was not in the former bill (H. R. 16053), which passed the House in the Sixty-third Congress.

PENALTY.

Provides for penalties of violation somewhat along lines of Shields bill; but the penalties of law and lawful regulation are more specifically stated. In addition, authority is granted to remove structures if same is declared an unlawful obstruction by the courts. (Sec. 15.)

Comment: This proviso is somewhat similar to the present law; it also is identical with section 7 of H. R. 16053.

REPEAL.

Provision specifies that in reserving the right to alter, amend, or repeal the United States shall incur no liability. (Sec. 18.)

Comment: This is nearly identical with the present law and with H. R. 16053 as passed by the House.

PUBLICITY.

The Secretary of War may examine books and accounts, require statements or reports to be submitted, including information as to capitalization, cost of locks, dams, and other aids to navigation, "water rights, lands, easements, and other property acquired, production, use, distribution, and sale

eration, the production, use, transmission, and sale of power. (Sec. 7.)

Comment: This proviso was an amendment (Kenyon) accepted on the Senate floor.

REVOCATION FOR PUBLIC USE.

None.

ANTI-MONOPOLY.

Grantee is prohibited from permitting works constructed and maintained under act to be owned or controlled in such a way "that they form a part of or in any way effect * * * an unlawful trust or monopoly." (Sec. 12.)

NAVIGABLE WATERS DEFINED.

"Navigable waters" are defined as "streams or parts of streams * * * used for the transportation of persons or property in interstate or foreign commerce." (Sec. 14.)

EXTENSION OF PREVIOUS GRANTS.

All grantees under subsequent legislation, and including those now constructing projects on or along navigable waters, are permitted to become beneficiaries under this bill. (Sec. 11.)

PREFERENCE TO GRANTEES.

General preference is given to the largest concern and specific preference to the grantee having (a) a prior water right; (b) who has first complied with State laws; or (c) if no State laws, preference to the first applicant. (Sec. 2.)

Comment: This rule of preference makes the permit a bounty and favors unduly the great corporations who already have gathered in vast water rights, charters, and priorities in water rights and concessions.

of power or energy." This information to be under oath. (Sec. 16.)

Comment: This section is similar to section 11 of the Ferris bill (H. R. 408) and follows the Kenyon amendment in some respect.

REVOCATION FOR PUBLIC USE.

Provides when an emergency, war or otherwise, Secretary of War may take possession of all property and compensate grantee for same as provided in recapture clause. (Sec. 10.)

ANTI-MONOPOLY.

Combinations, agreements, arrangements, or understandings, express or implied, to limit the output of electrical energy or service. The Secretary of War may allow physical connection of plants. (Sec. 4.)

NAVIGABLE WATERS DEFINED.

None.

EXTENSION OF PREVIOUS GRANTS.

Grantee under previous grant for power development may surrender same and be given another grant to come under this bill. Does not apply to power projects under jurisdiction of Secretary of Interior and Secretary of Agriculture. (Sec. 21.)

PREFERENCE TO GRANTEES.

Left to judgment of Secretary of War to consider all factors. (Sec. 12.)

Comment: This is the present law (general dam act, June 23, 1910, sec. 1), and is likewise followed in the Ferris water-power bill.

NOTE.—There is a provision in both bills which provides for a charge to the Government for benefits derived from headwater improvements, including storage reservoirs, such charges "to be based upon a reasonable compensation proportionate to the benefits actually received by the grantee by reason of an increase of flow past or over the water-power structure artificially caused by such headwater power improvement." The Army engineers and experts have stated there is no way of estimating such benefits, and it is clear, even from the operation of the present law, that such a charge provision is worthless.

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## How to Borrow Money Under Rural Credits Law.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. DUDLEY M. HUGHES,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 27, 1916.*

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege granted by the House, I am extending my remarks in the RECORD by printing the following analysis of the new rural-credits law, which I trust will be helpful to my constituents in securing the benefits which may be had under this new system.

When this measure was before the House I endeavored to have it amended so the bonds would be underwritten by the Government, thereby insuring the lowest possible rate of interest when the securities were offered in the money markets. However, there were not enough of us of this mind to secure the adoption of the amendment.

The bill as it finally passed, though not perfect, is decidedly a long step in the right direction, and will undoubtedly prove of vast benefit to the farmers. Now that we have the system authorized it can be amended from time to time so as to meet the needs of those engaged in agriculture. I therefore urge the farmers of my district who desire loans to assist in placing the new system in operation by joining the local associations.

FARM LOAN BOARD.

The rural-credits law provides a Farm Loan Board of five members, four of whom are to be appointed by the President, the Secretary of the Treasury being an ex officio member. The expenses of this board are to be paid by the Government, and it is to be located in Washington. It will have general supervision over the entire rural-credits system, much like the Federal Reserve Board supervises the various reserve banks of the Nation.

LAND BANKS.

The United States is divided into 12 districts, in each of which is to be established a Federal land bank to make long-term loans on real estate. Each bank is to have a capital stock of $750,000. Unless this stock is subscribed for by the public within 30 days, it is to be subscribed for by the Government.

FEDERAL AID TO THE BANKS.

The sum of $9,000,000 is appropriated for use by the land banks in placing the system in operation. This money is ultimately to be repaid to the Government without interest. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to deposit as much as $500,000 in any land bank, so that its operation may not be hampered. In order to make the bonds and mortgages issued by the land banks more attractive to investors requiring low rates of interest these securities are exempted from all Federal, State, and municipal taxation. The lower the rate of interest paid on the bonds the better it will be for the farmer, for it is provided that the land banks shall lend the money to the farmer at a rate not to exceed 1 per cent more than the interest paid on the bonds, this 1 per cent being allowed for the expenses of the bank, and it is provided that in no case shall the farmer be required to pay more than 6 per cent.

FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

Before a farmer can secure a loan he must be a member of a national farm-loan association. These are local associations composed of not less than 10 members, all of whom must be borrowers. Each association elects a president, vice president, secretary-treasurer, and a loan committee of three, none of whom shall receive a salary except the secretary-treasurer, who acts as the business manager. When an application for a charter for a local association is filed with the district land bank an appraiser is sent to the locality to appraise the lands represented by the application, and if the lands are found eligible for loans the charter is granted. These associations are organized to solicit loans, pass upon the character of the applicant for a loan, and make a final appraisement of the lands which he offers for security.

HOW LOANS ARE TO BE MADE.

The method of securing a loan after the organization of a local association will be as follows: The borrower is required to make application for membership in the association, his application being accompanied by a subscription for stock in the association to the amount of 5 per cent of the amount he desires to borrow. If a borrower wishes to borrow $1,000, he must subscribe for ten $5 shares, or $50 worth. When the loan is paid this stock money is refunded to the farmer. The stock purchase need not be a cash transaction, but the amount may be carried in the loan. The borrower's application is forwarded to the district land bank, together with the stock subscription. The land is appraised and the title investigated by the land bank, and if found satisfactory the loan is made, the money being sent to the secretary-treasurer of the local association for the borrower. All payments of principal and interest are made to the local secretary-treasurer.

PURPOSES FOR WHICH MONEY CAN BE BORROWED.

No person not engaged in farming, or who in good faith does not intend to become an actual farmer, is eligible to membership in a local association, nor can he secure a loan under this system. Loans may be secured to purchase land, equipment, live stock, general farm improvement, and to pay off indebtedness on farm. If the money is used for other purposes, a penalty attaches and the loan becomes due.

AMOUNT LOANED, INTEREST RATE, AND DATE OF MATURITY.

The farmer may secure as much as 50 per cent of the value of his land, exclusive of improvements, and 20 per cent of the value of improvements. The interest charges depend on the interest borne by the last bonds, but in no case shall exceed 6 per cent. As everyone recognizes, the two questions of prime interest from the standpoint of the borrower in any credit system is the availability of the required money and the interest charges thereon. It was to make it absolutely certain that the money would be forthcoming, and at the lowest possible rate of interest, that I offered my amendment to the bill which provided that these securities should all be underwritten by the Federal Government, for with the security of the Government written on the back of the bonds they would sell as readily, and bear as low a rate of interest, as do Government bonds.

The loan is made for a period of time from 5 to 36 years, in the option of the borrower.

LIABILITY OF BORROWER.

One borrower is not legally liable for the debts of other borrowers in his association. Each member is liable for the 5 per cent of capital stock subscribed for by him, and an additional 5 per cent on this stock. Therefore, if the Federal land bank should fail the borrower would only be responsible for the unpaid balance on his loan and 10 per cent of the original face value of his loan. The loss of the borrower in the event of the failure of the land bank would about equal the amount he now pays the local agent for floating his loan.

HOW LOANS ARE PAID.

The borrower, when he pays his interest each year, can pay a small sum in addition thereto to be applied on the principal. This method of payment is known as the amortization plan. An example of how the principal and interest on a loan of $1,000 for 20 years at 5 per cent can be paid is given in the following table:

*Amortization tables.*

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.00 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.56 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.46 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.24 | 3.82 | 76.50 | ..... |
| Total | 1,604.80 | 604.80 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

The following table gives the figures for the payment of a loan of $1,000 for 36 years at 6 per cent interest:

| Annual periods | Total annual payment. | Interest at 6 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $68.39 | $60.00 | $8.39 | $991.61 |
| 2 | 68.39 | 59.49 | 8.90 | 982.71 |
| 3 | 68.39 | 58.96 | 9.43 | 973.28 |
| 4 | 68.39 | 58.40 | 9.99 | 963.39 |
| 5 | 68.39 | 57.80 | 10.59 | 952.80 |
| 6 | 68.39 | 57.16 | 11.23 | 941.57 |
| 7 | 68.39 | 56.49 | 11.90 | 929.68 |
| 8 | 68.39 | 55.79 | 12.60 | 917.08 |
| 9 | 68.39 | 55.02 | 13.37 | 903.71 |
| 10 | 68.39 | 54.28 | 14.11 | 889.60 |
| 11 | 68.39 | 53.37 | 15.02 | 874.58 |
| 12 | 68.39 | 52.47 | 15.92 | 858.66 |
| 13 | 68.39 | 51.52 | 16.87 | 841.79 |
| 14 | 68.39 | 50.50 | 17.89 | 823.89 |
| 15 | 68.39 | 49.43 | 18.96 | 804.93 |
| 16 | 68.39 | 48.29 | 20.10 | 784.83 |
| 17 | 68.39 | 47.08 | 21.31 | 763.52 |
| 18 | 68.39 | 45.81 | 22.58 | 740.94 |
| 19 | 68.39 | 44.45 | 23.94 | 717.00 |
| 20 | 68.39 | 43.02 | 25.37 | 691.63 |
| 21 | 68.39 | 41.49 | 26.90 | 664.73 |
| 22 | 68.39 | 39.88 | 28.51 | 636.22 |
| 23 | 68.39 | 38.17 | 30.22 | 606.00 |
| 24 | 68.39 | 36.36 | 32.03 | 573.97 |
| 25 | 68.39 | 34.43 | 33.96 | 540.01 |
| 26 | 68.39 | 32.40 | 35.99 | 504.02 |
| 27 | 68.39 | 30.24 | 38.15 | 465.87 |
| 28 | 68.39 | 27.94 | 40.45 | 425.42 |
| 29 | 68.39 | 25.52 | 42.87 | 382.55 |
| 30 | 68.39 | 22.95 | 45.44 | 337.01 |
| 31 | 68.39 | 20.22 | 48.17 | 288.84 |
| 32 | 68.39 | 17.33 | 51.06 | 237.78 |
| 33 | 68.39 | 15.26 | 53.13 | 184.65 |
| 34 | 68.39 | 11.07 | 57.32 | 127.33 |
| 35 | 68.39 | 7.63 | 60.76 | 66.57 |
| 36 | 70.56 | 3.99 | 66.57 | ..... |
| Total | 2,464.21 | 1,464.21 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

The act also authorizes individuals to organize joint-stock companies for the purpose of making farm loans. The banks are to be organized and financed by private individuals, and the Government does not contribute to their capital stock. They must have at least $250,000 worth of capital stock. These banks may issue bonds on mortgages the same as the Federal land banks. Their interest charge is limited to 6 per cent.

PRESENT FARM LOANS.

According to the census of 1910 there were 18,257 farms in Georgia on which there were loans to the total amount of $12,600,000. The average rate of interest paid was 8½ per cent, exclusive of commissions. These farmers therefore paid $1,071,000 in interest. If these loans were made under the rural credits system at 6 per cent the farmers of our State would be saved $315,000 annually in interest charges. At 5 per cent, the figure to which we hope to reduce the charges, the saving would be $441,000. These figures indicate the great good which it is possible to accomplish under the new law.

## General Revenue Act.

## SPEECH

OF

## HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 7, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 16763) to increase the revenue, and for other purposes.

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Chairman, I am unable to understand the logic of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SWITZER], who has just addressed the House, and other Republicans opposing this measure. They have taken the anomalous position that the higher the tariff on an article the cheaper it is sold to the consumer. This theory is in opposition to every reason heretofore advanced in defense of the system. The chief reason always given for levying a high protective tariff was that it would enable the American manufacturer to sell his goods at a higher price and avoid the competition of low-priced foreign-made goods. If not levied for the purpose of increasing the price, of preventing competition of cheaper goods, then there could be no justification whatever for it. If it does not have that effect, then every tariff baron in the country would be found opposing it. If the doctrine be true that it lowers the price, then it would be pertinent to inquire, How high should it be made in order for the consumer to get for nothing the articles upon which it is levied? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Will some one who asserts this strange doctrine inform us? No one will attempt it. This clearly illustrates the absurdity of the proposition and demonstrates the desperation of those who attempt to justify the indefensible policy.

Again, pressed in their desperation some of the "high priests" of protection have declared with much unction that the tariff costs the American consumer nothing because the foreigner pays it. This argument in its defense was abandoned years ago, the theory exploded, because the people know if the foreigner pays the tax he adds it to the selling price, and the ultimate consumer has it to pay as part of the cost. If this doctrine that it costs the American consumer nothing because the foreigner pays it were true, then it does not protect the home manufacturers against the low prices of the foreigner and it would be useless to levy it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

If these two propositions advanced here in this debate are sound, no manufacturer in the United States would contend for the system, because it would not protect him, and hence would be of no avail in preventing foreign competition and therefore would fail to accomplish the purpose for which it was levied. [Applause on Democratic side.]

It is not surprising that the advocates of protection, driven from "pillar to post" in search of some reason to justify their position, employ every subterfuge which human ingenuity can devise and every sophistry the fertile imagination can invent, but the system is doomed and must go. The logic of events has completely demolished the propaganda of protection and exposed its fallacies.

The experience of the last three years has demonstrated to the people of this country, beyond cavil or doubt, that industry in this country can successfully operate without high protection, and that prosperity does not depend upon it. Existing

conditions in this country establish the fact that it is not essential to prevent foreign competition, and that without it we are producing more and better and selling more, both at home and abroad, than we ever did with it. That we can meet, and are doing so, in the open field of competition in the markets of other nations and capturing their trade; that our factories now are producing larger quantities of better-made goods, selling at better prices, and returning larger profits than ever known in our entire industrial history. If we can compete successfully as we are and have been doing with foreign countries in their own markets and capture their trade, then there is no reason for a high protective tariff to control our home market and hold our own trade. The enormous increase in our exports with a proportional decrease in our imports of foreign-made goods conclusively establishes this proposition to the satisfaction of every reasonable mind. The indisputable facts are convincing and must control.

Under existing conditions the country is enjoying the most marvelous era of prosperity hitherto known; factory, farm, and mine operating at full capacities, unable to supply the demand, realizing unprecedented profits; labor is universally employed at the best wages ever paid, and thrift and enterprise abound, resulting as a consequence largely because of the policies inaugurated and the constructive legislation enacted under the present national administration, which has established confidence, encouraged investment of capital, and emancipated business from the control of special privilege.

Contrast the conditions existing under the present administration with conditions under the previous Republican administration and witness the difference.

Under the last Republican administration idle and empty freight cars, with their wheels rusting on the rails, crowded every sidetrack of every railroad in the country until the number aggregated at one time more than 426,000, by far the largest number ever known before or since, a number sufficient, if coupled together in a solid train, to reach from New York City to the city of St. Louis, Mo., on any of the various railroads connecting those two points; locomotives, motionless and noiseless, filled the roundhouses of all the railroads, with nothing to do, nothing to haul; now every freight car and locomotive in the land is busy night and day hauling products to markets and every shipping point is congested with products awaiting transportation to markets where the demand is greater than the supply and where they are selling for the best prices ever paid. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Under the preceding administration, during its most prosperous year or any previous year, our factories never produced more than $20,000,000,000 worth of products; but during the year just closed the factories of this country produced $30,000,000,000 worth of products, supplying home consumption and selling an enormous surplus abroad, realizing the best profits ever made, with the supply insufficient for the demand. Under former administrations the largest amount paid in wages to employees for any year was $3,400,000,000; last year it amounted to $5,200,000,000.

Under Republican control of public affairs reduction of wages for manual labor was the rule, but under this administration last year the 5,700,000 laborers employed in the industries of this country had their wages voluntarily increased in the enormous sum of $300,000,000. Under Republican control of the Government the capital invested in American manufactories amounted to $18,000,000,000, now it amounts to $26,500,000,000, showing the confidence capital has in a Democratic administration. Under Republican rule its best year was 1912, the corporate income of the country from private enterprise amounting to $3,200,000,000, but for the year just closed it amounted to the enormous sum of $5,000,000,000, a most gratifying increase.

Last year we exported and sold abroad a billion dollars worth more of manufactured products than in any previous year in our history, and imported less. As our exports increase our imports are proportionally decreasing, demonstrating the balance of trade in our favor is increasing by leaps and bounds, a splendid testimonial in support of Democratic policies. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

But the comparison is not yet complete. Under the Republican administrations the prevailing sign in every metropolitan city in the land was "Free soup and lodging houses" for the unemployed, but that sign has disappeared, and in its place has been substituted placards reading "Men wanted at high wages." [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Under the former administration an army of tramps lined the leading thoroughfares of the country, but under this administration they, too, have disappeared, and have been superseded by the swiftly moving luxurious automobile; under the former men begged for work and found it not, now work begs for men at high wages; under the former factories were compelled to stand idle because of overproduction, under this the plants are too small to supply the demand, and nearly every plant in the land either is being enlarged or has been, and has increased its number of employees in order to meet the requirements of its trade. Under the former capital hesitated and was reluctant to invest, under this it freely invests on profitable terms, because confidence is restored, business is upon a safe and sane basis, and prosperity abounds. Under the control of affairs by the Republican Party once every year the banks scoured the country to get sufficient gold to send to Europe to meet our annual obligations there, but now conditions have changed, the flow of our gold to Europe has ceased, the tide has turned, credit and debit have changed places, and European gold is flowing into our country in such enormous quantities that bankers are inquiring, "What are we to do with it?" In the changing of conditions our people are the beneficiaries, as the result clearly shows. We have become the richest nation in the world. Our national wealth amounts to $230,000,000,000—richer than England, Germany, and France combined, ten times as rich as Italy, eight times as rich as Austria, and four times as rich as France. We are now the greatest financial power in the world, and within the last 12 months the financial center of the world has been removed from London, England, where it has been for centuries, to New York City, the great metropolis of this country, where we hope it will remain as long as time endures. [Applause on Democratic side.]

The unprecedented prosperity the country now enjoys is not the result alone of conditions in foreign countries, but is mainly due to the wise, wholesome, and constructive legislation enacted by this administration and the splendid business policies it has inaugurated. Higher business ideals and better standards prevail in business affairs, and because of the new conditions the Nation has prospered beyond the expectations of the most optimistic.

Republicans charge the marvelous prosperity the country now enjoys is due to the European war, and for this reason is only temporary; but the facts refute this and show, war or no war, it is the result of our business policies adopted and remedial legislation enacted, domestic as well as foreign conditions, that it is permanent, and is the logical sequence of our necessary and favorable governmental regulation.

The Republicans told us if we reduced the tariff business stagnation would result, panic would ensue, and industry would no longer operate; but we revised the tariff downward, eliminated special privileges, and emancipated business from monopolistic control, and prosperity sprang up all over the land.

The passage of the Underwood tariff bill, revising the tariff downward, did not close down a single industry, reduce the wages of a single workman, or turn a single employee out of employment; but, on the contrary, manufacture increased, plants multiplied, additional workmen were employed, and wages were increased.

They told us if we put wool on the free list it would destroy the sheep industry in this country; but we did it, and prices have been higher since than ever known before, and the industry is in a most flourishing condition. Wool and sheep sell at better prices than ever. They told us if we put wheat, corn, and other farm products on the free list we would ruin the farmers and destroy agriculture in this the most favored country in the world; that Argentine corn, Egyptian wheat and cotton, and Australian live stock would be imported, supply our markets, and drive our farmers out of business; that they would desert the farms; and that it, the most important of all our industries, would languish and die. But we did it, and the industry has improved marvelously, the price of farm products has soared higher and higher, importations have not affected our markets, and the business has become more profitable than ever, and is now more attractive to investors than hitherto known and promises greater results in the future.

They told us if we reduced the tariff on manufactured products idleness would result, but we did it, and now the continual hum of busy machinery is heard night and day, better prices prevail, productions have increased, and want of capacity to supply the demand has required the building of additions to nearly every factory in the country, monuments erected in honor of Democratic prosperity. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Their prophecies of evil failed to materialize, and their theory of protection is universally repudiated by the logic of events, reflected through the conditions witnessed daily by the people all over the country.

During their 16 years of control of the Federal Government more than two and one-half billion dollars was appropriated

and expended by them for the creation and equipment of an adequate Army and Navy to defend our Nation from assault upon land and sea; but they squandered the money, neglected the opportunity, and when they retired from power the country, for the want of these two great essentials of defense, would have been unprepared if attacked by a great foreign power; and the great responsibility of preparedness fell upon this administration. It is discharging that duty in an elaborate manner, commensurate with our standing as a world power, keeping in view "safety first," in order to command the respect of the nations of the world by our ability to repel all assaults upon the life, liberty, or property of our citizens. To meet this obligation and carry out this elaborate program large expenditures are required, and to meet these the great Ways and Means Committee have presented this splendid measure, which will receive the approval of this House and the American people as well. Its splendid work in this respect has earned it the gratitude of the country.

It does not tax the necessities of life, the breakfast table of the workingman, the food of the hungry, the wearing apparel of the toilers, or the consumption of the country, but it taxes the wealth of the country and places the burden on the people best able to bear it—upon incomes and profits. It reverses the method employed by the Republicans to raise revenues for public purposes. They always taxed the consumption of the country; this measure taxes the wealth. If a man wanted to raise money, he would not go to the poor, but to the rich; not to the poorhouses, but to the great financial institutions. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

That is just what has been done here, and the Republicans dare not criticize it. If the Republican Party during the last four years it was in power had carried out the same liberal program of preparedness we have adopted, under the Payne tariff law they would have had a deficit of more than $1,600,000,000. Where and how would they have raised the money? By this method and not otherwise. They are estopped by their previous conduct to oppose this method. Analyze the provisions of this measure and many of them will be found to comport with their doctrines. Listen to its provisions. It creates a tariff commission; their national platform demands that. It provides for a tax on dyestuffs to encourage and protect the American manufacturers; their platform demands that. It enacts an antidumping law to protect American manufacturers from competition with foreign-made goods; they have always stood for that. It repeals the emergency stamp-tax law, against the enactment of which they voted, and have ever since demanded its repeal. Surely they will not vote against this provision now. It levies an inheritance tax on estates amounting to over $50,000. Every Republican in the House but one, when the Payne law was passed, voted for a much more drastic inheritance tax law than this, and hence they are not consistent if they vote against this provision now. It increases the corporation tax provided for in the Payne law, a Republican measure, and consistency will require them to support it now. It increases the income tax, a law for which many Republicans voted when it was enacted, the wisdom of which experience has proven; they can not afford to oppose it now. The only other remaining provision is one for the taxing of profits on munitions of war, under certain limitations, and in view of the enormous profits made by the plants engaged in the manufacture of these products on account of war and preparedness, it is inconceivable, it seems to us, how any reasonable man could vote against this provision. If he did, he would merit and receive the rebuke of the American people, irrespective of party affiliation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I challenge any man to point out, if he can, any method for raising revenue which excels the one proposed here for fairness, equity, or justice. Any attempt made will be in vain. The ostensible objections now interposed to this measure by the Republican leaders is not because they are opposed to preparedness or the methods employed to raise the money to pay for it, but it is because their candidate for President opposed an income tax only a few years ago when governor of the State of New York, and if they voted for it now they would be antagonizing his position on this question and create discord in their party. This is the real reason for their opposition. It would array them against him and his public record. As governor of New York he opposed the taxation of the great incomes of the rich, the taxing of wealth to support the Government. This record confronts him now, and the people of this country will repudiate him at the ballot box at the coming election because of it. Many Republicans when the roll is called for the final passage of this measure will ignore the decree of "King Caucus," the "crack of the party lash," the subserviency to party expediency, and heed the desires of their constituents and vote for it in order to save their own political fortunes. They know full well that "he who serves his country best serves his party best." They know the people believe in this method of raising revenue, and they recognize its merit, fairness, and justice.

This Democratic administration in three years has enacted more progressive and constructive legislation than has been enacted in the last quarter of a century. Its record of splendid achievements has earned the approval of the people, and they will at the ballot box answer "Let well enough alone." They know a change of administration means a change of policies, and a change of policies means an interruption of business, which might arrest the marvelous era of prosperity sweeping over the country. Under the splendid administration of Woodrow Wilson the country is prosperous to a degree hitherto unknown, and peace has prevailed.

Europe presents an object lesson, a solemn warning of the horrors of war; the destruction of farm, factory, and mine; killing and crippling her producers; her cities laid waste; her finances exhausted; her commerce scattered to the winds; penniless widows and orphans bereft of loved ones appealing for aid; and on account of its folly it is executing a bond on posterity which will require more than a century to redeem, a burden under which it will groan for generations. As the war spirit sweeps over that ill-fated country, gathering in the vortex of death the brave men who answered the call to arms, our country enjoys peace, revels in prosperity, and has become the leading nation of the world in all that it requires to make a people great. This condition is due to the master mind, the splendid diplomacy, the unfaltering courage, and exalted patriotism of Woodrow Wilson, the great Chief Magistrate of this Republic. For him there is a shrine of love and affection in the heart of every father who has a son, of every mother who has a husband or boy, and every girl who has a brother or a sweetheart, because he has prevented war. To him is due the everlasting gratitude of the American people, who in this contest as a reward will carry his banner to victory. Above all things the people covet peace and prosperity; with him they have both, and with his reelection an assurance of their continuance. The slogan, "Wilson, peace, prosperity, and a full dinner pail" will bring to his support in the coming election voters of all parties who believe in good government, fair treatment, and a clean administration of public affairs. The splendid achievements of this administration challenge the thoughful consideration and admiration of every citizen in the Republic, and it will go down in history as marking a new epoch in our career as a Nation, symbolizing peace, progress, and prosperity, elevating the standard of Americanism, vitalizing the spirit of patriotism, and inspiring mankind to higher ideals of government in order that the people may one and all realize the benefits to be derived and share its manifold blessings, typifying the purpose for which governments are organized and should be administered. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

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## Appeal of American Citizens, Refugees from Mexico.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JEFF: McLEMORE,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 27, 1916.*

Mr. McLEMORE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an appeal of American citizens, refugees from Mexico, embodied in a resolution which was unanimously adopted by 300 of said American citizens at a meeting held in the courthouse at San Antonio, Tex., on July 18, 1916.

The resolution is as follows:

We, who are bona fide citizens of the United States of America, many of us who for a period of years have been residing in Mexico and represent practically every line of labor, or have property and other interests which have suffered as a result of more than five years of revolution and feudalism in the Republic of Mexico, many whose possessions have been completely wiped out by confiscation and destruction during the protracted era of anarchy throughout the major portion of the Republic, invoke this as our first organized movement of Americans representing practically every portion of the stricken Republic and labor and capital interest both there and along the borders of the United States side; and we united under our constitutional right for redress and take this method of laying the facts which have been so often and persistently perverted before the American Congress and people.

Reports have gone out to the world, through a portion of the press, promulgated from the stump and repeatedly asserted from the highest official sources of the United States Government, that American property holders in Mexico sought intervention in Mexico by the United States for the promotion of their interests in order that they might exploit the Mexicans. We have been denounced as grafters, exploiters, falsifiers, and other similar epithets applied.

We feel confident that we, many of us who have lived in Mexico for a large period of our lives, have been identified with the people of Mexico, and have had our interests in common with the Mexicans, are better prepared to speak the facts than those who have not had such privileges.

To a unit we resent these imputations. For a period of more than 80 years previous to the administration of President Diaz, a period of feudalism corresponding with that of the past five years existed in Mexico. A condition of peonage existed in that Republic before the advent of American capital and industry more obnoxious and repugnant than any system of slavery that ever existed in the States of the South in the United States before the Civil War. The wages paid the natives were not adequate for their existence. Under the peonage system there the men, women, and children were without intrinsic value, as there were millions to take the place of those whom disease carried away. An epidemic was often considered a blessing among the laboring classes.

Upon the emancipation of the peons, in order to provide means for their employment and existence, President Diaz, whose country was bankrupt, invited foreign capital and ideas for the development of the country and advancement of the people. As a result of the absence of transportation facilities thousands of valuable mining properties, productive farming and grazing lands, and other interests were rendered valueless. American capital and citizenship was the first to respond to the urgent call for aid. Feeling that they were entitled to the protection of the treaty between the two countries, the constitutional guarantees and pledges of both the United States and Mexico, with their money and persons the Americans went to the unlimited field for a great work. No country under similar conditions ever underwent a more marked evolution in the same period of time. Instead of being exploited, as they were so mercilessly by some of their own people before the invasion of American capital and citizenship, the general wage scale throughout the Republic was increased from three to twenty or more fold. Opportunities were opened up that gave employment to practically all who wanted work with the railways, mines, factories, foundries, smelters, farms, and hundreds of other fields of employment. Where there were no industrial and educational facilities schools, churches, and industrial institutions sprung up as if by magic.

Throughout nearly 30 years the relationship between the Americans and Mexicans was as congenial and cordial as ever existed between any two peoples in the world. The President and duly constituted authorities of the Mexican Republic had the united support and cooperation of the American citizenship of that country. Any suggestion of intervention would have been resented universally by the Americans there, as was evidenced in the petition of Americans to President Taft in the beginning of the Madero revolution against President Diaz. The American press and American people stood as a unit by the constituted authorities of the Mexican Government. These facts are incontrovertible. Through misrepresentation, which found its way through a portion of the press of the United States, an uprising, then restricted to a small portion of the most illiterate section of northern Mexico and extending in no more than one State, was given aid in its inception by many Americans of the United States and discountenanced by the Americans of Mexico.

Arms, money, ammunition, and men were furnished against the urgent protest of the Americans of Mexico who knew conditions and could forecast the inevitable results. Prominent Americans of Mexico, supported by capitalists and laboring Americans of that country, were sent to Washington to protest, but their prayers were unheard by our Government.

The retirement of President Diaz resulted largely from aid of Mexicans and Americans of the United States to the universal disappointment and profound regret of the Americans of Mexico. Army supplies, money, and men went over the United States border to Juarez, thence south, resulting in the most unfortunate disaster in Mexico's history.

Francisco I. Madero succeeded President Diaz. Nearly universally Americans rallied to his support, while they saw conditions grow from bad to worse largely as a result of influences from the United States side of the river. Money and moral aid were tendered him by the Americans of Mexico. Another revolution was fostered largely by Mexicans who had placed him in power, and it assumed proportions as the result of aid tendered by Mexicans and Americans in the United States, the latter who made large money in the supplies of arms and ammunition. Once more the Americans of Mexico protested. Supplied as they were from the American side, the second time the army went south from Juarez, which ultimately resulted in the overthrow of the second President.

Victoriano Huerta was the third successor. The Americans of Mexico deplored the manner of his succession, but being familiar with the methods through which so many of the Latin Americans bring to bear their political aspirations they stood ready to acquiesce. The part this country played in his overthrow need not be recited.

For three years past the Americans of Mexico have stood ready to give their financial and moral support through the continued reign of feudalism and anarchy to any faction or individual who held out any hope for a restoration of conditions. In our solemn opinion the outlook is indefinitely hopeless.

DRIVEN FROM HOMES.

We have seen and read, with unparalleled tolerance in American history, the murder of hundreds of our men, women, and children by irresponsible bandits on this and the other side of the border; of the ravishing and otherwise outraging of our women; of the burning of the homes and bodies of the victims; of the destruction of our property; of insults to the American flag and people; the ambushing of our soldiers; the raiding of our homes; the theft of our property, and unlimited fiendish outrages that would take volumes to recite.

Never in history have an advanced people borne with more fortitude, patience, and endurance a continued era of outrages similar to those endured by more than 60,000 Americans who have been driven from their properties in Mexico, as well as hundreds of thousands who have property there and homes along the border.

They have hoped against hope for relief. They have deplored and even now deeply regret the necessity of strenuous action on the part of our Government. They have tolerated not only the outrages of the Mexican feudalists, but the unjust reflection of some of the people of the United States, who have impugned their motives and misrepresented facts through either malice or unpardonable ignorance. They have even declined to hear our statement of facts.

Those who went to Mexico in years gone by, men of small and large means, went there in good faith, believing that they, like the people of other nations, had a country that would protect them in such extraordinary and unheard-of emergencies that have existed there for years past. The people of no other country have suffered as have the Americans. Those who bought homes in the vicinity of the United States border had the same faith in their country's protection. In the fiscal year 1909–10 more than $150,000,000 from Mexico were spent in the channels of trade in the United States as a result of the American development of Mexico.

In the international obligations between this country and Mexico we have more than complied with our part, while for five years past Mexico has persistently ignored practically every detail of the treaty and constitutional obligations to the citizens of the United States.

It is estimated that approximately a million of her people have sought refuge in the United States during the past five years, and an inestimable number have taken the places of American labor in the various channels on railways, mines, factories, and all kinds of public and private work. Tens of thousands of Mexican children of refugees whose parents have signified no intention of becoming citizens are in the public free schools of our country availing themselves of the school funds left as a heritage to our children. Los Angeles, Cal., recently sent an appeal asking that the immigration of Mexicans in this country be restricted, alleging that they had over 5,000 under public charities in that city alone. San Antonio, El Paso, and practically every town and city within 150 miles of the 1,800 miles of border have their hospitals and charity departments burdened with the afflicted unfortunates of that country. Epidemics of smallpox, threatened epidemics of typhus and other kindred diseases have kept the people along the border in constant dread, cost innumerable lives and vast amounts of money. Venereal diseases, which have reached a stage of deplorable magnitude in that country, are being spread by them throughout the land. The burning of the 18 prisoners in the El Paso jail was directly the result of precautions against disease from Mexico. Our jails along the entire area are filled with Mexicans charged with every conceivable crime, and the court and jail costs are an immense tax upon our people. The people along the border live in perpetual dread of these murderers and robbers.

FAMINE AND DISEASE EXIST.

In Mexico chaotic conditions beggar description. Famine, disease, and pestilence stalk throughout the land and thousands are stricken daily. The suffering is indescribable and inconceivable to those who have not witnessed it. Feudism has prevailed between innumerable irreconcilable factions until crystallization among them for relief is hopeless. Arms and ammunition have been distributed to bandits and feudists practically throughout the entire Republic, mainly through agencies in the United States. The best type of citizenship who pray for peace are either shot down or forced to join these bands of robbers, who affiliate first with the one side and then with the other. The de facto president and his officers have virtually no control over a large contingent of their army.

Tens of thousands of the better class of Mexican citizenship are inwardly praying for outside assistance and at the opportune time will render aid, but to so publicly express themselves now would invite certain death.

From a study of Mexico's history for nearly four centuries the evidences are conclusive in our minds that the outlook bears no semblance of hope, and we believe no internal individual or collection of individuals of that country can bring the desired relief.

We feel that the time has come when these facts should be presented to the American Congress and to the people of the United States. That any procrastination in firmly dealing with conditions there in prompt and decisive action on the part of this Government will only add to the tribulations that have overburdened the endurance of the American people of Mexico along the United States border, and the thousands of representatives of other nations who feel that in these trying times they have some claims to protection of this country as a result of the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine. We feel also that from a humane point of view the distressing appeals of the millions of Mexicans who are helpless should be heard; that we would be serving the Mexican people in aiding them in ridding the country of these roving bandits.

For five years past Mexicans and Americans have stood in dread of expressing their opinions either on this or the other side of the river for fear of injury to their person or property, but we feel that the time has come when we should courageously speak our sentiments and in so doing will meet with a hearty response from the people of other nations in Mexico, a strong contingent of the suffering peons, as well as the highest type of Mexican citizenship.

QUESTION OF AMERICANISM.

This should not be a question of politics but Americanism. Four years ago the Democrats, Progressives, and Republicans pledged themselves in their party platforms for the protection of American citizenship at home and abroad. Fifteen million voters approved these declarations at the ballot. With present and prospective future conditions in Mexico, operating from only the American side of the river, the entire American Army, Regulars and militia, could not insure safety from depredations along the border, and it would impose an unreasonable hardship upon our soldiers and incalculable burden and expense to our people.

We, who with our labor, money, skill, experience, and education have aided Mexico in the emancipation of millions of her peons who 30 or more years ago were mercilessly exploited by a very small contingent of her own people who had the power; we, who have seen the wage scale lifted from 10 or 12 cents to a dollar or more per day within a single decade; we, who have invested our money and given our labor at the urgent solicitation and guarantee of protection of that country and of the United States in railways, mines, smelters, foundries, farms, ranches, and hundreds of other industries that have given employment to us and to those impoverished people; we, who have seen countless schools, churches, and educational institutions established where none existed, as a result of money we put in the channels of industry there; we denounce as absolutely, without foundation for truth the imputations that we were in any way responsible for the feudalistic conditions in Mexico. And we insist that, rather than exploiting the Mexican people, we lifted them from a shameful state of exploitation that existed before our advent there.

We feel that it is inopportune now to discuss how these conditions were brought about or how they might have been averted. The conditions exist and must be met fearlessly, courageously, and firmly. Every day of unnecessary delay will add to the deplorable complications for which the nations of the world, under the Monroe doctrine, look to the United States for ultimate relief. The time has come for prompt, specific, and decisive action in Mexico, and not merely along the border. American and Mexican citizens are being forced to sacrifice their holdings to the moneyed powers in order that they may exist. Americans have been ordered out of Mexico by their own Government, which has announced that they may expect no further protection there, which is forcing them to sacrifice their interests and holdings to the British, French, Germans, Chinese, and Japanese, whose governments insist they remain there and promise them protection, irrespective of the European complications.

By force of arms we are protecting the American interests in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands, and by threatening ultimatums we have demanded the American right of high seas to the European powers. We can see no reason why our constitutional and treaty rights should not be similarly extended to the Americans in Mexico and along the border of the United States in our own country.

To the American Congress and people we submit this appeal with the prayer that the remedy be applied as speedily as practicable.

## The Democracy of the Postal Service.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. J. WILLARD RAGSDALE,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 27, 1916.*

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address by Hon. Daniel C. Roper, First Assistant Postmaster General, to the postmasters of the State of New York.

The address is as follows:

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE POSTAL SERVICE.

[An address by Hon. Daniel C. Roper, First Assistant Postmaster General, to the postmasters of the State of New York, Alexandria Bay, June 27, 1916.]

Mr. President, postmasters of New York State, ladies and gentlemen, it is always a pleasure for me to confer with postmasters, and hence unnecessary that I express gratification at being with you to-day, especially as your association represents so large and important a section of the entire Postal Service. The postmasters of the great State of New York serve more than one-tenth of all the people of the United States and transact one-sixth of the postal business of the country. The postal revenues of this State are equivalent to three times those of the entire Dominion of Canada.

That this beautiful place should have been selected for your convention is indeed a compliment to the taste and judgment of your association. This locality is so enshrined by nature and history in the minds and hearts of the American people that to visit it is to receive inspiration for better citizenship and better service to our country. To be here to-day as representative citizens, honored as postmasters with the privilege of rendering important service to the people of this great Commonwealth, is a boon that should inflate your hearts with pardonable pride and genuine patriotism. No one can reflect upon the history and importance of this great American service without recognizing the important part it has played in the dissemination of democratic ideas for which this Government was established and in the interest of which it must be maintained. This thought has so borne in upon me as I have applied myself to the problems involved in its administration that I have decided to review with you to-day some of the features of this service and our relations thereto as public servants under the head of

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE POSTAL SERVICE.

The history of civilization is the record of the struggle of the people for justice against oppression; for equal rights for all against special privileges for the few. Democracy is the supreme ideal sought in establishing correct relationships among men in society, in commerce, and in government. The most potent factor in securing this end is the dissemination of knowledge, and the most potent agency in disseminating knowledge is the postal function and facility. The isolation and antagonism of communities are overcome by trade and the interchange of ideas.

Democratic ideas were first promulgated in systematic form in France about the middle of the eighteenth century through a series of remarkable writers, of whom Rousseau was the most important. These writers interpreted the feelings of the people and voiced a passionate desire in all for those "inalienable rights" which kings and autocratic rulers had withheld from them. These ideas, though first proclaimed as theories in France, were to find their first practical interpretation and embodiment in America. Thus France by her ideas influenced the American Colonies in their struggles for self-government, and as if by reciprocation the reflex influence of the American democracy encouraged and hastened the French Revolution, out of which finally came the French Republic. The success of democracy in the United States has been the real propelling force in securing recognition for the people and in interpreting such rights in the constitutions of society throughout the world.

It is not an accident that the greatest intellectual and material progress of the ages has been in evidence since the American and French Revolutions. These two upheavals marked the beginning of modern democracy as we know it. The change which they brought about was not only political but affected the thought of the whole world. They operated to give men not only self-government but self-confidence and self-respect, and thus increased individual initiative, invention, and progress in all lines, both individual and social.

AMERICAN POSTAL SERVICE A DEMOCRATIC FACILITY.

The success of the efforts for popular rights here and abroad is in a most important manner measured by the development of postal facilities. For example, the earliest postal systems were established and maintained for the use of rulers without regard to the convenience and comfort of the people and were restricted in their development and usefulness. The wise founders of our Government realized that the progress and security of society depends upon the preparation of its members for patriotic and intelligent cooperation from the humblest to the highest citizen. It is therefore not insignificant that the framers of the Constitution for a Government established by and in the interest of the people should place in that first declaration of principles a special postal provision in order that the Postal Service should be made a democratic facility. To-day, as never before, the Postal Service is recognized as a fundamental educational necessity, the promoter of mutual acquaintance, of peace and good will among men and nations, and the enlarger of the common life.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF POSTMASTERS.

No more important responsibilities can be imposed on men under our form of government than that of maintaining a service so fundamental to the welfare and happiness of the people. For the time being these responsibilities rest upon our shoulders and our success in meeting them will be measured by the extent to which we make the service democratic, eliminate graft and special privilege, and treat all individuals and communities alike. If we accomplish this, we will be accepted as successful administrative officers; otherwise we will be unsuccessful.

I believe that our present postmasters understand that past standards of efficiency in management do not answer for to-day and will be less useful for to-morrow. They therefore are responding more intelligently and willingly to the demands of the service.

RECORD OF PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

It will be interesting, in this connection, to make a brief review of what has been accomplished during our administration to make the Postal Service more democratic and effective. Having learned to do by doing, we shall find ourselves the better prepared to understand what remains to be done to give the American people the ideal Postal Service to which they are entitled.

During the last three years the parcel-post law has been effectually administered. Mailing conditions have been simplified, rates reduced, limits in size and weight of packages increased, thereby developing a traffic of a billion parcels a year and thus extending the best express facilities not only to cities and towns on steam transportation lines, but also to the people along a million miles of rural routes. Unnecessary restrictions in the postal savings system have been removed and its purposes of encouraging thrift and bringing into circulation the hoarded savings of the poor, under the protection of the National Government, has been made effective by an active propaganda. The Rural Delivery Service, established in October, 1896 (just 20 years ago), has been developed under this administration by the establishment of more than 2,500 new routes and the extension of more than 9,000 old routes for the benefit of 3,000,000 people in the rural districts. The City Delivery Service has been extended to 3,000,000 additional residents in towns and cities, according free delivery of mail by carrier, in all, to 6,000,000 people heretofore denied this service. Surely this does not indicate a curtailment of postal facilities. In every way during the last three years the postal needs and demands of the country have been anticipated and provided for. The appreciation of the people is shown, among other ways, in the per capita expenditure for postal service, which has increased from $2.58 in 1912 to nearly

$3 in 1916. This expansion has gone hand in hand with an unparalleled financial achievement; the Postal Service has become self-supporting. Following an unbroken succession of 29 annual deficits of from $3,000,000 to $17,000,000, Postmaster General Burleson returned to the Treasury in 1913 and in 1914—and will in 1916—surpluses aggregating more than $8,000,000 for the four years. This splendid record has been achieved in spite of the fact that the low rate accorded to second-class matter creates a deficiency of $80,000,000 on this one class of mail, and the liberal extension of rural-mail delivery is a further drain in the postal receipts which must be made up by the efficient management of the service as a whole. The surpluses from first-class and fourth-class matter under this administration have more than made good the losses in the rural service and in the handling and transportation of second-class mail. These nonrevenue services are contributions to the educational uplift of the people and hence truly democratic in principle. To specify in further detail the democratic breadth recently given to the Postal Service there may be mentioned:

The elimination of the sharp division lines between the different kinds of vehicle service in cities and the combining of all vehicle service under one common control, thus securing more economical contract terms and eliminating wasteful slack by interchangeability in equipments.

The adoption of the principle of Government ownership of vehicle equipment and the substitution of Government-owned for contract equipments wherever improvements and economies in operation are possible.

Practical aid in development of the parcel-post movement between producer and consumer, producing a means of eliminating waste in agricultural products and contributing to the better living of the people.

Inclusion of books in parcel-post classification, thus materially reducing postage rates on such matter and facilitating the dissemination of knowledge among the people.

Energetic campaign to eliminate the use of the general-delivery window service for purposes of fraud and immorality.

Establishment of standards of work in the City Delivery Service so as to facilitate the application of efficiency rating system to carriers.

Facilities of letter, money-order, and parcel exchange with South American countries vastly improved, stimulating commercial relations with those countries.

One thousand new steel cars placed in the Railway Mail Service for the protection of railway mail clerks and liability law put on the statute books for the protection of Uncle Sam's employees engaged in this hazardous work.

In discovering the best method of road building and in cooperating with the United States Department of Agriculture and with States and counties in constructing post roads.

Reorganization of the large post offices along standardized and business-like lines has been successfully accomplished.

Swindling by mail greatly reduced by relentless enforcement of the fraud-order statutes.

Competition encouraged and secured in the awarding of contracts for post-office quarters and supplies, effecting huge economies which in one instance of the four-year contract for stamped envelopes amounted to more than $1,000,000.

With these things accomplished, are you not the better prepared to continue the work of Democratic postal reforms in the interest of the people?

INEQUALITIES TO BE REMOVED.

A number of inequalities in the service remain, and these must have our thought and constructive endeavor in the near future.

Let me give a few illustrations:

Of the 591 postmasters of the presidential grade in the State of New York, 368 are of the third class. The administration of the Postal Service rests in an inequitable manner in many instances upon these third-class offices. The legislation effecting these offices was enacted many years ago and provides for clerk hire under conditions which no longer exist. Living expenses have so increased that it is impossible to get efficient people at the old rates of from $10 to $20 per month. Consequently, postmasters of this class are frequently compelled to expend their personal funds for clerical assistance.

Recognizing this condition, the department increased its estimates for 1916 by $75,000 for regular clerk hire and by $35,000 for clerical assistance in separating transit mail.

If these recommendations are approved, the department will be able to extend some relief to postmasters of this class.

The salaries of fourth-class postmasters should be placed on an equitable basis. The law has restricted the salaries of fourth-class postmasters according to the volume of outgoing mail at their offices, whereas the salaries of rural carriers have been fixed with no reference to the revenue derived from their services. The result, in general, is that the position of postmaster is relatively less desirable than that of the carrier, who works under the postmaster's direction. Such a condition is subversive of discipline and the best interests of the service and should be remedied.

As an illustration of the conditions under which a fourth-class postmaster is compelled to work, I cite an actual case which has been brought to my attention in a letter written by the postmaster.

During the past several years, this postmaster states that his compensation has averaged about $780 a year, which, together with $75 for money-order fees, made his total income $855. Out of this his rent, light, and incidentals amounted to about $200, leaving him $655 for 12 hours' work daily, except holidays and Sundays, when he works about a half day. This postmaster gets no leave of absence except, of course, when he puts somebody in his place, to whom he would have to pay, perhaps, as much as the fees would amount to during that time.

On the other hand, the postmaster states that the rural carrier from his office gets $1,200 for seven hours' work daily, exclusive of Sundays and holidays, and two weeks vacation with full pay. Out of this, however, he must provide for the upkeep of his machine or horse and wagon, which may amount to $20 or $30 a month, but from which he should get some personal advantage, at least on Sundays and holidays.

FARM-TO-TABLE MOVEMENT.

Thus far the Parcel Post Service has been developed principally through mail-order houses, which results in about ten times as much parcel-post matter being sent from the cities to the country as is brought from the country into the city. The result is that fourth-class postmasters are compelled to handle a much larger percentage of incoming matter, for which they receive no compensation, than outgoing matter, on which their compensation is based. The natural remedy should occur to the fourth-class postmaster. It is this: Develop the parcel post in line with the intention of Congress when the organic act was passed so that more mail of this character will originate at the smaller offices for dispatch than is received for local distribution. In this connection I would suggest that postmasters in the large cities may come to the relief of the fourth-class postmasters by encouraging the farm-to-table movement, in the manner repeatedly suggested by the department. Postmasters who have given this their serious persistent attention have accomplished a great deal by stimulating the ordering by city patrons of farm produce to be shipped by mail. This recompenses the fourth-class postmasters for handling the great volume of mail-order goods sent from the city by parcel post, and is a distinct benefit to those in the city who can be induced to undertake marketing by mail. The department has proposed to Congress legislation standardizing the number and salaries of supervisory officers in post offices and fixing the salaries of station superintendents according to the volume of postal business. The adoption of this recommendation would more evenly distribute the supervision and give the supervisory employees salaries more nearly commensurate with the duties performed by them.

The policy of an interchangeable personnel should be still further extended until every barrier is removed to transfers, details, and promotions from any position in the service to any other position without regard to geographical lines. In this way the service at every post office will be properly recognized as a part of one composite service and be constantly improved and invigorated by the introduction of new ideas and personalities from other post offices, and the whole service benefited through the broadening of the opportunity for advancement opened to all from the lowest to the highest employee.

To accomplish this objective the civil-service classification of at least second and third-class postmasters is necessary. Eventually all postmasters should be permanently attached to the service. The care observed by this administration has brought into the service postmasters of a high degree of business and executive ability. Each year of their service should add to their value and efficiency, and their retention should depend only on their capacity and willingness to perform acceptable service.

RAILWAY MAIL PAY.

An unfortunate impression has gone abroad that this administration wishes to treat unjustly the transportation companies of the country. This is wholly erroneous. What is desired is the just thing to the companies and to the people. The Postmaster General's recommendation to Congress of a space basis for compensating transportation companies for carrying the mail is, in his opinion, the best and most equitable, and for this he has corroborative evidence from other countries. Canada, for instance, has for more than two years paid its railroads for

transporting the mails upon a basis of space and has had no difficulty whatever in administration. I am advised that first-hand information from the postal officials of that country is to the effect that the space plan is most simple and practicable and that it will be continued. Furthermore, it is stated that the two largest companies operating in that country petitioned the postmaster general of Canada for a revision upward of their rates to the level of the rates proposed to be paid the railroads of the United States under the Moon space bill now pending in our Congress, stating that they can reasonably agree to accept these rates in Canada.

SUPERANNUATION.

The increased exactions of the Postal Service because of the parcel post and other business features, necessitating the employment of able-bodied and alert persons, makes a practical method of dealing with superannuates in the service a vital and urgent problem. It is known that the loss sustained by the Government on account of superannuation of its employees in all departments aggregates many millions annually. A canvass of first and second class post offices seems to indicate that this loss is probably proportionately less in the Postal Service than elsewhere in the Government. I use the word "proportionately" in this connection because the Postal Service carries about 80 per cent of all the civil-service employees in the Government service. It is believed that in the other departments the question is even more acute than in the Postal Service, and hence it hardly seems likely that Congress will overlook this and approve of a retirement plan that does not comprehend civil-service employees in all the departments of the Government.

My careful study of this subject has led me to conclude that there is no advantage to be gained in supporting a straight pension plan or any plan that involves large annual appropriations by Congress. The practicable plan to be adopted would appear to be contributory, and should impose only a small direct burden on the employees and on the Public Treasury. The mutual feature can not seriously be objected to in view of the fact that the Government is a peculiarly permanent institution, with a natural tendency to increase from year to year. The compulsory contributions of the employees could be made as low as 1 per cent of the monthly salary, which will impose no undue burden on anyone. Much thought has been given in the last three years to this problem, and its solution should not be longer delayed. In the language of the St. Louis platform, it is necessary "to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained."

POSTAL SERVICE COMPARED WITH PRIVATE CORPORATIONS.

These service problems continually remind us that our postal institution has reached the business proportions of the largest corporations. The modern business corporation is one of the most remarkable institutions developed by our American civilization. The control of business by this form of association of individuals is peculiar to America, and has given rise to the greatest economic problems with which our Government has had to deal. The benefits of the corporation in consolidating capital and devoting it to the development of the country along the lines of large and efficient production and distribution must be recognized. The evils of the corporations have been banished and the teeth of predatory wealth drawn by the establishment and development of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Federal Trade Commission, to which will soon be added a Rural Credits Commission, to assist the farmer, and a Federal tariff commission, to cooperate with Congress in studying customs, industrial, and tax problems. These institutions are the umpires of democracy that will see to it that there is fair play between the humblest citizen and the greatest corporation.

Recognizing, then, that the corporation is the most efficient organization for the conduct of big business, and that it is, when properly controlled, neither undemocratic nor un-American, let us see what comparison may be made between the big business of the Postal Service and that of the private corporations.

The American Postal Service is the only branch of the National Government that bears a striking resemblance to the great business institutions which are owned and operated by private citizens. In fact, a specious comparison may be drawn between the Postal Service and any of the great corporations through which huge amalgamations of capital are nowadays made effective in the activities of private business. The proceeds of taxation is our capital, the people are our stockholders, Congress is our board of directors, the President of the United States is the president of our enterprise, the Postmaster General is our general manager, the officers of the department are his staff lieutenants, the department is our head office, the post offices are our local branches, and the great army of clerks and carriers is the labor force of the postal organization. The raw material of this public utility is the mailed letter and parcel; its finished product is the letter and parcel delivered. Its business is the communication of intelligence and the transportation of commodities.

The Postal Service resembles a profit-sharing corporation, for its employees are all stockholders, and so are its patrons.

In so far as the Postal Service may be compared with the private corporations, it is in some respects the greatest of them all. It operates more branches, utilizes more agencies, completes more transactions, serves more people, employs more labor, and is more vital to the welfare and happiness of all the people than any of them.

The Postal Service has become a wonderful organization, transacting an average of $1,000,000 worth of business a day, through about 300,000 human agents, at 56,000 post offices, to which must be added about 6,500 stations of all kinds, handling annually about 1,000,000,000 parcels, 10,000,000,000 pieces of first-class mail, and more than 1,000,000,000 pounds of second-class matter, serving 100,000,000 people in America, and conveying mail to all parts of the world.

In so far as the monopolistic tendency of the private corporations is concerned, the Postal Service is the most complete of all trusts and yet the most democratic of all our institutions.

A deeper study, however, of the analogy which we have drawn will show conclusively that the apparent similarity of the Postal Service to private corporations is only superficial. There is a fundamental difference running throughout the entire comparison. It is a difference of origin, ideals, policy, and purpose; and this difference colors every function and activity, changes the relationship of every patron, and alters the status of every employee of the Postal Service as compared with the private corporation.

Corporations, it is said, have no soul. The genius of the American Government is the soul of the Postal Service, which is a common cooperative endeavor of the people. It has its origin, not in an act of Congress nor in the private bill of a State legislature, but in the Constitution of the United States; its ideal is not dividends, but the preservation of the Union and the advancement of civilization by the establishment and maintenance of means of communication; its policy is to operate its service, not for profit, but for the convenience of the public; and its purpose is in every way democratic, purely and entirely unselfish.

NATIONAL POLICIES AND PROSPERITY.

In principle there is all the difference in the world between working for some of the people and working for all of the people. Any plan of action affecting the Postal Service that does not take this principle into account is erroneous and, if not doomed to failure, will be pernicious in its effects.

It has always been properly considered an honor and a privilege to be intrusted with the commission of postmaster, but you have been called to serve during one of the most epochal periods of our country's existence and your responsibilities are correspondingly greater than those of your predecessors. The heart of every true American swells with gratitude over the fact that during the titanic struggle raging in Europe the peace of our country has been maintained with honor. This country has thereby attained first place among the great nations of the world, but as such must assume the greatest responsibilities in maintaining proper conditions at home and in bringing order out of chaos for the future generations of the countries involved in the war cataclysm.

The result of the policy thus far pursued is that, as we have sown peace, not war, our country is to-day reaping the harvest of prosperity. No one can deny that this is the greatest era of prosperity in American history. Prosperity permeates every corner of our land. Every kind of business is pulsating with it; labor is employed throughout the land at the highest wages ever known and the demand for labor in all parts of the country is in excess of the supply. We have a full dinner pail and all should stand for peace, plenty, and prosperity.

The national wealth of the country has increased since 1912 from $187,000,000,000 to $228,000,000,000; the money in circulation from about $3,250,000,000 to $4,000,000,000; bank surplus from $170,000,000,000 to $260,000,000,000; railroad receipts from $2,900,000,000 to $3,250,000,000; the value of agricultural products from $9,250,000,000 to $10,500,000,000; the American railroads have this fiscal year earned the enormous sum of $1,000,000,000 net; and the debt of the United States to Europe has this year been decreased from $4,000,000,000 to $3,000,000,000.

There is no reason to suppose that this fortunate condition is the high-water mark of our national prosperity. The constructive program of the national administration has just begun, and the splendid successes already achieved have given all classes and parties a remarkable confidence in the projects

now under consideration. After years of fruitless agitation and discussion of the complicated subject of rural credits it has remained for this administration to propose a practicable measure on which all can unite. In connection with rural credits the following editorial from the Washington Post is interesting and instructive:

The fact that a majority of the Republicans in both branches of Congress have voted for the administration's rural credits bill is an assurance that the measure will bring about a real reform in the interest of the farmers of the country. The unanimity with which Congress put through this measure presages the same success for it that attended the establishment of the new banking and currency system.

The rural credits bill and good roads bill, both of which will now go to the President for his signature, should make the lot of the farmer much easier. The farmers have been obtaining good prices for their products and are generally prosperous, but the fact must be faced that the percentage of farmers who own their own land without incumbrance is extremely small.

When Germany put her rural credits system into effect, the percentage of farmer tenants was about as large as is the case in the United States. Under the German credit system, however, nearly 90 per cent of the German farmers now own their own land.

With Federal aid to road construction and this new rural credits law it should not be long before the same fortunate condition is brought about in the United States.

The gratifying prosperity of the country and the still more gratifying prospect of continued and increased prosperity are not the result of chance, but have been promoted by well-defined causes which are both legislative and administrative. However, as important as are these causes, economically and commercially, they are secondary to those responsibilities which this country must assume as the guardian of the hopes of humanity throughout the world. America is the great lighthouse toward which shipwrecked Europe is looking for peace and happiness. Our flag, as never before, must represent justice and fair dealing, both at home and abroad.

Democracy respects, encourages, and protects the individual citizen and prompts love of country and the highest evidences of good citizenship. It accordingly always expects the individual citizen to assume his proper responsibilities and awakens in him keen interest in his country and its government. It was never intended that government service should curtail or interfere with the exercise of a person's proper duties as a citizen. Hence it was that the Postmaster General in his interpretation of political activity on the part of unclassified postmasters has stated that no objection is interposed to unclassified postmasters contributing political news articles or otherwise discussing public issues provided the postmasters do not engage in personalities or by word or act give rise to criticism or complaint that might reflect on the service. Detrimental effects would naturally result from postmasters holding official positions on political committees or becoming candidates for elective offices or using their offices to control political movements, and hence such activities are properly prohibited and discouraged.

HYPHENATED AMERICANS.

Much has been said of the problem of the hyphenated American. The counterpart of this problem is found in our private lives. When our sons and daughters establish homes for themselves we can no longer expect their obedience and support. Holy Writ is their authority for relinquishing the old bonds and cleaving to the new. It is not that they should love the old home less, but that they must love the new home more. This is the way of nature and of all right-thinking people. We must admire the American who cherishes with affection the memories of the land of his birth, but may we not expect that when this view is properly presented in the hour of trial every foreign-born American will unhesitatingly declare his undivided allegiance to the land of his choice. The acid test of the foreign policies of our President in maintaining peace with honor is that every country involved in the European war would to-day gladly exchange places with us and weld the broken links of international friendships and home circles. The difference between the conditions here and in Europe is the difference between an aeroplane with and without its stabilizer. The stabilizer is the instrument which keeps the airship equipoised. This is what Woodrow Wilson has been for the internal and external relations of our country and has prepared the United States for its position to become the stabilizer of the world.

POSTMASTER MAY CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

What Woodrow Wilson has been and is in the United States is what it is desired that you be in your respective postal districts, educating your patrons to the most intelligent and effective methods of using the Postal Service and of cooperating with you and the department in both postal and civil duties to the end that our people may be more prosperous, more virtuous, happy, and contented.

The commanding and paramount characteristic in our constructive civic work is the spread of intelligence. The fundamental factor in this progress is the Postal Service. The education and enlightenment of the people may truly be said to be the sure panacea of democracy for every social and political evil. Literally, by the extension and utilization of postal facilities this Nation will accomplish the destiny of democracy, the principles of which ever cherish and maintain the sacredness of justice to all and special privileges to none.

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**Address by Dr. Edward G. Acheson.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. WILLARD RAGSDALE,
OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 27, 1916.*

Mr. RAGSDALE. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the recent visit of the Foreign Affairs Committee to Niagara Falls, N. Y., we had an opportunity to learn much as to the proper utilization of the enormous power of Niagara River. Among the most pleasant and instructive incidents was an address delivered by Dr. Edward G. Acheson—at a beautifully appointed lunch given to the committee by the Niagara Board of Trade and presided over by its chairman, that "prince of good fellows," Mr. Salt—the real merits of which can only be appreciated by those who read it and which I now offer with the hope that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y., JULY 13, 1916, BY DR. EDWARD G. ACHESON.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, I understand the purpose of your present visit to Niagara Falls is to give you an opportunity to form a clear and accurate judgment for or against the advisability of permitting a further diversion of water from the Niagara River for power purposes, and, further, its bearing upon the international relations between the United States and Canada.

I have been honored with an invitation to address you, and it is with great pleasure I grasp the opportunity to place before you a few facts which, I hope, you will consider of sufficient importance to bear weight in the formation of your decision.

With your kind permission, I will give you a brief glance at my own activities in and about Niagara Falls and the results I have been able to accomplish, my excuse for presenting my own affairs to you being that I know them better than my neighbors. There are, however, many other manufacturers who could advance equally strong arguments as those I am about to place before you.

In 1894 I was located in Monongahela City, in the very heart of the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania. I was operating a small plant manufacturing carborundum, the production during that year amounting to 52,190 pounds. The electrical power for the operation of the furnace, in which carborundum was produced, cost too much money to permit of the material being sold for general grinding purposes. The first electric-power plant erected in Niagara Falls was approaching completion. I came to this city and contracted for 1,000 electrical horsepower, built a plant, and during the year 1896 the production of carborundum jumped up to 1,100,000 pounds. During the following years the business grew until, during 1913, the production amounted to 20,033,000 pounds. Since 1913 the business has shown considerable fluctuation, having dropped to 16,410,100 pounds in 1915, but during the present year, 1916, it is running at the rate of 22,433,600 pounds, this being the maximum possible production of the plant under the present curtailed condition of power production. While you will notice that the production in 1916 shows an increase of 38 per cent over 1915, during this year the orders have been coming in to the carborundum company at such a rate as to represent an increase of 120 per cent over that of 1915. Notwithstanding these facts, the company has not increased the price of its goods. It will not be necessary for me to comment upon the great value of this grinding material in the manufacturing world, it now being practically a necessity in many lines of manufacture.

My second venture in commercial manufacture at Niagara occurred in 1900, 16 years ago. It consisted of the manufacture

of artificial graphite. The development of this new business has been as follows:

In 1900 the production amounted to 860,750 pounds. The following year it had jumped to 2,500,000 pounds, and in 1913 it was 13,633,342 pounds. This business, you will notice, was developed before the European war had taken form; hence it had not been influenced by these world disturbances. Since the beginning of this present year, 1916, the orders for graphite received by the Acheson Graphite Co. have been at the rate of approximately 50,000,000 pounds per year. The company's present plant has a maximum capacity of 40,000,000 pounds per year; while owing to the unfortunate curtailment of power production only sufficient power can be obtained to produce approximately 20,000,000 pounds, and the company faces the further unfortunate condition of possibly being reduced to two-thirds its present output, or 14,000,000 pounds, by reason of the Canadian Government having called for a large amount of power now being utilized in the United States.

Let us more closely examine these orders for 50,000,000 pounds of artificial graphite. They are for a material that did not exist 16 years ago. The coming into being of this material has permitted the creation of vast enterprises previously impossible. For instance, as an example, we will take the manufacture of caustic, bleach, and chlorine, all important to our present-day life. Competent authorities have stated that their efficient manufacture would not be possible did the artificial graphite not exist. The existence of the Niagara-made graphite has been of incalculable value in hastening the liberation of the United States from the necessity of buying foreign-made products essential to our welfare and growth.

Alongside of and coincident with the growth of these domestic values is the fact that no less than 29 per cent of this year's business of the Acheson Graphite Co. is export trade. Further, these orders from abroad would have been vastly greater had it been possible to fill orders that could be had for the mere asking, and this is happening at the very time Norway, with her great water powers, is becoming restless and shows signs of wishing to enter the world's market with an artificial graphite.

Is it not worth while caring for this export trade? We are at this moment witnessing a great movement of the American manufacturing world toward the creation of a vast export trade. The Government is taking a friendly interest in this movement. Are these Niagara Falls interests too small to be taken into account?

You are perhaps thinking and may say I am an interested party and am only hoping to advance my own interests, but it is possible you may not think so badly of me when I tell you the Acheson Graphite Co. has not advanced its selling price one cent since this onrush of orders. No advantage has been taken of the present great demand for its products.

My purpose in giving you statistics regarding these enterprises is not with the hope of your rendering me assistance to advance my own interests, except as they may be advanced with others. I am presenting them to illustrate what may be done with Niagara Falls power in furthering the interests of our country at large. Many of the products produced in this city are absolutely essential to the successful operation of industries in cities and towns far removed from Niagara Falls.

You may say this is all very good, but why not manufacture these materials somewhere else and preserve the Falls? This brings us to the very heart of this whole matter. Previous speakers have already answered this question better than I am prepared to do. The subject is, however, very much greater than the simple matter of supplying more power and greater facilities to the factories of Niagara Falls. It is nation wide in importance. You, as a committee of the National Congress, have a duty to perform and a great responsibility rests upon you.

While you are with us, you will not fail to be impressed with the fact that this is a novel industrial community. Niagara Falls is no longer the pleasure resort of former years. The scenic beauty of the Falls is still with us, but the true value of the Falls and this community, in so far as the country at large is concerned, consists in the vast quantities of manufactured products distributed throughout the world from our local factories, many of which were only made possible of commercial production by the generation of electricity through the diversion of water from the Niagara, and in the invisible, vibrating current of power sent out on radiating threads of copper to cities, towns, and villages within a radius of 100 and more miles. Many of the factories located here on account of the power being cheaper. They have grown to large magnitude, and it is not an easy matter to move them to other localities.

I wish I had the gift of ready language, that I might better impress you with what to me appears to be your opportunity to use your great influence and directing power in bringing about a movement which would be of incalculable benefit to our entire country and more particularly our posterity. Would that I might make one small remark that would cause you to depart from what, to me, seems a wicked course, the failure to properly use our great natural resources. We are at the present moment within hearing of the roar of one of the most stupendous forces in the world. Magnificent and grand from the scenic point of view, it certainly is, but to me it would be much grander and more impressive were a larger portion of this vast power being utilized for the present and future welfare of man.

I consider it a veritable crime against our posterity to preserve this great natural, inexhaustible resource in its entirety, or as it now is, for reason of its scenic beauty while we at the same time press forward to the exhaustion of the coal deposits of our country.

We are advised our coal supply will be exhausted in another century. Certainly a goodly time but still not great as we measure the life of nations. There is nothing visionary or fanciful about this early exhaustion of our coal supply. True, we are told of immense coal fields in Alaska, but one can not readily imagine the factories of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, or in fact any of the States being supplied from these deposits in the frozen north. Let me impress upon you the fact that a century is not a long period. Three generations will more than cover it. An instance in my own family will well illustrate this: Among the treasures of the family is an invitation from President Washington to one of my grandfathers to dine with him, my grandfather at that time being a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and this was more than a century ago. Our own grandchildren may witness the practical exhaustion of our coal, if no steps are taken to conserve it.

I have here a few statistics coming from the United States Geological Survey: The production of anthracite coal in 1913 was 91,524,927 metric tons. Compare these figures with the production in 1820, which I find was no more than 365 tons, and this was two years after the birth of my father. Here are figures on the production of bituminous coal in the United States: In 1895 it amounted to 124,627,000 metric tons. In 1900 it had increased to 191,256,000 tons and in 1913 it had jumped to the great figure of 478,523,000 metric tons. You will not find it difficult to see the exhaustion of the coal deposits a century hence.

Perhaps you are not interested in the welfare of the people who will live a century hence, but I assure you that if those people find that a great natural inexhaustible resource for power, as is the Falls of Niagara, has been preserved to them on account of its scenic beauty, while at the same time the country has been denuded of its coal supply to produce power, these far-away people will be very, very much interested in what you and all of us, of this present generation, have been doing. Unless we have already done so, they will find themselves under the necessity of diverting the water from the river for power purposes; hence they will have neither coal, which we will have used, nor scenic beauty, which we are trying to preserve.

In closing, gentlemen, permit me to leave with you the question, "What is the true, the real conservation of our natural resources? Is it not the full and economic use of the inexhaustible for the preservation of the exhaustible?"

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## The Real Reason for the Opposition to the Child-Labor Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the question has been frequently asked why there is opposition in some of the States to the enactment of the child-labor law. We have frequently heard the statement made here that the sole opposition to it was based upon the fact that southern manufacturers would sustain great financial loss. The same argument has been advanced in every State before the enactment of similar laws, and with readjustment of conditions in compliance with the mandate of similar

statutes the same manufacturers have successfully conducted their business and grown prosperous.

There is, however, another reason for the opposition to this measure. We find it in the hearings given before the Committee on Labor when witnesses were being heard both in favor and in opposition to this bill.

One of the gentlemen who testified in opposition to the bill was Mr. David Clark, of Charlotte, N. C., editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin. At page 4 of the hearings he testified as follows:

Mr. CLARK. My position is that I am in close touch with the textile industry of the South, and have been for 16 years—8 years a cotton manufacturer and 8 years the editor of two publications, and for the last 5 years editor of the present publication, which I own.

At page 5 he stated that there were 8,450 children under 16 years employed in the mills of South Carolina, or one-sixth of the total number of employees.

At page 20 we find the following testimony:

Mr. CLARK. When these people come from the mountains they do not believe in education. That is the reason we do not have compulsory education in North Carolina, because the isolated mountain districts would go Republican if we forced compulsory education on them.

At page 23 we have the following astonishing testimony:

Mr. NOLAN. You state that the question of compulsory education in North Carolina is a political question?

Mr. CLARK. It is optional; yes.

Mr. NOLAN. What do you mean by a political question?

Mr. CLARK. Well, the State is Democratic—most of it—and our western counties are largely isolated communities. Those people are on the balance of power, and if we put on a State-wide system of compulsory education it would swing the balance the other way, because people of the isolated rural sections do not want compulsory education.

Mr. NOLAN. Do you not think you are giving a mighty lot of consideration to the minority down there?

Mr. CLARK. If it will make them the majority; yes, sir. They have been in the majority in our tenth district. We often elect a Republican Congressman from there. We have one in this Congress.

Mr. COOPER. You people in North Carolina blame your condition on the Republicans?

Mr. CLARK. Oh, no; they blame it on a certain class of people who live in the mountains.

Mr. NOLAN. They do not want to educate the Democrats, because they are afraid that they might vote the Republican ticket if they were educated. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLARK. They vote the Democratic ticket now. If you force on them compulsory education, they might change around and vote the other way for spite.

In other words, we are informed by Mr. Clark that if a child-labor law is enacted the children of North Carolina will have forced upon them compulsory school education, and, in return, they might learn sufficient to vote the Republican ticket.

Mr. Speaker, the people of this country are constantly learning why illiteracy continues in some parts of our Republic, and particularly so in those States where laws for the protection of children from labor in mills are unknown. Now, for the first time they learn that the enactment of this child-labor bill means the saving of thousands of children from ignorance and illiteracy, opening the doors of the schoolhouse to them, and giving them an opportunity to learn to think for themselves; and, so thinking, eventually casting their votes at majority for the Republican Party, that freed the slaves and now is determined to free the country from child labor and give the child an opportunity to fit himself, mentally, morally, and physically, to properly assume his duties of citizenship, determined to do his duty to his country at all times. I have voted for this bill, and every American citizen who believes in equal opportunity for all men and has a spark of love for America's growing children will take real pride in seeing it become a law.

## The Rural-Credit Law and Suggestions as to How Farmers May Secure Loans.

### SPEECH

OF

### HON. PATRICK D. NORTON,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, June 27, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the bill (S. 2986) to provide capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositaries and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Banking and Currency is to be congratulated on the results that have been reached in framing this legislation. The members of the committee have done much hard and trying work and have, as I know, employed a great part of their time for many months in the consideration and the preparation of this bill. I believe that every member of the committee has labored most earnestly and honestly in endeavoring to present to the country legislation on this most important subject, that in its operation will be of lasting assistance and encouragement to the great agricultural interests of the Nation. While as it is well known to the Members of the House that the bill does not conform to my own idea of the best system of rural-credit legislation that might be adopted for this country, still, believing as I do that this bill, when enacted into law will give to the country a rural-credit system that will be of far-reaching benefit to the improvement of agricultural and rural-life conditions in the Nation, I feel free to vote for the report of the conference committee on the bill as I voted for the bill when it passed the House.

The farmers of this Nation in the past have not had equal advantages with the commercial interests of the country in securing credits to carry on their business. While farm realty is among the best and safest security on earth, heretofore our laws and our systems of finance have neither been adapted to conditions under which our farmers labor nor to the period of time when they are best able to meet their loan or credit obligations.

The system proposed by this bill aims to standardize and safeguard the issuance of farm-loan bonds so that they will be attractive to investors at low rates of interest and so that their sale will supply ample funds for extending long-time land-mortgage loans to farmers at reasonable interest rates, the principal and interest of these loans being made payable on the amortization plan. It is most gratifying to me to know that this legislation is now safely on its road to final passage and that it will within a short time be written upon our statute books.

In my judgment this is epoch-making legislation and will mark a great progress both in farm development and in the ownership of farm homes in this Nation. While I expect much good to come from this legislation, I have no extravagant expectations of the results to follow from it. Closely acquainted as I have been since my childhood days with farm life and farm conditions, I realized that interest rates, however low they may be, will never be a substitute for thrift and industry on the farm. The careless, indifferent, lazy, or spendthrift farmer will not and can not be expected to make a success of his occupation if credit were afforded him at practically no interest charge at all. This system, however, will, I am confident, help and aid the thrifty and industrious farmer and make it more easy for him to provide a comfortable home and a comfortable living for himself and his family and a competence for his old age.

It will help and enable the thrifty and industrious young man who has accumulated savings of a few hundred dollars to purchase a tract of farm land on which he can make a comfortable and happy permanent home for himself and those dear to him and pay in full for his farm home out of the profits of the live stock, grain, fruits, or other products produced upon it.

I feel what I hope is a pardonable pride in the activity I have taken during this and the Sixty-third Congress in advocating the early enactment of a helpful and beneficial Federal rural-credit system for the Nation. No other legislation that has been before this Congress in a half century has been so much needed or promises greater possibilities to aid in the development of the greatest of all industries of this country than does legislation for a sound and workable Federal system of rural credit. So that a concise and clear understanding of the bill may be had, I desire to briefly call attention to its salient provisions.

On the whole, the bill provides for an organization somewhat similar to that of the Federal Reserve Banking System, but modified to meet the needs of the particular character of credit required by the agricultural interests of the country.

FEDERAL FARM-LOAN ACT.

The law is to be known as the Federal farm-loan act.

FEDERAL FARM LOAN BOARD.

The administration of the Federal farm-loan act is to be under the direction and control of the Federal Farm Loan Board. This board is to consist of five members. The Secretary of the Treasury is to be an ex officio member of the board and its chairman. The other four members are to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than two of the four members to be appointed by the President may be members of the same political party. Each of the appointed members is to receive a salary of $10,000 a year and necessary traveling expenses. At the beginning, one of the members appointed by the President is to be appointed for two years, one for four years, one for six years, and one for eight

years. Thereafter each member of the Farm Loan Board is to be appointed for a term of eight years. No member of the Farm Loan Board is permitted, during the time he holds office on the board, to be an officer or director of any other institution, association, or partnership in banking or in the business of making land-mortgage loans or selling land mortgages.

FEDERAL FARM-LOAN BANKS.

The continental United States, exclusive of Alaska, is to be divided into 12 districts, each to be known as a Federal land-bank district. The districts are to be apportioned with regard to the farm-loan needs of the country, but no district shall contain a fractional part of any State. In each district a Federal land bank is to be established by the Federal Farm Loan Board. Each Federal farm-land bank is to be temporarily managed by a board of five directors appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. The permanent management of each farm-loan bank is to be under the direction of a board consisting of nine directors. Six of these shall be known as local directors, and are to be chosen by and be representatives of national farm-loan associations. The other three directors are to be known as district directors, and are to be appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

CAPITAL STOCK OF FEDERAL LAND BANKS.

Every Federal land bank must have a capital of not less than $750,000. The capital stock of each Federal land bank is divided into shares of $5 each. These shares may be subscribed for and held by any individual, firm, or corporation or by the government of any State or by the Government of the United States. Stock owned by the Government of the United States in Federal land banks is not to share in or receive any dividends. All other stock is to share in dividend distributions without preference. It becomes the duty of the Farm Loan Board, as soon as practicable after the passage of this law, to open books of subscription for the capital stock of the Federal land bank in each Federal land-bank district. If within 30 days after opening the stock subscription books any part of the minimum capitalization of $750,000 shall remain unsubscribed, it then becomes the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe and to pay for the balance thereof for the United States Government. I might say here that it is the consensus of opinion of those who have given the most study to this bill that practically all, if not all, the original stock subscription to the Federal farm-land banks will necessarily have to be made by the Federal Government.

RETIREMENT OF ORIGINAL CAPITAL OF FEDERAL FARM-LAND BANKS.

When the subscriptions of capital stock by national farm-loan associations shall amount to $750,000 in any Federal farm-land bank the bank shall then apply semiannually 25 per cent of all sums thereafter subscribed to capital stock to the payment and retirement of the shares of stock which were issued to represent the subscriptions to the original capital of the bank. Thus when all the original capital stock is paid for and retired, the then capital stock of the bank would all be owned by farmer borrowers.

GOVERNMENT DEPOSITARIES.

The Federal land banks and joint-stock land banks, when designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositaries of public money, except receipts for customs, and they may also be employed as financial agents for the Government and must perform all such reasonable duties as depositaries of public funds and financial agents of the Government as may be required of them. No Government funds deposited, however, are to be invested in mortgage loans or farm-loan bonds.

NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

Any 10 or more persons who are the owners, or who are about to become the owners, of farm land qualified as security for a mortgage loan under this act, may subscribe to articles of incorporation and organize a national farm-loan association and secure a charter for the same from the Federal Farm Loan Board. In making application for a charter, the subscribers or organizers of the national farm-loan association must make application to secure for themselves from the farm-land bank of their district farm loans in the aggregate amount of not less than $20,000, no loan to be for less than $100 and none for more than $10,000. The charter granted each national farm-loan association designates the territory in which the association may operate and make loans. Every national farm-loan association must elect a board of directors of not less than five members, each of whom shall, during the term of his office, be a bona fide resident of the territory within which the association may be authorized to do business. The board of directors shall then choose a secretary-treasurer, who shall receive such compensation as the board of directors shall determine. The secretary-treasurer of every national farm-loan association shall act as custodian of its funds and deposit the same in such bank as the board of directors may designate, and pay over to borrowers all sums received for their account from the Federal land bank upon first mortgages.

The secretary-treasurer shall collect, receipt for, and transmit to the Federal land bank payment of interest, amortization installments, or principal arising out of loans made through the association. He shall be the custodian of the securities, records, papers, certificates of stock, and all documents relating to or bearing upon the conduct of the affairs of the association, and is required to furnish a suitable surety bond, to be prescribed and approved by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

THE POWERS OF NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

Every national farm-loan association shall have power to indorse and thereby become liable for the payment of mortgages taken from its shareholders by the Federal land bank of its district and to receive from the Federal land bank of its district funds advanced for first-mortgage loans and to pay over these funds to its shareholders on receipt of duly and properly executed first mortgages.

RESTRICTIONS OF LOANS BASED ON FIRST MORTGAGES.

All loans shall be secured by first mortgages. Every mortgage shall contain an agreement providing for the repayment of the loan on the amortization plan. Loans are to be made for a period of not less than 5 years and not more than 40 years. Additional payments of $25 or any multiple thereof may be made on the principal after the loan has run for a period of five years. On any installment due after five years from the making of the loan the entire principal of the loan may be paid under rules and regulations prescribed by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

RATE OF INTEREST.

The rate of interest, exclusive of amortization payments, shall not exceed 6 per cent on any loan, and in no case shall it exceed a rate of more than 1 per cent greater than the interest rate of the last issue of farm-land bonds sold by the farm-land bank of the district. For illustration, if the last issue of the land-bank bonds sold at a rate of 5½ per cent per annum, the rate on the mortgage to the farm borrower could not then exceed 4½ per cent per annum.

No loan shall exceed 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgage and 20 per cent of the value of the permanent insured improvements. No loan shall be made to any person who is not at the time or shortly to become engaged in the cultivation of the farm mortgaged. In case of the sale of the mortgaged land the Federal land bank may permit the mortgage and the stock interest of the vendor to be assumed by the purchaser. In case of the death of the mortgagor, his heirs or his legal representatives have the right, within 60 days after his death, to assume the mortgage and stock interest of the deceased.

POWERS OF FEDERAL LAND BANKS.

Every Federal land bank is given, among other powers, the power to issue, subject to the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board, and to sell farm-loan bonds, to invest such funds as it may have in the purchase of qualified first mortgages on farm lands located within the Federal farm-land district within which it is organized or for which it is acting, and to acquire and dispose of such real or personal property as may be necessary or convenient for the transaction of its business.

RESTRICTIONS OF FEDERAL LAND BANKS.

Federal land banks shall not accept deposits of current funds payable on demand except from its own stockholders, nor shall it transact any banking or other business not expressly authorized in the act. A Federal land bank has no right or authority to accept other than first mortgages on real estate, and its outstanding farm-loan bonds can not at any time exceed twenty times the amount of its capital and surplus.

AGENTS OF FEDERAL LAND BANKS.

Whenever after this act has been in effect for one year national farm-loan associations have not been formed and are not likely to be formed in any particular community the Federal Farm Loan Board may, in its discretion, authorize the Federal farm-land bank of the district to make loans on farm lands in that community through a designated agent. Such agent must be a duly incorporated bank, trust company, mortgage company, or a savings institution chartered by the State in which it has its principal office. All loans made through designated agents shall be subject to the same restrictions as if made through national farm-loan associations, and each

borrower must contribute 5 per cent of the amount of the loan to the capital of the Federal land bank, and he will receive a stock certificate from the Federal land bank for the amount of his contribution.

JOINT-STOCK LAND BANKS.

Corporations, to be known as joint-stock land banks, may be formed by any number of persons, not less than 10, for the purpose of carrying on the business of lending on farm-mortgage security and issuing farm-loan bonds. The joint-stock land banks are private profit-sharing institutions and are distinct and separate from the system of Federal farm-land banks. A joint-stock land bank must have a capital stock of not less than $250,000. These banks are to be under Federal supervision. Each bank is authorized to issue farm-loan bonds in an amount not to exceed fifteen times its capital and surplus. A joint-stock land bank shall in no case charge a rate of interest on farm loans exceeding by more than 1 per cent the rate of interest on the last series of farm-loan bonds issued by the bank.

EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION.

Every Federal land bank and every national farm-loan association, including the capital and surplus and the income derived therefrom, is exempt from Federal, State, municipal, and local taxation, except taxes on real estate held, purchased, or taken by the bank or association in the course of carrying on its regular business. First mortgages executed to the Federal land banks or to joint-stock land banks and all farm-loan bonds issued under provisions of this bill are held to be instrumentalities of the Federal Government, and they and the income derived from them are exempt from Federal, State, municipal, and local taxation. The exemption as provided in this bill of mortgages and farm-loan bonds from taxation is a most important feature of the bill. This exemption from taxation will greatly add to the popularity of these securities among investors and result in the sale of the bonds at a considerably lower rate of interest than they would otherwise sell for if they were subject to taxation.

HOW A BORROWER SECURES A LOAN.

A borrower can only secure a loan through being a member of a national farm-loan association, if one is organized in the community in which he resides. If there is no such organization in his community within one year after the passage of this bill he may then be able to secure a loan through some agent in the district designated by the Federal Farm Loan Board to negotiate loans for the Federal land bank of his district.

The farmer desiring to make a loan makes application for the loan to the secretary-treasurer of the national farm-loan association in his community. In this application the borrower agrees to take 5 per cent of the amount of the loan in stock in the Federal land bank of the district. His application for a loan gives a full description of the premises to be mortgaged and recites the purpose for which the loan is to be made. The application when received by the secretary-treasurer of the national farm-loan association is referred to the loan committee of the association. The land on which security is to be given is examined and appraised by the loan committee, and if the application is found to be satisfactory the loan is approved by the board of directors of the national farm-loan association and the applicant then becomes a member of the national farm-loan association and secures his loan from the Federal land bank of the district. For illustration: If a man having a tract of land worth $1,600, with improvements upon it of the value of $1,000, desired to make the maximum loan allowed to be made on such property under the terms of this bill, he would first make application to the secretary-treasurer of the local national farm-loan association. If his application is found satisfactory by the examining committee of the national farm-loan association, and is approved, he would be entitled to a loan of 50 per cent of the value of the real property, or 50 per cent of $1,600, which would be $800, and he would be entitled to a loan of 20 per cent of the value of the improvements on the land, which in this case would be 20 per cent of $1,000, making $200. He would thus be entitled to make a maximum loan upon his property of $1,000. After his loan application has been approved he would execute a mortgage for $1,000 to the Federal farm-land bank of the district. He would then receive as proceeds of this mortgage from the national farm-loan association $1,000 less the cost of appraising the land, the recording fees, the cost of abstract of title, and 5 per cent of the amount of the loan, which would be applied for the purchase of stock in the farm-land bank. This stock in the Federal land bank, amounting in this case to $50, would be held by the national farm-loan association as part security for the payment of the loan, but the borrower would be entitled to all dividends and profits on the stock. The result of the application for a loan of this kind would be approximately as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Security offered by borrower: | |
| Land valued at | $1,600 |
| Improvements valued at | 1,000 |
| Total value of borrower's land and improvements | 2,600 |
| Estimated cost to borrower: | |
| Subscription to stock in land bank | 50 |
| Cost of abstract of title (estimated) | 6 |
| Cost of examining abstract (estimated) | 3 |
| Cost of appraisement (estimated) | 10 |
| Cost of recording mortgage (estimated) | 3 |
| Total cost to borrower | 72 |
| Total loan borrower can obtain | 1,000 |
| Cash to be paid borrower | 928 |

If, as it is fair to do, his stock in the farm-land bank is considered as an investment, it is seen that the borrower obtains a loan of $950 at an approximate cost of $22.

REPAYMENT OF THE LOAN.

Having given a brief analysis of the manner in which the borrower makes the loan, the next important step is the repayment of the loan. The borrower, at the time he makes his application, determines according to his circumstances the period of time for which the loan is to run. As before stated, this period can extend for not less than five nor more than 40 years. The repayment must be made upon the amortization plan. The rate of interest will be the same whether the borrower chooses a long or a short period of repayment, but the annual installments will vary. A larger annual installment will of course be required to repay the loan in 20 years than that required to repay the loan, say, in 40 years.

If the loan of a thousand dollars that I have just taken for an illustration is to bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent, and the borrower desires to have the loan run for a period of 20 years, he will then be required to pay an annual installment of $80.24. The following table shows the manner in which an annual installment of $80.24 made on a loan of $1,000 at 5 per cent interest will mature the loan in 20 years:

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.00 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.56 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.43 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.60 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.46 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.24 | 3.82 | 76.50 | |
| Total | 1,604.80 | 604.80 | 1,000.00 | |

An annual installment of $60 a year would mature a loan of $1,000, bearing 5 per cent interest, in a little over 36 years, as is shown by the table following.

| Annual periods. | Annual installment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Part of installment paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $60.00 | $50.00 | $10.00 | $990.00 |
| 2 | 60.00 | 49.50 | 10.50 | 979.50 |
| 3 | 60.00 | 48.97 | 11.03 | 968.47 |
| 4 | 60.00 | 48.42 | 11.58 | 956.89 |
| 5 | 60.00 | 47.84 | 12.16 | 944.73 |
| 6 | 60.00 | 47.24 | 12.76 | 931.97 |
| 7 | 60.00 | 46.60 | 13.40 | 918.57 |
| 8 | 60.00 | 45.93 | 14.07 | 904.50 |
| 9 | 60.00 | 45.22 | 14.78 | 889.72 |
| 10 | 60.00 | 44.49 | 15.51 | 874.21 |
| 11 | 60.00 | 43.71 | 16.29 | 857.92 |
| 12 | 60.00 | 42.90 | 17.10 | 840.82 |
| 13 | 60.00 | 42.04 | 17.96 | 822.86 |
| 14 | 60.00 | 41.14 | 18.86 | 804.00 |
| 15 | 60.00 | 40.20 | 19.80 | 784.20 |
| 16 | 60.00 | 39.21 | 20.79 | 763.41 |
| 17 | 60.00 | 38.17 | 21.83 | 741.58 |
| 18 | 60.00 | 37.08 | 22.92 | 718.66 |

| Annual periods. | Annual installment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Part of installment paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | $60.00 | $35.93 | $24.07 | $694.59 |
| 20 | 60.00 | 34.73 | 25.27 | 669.32 |
| 21 | 60.00 | 33.47 | 26.53 | 642.79 |
| 22 | 60.00 | 32.14 | 27.86 | 614.93 |
| 23 | 60.00 | 30.75 | 29.25 | 585.68 |
| 24 | 60.00 | 29.28 | 30.72 | 554.96 |
| 25 | 60.00 | 27.75 | 32.25 | 522.71 |
| 26 | 60.00 | 26.13 | 33.87 | 488.84 |
| 27 | 60.00 | 24.44 | 35.51 | 453.28 |
| 28 | 60.00 | 22.66 | 37.34 | 415.94 |
| 29 | 60.00 | 20.80 | 39.20 | 376.74 |
| 30 | 60.00 | 18.84 | 41.16 | 335.58 |
| 31 | 60.00 | 16.78 | 43.22 | 292.36 |
| 32 | 60.00 | 14.62 | 45.38 | 246.98 |
| 33 | 60.00 | 12.35 | 47.65 | 199.33 |
| 34 | 60.00 | 9.97 | 50.03 | 149.30 |
| 35 | 60.00 | 7.46 | 52.54 | 96.76 |
| 36 | 60.00 | 4.84 | 55.16 | 41.60 |

The annual installment necessary to mature in 10, 20, 30, 40, or any other period of years, any loan bearing a given rate of interest can easily be calculated. The long periods allowed for the payment of a loan under the amortization plan will do away with the great burden of expenses and commissions now connected with the renewal of farm-land loans made for short periods, as for three or five years.

The amortization plan provided for in this act will relieve the borrower of the old fear and worry of foreclosure for the nonpayment of the entire principal at the end of the loan period and will afford him an easy method for the payment of his loan, which the ordinary profits of his farm will enable him to do.

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**On Taxing Copper Smelting and Refining Industries.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JAMES H. MAYS,

OF UTAH,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 27, 1916.*

Mr. MAYS. Mr. Speaker, under the general leave to extend remarks upon the revenue bill, I herewith insert in the RECORD various protests against the tax on copper smelting and refining and answers thereto.

The matter referred to is as follows:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *July 7, 1916.*

Hon. J. MAYS,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Please use every effort to defeat proposal in revenue bill reported by House Ways and Means Committee to impose tax on copper smelting and refining. Such tax will revert to producers and consumers and affect our entire mining industry. We regard it unjust to single out this industry because it happens to be enjoying temporary prosperity. Tax burden should be equitably distributed.

SILVER KING CON. MFG. CO.,
By SOLON SPIRO, *President.*

—

JULY 12, 1916.

Mr. SOLON SPIRO,
*President Silver King Consolidated Mining Co.,*
*Salt Lake City, Utah.*

MY DEAR MR. SPIRO: I acknowledge receipt of your telegram protesting against the tax on copper smelting and refining. I received a number of protests from constituents against this feature of the revenue bill and have taken occasion to discuss the question with the members of the Ways and Means Committee and with others interested in the copper industry.

Congressman HAYDEN, of Arizona, introduced an amendment striking out that provision in the bill entirely. His amendment was defeated in the House when in Committee of the Whole, being opposed by both Republicans and Democrats from noncopper-producing States. The argument was made in opposition to his amendment by eastern Members that the income tax was largely paid by the great eastern cities, and that the West and South paid an unreasonably small proportion of the taxes necessary to provide the desired military and naval preparedness. They argued, therefore, that copper-producing States, being most benefited by war prices, should bear their proper share of the burden, and the amendment offered by the Congressman was therefore voted down. The subject may come before the House again, however, upon the question of adopting the conference report; and if so, the request you make will receive due consideration.

With kind regards, I remain,
Very truly, yours,

JAS. H. MAYS.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *July 7, 1916.*

Hon. J. H. MAYS,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

We note that Ways and Means Committee has reported favorably on a proposed bill to tax copper smelting and refining for additional revenue. We, representing the mining interests of Utah, seriously object to the passage of such a bill classing the copper business as war industry. If law is enacted, it will seriously injure mining companies and be a great blow to mines in the Western States. Utah Chapter of the American Mining Congress solicits your earnest efforts to defeat this provision of the revenue act.

UTAH CHAPTER AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS,
A. B. APPERSON, *Governor.*
A. G. MACKENZIE, *Secretary.*

—

JULY 12, 1916.

Messrs. APPERSON and MACKENZIE,
*Utah Chapter American Mining Congress,*
*Salt Lake City, Utah.*

GENTLEMEN: Upon receipt of your telegram protesting against the tax upon copper smelting and refining I took the matter up with the Ways and Means Committee, but found them laboring under some difficulty in securing the vast amount of revenue required by the Military and Naval Establishments, and they had selected the copper-production industries as being more properly subject to taxation than any other, because of the theory that they had enjoyed excess profits during these war times, and it was more upon the theory of an excess property tax that they singled out this industry.

Congressman HAYDEN, of Arizona, introduced an amendment seeking to amend the bill by striking out that feature entirely. His amendment was defeated by the votes of Republicans and Democrats from noncopper-producing States, the eastern Members representing that the income tax generally was largely paid by the Eastern States and that the West should bear its share of the burden.

Wishing your congress continued success, I remain,
Yours, truly,

JAS. H. MAYS.

—

LOS ANGELES, CAL., *June 28, 1916.*

JAMES H. MAYS,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

The Senate amendment to Post Office bill eliminating space basis of pay, providing for annual weighing of mails and reference to interstate commerce are very vital matters to all small western railroads, and they will receive justice if the amendment becomes law. We will consider it a great favor if you can conscientiously give this amendment your hearty support.

BINGHAM & GARFIELD RAILWAY CO.,
JOHN M. HAYES, *Secretary.*

—

JULY 12, 1916.

Mr. JOHN M. HAYES,
*Secretary Bingham & Garfield Railroad Co.,*
*Salt Lake City, Utah.*

DEAR MR. HAYES: Your telegram from Los Angeles has been received, and the advice you give will receive consideration when the bill to which you refer is before the House.

With kind regards, I remain,
Very truly, yours,

JAS. H. MAYS.

—

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, *July 10, 1916.*

Hon. J. H. MAYS,
*Washington, D. C.:*

We trust that you are doing everything possible to defeat proposed tax on copper smelting and refining in revenue House bill reported by Ways and Means Committee. The copper business is not a war industry and certainly should not be taxed as such just because it is temporarily prosperous.

R. C. GEMMELL.

—

JULY 12, 1916.

Mr. R. C. GEMMELL,
*Salt Lake City, Utah.*

DEAR MR. GEMMELL: Before receiving your telegram a number of others of the same tenor had come to the office, and I had discussed the question of the proposed tax on copper smelting and refining with members of the Ways and Means Committee and with Members from the copper-producing States.

It seemed to be the general opinion that an emergency existed; that it was necessary in order to carry out the military preparedness program demanded by the Congress that large additional revenues be collected. It was the desire of the Ways and Means Committee as expressed to me that the revenues be collected from those best able to pay and from those most benefited by the state of war which generally prevails. It was argued that this tax was more in the nature of an excess-profit tax than anything else, that the price of copper had been increased very largely because of the war in Europe, and that a very large per cent of the same was going into the manufacture of munitions.

Congressman HAYDEN, of Arizona, offered an amendment entirely striking out this provision in the bill. This was defeated in the House by Democrats and Republicans from noncopper-producing States, the eastern Members representing that as the income-tax law generally was much more burdensome to the East than to the other parts of the country, the West should not object paying its proper share; that wealth should be taxed wherever it is found, and those most able to pay without hardship should be reached.

Thanking you for the information contained in your telegram, I remain,
Very truly, yours,

JAS. H. MAYS.

—

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

Hon. J. H. MAYS,
*United States Representative, Washington, D. C.:*

Commercial Club unites in vigorous protest against proposed legislation taxing copper smelting and refining as reported by Ways and Means Committee in revenue bill. Consider measure vicious which

singles out copper industry and only affects copper-producing States. Strenuous objection to classing copper business as war industry. Business interests ask that you render protest behalf of Utah.

COMMERCIAL CLUB,
F. C. RICHMOND, *President.*

JULY 12, 1916.

Mr. F. C. RICHMOND,
*President Commercial Club, Salt Lake City, Utah.*

MY DEAR MR. RICHMOND: Upon receipt of your telegram protesting against proposed legislation taxing copper smelting and refining I took the matter up with the Ways and Means Committee and with other Members of Congress especially interested in the copper industry. The Ways and Means Committee have labored under some difficulty in securing revenue to meet the extraordinary expenses required by the Military and Naval Establishments. This money had to come from somewhere, and upon the theory that those who have been benefited most by war prices should bear a proper share of the burden and taxation copper has been given especial attention. They argued that partially due to the war copper has more than doubled in price, the income of the copper producers has been greatly increased, and that they are better able therefore to pay taxes than others less favored.

Congressman HAYDEN, of Arizona, introduced an amendment striking out entirely this feature of the revenue bill. It was defeated in the House by the votes both of Republicans and Democrats who come from noncopper-producing States, the eastern Members arguing that the income tax was largely paid by citizens of the Eastern States, that the West should bear its part of the burden which the preparedness program imposes upon the country.

With kind regards, I remain,
Very truly, yours,

JAS. H. MAYS.

DEMOCRATIC COUNTY COMMITTEE,
*Salt Lake City, Utah, July 17, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES H. MAYS,
*Representative in Congress, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MAYS: Recently Mr. Jackling telegraphed to Mr. Hayes that there was likelihood that Congress would put a revenue tax on copper, and for Mr. Hayes to have the Commercial Club, the manufacturers' association, and other civic bodies telegraph their Representatives in Congress urging them to prevent, if possible, this tax. The board of governors of the Commercial Club promptly sent the telegram, as they do absolutely what the "interests" want here in Utah. The Rotary Club did the same thing, as they, too, for the most part, are representatives of "big business." Mr. Hayes spoke to President George S. McAllister, of the manufacturers' association, and says that Mr. McAllister promised to send a telegram for the manufacturers' association. In the meantime he was called away and the secretary of the association called the board of directors, of which I am a member and vice president, together, and put the proposition up to them. The board refused to send such a telegram, believing that to eliminate the tax on copper would be simply transferring the burden to someone else who could not afford to pay it, perhaps, as well as the copper industry. When the secretary reported the action of the board of directors to Mr. Hayes he was very indignant. He threatened that unless the secretary send the telegram immediately that he himself would send one and sign the manufacturers' association's name to it. The idea that anybody in Utah should not do just exactly what the Utah Copper wanted them to was, of course, preposterous.

I am writing this to learn, if I can, whether or not Mr. Hayes did carry out his threat and sent the telegram over the signature of the manufacturers' association. If he did, I believe I can use the information to good advantage.

Yours, very truly,

BAYARD W. MENDENHALL, *Chairman.*

JULY 24, 1916.

Mr. BAYARD W. MENDENHALL,
*Chairman Democratic County Committee,*
*Salt Lake City, Utah.*

DEAR MR. MENDENHALL: The House adjourned over three days waiting for the Senate to catch up with the work, and during this time I went away from town. Upon my return I find your favors of the 17th and 19th instant.

With reference to the pressure brought to bear upon the Utah delegation by the copper interests, would say that I have had many telegrams on the subject. The Commercial Club of Utah, the Utah Chapter American Mining Congress, the Bingham & Garfield Railway Co. by John M. Hayes, secretary, R. C. Gemmell, the Silver King Consolidated Mining Co., and other individuals wired me instructions to oppose vigorously the proposed tax. I do not see any from the Manufacturers' Association here. Notwithstanding these many requests, I could not see my way clear to offer any protest against the tax. Many of these same people and others have wired me, urging me to support larger appropriations toward the upbuilding of the Naval and Military Establishments. I have also been importuned to work unceasingly for the removal of the obnoxious stamp tax. We are appropriating some six hundred millions this year toward preparedness. Altogether, there must be raised a total of over $1,500,000,000, and it is my belief that this vast sum should be secured from those most able to bear the burdens of taxation. As you say, if we remove the tax from copper smelting and refining, it will be necessary to impose the burden upon those less able to bear the same. We might extend the stamp-tax law and put a tax on bank checks, gasoline, etc. I believe, however, that such tax would be more burdensome, more obnoxious to business and would yield less revenue at a much greater hardship.

I see the Herald Republican and the Deseret Evening News have both denounced the tax upon copper smelting and refining. I believe that the terms of the bill have not been thoroughly understood by the Deseret Evening News. Of course, the Herald Republican would denounce any Democratic or Progressive measure.

For your information I am sending you a copy of the bill—as it passed the House—under separate cover, and will call your attention to sections 200 to 211, inclusive. In this you will observe that a net profit of 10 per cent upon the amount invested in the United States in such manufacture must be realized before any tax is proposed.

These great copper industries have been exceedingly fortunate during this crisis in the affairs of the world, and the Ways and Means Committee were inclined to impose this tax more in the way of an excess-profit tax, feeling that those enterprises that have profited so greatly by the state of war should help to bear the burdens of preparing our country against the disasters that might follow a war waged upon us.

This tax, of course, will be temporary, remaining in force during the continuance of the war in Europe, when so much of the copper produced is going into the manufacture of munitions. Personally, I would see no objection to placing a tax also on zinc, lead, steel, antimony, and other materials used in the manufacture of munitions. The committee constructing this bill, however, considered that the copper industry had been especially favored and was enjoying profits far beyond other metals and should therefore receive special attention.

It occurred to me that it was in bad taste for the Salt Lake Commercial Club, after urging larger appropriations for Fort Douglas, for military training camps, for militia aero squadrons, as well as for vast general expenditures for the Army and the Navy, to offer vigorous protests against a measure seeking to raise the revenue required from the sources best able to pay.

The Du Pont Powder Co. is making protests against the tax on munitions. Also the Steel Trust. The citizens of the East generally are crying that an injustice has been done them by the imposition of the income tax. They would all prefer to place the burdens upon the backs of the working people, as has been the habit of the Republican Party in the past. Even their highest tariff laws would produce less than 25 per cent of the vast sums required by this year's program.

My first work here was to assist in every way possible in creating a sentiment against the stamp tax. Worked with Members, made a little speech, wrote to the chairman of the committee, and so forth, on the subject. I then advocated an income tax instead, and could not, therefore, in good faith, protest when the wealth of my State is asked to bear its proper portion of the burden.

We have asked that good roads be provided for our State. More than $1,000,000 for the next five years is available. We have asked that good roads be constructed through the forest reserves, and a million a year for 10 years has been provided. We have asked for $250,000 to destroy predatory animals in and about the forest reserves of the West, and that request was granted. At the solicitation of many of these people now protesting we asked for $2,000,000 for military training camps, and that figure is carried in the military bill. We asked and voted for a rural credits law in the interests of our farmers whose welfare had been too long ignored, and an appropriation of $9,000,000 to inaugurate that system has been made. We voted for the workmen's compensation measure requiring an appropriation of funds from the National Treasury. We voted for a national park service appropriation. We voted an increase in the pensions received by the old soldiers, and for a provision granting the long deferred recognition of the rights of the Utah veterans of the Black Hawk Indian wars. These and many other measures enacted by this Congress extend peculiar and signal benefits to Utah. They all require sums, vast in the aggregate, of the National Government. The Treasury is not self-supplying as some would wish, but must be replenished by taxation. Personally, I have a few copper shares and may be privileged to pay a small share of the taxes required by that provision of the bill. If the properties will first pay a net interest of 10 per cent upon the investment I shall cheerfully contribute in order that our country might be defended and improved.

With kind regards and best wishes for your success, I remain
Yours, truly,

JAMES H. MAYS.

P. S.—We will send under separate cover the documents requested in yours of the 19th.

## Infantile Paralysis in New York City.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,
OF KANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 27, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, the resolution offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SIEGEL] authorizing the Secretary of Labor to utilize the available hospital facilities at the immigration station at Ellis Island, N. Y., for the purpose of caring for and housing all persons afflicted with the dread disease commonly known as infantile paralysis, should receive the prompt and immediate action of the House.

We have been reading of the appalling number of victims of this dread disease in New York City alone, where it has reached the form of an epidemic, particularly prevalent among infants and young children. Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that one child dies of this disease every 30 minutes of the day in New York alone, where the situation is more serious to-day than in any other city of this country. If we can believe the figures given in the press the total number of deaths in New York up to date are 560, and the number of cases reported nearly reach the 3,000 mark. On July 22 there were 40 deaths and 135 new cases reported with this deadly disease. Not only do we find a prevalence of infantile paralysis in New York City, but in numerous States. In my own State we find numerous cases, but it has not yet reached the form of an epidemic.

Mr. Speaker, the dread disease is spreading throughout the United States, but the metropolis of our country has reported a regular plague, the number of victims being greater than at any previous time. Not only is the health department of New York City endeavoring to control the spread of infantile paralysis, but the police department has been called to assist in quarantining homes that have patients infected with the dis-

ease, and the United States Public Health Service has been called upon for aid. We also read of stringent prophylactic measures taken by the boards of health of other States in preventing and controlling this disease among its population.

The ravages of this disease have made greater gains in New York City than in any other section of the country, and this city is only asking permission to use some of the vacant public buildings formerly used for the quarantine of immigrants, in an endeavor to adequately care and house its many victims and also to relieve the congestion in some of the city hospitals. Men of the medical profession tell us that sanitation and isolation are the two essential means of combating this dread disease, and inasmuch as the Government owns several buildings in the vicinity of New York that could be used to great advantage in this connection, I believe that we should readily and willingly comply with such a request, since it concerns human life.

We have not been indifferent to the protection and welfare of our citizens in other respects, but we have an opportunity today to legislate liberally for the protection and care of millions of our little ones, and as representatives of the people we are in duty bound to do our part toward combating a disease that is so widespread in its ravages. What could be more appealing to our sympathies than the sufferings of little children?

By the recent appropriations for additional funds for the Public Health Service we will be able to establish an interstate quarantine service and give the Government Public Health Service authority to cooperate with the State and municipal health boards in the control and prevention of contagious and infectious diseases. Protection to the public can be best secured through the discovery and isolation of persons already afflicted with the disease and the sanitary control of those who have associated with the victims. Inasmuch as scientists as yet have been unable to discover any safe method of preventive inoculation and know of no reliable cure, it is absolutely essential that the prevention of this disease be accomplished by sanitation.

The disease, I understand, is by no means a new one, as epidemics have occurred at frequent intervals in the United States since 1905. It is not a new infection due to modern methods of living; but, having appeared in form of epidemics, it has begun to attract the attention of the medical world as well as the boards of health and the people at large. The fact that this disease is strikingly selective in its incidence, being most prevalent among young children, causes men to wonder at its origin and its possible cure.

Mr. Speaker, since an epidemic of infantile paralysis has appeared in such widespread form in the metropolis of the United States, a city that is known as the gateway of this country, it greatly endangers the health and the lives of citizens living in all parts of the Union. We have always promptly responded to call for aid in times of great crises, and I am therefore gratified to see the willingness expressed by the Members of this body to lend their aid in combating one of the worst epidemics that has ever swept over our land.

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## The President's Policy in the Mexican Matter.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. PAT HARRISON,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 21, 1916.*

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interview given by Franklin K. Lane, the Secretary of the Interior, on the President's policy in the Mexican matter.

The interview is as follows:

[From the New York World, Sunday, July 16, 1916.]

THE PRESIDENT'S MEXICAN POLICY—PRESENTED IN AN AUTHORIZED INTERVIEW BY SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR FRANKLIN K. LANE.

(By Henry N. Hall.)

"President Wilson's Mexican policy is one of the things of which, as a member of his administration, I am most proud. It shows so well his abounding faith in humanity, his profound philosophy of democracy, and his unshakable belief in the ultimate triumph of liberty, justice, and right. He has never sought the easy solution of any of the difficult questions that have arisen in the last three years. He has always sought the right solution.

"Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy has not been weak and vacillating. It has been definite and consistent, firm and constructive. How firm is already known to those who have sought to force American intervention in Mexico; how constructive will best be appreciated 50 years from now by the whole world. It was to Mexico perhaps more than to anything that the President referred the other day when he said that he was playing for the verdict of mankind.

"The policy of the United States toward Mexico is a policy of hope and of helpfulness; it is a policy of Mexico for the Mexicans. That, after all, is the traditional policy of this country—it is the policy that drove Maximillian out of Mexico."

THE DOCTRINE OF SYMPATHY.

Secretary of the Interior Lane made this statement to me at his summer camp on the shores of Lake Champlain, and then he launched out into a forceful declaration of the principles underlying President Wilson's Mexican policy and proceeded to give the reasons for his conviction that the President was right when he refused to recognize Huerta, and declared that the murderer of Madero must go, right when he occupied the port of Vera Cruz, right when he accepted the offer of mediation extended by the A B C, right when he abided by the agreement reached at Niagara Falls, right when he withdrew from Vera Cruz, right when he recognized Carranza as head of the de facto government, and right when he sent the United States Army into Mexico after the bandit raid on Columbus. Mr. Lane said:

"The doctrine of force is always fighting with the doctrine of sympathy, and the trouble with the two schools of warism and pacifism is that neither one will recognize that both philosophies have a part to play in the life of every individual and of every nation and in the production and advancement of that strange thing we call civilization.

"Now, the doctrine of force has been worked to its limit in Mexico. President Wilson believes that the doctrine of sympathy should have its chance in that country and this is the foundation of his Mexican policy. Not that Mexico wants our sympathy. It does not—and that is one of the great difficulties we have to contend with. Another is that it takes a long while to make a Mexican believe that we intend his country good and not evil. The people of Mexico have inherited the pride of Arragon, and the thing above all others that they do not want and will not stand for is that kind of sympathy which is nothing but pity.

"The sympathy that Mexico needs is the sympathy of understanding. The United States should be what the Latin Americans call 'muy sympatico.' We have no exact English equivalent for that expression, but if there is one thing it does not mean it is sympathy as we Americans use the word. Uncle Sam will be 'muy sympatico' to the Mexican people only when he has a conscientious regard for and realization of the feelings and the desires of the Mexican and understands his best side, his aspiring nature.

MEXICO IS A BAD NEIGHBOR NOW.

"Mexico is a bad neighbor now. There is no use in denying this. We live at peace with Canada on our northern border, without a soldier along 3,000 miles of land, while, as a matter of necessity, we are obliged to keep an armed force on our Mexican border all of the time, and have now gathered there the largest army assembled in the United States since the Civil War. The superficial reason for this is that Mexico can not settle her own troubles at home and that the de facto government has been unable to prevent bandits from harassing us.

"Our neighbor's sewage is running over into our lot, and we must find some way to stop it even if we have to go over the boundary line and stop the pipes ourselves. This is the easiest thing in the world to say, but to respect the letter of the law and at the same time abate a nuisance that is not on your own property is one of the most difficult things in the world.

"Mexico will always be a nuisance to us until a few fundamental reforms are put into effect there. If it is to be lasting, however, some one inside of Mexico must do it. It can not be done by us unless we are prepared not only to conquer Mexico but to annex Mexico. We should not only have to make war on Mexico and impose peace by force, but after giving it a preliminary cleaning up we should have to establish and maintain indefinitely a government there."

I asked Secretary Lane to go over the history of the past six years in Mexico with me and to tell the World the reasons which had governed the policy and actions of the United States Government as each emergency arose. In complying with this request Mr. Lane said:

"Diaz was a great man, a very great man. I doubt if, with the possible exception of Bismarck, there was a greater man alive in his day. After the Czar of Russia he was the most absolute despot of modern times. He built a monument to him-

self, which I believe is still standing, to celebrate 30 years of peace in Mexico, and all the nations of the earth sent representatives to its unveiling. Within two years he was an exile because that monument represented order alone and the aspirations of only a very small portion of his people.

"The peace that he had maintained was an imposed peace not coming from the people themselves. Diaz ruled by fear. He had gone into office with promises upon his lips, and I am willing to believe that he meant to keep them. But once in power he was appalled by the span of years necessary for the slow process of constructive civilization, and he determined that to gain time Mexico was to be saved by two things, force and wealth.

"And so, while observing to some extent the letter of the constitution he cynically avoided its spirit. He always placed property rights before human rights. Although he sought to improve, and did improve, Mexico's material condition it was without even so much as a thought of her moral progress. He kept the masses of the people in subjection by keeping them in ignorance. When he died 83 per cent of the people could neither read nor write, and as far as her political development went Mexico was no further forward and no more fitted for self-government than in 1821, when, having wrested her independence from Spain, she was first recognized as a sovereign nation by the United States.

A DESPOT'S RULE OF MEXICO.

"During Diaz's time I had a very interesting talk with a great lawyer in Mexico City who was an officeholder in the Diaz régime. I asked him the current question: 'After Diaz, what?' To my surprise the man said: 'I am a Constitutionalist. Either before Diaz dies or immediately upon his death a revolution will break out in Mexico having for its purpose three things—the restoration of the land to the people, the establishment of public schools throughout the country, and a judicial system in which the courts will decide according to law and not according to executive desires.'

"The Madero revolution followed exactly on these lines, but Madero was a dreamer, an idealist, a man who took his constitution seriously and who failed for two reasons, or rather because of two weaknesses of his own character. He was not strong enough to suppress the rapacious rascals who surrounded him, and he was not practical enough to deliver the goods that he had promised. Men in Madero's own government saw in his revolution only another opportunity for getting rich quick, and they ruined him while he was still dreaming.

"Huerta was his commander in chief, a soldier trained by Diaz and dominated by Diaz's friends. He, too, believed in saving Mexico by force and wealth; he was in complete sympathy with the philosophy expressed in the Diaz administration. There is no truth in the oft-repeated allegation that all the trouble with Mexico would have been avoided if President Wilson had recognized Huerta. I ask anyone who wishes to be fair to this administration to look back three years and read the newspapers of that day and the debates in Congress in which the murder of Madero and Suarez was denounced.

WHY WE SAID "HUERTA MUST GO."

"Had we recognized Huerta or had we not taken a positive stand against him, the criticism this administration has received for the policy we have pursued would be as nothing to what would now overwhelm us. Who were the American statesmen who demanded Huerta's recognition? What one of our leaders of either party set forth the principles upon which a better feeling between this country and all of our sister Republics of the South could be simulated by taking a position that was abhorrent to our American conscience?

"We know what we have suffered in the past three years, and it is too easy now to say that all this would have been avoided if Huerta had been recognized, but the only demand made at that time by the more solid of our men of affairs who were antagonistic to the administration's policy was that we should intervene; that we should bring order to Mexico by force.

"No one then believed and no one really believes now that the recognition of Huerta would have solved the Mexican problem. We do know, however, one thing that we were not conscious of then, that Huerta himself had so slight a hold upon Mexico that he did not dare to leave the capital and that he was to all intents and purposes a prisoner of the reactionaries, able only to reach the sea at its nearest point.

"Although it is self-evident that this country, as the champion of constitutional government in America, can never recognize a military despotism based upon assassination, it is not necessary to call Huerta an assassin in order to justify our refusal to recognize him. His attempted dictatorship was but a fiction of government. With the elected President and Vice President murdered and the minister of state, who was their lawful successor, cowed into submission, Huerta took the reins of power at the best as a temporary stop-gap.

"The revolution against Huerta broke out immediately upon the news of Madero's death. The correspondence between Huerta and Carranza recently published shows that every practical inducement was held out to Carranza to put an end to his revolutionary movement. To Carranza's credit, be it said, he refused to come to terms with those who he believed had been the cause of the President's death and who had set to one side the laws of his country.

A NEW WORLD CIVILIZATION.

"It is not to be forgotten that Huerta did not pretend even to be a constitutional ruler. He sent word to the United States that he had taken the Government of Mexico into his own hands and that he was all the law that was to be found in Mexico. His statement was so bold that even the Supreme Court of Mexico uttered a feeble protest, which was somewhat more loudly echoed in the Mexican Senate.

"In the face of this Huerta asked for recognition from the United States, but President Taft felt that he could not conscientiously grant it, and he left the problem to be dealt with by his successor, who had already been elected. That was the situation when President Wilson took office. Could President Wilson have recognized Huerta? Surely there can be but one answer to that question—No!

"To have recognized Huerta would have been a twofold injustice. First, to the people of Mexico, and, secondly, to all the people of South and Central America. To give to the commander in chief of an army recognition as President under such circumstances would have been to announce to all ambitious military officers that they had but to ally themselves with a successful junta, seize the Government by force, murder the lawful incumbents, and announce the overthrow of all law and a supreme military dictatorship in order to gain the recognition of the United States, we being thoroughly aware of all that had happened.

"Americans are justified in the pride that through the operation of the Monroe doctrine there is gradually growing up in the New World a civilization that will make old-time revolutionary methods impossible, that will carry forward all of the 21 Republics to the unification of our international interests in the true spirit of Pan Americanism. We have so amplified the Monroe doctrine that we are virtually the copartners of the Republics to the south of us, and to proclaim that the violation of their constitutional laws would not in the slightest interfere with our recognition of a conspiracy to murder lawful executives and overthrow their established republican forms of government would have been rightly considered by the American people as the most cowardly and shortsighted policy imaginable. Condemnation would have arisen not only from the people of the United States but from all the nations of the Pan American Union.

HIS FACE SET AGAINST INTERVENTION.

"During Huerta's régime we learned much of the ability of the Mexican as a casuist. The notes that came from Mexico were models of the seventeenth century style of diplomatic state paper. President Wilson attempted, it will be remembered, to find a basis upon which there could be set up in Mexico a government that we could recognize. There was nothing peremptory about our attitude in the beginning of the diplomatic exchanges.

"Our whole effort was to the obtaining of a republican form of Government in Mexico which would have the people back of it, and guaranties against the establishment of an absolutism on our southern border under which the people of Mexico would so chafe that we should have a constant state of revolution there.

"Many of the best Mexicans were in sympathy with the attitude that the United States took toward Huerta. They knew that stability of government was not to be hoped for under a man of his temperament and disposition. After it became evident, by continued negotiation which ended nowhere, that Huerta was standing, so to speak, in the City of Mexico heaping insolence on the United States, President Wilson gave notice that Huerta must go.

"Then followed the Tampico incident. Our sailors landed at Tampico and were arrested, marched through the streets in ignominy, and eventually returned to their boat. The admiral in charge was so incensed at their treatment that he immediately made upon Huerta a demand that a national salute should be fired in atonement for the insult to the flag. Again the

Mexican Government attempted to continue its policy of diplomatic quibbling.

"Meanwhile the revolution had gained such headway in the north that it was difficult from day to day to say which force had or occupied the greatest portion of Mexican territory. Huerta was keeping up his resistance because he was being supplied with ammunition from abroad. A ship was reported ready to land at Vera Cruz with a cargo of arms, and as a warning to Huerta and in proof of the seriousness of our purpose to bring Huerta to a recognition of our attitude, the order was given to seize the customhouse and occupy the port of Vera Cruz.

"We did not go to Vera Cruz to force Huerta to salute the flag. We did go there to show Mexico that we were in earnest in our demand that Huerta must go, and he went before our forces were withdrawn. The occupation of Vera Cruz was carried out without difficulty, with the loss of 19 of our brave sailors and marines, and if aggression and intervention had been our aim we could have easily seized the railroad to Mexico City and occupied the capital.

"The menacing attitude of the Mexican troops surrounding our force of occupation at Vera Cruz made hostilities appear imminent, and again the strongest kind of pressure was brought to bear upon the President to intervene, that we should go into Mexico and take matters into our own hands. This is the one thing that the President has set his face against from the first. It is the thing to which this administration is opposed so long as any other hope holds out."

"But, Mr. Secretary," I asked, "could not the United States have done in Mexico what it did in Cuba?"

SUSPICIOUS OF OUR MOTIVES.

"No," said Mr. Lane, "we could not. That is a very common delusion, but the Mexican situation is not at all that which we met in Cuba. We went in there at the request of the revolutionists and after the *Maine* had been sunk in Habana Harbor, and such authority as there was in Cuba, had thus evidenced its hostility. We could go in and did go in there with some heart, fighting alongside of the revolutionists against a monarchy, but we could not go in with any heart to fight against the Mexicans who are struggling to find a way to popular government. But to return to the facts:

"We had sought to bring to our sympathetic support all of the South American countries. They also were anxious for a settlement of this trouble upon some basis that would safeguard the interests of Mexico and conserve that unity which is the soul of the great Pan American movement. Some of them thought that they saw a greedy hand from the north reaching down with no benevolent purpose, and if it laid hold of Mexico none of them knew but that it might be their turn next.

"This fear of the big brother is a very real one in Latin America. They do not know us intimately; they are suspicious of our motives. They think of the Mexican War of 1846 as an unjustifiable aggression on our part; they think of the Panama incident as a robbery; they misconstrue our purpose in Santo Domingo, and in Nicaragua, and they do not trust us. They fear that the spirit of imperialism is upon the American people and that the Monroe doctrine may be construed some day as a doctrine that will give the whole Western Hemisphere to the United States; that it is a doctrine of selfishness and not a doctrine of altruism.

MEDIATION ACCEPTED.

"Those who are familiar with the feeling of the South and Central American countries toward the United States know that just at that time, when our forces occupied Vera Cruz, a very intense fear had seized upon Latin America. They believed in their hearts that we were on our march southward and that the President's Mobile speech and other generous utterances of the same sort were to be taken in a Pickwickian sense.

"When they presented a plan of mediation, the United States had no choice but to accept it. Indeed, if we had refused to accept it, Latin America would have been justified in doubting our good faith. No one that I am aware of, either Republican or Democrat, has ever criticized the President for accepting the mediation of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, and abiding strictly by the agreement reached at Niagara Falls.

"By the protocols there signed on June 23, 1914, the United States agreed that the selection of a provisional and a constitutional president be left wholly to the Mexicans, and we guaranteed our recognition of them when chosen. This made clear our desire not to interfere in any way in the settlement of Mexico's domestic troubles, and as a further proof of our disinterested friendship for the Mexican people the United States agreed not to claim any war indemnity or other international satisfaction from Mexico. We had gone to Vera Cruz 'to serve mankind.' Our only quarrel was with Huerta, and Huerta got out on July 16, 1914. Our forces were withdrawn from Vera Cruz on November 23 following.

"Three days after Huerta left Mexico Villa began levying taxes on his own authority, and it was plain that the successful revolutionists would soon be fighting between themselves. Both Carranza and Villa agreed to a conference at Aguascalientes, and it was stipulated that no soldiers were to be there; but Villa turned up with an armed force that terrorized the convention and prevented it from recognizing Carranza, and in a short while open warfare began between the two factions.

"Villa and Carranza had broken, and there was a double sovereignty claimed even on our border in northern Mexico. Things were going from bad to worse, and it was suggested in the Cabinet that there should be some determination by the United States as to which of the rival claimants to power in Mexico as leader of a successful revolution should be recognized as a 'de facto' government.

WHY WE ARE IN MEXICO.

"Secretary of State Lansing thereupon called a conference of the representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Guatemala and asked them, from their knowledge of the situation—for a considerable portion of the information in the hands of the United States came through the representatives of these countries in Mexico—to cooperate with him in the determination of the claimant to be recognized. These six Latin-American Catholic countries unanimously recommended the recognition of Carranza, and in furtherance of our Pan American policy this recognition was at once given by the United States and Latin America.

"Since Carranza's recognition we have seen Americans who have gone into Mexico on peaceful errands murdered; we have seen our own towns upon the border raided and Americans slain on American soil. These outrages prompted President Wilson to send our own troops into Mexico, and this course can not be otherwise construed than as a recognition of the fact that the de facto Government in Mexico, recognized by ourselves and by other nations, is not fulfilling the duty which one Government owes to another.

"We are in Mexico to-day, and how long we shall stay and how far we shall go depends upon the policy and the power to keep the peace of the Carranza Government, but we shall go no further than we have gone until every effort to secure effective Mexican cooperation fails.

Mr. Lane then proceeded to an examination of the principles governing the policy of the United States toward Mexico and of the needs of the Mexican people. He said:

"There are things that a democracy must always be willing to fight for. But what thing is there that any American can say we ought to be willing to fight for in Mexico? Is it because railroads built with American capital have been damaged, that mines have been shut down, or even that American citizens have been killed by outlaws and bandits?

"All those things we can and do very much regret, but who will say that they are great principles for which a democracy should be willing to sacrifice the blood of its sons? Who can formulate out of the whole history of the past six years any other determination than this: That we should resist the temptation to fight where pride and interest move us in that direction, and that we should and will fight when we are attacked and when we find no other means by which our interests can be safeguarded and Mexico be given any hope for itself?

"We have been on the edge of war with Mexico several times in the last three years, but each time, before the determination was made that we should discard our hopes, there has opened some way by which reasonable men might expect that Mexico could prove herself able to take care of her own problems. The one man who can justifiably criticize President Wilson for his Mexican policy is the man who honestly believes that Mexico can not be brought to stability of government and responsibility except through the exercise of outside force. That man is consistent, and the only criticism I have to make of him is a criticism of his judgment.

SEEKING MEXICAN COOPERATION.

"There is no question that we could easily overrun Mexico. I believe we could do it with a comparatively few men, although we would have a united Mexico against us. There would be no glory in such a war, and there is not one man in ten thousand in this country who really wants such a war. It would be repugnant to every American tradition and would discourage the friendship of every other American nation. Of course we could conquer Mexico, and after a good deal of guerilla warfare we could bring Mexico to a state of quiet.

"Then we could hold her while we administered to her the medicine that we believe she needs. We could have what we call a general cleaning up, the rebuilding of her railroads, of her wagon roads, the construction of sewers for her cities, the enforcement of health regulations, and all the other things that go to make up the outward and visible signs of order and good government.

"But don't you see that the peace we would bring would be a peace imposed by force, the government we would give to Mexico would be the kind of government that we have and which makes life tolerable to us in our communities. Its standards would not be Mexican standards, its ideals would not be Mexican ideals, its genius would not be Mexican genius. The moment we withdrew from Mexico there would be a return after a very short time to Mexican standard.

"What Mexico really needs and must be allowed to do is to raise her own standards; it is to give herself a cleaning up by herself. That is bound to take time, but in no other way can Mexico get a government that will be expressive of her own ideals, that will be expressive of some aspiration of her own as to what her civilization should be, and in this we want to be of help to Mexico if she will allow us to do so.

"The Mexican problem, as a problem, depends upon your attitude toward other peoples. Mexico is a land to conquer, and the Mexican people are a people to be conquered and subordinated and the country and its resources made ours, if you look upon a smaller and less highly civilized country as a proper object of exploitation. On the other hand, Mexico is a country out of which something greater can be made, and the Mexican people are a people who have possibilities and can be helped to become a self-governing nation, and if you take that attitude toward Mexico you are bound to sympathize with their struggle upward.

"In other words, where we find that conditions justify revolution, if we think it our business to go in and work the revolution to our profit, we must condemn the President's policy; but if, where we find conditions justify revolution, we want to give that revolution a chance to work out from the inside, we must hold up his hands."

"What are the things that Mexico needs, Mr. Secretary?" I asked. "What is necessary for a return to peace and order?"

Mr. Lane said:

"The things that Mexico needs are few, but they are fundamental. A land-tax system which will make it impossible to hold great bodies of idle land for selfish reasons and which will make it unnecessary for the Government to sell concessions in order to support itself. A school system by which popular education may be given to all the people as it is given in the United States. If Diaz had done this, as he promised, he would have created an active public opinion in Mexico which would have made present conditions impossible.

"Along with the primary schools should go agricultural schools in which modern methods of agriculture should be taught. The army might well be used as a sanitation corps, so as to insure against the recurrence of those plagues which so affect trade relations with Mexico and the health of her people. With these things, Mexico would be well started on her way toward that better era which her more intelligent revolutionists thought she had reached in the early days of the Diaz administration, some 40 years ago.

UNJUST LAND SYSTEM.

"Everyone in Mexico is united upon the proposition that the present land system is based upon privilege and is unjust. I have talked with 20 of the wealthiest and most intelligent men who belonged to the Diaz régime. All have admitted the fact. Some have even volunteered the statement that Mexico is in a feudal state, and that the land belongs to great proprietors, who work the peons and keep them in a semislave condition. If the facts were better realized, the people of the United States would not stand for the labor conditions that exist in Mexico, and for the peonage, which is only a form of slavery. I have some personal knowledge of these conditions.

"One morning 10 years ago I was on a coffee finca—a great estate high up in the Sierra Madre—and I asked a peasant who labored from sunrise to sunset what he was getting for his day's work. His answer was 60 cents in Guatemalan money, which was equal to 10 cents gold. Here was a strong, able-bodied agricultural laborer earning $3 a month. I asked him why he did not go down to the railroad, where the American contractors would pay him 50 cents or more a day. His answer was, 'I would not be from here 1 mile before Don Porfirio would have reached out his hand and drawn me back to jail.' I said, 'Why could he arrest you?' and the answer given me, falteringly and in fear, was, 'Because I owe the store.'

"He had lived and worked on that finca for 12 years, and, alive or dead, he is there to-day, unless he has run away to join an army in the revolution. I asked that Mexican peon where he had come from, and he pointed across the mountains to a valley where his people had lived for a thousand years. 'Why did you leave there?' I inquired. His answer was that Don Porfirio had given the land where he was born to a Chinaman.

"From an investigation I made myself I found out that this was literally true; that the land, which was the hereditary possession of these Indians, had been taken from them by the Government and given to a greater 'company' on terms which one can only guess; that the 'company' had sold the land to a syndicate, in which there were no Americans, upon condition that it should be populated under a law somewhat similar to our homestead law, with the reservation that it was neither to go to Mexican natives nor to citizens of the United States, and the immigrants with which the syndicate was populating that part of Mexico were Chinamen.

"I crossed a bridge on the Camino Real. 'The last time I crossed that bridge,' said the peon who was with me, 'the governor of the State was lying there dead. He had become ambitious and presented to the people a program of reform. Doubtless he hoped to be another Juarez, and Don Porfirio had ended his ambitions.' The peon of Mexico—and out of possibly 15,000,000 inhabitants at least 12,000,000 are peons—is a kindly and gentle creature under normal conditions, disregardful of his own life but not anxious to make war on anyone. The peon has it forced upon his mind that he belongs to a definite sphere of life, and so he is without ambition and without foresight; but he is not without intelligence, and he makes an excellent workman when taught. All he needs is a chance to live and a chance to learn, land to cultivate, and schools to go to. Is it conceivable that to add to the miseries of these struggling people any American citizen would want to make war on them?

AMERICAN IN MEXICO.

"We of the United States have the impulse that all virile people have. We feel conscious of our ability to do a job in nation making much better than anyone else. Read over Kipling's poem, 'The White Man's Burden.' It was not so much the white man's duty to clean up insanitary conditions on the outskirts of civilization and to develop the backward peoples of the earth that he was expressing as it was our perfect, self-complacent appreciation of our supreme ability to do the cleaning up better than any other people on the face of the globe.

"There is a good deal of the special policeman, of the sanitary engineer, of the social worker, and of the welfare dictator about the American people. We are quite conscious that in the development of this great country of ours, in our march across the continent, we have done a perfectly good job, and the pioneering spirit is very much alive. It is one of the most fundamental instincts that has made white men give to the world its history for the last thousand years.

"As a great Nation, dedicated to democracy, we can not undertake a war of conquest against a people because their moral development has been neglected by their former rulers. We can, however, insist, and we must insist, that these people shall make safe our borders and give protection to the lives and property of our nationals who have settled in Mexico at her invitation."

"But is there no way, Mr. Secretary, in which the United States can help Mexico on the road to progress?" I asked. Mr. Lane said:

"To directly offer help to Mexico would be looked upon by them as an insult, like slapping them in the face. This is a kind of pride that is purely Latin. It is an inheritance that comes to Mexico by way of Spain along with the ideals that Cervantes ridicules in Don Quixote; but it is so real a thing that no progress can be made without recognizing it. So I say that to tell Mexico what she shall do in our straight-out American fashion, to say to Mexico, We are going to help you without being invited to do so, is equivalent under present conditions to a declaration of war.

DOUBT OUR ALTRUISM.

"The Mexicans do not believe in our professions of altruism. We must say to Mexico one of two things: Either you must keep our border safe and protect the rights of our nationals in Mexico, which you have not done, or we will invade your country and restore order ourselves; or we must say to Mexico, We understand the effort you are making to give the people a chance for life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, and we will gladly help you if you ask our help to accomplish this end.

"The last is the policy that the United States has been seeking to put into effect. The difficulty in doing this arises almost solely out of the difficulty we Americans have in persuading the peoples of Latin America that our intentions are really honest.

"Nor is this altogether to be wondered at. Latin America has known the American chiefly as a seeker after concessions, a land grabber and an exploiter. Even where the American has bought property, as many have who to-day hold perfectly legal title to the land, they are absentee landlords, and every just criticism that the Irishman has had to make against the absentee English landlord can be made against the absentee American landlord in Mexico.

"He does not become a part of Mexico; he does not throw in his lot with the Mexicans. He is willing to spend his money there and employ labor, but he has nothing in common with the people of the country. The Mexican feels that the American goes there only to get rich out of the land and labor of Mexico; that he comes to exploit, not to develop."

POLICY OF FORCE INADEQUATE.

Mr. Lane had risen. He was standing on the raised veranda of his camp overlooking the placid waters of Lake Champlain. "There are just two more things that I want to say," he continued.

"There has never been a time since the United States established the present Mexican border under the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo when raids, small or great, have not taken place across that border, and sometimes Americans have been the raiders—we may as well acknowledge the fact. Furthermore, there never has been a time since the United States was founded when Mexico itself was as a whole in the control of any one Government. Even Diaz never had the Yaqui Indian country, never really controlled Sonora.

"A police force alone has been a failure in Mexico. A failure both as far as the Mexicans are concerned and in protecting American life and American property. American life and American property have both been repeatedly assailed and destroyed during every administration. The protection of our people there has always been a problem, and I believe always will be a problem. This hazard any foreigner takes who goes into a country filled with people who would risk their lives for a horse or a saddle.

"Further, I say this: That looking at Mexico solely from the standpoint of allowing our miners, our engineers, and our capitalists to develop that country for their own benefit, and only incidentally for the benefit of Mexico, a policy of force is all that Mexico needs. It is the only policy that has ever been tried upon the Mexican people, and it has proved a success for the exploitation of the country by outsiders. If, however, we look at the Mexican question from the standpoint of the Mexican, is the policy of force adequate to the problem? No one who has studied it will say so. The truth is this:

THE VERDICT OF MANKIND.

"Mexico will never be a nation in any real sense, nor will the Mexicans ever be a people of agricultural, commercial, industrial, or political consequence until the individual Mexican has had an economic and an educational chance. He must be tied to Mexico, and not to a landlord, by the ownership of a piece of land; he must be able to read and write, so that he may know what the needs of civilization are. This policy is that which I characterized as a policy of hope and hopefulness. It is not founded on doubt and despair. It refuses to recognize the Mexican who can only be shot into keeping order.

"If we despair of these people, who is to be their friend? Are we Americans to see Mexico forever remain a land of a few rich and cultivated gentlemen, and 12,000,000 half-starved, illclothed, and illiterate peasants—men, women, and children—kept in slavery and subjection and ignorance, a people into whose lives comes nothing that raises them above the beasts of the field?

"The people of the United States can not conceive of such conditions. Is it not time to try another policy than that of force alone, which has failed so miserably and wrought such woe? Is President Wilson to be criticized because he believes that it is not idealistic, not outside the range of reasonable hope, to think of America as the helpful friend of Mexico? Why may not Mexico be led to see that we are honest in our willingness to help and that we can do it?

"President Wilson has clearly seen the end that he desired from the first, and he has worked toward it against an opposition that was cunning and intensive, persistent and powerful. If he succeeds in giving a new birth of freedom to Mexico, he most surely will receive the verdict of mankind."

## H. Snowden Marshall.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 21, 1916.*

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert in the RECORD the able and exhaustive opinion of Judge Learned Hand, of the United States district court for the southern district of New York in the habeas corpus case of H. Snowden Marshall, in which Judge Hand remands Mr. Marshall to the custody of the Sergeant at Arms and to direct him to be brought before the House.

The opinion is as follows:

"UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

"United States of America ex rel. H. Snowden Marshall against Robert B. Gordon, Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives.

"This is a writ of habeas corpus sued out by the relator to relieve him from an arrest made by the respondent, the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives. The relator was arrested on June 26, 1916, and is still in custody. The respondent justifies in his return by virtue of a warrant issued by the Speaker of the House under the seal of the House, attested by the Clerk, on the 22d day of June, 1916. This warrant recited a resolution of the House on June 20, 1916, directing the Speaker to issue his warrant directed to the Sergeant at Arms to take the relator in custody and bring him to the bar of the House to answer the charge that on March 4, 1916, he violated the priviliges of the House by writing and publishing a letter. The letter in question was incorporated into the resolution, and is as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
"UNITED STATES ATTORNEY'S OFFICE.
"*New York, March 4, 1916.*

"SIR: Yesterday afternoon, as I am informed, your honorable committee ordered the arrest of Mr. L. R. Holme, a representative of a newspaper which had published an article at which you took offense. The unfortunate gentleman of the press was placed in custody under your orders. He was taken to the United States marshal to be placed in confinement (I do not understand whether his sentence was to be one day or a dozen years). The marshal very properly declined to receive the prisoner. This left you at a loss, and I am advised that you tried to work your way out of the awkward situation by having Mr. Holme brought back and telling him that you were disposed to be 'kind' to him and then discharge him for the purpose of avoiding unpleasant consequences to yourselves.

"You are exploiting charges against me of oppressive conduct toward a Member of your honorable body who is charged with a violation of law and of oppressive conduct on my part toward shysters in the blackmailing and bankruptcy business.

"I may be able to lighten your labors by offering to resign, if you can indicate anything I ever did that remotely approximates the lawless tyranny of your order of arrest of Mr. Holme.

"The supposed justification of your order that Mr. Holme be placed in custody was his refusal to answer the question you asked as to where he got the information on which was based the article which displeased you.

"It is not necessary for you to place anyone under arrest in order to get the answer to the question which you asked Mr. Holme, because I can and will answer it. I gave Mr. Holme information, part of which he published, and from which he made deductions, so that if your honorable committee has a grievance it is against me and not against him.

"What I told him was about as follows:

"I said that your expedition to this town was not an investigation conducted in good faith, but a deliberate effort to intimidate any district attorney who had the temerity to present charges against one of your honorable body.

"I said that your whole proceeding here was irregular and extraordinary; that I had never heard of such conduct of an impeachment proceeding; that charges of this sort were not usually heard in public until the House of Representatives had considered them and were willing to stand back of them.

"I pointed out to him that you, contrary to the usual practice, had come here and had held public hearings; that among your witnesses you had invited every rogue that you can lay your hands on to come before you and blackguard and slander me and my assistants under the full privilege of testifying before a congressional committee.

"I told him that you had called one of my junior assistants before you and had attempted to make it publicly appear that his refusal to answer your questions as to what occurred in the grand-jury room in the Buchanan case was due solely to my orders.

"I said that at the time you attempted to convey this public impression you knew that it was misleading, because I had been asked by you to produce the minutes of the grand jury and had been instructed by the Attorney General not to comply with your request, as you well know. I showed him the telegram of the Attorney General to me and showed him a copy of my letter to you, dated February 29, 1916, in which I sent you a copy of the telegram of the Attorney General instructing me not to give you the grand-jury minutes.

"I told him that you were traveling around in your alleged investigation of me with BUCHANAN'S counsel, Walsh, and David Slade, in constant conference with you. I said that I believed that every word of the evidence, whether in so-called secret sessions or not, had been placed at the disposal of these worthies, and that I would be just as willing to give the grand-jury minutes to a defendant as to give them to your honorable subcommittee.

"I told him that I did not share the views which seemed to prevail in your subcommittee on this subject.

"I said that I regarded a Member of Congress who would take money for an unlawful purpose from any foreign agent as a trader, and that it was a great pity that such a person should only be indicted under the Sherman law, which carried only one year in jail as punishment.

"I said it was incomprehensible to me how your honorable subcommittee should rush to the assistance of an indicted defendant; how you had apparently resolved to prevent prosecution by causing the district attorney in charge to be publicly slandered.

"I told him that I would not permit the prosecution of the persons whose cause you had apparently espoused to be impeded by you; I said that if you wanted the minutes of the grand jury in any case you would not get them as long as I remained in office.

"You will observe from the foregoing statement that what Mr. Holme published may have been based on what I said. If you have any quarrel, it is with me, not with him.

"It is amazing to me to think that you supposed that I did not understand what you have been attempting to do during your visit here. I realized that your effort was to ruin me and my office by publishing with your full approval the complaints of various persons who have run afoul of the criminal law under my administration. Your subcommittee has endeavored by insulting questions to my assistants and others, by giving publicity and countenance to the charges of rascals, and by refusing to listen to the truth and refusing to examine public records to which your attention was directed to publicly disgrace my office. I propose to make this letter public.

"Respectfully,

"H. SNOWDEN MARSHALL,
"*United States Attorney.*

"Hon. C. C. CARLIN,
"*Chairman Subcommittee of the Judiciary*
"*Committee of the House of Representatives,*
"*323 Federal Building, New York, N. Y.*

"The resolution further went on to find that in writing and publishing the letter the relator was guilty of a contempt of the House of Representatives, and that when brought to the bar the Speaker should cause to be read to him the findings of fact and law of the special committee of the House charged with the duty of investigating into the contempt, and that the relator should at that time be heard.

"The return then stated the circumstances as follows:

"On the 14th day of December, 1915, one FRANK BUCHANAN, a Member of the House, preferred charges against the relator herein of the commission of certain high crimes and misdemeanors. On the 28th day of December, a grand jury in the southern district of New York, which had been in deliberation at the time the said BUCHANAN made his charges, brought in an indictment against the said BUCHANAN and others charging them with a violation of the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law. On the 12th day of January, 1916, the said BUCHANAN submitted a resolution to the House that the Committee on Judiciary be directed to inquire into the alleged misconduct of the relator in certain particulars, authorizing the committee to send for persons and papers, take testimony, etc., in pursuance of such inquiry. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, which proceeded to act upon it. Thereafter, on the 27th day of January, 1916, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee offered a resolution in the House that said committee be authorized to appoint a special committee to act on behalf of the whole committee to take testimony, with the same powers respecting testimony as the committee of the whole. This resolution of January 27, 1916, was passed by the House, and on the 1st day of February, 1916, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee appointed three members, constituting a subcommittee, to investigate said charges.

"Subcommittee, when organized, heard the testimony of certain witnesses and determined to take testimony of other witnesses in the city of New York, which they did, among them, one Leonard B. Holme, a reporter, who, on being questioned about a certain statement derogatory to the committee published in a newspaper and emanating from him, declined to answer as to the source of his supposed information. On the 4th day of March, 1916, the relator wrote the letter heretofore set forth and delivered it to the chairman of the subcommittee. Shortly thereafter on the same day he delivered it to the newspapers in the city of New York, wherein it obtained a large and wide circulation, not only in that city but in the District of Columbia and other parts of the United States. The House took action upon this letter on the 5th day of April, 1916, by a resolution appointing a select committee of five to consider the conduct of the relator in writing and publishing the letter. This committee invited the relator to appear before them at the Capitol in Washington, which he did, at which time he admitted that he wrote the letter and stated that all of it was true, and that under the said circumstances he would write it again.

"The committee reported to the House that in their judgment the letter as a whole and in detail was defamatory and insulting, and that the relator had been guilty of a contempt of the House in publishing it; whereupon the resolution of June 20, heretofore stated, was passed, and warrant issued as aforesaid.

"The report of the select committee to investigate the contempt, which was made to the House on April 14, 1916, is annexed to the return. It contains its findings of fact as already stated, and also the consideration of the law and facts, including a review of the authorities.

"The relator did not traverse the return.

"JOHN C. SPOONER,
"CHARLES P. SPOONER,
"*For the Petitioner.*

"D. CADY HERRICK,
"MARTIN W. LITTLETON,
"HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE,
"*For Respondent.*

"LEARNED HAND, *D. J.:*

"It was early settled that a commitment by the House of Commons for a contempt and breach of privilege was not examinable by any court. (Reg. *v.* Paty, 2 Ld. Ray, 1105; Alexander Murray's cases, 1 Wils., 299; Brass Crosby's cases, 3 Wils., 188; Rex *v.* Hobhouse, 2 Chit. Rep., 207; Burdett *v.* Abbott, 14 East, 1; Case of the Sheriff of Middlesex, 11 Ad. & E., 273.) These cases came up in two ways, either by action of trespass against the sergeant at arms, as Burdett *v.* Abbott, supra, or more generally by habeas corpus, either after judgment, as Brass Crosby's case, or after arrest, as Reg. *v.* Paty, supra, Alexander Murray's case, supra, and the Case of the Sheriff of Middlesex, supra. It was even unnecessary to state, so high did the Commons carry their prerogative, the grounds of the commitment (Reg. *v.* Paty, supra, p. 1106, per Gould, J.). Indeed, the contempt in that case was precisely the same act which the House of Lords had declared to be legal, in Ashby *v.* White (2 Ld. Raym., 938). Perhaps the strongest assertion of the immunity of the Commons in their judgments for the contempt was to be found in the litigation of which the great case of Stockdale *v.* Hansard (9 Ad. & E., 1) was the beginning. There the Queen's Bench decided that a resolution of the Commons directing Hansard, their printer, to distribute generally their proceedings would not protect him in an action of libel. The question was argued and considered at great length, in the judgments of all the judges, how far the resolution of the House of Commons was beyond their scrutiny and whether their prerogative was exempt from judicial control. After judgment the Commons did not appeal, and the sheriff levied and collected from Hansard, but had not paid over to the plaintiff, when the Commons issued a warrant for the sheriff

of Middlesex as for a contempt of making a levy, and committed both gentlemen to the tower. The unhappy sheriff applied to the court thereupon for habeas corpus, to which the lieutenant of the tower returned that he held them by warrant of the speaker for contempt and a breach of privilege. He set out the warrant, which did not specify the nature of the contempt, and after full consideration the same court, with one exception, that decided Stockdale *v.* Hansard, supra, remanded the prisoners to the Tower. (Case of the Sheriff of Middlesex, supra.) Certainly the prerogative of the House had been vindicated.

"The grounds repeatedly given for this immunity from control are that the House is a court and a high court, with whose judgments no other court can interfere. At times the prerogative is merely put upon traditional custom of the House—lex et consuetudo parliamenti. Some judges, as De Grey, C. J., in Brass Crosby's case, supra, went so far as to say generally that the Commons were a final judge of all their prerogative, a dictum clearly overruled in Stockdale *v.* Hansard, supra. I do not, however, understand the language, which rests the power of the House of Commons in contempt to indicate that they need be in the discharge of a judicial duty when the contumacious act occurs. The passages in Mr. Justice Miller's opinion in Kilbourn *v.* Thompson (103 U. S., 168), which referred to this language, are not to be so understood. It is rather that in the exercise of their power to punish for contempt they act as a court, and as such can not be reviewed by another court. In none of the cases does it appear that the House was engaged in judicial duties, except perhaps in Reg. *v.* Paty, supra. The right of the House to be regarded itself rests upon immemorial customs.

"That the power to punish for contempt is not inherent, according to English notions, in any legislative assembly is, however, shown by the treatment of contempts of provincial assemblies by the privy council. At first it seems to have been supposed that they had such powers. An editor in the island of Jamaica published matter which was held by the assembly to be a 'breach of privilege.' Just what does not appear. For this he was committed by the body, and afterwards sued the sergeant at arms and the speaker. Baron Parke, who delivered the judgment upon the appeal—Beaumont *v.* Barrett (1 Moo. P. C., 59)—rested the power, which the court upheld, upon the inherent right of all legislative assemblies to protect themselves not only against direct impediments to the exercise of their duties but against libels reflecting upon their authority. This decision was overruled, however, in Kielly *v.* Carson (4 Moo. P. C., 63), where Baron Parke also delivered the judgment of the court. In that case Kielly had threatened a member of the Newfoundland House of Assembly outside the meeting place itself. When brought before the house he repeated his contumelious conduct, and indeed seems to have redoubled it. He was committed, and he sued in trespass on his release. Baron Parke excluded from consideration so much of the contempt as occurred before the house, because the justification was in bar, and if the original arrest was illegal it was no bar. He thought that such an assembly had the power to protect themselves against impediments to their proceedings, but not to punish past misconduct. This decision was followed in Fenton *v.* Hampton (11 Moo. P. C., 347), where the supreme legislative assembly of Van Diemen's Land had committed for contempt a witness who refused to testify at an inquiry, instituted, apparently, with full authority by that body. It was also followed in Doyle *v.* Falconer (L. R., 1 P. C., 328), where the Assembly of the Island of Dominica had committed a member for abusive language before the house directed to the speaker. The right of a provincial assembly to protect itself from "direct impediment' would seem, therefore, to go hardly further than to remove the offender.

"The first case in this country appears to be Anderson *v.* Dunn (6 Wheat., 204), wherein an action of trespass against the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives the Supreme Court held good a plea in bar justifying under the warrant of the Speaker directing the arrest of the plaintiff generally for a breach of privilege of the House and for a contempt of its dignity and authority. The plea recited that the imprisonment under the warrant continued till the House had concluded its inquiry and had found the plaintiff guilty, after which he was reprimanded and discharged. The plea did not show the nature of the contempt, and the decision is open to several possible explanations, one of which may be that since the House had the power of a court to punish for some contempts, and in doing so act judicially, no other court could examine the judgment. If so, it is certainly overruled by Kilbourne *v.* Thompson (103 U. S., 168). In that case, however, the plea stated the nature of the contempt, and possibly Anderson *v.* Dunn is to be therefore distinguished, as indicated on page 229 of the opinion, upon the theory that the plea was consistent with a contempt in the presence of the House. Whether the plea ought not to have been invalid, unless it is alleged a good defense under all the possible cases covered by its broad language, is a question of pleading, which is, with deference, extremely doubtful, but nevertheless that may have been the basis for the decision. In any case the power, however broad, was sustained upon its inherent necessity to protect the House in the exercise of its duties. I do not regard it as deciding more than that there are more cases in which such a power exists.

"Ex parte Nugent (18 Fed. R., 10, 375) was a case of habeas corpus, to release the relator under the following circumstances: The Senate was deliberating upon a treaty in secret session and some one unknown disclosed certain particulars to the relator, a reporter on the New York Herald. The reporter was summoned before the bar of the Senate, was sworn, and refused to answer certain questions relevant to the discovery of the person from whom he had got his information. For this he was committed to the Sergeant at Arms without further notice. The court, the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia in banc, held that commitment of the Senate was not reviewable by the court, an analogy with the practices of the Houses of Parliament, but that if it were at least it appeared that the Senate was acting in a matter over which it had full powers, and that the inquiry and contempt as a means of effecting the inquiry were incidents to the discharge of its constitutional powers.

"Kilbourne *v.* Thompson (103 U. S., 168) was an action of trespass against the Sergeant at Arms, the Speaker, and several Members of the House of Representatives. The House had instituted an inquiry into the existence of a 'real estate pool' which it thought to be connected with a debt due the United States. The debtor, Jay, Cooke & Co., had become bankrupt, and its trustees had effected a settlement of its affairs. The House passed a resolution appointing a committee to inquire into the settlement in question and into the relation of the 'pool' with the debtor's property. The committee summoned the plaintiff before them and asked him the names of the 'pool' members and to produce certain records. He refused, and was committed to the Sergeant at Arms, who held him for about six weeks and then delivered him to the marshal of the district court. These facts being set up in bar, the plaintiff demurred. The Supreme Court sustained the demurrer, in an opinion by Mr. Justice Miller.

"The exact scope of the decision is no more than to hold that the House's commitment was not conclusive on the court, at least it appeared that the House was engaged upon an inquiry within its constitutional powers, and that the inquiry in question was not such. In a discussion it was said that the privileges of the House were not to be gathered in any way from English parliamentary proceedings, which, dependent upon the customs of several houses, and especially upon the fact recited in many of the opinions of the English judges that the House of Commons, as well as the House of Lords, was a court, and as such enjoyed the immunity from review of its proceedings by another court, which was always accorded to judicial proceedings.

"The question whether the House of Representatives had any powers to commit, as for a contempt in the exercise of its legislative duties, was expressly reserved from consideration (p. 189), but it was thought (p. 190) that in proceedings for impeachment either House would have the same powers as a court in relation to the production of testimony, and perhaps also if engaged in a contested election of its Members, as to which it was given full judicial powers. That the court supposed the action of the House in preferring articles of impeachment, including the preliminary inquiry for that purpose, to be judicial in its character seems to me clearly indicated in the opinion (pp. 184, 190, 191). This ought, perhaps, to foreclose any further discussion, but as the language was certainly obiter, I shall discuss the question later.

"In Interstate Commerce Commission *v.* Brimson (154 U. S., 447, 483) the court, obiter, likewise said that the powers of Congress to impose a fine and imprisonment were confined to the exercise of either House of its right to punish disorderly behavior of its Members and to procure testimony in election and impeachment cases, and in cases which might involve the existence of themselves. In In re Chapman (166 U. S., 661) it was said, obiter (pp. 671, 672), that both Houses had the unquestioned right to treat as contempt a refusal to answer proper questions put to a witness in a constitutional inquiry instituted by them.

"The state of the law, so far as decided, therefore, seems to be only this: That the House of Representatives has not inherited the prerogative in matters of contempt of the House of Commons, and that its commitments are open to inquiry, at least

to the extent of discovering whether the commitment was an incident to the exercise of some constitutional power. Nevertheless, it has limited power to commit, and in the exercise of that power it enjoys immunity from review by a court, which necessarily has no appellate jurisdiction. The last statement is entirely the law if any part of Amsterdam against Dunn, supra, survives, which I think it does. The question in this case, therefore, is of first impression in spite of all decisions which have been cited. It turns, I think, upon three considerations: First, whether the House was engaged upon constitutional duty; second, whether in that duty it had any power to punish for contempt; third, whether that power went to compulsion to produce testimony and include the power to punish contumacious language directed against itself and published while the matter was still under consideration.

"That the House was in fact engaged in a constitutional inquiry admits of no doubt. The resolution submitted to the Judiciary Committee was aimed at the impeachment of the relator and the subcommittee was charged with duties ancillary to that inquiry. Of course, the manner of the discharge of these duties by the subcommittee is not relevant to the case now at bar as long as they assume to be acting under the resolution. It was faintly suggested upon the argument that contumelious language directed toward the subcommittee was different from that directed to the House as a whole, but I scarcely think that question deserves much discussion, and I pass it by.

"The next question is whether the House has any powers of punishing contempts, and that I deem settled by the uniform expressions of the Supreme Court. It is true that except Anderson *v.* Dunn, supra, there has been no decision upon that question, but the power has always been presupposed in all the discussions and the question throughout has concerned its limitations. Therefore, it would altogether misconceive the effect of those decisions to take them as going so far as Fenton *v.* Hampton, supra, or Doyle *v.* Falconer, supra. There may, indeed, be some question even of the power to compel the production of evidence when engaged in a purely legislative matter, though even then the reservation made in Kilbourne *v.* Thompson, supra, seems matched by the language in In re Chapman, supra. When in an impeachment, however, there can be no question that the House has some such power, at least for the production of evidence, unless the language is to be disregarded even of Kilbourne *v.* Thompson, supra, which most straitly confined its powers.

"The case at bar does not, however, concern the House's power to compel the production of evidence, but the power to protect itself against the pressure which may arise from insult, abuse, or clamor while deliberating upon the findings of articles of impeachment. It will not, I think, be questioned that at common law it was a contempt of court to assail the motive and conduct of a court, at least while the matter was pending and open. Such was early held to be the rule in Federal courts, Hollingsworth *v.* Duane (12 Fed. Cas., 6816), United States *v.* Duane (25 Fed. Cas., 14, 997), and such, indeed, has been held even after Revised Statutes, section 725, United States *v.* Toledo Newspaper Co. (220 Fed., R. 458), provided the publications be calculated to obstruct the administration of justice. I should not doubt that if Revised Statutes, section 725, do not apply, a court has such a power. The question here is, therefore, whether the House, while so engaged, has the power of a court. Suppose, for example, that during the trial of an impeachment in the Senate some one should publicly threaten the Members unless they decided as he thought just, and suppose such threats were spread broadcast and greatly inflamed public feeling. I should have no question of the Senate's power to inquire into the case and punish the offender. The Senate in such a case is clearly a court, and by analogy would have the common powers of a court when not legally abridged. If so, the letter of the relator addressed to the Senate or to a Senator while engaged in such a trial would be cognizable in the same way, because the question as to how far it in fact touched the court in the exercise of its duties would be involved in the power to decide the question at all, nor would a coordinate court undertake to determine whether the gravity of the aspirations upon the Senate was enough to affect its conduct, assuming that that is the heart of the evil.

"Now, there is no difference between the case supposed and that at bar, except that the House was not engaged in a trial, but in considering the preferring of articles. The relator insists that in that capacity they have none of the powers of a court, for their function is not judicial. I take it that when trying their own Members for expulsion or admission or for misconduct there can be no doubt unless they are not to have the common-law powers of a court, but the case at bar is not quite that. It is, indeed, unwise to attempt any rigid definition of what is executive, legislative, or judicial. The distribution of such functions has in no country, not even our own, been by a priori rules of political dogmatism. Executives make ordinances and try and dismiss their inferiors; legislatures determine facts from evidence and try their members; judges constantly make new rules of law with prospective validity. Yet it is true that in the main courts are concerned with the determination of existing facts and with deciding how far they fit into existing authoritative rules. But it by no means follows that courts must always dispose of the controversy before them; that they may at times do no more than determine that a trial must go on elsewhere. A judge who hears a criminal complaint and decides only that the defendant shall be held for trial, acts as much as a court as when later he sits with the jury and both finally dispose of the matter. He hears the evidence, decides what it proves, and whether the facts count in law. A grand jury performs exactly the same duties as a petit judge, except that its hearing is usually ex parte and need not be so clear in its convictions. It has always been treated as a part of the court, and its presentments lay the foundation for contempts. An impeaching body is in this class. Its duties require it to do what the tribunal of trial must do though the consequences be different. It is true that it only may put the respondent to a trial, but it is not always the limit of its powers. There is, for example, in the constitution of the State of New York (Art. VI, sec. 137) a provision which suspends an impeached judge until he is acquitted. It would be an extreme position to assert that a House whose impeachment had that result was not acting judicially, yet it would be capricious to say that if the judge was not suspended but must only stand trial, the character of the duties is changed.

"That the finding of such articles is a judicial undertaking, indeed, seems to me too clear for question. Still it does not follow that the House has the powers of a court whenever it acts judicially. As suggested by the relator, a district attorney who is examining into a proposed prosecution may be acting judicially, but he certainly has not the power of a court. In the absence of any precedents, it might indeed be a matter of doubt, though I confess that it would seem to me arbitrary to deny the powers customary to courts to a body of equal dignity with any court while it is acting judicially. But the case is not bare of precedents, because the presupposition in all cases is that the House when judicially engaged has the powers of a court.

"The question about which differences have arisen is only whether there can be any scrutiny of the nature of the duties upon which it is engaged. I can see no reason for curtailing the customary extent of the power to commit in the case of the House below what courts themselves enjoyed at common law, unless it were based upon suspicion of the possible greater abuses of such powers. That would be, of course, an inadmissible consideration if it were true, and it is happily not justified in history. While, therefore, as I have said, there is no actual decision upon the point raised, it seems to me that there is both reason and precedent for the position that the House, while deliberating upon articles of impeachment, has jurisdiction to determine whether a publication is a contumacious assault upon its freedom of action. If so, the warrant in the case at bar was within its jurisdiction. I should have no right to express any opinion upon the letter or whether it justifies any punitive action by the House; that lies within its own exclusive determination. It certainly touched the conduct of certain of its Members in their judicial duties and it may be judged to be of a character likely to affect them in the discharge of those duties. The questions whether the conduct of those Members was such as justified the comment, and, if so, whether the dignity of the House suffers more by the punishment of a just indigation than by a recognition of its justice, are quite within the scope of this inquiry; once the power be recognized they are comprised in its exercise.

"I am, of course, aware that the implications of such a holding are to make it possible for the House to treat as a contempt criticism of its conduct pending impeachments by the press generally. Such a power involves the possibility of abuse, like every other power, especially when in the hands of one who is at once the judge and the victim. On the other hand, it must be conceded that the absence of such power puts the House at the mercy of a public pressure that may at times actually prevent a fair and impartial determination of an individual's rights. It may be better that such offense should come before a separate tribunal, unaffected by the sting of personal insult, but there is at present no such tribunal. It has been the traditional method of the law we have inherited to trust to the magnanimity of courts to disabuse themselves of such motives. Perhaps that policy is too trustful of human nature, but I certainly have no right to assume that the House of Representa-

tives are less capable of exercising as much self-restraint as any other official charged with kindred duties. Indeed, the public resentment which an abuse of such powers is apt to bring may well be a more effective means of control upon a popular body than upon courts, whose tenure exempts them from the immediate effects of their conduct.

"Finally, it must be remembered that public criticism of courts has in any event no propriety until the case be decided. The ruling in the case at bar does not imply the right of the House to treat as a contempt statements made while legislative questions are pending before it. At such times discussion and criticism are indispensable; it is useful that the conflict of public interests, of which legislation is a legitimate resultant, should be vocal and free. Where, however, the duty is judicial, the case is quite different. In such cases a habit of public appeal reads a state of mind in the tribunal at variance with the first duties of a judge, and any value it could have, even in extreme cases, is not a counterweight to the dangers of its recognition as lawful.

"In fact, however, all such matters are beside the point, if the power be fairly deducible from the existing law. This I think it is, and if so, speculation upon its value is irrelevant.

"The relator will be remanded to the custody of the Sergeant at Arms and the writ dismissed.

"Dated July 19, 1916.

"L. H., *D. J.*"

## The Mexican People.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ROBERT M. McCRACKEN,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 21, 1916.*

Mr. McCRACKEN. Mr. Speaker, since the assassination of Madero I have read with great interest everything which I could find treating of the Mexican people, and I want to submit to the House some things about these people which I hope may be of assistance to some of the Members of this body in forming an acquaintance at long distance with that interesting and unhappy people.

History tells us that Cortes "conquered" Mexico nearly 400 years ago. He made his memorable expedition from the island of Cuba and landed on Mexican soil on the spot which marks the location of Vera Cruz. For 300 years after the advent of Cortes the Spaniards were in full control of Mexico, and during that time there were no revolutions. During this time about 70 men were sent out by Spain to govern Mexico. History shows that only seven or eight of them had any sympathy or feeling for the people whom they were supposed to rule. For the most part they were cruel and hard-hearted, regarding Mexico as only a means of replenishing the coffers of the Spanish treasury. They made slaves of the Aztec population; they cared nothing for the hopes or interests of the Mexican people. For three centuries Mexico was the victim of the rapacity, avarice, and cruelty of these men who ruled for the enrichment of a country 3,000 miles away. The looting of these defenseless people must have been most profitable to the adventurers of that time, for one writer says that many of the common soldiers returned to Spain with great wealth. On one occasion a returned soldier celebrated his wedding by throwing $600,000 out of the window to a crowd who had come to serenade him.

It is not surprising that years of oppression and extortion should cause these people to become suspicious of all rulers and indifferent to any kind of government. For so long had they been exploited that it is only natural that any ambitious man among them could easily lead large numbers of them in a revolution against any government, good or bad, which might be instituted. About 100 revolutions have taken place in Mexico in the last 100 years. In most cases each new ruler caused the death or banishment of his predecessor.

About 1808 an independence party was formed in Mexico. It was made up of poorly equipped little bands which, under the leadership of two priests, Hidalgo and Morelos, carried on a ceaseless warfare with Spanish troops until 1821, when it gained so much power and influence among the Mexican people that the last representative of Spain found the City of Mexico in a state of siege and Spanish rule in that country at an end.

When we read the pages of history it seems that no people, however deteriorated they may become, fail to produce a few great men. During the turbulent career of Mexico two men stand out as great leaders. These men were Benito Juarez and Porfirio Diaz. Juarez was a pure-blooded native Mexican Indian. It was not until he was 14 years of age that he learned to speak Spanish. He was poor, but he had a wonderful personality, which appealed to a good priest, who educated him. He studied law and was later elected governor of Oaxaca, and afterwards was elected President of his country. With his reign, beginning with 1859, Mexico was modernized. Following Juarez came Diaz, whose reign covered 34 years, and was a perpetual drama of strife and bloodshed.

We should not be surprised that the internal political affairs of Mexico are now in a deplorable state when we consider that in a short period of 65 years after Spanish rule there were 53 presidents, 2 emperors, and 1 regency; and that with only about four exceptions all these changes were marked with violence and bloodshed. We can not but admire such men as Juarez and Diaz when we observe the forces with which they had to contend.

Consider the Indian, for example, the original inhabitants, whose pure-blooded descendants to-day form probably 80 per cent of the population. They were slaves under Spain for 300 years. Is it reasonable that in the space of 100 years they would change all their mode of living or that they would be lifted from their ignorance and superstition? If the people of Mexico could have lived at peace with themselves for the last century, something could have been done for them. Schools and all other methods of civilization can not thrive among a people engaged in destruction of one another; hence there has been no change for the better among the Indians of Mexico since the days of Cortez. Indeed, it would seem that they have retrograded. They profess Christianity, but they probably have little religion. Travelers tell us that many go off to the mountains where they can practice their old Aztec rites, and it is reported that at one of these festivals the authorities were called upon to stop a human sacrifice. While no one knows, yet it is estimated that there are about 75 different languages spoken, and all are totally different. The Indians of northern Mexico are quite like our own—treacherous and warlike. They are filthy in their personal habits, oftentimes wearing their clothing until it drops off of them. A few years ago, when public bathing places were opened in Mexico City, the police were called upon to arrest many of the natives and compel them for the first time in their lives to take a bath. Therefore, when we consider that the greater part of the population of Mexico is made up of Indians, is it any wonder that the Mexican soldier is disloyal to the Government and is easily induced to take sides with bandits like Villa and Zapata and turn upon their own Government? Is it any wonder that elections in Mexico are mere farces?

People who have lived in Mexico tell us that the Indians and lower classes do not know what an election means, and that whole villages have fled to the mountains and remained for weeks in order to avoid the census enumerator. Those who know anything of the Mexican farmer tell us that he still prefers to plow with the same kind of crooked stick that was used in Egypt 5,000 years ago, and that the foreign manufacturer of agricultural implements has been obliged to make plows with only one handle in order to secure a large part of the Mexican trade.

While I have described the lower classes of the Mexican people, it must be remembered that the remainder of the population make up the wealthy, educated, landowning aristocracy. I can not find that there is any middle class made up of farmers, traders, and artisans with a fair average of real estate holdings; and herein lies the reason for the slow development of the Mexican people. It is apparent to me that a stable government will never exist in Mexico until there is developed a large number of intelligent farmers, artisans, and tradesmen, similar to those we have in the United States, who know how to apply the principles of self-government.

I am satisfied that this Congress wants to help Mexico, but the great question is, "How shall we go about it?" It is only natural that the American who has large interests there should desire intervention. And intervention on our part may be the way to help the mass of the Mexican people. But intervention will cost blood and treasure. Is the welfare of Mexico a matter which we should accomplish by sending thousands of our young men to death, or shall we patiently abide the time when some strong man among them shall lead them into the blessings of a peaceful government? The strong man of Mexico is not likely to appear soon, and therefore I hope that our duty toward our neighbor on the south will soon be made plain to all of us.

Treaties.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. W. FRANK JAMES,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following statements containing correspondence between Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, and myself regarding the status of Italian subjects who have become American citizens, and their sons. It also contains correspondence regarding the status of former subjects of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, who have become American citizens:

JANUARY 10, 1916.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State.*

MY DEAR SIR: Among my constituents are several thousand people of Italian birth. Many of them are American citizens, and hundreds more have taken out their second papers. Many of them have been asked to come back to Italy to fight under the Italian flag. Very few have gone because they consider themselves American citizens. Seeing that they have not responded to the call to arms they are afraid that in case they went back to Italy they would be tried for desertion. They have asked me to write you and see what their standing would be in case they went back for a visit. They would also like to know in case they do not respond (if they are American citizens) if any property or money they might have in Italy could be confiscated. I should appreciate it very much if you would kindly let me hear from you fully regarding this matter as soon as possible.

Yours, respectfully,
W. FRANK JAMES.

JANUARY 13, 1916.

The Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: The department has received your letter of January 10, inquiring as to the status of persons of Italian birth residing in this country. You state that many of these persons have acquired American citizenship through naturalization, while others have merely declared their intention to become citizens of this country; that many of them have been notified to return to Italy for the performance of military service in the Italian army, and that you desire to obtain definite information as to their standing in case they return to their native land.

Inclosed herewith are copies of the department's printed letter of August 18, 1915, to Messrs. Hubbard & Hubbard, entitled "Liability for Military Service in Italy of Italians in this Country who Have Obtained or Intend to Obtain Naturalization," and of a printed circular of August 14, 1914, entitled "Liability for Military Service in Foreign Countries of Persons Residing in the United States." It is believed that the information which you desire will be found in the inclosed printed matter.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

### ITALY.

NOTICE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS FORMERLY SUBJECTS OF ITALY WHO CONTEMPLATE RETURNING TO THAT COUNTRY.

The information given below is believed to be correct, yet is not to be considered as official so far as it relates to the laws and regulations of a foreign country.

Italian subjects are liable for service in the army between the ages of 18 and 39 years. Relief from the performance of military service may be granted in the case of an only son or where two brothers are so nearly of the same age that both would be serving at the same time, in which event only one is drafted, or where there are two sons of a widow, when only one is taken. When the elder of two brothers desires to have the younger substituted for him he must submit a formal application confirmed by the younger.

Naturalization of an Italian subject in a foreign country without consent of the Italian Government is no bar to liability to military service.

A former Italian subject may visit Italy without fear of molestation when he is under the age of 16 years, but between the ages of 16 and 39 he is liable to arrest and forced military service if he has not previously reported for such service. A former Italian subject who returns to Italy after the age of 39 is not liable for service. However, his exemption from punishment for past failure to appear is contingent upon his having complied with certain formalities which may be performed at an Italian embassy or consulate.

A petition for pardon of the offense of desertion or evasion of military service should be sent to the Italian Government directly, as this department does not act as the intermediary in presenting such a petition.

There is no treaty between the United States and Italy defining the status of former Italian subjects who have become American citizens.

Attention is called to the following provisions of the second section of the expatriation act of March 2, 1907:

"That any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign state in conformity with its laws or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign state.

"When any naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign state from which he came or for five years in any other foreign state it shall be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen, and the place of his general abode shall be deemed his place of residence during said years: *Provided, however,* That such presumption may be overcome on the presentation of satisfactory evidence to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States under such rules and regulations as the Department of State may prescribe: *And provided also,* That no American citizen shall be allowed to expatriate himself when this country is at war."

All persons going to Italy must hold passports viséed by an Italian diplomatic or consular officer.

American citizens in Italy should apply for registration in the nearest American consulates.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, January 12, 1916.*

LIABILITY FOR MILITARY SERVICE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES OF PERSONS RESIDING IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Department of State has recently received numerous inquiries from foreign-born persons residing in this country as to whether they may be compelled to perform military service in their native lands and as to what penalties, by way of fines, confiscation of property, or imprisonment in case of return, they will incur if they fail to report to the authorities of their countries of origin for military service. Some of the inquiries refer to persons who have obtained naturalization as citizens of the United States, others to persons who have made declarations of intention to become American citizens, and still others to persons who have taken no steps toward acquiring American citizenship. Misconception and confusion concerning this matter appear to be current.

The United States is not a party to any treaties under which persons of foreign origin residing in this country may be compelled to return to their countries of origin for military service, nor is there any way in which persons may be forced into foreign armies against their will so long as they remain in the United States.

The department can not undertake to give authentic, official information either, in general, as to the requirements of the military service laws of foreign countries and the penalties provided therein for evasion of military service, or, in particular, as to the status and present or future liabilities of individuals under such laws. Information of this kind must be obtained from officials of the foreign countries concerned.

The department issues printed circulars concerning the status in their native lands of naturalized citizens of the United States, natives of certain European countries, and these will be furnished to interested persons upon request. It is specifically stated in these circulars that the information contained in them is not to be considered as official so far as it relates to the laws and regulations of foreign countries.

The United States has concluded treaties of naturalization with the following European countries: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, the German States, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, and Portugal. Copies of these treaties are to be found in "Treaties, Conventions, etc., between the United States of America and Other Powers" (Government Printing Office, 1910), and separate copies may be furnished by the department upon request. Under these treaties the naturalization of persons concerned as citizens of the United States and the termination of their former allegiance are recognized, with the reservation, in most of them, that such persons remain liable to trial and punishment in their native lands for offenses committed prior to emigration therefrom, including offenses of evasion of military duty. The United States holds that no naturalized citizen of this country can rightfully be held to account for military liability to his native land accruing subsequent to emigration therefrom, but this principle may be contested by countries with which the United States has not entered into treaties of naturalization. The latter countries may hold that naturalization of their citizens or subjects as citizens of other countries has no effect upon their original military obligation, or may deny the right of their citizens or subjects to become naturalized as citizens of other countries, in the absence of express consent or without the fulfillment of military obligations. More specific information as to the department's understanding of the laws of these countries concerning nationality and military obligations may be found in the department's circulars mentioned above.

It is important to observe that an alien who declares his intention to become a citizen of the United States does not, at the time of making such declaration, renounce allegiance to his original sovereign, but merely declares that he intends to do so. Such a person does not, by his declaration of intention, acquire the status of a citizen of the United States.

W. J. BRYAN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, August 1½, 1914.*

STATUS OF PERSONS BORN IN THE UNITED STATES OF ALIEN PARENTS AND OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS NATURALIZED IN THIS COUNTRY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, June 9, 1915.*

MY DEAR SENATOR LODGE: I have received your letter of June 5, 1915, in reply to my letter of June 2, concerning the detention in Italy for military service of Ugo Da Prato, who was born in Boston August 25, 1895, and went to Italy in 1912 to study architecture, and whose father, Antonio Da Prato, a native of Italy, obtained naturalization as a citizen of this country in the district court of the United States at Boston March 19, 1892—that is, before the son's birth. Accompanying your letter are the birth certificate of Ugo Da Prato and the naturalization certificate of his father.

The department has telegraphed to the American ambassador at Rome, directing him to call the attention of the Italian Government to the facts mentioned above, ask for the immediate release of Ugo Da Prato, and report the result. As Ugo Da Prato was born in this country after his father had obtained naturalization as a citizen of the United States it does not appear that he can be considered an Italian subject under Italian law, and I have no doubt that he will be released. I shall be glad to inform you of the ambassador's report.

In the department's letter of June 2 you were asked to forward not only the birth certificate of Ugo Da Prato, but the naturalization certificate of his father, and in this connection the following statement was made:

"The department is being called upon to take action in a good many cases similar to that of Ugo Da Prato. The Italian law concerning naturalization of Italians in foreign countries is peculiar. Article 11 of the Italian Civil Code contains the following provision:

"'ART. 11. Citizenship is lost by the following persons:

"'1. * * *

"'2. He who has acquired citizenship in a foreign country.'"

"Article 12, however, reads as follows:

"'ART. 12. The loss of citizenship in the cases mentioned in the foregoing article does not work exemption from the obligations of the military service nor from the penalties imposed on those who bear arms against their country.'"

"Under the provisions of law mentioned the Italian Government recognizes the naturalization of Italians as citizens of other countries, but holds them liable for military service in Italy unless they have been expressly excused therefrom. In view of article 11 persons born in this country of fathers naturalized before their births are not considered Italian subjects or held liable for military service in Italy. It is very important that in each case of this kind the department should be furnished with the best documentary evidence procurable of the naturalization of the father and the subsequent birth in this country of the son, so that necessary assurances may be given to the Italian Government."

In your letter under acknowledgment you make the following observations:

"I note what you say in regard to the Italian law, which obviously does not apply to young Da Prato, but, speaking generally, I can not assent for a moment to the proposition that such a thing as dual citizenship is possible. As you well know, we constituted ourselves as champions against the doctrine of indefeasible allegiance and have succeeded in compelling the acceptance of our view by all the nations with the exception, I think, of Russia and Turkey. The abandonment of indefeasible allegiance is in itself the establishment of the principle that there can be no such thing as dual citizenship, either in whole or in part, and to attempt to retain the right over a boy born in this country of parents not naturalized—which is not the case with Da Prato—for military service in the country of origin of the parents is absurd on its face and is something to which we should never assent for a moment."

After making some observations concerning the provision of the German law of nationality of June 1, 1914, according to which Germans who obtain naturalization as citizens of other countries may, under certain conditions, retain their German nationality, and after observing that any alien who endeavors to retain his original allegiance when he takes an oath of allegiance to the United States and becomes naturalized as a citizen of this country commits perjury, you say:

"Italy * * * has no possible claim on the children of Italian parents, not naturalized, born in this country, especially if they have exercised all the rights of citizenship as they are entitled to do under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. Such a child has never been an Italian subject for one minute. Italy has no more claim on him than she has on one of my children or one of yours. I believe that there is also something similar to this in French law. We shall find ourselves in a very awkward position with our large body of naturalized citizens and their children if we do not take the strongest position against article 12 of the Italian Civil Code which you quote."

The argument contained in your letter is similar to that in an article which appeared in the June number of the Metropolitan Magazine, in reference to the department's letter of April 2 to Mr. P. A. LeLong, jr., of Louisiana, concerning his citizenship. In the department's letter to Mr. LeLong his attention was called to the fact that, although having been born in this country, he was an American citizen under American law, it appeared that he was also born a French citizen under French law, because of the fact that his father was a French citizen. The department therefore observed that he appeared to have been born with "a dual nationality."

As this general subject has been the cause of considerable comment, I venture to discuss the matter at some length.

Dual nationality is not a theory or doctrine promulgated by the department, but is the unavoidable result of the conflicting laws of different countries. Under the American law of nationality, which is derived from the English law, American nationality is based primarily upon the fact of birth within American territory and jurisdiction, under what is known as the jus soli, whereas in the countries of continental Europe nationality is acquired primarily through descent, under the jus sanguinis. This follows naturally from the basis of jurisdiction which in the common law is the locus and in the civil law the persona. The Revised Statutes of the United States, however, contain the following provision in section 1993 (act of Feb. 10, 1855):

"All children heretofore born or hereafter born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, whose fathers were or may be at the time of their birth citizens thereof, are declared to be citizens of the United States; but the rights of citizenship shall not descend to children whose fathers never resided in the United States."

A provision substantially similar to the above was added to the original British law of nationality. Also the laws of some, although not all, countries of continental Europe contain provisions under which nationality is acquired, under certain conditions, through birth within their territory. The status of a person who is born a citizen of one country under the jus soli and a citizen of another country under the jus sanguinis is commonly termed "dual nationality." Whether or not this term is considered apt, the fact remains that many persons are born citizens or subjects of two countries under their respective laws.

Thus, a person born in Italy of American parents is born a citizen of the United States, provided his father has resided in this country; but, under certain conditions, he may also be considered an Italian subject. Also a person born in the United States of Italian parents is born a citizen of the United States under the law of this country, and a subject of Italy under the law of Italy.

The fact of dual nationality has been recognized by the department for many years. Secretary of State Fish, in a report to the President dated August 25, 1875, said:

"The child born of alien parents in the United States is held to be a citizen thereof and to be subject to duties with regard to this country which do not attach to the father.

"The same principle on which such children are held by us to be citizens of the United States, and to be subject to duties to this country, applies to the children of American fathers born without the jurisdiction of the United States, and entitles the country within whose jurisdiction they are born to claim them as citizens and to subject them to duties to it.

"Such children are born to a double character: The citizenship of the father is that of the child so far as the laws of the country of which the father is a citizen are concerned and within the jurisdiction of that country; but the child, from the circumstances of his birth, may acquire rights and owes another fealty besides that which attaches to the father." (Moore's International Law Digest, vol. 3, p. 520.)

I desire to call your attention to the following statement in the report of the Citizenship Board which was appointed during the administration of President Roosevelt "to inquire into the laws and practice regarding citizenship of the United States, expatriation, and protection abroad, and to report recommendations for legislation to be laid before Congress," which report was forwarded to the Speaker of the House of Representatives by Secretary of State Elihu Root, with a letter of approval and commendation dated December 18, 1906:

"Inasmuch as our Government declares that all persons born in the United States are citizens of the United States, and also recognizes, as well as adopts, on its own part, the rule that children of citizens resident abroad are citizens of the country to which the parents owe allegiance there arises, as will be seen, a conflict of citizenship, broken of usually as dual allegiance." (H. Doc. No. 326, 59th Cong., 2d sess., p. 74.)

A full discussion of the subject of dual allegiance may be found in Moore's Digest of International Law, Volume III, pages 518–551.

For the reasons mentioned above it is obviously important for the department, in dealing with the case of a person who was born in this country and had a father of Italian birth, to ascertain whether his father had previously acquired naturalization as a citizen of the United States. This is especially important when it is a case such as that which you have presented—of a person who has not yet reached his majority. The extent to which this Government may go, and the arguments which it may use, in the actual protection of persons who were born in the United States of alien fathers and who may be molested while temporarily visiting the countries of origin of the latter must necessarily depend upon the particular facts and circumstances of each case. In no case, in the absence of conventional arrangements, can the department assure such persons in advance that they will not be held liable, under the laws of other countries concerned, for the performance of military or other public service attaching to citizenship. In the department's letter of May 5 to Mr. P. A. LeLong, jr., the following statement was made:

"If at any time in the future you should find it necessary to visit France and should there be molested upon the ground that you are a French citizen, you should inform a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States, who would report the matter to the department in order that it might take such measures in your behalf as would seem warranted by the peculiar facts and circumstances of your case."

The department, having advised American citizens generally "to avoid visiting unnecessarily countries which are at war," did not encourage Mr. LeLong to choose the present time to make an unnecessary test of his political position in France.

The cases of persons born in the United States of alien parents should not be confused with the cases of persons born abroad who have obtained naturalization as citizens of this country. In the former cases the department recognizes now, as it always has heretofore, that the persons concerned are born with a dual nationality. In the latter cases the department does not recognize the existence of dual nationality in view of the fact that persons who obtain naturalization as citizens of this country are required to renounce their original allegiance.

While this Government holds that naturalized American citizens can not rightfully be called upon to perform military or other obligations which had not actually accrued before their emigration, the department has always deemed it advisable to call the attention of naturalized Italians to the position in which they will be placed in case they voluntarily return to Italy. During and since the administration of President Roosevelt, the Department of State has accordingly issued a circular warning them to this effect, entitled "Notice to American citizens formerly subjects of Italy who contemplate returning to that country," which contains the following statement:

"Naturalization as an Italian subject in a foreign country without consent of the Italian Government is no bar to liability to military service."

Similar circulars have been issued during and since the administration of President Roosevelt calling attention to the status in their native lands of naturalized citizens of the United States born in France and other European countries. In the circular concerning naturalized Germans attention is called to the fact that naturalization of such persons in this country is recognized by the German Government under the treaties concluded with the German States in 1868, commonly known as the "Bancroft treaties." In this connection I may say that the United States has concluded naturalization treaties with the following countries of Europe besides Germany: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, and Portugal.

With reference to your remarks concerning the status of Germans who acquire naturalization in this country, and particularly to the provision of the new German law of nationality according to which German allegiance may be retained, under certain conditions, by Germans naturalized abroad, I may say that it is quite true that no alien can lawfully acquire American citizenship through naturalization and at the same time voluntarily retain his original nationality; for the third section of the nationalization act of June 29, 1906, makes the following requirement of every alien applying for naturalization as a citizen of this country:

"He shall, before he is admitted to citizenship, declare on oath in open court that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and particularly by name to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject; that he will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and bear true faith and allegiance to the same."

It is obvious that any person who takes the oath just quoted and at the same time voluntarily retains or attempts to retain his original allegiance is guilty of perjury and dishonor. Moreover, the naturalization of such a person would be open to cancellation as fraudulent, under the provision of section 15 of the naturalization law.

The Department of State has not been informed of any case in which a German has attempted to acquire American citizenship through naturalization and at the same time retain his German nationality under the provision of section 25 of the German law of nationality.

In closing, allow me to say that this Government has not receded from the position taken many years ago as to the natural right of men to make a voluntary change of nationality, commonly known as the right of expatriation. Nevertheless, the Department of State deems it proper to continue the practice which it has followed for many years of informing naturalized American citizens of the position in which they will find themselves in case they voluntarily visit their native countries. For the same reason the department deems it proper to warn persons having a dual nationality of the claims which may be made upon them by the other countries concerned. It is believed that the department would not be performing its full duty in this matter if it should fail to give this information.

Very truly, yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

The Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
*Nahant, Mass.*

JANUARY 18, 1916.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I wish to thank you very kindly for your letter of January 13 regarding persons of Italian birth residing in this country. I wish you would also let me know if any property or money they might have in Italy could be confiscated in case they did not come back to serve in the army when called by the Italian Government.

There are quite a few persons born in this country of Italian parents, many of them were born between the time that the father applied for his first papers and when he received his full papers. These men of American birth of Italian parents have been given to understand that they are also liable to call to serve in the army for the reason that at the time they were born their fathers were still citizens of Italy and not of the United States. I wish you would also advise me what the rules of the State Department are regarding this matter, or if there is anything mentioned in the treaty between the United States and Italy.

I should appreciate it very much if you will kindly send me five additional copies of the department's letter of August 18, 1915, to Messrs. Hubbard & Hubbard, entitled "Liability for military service in Italy of Italians in this country who have obtained or intend to obtain naturalization" and of printed circular of August 14, 1914, entitled "Liability for Military Service in Foreign Countries of Persons Residing in the United States."

Thanking you in advance for your courtesy in this matter, I am,
Yours, very sincerely,

W. FRANK JAMES.

JANUARY 25, 1916.

The Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: The department has received your letter of January 18, replying to its communication of January 13 concerning the status and citizenship of persons born in this country of parents who are Italian subjects.

In accordance with your request the department is sending you, under separate cover, five copies of its letter of August 18, 1915, to Messrs. Hubbard & Hubbard, entitled "Liability for military service in Italy of Italians in this country who have obtained or intend to obtain naturalization," together with an equal number of its printed circular of August 14, 1914, entitled "Liability for Military Service in Foreign Countries of Persons Residing in the United States."

There is no naturalization treaty between the United States and Italy defining the rights of citizens or subjects of either country who may obtain naturalization in the other country. It may be stated, for your information, that in the absence of a naturalization treaty between the United States and Italy the Italian Government has taken the position that children born abroad to Italian subjects must be considered subjects of Italy and liable for the performance of military service in the army of that country.

As a general rule persons born in this country of Italians who had, however, acquired American citizenship by naturalization prior to the birth of such children, are not held liable by the Italian Government for the performance of military service, unless the facts show that they have voluntarily enlisted in the Italian Army and served therein without claiming exemption from such service on the ground of American citizenship. The department does not admit the contention of the Italian Government with respect to the status of children born in this country of Italian parents, and this matter has been the subject of a considerable amount of correspondence with the Italian authorities at Rome.

With reference to whether or not any property, which the persons mentioned above might have in Italy, could be confiscated or levied upon by the Italian Government for failure to return to Italy and perform service in the Italian Army, you are informed that so far as is known no case has as yet arisen on this subject. For this reason the department can not state in advance what position this Government or the Italian Government would take.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

FEBRUARY 1, 1916.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have many former subjects of Great Britain in my district. This includes Cornish, English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, and Canadian. The majority of them have become full American citizens. Seeing that England has now adopted the compulsory military service, and these men should be called back to fight for Great Britain, in case they did not go could they be arrested in case they ever went to Great Britain for a visit, on the ground that they were deserters of the army of Great Britain?

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,
Yours, very sincerely,

———— ————.

FEBRUARY 3, 1916.

The Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of February 1, concerning the status and citizenship of naturalized American citizens of British origin. You ask to be informed whether such persons may be required to perform military service in the British army in case they return to British territory.

I desire to invite your attention to the letter of even date, which is being sent you, with which is inclosed a copy of a notice entitled "Liability for military service in foreign countries of persons residing in the United States," from which it will be observed that there is a naturalization treaty between the United States and Great Britain, and that under this treaty the naturalization in the United States of British subjects is recognized by the British Government.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

FEBRUARY 1, 1916.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have in my district several thousand former inhabitants of Russia. The majority of them are natives of Finland, but there are also hundreds of Poles, Ruthenians, Jews, and other people of different nationalities. Many of these have become American citizens and have no intention of going back to Russia to stay permanently. However, should they be called back to fight for Russia and did not go, they would like to know whether or not they could be arrested in case they went back for a visit.

I wish you would kindly advise me also the status of sons of these men who were born before their fathers became full American citizens. Can they be considered by Russia as subject to call to serve in the Russian Army?

Kindly advise me also as to whether their property could be confiscated in case they did not go back.

Thanking you in advance, I am,
Yours, very respectfully,

W. FRANK JAMES.

FEBRUARY 3, 1916.

The Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 1, concerning the status and citizenship of persons who are natives of Russia and reside in the United States at the present time. You state that many of these persons have become American citizens and that they desire to ascertain whether they may be required to return to Russia for the performance of military service. You ask to be informed with reference to the citizenship of children born in this country whose fathers were not American citizens at the time of their birth.

Inclosed herewith for your information is a copy of the department's printed circular entitled "Notice to American citizens formerly subjects of Russia who contemplate returning to that country," together with a copy of the department's printed letter of June 9, 1915, to the Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, entitled "Status of persons born in the United States of America of alien parents and of foreign-born persons naturalized in this country." There is also inclosed herewith a copy of the department's notice entitled "Liability for military service in foreign countries of persons residing in the United States," the second paragraph of which reads as follows:

"The United States is not a party to any treaties under which persons of foreign origin residing in this country may be compelled to return to their countries of origin for military service, nor is there any way in which persons may be forced into foreign armies against their will so long as they remain in the United States."

It is believed that the inclosed circulars will furnish the information which you desire. I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

ROBERT LANSING.

RUSSIA.

NOTICE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS FORMERLY SUBJECTS OF RUSSIA WHO CONTEMPLATE RETURNING TO THAT COUNTRY.

The information given below is believed to be correct, yet is not to be considered as official so far as it relates to the laws and regulations of Russia.

Under Russian law a Russian subject who becomes a citizen of another country without the consent of the Russian Government is deemed to have committed an offense for which he is liable to arrest and punishment if he returns without previously obtaining the permission of the Russian Government.

This Government dissents from this provision of Russian law, but an American citizen formerly a subject of Russia who returns to that country places himself within the jurisdiction of Russian law.

The Department of State holds that a naturalized American citizen of Russian origin who returns to his native country as a Russian subject, concealing the fact of his naturalization in order to evade Russian law, thereby so far relinquishes the rights conferred upon him by his American naturalization as to absolve this Government from the obligation to protect him as a citizen while he remains in his native land.

No one is admitted to Russia unless his passport has been viséd, or indorsed, by a Russian diplomatic or consular representative.

Attention is called to the following provisions of the second section of the expatriation act of March 2, 1907:

"That any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign State in conformity with its laws, or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign State.

"When any naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign State from which he came, or for five years in any other foreign State, it shall be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen, and the place of his general abode shall be deemed his place of residence during said years: *Provided, however*, That such presumption may be overcome on the presentation of satisfactory evidence to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States, under such rules and regulations as the Department of State may prescribe: *And provided also*, That no American citizen shall be allowed to expatriate himself when this country is at war."

American citizens in Russia should apply for registration in the nearest American consulates.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, January 9, 1914.*

FEBRUARY 21, 1916.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have in my district several thousand former inhabitants of Austria-Hungary. The majority of them are Austrians and Hungarians, but there are also hundreds of Croatians, Bohemians, Poles, Jews, and other nationalities. Many of them have become American citizens and have no intention of going back to Austria-Hungary to stay permanently. However, should they be called back to fight for Austria-Hungary, and did not go, they would like to know whether or not they could be arrested in case they went back for a visit.

I wish you would kindly advise me also the status of the sons of these men who were born before their fathers became full American citizens. Can they be considered by Austria-Hungary as subject to call to serve in the Austrian Army?

Also advise me if their property could be confiscated in case they did not go back.

Thanking you in advance, I am,
Yours, very respectfully,

W. FRANK JAMES.

MARCH 2, 1916.

The Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 21, in which you inquire concerning the liability in Austria-Hungary under the military-service laws of naturalized citizens of the United States who were born in Austria-Hungary and of persons who

were born in the United States and whose fathers, natives of Austria-Hungary, have obtained naturalization as citizens of this country.

I inclose herewith, for your information, a copy of the department's circular entitled "Notice to American citizens formerly subjects of Austria or Hungary who contemplate returning to either of those countries." In the third paragraph of this notice you will find a statement as to the conditions under which a naturalized American citizen, formerly a subject of Austria or Hungary, may be arrested and punished under the military laws in case he returns to Austria or Hungary. Extra copies of this circular will be sent to you if you so desire and inform the department as to how many you want.

With reference to the status of persons born in the United States of Austrian or Hungarian parents before the naturalization of the latter, I may say that the naturalization treaty of 1871 between the United States and Austria-Hungary makes no specific mention of such persons. This Government has always held, however, that the naturalization treaty covered cases of persons of Austrian and Hungarian origin who were naturalized during minority through the naturalization of their own right. It is not understood that the Government of Austria-Hungary denies the application of the treaty in such cases, provided the persons concerned maintain their residence in the United States, and it is not believed that the Government of Austria-Hungary would make a claim to the allegiance of persons born in the United States of Austrian or Hungarian fathers before the naturalization of the latter, unless such persons should go to Austria or Hungary to reside.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

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AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

NOTICE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS FORMERLY SUBJECTS OF AUSTRIA OR HUNGARY WHO CONTEMPLATE RETURNING TO EITHER OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

The information given below is believed to be correct, yet is not to be considered as official, so far as it relates to the laws and regulations of Austria-Hungary.

Liability to perform military service in Austria and in Hungary arises on January 1 of the calendar year in which an Austrian or Hungarian reaches his twenty-first year and ceases on the 31st of December of the year in which he ends his thirty-first year.

Under the terms of the treaty between the United States and Austria-Hungary a former subject of Austria or Hungary who has resided in this country five years and has been naturalized as a citizen of the United States is treated upon his return as a citizen of the United States. If he violated any criminal law of his original country before the date of emigration he remains liable to trial and punishment, unless the right to punish has been lost by lapse of time as provided by law. A naturalized American citizen formerly a subject of Austria or Hungary may be arrested and punished under the military laws only in the following cases: (1) If he was accepted and enrolled as a recruit in the army before the date of emigration, although he had not been put in service; (2) if he was a soldier when he emigrated, either in active service or on leave of absence; (3) if he was summoned by notice or by proclamation before his emigration to serve in the reserve or militia and failed to obey the call; (4) if he emigrated after war had broken out.

A naturalized American citizen of Austrian or Hungarian origin on arriving in his original country should at once show his passport to the American consul, or at least to the local authorities; and if, on inquiry, it is found that his name is on the military rolls he should request that it be struck off, calling attention to the naturalization treaty between this country and Austria-Hungary published in 1871.

The laws of Austria-Hungary require every stranger to produce a passport on entering.

A native of Austria or Hungary will probably experience difficulty in establishing his status if he returns to his original country bearing an American naturalization certificate and passport issued in a name different from his original name. Such a person, if his name has been changed by order of a court, should take with him a properly authenticated copy of the order of the court; if the change of name was not legally made, he should obtain from the court in which he was naturalized a new certificate of naturalization in his lawful name, and his passport application should agree therewith.

Attention is called to the following provisions of the second section of the expatriation act of March 2, 1907:

"That any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign state in conformity with its laws, or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign state.

"When any naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign state from which he came, or for five years in any other foreign state, it shall be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen, and the place of his general abode shall be deemed his place of residence during said years: *Provided, however*, That such presumption may be overcome on the presentation of satisfactory evidence to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States, under such rules and regulations as the Department of State may prescribe: *And provided also*, That no American citizen shall be allowed to expatriate himself when this country is at war."

American citizens in Austria-Hungary should apply for registration in the nearest American consulates.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, August 2, 1915.*

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FEBRUARY 21, 1916.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have in my district several thousand former inhabitants of Germany. Many of them have become American citizens and have no intention of going back to Germany to stay. However, if they should be called back to fight for Germany and did not go, if they went back for a visit, would they be liable to arrest?

I should also appreciate it very much to have the status of the sons of these men, provided they were born before their fathers become full American citizens. Could they be considered by Germany as subject to call in the German Army?

Kindly advise me also if their property could be confiscated in case they did not go back.

Thanking you in advance for this courtesy, I am,
Yours, very respectfully,
W. FRANK JAMES.
MARCH 2, 1916.

The Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 21, in which you inquire concerning the liability in Germany under the military service laws of naturalized citizens of the United States who were born in Germany and of persons who were born in the United States and whose fathers, natives of Germany, have obtained naturalization as citizens of this country.

I inclose herewith, for your information, a copy of the department's circular entitled "Notice to American citizens formerly subjects of Germany who contemplate returning to that country," calling particular attention to the statement in the fourth paragraph as to conditions under which Germans naturalized in the United States may be held liable for trial and punishment upon returning to Germany for offenses against the German military law committed before emigration.

With reference to the status of persons born in the United States of German fathers before the naturalization of the latter, I call your attention to the department's letter to you of this day concerning the status of persons born in the United States, under similar conditions, of Austrian or Hungarian parents. The same principle applies in both cases.

If you desire to obtain extra copies of the inclosed circular, I shall be glad to send them to you.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

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GERMANY.

NOTICE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS FORMERLY SUBJECTS OF GERMANY WHO CONTEMPLATE RETURNING TO THAT COUNTRY.

The information given below is believed to be correct, yet is not to be considered as official so far as it relates to the laws and regulations of Germany.

A German subject is liable to military service from the time he has completed the seventeenth year of his age until his forty-fifth year, active service lasting from the beginning of his twentieth year to the end of his thirty-sixth year.

A German who emigrates before he is 17 years old, or before he has been actually called upon to appear before the military authorities, may, after a residence in the United States of five years and after due naturalization, return to Germany on a visit, but his right to remain in his former home is denied by Germany, and he may be expelled, after a brief sojourn, on the ground that he left Germany merely to evade military service. It is not safe for a person who has once been expelled to return to Germany without having obtained permission to do so in advance. A person who has completed his military service and has reached his thirty-first year and become an American citizen may safely return to Germany.

The treaties between the United States and the German States provide that German subjects who have become citizens of the United States shall be recognized as such upon their return to Germany if they resided in the United States five years. But a naturalized American of German birth is liable to trial and punishment upon return to Germany for an offense against German law committed before emigration, saving always the limitations of the laws of Germany. If he emigrated after he was enrolled as a recruit in the standing army; if he emigrated while in service or while on leave of absence for a limited time; if, having an unlimited leave or being in the reserve, he emigrated after receiving a call into service or after a public proclamation requiring his appearance, or after war broke out, he is liable to trial and punishment on return.

Alsace-Lorraine having become a part of Germany since our naturalization treaties with the other German States were negotiated, American citizens, natives of that Province, under existing circumstances, may be subjected to inconvenience and possible detention by the German authorities if they return without having sought and obtained permission to do so from the imperial governor at Strassburg.

The authorities at Wurttemberg require that the evidence of the American citizenship of a former subject of Wurttemberg which is furnished by a passport shall be supplemented by a duly authenticated certificate showing five years' residence in the United States in order that fulfillment of the treaty condition of five years' residence may appear separately as a fact of record.

A former German subject against whom there is an outstanding sentence for an offense against German law may petition the sovereign of his native State for relief, although the department can not act as an intermediary in presenting such petition; and anyone who wishes to return to his native State in Germany may avoid possible annoyance or arrest if, in advance of his going, he will submit to the authorities of his former home an authenticated copy of his certificate of naturalization, with the request that his American citizenship be recognized and his paper returned to him.

Travelers are not required to show passports on entering or leaving Germany, but they are likely to be called upon to establish their identity and citizenship at any time, and especially so if living in boarding houses or rented apartments. They are consequently recommended to provide themselves with passports. They do not usually require to be viséed or indorsed, but the local authorities sometimes demand a German translation.

Attention is called to the following provisions of the second section of the expatriation act of March 2, 1907:

"That any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign State in conformity with its laws or when he has taken an oath of allegiance to any foreign State.

"When any naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign State from which he came, or for five years in any other foreign State, it shall be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen, and the place of his general abode shall be deemed his place of residence during said years: *Provided, however*, That such presumption may be overcome on the presentation of satisfactory evidence to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States, under such rules and regulations as the Department of State may prescribe: *And provided also*, That no American citizen shall be allowed to expatriate himself when this country is at war."

American citizens in Germany should apply for registration in the nearest American consulates.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, March 29, 1912.*

MARCH 8, 1916.

Hon. ROBERT LANSING,
*Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: Article 25 of the German laws concerning nationality reads as follows: "Whoever, before acquiring a foreign nationality, shall, on application to the competent authorities of his native State, have obtained the written permission to retain his German nationality, does not lose it."

Kindly advise me if any of the other countries of Europe have a similar provision. Also kindly let me know if the language I have quoted above is correct.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,
Yours, very respectfully,
W. FRANK JAMES.

MARCH 11, 1916.

The Hon. W. FRANK JAMES,
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: I have received your letter of March 8, 1916, in which you ask to be informed as to the true wording of section 25 of the German law of nationality, and inquire whether "any other countries of Europe have a similar provision."

Section 25 of the German law of nationality, which went into effect January 1, 1914, reads, according to a translation received by the department from the consul general in Berlin, as follows:

"Citizenship is not lost by one who, before acquiring foreign citizenship, has secured on application the written consent of the competent authorities of his home State to retain his citizenship. Before this consent is given the German consul is to be heard.

"The imperial chancellor may order, with the consent of the Federal council, that persons who desire to acquire citizenship in a specified foreign country may not be granted the consent provided for in paragraph 2."

The department is not informed that a provision similar to the provision of section 25 of the German law of nationality is found in the laws of any other country.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.

This matter is a very important one not only to the former subjects of Italy, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, but also former subjects of France, Holland, and many other countries, as the situation is practically the same in a majority of the important nations with whom we have treaties.

In order to attempt to take care of this matter I have introduced several resolutions. The one regarding former subjects of Italy is printed herewith. The ones regarding former subjects of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary are along the same lines.

The people of foreign birth of my district are very much interested in this matter, and they sincerely hope that Congress will take favorable action in this matter.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*July 15, 1916.*

Mr. JAMES submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

House resolution 307.

Whereas the naturalization of an Italian subject in the United States without the consent of the Italian Government is no bar to military service in the army of Italy; and

Whereas a former Italian subject between the ages of 16 and 39 who returns to Italy for a visit is liable to arrest and forced military service if he has not previously reported for such service; and

Whereas a person born of Italian parents who visits Italy is also subject to arrest and forced military service; and

Whereas there is no treaty between the United States and Italy defining the status of former Italian subjects or their sons who have become American citizens: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, directed to open negotiations immediately with the Government of Italy to conclude a treaty defining the status of former Italian subjects and their sons who have become American citizens, and that in particular he be requested to endeavor to conclude a treaty that will exempt former Italian subjects who have become American citizens, and their sons, from service in the army or navy of the Government of Italy.

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**An Ominous Triumph.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MARTIN B. MADDEN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 21, 1916.*

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following article from the Philadelphia North American of July 10, 1916:

[From the Philadelphia North American, Monday, July 10, 1916.]

AN OMINOUS TRIUMPH.

Concerning the latest "settlement" of the Mexican difficulty, which fills Washington with contentment and complacence and causes administration organs to emit symphonies of praise, we find ourselves rather at a loss for adequate comment. The apparent belief that something admirable has been accomplished, and that there has at last been evolved a well-ordered plan of action backed by definite, logical purpose, is a stupefying phenomenon. Perhaps a hypothetical question will serve to stimulate discussions.

If some mad philanthropist or speculator should offer $1,000,000 for a coherent, satisfying exposition of President Wilson's Mexican policy to date, is there any person living who believes that the prize or the wager would be won?

Let imagination carry us a step further. Suppose that some skilled solver of riddles should devise an intelligible answer to a problem in which the only available factor is minus x, and should reveal the policy as it is to-day; and suppose he should agree upon the basis of "doubles or quits," to explain what the policy will be the day after to-morrow or week after next—would he be richer by $2,000,000 or poorer by the time lost in exhausting divination?

We ask these questions in no spirit of idle detraction; we are simply illustrating a fact we have emphasized a score of times—that President Wilson has never had a Mexican policy. It is mere reiteration to say that he has none now, and more commonplace to remark that he is temperamentally and intellectually incapable of having one at any time.

In support of these assertions there is the record of three years of paltry shifts and worthless expedients, of vacillation unparalleled and incompetence without compare; of alternating bluster, bungling, and bunk; there are the graves of men slain and the despair of those living; and there is, finally, this utter abandonment of national right and duty at the demand of an irresponsible and insolent adventurer.

With the widespread relief over one result we can feel a genuine sympathy. The administration, by the simple device of submission, has brought to an inglorious but definite termination the war which its own folly had created.

Nearly three months ago we declared that the expedition flung into Mexico heedlessly and inadequately prepared should be withdrawn "without argument or delay." Such a course, we admitted, would involve humiliation but would avert disaster. Now, it is to be consummated with additional degradation, after the sacrifice of a score of lives, and with less promise than before that the security of the United States and the rights of its citizens are to be established. Nevertheless, a respite has been given, and we rejoice with thousands of families that the anxiety and terror of an interminable conflict have been lifted from them.

Against this lies the inexplicable and depressing fact that the result is hailed by partisan newspapers as a triumph for President Wilson's firmness, patience, and sagacity, while in the same issues they carry dispatches showing that Carranza has flouted every American protest and imposed his will upon the United States, and that the administration withdraws not only its armed forces, but the protection which every Government owes to its citizens.

Throughout all this astonishing acclaim runs the persistent delusion that the present situation, with its mythical advantages, is the product of a farseeing, consistent statesmanship. Once more, therefore, we must undertake the baffling inquiry, What is the Wilson policy regarding Mexico?

The early part of the record is too familiar to need detailed examination. The denunciation of Huerta was arbitrary interference. "Watchful waiting" was inertia. Secret partnership with bandit leaders was intrigue. The Vera Cruz invasion was war. The withdrawal was surrender. The hearing before the Latin-American tribunal was mediation. The announcement that it was "none of our business" how long Mexican anarchy continued was evasion. The ultimatum to the factions a few months later was dictation. Recognition of Carranza was political intervention. Dispatch of the forces to "get Villa" completed the circle by a return to the expedient of war. And now there is to be a repetition of the Vera Cruz withdrawal.

It is by no means our purpose to suggest that all of these devices were wrong; in fact, it would be difficult to believe that so many different moves could be made without occasionally being right. But our point is the obvious one that the records reveal an utter absence of plan, program, or policy.

Those who think, however, that the administration's course during the first three years reached the limit of feebleness, ineptitude, and vacillation can not have examined the events of the last few weeks. These constitute in themselves a chapter of hopelessness. Let us recite them in order:

After the murderous raid of Villa's band on Columbus, President Wilson had no recourse but to order armed forces to pursue him. Prodigious effort succeeded in starting the expedition within six days, and it was announced that the enterprise was undertaken with the cordial acquiescence of Carranza.

This was false, and the hostility of the dictator became daily more menacing; yet the ill-prepared and ill-supported troops

were pushed hundreds of miles into Mexican territory, until it became only a question of days when the native garrisons would be ordered to attack them.

On May 31 Carranza sent an arrogant demand for withdrawal of the expedition, which he called a force of invasion; and on June 18 he dispatched an ultimatum, threatening that unless the troops were recalled within seven days a state of war would be recognized.

On the same day President Wilson summoned for border service the National Guard from every State in the Union. The Secretary of War announced that this was done "in order to assure complete protection for all Americans." Meanwhile, Carranza had issued orders that "any movement by the American troops to the south, east, or west will be the signal to open hostilities."

President Wilson, on June 20, sent him a note which filled five or six newspaper columns. It recited "outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity," committed against this Nation and its citizens during the last three years, and explicitly charged the Carranza Government with responsibility and even with complicity.

The note declared that the demand for withdrawal of the troops "can not now be entertained"; any interference with them would "lead to the gravest consequences"; the United States Government, it solemnly averred, "can not recede from its settled determination to maintain its national rights and perform its full duty."

Two days later, in pursuance of this uncompromisingly proclaimed policy, American troops moved eastward from their advanced base. They were promptly challenged by Carranza forces, an encounter followed, several of the troopers were killed, and 17 taken prisoners.

The existing condition thereupon was officially recognized as preliminary to war. A circular note to the Latin-American Governments explained that if hostilities resulted they would constitute "a state of international war," but without any other purpose than "to end the conditions which menace our national peace and the safety of our citizens."

Despite the fact that Carranza boldly avowed that he ordered the attack and would repeat it under like circumstances, the Wilson "policy" suggested an inquiry as to whether the action was "deliberately hostile." On June 25 that question was put, together with a demand for release of the prisoners and for a statement from the Mexican Government "as to the course of action it wishes the Government of the United States to understand it has determined upon."

Carranza waited five days, and then delivered the most resounding broadside of insult ever aimed at a responsible government. With a precision which mocked at the labored discursiveness of the first Wilson note, and with a malignity which made his words hardly less offensive than the treacherous attack upon the American troops, he flung at the Government of the United States charges of mendacity, incompetence, false pretense, and shameless aggression, and reiterated in set terms his purpose to expel the "invaders" if they were not speedily withdrawn.

But with characteristic craft he did not make this outrageous defiance a diplomatic communication. It was merely a "memorandum," published throughout Mexico along with the American note. Thus it could not be answered or rebuked from Washington; the administration which had recognized him and seated him in authority was powerless to respond, while he achieved the result of inflaming Mexican public opinion with the idea that he had browbeaten and cowed the American Government just as he had punished its troops.

And on the very day that this blistering affront was perpetrated President Wilson put forth his unofficial response. In a speech in New York he sternly rebuked the suggestion of carrying through the enterprise upon which he had started. He declared himself against "a war of conquest in Mexico," against "any act of violence," against any defensive procedure that might appear like "dictation." With American soldiers lying slain in Mexico, with American troops surrounded by hostile forces, and with Carranza publishing to the world his contempt for American rights, the President gave notice that further insistence on the part of this country would be unjustifiable and immoral.

We must not omit to remark that the prisoners had been released—as an act of magnanimity by Carranza to his defeated foe. But while this concession was gratefully received, not a word of complaint emanated from Washington concerning their comrades who had been killed.

Demand for liberation of the prisoners implied that the attack was an act of brigandage and treachery, while the ignoring of the victims who were slain amounted to an acknowledgment that their killing was an incident of war. No excuse would be accepted for the detention of soldiers still living; no representation whatever was considered worth while concerning those who were dead.

The "settlement" was finally dictated by Carranza. Having done his malevolent worst in the way of insulting the United States before the world and destroying the last fragments of its prestige among Mexicans, he sent a brief note which partisans of the administration hail as "pacific, almost beseechingly pacific." In this he acceded to suggestions for mediation and agreed to discuss plans for joint patrolling of the border.

But the proffer had one trifling proviso—the American expedition must be withdrawn. And this demand, which Carranza made on May 31 and repeated in every official and unofficial utterance thereafter, is to be obeyed. The one thing for which he contended he has won; the long list of "outrage upon outrage, atrocity upon atrocity," presented to him by President Wilson is dismissed into the limbo of things forgotten. On June 20 the administration formally notified him that it would not even entertain his demand; on July 8 it agreed to submit to his terms.

What possible construction can be placed upon this appalling record except that the "Mexican policy" is a myth; that the interests of this country have been sacrificed by ignorance, muddling, and inconstancy. Yet this judgment does not cover the most degrading feature of the situation. In order that there may be no question concerning the latest decision we quote from a Wilson organ, the New York World:

WASHINGTON, *July 6.*

In reply to questions Secretary Lansing to-day declared that American citizens who elect to remain in Mexico need not expect protection from the United States. If they come to grief after having been repeatedly warned to leave the country, the fault will be their own, according to Mr. Lansing, who said he desired that this be clearly understood.

The same dispatch told of Government moves looking to the extension of an American loan to the Carranza government.

This, then, is the present phase of that "Wilson policy" whose pacific triumph evokes loud acclaim: The American forces in Mexico are to bring away their dead and their returned captives, having accomplished nothing except the inflaming of the territory they were sent to pacify, in order to comply with the demands of the Executive who ordered them attacked; the United States renews and amplifies its recognition of the man whom it has charged with permitting and inciting gross outrages; it will favor the régime which three weeks ago it denounced as worthless with financial assistance; and it formally abdicates the chief function of government, which is the protection of the rights and lives of its citizens.

Whether the policy has "kept us out of war," let Vera Cruz and Carrizal testify. Whether it has saved us from any other evil in the category of national abasement, let the shame of the past, the humiliation of the present, and the menaces of the future declare.

## Our Merchant Marine.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 3, 1916.*

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, in the referendum of nonpartisan questions laid before the voters of my district last December the ship-purchase bill was the one least understood and receiving the fewest votes. But of those who did vote on the question, the result was overwhelmingly in favor of this ship-purchase bill.

The bill is not partisan and will be passed through the votes of Progressive Democrats and Progressive Republicans, one of which votes I shall cast. Both parties are agreed upon these two points—that ships are necessary and the Government should help—which constitute the backbone of this bill.

A great railroad king once said:

Let me control the transportation facilities and I will own the country and the people who inhabit it.

It has taken a world war to finally rouse us to the necessity for a merchant marine of our own, to demonstrate that this is a national question, vital to the commercial life of every section, every class, every worker, no matter where he lives or what he does; every farm, mine, and mill, and every home dependent on them. Gradually, during the grinding years of the war, the

ships of commerce are disappearing from the seas. German and Austrian ships lie interned in foreign ports; ships of every nation lie at the bottom of the ocean, torpedo torn. The lists have been further depleted by converting every available ship of peace into a ship of battle. Our ports are choked with commodities, our terminals are glutted with shipments that can not be delivered for lack of ocean bottoms. Forty-five thousand freight cars were tied up in New York at one time, and the railroad companies are refusing to haul freight to the seaboard. The export products that do secure passage and run the gantlet of sea danger are levied upon by a foreign shipping trust six to twelve times the rate in ordinary peace times. Take, for example, the ocean rates on the principal staple products of which Minnesota has an export surplus.

Grain, New York to Liverpool, on which the ocean rate in June, 1914, before the war, was 2 pence per bushel, or about 4 cents, is now charged 51 cents, being increased twelvefold. Flour, New York to Liverpool, has been boosted from 10 cents per hundred in June, 1914, to $1 in March, 1915. Lumber, Boston to Liverpool, which at the opening of the war paid 18½ cents for the principal classes produced in Minnesota, is now assessed $1.10. Provisions, including live stock and dairy products, which bore an ocean rate of 20 to 25 cents per 100 before the war, are now taxed via the leading New York line $1.25 per 100, or five to six times a normal rate. Oil cake, oat meal, and the various cereal products of which Minneapolis is one of the largest producers and shippers in the world, are now taxed six to eight times the normal rate.

One of the leading officials of the United States Bureau of Navigation said, "A vessel pays for its first cost on the profits of one cargo." On that basis it is no wonder that the Pacific Mail fleet, which for years has enjoyed a mail subsidy from the United States, threw up its job and sold out to the shipping trust, which will use the vessels for carrying farm and mill products at six to twelvefold ocean rates.

That ought to be notice to Congress that no ship mail subsidy which Congress grants could compete as an attractive bonus to an ocean freight line with the robber rates now levied upon American farms, mills, and factories. It proves that the petitions of chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and various commercial and corporate interests, praying Congress to aid the building of an American merchant marine by subsidy grants from the United States Treasury are, besides the question of principle involved, idle and impracticable even from the standpoint of expediency to gain a business end. If present ocean rates enable an ocean freight line to earn or rather extort a margin of profit in the course of a year 8 to 10 times the entire capital investment of the company, of what effective use as an additional sop would be a petty donation from the Government Treasury in the form of a mail subsidy? Furthermore, the line which receives the subsidy simply joins the ranks of the ocean shipping combine—as witness the subsidized fleets under various flags now operating on the sea—and levies upon the producer, shipper, and consumer what the traffic will bear. This country has had its fill of subsidized transportation lines, the grants of land in Minnesota alone being nearly equal in acres to the total farm acreage of the State under cultivation, and including valuable timber and iron-ore lands valued at hundreds of millions of dollars; and the usual result has been that the companies which have enjoyed at the hands of the people the greatest subsidies in the way of bond issues and land grants have been the chief offenders in levying upon the public extortionate freight rates.

The alternative of subsidy is that which the Government employed in building the Panama Canal and railroad, the Alaskan railroad, in the operation of the Post Office Department, in improving rivers and harbors and the Great Lakes, and the Government fleet used to carry supplies for building the canal—namely, Government ownership and control.

Certainly, if the people of the United States are called upon to finance a fleet, either by subsidy or any other method, they are entitled to a property interest in the vessels which their money pays for and also to a voice in the control of the operations of the fleet for which they pay, because they will then have an asset to show for the money invested.

This bill provides for the creation of a practical shipping board of civil experts, the best available talent in merchant shipping, composed of five members selected by the President.

The naval auxiliaries and Army transports and other vessels belonging to the Navy may be transferred to this board. The board may construct or buy suitable vessels. These vessels may be leased, chartered, or sold; but if an emergency exists, the President may make requisition of these vessels for naval or military purposes, the person owning such vessel shall be paid its fair value, or shall be paid a fair charter value if the Government does not keep the ship.

A corporation may be formed by the board, with capital not to exceed $50,000,000. Personally, I wish an amendment might be added making it several times that amount. This would be true preparedness. The small amount of capital is the weakness of this bill. The board must keep the majority of the stock on behalf of the United States. Panama bonds to the amount of $50,000,000 are to be issued, the proceeds of which will give the Government a direct interest in a merchant fleet which in peace times can serve commerce and in war times serve the battle fleet. A few years ago the American battle fleet went around the globe as a demonstration of our naval power. Our Government was the laughingstock of the world because it had to hire a fleet of foreign merchant vessels, sailing under foreign flags, to accompany our battle cruisers as colliers and supply ships.

Apart from the commercial side of this question, the war has demonstrated that success in arms is dependent upon adequate naval preparedness. The battle line upon the sea must be augmented, aided, and enforced by an auxiliary fleet that can supply the tenfold wants of a nation at war. Then, more than ever, when industrial ranks are depleted and the strain upon production is abnormal, must the fleet forage for the nation. Immediately the merchant marine could be transformed into hospital ships, transports, munitions and horse ships. Besides that, on the merchant marine seamen would be training in all branches needful in time of war.

In order to make effective even our present battle fleet, the Government now needs 400 additional freight carriers to use as transports. Our Government shipyards, capable of much greater output, are to be set to work under the operations of the proposed measure, constructing the needed merchant vessels, and these vessels, absolutely necessary in case of war, are to be put to practical use in time of peace and made to earn a dividend on the cost of construction and operation, while at the same time serving the great industrial interests of the American people as a carrier of their freight burdens on the sea and as a guaranty of the freedom of the sea against the exactions of a foreign shipping trust. A naval investment in a fleet which will give the American people direct and valuable service in both peace and war is a good investment. It is one which will pay for itself in practical and useful results, and not benefit simply a small interest on the seaboard and ultimately add to the junk pile of defunct and derelict battleships.

The ship-purchase feature of the proposed bill will enable the Government, by taking over the Hamburg-American and other first-class freight carriers interned and lying idle in American harbors, to meet the emergency and furnish American vessels for American products, and give American producers independence of foreign control on the high seas. We would have little respect for the business sagacity of a groceryman who depended upon the delivery wagon of his competitor to carry his sales.

America has been the pioneer nation in the conquest of the air. One of her adopted sons, of Norwegian birth, led the way to ironclad monitors. It was Fulton who first trained steam to aid navigation. Sixty years ago we held first place among the merchant marine of the world, and our "clipper-built yachts" were a proverb for swiftness. It is not for us to take a back seat now. The trade opportunity of the century is before us and we lack the shipping facilities to grasp it. Now is the time to develop our trade with South America, but we can not do it without ships.

The Outlook of May 17 says that our mills can make in 6 months as much as it will take the country 12 months to consume. In order to keep our workers busy we must build up a vast export trade to consume this surplus.

Minnesota is now paying a foreign fleet enormous subsidies in order to get its surplus to market. The result is a depression in the farm and mill price of every staple production of Minnesota, as is plainly shown by comparison of present prices with those of one year ago.

But we are now threatened with conditions even worse. The following official statement was published in the London Economist of November 13 last:

> In future the Government may requisition for the carriage of grain and other merchandise any ship registered in the United Kingdom, and after December 1 no British ship of over 500 tons may carry cargo from one foreign port to another without first obtaining a license from a committee in London. All British shipping is liable to be requisitioned for commercial purposes, all trade in British bottoms between foreign ports is to be under direct Government control.

When foreign shipping is under direct Government control and our producers and shippers are not only subject to the mercy and extortion of foreign fleets, but are faced with the ruin of their foreign trade by withdrawal of even the ships now available, it is in poor grace for our boards of trade and public utility interests to set up the bogy of "socialism" and complain against the principle of Government ownership. When private capital fails to meet the emergency, the American people can

employ their public function of cooperative action, and protect the Nation. The American people must be promptly freed from the domination of a foreign shipping trust to which we pay an annual shipping bill of over $200,000,000. If a $50,000,000 bond issue will help cut the knot of this colossal foreign octopus, who is he that would stop progress by the cry of "Government ownership"?

## The Live-Stock Industry.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 18, 1916.*

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent extended to me, I desire to insert the following pertinent letters:

MARKET COMMITTEE, AMERICAN
NATIONAL LIVE STOCK ASSOCIATION,
*Omaha, Nebr., July 11, 1916.*

Hon. WILLIAM P. BORLAND, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Referring to Mr. A. E. de Ricqles's letter to you of the 8th, of which he sent me a copy, I wish to confirm what he said regarding the activities of the packing interests, in bringing pressure to bear on Congress to prevent the passage of the Borland resolution. Since the hearing was concluded, the packers have gone systematically to work to create an impression in Congress that there has been a change of sentiment here in the West regarding the necessity for this investigation. On Friday and Saturday of last week the managers of the leading packing houses here made an effort to get the South Omaha Exchange to send telegrams to Washington opposing the Borland resolution. Similar effort was made at Kansas City and St. Joe, and at all of these points they met with failure as far as the exchanges were concerned. It is possible they were able to persuade certain individuals to comply with their request. I understand both at Sioux City and Denver the local exchanges yielded to the pressure brought to bear on them and sent telegrams to Washington opposing the Borland resolution.

As you are probably aware, at the meeting of the National Live Stock Exchange at Cincinnati the latter part of May it was unanimously decided to favor the Borland resolution and to indorse the statement made at the preliminary hearing at Washington by M. L. McClure, the president of the National Exchange. A telegram to this effect was sent to you at that time by Sedgwick, the secretary. The 18 leading live-stock exchanges of the country belong to the National, and all those referred to above had representatives at this meeting, so that the present action at Sioux City and Denver is a reversal of their position in May. As you probably know, the Denver and Sioux City markets are what might be termed "packer" markets, where the stockyards, live stock journals, and practically all of the facilities are owned by three or four of the leading packers, and at which points their control is more complete than at some of the bigger markets. Yesterday I wired our Congressman, DAN STEPHENS, along these lines, and asked him to see that Congressmen were properly posted regarding packers' actions.

I sincerely hope you will follow up your resolution actively and push it in every possible way, as its passage means much to the men of the West.

Very sincerely, EDWARD L. BURKE,
*Vice Chairman.*

JULY 15, 1916.

Mr. H. B. BROUGHAM,
*Editorial Department, Public Ledger, Philadelphia, Pa.*

MY DEAR MR. BROUGHAM: In response to your letter of the 14th, I avail myself with pleasure of the opportunity to give you some of the basic facts relating to the Beef Trust resolution.

The proposal originated, so far as I am concerned, with a very prominent organization of my own State—the Missouri Cattle, Swine, and Sheep Feeders' Association. In the fall of 1915 they passed a series of resolutions calling attention to the demoralized condition of the live-stock market. Prices for cattle on the hoof ready for slaughter had ruled nearly $1 a hundred lower in 1915 than in 1914, and hogs had gone down in still greater proportion. In 1915, however, there was an increased demand for beef for export and for all pork products, caused by the European war. There was a decreased importation of live stock because a Mexican revolution had cleared the northern States of Mexico, and Canada was finding a profitable market for her meat animals in England.

The live-stock men therefore were confronted with this situation: Importations had ceased, the supply in this country was confessedly short, and an unprecedented demand had occurred in the foreign markets. We had become again an exporting country of meat animals, and yet, contrary to every principle of economic law, the price of live animals was going down and the price of meat products was going up.

Manipulation of some kind was evident. I introduced the original resolution in the middle of January, 1916, after giving the matter some study as to what form of remedy would be best under the circumstances, most helpful, and least apt to miss fire or do harm. I came to the conclusion that a thorough investigation of the entire meat situation by the Federal Trade Commission was the best course; that a congressional investigation might cause a great deal of agitation without tangible result, and that an investigation by any of the bureaus of the Agricultural Department would not be far-reaching enough and would result probably in mere collection of statistics.

The Federal Trade Commission, as you know, is empowered by law to do precisely this thing. It can investigate into alleged violations of the antitrust laws; it can also investigate into unfair methods of competition; it has the power of summoning witnesses and compelling the production of testimony, as well as the power of collecting evidence by special examiners. As the result of this work, it can either institute criminal prosecutions or make a rule against the offending companies to cease or desist from certain unfair practices or it can recommend remedial legislation to Congress.

After my resolution was introduced the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association took up the question and indorsed the resolution by a very decided vote. The Panhandle Cattle Association did the same, and numerous State and local organizations. The most prominent action, however, was taken by the American Live Stock Association, which is the largest live-stock body in the world. This organization appointed a committee on markets and authorized it to employ an attorney and to take all steps necessary to see that an investigation was had in a most thorough manner. All of the State and local organizations cooperated with the national association and with its committee on markets.

Of course, there was not lacking during this time violent efforts on the part of the packers and some of their friends among the live-stock men to impede or defeat this action. The packers and their representatives were present at nearly all of the State conventions, and were uniformly defeated. At the Fort Worth convention of the Texas association, at which a resolution was adopted specifically favoring the investigation, the packers succeeded on the last day of the session and at its closing hours, when less than a score of men were in the room, in getting an additional resolution passed suggesting that the association attempt to cooperate with the packers before pursuing any Federal action. Nothing was known about this resolution—even by most of the officers of the association—until it was suddenly sprung by the packers' attorney at our hearing in Washington before the Judiciary Committee. It was offered as evidence that the Texas association had reversed itself. After some difficulty we discovered what the facts were; discovered that the committee of cooperation had actually been appointed, had conferred with the market committee of the national association and with the packers, and had made a report that investigation by private action was impossible, and recommended the support of the action of the market committee of the national association.

This is one of the numerous fiascoes which the packers have attempted in the course of these hearings. The National Live-Stock Exchange, a body composed of the commission merchants of the various central regions, immediately took action favoring the resolution. This shows how wide the demand is in the cattle trade for an investigation, because the commission men are in a very difficult position between the packers, who are their only customers in most cases, and the cattle feeders and shippers, who are their clients. No commission man likes to be blacklisted by the packers, and many of them are individually afraid of the packers, although collectively, in a national body, they are willing to act for the best interest of the industry.

The hearings began before the Judiciary Committee in March, and the packers appeared by their attorneys. It must be remembered that the Agricultural Department had attempted to hold a cooperative hearing in regard to the beef situation in Chicago in October, 1915. All branches of the meat industry appeared at that hearing and attempted to aid in the solution of the problems before the Agricultural Department except the packers. They snapped their fingers at the Agricultural Department because it had no power to compel them to appear. The record of this hearing in Chicago will be of interest to you if you secure a copy. However, the packers did appear at the hearing on my resolution before the Judiciary Committee and fought it vigorously from the start.

The American Live Stock Association employed as its counsel Hon. Walter L. Fisher, of Chicago, former Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Fisher came to Washington and examined into my resolution and two others which were then pending, and finally, after much investigation, definitely decided that the association should support my resolution.

The hearings before the Judiciary Committee dragged along because they were interfered with to some extent by the impeachment case against H. Snowden Marshall, then pending before the same subcommittee. The packers also requested numerous delays that they might study the testimony and produce further evidence. The evidence was overwhelming that among all ranks and classes interested in the production of meat animals the conviction was general that four or five big packers were able to control the markets.

It was shown that the number of meat animals in this country had constantly decreased, in spite of the fact that our population had increased. It was shown that the packers are engaged in establishing lines of packing houses in Argentina, Uruguay, Australia, and elsewhere, by means of which they can control the export price. It was shown that there was practically no competition between the buyers of the packing houses and the great live-stock centers of the entire country, and that competition by independent concerns had almost ceased. There are two notable exceptions to this fact—Cincinnati and Indianapolis, where independent concerns existed which have practically driven the big packers out of the local business.

Packers lay great stress upon the fact that a big business, well organized, which saved all the by-products was better economically for the consumer and could do business on a smaller margin. It seemed, however, that they were not able to compete with the local concerns in Indianapolis and Cincinnati, who did not have the advantages in the preserving of their by-products and offal that the big packers had.

It was also shown that the packers owned or controlled most of the stockyards, transportation lines, feed lots, refrigerator cars, storage plants, etc., and are also interested largely in the banks and loan companies which lend money to cattle feeders. It was shown that they have a large number of subsidiary enterprises, such as cottonseed-oil mills that furnish part of the oil cake used for feeding stock; fertilizer works; tanneries; storage plants for poultry, fruit, and vegetables; docks and shipping facilities, and other enterprises, which have evidently been built up out of the receipts and earnings of the parent plant, which is the packing house. At the same time that this enormous capitalization has been going on with the cattle industry and its brood of industries the cattle feeder and cattle raiser has, even in the best of instances, been doing no more than holding his own, and in many cases has been utterly unable to produce live stock with the growing cost of production and added value of land. The packers on their part presented a number of witnesses—cattlemen and others—who decided that the packers were fair in their dealings, that agitation would demoralize the business, and that there was no help by legislation or otherwise for the cattle industry. It was industrial warfare to the death, they thought.

With the agitation, however, caused by the hearings the cattle market improved at a very rapid rate, although there had been practically no change in the visible amount of meat animals and no pronounced change in the demand for foreign consumption. There had, however, been a considerable increase in the demand for local consumption, caused by

the large number of wage earners who were at work. Whatever the conditions were, it was apparent that the manipulation which had occurred in 1915 was not being attempted in the face of the hearings on this resolution in 1916, and that the cattlemen for the first time in some years were getting some advantage of the natural law of supply and demand. If the cattle market had been good before the resolution was introduced and became demoralized during the hearings, the agitation might be accused of demoralizing the market; but the very reverse was true. The market was utterly demoralized in 1915, but became considerably better as the hearings progressed. However, the same power which can put the market down in 1915 or can put it up in 1916 can put it down again if Congress adjourns without passing the resolution. The packers have urged and received repeated delays, and seem to feel that with the approaching end of the session they had the resolution on the shelf. By some vigorous action of the cattlemen we got the resolution up before the committee for a final hearing on July 6, and the packers were compelled to close their case.

The matter is now before the Judiciary Committee for action, and the packers have begun a country-wide propaganda to defeat it. They have flooded Congress with telegrams from bankers, railroad managers, commission men, politicians, State officials, and some cattle raisers, all to the same effect, that business conditions in the cattle market are now good and any action by Congress would demoralize the industry.

In the course of the negotiations between Mr. Fisher, counsel for the American Live Stock Association, and the attorneys for the packers, they repeatedly stated that if the resolution were broadened to include all the economic features and not made simply a semicriminal prosecution, they would support it for the benefit of the industry at large. It was broadened, largely following the suggestions of Mr. Veeder, attorney for the packers, but they are still fighting it, and it is evident that no resolution will go through if they can prevent it.

They also urged that the investigation be made by the Department of Agriculture as a substitute for the Federal Trade Commission, knowing that the Department of Agriculture has no power to compel evidence under oath and no power to pursue the subsidiary companies, like stockyards, terminals, tanneries, banks, etc. The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Houston, wrote a letter to me, which I submitted to the subcommittee, and which is now of record, saying that the department is not able to undertake the investigation and recommending the Federal Trade Commission. He offered to cooperate fully in furnishing all information.

This is the entire situation, of which you can collect such facts as you need for your editorial expressions. It is apparent that the meat industry of this country touches directly more people as producers and consumers than any other industry, and we are confronted with a vanishing meat supply and increased population. The western people expect that the business will be put on some stable basis which will enable it to grow with the growth of the country and to have the usual advantage of the law of supply and demand. There is no just reason why the packers should stand in the way of this or cast any suspicions on the action of the Federal Trade Commission.

Yours, very truly,

WM. P. BORLAND.

## Government Armor-Plate Factory.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,

OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 15, 1916.*

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of a Government-owned armor-plate factory, because I believe it is a measure looking to real defense, a measure which removes the motive of those would-be patriots, who raise the cry for a false and pumped-up preparedness. Here is an opportunity, while spending the people's money for defense, to make a good and paying investment for them. The people as a whole are for preparedness, but they want a dollar's worth for every dollar they spend.

In hearing read the answers to my inquiry upon the question of preparedness in my district, I was deeply impressed by the fact that even those who were opposed to preparedness opposed it upon the ground of the extortionate prices demanded by the War Trust. They feared the inadequacy of our state of defense was being grossly exaggerated through the public press and the impetus given it by the munition makers. When they take into consideration the vast amount that has been spent for preparedness, it is no wonder they think we should be prepared; while, in fact, we are hideously unprepared. It is time that we should take note of the cause and stop the robbery.

According to figures of the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. MONDELL], the cost of preparedness for the three leading nations during 12 years is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Great Britain | $166,000,000 |
| United States | 110,000,000 |
| Germany | 30,000,000 |

We have spent more than any nation save one, yet are worse prepared. It is not the fault of Congress, for Congress has appropriated money enough so that we should have more adequate preparedness.

Whose fault is it? It is in great part the fault of the companies who through all these years have held up the Government, yet are now so insistently invoking patriotism. We are all familiar with the costly, desperate struggle the Bethlehem Steel Co. is making in their lobbying here and through page advertisements all over the country in the daily papers, and countless reprints sent broadcast in letters—a propaganda open and shameless, but ill timed and apparent.

Two years ago, in November, 1914, a special committee of Congress appointed to investigate the cost of making armor plate endeavored to obtain from armor-plate manufacturers information on the cost of this product. Answers were in all cases refused, nor would they permit a Government expert to look over their books with the purpose of obtaining that information. It ill becomes them to try to cloak in patriotism their present overtures to the Government. It is not so very long ago that the patriotic Bethlehem Steel Co. was selling armor plate to Russia for $249 a ton, while at the same time charging our Government $616.14 a ton. In 1897 the Bethlehem and Carnegie companies refused to bid at $300, the price fixed by Congress, because they knew they held us by the throat, and forced them to raise it to $400 a ton. In 1911 Italy bought armor plate for $395 a ton, but this wonderfully patriotic concern charged its own country $420. That further confirmation of their disinterest may not be lacking, we find them selling to Japan for $406.35, while prices to us ran from $440 to $540. As a last act of arrogant desperation, they even threatened the Senate this winter, if they persisted in establishing a Government armor-plate plant, to raise steel to a prohibitive price. And we have not forgotten the scandal of a few years ago of guaranteed armor plate sold to the Government which contained great blow-holes, such that to arm a vessel therewith would imperil the lives of our brave marines, and as for encountering an enemy, it would be wholesale murder.

This is patriotism for revenue only. And now, when brought to bay, these three "competitive" companies all slump to an identical price! The evil of their overcharge bars them from any claim that their rights have been trampled. The whips that we cut for ourselves are hardest to bear, and they have only their own high-handed piracy to blame.

Armor plate, they say, is only 2 per cent of their whole output. Therefore, we take it that they will not be largely injured. Besides, they claim that this business, on whose life they are putting forth such terrific struggles, only yields them 1¼ per cent profit. All things considered, our duty is to the whole people first, even if this particular interest should suffer.

If the munition makers have stirred up the strife for preparedness, they have done a good thing. But in their wonderful zeal to grab more and yet more wealth they have overreached themselves and are "hoist by their own petard." They could not be content with moderate gains. No one would think of disturbing private industry that conducted itself within reason. It is only when they outrage all patience that the trodden worm turns.

The establishment of a Government-owned armor-plate factory would remove the element of plunder. The country at large would not view requests for battleships, most heavily armored of all vessels, with such suspicion if tremendous profit were not to pour into the patriotic and receptive maw of private plants.

Our Government should manufacture at least a part of everything it uses, that it may have a check on the cost of production and be in a position thereby to demand fair prices.

We are absolutely helpless in the hands of the munition makers without a plant of our own. They can do as they please as to cost, and we have no means of figuring to arrive at whether or not their charge is equitable. They can and do permit valuable secrets of manufacture to be distributed among possible future enemies. Only this year it is a matter of common knowledge that, had not the Navy Department called the courts to their aid, private enterprises would have sold torpedoes to the warring nations, these torpedoes embodying improvements devised by our own naval officers.

The armor-plate companies would not cease to manufacture, that is certain, but they would be forced to competition, which they have now manipulated out of existence.

They have followed the course of all tyrants. Their increasing and insatiable greed and arrogance has been their own undoing. They can not complain of injustice when their whole dealings with the United States have been marked by unfairness and iniquity.

While they manage to conceal the cost of armor plate, it has been variously estimated by three different nonpartisan commissions at $230 to $262 a ton, as against $616 a little while ago, or the $395 which they now offer to supply it for. Even on the basis of this difference the saving on battleships and cruisers called for in the naval bill would be between three and four million dollars.

Profits of the private manufacturers on other articles sold to the Government, where similar articles are made in the navy yards, have run as high as 300 per cent. It is a certainty that the armor plate produced by the Government would be of uniform excellence, not just good enough to get by. The Government could in its production of plate make use of all modern knowledge and conduct experiments for improving the quality. There would be no tendency, as in private shops, to cling to antiquated styles because the shops were equipped to make old styles. Delay in delivery would be diminished. Sites could be located in the interior of the country, safe from invasion, instead of, as at present, too convenient to shore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania who claims that 8,000 men would be thrown out of work can not sustain that proposition, because whatever portion is thrown out in one place would be equalized in employment by the Government.

They say the Government will make mistakes. That may be true. That the experiment will prove expensive. So it may at first, but the Government will evolve efficient methods. I hope the time will come when the Government will make not only its own armor plate but more of its munitions of war. The burden upon the people would be lessened, our patriotism would be purified and heightened, and there would be entirely removed from war preparation the charge of graft.

## How President Wilson Has Kept Us Out of War.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. McKINLEY,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 29, 1916.*

Mr. McKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a short statement by Congressman GREENE, of Vermont, on how President Wilson has kept us out of war.

The statement is as follows:

HOW PRESIDENT WILSON HAS KEPT US OUT OF WAR.

[By Hon. FRANK L. GREENE, Member of Congress, first district, Vermont.]

"Thank God for Wilson! He has kept us out of war!"

Unless the signs of the times are utterly misleading, that is about the only political asset with which the Democratic Party to-day expects to go before the people of the United States in the campaign soon to open and appeal for a vote of confidence in the administration and itself. Indeed, practically the whole fabric of its propaganda for continuance in power in time of peace rests upon the ingenious hypothesis that we might all this time have been experiencing war instead of peace, and that President Wilson has prevented such a calamity.

COVER FOR GENERAL DEMOCRATIC FIZZLE.

This kind of sophistry makes it easy to avoid any serious reference to the miserable fizzle of the Democratic economic policy with its hopeless Underwood tariff that, designedly not for protection, is manifestly not even "for revenue only."

It renders it unnecessary to refer above a whisper to a so-called income-tax law that compels a limited section of this country to pay into the National Treasury not only a disproportionate assessment upon its own industry and thrift but also the share that other sections of the land do not pay. And yet these sections that pay little or nothing under the income-tax law, most of them, are the very ones that refused the benefits of a protective tariff to the section that does pay, simply because they did not want a protection tariff themselves, albeit Republican protection would have made it unnecessary for anybody to pay any income tax at all. Moreover, the prosperity fostered under such protection in former years well-nigh alone makes it possible for the section that does pay to have any money saved with which to pay the tax now.

This Democratic campaign cry also conveniently sidetracks the question why the United States is obliged to sweat under a "war" tax when it is the only first-class nation on earth that is at peace.

And, skipping many other pleasant little opportunities it affords for graceful sidestepping of annoying queries, it blandly overlooks any necessity whatever for explaining why a Treasury that had $165,000,000 surplus in it when turned over by the outgoing Republican administration March 4, 1913, has since been able to keep practically nothing except its books, and even they so cleverly balanced that the ablest financiers and expert accountants in the land are in dispute as to whether the money they show is actually in the vaults as a national asset or should be charged off as a national liability, agreeing, however, on the one all-important proposition that, whatever the figures say, the fact is that the Government is "broke."

In fine, by throwing into the air the slogan, "Thank God for Wilson! He has kept us out of war!" the Democratic Party hopes to escape responsibility for the dreaded question that comes to the lips of every thoughtful American, "If President Wilson has kept us out of a war in which we had no part, what in the name of common sense has been his philosophy in also keeping us out of a prosperity that we actually had when he took his office?" Perhaps he has overdone this keeping-out business; has "kept us out" not wisely but too well.

President Wilson is a student of psychology. He has declared certain distressful conditions experienced by his countrymen under his régime to be merely psychological. True to the book, he and his supporters now invoke psychology to substitute for a real condition of misfortune the hypnotic and compelling suggestion of a beatific national blessing that "never was and no man ever saw."

THE PHANTOM WAR SUGGESTION.

But this phantom "war" suggestion is a clever device of our Democratic friends in more ways than one. In the language of the sports, it permits of playing both ends against the middle. Not only has President Wilson, as they say, kept us out of war that might have been, and so we should be grateful to him, but, if war should happen to come, it would be manifestly unwise to "swap horses while crossing a stream." So President Wilson should be reelected, also, on the hypothesis that we may have war some day, and, if we do while he is in office, we shall be glad we did not turn him out before it came.

This proposition might fit the campaign for reelection of any man that ever lived in the White House at any time. It is based upon that supreme and sublime argumentative premise "If," and is, therefore, wholly unanswerable. As our old friend Touchstone says, "Much virtue in if." Just where the logic of this "swapping-horses-while-crossing-a-stream" proposition lies I leave to the celebrated jury in "Alice in Wonderland" to decide. This jury, we recall, were endowed with the remarkable ability of hearing the evidence in the case, writing it down on their slates, and reducing it to pounds, shillings, and pence. As this is the way all Democratic financing is done, and in just such a dream, too, as came to Alice, our friends can not consistenly plead to the character and capacity of such a jury.

So, after all is said about it, the fact is that this "Wilson-has-kept-us-out-of-war" appeal rests wholly upon the incontrovertible argument that is eternally presented by "might have been" on the one hand, and "may be" on the other.

Could anything be more practical or convincing?

HAS WILSON KEPT US OUT OF WAR?

Now let us see whether or not President Wilson has "kept us out of war." And at the outset let us endeavor to be fair and give him full credit where we may for the performance of his strict and unequivocal duty under the Constitution and his oath of office, remembering, at the same time, that it is the obligation of every President to keep us out of war when it can be done honorably, and that most of them did it. Indeed, the only instance in our history where a President failed to keep us out of war, and the honor and justice of that war are still reasonably disputed, is afforded by the administration of President Polk, a Democrat of Democrats. Oddly enough Polk, like Wilson, was nominated by a Democratic national convention in pursuance of a plan to prevent the nomination of a popular candidate that had already on several ballots polled a majority of the delegates and would have been the winner but for the absurd "two-thirds rule."

In so far as President Wilson has manfully met the many unusual and perplexing diplomatic crises that have arisen in his time as results of the great war now raging in Europe, and has so ably presented and firmly insisted upon the rights of this country as a neutral under international law that those rights have been formally acknowledged and respected, he is entitled to credit. His burden of responsibility certainly has been great. But let us ask ourselves in all fairness right here: Just what particular and essential rights of this character that we assert as against the world have thus far been formally recognized by any of the belligerents on either side of the struggle as the result of his protests and representations? And just what ones of those rights have not only been acknowledged but respected so that the wrong that was done to us is not only apologized for but has been compensated for agreeably to the practice of nations, and the violation we complained of stopped?

NOTHING AS YET SETTLED.

Is it not true that, saving here and there an incidental concession to our demands in some degree or detail, the stubborn fact remains that at this writing the crux of even the *Lusitania* case, for instance, remains unsettled? Is it not true that, whatever yielding any of the belligerents have made form of doing so far as our demands are concerned, has been apparently prompted by the policy of temporizing with us as a powerful neutral simply because of the all-absorbing pressure of more powerful foes at home, and that the underlying principles we have contended for are still unacknowledged, unobserved?

President Wilson has written many notes to the belligerents in Europe. He has argued learnedly and even threatened much. What has come of it all save unsatisfactory, incomplete responses and mere temporizing? Is the issue at rest, has our position been conceded as sound and just and based upon universally accepted ideas of international law? Or, on the other hand, have we ourselves made good our threats because these concessions have not been made?

That thus far we have not been brought to actual war in our disputes is true, but there is not an American with a single corpuscle of good red blood dancing in his veins but that knows that under any other circumstances than those of the past 18 months we would have been humiliated beyond measure by the fruitless policy of protest upon protest that President Wilson has pursued and would feel that we had lost our caste among the civilized peoples of the earth because of it.

But is the fact that we have meanwhile kept out of the war due to President Wilson's policy, or has it been in spite of it? President Wilson may have given the idea that the American people are "too proud to fight," but peace upon such terms to the world is merely a meek concession of shameless defeat without a struggle. Is it not the fact, rather, that we have been kept out of the European war not because of what President Wilson has done to keep us out but because none of the European powers wanted us to come in?

Every pertinent lesson of history tells us that if the European nations to whom President Wilson has dispatched notes of protest over violations of our rights had not been too busy with more pressing affairs at home they would have given far more serious attention to his repeated defiances. Even as it is, they do not acknowledge or concede the justice of his protests, generally speaking, but simply decline to accept his implied dare to fight, because they have fighting enough on hand already. This is not being kept out of war by President Wilson; it is being denied a chance to get in.

But admitting that in such a world crisis as now confronts us diplomatic negotiations of this character are essentially delicate and national nerves are sensitive, and that there has been all the time the possibility of our embroilment in the struggle, what, then, can be claimed for President Wilson as the preserver of the peace save that by not deliberately waging war or putting us by positive action into unavoidable share in it he has simply followed a plain sense of duty, the sense any plain man might have had under the same circumstances?

Not a rational adult citizen in all the United States has wanted this country needlessly to become engaged in the war. What credit can be given President Wilson for keeping his country out of a mess that his countrymen would not willingly have gone into if they could?

CONDITIONS THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

Champions of President Wilson on this "war" slogan want the people to overlook the fact that before he could have made effective war against any country he would have been obliged to ask the Congress for its consent and for the money and for troops. And while such a project was pending the voice of a mighty Nation against needless war would have made such an uproar around the White House as had never been heard by any President before, and would have sadly disturbed the blissful Nirvana of "watchful waiting."

If President Wilson had been struggling against adverse public sentiment here at home, if the American people or a large and influential part of them had been day and night teasing him into the strife, if pressure had been put upon him to get in some way, by hook or by crook—if all this were true, and he had bravely resisted and fought out his duty fight with the solemn responsibility of his high office and his sacred duty to the American people and to civilization burdening his very soul—if he had struggled with this problem well-nigh alone and with no help, but rather opposition, from his people here at home—that would have been different. If his had been the one great exalted superillumined mind that saw duty where the multitude was blind and had calmly, patiently, heroically kept to that duty with a tremendous pressure of public opinion against him, then President Wilson might have proved the savior of his country in an awful crisis, perhaps.

But he simply did nothing of the kind.

And we all know it, and so does he.

HAS WILSON NOT MADE WAR?

But escape from the European horror is not the only test of this Democratic slogan, "Wilson has kept us out of war."

How about the capture of Vera Cruz and the slaughter of American marines on Mexican soil whither they had gone by order of the President as invaders of a country with which we were at peace?

Was that an act of war?

Who was responsible for it?

What act of Congress authorized it before it had been begun?

Who would have been responsible if an actual war with Mexico had resulted from it, as well it might?

Did not a former Democratic President, who had been nominated in a national convention over the popular majority candidate by the two-thirds rule, once upon a time invade Mexico, too, and thus bring on a war?

If Mexico had been a more powerful and more highly developed nation she would have fought us to the finish for that act of President Wilson, as everybody knows, and the insult to her sovereignty he perpetrated would have been avenged in long and bloody strife. But Mexico was well-nigh incapable of effective resistance and must tamely submit for the time being, albeit she might and will nurse the odious memory of the deed for generations to come.

Even "watchful waiting" lost its temper once and actually made war in Mexico. For the remainder of the time it has stood by supinely and permitted Mexicans to make worse than war upon thousands of helpless American men, women, and children within the very sight of their country's flag and appealing daily in vain for its protection.

Bully helpless Mexico? Yes. Actually intervene in Mexico with force and arms—and keep out of war.

Threaten mighty Europe, too busy with other wars to accept our dare—and keep out of war.

"God bless Wilson! He has kept up out of war!"

OUT OF POCKET, TOO.

He has kept us out of pocket, too, and all the frantic appeals of platform mechanics and inspired spellbinders to distract the attention of the American people to the overflowing battle fields of Europe will not tempt them to forget the empty pocketbooks at home or the empty statesmanship of the administration at Washington.

And such a statesmanship! A statesmanship that, with all the possibilities of being involved in the greatest war of history now raging about us, has left us practically without an available dollar in the Treasury with which to put sufficient Army into the field or even supply it guns and ammunition with which to protect itself and us!

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## Opinion Rendered by Hon. Henry D. Clayton, Judge of the United States Court of the State of Alabama, Which Settled Certain Questions in the Canal Zone.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 29, 1916.*

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an opinion recently rendered by the Hon. Henry D. Clayton, judge of the United States court of the State of Alabama, which settled certain questions in the Canal Zone.

The opinion is as follows:

United States of America. Panama Canal. In the district court of the Canal Zone, Balboa division. William H. Jackson, relator, *v.* H. A. A. Smith, auditor of the Panama Canal, respondent. Civil No. 107. C. P. Fairman and William C. MacIntyre, of Colon, Republic of Panama; Harmodio Arias and Stevens Ganson, of Panama City, Republic of Panama, attorneys for the relator. Charles R. Williams, district attorney, Ancon, Canal Zone, attorney for respondent.

OPINION OF THE COURT.

Henry D. Clayton, United States district judge, middle and northern districts of Alabama, presiding by designation of the President under act of Congress approved August 24, 1912.

Under the appointment by the President and confirmation by the Senate, William H. Jackson, the relator, duly qualified as district judge of the Canal Zone on May 1, 1914, and has ever since continuously discharged the duties of his office. He became and is entitled to the same salary as that paid a district judge of the United States. (Sec. 8, act supra.)

The relator avers "that the Congress of the United States has heretofore appropriated funds for the payment of the salary of your petitioner, and has appropriated funds for salaries and expenses necessary for the civil government of the Canal Zone, including the expenses of your petitioner herein while engaged in the performance of his official duties, and that the funds appropriated as aforesaid are now available for the payment of said salary and expenses." And this allegation is admitted by the respondent in his answer to the petition.

H. A. A. Smith, the respondent, is the auditor of the accounting department of the Panama Canal, and is charged with the collection, custody, and disbursement of funds for the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone, including the funds appropriated by Congress for the relator's salary. The respondent has paid to the relator his salary monthly and from time to time, but now withholds from him of his salary the sum of $1,131.76 for the payment of the following items of alleged indebtedness to the Panama Canal, namely:

From the salary due the relator for the month of December, 1914, $170.97, for rent of residence, house No. 118, Ancon, Canal Zone, from May 1 to October 17, 1914, 5 months and 17 days, at the rate of $25 per month, and electric current for the same period at the rate of $5.55 per month; from the salary due the relator for the month of January, 1916, $66.66, on account of alleged absence for a period of four days during said month of January beyond the six weeks' leave referred to in the Panama Canal act; from the salary due the relator for the month of March, 1916, $500, to apply on account of rent for use of residence No. 311, Ancon; from the salary due the relator for the month of April, 1916, $341.97, alleged balance due for rent of house No. 311, Ancon, to April 30, 1916, and account of one day's alleged absence beyond the six weeks' leave referred to in the Panama Canal act; and from the salary due the relator for the month of May, 1916, $53.06, account of rent for house No. 311, Ancon, and electric current; or a total sum of $1,131.76.

The relator avers that he is not indebted to the Panama Canal or the United States in any sum or sums whatsoever, and denies specifically every item of the above-mentioned claim of indebtedness, and alleges that the before-mentioned sum of $1,131.76 of his salary is being unlawfully withheld from him by the respondent.

The prayer is that the respondent, the auditor of the Panama Canal, be compelled by peremptory mandamus to audit, approve, issue, and deliver to the relator warrants, vouchers, or pay checks for his salary as district judge of the Canal Zone, as required by law and the practice, without regard to said claim of indebtedness set up by the respondent, which, as before stated, is denied by the relator.

The respondent admits the appointment and service of the relator as district judge of the Canal Zone, but he claims that he has the right and that it is his duty to withhold the said sums described on the ground of the relator's alleged indebtedness for house rent and electric lights, and the sums deducted and withheld on account of five days' alleged absence from the Canal Zone in excess of the six weeks' leave of absence specially provided for in section 8, act of August 24, 1912.

1. This act is entitled "An act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection, and operation of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone." It is sometimes referred to as the Panama Canal act, but is commonly called the Adamson Act after its distinguished author.

It is provided in this act—

"SEC. 2. That all laws, orders, regulations, and ordinances adopted and promulgated in the Canal Zone by order of the President for the government and sanitation of the Canal Zone and the construction of the Panama Canal are hereby ratified and confirmed as valid and binding until Congress shall otherwise provide. The existing courts established in the Canal Zone by Executive order are recognized and confirmed to continue in operation until the courts provided for in this act shall be established."

And it is pertinent to quote the following section of the act:

"SEC. 8. That there shall be in the Canal Zone one district court with two divisions, one including Balboa and the other including Cristobal; and one district judge of the said district, who shall hold his court in both divisions at such time as he may designate by order, at least once a month in each division. The rules of practice in such district court shall be prescribed or amended by order of the President. The said district court shall have original jurisdiction of all felony cases, of offenses arising under section 10 of this act, all causes in equity, admiralty, and all cases at law involving principal sums exceeding $300, and all appeals from judgments rendered in magistrates' courts. The jurisdiction in admiralty herein conferred upon the district judge and the district court shall be the same that is exercised by the United States district judges and the United States district courts, and the procedure and practice shall also be the same. The district court or the judge thereof shall also have jurisdiction of all other matters and proceedings not herein provided for which are now within the jurisdiction of the supreme court of the Canal Zone, of the circuit court of the Canal Zone, the district court of the Canal Zone, or the judges thereof. Said judge shall provide for the selection, summoning, serving, and compensation of jurors from among the citizens of the United States, to be subject to jury duty in either division of such district, and a jury shall be had in any criminal case or civil case at law originating in said court on the demand of either party. There shall be a district attorney and a marshal for said district. It shall be the duty of the district attorney to conduct all business, civil and criminal, for the Government, and to advise the governor of the Panama Canal on all legal questions touching the operation of the canal and the administration of civil affairs. It shall be the duty of the marshal to execute all process of the court, preserve order therein, and do all things incident to the office of marshal. The district judge, the district attorney, and the marshal shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for terms of four years each, and until their successors are appointed and qualified, and during their terms of office shall reside within the Canal Zone, and shall hold no other office nor serve on any official board or commission nor receive any emoluments except their salaries. The district judge shall receive the same salary paid the district judges of the United States, and shall appoint the clerk of said court, and may appoint one assistant when necessary, who shall receive salaries to be fixed by the President. The district judge shall be entitled to six weeks' leave of absence each year with pay. During his absence or during any period of disability or disqualification from sickness or otherwise to discharge his duties the same shall be temporarily performed by any circuit or district judge of the United States who may be designated by the President, and who, during such service, shall receive the additional mileage and per diem allowed by law to district judges of the United States when holding court away from their homes. The district attorney and the marshal shall be paid each a salary of $5,000 per annum."

By the reading of this section it is seen that the district court of the Canal Zone has original jurisdiction in all cases at law involving principal sums exceeding $300 and that jurisdiction of all other matters and proceedings not specially provided for in the act were by the terms of the act itself retained in the district court or the judge thereof, including jurisdiction of all matters and proceedings of which the Supreme Court, the circuit courts, and the district courts of the Canal Zone had jurisdiction at the time the Adamson Act was passed. And it must be remembered that the Code of Civil Procedure of the Canal Zone was, by the authorized order of the President dated May 1, 1907, made a part of the law governing the Canal Zone; and this, too, it will be observed, was continued in force by the Adamson Act. This code provides as follows:

"SEC. 552. Procedure in mandamus.—The Supreme Court shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit courts in all cases where any inferior tribunal, corporation, board, or person unlawfully neglects the performance of an act which the law specially enjoins as a duty resulting from an office of trust or station, or unlawfully excludes the plaintiff from the use and enjoyment of a right or office to which he is entitled, and from which he is unlawfully excluded by such inferior tribunal, corporation, board, or person, and also shall have original jurisdiction over circuit courts, and judges thereof, wherever said court or judge unlawfully neglects the performance of a duty which the law specifically or specially enjoins as a duty imposed upon such court or judge. The procedure of the Supreme Court in mandamus proceedings shall be the same as those provided for mandate in this code.

"SEC. 554. Preliminary injunctions in certiorari, mandate, prohibition proceedings.—In certiorari, mandamus, and prohibition proceedings an injunction may be granted by any judge of the Supreme Court, if in his judgment such injunction is necessary for the preservation of the rights of the parties pending litigation.

"SEC. 555. Expediting such proceedings.—The court may, in its discretion, make such orders as it deems necessary for expediting proceedings in petitions for certiorari, mandamus, or prohibition proceedings."

Thus we find the district court of the Canal Zone has jurisdiction in all cases where any inferior tribunal, corporation, board, or person unlawfully neglects the performance of an act which the law specifically enjoins as a duty resulting from an office or position of trust, or unlawfully denies to or excludes one entitled to the use and enjoyment of a right or office from the use or enjoyment of such right or office or any right which is unlawfully denied by an inferior tribunal, corporation, board, or person.

It was never heretofore contended that the former circuit and supreme courts of the Canal Zone did not have authority to issue a writ of mandamus, or that the district court as now constituted does not have such power. Manifestly Congress legislated, in passing the Adamson Act, with reference to the code of civil procedure, supra, and presumably with knowledge of and reference to proceedings in the courts, circuit and supreme, of the Canal Zone. As now constituted, the jurisdiction and power of the district court of the Canal Zone was not abridged by the Adamson Act, but, on the contrary, this court was invested by the act with all the powers heretofore exercised by the circuit and supreme courts of the Canal Zone. As before said, it must be presumed that Congress knew the power and jurisdiction of such courts and the proceedings had in them, and, on admitted elementary principle, the act of Congress is to be considered in the light of what was done by and in the courts of the Canal Zone. Let me refer to some of the adjudged cases.

On page 134, volume 1, of the published Reports of the Supreme Court of the Canal Zone, case No. 45, decided on September 19, 1908, the supreme court held that a writ of mandamus would lie, and, in fact, issued a writ of mandamus to E. M. Goolsby, clerk of the circuit court of the second judicial circuit.

In Canal Zone ex rel. Seixas v. Gudger, volume 2, Canal Zone Supreme Court Reports, page 39, the Supreme Court of the Canal Zone refused to issue a writ of mandamus, not because it did not have jurisdiction so to do, but because the relator in that case sought by mandamus to compel the judge of the second circuit court to grant an appeal when no bill of exceptions had been prepared and presented to him. The closing paragraph of that decision is as follows (l. c. 71):

"Since, therefore, the petition herein fails to show that the relator made any proper attempt to perfect his bill of exceptions, and since it also fails to show that the respondent unlawfully neglected the performance of any duty specifically or specially enjoined upon him as acting judge of the circuit court for the second circuit, it is considered by the court that the alternative writ heretofore issued should be quashed, that the stay granted therein should be vacated and the petition dismissed with costs against the relator. It is so ordered."

In Canal Zone, ex rel. Wm. H. Knox & Co., v. Goolsby (vol. 2, Canal Zone Supreme Court Reports, 64) a peremptory writ of mandamus did issue to the respondent, commanding him to pay to the relator the sum of $4,434. The syllabus in this case is manifestly erroneous, as the body of the decision on page 65 shows that a writ of mandamus did issue.

In Canal Zone, ex rel. Suere, v. Owen (vol. 2, Canal Zone Supreme Court Reports, 66) the supreme court refused a writ of mandamus directing a judge of the circuit court to sign a bill of exceptions when it appeared that the bill of exceptions was tendered solely for the purpose of saving an exception taken to a ruling of the court on May 23 overruling a motion to vacate a judgment that had been rendered at the March term. The supreme court held that the circuit court had lost control over the judgment and was powerless to set aside at the May term of court a judgment rendered at the March term, and that, therefore, even though a bill of exceptions had been signed, it would not have benefited the party applying for the writ of mandamus. For this reason the writ was refused.

In the case of Kong Ching Chong v. Wing Chong (vol. 2, Canal Zone Supreme Court Reports, p. 25, l. c. 29) the supreme court, in defining the jurisdiction of circuit courts in the Canal Zone said, as follows:

"What is a circuit court of the Canal Zone? A court limited in its jurisdiction by the substantive law of Panama? Not so. They are courts of equal plenary jurisdiction with the court of King's Bench in Great Britain and the circuit courts of the States of the Union and the United States.

"Courts of the highest jurisdiction in the world. Nothing jurisdictional is withheld from them. Over the life, the property, and liberty of the litigants before them they possess all jurisdictional power."

These cases are cited for the purpose of showing that never heretofore was the authority of the circuit and supreme courts of the Canal Zone questioned; and further to show that as a matter of fact writs of mandamus have been issued by those courts.

As we have said the present district court of the Canal Zone is vested with all the jurisdiction of the former circuit and supreme courts of the Canal Zone, which lawfully exercised the power to issue writs of mandamus.

It is clear that Judge Jackson is entitled to his salary of $6,000 per annum in monthly payments of $500 just as in case he were a district judge of the United States. And it appears to be equally clear that the district court of the Canal Zone has authority to issue a peremptory mandamus if a proper case is presented.

2. Let us now consider whether mandamus can be rightfully issued against the auditor of the Panama Canal. The Adamson Act provides as follows:

"SEC. 4. That when in the judgment of the President the construction of the Panama Canal shall be sufficiently advanced toward completion to render the further services of the Isthmian Canal Commission unnecessary the President is authorized by Executive order to discontinue the Isthmian Canal Commission, which, together with the present organization, shall then cease to exist; and the President is authorized thereafter to complete, govern, and operate the Panama Canal and govern the Canal Zone, or cause them to be completed, governed, and operated through a governor of the Panama Canal, and such other persons as he may deem competent to discharge the various duties connected with the completion, care, maintenance, sanitation, operation, government, and protection of the canal and Canal Zone. If any of the persons appointed or employed as aforesaid shall be persons in the military or naval service of the United States, the amount of the official salary paid to any such person shall be deducted from the amount of salary or compensation provided by or which shall be fixed under the terms of this act. The governor of the Panama Canal shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, commissioned for a term of four years and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified. He shall receive a salary of $10,000 a year. All other persons necessary for the completion, care, management, maintenance, sanitation, government, operation, and protection of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone shall be appointed by the President or by his authority, removable at his pleasure, and the compensation of such persons shall be fixed by the President, or by his authority, until such time as Congress may by law regulate the same, but salaries or compensation fixed hereunder by the President shall in no instance exceed by more than 25 per cent the salary or compensation paid for the same or similar services to persons employed by the Government in continental United States. That upon the completion of the Panama Canal the President shall cause the same to be officially and formally opened for use and operation."

Thereafter, in pursuance to the provisions of section 4 above quoted under date of January 27, 1914, the President promulgated an Executive order, section 6 of which reads as follows:

"6. There shall be an accounting department under the supervision and direction of the auditor, with an assistant in the United States. The duties of the department shall include all general bookkeeping, auditing, and accounting, both for money and property, cost keeping, the examination of pay rolls and vouchers, the inspection of time books and of money and property accounts, the preparation of statistical data, and the administrative examination of such accounts as are required to be submitted to the United States Treasury Department; and the collection, custody, and disbursement of funds for the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone.

"These same duties shall be performed for the Panama Railroad Co. on the Isthmus when not inconsistent with the charter and by-laws of that company. The department shall be charged with the handling of claims for compensation on account of personal injuries and of claims for damages to vessels. Within the limits fixed by law the duties and financial responsibilities of the officers and employees charged with the receipt, custody, disbursement, auditing, and accounting for funds and property shall be prescribed in regulations issued by the governor, with the approval of the President. The auditor shall maintain such a system of bookkeeping as will enable him to furnish at any time full, complete, and correct information in regard to the status of appropriations made by Congress, the status of all other funds, and the amounts of net profits on all operations, which are to be covered into the Treasury as required by the Panama Canal act."

The act conferred a very broad power upon the President. It authorized him to "complete, govern, and operate the Panama Canal and govern the Canal Zone, or cause them to be completed, governed, and operated through a governor of the Panama Canal and such other persons as he may deem competent to discharge the various duties connected with the completion, care, maintenance, sanitation, operation, government, and protection of the canal and Canal Zone." Of course, such Executive orders as the President promulgated for the purpose of putting said act into effect became a part of the act itself. Moreover, by its very terms the act did not become operative until the Executive order put it into effect. It is plain, therefore, that these Executive orders are to be interpreted and treated by this court as a part of the congressional enactment.

It will be observed that section 6 of the Executive order, supra, provided that there should be an auditor, with an assistant in the United States. He was authorized to have charge of the collection, custody, and disbursement of funds for the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone, including all moneys appropriated by Congress for the Panama Canal and the civil government, etc., of the Canal Zone. He was made at once the custodian, the auditor, and disburser of the funds to be expended on the Isthmus.

This Executive order further provided that the auditor shall maintain such a system of bookkeeping as will enable him to furnish at any time full, complete, and correct information in regard to the status of appropriations made by Congress, and the status of all other funds and the amounts of net profits on all operations which are to be covered into the Treasury as required by the Panama Canal act.

The last sentence of section 6 of the Panama Canal act, to which this section of the Executive order refers, is in this language:

"Monthly reports of such receipts and expenditures shall be made to the President by the persons in charge, and annual reports shall be made to Congress."

Now, the person in charge of these funds was the auditor, which position or office was created by the President under the Executive order above quoted. It is true that the auditor has an assistant in the United States, but he was no more than an assistant there. The auditor in the Canal Zone had charge of the funds and exclusive control over their disbursement. This is manifest from that portion of section 6 of the Panama Canal act heretofore quoted; and it was necessary for him to make reports monthly to only one department or official—namely, the President—and to make reports to only one body—namely, Congress. The act of Congress and the Executive orders thereunder placed the auditor of the Panama Canal under the President and the Congress of the United States and under no other official, body, or department.

Again, section 5 of the Executive order of March 2, 1914, in amplification of section 6 of the Executive order above quoted, is in the following language:

"SEC. 5. That the assistant auditor provided for in Executive order No. 1885, dated January 27, 1914, shall be appointed April 1, 1914. His salary shall be fixed by the governor. He shall perform such duties of the accounting department to be performed in the United States, as may be assigned to him by the auditor, and also such other duties of a general nature as may be assigned to him by the chief of the Washington office of the Panama Canal.

"On and after April 1, 1914, there shall be transferred to the assistant auditor, and he shall be charged with the custody, care, and preservation of, all records and property of the disbursing officer and of the assistant examiner of accounts of the Isthmian Canal Commission with which those officers shall be charged on March 31, 1914.

"The chief of the Washington office may, however, transfer to and place in the custody of the disbursing clerk, hereinafter provided for, such of the property and records above described as he may deem to be essential to enable the disbursing clerk to properly perform his duties under this order, but the disbursing clerk shall not be permitted, without specific authority from the chief of office, to keep a separate set of records and files. He shall be required to rely upon, and consult when necessary, the records and files in the office of the assistant auditor in verifying the legality of claims and accounts submitted to him for payment or to verify the details of any collection for which he is required to account. Disbursement will be made by the disbursing clerk only after examination of the claim or account in the office of the assistant auditor.

"Such of the officers and employees employed in the office of the assistant examiner of accounts and the disbursing office of the Isthmian Canal Commission on March 31, 1914, as the governor determines to retain, shall be transferred to and employed in the accounting department in the United States, and their salaries fixed at such amounts as the governor deems just and reasonable.

"There shall be a disbursing clerk for that part of the accounting department in the United States who shall perform similar duties to those that are required to be performed by the collector and paymaster on the Isthmus, in so far as there are such duties to be performed in the United States, and shall be subject to the same supervision by the assistant auditor as the collector and paymaster on the Isthmus are by the auditor. He shall give bond in such amount as may be fixed by the governor or by his authority.

"Such of the officers and employees as are transferred to and employed in the accounting department in the United States shall be distributed between the office of the assistant auditor and that of the disbursing clerk, respectively, as the needs of the service require. They shall perform such duties as may be assigned to them by proper authority. They shall be subject to similar financial responsibilities and to the same general rules and regulations that have been prescribed for like officers and employees in the accounting department on the Isthmus.

"It is the purpose of this order, and it shall be construed as to require the assistant auditor of the Panama Canal to examine all claims and accounts before their payment by the disbursing clerk; to carry on all general correspondence in relation to claims and accounts required to be conducted by the accounting department in the United States; to prepare all vouchers and certify to the validity of all claims and accounts before they are submitted to the disbursing clerk for payment; to furnish to the disbursing clerk all necessary data to enable that officer to make reply to any exceptions that may be taken to his account by the Auditor for the War Department; to keep all general records to be kept in the accounting department in the United States; to make all reports as to statistical data required to be sent to the auditor on the Isthmus; to give an administrative examination to all accounts of the disbursing clerk before they are transmitted to the auditor; to make an administrative examination of all claims which are to be submitted to the auditor for direct settlement; to keep a complete record of all collections to be made and all moneys received by the disbursing clerk; to certify to the correctness of the disbursing clerk's accounts for collections; to see that bills collectible are issued and collections made in all proper cases; to have charge of all general files which are required to be kept by the accounting department in the United States; and to perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the auditor or the chief of the Washington office."

The Executive order of March 2, above quoted, is as much the law as the act of Congress or the Executive order of January 27, hereinbefore referred to. It is an enlargement or explanation of section 6 of the order of January 27. It clearly defines the duties and functions of the assistant auditor and conclusively shows that such assistant in the United States is under the direction of the auditor on the Isthmus, who is the final auditor. And it will be observed this section last quoted states that the disbursing clerk under the assistant auditor in Washington shall be subject to the same supervision by the assistant auditor as the collector and paymaster on the Isthmus are by the auditor. It is plain that this section accentuates the fact that the assistant auditor at Washington is under the supervision of the auditor on the Isthmus, and this assistant is specifically directed to report to such auditor.

It seems that nothing further need be said to demonstrate that this auditor, the respondent in this case, is the final auditor. But he is more than an auditor, because by the very provisions of the Executive order creating his office he not only audits but he orders the disbursement of all funds, for the language of the act charges him with the disbursement of the funds. It is a reasonable and consistent interpretation to say that the Executive order shows that the disbursing clerks and paymasters under the assistant auditor in Washington and under the auditor on the Isthmus, the final auditor, are no more than pay clerks, who are required to pay the vouchers as they have been audited by the assistant auditor in Washington and by the auditor on the Isthmus who is vested with the power of disbursement.

It seems to be incontrovertible that the two provisions of the two Executive orders above quoted, one putting the canal act into operation and the other amplifying and explaining the terms of the first order, are as much a part of the Panama Canal act itself as if these two sections had been embraced in the act. I think the conclusion necessarily follows that the respondent is the final auditor so far as Judge Jackson's salary is concerned.

And I think, also, that it is not to be doubted that the auditor, under the provisions of the canal act, needs only to report to the President and to Congress. It is not believed if it had been the intention of Congress that the final auditor should be in Washington, and that the auditor on the Isthmus should be under some other official, that the office of assistant auditor would have been created whereby the assistant at Washington is to act under the auditor on the Isthmus. It is entirely consistent to say that the Panama Canal maintains what may be termed a branch office at Washington, with the assistant auditor there to audit the accounts of that branch office; and as a part of his duty under section 5 of the Executive order of March 2, 1914, he is required to send data to the auditor on the Isthmus and to transmit the examination of accounts to the auditor on the Isthmus.

Recurring to the duties of the Auditor of the Panama Canal, it is to be borne in mind that under the Adamson Act and Executive orders in pursuance thereof he is charged with "the collection, custody, and disbursement of funds for the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone," as I have attempted to show. (Sec. 4 of the Adamson Act and sec. 6 Executive order, Jan. 27, 1914, supra.) And in the so-called sundry civil act of March 3, 1915 (Stat. L., 63d Cong., 3d sess., 883–884), the appropriation is made "for expenditures requisite for and incident to the construction, maintenance and operation, sanitation, and civil government of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone, including the following: Compensation of all officials and employees * * * and for such other expenses, not in the United States, as * * * necessary to best promote the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and civil government of the Panama Canal, * * * as follows: * * * For civil government of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone: Salaries of the district judge, $6,000; district attorney, $5,000; and marshal, $5,000; etc.

It is seen that expenses not in the United States, including the civil government of the Panama Canal, embrace the specific sum of $6,000 appropriated by the act of Congress for the payment of the salary of the district judge up to June 30, 1916. It is my opinion that in legal contemplation this fund is on the Isthmus and is subject to disbursement there under the direct authority of the Auditor of the Panama Canal, who must report with reference thereto to the President and to the Congress, and who is not otherwise required to report.

Under the law and the practice obtaining in the Canal Zone in such case, it is the duty of the auditor to make and deliver the pay voucher to relator for his salary at the end of each month, and under the same law and practice it is the duty of the paymaster, who is no more than a paying teller of the respondent, to pay the salary upon the certificate or voucher of the auditor there. Nothing is left to the judgment or discretion of the auditor in the matter of such disbursement. He is required to perform a ministerial duty and no more.

3. In his answer the respondent says that he has sought the advice of the Comptroller of the Treasury under the following provision of the Dockery Act (R. S., vol. 2, 1892–1901, p. 216, act of July 31, 1894):

"Disbursing officers, or the head of any executive department or other establishment not under any of the executive departments, may apply for and the Comptroller of the Treasury shall render his decision upon any question involving a payment to be made by them or under them."

And he insists that the comptroller has rendered a decision against Judge Jackson that precludes any action by this court.

Now, the only question involved in the payment of the judge's salary is the one raised by the respondent, who withholds $1,131.76 of the salary where the services and identity of Judge Jackson are admitted. The pleadings in the case and the briefs submitted by counsel in behalf of the respondent, as well as the testimony and oral argument, show that the respondent did not submit to the comptroller a question of payment to be made by him as auditor, but rather that he did submit to the comptroller the question as to whether or not he as auditor had the right to retain portions of the relator's salary for the satisfaction of alleged indebtedness of relator to the United States or the Panama Canal.

The relator's salary does not fall under the category of a claim against the United States. It is fixed compensation earned by him and for which a specific appropriation has been made and the manner of disbursement provided for. It requires no argument to show that the case at bar is different from one where a claim is made against the United States and judgment and discretion is vested in an accounting officer authorized by law to adjust and settle the claim. In such case as that the Comptroller of the Treasury shall, upon application, render his decision upon any question involving a payment to be made.

Here the salary was ascertained or fixed by law and the money for its payment appropriated by Congress, as before stated. In legal effect it was on the Canal Zone, or in the hands or under the control of the disbursing officer, who is the respondent here. There was nothing left to the judgment or discretion of the respondent, whose duty it was to disburse the money appropriated for the salary. Being satisfied of the identity of Judge Jackson, it was the plain duty of the respondent to issue his warrant for the salary.

The salary of a judge who has served and for whose compensation specific appropriation has been made is not such a claim that affords any field for the operation of the Dockery Act. We are not without a guiding precedent. In the case of Benedict v. United States (176 U. S., 257–361), it was said:

"The case in reality turns upon the meaning of the word "salary," as used in section 714. The word "salary" may be defined generally as a fixed annual or periodical payment for services, depending upon the time, and not upon the amount, of services rendered * * * as applied to district judges in general, and, indeed, to every district judge except the judge of the eastern district of New York, it doubtless refers to the salary of $5,000 fixed by the act of February 24, 1891.

"Such salary is an annual stipend payable in sickness as well as in health, for duties much more onerous in some districts than in others, and regardless of the fact whether such duties are performed by the judge in person or by the judge of another district called in to take his place. It is a compensation which can not be diminished during the continuance of the incumbent in office and of which he can not be deprived except by death, resignation, or impeachment."

There the Supreme Court of the United States distinctly declared that a Federal judge can not be deprived of his salary in whole or in part except by death, resignation, or impeachment. Of course the appointment and qualification of a Territorial judge who did not act as such but was removed from office by Executive order would not entitle him to a salary. That was the case in United States v. Guthrie (17 How., 284, 302–334), which is hereinafter considered and differentiated from the present case.

If the judge can be deprived of a part of his salary for alleged indebtedness for house rent when such rental charge was fixed arbitrarily, that is to say, without his consent and without any authority of law, such charge could by the same token or assumed authority have been made $500 per month and thus so adjusted as to absorb the entire salary of the judge. I do not think that such a conclusion would be more absurd than the contention of the respondent that how much of and for what purpose he can withhold the salary of the judge is a matter entirely in the judgment and discretion of the respondent, and that his action in such matter can not be reviewed by a court. There can not be such an autocrat.

Our Government can not be reduced to a bureaucracy. Chief Justice Marshall said that the Government of the United States has been emphatically termed a government of laws and not of men; and it is emphatically the province and duty of the Judicial Department to say what the law is. (Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch, l. c. 165 and 177.) And as pertinent here it may be added that the Judicial Department must be allowed to continue to adjudge in cases involving personal and property rights.

It was asserted by counsel for respondent that the salary of the judge was a claim or demand against the United States, and that the amount alleged to be due by relator to the Panama Canal by way of house rent was a claim or demand against the relator, and that, therefore, the auditor acted within the provisions of that section of the Dockery Act above quoted in submitting this matter to the comptroller. But, as I have said, it was a disputed claim merely because of the fact that the auditor, the respondent in this case, had made it so. It can not be said that the salary of the judge constituted a claim, disputed or otherwise, prior to the time that the respondent in this case saw fit to so assume. Furthermore, the Dockery Act provides that the auditor may submit to the Comptroller of the Treasury a question involving a payment to be made by the auditor. This was no question of a payment to be made from Government funds by the auditor to a party asserting a right to such funds. It is a question of the auditor retaining from a Federal judge, whose salary had been provided for and appropriated by Congress, such amounts as he saw fit to withhold. The claim in dispute was not against the Government; it was against the relator. The act does not provide, and clearly never contemplated, that the auditor should arrogate to himself the right to even consider that any amount, by way of claim or otherwise, could be deducted from the salary of a Federal judge based upon an alleged claim asserted by officials of the Government.

Under this Dockery Act, therefore, this alleged claim was improperly submitted to the Comptroller of the Treasury by the respondent. It seems to me that the Comptroller of the Treasury should have advised the auditor when he submitted the alleged claim that he, the comptroller, had no authority to pass upon it. The law confers no such function upon the comptroller nor upon the auditor. Consequently, the opinion of the Comptroller of the Treasury was extra-official, was not required by law, and constituted purely a gratuitous act of the respondent in this case in furtherance of his endeavor to unlawfully withhold relator's salary from him. The contention of the counsel for respondent that this court is without jurisdiction to issue the writ of mandamus because the Comptroller of the Treasury had "judicially decided the question" is, I think, untenable.

4. I do not think that there is any merit in the respondent's contention that he performs his duty under administrative organization and not under statutory organization. When the Congress passed the Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912, and authorized the President to put it into operation when he deemed it expedient, and further authorized him to create such offices as he deemed necessary to provide for the sanitation and civil government of the Canal Zone; when the President, acting under the express authority of Congress, by Executive order of January 27, 1914, created an accounting department under the supervision and direction of the auditor, who is the respondent; and when Congress later, in March, 1915, appropriated money to pay this relator's salary of $6,000 per annum to June 30, 1916, and provided that it be paid on the Isthmus, it thereby became the duty of this auditor, created in pursuance of the statute, to audit and pay the salary as Congress had directed in the Adamson Act and the sundry civil appropriation act of March 3, 1915.

It is not to be doubted that the Executive orders of January 27 and March 2, 1914, are in legal contemplation integral parts of the Panama Canal act itself and these and the appropriation act of March, 1915, appropriating the funds to pay the relator's salary on the Isthmus, are binding law compelling upon the respondent. In legal appreciation the respondent's office was created by statute—that is, by order in pursuance of a statute, which has all the effect of a statute—and that thereby his duties are clearly defined.

5. The respondent contends that the Auditor for the War Department is the proper party against whom this relator should proceed, and predicates his contention upon this provision of the act of Congress approved October 22, 1913:

"The money accounts of the Panama Canal, under the Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. L., p. 560), shall continue to be audited by the Auditor for the War Department."

It must be conceded that this statement is general and that, on the other hand, specific authority is given by the Executive order of the President of the United States to the auditor on the Isthmus both to audit and disburse all funds appropriated by Congress in connection with the Panama Canal.

I do not think that there is necessarily any conflict between the provision last above quoted and the Executive orders promulgated under the Adamson Act. It is clear that prior to October 22, 1913, the Auditor for the War Department had never audited the salary of the district judge for the simple reason that the office of district judge was not created until the Panama Canal act was put in force and effect by the Executive order of the President in 1914. The office was created on April 1, 1914, and the present incumbent was confirmed by the Senate and received his commission as district judge on May 1, 1914. Consequently, whatever other accounts the Auditor for the War Department may have audited prior to October 22, 1913, he could not have audited the salary of the district judge of the Canal Zone, there then being no district judge, and therefore no salary of such officer to audit.

The quotation from the act of October 22, 1913, states that the money accounts of the Panama Canal shall continue to be audited by the Auditor for the War Department. The salary of this relator is a new account which never existed, and consequently did not need to be audited until after the promulgation of the Executive orders of January 27 and March 2, 1914, creating the accounting department on the Isthmus, making the respondent in this case the final auditor and defining the duties of certain of his subordinates both on the Canal Zone and at Washington. I find no law making it incumbent upon the Auditor for the War Department to audit the salary of this relator, and there is nothing to show that, in the absence of statutory authority, this official had any authority to pass upon or to audit such salary.

And, again, when the sundry civil appropriation bill of March 3, 1915, providing for the payment of the salary of the relator and appropriating the amount thereof and directing its payment, was passed, the fund for the payment of the judge's salary was placed under the control of the auditor on the Isthmus. Congress knew when this act making the appropriation for the judge's salary was passed that in January and in March, 1914, the President had created the office of auditor on the Isthmian Canal, with an assistant at Washington, and that this law and the Executive orders in pursuance thereof specifically defined the power and authority that was vested in the auditor on the Isthmus and in his assistant at Washington. Furthermore, when Congress made this appropriation for the payment of the salary of the district judge it was done almost two years after the act of October 22, 1913. If the latter act could ever have had the meaning attributed to it by the respondent, the subsequent act of Congress, enacted presumably with the knowledge and approval of the two Executive orders referred to, destroys the force of the provisions of the act of October 22, 1913, as insisted upon by the respondent. It follows that when Congress, in March, 1915, appropriated the amount of relator's salary that had been previously fixed by the Adamson Act of August 24, 1912, Congress knew the provisions of the act of October 22, 1913, and also knew in making the appropriation for relator's salary it would be paid pursuant to the Executive orders hereinbefore set forth.

It is familiar law that repeal by implication is not favored; and it is a recognized canon that where two acts are in apparent conflict they must be so construed, if possible, as that they shall consist or harmonize with each other. And as a corollary the rule is that when two legislative provisions are in seeming conflict, the one being vague and general and the other clear and specific, the latter will control; and further, that if separate fields can be found for the operation of the two seemingly conflicting provisions, then, in such way, must the apparent hostility between the two provisions be reconciled and each allowed to operate in its own particular field.

6. The respondent contends that this relator should seek a mandamus against the Auditor for the War Department at Washington. Were he to do so it seems to me such auditor would answer that the Adamson Act and the Executive orders of January and March, 1914, and the appropriation act of March, 1915, placing the funds for the payment of the relator's salary under the control of this respondent, would preclude this relator from having any remedy against him. I believe that such contention would be fatal to relator's case there.

The respondent further suggests that Judge Jackson can resort to the Court of Claims for the vindication of his rights. That court passes upon disputed claims, and whenever a judgment is rendered there it is the duty of Congress to appropriate money for its payment. Probably that tribunal would hold that demand for the payment of Judge Jackson's salary could not be a claim triable there; that it is not a claim but is compensation fixed by law, for which payment is provided for by an existing appropriation. (Benedict *v.* U. S., supra.)

7. The rules of law governing mandamus against a public officer are well settled. The difficulty is making the proper application of the law in a particular case. Where a plain ministerial duty is imposed upon an executive officer—such a duty as leaves nothing to be determined according to his judgment and discretion—and he refuses to act under such circumstances, mandamus is appropriate to compel him to perform his duty. This is, of course a principle universally recognized.

I think the misunderstanding in this case is attributable to a misconception of the law. Sometimes a too free use of cyclopedias and digests is resorted to, and too little real study is devoted to adjudged cases cited. It must be understood that no stricture is intended upon the counsel who made the oral argument for the respondent, for he, the district attorney, presented his own well-prepared brief, and has demeaned himself altogether as a thoughtful and competent lawyer.

The numerous cases cited in the briefs for the respondent may be divided into two classes:

1. Cases where the Supreme Court held that executive officers could not be compelled by mandamus to act in matters which had been left to their judgment or discretion. Illustrative of this principle is United States *v.* Lamont (155 U. S., 303–310), where Mr. Justice White (now the Chief Justice), in the opinion of the court, said:

"Much was said in argument at bar upon the question of when a contract is to be regarded as completed, under the circumstances here presented, and the discussion concerning the authority of the Secretary of War to review the action of an officer of engineers in such a case and to direct a new adjudication has taken a wide range. We deem the consideration of both these points unnecessary in view of the relator's bids under the 'second advertisement and specifications' and his contract to do the work at a less price and under new conditions. It is elementary law that mandamus will only lie to enforce a ministerial duty as contradistinguished from a duty which is merely discretionary. This doctrine was clearly and fully set forth by Chief Justice Marshall in Marbury *v.* Madison (5 U. S., 1 Cranch, 137 [2:60]), and has since been many times reasserted by this court. See Kendall *v.* Stokes (44 U. S. 3 How., 87 [11:506], Brashear *v.* Mason (47 U. S., 6 How., 92 [12:357]), Reeside *v.* Walker (52 U. S., 11 How., 272 [13:693]), Holloway *v.* Whitelay (71 U. S., 4 Wall., 522 [18:335]), United States *v.* Seaman (58 U. S., 17 How., 225, 231 [15:226, 228]), United States *v.* Guthrie (58 U. S., 17 How., 284 [15:102]), United States *v.* Edmunds (72 U. S., 5 Wall., 563 [18:692]), Gaines *v.* Thompson (74 U. S., 7 Wall., 347 [19:62]), Cox *v.* United States (76 U. S., 9 Wall., 298 [19:579]), United States *v.* Schurz (102 U. S., 378 [26:167]), Butterworth *v.* United States, 112 U. S., 50 [28:656]), United States *v.* Black (126 U. S., 40 [32:354]), Brownsville Taxing Dist. *v.* League (129 U. S., 493 [32:760]), Noble *v.* Union River Logging R. Co. (147 U. S., 165 [37:123]).

"The duty to be enforced by mandamus must not only be merely ministerial, but it must be a duty which exists at the time when the application for the mandamus is made. Thus in the case of ex parte Rowland (104 U. S., 604 [26:861]) this court, speaking through Mr. Chief Justice White, said: 'It is settled that more can not be required of a public officer by mandamus than the law has made it his duty to do. The object of the writ is to enforce the performance of an existing duty, not to create a new one.'

"Moreover, the obligation must be both peremptory and plainly defined. The law must not only authorize the act (Kentucky *v.* Boutwell, 80 U. S.; 13 Wall., 526 (20:631)), but it must require the act to be done. 'A mandamus will not lie against the Secretary of the Treasury unless the laws require him to do what he is asked in the petition to be made to do' (Reeside *v.* Walker, 52 U. S.; 11 How., 272 (13:693); see also Cox *v.* United States, 76 U. S.; 9 Wall., 298 (19:579)), and the duty must be 'clear and indisputable' (Knox County Commissioners *v.* Aspinwall, 65 U. S.; 24 How., 376)."

And, 2, cases where plain ministerial duty was enjoined upon executive officers and mandamus was used to compel its performance. Illustrative of this principle is Roberts *v.* United States ex rel. Valentine (176 U. S., 221), where Mr. Justice Peckham, for the court, said:

"The writ was refused in the Black case because, as the court held, the decision which was demanded from the Commissioner of Pensions required of him in the performance of his regular duties as commissioner the examination of several acts of Congress, their construction, and the effect which the later acts had upon the former, all of which required the exercise of judgment to such an extent as to take his decision out of the category of a mere ministerial act. A decision upon such facts, the court said, would not be controlled by mandamus. The circumstances under which a party has the right to the writ are examined in the course of the opinion which was delivered by Mr. Justice Bradley, and many cases upon the subject are therein cited, and the result of the examination was as just stated.

"In this case the facts are quite different. There is but one act of Congress to be examined, and it is specially directed to the Treasurer. We think its construction is quite plain and unmistakable. It directs the Treasurer to pay the interest on the certificates which had been redeemed by him, and the only question for him to determine was whether these certificates had been redeemed within the meaning of that act. That they were we have already attempted to show, and the duty of the Treasurer seems to us to be at once plain, imperative, and entirely ministerial, and he should have paid the interest as directed in the statute.

"This case comes within the exception stated in the Black case, that where a special statute imposes a mere ministerial duty upon an executive officer which he neglects or refuses to perform, then mandamus lies to compel its performance; but the court will not interfere with executive officers of the Government in the exercise of their ordinary official duties, even those whose duties require an interpretation of the law, the court having no appellate power for that purpose. On this last ground the court denied the writ.

"Unless the writ of mandamus is to become practically valueless, and is to be refused even where a public officer is commanded to do a particular act by virtue of a particular statute, this writ should be granted. Every statute to some extent requires construction by the public officer whose duties may be defined therein. Such officer must read the law, and he must therefore, in a certain sense, construe it, in order to form a judgment from its language what duty he is directed by the statute to perform. But that does not necessarily and in all cases make the duty of the officer anything other than a purely ministerial one. If the law directs him to perform an act in regard to which no discretion is committed to him, and which, upon the facts existing, he is bound to perform, then that act is ministerial, although depending upon a statute which requires, in some degree, a construction of its language by the officer. Unless this be so the value of this writ is very greatly impaired. Every executive officer whose duty is plainly devolved upon him by statute might refuse to perform it, and when his refusal is brought before the court he might successfully plead that the performance of the duty involved the construction of a statute by him, and therefore it was not ministerial, and the court would on that account be powerless to give relief. Such a limitation of the powers of the court, we think, would be most unfortunate, as it would relieve from judicial supervision all executive officers in the performance of their duties whenever they should plead that the duty required of them arose upon the construction of a statute, no matter how plain its language, nor how plainly they violated their duty in refusing to perform the act required.

"In this case we think the proper construction of the statute was clear, and the duty of the Treasurer to pay the money to the relator was ministerial in its nature, and should have been performed by him upon demand.

The judgment of the court of appeals must be affirmed."

The respondent cites a number of cases to sustain his assertion that mandamus will not lie in this case. He contends that this is an action against the auditor in such official capacity as he may have, and is in effect an action against the United States, and cites United States *v.* Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury (17 How., 284, 302–334). Of course that case has been many times cited with approval by the Supreme Court of the United States. The principle was correctly applied there to the facts, but the case can not be a precedent here to support the respondent's contention.

There the relator, Goodrich, on March 19, 1849, was duly commissioned chief justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Minnesota at a compensation of $1,800 a year, payable quarterly. The tenure of his office was four years. After having received his lawful compensation for the time he had served the relator was informed on October 22, 1851, by the Acting Secretary of State that the President had removed him from office and had appointed in his place Jerome Fuller. After the four years from the date of his commission had expired the relator preferred a claim before the First Auditor of the Treasury for the sum of $2,343 as compensation for the period that had elapsed from the date that he was removed from office to the termination of the four-year period. The claim was rejected for the reason that there was no appropriation to pay his salary, and that the amount of the salary had been paid to Fuller, who had fulfilled the duties of the office, and that the auditor and comptroller were bound to consider the removal of the relator and appointment of Fuller as legal and continuing. The Supreme Court affirmed the ruling of the circuit court in dismissing the application for the writ of mandamus upon the grounds that there is no power in the circuit court or in the Supreme Court to command the withdrawal of moneys from the United States Treasury to be applied in satisfaction of disputed claims against the United States; that no appropriation had ever been made to pay the salary of the relator, but that the appropriation had been made to pay the salary of the subsequent appointee of the President, who filled the office, from which the relator had been removed; and that the acts of the auditor, the comptroller, and the Secretary of the Treasury in

passing upon the claim were discretionary and quasi judicial and that they were not merely ministerial, and that, therefore, the court had no power to mandamus these officials.

The principle announced as governing that decision has no application to the case at bar for the two cases are so different in essential particulars. A statement of these differences and further comment seem to be unnecessary. It is hardly necessary to add that the proceeding here is not an action against the United States but is an action to compel an official of the United States to do his plain ministerial duty under the laws of the United States.

The respondent cites United States *v.* Lynch (137 U. S., 280). In that case the relator was ordered in March, 1872, by his superior officer to proceed from Philadelphia to New York and thence by Pacific Mail to Colon, across the Isthmus of Panama, and thence to Mare Island, Cal., and report for duty on board of the U. S. S. *Lackawanna*. Relator was a naval officer. He traveled 88 miles overland from Philadelphia to New York and some thousands of miles outside of the United States. He claimed that he was entitled to be paid 10 cents a mile for the full number of miles traveled. The respondent, the Fourth Auditor and the Second Comptroller of the Treasury, answered that the relator had been paid 10 cents a mile for the total number of miles traveled in the United States, and his traveling expenses while traveling outside of the United States. It was found that for a number of years the Navy and Treasury Departments had, with but a single exception, held that the 10 cents a mile did not apply to travel to, from, or in foreign countries but only to travel in the United States. This had long been the interpretation of the statute by the auditor and the comptroller. The relator sought to compel these officials by mandamus to interpret the statute differently from the way they had theretofore construed it—to compel them not only to exercise a discretionary or quasi judicial act but to exercise it in his favor. There the relator had at most a claim against the United States for money expended by him. No act had appropriated any money for him that was available and withheld by the respondents. The Court of Claims was the proper forum in which the relator in that case should have sought vindication for his claim if he had any proper claim.

The case of Reeside *v.* Walker (11 How., 290) is relied on by the respondents. There Reeside had certain post-office contracts with the Government of the United States. Alleging that he had been overpaid thereon, suit against him was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of Pennsylvania for the recovery of the sum of $32,709.62, the amount alleged to have been overpaid. Defendant filed a general demurrer and a counter claim, and on trial being had a verdict was returned finding that the plaintiff was indebted to the defendant for $188,496.06. On May 12, 1842, the transcript of the record bore the following entry: "Motion for new trial overruled; new trial refused and judgment on the verdict, copy of assignment, etc., filed."

Later the executrix of defendant sought to compel the Secretary of the Treasury, by mandamus, to enter on the books of the Treasury Department to the credit of the deceased the sum of $188,496.06, and to pay the same to the relator as executrix of the deceased. The Supreme Court refused to grant the writ for the reasons that from the record no judgment appeared to have been given for the amount of the verdict; that relator failed to show the entry of a judgment; and that the verdict of the jury merely laid the foundation for a scire facias to issue and a hearing to be had on that if desired.

The court said that "The petitioner and her husband have neglected to pursue the case in that way to the final judgment, and, hence, have offered no evidence of one, of the verdict of indebtedness to Reeside by the United States." On these two points the court acted, and the rest of the case is merely obiter dicta. It was further stated, however, that there was no appropriation of Congress to pay the claim, and that it was "a well-known constitutional provision that no money can be taken or drawn from the Public Treasury except upon an appropriation by Congress."

The respondent refers to the United States *v.* Bank (104 U. S., 733) as a supporting authority. That case was an appeal from the Court of Claims. The bank had paid certain taxes and afterwards discovered that $972.69 was wrongfully exacted and paid. It then sought the refund of that amount. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue and the Secretary of the Treasury approved the payment of the claim, and the commissioner certified its allowance. Payment was refused by the officers of the Treasury. The Court of Claims decided in favor of claimant and against the United States, and the Supreme Court sustained this ruling. There is nothing more to that case.

United States *v.* Kaufman (96 U. S., 569) is cited by the respondent as an authority. That was an appeal from the Court of Claims, which had held that it had jurisdiction of a suit to recover an excess amount paid by way of special tax, and that an allowance of the claim by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue was sufficient, and that the court did not need to go behind the allowance and find the facts in respect to the original claim. The Supreme Court of the United States sustained that decision.

It will be noted that although the four cases above cited laid down general principles of law which are well recognized they have absolutely no analogy to the case now under consideration.

Buchanan *v.* Alexander (4 How., 20) is cited by the respondent to sustain the proposition that money in the hands of a disbursing officer is money in the Treasury of the United States and can not be reached by attachment or other process. In that case seamen of the frigate *Constitution* were indebted to boarding-house keepers in Norfolk, Va. They sought to attach the wages of these seamen in the hands of the purser of the vessel. The Supreme Court held that the money was not subject to attachment.

In the case at bar no one corresponds to the boarding-house keeper, no one to the seamen, and no one to the purser, and no writ of attachment is sought.

The respondent contends that the principle recognized in Mississippi *v.* First Comptroller of the Treasury, Durham (4th Mackay, 235), is applicable here. I am unable to examine this case, as the report in which it is published is not to be had in the zone. The respondent gives in his brief the following purported excerpt from the opinion:

"That a court must not permit the United States to be sued by a mandamus directed to one of its officers where it could not be sued directly unless by its own consent under some special statute allowing it. Now, it does not require argument to manifest that a refusal by an officer of the Treasury Department whose general duty under the law is to allow and take steps to issue a warrant for the payment of any claim is a refusal of the claim by the United States for the time being; that a mandamus against him to compel the allowance and payment thereof is a suit against the United States; and that it is none the less a suit against the United States because the ground or notices of refusal to allow may be obviously and notoriously without legal justification. In other words, that no error of judgment or capriciousness of conduct can destroy, for the time being, the quality of agent and actor in the name and on behalf of the Government of the proper Treasury official in disallowing the claim of any State or individual for money due or alleged to be owing by the United States."

I fail to see what bearing that decision has upon the instant case, for Judge Jackson's salary is not a claim and there is no dispute in respect to the payment of the same except that which arises from the denial of the authority of the auditor to withhold a part of the ascertained and fixed salary. I have dealt with this phase of the case in another part of this opinion.

Louisiana *v.* McAdoo (234 U. S., 627), is cited by the respondent. In that case the State of Louisiana, through its attorney general, sought to obtain permission to file a petition against the Secretary of the Treasury and the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in order to review their official judgment as to the rate of duty to be exacted under various tariff acts. In that case the court said that if the State of Louisiana, as a producer of sugar, could review the action of the Secretary of the Treasury in determining the rate to be collected on Cuban sugar, any consumer, though not an importer, might make a similar complaint, if in his judgment the Secretary of the Treasury exacted a higher rate than justified by the law, thereby enhancing the price he must pay in the market upon the imported articles which he used.

The court held that it was an attempt to review the official action of the Secretary of the Treasury in the exercise of his judgment as to the rate which should be demanded under his construction of the tariff act, and that such suits would operate to disturb the whole revenue system of the Government and affect the revenues which arise therefrom. Furthermore, it was stated that such a suit would obviously be one against the United States as such.

The respondent cites United States ex rel. Goldberg *v.* Daniels (231 U. S., 218). That was a petition for mandamus, praying that the Secretary of the Navy be directed to deliver the United States cruiser *Boston* to the petitioner. It was asserted that the petitioner had bid more than the appraised value of the ship which, after survey, condemnation, and appraisal, had been stricken from the naval registry under the act of August 5, 1902, and proposals for the purchase of which the Secretary of the Navy had advertised. After the petitioner sent his certified check to the Secretary of the Navy the Secretary refused to deliver the vessel and returned the check. The answer admitted the fact and set up that the bid was not the acceptance of an offer, but was only an offer in itself, subject to be accepted or not, at the discretion of the Secretary and that the Secretary never accepted the petitioner's bid, the Government having decided to lend the cruiser to the governor of Oregon for use by the naval militia of that State. The petition was refused by the court below on the ground that the discretion of the Secretary was not ended by the receipt and opening of the bids, even though they satisfied all the conditions prescribed. This judgment was affirmed.

In Ness *v.* Fisher (223 U. S., 683), referred to by respondent, the Secretary of the Interior refused to accept, as conforming to the timber-and-stone act of June 3, 1878, an application to purchase under that act 160 acres of public land in the Roseberg (Oreg.) land district. The relator sought to compel the Secretary of the Interior to accept his application. It had been refused by the Secretary of the Interior, who ruled that the application was objectionable in that it was made upon information and belief and not upon personal knowledge; that it was, in fact, for cultivation and valuable chiefly for its timber, and that it was uninhabited and contained no mining or other improvements. The court said that it was confronted with the question not whether the decision of the Secretary was right or wrong, but whether a decision of that officer, made in the discharge of a duty imposed by law and involving the exercise of judgment and discretion, could be reviewed by mandamus and he be compelled to retract it and to give effect to another finding not his own and not having his approval. Manifestly the court of appeals was right in its refusal to issue the writ of mandamus, and the Supreme Court sustained the ruling.

In Champion Lumber Co. *v.* Fisher (227 U. S., 445), on the respondent's brief, the petitioner sought to compel the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office, by writ of mandamus, to issue a patent for lands. It seems that the commissioner and the Secretary of the Interior were advised by an agent, whom they had appointed to investigate, that flagrant fraud had been committed, and they were requested to withhold patents to the lands. Thereupon the commissioner directed the register and receiver, Jackson, to suspend action on commutations and proofs until further investigation. It was further shown by the report of another special agent that the entry had been made for speculative purposes with no attempt to comply with the requirements of the law, and the recommendation was made that the entry be canceled on the ground of nonremedy, noncultivation, nonimprovement, and abandonment. The commissioner directed that a hearing be had. Petitioner moved for a stay of proceedings, and claimed that his entry should be patented without further proceedings. The motion was denied by the commissioner, and this denial overruled by the Secretary of the Interior who later denied a motion to review his decision, finding that a protest had been filed against the patent within two years from the issuance of the receiver's receipt, and holding that the case should proceed to hearing on the special agent's charge. The petitioner then sought relief in the court, praying that the commissioner and the Secretary of the Interior be directed by mandamus to issue the patent as heretofore stated. The court held that this was an attempt to coerce the Secretary of the Interior in the exercise of his lawful discretion and judgment. It was said: "The case was, therefore, submitted and decided upon the issue whether the action of the Secretary was justified in the exercise of his lawful discretion because of the fact disclosed in the record." The petitioner did not challenge, nor did the court pass upon the validity of an authority exercised, nor was the existence or extent of the authority or duty of an officer of the United States drawn in question in the sense in which it is used in the statute, the Dockery Act. The case was ultimately decided on the ground of jurisdiction; that the petition for the writ of error should be denied. The Supreme Court held that the case was not one that was appealable to that court under the fifth clause, section 250, of the Judicial Code, and, by way of obiter, that the action of the Secretary of the Interior was wholly discretionary and, therefore, not subject to review by mandamus.

In Oregon *v.* Hitchcock (202 U. S.) cited by respondent, the Supreme Court held that the immunity of the United States from suit prevented a State from maintaining in the Supreme Court of the United States a suit against the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner

General of the General Land Office to restrain them from allotting and patenting in severalty swamp lands within the limit of an Indian reservation. The court further said that it could not interfere with the allotment and patenting by the Land Department of swamp lands within the limits of an Indian reservation while the legal title was still in the Federal Government. In that case the court stated:

"Now, the legal title to these lands is in the United States. The officers named as defendants have no interest in the lands or the proceeds thereof. The United States is proposing to sell them. This suit seeks to restrain the United States from such sale—to divest the Government of its title and vest it in the State. The United States is, therefore, the real party affected by the judgment, and against which, in fact, it will operate, and the officers have no pecuniary interest in the matter. If whether a suit is one against the State is to be determined, not by the fact of the party named as defendant on the record but by the result of the judgment or decree which may be entered, the same rule must apply to the United States. The question whether the United States is a party to a controversy is not determined by the merely nominal party on the record but by the question of the effect of the judgment or decree which can be entered."

The case was decided against the relator on the ground that the court had no jurisdiction as it was manifestly a suit directly against the United States to seek to restrain it from selling lands that belonged to it; that the court would not interfere with the land department in its administration; and that until the legal title to lands passes from the Government, inquiry as to equitable rights comes within the cognizance of the land department. The court stated that it could not anticipate the action of the land department or take upon itself the administration of the land grants of the United States.

Again, the respondent says that:

"The courts will not interfere by mandamus with the executive officers of the Government in the exercise of their ordinary official duties, even where those duties require an interpretation of the law. (Dunlap *v.* Black, Commissioner of Pensions, 128 U. S., 40.)"

In that case the Commissioner of Pensions adopted an interpretation of the law adverse to relator by refusing a pension certificate, and his decision was confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior. The court stated that it had no right to review such decision. It declined to interfere by mandamus with the executive officials of the Government in the exercise of their ordinary official duties, even where those duties require an interpretation of the law; but held that when executive officers refuse to act in a case at all, or when, by special statute or otherwise, a mere ministerial duty is imposed upon them, which they were bound to perform without further question, then if they have refused to act a mandamus might be issued to compel them. In that case the Commissioner of Pensions and the Secretary of the Interior acted in the discharge of a quasi judicial function. This paragraph from the opinion of the court is sufficient to show that it has no bearing on this case:

"Adjudged by this rule the present case presents no difficulty. The Commissioner of Pensions did not refuse to act or decide. He did act and decide. He adopted an interpretation of the law adverse to the relator, and his decision was confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior, as evidenced by the signature to the certificate. Whether, if the law were properly before us for consideration, we should be of the same opinion or of a different opinion is of no consequence in the decision of this case. We have no appellate power over the commissioner, and no right to review his decision. That decision and his action taken thereon were made and done in the exercise of his official functions. They were by no means merely ministerial acts."

The respondent cites the case of Schillinger et al. *v.* The United States. That was an appeal from a judgment of the Court of Claims dismissing a suit brought by plaintiff against the United States to recover damages for the wrongful use of a patent for improvement in concrete pavement. It was nothing more nor less than an action in tort against the United States. The Supreme Court held that the Court of Claims was correct in deciding that it had no jurisdiction of a tort action against the United States, and that without its consent the United States could not be sued.

8. The respondent insists that the relator is indebted to the United States or the Canal Zone as hereinbefore stated. Is this true? Whether it is or not, the relator denies such indebtedness and his case is justifiable and can not be determined by a mere ministerial officer who has undertaken to decide without the intervention of a court or a judge and jury. It seems rather incongruous, to say the least of it, that this auditor should deny his authority and duty to pay the relator his salary and in the next breath assert that he has the authority and the discretion to withhold from the relator $1,131.76 of his salary for the alleged but denied indebtedness.

It is indisputable that the relator does not owe for house rent or electric lights unless there was some law or some Executive order in pursuance of an act of Congress which imposed the duty to pay or authorized the collection charges for rent and lights. As a matter of fact there was never any congressional legislation or any ordinance of the Isthmian Canal Commission, or Executive order of the President, or any regulation of the Government of the Panama Canal, providing for the collection of rent or electric light charges for the occupation of Government quarters and lighting the same in the Canal Zone until the promulgation of the Executive order of the President of the United States under date of February 2, 1914. Section 17 of this order is as follows:

"Where practicable, such bachelor quarters on the Isthmus as may be available from time to time, will be assigned to all employees desiring them. Family quarters, when available, will be assigned under such rules as may be prescribed by the Governor, and charges will be made for rent, fuel, and electric current, at such time and in accordance with such regulations as the President may hereafter establish."

In pursuance of this provision of the Executive order, the President promulgated, on January 15, 1915, another Executive order in this language:

"By virtue of the authority vested in me it is hereby ordered:

"1. Pursuant to the provision contained in paragraph 17 of the Executive order of February 2, 1914, fixing the conditions of employment governing employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Co. on the Isthmus of Panama, a charge will be made for rent, fuel, and electric current on and after March 1, 1915.

"RENT.

"2. The rental will be based on a percentage of the value of the quarters occupied, the rate per cent to be the same for all quarters, and the value of the quarters to be appraised by the Governor of the Panama Canal. The amount to be collected should be sufficient to defray the cost of maintenance of the quarters and grounds, maintenance and renewal of furniture, collection and disposal of garbage, and for bachelor quarters' janitor service. No charge will be made for water.

"FUEL.

"3. Fuel will be sold to employees at cost delivered at quarters.

"ELECTRIC CURRENT.

"4. The charge for electric current will be based on the cost of the current delivered to the quarters. When practicable the current used will be measured by meters; otherwise a charge will be made for each lamp or other device installed.

"5. Where employees for the good of the service are required to live in certain designated quarters one-half of the rental will be remitted.

"6. When an officer of the Army or Navy is detailed for duty with the Panama Canal, and the amount of extra compensation of the position he occupies over and above his official salary as an officer of the Army or Navy is not sufficient to cover his rent, he will not be charged for rent, but will receive no extra compensation.

"7. The governor of the Panama Canal is charged with the duty of issuing such instructions as may be necessary to carry out this order and to fix and change from time to time, if necessary, the rates and charges herein outlined subject to the general instructions provided.

"8. The free use of quarters, free fuel, and free electric current are not, under the conditions of employment now governing, a vested or contract right of employees, but revocable privileges, which it has been considered advisable to continue until the permanent force was organized. The revocation of these privileges shall not be made the basis for increasing salaries or wages or otherwise increasing compensation."

This latter Executive order became effective March 1, 1915, and was continued in force, and under it rent was charged against employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Co. for three months thereafter. On May 25, 1915, the President made the following Executive order, superseding or suspending the operation of the above-mentioned order of January 15, 1915:

"By virtue of the authority vested in me it is hereby ordered that the Executive order of January 15, 1915, relative to charges for rent, fuel, and electric current, furnished employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Co. on the Isthmus of Panama, is modified by suspending from the operation thereof so much as relates to rent, fuel, and lights during the period of actual construction of the Panama Canal, but not later than June 30, 1916."

It must be observed that during the time for which Judge Jackson is sought to be charged for the rent of the residence and for lighting the same there was no statute or Executive order authorizing the making such charges, and there is no authority for withholding the salary. In other words, prior to March 1, 1915, there was no authority to charge or collect from anyone rent for houses or quarters, or for lighting the same, on the Canal Zone. It is manifest that prior to that date it had not been contemplated by Congress, or by the Secretary of War, or by the Canal Zone officials that rental charges would be made for the occupancy of quarters and lights on the Canal Zone.

The Houses were erected, not for rental purposes, but for the use of the employees of the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, and other governmental functionaries who might from time to time, in the discharge of their official duties, be required to reside in the Canal Zone. The purpose of the United States in acquiring the Canal Zone was to use it as a necessary appurtenance for the construction of the Isthmian Canal—for auxiliary works of canal construction, such as abodes for housing employees and the like. It will not be insisted that it was the intention of the United States to engage in the real-estate business for profit or that there was any intention on the part of Congress that a rental should be charged against judicial or other officers who were obliged to live in the Canal Zone.

Moreover, the order of March 1, 1915, above quoted, was the only provision of law for the collection of rents from anyone, and that order applied to employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad, and not to the district judge of the Canal Zone. But treating the judge as an employee, then we find that for a period of 3 months, less 6 days, the Executive order authorizing the collection of rent from employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad was operative, and that it was then suspended as to the persons or class of persons to whom it had been made applicable, namely, to the employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Co. This Executive order, which authorized the collection of rent from the employees, was suspended during the time of the occupancy of the house by Judge Jackson, and for which he is charged rent by the respondent. It must therefore be held that there was an absence of authority on the part of anyone to make such a charge.

It may be well to remember in this connection that no private person could erect a house on the Canal Zone for his individual use. The judge was required by act of Congress to reside in the Canal Zone, and under the circumstances it was not possible for him to do so except by living in one of the houses owned by the Government. That he should occupy such house seemed to have been understood as being in the contemplation of Congress. In the absence of any legislative expression it can not be believed that it was the intention of Congress that the judge, whose office was created by the Congress and who was required to reside in the Canal Zone, should rent quarters from the Government or from any subsidiary governmental agency.

9. But the respondent contends that he has the right to withhold a part of the salary of the judge, fixed and appropriated for by law, because the Adamson Act provides that the judge shall not receive any emoluments except his salary. Pretermitting for the time being the consideration of other phases of the case or questions, let us ascertain the meaning of emoluments. The definition of the term is ascertained from adjudged cases cited in Words and Phrases, volume 3, page 2367, where it is said:

"Emolument is the profit arising from office or employment; that which is received as compensation for services or which is annexed to the possession of office, as salary, fees, and perquisites."

I think it may be said, therefore, that an emolument is something positively and directly conferred as compensation or gain that the holder of an office receives, and not something necessarily, inseparably, and incidentally used by him in the discharge of his duty, a duty for which he is paid a fixed salary. Certainly it would not be contended that an employee—for instance, a locomotive engineer—could be charged for the use of the locomotive which was necessary in the performance of work he was hired to do. We must not forget that it was the expressed intention to have the judge reside in the zone, and this intention is just as plain as was the other intention that he should per-

form judicial work. His physical presence on the zone was required, and he could not possibly obtain a habitation there except from the Government.

This question here is analogous to the one involved in McCoy v. Handlin (153 N. W., 361). In that case the contest was over an extra allowance of a specified sum per month to such judges of the supreme court as take up their residence at the capital (of South Dakota) to meet the extra expenses thereby caused. The constitutional provisions of the State were that "they * * * the supreme court judges. * * * shall receive no fees nor perquisites whatever for the performance of any duties connected with their offices. It shall not be competent for the legislature to increase the salary of the officers named in this article except as hereinafter provided." And, again, that "the judges of the supreme court * * * shall each receive such salary as may be provided by law, consistent with this constitution, and no such judge shall receive any compensation, perquisite, or emolument for or on account of his office in any form whatever, except such salary."

An extra allowance by the legislature of a specified sum per month for such of the judges of the Supreme Court as take up their residence at the capital, to meet the extra expenses thereby caused, was held not to be inhibited by the constitutional provisions quoted. The proceeding there was for mandamus against the auditor for the allowance of a specified sum to such of the judges as had taken up their residence at the capital, etc., and was resisted by the auditor, upon the ground that the allowance of such sum per month was in contravention of the State constitution. The decision of the court was against the contention of the auditor. The opinion was well considered, instructive, and is illuminating in the consideration of the instant case. There it was said:

"It is clear that the legislature did not intend, in the enactment of such legislation, to increase the salaries of the judges or to grant them any perquisites or emoluments for the discharge of their duties, but only intended to asure them, in so far as possible, that for the performance of their official duties alone, and not for the performance of such duties and the payment of the expenses incident thereto, they should receive the salaries provided by law for the performance of such duties."

And, again, the court said:

These men (the framers of the constitution of South Dakota) must have known that section 1, article 2 of the Federal Constitution declared that the President should receive for his services a compensation 'which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emoluments from the United States or any of them.' These men must have known that the word 'emolument' was, as recognized by every authority, a term broad and comprehensive—one which includes within it 'perquisites,' 'salary,' 'compensation,' 'pay,' 'wages,' and 'fees.' These men must have known that, with the above provisions of the Federal Constitution in force, the Congress of the United States—a body of men which at all times during the history of this Government has had among its Members many of the greatest constitutional lawyers of the day—had enacted legislation under which the President for nearly a century prior to the framing of our Constitution had been furnished a home, horses, carriages, servants, household equipment, and many other things incidental to and appropriate to his high office. These men must have known that such Federal legislation had never been questioned, either as regards its propriety or its constitutionality. These men must have known that in practically every State in the Union (in many of which there were constitutional provisions similar to the one above referred to in the Federal Constitution and to the ones relied upon by defendant in this case) there had been legislative enactments making provisions for the several governors similar to those made by the Federal Congress for the President, as well as innumerable measures appropriating money to be paid other officers to recompense them for expenses incurred in the discharge of their official duties. Is it possible for anyone to presume that these men, with all these facts in mind, intended—by the words used in our Constitution—to prohibit allowances for expenses incident to the discharge of public duties? Further light has since been thrown upon the construction given to the provision of the Federal Constitution above referred to by the act of June 23, 1906 (34 Stat. L., 454, chap. 3523, Comp Stat. 1913, sec. 225), which provides: That 'hereafter there may be expended for or on account of the traveling expenses of the President of the United States such sum as Congress may from time to time appropriate, not exceeding $25,000 per annum, such sum when appropriated to be expended in the discretion of the President and accounted for on his certificate solely.

"Under appropriations thereafter made by Congress, Presidents Roosevelt and Taft received, and to-day President Wilson is receiving, thousands of dollars each year. So far as we know, it has never been suggested that the money so allowed was an 'emolument,' and therefore unconstitutional. No one has ever seen fit to accuse those Presidents of being grafters. The judges of the Federal courts, whose salaries are fixed by a law declaring that such salaries shall be the 'compensation for their official services,' draw from the United States Treasury a sum not exceeding $10 per day when absent from the places of their residence. (Act Mar. 3, 1911, chap. 231, sec. 259, 36 Stat. at L., 1161, Comp. Stat. 1913, sec. 1236.) This allowance is not given as an increase of salary, but to cover the expenses incident to their being away from home in the discharge of their duties."

Paraphrasing, it may be said that the use of the house by Judge Jackson can not be held to be an increase of salary, but was no more than the necessary inseparable incident to his compliance with his positive duty to reside within the Canal Zone during the term of his office. (Sec. 8, supra, vol 37, pt. 1, U. S. Stat. at L., 62d Cong., p. 565.) The relator was compelled to reside within the Canal Zone, and necessarily could occupy no house except one furnished by the Government. It seems fair to say that if Congress had intended the judge to pay rent for the occupancy of a house in the Canal Zone, when it required him to reside there, it must be presumed that it would have been so stated in the Adamson Act. The lawmakers knew that the United States Government was the owner of all buildings in the Canal Zone, and that the judge required to reside there must occupy one of those buildings. By way of reinforcement of this view it may be said that the Members of Congress were familiar with the fact that under the acts or ordinances of the Isthmian Canal Commission the former members of the Canal Zone judiciary had occupied houses free of rent. Act 1 of the Isthmian Canal Commission of August 16, 1904, in referring to each of the circuit and supreme court judges, provided as follows:

"During his term of office he shall be furnished a dwelling house or apartment, or in lieu thereof a sum of money equal to 8 per cent of his annual salary, at the option of the commission."

The Adamson Act continued in operation all the acts of the Isthmian Canal Commission not repugnant to the provision of that act itself. This is shown by section 2, paragraph 2, of the act as follows:

"That all laws, orders, regulations, and ordinances adopted and promulgated in the Canal Zone by order of the President for the government and sanitation of the Canal Zone and the construction of the Panama Canal are hereby ratified and confirmed as valid and binding until Congress shall otherwise provide. The existing courts established in the Canal Zone by the executive order are recognized and confirmed to continue in operation until the courts provided for in this act shall be established."

This provision has direct reference to the courts; consequently when the act required the judge to reside within the Canal Zone his occupancy of a house belonging to the Government or its subsidiary, in the Canal Zone, free of rent, when there had never been any stipulation for the payment of rent, can not be considered an emolument. It was no increase of salary. It was no profit. His occupancy of the house as a residence constituted an incident, and perhaps also an inducement, to the discharge of his duty while away from his home in the United States.

In his letter, introduced in evidence in this case, the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Gregory, when called upon by the governor of the Panama Canal and the auditor, the respondent here, to pass upon the legality or illegality of withholding from the relator his salary, cited with approval the Benedict case, supra, and appropriately said that the question which the auditor, respondent here, has taken upon himself the authority to decide, and to finally decide, "was one for judicial rather administrative determination, and that it was a claim that could only be enforced through proceedings in the courts." Mr. Gregory is not the only Attorney General who has passed upon cases involving this question. On June 27, 1893, Mr. Maury gave the opinion, as to the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to withhold from the salary of a Federal judge an amount which had been adjudicated against him in favor of the United States, in a final judgment (Ops. Atty. Gen., 22, 626), as follows):

"SIR: It appears by the letter of the First Comptroller of the Treasury of May 27 ultimo, addressed to you, that the United States has recently recovered a judgment in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia against the Hon. Nathan Goff, as surety on the official bond of James M. Ewing, formerly disbursing clerk of this department, for the sum of $9,000 with interest and costs, and you have referred the letter to me for an opinion upon the following questions presented therein:

"'1. Does the act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat., 481), authorize and require the Secretary of the Treasury to withhold the salary due a public officer who is indebted to the United States?'

"'2. If so, is there any exception in the case of a Federal judge?'"

"As I may not, however, give an opinion on a hypothetical question without exceeding my power as defined by law, I must, in complying with your request, confine myself to the case calling for the action of your department, and shall accordingly proceed to consider whether the act of March 3, 1875, chapter 149 (18 Stat., 481), authorized and requires the Secretary of the Treasury to withhold Judge Goff's salary as a circuit judge of the United States for the fourth circuit, until the judgment recovered against him as aforesaid shall have been satisfied in that way.

"The act of March 3, 1875, is entitled 'An act to provide for deducting any debt due the United States from any judgment recovered against the United States by such debtor,' and provides as follows:

"'That when any final judgment recovered against the United States, or other claim duly allowed by legal authority, shall be presented to the Secretary of the Treasury for payment, and the plaintiff or claimant therein shall be indebted to the United States in any manner, whether as principal or surety it shall be the duty of the Secretary to withhold payment of an amount of such judgment or claim equal to the debt thus due to the United States.'

"It would be, in my judgment, to abandon the ordinary sense of language and to adopt an unlooked for interpretation to hold that it was in the contemplation of Congress to include, under the expression 'claim duly allowed by legal authority,' the right of a Federal judge to have his salary paid to him out of money in the Treasury appropriated by law for that purpose.

"The allowance of a claim against the United States, involving a discretion which partakes of a judicial character, but it is apparent that there is no room for the exercise, by any 'legal authority,' of such a discretion with reference to the salary of a judge, which the law requires to be paid, if there is money in the Treasury applicable to it, and failure to pay which is an official delinquency which may be summarily corrected by mandamus.

"Without going into the constitutional question and the question of policy suggested in the First Comptroller's letter, I content myself with saying that this is not a case where the ordinary sense of the language of the statute should be extended by construction."

In addition, Attorney General Black under date of July 21, 1858, rendered an opinion (Vol. 9, Ops. Atty. Gen., p. 198), an excerpt of which reads as follows:

"Though I doubt the power of the Secretary, in the present state of the law to set up a counterclaim of any kind in order to avoid payment of a judgment which Congress has ordered him to pay, yet I do not think there would be impolicy or danger of giving him such power where the counterclaim is also a judgment, or where it is established by evidence so conclusive that the opposite party is estopped from denying it. In such a case he would be required to pass on nothing which is open to dispute. His function would be merely ministerial, consisting in nothing but the subtraction of one claim from the other and ascertaining the difference. But here is a claim fiercely contested. It has never been adjudicated in favor of the Government. If it has ever been passed upon by any court, the judgment was against it. There is not a word on record about it. All the evidence concerning it pro and con is in pais. Every fact asserted by one party is not only open to contradiction by the other, but is in fact contradicted, and I have no doubt is most potently believed to be untrue. Not only are all the facts vehemently disputed, but the parties are as wide asunder as the poles on every question of law. It is proposed that this complicated entanglement shall be settled in the chamber of an executive officer, without a trial, without a judge or jury, without examining witnesses, and without hearing counsel.

"No such jurisdiction is given to the Secretary of the Treasury by any law, and if the Constitution is not a dead letter, Congress can not confer it. The fifth amendment declares that 'no person shall be de-

prived of his life, liberty, or property without due process of law.' This means, and has always been held to mean, that the right of a citizen to his property, as well as his life or liberty, could be taken away only upon an open, public, and fair trial before a judicial tribunal, according to the forms prescribed by the law of the land for the investigation of such subjects. If an executive officer can make an order that the widow and children of Reeside shall be deprived of $24,000 without a trial, then the same officer may, with equal propriety, issue a warrant to hang them, since the Constitution puts life and property on the same footing. * * *

'If Congress had power to confer this kind of jurisdiction on the head of the Treasury Department, and would exercise it by passing a law to invest him with all the authority which courts and juries together are clothed with by any defalcation act ever passed, still the Secretary could not set off this claim against that of Mrs. Reeside. Her demand is res adjudicata—fixed and settled by a judgment—and the payment of it in full is sanctioned by an act of Congress. The counterclaim of the Government rests on parol evidence disputed and denied. Now, it is well settled that where one party has a judgment the other can never set off against that judgment a claim not reduced to judgment, however clearly he may be able to prove it. He is always remitted to his action.

"For these reasons, and for others which might be adduced, I am perfectly satisfied that the Secretary of the Treasury has no power to stop the payment of the money adjudged to Mrs. Reeside, however well he may be satisfied in his own mind that the counterclaim is well founded. If he is convinced of the indebtedness alleged, he should order a suit to be brought and give the party a fair chance to be heard before the regular tribunals of the country. I am not aware that such power was ever claimed before it was used by the late Secretary in this case; but if it be a practice of the department, it ought to be immediately abolished, for it is unjust, unlawful, and unconstitutional."

This language is opposite in the present controversy.

As to the force and legal effect of an official opinion of the Attorney General of the United States when rendered to any executive or administrative officer, we can do no better than to refer to the opinion, rendered to the Secretary of the Treasury on date of February 12, 1894, by the Attorney General, Richard Olney (Opinions of Attorney General, Vol. XX, 719, 722), as follows:

"The act of 1870, section 4, establishing the Department of Justice, provided that written opinions prepared by a subordinate in the department may be approved by the Attorney General, and that 'such approval so indorsed thereon shall give the opinion the same force and effect as belong to the opinions of the Attorney General.' This provision is embraced in substantially the same language in section 358 of the Revised Statutes. Evidently, therefore, Congress contemplates that the official opinions signed or indorsed in writing by the Attorney General shall have some actual and practical force. Congress's intention can not be doubted that administrative officers should regard them as law until withdrawn by the Attorney General or overruled by the courts, thus confirming the view which generally prevailed, though sometimes hesitatingly expressed, previous to the establishment of the Department of Justice. (5 Opin., 97; 6 Opin., 334; 7 Opin., 699, 700; 9 Opin., 36, 37.)

"The question now presented is substantially the same as that presented last summer. The duty of this department ended with the rendition of the opinion, and it can not with propriety advise further." (17 Opin., 332.)

Mr. Attorney General Gregory was correct in saying that if the authorities in the Canal Zone believe that the relator in the present case owed any amounts of money whatsoever to the Panama Canal it was "a question for judicial rather than administrative determination," and that the claim now urged by the respondent in this case "could only be enforced through proceedings in the courts." That is a sententious and felicitous statement of this case.

Judge Jackson has never had his day in court. He has been deprived of his salary, or the sum of $1,131.76, without due process of law. It has been withheld from him by the refusal of the auditor in this case to issue his voucher upon which the salary is paid. The indebtedness is denied by Judge Jackson. He denies it upon the grounds that there was no law or regulation under which the indebtedness was or could have been created. He denies that the respondent has authority to withhold any part of his pay in the collection of an alleged but disputed indebtedness. And yet the executive officer has sat as a court, and without evidence or hearing, except what he considered evidence, and except what he considered a hearing, decided a controversy that he created by his own action. He has passed upon a disputed claim, which is a disputed claim merely because he has created the dispute in refusing to make payment where it was his plain duty to make such payment. His conduct, however good his intention may have been, hardly falls short of being shocking to the judicial sense of justice, proper and orderly procedure, in a matter that is clearly justiciable. Perhaps it is not to be doubted that if, after he had made a careful examination, the Attorney General had found Judge Jackson was indebted—owed the items amounting to the salary which has been withheld by the auditor—that the account would have been settled without court proceedings. Or if not so settled, then appropriate court action would have been had for its collection. In any event Judge Jackson was entitled to his day in court. But the auditor here held that, having the money for Judge Jackson under his control and subject to his disbursement, he had the right to determine the claim against Judge Jackson, one disputed in law and in fact, and now insists that his summary way of determining an issue of law and an issue of fact, and the collection by deduction from the judge's salary of a disputed indebtedness, can not be reviewed or questioned by the court. Notwithstanding that view, I think the Attorney General was right in saying that the matter "was one for judicial rather than administrative determination," and that whatever demand or offset that the Government may have "could only be enforced through proceedings in the courts."

The counsel for the respondent in the oral argument before me insisted that Gratiot *v.* The United States, reported in 15 Peters, 336, authorizes the respondent to retain as an offset the amount claimed by him to be due from Judge Jackson. The following quotation shows the ruling in that case:

"There is another instruction asked under this exception, in a complicated form, but which mainly turns upon a consideration whether the Treasury Department had the right to deduct the pay and emoluments of the defendant as a general of the Army and while he was Chief Engineer by setting them off against the balance reported against him on account of his superintendency of Forts Monroe and Calhoun. In our judgment, the point involves no serious difficulty. The United States possesses the general right to apply all sums due for such pay and emoluments to the extinguishment of any balances due to them by the defendant on any other account, whether owed by him as a private individual or as Chief Engineer. It is but the exercise of the common right which belongs to every creditor to apply the unappropriated moneys of his debtor in his hands to the extinguishment of the debts due to him."

The opinion in that case does not sustain the contention of the respondent that Treasury officials have the right to make deductions from salaries of other officers whenever, in the opinion of Treasury officials, such officers may be indebted to the United States. An examination of the opinion in that case shows that no such broad principle as that contended for was declared. The facts of that case are essentially different from those in the instant one.

Gen. Gratiot was a disbursing officer of the United States Army, and as such he had drawn large sums of money from the Federal Treasury on warrants signed by himself. He later converted to his own use the sum of $30,000 from one of the sums which had been drawn by him for engineering work under construction. In the statement of the Attorney General it was asserted that Gen. Gratiot made no objection to the stopping of his pay. He contended, and contended only, that the amount of his defalcation should be credited to an account other than that to which the Treasury officials had credited it. He insisted that the $30,000 embezzled by him should be charged to a particular account that he favored. The court decided in effect that the United States had a right to apply the portion of Gen. Gratiot's salary then due and owing to any of the accounts as it saw fit he had admittedly settled, being a defaulter on all of his accounts.

As has been shown, the amount of the relator's salary had been fixed by law and the money for its payment appropriated, and was by the terms of the law in the possession or under the control of this respondent as disbursing officer, and he as such was under the legal obligation to pay, or, under the regulations and practice, to do his part in the payment of such salary. There was nothing left to be determined by his judgment or according to his discretion. The judge having served as judge the law itself automatically audited and determined the amount to be paid to him. The case of McCoy *v.* Handlin, supra, is, I think, in point as I have endeavored to show, for there it was said:

"On the other hand, where the amount claimed is fixed by the law, as, for instance, an officer's salary, the auditor is vested with no discretion whatever. If he is satisfied as to the identity of the officer claiming a salary it is his duty to issue his warrant for the amount so fixed. In that case there is nothing to be determined by an action at law and, if the auditor refused to issue the warrant, mandamus is a proper remedy to compel him to issue the same."

In Fowler *v.* Peirce (2 Cal., 165–167) the court said:

"It is true that courts can not compel judicial or other officers vested with legal discretion to act otherwise than in the exercise of that discretion. In the present case, it was the duty of the comptroller to audit the appellant's account. The nature and amount of the services are ascertained (or not disputed), and the law has fixed a compensation.

"The comptroller, who is bound to know the law by which he is required to act, has no discretion in such a case. Nothing remains to be ascertained. He must audit the account according to the law in force; and it will be no sufficient answer to a mistake or refusal on his part, to say he acted according to his discretion. The act of auditing an account, under circumstances like these, becomes merely ministerial and can be enforced by mandamus."

In State, etc., Collans *v.* Jumel, auditor (30 La. Ann., 861, 864), the court declared:

"When a judge has acquired his office in the mode designated by the Constitution, he has a vested right to its emoluments during the term fixed by the Constitution for its duration.

"The legislature can not deprive him of it. He may be impeded in the exercise of his judicial functions. He may be shorn of judicial power and be deprived of the opportunity to discharge the duties imposed upon him by the defense of his office, but he can not be divested of the office, except by one of the modes appointed by the Constitution for that purpose, and he can not be denied his just demand of payment of the salary, which is prohibited from being increased or diminished during his term.

"All devices tending to abrasion of the independence of the judiciary, or to subject it to legislative or popular caprice, have been uniformly condemned by the wisest men of our country. Numerous incidents have occurred in the States of attempts of the legislatures to oust judges from their constitutional offices and deprive them of their salaries, and in no instance has the doctrine announced in the relator's case in the Twenty-sixth Annual found any favor * * *.

"The independence of the judicial department of the Government is at once the anchor of our stability, the prop of our strength, and the shield of our defense. * * * The relator is entitled to his salary for the term of his office, not included in his former suit, and the respondent should have audited his claim therefor to the extent of the appropriations, and drawn the warrants upon the Treasury in accordance therewith."

In the case last above cited it appears that the auditor did not have funds sufficient to pay the salary of the judge, but, nevertheless, the writ of mandamus issued for such funds as he did have to apply to the payment of the salary of that judge. It apparently had been sought by the Legislature of Louisiana to legislate the relator in that case out of office, and, although the relator, by reason of the act of the legislature, had no judicial function to perform for a considerable period of time, nevertheless the Supreme Court of Louisiana held that he was entitled to his salary irrespective of the fact that he had not performed the duties of his office, and that mandamus would lie to compel the payment of his salary.

It seems to me that upon reason and authority, when the salary has been fixed by law and the money appropriated for its payment, and the officer who controls the funds refuses to pay the salary to the one entitled thereto, mandamus is the proper remedy and the only remedy which the aggrieved party can invoke for the protection and enforcement of his rights.

Counsel for the respondent cited the case of Butterworth *v.* United States (U. S., 656, 50–69) in support of his contention that mandamus would not lie in the present case. That case not only does not support this contention, but it expressly negatives it. There the superior of the Commissioner of Patents, the Secretary of the Interior, had overruled the commissioner, who had already exercised his judgment and discretion in deciding that the relators were entitled to a patent. The

Supreme Court of the United States stated that, irrespective of the action taken by the superior of the commissioner, the writ of mandamus would lie directing him to issue the patent. The court said:

"Some question is made as to the remedy. We think, however, that mandamus will lie and that it was properly directed to the Commissioner of Patents. He had fully exercised his judgment and discretion when he decided that the relators were entitled to a patent. The duty to prepare it, to lay it before the Secretary for his signature, and to countersign it were all that remained, and they were all purely ministerial. These duties he had failed and refused to perform merely out of deference to the claim of the Secretary to reverse and set aside the decision on the merits in favor of the relators. This we have held not to be a valid excuse."

10. It will be noted that the respondent has withheld $83.33 of Judge Jackson's salary for five days' absence from the Canal Zone in excess, as it is alleged, of the six weeks' annual vacation allowed under the Adamson Act. It is thus seen the respondent was under the misapprehension that Judge Jackson was to be classed as a day laborer, and that it was his duty as auditor, so he contends, to "dock," to use the respondent's language as a witness on this trial, Judge Jackson's salary on account of alleged absence. Of course, any laborer is respected, for labor is honorable, but the judge was not engaged to work by the hour or day. It is sufficient to say that the act of Congress provided that Judge Jackson should be paid an annual salary of $6,000, just as United States district judges are paid, and he was given by statute an annual leave of six weeks; and that this does not preclude the idea that he could lawfully have a longer leave of absence. Undoubtedly he could have been granted a longer leave, and undoubtedly the judge could not be deprived of the six weeks allowed by the statute. If without authority Judge Jackson absented himself from the Canal Zone for a period of time not permitted, the remedy for such dereliction was not committed to the judgment or authority of the respondent. For such an excess the judge was amenable to the President, with his power of removal, or to Congress, with its power of impeachment.

The Adamson Act does not provide for vacation for the marshal or the district attorney, and yet they have taken their vacation and the respondent made no deduction from the salary of either on that account. Presumably he did not make any deduction because they, perhaps, took leave or vacation by the consent of some executive functuary. It is rather strange, to say the least of it, that this respondent should now insist he has the right to withhold a part of Judge Jackson's salary for five days' absence in view of the fact he was informed that the Attorney General, the head of the Department of Justice, advised that the judge's explanation as to why he had been absent for the brief time mentioned was entirely satisfactory. And, moreover, it is stranger still that this respondent should withhold the five days' pay from the judge in view of the fact that the Comptroller of the Treasury, upon whom the respondent says he relied for direction, never advised him to make any such deduction.

I do not believe that law or propriety justified the respondent in this case to exercise the espionage or petty supervision over the time, services, and whereabouts of the judge, as was shown by the testimony on the trial. The testimony in the case warrants the statement that the judge was faithful, efficient, and independent in the discharge of the duties of his office. And testimony introduced at the trial without objection showed that Judge Jackson had so properly and fearlessly adjudged in a case before him as to bring forth from the respondent a published criticism upon the decision by the judge in that given case. But the judge was independent of him, and if he is to continue to be independent of the respondent, as a judge ought to be, he should not be subservient to the respondent for his salary or compensation.

In deducting $83.33 from the salary for the alleged five days' absence of the judge the respondent exceeded his authority.

My conclusion is that the withholding of $1,131.76 of Judge Jackson's salary was without authority of law; that it is the duty of respondent to issue his warrant or pay voucher for the same; that mandamus is the proper remedy to compel the respondent to perform this ministerial duty; and that, therefore, the peremptory writ of mandamus must be issued as prayed for.

It is accordingly adjudged and ordered.

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## Commercial Attaché Service of the Department of Commerce.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 29, 1916.*

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting copy of letter, dated yesterday, which my colleague, Mr. ROGERS, has written to Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, with relation to the commercial attaché service of the Department of Commerce. I am also reprinting that portion of a speech upon the Consular Service made by Mr. ROGERS in the House on June 6 last, which deals with these commercial attachés. Finally, I incorporate copies of letters, to which Mr. ROGERS's letter is a reply, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the request of Secretary Redfield on June 22 last, written by Mr. Redfield to my colleague, Mr. OLNEY, and to Mr. ROGERS.

The letter and speech are as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D. C., July 28, 1916.*

Hon. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
*Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I duly received your letter of the 12th ultimo. I observe that you have caused one of my colleagues to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 22d ultimo (p. 11277) a copy of your letter, and that he includes in his extension of remarks copy of your letter to him dated the 13th ultimo. Both letters deal with a speech upon the Consular Service which I recently made in the House of Representatives, in the course of which I digressed to consider the commercial attaches of the Department of Commerce and to suggest why either these positions should be abolished or the officials should be brought under the control of the Department of State, virtually as a part of the Consular Service.

I had concluded, in view of the tone of your two letters, that they merited neither acknowledgment nor reply. Since then, however, I have received two more letters from you—one dated the 27th ultimo and the other the 25th instant—each citing a stray compliment which had been bestowed upon one of the attachés. In order to spare you the labor of further letter writing, I have now decided to write you somewhat fully of my views. Let me at the outset call your attention to a phase of the matter which you have apparently overlooked.

I think it is not too much to say that both your letters of the 12th and 13th ultimo, to which you caused wide publicity to be given, are deliberately offensive and insulting. I refer, for example, to your statement that "there have been few worse cases of absolute misrepresentations" than my speech, and that "it would be very simple to knock it out and show up the complete untruthfulness" of what I said. This is a direct charge of falsehood against a Representative of the United States for statements in a speech in the House of Representatives.

You, a former Member, though for a brief period, of the House of Representatives, are, of course, familiar with the language of the Constitution of the United States (Art. I, sec. 6) that "for any speech or debate in either House they (the Senators and Representatives) shall not be questioned in any other place." Did it not occur to you that in writing your letter for insertion in the RECORD charging me with falsehood you were committing a gross and palpable violation of the Constitution of the United States, which, as an officer of the Government, you are sworn to uphold? Without discussing how far the constitutional prohibition goes, I would call your attention to various cases where the House of Representatives for much less flagrant cause has disciplined executive officers of the Government afflicted with the letter-writing habit—in one case an auditor of the Treasury, in another a Commissioner of Indian Affairs (see, for example, 3 Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives, secs. 2683, 2684). Although I have been advised by a number of my colleagues who are expert in parliamentary law that your letters constitute a clear invasion of the privileges of the House and of myself as a Member of the House, I have not cared to take advantage of this remedy. I am simply calling these facts to your attention for their possible future usefulness to you; another Representative might not be so lenient as I am. I prefer to meet you upon the merits of the case.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have made it my practice and pleasure to inform myself as fully as possible upon the details of our Diplomatic and Consular Service. I have, for example, sought every opportunity to discuss its needs with diplomatic and consular officers who were in this country on leave, with present and past officers of the State Department, and with persons of intelligence who have traveled extensively abroad. The statements which I made in my speech, and to which you take exception, were based upon and represent a composite of these private conversations. You ask me in your letter to inform you "on what authority" I made these statements, and to submit to you the names of my informants. I answer that I made the statements upon my own authority, basing them upon conversations with a large number of men who were personally acquainted with the matters of which they spoke and in whom I have entire confidence. I decline to give you the names of my informants; it is not my practice to break the seal of confidence which, among gentlemen, is affixed upon private conversations. I am surprised that you should ask me to do so.

You seem entirely to have misconstrued the purpose of my references to the commercial attachés. You seem to think that I have some grievance against the Department of Commerce or against the commercial attachés, individually or collectively. Nothing could be further from the fact. I do not know a single one of the commercial attachés, and have not the remotest personal interest in the matter. My sole purpose was and is to remedy what seems to me a serious flaw in the administration of our foreign service. As I said in my speech, "any such men (as the commercial attachés) to be effective at all, must be, as is the practice of other Governments, under the direction of the State Department. The present division of responsibility and authority works very badly." I stand squarely upon the foregoing statement and, if I knew how, would make it more emphatic.

You question my statement quoted above that it is the practice of foreign Governments to place the commercial attachés under what corresponds to our State Department. Surely you have not informed yourself upon this point. You have doubtless access to the minutes of evidence taken before the royal commission on the civil service of Great Britain in 1914. In the testimony of Sir Eyre Crowe, assistant under secretary of state for foreign affairs (answers 37158 and 37159) it appears that the commercial attachés of Great Britain "are part of the regular staff of the embassy. They report to the ambassador, and take their instructions from the secretary of state for foreign affairs," and are "selected, as well as formally appointed, by the foreign office." The German Embassy states that German commercial attachés are appointed by the foreign office, are under its control, and make their reports to it. Commercial attachés of France are appointed by the minister of foreign affairs and are controlled from the foreign office. The commercial attachés of Japan are also subject to the direction of the minister of foreign affairs. Thus, our four great rivals for the trade of the world—Great Britain, Germany, France, and Japan—control their commercial attachés from the foreign office. The force of example as well as the force of common sense alike condemn our present method.

It is, of course, easy to understand why you should rush to the defense of the commercial attachés of the Department of Commerce. The reason is that they had never existed until your administration, and, I presume, result from a recommendation made in your annual report of 1913. Their creation was apparently the first step in an attempt on your part to extend the scope of the Department of Commerce so as to effect a partial annexation of the Consular Service. If the recommendations on pages 14 and 63 of your report for 1913 had been accepted, we should have had the curious spectacle of our consuls being responsible in some lines of activity to the Secretary of State and in other lines of activity to the Secretary of Commerce. It is fortunate for the country that this suggestion, repugnant alike to precedent and reason, did not prevail.

And yet the creation of the commercial attachés, to work alongside of the consuls, while subject to another branch of the executive, was almost equally absurd. Under our laws (R. S., 1712) it is the duty of consuls of the United States in foreign countries to "procure and transmit to the Department of State authentic commercial information respecting such countries." Your report (1913, p. 13) states that "their (the commercial attachés') purpose will be to study the commerce and industries of the nations where they reside. They will have no other duties. They will collaborate with the consuls, having the advantage of the larger view and of the freedom from other cares."

Is that still their sole purpose? And as collaboration with the consuls was a requisite for this study, do you still indorse the division of authority and responsibility between the State Department and the Department of Commerce?

The commercial attachés were authorized by the legislative act approved July 16, 1914, and, in accordance with your recommendation (1913 report p. 62), were exempted from examination under civil service rules, although made subject to an examination to be held under your personal direction. Most of the attachés whom you selected under this law were appointed during the autumn of 1914. You ask various questions about the individual gentlemen who were appointed. I repeat that I have no disposition to attack any individual; my criticism goes beyond the fitness or unfitness of a given individual or group of individuals. Indeed, I believe that several of the commercial attachés are, as far as possible under a wrong system, doing excellent work. I hear Mr. Arnold's labors in Peking, for example, very highly commended. Mr. Arnold, it should be said, worked his way up through the several grades in the Consular Service, and at the time of his selection as commercial attaché was our consul at Hankow.

I believe you call these attachés "ambassadors of industry," yet I can find in their official biographical sketches but one of them—Mr. Downs—who was ever engaged in business. The occupations of the gentlemen whom I find listed in the latest Government register, aside from Mr. Downs and the three who were taken over from other branches of the Government service, are: Physician, railway engineer, teacher, newspaper man, and builder. Aside from the three former Government officials but two of your appointees are included in Who's Who; the occupation of one is there given as "compiler" and of the other as "sociologist." It was upon this analysis that I expressed my doubts as to the apparent qualifications for the positions. The examination being, under the law, wholly within your control and the occupations of the "ambassadors of industry" being as above, I ventured to suggest that politics played a part in their selection. In amplification of what I mean let me quote from the Cincinnati Enquirer of October 29, 1914:

"A. I. Harrington, who was recently appointed as commercial attaché by the Department of Commerce to go to Lima, Peru, in the interest of trade expansion in Peru and the neighboring countries, Ecuador and Colombia, came to Cincinnati in order to hear from principal exporters who have spent a number of years in South America about the best ways and means to promote American interests there.

"Mr. Harrington has never been in South America, and wanted the advice of those of our manufacturers who are acquainted with the trade in Latin America, and at the same time he wanted to see the goods that are made in Cincinnati."

Mr. Harrington's statements do credit to his candor; but I question whether his statement that he had never been in South America and that he was seeking advice in Cincinnati was calculated to instill confidence in his abundant qualifications for his post.

In your testimony before the Appropriations subcommittee on January 28 last you said of the examinations for the commercial attachés (Hearings, pp. 879, 880): "The examination is very severe and requires a fluent knowledge of the language of the country to which the attaché is assigned." I assert that your statement is incorrect and am prepared to prove my assertion, if disputed, from the publications of your own department. Of course, you did not intentionally mislead the Committee on Appropriations upon this vital point; nevertheless your testimony shows a strange lack of information upon a most important aspect of the commercial attaché service. Did Mr. Baker speak Russian when he was sent to Petrograd? Did Mr. Harrington speak Spanish when he was sent to Peru? It is my information that you do not insist upon a knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese on the part of our attachés who have been sent to South America. Yet I assert that no other tongue can possibly take the place, in trade-expansion work, of Portuguese in Brazil and of Spanish in the other Latin-American countries. It was upon the foregoing grounds that I made the statement, which you declare untrue, that "knowledge of business conditions in the country of their station, knowledge even of the tongue of the country were apparently not deemed essentials to appointment." I reiterate my statement.

You apparently object strenuously to my suggestion that the Department of Commerce and its commercial attachés have asked our consuls to collect information bearing upon various subjects. This really is a matter of common knowledge. Let me, for example, refer you to no less an authority than the present Secretary of Commerce. In his 1915 report, page 60, he says: "In addition to the reports from our own officers a number of special investigations have been made by consuls at the request of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce." The State Department records teem with cases of this sort. You can doubtless obtain access to them if you desire. One of the most recent instances of which I have knowledge occurred, I think, the very day when I made my speech—certainly within a day or two before or after. Our consul at Dairen, Manchuria, was called upon by a commercial attaché for information upon a certain point in which the latter was interested; the consul's reply necessitated a report of something over 50 foolscap typewritten pages. An investigation would be interesting to show in detail how many times during the two years of commercial attaché activity the individual attachés have called upon consular officers for assistance and how few times out of this number credit has, in the report to the Department of Commerce and to the public, been given to the consul for his aid.

In a memorandum which follows a report of your hearing last February before the Appropriations Subcommittee you cite four "practical things done by the present staff."

The first: "One attaché has given direct and necessary assistance to the movement of millions of dollars' worth of trade with the European countries." This is so vague as to be difficult to check up. It would perhaps be found on inquiry, however, that our consuls general and consuls, and perhaps, as in the Bolivia tin case, our diplomatic representatives, were quite as responsible. Was the trade "with" Europe export trade or did the "millions" represent imports to compete with American workmen in the manner you are well known to favor?

Second: "Another was largely instrumental in the removal of a discriminatory tax against American coal in Spain." Did the Consular Service have nothing to do with this? See report (published in Commerce Reports) of Consul General Hurst, Barcelona, Spain, February 29, 1916, entitled "Good results from consular trade efforts," etc.

The third achievement deals with the appointment of American advisory experts to China, and the fourth states that a commercial attaché "devoted much of his time to the study of the proposed tariff provisions of the country in which he is stationed."

Doubtless you put your best foot forward in this recital; doubtless 10 men, working actively a year and a half, even under a wrong system, necessarily accomplished things of value. Yet we must be pardoned for wondering if the results achieved over and above what the Diplomatic and Consular Service would in any event have achieved, were worth the $100,000 which they cost. However that may be, your plea for $225,000, in connection with which you submitted the foregoing data, did not greatly impress the Committee on Appropriations, which disregarded your appeal and merely continued the sum which you have had for the previous two years. The attachés now cost the United States, including salaries, expenses, etc., $10,000 apiece. If you had had your way, we would have had double the number, costing $11,250 apiece. And what do they do in addition to the work done by the consuls general and consuls?

Their functions and sphere of activity seem almost identical with those exercised by the consuls general of the United States. In your 1914 report (p. 40) you summarize the situation thus:

"The force thus briefly described may also be characterized—
"The permanent officer with the general outlook—the attaché.
"The permanent officer with the local outlook—the consul.
"The traveling officer with a single subject—the commercial agent.
"It is not meant in any way to exclude from kindly thought the important work of the consuls general."

But you do not state the distinction between the work of the attachés and of the consuls general. Why could the latter word not be substituted for the former in your definition given above?

As I have previously stated, I make no question of the character or abilities of the gentlemen who are our commercial attachés. The worst, so far as I know, which could be urged against them is that some of them are square pegs in round holes. My principal insistence is that the system is fundamentally wrong; that it furnishes a perfect illustration of the folly of duplicating work and of having double responsibility and authority in the same field of activity. The case was succinctly stated in a letter which I received recently in indorsement of my consular speech from the National Business League of America:

"I once asked a foreign consul, 'What is the particular function of a commercial attachés?' With nutshell conciseness he answered, 'To meddle and otherwise interfere with a consular official in the discharge of his duties.'

"The commercial attaché should be retired."

I should not go so far as to advocate their retirement. I wish to utilize every proper means to attain that upbuilding of the foreign trade of the United States, which is the desire of every patriotic American. Commercial attachés may be made an instrument in that work. This is an entirely nonpartisan matter and should be treated as such. Congress should simply transfer the attachés to the Department of State, where they belong.

Permit me to say in this connection that certain activities of the Department of Commerce have not encouraged me to feel confidence in the policy which was shaping the trade-building activities of the commercial attachés. Take, for example, the statement in Commerce Reports dated November 4, 1915, issued by your department, and presumably with your approval:

"Two visitors from Russia have nearly completed the organization of a cooperative sales agency for promoting Russian interests. Their efforts were materially assisted by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce."

Again, take the statement distributed broadcast through the country, and again presumably with your sanction, dated September 21, 1915:

"The Swiss Legation at Washington has advices from Berne that manufacturers in Switzerland are anxious to supply the Christmas toy trade of the United States, and the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, of the Department of Commerce, has undertaken to assist in having orders placed."

Neither of these announcements, one that your department was promoting Russian interests, the other that you were assisting the Swiss toymakers, is exactly reflective of what I understand by an "America first" platform.

In an interview given to the newspapers you characterize me as "inexperienced," and intimate that my references to commercial attachés may for that reason be treated lightly. This type of reply suggests the familiar story of the lawyer with the hopeless case, who scribbled upon his brief, "No case; abuse the other attorney." Possibly, whatever you might say of Representative JAMES R. MANN, you would not, in view of his 20 years of service in the House, call him inexperienced. Possibly you would agree that he was as well informed upon the public service as any man in Congress. On June 24 last, speaking of your annual report, from which I have quoted, he says:

"A large share of it consists in abuse of Congress. He seems to consider that his proper duty is to scold Congress. That is not the duty of an executive officer of the Government. The fact that he was formerly a Member of the House is no reason why he is at liberty to scold Congress constantly."

It may be, in view of this analysis, that I have taken too seriously your letter and have devoted too much time to this reply. When an ailment is chronic very little can be done to relieve the patient.

Yours, truly,

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SPEECH OF MR. ROGERS.

COMMERCIAL ATTACHÉS.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, the act of Congress approved July 16, 1914, provides in part as follows:

For commercial attachés to be appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, after examination to be held under his direction to determine their competency, and to be accredited through the State Department, whose duties shall be to investigate and report upon such conditions in the manufacturing industries and trade of foreign countries as may be of interest to the United States, $100,000.

The 1915 and 1916 laws have carried a similar item.

Under this provision the Department of Commerce has appointed 10 commercial attachés, 1 being assigned to each of the

following capitals: London, Paris, Berlin, Petrograd, Peking, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Santiago, and Melbourne.

The fact that these officials are under the Department of Commerce may seem to make it superfluous to discuss them in a speech upon the Consular Service. Nevertheless, I think the connection is sufficiently close and important to warrant a brief reference.

It is my considered opinion that these officials do absolutely no good and in some respects do the country more harm than good. I think they should either be eliminated or be made subject to the State Department.

It is well known that the Department of Commerce, under the tutelage of Secretary Redfield, is one of the greatest self-advertising institutions in the world. It blows its horn in season and out of season. A typical blast appeared in an article entitled "Uncle Sam, Trade Expert," in the Saturday Evening Post for May 6, 1916. This article lauded to the skies the achievements of the commercial attachés and, inferentially at least, left the impression that our commercial attachés were everything and our Consular Service nothing. For example, the following language, quoting a high official of the Department of Commerce, appears:

> It is not strange that all consuls are not able at all times to produce trade reports calculated to inspire the American manufacturer to go out after export business, and to guide those efforts to success after they have been inspired. On this end of the job he needs help of the sort that only the highly trained specialist can give. Hence the commercial attaché and the commercial agent.

I believe it to be a demonstrable fact that these 10 men hinder instead of assist the work of the consuls in caring for our foreign trade. For example, there have been repeated cases where a commercial attaché would ask a consul to collect information for him bearing upon a certain subject. The consul, though under no obligation so to do, would graciously and after much research collect the information desired. Then the attaché, without giving any credit whatever to the consul, would forward the information to the Department of Commerce and it would be blazoned forth to the country with a great hurrah. That very information would frequently have already been made available by the consul himself. Lately, I am informed, some of the consuls have notified the attachés that they no longer could do their own work and that of the attaché as well.

A number of the attachés were selected for political reasons, and several of them at least had no apparent qualifications for the task to which they are assigned. Knowledge of business conditions in the country of their station, knowledge even of the tongue of the country were apparently not deemed essentials to appointment.

These men, being officials of the Department of Commerce, not of the Department of State, and belonging neither to the diplomatic nor to the consular branches of our Government, have no official standing abroad. The foreign Government can not understand why they are in the country at all, and they occupy a thoroughly nondescript position. Oftentimes it seems as if every man's hand was against them and their hand was against every man.

It may be that there is a useful opportunity for service for the right sort of men, but any such men, to be effective at all, must be, as is the practice of other Governments, under the direction of the State Department. The present division of responsibility and authority works very badly, tells directly for friction, and entirely neutralizes any possible good which might otherwise result. As it stands now the country is simply throwing away $100,000.

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SPEECH OF HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D, OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1916.

EFFICIENCY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following letters and papers pertaining to the efficiency in the Department of Commerce:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
*Washington, June 15, 1916.*

HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2d,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On June 6 Hon. JOHN J. ROGERS, of Massachusetts, caused to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 10641, certain remarks, in which he reflected very severely on the commercial attaché service of this department. The inclosed article, which was printed in the Annalist for March 6, will give the facts.

I wish you would read so much of ROGERS's statement as refers to this subject—it is but brief—and perhaps you will see your way to replying to it, using the material herein.

My chief purpose, however, is to hand you copy of letter sent by me to Mr. ROGERS on the 12th, and to suggest that if you do see fit to take the matter up, possibly you can have my letter to him inserted in the RECORD. There have been few worse cases of absolute misrepresentations than Mr. ROGERS's speech, so far as it relates to the commercial attachés, and it would be very simple for you to knock it out and show up the complete untruthfulness of what he says.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Secretary.*

JUNE 12, 1916.

HON. JOHN J. ROGERS,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I have read with deep interest your remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 6 referring to the service of commercial attachés conducted by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of this department. Your information seems so wide, so varied, and so far exceeds that which I possess that I trust I may be pardoned for addressing you in the public interest some questions to which I beg your direct and categorical replies:

(1) Kindly say exactly in what ways do "these 10 men (commercial attachés) hinder the work of the consuls." Kindly give one or more instances in which any commercial attaché has hindered the work of any consul. No such case has ever been reported to the department; rather the reverse.

(2) Kindly give citations of time and place showing "repeated cases where a commercial attaché would ask a consul to collect information for him bearing upon a certain subject," and state the actual cases wherein "the attaché, without giving any credit whatever to the consul, would forward the information to the Department of Commerce and it would be blazoned forth to the country with a great hurrah."

(3) Kindly say what consuls, and where, have "notified the attachés that they no longer could do their own work and that of the attaché as well." Please name the consul or attaché concerned. In view of the publicity given the statement by you, doubtless your informant on this alleged matter will probably not object to our knowing his name. Kindly transmit it to me, that the matter may have closer inquiry. No such case has ever come to my knowledge save through your lips.

(4) Please name the attachés who "were selected for political reasons," and kindly say on whose authority the statement is made.

(5) You are invited to name the attachés who "had no apparent qualifications for the task to which they are assigned." How do you know this? What qualifications do you suggest for a commercial attaché, and which of these qualifications are not required by this department? Have you read the examination papers showing what is required from an attaché?

(6) Name the attachés who are not able to speak "the tongue of the country" to which they were sent or a language current in commercial circles therein. Is there one such? On whose authority do you say "knowledge even of the tongue of the country were apparently not deemed essentials to appointment"? The reverse is true. The facts were available to you. Please give particulars and details to justify your statement.

(7) On what authority do you say the commercial attachés "have no official standing abroad"? All the attachés are accredited through the Department of State, and by a ruling of that department rank after the first secretary of the embassy or legation. The facts are available and are the reverse of your statement.

(8) Kindly state a case to verify your statement that any "foreign government can not understand why they are in the country at all." To what government do you refer? If you prefer not to mention any government, kindly state the source of your authority, that inquiry may be made.

(9) Under foreign governments is it always "the practice" to place the commercial attaché service under the direction of the foreign ministry? Your alleged information seems so complete that I ask you to kindly tell me what other countries have commercial attachés, and how many and how controlled.

(10) What did the Chamber of Commerce of the United States determine with reference to the commercial attaché service?

(11) What did the national foreign trade council, from whom you quote, say about the commercial attaché service?

(12) What did the American Manufacturers' Export Association say about the commercial attaché service?

(13) What special and direct service to a large manufacturer in your own city was rendered by a commercial attaché and publicly acknowledged by the manufacturer?

I hope you will not be too busy to answer fully the questions asked. You are invited, nay, you are respectfully challenged, to publicly state the truth, and the whole truth, respecting what the commercial attaché service has accomplished. The facts are open for all the world to know, and are available to you as a public man. Tell them without fear and favor. I purpose to do so not only because there is nothing in them to be concealed but because the business world has the right to know what has been done for them and how it has been done. The record is one of which this department and the country has just reason to be proud and your attack upon it is most welcome as affording a basis for bringing the truth to light.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Secretary.*

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## War-Risk Insurance Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Saturday, July 29, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 13224) to amend an act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," approved September 2, 1914.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, this is a bill to continue the War Risk Bureau in the Treasury Department for one year from September 2, 1916. The original act creating the bureau will expire and the bureau will be discontinued on that date unless in the meantime this bill becomes a law.

The act to authorize the establishment of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department was approved September 2, 1914. The act provides that the President is authorized, whenever in his judgment the necessity of further war insurance by the United States shall have ceased to exist, to suspend the operation of the act in so far as it authorizes insurance by the United States against loss or damage by risks of war, which suspension shall be made, at any event, within two years after the passage of the act, which will expire September 2, 1916. There is nothing to indicate that the war in Europe will end in the near future, hence the necessity for continuing this act in force beyond the original period is apparent. The operations of the War Risk Bureau have been in the highest degree satisfactory. War-risk insurance has been written by the bureau on American vessels, freight and passage moneys, and cargoes at reasonable rates. The operations of the bureau have cost the Government nothing. On the other hand, the total premiums received by the bureau is shown by the Government recapitulation as $2,727,091.15; the net loss amounts to $694,581.73, leaving surplus premiums on hand of $2,032,509.42. The following recapitulation shows the operations of the bureau from September 2, 1914, to May 31, 1916:

RECAPITULATION.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sept. 2, 1914–May 31, 1916, 1,474 policies issued: | | |
| Total amount insured | | $127,408,991.00 |
| Premiums received on same | | 2,727,091.15 |
| Salvage received to date | | 49,782.00 |
| Total amount at risk | | 15,147,586.00 |
| Known losses to date (paid) | | 744,363.73 |
| Possible outstanding claims | | 250,000.00 |
| Net losses | | 694,581.73 |
| Total expenses of bureau, including salaries of entire force to May 31, 1916 | | 30,594.68 |
| Total premiums received | | 2,727,091.15 |
| Losses to date (all paid) | $744,363.73 | |
| Less salvage received | 49,782.00 | |
| Net losses paid | | 694,581.73 |
| Surplus premiums on hand | | 2,032,509.42 |

The full report of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, giving details of the receipts and expenditures of the bureau from September 2, 1914, to November 30, 1915, will be found in House Document No. 544, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session.

The following letter received by me from Hon. William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, sets out the operations of the bureau from September 2, 1914, date of its establishment, to July 24, 1916, and states the imperative reasons why the life of this bureau should be extended until after the close of the war in Europe:

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
*Washington, July 26, 1916.*

MY DEAR JUDGE ALEXANDER: The War Risk Insurance Bureau, which was established September 2, 1914, shows the following results:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total policies issued, September 2, 1914–July 24, 1916 | 1,526 |
| Total amount insured | $135,542,189.00 |
| Net amount at risk, July 24, 1916 | 11,993,017.00 |
| Gross premiums received | 2,868,103.32 |
| Known losses to date | $771,329.57 |
| Salvage received | 58,811.42 |
| Net losses (paid) | 712,518.15 |
| Net premiums in hand, July 24, 1916 | 2,155,585.15 |
| Total expenses of operating bureau from September 2, 1914, to July 24, 1916 | 32,282.47 |

In the two and one-half months preceding July 24, 1916, policies were issued aggregating $14,972,393; premiums received on same, $237,933.92.

This will indicate to you not only the signal service that the bureau has rendered to the business and shipping interests of the country, but the highly successful results thus far achieved (the net premiums in hand, after payment of all losses, amounting to $2,155,585.15, with only $11,993,017 net amount at risk), and this great business has been done at a total cost to the Government of only $32,282.47. It is a signal record of usefulness, efficiency, and economy, to say nothing of the very great influence this bureau has had upon war-risk insurance rates throughout the world, with corresponding benefit to American business and shipping interests.

For some reason, inexplicable to me, there seems to be some opposition to the extension of the life of this bureau for another period of two years, notwithstanding the fact that the business and shipping interests of the country seem to be unanimously for it so far as the resolutions of chambers of commerce and maritime exchanges received at the department can be taken as interpreting this sentiment. It would be a grave disadvantage to the business interests of the country, especially to the farming interests, if the life of the War Risk Insurance Bureau is not extended by the present Congress. It expires, as you know, by limitation September 2, 1916. I earnestly hope that House bill 13224, introduced by you March 15, 1916, may be passed without delay.

Faithfully, yours, W. G. MCADOO.

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
*House of Representatives.*

The following resolutions, adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, the National Foreign Trade Council, and the Maritime Exchange of New York, and a letter from Mr. P. A. S. Franklin, of the International Mercantile Marine Co., also resolutions adopted by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, the Philadelphia Board of Trade, the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, the Philadelphia Bourse, and the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia, emphasize the importance of the passage of this bill and the continuance of the War-Risk Insurance Bureau in the Treasury Department until the close of the war in Europe:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
*New York, July 10, 1916.*

Hon. WILLIAM G. MCADOO,
*Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Re United States War-Risk Bureau, I am under the impression that the law which created this bureau was framed so that it should expire by limitation on September 2 of this year.

I am directing your attention to this matter in the great hope that while Congress is in session any needed legislation for the extension of this bureau during the period of the war may be obtained.

It would be most unfortunate to have this bureau discontinue its operations this autumn. It would be very difficult, if not quite impossible, to insure the more valuable steamers of the American flag against war risk if this bureau is discontinued, as, from information that I have, it seems unlikely that the open market could furnish at most favorable rates a sufficient amount on individual steamers. If this proved to be the case, owners of American ships would have to rely on foreign underwriters for a portion of their cover.

The effect might very likely be not only to raise the rate of insurance on vessels but to raise the cost both of insurance and freights to shippers, and so be detrimental to the trade of the United States.

Since the original idea of the United States War-Risk Bureau was solely to put American shipowners and American shippers on a parity with foreign owners and shippers, because of the special protection afforded them by their Governments through their war-risk bureaus, it would seem only consistent that American shipowners and shippers should have the protection continue as long as the cause which gave rise to it continues to exist.

I am addressing this letter to you, as the bureau is administered in your department, and venture to urge that the administration should suggest to Congress the necessary action to extend its existence.

Yours, very respectfully,

E. H. OUTERBRIDGE, *President.*

[Personal.]

NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
*New York City, July 28, 1916.*

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Herewith I have the honor to transmit a copy of a report of the merchant marine committee of the National Foreign Trade Council, consisting of James A. Farrell, president United States Steel Corporation and chairman National Foreign Trade Council; Capt. Robert Dollar, president Robert Dollar Steamship Co., of San Francisco; P. A. S. Franklin, vice president International Mercantile Marine Co., indorsing and urging the immediate enactment of H. R. 13224, a bill prolonging the life of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department.

The National Foreign Trade Council was one of the first organizations to urge the necessity, at the outbreak of the war, of the establishment of Government war-risk insurance. In the opinion of this committee that necessity has not passed, and will not pass until the war is ended, but on the contrary, its continuance is urgently required in the interest of the foreign trade of the United States.

Respectfully, yours,

ROBERT H. PATCHIN, *Secretary.*

P. S.: A copy of the accompanying report has been sent to the Speaker of the House, the Hon. JAMES R. MANN, the Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE of Pennsylvania, and Secretary MCADOO.

REPORT OF THE MERCHANT MARINE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL ON H. R. 13224.

(64th Cong., 1st sess.)

At the outbreak of the present European war the fact that upward of 80 per cent of American foreign commerce was dependent for ocean transportation upon belligerent merchant vessels caused our export and import trade to suffer almost as acutely as if it had been belligerent. Exports of farm and factory products, grains, cotton, foodstuffs, and manufactures were piled high on the wharves at all seaports and lay in idle freight cars, congesting railroad terminals. While the control of the sea remained in doubt no belligerent vessels could go to sea.

The business interests of the country called for and the Government promptly responded with two legislative policies designed to relieve, and which gradually did relieve, the emergency. Foreign-built vessels of any age were authorized to take American register; that is, to fly the American flag and enjoy its protection. With a few exceptions all of the foreign-built vessels owned by American citizens were thus brought under the flag of the United States. Immediately this policy was determined upon it was apparent that American resources for war-risk insurance of the increased American tonnage, a large part of which operated in the trans-Atlantic trade subject to dangers from floating mines and other hazards of war were inadequate.

At the war-emergency meeting of the National Foreign Trade Council, held at the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, on Monday, August 10, 1914, resolutions were adopted calling attention to the vital necessity for the movement of exports and imports, and declaring:

"Whereas, even with legislation permitting the American registry an operation of foreign-built ships under the American flag, the movement of exports and imports will be greatly retarded because of prohibitive war risks (British Government insurance covering only British vessels and their cargoes); therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we recommend that the Government promptly provide war-risk insurance on both the hulls and cargoes of American vessels engaged in over-sea trade, at reasonable rates, and we urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of the laws necessary thereto."

The bill providing for a Bureau of War Risk Insurance was promptly passed and approved on September 2, 1914. It was an emergency measure, and its life was fixed at two years with authority for its suspension by the President within that time if, in his judgment, the necessity of further war insurance by the United States should have passed. At that time there was little expectation that the war would continue longer than two years, otherwise the bill undoubtedly would have provided for its continuance for three or four years, or the duration of the conflict.

The two years will expire on September 2 next. The war has not ended; American vessels are still subject to war hazards; even outside the war zones certain waters are infested by floating mines, and the perils of neutral commerce continue unabated. The resources for private insurance of war risks have not increased to such an extent as to permit the discontinuance of the Government's helpful activity.

Even those countries with a greater merchant marine in the foreign trade and resources far superior to the United States for insurance of war risks maintain government war insurance and have no thought of abating it while the conflict continues. The operation of the War Risk Insurance Bureau has benefited American-owned vessels. It has cost the Government nothing, for the total premiums received have been $2,727,091.15 and the net losses only $694,581.73, leaving surplus premiums on hand of $2,032,509.42. The institution has been stable, not subject to the fright and panic which now and then have seized the London and New York insurance markets, and therefore has exercised a steadying influence upon rates. The rates charged by the Government have been fair both to assurer and assured. The amount of war risk on hulls obtainable from American underwriters is limited. The War Risk Bureau is able to accept large covers on very high-valued vessels of American ownership, thus enabling the American shipowner to avoid recourse to the London market to complete his total insurance at a rate well above the prevailing rates in New York or the rates that have been fixed by the bureau. Even under existing circumstances it has often been necessary for shipowners, after having a heavy amount covered by the Government Bureau of War Risk Insurance and, in addition, all that the New York market could accommodate, to have still remaining a sum which it was necessary to place in London to complete the total required on a high-valued ship and cargo. Without the additional resources provided by the Government Bureau of War Risk, the amount for which American vessel owners would be obliged to go to London would be enormous. To discontinue the bureau now simply because the statutory termination of its life has been reached, without any change in the conditions necessitating its operation, would, in the opinion of this committee, be a serious mistake and unnecessarily disturbing to American ocean transportation without conferring collateral benefit upon the export and import trade of the United States.

Therefore the merchant marine committee, on behalf of the National Foreign Trade Council, representing all sections of the country and all lines of industry and commercial enterprises engaged in or affected by foreign trade, respectfully urges the immediate enactment and approval of H. R. 13224 as reported by the House Committee on Interstate Commerce.

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MARITIME EXCHANGE.
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
*New York City, July 13, 1916.*

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: We are authorized by the board of directors of the Maritime Association of the Port of New York to communicate with you regarding the United States War Risk Bureau, which was provided by congressional enactment for the purpose of furnishing to American shipowners and shippers insurance facilities to meet conditions arising from the European war, and which we understand will expire by limitation on September 2 next.

While the establishment of this bureau was intended as an emergency measure, in view of the prolonging of the European war we feel that conditions are such as to make the continuance of the bureau most desirable after the expiration date above mentioned.

At the present time the outlook for an increased American merchant marine is most promising, and we believe that every possible assistance in the way of favorable legislation should be afforded our shipping interests at this time. Our board of directors believes that the continuance of the War Risk Bureau, by facilitating the placing of risks and by its effect on insurance rates, will be most helpful to our growing merchant marine and will place our vessels in a favorable position to compete with foreign vessels which are granted similar protection by their various Governments.

Our board of directors, in behalf of a membership of 850, embracing representatives of practically all interests allied to shipping at this port, respectfully urges your valued assistance in this matter, which we deem of the utmost importance.

Very respectfully, yours,
J. B. MERRELL, *President.*
JOHN DOWD, *Secretary.*

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WAR-RISK INSURANCE LAW.

NEW YORK, *July 7, 1916.*

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries,*
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR JUDGE ALEXANDER: Understanding that this law expires on September 2, this is to strongly plead with you to do your utmost to have Congress continue this law, at least until the end of the present European war.

The British Government is carrying 80 per cent of the war risk on all of its shipping at the rate of 1½ per cent for 91 days, which is the same rate that the United States has been charging, although steamers under our own flag have not been subjected to anything like the risk of the steamers under the British flag.

If the United States withdraws from the war-risk insurance, and as it is impossible to get sufficient insurance in the United States to cover American flag steamers, it will place the American steamship owner operating in foreign trade at a very serious disadvantage, and leaves him at the mercy of the foreign underwriter, which, I am sure, you will agree with me is most unfortunate, and will ultimately be detrimental to the trade and commerce of the United States.

We are insuring with the United States Government at $1,000,000 each the steamships *Finland* and *Kroonland*, and at about $800,000 each the steamships *New York*, *Philadelphia*, *St. Louis*, and *St. Paul*, and it would be almost impossible to get this insurance in the outside market, and if we had to go into the outside market for it we would absorb so much insurance that it would be very difficult for the shippers to get insurance on the traffic forwarded on these steamers, except at exorbitant rates, as underwriters always watch their total line upon each steamer.

This act has been of great assistance to the American merchant marine and, in addition, has resulted in a profit to the Government, therefore I most strongly urge that you do your utmost to have it continued in effect, and thereby materially assist shipping under the American flag, and also greatly oblige,

Yours, very truly,
P. O. P. FRANKLIN.

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PHILADELPHIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
*July 15, 1916.*

Hon. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce requests that the following resolution be submitted to your committee and that the same be presented to the House. Will you be good enough to take care of this for us?

"Whereas there is at present, by enactment of Congress, a measure providing for the insurance of the commerce of the United States against the risks of war, and that there is also in effect at the present time a Bureau of War Insurance, under the control of the Treasury Department, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury; and

"Whereas this Bureau of War Risk Insurance has rendered effective aid during its existence, and without same it would have been impossible to fully insure American steamships against war risk; and

"Whereas the law creating this bureau will expire by limitation on September 2 of the present year: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, in the interest of the commerce of the United States, earnestly requests that the term for which the law was enacted be extended until the close of the war in Europe."

HOWARD B. FRENCH, *President.*

Attest:

N. B. KELLY, *General Secretary.*

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PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF TRADE,
*Philadelphia, July 13, 1916.*

Hon. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: During the consideration of the bill authorizing the establishment of a bureau of war-risk insurance the president of the Philadelphia Board of Trade sent the following telegram to the President of the United States:

"Philadelphia Board of Trade believes the present emergency justifies the Government of the United States assuming premium of insurance on war risks on American hulls and cargoes bound to European and other ports where such risk has not been already covered by the countries of destination and trusts your influence will be exerted to that end."

The law creating the war-risk bureau and providing for war-risk insurance expires by limitation on September 2 of the present year, and the Philadelphia Board of Trade earnestly advocates and heartily indorses the proposed legislation to extend the operation of the bureau until the close of the war now prevailing in Europe.

The unanimous opinion here is that this bureau has rendered most effective aid during the time of its existence, as it would have been practically impossible to fully insure valuable American steamships against war risks without the operation of the bureau.

On June 2 of this year the Chamber of Commerce of the United States reported that the Government was carrying a total insurance of $124,600,000 upon which premiums have been paid amounting to $2,680,000 since the organization of the bureau on September 3, 1914. The net losses paid amount only to $695,000, and against this the collections of salvage have reached nearly $50,000.

The board of trade therefore, even from a purely commercial standpoint, feels that it is entirely justified in earnestly petitioning the favorable action of your committee on the legislation proposed, to extend the bureau as stated above.

Very truly, yours,
WM. M. COATES, *President.*
W. R. TUCKER, *Secretary.*

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WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

THE PHILADELPHIA MARITIME EXCHANGE,
*Philadelphia, July 13, 1916.*

Hon. J. W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I beg to inclose herewith an official copy of a resolution adopted by this exchange in connection with war-risk insurance, and shall esteem it a favor if you will present the same to your committee at your convenience.

Yours, faithfully,
E. R. SHARWOOD, *Secretary.*

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WAR-RISK INSURANCE.

*To the honorable the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives:*

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, acting under authority of the board of directors, held the 12th day of July, 1916, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas in September, 1914, a measure was enacted by the Congress providing for insurance of the commerce of the United States against the risks of war by the Federal Government, and in accordance therewith a Bureau of War Risk Insurance was established in the Treasury Department, subject to the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury; and

"Whereas it appears to be the consensus of opinion that the aforesaid War Risk Bureau has rendered most effective aid during the period of its existence, and that without its assistance it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to fully insure the more valuable American steamships against war risks; and

"Whereas the law creating the War Risk Bureau and providing for war-risk insurance will expire by limitation on September 2 of the present year: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange and in the interest of the commerce of the United States, the term for which the law was enacted should be extended until the close of the war that is now prevailing in Europe."

THE PHILADELPHIA MARITIME EXCHANGE,
By J. S. W. HOLTON, *President*.

Attest:
[SEAL.] E. R. SHARWOOD, *Secretary*.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 12, 1916*.

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PHILADELPHIA BOURSE,
*Philadelphia, July 13, 1916*.

Hon. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: While not in sympathy with the principle that the Federal Government should undertake any enterprise which naturally should be cared for by a private corporation and private capital, the Philadelphia Bourse respectfully urges the prompt passage of legislation extending the operation of the Government War Risk Insurance Bureau until the close of the European war.

It advocates such extension since the American merchant marine in the past two years has come to lean upon the bureau and would be placed at a serious disadvantage were the bureau to cease on September 2, 1916, the date on which the law creating it expires by limitation.

Many large shipping companies have informed the bourse that it would be most difficult, if not impossible, to fully insure the more valuable American flag steamers against war risk without the bureau. The foreign-flag ships are insured largely by their own Governments on most favorable terms, considering the conditions, and it would be impossible for valuable American flag ships to secure enough insurance in this country. Without the bureau they would be compelled to rely upon the foreign underwriter, which would mean their absorbing of so much insurance that the rates would be advanced on shippers of merchandise by American flag steamers. This would be detrimental to the trade and commerce of the United States and to the American merchant marine.

The Philadelphia Bourse therefore urges the passage of legislation extending the operation of the War Risk Insurance Bureau until the end of the war.

Very truly, yours,

GEORGE E. BARTOL, *President*.

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THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE OF PHILADELPHIA,
*Philadelphia, July 13, 1916*.

Hon. JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER,
*Chairman Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In view of the extraordinary conditions prevailing and the consequent risks to American shipping as the result of the European war since August, 1914, Congress enacted, as you know, a law, effective on September 2, 1914, creating a War Risk Insurance Bureau, which will, by limitation, expire on September 2, 1916.

The opinion among shipping men is that this bureau has been of great value and has accomplished an incalculable amount of good to American commerce, for without it foreign insurance premiums would have become excessively high, if not altogether prohibitive; and we feel that should the bureau and its usefulness cease to be effective through lack of the necessary legislation the loss to our merchants and those of other exporting markets would be greatly deplored.

The board of directors of the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia therefore, in session on the 13th instant, authorized this communication to be addressed to you, urging upon your committee the importance of having the War Risk Insurance Bureau continued until the end of the European war, and we therefore ask you to use your utmost endeavor to have the act above referred to extended.

Very truly, yours, L. G. GRAFF, *President*.

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## The Franking and Newspaper Privileges.

# SPEECHES
OF
# HON. THOMAS D. SCHALL,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 29, 1916.*

Mr. SCHALL. Mr. Speaker, a Congressman holds merely the power of attorney to represent and transact the legislative business of his district and country. Upon partisan questions his duty is plain. But upon nonpartisan questions his country and his district must rely upon his vision and understanding of the situation. Every Congressman, I believe, wants to, or should want to, represent, not misrepresent, the consensus of the opinion of his district where that opinion is consistent with the interest and welfare of the country at large.

The problem of representative government has always been to ascertain this consensus of the public opinion upon proposed legislation concerning the interests of all the people. It is in the very conflict of opinions of parties and men wherein lies the secret of our success and strength.

There are always two sides to any question; and in a democracy the majority should say which side shall prevail.

The problem of the endurance of our democracy is the problem of having all the people understand the questions upon which legislation is proposed, and in order that all the people might have the fullest opportunity to know what is going on in their Government Congress has very wisely provided what is known as the franking privilege, by which system any public document, letter, or information pertaining in any way to the business of the Government can be mailed free to any citizen throughout the country.

Congress has also gone to the extreme, and rightly, in minimum rates to the newspapers that the fullest privilege of free speech and free press may be preserved. The safety of our Republic rests upon our free institutions, an unhampered press, and our public schools from whose towers the Stars and Stripes tell in what a spirit are reared our coming men.

This so-called franking privilege is one of the bulwarks of the people's liberties, upon which the foundation of our Republic must stand, for it is upon the education and understanding of our people that our republican institutions must rely for their perpetuation.

Every citizen has a right to know what laws are proposed, what are enacted, what are defeated, the attitude of the Congressman or public officials upon each of these, and their reasons for or against them. The franking privilege is expressly given the people, and it is the Congressman's duty, through his frank, to see that the people are informed as to the public business, and the closer he keeps in touch with them the more efficient and democratic will be his vote.

Newspapers can not and do not give full and definite information, and it can not be expected of them, for they are run for gain, and often the policy of a paper is a considerable source of income.

Often the apparent information is a plain matter of business, and there is no animosity intended to be conveyed by this statement.

The franking privilege is at times abused, no doubt, as is also the mailing privilege given to the newspapers. But the occasional evil is so far outweighed by its necessity and benefit in both instances that they should remain lasting institutions.

Too often one privilege in the interests of the people tries to get rid of another. The franking privilege is a thorn in the side of some molders of public opinion, and their attempt to drag it down should be met by understanding on the part of the people.

If the franking privilege should be taken away from the people they are likely to be exposed to the contagion of misinformation and public representatives would dwindle to trembling weaklings, shrinking and subservient to the swish of the whip of the interest-owned press. I hope the day may never come that honest public officials, deprived by the destruction of this institution of self-defense for their public acts, should thus be driven from the country's council.

A private injury often points a public wrong. Newspaper criticism was made of the use of my frank to congratulate a mother upon the birth of a son. The idea that the Government frank should be so belittled as to use it in congratulating some of the plain people, who perform the labor of this country, pay most of the expenses of the Government and get the least for it! Had that frank been used in congratulating some of the high and mighty there would have been no criticism.

A mother who has passed through the valley of the shadow of death to produce an American citizen deserves congratulation, and if justice were done not only should every mother be congratulated but every needy mother be pensioned. Conservation of the life and health of our prospective citizens is true preparedness.

The object of government is to lighten the burdens of its citizens. We spend billions to reward patriotism in pensions and memorials. The common people are the government; the office of Congressman is their gift and they have a right to its congratulations or condolences.

The franking privilege has of late years been much maligned, and because no one has taken the trouble to give the people the facts concerning the use of it, and misstatement after misstatement has been allowed to go unchallenged, many people have come to believe that it is their enemy, while in reality it is their friend.

How often in the very newspapers whose mailing privilege amounts almost to a frank do we read "petty graft," "cheap economy, if a man's conscience will allow him to use it," "hundreds of thousands of dollars extorted annually from the taxpayers for paper and printing of the belchings of our Congressman."

The writers of such as the above are not informed, for the Congressman or Senator must pay for paper, printing, and addressing, exactly as must the newspapers. The Government is at the expense only of carrying the document to its citizens, who, it must be admitted, have some rights to secure their information concerning their Government straight from the men they send there to represent them.

If the occasional franking of a public document "extorts hundreds of thousands of dollars annually from the taxpayers," what must be the toll on the taxpayers for the mailing privilege given the newspapers?

Because of these unwarranted and vicious attacks some Congressmen are intimidated, and the people are thereby deprived of information concerning their Government which is their due.

Another sample:

"The whole franking privilege is the dirtiest kind of graft. The 'gift' of tons of handsome volumes known as the Yearbook of the Agricultural Department costs the people of the United States probably $2 a volume, but the recipients never think that they are paying for them themselves."

Since the taxpayers are paying for them, it is the duty of their Congressman to see to it that they get them, and if he did not he would be negligent. The editor is "probably" wrong in his quoting of the price. They cost the Government a little over 40 cents apiece, and each Congressman is given an allotment of 750 throughout a district containing approximately 250,000 people. Seven hundred and fifty volumes, each about an inch thick, would not make many "tons of handsome volumes."

They contain valuable information for the farmer in the care of crops, live stock, prevention of disease, sanitation, treatment of plague in crop and animal, all of which knowledge is of vital general interest to the whole Nation, for the success of the producer heralds the success of the consumer. When I receive a request for the Agricultural Yearbook—and many are received—I always feel, and, I believe, rightly, that back of that request is a good, progressive, up-to-date United States citizen seeking to better his understanding of his work, and therefore to better the country in which he lives.

The farmer receives little enough comparatively from the Government, and the editor should not begrudge him the latest word on scientific farming. Along this same line there has been some criticism of the free vegetable-seed distribution. There may be some justice in this criticism, and a full airing of the facts, where they are authentic, would no doubt be of benefit to the public. A thorough discussion in the papers often crystallizes public opinion. And public opinion being once definite upon this or any other question, the legislature would enact into law that public opinion. The benefit derived by the people through free and fair discussion in the public print of public questions is the just reward to the people for the mailing privilege granted to the newspapers by the people's Government. Much of the criticism is that the seeds are not used and therefore become a waste; that seed houses grafted through this means a lot of money and gave poor seeds in return; that Congressmen sent these seeds by the mail sack full to be distributed—which, in reality, they never were—thus great quantities of seeds fell into the hands of a very few people. To eliminate this, I caused to be addressed one package of vegetable seeds to every person in my district who I thought might use such seeds, thus hoping to give them the widest distribution possible and save the waste.

These seeds were allotted to my district, and I felt that as the Representative of that district it was my bounden duty to see to it that my district got them and that they were as widely distributed as possible among those who could use them.

At the opening of Congress I submitted to my constituents a series of nonpartisan questions which would be before this Congress for consideration and asked them to give their opinions upon them, stating that there was no other way for me to secure exact information, for should I rely entirely upon the newspapers' presentation of public opinion I should sometimes go sadly astray of what the people really want. An editor in my district who is in the habit of giving me and his readers advice often and freely, but who is undoubtedly well paid, says:

> Tommy SCHALL is writing to his constituents for advice about running the Government. Among other things, he takes a slap at the newspapers. Really big men have found by experience that it doesn't pay politically to defame the newspaper. Tommy has this, along with a lot of other things, yet to learn.

I had no intent of defaming any newspaper. My object was and always shall be to arrive at the truth. I realize I have many things to learn, but I prefer to gather how I should vote directly from the people. I believe that this country belongs to them as well as to me and the editor, and their desire for its welfare is as keen as ours.

I have no quarrel with the newspapers and am always grateful for their support, and the fair treatment given me by a great number of them I highly appreciate. But if lack of belief that divinity doth hedge a newspaper bars you as a really great man, I admit the soft impeachment and with the same spirit advise the editor not "to fancy himself bestriding his narrow world like a great colossus while we poor petty public men must creep beneath his huge legs and peep round to find ourselves dishonorable graves."

Many of the newspapers of my district congratulated me upon this method of arriving at public opinion. I received 9,500 replies; one answer out of every four letters. These answers required 2-cent stamps, which fully returned to the Government the money for the franking of the original letters.

A great daily, the Minneapolis Journal, commented upon my referendum as follows:

> It relieves the Congressman from any necessity for independent thought or responsibility. All he has to do is vote as a majority of his constituents indicate. Whether or not they know anything about the subject in question is of no moment.
>
> Further, it makes certain that the careful Congressman will never be led off into any foolhardy attempt to rise above a purely local view of any question, no matter how big and broad that question may be.
>
> In the long run it is likely that the public will arrive at a different conception of the duties of a Congressman. There will be a demand for a man representative of his constituency in spirit, tendencies, and broad principles, a man who can think nationally. With that as a basis, he will be expected to avail himself of the greatly superior opportunities for obtaining information which his position affords.
>
> For if a Congressman is no better fitted to reach a conclusion as to how to vote on the ordinary matter coming up for consideration than the average man of his constituency with no special occasion or opportunity for studying the subject, his district had better make a change. What else is he there for?

The assumption of the Journal that the average man does not know what he wants and that only a few of the elect are capable should be strenuously refuted. How can a Congressman know the "spirit, tendencies, and broad principles of his constituency" better than to hear directly from them?

What will become of our boasted Government, of the people, for the people, and by the people when Congressmen tuned to the Journal's liking shall be in the saddle?

How will asking one's constituency their views on nonpartisan questions deprive a Congressman of all advantages set out in the above editorial? The Congressman's vision is surely not obscured by receiving the intelligent, divergent opinions from all parts of his district.

For a Congressman to follow the rules laid down by the Journal would be the height of conceit. I have never claimed that my mental capacity was more than ordinary, but I do not thereby admit that it is inferior to the men holding the same gauge of office. I have discovered as I have journeyed through life that the fellow who thinks he knows it all is very likely to make serious blunders. The men who have been of service to their country are the men of small conceit who have been willing to get the divergent opinions of all who have intelligent thoughts, and from all the divergent opinions centering upon them draw their conclusions as to what is the best thing to do.

I remember the story told of Abraham Lincoln when he sent his messenger to his Secretary of State, Seward, instructing Seward to do so and so. Seward replied to the messenger to go back to Lincoln and tell him that he, Lincoln, was a blank fool. The messenger reported to Lincoln, and it is said of Lincoln that he scratched his head and said, "Did Seward say that?" Upon receiving the reply that he did, he soliloquized, "Well, if Seward said that he must have some good reason for it." After considerable thought upon the matter he recalled his messenger and told him to go back to Seward and tell him that he had come to the conclusion that Seward was right.

The idea that because a man is chosen Congressman he thereby has a monopoly on the statesmanlike wisdom of that district! An election does not constitute an apotheosis.

The real apprehension, I fear, with the above opinion molder is that the people may come to be consulted as to how a Congressman should vote, instead of taking his information from their pages.

Again, the Journal editorially instructs the public as follows:

> We want something more than mere errand boys in both branches of the United States Congress. We want big-brained, patriotic men; men who think and vote nationally. The people are coming to judge Congressmen by the patriotism, the judgment, the statesmanship they show in handling national questions. Some districts send errand boys to Washington; others send broadgauge men, who see in their positions great opportunities to serve the American people and to preserve the American Republic. In these days of stress and danger the errand boy is becoming passé.

It ought not to be an argument against a Congressman that he is willing to listen to the intelligent opinion of his district, that he attends to his duties by visiting departments and answering inquiries as well as attending to his duties in the committee room and on the floor of the House.

On the 23d of May, when the Navy bill was up, I made a speech advocating adequate preparedness along the lines of education the Journal has been holding out to the public, believing it was better to err on the side of safety. The greatest daily newspaper of the Capital of our Nation gave me the leading editorial upon that speech and commented upon it as a remarkable speech. It was favorably commented upon editorially throughout the East. And yet the Journal never informed its readers that such a speech was made, although it was exactly on the lines they had been boosting for. The only difference between us was as to who should pay for it, but that was a question to be decided later. I maintain that we should help out a protection revenue fund by a tax in proportion to the income of the individuals and corporations whose property is so protected by such preparedness; and that a tax should be placed on the output of the manufacturer of munitions of war whose profits are running beyond comprehension on account of the European war, which war is the immediate cause of our present necessity for preparedness. Then, too, while I stand for adequate preparedness, just like the Journal, I do not stand for Uncle Sam to be held up by the armor-plate companies and munition companies and steel companies of this country in securing that necessary preparedness.

For instance, I do not think that Uncle Sam should have paid the armor-plate company $616 per ton for armor plate, while that same company sold that same armor plate and transported it across the ocean for $249.

Now, had I just stood for preparedness and stopped right there, I might have been sliding along easy under full sail as a man who had been in the wilderness for some time but had finally come to see the light.

But I broke my pick when I advocated that a tax be placed upon individual incomes and that corporations and manufacturers of munitions of war, steel companies, and so forth, should bear their part, and it was the height of heresy for me to vote for a Government-owned munition factory which the Journal designates as pork. Now, mind you, I sent out that referendum letter to my constituents December 7, 1915.

On January 1, 1916, the Journal published the following, which will show a later editorial of that paper to be without foundation:

WASHINGTON, *January 1.*

Congressman THOMAS D. SCHALL says he is getting a liberal education on public questions from his constituents. At the beginning of the session Mr. SCHALL sent out about 20,000 letters asking expressions of opinion on preparedness, foreign affairs, the Philippines, and other subjects that are likely to be brought before Congress.

"The answers have covered all the subjects on which I asked for opinions except rural credits and the proposed ship-purchase bill," said Mr. SCHALL.

"The advocates of preparedness are in a heavy majority, but few of my constituents go into details, indicating that the legislation should be dealt with by experts. Many people advocate military instruction in the higher grades of the public schools and in the colleges in order to fit the young men for military duty if called upon later in life. The proponents of an increased military force range from 'moderate' to double the present force.

"Navy increase is urged, but, as with the Army, it should be left to experts. Some want more dreadnaughts and others favor submarines, and a lot of them. Encouragement of the militia is advocated by a majority of writers.

"As to foreign questions, Germany and Austria and Great Britain and France should be held to international laws. Our attitude toward Mexico should be 'neighborly,' and we should not let go of the Philippines."

Mr. SCHALL would not permit the names of his constituents to be used, but he gave out extracts from some of the letters. One man said: "Support the Constitution, be honest, fear no one. Fight barbarism, and bury Bryan and his like very deep. That's all."

An official of the Minneapolis Federal reserve bank said the President was in position to judge all these matters better than others, and he believed the Chief Executive should be supported, whether he was a Democrat or a Republican.

A street railway official advocated increasing the Regular Army to 200,000, with military training outside the Army to put 1,000,000 men in the field.

One writer gave an interesting view of what European nations think of the United States. He traveled in Europe just before the outbreak of the war, and this is the way he sized up European sentiment:

"The French regard us with amused tolerance. England's attitude is one of disdainful indifference. Germany thinks of us as sand. We would, in the German opinion, make a respectable annex to the Kaiser's Empire, with the addition of the cement of German culture, thoroughness, and method."

Although not altogether correct or fully quoted, the above article gives a fair indication of the general interest and intelligent character of the answers.

On May 13, 1916, the Journal editorially informs its readers:

Mr. THOMAS D. SCHALL voted anti-United States on the McLemore resolution, then polled his district. Finding it was for preparedness, he promptly reversed his former action and voted for a larger Army.

The inaccuracy of part of the above statement can be easily shown by reference to the date of the January 1 Journal article, which shows that I had the information that my district was for preparedness at least not later than January 1, else how could they have gotten it from me, which they purport that I secured after March 7, the date of the McLemore vote.

FACTS VERSUS FICTION ON THE WARNING RESOLUTION.

The inaccuracy of the anti-United States talk was well known to the newspaper men at Washington or to anyone who had access to the facts of the situation as it was. The inaccuracy of the issue sent out broadcast all over by the greatest newspaper syndicate in this country was aided and abetted by the Wall Street interests, headed by Morgan, seeking to maintain or increase the price of war stocks. A war with Germany, tied up as she was on the ocean and both hands full on the land, could in nowise threaten the big business of this country. In fact, it would be a desired situation from the standpoint of the munition traffickers, which includes in one way or another many of the great corporations of this country. For Germany was in position to inflict little or no harm upon us; but a declaration of war with her would at once precipitate a feverish military preparedness which would in no way interfere with the sale of goods to the allies and would increase the market by the addition of the United States. For the great moneyed interests of this country there was nothing to lose by war with Germany, since she could not strike back and could not buy of us, and, from the dollar standpoint, there was everything to gain. Therefore, as soon as the former attitude of the President was known through his note written by his Secretary of State to England on the 18th of January, there was concentrated a great part of the money power of this country, aided and abetted by a great press syndicate, against the President's attitude. And there was instituted a tremendous newspaper propaganda throughout this country to bring about once more the change of his mind. That they succeeded everybody knows, for the President came out finally in contradiction to the authorized attitude of his Secretary of State. Now, the question arose as to how he could pass the buck. The Democratic Congressmen and Senators, having read the attitude of the President through the letter of his Secretary, a chosen member of the official family, like good partisans and desirous of keeping the thought of the party a unit, began to line up, as they thought, with the administration. As the different newspapers, friends, and constituents inquired of them concerning the situation, they unqualifiedly indorsed the present, as they supposed, attitude of the President.

Thus, by the time the President got ready to change his mind the whole Democratic Party had in one way or another succeeded in putting themselves on record throughout their respective districts on what they supposed was the President's position.

But, lo and behold, they woke up one morning to find that the official communication of the Secretary of State, approved by the President at the time of its writing, was not at all his idea, but that his attitude was the opposite. Thus arose the jangle, which has been so well advertised by the press, between the Democratic part of the legislative bodies and the President. And it therefore became necessary to have the difficulty settled.

And so, after the situation had been sufficiently scrambled in the newspapers, the President boldly came out and demanded in the newspapers that Congress have a thorough and fair discussion of the situation and either indorse his attitude or not. This to the casual reader of the press, who could not and did not know of the tumult behind the screen, seemed like a reasonable proposition. But, owing to the opinions given out throughout the country by the Democratic Senators and Congressmen who have some regard for their reputation for stability of opinion and who could not so easily execute mental gymnastics, there arose indignant murmurs, which grew louder and louder in the Democratic cloakrooms of the Senate and the House, at the President's seeking to wash his hands in their political blood.

But the press kept on stirring and the President kept on insisting upon a full and fair discussion of the question of warning. Both the Democratic majority in the House and in the Senate sought to dodge in every way they could, but the press was back of the President and kept the tom-toms going. It was freely predicted that the President, according to his usual custom, which, by the way, was a precedent set by himself, would come before a joint session of the Senate and the House and explain the situation and demand that a fair, thorough, full, and free discussion be had. Instead he adopted an underground method, which carried no information with it, of conveying his desire to the Senate of a fair and thorough discussion before that body. And the Senate was thus forced reluctantly to take up the warning resolution. This resolution was originally of considerable length, but before it went to the Senate for a vote, which under the rules of the Senate seems to be permissible but which would not be in the House, it was reduced by its author to the statement that "the sinking of an

armed merchantman with loss of American lives was a cause for war."

This was the exact last position assumed by the President. When the smoke cleared away Minnesota found her senior Member voting to table it, and her junior Member voting against tabling it. Therefore, from the record of the Senate we find the senior Member in voting to table, voting against the President's attitude, while the junior Member, who has been so loudly heralded through the press as a traitor, was voting, according to the record, with the attitude of the President. And the gentleman who introduced the resolution and who voted exactly as did the senior Member of Minnesota was also heralded through the newspapers as something undesirable. Even the President was puzzled till the press again came to his aid with a report that the Senate had confirmed his position.

The majority of the Democratic Party, it was claimed by the press, supposed the resolution contained the little word "not," which it did not contain. This makes just the difference between "a cause for war" and "not a cause for war." The Journal announced that the senior Member voted to stand with the President and that the 11 other Representatives had voted against the President and the country. Why the Minneapolis Journal assumed that the intention of all the other Minnesota Representatives was against the President and the country, the fact of the record and the entire situation surrounding the question will not explain. This is the record of the Senate. You can figure it out any way you want.

The McLemore resolution, as it was presented in the House, you all know, differed in its effect from the Senate resolution. It was a long, cumbersome, crudely worded, impossible instrument. It was the least promising, the least possible, least considered of the many resolutions that blossomed out during the turmoil between the Democrats of Congress and their President. It had been tabled by the committee along with many others more worthy to be considered. The committee had not the least intention of putting this question before the House, believing the question was a diplomatic one for the President. But, as I have said before, the Democrats had gone on record in their eagerness to stand back of the President in what they thought to be his attitude. And the President either had to put them in the wrong or be in the wrong himself. So the Democratic majority began to cast about for some means of appearing to comply with the seeming demand of the President in order to allay the troubled waters, to apparently do something to satisfy the public, but in reality, to do nothing and thereby save their own and the President's political skins.

Both "would not play false and yet would wrongly win." So the committee picked out the McLemore resolution, which, mark you, was already dead by a vote of the committee, and which they were sure, owing to its construction, could not, without amendments, muster a corporal's guard upon the floor of the House, and brought it in under this rule:

*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to consideration of H. Res. 147; that there shall be four hours of general debate, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. FLOOD] and one-half by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER]; that at the conclusion of said general debate the said resolution shall be considered under the general rules of the House.

Under the general rules of the House a motion to table was in order by anyone immediately at the end of the discussion, and thus any amendment or debate upon the merit would be shut off.

Their gag of the House was complete, and by this ruse they succeeded in not having a fair and thorough discussion upon the merits, as the President had so loudly claimed through the newspapers he desired. And the people were buncoed, for in reality the whole fiasco was an arrangement to vote not to vote upon anything, and places the Congressmen very much in the position of the witness who, after being admonished by the court and lawyers to answer all questions yes or no, said that there were some questions that could not be answered that way, and proved it by asking the court if he still beat his wife.

I realize that I took much the same position as the Kansas dog which, when he saw a cyclone coming, got up on his hind legs and began to bark at it. The cyclone hit him and turned him inside out. When he had straightened himself out and partly recovered his poise, he soliloquized thus: "How vain it is to open your mouth in the face of a cyclone!"

I am not pro-German; I am not pro-English; I am pro-American," and I try to be "pro common horse sense." Perhaps this last "pro" may be questioned, for it is commonly reiterated that if you want to stay in Congress you should be subservient to the powers that be. But I can not believe that our country has come to that, and I will have to be shown. Ignored by the aforesaid great daily, without political organization, without money, without any of the so-called necessary perquisites, and handicapped as I am, the plain people of the tenth district of Minnesota believe in me. And that is one of the reasons I voted against tabling the McLemore resolution, for I refuse to become a part of a lie to throw dust in the eyes of the people.

My great-grandfathers fought to establish this country; my father fought to preserve its unity; and I am ready to give of myself at any time whatever my country can use.

What wonder that public men grow weary of being beaten at the cart's tail and flayed in the public eye for standing for the "welfare of the people of the United States"?

How futile the attempt of mere man in public office to keep from being misrepresented, misquoted, misjudged, misunderstood, when the editor of a great daily newspaper, thoroughly imbued with the idea of electing this man or defeating that one, with a few careless strokes of the pen can put him on the defensive, even among his friends, and perhaps utterly ruin him. Every day of the year hundreds of thousands of copies of these newspapers are projected into the public mind for consumption on a newspaper privilege furnished them by the Government amounting almost to a frank. The contagious misinformation thereby conceived is continued in its work of destruction from mouth to ear. How tiny the trickling of the franking privilege, which is costly, slow, and fraught with much labor and which can be only used occasionally, when compared with the great Niagara of the daily press. With what flaunt of patriotism they have condemned public men who have had the courage to oppose errors of the administration which they now themselves editorially attack. But a moment ago they were acclaiming:

Oh excellent young judge!
A Daniel come to judgment!

It makes a difference whose ox is gored, and they are awakening to the fact that all this false newspaper blare of "standing by the President" was a Democratic horse of Troy, which the confiding Republican newspapers hauled within their walls with loud pæans of patriotism. That they are becoming aware that it is high time they should "fear the Greeks bearing gifts" the following editorial from the Minneapolis Journal of July 24 will signify:

IS CRITICISM DISLOYAL?

The effort of the Democratic press to brand as disloyal any criticism, however well founded, of President Wilson's mishandling of foreign affairs furnishes a striking example of a perverted conception of both loyalty and logic. Reduced to simple terms, the argument of these papers runs thus:

"Our affairs have been handled in a blundering, vacillating, and uncertain fashion, both as to Europe and as to Mexico. As a result of this wobbling course our relations with various European countries are unsatisfactory, and the situation with Mexico is fraught with danger. Nevertheless, because of the stress of our various foreign relations, there must be no criticism of the blundering, vacillating course which has produced this situation. Out of loyalty to our country we must refrain from pointing out the serious errors of the administration which have been in part responsible for our present difficulties. Then, in the absence of just criticism, the President may be reelected and the country suffer from four years more of the same trouble-making ineptitude."

That kind of an argument may appeal to a certain type of mind. The bulk of the American people, however, are infinitely more interested in the welfare of the United States than they are in the welfare of the present administration. They are defining loyalty in the broad terms of the good of the country. And the good of the country to-day demands just the proper criticism of the administration at many points, and in November the transfer of the management of our foreign affairs to experienced, sagacious, and far-seeing men.

## Transportation of National Guardsmen to the Mexican Border.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES BENNETT SMITH,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 29, 1916.*

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am unable to grasp the mental attitude of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN] in treating with levity the experiences of National Guardsmen in traveling from their native States to the Mexican border. I am also unable to agree with him in his conclusion that the railroads did the best they could in furnishing facilities for moving the troops to the border.

It should not be forgotten that most of the men who went to Texas joined the State militia with little or no expectation of being called on to shoulder arms against a foreign foe. They

had not been trained in the hardships of war. Until a few weeks before they started for the Mexican boundary the two Houses of Congress were in dispute as to whether the National Guard would constitute the reserve army, or whether another plan would be adopted for compulsory or voluntary enlistment for a reserve army.

The law mustering the militia into the Federal service was not actually in force before the men composing it were called to the colors. They were unprepared in military training. They were unprepared physically. They were unprepared in the sense of being ready to leave profitable vocations or providing adequately for their families.

If ever men were entitled to have the best treatment the Government could give them the National Guardsmen were emphatically entitled to it. Did they get it? Assuredly they did not. The same Army officers who declared that the militia would have to endure long training before its membership would be ready for anything resembling war put the guardsmen on the same footing as the Regulars without a moment's hesitation or delay. In fact they were given far less consideration than the Regulars, because the standing Army moves by routine and little difficulty is experienced in handling it.

To praise the transportation facilities in carrying the troops to Texas is to burlesque the truth. The railroads would not dare use the coaches in ordinary traffic that were put into service in transporting the guardsmen to the border. The equipment was a disgrace to the railroads of the country and a scandal to the Nation.

I have no desire to complain or criticize, but I can not allow the statements of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN] to go into the RECORD without expressing in this brief and incomplete way my own views on the subject.

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## Speech of Hon. Charles Evans Hughes Accepting the Republican Nomination for President of the United States.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES R. MANN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House I herewith insert in the RECORD the speech of Senator HARDING, chairman of the committee to notify Hon. Charles Evans Hughes of his nomination by the Republican Party as their candidate for President, and also the speech of Mr. Hughes delivered in reply to the notification. The ceremonies attendant upon the notification took place in Carnegie Hall, New York City, July 31, 1916, and were attended by many prominent Republicans from throughout the country.

The speeches are as follows:

SENATOR HARDING'S SPEECH OF NOTIFICATION.

Senator HARDING said:

Mr. Hughes, the committee here assembled, representing all the United States and Territories, chosen by the Republican national convention, which met in Chicago on last June 7, is directed by that convention formally to notify you of its action in selecting you as its nominee for the Presidency of the Republic.

Speaking for the committee, it is my pleasure to say directly what was conveyed to you by telegraph while the convention was yet in session—that you are the unanimous choice of the Republican national convention for the party standard bearer.

That convention uttered the principles of a confident, determined, reunited, and enthusiastic Republican Party, which turns to you, in highest respect and trust, as a nominee best typifying the party's purposes and the people's desires.

Inasmuch as the unusual circumstances inspired an informal notice at the time of the convention's action and you then made an informal acceptance of the call to patriotic duty, which won the plaudits of our people, I shall not refer in detail to the action of the convention or the declared principles to which the Republican Party is committed. But it is fitting that I should speak the congratulations of this committee on your most extraordinary nomination.

It has no parallel in the history of the Republican Party. As the whole people have approvingly witnessed, you have been chosen for leadership by a convention which comprised the best thought, the highest intention, and deepest consecration of a great and historic party, when you were not only not an aspirant, but discouraged all endeavors in your behalf.

Notwithstanding your holding aloof from all conference and participation, that unfailing understanding which directs popular sentiment to highest victory called you to the service of the party and the Nation. Your record of public service, your well-known and courageous views on public questions when in executive position, your abiding devotion to Republicanism, your possession of a confidence which has united all believers in Republican policies under our party banner, your unalterable and abiding Americanism, your high personal character and well-known capacity—all these have fixed you in the American mind as the best exponent of Republican principles and the wisest leader to restore American prestige and efficient government.

We bring you now the commission to that leadership. We bring it in full confidence that the people will gladly acclaim the Republican restoration under your trusted leadership. We bring it in the highest appreciation of that peace of right and justice which your unwavering Americanism will hold secure rather than endanger. We bring it in the strong belief that American material good fortune under Republican industrial preparedness will be the glad reflex of our own peace and the world's peace and be held permanent under Republican protection. We bring it in firm conviction that you, sir, will hold that platform promises constitute a sacred party covenant, and the expressed will of the people at the polls must find response in capable and efficient administration.

Aye, sir, we bring it believing you will add to our self-respect, confidence, and good fortune at home and to that respect and good opinion abroad which meets our higher American aspirations.

MR. HUGHES'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

Mr. Hughes said:

Senator HARDING, members of the notification committee, and fellow citizens, this occasion is more than a mere ceremony of notification. We are not here to indulge in formal expressions. We come to state in a plain and direct manner our faith, our purpose, and our pledge. This representative gathering is a happy augury. It means the strength of reunion. It means that the party of Lincoln is restored, alert, effective. It means the unity of a common perception of paramount national needs. It means that we are neither deceived nor benumbed by abnormal conditions.

We know that we are in a critical period, perhaps more critical than any period since the Civil War. We need a dominant sense of national unity; the exercise of our best constructive powers; the vigor and resourcefulness of a quickened America. We desire that the Republican Party as a great liberal party shall be the agency of national achievement, the organ of the effective expression of dominant Americanism. What do I mean by that?

THE EXPRESSION OF AMERICANISM.

I mean America conscious of power, awake to obligation, erect in self-respect, prepared for every emergency, devoted to the ideals of peace, instinct with the spirit of human brotherhood, safeguarding both individual opportunity and the public interest, maintaining a well-ordered constitutional system adapted to local self-government without the sacrifice of essential national authority, appreciating the necessity of stability, expert knowledge, and thorough organization as the indispensable conditions of security and progress; a country loved by its citizens with a patriotic fervor permitting no division in their allegiance and no rivals in their affection—I mean America first and America efficient. It is in this spirit that I respond to your summons.

Our foreign relations have assumed grave importance in the last three years. The conduct of diplomatic intercourse is in the keeping of the Executive. It rests chiefly with him whether we shall show competence or incompetence; whether the national honor shall be maintained; whether our prestige and influence shall be lowered or advanced. What is the record of the administration? The first duty of the Executive was to command the respect of the world by the personnel of our State Department and our representation abroad. No party exigency could excuse the nonperformance of this obvious obligation. Still, after making every allowance for certain commendable appointments, it is apparent that this obligation was not performed.

WEAKNESS AND INEXPERTNESS.

At the very beginning of the present administration, where in the direction of diplomatic intercourse there should have been conspicuous strength and expertness, we had weakness and inexpertness. Instead of assuring respect we invited distrust of our competence and speculation as to our capacity for firmness and decision, thus entailing many difficulties which otherwise

easily could have been escaped. Then in numerous instances, notably in Latin America, where such a course was particularly reprehensible, and where we desire to encourage the most friendly relations, men of long diplomatic experience whose knowledge and training were of especial value to the country were retired from the service apparently for no other reason than to meet partisan demands in the appointment of inexperienced persons.

Where, as in Santo Domingo, we had assumed an important special trust in the interest of its people, that trust was shockingly betrayed in order to satisfy "deserving Democrats." The record showing the administration's disregard of its responsibilities with respect to our representation in diplomacy is an open book, and the specifications may easily be had. It is a record revealing professions belied. It is a dismal record to those believing in Americanism. Take, for example, the withdrawal of Ambassador Herrick from France. There he stood, in the midst of alarms, the very embodiment of courage, of poise, of executive capacity, universally trusted and beloved. No diplomat ever won more completely the affections of a foreign people; and there was no better fortune for this country than to have at the capital of any one of the belligerent nations a representative thus esteemed.

WHAT REMOVING HERRICK MEANT.

Yet the administration permitted itself to supersede him. The point is not that the man was Ambassador Herrick, or that the nation was France, but that we invited the attention of the world to the inexcusable yielding of national interest to partisan expediency. It was a lamentable sacrifice of international repute. If we would have the esteem of foreign nations, we must deserve it. We must show our regard for special knowledge and experience. I propose that we shall make the agencies of our diplomatic intercourse in every nation worthy of the American name.

The dealings of the administration with Mexico constitute a confused chapter of blunders. We have not helped Mexico. She lies prostrate, impoverished, famine stricken, overwhelmed with the woes and outrages of internecine strife, the helpless victim of a condition of anarchy which the course of the administration only served to promote. For ourselves, we have witnessed the murder of our citizens and the destruction of their property. We have made enemies, not friends. Instead of commanding respect and deserving good will by sincerity, firmness, and consistency, we provoked misapprehension and deep resentment.

In the light of the conduct of the administration no one could understand its professions. Decrying interference, we interfered most exasperatingly. We have not even kept out of actual conflict, and the soil of Mexico is stained with the blood of our soldiers. We have resorted to physical invasion, only to retire without gaining the professed object. It is a record which can not be examined without a profound sense of humiliation.

THE CASE OF HUERTA.

When the administration came into power Huerta was exercising authority as Provisional President of Mexico. He was certainly in fact the head of the Government of Mexico. Whether or not he should be recognized was a question to be determined in the exercise of a sound discretion, but according to correct principles. The President was entitled to be assured that there was at least a de facto government; that international obligations would be performed; that the lives and property of American citizens would have proper protection. To attempt, however, to control the domestic concerns of Mexico was simply intervention, not less so because disclaimed.

The height of folly was to have a vacillating and ineffective intervention, which could only evoke bitterness and contempt, which would fail to pacify the country and to assure peace and prosperity under a stable government. If crimes were committed, we do not palliate them. We make no defense of Huerta. But the administration had nothing to do with the moral character of Huerta, if in fact he represented the Government of Mexico. We shall never worthily prosecute our unselfish aims or serve humanity by wrong headedness. So far as the character of Huerta is concerned, the hollowness of the pretensions on this score is revealed by the administration's subsequent patronage of Villa—whose qualifications as an assassin are indisputable—whom apparently the administration was ready to recognize had he achieved his end and fulfilled what then seemed to be its hope.

JOHN LIND'S MISSION.

The question is not as to the nonrecognition of Huerta. The administration did not content itself with refusing to recognize Huerta, who was recognized by Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Spain, and Japan. The administration undertook to destroy Huerta, to control Mexican politics, even to deny Huerta the right to be a candidate for the office of president at the election the administration demanded. With what bewilderment must the Mexicans have regarded our assertion of their right to manage their own affairs. In the summer of 1913, John Lind was dispatched to the City of Mexico as the President's "personal spokesman and representative" to the unrecognized Huerta, in order to demand that the latter eliminate himself. It was an unjustifiable mission, most offensive to a sensitive people. John Lind lingered irritatingly. The administration continued to direct its efforts at the destruction of the only government Mexico had.

In the spring of 1914 occurred the capture of Vera Cruz. Men from one of our ships had been arrested at Tampico and had been discharged with an apology. But our admiral demanded a salute, which was refused. Thereupon the President went to Congress, asking authority to use the armed forces of the United States. Without waiting for the passage of the resolution, Vera Cruz was seized. It appeared that a shipload of ammunition for Huerta was about to enter that port. There was a natural opposition to this invasion, and a battle occurred, in which 19 Americans and over a hundred Mexicans were killed. This, of course, was war. Our dead soldiers were praised for dying like heroes in a war of service. Later we retired from Vera Cruz, giving up this noble warfare.

DID NOT GET THE SALUTE.

We had not obtained the salute which was demanded. We had not obtained reparation for affronts. The ship with ammunition which could not land at Vera Cruz had soon landed at another port, and its cargo was delivered to Huerta without interference. Recently the naked truth was admitted by a Cabinet officer. We are now informed that "we did not go to Vera Cruz to force Huerta to salute the flag." We are told that we went there "to show Mexico that we were in earnest in our demand that Huerta must go." That is, we seized Vera Cruz to depose Huerta. The question of the salute was a mere pretext.

Meanwhile the administration utterly failed to perform its obvious duty to secure protection for the lives and property of our citizens. It is most unworthy to slur those who have investments in Mexico in order to escape a condemnation for the nonperformance of this duty. There can be no such escape, for we have no debate, and there can be no debate, as to the existence of this duty on the part of our Government. Let me quote the words of the Democratic platform of 1912:

"The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property."

The bitter hatred aroused by the course of the administration multiplied outrages, while our failure to afford protection to our citizens evoked the scorn and contempt of Mexicans. Consider the ignominious incident at Tampico in connection with the capture of Vera Cruz. In the midst of the greatest danger to the hundreds of Americans congregated at Tampico our ships which were in the harbor were withdrawn and our citizens were saved only by the intervention of German officers and were taken away by British and German ships. The official excuse of the Secretary of the Navy is an extraordinary commentary.

NAVAL COMMANDER'S DILEMMA.

Our ships, it seems, had been ordered to Vera Cruz, but as it appeared that they were not needed the order was rescinded. Then, we are told, our admiral was faced with this remarkable dilemma: If he attempted to go up the river at Tampico and take our citizens on board, the word of "aggressive action," as the Secretary called it, "would have spread to the surrounding country," and it was "almost certain that reprisals on American citizens would have followed and lives would have been lost." We had so incensed the Mexicans that we could not rescue our own citizens at Tampico, save at the risk of the murder of others. We must take Vera Cruz to get Huerta out of office and trust to other nations to get our own citizens out of peril. What a travesty of international policy.

Destroying the government of Huerta, we left Mexico to the ravages of revolution. I shall not attempt to narrate the sickening story of the barbarities committed, of the carnival of murder and lust. We were then told that Mexico was entitled to spill as much blood as she pleased to settle her affairs. The administration vacillated with respect to the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to Mexico. Under the resolution of 1912 President Taft had laid such an embargo. In August, 1913, President Wilson stated that he deemed it his duty to see

that neither side to the struggle in Mexico should receive any assistance from this side of the border, and that the export of all arms and munitions to Mexico would be forbidden.

But in February, 1914, the embargo was lifted. In April, 1914, the embargo was restored. In May, 1914, it was explained that the embargo did not apply to American shipments through Mexican ports, and ammunition for Carranza was subsequently landed at Tampico. In September, 1914, the embargo was lifted on exports across the border; thereupon military supplies reached both Villa and Carranza. In October, 1915, an embargo was declared on all exports of arms except to the adherents of Carranza. There was an utter absence of consistent policy.

CARRANZA'S RECOGNITION.

For a time we bestowed friendship on Villa. Ultimately we recognized Carranza, not on the ground that he had a constitutional government, but that it was a de facto government. The complete failure to secure protection to American citizens is shown conclusively in the note of the Secretary of State of June 20, 1916, in which he thus described the conditions that have obtained during the last three years:

For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered nonproductive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. * * * It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed.

The Santa Ysabel massacre, the raid at Columbus, the bloodshed at Carrizal, are fresh in your minds. After the Columbus raid we started a "punitive expedition." We sent a thin line of troops hundreds of miles into Mexico, between two lines of railway, neither of which we were allowed to use and which we did not feel at liberty to seize. We were refused permission to enter the towns. Though thus restricted, the enterprise was still regarded by the Mexicans as a menace. Our troops faced hostile forces, and it is not remarkable that our men fell at Carrizal. What other result could be expected?

THE PURPOSE UNACCOMPLISHED.

We were virtually ordered to withdraw, and without accomplishing our purpose we have been withdrawing and we are now endeavoring to safeguard our own territory. The entire National Guard has been ordered out, and many thousands of our citizens have been taken from their peaceful employment and hurried to the Mexican border. The administration was to seize and punish Villa for his outrage on our soil. It has not punished anyone; we went in only to retire; future movements are apparently to be determined by a joint commission.

The Nation has no policy of aggression toward Mexico. We have no desire for any part of her territory. We wish her to have peace, stability, and prosperity. We should be ready to aid her in binding up her wounds, in relieving her from starvation and distress, and in giving her in every practicable way the benefits of our disinterested friendship. The conduct of this administration has created difficulties which we shall have to surmount. We shall have to overcome the antipathy needlessly created by that conduct and to develop genuine respect and confidence. We shall have to adopt a new policy, a policy of firmness and consistency, through which alone we can promote an enduring friendship.

DEMANDS PROTECTION OF CITIZENS.

We demand from Mexico the protection of the lives and property of our citizens and the security of our border from depredations. Much will be gained if Mexico is convinced that we contemplate no meddlesome interference with what does not concern us, but that we propose to insist in a firm and candid manner upon the performance of international obligations. To a stable government, appropriately discharging its international duties, we shall give ungrudging support. A short period of firm, consistent, and friendly dealing will accomplish more than many years of vacillation.

In this land of composite population, drawing its strength from every race, the national security demands that there shall be no paltering with American rights. The greater the danger of divisive influences, the greater is the necessity for the unifying force of a just, strong, and patriotic position. We countenance no covert policies, no intrigues, no secret schemes. We are unreservedly, devotedly, whole-heartedly, for the United States. That is the rallying point for all Americans. That is my position. I stand for the unflinching maintenance of all American rights on land and sea.

We have had a clear and definite mission as a great neutral Nation. It was for us to maintain the integrity of international law; to vindicate our rights as neutrals; to protect the lives of our citizens, their property, and trade from wrongful acts. Putting aside any question as to the highest possibilities of moral leadership in the maintenance and vindication of the law of nations in connection with the European war, at least we were entitled to the safeguarding of American rights. But this has not been secured.

SERIES OF DIPLOMATIC NOTES.

We have had brave words in a series of notes, but, despite our protests, the lives of Americans have been destroyed. What does it avail to use some of the strongest words known to diplomacy if ambassadors can receive the impression that the words are not to be taken seriously? It is not words, but the strength and resolution behind the words that count.

The chief function of diplomacy is prevention, but in this our diplomacy failed, doubtless because of its impaired credit and the manifest lack of disposition to back words with action. Had this Government, by the use of both informal and formal diplomatic opportunities, left no doubt that when we said "strict accountability" we meant precisely what we said, and that we should unhesitatingly vindicate that position, I am confident that there would have been no destruction of American lives by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. There we had ample notice; in fact, published notice. Furthermore, we knew the situation, and we did not require specific notice. Instead of whittling away our formal statements by equivocal conversations, we needed the straight, direct, and decisive representations which every diplomat and foreign office would understand. I believe that in this way we should have been spared the repeated assaults on American lives. Moreover, a firm American policy would have been strongly supported by our people, and the opportunities for the development of bitter feeling would have been vastly reduced.

It is a great mistake to say that resoluteness in protecting American rights would have led to war. Rather, in that course lay the best assurance of peace. Weakness and indecision in the maintenance of known rights are always sources of grave danger; they forfeit respect and invite serious wrongs, which in turn create an uncontrollable popular resentment. That is not the path of national security.

THE MAINTENANCE OF RIGHTS.

Not only have we a host of resources short of war by which to enforce our just demands, but we shall never promote our peace by being stronger in words than in deeds. We should not have found it difficult to maintain peace, but we should have maintained peace with honor. During this critical period the only danger of war has lain in the weak course of the administration.

I do not put life and property on the same footing, but the administration has not only been remiss with respect to the protection of American lives; it has been remiss with respect to the protection of American property and American commerce. It has been too much disposed to be content with leisurely discussion. I can not now undertake to review the course of events, but it is entirely clear that we failed to use the resources at our command to prevent injurious action, and that we suffered in consequence. We have no ulterior purposes, and the administration should have known how to secure the entire protection of every legitimate American interest and the prompt recognition of our just demands as a neutral Nation.

We denounce all plots and conspiracies in the interest of any foreign nation. Utterly intolerable is the use of our soil for alien intrigues. Every American must unreservedly condemn them and support every effort for their suppression. But here, also, prompt, vigorous, and adequate measures on the part of the administration were needed. There should have been no hesitation, no notion that it was wise and politic to delay. Such an abuse of our territory demanded immediate and thoroughgoing action. As soon as the administration had notice of plots and conspiracies it was its duty to stop them. It was not lacking in resources. Its responsibility for their continuance can not be escaped by the condemnation of others.

We are a peace-loving people, but we live in a world of arms. We have no thought of aggression, and we desire to pursue our democratic ideals without the wastes of strife. So devoted are we to these ideals, so intent upon our normal development, that I do not believe that there is the slightest danger of militarism in this country. Adequate preparedness is not militarism. It is the essential assurance of security; it is a necessary safeguard of peace.

SHOCKINGLY UNPREPARED.

It is apparent that we are shockingly unprepared. There is no room for controversy on this point since the object lesson on

the Mexican border. All our available Regular troops—less, I believe, than 40,000—are there or in Mexico, and as these have been deemed insufficient the entire National Guard has been ordered out; that is, we are summoning practically all our movable military forces in order to prevent bandit incursions. In view of the warnings of the last three years, it is inexcusable that we should find ourselves in this plight. For our faithful guardsmen, who with a fine patriotism responded to this call and are bearing this burden, I have nothing but praise. But I think it little short of absurd that we should be compelled to call men from their shops, their factories, their offices, and their professions for such a purpose.

This, however, is not all. The units of the National Guard were at peace strength, which was only about one-half the required strength. It was necessary to bring in recruits, for the most part raw and untrained. Only a small percentage of the regiments recruited up to war strength will have had even a year's training in the National Guard, which at the maximum means 100 hours of military drill, and, on the average, means much less.

Take the Eastern Department as an illustration. The States in this department contain about 72 per cent of the entire Organized Militia of the country. I am informed by competent authority that the quota of militia from this department, recently summoned with the units raised to war strength as required would amount to about 131,000 men; that in response to this call there are now en route to or on the border about 54,000 men, and in camp in their respective States about 28,000 men; and thus, after what has already been accomplished, there still remain to be supplied in recruits about 48,000 men.

UNTRAINED MEN CALLED OUT.

Men fresh from their peaceful employments and physically unprepared have been hurried to the border for actual service. They were without proper equipment; without necessary supplies; suitable conditions of transportation were not provided. Men with dependent families were sent, and conditions which should have been well known were discovered after the event. And yet the exigency, comparatively speaking, was not a very grave one. It involved nothing that could not readily have been foreseen during the last three years of disturbance and required only a modest talent for organization. That this administration while pursuing its course in Mexico should have permitted such conditions to exist is almost incredible.

In the demand for reasonable preparedness the administration has followed, not led. Those who demanded more adequate forces were first described as "nervous and excited." Only about a year and a half ago we were told that the question of preparedness was not a pressing one; that the country had been misinformed. Later, under the pressure of other leadership, this attitude was changed. The administration, it was said, had "learned something," and it made a belated demand for an increased Army. Even then the demand was not prosecuted consistently and the pressure exerted on Congress with respect to other administrative measures was notably absent. The President addressed Congress but little over six months ago, presenting the plans of the War Department, and Congress was formally urged to sanction these plans as "the essential first steps."

They contemplated an increase of the standing force of the Regular Army from its then strength of 5,023 officers and 102,985 enlisted men to a strength of 7,136 officers and 134,707 enlisted men, or 141,843 all told. It was said that these additions were "necessary to render the Army adequate for its present duties." Further, it was proposed that the Army should be supplemented by a force of 400,000 disciplined citizens raised in increments of 133,000 a year through a period of three years." At least so much "by way of preparation for defense" seemed to the President to be "absolutely imperative now." He said, "We can not do less."

ARMY ORGANIZATION BILL.

But within two months this program was abandoned and the able Secretary of War, who had devoted himself persistently to this important question, felt so keenly the change in policy that he resigned from the Cabinet. Now, the Army organization bill provides for an Army on paper of 178,000, but in fact it provides for only 105,000 enlisted men for the line of the Regular Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and I am informed that for the next fiscal year there will be an increase of only 15,000. The plan for the supplemental Federal Army completely under Federal control was given up.

We are told that the defects revealed by the present mobilization are due to the "system." But it was precisely such plain defects that under the constant warnings of recent years, with the whole world intent on military concerns, should have been studied and rectified. The administration has failed to discharge its responsibilities. Apparently it is now seeking to meet political exigencies by its naval program; but it has imposed upon the country an incompetent naval administration.

We demand adequate national defense, adequate protection on both our western and eastern coasts. We demand thoroughness and efficiency in both arms of the service. It seems to be plain that our Regular Army is too small. We are too great a country to require of our citizens who are engaged in peaceful vocation the sort of military service to which they are now called. As well insist that our citizens in this metropolis be summoned to put out fires and police the streets. We do not count it inconsistent with our liberties or with our democratic ideals to have an adequate police force. With a population of nearly 100,000,000 we need to be surer of ourselves than to become alarmed at the prospect of having a Regular Army which can reasonably protect our border and perform such other military service as may be required in the absence of a grave emergency. I believe, further, that there should be not only a reasonable increase in the Regular Army, but that the first citizen reserve subject to call should be enlisted as a Federal Army and trained under Federal authority.

NATION WANTS MODERN METHODS.

The country demands that our military and naval programs shall be carried out in a businesslike manner under the most competent administrative heads; that we shall have an up-to-date preparation; that the moneys appropriated shall be properly expended. We should also have careful plans for mobilizing our industrial resources; for promoting research and utilizing the investigations of science. And a policy of adequate preparedness must constantly have in view the necessity of conserving our fundamental human interests; of promoting the physical well-being of our population, as well as education and training; of developing to the utmost our economic strength and independence.

It must be based upon a profound sense of our unity and democratic obligation. It must not mean the abandonment of other essential governmental work, but that we shall have in both efficiency and in neither waste or extravagance. We should also be solicitous, by wise prevision and conference, to remove so far as possible the causes of irritation which may in any degree threaten friendly relations. In our proposals there is, I repeat, no militarism. There is simple insistence upon common sense in providing reasonable measures of security and avoiding the perils of neglect. We must have the strength of self-respect; a strength which contains no threat, but assures our defense, safeguards our rights, and conserves our peace.

We are deeply interested in what I may term the organization of peace. We cherish no illusions. We know that the recurrence of war is not to be prevented by pious wishes. If the conflict of national interests is not to be brought to the final test of force, there must be the development of international organization in order to provide international justice and to safeguard, so far as practicable, the peace of the world.

FAVORS A WORLD COURT.

Arbitration treaties are useful within their proper sphere, but it is worse than folly to ignore the limitations of this remedy or to regard such treaties as an adequate means of preventing war. There should be an international tribunal to decide controversies susceptible of judicial determination, thus affording the advantage of judicial standards in the settlement of particular disputes and of the gradual growth of a body of judicial precedents. In emphasizing the desirability of such a tribunal for the disposition of controversies of a justiciable sort it must not be overlooked that there are also legislative needs.

We need conferences of the nations to formulate international rules, to establish principles, to modify and extend international law so as to adapt it to new conditions, to remove causes of international differences. We need to develop the instrumentalities of conciliation. And behind this international organization, if it is to be effective, must be the cooperation of the nations to prevent resort to hostilities before the appropriate agencies of peaceful settlement have been utilized. If the peace of the world is to be maintained, it must be through the preventive power of a common purpose.

Without this, it will still remain not only possible but practicable to disregard international obligations, to override the rights of States, particularly of small States, to ignore principles, to violate rules. And it is only through international cooperation giving a reasonable assurance of peace that we may hope for the limitation of armaments. It is to be expected that nations will continue to arm in defense of their respective interests as they are conceived, and nothing will avail to diminish this burden save some practical guaranty of international

order. We in this country can, and should, maintain our fortunate freedom from entanglements with interests and policies which do not concern us. But there is no national isolation in the world of the twentieth century.

OUR INTERNATIONAL DUTY.

If at the close of the present war the nations are ready to undertake practicable measures in the common interest in order to secure international justice, we can not fail to recognize our international duty. The peace of the world is our interest as well as the interest of others, and in developing the necessary agencies for the prevention of war we shall be glad to have an appropriate share. And our preparedness will have proper relation to this end as well as to our own immediate security.

When we contemplate industrial and commercial conditions we see that we are living in a fool's paradise. The temporary prosperity to which our opponents point has been created by the abnormal conditions incident to the war. With the end of the war there will be the new conditions determined by a new Europe. Millions of men in the trenches will then return to work. The energies of each of the now belligerent nations, highly trained, will then be turned to production. These are days of terrible discipline for the nations at war, but it must not be forgotten that each is developing a national solidarity, a knowledge of method, a realization of capacity, hitherto unapproached. In each the lessons of cooperation now being learned will never be forgotten. Friction and waste have been reduced to a minimum; labor and capital have a better understanding, business organization is more highly developed and more intelligently directed than ever before. We see in each of these nations a marvelous national efficiency. Let it not be supposed that this efficiency will not count when Europe, once more at peace, pushes its productive powers to the utmost limit.

On the other hand, in this country, with the stoppage of the manufacture of munitions, a host of men will be turned out of employment. We must meet the most severe competition in industry. We are undisciplined, defective in organization, loosely knit, industrially unprepared.

THE CONDITION OF LABOR.

Our opponents promised to reduce the cost of living. This they have failed to do; but they did reduce the opportunities of making a living. Let us not forget the conditions that existed in this country under the new tariff prior to the outbreak of the war. Production had decreased, business was languishing, new enterprises were not undertaken; instead of expansion there was curtailment, and our streets were filled with the unemployed. It was estimated that in the city of New York over 300,000 were out of work. Throughout the country the jobless demanded relief. The labor commissioners of many States and our municipal administrations devoted themselves to the problem of unemployment, while the resources of our voluntary charitable organizations were most severely taxed. What ground is there for expecting better conditions when the unhealthy stimulus of the war has spent its force and our industries and workingmen are exposed to the competition of an energized Europe?

It is plain that we must have protective upbuilding policies. It is idle to look for relief to the Democratic Party, which as late as 1912 declared in its platform that it was "a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government under the Constitution had no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue." We are told in its present platform that there have been "momentous changes" in the last two years, and, hence, repudiating its former attitude, the Democratic Party now declares for a "nonpartisan tariff commission." But have the "momentous changes" incident to the European war changed the Constitution of the United States? Is it proposed to use a tariff commission to frame a tariff for revenue only? Is the opposing party ready to confess that for generations it has misread the Constitution? Is that party now prepared to accept the protective principle? Rather, so far as the tariff is concerned, it would appear to be without principle. Witness its action in connection with the sugar duties, its reaffirmation of the doctrine of a revenue tariff, its dyestuffs proposal, and its formulation, in lieu of protective duties, of an "antidumping" provision, the terms of which are sufficient to show its ineffective character!

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

The Republican Party stands for the principle of protection. We must apply that principle fairly, without abuses, in as scientific a manner as possible; and Congress should be aided by the investigations of an expert body. We stand for the safeguarding of our economic independence, for the development of American industry, for the maintenance of American standards of living. We propose that in the competitive struggle that is about to come the American workingman shall not suffer.

The Republican Party is not a sectional party. It thinks and plans nationally. Its policies are for the promotion of the prosperity of every part of the country, South, East, North, and West. It is not simply a question of a wise adjustment of the tariff in accordance with sound principle, but there is also the need in other respects for stable conditions for commercial and industrial progress. If we are to meet effectively the conditions which will arise after the war is over, we must put our house in order. Let it be understood that the public right is to be maintained without fear or favor. But let us show that we can do this without impairing the essential agencies of progress.

There is no forward movement, no endeavor to promote social justice, which in the last analysis does not rest upon the condition that there shall be a stable basis for honest enterprise. This subject has several important phases to which at this time I can allude only briefly. We should place our transportation system on a sure footing. We should be able wisely to adjust our regulative powers so that the fundamental object of protecting the public interest can be fully secured without uncertainties or conflicts and without hampering the development and expansion of transportation facilities. This national end may be accomplished without the sacrifice of any interest that is essentially local, or without weakening public control. Our present system is crude and inadequate.

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, SHIPPING.

Moreover, in the severe economic struggle that is before us, and in seeking, as we should, to promote our productive industries and to expand our commerce—notably our foreign commerce—we shall require the most efficient organization, quite as efficient as that found in any nation abroad. There must be no unnecessary wastes and no arbitrary obstructions. We have determined to cut out, root and branch, monopolistic practices, but we can do this without hobbling enterprise or narrowing the scope of legitimate achievement. Again, we must build up our merchant marine. It will not aid to put the Government into competition with private owners. That, it seems to me, is a counsel of folly. A surer way of destroying the promise of our foreign trade could hardly be devised. It has well been asked, Does the Government intend to operate at a profit or at a loss? We need the encouragement and protection of the Government for our shipping industry, but it can not afford to have the Government as a competitor.

We stand for the conservation of the just interests of labor. We do not desire production or trade or efficiency in either, for its own sake, but for the betterment of the lives of human beings. We shall not have any lasting industrial prosperity unless we buttress our industrial endeavors by adequate means for the protection of health, for the elimination of unnecessary perils to life and limb, for the safeguarding of our future through proper laws for protection of women and children in industry, for increasing opportunities for education and training. We should be solicitous to inquire carefully into every grievance, remembering that there are few disputes which can not easily be adjusted if there be an impartial examination of the facts. We make common cause in this country not for a few, but for all, and our watchword must be cooperation not exploitation. No plans will be adequate save as they are instinct with genuine democratic sympathy.

FEDERAL COMPENSATION LAW.

I stand for adequate Federal workmen's compensation laws, dealing not only with the employees of Government, but with those employees who are engaged in interstate commerce and are subject to the hazard of injury, so that those activities which are within the sphere of the constitutional authority of Congress may be dealt with under a suitable law.

We propose to promote by every practicable means our agricultural interests, and we include in this program an effective system of rural credits. We favor the wise conservation of our natural resources. We desire not only that they shall be safeguarded, but that they shall be adequately developed and used to the utmost public advantage.

We turn to other considerations of important policy. One of these is our attitude toward the Philippines. That, I may say, is not a question of self-interest. We have assumed international obligations which we should not permit ourselves to evade. A breach of trust is not an admissible American policy, though our opponents have seemed to consider it such. We should administer government in the Philippines with a full recognition of our international duty, without partisanship, with the aim of maintaining the highest standards of expert administration, and in the interest of the Filipinos. This is a matter of national honor.

FAVORS VOTES FOR WOMEN.

I indorse the declaration in the platform in favor of woman suffrage. I do not consider it necessary to review the arguments usually advanced on the one side or the other, as my own convictions proceed from a somewhat different point of view. Some time ago a consideration of our economic conditions and tendencies, of the position of women in gainful occupations, of the nature and course of the demand, led me to the conclusion that the granting of suffrage to women is inevitable. Opposition may delay but, in my judgment, can not defeat this movement. Nor can I see any advantages in the delay which can possibly offset the disadvantages which are necessarily incident to the continued agitation. Facts should be squarely met. We shall have a constantly intensified effort and a distinctly feminist movement constantly perfecting its organization to the subversion of normal political issues. We shall have a struggle, increasing in bitterness, which I believe to be inimical to our welfare. If women are to have the vote, as I believe they are, it seems to me entirely clear that in the interest of the public life of this country the contest should be ended promptly. I favor the vote for women.

Confronting every effort to improve conditions is the menace of incompetent administration. It is an extraordinary notion that democracy can be faithfully served by inexpertness. Democracy needs exact knowledge, special skill, and thorough training in its servants. I have already spoken of the disregard of proper standards in numerous instances, in appointments to the diplomatic service. Unfortunately there has been a similar disregard of Executive responsibility in appointments to important administrative positions in our domestic service. Even with respect to technical bureaus the demands of science have been compelled to yield to the demands of politics.

THE CIVIL-SERVICE LAWS.

We have erected against importunities of spoilsmen the barriers of the civil-service laws, but under the present administration enactments providing for the creation of large numbers of places have been deliberately removed from the merit system. The principles of our civil-service laws have been shamelessly violated. We stand for fidelity to these principles and their consistent application. And, further, it is our purpose that administrative chiefs shall be men of special competence eminently qualified for their important work.

Our opponents promised economy, but they have shown a reckless extravagance. They have been wasteful and profligate. It is time that we had fiscal reform. We demand a simple businesslike budget. I believe it is only through a responsible budget, proposed by the Executive, that we shall avoid financial waste and secure proper administrative efficiency, and a well-balanced consideration of new administrative proposals.

We live in a fateful hour. In a true sense, the contest for the preservation of the Nation is never ended. We must still be imbued with the spirit of heroic sacrifice which gave us our country and brought us safely through the days of civil war. We renew our pledge to the ancient ideals of individual liberty, of opportunity denied to none because of race or creed, of unswerving loyalty. We have a vision of America prepared and secure, strong and just, equal to her tasks, an exemplar of the capacity and efficiency of a free people. I indorse the platform adopted by the convention and accept its nomination.

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**Awakening Americanism—A Job for Salesmen.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. C. WILLIAM RAMSEYER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. RAMSEYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend remarks a great many organizations of the country get a hearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on some topic of public interest. A few days ago my attention was called to an able address delivered by C. Louis Allen before the World's Salesmanship Congress, at Detroit, July 12, 1916. I submit it as among the best that has found its way into the RECORD during this session. It is full of practical suggestions and wholesome teachings, and is expressive of the high ideals and patriotic spirit of the men who constitute that large body of traveling salesmen of the United States.

The address is as follows:

"The primary purpose of this congress is business betterment. Specifically, it is hoped to better business through betterment in salesmanship. It is evident that the sponsors of the congress recognize that salesmanship is a vital factor in every betterment movement; that if business betterment be the object, then the way to get it is to improve salesmanship.

"To secure this betterment in salesmanship it was, of course, necessary for this congress to consider in detail certain problems more or less technical in their nature. If, however, real progress is to be made in the improvement of our art, is it not just as essential that we look out as well as in; that we see the vision as well as the detail, for oftentimes in the humdrum of our daily work the detail becomes irksome and uninteresting, unless a clear vision enables us to plainly see the worth-whileness of the goal ahead. The hard-driven men on the road, the boys who are forever getting the rough end of the stick, the fellows who are carrying the message to Garcia and getting that gentleman's name on the dotted line—these must be given a vision so big and vital that it will hearten them to endure the drab drudgery and dull monotony of their everyday work.

"Can we find in salesmanship such a vision, which when once discovered will give to the salesman a new enthusiasm and determination, a new dignity and character? Yes, we can; if we but recognize the universal application of salesmanship. We are all salesmen, every one of us, for a salesman is one who causes others to believe as he believes, and then moves them to act on that belief. Your lawyer is a salesman; he must "sell" his facts to the jury and his interpretation of the law to the judge. The helpful preacher is he who "sells" his spiritual ideals to his congregation and moves them to live up to those ideals. Your doctor must "sell" his faith in his science to his patients. The politician has his platforms and policies and usually his personal services for sale. Even in romance your proposing swain must "sell" himself to the doubting maid, and if he misrepresents the goods of his devotion it is likely to lead him to the divorce court.

"Every reform is a testimonial to the power of some one's salesmanship. Progress and improvement everywhere bear witness to the ability of some one to "sell" the other fellow his idea or ideal, theory or creed. But in the great university of life, where all are students of salesmanship, at least to some degree, to the salesman is given the high privilege of becoming a teacher of the science, a master of the art, and a leader among his fellows. Surely such a vision gives the salesman a new insight into his opportunities and a clearer understanding of his responsibilities.

"And now for a field in which to develop these larger opportunities and discharge these graver responsibilities. Take the relation of business to government. Where can be found a greater opportunity for the constructive salesman who has a proper understanding of the theory of government and the purpose of business? At the present time, business and government are working at cross purposes. Neither understands the other. The attitude of government toward business is wholly a negative one and destructive in its operation.

"And yet, is the Government wholly to blame? In diagnosing the commercial ills of our day let us look first within. What has business done in a big, constructive way to change this attitude on the part of the Government? What has business done to bring about a clearer understanding of its high purpose to serve? What has business done to "sell" the American public its ideals and aims as well as its goods and merchandise; its capacity for national service, as well as its stock of profit-producing products?

"Ever since American business got big it has been pussyfooting. Some one started the fiction that to be big was to be bad, and business itself began halfway to believe it. This attitude has resulted in making legitimate business the target for the poisoned arrows of every blatant demagogue. True business is service, and real service is the destiny and goal of humanity. If your business does not truly serve then get out of it; but if it does, be not ashamed of it, and offer no apologies for conducting it.

"I conceive of American business to-day as a great dynamic body, created to serve, gifted with understanding and marvelously able to convince; and, yet, the great American curse of selfish indifference is upon it. We are all so busy peddling our own products and banking the proceeds that we have little time for the broader, more fundamental view of constructive business building.

"We love to talk in glittering, high-sounding generalties about export trade. We study Spanish conjugations, pore over atlases and advertise in the American Exporter. In fact, we do every-

thing but build ships, the one absolutely essential thing to the establishment of an export trade. We make speeches about ship subsidy at merchants' association banquets, and that's about as far as it goes. We haven't taken the first steps to translate the term 'ship subsidy' into an understandable business proposition for the American public, nor to 'sell' the idea to the farmer, the merchant, and the laboring man. These still regard ship subsidy as just another little scheme to make some sort of a present to the 'plutes.'

"Talk to these people in their own language. Use words and ideas that they understand, and you will have no trouble in securing their support for deserving measures. Car shortage, for instance, is a term that every farmer comprehends. It brings a vision of produce rotting beside the railroad tracks; of grain stacked in the fields unable to get to market. Car shortage sends a chill down every farmer's back. It makes him feel the mortgage tightening around his neck. So if we will just drop the term 'ship subsidy' and talk to the American people in terms of 'ship shortage' it will understand. Convince the people of the peril to our commerce in ship shortage. Make them understand just what will happen to American industries if a dearth of shipping ties our hands at the close of Europe's war, at a time when the biggest and sharpest contest in which world trade has ever grappled will be on. Through salesmanship our desperate need of shipping may become vitalized and energized into a moving force that will place upon the high seas an adequate American merchant marine.

"Great principles develop great leaders; great crises call forth great commanders; a great cause requires and invariably is able to enlist great men. If this Congress would better business through better salesmanship, let it give to the salesmen of America a truly great cause to champion. The response will be spontaneous and universal; the result will be bigger, better, and stronger salesmen, able and willing to render a greater service to themselves, their employers, to business as a whole, and to their country.

"And what shall this cause be? My friends, I ask you, 'To what cause can the salesmen of America be dedicated with greater honor to themselves and profit to their fellows than to the permanent liberty and true welfare of all our people?'—a cause which is expressed by the one word 'Americanism.'

"It seems to me that to get at a real understanding of Americanism, we must go back to the days when our country was conceived and brought forth by hardy bands of partiots, who, having renounced their allegiance to foreign potentates, came to this new land in search of civil, religious, and economic freedom. Let us get at the spirit of Roger Williams. Let us try to understand the purpose of the Pilgrim Fathers. Let us examine the circumstances and conditions which caused our Scotch and Irish ancestors to resent unjust taxation; which prompted our forefathers in Germany, France, and Russia to resist the autocratic interference with their personal and religious liberty; which caused them, in common with patriots from other lands, to set up in this country an independent Republic, dedicated to the principle that 'all men are created equal' and deserve equal opportunity. Let us try to catch the spirit of Washington and of Jefferson, of Monroe and of Lincoln, and when we have once caught the meaning of their Americanism let us do our share toward awakening this spirit, slumbering and dormant now for nearly half a century.

"Americanism, therefore, is of the mind and of the soul. It is the national consciousness; the spirit of unity which binds together in one high and just purpose a nation composed of many peoples. But let us remember that unity is only possible where equal justice prevails. Freedom's problems in 1916 differ from those of 1776. Then the questions were largely religious and political; to-day they are primarily economic. Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, then, now, and forever.

"And yet we know that this spirit of unity does exist, for without it we could not live. But many years of peace and plenty have dulled the national conscience until now we have begun to consider peace and plenty as the end of existence. Our country has become a bountiful provider of good things rather than an ideal to die for; life has ceased to be a thing to spend and be spent, but instead has become a matter of fatted ease and luxurious stupor from which we are reluctant to be aroused.

"The danger to democracy lies in its colossal indifference. In a republic universal unanimity of opinion is impossible and undesirable, but the one thing that is essential, if the nation is to live its life and carve out its destiny, is that all of the people should think. No evil will result from sincere and earnest convictions that differ, but a subtle peril lurks in that brand of satisfied indifference which always indicates a lack of deep conviction of any kind on the vital question of national life.

"Too fat to fight, too smug to think; these are the charges. They represent the gravest peril that threatens America to-day. From this national lethargy, from this stupor of satisfied indifference and economic gluttony, the people must be awakened and the spirit of true Americanism must be placed once more upon the altar, now occupied by the greedy god of selfish materialism. For with nations, as with individuals, life's lessons must be learned. The wise learn by observation, the others walk blindly to the very brink of ruin and suffer the agonies of torment before they perceive the great principle involved. God grant that this Nation wake before it is too late; may we learn the great lesson of our day without grovelling in the gutter of carnage and bloodshed; may our national vision lead us to the only goal for a country, as it is for a man, a woman, or a child—to do right, to be brave and just and true, and let whatever will come after.

"This great work of awakening the national spirit and quickening the national conscience is really a job for America's master salesmen. Too long the rudder of American destiny has been usurped by self-seeking politicians. The people must be 'sold' on Americanism, its glorious past, its present ideals, and its future destiny as the inspiration and model of government 'of, by, and for' a free people.

"I take it that in a republic deriving its powers from the consent of the governed, this element of salesmanship is of vital importance. Of what use are great leaders and far-sighted prophets if the people refuse to support the measures advocated? Paper plans for national defense may be drawn, battleships may be built on blue prints, but unless the people are convinced of the wisdom of preparedness as a national policy the appropriation necessary to convert plans into the effective tools of defense will not be forthcoming.

"Is it not therefore obvious that we have too long overlooked one of our greatest natural resources, a veritable Niagara of power, to wit, the power to convince the American public, resident in our loyal army of 1,000,000 salesmen? I see in this might of America's hosts of intelligent salesmen a chance for service to our country in this hour of crisis that far surpasses any service which it has ever rendered in the past. Here is an incalculable power to convince; here is a force that can pump manhood and conviction into the fatty degeneration of our national spirit.

"We are told that more aeroplanes of American manufacture and consigned to foreign Governments went down on the *Cymric* than we have in all branches of the Government service, and yet, those who know say that our expenditure for this new weapon of defense should be ten to twenty times our present appropriation. But before Congressmen responsible to their satisfied constituents can be induced to vote an adequate appropriation, the public must be 'sold' on aeroplanes and our need of them, for this is a democracy and the people must be back of every governmental action.

"For the last four months the Government has been attempting to secure 20,000 men for the Regular Army. To date, 9,000 have been recruited. What is the trouble? Poor salesmanship! The men in charge of recruiting should be master salesmen, for the Army must be 'sold' to its prospective recruits. Think of the motive power in American salesmen to create and set in motion such phases of dynamic sentiment!

"Suppose the salesmen of America were thoroughly organized, working in close alliance with the Government. Then the Government might call in a Hugh Chalmers, a John H. Patterson, or a Charles M. Schwab and say to him: 'Here are the conditions. These are our needs. Go, convince the public!' Then, operating under the same principles which have built for these men successful business organizations, an army of 100,000 salesmen would sweep forth into their territories, mingle with the trade that knows and has faith in them, and by red-blooded personal salesmanship convince the public of the Government's need of support.

"Progress in a democracy is very largely a matter of salesmanship, for the people can not be driven; they must be led, which is to say, they must be 'sold.' American salesmanship in its new valiant rôle of statesmanship could invade this or that misguided territory and enlighten the people of that section on the attitude of the rest of the country, thus knitting the whole Nation into a tighter texture of harmony of purpose and singleness of ideals, for nationalism is nothing short of an exalted form of merchandise, and in order to root it firmly in the hearts of our people, it must be 'sold' to them.

"Already the spirit of Americanism has commenced an assault upon the trenches of commercialism. The engineers of America through their various societies and organizations have offered their services to the Government, and the Government has accepted and is to-day profiting by the wise counsel of some of the foremost engineers of America.

"But what of America's salesmen? What of that vast army of 1,000,000 patriots with their gift to understand, to stir, to move to action; their power to electrify and convince? What

share of the load in this hour of crisis are they to shoulder? For surely the salesmen of America will not be content to stand idly by without putting a strong hand on the loom of circumstance that hour by hour is weaving the strands of destiny. If the engineers of America possess the brains, the training, and the vision to play a definite rôle in the making of history, how much more of the raw materials of greatness exist to-day in the hosts of American salesmen?

"I ask that we here and now create a permanent organization, to be known as the 'salesmen of America'; that through this organization we offer our services to the Government of the United States. I ask that we say to our country: 'Here are our brains—they are keen; here is our power to sell and convince—it is potent; here is our understanding of our fellows—it is useful; here is our love of our country—it is devout and undiluted. Let us get under our share of the load. We ask to serve."

## Status of the National Guard.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks upon the status of the National Guard and to incorporate therein certain letters of the War Department, all intended to assist in a better understanding of mooted questions that have arisen since the mobilization of the National Guard for service along the Mexican frontier and for the information and convenience of those Representatives who have received numerous inquiries upon the subject from the relatives of the officers and men who volunteered for what they believe to be a patriotic duty, I submit the following correspondence:

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY.

JULY 26, 1916.

Hon. NEWTON D. BAKER,
*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: There is now pending in your department a resolution of inquiry (H. Res. 292), copy of which I inclose, introduced by me July 5 and passed by the House July 11, concerning which I have had so many inquiries that I am persuaded to say that an early answer by the department covering the points referred to would tend to allay much of the criticism that is now being received in letters and through the newspapers. As the resolution calls for a report to the House, however, I merely bring the matter to your attention, since, in the rush of business in your department, it may have been temporarily overlooked.

There is another matter to which I respectfully and earnestly call your attention, to wit, the status of the National Guard, which is not clearly understood by many of my correspondents and which seems to be in doubt in Congress. It may be that you can advise me upon this subject, which seems now to be greatly confused.

This is what many of us would like to know:

First. Is the National Guard as at present mustered in by officers of the Regular Army, under the oath required by the national defense act (the Hay bill), in the jurisdiction of the States, subject to orders from the governors, or is it now a part of the Regular Army of the United States, in the pay of the United States Government, and subject to the Regular Army term of service? An answer to this inquiry might include the further question as to the pensionable status of members of the National Guard as now sworn in for service along the Mexican border.

Second. If the National Guard as at present in service along the Mexican border has not been drafted under existing law (including the Dick Act and the national defense act), is it available for service under the Constitution beyond the borders of the United States? An answer to this question may include the statement of the effect of the resolution of Congress declaring an emergency to exist.

I believe that a letter from the department in answer to these questions would help to allay much of the confusion that has arisen in the public mind, and would tend to settle many of the private complaints that have grown out of the mobilization of the National Guard.

Very truly, yours, J. HAMPTON MOORE.

THE ANSWERS UNDER WAY.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
*Washington, July 28, 1916.*

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: Referring to your letter on the subject of H. Res. 292, the reply thereto was forwarded to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on July 21, 1916, and reports submitted by the Quartermaster General and Chief of Ordnance too late to be incorporated in that reply are now going forward.

I am having the Judge Advocate General prepare for my consideration his opinion on the two questions asked in your letter, and an answer will be made as soon as it can be prepared.

Very truly, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
*Secretary of War.*

(NOTE.—The House resolution 292, referred to in the above letters, being a resolution of inquiry relating to the transportation of the National Guard, its treatment on the way, and its equipment for service, was forwarded by the Secretary as indicated, and is now embodied in House Document No. 1311. While it admits some of the newspaper accusations as to the poor quality of cars used, it generally denies that the National Guardsmen were illtreated or unprovided for or that they were dealt with in an unsoldierly manner. The response of the Secretary makes a 16-page document, which can doubtless be obtained by Members from the document room.)

WANTS THE PUBLIC INFORMED.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
*Washington, July 29, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. MOORE: Under date of July 26 you asked me by letter some questions relative to the status of the National Guard. The Judge Advocate General has, at my request, prepared a memorandum, which I inclose for your information, with request that you secure its publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, if that be possible, so as to secure as widespread distribution of this information as possible.

In view of the fact that misunderstandings seem to have arisen on this rather intricate legal situation, I am handing copies of the memorandum of the Judge Advocate General to the representatives of the daily press in the hope that the public mind may be cleared up about a situation which was temporary in its origin and cause and will not occur again should any subsequent occasion arise to summon the National Guard provided by recent Army legislation into the service of the country. I particularly regret that this unavoidable confusion of thought should in some quarters have been taken to imply a reflection upon the National Guard, for which the guard itself is, of course, in no sense responsible.

Very truly, yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
*Secretary of War.*

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
*House of Representatives.*

OPINION OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL,
*Washington, July 29, 1916.*

[Memorandum for the Secretary of War.]

1. The views of this office are desired with respect to the questions raised in the accompanying letter by the Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE, Member of Congress, with respect to the status of members of the National Guard now in the service of the United States. The questions submitted by Mr. MOORE are as follows:

(a) "Is the National Guard as at present mustered in by officers of the Regular Army under the oath required by the national defense act—the Hay bill—in the jurisdiction of the States, subject to orders from the governors, or is it now a part of the Regular Army of the United States, in the pay of the United States Government, and subject to the Regular Army term of service? An answer to this inquiry might include the further question as to the pensionable status of members of the National Guard as now sworn in for service along the Mexican border.

(b) "If the National Guard as at present in service along the Mexican border has not been drafted under existing law, including the Dick Act and the national defense act, is it available for service under the Constitution beyond the borders of the United States? An answer to this question may include the statement of the effect of the resolution of Congress declaring an emergency to exist."

2. In answering these questions the term "Organized Militia" will be applied to the militia organized under the act of January 21, 1903, known as the Dick bill (32 Stat., 775), as amended, and the term National Guard will be applied to the members of the Organized Militia who have qualified under the national defense act of June 3, 1916, by subscribing the oath and enlistment contract as provided in sections 70 and 73 of that act.

3. The Organized Militia of the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas have been mustered into the service under the call of May 9, 1916, and the Organized Militia and National Guard of the other States are in the service under the call issued by the President June 18, 1916, both calls being for the purpose of protecting the United States against aggression from Mexico.

4. The questions submitted will be answered first with respect to the Organized Militia of the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. These were mustered into the service of the United States under section 7 of the Dick bill, the officers and enlisted men taking in connection with the said muster the oath prescribed by the muster-in regulations promulgated under that law. Their status is that of militia called into the service of the United States for one of the purposes specified in the Constitution—that is, to protect the United States against invasion. While in such service they are subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army, so far as applicable to their temporary status, and are subject only to the orders of the President. They are not, while in such service, under the jurisdiction of the States, nor are they subject to the orders of the governors, whose authority over them for the time being is suspended, except only with respect to the appointment of officers. They are not a part of the Regular Army of the United States, nor are they subject to the Regular Army term of service. They are in the service as militia called forth to meet the exigency for which the call was issued. While in the service they are, of course, in the pay of the United States Government, and are entitled to the same pay and allowances as the regular troops. With regard to their pensionable status, section 22 of the Dick bill gives them the benefit of the pension laws for any disability incurred in the service, and in case of death confers on the widow or children of the deceased all the benefits of such pension laws. Under the decision of the comptroller of July 20, 1916, the widow or beneficiary of a member of the Organized Militia dying in the service, in line duty, and not as the result of his own misconduct, is entitled to the six months' gratuity pay, the same as in the case of officers or soldiers of the Regular Army.

5. Answering the questions submitted with respect to the Organized Militia and National Guard who are in the service under the call of June 18, 1916, it should be observed that shortly after the passage of the national-defense act of June 3, 1916, the Organized Militia of the several States began to transform themselves into the National Guard of the new national-defense act. The call of June 18, 1916, found this process of transformation going on, and it was necessary, therefore, for that call to embrace both the Organized Militia and the National Guard if it were to be effective to call into the service of the United States all of the militia forces, and it was so drafted.

6. With respect to those organizations of the Organized Militia that had transformed themselves prior to June 18, 1916, into the National Guard under said act, no muster-in was necessary, as it was the effect of the call to place them in the service of the United States from the date they were required by the terms of the call to respond thereto (sec. 101, national-defense act). The muster-in rolls of the several organizations are on file in the War Department, but this office has not had an opportunity to give them any detailed examination. It is understood, however, that pursuant to instructions the members of the Organized Militia who had not qualified under the national-defense act were required to be mustered in, taking the prescribed muster-in oath; but as to those who had so qualified, their names were entered upon the muster rolls with a notation to the effect that they had already taken the oath prescribed in sections 70 and 73 of the national-defense act.

7. There are, therefore, in the service of the United States under the call of June 18, 1916, two classes of militia: One the militia organized under the Dick bill, and the other the National Guard as organized under the national-defense act. With respect to those who have not qualified under the national-defense act, their status is identical with that of the Organized Militia of the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, which is discussed above. The status of those who have qualified under the national-defense act is that of National Guard "called as such into the service of the United States" (sec. 101, national-defense act), and they are, while in such service, "subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army," so far as applicable to their temporary status, and are subject only to the orders of the President. They are not, while in such service, under the jurisdiction of the States, nor are they subject to the orders of the governor, whose authority over them for the time being is suspended, except only with respect to the appointment of officers within the classes specified in the national defense act of June 3, 1916. They are not a part of the Regular Army of the United States, nor are they subject to the Regular Army term of service. Like the Organized Militia, whose status is discussed above, their status in the service under the call is that of militia called into the service of the United States for one of the purposes specified in the Constitution; that is, to protect the United States against invasion. They are, of course, in the pay of the United States Government, and are entitled while in the service to the same pay and allowances as Regular troops. In fact, both classes of troops, while in the service of the United States, are subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army, so far as applicable to their temporary status, and subject only to the orders of the President. Neither class of troops while in such service is under the jurisdiction of a State or subject to the orders of a governor, whose only authority with respect to them is, as above stated, to appoint officers to any vacancies which may occur. Both classes of the militia are entitled to pensions for disabilities incurred during their period of service, under the same conditions as are Regular troops; and their beneficiaries are also entitled, under the decision of the comptroller of July 20, 1916, to the six months' gratuity pay in the case of their death while in the service from wounds or disease "not the result of their own misconduct."

8. Much of the misconception that has arisen regarding the status of the National Guard in service under the call of June 18, 1916, appears to rest on the assumption that it is the effect of the new oath and enlistment contract and the call of that date to make the National Guard available for any service for which the Regular Army may be used during the period of service under the call. But that Congress did not so intend is evident from the fact that the act of June 3, 1916, contains a provision (sec. 101) applicable to the National Guard "when called as such into the service of the United States," and a distinct provision (sec. 111) for drafting them into the Federal service, applicable only "when Congress shall have authorized the use of the armed land forces of the United States, for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the Regular Army." As to persons so drafted it is distinctly provided that they "shall from the date of their draft stand discharged from the militia, and shall from said date be subject to such laws and regulations for the government of the Army of the United States as may be applicable to members of the Volunteer Army * * *." It is clear, I think, that the national-defense act contemplates that the National Guard shall be available for service either as National Guard called into the service of the United States as such for the three constitutional purposes, or, when specially authorized by Congress, as a national force supplementing the Regular Army and available for any service for which regular troops may be used. In other words, the national-defense act gives the Government the right, in return for the expenditure for pay, training, and equipment of the National Guard, to draft them into the Federal service to supplement the Regular Army, but this right can be exercised only when Congress shall have authorized its exercise, as has been done in the joint resolution of July 1, 1916.

9. With regard to the effect of the declaration in the joint resolution of July 1, 1916, that an emergency exists, I think there can be no question but that this declaration serves as the reason for conferring the authority to make the draft, and also as a limitation upon the authority with regard to the term of service under the draft. It is provided therein that the draft shall be "for the period of the emergency, not exceeding three years, unless sooner discharged." The resolution confers a discretion on the President to issue the draft or not, as the exigencies of the situation may require.

E. H. CROWDER,
*Judge Advocate General.*

PRESIDENT HAS NOT DRAFTED THE GUARD.

To further elucidate the subject, I submit the inclosed extract from a letter of Judge Advocate Gen. Crowder, July 26, 1916, in response to inquiries arising in a New Jersey case. The answers here are pertinent to many inquiries arising from other sections of the country:

"DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 25, 1916, in the matter of the status of your two sons, members of Troop D, First New Jersey Squadron, now located at Douglas, Ariz. You say that previous to their departure for the border they subscribed to the Federal oath and enlistment

contract provided for in the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916; and you ask to be advised as follows:

"(a) Is it true that the President of the United States has not yet signed the draft which federalizes the State militia?

"(b) If the guardsmen should be ordered into Mexico, can they be ordered in without taking a further oath or without being mustered into the United States Army?

"With respect to (a), no draft has yet been ordered under the authority contained in resolution of July 1, 1916, for drafting the National Guard into the Federal service.

"With respect to (b), the present status of the National Guard is that of militia called into the Federal service for a purpose specified in the Constitution; that is, for the defense of the United States against invasion. It is for this purpose that the National Guard has been called into the service and is now doing duty along the Mexican border. It is assumed that the National Guard will not be ordered into Mexico while in their present status, except as such orders may be incidental to the authorized purpose of protecting the United States against invasion, and that should a more extended Federal use be necessary, action will be taken to draft them into the service of the United States under the authority contained in said joint resolution and in section 111 of the national defense act, thus completing their federalization and making them available for every purpose for which the Regular Army may be employed. The execution of the draft does not require that any additional oath be taken or any further muster.

"Very respectfully, E. H. CROWDER,
"*Judge Advocate General.*"

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**Address of Hon. Jesse D. Price, Notifying Hon. David J. Lewis of His Nomination as United States Senator from Maryland; Also Reply of Hon. David J. Lewis in Accepting the Nomination, at Baltimore, July 25, 1916, Together with Address of Hon. Hugh A. McMullen, Comptroller of Maryland, at the Democratic Convention, Held in Baltimore May 11, 1916.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the following addresses:

SPEECH OF HON. JESSE D. PRICE, NOTIFYING HON. DAVID J. LEWIS OF HIS NOMINATION AS UNITED STATES SENATOR, AT BALTIMORE, MD., JULY 25, 1916.

Gentlemen, this committee is here to discharge a very important duty delegated to it by the late Democratic State convention, which was in turn instructed by the Democratic voters throughout the State, namely, to officially notify the candidate of the party for the United States Senate. Of course, this is a mere formality, because the voters have already settled the question as to the party choice; yet this occasion may well be used to emphasize the progressive tendencies and beneficent purposes of the Democratic Party and the things for which our candidate stands.

The period since the recent advent of our party to power in the Nation has been called "the new freedom," and well it may, for in this short period more legislation of real benefit to the people as a whole has been put upon the statute books than in the entire history of the Republican Party. Under the wise leadership of President Woodrow Wilson the Democratic majorities in Congress have legislated for the average man, and not for the favored few, as has been done by Republican administrations. Favored classes and special interests have failed to dominate this administration, and the laws enacted have been made applicable to all alike. By their partnership with these legislation favorites, the Republican Party had thrown up breastworks and dug trenches until they regarded themselves as invincible.

But the time came, as it will come to any party that undertakes to ignore the general good, when thousands of honest men of their party refused to longer follow the lead of selfishness and greed, and banded themselves together as Progressives in order to rebuke their leadership and to accomplish many of the reforms promised in the Democratic platform of 1912, and which have been so splendidly and faithfully redeemed by the present Democratic administration. It should be evident to all true Progressives that the fulfillment of their hopes lie in the continuance in power of the Democratic Party and in the reelection of Woodrow Wilson and a Democratic Congress. The great mass of the American people, groaning under the burdens of an iniquitous tariff, demanded relief, which was promised by the Republican Party in 1908, which promise was never redeemed, and in the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Act were handed a stone where they had asked for bread. In 1912 the Democratic Party promised relief and promptly redeemed it by passing the Underwood tariff law, which is the fairest and most equitable of any tariff law ever enacted, and which was proving a great revenue producer until interrupted in part by a great world war.

The difference between a Republican tariff and a Democratic tariff is that the Republican theory, while requiring the people to pay exorbitant duties, the bulk of it goes into the coffers of favored individuals, while the Democratic theory lightens the burdens on the necessities of the people and the money goes into the Treasury of the United States for the purposes of Government. If only a small part of the money legislated into the hands of favored individuals by the Republican tariff policies had gone into the Treasury of the United States and been applied to "national defense" there never would have been this great hue and cry over our "national unpreparedness," and we could have had a Navy not only second or third but first on the seas of the world, and we would now be prepared on land and sea to defend these priceless institutions handed down to us from the fathers.

The Republican Party steadfastly refused to abolish our panic-breeding currency system, presumably at the behest of a small coterie of large bankers, who controlled the money of the people, taking it out of the channels of commerce and diverting it to fields of speculation. It remained for the Democratic Party to reform this system by the passage of the Federal reserve act, the greatest piece of constructive financial freedom ever enacted into law in the history of nations.

We have just extended this principle from the business man to the farmer by enacting a genuine rural-credit law.

For the merchant and manufacturer we have established the Federal Trade Commission.

For the commerce of the Nation we are enacting a law, known as the United States shipping bill, which it is confidently believed will restore our flag to the seas and give us a genuine and efficient merchant marine, which has declined under Republican incompetency and inaction until we have become the butt of ridicule.

On account of Republican shortsightedness in past years we find ourselves so unprepared for national defense as to amount to almost criminal negligence. The Democratic Party, however, in the full vigor of its governing responsibility, has met the situation, and this present Democratic Congress is appropriating over six hundred millions for defense purposes, believing that no price is too high to pay for preserving and protecting our priceless institutions, established at such a sacrifice by the founders of this Republic. When it comes to paying the bills for these abnormal expenditures due to past Republican negligence and incompetence we are met by Republican obstruction in Congress. We propose to raise a part of these abnormal expenses by an increase in the tax on large incomes, on munition manufacturers, and inheritances, and have been met by bitter Republican opposition, the only Republican alternative proposed being the old time-worn cry of "Raise the tariff," when every single one of them ought to know that it could not be raised in that way, for, after reaching a certain rise, it would stop importation, and therefore would not produce revenue. It is evident from their tactics that they are merely a party of fault finding, obstruction, and inaction, with no constructive genius or policies, and therefore, as to-day constituted, incapable of government in line with modern progressive thought.

Prosperity and peace have characterized the administration of Woodrow Wilson. The Republican prophecy of four years ago, that the ascendency of Democracy would mean commercial and financial disaster, has been completely exploded and the prophets utterly confounded.

The country is enjoying the greatest era of genuine prosperity in its history. Our commerce has reached unheard of figures, and for the fiscal year ending June 30 last exceeds the greatest under Republican administration by about 70 per cent. In the year closing June 30 last our exports about double the exports for the last year of the Taft administration. In 1912 the balance of trade in favor of the United States was $551,000,000. In 1916 the balance under Wilson was $2,100,000,000, or an in-

crease of nearly 300 per cent—a greater trade balance in one year than in the entire four years of the Taft administration. The gross bank deposits on May 1 last reached the record total of over eleven billions of dollars, against eight billions on the same date of 1912—an increase of three billions four hundred millions, or 39 per cent. These facts and figures clearly disprove the Republican theory that the high-tariff policies of the Republican Party are necessary to the prosperity of the country. They also clearly demonstrate the Democratic contention that tariff laws do not produce prosperity, and fully establish the Democratic claim that the American people, with their magnificent resources and ingenuity, unhampered by high tariff walls to impede their advance, are able to reap their just share of the world's trade and prosperity.

PEACE.

Woodrow Wilson, by his almost infinite patience and wisdom, in the midst of a great world war, has kept us at peace. He has refused to be stampeded. He has set his face resolutely toward peace with honor without the use of the sword. He has confounded his critics by preserving the national honor with firmness and without resort to arms. He has set the world an example in peaceful diplomacy and has achieved results without the loss of American blood or American self-respect. His unselfish Americanism is better understood from the following remarks made in a recent speech, when he said:

I am willing, no matter what my personal fortune may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally, it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not in my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but in my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great Nation.

The millions of Americans who desire peace will not turn out of office the President who has kept the Nation at peace.

The achievements of the present Democratic administration have been so numerous and varied that it would be impossible to attempt a review of them in a single address, but they have touched in their beneficence every phase of American life and activity. The business man, the farmer, the laborer, protecting alike the strong and the weak, without favoritism to any class, without prejudice to any class in that broad meaning of democracy which seeks to maintain a government by and for the people.

In this great work of Democracy and in redeeming the promises of our party to the people of the Nation, Hon. DAVID J. LEWIS has played a faithful and conspicuous part. No man in Congress has displayed a greater zeal for the welfare of the toiling millions of free Americans than my colleague, Hon. DAVID J. LEWIS. He has been prominently identified with all the progressive measures proposed by the Democratic program of four years ago and during his six years of service in the House of Representatives of the United States from the sixth congressional district of this State has ever been found on the firing line, protecting the interest of the people. Bringing to bear his studious judgment on the great problems of labor, backed by a personal experience as a miner in the coal fields of western Maryland, he has helped in solving some of the great problems of labor and in the betterment of conditions surrounding this large and important class of our citizens; at the same time he is big and broad enough to recognize the legitimate rights of capital and believes all citizens of high or low degree should be protected in their constitutional rights. Perhaps the greatest service Mr. LEWIS has rendered the American people has been in connection with the establishment of the parcel post.

The accomplishment of this great piece of constructive legislation involved the greatest ability, industry, and patience. The country was in the grip of the rich and powerful express companies and the people were being made to pay, oftentimes, the most unjust rates and frequently rendered an indifferent service. In order to break this monopolistic hold upon the people it was necessary to dig up and present the facts and data to the public mind; to break down false standards and to educate the public conscience to a realization of the possibilities of such a service on the part of the Government. But Mr. LEWIS with his characteristic persistency and industry dug away until he broke down all the barriers and the system was established. That it has proven a success no one doubts, and the wonder is that the American people were so long deprived of this inestimable benefit. To-day it is universally regarded as one of the greatest governmental utilities, and is a blessing to every American citizen.

The people of Maryland feel a just pride, in that one of her sons was instrumental in securing this great boon to the American public. We could no more do without this system than we could dispense with our Postal Service, and it is saving to the American people annually vast sums of money. The people of Maryland alone are benefited each year to the extent of many thousands of dollars. It should be a source of just pride to any man to be identified with such legislation, which is of such universal benefit and application, and the accomplishment of which is the real test of public service.

It is perfectly natural that the people of Maryland would reward such a public servant and give him further opportunity for service. I am sure, Mr. LEWIS, that it is in this spirit rather than in a personal phase that the Democrats of Maryland have selected you as their candidate for the Senate of the United States. I know you well enough to know that the spirit of service alone animates you, and that aside from a desire to be of benefit to our people you have no ambition. With such a record of party achievement as I have outlined, and with such a candidate as we present, there should be no question as to the result, and I am sure there is none, but let us not deceive ourselves as to the one-sidedness of the present campaign. The enemy is alert and resourceful.

They are classing Maryland as a doubtful State. The edict has gone forth to make a determined effort to capture a seat in the United States Senate from Maryland and two or three seats in the House of Representatives. They are backed by their old-time partners, the "special interests," who have not had a seat at the council tables of the Democratic administration for four years past, and who are looking with longing eyes to the return to power of that party who has legislated for them in the past and who will legislate for them in the future if returned to power.

We feel confident, however, that it is only necessary to lay our record before the people in the proper manner in order to secure a favorable verdict. We have a record to which we can point with just pride, and we should wage a campaign of truth with aggressiveness and victory will be ours. With this idea, Mr. LEWIS, this committee, representing the last Democratic State convention, gives you official notice of your nomination to the high and responsible office of United States Senator, with the firm conviction that you will so hold aloft the banners of our party as to result not only in giving the electoral vote of Maryland toward the reelection of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States but in sending a Democrat to the Senate of the United States and the election of six Democratic Congressmen from this State.

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN LEWIS.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am at a loss for words to express my appreciation of the great honor and confidence you now so graciously advise me the party has bestowed upon me. While there are other men, perhaps many others, within the party whose talents may commend them more for this priceless manifestation of party favor, yet I trust there would be none more steadfast, none more earnest in loyalty to its principles and its purpose. I am a Democrat, and that by mature and deliberate choice. And by Democracy I mean what you mean, what the party means, and what the platform adopted at St. Louis means and states. It expresses the views of the masses of the party. It expresses mine. I shall, if elected to the Senate, support its declarations and do everything honorable to write them into the forms of public law.

Happily, gentlemen, we have more to sustain and elucidate our positions as Democrats than unapplied party formulas or unrealized platform promises. We have a record—a record true of but three years of full, and five years of partial, control of the Government; a time, an opportunity almost diminutive, but the record, how ample, how broadly embracing in its grasp of national needs.

Through what a transition that record has carried us in the last four years. The same House of Representatives, the same Senate, institutionally speaking, are still with us, but their responsibilities and characters, how changed. The House of Representatives has been de-Cannonized. The Senate has been made as responsive to the people as the German Reichstag or the British House of Commons. The incomparable banking power of America has been unified, and operative institutions formed for the mobilization of its resources; the antitrust laws have been modernized, and the juridical status of both labor and capital rationally defined thereunder, while that perennial subject of political and business disturbance, the tariff, has been adjusted and is to be taken out of the field of partisan politics, and, like railway rates and practices, reposed in semi-judicial commission, holding office for 12 years, and beyond the influence of political contests. Antidumping measures have been added, too, to guarantee business stability.

Times have changed, the purchasing power of the dollar is much less now than 20 years ago, while public-service rates have remained stationary. These conditions would have wrecked most of these agencies were it not for the tremendous growth

of the traffic which under the operation of the law of increasing returns, well understood by railway financiers, has prevented disaster in most cases, coupled with the aid of seasons of special prosperity, as now. But the principle of increment thus arising seems to have exhausted itself in the cases of many of our railroads; a remedy is needed, and at the suggestion of the President Congress has passed a resolution providing for an investigation to determine how far the needs of such railroads require additional revenues in order to adequately man the operation of the properties and secure the new capital essential for their development for proper service to the public. If these railroads do not enjoy the confidence of investors, then the industry must lag or stop and the public suffer, and thus the panic periodically rock the boat of national industry, giving us railway depressions, as we formerly suffered financial depressions with our banking facilities when wholly unorganized and uncoordinated. Difficulties there will be, doubtless; but the difficulties will not prove insuperable if they are approached in a spirit of appreciation of the rights of the public no less than of the rights and needs of the railways themselves.

These are some of the more important laws enacted to serve and improve the business and financial institutions of the country.

But Democracy is more than government by a class; it represents all classes; and much as it has done for the business interests it has given equal attention to that other great element, the rural interests, which it is not flattery to address as the mainstay of modern as of ancient civilization. It has provided them with three agencies for their betterment, two of which are as yet unapplied—the rural-credit law, intended to bring the financial resources of the country within their easy reach, and the Shackleford road law, through which some $85,000,000 become available from the National Treasury for road development and improvement—and a third agency now in its fourth year of trial, the Parcel Post System, conducted under provisions of law which I had the honor to draft, extending virtually an express service to the farms on over a million miles of rural routes. This system is already handling as many parcels, four per capita, as the German parcel post, 40 years its senior, and at a service cost less than half that by express. It has lifted the parcel traffic of the country from the 300,000,000 parcels carried by express in 1912 to the more than 700,000,000 parcels now carried by express and parcel post combined. In 1915 this metropolis alone posted about 5,000,000 parcels at an average rate of 12 cents each, when by express the rate would have been 32 cents, or a gross saving of $1,000,000 to Baltimore City and its trade.

How far is the Government to go into fields now occupied by private agencies, I am asked. Well, speaking for myself, I should say that the studies I have made of these subjects have been those of a business man, and these studies have convinced me that the Government would be committing the gravest folly to go into lines of private business; but there are a few services, and I have in mind the postal functions, which can only be economically and completely rendered; that is, in a way to give service to all the people by the Postal System acting through the postal motive. Institutionally regarded, the function of communication is a public function and not a private industry at all, and has only become private business here by governmental neglect to assume and discharge its constitutional duties.

My advocacy of these governmental enterprises begins and ends with the Postal System. Pure business considerations convince me that the Government is as derelict, on economic and public-service grounds, in neglecting to give the postal establishment permission to perform its full institutional functions, especially communication, and including the electrical message, as it was for 40 years in neglecting to give us the parcel post. I believe in giving the American Postal System the same right to serve the American people that every other postal system enjoys; and Congress has just provided a joint commission to investigate the postalizing of the telephone and telegraph, as I have for some time urged.

I have been at work for some time on a manufacturer's and merchant's international parcel post, through which to help develop our foreign export trade, especially in South America. It contemplates the shipment of the ordinary packing units of trade, such as a case of shoes, not too bulky or heavy for postal handling, at rates loaded to pay the cost of postal handling plus the ocean freight and railway rates at both ends. These rates from the Atlantic States to the interior of any of the South American Republics ought to mean not more than about 3 or 4 cents a pound in normal times, and with proper C. O. D. facilities, would give our exporting manufacturers a means of entry into South America which no other country as yet enjoys. The present foreign parcel post is limited to 11 pounds, at 12 cents a pound, and is almost wholly inadequate, while no other single agency exists carrying the small shipment from consignor to consignee from our country to foreign destinations.

I recognize, gentlemen of the committee, that a degree of reserve or distrust properly attaches to any new program. We can not deny that most new programs turn out to be unwise and impracticable, and distrust is justified. But not all new things prove wrong, and many prove highly serviceable to the human family. There is an alleged constructive statesmanship that is only a congeries of vagaries, like the recall of judicial decisions. There is also an alleged conservatism that is only prejudice and unreasoning fear—"that is afraid to brush down the cobwebs lest the ceiling may fall." The true conservative is, I take it, the man with progressive purpose, who takes the middle ground, who investigates, rejects that which is false, but holds fast to that which is true.

This postal legislation affords a clear answer to an objection the unfriendly critic is sure to make when we rehearse the full catalogue of Democratic achievements. "Hasty, unprecedented, too much legislation," he will say. No; not at all. This very parcel-post legislation ought to have been passed 40 years ago. It is harrowing to think that during all that time the people had to let half their parcel traffic die in its womb for want of a postal express system to carry it. And the regional reserve banking system, just to mention another instance, it ought to have been provided in the seventies, when the national banks first showed their incapacity uncoordinated to encounter great economic or national strain. It is harrowing to think of the business wrecks and the popular distress caused during banking panics by this fundamental neglect to organize the banks. Why has the party of standpatism so signally failed to meet these great national requirements? Because they took their inspiration from a few members of a single class. But no single class, even if wise enough, is good enough to properly govern a free country. And why has the Democratic Party so signally succeeded? Because it represents the whole people—the farmer, the laborer, the employer, the merchant—and sympathizes with each of them enough to understand their needs and their trials. This sympathy gives it the vision necessary for constructive statesmanship.

And this great work was largely accomplished while the world was on fire with its greatest war; a war which, like some cosmic magnet, has sucked in all the other great powers except our own. How much would one of the warring peoples of Europe be willing to give now for a statesmanship that saved it from the deadly grasp of this war? And yet all this has been done at no sacrifice of honor and with only that moderate sacrifice of the national wealth necessary to place the country in the way of preparation for any military dangers which may come. No wonder the opposing party is without a platform worthy of the name. They had nothing to promise, nothing they dared denounce. No wonder it is seeking to recapture the Government through appeals to prejudice and by combining all the heterogeneous elements in the Republic. No wonder they invaded the silent chamber of the Supreme Court to secure a leader without a record to offend their motley following. Can they win this way? Is the absence of a record a recommendation? And should the Democratic Party, of realized promises and achievements, should it be rejected without argument? Is it to be condemned rather than rewarded for its devotion and, like Aristides, be banished for its service to the people?

Business men, farmers, workmen, patriots of Maryland, what think ye of all this constructive work? Should it be impaired by unsympathetic administrators during its initial years of trial? And the country's security among the nations, extraordinarily vouchsafed to us, instead of a fate of fire and sword, by a statesmanship worthy of the greatest examples of history. Peace, this priceless and exceptional peace and security, what think ye of it? How much, I repeat, how much would ye, if one of the war-stricken nations of Europe, be willing to give now for a statesmanship which had saved it from this war? Should we Americans, then, imperil it by needlessly transferring its now successful guardianship into untried hands? It was not thus that your fathers builded or answered to the Republic in its trying periods of the past. Nor will their children fail to emulate them in patriotic wisdom in this most momentous of occasions for their country since the Civil War.

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ADDRESS MADE BY HON. HUGH A. MCMULLEN, COMPTROLLER OF MARYLAND, AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION HELD IN BALTIMORE MAY 11, 1916.

This is one of the great pleasures of my life, to speak in behalf of one whom I have known and loved for more than 30 years, with whose career I am thoroughly familiar.

My first recollection of the gentleman to whom I refer is as a boy of 17, with the hard knowledge of a man of 40, learned in the great university of everyday experience, whose wisest teacher is poverty.

At that time he came to a small mining village in Allegany County, a stranger to our people but kindred to them in their humble occupation. He secured work in the mines of the Union Mining Co., and after taking up his abode with us he learned to love Maryland and become one with our people.

A short time later he began to study under the late Rev. Dr. Nott, whose sainted soul looks down to-day with pleasure upon the crude artisan of that day, who is now to become the standard bearer of the great Democratic Party of Maryland for the highest position of honor and responsibility within the gift of her generous people.

Some time later he began the study of law in the office of Benjamin A. Richmond, one of Maryland's great attorneys. This labor was rewarded with an admission to the bar of our county within a few years; and since then his career is known in every village and hamlet of this great country of ours.

A diligent student of men and questions, he was elected in 1901 to the State Senate of Maryland, a position in which he rendered signal service to the people of the State, but especially the great wage-earning body of our own county.

In 1910 he was elected to the Congress of the United States, which position he has since held, having been returned to that body from a congressional district pronouncedly Republican, and whose Republican majority has reached the enormous total of more than 6,000. In that exalted position he has brought honor to our State and is held in grateful respect by the farmers and business men to whom the blessings of his legislation flows as a cooling stream in the heat of summer.

We come to-day to present this man to the people of the State of Maryland for their support. We come to offer them from out the ranks of Democracy one of her simple sons who has graced every position to which he has been called and who has gilded his every public act with the gold of incorruptibility.

We come to offer to them a man whose sympathy takes in every condition of life, from him whose toilsome day brings in the scant reward that nourishes a family as dear to him as that of a king, as well as to those who care for large property and wide interests and who are seriously concerned that their interests shall be in the safe keeping of those who are intelligent enough to comprehend their requirements and fearless enough to stand in support of them against unjust clamor and unfair action.

I come to you to-day, gentlemen of this convention, to offer you the name of a man who was great in adversity, who is great in prosperity, whose dominant characteristic is modesty, and even in this great success modesty becomes him as does the white rose the breast of innocence and beauty.

I place before this convention for nomination to the exalted office of Senator of the United States for the State of Maryland the name of DAVID J. LEWIS, of Allegany County.

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## Relief of the Destitute Persons in the District Overflowed by the Coosa River and Its Tributaries.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. GORDON LEE,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am asking unanimous consent for the consideration of House joint resolution 272, introduced by me on July 21, authorizing the Secretary of War to take such action as is necessary for the relief of the destitute persons in the district overflowed by the Coosa River and its tributaries. The resolution is short, and I therefore read it for the information of the House:

Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to loan, issue, or use and to purchase quartermaster's and medical supplies for the relief of destitute persons in the districts overflowed by the Coosa River and its tributaries.

Whereas the recent disastrous floods of the Coosa River and its tributaries have overflowed certain districts, causing the loss of much property and rendering many persons homeless and temporarily without means of support: Therefore be it

*Resolved, etc.*, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to loan, issue, or use such tents, provisions, and supplies pertaining to the Quartermaster's and Medical Departments of the Army, from any stores now on hand or that he may see fit to purchase, as he may deem necessary for the temporary relief of destitute persons in need of the same in the districts overflowed by the recent floods of the Coosa River and its tributaries, under such regulations for the care and return of articles not consumed in the use as he may deem necessary.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this resolution there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $100,000.

The committee to which this resolution was referred submitted it to the War Department, with a similar bill introduced by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BURNETT]. The War Department has reported favorably on the passage of the bill giving relief to the flood sufferers in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and a section of Tennessee, and recommends the appropriation of $540,000. This amount will not begin to render the assistance that is greatly needed in the flooded sections of that territory, but properly expended, as I have no doubt it will be, will give relief to many poor and deserving people. I realize it is only by unanimous consent under the rules of the House at this time that I can hope to get this resolution acted upon, and I sincerely trust that no gentleman may deem it wise to object. I am satisfied that when the House knows the real situation in this overflowed district no objection can be raised.

That section of Georgia in which my district is located has experienced the most terrific flood in the memory of the oldest living inhabitant, and the disaster to all interests has been overwhelming, farmers, merchants, railroads, county governments having suffered untold losses; and now many of the more unfortunate people, especially small farmers living along the streams, are in destitute circumstances and are greatly suffering for the want of food and clothing.

In this connection I desire to read in the hearing of the House a few telegrams and letters that have come from the stricken people of my district:

CALHOUN, GA., *July 11.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.:*

To-day's paper says Government will aid farmers in Alabama flooded section. Eleven inches rain here in three days. Still raining. All streams highest since eighty-six. All corn and cotton on streams total loss. The cotton loss will equal in dollars the value of corn crop not destroyed in county land. Owners hit hard. Lands washed. Croppers on shares, many with large families, will suffer for bread, as entire crop is total loss, which is their all. They deserve Government aid, and as soon as possible. They are counting on you to get governmental aid. Landowners able to stand loss.

A. B. David; J. C. Garlington; W. R. Rankin, ordinary; W. L. Swain, county commissioner; R. H. Land, sheriff; W. O. Lewis, C. S. C.; W. L. Hines; T. A. Hopper.

ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

We strongly urge your best efforts to secure Government aid for flood sufferers in Floyd and other counties of your district. We have made searching investigation and can prove absolutely need of tenants and farmers who lost their crops in summer floods of last week, while continued rains and a cloud-burst this morning are completing the work of destruction and preventing any efforts at replanting. The situation is a grave one, and we feel it your duty to do what you can. We know your efforts will be appreciated by those in distress.

ROME TRIBUNE-HERALD.
Mrs. J. LINDSAY JOHNSON.
J. LINDSAY JOHNSON, Jr.
J. D. MCCARNEY.

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ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE, *Washington, D. C.:*

The unprecedented summer flood of last week, by which all crops on lowlands were wiped out, and the continuous downpour of rain, in some instances cloud-bursts, is materially damaging crops of uplands and preventing the replanting of the fields already destroyed. The reports from various sections of last night's rain is "unusually destructive." Much suffering must result to the poor tenants and laborers in this county. If it is possible to secure immediate aid from the Government, I hope you will use your best efforts to do so.

JNO. W. MADDOX.

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ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

GORDON LEE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Our people in the river sections are in deplorable condition because of the floods. Please see that we are included in any Government assistance rendered.

J. G. POLLACK,
*Chairman Board Commissioners, Floyd County, Ga.*

---

ROME GA., *July 26, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The Floyd County grand jury, now in session, earnestly ask that you use your best efforts to procure Federal aid for the distressed and needy flood sufferers in this section.

Yours, truly, C. TERHUNE, *Foreman.*

ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.:*

The flood condition of our own north Georgia cries for help. Farms ruined; farmers exhausted. I beg your influence to include this section of Georgia for national help. Condition is worst ever known.

R. A. DENNY.

ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

The deplorable condition of our people, caused by recent floods, makes it most urgent that you include this section in your bill for Federal aid.

BENJ. C. YANCEY.

—

ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE.
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

After canvassing situation find there are at least 500 families, tenants, in Floyd County alone whose crops are destroyed by flood and need immediate aid or suffering will result. Conditions on creeks as bad as on rivers.

M. B. EUBANKS,
*Clerk County Commissioners.*

—

OOSTANAULA, GA., *July 31, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR FRIEND: I take this method of writing you, as the people of this section are in a bad fix and need help from the Government. Along the Oostanaula River the most of us are renters, and we have lost our entire crop and need help. I, for one, have a wife and eight children and have bought all my supplies on time to make my crop, and now it is all gone. I had about 35 acres in cotton, and it is all gone; I also had 25 acres in corn, and I won't make an ear of corn; and all of the rest of the people on the river are in the same fix. So I thought I would write you, as I saw the people in Floyd County were asking for help.

If we don't get help some way we will suffer; nothing to feed our stock on, or ourselves either.

Your friend,

THOS. W. FOWLER.

—

CALHOUN, GA., R. F. D. 4,
*July 24, 1916.*

Mr. GORDON LEE,
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR FRIEND: I received your letter and was awful proud to hear from you. Yes; I am one of the corn club boys and had my acre planted, and it was waist high and just fine. It was on fresh land, and I had cultivated it twice and fertilized it, and it commenced raining, so we lost all of our corn—not a bit left on the place—and I could just cry. I am a little orphan boy—no father. I have one brother and a mother, and we live with our grandpa and grandma. My father died 13 years ago and my grandpa raised us, and now we have to work and keep them up. And we have one uncle to keep up. He has got one leg cut off and grandpa fell off a wagon and broke one of his hips, so you see we have to work for them and keep them up. Me and my brother had 20 acres of corn and every bit was washed away, and it was fine corn, and some cotton washed away. I am 14 years old and brother is 18, so I don't know what we will do if we don't get help, and of course we would appreciate help. We don't own any land at all; we rent land, and everybody says we two boys are good workers, and our corn-club man, G. F. Fears, came over to see me, and he said we were sure good farmers, and we had our corn clean, fixing to lay by our crops. So it is gone, and it does look so sad. I just can't keep from crying and grieving over it. I work so hard. I don't know what to do. I wish you could just come and see for yourself. It is a sight. Just stand and see the fields with no corn on them; just white with mud.

I live a mile and a half from Calhoun; been here five years and never lost a crop before. I tell you it has left us in a bad shape, so I don't know what to do. We will try and be good boys and maybe the good Lord will help us live and have something to eat.

Mr. LEE, I just felt like I wanted to write you a letter and tell you how things were. It is just like I tell you. We two boys have to make the living for four besides ourselves, and we have lost everything. I don't see hardly how we will live.

Your friend,

EARL CLINE.

—

ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*Washington, D. C.:*

Will you not include in your application for Government aid for the flood sufferers the unfortunate ones who are located in your district? A cloudburst last night made things still more deplorable. The gratitude of many sufferers and their sympathizers will be yours for the efforts I know you will make in their behalf.

HAMILTON YANCEY.

—

ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.:*

The 241 members of Rome woman's club appeal to you to include North Georgia in your request for a relief appropriation for Georgia flood sufferers.

Mrs. ROBERT M. HARBIN, *President.*

—

ROME, GA., *July 22, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*Washington, D. C.:*

At the request of a number of citizens, the continuous rains preventing farmers replanting and recent floods, 100 of tenants losing entire crops, I ask for them Government aid.

JOHN C. FOSTER.

—

SUGAR VALLEY, GA., *July 13, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND: I wish to write you a few lines to let you know about our trouble and soon-to-be suffering here in Gordon County, Ga. About all our crops are under the back or high water. I and Lee and Alf Cooley alone have about 30 acres in corn and cotton under water, all under, every stalk of that amount, and all along the Oostanaula River is the same way, the best corn in the county, and cotton, too. Thousands of acres are under the backwater, and a great many are badly hurt by running water, and it will be too late to plant over. We may sow some and make hay. That is our only hope now. Many are in debt to merchants for groceries furnished. The Oostanaula River is fast filling up with mud, washing in along the banks, and need the channel opened up and banks made wider to hold the water, which would be a great help to us. I hope you will look into this and see what you can do for us, and oblige.

Your true friend,

H. A. COOLEY.

—

ROME, GA., R. F. D. 8, *July 19, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE.

SIR: The farmers here in Floyd County is ruined here on the creeks and rivers. Can you do anything in way of helping the farmers that have lost everything they have got? Five of my brothers lost every bit of their cotton and corn, and all of them renters, and hundreds of others they can't get no work to do. What can we do. Are there any chance of getting the Government to help us? If the Government is going to do anything for the people, now is the time to do it.

Please write me on return mail in regard of this.

Your friend,

WILLIAM L. JUSTICE.

—

PLAINVILLE, GA., *July 12, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: You are, no doubt, aware of the vast damage done to the farmers of this section by the recent floods. Especially has it fallen heavily upon the people of this immediate section on account of the peculiar physical condition of the river here, where it makes something like a 10-mile bend, the inland section being lowlands. The crops are completely devastated, having now been inundated for a week. I hope there is a possibility of securing Government aid for these people.

Assuring you of my best wishes and hoping to hear from you promptly, I remain,

Yours, very truly,

T. W. WOODS.

—

TILTON, GA., *July 13, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: You are aware of the fact that the great deluge of rain has ruined all lowland crops throughout Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

In behalf of our county, Whitfield, I make this appeal. The Connasauga River has had all corn and other foodstuff under water for three days, and is now over all bottom land. Upland crops are damaged by storms and washouts.

Without help from the Government many people will face starvation another year, and many of them will not be able to farm another year. Will you please let me know and to whom we must apply for help.

Thanking you in advance for your able assistance, I am,

Yours,

J. S. PARKER, N. P. & J. P.

—

ROME, GA., *July 15, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I want to say in regard to the inclosed letter that the conditions as set out there are not exaggerated. The crops upon thousands and thousands of acres of our best land in this county are destroyed, and the season is so far advanced they can't plant over again of cotton and corn, and many of them are unable to purchase seed, and if you could do anything for them, they certainly deserve it, and I know they will all highly appreciate it.

Very truly, your friend,

JOHN W. MADDOX.

—

JULY 19, 1916.

Hon. GORDON LEE and Hon. JOHN L. BURNETT,
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIRS: I have just visited and returned from the river section of Cherokee County, near Cedar Bluff.

The Coosa River was within about 3½ feet of the 1886 freshet. All river lands were overflowed and crops swept away. Food crops are absolutely destroyed. Many tenants, both white and colored, are left penniless, with no means for support. Merchants who have already advanced to these tenants can not be expected to continue their advances, as there is no possibility of payment by the tenants during the year.

High water still covers most of the bottoms and receding very slowly, showers falling practically every day, making it impossible to even plant any kind of food crops on the uplands for several days to come, even with dry weather.

There is but little outside work to offer them. Landlords are heavy losers, both for present year crops and advances already made.

The problem confronting these people is a very serious one. In my humble opinion, the conditions justify and call for such aid as the Government can properly extend to these people. Health conditions are also imperiled. Decaying vegetable matter threatens typhoid and malaria. Inoculation against these fevers should be required, and as they have no money to pay for same, can this be furnished by the Government?

I have made this suggestion to Dr. Sigert, of Cedar Bluff, and Joe L. Daniel.

Above for your serious consideration.

Yours, very truly,

HAMILTON YANCY.

—

ROME, GA., *July 13, 1916.*

Hon. GORDON LEE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: We, your constituents and friends, who reside in the county of Floyd, beg to call your attention to the great disaster that has befallen this country, caused by the flood that has overflowed and destroyed a large part of our crops for this year—large bodies of corn and cotton have been absolutely destroyed, and in some instances every acre of corn and cotton of some of us who sign this petition is actually lost. We know of nothing at this late day in the year from which we can hope to reap any crop, except from cane and millet seed or peas. With the destruction of our crops, our credit for this year is destroyed

and we are appealing to you to secure for us from the Government cane, millet, and peas, if possible. We know in many instances the Government has aided those who have met with a like calamity, and if any people ever needed it, certainly we do now. Your aid and assistance in this matter can never be more appreciated than now.

Very truly, yours,

J. B. Barna, J. T. Spann, W. D. Vank, J. W. Fitzsimmons, T. W. Walker, J. B. Parlier, C. T. Kennedy, H. S. Clements, R. P. Parlin, John B. Thomas, H. R. Hortin, J. T. Cooley, F. B. Williams, C. R. Brewer, Geo. W. Thomas, Alice L. Thomas, A. G. Thomas, J. P. Cuzzart, T. W. Keitty, M. M. Middleton, W. M. Leming, L. F. Thomas, V. G. Smith, W. J. Carter, C. F. Hofford, G. U. Barna, J. R. Ellis, W. M. Green, J. J. Hill, A. N. Chapman, Mack Clark, B. H. Barna.

These telegrams and letters tell their own story. It is a story of disaster and ruin by no fault of the people involved.

I ask in my resolution for the appropriation of a comparatively modest sum.

Mr. Speaker, I am a firm believer in the doctrine of self-help, and I have no patience with people who run to Congress for appropriations upon every pretense. My record in this respect is well known to the Members of this House, but in this case circumstances are entirely different. The large section of my State, involving 13 counties, composed of people in modern circumstances, has been overtaken by an appalling disaster, and the cry for relief is a real cry of distress and, I am sure, justifies me in coming to Congress for help from this great and rich Government, to which these people are so loyal, and I therefore trust that no objection will be raised to the immediate consideration of this resolution.

## Peary and the North Pole.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 21, 1916.*

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, since my speech of January 13, 1916, on "Government Maps of the Arctic Regions Corrected," and my analysis of the Peary hearings, which was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 12, 1916, I have received a great quantity of letters and personal assurances that men in the scientific world, educators, geographers, and historians are deeply interested in the official determination of certain claimed discoveries in the Arctic regions, and in the attainment of the North Pole. So great is the interest in this important subject that I have made a careful analysis of Civil Engineer Peary's book, "The North Pole," and his magazine articles on the same subject, in order to add this analysis to the one already presented in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 12, 1916, and the official correspondence quoted in my speech of January 13, 1916, so that no question may be raised as to the omission of any evidence which Peary may claim to have from the final analysis, which it is now necessary to consider in connection with the joint resolution which I have to-day introduced, and which I shall now read:

Joint resolution to repeal an act entitled "An act providing for the promotion of Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, and tendering to him the thanks of Congress," known as Public, No. 487, approved March 4, 1911.

Whereas by an act (known as Public, No. 487, approved Mar. 4, 1911) the Sixty-first Congress authorized the President of the United States to place Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary on the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers, with the rank of rear admiral and with the highest retired pay of that grade under existing law; and

Whereas such retirement with retired pay was not granted to Civil Engineer Peary in recognition of his naval services, but for various alleged Arctic explorations, which he claimed resulted in his reaching the North Pole on April 6, 1909; and

Whereas the various alleged Arctic discoveries claimed to have been made at certain times and on sundry expeditions by Civil Engineer Peary have been proven fictitious; and

Whereas the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy, under date of April 28, 1915, officially states that Hydrographic Office Chart No. 2142, incorporating Civil Engineer Peary's alleged discoveries which he claimed to have made prior to 1903 has been canceled and withdrawn from circulation; and

Whereas the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy, under date of September 15, 1915, officially states that Hydrographic Office Chart No. 2560 has been sent to the engravers for the purpose of removing therefrom certain other nonexistent geographical features claimed to have been discovered by Civil Engineer Peary; and

Whereas it has been officially established that the so-called "evidence" presented by Civil Engineer Peary to Congress in the effort to prove his claimed attainment of the North Pole fails in every detail to substantiate his claim; and

Whereas it is a manifest injustice to the American taxpayers to take from the Treasury the sum of $6,000 annually to reward Civil Engineer Peary for services never performed and for feats never accomplished: Therefore be it

*Resolved, etc.*, That an act (Public, No. 487, approved Mar. 4, 1911) entitled "An act providing for the promotion of Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary, United States Navy, and tendering to him the thanks of Congress," be, and the same is hereby, repealed; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to remove Civil Engineer Robert E. Peary from the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers, United States Navy.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution speaks for itself. The only evidence which Robert E. Peary has ever presented to the world in substantiation of his claim to have attained the North Pole is contained in his testimony before the House Committee on Naval Affairs in 1910 and 1911, in his book "The North Pole," and in his magazine articles. My analysis of his "evidence" before the House Committee on Naval Affairs was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 12, 1916. There remains, therefore, only his book, "The North Pole," and his magazine articles, the analysis of which I herewith present.

Robert E. Peary's first dispatch announcing his alleged discovery of the North Pole was published in the New York Times of September 7, 1909. His first account of his alleged discovery of the North Pole was published in the New York Times of September 9, 1909, and consisted of a brief outline of his sledge trip from Cape Columbia to the north. Such discrepancies as appear between this first brief telegram and his later complete accounts must, in all fairness, be charged to errors of typography and transmission. The same is true of his first newspaper story, which was published, as per contract copied below, in the New York Times of September 10 and 11, 1909:

TIMES CONTRACT WITH PEARY, AS PUBLISHED IN NEW YORK TIMES, SEPTEMBER 11, 1909.

JULY 6, 1908.

NEW YORK TIMES, *New York City.*

GENTLEMEN: I herewith acknowledge the receipt of the sum of four thousand dollars ($4,000) from the New York Times on behalf of itself and associates. It is understood that in making this advance the Times does not assume any responsibility for or any connection with the expedition on which I am about to embark and which has for its purpose the finding of the North Pole. The money is advanced to me as a loan to be repaid to the New York Times and its associates out of the proceeds of the news and literary rights resulting from this expedition, it being understood that if for any reason the expedition is abandoned before the fall of 1908 the money will be refunded to the Times. If the expedition is successful and the pole is discovered, I promise to use every means in my power to reach civilization and wire to the Times the full story of the discovery over my own signature. The Times is to have the sole rights to the news of the discovery and is to have the exclusive right of its publication in all parts of the world. My understanding is that the Times, on its part, agrees to syndicate the news both in Europe and America, and to give me the entire amount it receives, after deducting costs of cables, tolls, etc. The Times and its associates will pay me what they consider a reasonable amount for the use of the material in their own publications. From the sum thus raised the $4,000 is to be repaid, and I am free to sell the magazine and book rights to my best advantage.

It is understood, however, that should the news reports by any possibility not realize the sum of $4,000 any deficit will be reimbursed to the Times from the magazine and book rights.

Should the expedition not be successful in finding the pole, but should simply result in explorations in the far North, the Times is to be repaid $4,000 out of the news, magazine, and book rights of the expedition, so far as they may go toward the liquidation of that claim.

Yours, very truly,

R. E. PEARY.

As this analysis is not of a hypercritical nature, no reference is made herein to the newspaper stories above mentioned, and only the complete magazine story and Peary's book, The North Pole, are considered.

The North Pole: Its Discovery in 1909 Under the Auspices of the Peary Arctic Club, by Robert E. Peary, opens with a characteristic "introduction" by Theodore Roosevelt and "foreword" by Gilbert H. Grosvenor, director and editor of the National Geographic Society. The magazine story opened in Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910, and was published in monthly installments, extending through nine issues of the magazine. On page 6 of the January, 1910, number Peary says:

To attain it (the pole) I had dedicated my whole being * * * had given all my own money and the money of my friends.

On page 18 of the same magazine, and also on page 27 of The North Pole, Peary mentions "Eagle Island, our summer home on the coast of Maine," and also says:

My Eskimo dogs, North Star and the others, had been brought down from *one of my islands* in Casco Bay, on the coast of Maine.

Peary was fortunate, indeed, after "spending all of his money" in his search for the North Pole, to still own "our summer home on the coast of Maine" and a number of "islands in Casco Bay," of which he makes such casual mention. The majority of persons who have "given all their money" for any cause would consider a "summer home on the coast of Maine" and a few "islands in Casco Bay" as equivalent to a considerable amount of money, and many a wealthy man would gladly number one of those same valuable islands among his worldly possessions.

In May, 1908, two months prior to his departure from New York, Peary published his plan for his final polar trip. In

The North Pole he quotes this published statement, one paragraph reading as follows:

The selection of a winter base which commands a wider range of the central polar sea and its surrounding coasts than any other possible base in the Arctic regions. Cape Sheridan is practically equidistant *from Crocker Land* from the remaining unknown portion of the northeast coast of Greenland and from my "nearest the pole" of 1906.

Donald B. McMillan, Peary's friend and a member of the Peary expedition of 1908–9, has now established beyond doubt the nonexistence of Crocker Land. Although a strenuous effort is made by Peary and his friends to prove a theory that a body of land does exist in the Polar Basin that might be called Crocker Land, McMillan has effectually proved that no land is to be found at or near the region where Peary located Crocker Land. Hence his winter base, although located at a suitable point from which to launch a sledge party toward the pole, was *not* "equidistant from Crocker Land" and other points, since Crocker Land does not exist.

In Chapter I of The North Pole, entitled "The plan," and again in Chapter XXII ("Essentials that brought success"), Peary lays great stress on the value of the "Peary system," which he claims to have evolved as the result of his many years of work in the Arctic. Although Peary christens this "system" with his own name, the salient features of the plan were advocated by the Duke of the Abruzzi in 1903 as the result of his own polar expedition which reached 86° 34′ north latitude under the leadership of Capt. Cagni in 1901. The parallel columns which I present show the similarity of the "Peary system" as presented by Peary on pages 202–203 of The North Pole and the plan advocated by the Duke of the Abruzzi in his book On the *Polar Star:*

| [From The North Pole.] | [From On the *Polar Star.*] |
|---|---|
| To drive a ship through ice to the farthest possible northern land base from which she can be driven back again the following year. (P. 202.) | To sail along the western coast of Greenland to the north of Kennedy Sound, where it ought to be possible to go to a still higher latitude than that reached by the *Alert* of Grant Land. (P. 272.) |
| To do enough hunting during the fall and winter to keep the party healthily supplied with fresh meat. (P. 202.) | We had fresh bear's flesh (the result of hunting) served out to us once or twice every week. (P. 150.) |
| To have dogs enough to allow for the loss of 60 per cent of them by death or otherwise. (P. 202.) | The greatest care should be given to the choice of the dogs. When they are collected in Siberia, those of inferior quality should be put aside, and only those selected which seem the strongest and to have the most power of endurance. (Pp. 284–285.) |
| To have the confidence of a large number of Eskimos. (In this particular Peary's method differed from that of the Duke of the Abruzzi, who, as will be seen by the parallel statement, gave the preference to his own Alpine guides.) (P. 202.) | All the men intended to take part in the expedition required to be endowed with more than ordinary endurance, both moral and physical. I became convinced that it would be easy to find such men among our Alpine guides. I therefore took with me four guides. The guides were of the greatest use. (Pp. 282–283.) |
| To have an intelligent and willing body of civilized assistants to lead the various divisions of Eskimos—men whose authority the Eskimos will accept when delegated by the leader. (P. 202.) | One should not start for these expeditions unless with persons who have given proof of their moral and physical capacity. It is only the absolute obedience of all the men (not the blind obedience of persons who do not know what they are doing, but the obedience inspired by the sense of duty and of confidence in their chiefs) which can allow the leader to come to decisions he would otherwise find it very difficult to carry out. (P. 285.) |
| To transport beforehand to the point where the expedition leaves the land for the sledge journey, sufficient food, fuel, clothing, stoves (oil or alcohol), and other mechanical equipment to get the main party to the pole and back and the various divisions to their farthest north and back. (P. 202.) | Sledge expeditions were to be carried on in autumn and spring; the former were to transport supplies to the lands situated more to the north and the latter to attempt to reach the highest latitude. (P. 16.) |
| To have an ample supply of the best kind of sledges. The Peary sledge is from 12 to 13 feet in length, 2 feet in width, and 7 inches in height. The Peary sledge has oak sides, rounded, both in front and behind, with 2-inch wide bent ash runners attached, the runners being shod with 2-inch wide steel shoes. The sides of both are solid, and they are lashed together with sealskin thongs. (Pp. 135–202.) | The sledges were after the model of those used by Nansen. They were 11 feet 5 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 6½ inches high. The runners were provided with a convex section, so that it might be more easy to turn the sledge. They were shod with plates of white metal, and wooden runners were strapped beneath them. The foremost ends of the runners were joined by a bow, to which the trace was attached. No nails were used, but the various parts were lashed together. (Pp. 183–184.) |
| To have a sufficient number of divisions or relay parties, each under the leadership of a competent assistant, to send back at appropriate and carefully calculated stages along the upward journey. (P. 202.) | The expedition required to be formed of three detachments. The first detachment was to advance to the eighty-fifth parallel, carrying supplies to feed the entire expedition during the first stage of its march, and for its own food during its return to the ship. The second detachment was to go on farther to the north, up to the eighty-eighth parallel, with provisions for the rest of the expedition in its march to the north and for itself when on the way back; and, lastly, the third detachment was to advance from the eighty-eighth parallel to the pole. (P. 15.) |
| To have every item of equipment of the quality best suited to the purpose, thoroughly tested, and of the lightest possible weight. (P. 202.) | An expedition ought to make frequent excursions in winter, not only to test the outfit, but to accustom the men to the life which they shall have to lead. (P. 285.) |
| To know by long experience the best way to cross wide leads of open water. (P. 202.) | The state of the places through which a guide (Alpine) is continually passing changes from year to year, sometimes from day to day. The (Alpine) guides are accustomed from their youth to observe attentively and decide prudently. (P. 284.) |
| To return by the same route followed on the upward march, using the beaten trail and the already constructed igloos to save the time and strength that would have been expended in constructing new igloos and in trail breaking. (P. 203.) | Cagni, who conducted the Duke of the Abruzzi's expedition to its "farthest north" of 86° 34′, started back over his upward trail, but owing to the drift of the ice lost the trail on the fourth day. Peary claims to have enjoyed an abnormal season, inasmuch as he claims there was "no lateral drift of the ice." (P. 499, Polar Star, Vol. II.) |
| To know exactly to what extent each man and dog may be worked without injury. (P. 203.) | One should not start for these expeditions unless with persons who have given proofs of their moral and physical capacity. Only those who are in a state of perfect health should go on an Arctic expedition. (Pp. 284–285.) |
| To know the physical and mental capabilities of every assistant and Eskimo. (P. 203.) | It was essential to have men well acquainted with nautical astronomy, who could use instruments and make calculations so as to find their way back to land. It was, moreover, necessary that if we found ourselves in difficult circumstances, these persons should have the knowledge possessed by those accustomed to command. (P. 27.) |
| Last, but not least, to have the absolute confidence of every member of the party, so that every order of the leader will be implicitly obeyed. (P. 203.) | It is only the absolute obedience of all the men (the obedience inspired by the sense of duty and of confidence in their chiefs) which can allow the leader to come to decisions he would otherwise find it very difficult to carry out. (P. 285.) |

Thus the famous "Peary system" was not altogether the evolution of Peary's personal experience. He profited largely by and copied from the experiences and plans of earlier explorers in the same field. While the Duke of the Abruzzi gives great credit to Dr. Nansen for invaluable advice and suggestions, Peary heralds his plan as an original "system," and thereupon christens it the "Peary system."

It may also be noted, in comparing the "Peary System," as published in The North Pole, with the "system" as published in the June, 1910, number of Hampton's Magazine, that while the principles of the "system" are the same in both accounts, the book makes no reference to a possible obliteration of the trail, while the corresponding paragraph in Hampton's reads:

To return by the same route that was followed on the upward march, using the beaten trail, and the already constructed igloos, *provided that this trail shall not have been obliterated by shifting of the ice.*

The following paragraph in the June Hampton's Magazine is omitted altogether from the book:

To have the final party carry, on the last leg of the dash, enough supplies to get it back to land by a new route in case shifting ice shall have destroyed the up-trail and the igloos along its route.

After this review of his plan Peary says, on page 17 of The North Pole—

Compare this scheme, if you please, with the manner of its execution. * * * The sledge divisions left the *Roosevelt* from February 15 to 22, 1909, rendezvoused at Cape Columbia, and on March 1 the expedition left Cape Columbia. The eighty-fourth parallel was crossed on *March 18, etc.*

But on page 232 of The North Pole, Peary says:

On this march (March 11, 1909), we crossed the eighty-fourth parallel.

Which date is correct? If merely a typographical error why did not Peary correct it in the second edition of his book? It reads the same in both editions.

On page 7 Peary also says:

It will be noted that while the journey from Cape Columbia to the pole consumed 37 days (though *only* 27 *marches*), we returned from the pole to Cape Columbia in only 16 days.

On page 296 of The North Pole is the following statement:

90 N. LAT., NORTH POLE,
*April 6, 1909.*

Arrived here to-day, 27 *marches* from C. Columbia.

On page 316 of The North Pole, Peary says:

Our return from the pole was accomplished in *16 marches*, and the entire journey from land to the pole and back again occupied 53 days, or *43 marches*.

Sixteen from forty-three leaves twenty-seven. Therefore, this is another instance of Peary's mention of 27 marches from Cape Columbia to the Pole.

But in the Congressional Library, catalogue number G 670, 1909, p. 5, is a small notebook containing facsimile "Extracts from Commander Peary's personal diary on his trip to the North Pole," all in Peary's own handwriting, signed by himself. The seventh page of this little book contains the following statement (in Peary's own handwriting):

90 N. LAT., NORTH POLE,
*April 6, 1909.*

Arrived here to-day, *28 marches* from C. Columbia.

Which statement shall we believe, the one made in Peary's own handwriting, while every event of the trip, including the number of marches made, was fresh in his mind, or the "afterthought" as given in Hampton's Magazine and The North Pole?

Chapter 2 of The North Pole is entitled "Preparations," and on page 25 is the following paragraph:

Here are a few of the items and figures on our list of supplies for the last expedition: Flour, 16,000 pounds; * * * *smoking tobacco, 1,000 pounds.*

Apropos of this statement are the following parallel quotations made from Peary's earlier book, Northward Over the Great Ice, and from a letter written by Peary to the United States Tobacco Co., shortly after his return from his last expedition, and which was published in Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910:

[From Northward Over the Great Ice.]

Personally, as a matter not of conscientious scruples but of judgment and taste, I am neither a drinker nor a smoker, and I have always selected men for my parties who, as far as their word of honor could be relied upon, used neither *tobacco* nor spirits (p. 188).

Tobacco is objectionable in arctic work. It affects the wind endurance of the individual, particularly in low temperatures, adds an extra and entirely unnecessary item to the outfit, and vitiates the atmosphere of tent and house (p. 189).

[From Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910.]

UNITED STATES TOBACCO CO.,
*Richmond, Va.*

GENTLEMEN: I am indebted to the United States Tobacco Co., both on this expedition and on the last, for some specially packed North Pole smoking tobacco for the use of the expedition. This tobacco was most highly prized by both members of the party and the Eskimos, and assisted materially in passing many an hour of the long, dark winter night at Cape Sheridan.

R. E. PEARY.

As with all Arctic expeditions of later generations, dogs were, next to the men themselves, the most important part of the outfit. Without their tractive power an attempt to reach the North Pole would be useless. Therefore it was necessary for Peary to acquire dogs, dogs, and more dogs. In chapter 8 of The North Pole, entitled "Getting recruits," page 72, he says:

When, on August 1, the *Roosevelt* steamed out from Cape York she had on board several Eskimo families which we had picked up there. We also had about 100 dogs bought from the Eskimos. When I say "bought" I do not mean paid for with money, as these people have no money and no unit of value. All exchange between them is based on the principle of pure barter. The Eskimos had dogs, which we wanted, and we had many things which they wanted, such as lumber, knives and other cutlery, cooking utensils, ammunition, matches, etc. So, as the Yankees say, we traded.

In 1912 Matthew Henson, Peary's companion on all of his Arctic trips, published a little book entitled "A Negro Explorer at the North Pole," the foreword of which was written by Peary. In this foreword Peary says:

It would be superfluous to enlarge on Henson in this introduction. His work in the north has already spoken for itself and for him. His book will speak for itself and for him.

Therefore, as seen from the foregoing, Peary vouches for the authenticity of Henson's book. Relative to the "purchase" of dogs from the Eskimos, Henson says, on pages 29–30:

Commander Peary gave me explicit instructions to get Nipsangwah and Myah ashore as quick as the Creator would let them, but to be sure their seven curs were kept aboard. Acting under orders, I obeyed, but it was not a pleasant task. I have known men who needed dogs less to pay a great deal more for one pup than was paid to Nipsangwah for his pack of seven. The dogs are a valuable asset to these people, and these two men were dependent on their little teams to a greater extent than on the plates and cups of tin which they received in exchange for them.

Apparently Peary was not actuated altogether by benevolence in his dealings with his Eskimo friends.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of The North Pole are devoted to an interesting description of the Eskimos and Eskimo customs. On page 76 Peary says:

Boatswain Murphy, whom I was to leave at Etah, was a thoroughly trustworthy man, and I gave him instructions to prevent the Eskimos from looting the supplies and equipment left there.

Peary apparently had less confidence in his Eskimo friends than they deserved, if we may judge from the accounts of these people given by other travelers in the Arctic regions. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, in a chapter of The First Crossing of Greenland, entitled "The Eskimo of Greenland," pages 299–300, says:

Driftwood belongs to the one who first finds it floating in the sea, no matter where that be, but to establish his rights the finder must tow it ashore and pull it up above high-water mark. For this form of property the Eskimo has great respect. In proof of Eskimo uprightness, I may state that a man who has brought his wood to shore is certain to find it at the same spot years after—if so be, indeed, that no European has come that way.

Dr. Nansen continues, on pages 335–336, of the same volume:

Honesty is another of his (the Eskimo's) prominent qualities. Theft is in any case rare.

Capt. Charles F. Hall in 1867 left a cache of stores near Cape Weynton, of which the Eskimos were aware, and returning two years later found them untouched. (See pp. 383–384 of Nourse's Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition Made by C. F. Hall.

George Borup, a member of Peary's last expedition, in his thrilling little book, A Tenderfoot with Peary, says on page 314:

A bit after breakfast the next day, the 25th, we made Cape York. There, on the extreme end of the cape, about 50 feet above sea level, we saw three boxes which the huskies (Eskimos) told us had been left by a large ship. We opened these boxes and found that they'd been left by Capt. Adams, of the Scotch whaler *Morning*, of Dundee, on June 17, and contained a lot of mail from home. The Eskimos had regarded the boxes as sacred, and had not dreamed of molesting them, though, for all they knew, their contents might have been extremely valuable to them.

Peary's references to the Eskimos are remarknble for their tone of proprietorship. He designates these natives of the Arctic regions as "My Eskimos," "My little brown people," and so forth, and on page 333 of The North Pole, he says:

I had come to regard them with a kindly and personal interest, which any man must feel with regard to the members of any inferior race who had been accustomed to respect and depend upon him during the greater part of his adult life.

It is on page 24 of Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910, that Peary presents his most striking conception of the primary object in the creation of the Eskimos:

These Eskimos are one of the most important tools in all my program of Arctic work. I have been able to utilize them as no explorer ever has before. In the light of recent events I have sometimes wondered if the mission of their life on earth, after having lived for generation after generation isolated in that little Arctic oasis, was not to assist in the discovery of the pole.

Peary seems to have had an especial fondness for his earlier book, Nearest the Pole, as in The North Pole we find him frequently using incidents and language which are practically copied verbatim from the former book. A few instances will illustrate:

[From Nearest the Pole.]

Just off the point of Sumner a brief nip between two big blue floes, which the swift current was swinging past the cape, set the *Roosevelt* vibrating like a violin string (pp. 44–45).

The *Roosevelt* fought like a gladiator, turning, twisting, straining with all her force, smashing her full weight against the heavy floes, and rearing upon them like a steeplechaser taking a fence.

More than once did a fireman come panting on deck for a breath of air, look over the side, mutter to himself, "By G— she's *got* to go through!" then drop into the stokehole, with the result a moment later of an extra belch of black smoke from the stack and an added turn or two to the propeller (p. 45).

[From The North Pole.]

More than once a brief nip between two big blue floes has set the whole 184-foot length of the *Roosevelt* vibrating like a violin string (p. 104).

At other times, under the pressure on the cylinders of the bypass before described, the vessel would rear herself upon the ice like a steeplechaser taking a fence.

Often * * * have I seen a fireman come up from the bowels of the ship, panting for a breath of air, take one look at the sheet of ice before us, and mutter savagely: "By God, she's *got* to go through!" Then he would drop back again into the stokehole, and a moment later an extra puff of black smoke would rise from the stack, and I knew the steam pressure was going up (p. 105).

The winter quarters of the *Roosevelt*, at Cape Sheridan, were reached on September 5, the same day of the month and 15 minutes later than the time of arrival at the same point in 1905. Preparations were at once commenced for the long winter night, and the members of the expedition were sent out to hunt for game and furs, both of which were necessary to insure the success of the expedition.

Peary devotes much space in The North Pole to the elaborate preparations for the sledge journey over the ice of the Polar Sea to the pole; and in Chapter XXI, "Arctic ice sledging as it really is," graphically describes some of the enormous obstacles to be overcome by the expedition. On page 194 he says:

There is no land between Cape Columbia and the North Pole, and no smooth and very little level ice. For a *few miles only* after leaving the land we had level going, as for those few miles we were on the "glacial fringe." This fringe is really an exaggerated ice foot. Pressure ridges may be anywhere from a few feet to a few rods in height; they

may be anywhere from a few rods to a quarter of a mile in width; the individual masses of which they are composed may vary from the size of a billiard ball to the size of a small house.

Opposite page 193 is a photograph entitled "Face of the land ice, 'glacial fringe,' off Cape Columbia." This photograph purports to represent the "few miles of level going" between Cape Columbia and the pole. In the picture this "level going" appears to be composed of a series of ice bowlders piled up in indescribable confusion.

And yet, notwithstanding the fact that "between Cape Columbia and the North Pole there is no smooth and very little level ice," in his account of the sledge journey on April 3, 4, 5, and 6, *after Bartlett left him*, Peary repeatedly describes the "level going" encountered, which enabled him to make far better time than he made while he had a supporting party to "pioneer" the way. On page 279, which he dates April 3, Peary says:

As soon as we struck the *level old floes* we tried to make up for lost time.

On page 280 (Apr. 4):

The surface of the ice was *as level as the glacial fringe from Hecla to Cape Columbia*, and harder.

Again, on page 284:

The going was even better than before. There was hardly any snow on the hard, granular surface of the old floes, and the sapphire-blue lakes were larger than ever.

Peary had apparently forgotten his previous statement that "between Cape Columbia and the North Pole there is no smooth and very little level ice," or perhaps he fancied that the reader's memory would not extend over so many pages.

The difficulties of a journey to the North Pole are summarized by Peary on pages 198–199 of his book:

Briefly stated, the worst of them are: The ragged and mountainous ice over which the traveler must journey with his heavily loaded sledges; the often terrific wind, having the impact of a wall of water, which he must march against at times; the open leads which he must cross and recross; the intense cold, sometimes as low as 60° below zero; the difficulty of dragging out and back over the ragged and "lead" interrupted trail enough pemmican (etc.) and liquid fuel to keep sufficient strength in his body for traveling.

The extent to which Peary's expedition was exempt from these "difficulties" is shown in the pages of The North Pole.

Peary's plan for his final attack on the pole, as published by him in May, 1908, prior to his departure for the north, stated:

On the return march in the next expedition I shall probably do voluntarily what I did involuntarily the last time; that is, retreat upon the north coast of Greenland instead of attempting to come back to the north coast of Grant Land diagonally against the set of the ice.

He apparently modified this plan during the winter, for on page 203 of The North Pole, in describing the "Peary system" in detail, he prints in italics the following paragraph:

To return by the same route followed on the upward march, using the beaten trail and the already constructed igloos to save the time and strength that would have been expended in constructing new igloos and in trail breaking.

The latter plan would necessitate a return to the north coast of Grant Land, and Peary had apparently forgotten all about the "easterly set of the ice" in the latter planning of his return.

Conditions favored them throughout the winter, and in accordance with Peary's plan, the last of the sledge parties left Cape Columbia for the north on March 1, 1909. Peary says on page 216 of The North Pole:

An hour after I left camp my division had crossed the glacial fringe, and the last man, sledge, and dog of the northern party—comprising altogether 24 men, 19 sledges, and 133 dogs—was at last on the ice of the Arctic Ocean, *about latitude* 83°.

In Hampton's Magazine for June, 1910, Peary says:

The northern party * * * was at last on the ice of the Arctic Ocean, about latitude 83° 10′.

This means a difference of 10 miles between the points where Peary locates the first ice of the Arctic Ocean.

In chapter 22, "Essentials that brought success," Peary says relative to observations:

The distance which we traveled day by day was at first determined by dead reckoning, to be verified later by observations for latitude. Observations were taken every five marches, as soon as it was possible to take them at all.

On Peary's trip of 413 geographical miles from Cape Columbia to the point which he claimed to be the North Pole observations were taken only three times, twice by Marvin and once by Bartlett. In addition to these observations Peary took what he called a "latitude sight," which he asserts gave him 89° 25′. At the point that he called the pole Peary took several sets of observations. On the return trip he made no observations of any kind, as he followed the upward trail homeward, and apparently did not care to verify the observations made on the upward journey.

Let us compare the infrequency of Peary's observations with those made by other Arctic explorers:

Lieut. J. B. Lockwood, of the Greely expedition, who in 1882 attained the highest north of any expedition up to that time, 83° 24′, on a sledge journey of 276 miles from Fort Conger to Lockwood Island, made seven observations, not including those at his "farthest," and this notwithstanding he was following the coast line of Greenland, and therefore did not require frequent observations in order to keep his course.

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen on a sledge journey of 129 miles (as the crow flies) from the point where he left the *Fram* at 84° 4′ north latitude to his "farthest north" at 86° 13′, made five observations, not including those made at his "farthest."

Capt. Cagni, who led the sledge journey of the Duke of the Abruzzi's polar expedition, made 11 observations from a latitude of 81° 51′ to his "farthest north" at 86° 34′, a direct distance of 283 miles. On his return trip, which was much longer, owing to the drift of the ice, Capt. Cagni made 22 observations.

All of these explorers except Peary made observations for latitude, longitude, and compass variation. Peary made no observations for compass variation, nor for longitude; neither did he have with him any chart showing the variations of the compass as they have been observed from time to time by other explorers and navigators. These facts were brought out by Peary's own testimony before the congressional committee in 1911.

A perusal of The North Pole impresses the reader with the remarkable freedom of Peary's last expedition from that bugbear of all Arctic explorers who have attained a high northing, namely, the drift of the polar ice. Dr. Nansen says on page 272 of his Farthest North:

Yesterday evening I reckoned out the observations and find that we have drifted strongly westward, having come from 61° 16′ E. right to about 57° 40′ E. But then we have also drifted a good way north again, up to 82° 26′ N., after being down in 82° 17.8′ on the same date, and we have been pushing southward as hard as we could the whole time.

Capt. Cagni, in relating the story of his return from the "farthest north" of the Italian expedition, repeatedly mentions the hardships caused the expedition by the constant drift of the ice. I quote from Volume II, page 577, of On the *Polar Star:*

The sun comes out at 6 and I am able at last to take an altitude. As I calculate the longitude I am overcome by a great feeling of discouragement. *In seven days* of severe toil we have not advanced *3 feet* to the east.

Dr. Achille Cavalli Molinelli, in charge of the second detachment of the same expedition, returning from 83° 16′ to Teplitz Bay, says on pages 648 and 649, Volume II, of On the *Polar Star:*

We are always deviating to the west. * * * The drift had carried us to the west, though yesterday we had directed our course to the east. * * * We are the sport of the wind and the drift.

De Long's ship, the *Jeannette*, drifted from Wrangell Land to the New Siberian Islands. Peary's own expedition of 1906, returning from a claimed northing of 87° 06′, was carried east by the drift of the ice and forced to land on the northern coast of Greenland instead of near the starting point on Grant Land. But in his latest trip no difficulty of this nature seems to have overtaken him. Peary mentions his 1906 trip on page 304 of The North Pole:

It will be recalled that the expedition of 1905–6 returned by a different route. This result was caused by the fact that strong winds carried the ice upon which we traveled *far to the eastward* of our upward course. This time, however, we met with no such misfortune.

Peary several times emphasizes the lack of drift on his 1908–9 expedition. On page 232 of The North Pole he says:

There has been no lateral (east and west) motion of the ice during seven days.

And, again, on page 307:

So far there had been no lateral (east and west) movement of the ice.

Strange to say, notwithstanding Peary claims to have encountered "no lateral drift," on pages 4 and 5 of The North Pole he says:

Leaving the land my course will be more west of north than before in order to counteract or allow for the easterly set of the ice between the north coast of Grant Land and the pole. I shall probably retreat upon the north coast of Greenland (a course diagonally *with* the set of the ice) instead of attempting to come back to the north coast of Grant Land (diagonally *against* the set of the ice).

Yet Peary claims to have traveled from Cape Columbia to the North Pole and returned straight along the meridian of Cape Columbia, making no allowance for "the easterly set of the ice," and reached his exact starting point without taking a single observation for longitude or for compass variation.

Peary's statements that he encountered no east-and-west movement of the ice on his last expedition are contradicted in various

places in his book. His first difficulty in the shape of open water was met at the "shore lead," a few miles north of Cape Columbia. Bartlett, who was pioneering the trail, succeeded in crossing the lead, but when the main party reached it they found it open. On page 222 of The North Pole Peary described this occurrence:

With the first of the daylight we were hurrying across the lead on the raftering young ice. On the other side there was no sign of Bartlett's trail. This meant that *the lateral movement* (that is, east and west) of the ice shores of the lead had carried the trail with it.

This is a direct contradiction of Peary's later statement (p. 307) that—

So far there had been no lateral movement of the ice.

The lateral (east and west) drift of the ice of the Polar Sea was established before Peary ever went to the Arctic. The men of the Lady Franklin Bay (Greely) expedition observed this ice drift, an instance of which is noted on pages 22 and 23 of Greely's Three Years of Arctic Service, Volume II:

Lieut. Lockwood's report says: "One clearly defined lead ran northwest toward Cape Joseph Henry." The entire polar pack suddenly set off to the northward, and Lieut. Lockwood says, "Two or three of the dogs went into the water, and I suddenly perceived that the ice was moving offshore. The main polar pack moved slowly to the northeast. Soon there was a belt of open water a hundred yards and more along shore, and in two hours the main ice had moved 200 yards to the east." The movement was general, as the corresponding motion of floebergs offshore indicated.

In Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor's "Foreword" to Peary's book, The North Pole, he mentions the loss of the ill-fated *Jeannette* in 1879 off the coast of Siberia, boxes from which were found three years later washed ashore on the southeast coast of Greenland, some four years before Peary's first northern trip. Mr. Grosvenor, in his "Foreword," also notes the drift of Nansen's ship, the *Fram*, across the Polar Sea in 1893–1896, as well as other instances, to show that this constant drift is a well-known, well-established fact and not an occasional phenomenon. In view of these statements in his own book Peary's attempt to impress on the public the fable that he encountered no "lateral drift" in 1909, either in going north or in returning, but was able to follow his upward trail on his return directly to his starting point, is both amusing and remarkable.

Borup and Marvin also encountered this easterly drift, for, on page 160, of "A tenderfoot with Peary," Borup, one of Peary's own men, says:

The sea ice had begun drifting east. * * * The ice on the far side of the lead was drifting steadily eastward, although there was no wind.

And again, on page 162, of the same book:

The lead was still going apart. The sea ice was drifting eastward so fast that floebergs we'd marked out were out of sight in a couple of hours. The Lord only knew where the trail was. We didn't.

This quotation is from Borup's diary of March 7, 1909, and on March 11, four days later, Peary wrote to Marvin:

There has been no lateral motion of the ice during seven days.

On pages 222–224 Peary mentions numerous small leads, necessitating deviations from their direct course, in order to find a crossing which would safely hold the men, dogs, and sledges. He emphasizes strongly the advantages derived from his experience and knowledge of the best manner to cross these leads. As I have previously noted, in his description of the "Peary system," he says:

To know, by long experience, the best way to cross wide leads of open water.

Without claiming the origination of any wonderful "system," Capt. Cagni, of the Italian expedition, thus describes the method of crossing these leads or "channels" (as Cagni calls them) adopted by him:

[From "On the *Polar Star*," p. 402.]

The precautions which I obliged them (the men) to take when crossing thin ice, especially when of great extent, were not excessive. I always sent on ahead a man whose duty it was to stop wherever the fresh ice could bear, and as there the ice generally formed a step, over which it was sometimes difficult to bring the sledges, the man had to prepare a slight incline with his ice axe. I then sent forward a sledge, followed at 3 feet distance, at least, by a man who was never to walk beside it, in order not to increase the weight on the ice; the other sledges followed at 20 or 30 yards from each other, and when I thought the thinness of the ice really dangerous, I never allowed one sledge to cross until the preceding sledge was in safety on the other side of the channel. The column only went on after all had crossed. It is true that this took up some time, but we thus avoided mishaps which might easily have happened, and never met with an accident, even when crossing wide expanses of ice so thin that it bent under our feet, as though it were a bridge of long, thin planks. And in spite of the delay caused by this method of crossing these belts, we saved a great deal of the time it would have taken to go around them.

Under date of March 4, 1909, Peary says:

The leads were even more numerous than the day before.

These "numerous leads" are of special interest from their relation to Peary's "estimate" of his daily mileage, of which mention will later be made.

Peary states that the leads are caused by the movement of the ice under the pressure of the wind and tides. In 1911, at the hearing before the congressional Committee on Naval Affairs, Peary said that, in his opinion, there is no considerable current in the waters of the Arctic Ocean and that the leads are caused only by the action of the wind and the tides.

The small leads mentioned by Peary are only a preliminary to the "big lead" encountered by him in 1905–6 and which he again reached on March 4, 1909. Of this lead he writes:

The lead had opened directly through the heavy floes; and considering that these floes are sometimes 100 feet in thickness and of almost unimaginable weight, the force that could open such a river through them is comparable with the forces that threw up the mountains and opened the channels between the lands.

On pages 224–225 of The North Pole, Peary writes:

The wind had swung completely around to the *west* during the night, there were occasional squalls of light snow, and the thermometer had risen to only 9° below zero. A broad and ominous band of black extending far to the east and west across our course and apparently 10 or 15 miles to the north of us gave me serious concern. Evidently the ice was abroad in every direction, and the high temperature and snow accompanying the west wind proved that there was a large amount of open water in that direction.

Again, on page 226:

The open water was about a quarter of a mile in width and extended east and west as far as we could see when we climbed to the highest pinnacle of ice in the neighborhood of the camp. *I was glad to see that there was no lateral movement in the ice; that is, that the two shores of the lead were not moving east or west or in opposite directions.*

Remember that Peary says that a lead is caused by the movement of the ice under the pressure of the wind and tides. Remember also that he says that the wind opening this lead was from the west. Remember further that he says that—

The force that could open such a river is comparable with the forces that threw up the mountains and opened the channels between the lands.

Is it reasonable, can we really believe, that a *westerly* wind and tidal force, "comparable with the forces that threw up the mountains and opened the channels between the lands," is yet so slight that it would cause no lateral movement in the ice bordering a channel that "extended east and west as far as we could see," which was opened by that same westerly wind and tidal force? And yet Peary said in the note left at this camp for Marvin, which note is copied on page 232 of The North Pole:

There has been no lateral motion of the ice during seven days.

And it was during this same period of seven days that Borup, held up at the shore lead some 30 miles south of Peary's camp, wrote:

The ice on the far side of the lead (the side *nearest Peary's camp*) was drifting steadily eastward.

But, although on March 11 Peary says that there had been no lateral motion of the ice for seven days, only one day later he says on page 233 of "The North Pole":

We hoped that Marvin and Borup, with their men and vital supply of fuel, would get across the "Big Lead" before we had any more wind; for *six hours of a good, fresh breeze would utterly obliterate our trail, by reason of the movement of the ice*, and their search for us in the broad waste of that white world would have been like the proverbial search for a needle in a haystack.

This paragraph is remarkable for two reasons:

First. We have Peary's own word for the statement that "six hours of a good, fresh breeze would utterly obliterate our trail, by reason of the movement of the ice," and that it would be impossible for those coming after them to locate the trail again. This is a reasonable statement, easy of credence. But Peary claims that MacMillan and Goodsell, the first of the supporting parties to return to land, followed the upward trail back to land; that Borup followed the upward trail to the point where MacMillan and Goodsell turned back, and then followed their trail to Cape Columbia; that Marvin followed, first the upward trail and then Borup's back to the Big Lead, where he was drowned; that Bartlett followed the upward trail back to Marvin's return igloo, then followed Marvin's trail as far as the Big Lead; making a new trail from that point to Cape Columbia; that Peary and his party followed their own upward trail from the pole to Bartlett's return camp, then followed Bartlett's trail to Cape Columbia.

Goodsell returned south on March 14 and MacMillan on March 15. Borup started on his return trip on March 20, five days after MacMillan. Six days later (see p. 253 of The North Pole) Marvin returned—on March 26. Five days after Marvin's return, or April 1, Bartlett turned back. Seven days later Peary's main party left the place he called the North Pole. Can we believe that during all of this period there was at no time "six hours of a good fresh breeze"?

Second. Peary's own party was the only relay of the expedition that carried instruments necessary for taking observations. This was a different procedure from that of other large expeditions. For instance, we find that each detachment

of the Duke of the Abruzzi's expedition carried an aluminum sextant, an artificial glass horizon, an aneroid, thermometers, a prismatic compass, a case of instruments, Magnaghi's tables, notebooks, and pencils. The total weight of these accessories was less than 20 pounds, but rendered the observations of the expedition of incalculably greater value. Each division of Mylius-Erichsen's Danish expedition to Greenland carried a full equipment of instruments for observations.

Is it possible that Peary did not care to have his returning parties in a position to verify the observations taken on the upward trip?

Peary and Borup are also a little at variance as to the time of the first appearance of the sun. While held up at the Big Lead, Peary says on page 227 of The North Pole:

> March 5, for a little while about noon, the sun lay, a great yellow ball, along the southern horizon. Had it not been cloudy on the 4th we should have seen the sun one day earlier.

While Borup's version on page 161 of his book is:

> On *March 6* the only comfort in the day was the sight of the sun. Five months since we had seen it. It certainly looked great.

Both in Hampton's Magazine and in his book Peary makes frequent mention of rough going, which necessitated zigzagging and detours. On page 234 of The North Pole he says:

> For about 5 miles we zigzagged through a zone of very rough ice.

On page 241:

> This march having been largely over a broad zone of rough rubble ice, some of my sledges had suffered slight damage.

And the next day:

> Marvin gave us a good march, at first over very rough ice.

On pages 242–243 Peary says:

> Bubbles in all my spirit thermometers were caused by the jolting of the thermometer with our *constant stumbling over the rough ice* of the Polar Sea.
>
> Again Marvin gave us a fair march, at first over heavy and much-raftered ice, then over floes of greater size and more level surface. But the reader must understand that what we regard as a level surface on the polar ice might be considered decidedly rough going anywhere else.

On page 247 they again found heavy traveling:

> The going was at first tortuous, over rough, heavy ice, which taxed the sledges, dogs, and drivers to the utmost.

A still more graphic description is given on pages 250–251:

> In this march there was some pretty heavy going. Part of the way was over small old floes, which had been broken up by many seasons of unceasing conflict with the winds and tides. Inclosing these more or less level floes were heavy pressure ridges, over which we and the dogs were obliged to climb. Often the driver of a heavily loaded sledge would be forced to lift it by main strength over some obstruction. Those who have pictured us sitting comfortably on our sledges riding over hundred of miles of ice smooth as a skating pond should have seen us lifting and tugging at our 500-pound sledges, adding our own strength to that of our dogs.

Again, on pages 256–257:

> The last quarter was almost entirely over young ice, averaging about 1 foot thick, broken and raftered, presenting a rugged and trying surface to travel over.
>
> This march was by far the hardest for some days. At first there was a continuation of the broken and raftered ice, sharp and jagged, that at times seemed almost to cut though our sealskin kamiks and hareskin stockings, to pierce our feet. Then we struck heavy rubble ice, covered with deep snow, through which we had literally to plow our way, lifting and steadying the sledges until our muscles ached.

In A Negro Explorer at the North Pole Henson corroborates Peary's description of difficult traveling:

> The way to the Pole lay across the *ever-moving and drifting ice* of the Arctic Ocean. For more than a hundred miles from Cape Columbia it was piled in heavy pressure ridges, ridge after ridge, some more than a hundred feet in height. In addition open leads of water held the parties back until the leads froze up again, and *continually the steady drift of the ice carried us back* on the course we had come.

Special attention is directed to these accounts of rough traveling as quoted, as they are of interest in their bearing on his day-by-day mileage.

It is evident from Peary's story, both as published in Hampton's Magazine and his book, that he did not keep a careful daily record of the events of the trip. I have already referred to Henson's book and Peary's indorsement of it in the "Foreword." On general principles, in a question of accuracy between Peary's book and Henson's, one is inclined to give the benefit of the doubt to Peary, but as Peary himself vouches for the authenticity of Henson's book, it is only consistent to give both versions. In justice to Henson it must be said that his book is largely a copy of his diary, of which he says, on page 4 of A Negro Explorer at the North Pole:

> Entries were made daily of the records of temperature and the estimates of distance traveled, and when solar observations were made the results were always carefully noted.

In comparison with this statement is the one made by Peary before the congressional committee in 1911 relative to the entries in his own journal:

> Question by Mr. DAWSON. I have a curiosity to see the journal that you kept from day to day during your presence in the vicinity of the pole. Did you make entries in this journal every day?
>
> Answer by PEARY. Not every day. Sometimes we were so busy that I did not make entries.

These facts must be remembered when a difference in detail occurs between Peary's record and Henson's. For instance, Peary says, on pages 249–250 of the North Pole:

> The result of Marvin's observations gave our position as approximately 85° 48′ north latitude. * * * The next march was made in a temperature of —30 and a misty atmosphere, caused by open water in the neighborhood. At the end of the march, which was about 15 miles, and which put us across the eighty-sixth parallel, we reached Bartlett's next camp, where we found Henson and his party.

This statement by Peary covers the day's journey of March 23, 1909. Henson's story, as told on pages 110–111 of A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, follows:

> He (Marvin) reported that he had taken an elevation of the sun (on March 22) and computed his latitude as 85° 46′ north.
>
> Conditions are never similar; no two days are the same; and our going this day was nothing like the day before. It was backing and filling all of the time, except for the last hour of traveling, when we zigzagged to the eastward, where the ice appeared less formidable. There we camped. The latitude was 85° 46′ north.

Therefore, after more than one day of traveling from the point where Peary says Marvin's observation showed the latitude to be 85° 48′—and Marvin reported to Henson that it was 85° 46′—Henson again reports the latitude as 85° 46′, the same as the preceding day. This result was probably the combined result of Bartlett's and Henson's "dead reckoning," as at this time Bartlett and Henson were traveling together. As Peary's division was the only part of the expedition that was equipped with the necessary instruments for taking observations, the other divisions, when apart from him, were obliged to depend on "dead reckoning" for an estimate of their mileage. Relative to this method of obtaining position, Peary says, on pages 211–212 of The North Pole:

> Three members of the expedition had had sufficient experience in traveling over Arctic ice to enable them to estimate a day's journey very closely. These three were Bartlett, Marvin, and myself.

The fact that after a whole day's travel the party had made no perceptible advance, was doubtless due to the "backing and filling and zigzagging to the eastward," described by Henson, which finally brought them to a camping place in the same latitude as the previous day, though somewhat to the eastward.

(Peary gives the latitude on March 22, according to Marvin's calculation, as 85° 48′, while Henson quotes Marvin as saying it was 85° 46′. This apparent discrepancy between the two is accounted for in the facsimile of Marvin's observation, shown on pages 351–352 of The North Pole. Marvin apparently obtained 85° 46′ as the result of his first observation, and 85° 48′ after making a "corrected calculation," but overlooked the latter result when he gave Henson the figures.)

A peculiar statement by Peary is found on page 15 of the July, 1910, number of Hampton's Magazine, also on page 249 of The North Pole:

> It was from this point (85° 48′ north latitude) that we calculated the position of *Camp 19, where Borup turned back, as being 85° 23′*.

"Camp 19" was located (according to both Peary and Bartlett) between the 87th and 88th parallels, and was reached after all of the supporting parties except Bartlett's, had turned back. Borup returned on March 20 from *Camp 12*, not from *Camp 19*.

Peary's location of "Camp 19, where Borup turned back, as being 85° 23′," is interesting, from whatever angle considered. We are informed by Peary in Hampton's Magazine and in the first and second editions of The North Pole, that Borup turned back at the end of the twelfth march. The assertion that Borup started south at Camp 19 likewise appears in the magazine and the first and second editions of the book. We can not, therefore, make use of the customary "typographical error" explanation for this discrepancy, for if a mere typographical error (such as might have occurred in the magazine story) it would have been corrected in one of the two editions of the book.

If, however, Peary is correct in giving his *observed latitude of Camp 19 as 85° 23′*, and we allow him the full mileage claimed by him between his "Camp 19" and his "Polar camp" (a total of 177 miles, thus completing the 27 marches which he claims from Cape Columbia to his "Polar camp"), we find that this computation places Peary's farthest north at 88° 20′, or *100 miles from the pole*.

We have, therefore, Peary's own statement (based on his location of Camp 19) that he did not get nearer the Pole than 100 miles.

By a similar method of reasoning we find that other statements made by Peary in Hampton's Magazine, and in the first and second editions of The North Pole, place his farthest north at a point 112 miles from the Pole. For instance, on the upward journey Peary refers to the various camps by numbers only, as, for example: "Camp No. 19, where Borup turned back," etc. On the homeward journey, however, he

refers to "Camp Nansen," named in honor of Nansen's farthest north. The same is true of "Camp 17," which on April 11, Peary calls "The Marvin return igloo." On page 307 of The North Pole he quotes from his diary of April 11:

"Hope to reach the Marvin return igloo to-morrow." But the following day, when the "Marvin return igloo" was reached, he says, on page 308:

A double march brought us to Camp Abruzzi, 86° 38', named in honor of the farthest north of the Duke of the Abruzzi.

Note that according to Peary's book these names were not given until the homeward trip, while in Hampton's Magazine he makes no mention of "Camp Abruzzi" (or Camp Cagni). Now read what Henson says, on page 132 of A Negro Explorer at the North Pole:

Our different camps had been known as Camp No. 1, No. 2, etc., but *after the turning back of Capt. Bartlett* the camps had been given names, such as Camp Nansen, Camp Cagni, etc., and I asked what the name of this camp was to be—"Camp Peary"? "This, my boy, is to be Camp Morris K. Jesup, the last and most northerly camp on the earth."

Peary makes no mention of naming the camps until the homeward trip, or after Bartlett turned back. Thus Henson is corroborated by Peary on this point. Therefore, if Henson is right (and Peary corroborates him in his assertion that the camps were not given personal names until after Bartlett turned back), it appears that "Camp Nansen" and "Camp Abruzzi" (or Cagni) *were not reached until after Bartlett's return.*

If these camps were not reached until after Bartlett's return, we may assume that "Camp Nansen" was one march beyond Bartlett's farthest north and Camp Abruzzi (or Cagni) one march beyond Camp Nansen. This brings Peary's "Polar Camp" only three marches beyond "Camp Abruzzi" (or Cagni), at 86° 38' (since Peary only claims to have made five marches north after Bartlett's return). Peary's last three northward marches were 25, 25, and 30 miles, respectively, a total of 80 miles. This distance of 80 miles beyond "Camp Abruzzi" (or Cagni) at 86° 38' places Peary's "Polar Camp" at 88° 8', or *112 miles from the North Pole!*

But, it may be argued, Marvin's observation proved that *his* return camp was at 86° 38' (a little beyond the Italian record), and that Bartlett's observation proved that *he* reached 87° 47' north.

True, these observations as given by Peary do state that Marvin reached 86° 38' and that Bartlett reached 87° 47'. But it is a lamentable fact that Prof. Marvin's alleged observations can not be confirmed by him; it is also a fact, stated by Donald B. MacMillan in Harper's Magazine for October, 1915, that Capt. Bartlett was not acceptable to the insurance companies as the master of MacMillan's ship, since he held no master mariner's "ticket." MacMillan adds:

It is a strange anomaly that insurance companies will refuse to accept a man trained in Arctic work and experienced in ice navigation on the ground that he has no "ticket," but will accept a warm-water man *who happens to know something about practical astronomy.* In event of a crisis a pencil, paper, and sextant will not save the ship or the lives of the men aboard.

MacMillan is quite right in his assertion that "a pencil, paper, and sextant will not save the ship," but the knowledge of *the use* of a paper, pencil, and sextant in practical astronomy *will* enable a man to make reliable observations, and, according to MacMillan, Capt. Bartlett—splendid sailor and ice fighter though he is—lacks this knowledge. Therefore his observations are wholly valueless as a corroboration of Peary's claimed position at any point in his northward journey. Hence we have only Peary's own contradictory evidence and observations to show that he was nearer than 100 miles to the North Pole at any time. And, as Prof. Gannett stated, when called as a witness before the congressional committee, Peary's observations *could* have been faked. (See p. 15 of the hearing.) Therefore, in view of Peary's many other contradictory statements in his magazine story, in his book, and at the congressional hearing, his observations can not be accepted as incontrovertible evidence in his favor. On the contrary, we find, as stated that we have Peary's own story as foundation for the statement that he was never nearer to the North Pole than 100 miles.

The last observation made by Marvin—as quoted in Peary's narrative—gave a latitude according to Peary of 86° 38'. The date of this observation is uncertain, as shown by quotations from The North Pole, by Peary, and A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, by Henson:

[From The North Pole, by Peary.]

At half past 10 on the morning of the *25th* I came upon Bartlett and Henson with their men, all in camp in accordance with my instructions. I turned them all out, and everyone jumped in to repair the sledges. * * * While this work was going on, Marvin took another meridian observation for latitude and obtained 86° 38'. (*Mar. 25*, p. 252.)

(NOTE: Peary does not mention Marvin's frozen feet, although he records sending Borup and McMillan back earlier than he intended, on account of frost bites. Borup mentions Marvin's "frozen toes," on page 139 of his book; and again, on page 171, Borup says that Marvin had "both heels touched up.")

The next morning, *Friday, March 26*, I rapped the whole party up at 5 o'clock, after a good sleep all round. Marvin, with Kudlooktoo and "Harrigan," 1 sledge, and 17 dogs, started south at *half past 9 in the morning* (p. 253).

The first three-quarters of the march after Marvin turned back on *March 26*, the trail was in a straight line. * * * The next day, *March 27*, was a brilliant dazzling day of Arctic sunshine (p. 256).

[From A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, by Henson.]

Turned out at 4.30 a. m., breakfasted, and 15 minutes later we were once more at work making trail. In the course of an hour (about 5.45 a. m.) we returned to the igloo for the sledges. We found that the main column had reached camp and Commander Peary gave me my orders to take the trail at once and speed it up, as he intended that I should remain at the igloo the following day to sort out the best dogs and rearrange the loads, as Marvin was to turn back. * * * My mind was relieved. I feared that I would be the next after Borup. At the same time I did not see how Marvin could travel much longer, as his feet were very badly frozen. (Mar. 25, pp. 112–113.)

*March 26:* The commander and party reached the igloo at *10.45 a. m.* At *12 noon*, Prof. Marvin took his final sight, and after figuring it out, told me that he made it 86° 38' north (pp. 113–114).

(Note that Henson says that Marvin took an observation at noon of March 26, the same day that Peary says Marvin started south at half past 9 in the morning.)

*March 27:* I was to take the trail at 6 a. m., but before starting, I went over to Marvin's igloo to bid him good-by (p. 114).

The above discrepancy between Peary's report and Henson's story of the date of Marvin's return from the north is worthy of more than passing notice. If each man only gave one date, Peary's statement might be given credence as against Henson's; but in Hampton's Magazine and in The North Pole, *Peary gives two dates for Marvin's return.*

On page 350 of The North Pole, Appendix II, is a line reading:

II. Marvin's observations, *March 25, 1909.*

Pages 353 to 358, inclusive, are devoted to alleged facsimiles of Marvin's observations of March 25, 1909.

On pages 321–322 of The North Pole, Peary says:

The Eskimos of whom Marvin was in command at the time he lost his life fortunately overlooked, in throwing Marvin's things upon the ice, a little canvas packet on the upstanders of the sledge containing a few of his notes, among them what is probably the last thing he ever wrote. *It will be seen that it was written on the very day that I last saw him alive, that day upon which he turned back to the south from his farthest north:*

*March 25, 1909.*

This is to certify that I turned back from this point with the third supporting party, Commander Peary advancing with 9 men in the party, 7 sledges with the standard loads, and 60 dogs. Men and dogs are in first-class condition. The captain with the fourth and last supporting party expects to turn back at the end of five more marches. Determined our latitude by observations on March 22 and again *to-day, March 25.* A copy of the observations and computations is herewith inclosed. Results of observations were as follows: Latitude at noon, March 22, 85° 48' north. Latitude at noon, March 25, 86° 38' north. Distance made good in three marches, 50 minutes of latitude, an average of 16⅔ nautical miles per march. The weather is fine, going good, and improving each day.

ROSS G. MARVIN.

We have, therefore, three different dates given as the date of Marvin's departure south from his "farthest north," two by Peary, and one by Henson. The discrepancy in Peary's story can not in this instance be explained as a typographical error, for it is incredible that the same typographical error would occur twice, as, for instance, on pages 253 and 256 of The North Pole, Peary gives the date as March 26, while on page 321 he gives it as March 25. We must remember, too, that this is the second time Peary's story has appeared in print—that is, in Hampton's Magazine and again in The North Pole—and the same discrepancies relative to the date of Marvin's return occur in both, while Henson gives a different date from either—March 27.

In tabulated order these dates appear as follows:

| Date of Marvin's return— | |
|---|---|
| As given by Peary on page 16 of Hampton's Magazine for July, 1910 | March 26 |
| As given by Peary on page 253 of The North Pole | March 26 |
| As given by Peary on page 256 of The North Pole | March 26 |
| As given by Peary on page 321 of The North Pole | March 25 |
| As given by Peary on page 292 of Hampton's Magazine, August, 1910 | March 25 |
| As given by Henson on page 114 of A Negro Explorer at the North Pole | March 27 |

Who, then, is right—Peary or Henson? If Henson is in error in his statement that Marvin returned on March 27, which of Peary's dates is correct: March 25, to which he so touchingly alludes as "the very day that I last saw him alive, that day upon which he turned back to the south from his farthest north," or March 26, of which he says, "Marvin started south at half past 9 in the morning"?

The story of Marvin's death, as Peary claims it was told by the Eskimos, shows a marked variance in Hampton's Magazine

and in Peary's book. Page 292 of Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910, says:

It seems that, from the camp just north of the Big Lead, he had started on ahead of his men immediately after breakfast, as was the custom of the leaders of the supporting parties. When he came to the Big Lead, the recent ice of which was safe and secure at the edges, it is probable that he did not notice the gradual thinning of the ice toward the center of the lead until it was too late and he was in the water. The Eskimos were too far in the rear to hear his calls for help, and in that ice-cold water the end must have come very quickly. The Eskimos following after with the dog team could not see anything of their leader, and then they came to a hole in the ice. Of course they knew what had happened to Marvin; but with the childish superstition peculiar to their race, they camped there for a while on the possibility that he might come back.

The account in The North Pole reads as follows:

As was customary on breaking camp, he had gone out ahead of the Eskimos * * *. Coming along over the trail in his footsteps, the Eskimos of his party came to the spot where the broken ice gave them the first hint of the accident. One of the Eskimos said that *the back of Marvin's fur jacket was still visible* at the top of the water. *It was, of course, impossible for them to rescue the body, since there was no way of their getting near it.* Of course, they knew what had happened to Marvin; but with childish superstition peculiar to their race, they camped there *for a while* on the possibility that he might come back.

Borup's account differs slightly from both of the foregoing versions. On pages 202–203 of A Tenderfoot with Peary, Borup says:

Marvin, as usual, set out ahead of his men. A few miles beyond lay the Big Lead, and when Kudlooktoo and Harrigan arrived they saw the back of his kooletah floating above the water. The air in it held poor Marvin up. *They tried to get him out, but the ice was too thin*, and to their repeated calls he gave no answer. They camped on the nearest old ice and *the next morning* found that his body had gone down.

Henson, in writing of Marvin's death, says, on page 151 of A Negro Explorer at the North Pole:

I learned all about the sad affair from Kudlooktoo and Harrigan. On breaking camp he had gone on, leaving the boys to load up and follow him. When they came up to where he had disappeared they saw the ice newly formed about him, his head and feet beneath and nothing showing but the fur clothing of his back and shoulders. *They made no effort to rescue him.*

The great white world holds in its lonely silence many tragic mysteries, hidden forever from the ken of mortal man, but of its buried secrets none is more tragic or more mysterious than the untimely death of this brave young professor, who laid down his life *somewhere, at some time*, in the Arctic wastes.

Of the day following Marvin's return, Peary says, on page 237 of The North Pole:

The temperature during this march dropped from *minus 30° to minus 50°*.

In Hampton's Magazine for July, 1910, he says of the same day:

The temperature varied from *minus 30° to minus 20°*.

Apparently Peary estimated the temperature, as well as the mileage, and failed to note at what point his "estimate" placed the mercury.

On page 256 of The North Pole Peary says:

The first three-quarters of the march after Marvin turned back, on March 26, the trail was fortunately in *a straight line*.

And again, on page 259:

We had made some 12 miles over much better going than that of the last few marches and on a *nearly direct line*.

The fact that they marched "on a nearly direct line" seems to have been worthy of note to Peary. Does this mean that their usual deviations from a direct course were considerable?

At the close of the day's travel on March 28, at a point "estimated" by Peary to be a little beyond the 87th parallel, the expedition was again halted by a lead; and in relating the events of that night, Peary says on page 260 of The North Pole:

Leaping to my feet and looking through the peephole of our igloo, I was startled to see a broad lead of black water between our two igloos and Bartlett's, the nearer edge of water being close to our entrance. *Bartlett's igloo was moving east* on the ice raft which had broken off.

The statement by Peary that Bartlett's igloo was moving east, proves an easterly current at this point sufficiently strong to cause an alarmingly perceptible drift of Bartlett's igloo. This is contrary to Peary's statements made before the congressional committee and elsewhere, that no perceptible current is found in the Polar Basin, the movement of the ice being caused by the wind and the tides.

Bartlett and his outfit were rescued from their perilous position, and the entire party was held up for the whole of March 29. The following day the lead closed and they continued their journey.

On April 1, at a point claimed by Peary to be 87° 47′ north latitude, Peary sent Capt. Bartlett back in command of the last of the supporting parties. Perhaps for this act more than for any other of his Polar trip, Peary has been severely criticized. In The North Pole, page 266, he explains his refusal to allow another white man to finish the journey with him, and gives a number of interesting reasons for showing preference to Henson:

We did not have supplies enough for an increase in the main party. The food which he (Bartlett) and his two Eskimos and dog teams would have consumed between this point and the pole, on the upward and return journeys, might mean that we would all starve before we could reach the land again.

This statement will not bear analysis. As a matter of fact, conservative figures show that Peary must have arrived at Cape Columbia on his return trip with 900 pounds of provisions and fuel on his sledges. The standard daily ration for each man, as given on page 210 of The North Pole, was—

One pound of pemmican.
One pound of ship's biscuit.
Four ounces of condensed milk.
One-half ounce of compressed tea.
Six ounces of liquid fuel (alcohol or petroleum).

Making a total of 2 pounds 10½ ounces per day, including fuel. The daily standard ration for the dogs was a pound of pemmican per dog.

On page 273 of The North Pole, on April 1, after Bartlett returned, Peary says:

My food and fuel supplies were *ample* for 40 days.

Capt. Bartlett also took with him on his return trip supplies for 40 days. With the figures given by Peary as the standard ration of food and fuel per man and dog, it is an easy matter to compute the amount taken by Peary for 40 days, as well as the amount carried by Bartlett for 40 days. As Bartlett had food and fuel for the same number of days that Peary did, why would Bartlett have been a "passenger" if he had continued the rest of the northern journey with Peary?

Bartlett's return party consisted of himself, 2 Eskimos, and 19 dogs. Bartlett took with him on his return journey supplies for himself and his outfit sufficient for 40 days, which allowed for possible delays. He actually reached Cape Columbia in 18 days (April 18), so that he must have had 22 days' supplies for his entire party still on his sledge when he arrived at Cape Columbia.

Full rations for Bartlett's party from the time he turned back on April 1 until Peary reached Cape Columbia on the return trip would have amounted to only 620 pounds (including fuel), and this, too, without making any allowance for dogs killed by the way.

As we have already shown that Peary must have had at least 900 pounds of food and fuel left on his sledges when he arrived at Cape Columbia we can readily see that none of the party, men or dogs, would have been near starvation if he had taken Bartlett's entire supporting party to the place he called the North Pole, even had they been reasonably delayed on the return.

Briefly stated, if, instead of turning back, Bartlett had completed the journey with Peary and returned to Cape Columbia with him, Bartlett would have reached Cape Columbia with his dog team intact and with 17 days' supplies still untouched on his sledge, while Peary would have had the same 900 pounds of surplus food and fuel with which he returned.

But Peary says—page 272 of The North Pole:

Henson, with his years of Arctic experience, was almost as skillful as an Eskimo. He could handle dogs and sledges. He was a part of the traveling machine. Had I taken another member of the expedition also he would have been a passenger, necessitating the carrying of extra rations and other impedimenta. It would have amounted to an additional load on the sledges, while the taking of Henson was in the interest of economy of weight.

I have already shown the fallacy of this argument, proving that Peary could have availed himself of the "pioneering" services of Bartlett's party throughout the entire trip, without adding 1 ounce of rations or other "impedimenta" to his own sledges. So far as Henson's skill is concerned, the same was true of other members of the expedition. Note his commendation of Borup on pages 243–244 of The North Pole:

This young Yale athlete was a valuable member of the expedition. His whole heart was in the work, and he had hustled his heavy sledge along and driven his dogs with *almost the skill of an Eskimo*.

On page 320 Peary says of Marvin:

I soon came to know Ross Marvin as a man who would accomplish the task assigned to him, whatever it might be. In the spring sledge campaign of 1906 he commanded a separate division. When the great storm swept the polar sea and scattered my parties hopelessly in a chaos of shattered ice Marvin's division, like my own farther north, was driven eastward and came down upon the Greenland coast, whence he brought his men safely back to the ship. From this expedition he returned trained in Arctic details and thoroughly conversant with the underlying principles of all successful work in northern regions, so that when he went north with us in 1908 he went as a veteran who could absolutely be depended upon in an emergency.

Of Bartlett Peary says on page 20 of The North Pole:

*First and most valuable of all* was Bartlett, master of the *Roosevelt*. He was 33 when last we sailed north. Blue-eyed, brown-haired, stocky and steel-muscled Bartlett, whether at the wheel of the *Roosevelt* hammering a passage through the floes or tramping and stumbling over the ice pack with the sledges, or smoothing away the troubles of the crew, was always the same—tireless, faithful, enthusiastic, true as the compass.

Again, referring to Bartlett's return from 87° 47′, Peary says, on page 268:

Bartlett had been invaluable to me, and circumstances had thrust upon him the brunt of the pioneering instead of its being divided among several as I had originally planned.

This does not sound as though Bartlett would have been a mere "passenger," had Peary chosen him as a companion on the last lap of the polar journey.

Peary claims, however, that Henson was incapable of finding his way back to land with one of the supporting parties. I quote from pages 272–273 of The North Pole:

While Henson was more useful to me than any other member of my expedition, when it came to traveling with my last party over the Polar ice, he would not have been so competent as the white members of the expedition in getting himself and his party back to the land.

Notwithstanding this expression of Henson's unfitness to travel alone, Peary considered him competent to do his share of the "pioneer" work on the journey to the pole. On page 234 of The North Pole, when three marches north of the Big Lead, Peary says:

Henson at once received instructions to get away early the next morning with his division of Eskimos and sledges, *to pioneer the road for the next five marches.*

If sufficiently capable to start out with no one but his Eskimos and lay out a route for the expedition over the untrodden wastes of the Polar Sea, we should naturally infer that Henson could safely follow a beaten track back to land, which is what is claimed for the other returning divisions. A quotation from Henson's book, "A Negro Explorer at the North Pole," is also of interest in this connection (p. 129)—

With my proven ability in gauging distances, Commander Peary was ready to take the reckoning as I made it, and he did not resort to solar observations until we were within a hand's grasp of the pole.

Small wonder that Peary considered Henson "More useful to me than any other member of the expedition," when Henson's presence obviated the necessity and trouble of solar observations! Not every explorer can have at hand a human chronometer, sextant, and artificial horizon, sufficiently reliable to take a squint at the sun, a look at the dogs, a drink of—ice water—and say: "To-day we have traveled 20 miles and are a certain distance from the pole." And yet Peary did not consider Henson "competent in getting himself and his party back to the land" over a beaten trail!

However, whether or not Peary's reasons as stated were genuine, Henson was the man who went forward, and Bartlett the man who returned. On page 268 of The North Pole, Peary says, immediately prior to Bartlett's return:

When the calculations were completed, two copies were made, one for Bartlett and one for me, and he got ready to start south with his 2 Eskimos, 1 sledge, and *18 dogs.*

At the hearing before the congressional committee in 1911 Bartlett's "Log from Camp 22 to the *Roosevelt*," was presented as evidence. This is printed on pages 50 and 51 of the hearing, and the first item reads:

April 1, 1909.—3 p. m. left commander with *19* dogs, 1 sledge, 2 huskies, and just enough for 40 days.

At no time did Peary seem able to keep an accurate count of his dogs. This inaccuracy is remarkable from the fact that Peary laid great stress on the value of dogs in an Arctic expedition, declaring that they are indispensable in a successful dash to the pole. On pages 170–171 of The North Pole he says:

Dogs, and plenty of them, were vitally necessary to the success of the expedition. Had an epidemic deprived us of these animals we might just as well have remained comfortably at home in the United States. All the money, brains, and labor would have been utterly thrown away, so far as concerned the quest of the North Pole.

Again, on page 70:

A word ought to be said about those remarkable creatures, the Eskimo dogs, for without their help success could never have crowned the efforts of the expedition.

In view of Peary's opinion of the inestimable value of these animals, we should expect him to count them as carefully as a miser counts his hoarded gold. Note some of his statements. On page 216 of The North Pole he says:

An hour after I left camp my division had crossed the glacial fringe, and the last man, sledge, and dog of the northern party—comprising altogether 24 men, nineteen sledges, and *133 dogs*—was at last on the ice of the Arctic Ocean.

On page 235:

A little later on (March 14) Dr. Goodsell with 2 Eskimos—Wesharkoopsi and Arco—1 sledge, and *12 dogs* took the back trail.

Twelve from one hundred and thirty-three leaves one hundred and twenty-one.

Again, on page 237:

MacMillan got away for Columbia with 2 Eskimos, 2 sledges, and *14 dogs.* The main expedition now comprised 16 men, 12 sledges, and *100 dogs.*

Fourteen from one hundred and twenty-one leaves *one hundred and seven.* Peary does not explain the apparent shortage of seven dogs. However, we may safely assume that the two Eskimos who were taken ill at the Big Lead camp and were sent back to land used these seven dogs on their return trip. This assumption, if correct, would leave the 100 dogs in the field, as Peary asserts.

Peary is also one sledge short in his count, for he says:

One sledge had been broken up to repair the others, three had been taken back with the returning parties, and two were left at this camp.

This would leave 13 of the original 19, instead of 12 sledges, as Peary states; but this, too, we may count as the sledge which the two sick Eskimos took with them (of which Peary makes no note, although Borup does). Goodsell also returned with one sledge and MacMillan with two. We have, therefore, as Peary says, 16 men, 12 sledges, and an even hundred of dogs.

On page 241 of The North Pole, Peary gives his detailed plan for the balance of the polar dash. Both in his book and on page 12 of Hampton's Magazine for July, 1910, he speaks of the time as the evening of March 19; but this is presumably a typographical error, as he also calls the following day March 19, while Borup has the dates of the occurrences in regular order—that is, March 18 and March 19. Peary says:

At the end of this march, on the evening of the 19th (should be 18th), while the Eskimos were building the igloos, I outlined to the remaining members of my party—Bartlett, Marvin, Borup, and Henson—the program which I should endeavor to follow from that time on. At the end of the next march (which would be five marches from where MacMillan and the doctor turned back) Borup would return with 3 Eskimos, *20 dogs,* and 1 sledge, leaving the main party—12 men, 10 sledges, and *80 dogs.*

Five marches farther on Marvin would return with 2 Eskimos, *20 dogs, and 1 sledge,* leaving the main party with 9 men, 7 *sledges, and 60 dogs.*

Five marches farther on Bartlett would return with 2 Eskimos, *20 dogs, and 1 sledge,* leaving the main party 6 men, *40 dogs, and 5 sledges.*

Let us consider, first, the number of sledges in the party. Peary says that after MacMillan returned they had left 16 men, 12 sledges, and 100 dogs.

Borup was to return next, taking with him "1 sledge," leaving the main party with 10 sledges. One sledge had played out, which accounts for the apparent discrepancy here. But Peary continues:

Five marches farther on Marvin would return with *1 sledge,* leaving the main party with *7 sledges.*

Here Peary's count is wrong, for if Marvin took only 1 sledge out of 10, it should have left the main party with 9, instead of 7 as Peary says. He continues:

Five marches farther on Bartlett would return with *1 sledge,* leaving the main party with *5 sledges.*

Here we find the original error carried along and another added to it, for taking Peary's own statement that Marvin's departure would leave the main party with 7 sledges, if Bartlett, returning, took only 1, there should have been 6 sledges left to the main party instead of the 5 allowed by Peary. Could Peary possibly foresee the exact number of sledges that would be broken in the next 10 days? This is hardly a reasonable supposition. However, a greater discrepancy occurs in his estimate of the dogs.

Remember that at this point, March 18, Peary says that—

The main expedition now comprised 16 men, 12 sledges, and 100 dogs.

On page 243 of The North Pole he says:

Borup, with 3 Eskimos, *16 dogs,* and 1 sledge, started on his return to the land.

This enumeration is confirmed by Borup on page 181 of his book. As 16 dogs from 100 leaves 84, Peary's statement on page 244 of The North Pole is remarkable:

With the departure of Borup's supporting party the main expedition comprised 12 men, 10 sledges, and *80 dogs.*

Nothing is said that hints at the killing of any of the dogs for dog food; in fact, such slaughter was unnecessary, as the expedition was amply supplied with provisions for both men and dogs. Neither is any note made of dogs dropping out from overwork, accident, or other causes.

On page 253 of The North Pole Peary enumerates Marvin's returning party:

Marvin, with Kudlooktoo and "Harrigan," 1 sledge, and *17 dogs,* started south at half-past 9 in the morning.

Peary's accounting after Borup's return gives the number in the main party, as stated above:

Twelve men, 10 sledges, and 80 dogs.

Accepting Peary's reckoning as correct, up to this point, we have left after Marvin returned, 80 dogs less the 17 taken by Marvin, or 63 dogs. But, without noting the loss of any dogs other than those taken back by the returning parties, Peary enumerates the following, after Marvin's return:

I had now passed the "farthest north" of all my predecessors and was approaching my own best record, with my eight companions, *sixty dogs*, and seven fully loaded sledges.

Peary's library on board of the *Roosevelt* evidently did not include an elementary arithmetic.

On page 268, April 1, Peary says of Bartlett's return:

He (Bartlett) got ready to start south on the back trail with his two Eskimos, one sledge, and *eighteen dogs*.

Again accepting Peary's figures after Marvin's return as correct we should have, after Bartlett left him, 60 dogs less the 18 Bartlett took with him, or 42 dogs. One dog was killed by the Eskimos on April 1 (see p. 273 of The North Pole), which leaves 41 dogs. But on page 269 Peary gives his final party as follows:

With the departure of Bartlett, the main party now consisted of my own division and Henson's. My men were Egingwah and Seegloo; Henson's men were Ootah and Ooqueah. We had five sledges and *forty dogs*.

We have accepted Peary's figures after each returning division left him merely for the sake of argument, in order to show that, even with that allowance, his story does not show a reasonable degree of continuity. The tabulation presented herewith shows the difference in the figures as given by Peary and the figures as they must actually have been, if we accept the number of dogs and sledges in the returning parties, as they are given by Peary:

| | Peary's count. | | Actual count. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dogs. | Sledges. | Dogs. | Sledges. |
| Number on hand before Borup returned | 100 | 12 | 100 | 12 |
| Returned with Borup | 16 | 1 | 16 | 1 |
| Number left after Borup's return | 80 | 10 | 84 | 11 |
| One sledge broken | ..... | 1 | ..... | 1 |
| | ..... | 9 | ..... | 10 |
| Returned with Marvin | 17 | 1 | 17 | 1 |
| Number left after Marvin's return | 60 | 7 | 67 | 9 |
| One dog killed | 1 | ..... | 1 | ..... |
| | 59 | ..... | 66 | ..... |
| Returned with Bartlett | 18 | 1 | 18 | 1 |
| Number left after Bartlett's return | 40 | 7 | 48 | 8 |

Another striking discrepancy in Peary's exposition of his plan is noted on page 242 of The North Pole, when he said:

I hoped that, with good weather and the ice no worse than that which we had already encountered, *Borup might get beyond 85°*, Marvin beyond 86°, and Bartlett beyond 87°.

This "hope" was expressed at their eleventh upward camp, and, if we may accept Peary's reckoning and statements, *they were already beyond the eighty-fifth parallel.* His later observations placed this camp at 85° 8′, as their march of 15 miles from the eleventh to the twelfth upward camp placed them at 85° 23′; and in writing of the homeward journey, on page 310 of The North Pole, Peary says:

Another double march brought us to our *eleventh upward camp at 85° 8′*.

And yet Peary "hoped that Borup might get beyond 85°"!

After Bartlett's return, on April 1, Peary spent the remainder of the day in camp with his five men, who prepared the sledges and other equipment for the final dash, while Peary, "pacing back and forth in the lee of the pressure ridge near which our igloos were built," made out his program. This he describes on page 269 of The North Pole:

We were now 133 nautical miles from the pole. Every nerve must be strained to make five marches of at least 25 miles each, crowding these marches in such a way as to bring us to the end of the fifth march by noon to permit an immediate latitude sight. Weather and leads permitting, I believed that I could do this. From the improving character of the ice, and *in view of the recent northerly winds*, I hoped that I should have no serious trouble with the going.

It was these same "northerly winds," however, which, as Peary says on page 265, forced to the south the ice over which they traveled, "*thus losing us miles of distance.*"

Up to this point, with the advantage of an already broken trail to follow, the "main party" had averaged only 13 miles per day; and only three times, by extra effort and "favored by good going" (see p. 251), had they been able to make *20 miles per day.* Yet Peary now plans to make "five marches of at least 25 miles each," while breaking his own trail against a north wind that heretofore had lost him miles of distance, and to crowd these marches into a period of less than five days, whereas two of his other forced marches of 20 miles each had been made with a full day's rest between them.

On page 274 of The North Pole Peary tells of his final start:

A little after midnight on the morning of April 2 I started to lift the trail to the north, leaving the others to pack, hitch up, and follow. I felt the keenest exhilaration, and even exultation, as I climbed over the pressure ridge and breasted the keen air sweeping over the mighty ice, pure and straight from the pole itself.

The wind was still "sweeping" down from the north, "straight from the pole itself," but for some unexplained reason it seemed to have lost its power to "lose them miles of distance."

Peary left the others to pack, hitch up, and follow, while he "took his proper place in the lead." After describing his thoughts and sensations at some length, including the statement that—

It was a fine marching morning, clear and sunlit. The going was the best we had since leaving the land—

Peary says, on page 276:

After some hours the sledges caught up with me. The dogs were so active that morning, after their day's rest, that I was frequently obliged to sit on a sledge for a few minutes or else run to keep up with them, which I did not care to do just yet.

Peary does not state the time necessary to pack, hitch up, and follow, but on page 112 of A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, Henson says:

Turned out at 4.30 a. m. We breakfasted, and *15 minutes later* we were at work making trail.

Query: If it took Henson and the Eskimos 15 minutes to "pack up, hitch, and follow," at what rate of speed must Mr. Peary have walked to attain such a distance in advance of his party that it was "some hours" before the sledges caught up with him, and that, too, when the dogs were so active that he was "frequently obliged to sit on a sledge for a few minutes or else run to keep up with them?"

The wind on April 2 underwent frequent and sudden changes, if we accept Peary's descriptions. On page 274 of The North Pole, he says that he "breasted the keen air sweeping over the mighty ice, pure and straight from the pole itself." This gives a mental picture of a wind of considerable force, otherwise Peary would not describe it as "sweeping over the mighty ice." On page 275 he says:

The wind of the past few days had subsided to *a gentle breeze*.

Again, on the same page, he refers to—

The appearance of the ice fields to the north this day, *the biting character of the wind*—

and so forth.

And again, on page 277, at the end of the same day, he says:

The wind had ceased to blow from the north.

An unusual circumstance in connection with Peary's entire sledge journey was the fact that throughout the trip he made no observations for longitude nor for compass variation. Notwithstanding this apparent handicap to accurate progress, Peary says, on page 276 of The North Pole:

Our course was nearly, as the crow flies, due north, across floe after floe, pressure ridge after pressure ridge, headed straight for some hummock or pinnacle of ice *which I had lined in with my compass*.

Since Peary stated before the congressional committee, in 1911, that he made no observations for longitude nor for compass variation at any time throughout his polar trip it would be extremely interesting if he had told us how he succeeded, without at any time knowing the actual direction in which his compass needle pointed, in following a course "due north as the crow flies."

The unusually favorable traveling conditions were interrupted on April 3 by broad pressure ridges; and Peary says, "We had to use pickaxes quite freely." This, however, made but little difference in the day's march, for Peary asserts that they "hustled along for 10 hours," making 20 miles.

On page 281 Peary says of April 4:

That night I put all the poorest dogs in one team and began to eliminate and feed them to the others as it became necessary.

It is difficult to understand the necessity for killing any of his dogs at this time to feed to the others. As already shown, Peary must have reached Cape Columbia on the return trip with at least 1,500 pounds of provisions on his sledges. To further prove his ample allowance of provisions we have his statement made to the congressional committee in 1911, page 77 of the hearing, that—

The standard ration for a sledge dog was 1 pound of pemmican per day or per march, but in regard to the dogs that amount was exceeded practically the entire upward trip, so that they got at times 2 pounds of pemmican per day. They were fed double rations up to perhaps the twelfth march, and on the return march the dogs were fed in accordance with the distance traveled, so that most of the time on the return they were double rationed.

Therefore it was not due to short rations that the elimination of any of the dogs to feed to the others became necessary.

On April 5, page 284 of The North Pole, Peary says:

I took a latitude sight, and this indicated our position to be 89° 25', or 35 miles from the pole; but I determined to make the next camp in time for a noon observation, if the sun should be visible.

This was a deviation from the program made out by Peary on April 1, as at that time he planned to make five forced marches, taking an observation at the end of the fifth march. It is also a direct contradiction to his statement to the congressional committee in 1911, as given on page 100 of the hearing:

Mr. MACON. Then *you took no observations, longitude or otherwise*, for a distance of 133 miles after you left Bartlett at 87° 47'?
Commander PEARY. *No, sir.*

Fortune favored the party, so far as the condition of the ice was concerned, as seen by quotations from Peary's description of the successive days of their journey after Bartlett left him:

April 2. The going was the best we had had since leaving the land. The floes were large and old, hard and level (p. 275).
April 3. There were some broad, heavy pressure ridges in the beginning of this march, and we had to use pickaxes quite freely. As soon as we struck the level old floes we tried to make up for lost time (p. 279).
April 4. The weather and the going were even better than the day before. The surface of the ice was as level as the glacial fringe from Hecla to Cape Columbia and harder (p. 280).
April 5. The going was the same, and the dogs were on the trot most of the time (p. 282).
April 6. The going was even better than before (p. 284).

If, as Peary states, on April 2, "The going was the best we had had since leaving land," and steadily improved, as he indicates, the ice in the region of the pole must resemble the Hudson River in midwinter when cleared for an "ice carnival."

The story of the arrival at the place Peary called the pole varies slightly as told by Peary and Henson. I give herewith the version of each of these two men, the only men who have ever written, or can ever write, a personal account of the last five days of Peary's northward journey:

[From The North Pole, by Peary.]

The last march northward ended at 10 o'clock on the forenoon of April 6. I had now made the five marches planned from the point at which Bartlett turned back, and my reckoning showed that we were in the immediate neighborhood of the goal of all our striving. *At approximate local noon of the Columbia meridian I made the first observation at our polar camp* (p. 287).

[From A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, by Henson.]

When we halted on April 6, 1909, I noticed Commander Peary at work unloading his sledge and unpacking several bundles of equipment. I asked what the name of this camp was to be—Camp Peary? "This, my boy, is to be Camp Morris K. Jesup, the last and most northerly camp on the earth!" *As prospects for getting a sight of the sun were not good, we turned in and slept* (pp. 132–133).

Note that Peary says he made the first observation at the polar camp at approximate local noon of April 6, while Henson says they could not get a sight of the sun, so turned in and slept. For the benefit of those persons who prefer to accept Peary's statement as opposed to Henson's, I will quote Peary's testimony before the congressional committee in 1911, page 126 of the hearing. The subject of Peary's polar photographs was under discussion, and Mr. ROBERTS of Massachusetts made inquiry as to the time the photographs were taken, as follows:

Mr. ROBERTS. Can you tell us about what time the photographs were made at or in the vicinity of the pole, with relation to your arrival there?
Mr. PEARY. Not precisely; no.
Mr. ROBERTS. You arrived about noontime on the 6th of April?
Mr. PEARY. About 10 o'clock.
Mr. ROBERTS. Were any of them made that day?
Mr. PEARY. I should say that some of those photographs were made in the evening. I can not say exactly when they were taken, but they were taken after 8 o'clock of the 6th. I do not know that I can recall the precise time, other than to say that they were taken after 8 o'clock, *because they were taken in sunlight. They were taken some time after 8 p. m. of the 6th and 4 p. m. of the 7th.*

Peary's positive recollection that these photographs were taken some time after 8 p. m. of the 6th, "because they were taken in sunlight," established beyond a reasonable doubt the fact that there was no sunlight on April 6th earlier than 8 p. m. This is confirmed by his statement on page 285 of The North Pole, describing the weather of April 6:

Notwithstanding the grayness of the day and the melancholy aspect of the surrounding world, etc.

All of this confirms Henson's assertion that Peary made no observation at noon of April 6, for if Peary could not take photographs on April 6 until after 8 p. m., owing to lack of sunlight, he certainly could not have obtained a latitude observation of the sun. Therefore, in this instance, we are forced to give credence to Henson's statement over Peary's.

Peary and Henson agree on one point, however, namely, that Peary decided the Pole was reached *before* any observations were made. Peary says:

My *reckoning* showed that we were in the immediate neighborhood of the goal of all our striving.

Henson says that Peary told him, immediately after they halted on April 6:

This, my boy, is to be Camp Morris K. Jesup, the last and most northerly camp on the earth.

The respective accounts of Peary and Henson relative to the first observations are herewith given:

[From The North Pole, by Peary.]

After the usual arrangements for going into camp at approximate local noon of the Columbia meridian, I made the first observation at our polar camp. It indicated our position as 89° 57' (p. 287).

[From A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, by Henson.]

It was about 10 or 10.30 a. m. on the 7th of April, 1909, that the commander gave the order to build a snow shield to protect him from the flying drift of the surface snow. I knew that he was about to take an observation (p. 134).

Thus Peary claims to have made his first observation at noon of April 6, while Henson declares that the first observation was made about 10 or 10.30 in the forenoon of April 7. For the reason just stated, namely, that the sun was obscured until after 8 p. m. of April 6, we must accept Henson's version of the time of the first observation.

This difference in the time of observations, as given by Peary and Henson, serves to illuminate a statement made by Peary before the congressional committee in 1911. On pages 39 and 40 is a quotation from Peary's diary, as read by him:

27 March. Tuesday, *April 6.* 12 hours on a direct course. Temperature when we arrived at this camp (the polar camp), 10 a. m.—11.

After reading the above quotation from his diary, Peary remarked:

*On the next day, the 6th,* I have this entry: "The Pole at last!"

But if the date given in the first quotation from his diary was "April 6," the "next day" of which he speaks must have been April 7 instead of the 6th, which would make his record of events at the Pole correspond with Henson's narrative and would bring his date of leaving the Pole to April 8, instead of April 7, as given in his book.

At whatever time made, however, Peary's observations show the movable nature of his polar camp. On page 287 of The North Pole, he says:

The first observation indicated our position as 89° 57' (*or 3 miles from the pole*).

On page 290 he says:

At 6 o'clock on the morning of April 7, having again arrived at Camp Jesup, I took another series of observations. These indicated our position as being *4 or 5 miles from the pole.*

On the same page he continues:

Again I returned to the camp (Jesup) in time for a final and completely satisfactory series of observations on April 7 at noon, Columbia meridian time. These observations gave results essentially the same as those made at the same spot 24 hours before (*3 miles from the pole*).

Peary's records of the temperature at the pole also show a slight difference in each of the three places where they are stated by him. On page 291 of The North Pole, he says that—

The temperature during these observations had been from minus 11° Fahrenheit to minus 30° Fahrenheit.

On page 180 of Hampton's Magazine for August, 1910, he says:

When we arrived (at the pole) the temperature was 11° below zero, Fahrenheit; at 4 o'clock on the 7th the thermometer registered 33° below.

On page 40 of the hearing before the congressional committee he read from his diary:

Thirty hours. Minimum temperature, —32°; maximum, —11°.

A difference of opinion also exists between Peary and Henson as to the points where the observations were made. Peary says, on pages 288–289 of The North Pole:

Everything was in readiness for an observation at 6 p. m., Columbia meridian time, in case the sky should be clear, but at that hour it was, unfortunately, still overcast. But as there were indications that it would clear before long, two of the Eskimos and myself pushed on an estimated distance of *10 miles.*

Henson says, on page 135 of his book:

He (Peary) purposed to take another sight about *4 miles* beyond and that he wanted at least two hours to make the trip.

Henson's statement of the distance traveled between the observations is more consistent than Peary's, in view of the brief time spent at their "farthest north." In fact, Peary's movements at his polar camp and beyond, as related by him, include a great amount of work performed in an incredibly short time. Accepting the dates recorded in Peary's book, we find that the expedition arrived at Camp Jesup at 10 a. m. of April 6 and left on their homeward journey at 4 p. m. of April 7. We have, therefore, 30 hours spent at and about Camp Jesup, and in that time Peary (as he says) made an observation; "turned in for *a few hours of* absolutely necessary sleep; made one round trip 'beyond the pole' of 20 miles; made observations at the end of 10 miles and a round of observations on his return to camp; made another round trip of 16 miles;

raised his flags; wrote out his records and prepared them for deposit; searched for land; searched for a suitable place for a sounding (which he did not find); took a number of photographs; double-rationed the dogs twice (which must have been done while they were not on the road on either the 20-mile or 16-mile run); and, finally, went into the igloos 'and tried to sleep a little before starting south again.'"

As the best time made on the trip from Cape Columbia to Camp Jesup was a forced march of 30 miles, in about 12 hours, the 20-mile journey between 6 p. m. of April 6 and 6 a. m. of April 7, with a stop of an hour for observations, shows unusually quick traveling for the dogs, which must have felt somewhat the strain of the five days of forced marches just ended. This was immediately followed by another run of 16 miles, made in 5 hours' time, a higher rate of speed than was made at any time on the northward journey. After the observations were made at Camp Jesup, about noon of April 7, only three hours were left for all the balance of Peary's performances at Camp Jesup, including the brief rest before starting back and the preparations for the first southward march.

In connection with Peary's "Polar photographs," we note that notwithstanding his statement to the congressional committee that all of his photographs were taken between 8 p. m. of April 6 and 4 p. m. of April 7, on page 2 of Hampton's Magazine for January, 1910, is a full-page photograph entitled:

First photograph at the North Pole—Stars and Stripes at the earth's apex. Photograph taken by Peary on the day of discovery, April 6, 1909.

As Peary stated that he took no photographs until *after* 8 p. m. of April 6, at which hour he was on his sledge journey to a point "an estimated 10 miles beyond," and returned from that sledge journey at 6 a. m. of April 7, when did he really take the photograph which purports to have been taken by him "on the day of discovery, April 6, 1909"?

While this analysis is not intended as a comparison of Peary's story with Henson's, some of the discrepancies between the two accounts are too striking to be overlooked. As before remarked, Peary and Henson are the only men who have ever written or can ever write a personal account of Peary's North Pole expedition after Capt. Bartlett turned back. As Peary wrote the "Foreword" for Henson's book, and gave his sanction to the contents, it is consistent to compare the accounts of the two men, since Peary wrote his own story and vouched for the accuracy of Henson's. Finally, it is a fact that in practically every instance where Henson is *contradicted by Peary* the same circumstance as described by Henson is *elsewhere corroborated by Peary.*

The flag raising, as described by Peary and Henson, is herewith quoted:

[From The North Pole, by Peary.]

Of course there were some more or less informal ceremonies connected with our arrival at our difficult destination. We planted five flags at the top of the world. The first one was a silk American flag which Mrs. Peary gave me 15 years ago. I carried it wrapped about my body on every one of my expeditions northward after it came into my possession. A broad diagonal section of this ensign would now mark the farthest goal of earth—the place where I and my dusky companions stood. After I had planted the American flag in the ice I told Henson to time the Eskimos for three rousing cheers, which they gave with the greatest enthusiasm. * * * In the afternoon of *the 7th, after flying our flags* and taking our photographs, we went into our igloos and tried to sleep a little before starting south again (pp. 294–296).

[From A Negro Explorer at the North Pole, by Henson.]

When we halted on April 6, 1909, I noticed Commander Peary at work unpacking several bundles of equipment. He pulled out from under his kooletah a small folded package and unfolded it. I recognized his old silk flag. He fastened the flag to a staff and planted it firmly on the top of his igloo. The Stars and Stripes were "nailed to the pole." A thrill of patriotism ran through me, and I raised my voice to cheer the starry emblem of my native land. The Eskimos gathered round, and, taking the time from Commander Peary, three hearty cheers rang out on the still, frosty air. This was a thin silk flag that Commander Peary had carried on all of his Arctic journeys. At the North Pole a diagonal strip running from the upper left to the lower right corner was cut, and this precious strip, together with a brief record, was placed in an empty tin, sealed up and buried in the ice as a record for all time (pp. 132–134).

Thus Peary places the "ceremonies of flying the flags," and so forth, on April 7, just before the return south, while Henson says they took place directly after their arrival at the place called the pole on April 6. To corroborate Henson on this point—and contradict himself—Peary prints on page 297 of The North Pole a copy of one of the records left at his polar camp:

90 N. LAT., NORTH POLE,
*April 6, 1909.*

I have *to-day* hoisted the national ensign of the United States of America at this place, which my observations indicate to be the North Polar axis of the earth, and have formally taken possession of the entire region and adjacent for and in the name of the President of the United States of America.

I leave this record and United States flag in possession.

ROBERT E. PEARY,
*United States Navy.*

From the date of the above record it is noted that Peary himself states that he "hoisted the national ensign of the United States of America" *to-day, April 6,* which statement completely corroborates Henson relative to the date of the flag raising.

The "sleep" or rest was of but short duration, and Peary decided to make the next camp, 30 miles to the south, before they slept. On page 301 of The North Pole he says:

Four hundred and thirteen nautical miles of ice floes and, possibly, open leads still lay between us and the north coast of Grant Land.

It is a geographical fact that Cape Columbia, on the north coast of Grant Land, is 413 miles from the North Pole, or 90° north latitude. But Peary's so-called "polar camp" was at least 3 miles from 90° north latitude, or, to give his own figures, at 89° 57′ north latitude; therefore, at the time they started south the distance from 89° 57′ to Cape Columbia was only 410 miles, instead of the 413 which Peary mentions. This difference is small, but in such close estimates as Peary makes every mile counts.

Peary had carefully preserved 1,500 fathoms of wire and a sounding lead for the purpose of making a sounding "at the pole." On page 304 of The North Pole he says, relative to the only sounding he was able to make in that vicinity:

We crowded on all speed for the first 5 miles of our return journey. Then we came to a narrow crack which was filled with recent ice, which furnished a chance to try for a sounding, a thing that had not been feasible at the pole itself, on account of the thickness of the ice. Here, however, we were able to chop through the ice until we struck water.

An extremely interesting feature of this sounding appears in the "Profile of soundings" published on page 338 of The North Pole. In this "profile" the location of the sounding just mentioned is given as 89° 55′ or *5 miles from the pole,* whereas, since Peary says that his polar camp was at 89° 57′ (or 3 miles from the pole) and they "crowded on all speed for the first 5 miles of the return journey" (before taking the sounding), the sounding must have been taken 5 miles *south of their camp,* which (if we accept Peary's location of the camp) means that the sounding was taken 8 miles south of the pole instead of 5 miles south of the pole, or at 89° 52′ instead of at 89° 55′. As this "Profile of soundings" is the result of the expedition which Peary considers of the greatest scientific value, so great that when it was first forwarded to the Coast and Geodetic Survey he requested that it be not made public until later (see p. 58 of the hearing before the congressional committee), we might reasonably expect great accuracy and care in its preparation, instead of which, on this point as on others, a marked inconsistency of detail is shown.

The result of the sounding in question is given by Peary on page 304 of The North Pole:

Our sounding apparatus gave us 1,500 fathoms of water, with no bottom. As the Eskimos were reeling in the wire parted, and both the lead and wire went to the bottom. With the loss of the lead and wire the reel became useless and was thrown away, lightening Ooqueah's sledge by 18 pounds.

On page 210 Peary gives the weight of a wooden reel as 18 pounds, so that Ooqueah's sledge was actually lightened to that amount; but Peary seems to have considered unworthy of mention the lessening of weight caused by the loss of the 14-pound lead and about 17 pounds of wire.

Peary devotes but little space to the southward journey, although some of his descriptions are at variance with his earlier statements. For instance, he says on page 305 of The North Pole, relative to the action of the wind on the ice:

Friday, April 9, was a wild day. All day long the wind blew from the north-northeast, increasing finally to a gale, while the thermometer hung between 18° and 22° below zero. For the last half of this march the ice was raftering all about us and beneath our very feet under the pressure of the howling gale.

On page 233 of The North Pole—on the upward journey—we read that—

Six hours of a good fresh breeze would utterly obliterate our trail.

If "six hours of a good fresh breeze would utterly obliterate the trail" on the upward journey, why did not a howling gale for the last half of a double march—a gale so strong that the ice was raftering beneath their feet, forming in irregular ridges, from its pressure—also obliterate the trail. Nothing like that happened, however. On the contrary, they made a double march and camped at Bartlett's return camp.

Of this same day Peary says:

Under the impact of the storm the ice was evidently crushing southward and bearing us with it.

Nevertheless, he continues:

We camped that night at 87° 47′ (at Bartlett's return camp).

Notwithstanding the "crushing of the ice southward," bearing the return party with it, Bartlett's igloo was found at the old place, 87° 47′, for Peary says that they did not have to build new igloos until after April 18.

On April 10 Peary says:

"During the night the gale moderated and gradually died away, leaving the air very thick. It was almost impossible for us to see the trail. Though the temperature was only 10° below zero we covered only Bartlett's last march (20 miles) that day." He also adds that at the end of the march "certain eliminations which we were compelled to make among the dogs left us a total of 35."

At the end of a double march on April 11, Peary says on page 307 of The North Pole:

When we camped we were very near the 87th parallel. The entry that I made in my diary that night is perhaps worth quoting: "Hope to reach the Marvin return igloo to-morrow. I shall be glad when we get there onto the big ice again. This region here was open water as late as February and early March and is now covered with young ice which is extremely unreliable as a means of return."

As the expedition did not reach the 87th parallel on the upward trip until March 28, it is difficult to understand how Peary knew the condition of the ice at that point "as late as February and early March." However, his diary continues:

A few hours of a brisk wind, east, west, or *south* would make this entire region open water for from 50 to 60 miles north and south and an unknown extent east and west. Only calm weather or a *northerly* wind keeps it practicable.

In the next paragraph Peary says:

A double march brought us to Camp Abruzzi, 86° 36′. The trail was faulted in several places, but we picked it up each time without much difficulty. The following day was a bitterly disagreeable one. On this march we had in our faces a fresh *southwest* wind that, ever and again, spat snow that stung like needles, and searched every opening in our clothing. But we were so delighted that we were across the young ice that these things seemed like trifles. The end of this march was at "Camp Nansen," named in honor of Nansen's "Farthest North."

According to Peary's statement above quoted, the "fresh southwest wind" did not strike them until they were across the young ice. But on the upward journey he says of the march directly after leaving 86° 13′ (which he now calls "Camp Nansen"):

During this march we crossed several leads covered with young ice, treacherous under the recently fallen snow.

Apparently Peary overlooked this stretch of "treacherous young ice" in writing of the homeward journey. It is also remarkable that while a southerly wind would have made the region of young ice directly north of this point "open water," the southwest wind which they here encountered seemed to have no power to move the young ice (which Peary says they found on the upward journey).

On page 308 (April 15) Peary says:

Between there and the next camp, at 85° 48′, we found three igloos where Marvin and Bartlett had been delayed by wide leads, now frozen over. My Eskimos identified these igloos by recognizing in their construction the handiwork of men in the parties of Bartlett and Marvin

The igloo at 85° 48′ was the fourteenth igloo built on the upward journey. On page 51 of the congressional hearing a quotation from Bartlett's diary says:

April 11 reached *tenth igloo.*
April 13: Shortly after leaving lost main trail; *built igloo, first since leaving commander.*

Peary says that *north of the fourteenth* upward going igloo were igloos built by the men of Marvin's and Bartlett's on the homeward journey, while Bartlett says he built his *first igloo on the homeward trip south of the tenth upward going igloo.* Peary, therefore, locates Bartlett's first new igloo more than four marches too far to the north. The reader is left to supply his own explanation for this inconsistency of detail, as Peary makes none.

On page 309 of The North Pole (April 15) Peary says:

We arrived at the next camp, where Marvin had made a 700-fathom sounding and lost wire and pickaxes. We were now approximately 146 miles from land.

On the northward journey (p. 265) Peary wrote:

There was a strong northerly wind blowing full in our faces. The wind pressure was forcing to the south the ice over which we traveled, and thus *losing us miles of distance.*

Again, on page 268:

We had traveled fully 12 miles more than his—Bartlett's—observation showed in the last five marches. Our latitude was the direct result of the northerly wind of the last two days, which had crowded the ice southward as we traveled over it northward.

Again, on the homeward trip (p. 306):

Under the impact of the storm the ice was crushing southward and bearing us with it.

The "Profile of soundings," on page 338 of The North Pole, gives a latitude of 85° 33′, or a distance of 146 miles from Cape Columbia for Marvin's 700-fathom sounding. We must remember that the camp where this sounding was made was on movable ice—not on land.

But notwithstanding almost continuous strong northerly winds of sufficient force to lose the expedition miles of distance on the northern journey, and to "crush the ice southward" and bear the returning party with it on the homeward trip, this camp where Marvin made the 700-fathom sounding is found still at the same old stand, 146 miles from Cape Columbia. The same was true of the eleventh upward camp, which they found located at 85° 8′, the precise spot it occupied when they left it on the northern journey.

Leaving the eleventh upward camp, Peary says on page 310:

Sunday, April 18, found us still hurrying along over the trail made by Marvin and Bartlett. *They had lost the main trail.*

Bartlett's diary, as quoted on page 51 of the hearing, shows that he did not lose the main trail until after he left the tenth upward igloo. Bartlett's diary continues:

Shortly after leaving (tenth) igloo lost main trail, followed Marvin's, losing it on a long, wide strip of young ice. Built igloo, first since leaving commander. Shortly after leaving picked up main trail, reaching the seventh igloo.
April 15. Reached the fifth igloo.

The fifth igloo was the first one built on the upward journey after the expedition left the Big Lead. From this point Bartlett made a new trail to land.

Peary says that from the eleventh igloo until a point near the seventh igloo, his returning division traveled over Bartlett's and Marvin's trail, as "they (Barlett and Marvin) had lost the main trail." Bartlett, however, says that he did not lose the main trail until after he left the tenth igloo, and found it again before he reached the seventh, followed it to the fifth igloo, and from there made a new trail to land. Thus Peary places the point where Bartlett lost the main trail one march farther north than Bartlett locates it in his day-by-day diary.

On page 314 of The North Pole Peary says:

We had now reached the neighborhood of the "Big Lead." For the rest of the journey we were compelled to follow the single trail made by Bartlett instead of our well-beaten outward trail. I could not complain. We had kept the beaten road back to within some 50 miles of the land.
Within some 50 miles of the land—

Brought Peary's division to the fifth camp, a short distance north of the Big Lead. When Peary said that—

We had kept the beaten road back to within some 50 miles of the land—

He had apparently forgotten that for about 30 miles between camp 11 and camp 7 he reports that they lost the main trail and only picked it up in Henson's first pioneer march.

The last 50 miles of the journey seem to have been uneventful, as Peary devotes only two pages of The North Pole to that part of the trip, and practically the same amount of space in the magazine story. On pages 315–316 of The North Pole he says:

Before midnight that night the whole party had reached the glacial fringe of Grant Land. We had now left the ice of the polar sea and were practically on terra firma.
It was almost 6 o'clock on the morning of April 23 when we reached the igloo of "Crane City" at Cape Columbia, and the work was done.

On the northward journey (p. 216), Peary says:

An hour after I left camp (at "Crane City," Cape Columbia), my division had crossed the glacial fringe, and the last man, sledge, and dog of the northern party was at last on the ice of the Arctic Ocean.

Peary does not explain why on the return trip, with light sledges and a small party (which he claims can travel much faster than a large party), he required six hours to travel the short distance from the edge of the glacial fringe to "Crane City," when the same distance, with heavily loaded sledges and a large cavalcade of men and dogs, was traversed in an hour on the outward trip.

He continues:

Here (at "Crane City") I wrote these words in my diary:
"My life work is accomplished. The thing which it was intended from the beginning that I should do, the thing which I believed could be done, and that I could do, I have done."

Peary states that his returning party reached Cape Columbia on April 23. On page 291 of Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910, Peary says:

After putting 4 pounds of pemmican into each of the 29 faithful dogs, to keep them quiet, we had at last our chance to rest. For 48 hours we slept practically all the time.

The North Pole makes no mention of "putting 4 pounds of pemmican into each dog." The dogs had been fed full rations on both the northward and homeward journeys. They had been given double rations whenever a double march was made, and Peary says, on page 291 of Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910, and on page 317 of The North Pole:

The dogs, like ourselves, had not been hungry when we arrived (at Cape Columbia).

Yet he put 4 pounds of pemmican into each of them.

The party left Cape Columbia for the ship on April 25, and on page 317 of The North Pole, Peary says:

We reached Cape Hecla in one march of 45 miles and the *Roosevelt* in another of equal length.

This would have brought Peary to the ship late on April 26. But on page 82 of the congressional hearing, a quotation from Peary's diary reads as follows:

No. 1. *Roosevelt* to ——— and return, February 22 to April 21, R. E. Peary, United States Navy.

A letter written by Peary to MacMillan, who was with Borup on the north coast of Greenland when Peary arrived at the ship, also reads (see p. 231 of Borup's book):

S. S. "ROOSEVELT," *April 28, 1909.*

MY DEAR MACMILLAN: Arrived on board *yesterday*. Northern trip entirely satisfactory. Captain came on board *24th*.

This letter dates Peary's arrival at the ship on April 27, and Capt. Bartlett's arrival at the ship on April 24 (*one day after Peary arrived at Cape Columbia*). A quotation from Bartlett's diary, on page 51 of the congressional hearing, also dates Bartlett's arrival at the ship on April 24:

April 20.—Left Columbia, reaching the ship on the 24th.

But on page 115 of the congressional hearing, Congressman Macon asked Peary:

Mr. MACON. How long was it after Capt. Bartlett reached his camp on the return trip that you arrived there?
PEARY. I found him at the *Roosevelt* at Cape Sheridan.
Mr. MACON. How long had he arrived there before you did?
PEARY. *Four days.*
Mr. MACON. He was there four days before you arrived?
PEARY. *Four days.*

Therefore, according to Peary's statement before the congressional committee, he must have arrived at the *Roosevelt* on April 28 instead of April 26 or April 27.

In the chapter of The North Pole headed "Last Days at Cape Sheridan," page 325, Peary says:

It is not long now to the end of the story. On returning to the *Roosevelt* I learned that MacMillan and the doctor had reached the ship *March 21*, Borup on April 11, the Eskimo survivors of Marvin's party April 17, and Bartlett on April 24.

Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910, page 293, says:

Dr. Goodsell and MacMillan reached the ship *March 25*.

That March 25 is the correct date is shown by a letter now before me, dated March 23, 1916, signed by Dr. J. W. Goodsell, in which he says:

I turned back from the 84° 29′ camp on March 14, 1909, and MacMillan from the 84° 29′ camp on March 15. * * * We made the 36 miles (from Porter Bay) to the ship in one forced march, where we arrived on *March 25*, 1909—not March 21, as recorded in Peary's book.

Dr. Goodsell also says:

My division was the first to reach Cape Columbia (on the northward journey), where I arrived on February 22, Washington's Birthday.
From Peary's book you could not determine that my division was the first to reach Cape Columbia on the northward dash.

Peary had planned to have Marvin and MacMillan, after they returned to the ship with their supporting parties, make a sledge trip to Cape Morris Jesup on the north coast of Greenland for the purpose of making tidal observations and a line of soundings as far north from the cape as they could prudently go so late in the season. When Marvin's Eskimos returned to the ship with the story of Marvin's death, MacMillan at once determined to go to Cape Morris Jesup with Borup and two Eskimos, make 10 days' tidal observations, as many soundings as possible, and, as Borup said on page 206 of "A Tenderfoot with Peary," "try to survey Peary Channel."

This auxiliary expedition left the ship at Cape Sheridan on April 19, 1909, with a "supporting party" of three Eskimos. They traveled easily and arrived at Cape Jesup on May 8, intending to arrange their work so that they could reach the ship on the return trip about July 1. This arrangement would allow them about a month in which to survey "Peary Channel." This plan, however, was frustrated the day they arrived at Cape Jesup, when they were overtaken by a party of "Eskimo couriers," sent from the ship by Peary with a note to MacMillan. It developed that on Peary's arrival at the ship, one week after MacMillan and Borup left for Cape Jesup, he was told of their intention to survey Peary Channel. He immediately started two Eskimos posthaste after them with a note to MacMillan. Peary says on page 326 of The North Pole:

On the 18th MacMillan and Borup, with five Eskimos and six sledges, had departed for the Greenland coast to establish depots of supplies in case my party should be obliged to make its landing there as in 1906, and also to make tidal readings at Cape Morris Jesup. I therefore at once started two Eskimos off for Greenland with a sounding apparatus and a letter informing MacMillan and Borup of our final success.

Peary places the date of MacMillan's and Borup's departure from the ship for the Greenland coast on April 18; but on page 201 of "A Tenderfoot with Peary" Borup says:

It was midnight of April 17 that the familiar cry of "Kamuttee coming" (a sledge coming) rang out, and we knew that Marvin's division was at hand.

And on page 206:

We saddled up and were on the lope 36 hours after the arrival of Marvin's ill-fated division.

The above brings the date of their departure from the ship to April 19 instead of April 17. On the second day away from the ship, page 210, Borup mentions the date as "April 20," proving that they left the ship on the 19th.

It will be noted that Peary says nothing of MacMillan's intention to survey Peary Channel; but on page 206 of "A Tenderfoot with Peary" Borup says:

We decided that a stay in the field till July 1 would make those at the ship appreciate us the more on our return, so we arranged to lay down a series of "Childs's" lunch counters every 20 miles or so from Cape Bryant to Cape Morris Jesup for the commander, do a little work for the Coast and Geodetic Department, and to *try to survey Peary Channel*.

On page 230 Borup describes the arrival of the Eskimo messengers from Peary immediately after MacMillan and Borup reached Cape Jesup:

Just as we were turning in we heard a dog team coming. We rushed outside and saw an Eskimo running toward us, but it would have required the Bertillon system to identify the man in his coat of dirt, sunburn, and goggles as Karko, whom we'd picked to go to the pole, and three more huskies. We thought the commander had hit the coast near us.
Karko wasn't long in dispelling the illusion. "Peary oomiaksoah" (Peary's on the ship). Then we turned from Karko to see who the other men were—Wesharkoupsi, Ahwatingwah, and Inighito, the last two being two of the three men in our supporting party. Karko dived for his bag and dug out a letter addressed: "Prof. D. B. MacMillan, North Greenland Coast."

Borup gives a verbatim copy of Peary's letter on pages 231–232 of his book, but on account of its length I shall quote only a few extracts:

S. S. "ROOSEVELT," *April 28, 1909.*

MY DEAR MACMILLAN: Arrived on board yesterday. Northern trip entirely satisfactory. No need of Greenland depots.
Captain came on board 24th. *Concentrate all energies on tidal observations and line of soundings* north from Morris Jesup, and use intended supplies for this purpose.
*Never mind about any survey work. Concentrate all your energies on Jesup.*
You should be back much earlier than the 1st of July. Am anxious to have you back earliest possible date.

PEARY.

Although in The North Pole Peary makes no mention of the proposed survey of Peary Channel by MacMillan and Borup, he makes it very clear in his letter to MacMillan that he wished no attempt at such a survey made. To those who know the history of the fictitious "Peary Channel" ("discovered" (?) by Peary in 1892), his concern on that point is not remarkable. As "Peary Channel" never existed anywhere but in Peary's imagination, it is not strange that he preferred to have MacMillan and Borup keep away from its supposed location. That "channel" has now been removed from the Government maps and charts, and will not appear on any maps later published.

On pages 328–329 of The North Pole, Peary says:

On the 31st (of May) MacMillan and Borup themselves arrived from Greenland. MacMillan reported that he got as far as 84° 17′ north of Cape Jesup, had made a sounding which showed a depth of 90 fathoms, and had obtained 10 days' tidal observations.

This differs slightly from Borup's account, for on page 240 of his book Borup reports that:

He (MacMillan) said he'd been out to 84° 15′.

On page 246 of Borup's book he gives a copy of the record left in a cairn at Cape Morris Jesup, which contains the following:

Last sounding at 84° 15′, depth of 91 fathoms.

As the record left in a cairn is always supposed to be the exact, "official" record, it may be noted that the record quoted by Borup differs from Peary's statement, both as to the depth of the sounding and the point where it was made.

After his return from Cape Jesup, Borup, with the help of the Eskimos, built a permanent monument at Cape Columbia. Peary described this monument at length and quotes the record left there, giving the names of the entire expedition. The final paragraph of the record reads:

The club's steamer *Roosevelt* wintered at Cape Sheridan, 73 *miles* east of here (Cape Columbia).

Borup gives a similar description on page 274 of his book, and it is also duplicated on page 294 of Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910. But on page 134 of The North Pole Peary mentions: Cape Columbia, *90 miles* from the ship"; and again on page 317 he says of the return journey:

We reached Cape Hecla (from Cape Columbia) in one march of 45 miles, and the *Roosevelt* in another of equal length—

making the total distance from Cape Columbia to Cape Sheridan, *90 miles*. Which is correct?

Peary reports the first of the summer rains on June 16, and adds:

On the same day Borup captured a live musk calf near Clements Markham Inlet.

Borup reports the capture of the calf on June 10. (See pp. 261–262 of his book.)

A monument was erected to Marvin's memory at Cape Sheridan, near the winter quarters of the *Roosevelt*. Peary described this monument on page 321 of The North Pole and page 294 of Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910:

[From The North Pole, by Peary.]

On the northern shores of Grant Land we erected a cairn of stones, and upon its summit we placed a rude tablet inscribed:

[From "The discovery of the North Pole," by Peary, in Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910.]

A memorial was erected on the foothills of Cape Sheridan, less than a mile from the *Roosevelt*. It is a cross made of sledge planks, imbedded in a pile of stones. At the intersection of the arms is a copper plate, bearing the following inscription:

[The inscription is the same in the book and the magazine.]

In Memory Of
ROSS G. MARVIN
of
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
*Aged 3½*
Drowned April 10, 1909, forty-five miles north of C. Columbia, returning from 86° 38′ N. Lat.

In Peary's earlier book, Nearest the Pole, he enumerates the personnel of his 1905–06 expedition and mentions: "Ross G. Marvin, *25 years of age*" (in July, 1905). If Marvin was 25 years of age in 1905, he could not have been 34 in 1909; neither would strict accuracy make him 31, which is the age given by Borup in *his* description of Marvin's memorial. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Peary was wrong when he said Marvin was 25 in 1905, and was again in error when he said Marvin was 34 in 1909; and that Borup has the right figures, namely, 31 years in 1909.

Peary is also variable as to Henson's age. In Nearest the Pole he speaks of "Matthew Henson, 39 years of age" (in 1905, which is correct). On page 20 of The North Pole he writes of Henson (in 1909): "He is now about 40 years of age." This, of course, is only a small matter of five years difference.

The preparations for the homeward voyage occupied the members of the expedition until about the middle of July, and Peary says on page 332 of The North Pole:

On July 18 the *Roosevelt* pulled slowly out from the cape and turned her nose again to the south.

On page 294 of Hampton's Magazine for September, 1910, he says:

On July 18 the *Roosevelt* left her winter quarters, etc.

Borup, however, on page 283 of his book, gives the date of departure from Cape Sheridan as July 17, one day earlier than Peary's date; and in this Borup is corroborated by Henson, who says:

It was 2.30 p. m., July 17, 1909, that the *Roosevelt* pointed her bow southward and we left our winter quarters and Cape Sheridan.

Some of the discrepancies in Peary's narrative may seem trivial and of no importance, but they are significant as proving Peary's inaccuracy and carelessness in small matters as well as those of greater consequence.

The book proper, The North Pole, closes with the words:

The victory was due to experience; to the courage, endurance, and devotion of the members of the expedition, who put all there was in them into the work; and to the unswerving faith and loyalty of the officers, members, and friends of the Peary Arctic Club, who furnished the sinews of war without which nothing could have been accomplished.

Following this peroration are three appendixes. Appendix I is entitled "Summary of Bathymetrical, Tidal and Meteorological Observations," by Dr. R. A. Harris. As this "summary" is based on Peary's report as published in The North Pole, it necessarily partakes largely of the inaccuracies shown in the main part of the book.

Dr. Harris first refers to "soundings" in the Arctic, and says:

Previous to the expeditions of Peary, little was known concerning the depths of that portion of the Arctic Ocean which lies north of Greenland and Grant Land. In 1876 Markham and Parr, at a point nearly north of Cape Joseph Henry, in latitude 83° 20½′, and longitude 63° W., found a depth of 72 fathoms. In 1882 Lockwood and Brainard, at a point lying northerly from Cape May, in latitude about 82° 38′ N., and longitude about 51½° W., sounded to a depth of *133 fathoms* without touching bottom.

On page 27, volume 1, of the Official Report of the United States Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, under Gen. (then Lieut.) A. W. Greely, we read:

At about 82° 40′ N. and 51° W., a sounding was made. Eight hundred and twenty feet of line and thongs were used, but no bottom was found.

Eight hundred and twenty feet is a depth of *136½ fathoms* instead of 133 as stated by Dr. Harris. No mention is made by Dr. Harris of a sounding made by the Greely expedition at Cape Bryant (82° 21′ N. lat.), half a mile from shore, which gave a depth of 103 feet or 17⅙ fathoms.

Dr. Harris continues on page 337 of The North Pole:

The motion of the polar pack was inferred by Lockwood from the existence of a tidal crack extending from Cape May to Beaumont Island. Peary's journeys along the northern coast of Greenland in 1900, and upon the Arctic ice in 1902 and 1906, firmly established the motion suspected by Lockwood.

In April of the years 1902 and 1906 he found an eastward drifting of the ice due to westerly or northwesterly winds.

Thus Dr. Harris credits Peary with the establishment of the eastward drift of the ice north of Greenland and Grant Land, but he fails to note that ice in motion was observed near Cape Frederick (on the northern coast of Greenland, lat. 82° 51′ N.) by the Greely expedition (see p. 122, vol. 1, of the Official Report of Greely's Expedition); neither does he mention the strong easterly current off Cape Bryant which prevented Lockwood and Brainard from making satisfactory tidal observations at that point on their return from their "farthest north." (P. 211, vol. 1, Official Report of Greely's Expedition.)

Dr. Harris continues:

The water sky observed to the north of Cape Morris Jesup in 1900, strongly indicated the existence of deep water between Greenland and the North Pole.

If the existence of "water sky" north of Cape Jesup means deep water between Greenland and the North Pole, why did not Lieut. Lockwood's report printed by the Government in 1888, likewise indicate deep water between northern Greenland and North Pole? Lieut. Lockwood's report, as given on page 208, volume 1, of the Official Government Report:

To the north (from Lockwood Island) lay an unbroken expanse of ice, interrupted only by the horizon.

Therefore, in this respect at least, the "expeditions of Peary," to which Dr. Harris refers, only served to corroborate the earlier observations of the Greely expedition.

Dr. Harris lays great stress on Peary's profile of soundings, which purport to have been made between Cape Columbia and the North Pole, on the meridian of Cape Columbia.

As Peary made no observations for longitude or for compass variation on his polar trip, we have nothing to prove and much to disprove his assertion that he traveled on the meridian of Columbia. Such being the case, the soundings as reported by him are of little value as a "profile" of the ocean's depth from Cape Columbia to the pole. Furthermore, as already shown, the sounding of 1,500 fathoms, to which Dr. Harris especially refers, was not taken, according to Peary's own book as well as his statement before the congressional committee, at 89° 55′ north latitude, where he places it on his "profile of soundings," but at a point at least 3 miles south of 89° 55′, and probably even farther. This is not a hypothetical analysis, therefore I have no "theory" as to where Peary's "polar sounding" was actually made; but I quite agree with Dr. Harris that the sounding made by Peary at his "farthest north"—wherever that was—is not at variance with Nansen's sounding made at 85° 20′. Furthermore, to me it is not at all impossible that this same "polar sounding" was made in a latitude paralleling that of Nansen's, namely, 85° 21′, or more probably south of that point.

Dr. Harris analyzes at length the tidal observations made by the Peary expedition at Cape Sheridan, Point Aldrich, Cape Bryant, Cape Morris Jesup, and Fort Conger, the periods of time covered at these stations being about 231, 29, 28, 10, and 15 days, respectively. But in this appendix Dr. Harris does not refer—except by the briefest possible footnote references—to the lengthy, exhaustive, and accurate tidal observations carried on by the Greely expedition at Black Horn Cliffs, Repulse Harbor, Capes Sumner, Baird, Beechy, Cracroft, and Distant Cape and Fort Conger in 1882–83, nor does Dr. Harris refer to the tidal observations made at Cape Sheridan by the Nares expedition in 1875–76. From a careful analysis of these earlier records practically the same conclusions were reached as those set forth by Dr. Harris and accredited to Mr. Peary's work. Such obvious unfairness is unworthy a scientist of Dr. Harris's standing and attainments. (See Appendix 140, vol. 2, p. 637, Government Report of the Greely Expedition.)

On page 340, in a table giving "the mean lunitidal intervals and the mean ranges of tide," Dr. Harris gives the latitude of Cape Morris Jesup as 83° 40′ north latitude, 1 mile farther north than is claimed by Peary. He also gives the latitude of Cape Sheridan as 82° 27′, 1 mile farther south than is given by Peary; and the longitude of Fort Conger as 64° 44′ west instead of 64° 45′ west, as given by Greely.

Dr. Harris also refers repeatedly to "Crocker Land," since proven not to exist by Donald B. MacMillan, of Peary's polar expedition.

Another interesting feature of Dr. Harris's appendix is his frequent use of the term "Peary Land" to designate the north-

ern part of Greenland. This portion of Greenland was explored and named prior to Peary's explorations, and it is unjust to earlier explorers to place Peary's name over the names of "Washington Land," "Nares Land," and so forth, given to that part of Greenland by Hall, Greely, and other explorers. Presumably the name "Peary Land" was placed on the map to commemorate Peary's "discovery" of the fictitious "Peary Channel," which Peary claimed divided the northern part of Greenland from the mainland, but since "Peary Channel" has been proven to exist only in Peary's imagination, it is manifestly unfair to place the name of "Peary Land" on that portion of Greenland.

Dr. Harris says of Peary's meteorological work (The North Pole, p. 346):

Regular *hourly observations* of the thermometer and barometer were carried on day and night by the tide observers.

A brief résumé of the results obtained is given below, together with a few taken from the Report of the Proceedings of the United States Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay by Lieut. (now Gen.) A. W. Greely.

But Dr. Harris does not state that while the Peary expedition made "regular *hourly observations* of the thermometer and barometer day and night," the number of meteorological observations "*made and recorded each day*" by the Greely expedition was 234; and this, too, in addition to elaborate and careful magnetical, pendulum, time, and sound observations and experiments. In a word, little reliable scientific data of value was obtained and published up to date by Peary's last expedition which had not already been obtained and recorded by earlier expeditions.

In this connection I would say that Dr. J. W. Goodsell, surgeon to Peary's 1908–9 expedition, has completed the manuscript of a book embodying his own personal, scientific work and observations. Of this book Dr. Goodsell wrote under date of March 1, 1916:

It was not until a year after our return that I received permission to write, and even to date Peary attempts to prohibit me from any lecturing or writing likely to be translated into any foreign language.

For several years after our return I was engaged in compiling my scientific data concerning the expedition in connection with my sledging and other experiences. Peary wrote me to send him the material for my book and he would write the introduction. He received the 568 typewritten pages in latter March, 1915, and my illustrations a few days later. *He has not written since, will not return my uncopyrighted book or illustrations, nor will he answer any letters requesting their return.*

On May 1, 1916, Dr. Goodsell wrote the Explorers' Club informing it of Peary's refusal to return his manuscript and requesting the club to accept either his own resignation or Peary's. On June 17, 1916, Dr. Goodsell received the typewritten manuscript without letter or explanation of any kind.

Such scientific material as appears in Peary's book The North Pole is the result of Dr. Goodsell's work, and is used by Peary without quotation marks or other acknowledgment. I quote herewith a few extract from Dr. Goodsell's original journal (a copy of which was furnished Peary immediately on the return of the expedition) and their equivalents as found in Peary's book The North Pole:

[From The North Pole, by Peary.]

The Protococcus nivalis (Red Snow), one of the lowest types of the single, living protoplasmic cell. The nearly transparent gelatinous masses vary from a quarter inch in diameter to the size of a pinhead, and they draw from the snow and the air the scanty nourishment they require (pp. 72–73).

When the little auks fly high against the sunlit sky they appear like the leaves of a forest when the early frost has touched them and the first gale of autumn carries them away circling, drifting, eddying through the air (p. 75).

One place seemed secure, and we were making ready to attach the cables, when an ice floe, about an acre in extent, with a sharp, projecting point like the ram of a battleship, came surging along toward the *Roosevelt*, and we were obliged to shift our position. Before the ship was secured she was again threatened by the same floe, which seemed to be endowed with malign intelligence and to follow us like a bloodhound (pp. 112–113).

* * * Black Cape, a dark, cone-shaped mountain, standing alone, on the eastern side washed by the waters of the sea, on the west separated by deep valleys from the adjacent mountains (p. 118).

[From Dr. Goodsell's Journal.]

The larger, nearly transparent gelatinous masses are about one-fourth inch in diameter. These are exceptional, the masses being usually the size of a pinhead or smaller. * * * The Protococcus nivalis (Red Snow) is certainly one of the very lowest type of the living, single protoplasmic cell existing on the scant nourishment and less heat that the air and snow provide.

When the auks fly high the reflection of the sun makes them appear like the leaves of a forest when the early frost has touched the leaves and the first gale of autumn carries them away circling, drifting, eddying through the air.

One place seemed secure, but a large floe, of an acre or more, with a projecting point like a battleship, pushed toward the *Roosevelt*, necessitating a change of position to southward. Before the vessel was secured she was again threatened by the same floe, which had followed, persistent as a bloodhound.

* * * Black Cape, a dark, cone-shaped mountain, standing alone. At the eastern side washed by the waters of the sea, on the west separated by deep valleys from the adjacent mountains.

Dr. Goodsell's forthcoming book contains several pages of interesting material relative to the "red snow" of the "crimson cliffs," the result of his microscopical studies.

Henson also says of Dr. Goodsell (pp. 156–158 of A Negro Explorer at the North Pole):

Dr. Goodsell, with two teams and the Esquimo men Keshungwah and Tawchingwah, left the ship on May 27 to hunt in the Lake Hazen and Ruggles River regions. Dr. Goodsell returned to the *Roosevelt* on June 15 with a load of geological, zoological, and botanical specimens almost as heavy as the loads of meat and skins he brought in. He was an ardent scientist, and viewed nearly every situation and object from the viewpoint of the scientist. Nothing escaped him; a peculiar form of rock or plant, the different features of the animal life, all received his close and eager attention, and he had the faculty of imparting his knowledge to others. He evinced an eager interest in the Esquimos and got along famously with them.

His physical equipment was the finest; a giant in stature and strength, but withal the gentlest of men, having an even, mellow disposition that was never ruffled. In the field the previous spring he had accompanied the expedition beyond the "Big Lead" to 84° 29', and with the strength of his broad shoulders he had pickaxed the way.

Peary mentions the supplementary expeditions of MacMillan and Borup but says nothing whatever of Dr. Goodsell's independent trip to the Lake Hazen region, after the return from the northern trip, and the only record of his scientific work is found on page 190 of The North Pole, when Peary says:

The doctor completed a record of the approximate mean temperatures for the season, which showed that every month except October had been colder than three years before.

This is in striking contrast to the narratives of other leaders of Arctic expeditions, who carefully give personal credit to each member of the party for work done. Such credit is particularly conspicuous in Gen. Greely's account of his three years in the Arctic.

Appendix II to The North Pole contains facsimile reproductions of the alleged observations made by Marvin, Bartlett, and Peary; also reproductions of the certificates to position, purporting to have been made by Marvin and Bartlett.

In regard to Bartlett's reputed observation, it is only necessary to say that the errors in calculation are such as to show that the computation was not made by a man experienced in nautical observations.

Appendix III to The North Pole contains the "Report of the subcommittee of the National Geographic Society on Peary's Records, and Some of the Honors Awarded for the Attainment of the Pole."

This "report" is signed by Henry Gannett, C. M. Chester, and O. H. Tittmann, and was presented to the board of managers of the National Geographic Society on November 4, 1909.

The opinion prevailed at that time, and in some quarters still prevails, that this report of the subcommittee of the National Geographic Society was equivalent to a national recognition of Peary's claim to the discovery of the North Pole. Nothing could be further from the truth. That the "National Geographic Society" is neither national, geographic, nor a society is shown by the following resolution introduced in Congress by Representative F. O. Smith, of Maryland, on January 21, 1915:

[Sixty-third Congress, third session, House resolution 709.]

Whereas the National Geographic Society (of Washington, D. C.) is not national (in the sense that it is not a bureau of nor connected with the National Government in any capacity whatsoever), is not geographic, is not scientific, and is not a society, but is simply and solely a private publishing house, no special privileges should be granted to it. (Third paragraph of resolution.)

Therefore recognition of Peary's claimed achievement by this "society" was no more a national recognition than was the publication of his story by Hampton's Magazine.

This subcommittee reported that:

Commander Peary has submitted to this subcommittee his original journal and record of observations, together with all his instruments and apparatus and certain of the most important of the scientific results of his expedition. These have been carefully examined by your subcommittee, and they are unanimously of the opinion that Commander Peary reached the North Pole on April 6, 1909.

How "carefully examined" these data were by the subcommittee is manifested in the "minority report" of the congressional committee before whom Peary testified in 1911, from which I quote:

From these extracts from the testimony it will be seen that Mr. Gannett, after his "careful examination" of Capt. Peary's proofs and records, did not know how many days it took Capt. Peary from the time he left Bartlett to reach the pole and return to the Roosevelt, that information being supplied by a Mr. Grosvenor. It will be also observed that Mr. Gannett as a result of his careful examination of Capt. Peary's proofs and records, gives Capt. Peary in his final dash to the pole the following equipment: Two sledges, 36 or 32 dogs, 2 Eskimos, and Henson. It will be seen later from Capt. Peary's testimony that he had on that final dash 40 dogs, 5 sledges, and a total of 6 men in his party. This discrepancy on so vital a point might seem quite conclusive that the examination of the Geographic Society's committee was anything but careful.

The following quotations from the testimony of Mr. Tittmann show with what care, or, rather, lack of care, this committee examined Capt. Peary's proofs:

"The CHAIRMAN. Are you satisfied Peary reached the North Pole?

"Mr. TITTMANN. Surely.

"Mr. GREGG. Did you see the book of original entry in which he made the record of these soundings?

"Mr. TITTMANN. No; I did not.

"Mr. GREGG. Have you ever, in any capacity, seen the books of original entries?

"Mr. TITTMANN. No, sir; I have not."

This member of the committee says he did not have as much opportunity to go over the details as the other members of the committee, "because he was very much occupied with other matters." When asked for certain information by the chairman, Mr. Tittmann refers him to Mr. Gannett and hurries away.

Appendix III closes with the following statement and list, on pages 364–365 of The North Pole:

Among the home and foreign honors awarded for the attainment of the pole are the following:

The special great gold medal of the National Geographic Society of Washington.
The special gold medal of the Philadelphia Geographical Society.
The Helen Culver medal of the Chicago Geographical Society.
The honorary degree of doctor of laws from Bowdoin College.
The special great gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London.
The Nachtigall gold medal of the Imperial German Geographical Society.
The King Humbert gold medal of the Royal Italian Geographical Society.
The Hauer medal of the Imperial Austrian Geographical Society.
The gold medal of the Hungarian Geographical Society.
The gold medal of the Royal Belgian Geographical Society.
The gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of Antwerp.
A special trophy from the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.
The honorary degree of doctor of laws from the Edinburgh University.
Honorary membership in the Manchester Geographical Society.
Honorary membership in the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society of Amsterdam.

A careful personal inspection of these medals and honors, however, reveals the fact that of the 15 medals and honors mentioned in the list above presented only 8 were given for the discovery or "attainment" of the North Pole; 2 were presented by societies of which Peary was a leading member; 1 degree (from Bowdoin College) was presented by Peary's alma mater; and, furthermore, the fact was brought out at the congressional hearing (see p. 20 of the hearing) that none of the societies conferring honors had examined Peary's records or other data (with the exception of the National Geographic Society). Mr. Gannett, chairman of the National Geographic Society subcommittee, making that statement to the congressional committee. Mr. Gannett was asked by Hon. THOMAS S. BUTLER:

The records of Peary were not submitted to any of these societies? They simply accepted the judgment of the National Geographic Society?

To the above question Mr. Gannett replied:

That is the case.

The special great gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London is mentioned on page 365 of Peary's book as one of the medals presented for the discovery of the Pole, and a full-sized photographic reproduction of each side of the medal is shown opposite page 365. The inscription on one side of this medal reads, "Robert Edwin Peary," and on the reverse side:

Presented by the Royal Geographical Society. For Arctic Exploration, 1886–1909.

No mention is made, directly or indirectly, of the North Pole, yet on the strength of this report of the subcommittee of the National Geographic Society and on the strength of the contradictory and absurd testimony given by Peary himself before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, Robert E. Peary was placed on the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers on March 4, 1911, said retirement to date from April 6, 1909, *nine years before Mr. Peary would have been eligible to retirement* under our very easy age-limit retirement system.

Furthermore, since March 4, 1911, Peary has posed before the world as "rear admiral, retired," although his retirement with rank and pay of that high office gives him no more right to use the title of rear admiral than belonged to him before he was retired.

Secretary Daniels, of the Navy Department, is authority for the statement that Peary's title is "civil engineer," and when the Secretary was asked if by right of courtesy or common usage Robert E. Peary may be properly addressed as "rear admiral," he replied that Peary's correct title is "civil engineer." To address Peary as "admiral" or "rear admiral" is therefore a breach of etiquette of the service, and, as was said in a discussion of this subject in the Senate on the 13th of this month:

To call these men admirals does not make them so any more than to call the tail of a sheep a leg makes it so.

When the bill rewarding Peary for his claimed Arctic services was introduced in Congress Hon. G. von L. Meyer, then Secretary of the Navy, wrote to the chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs that—

* * * It seems inappropriate to confer upon him (Peary) a title for which his previous education, training, and service have not fitted him. It is therefore recommended that in the title of the bill and in the fourth line thereof the word "commander" be changed to "Civil Engineer," *the latter being Mr. Peary's correct official designation*, and, further, that instead of appointing him a rear admiral and placing him upon the retired list as such that he be retired as a civil engineer with the rank of rear admiral and with the highest retired pay of that grade under existing law.

These recommendations of Secretary Meyer were adopted, and Peary was therefore retired as a civil engineer with the rank and pay of a rear admiral. That such retirement does not include the right to the title of "rear admiral" was clearly brought out in the Senate in the discussion of July 13, to which I have already referred, when Senator SWANSON, of Virginia, said:

To fix the pay of staff officers in the Navy they are given certain rank. The officers of the different staff corps rank so and so, with the pay of that rank. The law provides, for instance, that a chaplain shall have the *rank* of captain. That means that his *pay* shall be the same as that of a captain; but he is *still called a chaplain*. A doctor of medicine a member of the Medical Corps is called doctor, but he receives the pay of the *rank* which he holds. Some of them have the *rank* of lieutenant, some have the *rank* of commander, some have the *rank* of captain; but doctors in the Navy are not *called* captains. * * * So if a man is a paymaster, that title is an honorable title and has been an honorable title for a long time, and he should not be ashamed of it. Why should he try to have the title of captain or admiral or any other title that does not appertain to the calling in which he is engaged?

This discussion to which I have referred was relative to a proposed amendment introduced in the Senate by Senator WALSH to give staff officers the right to use the title of their respective ranks. Under the provisions of this amendment a civil engineer retired with the rank of rear admiral would have had a right to be addressed as "rear admiral"; but this amendment was rejected. As Senator LODGE, of Massachusetts, said:

It (the amendment introduced by Senator WALSH) is an attempt to give a title that misrepresents the office. It is giving a man a title which does not describe him. It is giving him a title to which he has no title.

And, as I have just stated, the amendment was rejected. Therefore, in using the title of rear admiral, and in encouraging this form of address by others, Robert E. Peary is consistently pursuing the policy of pretense which he so long followed in his claimed Arctic work.

All that now remains is to briefly review Peary's various trips to the Arctic regions. I shall therefore present a short résumé of his first, last, and intermediate expeditions, on which his various claimed "discoveries" were made. And I shall also at the same time—"lest we forget"—incorporate a few prominent facts with which some of us are doubtless familiar, but which, since we are all so prone to forget, may have escaped the memory of some. By this résumé and these facts we shall plainly see that Peary is not entitled to his claims to nor reward for "Arctic explorations" and so-called discoveries.

FOLLOWING THE PATHFINDERS—WHEREVER MR. PEARY WENT, SOME ONE WAS THERE BEFORE.

Not to all explorers is granted the honor of breaking the pioneer trail over those portions of the earth's surface before untrodden by man. Some brave spirit must lead the way into new regions, while those who follow keep the paths open and develop the resources of the uttermost parts of the earth for future generations. Honor is due to all—to those who follow no less than to those who lead—but bitter indeed is the lot of the man who, craving and claiming with insatiate greed the rôle and honor of pioneer, finds always before him the trail of the pathfinder. Such a man is Robert E. Peary, for wherever Mr. Peary went, some one was there before.

In 1886 Mr. Peary, then a young man of 30, made what he terms his "reconnoissance" of the Greenland ice cap, in company with Christian Maigaard, then the assistant governor of Ritenbenk, Greenland. On this trip he claims to have reached a point 100 miles inland. The entire trip occupied 23 days on the ice, which Peary reports as very level throughout, with few crevasses, and for the greater part of the way covered with a layer of dry snow, into which at the farthest point reached by the two men Peary could drive his staff 6 feet deep. This condition of the ice cap made traveling unusually easy. On July 17, 1886, they had ascended to an altitude of 7,525 feet elevation, and, according to Peary's calculation of longitude, had reached a point about 100 miles inland. Of this calculation, however, Dr. Fridtjof Nansen says, in his "First Crossing of Greenland," Volume I, pages 505–506:

Unfortunately Peary's longitude was only based, as it seems, on some observations of altitude taken with the theodolite about noon on July 19. The expression "circum-meridian sights," which both he and Maigaard use, is not quite clear in itself. These so-called "simple altitudes" are, besides, notoriously uncertain for longitude reckonings.

The chronometer, too, had come to a standstill, and an ordinary watch, which Peary declares to have been "very trustworthy" was used in its place. But as far as I can see from his account, no observations were taken subsequently to determine this timekeeper's accuracy. The distance of a hundred miles from the margin of the ice can not, therefore, be established beyond all doubt.

It is difficult to say, too, what faith we can place in this elevation of 7,525 feet, as it was only based upon the records of an aneroid barometer. Though we (Nansen and his party) had with us three particularly good aneroids made specially for us in London, we should regularly have estimated our elevation much too high, if we had not had a boiling point barometer to correct our daily observations. This shows that it will not do to attach too great importance to observations taken by the aneroid barometer alone.

But laying aside for the moment Dr. Nansen's criticisms, this was by no means the first attempt to penetrate the inland ice of Greenland. Short trips were made by the English traveler, Edward Whymper, in 1867; the Swedish explorer, Baron Nordenskiold, in 1870; the Norwegian geologist, Amund Helland, in 1875; Lieut. Jensen, in command of a Danish expedition in 1878; and by the Swedish geologist, Holst, in 1880. None of these expeditions reached a point farther inland than 45 miles; but in 1883, three years before Peary's "reconnoissance," Baron Nordenskiold, not content with the result of his first journey in 1870, made elaborate preparations for a second expedition into the unexplored fastnesses of Greenland's interior. A party of 10 men ascended the ice at about the same point that Nordenskiold's start was made in 1870, and succeeded in penetrating about 73 miles over the interior of the ice cap, where the wet snow compelled them to stop. Before returning, however, two members of the party, carrying little weight and traveling on skis, made a further march into the interior, which the most conservative estimate places at 45 miles, thus extending the distance traveled by the expedition to 118 miles, or 18 miles farther than Peary claims to have reached three years later. Peary's starting point was the head of Pakitsokfjord, the fjord where Whymper and Helland made their respective starts. Therefore, Peary made neither the first nor the longest journey up to that time over the inland ice. Wherever Mr. Peary went, some one was there before.

In 1891 Peary organized an expedition having for its object the complete crossing of Greenland, with a possibility of an ultimate dash for the North Pole. This expedition left New York on June 6, 1891, and the latter part of July reached McCormick Bay, where winter quarters were established. On April 30, 1892, after a winter spent in elaborate preparations, the men commenced packing supplies up to the ice cap. This work occupied them for about a fortnight, and on May 16 the actual start over the ice cap was made. Ten days later the supporting party returned, and Peary, with one companion, Eivind Astrup, traveled for about six weeks over the ice cap, until its altitude lessened and they reached a point where grass and flowers were abundant and herds of muskoxen were grazing. On July 4, they ascended a plateau of which Peary says in Northward Over the Great Ice, pages 342–346, inclusive:

> We stood upon the northeast coast of Greenland and, looking far off over the surface of a mighty glacier on our right and through the broad mouth of the bay, we saw stretching away to the horizon the great ice fields of the Arctic Ocean.
>
> I christened the bay Independence Bay, in honor of the date, July 4. The United States Navy was remembered in the name Navy Cliff, which I gave to the giant cliff on which we stood.

Contrary, however, to Mr. Peary's claims, he did not at any time travel across the Greenland ice cap from the west coast to the east coast. His trip of 1892, and a later one in 1895, extended only to "Navy Cliff," which according to the latest map compiled and published by Gilbert H. Grosvenor, editor and manager of the National Geographic Magazine, is a point about three-fourths of the distance between the eastern and western coast. In other words, a straight line drawn from McCormick Bay (Mr. Peary's starting point) diagonally across Greenland toward the northeast, the direction Peary followed, places "Navy Cliff" and the upper end of "Independence Bay" (Mr. Peary's "farthest") at a point about three times as far distant from the western coast as it is from the eastern coast. Therefore, Mr. Peary can not claim the honor of the first, or any, *complete crossing* of the mainland of Greenland.

Wherever Mr. Peary went, some one was there before. The first complete crossing of Greenland was made in 1888 by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. Mr. Peary claims that he furnished the idea and the plan for Nansen's trip in a paper published in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society for December, 1886.

This claim, however, is directly contradicted by Nansen, who, in 1882, wrote a paper that was published in the Danish Geografisk Tidskrift (Vol. VII, p. 76), in which he expressed the opinion that the east coast of Greenland could be reached without difficulty. Nansen held the opinion that once the east coast was reached it would be comparatively easy to travel across the ice cap to the west coast, but it was not until the following year, 1883, that his idea took definite form. On pages 3 and 4 of The First Crossing of Greenland, Nansen says:

> One autumn evening in 1883—I remember it still as if it were only yesterday—I was sitting and listening indifferently as the day's paper was being read. Suddenly my attention was roused by a telegram, which told us that Nordenskiold had come back safe from the interior of Greenland; that he had found no oasis, but only endless snow fields, on which his Lapps were said to have covered on their "ski" an extraordinarily long distance in an astonishingly short time. The idea flashed upon me at once of an expedition crossing Greenland on "ski" from coast to coast. Here was the plan in the same form in which it was afterwards laid before the public and eventually carried out.

It is difficult to understand how Mr. Peary can claim for himself the first inspiration of the idea that led Nansen to make his hazardous trip over the inland ice of Greenland, when Nansen's plan was conceived three years before Peary's "reconnoissance" was made. Therefore, as stated above, Dr. Nansen was the first explorer to conceive and effect a complete crossing of the mainland of Greenland.

Mr. Peary also claims as one of the results of his 1892 expedition the determination of the insularity of Greenland. In Northward Over the Great Ice, pages 344–346, Volume I, Peary says:

> Our observation point was a giant cliff (Navy Cliff). Looking to the west we saw the opening of the fjord that had barred our northern advance. It was this fjord whose western entrance we had descried afar off days before. Now we knew that we had paralleled its course across the northern end of the mainland from Robeson Channel clear to the Arctic Ocean off the shores of northeast Greenland. It was evident that this channel marked the northern boundary of the mainland of Greenland.

Peary's sole companion on this trip was the young Norwegian explorer, Evind Astrup. Let us see what Mr. Astrup has to say about this "fjord" or "channel." I quote from Astrup's book, "With Peary Near the Pole," page 227:

> Mr. Peary christened the rock upon which we were standing "Navy Cliff"; it terminated toward the north in a steep mountain wall, continuing with but few interruptions to the verge of the sea ice; and there below us, at its foot, a large bay opened out eastward, shut in by four rocky sides. How far inland this bay or fjord penetrated we could not determine with any certainty.

Astrup's report is very far from a corroboration of Mr. Peary's claim to the discovery of a channel or fjord which "marked the northern boundary of the mainland of Greenland."

In 1895 Peary made a second trip to Navy Cliff in company with Hugh Lee and Matthew Henson. Lee, however, owing to illness, was unable to complete the entire journey, so that Independence Bay and Navy Cliff were reached only by Peary and Henson; therefore Mr. Peary had no one to either corroborate or contradict his statements except his colored servant, Henson, who, as Peary afterwards said, was "as loyal and responsive to my will as the fingers of my right hand." (See p. 271 of "The North Pole.")

As three later expeditions under the command of Mylius Erichsen, Ejnar Mikkelsen, and Knud Rasmussen, respectively, have reported positively and officially that this channel, later called "Peary Channel," which Peary said "marked the northern boundary of the mainland of Greenland," does not exist, but that the territory supposed to be occupied by that channel is high land it is preposterous to assume that Peary could have made two trips to the upper end of Independence Bay and still be ignorant of the fact that no channel cuts through the northern end of Greenland. This effectually and finally robs Mr. Peary of the honor of the discovery of the insularity of Greenland.

In 1896 and 1897, respectively, Peary made two summer trips to Cape York for the purpose of bringing back to civilization the famous "Cape York meteorites," now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. The discovery of the existence of these "iron stones," their nature as ascertained by specimens, and their location at 76° 12′ north latitude, 53° west longitude, may be found in the account of Sir John Ross's voyage to the Arctic in 1818, "A Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions" (p. 102); also page lxxxix, Appendix III. Therefore, since this book was published in 1819, although Mr. Peary did perform the somewhat questionable feat of taking from the Eskimos their only natural source of the iron from which their native implements are fashioned, he can not be credited with the "discovery" of the meteorites, whose exact location was given in a book published only three years less than a century ago. Wherever Mr. Peary went some one was there before.

After his return to New York in 1897 with the last of the "Cape York meteorites" Mr. Peary promptly turned his attention to preparations for another expedition, which left New York for the Arctic on July 4, 1898.

Mr. Peary's first claimed achievement on this expedition was the "discovery" of Axel Heiberg Land (called by Peary "Jesup Land"). On page 202 of his book, Nearest the Pole, Peary relates his "discovery" (?) of this land in a paragraph quoted from his journal of June 24, 1906:

East lay the wide, white zone of the ice foot; west the unbroken surface of Nansens Strait, and beyond it the northern part of that western land which I saw from the heights of the Ellesmere Land ice cap in *July, 1898*, and named Jesup Land, though Sverdrup has later given it the name of Heiberger Land.

But on page 296 of this same book Mr. Peary, in describing his northern journey in 1898, says:

The *Windward* sailed from New York on the 4th of July, 1898, and on the 7th I went on board the *Hope* at Sydney, Cape Breton. Pushing rapidly northward and omitting the usual calls at the Danish Greenland ports, Cape York was reached after a voyage uneventful. The work of hunting walrus and assembling my party of natives was commenced at once; the *Windward* soon joined us, after which the hunting was prosecuted by both ships until the final rendezvous at Etah, whence both ships steamed out on *August 13*.

As Mr. Peary was en route from New York to Etah, and engaged in hunting walrus and assembling his party of natives, from July 4 to August 13, 1898, some 180 miles from the "heights of Ellesmere Land," it is plainly evident that he did *not* "see that western land" in July, 1898. It is also worthy of note that although a year later, in his report to the Peary Arctic Club, Peary reported that he had "crossed the Ellesmere Land ice cap to the west side of that land," he makes no mention whatever of "seeing" any land west of Ellesmere Land nor of the discovery of any new land anywhere. As a matter of fact, Peary never "remembered" that he had "seen" this western land (Heiberg Land) until he learned in 1903 that Sverdrup had discovered it; then his memory was quickened, and he suddenly recalled that he "saw" it in July, 1898, while he was yet on board of his ship en route from New York to Etah. Mr. Peary must have used the same telescope to "see" this land which he afterwards used to view "Crocker Land," of which more later. And as no one, not even Mr. Peary, disputes the fact that Capt. Otto Sverdrup visited this "western land," which he (Sverdrup) christened "Axel Heiberg Land," early in 1900, it is evident that again some one was ahead of Mr. Peary.

That it is now admitted, even by Mr. Peary's friends, that he did not discover this land, is fully evidenced by the latest map published by Mr. Peary's friend and supporter, Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, the able manager and editor of the National Geographic Society, which map credits Sverdrup with its discovery, removes the name of "Jesup Land," and places the name of "Axel Heiberg Land" on this territory. Wherever Mr. Peary went, some one was there before.

After establishing his winter quarters in 1898, Mr. Peary claims to have made a "reconnoissance" of the Hayes Sound region, and "discovered" (?) that Hayes Sound does not exist. He says, on page 300 of Nearest the Pole:

September 18 I left the ship with two sledges and my two best Eskimos, with provisions for 12 days, for a reconnoissance of Princess Marie Bay. September 20 I reached the head of a small fjord running southwest from near the head of Princess Marie Bay. From a commanding peak in the neighborhood I could see that both arms of Buchanan "Strait" ended about south of my position; that the "strait" is in reality a bay; and that *Hayes Sound does not exist*.

The following will show that it is not well, when actual facts are desired, to accomplish one's exploring feats by long-distance telescopes, wireless telegraphy, or absent treatment.

August 12, 1899, Herbert L. Bridgman, secretary of the Peary Arctic Club, reached Etah with supplies for Peary and received from him a report of his year's work. Of this report Peary says (pp. 315–316 of Nearest the Pole):

The year had been one of hard and continuous work for the entire party. In that time I obtained the material for an authentic map of the Buchanan Bay-Bache Peninsula-Princess Marie Bay region, crossed the Ellesmere Land ice cap to the west side of that land, established a continuous line of caches from Cape Sabine to Fort Conger, and familiarized myself with the region as far north as Cape Beechey.

The National Geographic Magazine for October, 1899, accepted this report as gospel truth and printed Peary's "discovery," that Hayes Sound "did not exist" as what it called "the solution of one of the most important geographical problems in that region."

*But*, it must be remembered that Peary's "solution" of this "important problem" was made from a very convenient "commanding peak" in the neighborhood, from which convenient vantage point he also "saw" or claimed to "see" that both arms of Buchanan Strait ended about south of his position on Harmsworth Bay.

Now, let us see what is the true "solution" of this "important problem." In October, 1898, Capt. Otto Sverdrup and four of his men left their winter quarters to explore Hayes Sound and Buchanan Strait. Not content with exploring from any "commanding peak"—Peary's favorite method—Sverdrup and his men actually traversed, on foot and with sledges, the whole region about Buchanan Bay and Hayes Sound; they found that Buchanan Bay opens into Hayes Sound, which is separated from Flagler Bay by North Sound; that Hayes Sound at its upper end divides into two branches called by Sverdrup "Beistad Fjord" and "Jokelfjord"; that Peary's statement that "both arms of Buchanan Strait ended about south of my position—on Harmsworth Bay"—was wholly erroneous, for what Peary called the "arms of Buchanan Strait" are really Flagler Bay, fully one-third of which extends farther west than Harmsworth Bay; and Beistad Fjord, more than half of which extends farther west than Harmsworth Bay, neither of them being an "arm of Buchanan Strait," but a continuation of Hayes Sound, discovered by Dr. Hayes in 1861, and which Mr. Peary said did not exist! That Sverdrup's mapping of this region is correct is attested by the fact that he has been corroborated by the Canadian explorer, Capt. J. E. Bernier; and Hayes Sound, with the extensions shown by Sverdrup's map—see New Land, by Sverdrup—is also shown on the map published by the Geographic Board of Canada in 1911, while the map of this region furnished by Mr. Peary to the Hydrographic Office of the United States Navy Department has been canceled and withdrawn from circulation by the Secretary of the Navy. Again, wherever Mr. Peary went, some one was there before.

After Mr. Bridgman's return south, Peary's time during the remainder of 1899 and the first few months of 1900 was occupied principally in hunting and trading, the only trip partaking of the nature of an exploration being his journey along the northern coast of Greenland, where he followed in the steps of Lockwood and Brainard, of Gen. Greely's party. These men in 1882 made a trip along the northern coast of Greenland, which carried them to 83° 24′, the farthest north of any expedition up to that time. From this point—Lockwoods Island—they plainly saw a few miles beyond them, extending about 12 miles farther north, the cape which they named Cape Washington. This cape appears on all of Gen. Greely's official maps dated 1885–1888, and until Peary's trip in 1900 was supposed to be the most northern point of Greenland. Peary's insatiable ambition to be known as the "discoverer" of the most northern point of land on the Greenland coast is shown in a quotation from pages 325–326 of Nearest the Pole:

One march from here—Lockwood Island—carried us to Cape Washington. Just at midnight we reached the low point, which is visible from Lockwood Island, and great was my relief to see on rounding this point another splendid headland rising across an intervening inlet. *It would have been a great disappointment to me to find that another's eyes had forestalled mine in looking first upon the coveted northern point.*

Mr. Peary named this "splendid headland" Cape Morris K. Jesup, but it is noticeable that nowhere in his book, Nearest the Pole, does he give the latitude of what he calls the most northern point of Greenland, although it is shown on H. O. Chart 2142 as 83° 39′. In 1910, in his book, The North Pole, Peary mentions the latitude of Cape Morris K. Jesup as 83° 39′, or 6 miles farther north than the latitude estimated by the Greely expedition for Cape Washington. In view, however, of Mr. Peary's overwhelming anxiety to be the first man to look upon the most northern point of Greenland, and remembering also that he does not give the latitude of Cape Jesup in any of his books until some 10 years after its alleged "discovery," we feel justified in placing a question point against the assertion that this "cape"—named after Mr. Peary's heaviest financial backer—is any farther north than Cape Washington, discovered 18 years earlier by the members of Greely's expedition. This doubt is strengthened by Peary's further statement that after his alleged discovery of this point he traveled northward from there four marches, reaching 83° 50′ north latitude, or a distance of *11 miles* beyond Cape Jesup. In view of some of his later performances, 11 miles in four days was certainly slow traveling for Mr. Peary. At 83° 50′ Mr. Peary abandoned any hope he may have entertained of finding a possible route to the pole from northern Greenland and returned to land. He then traveled from Cape Morris K. Jesup eastward, his first march taking him to a point which he called Cape Bridgman and reported in the same latitude as Cape Washington. Two marches farther took him to Cape Clarence Wyckoff, which he reported in latitude "about" 83°, but gave no longitude. Owing to Peary's very infrequent longitudinal observations, the exact situation of Cape Wyckoff was not known until J. P. Koch, of the Mylius-Erichsen expedition, visited the cape in 1907 and found it to be in latitude 82° 57′ 7″ north, longitude 23° 09′ west.

While Peary was the first to reach Cape Clarence Wyckoff (which he supposed to be an island, but which was discovered by

Koch to be a cape), he was not the first to reach or discover the most eastern point of the northeast coast of Greenland. On his map, published in connection with Nearest the Pole, Peary placed Cape Henry Parrish (which he "saw" but did not visit) directly opposite Cape Clarence Wyckoff, in longitude about 23° west. South of this point and extending south of Melville Land he placed a sea, which he called "East Greenland Sea." This imaginary "sea" has been proven by the Mylius-Erichsen expedition, the Ejnar Mikkelsen expedition, and the Knud Rasmussen expedition not to exist; and the land, instead of ending as Peary indicated, at about 23° west longitude, in reality extends to about 12° west longitude, a difference in that latitude of at least 150 miles.

Again, one of Mr. Peary's "discoveries" (the East Greenland Sea) is proven a myth; and again we find that Mr. Peary was not the first man to reach the eastern extremity of the Greenland coast. Wherever Mr. Peary went some one was there before.

That Peary's delineation of the coast of northeast Greenland was based on conjecture and not on facts is abundantly proven by Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, manager and editor of the National Geographic Society, who, in his latest map shows "Amdrup Land" and "Mylius Erichsen Land," occupying the space which Peary filled with "East Greenland Sea." Mr. Grosvenor has also moved the coast of Greenland to the east, to coincide with the findings of these other explorers, who once more preceded Mr. Peary on territory which he claimed to have "seen" and of which he gave a false description.

This map of Mr. Grosvenor's is also used by Peary in his latest book, The North Pole.

This ended Peary's "explorations" for 1900. Returning to headquarters he pursued for the balance of the year his favorite vocation in the Arctic, i. e., hunting and trading, and during the winter made his usual preparations for his annual "dash" to the pole.

On April 5, 1901, Peary left Fort Conger with Henson and one Eskimo on what he called an attempt to reach the pole; but after making four marches the party turned back at Lincoln Bay (82d parallel), because, as Peary says on page 334 of Nearest the Pole—

> It was evident to me that the condition of men and dogs was such as to negative the possibility of reaching the pole.

As it took only four days for Mr. Peary to determine this fact, it is a matter of conjecture why he was not able to better diagnose the "condition of men and dogs" before he started. He is delightfully vague in his report of his movements for the balance of 1901.

In 1902 Peary left Fort Conger, on March 24, with Henson and a large number of Eskimos on what he termed another "dash" for the pole. The Eskimos were sent back at intervals until only Mr. Peary, Henson, and four Eskimos remained. After over a month "in the field" they had reached only 84° 17′ 27″ north latitude, at which point they were forced to return owing to the poor condition of the ice. This was about two degrees less than either Nansen or the Duke of the Abruzzi had previously attained, therefore Peary failed to establish a record. The period between their return to land and the arrival of the relief ship in August was spent, as usual, in hunting and trading for furs and ivory. Indeed, the Eskimo name for Peary is "Nalegaksoak," meaning "He who has much to barter" or "The great trader." Although Peary attempts to convey the impression that the Eskimos regard him as their good angel and personal benefactor, this name shows that they place him on a par with other travelers and traders, as it is their usual designation for the foreigners with whom they trade.

On September 17, 1902, Peary arrived at Sydney, C. B., and his 1898 to 1902 Arctic expedition was ended.

The two years following his return were spent by Peary in preparing for what he then advertised as his last attempt to reach the North Pole. In the specially built ship, *Roosevelt*, he left New York on July 16, 1905, and arrived at Cape Sheridan on September 5, where he established winter quarters. The fall and winter were spent in hunting and preparations for the polar trip. On February 19, 1906, Peary, the ubiquitous Henson, and six Eskimos and a supporting party left the ship, to which they returned about three months later.

On his return Peary claimed that on April 21, 1906, he had reached 87° 6′ north latitude, but said that he was obliged to turn back with his men on account of the early breaking up of the ice. He said that the eastward drift of the ice was so rapid on the return to shore that they reached land near Cape Morris Jesup, from which point they made their way back to the ship, arriving there early in May.

June 2, 1906, Peary with three Eskimos started on a trip westward, as Peary says, "Over the glacial fringe of Grant Land." On June 8 he reached Cape Columbia, and about a fortnight later, on June 24, he reports that he reached the northwestern extremity of Grant Land, which was attained by Sverdrup four years previously, and by him named "Land's Lok" (called by Peary "Cape Colgate"). It is from this point that Peary claims to have first seen "Crocker Land," that Arctic will-o'-the-wisp which was destined to be the lure of other explorers in years to come. At two different times from two different points of observation Peary claims to have seen "Crocker Land," which he describes on pages 202 and 207 of Nearest the Pole:

> From the summit, 2,000 feet above the sea level and of a more truly Alpine character than any that I have seen in northern Greenland or Grant Land, the view was more than interesting. * * * North stretched the well-known ragged surface of the polar pack, and northwest it was with a thrill that my glasses revealed the faint white summits of a distant land which my Eskimos claimed to have seen as we came along from the last camp.

Four days later, on June 28, 1906, he wrote in his journal:

> The clear day greatly favored my work in taking a round of angles, and with the glasses I could make out apparently a little more distinctly the snow-clad summits of the distant land in the northwest, above the ice horizon. My heart leaped the intervening miles of ice as I looked longingly at this land, and in fancy I trod its shores and climbed its summits, even though I knew that that pleasure could be only for another in another season.

Mr. Peary might have spared himself that last touch of pathos, for no other was ever to have the "pleasure" of treading the shores and climbing the summits of this land, which existed only in Mr. Peary's vivid imagination. In 1913 an expedition commanded by Donald B. MacMillan—a friend of Peary's and a member of his 1908-9 expedition—was sent out by the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. The object of this expedition was to reach and explore Crocker Land. Late in November, 1914, word was relayed to the museum that Crocker Land does not exist. This report has since been confirmed, and the American Museum Magazine officially published in its April, 1915, issue the fact that this land "discovered" by Peary in 1906 is nowhere to be found in 1914.

In the map published in connection with Nearest the Pole Crocker Land is located by Mr. Peary northwest of Axel Heiberg Land, and Peary's route along the northern coast of Grant Land is shown in minute detail from Cape Columbia to Lands Lok. This map prepared by Peary shows a most irregular coast line, with deep indentations and bays from Cape Alfred Ernest to Lands Lok. But the National Geographic Society does not accept Peary's description of this stretch of "newly discovered coast" as authentic, for in the latest map published by that society all of the aforesaid indentations and bays are omitted, and the coast line shows a straight line from Cape Alfred Ernest to Lands Lok. Did Mr. Peary really traverse the northern coast or "glacial fringe" of Grant Land, or did he merely make his customary look-see from his favorite hummock or "convenient summit"?

Again, Peary found the trail of a former explorer at Svartevag and Lands Lok, where the intrepid Norwegian, Sverdrup, raised the Norwegian flag almost two years before Mr. Peary appeared on the scene. Wherever Mr. Peary went some one was there before.

Of Peary's latest claimed achievement, the discovery of the North Pole, little more need be said. It is now a well-known and thoroughly proven fact, acknowledged by scientists and Arctic explorers the world over, that Mr. Peary has never furnished one iota of proof that he reached approximately the North Pole, but, on the contrary, as I have already shown, all of the evidence tends to prove beyond question that he never did attain that geographic point. In this instance, therefore, we can not say that wherever Mr. Peary went some one was there before, since he was never there, first, last, or at any other time.

Mr. Speaker, I shall quote briefly from a very few of the many letters I have received relative to my speech before this House on January 13, 1916, on "Government maps of the Arctic regions corrected" and my analysis of the Peary "evidence," which was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 12, 1916.

Gen. A. W. Greely, United States Army, commander of Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, wrote on February 17, 1916:

> I have read your analysis of Civil Engineer Peary's North Polar narrative. It will be difficult for anyone reading your analysis, based on official documents, to come to any other conclusion than that drawn by you.

Julius Meyer, consulting engineer, New York City, wrote on January 24, 1916:

> Kindly permit the expression of my admiration of your courage and thoroughness in the reduction of Mr. Peary to oblivion.

W. J. Hussey, director of the observatory University of Michigan, wrote March 10, 1916:

I am glad that steps have been taken to rectify certain errors in the Government maps of the Arctic region. A large public will thank you for your endeavor in this matter.

Dr. Herman Schoenfeld, Ph. D., LL. D., professor at Georgetown University, wrote January 31, 1916:

You have rendered the greatest possible service to the sacred cause of truth and science, saved our national honor, and your name will therefore be engraved with golden letters in the records of truth in polar discovery.

Dr. R. S. Holway, associate professor of physical geography, University of California, wrote March 31, 1916:

I am much interested in Arctic exploration and include the topic in my lectures here. I regret exceedingly the condition of affairs, but the one absolutely necessary thing is the establishment of scientific truth.

Philip Fox, B. S., professor of astronomy, Northwestern University, wrote on April 14, 1916:

Your speech of January 13, 1916, is a most admirable summary of the results of recent polar exploration and a very just arraignment of Mr. Peary. I am pleased that you lifted up your voice to expose his practices. I admire very much the admirable spirit shown in the speech, as well as the sound, scientific quality of its contents.

Dr. Chase Salmon Osborn, LL. D., author and explorer, considered by many the most widely traveled man in the world to-day, wrote March 20, 1916:

You have conferred a favor upon the people of the entire nation. As one of them permit me to thank you.

Dr. John James Stevenson, LL. D., geologist and author, on April 4, 1916, wrote:

It is an admirable example of painstaking work, successfully accomplished.

Prof. G. C. Bothne, University of Minnesota, wrote on February 10, 1916:

You deserve the thanks of every right-thinking person in America.

President Melvin A. Brannon, University of Idaho, on February 16, 1916, wrote:

This is a very important matter, and it is hoped that your efforts in this direction will be recognized, and proper results will be gotten. Accuracy and right procedure are very important things at all times, and notably when it comes to public documents.

President Vernon P. Squires, North Dakota Educational Association, wrote on February 11, 1916:

You have done a very thorough piece of work in this matter, and I admire one who has the courage to undertake the disagreeable task.

Dr. Frits Holm, LL. D., navigator, explorer, author, and lecturer, wrote on February 4, 1916:

The speech is not only clear and valuable to the science of geography and exact knowledge of exploration, but it constitutes a document of such simple and direct force that it should be sent to all the geographical societies of the world.

John P. Arthur, Boone, N. C., wrote on February 21, 1916:

You have placed all lovers of truth under everlasting obligations by the very fair, careful, and conclusive arguments you have advanced to show up a charlatan and imposter. You will have the thanks of all who love the Nation and the cause of truth and righteousness.

Archbishop John Ireland, LL. D., Yale, 1901, wrote on March 23, 1916:

You have established your point beyond all contention. Peary's fictions certainly should be eliminated from our Government maps, and should be consigned to permanent oblivion.

Rev. Harry N. Poston, Presbyterian Church, Milner, N. Dak., wrote on February 23, 1916:

In the face of the facts recorded how can Congress overlook the matter of taking up the case of Robert E. Peary?

L. K. Armstrong, secretary and treasurer Columbia Section, American Institute of Mining Engineers, wrote on March 7, 1916:

Permit me to congratulate you upon the thoroughness of your process of elimination of Peary in your persistence to have our Arctic Ocean maps correct. Thank you especially for persistence and determination in eliminating fraud.

Capt. P. W. Thompson, captain United States Revenue-Cutter Service and commanding officer on U. S. S. *Corwin* in Arctic waters, wrote on April 6, 1916:

I am convinced that your arguments and analysis are just and that your conclusions are unanswerable.

Capt. Thomas F. Hall, Omaha, Nebr., wrote March 3, 1916:

I do not see how it is possible for Peary to be much longer credited with the discovery of the North Pole. No sane person can believe it who knows the facts.

Middleton Smith, member Point Barrow International Polar Expedition, wrote on January 27, 1916:

As a historical document your speech will live forever and a day.

A. A. Veblen, editor Samband, formerly professor State University of Iowa, wrote April 3, 1916:

You have so thoroughly established your points that only the knowledge that your exposition can not be shaken prevents, or will prevent, Peary from attempting an answer. What you have done in this polar inquiry seems to me a classic piece of work.

Theo. Hewes, editor, Indianapolis, Ind., wrote on April 11, 1916:

Your efforts are appreciated, not alone by myself, but by millions of American citizens.

Edwin Swift Balch, of Philadelphia, historian and geographer, wrote on January 16, 1916:

It is as fine a piece of historical geography as was ever penned, and it will live in geographical annals as the final and concluding chapter in the attempt of wrongfully claiming the discovery of the North Pole by Peary.

And again:

Your efforts, in my opinion, place Congress ahead of any organization in the United States as a scientific, geographical body.

James A. George, Esq., Deadwood, S. Dak., on February 17, 1916, wrote:

Pardon me, a total stranger, writing you. I am pleased to find a man in Congress that has the manhood to publish the truth.

Arthur R. Colburn, Esq., Washington, D. C., wrote on January 19, 1916:

I congratulate you on the strong and firm stand you have taken for the right and for setting Congress straight in a matter wherein it has erred, with the certainty that the future will show up that error in a glowing light.

George H. Gilman, Esq., New York City, wrote March 31, 1916:

The proof is so complete and the action of the department so conclusive that there is nothing to be said except to congratulate you on the result of your careful study and perseverance.

Dr. George C. Brown, M. D., Dunmore, Pa., on March 3, 1916, wrote:

I approve of every word of it.

Dr. Robert Potts White, M. D., Jersey City, N. J., wrote on April 7, 1916:

It is a source of great satisfaction to know that there are still men who possess moral courage sufficient to fight to the last ditch in defense of truth.

Robert J. McLaughlin, computing engineer, New York City, wrote:

The conclusion is inevitable that Peary did not reach the North Pole.

W. S. C. Russell, Springfield, Mass., explorer in Iceland and Labrador, wrote on May 24, 1916:

I am profoundly impressed with the strength of your argument and congratulate you on the skill and courage in which you presented this matter before the House. The Peary claims are not founded on facts of honest service and personal investigations.

Hon. Maurice Francis Egan, American minister to Denmark, wrote to me on May 4, 1916:

I am very much obliged to you for your kindness in sending me your report of the proceedings in the case of Admiral Peary. Prince Valdemar, of Denmark, who was very much interested in all the data concerning the voyages to the North Pole, is desirous of retaining that copy. I should be deeply obliged if you would kindly send me two additional copies, one for Capt. Amdrup, equerry to His Royal Highness, and the other for Admiral Kofoed-Hansen.

Mrs. M. McClellan Brown, lecturer, Cincinnati, Ohio, wrote on May 30, 1916:

I read every word of your speech with avidity. Let me congratulate you. I can now refer to the facts in my clubs and speeches with assurance and clearness of fact.

J. B. Cranfill, editor, Dallas, Tex., wrote on June 5, 1916:

I beg to thank you for your service to the country and to the truth of history as well as geography.

Mr. Speaker, the letters from which I have quoted are a small part of those which I have received and am receiving daily showing the widespread interest felt in this matter.

Now, to recapitulate: Peary's claims to exploration and discovery have been given to the world through the mediums of his magazine articles, his books, and (in the case of the North Pole) through his testimony before the Naval Committee of the House. His magazine articles contradict his books, his books contradict each other, and his testimony before the House Committee on Naval Affairs is at variance with both books and magazines. In view of the facts which I have presented, and since Robert E. Peary's claims to discoveries in the Arctic regions have been proven to rest on fiction and not on geographical facts, I again urge that the joint resolution which I have to-day introduced be adopted, and that Robert E. Peary be removed from the retired list of the Corps of Civil Engineers of the United States Navy, to the end that our taxpayers need no longer be compelled to raise $6,000 annually of retired pay to reward Civil Engineer Peary for services which he never performed, and that historic and geographic truth may prevail.

**Benefits to Tennessee from Federal Road Law.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, July 31, 1916.*

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, on July 11, 1916, the fight over Federal aid to road building in the various States was ended when the President approved what is known as the good-roads law.

Nearly five years ago a number of the Members of the House, among whom were Congressman BYRNS and Congressman AUSTIN and myself, all of Tennessee, met in Mr. SHACKLEFORD'S room and jointly prepared a bill providing for Federal aid to road building throughout the country. This bill was afterwards passed in the House, but was defeated in the Senate. At first this private committee had all kinds of ridicule heaped upon it for advancing a measure which was then declared to be wild. The opponents of the plan contemptuously dubbed us as "dirt-road statesmen." Many of our newspapers ridiculed us, and it was thought that the Congress would never give its consent to aid the States in road building; but the members of the original committee never slumbered and never faltered. Under the leadership of Mr. SHACKLEFORD we kept up the fight and passed our bill in the House, but it was defeated in the Senate, as before stated. The next session, however, the House established a Roads Committee, and Mr. SHACKLEFORD was the chairman of the committee, and again the fight was taken up. At last we have won, and by overwhelming majorities in both House and Senate.

One of the first speeches I made in the House was on this subject, and I have discussed it in every succeeding House and in every campaign and on almost every stump in Tennessee. In my late senatorial campaign I promised the people of my State that I would leave no stone unturned to aid in getting the measure on the statute books, and I am delighted to report to them that this is now the law.

It is not my purpose to discuss the merits of this bill to-day. The merits have already been determined, and the policy of the act is no longer in question. The system has come and has come to stay. Some may have voted against it, but no one will ever offer to repeal the law. Heretofore in discussing this measure with the people of Tennessee I have discussed its merits. I now want to discuss the benefits that Tennessee will receive from it.

### "BENEFITS TO TENNESSEE FROM FEDERAL ROAD LAW."

Under the provisions of the act Congress has appropriated $5,000,000 for the first fiscal year ending June 30, 1917; $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918; $15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919; $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920; and $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921.

"The first year Tennessee will get $114,153.48, the second year she will get $228,306.96, the third year she will get $342,460.44, the fourth year she will get $456,613.92, and in the fifth year she will get $570,767.40." In other words, in five years, under the terms of this act, Tennessee will receive for good roads the net sum of $1,712,301.20. This is the net amount that will go to Tennessee after deducting 3 per cent for cost of administration. If any State does not accept the benefits of the act, the sum allotted to that State will be reapportioned to the other States. In this way Tennessee's share may be even more than the above.

The funds are apportioned by the Secretary of Agriculture in the following manner: One-third in the ratio which the area of each State bears to the total area of all the States; one-third in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total ratio of all the States; one-third in the ratio which the mileage of rural routes and star routes bears to the total mileage of rural routes and star routes in all of the States. In this way an equitable division of the fund is provided for. On this basis Tennessee stands fifteenth in the list, 14 other States getting larger sums. Texas gets the largest sum, New York comes second, and Pennsylvania third. Among the southern States, Texas comes first, Georgia second, and Tennessee third. So that it is seen that Tennessee fares very well in this proportion.

### WHAT ROADS IMPROVED.

Under the terms of this act the State highway commissions of the several States have control of the distribution of the money. In other words, the State highway department of Tennessee shall furnish to the Secretary of Agriculture plans, specifications, and estimates, and designate the roads that are to be improved. If the Secretary of Agriculture approves these plans, specifications, estimates, and roads he will notify the State highway department of Tennessee and certify his approval to the Secretary of the Treasury, and thereupon the Secretary of the Treasury shall place the fund to the credit of that State. Rules and regulations governing the operation of the act will be formulated by the Secretary of Agriculture, probably after conference with the officers of the various State highway commissions, which conference will take place soon.

### HALF-AND-HALF PLAN.

The funds are to be distributed upon the half-and-half plan. In other words, the State will pay 50 per cent of the total estimated cost of any road designated by the State highway department and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Federal Government will pay the other half. The Secretary of Agriculture is given authority to make payments on said construction as the work progresses, but they shall not be more than the United States pro rata part of labor and material which have been actually put into the construction in conformity to such plans and specifications. It is also provided that such roads shall not cost in excess of $10,000 per mile, exclusive of cost of bridges of more than 25 feet clear span. All roads are to be built under the direction and supervision of the State highway department, and subject to the inspection and approval of the Secretary of Agriculture. Payments for this work are to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury on warrants drawn by the Secretary of Agriculture to such official or officials, or depository.

### CREATION OF STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT.

I happened to be in Nashville a number of times in the spring of 1915, while the State legislature was in session, and privately urged, among my friends in the legislature, the passage of a highway commission bill. I had talks with a number of senators and representatives about it. I recall that Senator W. A. Johnson, of Shelby County, and Senator J. J. Murray, of Marshall County, were taking an active hand for the measure. I was delighted to see the same pass, for I then felt that it would be necessary to have a highway commission in order to make the proposed Federal law effective in Tennessee. The Johnson bill provides for this very thing.

### ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION MAY BE NEEDED.

Section 12, of the State highway department act, known as the Johnson bill, provides:

> That all moneys accruing from annual registration and licensing of automobiles in the State under any law now in existence, or that may hereafter be enacted, over and above the necessary expense incident to the collection of same, and all penalties paid for the violation of such laws which are paid into the State treasury, shall be set aside as a highway fund, and shall be available for the purposes of this act, and expended under the direction of the State highway department, for the maintenance of public roads in the respective counties of the State in the same proportion as collected from said respective counties, after deducting 10 per cent of the same for the maintenance of the said highway department.

I do not know how much money can be derived from this source. It will doubtless be an ever-increasing sum as the number of automobiles increases in the State, but it will be seen from a reading of this section this sum can not be expended in accordance with the Federal act. In other words, the use of this fund is now restricted under the terms of the State highway law, and either other funds must be raised in order to give the State its 50 per cent necessary to secure the benefits of the Federal act, or the highway act must be changed so that the highway commission can use all of this fund if necessary for the purpose. Of course, this is a matter for our State legislature, and I am sure, under recommendations from Gov. Rye, the law will be changed so as to permit Tennessee to get the full benefits of the Federal act. I want to suggest to the Tennessee State highway department and its officers that they should have prepared at the earliest moment possible such an amendment to the present highway department law as will fully effectuate the purposes desired. From my recollection of what the automobile tax is I should say that after the first year the entire tax will not be sufficient to produce the State's one-half, even if allowed to be spent in this way. So that it will be necessary to raise that half, or a portion of it at least, by other methods of taxation. As to what particular method should be adopted this is a matter entirely for the State legislature; but I want to urge that some method be adopted immediately upon the assemblying of the next legislature. It must be done promptly, as the tax must be levied and collected before June 30, 1917, if the State is to receive the benefits of this year's Federal appropriation.

There is another plan by which the State can raise the money—i. e., it can require the counties through which these roads are to be built to contribute pro rata to the cost thereof. As I recall, however, counties have no authority to appropriate money unless authorized by law, and therefore the legislature would have to confer this authority upon the counties. All this, however, is simply a suggestion. I want to impress upon the people of Tennessee, however, the importance of having the legislature take steps as soon as it is organized next winter to raise the money necessary to secure the benefits of this Federal legislation.

WHAT TENNESSEE ROADS WILL RECEIVE.

If Tennessee raises her half, as I am sure she will, there will be expended within the next five years in Tennessee the sum of $3,424,602.40 on permanent highways in the State. The Federal act requires that the money shall only be spent upon "such projects as may be substantial in character." These funds can be expended upon any rural road and other roads in the State receiving the approval of the highway department and the Secretary of Agriculture.

STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION.

It will thus be seen that the State highway commission will at once become a commission of large influence and power. These roads will be of the greatest benefit to the counties through which they pass and to the cities and towns into which they run. The State highway commission fixes and locates the roads to be thus improved. Those counties and sections which desire to get the benefits of the act will have to first obtain the approval of the State highway commission. Without this they can not get any consideration. I am sure that this new department of our State, just authorized and established last year, will go to the utmost lengths in being fair and just toward all the sections of the State and divide the benefits to the best advantage to the greatest number of people.

I am very proud of the part I have taken in securing this much-needed piece of national legislation. It is one of the many great pieces of legislation enacted by this Democratic administration. It will accomplish great things for Tennessee, and it will give an impetus to road building in our State that it has never had before. The various counties are already doing much in that line, but with the example of the State and National Governments before them they will accomplish greater and larger things. This is my firm belief.

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**Military Highway, California.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 25, 1916.*

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of the permission of the House granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD on national defense highway and post road in California, I am inserting an article by Walter Gillett Scott, executive secretary Inyo Good Road Club, chairman division of national parks, and member council advisors National Defense Highway Association, California, which article will appear in a future issue of the Engineering and Mining Journal, of New York.

The article relates to H. R. 16788, and is as follows:

A MILITARY NATIONAL-DEFENSE HIGHWAY USEFUL TO THE MINING INDUSTRY.

[By W. G. Scott.]

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER, Member of the House of Representatives from the second district of California, on July 5, 1916, introduced in Congress H. R. 16788—a bill to acquire, construct, and maintain a military and national-defense highway and post road extending from Los Angeles, Cal., through Mojave, Freeman, along the east base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, through Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, Bishop, along the west side of Lake Mono, through Bridgeport, Markleeville, Tallac, Tahoe, Truckee, Downieville, Quincy, Susanville, and Alturas; thence along the east side of Goose Lake, past the towns of Fairport and New Pine Creek, all in California, to Lakeview, Oreg.

This great highway, while primarily a preparedness measure, has so much to commend it, aside from a distinctive military character, that it is entitled to special consideration.

By way of explanation it is proper to say that the State highway system of California as originally planned comprises two main trunk highways—one along the coast from Oregon to Lower California, and another practically parallel in the interior, extending longitudinally through the great valleys between the Coast Range and the Sierras from the northern to the southern boundary of the State.

The necessity for a third main-trunk highway of similar general course and length, through trans-Sierra California, adjacent to Nevada is so apparent that the State is now actively engaged in the creation of such a highway.

The eastern face of the Sierra Nevada Mountains differs from the western slope very materially, being precipitous, with a noticeable absence of foothills.

This presents a topography favorable for a road along the east base of the Sierras, and for years such a thoroughfare has been in use.

The Inyo Good Road Club, of Bishop, christened it El Camino Sierra (the Mountain Highway), and has brought it into great prominence for automobile touring because of its wonderful scenic attractions.

Before the outbreak of the European war the club began exploitation of its value as an adjunct of the Pacific coast defense system, claiming that if an invading army should effect a landing on the ocean shore the coast highway and railway lines would be at once seized.

The defenders would then establish a defense line along the main trunk highway farther inland.

If again forced back, the next line of defense would be along the east base of the Sierras.

Should the invaders attempt to advance with an extended front formation and the usual equipment of transportation, they would find their progress checked by an insurmountable barrier nearly the length of California, save where the passes present points of least resistance.

The most important of these passes, which are less than a dozen in number, are now traversed by thoroughfares—some are unimproved, but all are utilized more or less for motor-car travel.

Chief attention would at once be concentrated on these localities.

In engineering parlance they would become "critical areas."

With the main great motor-truck highway along the east base of the mountains, connecting with all the lateral or pass roads, 5,000 commandeered automobiles and trucks could rush a defending force of 25,000 men from one pass to another 100 miles away between sun and sun.

With the defenders holding the passes and all the numerous points of vantage therein, previously determined and mapped by military survey and plans for the most efficient resistance carefully prearranged, the invaders compelled to adopt a narrowed front, attempting to force their way through the restricted area, would be subject to a terrible, destructive flank, cross, and enfilading attack.

Even if the advancing column was of largely superior numbers, repulse would be practically a foregone conclusion, and to persist in a forward movement would mean annihilation.

Brief reflection shows conclusively that the third trunk highway is the master key to the Sierras, which form a bulwark of superhuman efficiency for almost 200 leagues.

The purpose of this mention is not solely to emphasize the great worth of this road from a national-defense viewpoint.

Its establishment on the improved basis suggested would immediately introduce a powerful factor for social, commercial, and industrial progress of advantage to California, but of still greater perpetual benefit to the Nation.

We will call attention to only one phase of the wonderful results certain to immediately follow the improvement of this great thoroughfare.

That is the development of the mining industry in a large section of California now isolated because of lack of transportation in other than very limited way.

This motor-truck road would traverse the greater part of the most highly mineralized portion of the Golden State and would give great impetus to the precious-metal production of Modoc, Lassen, Plumas, Sierra, Nevada, Placer, El Dorado, Alpine, Mono, and Inyo Counties, within which combined area lies mineral wealth unsurpassed in any other territory of like extent known to the mining world.

It is an incontrovertible truth that the ideal measure of preparedness most beneficial to the people and most valuable to the Nation is that which simultaneously prevents war, promotes peace, and increases prosperity.

And it is an undeniable fact that of all the measures suggested for extended and permanent coast protection the conversion of El Camino Sierra into a motor-truck military national-defense highway, as provided for in the bill introduced by Mr. RAKER, of California, most near approaches the ideal.

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**To Provide for a Tax Upon All Persons, Firms, or Corporations Engaged in Interstate Mail-Order Business.**

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## SPEECH

OF

## HON. EDWARD E. BROWNE,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. BROWNE. Mr. Speaker, I introduced bill H. R. 712 December 6, 1915. This bill proposes to tax mail-order houses doing an interstate business. It provides that any person or corporation conducting an interstate mail-order business for the purpose of selling goods, wares, and merchandise direct to the consumer shall pay a tax of 1 per cent upon the total cash value of its sales within any State.

This bill further provides that the amount of the tax shall be ascertained by the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall compel the mail-order houses to report the gross amount of goods sold by them in each State.

The bill provides that the tax collected by the Government shall be apportioned to the respective States in the ratio of the actual amount of goods sold in each State.

Mr. Speaker, although many petitions have been filed in favor of this bill it has not been reported by the committee.

A provision in the present pending revenue bill taxing mail-order houses would not only be a just but a popular measure.

HEAVY TAXES ON ALL OTHER BUSINESS.

Almost every business has been taxed heavily to raise funds to meet the tremendous expenditures of the Government.

The local, State, and National Governments are levying taxes upon the people in many different ways. The National Government is, in my opinion, infringing upon the prerogatives of the State in collecting taxes from the people of the various States, which is practically resulting in double taxation.

Why exempt the mail-order houses from taxation? Why not make them stand their share of this great tax burden?

Wisconsin, the State which I have the honor in part to represent, will pay to the United States Government under the proposed revenue bill over $20,000,000, considerably more than it takes to run the whole State government and support all its institutions.

MAGNITUDE OF MAIL-ORDER BUSINESS.

The large mail-order houses are doing millions of dollars a year business through the State of Wisconsin, and a proportionate amount of business in all the other States of the Union, and yet they contribute nothing toward the support of any State or local government outside of the places where they are located, and then they contribute only a trifle compared with the amount of business they do.

There are at the present time over 1,000 mail-order houses in the United States doing, it is estimated, about $1,000,000,000 worth of business annually.

THIS BILL IS A TAX MEASURE.

The advocates of this legislation are not attempting to put the mail-order houses out of business. They are simply attempting to make the mail-order houses pay their just share of the taxes.

The tax of 1 per cent on the gross sales is certainly a conservative tax. Every merchant pays a tax amounting to a great deal more than 1 per cent on his gross sales.

PAY TAXES ONLY ON SAMPLES.

The mail-order house keeps in stock only a sample of the great list of articles that it sells, and has its contracts with the manufacturer of these articles to send the same direct to the customer when the mail-order house obtains a customer and sends the order.

In this way the mail-order house runs no risk of goods getting shopworn, and all the tax that it pays is the tax on these samples that it has in stock, which is a very small tax in proportion to the business it does.

It employs the minimum amount of help and is located generally so that it pays the minimum amount of rent, as location in a city is a matter of little value to a concern that does all its selling through the mails.

USE OF MAILS.

The mail-order houses use the United States mails to send out their large catalogues, the Post Office Department carrying tons of this kind of mail at a great loss. It many times sends its catalogues and wares by freight to the more remote points, and then sends them out from the nearest zone to its prospective customers, thus using the parcel post for its convenience at a loss to the Government through its Post Office Department.

The mail-order house is making more money to-day than most any business institution and without any responsibilities or obligation to the thousands of communities where it conducts its business in competition with the local merchant. In fact, it is the beneficiary of more favors from the United States Government than any private institution, and yet it pays only a trifle toward the support of the Government.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ALONE CAN TAX.

The State and local communities have no power to deal with an institution doing an interstate business. The Federal Government alone has the power and can and should meet the problem.

PEDDLERS PAY A LICENSE.

Every State and municipality in the United States has laws compelling transient merchants and peddlers to take out State and local licenses before they can do business in a locality. The justice of these laws is recognized by everybody. They are based upon the just principle that the local merchant and business man pays a heavy tax to support the State, county, and city or village government where he conducts his business and lives.

The tax the home merchant pays is used in supporting the schools, affording police and fire protection, providing roads, bridges, and sidewalks, and lighting the city.

Therefore it is apparent that it would be unjust to allow a transient merchant or peddler, who pays nothing toward the support of these things, who feels no obligation or interest in the community, to compete with the local merchant without paying the taxes that the local merchant is compelled to pay.

The transient merchant or peddler, therefore, is compelled to pay a State and local license.

The mail-order house is allowed to do business in every locality in the United States without paying any license, fee, or tax to the community. The competition of this institution is manifestly more unfair than the competition of the peddler, and yet we discriminate against the peddler, the individual man, and in favor of the mail-order house, the large corporation.

The mail-order house does not leave one cent in the community where it does thousands of dollars' worth of business. The peddler stays over night, spends a few dollars for meals and lodging in every community.

The mail-order house sends out hundreds of thousands of catalogues through the mails. Each catalogue is a more effective salesman than the peddler that goes about with his limited stock. Each catalogue, which advertises everything from a penknife to an automobile, goes out over the rural routes into the homes of the people where it stays over night and remains until a later and revised edition takes its place.

WHAT THE MERCHANT AND BUSINESS MAN DOES FOR THE COMMUNITY.

Besides paying his share toward the taxes which go to support the community, the merchant and business man helps the municipality where he lives and the community tributary thereto in many ways.

When the school, the church, the lodge, the public library, the community organizations want to put on an entertainment the merchant and business man is the first man approached for the buying of the tickets, furnishing prizes and premiums, advertising in the programs, and so forth.

The progressive farmer and the progressive merchant invariably combine whenever there is an item of local benefit or civic improvement discussed and when money is needed for an advancement of civlization, education, or religion.

THE MAIL-ORDER HOUSE IS THE SMALL TOWN WRECKER.

What do the mail-order houses do for the community? Nothing. They pay no taxes to the community. They support no schools, churches, libraries, lecture courses, and do not even send an agent to the community to spend a few dollars at the hotel for board and lodging. They do a cash business, and if there is any trouble about their goods the purchaser has to go out of the State to the State where this corporation has its home and bring an action. This, of course, is never done, and the purchaser sustains his loss.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually taken out of the small localities which, if expended in their natural channels, would help the small merchant and tradesman and business man and make the village and small city more prosperous.

SMALL CITY AND VILLAGE NECESSARY FOR THE COMMUNITY.

The small village and city are necessary to every prosperous community. They are the social center for the community. Within these municipalities are located the high school, the bank, the church, the dry goods store, blacksmith shop, creamery, and the business and professional men.

CITY AND COUNTY TRIBUTARY THERETO DEPENDENT UPON EACH OTHER.

The city and village and the rural community surrounding it are mutually beneficial and dependent upon each other, and you can not injure one without injuring the other.

The boundary limits of the city and village and the township is simply an imaginary line. They have their distinct local governments, yet the resident of the city or village takes as much pride in the farming country tributary as he does in his own little municipality, and the farmer takes as much pride in the prosperity of the village or the city where he trades and markets his products as if he lived over this imaginary line within the village or city limits.

Any legislation which is unfair and harmful to the merchant or business man or to the farmer is equally injurious, if not directly, indirectly, to all. You can not injure or obliterate the little city or village without injuring the whole community that is tributary thereto.

FRAUDULENT ADVERTISING MATTER.

I believe that this legislation should be followed by a law penalizing untruthful, misleading, and fraudulent advertising matter that is sent through the United States mails.

I am not asking any favors for the village or city merchant or business man. I am simply asking that he meet his competitors on an equal footing, and that the large mail-order houses be no longer the petted children of legislation and exempted from paying taxes, but that the Federal Government, which alone has the power of taxing them, make them stand their just share of the burdens of supporting this Government.

I consider the store and place of business in the city and village, a public necessity, and I therefore want it to be given a fair chance.

## Exercises Attending the Unveiling of the Statuary of the Pediment of the House Wing of the United States Capitol Building.

On Thursday, July 27, 1916, the following resolution, introduced by Mr. SLAYDEN, chairman of the Committee on the Library, was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Library shall arrange for appropriate exercises at the unveiling of the pediment on the east front of the House wing of the Capitol at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, August 2; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Members of the Senate be invited to be present at the exercises.

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916—10.30 a. m.*

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

Music, United States Marine Band, W. H Santelmann, director.
Address, Hon. JAMES L. SLAYDEN, M. C., chairman House Committee on Library and member of commission.
Unveiling of the statuary, accompanied by music by the United States Marine Band.
Address, Paul W. Bartlett, sculptor of the pediment statuary.
Address, Hon. CHAMP CLARK, Speaker United States House of Representatives, chairman of the commission.
Benediction, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., Chaplain United States Senate.
Music, United States Marine Band.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE UNVEILING.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Ladies and gentlemen, I am this morning in receipt of a telegram from the former chairman of the House Committee on the Library, the gentleman who proposed the appropriation for the procurement of this statuary. I will read his telegram to you:

BOSTON, MASS., *August 1, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES L. SLAYDEN,
*Committee on the Library,*
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Only just received your letter. Greatly regret can not be present at unveiling of statuary in House pediment. I take great pride in having been impressed with something very obvious and introducing a bill for statuary for the House pediment which had been overlooked for over half a century, and am also glad I was able to help in securing services of Mr. Bartlett. I congratulate you that you are about to unveil what I think is the finest large statuary group in America. If I had known earlier of the unveiling, I should have come to Washington to witness it. With thanks for your thought in inviting me to be present,

SAMUEL W. MCCALL.

The original members of the commission for procuring statuary for the pediment of the House wing of the Capitol were the then Speaker, JOSEPH G. CANNON, of Illinois; Senators George P. Wetmore, of Rhode Island; Henry C. Hansbrough, of North Dakota; Frank O. Briggs, of New Jersey; John W. Daniel, of Virginia; FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada; and Representatives Samuel W. McCall, of Massachusetts; James P. Connor, of Iowa; EDWARD L. HAMILTON, of Michigan; William M. Howard, of Georgia; and Charles R. Thomas, of North Carolina. Associated with them was Elliott Woods, then and now the efficient Superintendent of the Capitol. [Applause.]

Unfortunately some of these distinguished gentlemen did not live to see the fruit of their labors, but, like the fathers who selected the architect of the Capitol, they exercised good judgment, and perhaps builded better than they knew.

The act by which this work was authorized was approved April 16, 1908, and to us Americans, with our unmatched genius for hurry, eight years seem a long time to wait. But we should try to realize that the creative artist can not get inspiration by contract, nor, like the handicraftsman, work his eight hours a day, six days in the week, and do his best, and since seeing the satisfactory result of Mr. Bartlett's labors I am glad that he was given all the time he needed.

If Rome had been built in a day, it would not have remained to be the wonder and delight of the centuries. "Our little systems have their day," governments rise and fall, customs change, and races supersede one another, but true art alone, especially that of the sculptor and architect, survives unchanging and a joy forever, its beauty increasing with its age.

I suppose there are still a few people who believe that such an investment as this is a waste of public money, people who mistake crudeness and bareness for the noble simplicity that should characterize a democracy. They seem to resent beauty and dignity in public buildings that house the legislative and executive bodies of the Government.

But that is not true of the people, and if any such Philistines remain they should stand for an hour on this plaza and observe their wondering and delighted fellow countrymen when viewing the Capitol for the first time. In their glowing faces one can read pride of ownership and pleasure in its magnificence. [Applause.]

After seeing that I am sure they would never again complain of its cost. These travelers take away with them an appreciation and heightened standard of beauty that will bring forth fruit according to its kind in many a town and village remote from the Capitol.

This pediment seems to me a fitting adornment of one of the greatest buildings ever constructed. Every American is justly proud of this temple of democracy, open to all the people all the time, and into which his prayers and his commands never fail to penetrate no matter what critics may say to the contrary. No decoration is too noble for it, nothing is too good for the people of our Republic, to whose use this house is consecrated and whose taste it reflects.

Beauty has its value, its moral, economic, and intellectual value. It is easier to sin amid ugliness than when surrounded by beauty, and the importance of attractive surroundings in legislative work should not be overlooked. The elevating influence and inspiration of such an environment is often unconsciously reflected in the law.

In this pediment we have the artist's dream of the grandeur of the arts of agriculture and the industries prospering under the conditions of peace.

In these days of almost universal war and horrors that have spread over three great divisions of the earth, of a war that has even colored the waters of American seas with the blood of men it is pleasant to turn to the contemplation of the peaceful arts, the things by which nations are built up instead of being destroyed.

Let us all therefore rejoice in the thought that this work of an American sculptor, under the direction of the American Congress, will give pleasure and profit to untold generations of free, happy, American citizens. [Applause.]

Next on this program is the unveiling of the statuary, which will be followed by an address by the author of it, Mr. Paul W. Bartlett.

[The unveiling of the statuary then took place.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. Ladies and gentlemen, I have now the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. Paul W. Bartlett, sculptor of the pediment statuary.

ADDRESS OF PAUL W. BARTLETT.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Senate, gentlemen of the House, ladies, and gentlemen, it is certainly very unusual for an artist to be invited to speak at the unveiling of his own production, but this ceremony is unusual in so many ways that I hope I may be forgiven for having accepted the invitation.

To be able to leave one's imprint in sculpture on the noblest building of this country is a great honor.

To have the opportunity to make an effort to add to its grandeur and beauty is, without doubt, a rare privilege.

It has also been a great responsibility, and you may well believe that the responsibility of this privilege has never been forgotten for a moment during these long years of work and study.

The preliminary negotiations concerning this undertaking brought me in contact with Senators George Peabody Wetmore and the Hon. Samuel W. McCall, chairmen, at that time, of the Senate and House Committees on the Library.

When we came to discuss the subject or theme to be represented on the pediment, I was told that there was a vague feeling in the committee that the subject should be taken from the history of the United States.

We came, however, to the conclusion that the theme should be of the present rather than of the past.

We thought because the House represents in its largest sense the people, that the people—the life and labors of the people—should be portrayed on this building, this temple of democracy. Hence this conception.

An allegorical group consisting of two figures, "Peace protecting genius," fills the center of the pediment. "Peace," an armed "peace," stands erect, draped in a mantle which almost completely hides her breastplate and coat of mail; her left arm rests on her buckler, which is supported by the altar at her side; in the background the "olive tree of peace." Her right arm is extended in a gesture of protection over the youthful and winged figure of "Genius," who nestles confidingly at her feet and holds in his right hand the torch of "Immortality." The composition is completed by two other groups, symbolizing and typifying the two great fundamental powers of labor, the two great sources of wealth—Agriculture and Industry.

The most modest of our farmers and laborers can find in these groups the symbol of his own self and of his endeavors. He may even find his own resemblance there, and he will see that his helpmate, his children, his cattle, and the harvest of his fields have been exalted and carved in marble forms on the Capitol of the United States. The printer, the iron and steel worker, the founder may do the same and enjoy the same pro-

found satisfaction. The toiling factory girl, spinner or weaver of textiles, will observe that she has not been forgotten, and those who are devoted to the sea can discover a group which will remind them of the joys of their vocation.

A wave terminates the sculpture at either end of the pediment, and is meant to indicate that all this humanity, all its power and energy, are comprised between the shores of two oceans—the Atlantic and the Pacific.

So much for the poetic and philosophic.

Permit me now to say a few words about the technique: For a real artist every new subject, every new undertaking, is a new problem and requires a new solution, adapted, of course, to the special characteristics of the case in hand. Any art which is not based on this principle is not a "living" art. Any effort to use an old solution for a new problem is the admission of artistic impotence, and the artist in so doing not only eludes the difficulties of his new problem but also loses his opportunity to discover, perhaps, some new form of beauty.

Now, one of the important problems to be solved in this case was the amalgamation of the living forms of to-day with the classic details of a semiclassic style.

In using our brawny types of men and women from factory and field, in modeling their simple working clothes, it was necessary to execute these figures in such a manner that they should not conflict with this distinguished but rather delicate architecture. It was necessary that they should have a distinctive decorative character, in harmony with their immediate surroundings. Too much realism would have been ugly; too much classicism would have been fatal.

Usually pediments are composed for a general front view, and are approached by a spacious avenue forming a vista. This happens here only for the central pediment. The fact that this building has such a wide façade and three pediments, that it is generally approached by the sides, and that a person standing on the Plaza has a slanting view of at least two pediments, changes entirely the ordinary scheme and has necessitated a new principle of composition. The means employed to meet this contingency are not very visible from the Plaza—they were not meant to be visible—but great care has been used in the effort to make the side views equal in interest to the full front view.

There were other problems, such as the scale and grouping of the figures, the spacing of the groups, and so forth, of which I will not speak. Suffice it to say that with time and study they were solved to my satisfaction. The method of work was as follows: First a small sketch was made, then a larger one, and then another. These were changed, figures were taken away and others put in their places, so on and on in a continual effort to improve the scheme until the final models were finished, ready to be carved in marble, erected, doweled, and cemented in place.

Permit me now on this momentous occasion to sincerely thank the Committee on the Library for their confidence, and for having permitted me to carry out this work in my own way and within my own time.

I also desire to express my appreciation for the kindness and intelligent interest which has been bestowed upon me by Mr. Elliott Woods, Superintendent of the Capitol, and by his collaborators. They have never failed me since I first met them in 1909.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Ladies and gentlemen, a few minutes ago my friend Mr. MANN pointed to the pediment and said that that was the pièce de résistance, as they call it out in Illinois; but I knew just what it was to be—first, the speech of Mr. Bartlett, and then that of our distinguished Speaker, the Hon. CHAMP CLARK, who will now address you. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF SPEAKER CLARK.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Chairman SLAYDEN and Mr. Bartlett, the distinguished artist, have so thoroughly described the beautiful statuary that it would be superfluous to say anything more about that. It is universally conceded that Washington is the finest capital city in the world. [Applause.] The United States has the largest homogeneous population of all the nations of the earth. We have the most stately capitol building in the world, which has become the model for capitol buildings everywhere.

I, as speaker of the House of Representatives, accept this statuary on behalf of the Congress and the people. This is the finishing touch to the Capitol Building, and especially to the House of Representatives. The first man who ever lifted up his voice in an oratorical way in the splendid Hall of the House was Samuel Sullivan Cox, popularly named "Sunset Cox," of Ohio, in 1857; and if all the oratory that has been uttered in it since were printed in books the world would hardly contain them. [Laughter.]

The Constitutional Convention was the wisest set of men that ever met under one roof. [Applause.] The wisest thing that they did was to divide the governmental machinery of this country into three separate departments. The next wisest was to divide the Congress into two branches. Some lady asked George Washington at a great dinner what the Senate was created for, and why they had two legislative branches instead of only one. He said that the Senate would perform the same function for legislation that a saucer did for tea, that they would pour the hot tea of the House into the saucer of the Senate to cool off. [Laughter.] Evidently Gen. Washington was not up to date in pink-tea etiquette or he would not have said anything about pouring your tea into a saucer.

This Republic is the only real republic that ever existed on the face of the earth. [Applause.] We talk about the republics of Greece and Rome, and the rest of them. They were simply oligarchies. The intricate and delicate and elaborate system of checks and balances in our system of government is what has preserved it to the present day, and what will preserve it, let us hope, for all time to come. [Applause.]

The idea of free government is not new. We did not originate it. We have developed it and put it into practice. It has been in the minds of men from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Whoever wrote the Shakespeare plays put these words into the mouth of Brutus in his speech defending himself for the assassination of Cæsar:

> Here comes his body, mourned by Mark Anthony; who, though he had no hand in his death, shall receive the benefit of his dying, a place in the commonwealth; as which of you shall not?

There is the case in a nutshell, the essence of representative government—"a place in the commonwealth."

When Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg called the first House of Representatives to order he presided over 56 men. North Carolina and Rhode Island had not gotten in then. When they did come in, they increased his little flock to 65. I preside over 435 Representatives, two Territorial Delegates, and three Resident Commissioners. A couple of years ago they rededicated the old Congressional Hall in Philadelphia, after having fixed it up handsomely. President Wilson and myself made speeches. Going over there I figured it out that if we had the same ratio for Representatives now that we had under the first census and the same population that we have now, we would have 2,776 Members in the House of Representatives. That is one index to our marvelous growth.

The legislative body in every free country is the most important of the three branches—judicial, legislative, and executive. We come from the people, we represent the people, and we reflect the will of the people. [Applause.] I undertake to say without fear of successful contradiction that when the American people make up their minds that they want a thing The Congress will grant it to them as soon as it finds out that the people desire it. I think the Congress of the United States is the greatest legislative body that ever was on the face of the earth, and I take pride in that fact. Yet every evil-disposed person in the land can find some slander to utter about the American Congress. They revel in such foul work. It puzzled me a long time to find out why certain people, who could pass a great tariff bill overnight, or enact any other great measure while you wait, did not come down here and get into Congress and do those things. Finally one of them came into my room one day and was intimating that we were a lot of chuckleheads, and I said to him, "It has always surprised me that men like you, who know everything, who can do everything without any consideration, do not break into Congress and do it." He said, "Well, everybody does not want to come to Congress." I replied, "There are not a thousand men in America who would not come to one House or the other of Congress if they could get here." I said, "I will tell you why you don't come into Congress. You don't come down here because you can't get votes enough." [Laughter.]

Each one of these three departments ought to attend strictly to its own business. [Applause.] It would make a very interesting theme for a speech, if I had time to make one, to show how the balance of power has oscillated between the executive and the legislative. Sometimes the legislative has reduced the executive to a nullity, and sometimes the executive has come close to reducing The Congress to a nullity, but in the course of time these things even themselves up.

How many new propositions do you suppose our system of government rests on? On three. There are two of them in the Declaration of Independence and one in the Constitution. "All men are created equal." That is one of them. "All Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." That is two, and they form the basis of republican institutions. The third one is—hardly anybody ever reads it—

the preamble to the Constitution, one of the finest sentences ever written, and one of the most comprehensive:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

[Applause.]

There it all is. That is our chart and our creed. What courtship is to marriage, what the flower is to the fruit, what youth is to manhood, that is what the Declaration of Independence is to the Constitution of the United States. [Applause.] Since Washington on Yorktown's blood-stained heights made good Jefferson's declaration thrones have been crumbling, crowns have been tumbling, and dynasties have been fleeing for their lives. [Applause.]

When our fathers proclaimed this Republic at Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776, there was only one other Republic on the face of the earth—Switzerland—and the fathers were not certain that this one would live until Christmas. It was an even break whether it would or not. Now, thanks be to Almighty God, there are 26 Republics in this world. [Applause.] In a very large sense we made them, every one. Mark Twain, the greatest Missourian that ever lived, and the greatest literary American that ever lived [applause], once said, "Blessed be the man who bloweth his own horn, lest it be not blown." [Laughter.]

That dictum of the great Missourian applies to nations as well as to individuals. We did it—not by the mailed hand, not by conquering armies. We did it by the wholesomeness of our example [applause], by teaching all creation that men can govern themselves. Why, before that it was supposed that power descended from on high and lighted on the heads of a few tall men, and then a little of it trickled down to the great body of the people below. We reverse all that. We make it begin at the bottom and, like the sap in the trees, go up, and it will go up forever. [Applause.]

Not a single one of these South American or Central American Republics could have existed six months if it had not been for us. Some of them could stagger along now, maybe, but I am not certain about that. We gave them a breathing spell. We gave them a chance to live. What did it? The Monroe doctrine. I am not going to expand on that. What is it? The simplest proposition ever put into print, that we would regard the establishment of its system of government by any European nation in this hemisphere as an unfriendly act. That was a very modest declaration, was it not? We were a modest people then. [Laughter.] We have outgrown our modesty. But the Monroe doctrine has grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength, until to-day it is this: That for political purposes we hereby take the entire Western Hemisphere under the shadow of our wing, and warn the nations of the earth not to touch the least of these Republics south of us, lest they die. That is the Monroe doctrine. [Applause.] We do not want their territory or their land. We propose that they shall be free, because we intend to remain free ourselves.

Col. Roosevelt in one of his books says that James Monroe was a mediocre President. Col. Roosevelt—I am very fond of him personally—will be lucky if he finally secures as high a place and as great a space in history as James Monroe does. [Applause.] I like Roosevelt's style sometimes. He went down to Chile and proclaimed the Monroe doctrine there much as I have proclaimed it here, and he came near getting mobbed. I suppose that is what he was after. [Laughter.]

Certain dillettante writers and speakers who say the Monroe doctrine is played out are mistaken. They do not know what they are talking about. We will strengthen it and preserve it. It is the political life preserver of the Western World. I like to say a good thing about a Republican when I can find one who deserves it. [Laughter.] I like to think about what one Secretary of State did under the Monroe doctrine. William H. Seward, a great man, Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson, came very near being President in 1860, but not half as near as I did in 1912. [Laughter and applause.] When we had our Civil War we did not have any time to attend to anybody else's business. We had hardly enough to attend to our own.

Louis Napoleon, the nephew of his uncle, the Emperor of the French, the greatest monarch then on earth, with his arms glittering from China to Peru, concluded it was a good time to smash the Monroe doctrine, sent over the Archduke Maximilian, set him up on a tinsel imperial throne, clapped a tinsel imperial crown on his head, and backed him up with 80,000 French bayonets under Marshal Bazaine. They were getting along tiptop until we made peace among ourselves. Immediately William H. Seward sent word to Louis Napoleon that it was high time to get out of Mexico, and not stand on the order of his going—and he went like the devil was after him. [Applause and laughter.]

That is what a Republican Secretary of State did. Nobody ever tried to violate the Monroe doctrine after that until Great Britain undertook to steal a piece of Venezuela, and Grover Cleveland shook his fist in the face of the British lion and forbade him to put his paw on Venezuela, and he did not do it. [Applause and laughter.] That is what a Democratic President did. At that time we did not have a battleship to our name, but Johnnie Bull knew where we could get them if we wanted them; he knew we had the stuff to buy them with; he wisely let us alone; and from that day to this nobody has ever tried to infringe on the Monroe doctrine. Those are two of the proudest chapters in our history—one written by a Republican Secretary of State, the other by a Democratic President.

A great many people make a mistake as to where the line of demarcation is between a free country and a despotism. It is as plain as the nose on your face when once correctly stated. Most people think if there is a hereditary head to the government it is necessarily a despotism, and that if there is an elective head it is necessarily free. That has not a thing in the world to do with it—not a thing. A country can be just as free with a hereditary head as it can be with an elective president, provided it has the right sort of a constitution. I will tell you where the line of demarcation is. Any country that has a legislative body which controls the purse strings thereof is free, and if it has not it is not free. Out West where I live—I do not know whether it has percolated to the East or not—there is a saying "that money makes the mare go."

Money makes the Government go, and if we should refuse to appropriate the money to run this Government, it would stand stock-still at midnight on the 30th day of next June. Patriots would not run it, most of them, without they got their pay. It makes no difference what we call it. We call our legislative body the Congress. When people get mad at Congress, and can not find anything else mean to say, they say we talk too much. Well, I used to be rather inclined to think sometimes that the Senate does talk too much [laughter]; but I have somewhat changed my notion about that. There ought to be some place in this Government where a thing can be really and thoroughly and minutely discussed. Now, if the Senate will let us go home right away, I will add some other compliment to that. [Laughter.] Those people who growl about Congress talking too much had better get out their dictionary and study it a little. What do you suppose the word "Parliament" means in the dictionary sense? That is the oldest legislative body in the world. It literally means a talking body. Bless your souls, that is what it was elected for, to talk; not to indulge in foolish talk, but to talk about the principles of government, the business of the country, and things like that. In France it is called the Assembly, in Germany the Reichstag, in Scandinavia the Storthing, and down in Bulgaria it is the Sobranje. There have been three half-baked Dumas up in St. Petersburg. Somebody will say they ran them out. Of course they did. That is the history of legislative progress the world over. How many Parliaments were run out of Westminster before they found one that could stay there in spite of the king? What was the American Congress during the Revolution? It was a legislative body on wheels, and it met where the British soldiers were not. That was the mode of its being. I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet, or the seventh son of a seventh son, but I will risk one prediction: Within less than 20 years they will have a Duma at St. Petersburg that will stay there until it gets ready to leave, or the people of that country will run the Czar and the grand dukes out of Russia. That has been the history of such transactions since the world began.

What a fine thing it is to be an American—how glorious, how inspiring.

Those of you who read the Bible—and I hope you all do—remember that after Paul had been bound the chief captain ordered the centurion to take him away and scourge him. Paul took a flank move on him. Of course, I am giving a free translation. I have always believed that Paul would have made one of the most skillful politicians and lawyers that ever lived. Paul said to the centurion who was about to scourge him: "Is it lawful to scourge a Roman citizen?" That question scared the centurion half to death. He rushed off to the chief captain as hard as he could clatter, and said: "You had better be careful; that man is a Roman citizen," which startled the chief captain greatly—startled him so that Paul was not scourged.

When that transaction took place Rome was mistress of the civilized world.

The power and dignity inherent in Roman citizenship was demonstrated by the terror which seized those who intended to scourge him, when he invoked that citizenship.

It was a great boon to be a Roman citizen when Rome was in the plenitude of imperial power; but it is a far greater boon to be a plain American citizen, heir of all the ages. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, everybody has something to do in this world, if he could find out what it is. Our mission in the world has been to carry government of the people, by the people, and for the people to the ends of the earth as missionaries therefor, and we have worked at it faithfully. We divide into parties on domestic issues. It is a very good thing that we do, so that one may watch the other; but when it comes to questions that affect the honor, the glory, the prosperity of the American Republic, we are one. [Applause.] I am happy to give it as my opinion that the people in this country who are not thoroughly patriotic, who would not be absolutely true if the supreme test should come, do not constitute one-tenth of 1 per cent of the 100,000,000 people betwixt the two seas. [Applause.] We are supposed to have different ways of explaining and expressing our patriotism. We here and now finish the Capitol building. May it stand forever as the emblem and symbol of a free people, and may our missionary work never end until all people everywhere are free. [Applause.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. Dr. Prettyman, Chaplain of the Senate, will pronounce the benediction.

Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., Chaplain of the Senate, pronounced the benediction, as follows:

Now may the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be with us all, now and forever. Amen.

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**Homesteads.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,
OF WYOMING,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, in December, 1907, at the beginning of the Sixtieth Congress, I introduced a bill providing for a homestead of 320 acres, or, as I styled it, a bill for an enlarged homestead, the first general bill introduced in Congress, so far as I know, proposing a homestead larger than the old 160-acre homestead of the sixties.

The enlarged-homestead idea was opposed and combated vigorously from the very start. It was assailed on the one hand by certain classes of stock interests because it was believed it would result in the settlement of lands that would otherwise remain stock ranges, and on the other hand by those who claimed that it would be utilized by the stock interests for the purpose of acquiring enormous acreages for grazing purposes.

These forces in opposition were particularly active in the House of Representatives, so much so that a conference report on the bill was voted down in the House, and the measure would have ended its career then and there had not the Speaker, Hon. JOSEPH G. CANNON, declined to recognize for that purpose at least two Members who were on their feet attempting to secure recognition to make a motion to lay the bill on the table. So powerful and persistent was this opposition that the enlarged-homestead act did not become a law until February 19, 1909. The first designations were made several months later, and the first entries under the act in the fiscal year 1910.

The enlarged-homestead law has abundantly justified its enactment and has clearly demonstrated the wisdom of its essential features. Practically none of the fears expressed in regard to it have been realized, and the claims made for the measure by its friends and proponents have been more than fulfilled. It is true that some lands have been entered under the act which are not susceptible of continuous successful and profitable cultivation. It is true that considerable areas have been taken of doubtful value for the purposes of cultivation under any system.

This, of course, was inevitable. It had occurred the country over under the 160-acre homestead law. It would occur to a certain extent under any homestead law which, like the 320-acre homestead, contemplated some cultivation, for the 320-acre law, let it be remembered, is a farming and not a grazing homestead law. In the main, however, the lands taken under the 320-acre act have been selected with some care, and the act has encouraged agricultural and farming development over large and widely scattered areas where up to the time of the passage of the act the homesteader had made but little attempt at settlement and many prosperous and permanent communities have been built up under the stimulus of the act.

The following table, beginning with the fiscal year 1910, when the first entries were made, and including nine months of the fiscal years 1916, or up to March 30 of this year, gives the acreage of lands entered under the enlarged homestead law in the United States, amounting to over 41,000,000 acres, as follows:

| | Acres. |
|---|---|
| 1910 | 7,209,402.68 |
| 1911 | 2,799,159.01 |
| 1912 | 2,504,583.10 |
| 1913 | 6,293,737.81 |
| 1914 | 7,753,616.38 |
| 1915 | 8,620,460.98 |
| 1916 (9 months only) | 6,730,248.41 |
| Total | 41,911,208.37 |

This acreage is sufficient to furnish over a hundred and twenty-eight thousand 320-acre homesteads, and, assuming that these homesteads were occupied by families of five, would provide homes for about 640,000 people.

EFFECT OF THE LAW IN WYOMING.

In Wyoming the enlarged-homestead law has led to the successful settlement of large areas. It has given the State many prosperous new communities. While there have been some mistakes made in filing upon and attempting to cultivate lands that are not suitable for farming purposes, in the main a considerable portion of the land entered has with careful and thorough cultivation proven to be susceptible of producing a variety of crops. Where dairying and stock raising have been carried on in connection with farming the results have been especially encouraging. Some of the localities in which settlements have been made have proven to be even more favorable than was anticipated, and out of the whole area taken it may be safely said that a comparatively small proportion of the ventures have been permanent failures.

The effect of the law in Wyoming in the matter of acreage taken has been remarkable. Up to the time of the passage of the enlarged-homestead act the total acreage of all original homestead entries in the State from the time homesteads were first taken had amounted to 4,544,299 acres.

The total acreage of entries under the enlarged homestead act in Wyoming since its passage up to March 30, 1916, was 4,808,122 acres. It will be seen that in the six years during which the enlarged homestead law has been in operation 263,825 more acres were entered in the State under that act than under the homestead law than in all of the years of homesteading prior to that time. The acreage of enlarged homesteads in Wyoming is sufficient to furnish over 15,000 entries of 320 acres each, which at the rate of 5 persons to a family would afford homes for 75,000 people.

It may be interesting to note the fluctuations of homestead settlement in the State in the last 10 years, which is graphically shown by the following table, which includes entries under the enlarged homestead and the old 160-acre laws:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1907 | 460,958.27 |
| 1908 | 472,983.38 |
| 1909 | 566,880.79 |
| 1910 | 977,429.94 |
| 1911 | 487,563.69 |
| 1912 | 367,610.44 |
| 1913 | 579,962.45 |
| 1914 | 813,543.66 |
| 1915 | 679,677.16 |
| 1916 (9 months only) | 700,615.95 |
| Total | 6,107,224.83 |

GRAZING HOMESTEADS.

In July, 1913, during the Sixty-third Congress, I introduced a bill for a grazing homestead, which was intended to be the next step beyond the enlarged homestead law in homestead development. My thought was that within a reasonable time the lands which might be entered and utilized under the 320-acre law would become exhausted and that a grazing-homestead measure would then provide for the settlement of lands which could only, in the main, be utilized for grazing purposes.

My bill provided for a homestead of 640 to 1,280 acres, depending upon its grass-producing capacity. It did not require any cultivation, but a certain amount of improvement in lieu of the same. As the Congress was Democratic, there was no disposition to take up a measure introduced by a Republican Member, but later a bill for a 640-acre homestead, known as a stock-raising homestead bill, was introduced by a Democratic Member, Mr. Fergusson, of New Mexico, and was reported, but got no further.

In the present Congress a bill for a stock-raising homestead of 640 acres was drafted along the lines of the Fergusson bill

and introduced by Mr. FERRIS, of Oklahoma, chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. This bill passed the House, and is now, and has been for a number of months, before the Senate, where it was reported, with some amendments which if adopted would greatly improve the bill. At this time it is uncertain as to whether it will become a law at this session of Congress.

One of the criticisms that this bill is meeting, and which has jeopardized its passage, is the claim that there are very considerable areas of land upon which a family can not be supported on 640 acres. This objection would have been largely obviated by the provision of the bill which I introduced for a homestead as large as two sections on lands that do not have a considerable production of grass. The bill is also subject to the criticism that it requires a final and conclusive designation by the Secretary before entries can be made under it, which will naturally delay the beginning of the operation of the law. It is open to the further objection that it is the first land law proposing the reservation of all minerals, and it would undoubtedly require supplemental legislation to make clear and definite the character of the title which the entryman would secure.

As the RECORD shows, efforts were made during the passage of the measure through the House to improve it by amendment. Some amendments were adopted which improved the bill, but it was impossible to secure the adoption of amendments to cover some of its most serious faults. Some of these, if not secured in the Senate, can no doubt be obtained by amendment later.

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## Direct Marketing of Farm Products Between Producer and Consumer by Parcel Post.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office appropriation bill provides an appropriation of $10,000, with which the Post Office Department is authorized to conduct experiments in direct dealing between producer and consumer through the Parcel Post Service, employing mail-order methods. This is in accordance with the purpose of H. R. 10848, which I introduced on February 4 of this year.

A trial was made at Sacramento, Cal., during May and June, 1916, of a plan for direct dealing in farm products between producer and consumer, employing the Parcel Post Service.

A report presented by Mr. Joseph Holmes, master of the California State Grange, is as follows:

"The committee appointed by Sacramento County Pomona Grange to demonstrate the plan of direct dealing between producer and consumer as proposed by Mr. David Lubin, desires to submit the following report:

"In our search for an office Mr. Glen Andrus, secretary of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, very kindly offered us a very convenient space and desk room in the front of his office. Here we proceeded to fit up the office with a desk, a phone, and the card rack. Miss Mamie Sanford, master of the Sacramento Grange, was employed as office clerk, and Mr. B. F. McLeod, master of Orangevale Grange, was secured as carrier.

"Everything being ready, we opened for business May 3, 1916. The first two days the business was small but very important for two reasons.

"First. The business so aroused the ire of some of the little retail merchants of Sacramento that they swore dire and terrible things against the chamber of commerce, even to withdrawing their support from it if the 'farmers' market,' as they called it, was not thrown out of the chamber of commerce room.

"Second. Naturally this kind of publicity served to thoroughly advertise the plan, and the people were curious to know more about it.

"Mr. Joseph Holmes, master of California State Grange, not being desirous of causing any serious disruption in the chamber of commerce, gracefully offered to withdraw the 'farmers' market' from its said precincts and cast about for a new location. This was done, and through the courtesy of the Brooke Realty Co., 807 J Street, a very convenient room was secured, to which our office equipment was at once moved.

"Here we continued the business uninterrupted for 39 days, until June 17, 1916. During this time 41 producers and 99 consumers took part in the demonstration, and 460 transactions were made. The people generally were very willing and anxious to give the plan a trial. And not only locally but from distant parts of the State came many inquiries regarding this new marketing plan. All who participated in the demonstration were well pleased, as can be seen by the following reports: Mr. J. P. Goldsmith, of Folsom, writes: 'During the past few weeks I have been selling new potatoes and sweet potato plants through the direct marketing system. Much more important than the production is the marketing question, and I believe that this method solves that. I have sold at a third more profit through this experiment, and the consumer has been able to buy lower than heretofore. Another point, there is a big gain in time, which is equivalent to money to the producer, as it takes but very little time to make out a card, whereas in the old method I had to go to market, and many times returned home with my produce, being unable to sell at an advantage. If this marketing plan goes into effect I will use every inch available of my land, some of which is now idle. Would like to see this plan go into effect at once.'"

Mr. J. L. Patterson, of Folsom, writes as follows:

"I would like very much to see this direct marketing go into effect, because it gives the small farmers better opportunities. It makes it possible for the small farmer to make a good living from small holdings, because it would dispose of the surplus which now goes to waste, as it doesn't pay the farmer to take a small supply to market.

"The defect in this new system at present seems to be the lack of knowledge of the farmers on the average market price on different staples, but this could be overcome by average quotation being sent broadcast so that the farmer could know what to charge. I have sold during this experiment eggs and dressed chickens at prices higher than I have been in the habit of getting, and these prices in turn were lower to the consumer than he has been in the habit of paying."

Direct marketing will encourage the farmer to make greater use of his land according to J. B. Ireland, of Orangevale, who says:

"It has been my pleasure to sell cherries, peas, beans, and new potatoes through this direct-marketing experiment, and I have been able to get considerably better profit. If this plan is put into operation I will utilize all the waste space on my land and also would sell certain products that now doesn't pay me to market. It would make my farm much more valuable."

The consumers were well pleased by the service of the direct-marketing plan, as will be seen by the following testimonials:

Mrs. Ben Blow, of the Parkview Apartments, writes:

"I am more than pleased with the direct-marketing plan. The expediency with which my orders were filled and the freshness of the produce agreeably surprised me. I hope that it will be adopted officially. I know it will be a success."

Rev. A. B. Patten, of 2631 I Street, reports:

"Excellent service is rendered the consumer by this new plan. The produce is far fresher than what one can buy in the markets. We have long needed something like this direct-marketing idea, and I am sure it will considerably lower the cost of living. I am well satisfied with the orders I placed with it."

Mrs. W. E. Sanford, 621 P Street, writes:

"The articles I purchased through the direct-marketing experiment were far fresher than I have ever obtained before, and they were also far cheaper. I hope that Congress will not delay action on placing the direct marketing under the Post Office. It is what we housewives have so long dreamed about and hoped for."

Joseph Clark, 1511 K Street:

"Direct marketing is fine, simply fine. It's the best idea advanced in a century. It will do more for the farmers of the country than anything else ever thought of. It will also cut the cost of living and will enable even the poorest families to have fresh fruit and vegetables."

Mrs. Albert Elkus, of 1515 N Street, reports:

"Produce purchased through direct marketing is cheaper and far fresher than bought in the old way in the markets. As soon as the experiment started I purchased two of the coupon books, and am more than satisfied with the service."

B. F. McLeod, of Orangevale, reports:

"Having acted as your transportation agent during this demonstration, which brought me in contact with all of the producers and all of the consumers, I will say that without exception all have been highly pleased with the scheme, and have expressed the wish that it might be made permanent. Many of the housewives have said that not only has it been a big saving to them as to price, but the quality and freshness of the produce appeals to them."

We, as a committee, believe the plan has great possibilities, and if taken up by the Government would serve a great need of the day. The card system is very simple and yet so ingeniously arranged as to answer all questions of the prospective buyer. A space is left for the quantity, which must be either one box, one dozen, 1 pound, one single article, one sack, one crate, with the price plainly marked below. If a producer has a dozen boxes of cherries for sale, he sends in a dozen cards, each calling for one box. The lower end of the card is perforated with the price and date and space for the goods. This is retained by the farmer to show that he has filled the order.

If the purchaser goes to the market room, he fills in the card for the desired produce and hands it to the attendant, with the money or coupons purchased in book form. The order and money or coupons is then forwarded by mail to the farmer, and the delivery is made direct to the purchaser.

If this system can be made official, these cards will be sent through the mail and the delivery will be made by parcel post. In other words, this system will open up a world-wide market for the farmer, and the consumer will also participate in its consequent benefits.

Jos. HOLMES,
*Master California State Grange.*
M. T. HUNT,
G. H. SLAWSON,
MAMIE L. SANFORD,
LOUISE L. NORTHE,
Mrs. CLARA C. NAUMAN,
*Committee.*

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**Flood Conditions in Alabama.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. OSCAR L. GRAY,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. GRAY of Alabama. Under leave to extend my remarks I insert in the RECORD the following resolutions, letters, petitions, telegrams, and so forth:

COMMERCIAL CLUB OF DEMOPOLIS,
*Demopolis, Ala., July 14, 1916.*

Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. GRAY: At the request of our commercial club I have this morning sent you a telegram telling you of the desperate need of the river farmers in this section. The river is already over the whole country, and farmer after farmer has had his all swept away. They are going to be in a starving condition and it is necessary for some immediate help. We can not hope for this from our State, for the financial condition of this State will not warrant it; therefore we must depend on the National Government and on what help we can offer locally.

We are going to do all in our power, but this will not meet the demand by any means, so we hope you will take up this matter and push it and secure some appropriation that will relieve this immediate necessity. It is too late to replant anything. The whole crop is a total loss.

Yours, truly,

H. W. HAYDEN, *President.*
Dr. T. C. REID, *Secretary.*

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DEMOPOLIS, ALA., *July 18.*

Hon. O. L. GRAY,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. GRAY: First, I want to thank you for your splendid efforts in our behalf in this section and to say to you that our telegrams do not half express the true conditions of suffering and loss. It is horrible, but we are doing our very best to relieve all in need, and at the same time trying to do it intelligently.

Our relief committee, actively in charge, is composed of Mr. W. S. Prout, Hon. J. B. Wilson, Messrs. L. S. Shertzer, L. Foida, and myself, but we are being assisted in active work and advice by practically all our people.

We are badly in need of every variety of seed, especially turnip, rape, and fall garden seed. I am writing Senator UNDERWOOD in this mail, asking him to also join you in securing liberal quota of seed for us at once.

Whatever seed you can send I would suggest be sent in care of the relief committee of Commercial Club of Demopolis, as we are using every effort to have a complete system so as to avoid missing any worthy person, and at the same time be protected against those who would take advantage of conditions.

Our people are very appreciative of the splendid assistance you have already rendered us.

Our committee expects to extend its work to Choctaw County, and I would thank you if you would write me a short letter telling me that if we get aid you will expect this to be done. Local committees in the several neighborhoods of Choctaw can keep us posted, and through them the people there can be relieved. The people of Linden are now cooperating with us as to their section on the river.

With best wishes.

Yours, very truly,

JESSE B. HEARIN.

Practically every man in Demopolis, as well as the municipality itself, is giving aid to the flood sufferers.

SALITPA, ALA., *July 15, 1916.*

Hon. O. L. GRAY, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: We are sending you a petition to-day which speaks for itself. It was hurriedly gotten up. Seventy-five others would have signed it if they had had an opportunity.

I could not explain half how bad it is here. If you can do anything we will greatly appreciate it. Lots of persons here have no means of support. Everything in the way of a crop has been washed away. I have been requested to say to you that if any help can be obtained that A. E. May, sr., H. W. Porter, and J. D. Doyle will make us a satisfactory committee to look after it.

Yours, truly,

J. D. DOYLE.

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To Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY, M. C.:

We, the undersigned citizens of Salitpa, Clarke County, Ala., petition your honorable body, the Congress of the Federal Government, for some aid in our destitute condition which has been caused by the recent storm that swept over this county. We are all farmers on low bottom lands; the high creeks and river have destroyed our crops, and many—yes, many—have been left in a destitute condition.

This is the first time in our history we have ever asked for help, and under no circumstances would we do it now if it could be avoided, but it can not.

J. I. Pitman, J. B. Atchinson, J. D. Doyle, C. C. May, Jno. C. McCorquariole, P. W. Robinson, W. N. Molton, S. J. Atchinson, Allen E. May, sr., Jno. T. Pitman, W. W. White, D. C. Waite, J. E. Beck, N. A. Molton, C. F. McCorquariole, Coma Doyle, C. G. Carter, M. M. Waite, G. D. Calhoun, J. B. Porter, H. W. Porter, H. B. Shellito, G. W. McVay, W. F. McCorquariole, W. A. McCorquariole, S. M. York, A. D. Mitchell, C. M. Doyle, S. B. Fleming.

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BUTLER, ALA., *July 20, 1916.*

Hon. O. L. GRAY, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The weather conditions here for the past 15 days have been bad; the river has covered every field of cotton and corn in the river valley; the large creeks of this county are overflowed to-day for the third time in two weeks. In the Ticumbum, Oktuppa, and other creek valleys the crops are a total loss. Actual suffering is occurring all along the river; negroes who at this season of the year live on corn, garden vegetables, etc., have nothing to eat and no labor to do. The mills are idle, the farms are all under water, and, as one negro told me to-day, all he had for his children for the past three days was boiled catfish. The condition is very bad. I don't know anything to suggest; when the waters go away, possibly the negroes can find work at the sawmills and live; otherwise they will have to move somewhere, as it will be June of next year before anything to eat can be raised to amount to much. No corn left in all the rich valleys of the county and the hill-land corn is down and will produce very little under the most favorable conditions. The landowners have turned the mules in the pastures, the old crop of corn is gone, and no bread in the country for the persons who have no money to buy it. I thought that you would like to know the actual conditions. Yesterday I met a drove of negroes going to Littlejohn to hunt work, and this concern has more men now than they have work to do.

It will be weeks before the river goes in, as it is now as high as it reached in 1892, and rose 4 inches last night.

I hope you are well.

Sincerely, yours,

W. H. LINDSEY.

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THE KING LUMBER CO.,
*Consul, Ala., July 21, 1916.*

Hon. O. L. GRAY,
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am informed that an appeal has been made to Congress for an appropriation of $75,000 for the benefit of people who have lost their entire crops by the recent floods, this fund, if appropriated, to be used for the relief of people only in the territory tributary to Demopolis, Linden, and Myrtlewood.

This fund, if appropriated, should be used for the relief of all the people of the county who have become destitute and who are surely in need of the necessities of life.

It is a fact that everyone who had their crops on the several creeks in the county, namely, Horse, Beaver, Chickasawbogue, Dry, Poplar, Turkey, and other streams, have lost all and are as much in need as are the river-land farmers. I sincerely trust that you may be able to secure aid for the destitute people, and that all who are really in need shall be provided for out of any fund that may be appropriated, and to this end I would suggest that a committee composed of intelligent and honest men living in different sections of the county be named to handle or distribute the funds.

Yours, truly,

J. J. KING.

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LAYACA, ALA., *July 21, 1916.*

Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The storm and continuous rains, with overflow of river and large creeks, has caused such havoc among the negroes along the creeks from Tickabum and Suquabowa Creeks that we are constrained to seek aid for them. We, the white people of this section, have fed them until now, but having lost what we have furnished them we are unable to take them over, and there is much distress among them, and unless something is done speedily some of them must all but perish. They need something to eat and medicine. There is no work for them to do here, and they are unable to move where they might find it. As you know, there are but few white people here. In this school district, No. 18, there are over 200 negro children and not over 5 or 6 white children; this will give you some idea of the ratio—at least 30 negroes to every white man. There must be at least 50 families who need aid in this district. Will our Government do anything for these unfortunate people? It seems to be anxious to send aid to the starving Poles, but these negroes are here among us—make the majority of our cotton—and it seems to us this should be attended to first. There are no white people here in extremity; they, too, have suffered a great loss, but can live, and ask no aid, but are unable to do for these negroes what should and

must be done. We do not know what other sections have suffered, but all along the river in our county—Choctaw—is pretty much the same. Please use your influence to have something done for them.

Signed by the following white citizens, constituting the entire inhabitants (white) of this section,

Yours, truly,

H. C. WILCOX.
G. W. TILLMON.
W. C. TILLMON.
W. B. WILCOX.
H. H. SPARROW.
R. F. SPARROW.
A. B. CHANEY.
L. W. CHANEY.
F. E. NORWOOD.

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WOMACK HILL, ALA., *July 24, 1916.*

To Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY,
*Congressman First District of Alabama, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: We, the undersigned citizens of Choctaw County, Ala., respectfully call to your attention the destitution existing among the people of this county caused by the recent floods and storms. Want exists all along the Tombigbee River; the crops are a total loss; the food supply is exhausted; and the tenant class, as well as others, are in immediate need of bread. The people who are able to aid have done to their utmost, and unless some immediate relief is given, starvation will exist among many people.

We request that you take some action toward securing some relief, and to this end we respectfully ask that you call to the attention of Senators UNDERWOOD and BANKHEAD the conditions that confront us.

Respectfully submitted.

Chas. F. Daniels, T. R. Lenoir, M. D., Mrs. L. M. Thompson, S. A. McLauchlin, J. L. Parker, George Fluker, W. A. Gibson, Mrs. T. R. Lenoir, W. E. Lenoir, Mrs. Anna Lenoir, Miss Willie D. Lenoir, E. T. Lenoir, J. H. Thompson, E. L. Moore, J. A. Moore, A. G. Moore, C. Butler, Mrs. R. C. Mozingo, F. L. Mozingo, C. L. Carlisle, J. M. Mozingo, Jas. Moore, Alex. Cox, J. W. Mozingo, W. O. Dansby, J. A. Norton, S. A. Haward, Anthony McGrew, Denton Moseley, Chas. Pace, Lee Pace, H. Thornton, R. Herben, Seretta Herben, Dave Cox, Mamie Cox, Peter Floker, Annie Floker, Tom Ford, M. Ford, Jas. Walker, L. Walker, Sam Boman, L. Boman, D. Williams, M. Williams, Henry Philan, Allie Philan, J. Scruggs, S. Scruggs, Jno. Williams, R. Williams, Jake Scruggs, Jno. Miller, L. Miller, A. Lanner, S. Lanner, W. Paugh, N. Paugh, Milton Colman, M. Colman, R. Thornton, S. Thornton, Gus Ben, N. Ben, Joe Philan, Jim Philan, C. Philan, N. Philan, Rufus Evans, Mary Evans, Chas. Pace, L. V. Nuvon, W. H. Odom, J. P., Ray Martin, E. A. Cox, A. B. Meador, L. C. Meador, W. M. Elliott, G. B. Martin, A. J. Martin, A. Towner, Geo. Coleman, J. F. Harvey.

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MYRTLEWOOD, ALA.

To Senators JOHN H. BANKHEAD and OSCAR UNDERWOOD and Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY, *Washington, D. C.:*

The storm and flood along the Warrior and Tombigbee Rivers have simply destroyed all crops in the river bottoms. The destruction is complete and the loss is comparatively as great as any of the floods on the Mississippi. Our white people can probably take care of themselves, but the negroes have lost their all, and will be without food and clothing until another crop can be planted and marketed.

A moderate estimate of the families in need will be 100 families.

The entire river front for more than 150 miles has been inundated and crops are literally ruined. Nothing can be saved, and it is too late to replant for another crop this year.

Please present the situation to Congress and ask for some assistance, which was so readily granted to San Francisco and to the flood sufferers along the Mississippi.

The difference here is the Mississippi floods have been in the spring. Our flood is in July, and the waters are still rising and covering every cultivated acre for many miles. The situation is distressing.

In addition, we are in the midst of the boll-weevil section, and all property of the negroes has been swept away before this by their ravages.

The following is what we consider a conservative estimate of the damage done in Myrtlewood beat:

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of acres of cotton ruined | 800 |
| Number of acres of corn ruined | 2,200 |
| We estimate that the crop thus destroyed would be valued at | $108,000 |

J. S. Smith, W. D. Poellnitz, W. R. Carter, T. V. Carter, B. B. Bauler, K. C. Carter, M. F. Meador, C. R. Evans, C. C. Battor, C. P. Carter, Waldo Compton, Eli Poellnitz, F. C. Carter, E. L. Carter, J. D. Carter, J. S. Coats, E. A. Meador.

Hon. O. L. GRAY, M. C.:

At a citizens' meeting held in River Hill Beat on July 23, 1916, L. E. McLeod was elected chairman and W. A. McCorquodale secretary.

The following committee was appointed to draft resolutions. Said committee was composed of J. T. Pitman, chairman; L. E. McLeod, P. W. Robinson, and J. D. Doyle. After which the following resolution was submitted and adopted:

Whereas on the 5th of July last our county was visited by a rain and wind storm, which left destruction in its path, and all lowlands have been flooded to that extent that many of our citizens were left in a destitute condition and in need of immediate aid; and

Whereas a great majority of our farmers are left in such condition that unless they are aided they will be compelled to sacrifice their stock and farms and seek other employment in other parts of the country: Therefore be it

*Resolved* That we, the citizens of Salitpa, Clarke County, Ala., feel called upon to ask our Representatives in the Senate and House of the United States to make a thorough investigation of the conditions and render such assistance as in their judgment our people need.

L. E. MCLEOD,
J. T. PITMAN,
J. D. DOYLE,
T. W. ROBINSON,
*Committee.*

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[Telegram.]

DEMOPOLIS, ALA., *July 17, 1916.*

Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Careful investigation shows more than 3,000 persons in Demopolis section have sustained total loss and are destitute. We include in Demopolis section the overflow lands of the Tombigbee and Warrior Rivers in north Marengo, south Green, and west Sumter Counties. It will take at least $100,000 as a relief fund. We refer you to Government engineer as to facts and conditions and organization for relief.

ROBERTSON BANKING CO.
COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK.
MAYOR OF DEMOPOLIS.
COMMERCIAL CLUB OF DEMOPOLIS.

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[Telegram.]

MOBILE, ALA., *July 19, 1916.*

Hon. OSCAR L. GRAY,
*Washington, D. C.:*

Chamber of commerce directors earnestly urge prompt and generous regard for needs of farmers in the storm-swept region. Mobile County and adjacent territory have ample time to grow emergency crop. No seed is available in this zone, and many farmers are in debt for expense of crops now destroyed and without means to buy seed. Local interests will be overburdened by carrying farm debts already matured. With Government aid for reseeding, our long crop season will soon make good the loss and save the farmers extreme suffering and discouragement.

MOBILE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
WM. CLEMENS, *Secretary.*

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## Brief Submitted to the Judiciary Committee on H. Snowden Marshall Impeachment Case.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I insert the brief submitted by myself to the Committee on the Judiciary on the H. Snowden Marshall impeachment case, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I desire to thank the committee for extending to me the opportunity to submit a statement in regard to this matter, and I shall make my brief as short as the facts in the matter will permit.

No doubt every member of the committee understands what officials are subject to impeachment, and also what are impeachable offenses. Section 4, Article II, of the Constitution of the United States provides that "The President, the Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." Under that clause of the Constitution there can be no doubt that a Federal district attorney is subject to removal from office by impeachment. Although the question of what are impeachable offenses has never been clearly defined nor finally settled, we are able to gather a fairly comprehensive idea of the subject from opinions expressed in former cases and also by text writers. Foster, in his work on the Constitution, says in part, as follows:

An impeachable offense may consist of treason, bribery, or a breach of official duty by malfeasance or misfeasance, including conduct such as drunkenness, when habitual or in the performance of official duties, gross indecency and profanity, obscenity or other language used in the discharge of an official function which tends to bring the office into disrepute, or an abuse or reckless exercise of a discretionary power, as well as a breach or omission of an official duty imposed by statute or common law; or a public speech when off duty which encourages insurrection.

Mr. Rawle, in his treatise on the Constitution, page 210, says:

Its foundation is that a subject intrusted with the administration of public affairs may sometimes infringe the rights of the people and be guilty of such crimes as the ordinary magistrate either dare not or can not punish.

The delegation of important trusts, affecting the higher interests of society, is always from various causes liable to abuse. The fondness frequently felt for the inordinate extension of power, the influence of party and of prejudice, the seductions of foreign States, or the basest appetities for illegitimate emoluments are sometimes productive of what are not inaptly termed political offenses, which it would be difficult to take cognizance of in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings.

Again, Mr. Foster, in his Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, volume 1, page 569, says:

The object of the grant of the power of impeachment was to free the Commonwealth from the danger caused by the retention of an unworthy public servant.

Mr. Manager Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, during the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, very learnedly argued as follows:

We define, therefore, an impeachable high crime or misdemeanor to be one in its nature or consequences subversive of some fundamental or essential principle of government, or highly prejudicial to the public interest, and this may consist of a violation of the Constitution, of law, of an official oath, or of duty, by an act committed or omitted, or, without having violated a positive law, by the abuse of discretionary powers from improper motives for any improper purpose.

In view of the authorities I have just cited, I maintain that if Mr. Marshall has been proven guilty of any breach of official duty by malfeasance or misfeasance in office, or the abuse or reckless exercise of discretionary power, he has been proven guilty of an impeachable offense, and it is, therefore, the duty of this committee to recommend his impeachment.

I want to add here, gentlemen, that the right of a Member of Congress to impeach a Federal official carries with it the duty to exercise that power if the Member has information that leads him to honestly believe that any official has been guilty of gross and willful misconduct in the discharge of the duties of his office. It is the only redress reserved to the people to rid themselves of corrupt public officials. I would have considered myself negligent of my duty as a Member of the House if I had failed to bring impeachment charges against Mr. Marshall; also would consider this committee negligent of its duty as the authorized tribunal of the people in this matter if it fails to recommend the impeachment of Mr. Marshall for the gross official misconduct of which he has been proven guilty.

It is my purpose, gentlemen, to point out to this committee that Mr. Marshall has been proven guilty by the uncontroverted evidence before the committee, not only of maladministration of office and arbitrary and oppressive conduct, but that he has been proven guilty of indictable offenses as well, and if that be true, there is but one thing that this committee can consistently do, and that is to recommend that Mr. Marshall be impeached.

The first abuse of the powers of his office which I charge against Mr. Marshall is the corrupt and fraudulent use of the grand-jury subpœna, by which he has compelled witnesses, under the guise of appearing before the grand jury and sometimes when no grand jury was even in session, to come to his office where they have been interrogated, threatened, grossly insulted, and thrown into prison, in order to elicit from them false testimony to suit his foul ends and purposes. There is an abundance of testimony in the record proving this unlawful and unheard of procedure, and I shall not burden the committee by undertaking to point out all of it. It is sufficient to say that it was done in the Kugal case, in the Tanzer case, and others that were brought to the attention of the committee.

On page 268 of the hearings, Mr. Gilchrist, clerk of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, testified as follows:

Mr. GARD. Do you ever issue subpœnas in your office to anybody, or are they all issued in blank?
Mr. GILCHRIST. They are all issued in blank, practically.
Mr. GARD. All issued in blank, practically?
Mr. GILCHRIST. Yes, sir.
Mr. GARD. In other words, this is your practice: The district attorney may say, "I want some subpœnas"——
Mr. GILCHRIST (interposing). Yes, sir.
Mr. GARD (continuing). Whereupon you send up 50 or 100 blank subpœnas?
Mr. GILCHRIST. As many as they want. For example, they come and say: "We want subpœnas for use in the case of John Brown. We will send the list when we make them out." We send the subpœnas and the necessary tickets then.

On page 269, he says:

The subpœnas, as I have seen them, will bear on their top, for example, the United States subpœnas—a blank for the name of the witness, "will report to Room 208, district attorney's office," which is the clerk's office of the criminal branch—the district attorney's office. They report there before they try the case. Down below he will be required to attend the trial before so-and-so in the case of so-and-so. On top they put with a rubber stamp, "Witness will report at 208" at a certain time.
Mr. GARD. That may be the district attorney's office?
Mr. GILCHRIST. That is his office.
Mr. GARD. In other words, they report there before they go to the grand jury?
Mr. GILCHRIST. Before they go there, they report there; yes, sir.

On page 265, he made the following statement:

Mr. CARLIN. Is there any authority of law for issuing subpœnas in blank, addressed to no one?
Mr. GILCHRIST. I do not know of any authority to have them filled up before the clerk signs them.

On pages 443 and 444, the following testimony by Mr. Goodman on this abuse of the subpœna will be found:

Mr. WALSH. Well, after this interview what happened?
Mr. GOODMAN. I had been called about thirty or forty times on different occasions to show receipts, and he sent me several different places to try to identify different people.
Mr. WALSH. At any time did Mr. Hershenstein ask you to change your statement that you had made to him?
Mr. GOODMAN. Several times I came up there, and he always asked me, "Are you ready to change your story?" I told him I had no story to change, only the facts on the receipts that we had. * * *
Mr. WALSH. About how many times were you brought down to the district attorney's office before you were brought before the grand jury?
Mr. GOODMAN. Probably twenty-five or thirty times.
Mr. WALSH. Were you subpœnaed upon each occasion?
Mr. GOODMAN. He had a subpœna, and he told me that any time he rings me up I should come up without sending the marshal down.
Mr. WALSH. Who said that to you?
Mr. GOODMAN. Mr. Hershenstein. * * *
Mr. WALSH. Did you have any talk with Mr. Wood in reference to the matter?
Mr. GOODMAN. On one occasion, in Mr. Hershenstein's office, I was called in there, and Mr. Wood was present, and he says to Mr. Wood: "I think this fellow is not telling the truth; he is lying all the way through"; and he asked Mr. Wood, "What shall we do with him?"; and they started talking, and he says, "The best thing we can do is to indict this fellow, and he will change his story." I told them to go as far as they wanted; that I had told the truth.

Mr. Feldman, another witness, testified as follows on this point:

Mr. WALSH. Were you at any time subpœnaed to appear before the grand jury in New York in connection with the case of the United States v. Kugel?
Mr. FELDMAN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WALSH. On how many occasions were you called?
Mr. FELDMAN. I was here for one full week and half of the next week.
Mr. WALSH. When you first appeared here in response to the subpœna did you go before the grand jury?
Mr. FELDMAN. No, sir.
Mr. WALSH. Where did you go? What took place?
Mr. FELDMAN. I went to Mr. Hershenstein's office. Mr. Hershenstein questioned me what I knew about the Rogal & Brass case, and after I gave him the facts of the case he said that this would not do; that I would have to change my story. He said, "That don't sound right to me." And after asking me several more questions, to which I answered, he questioned me for fully two hours and told me to come back in the afternoon. In the afternoon it was a repetition of the same thing I had in the morning. Then he told me to come the next morning. The next morning he called me into the office again, and a man, whom I afterwards learned was Mr. Rogal, was in the office, and he spoke to him for a few minutes and then told him to go out, and he asked me the same questions over and over again. That happened all the same day—practically what happened the first day. The third day was a repetition of what had gone on before. That went on for nearly a week, and in the meantime he called in a stenographer and told him to copy down whatever questions were asked and answered * * * and then Mr. Hershenstein asked me to tell him the story over and over again, and called me down, and called me a liar, and threatened me, and told me he would send me to jail if I did not involve Mr. Kugel. I tod him Mr Kugel had nothing to do with any of my actions. He said: "If you don't involve Mr. Kugel, we will send you to jail. I will have you indicted."

And on page 497 he said:

Mr. Hershenstein called me in again, and Mr. Adams was there, and after Mr. Hershenstein asked me several more questions Mr. Adams butted in and said: "Oh, he would not involve Kugel for you. Give him the dumps; send him away." And Mr. Hershenstein threatened to send me away for two years if I did not involve Mr. Kugel.
Mr. NELSON. To send you away?
Mr. FELDMAN. Yes, sir.
Mr. GARD. What did he say?
Mr. FELDMAN. "Send you to prison."
Mr. GARD. What was his language, if you can recall?
Mr. FELDMAN. "I will send you to prison if you don't involve Mr. Kugel. We don't want you; we want Mr. Kugel," he said to me; those were his very words.

There has been an attempt on the part of some of Mr. Marshall's friends to reflect upon the character of some of these witnesses and the credibility of their testimony, but the existence of this abuse of the grand jury subpœna has been testified to by the clerk of the District Court for the Southern District of New York and has been harshly condemned by no less a distinguished person than Judge Mayer, a personal and close friend of Mr. Marshall.

Under this abuse of the grand jury subpœna it became necessary for Judge Mayer, according to his own testimony, to issue a writ of oral habeas corpus, as he called it, ordering the release of a certain old man who had been held in custody under one of these subpœnas by the district attorney's office, and in condemnation of such proceedings Judge Mayer made the following statement before the subcommittee (p. 238):

* * * Wherever it happens, I have been bitterly opposed to that practice ever since I first heard of it, and my first hearing of it was when Mr. Jerome originated the "John Doe" procedure and would serve men with a subpœna, and the men would be taken into the assistant's office practically helpless. I have been consistently bitter against that. I think it is wrong, I think it is unfair, and I think it is un-American.

And on page 239 he further states:

If a man is subpœnaed to go before the grand jury, he ought to go before the grand jury and no other place.

A further abuse of the grand jury subpœna by the district attorney's office is the calling of the witnesses of the defendant before the grand jury on the eve of the trial and there interrogating them and cross-examining them in order to get an unfair advantage of the knowledge of what the defendant's witnesses will testify to, which is, in effect, burglarizing the consciences of

the witnesses of the defendant by means of the grand jury system.

In his statement before this committee Mr. Slade had the following to say on this practice (p. 93):

Mr. SLADE. The procedure in New York stands by itself; there is no comparison. You simly can not get at it. No living man knows what the procedure is to be.

As an illustration, a case is marked on the calendar. The defendant comes in with his witnesses in a criminal case. The district attorney sends out his secret-service men and discovers who the witnesses are, and each of them receives a subpœna to appear before the grand jury on the eve of the trial, and each witness is examined as to what he will testify in favor of the defendant; and to our great surprise, when the trial comes on, we will find the Government witnesses changing the testimony to meet the conditions.

In the case of United States against Kugal the attorney for the defendant, Frank Moss, former district attorney for the southern district of New York, was compelled to address two letters to the district attorney, protesting against this abuse of the subpœna, in order to protect the interests of his client. His letters are as follows:

EXHIBIT No. 27, MARCH 1, 1916.

UNITED STATES V. KUGEL.

MARCH 12, 1914.

Hon. H. SNOWDEN MARSHALL,
*United States District Attorney.*

MY DEAR SIR: The other day an agent of the Government called upon the defendant Feldman at New Haven and interviewed him, without any notice to his attorney, whose office is in New Haven.

Yesterday Mr. Slade was called before the grand jury.

To-day Mr. Kugel's clerks have received subpœnas to appear for examination.

As to this last matter, if it were in the State court, it would be under the provision of section 835 of the code.

It is obvious to me that the Government is using the process of the grand jury to break into our case; to secure alleged statements of witnesses—and to do it in such a way as to deprive them, and deprive us, of a knowledge of the questions asked and answers given.

I wish to register my protest against this method of procedure, and I make it in the form of a letter, so that I may be able to refer to it in the future.

Yours, truly, FRANK MOSS.

P. S.—I find that one of Mr. Kugel's former clerks, a young lady, was subpœnaed last night, about midnight, at her home—frightened—and was required to be present in the courthouse at half past 8 this morning. If nothing else is done to our witnesses, such a course tends to frighten them, make them fear the Government, and make them afraid to testify freely and without constraint.

EXHIBIT No. 28, MARCH 1, 1916.

UNITED STATES V. KUGEL.

MARCH 18, 1914.

Hon. H. SNOWDEN MARSHALL,
*United States District Attorney,*
*Post Office Building, New York City.*

MY DEAR MR. MARSHALL: This case is on the calendar, and has been called a number of days, and is marked for Monday.

A grand-jury subpœna requires the presence and testimony this morning of Mr. Saxe, the partner of Mr. Kugel (and one of the firm which represented Rogal & Brass in the bankruptcy). Mr. Saxe is of counsel for Kugel in the pending case, and I am counsel with him.

The situation is that on the eve of the trial you are preparing your case in my camp under the secrecy of grand-jury procedure, using my associate as a witness, and calling upon the defendant's partner to testify concerning every matter which puts Kugel now in as a defendant. For reasons sufficient to you I have been denied an examination of Brass's statement. This is a situation entirely new to me, and it bewilders me though I have had some experience in preparing and prosecuting cases. I request you to countermand this subpœna in the interest of fair play.

Yours, truly, FRANK MOSS.

On page 603 Mr. Wood, first asistant in Marshall's office, in the following language admits that these protests were received and duly referred to Mr. Marshall and that he took no action on them.

Mr. GARD. In the Kugel-Feldman cases, do you remember calling to the grand jury the professional partner and personal friend of Mr. Kugel, whose name was Saxe?

Mr. WOOD. I remember that he was called.

Mr. GARD. Do you remember the letter of Mr. Moss protesting against such action?

Mr. WOOD. I do, sir.

Mr. GARD. Do you also remember the letter of Mr. Moss which protested against interview by agents of the Government of the defendant Feldman, in New Haven, without notice to his attorney?

Mr. WOOD. Well, I remember that there were a couple of letters written, but just what the substance of them were I don't know.

Mr. GARD. Were these letters transmitted to Mr. Marshall, the district attorney?

Mr. WOOD. They were.

Mr. GARD. They came to his personal knowledge?

Mr. WOOD. They did.

Mr. GARD. Did he take any action on them?

Mr. WOOD. I think not.

In further reference to the abuse of the subpœna in the Kugel case, I desire to point out the testimony of Mr. Saxe, partner and associate counsel for Mr. Kugel, who was called before the grand jury (p. 489):

Mr. WALSH. Were you subpœnaed, Mr. Saxe, at any time just previous to the trial of the action?

Mr. SAXE. Yes; that was the last time, while the case was on the day calendar, being adjourned from day to day. Two or three days before the case actually started in the trial in court I was subpœnaed before the grand jury. * * *

Mr. WALSH. Upon that occasion were you interrogated in reference to the Kugel case?

Mr. SAXE. Every angle of the Kugel case, from the beginning to the end of it, for nearly an hour and a half or two hours.

In addition to Mr. Saxe, every other witness of the defendant, Kugel, was called before the grand jury and forced to testify in regard to the case, among whom were Kugel's sick father, whose death was undoubtedly hastened in consequence thereof; Dorothy Handilman, telephone operator in the building where Mr. Kugel had his office; and Sophie Jettleson, Kugel's stenographer and typewriter.

What was done in the Kugel case seems to have been the common practice. The witnesses in the Rae Tanzer case and in the Slade case were not only brought before the district attorney for interrogation and intimidation but they were called before the grand jury for the purpose of securing testimony upon which to base an indictment against the defendants.

The abuse of the grand jury subpœna, compelling defendants and their attorneys to appear before the grand jury and forced to give testimony upon which indictments were returned, both against the defendants and their counsel.

The following extracts from a few of the witnesses is sufficient to illustrate the extent to which this infamous practice has been carried on:

On page 426, Simon Kugel, an attorney for Rogal & Brass, indicted bankrupts, was compelled by a subpœna to produce the books and papers connected with his case and to testify before the grand jury, and in consequence of such testimony he was indicted.

Aaron J. Feldman was called as a witness in the Simon Kugal case, and just prior to the trial thereof he was called before the grand jury and subjected to many indignities. On page 497, in answer to a question by Mr. Nelson, "You were not indicted?" Mr. Feldman answered, "Yes, sir." Mr. Nelson answered, "Oh, you were indicted." Mr. Feldman said, "Yes, sir; I was indicted the day after I was before the grand jury."

Another illustration of the corrupt use of the indictment is revealed in the case of Bard & Keen, wherein Bard & Keen were engaged in the sale of photoplay films, for which they had a contract with the Film & Photo-Play Co., located at Colorado Springs, Colo. Roger B. Wood, first assistant in Marshall's office, was employed as an attorney by this Colorado company to secure the possession of these films, and when he failed in his effort, after making demand for their return, Bard & Keen refusing to surrender them, and Mr. Wood, knowing that he would be defeated in a civil action to recover them, he then, with the knowledge and consent of Mr. Marshall, employed all of the powers of this great office to indict Bard & Keen.

This is practically admitted by Mr. Wood himself and by every other witness who testified concerning the matter.

On page 591 Mr. Wood admits that he went to the office of Bard & Keen for the purpose of securing possession of these films, and in his own language said:

I told them—

Keen, and so forth—

I would have to see what proceedings could be taken to recover the property.

On page 593 Mr. CARLIN asked:

Did you report to Mr. Marshall, either before or after this warrant was sworn out, your connection with the matter?

And Mr. Wood replied:

I made a full and complete statement as soon as I heard the question had been raised.

Mr. Wood, through Hershenstein, another assistant of Mr. Marshall, caused a criminal complaint in the Federal court to be filed against Bard & Keen, with the sole purpose, undoubtedly, of compelling these gentlemen to surrender the films in question. He had Bard arrested and lodged in jail at a late hour, when it was impracticable for him to furnish bail, caused excessive bail to be fixed on both Bard and Keen—one $5,000, the other $10,000—and while these gentlemen were in the custody of the United States marshal Wood caused their office to be burglarized, and took all their books, papers, and other effects.

It was not until Mr. Henry A. Wise, an intimate friend of Mr. Marshall, was employed by Bard & Keen that there was any disposition to "let up" in the persecution of these defendants. Through the agency of Mr. Wise an agreement was made with Mr. Marshall to submit this whole matter to a reputable attorney, William L. Wemple, as an arbitrator, which is admittedly an extraordinary proceeding, and is in itself an admission that this procedure was irregular and unlawful. After

hearing all the facts Mr. Wemple decided that there was no criminal offense against Bard & Keen, but, nevertheless, the defendants were held in custody until they had delivered to the said Wood the films demanded.

After it had been decided that there was no case in the Federal courts against Bard & Keen Mr. Wood hounded them by trying to secure an indictment against them in the State courts, and, on page 595, in answer to a question as to what he had to do with an effort to secure their indictment in a State court, he said:

I spoke to Mr. Marshall about the matter. I asked him if this was a good case for the State authorities, and he thought it was. "Well, then," I said, "ought we not to send it there," and he said, "Yes."

The extent to which Mr. Marshall and his subordinates used the powers of the district attorney's office to defeat these civil actions in the State courts is most astounding. Hon. Martin W. Littleton says he "wrenched" the jurisdiction of the court in the Rae Tanzer case. One of her witnesses, Frank D. Safford, who was the clerk at the Kensington hotel, identified James W. Osborne as the mysterious Oliver Osborne. He was indicted in the Federal court by Mr. Marshall for perjury upon the affidavit of Mr. Mayhew, a post-office inspector. This affidavit was procured at the instance of Mr. Wood and all of the evidence in this case shows that it was perjured. Mr. Littleton, in referring to it in his testimony, on page 816, says:

According to the evidence in this case Mayhew admitted that he made a positive affidavit as to a state of facts which he did not know of, and which, in my opinion, under the law of the State of New York, amounted to false swearing or perjury, and he stated when crowded on the question as to why he did it, that he was directed to do so by Mr. Roger B. Wood, assistant district attorney.

If this affidavit was perjury, and Mr. Wood knew it, he therefore became an accessory before the fact which, under all criminal law, makes him equally guilty with Mr. Mayhew as principal. He was undoubtedly guilty of subornation of perjury, and all of the evidence in this case shows not one single word to the contrary. Under this perjured affidavit Safford was arrested and his bail fixed at $15,000 and placed in prison, and in his affidavit he says, on page 875:

I was placed in murderer's row alone with instructions to show me no mercy.

When he was taken before the grand jury, he was subjected to indignities by Mr. Marshall, which is shown from the following extract from his statement under oath:

I appeared before the grand jury, and upon my entrance was saluted with the interruption by Mr. Marshall, "Safford, don't you know you are a thief?" And I said, "I do not." "You wrote this letter asking to make a statement to the jury and waiving immunity?" "I did; and would like to have the jury know exactly how I am situated in this matter." They then allowed me to tell my story of leaving the Kensington, and in detail about as I have stated previously in this affidavit, and I was interrupted by the district attorney, Marshall, who said: "Safford, you are lying; you have been coached; go back to your cell and think." And he turned to the grand jury and said: "Gentlemen, I do not want to ask this man any questions; he has been coached and is lying."

Through the corrupt practice of the Federal court and the district attorney's office, Safford was deprived of a fair and impartial trial, and in consequence thereof he was convicted of perjury, but the case has been reversed by the circuit court of appeals in which some of the injustices of that trial were clearly pointed out.

The corrupt methods by which Rae Tanzer, her attorneys, and her witnesses were indicted can be best illustrated by reference to the evidence of what is known as the composite picture. That picture was a fraud and was concocted in Marshall's office; in fact, it was a conspiracy for the purpose of manufacturing evidence upon which to indict private citizens to defeat the ends of justice in a civil suit in a State court. Samuel Hershenstein, one of Marshall's assistants, testified before the subcommittee and, on page 869, he gives the names of the conspirators. In answer to a question as to who was present in Marshall's office at the time when the plan was formulated, he replied as follows: "There was Mr. Offley, chief of the bureau of investigation; Mr. Le Gendre, the photographer; Mr. Wood; Mr. Marshall; myself; and Mr. James W. Osborne." Further on in his testimony he reveals the plan of the conspirators and the name of the man who authorized the composite picture to be made, in the following extract from his testimony, page 869:

Mr. CARLIN. Were you there when Le Gendre was engaged to make the picture?

Mr. HERSHENSTEIN. I do not think so. I am quite certain I was not. Engaged to make the picture? Oh, just a moment. Either Mr. Offley or Mr. Baker, of the Department of Justice, was there, and after Mr. Wood told me of the substance of the conversation, why, I do remember when Mr. Le Gendre was told to go ahead in his work, and the purpose of it, as I understood it——

Mr. CARLIN (interposing). Who told him to go ahead?

Mr. HERSHENSTEIN. Mr. Marshall. Mr. Marshall. The purpose being to have the Slades carry out their former intention of what they had in mind.

After having secured the perpetration of this miserable fraud, he used the fraudulent composite picture to secure an indictment against the Slades and others, as is admitted by the testimony of Mr. Hershenstein on page 870, which is as follows:

Mr. Slade, or the Slades, were indicted for a conspiracy to obstruct justice, one of the charges of the indictment being the attempt to get a picture whereby it could be shown that the girl and Mr. Osborne were at one time and place together.

Mr. Le Gendre was a photographer for the New York World and sought a picture of the Slade brothers in the first instance for the benefit of his paper, but the suggestion of the making of the composite picture led him off into a private matter at the instance of Mr. Osborne and Mr. Marshall, the details of which he recounts in his testimony on page 683, in the following language:

Mr. CARLIN. The truth is that instead of making the picture for Slade you made it for Mr. Marshall?

Mr. LE GENDRE. No; I made it at the suggestion of Mr. Osborne.

Mr. CARLIN. Who paid you for it?

Mr. LE GENDRE. Nobody paid me.

Mr. NELSON. But Mr. Marshall knew that you were about to make the picture?

Mr. LE GENDRE. Why, he knew that I was going to make that picture; yes. Because Mr. Osborne had suggested it.

Mr. NELSON. In his presence?

Mr. LE GENDRE. He asked me could I make it.

Mr. NELSON. That is, Mr. Osborne suggested it in the presence of Mr. Marshall?

Mr. LE GENDRE. In the presence of Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Hershenstein. That was to save him from going up there.

Mr. CARLIN. Who did you deliver the picture to?

Mr. LE GENDRE. To Mr. Wood; and Mr. Wood took it and walked into Mr. Marshall's office with it in his hand.

That Slade & Slade knew nothing about the manufacture of this piece of evidence is shown by Mr. Le Gendre's testimony on pages 679 and 680, which reads as follows:

Mr. WALSH. Did Mr. Slade ever ask you to get any picture for them?

Mr. LE GENDRE. No.

Mr. WALSH. Did they ever ask you or suggest to you the taking of this picture that you subsequently made up of Mr. Osborne and Miss Tanzer together?

Mr. LE GENDRE. No.

Mr. WALSH. Did they ever see that picture?

Mr. LE GENDRE. No.

Mr. WALSH. Did they ever at any time suggest to you an improper method for the making of a photograph of Miss Tanzer and Mr. Osborne?

Mr. LE GENDRE. No.

In order to bring the full power of the office of Mr. Marshall in the defense of this civil action is was necessary for him to transfer the whole proceedings from the State court to the Federal court. This he did by perjured and manufactured evidence and conspiracy, and as a result thereof indicted Rae Tanzer twice in the Federal court, also her attorneys, Slade & Slade, and all of her witnesses.

Hon. Martin W. Littleton, an ex-Member of the House, characterizes this whole proceeding as a "wrenching" of the jurisdiction of the courts. He says, "That if the Slades had brought a blackmailing suit, as it was claimed, there was a statute against blackmailing in the State, and the courts of the State were open, and that none of it had any logical or rightful place in the Federal jurisdiction." (811.)

THE OSBORNE CONSPIRACY.

The record facts show—page 716—that Rae Tanzer brought a civil action in the New York Supreme Court against James W. Osborne on the 16th day of March, 1915. Three days thereafter, on March 19, 1915, Rae Tanzer was arrested on a warrant issued out of the United States district court for the southern district of New York on an alleged affidavit by the defendant, James W. Osborne, charging her with a scheme to defraud by use of the mails in having written a letter to the said Osborne, and appeared before United States Commissioner Houghton on March 24, 1915, by her attorneys, Messrs. Slade & Slade, where she called as witnesses to sustain her contention that James W. Osborne was the man who had seduced her, one Safford, and Rose and Dora Tanzer. Thereupon and on the 3d day of April, 1915, Safford and Rose and Dora Tanzer, who testified before said commissioner, were arrested on a complaint sworn to by Post Office Inspector Swain, charged with perjury before said commissioner, and Maxwell and David Slade were arrested, charged with conspiracy to obstruct justice, as was also McCullough, a detective employed to get evidence for Miss Tanzer in the civil action. All of them were finally indicted by the grand jury of the United States district court for the southern district of New York. The indictment against the Slades and McCullough, after alleging that they procured Safford to falsely identify James W. Osborne, alleges as follows:

And in and by arranging for the preparation of a false and misleading photograph, which was to be taken in such a manner as falsely to indicate that the said James W. Osborne and the said Rae Tanzer had theretofore willingly been photographed together, which said false and misleading photograph the defendants intended to use as evidence in any

judicial proceedings which might ensue in the district court for the southern district of New York, after the termination of the said hearing before said commissioner.

And under the heading of "Overt acts" as follows:

And in pursuance of the said conspiracy and to effect the objects thereof the defendants, Maxwell Slade and David Slade, at their office at 200 Broadway in the city, county, and southern district of New York, on the 23d of March, 1915, had a conversation with one Clarence Le Gendre.

Le Gendre is the only person named in the indictment as having conspired with the Slades to manufacture this picture, and his testimony, besides that of Maxwell and David Slade, is to the contrary. It becomes self-evident that a conspiracy was entered into by H. Snowden Marshall, James W. Osborne, and others to indict everyone connected with the plaintiff in the civil action, to prostitute the office of the United States district attorney for the southern district of New York; to oppress law-abiding citizens; to illegally shield and protect James W. Osborne; to use the grand jury for illegal purposes; to use the processes of the United States courts illegally; to obtain indictments without any evidence; and, by allowing said indictments to become public and published in the newspapers, to use the said office for the purpose of slandering, libeling, and ruining reputable citizens and members of the bar. Le Gendre testified before this committee that James W. Osborne and Mr. Marshall suggested the manufacturing of this fake photograph, and that he never told the grand jury that the Slades had ever authorized him or agreed with him to fake or manufacture the said photograph; and yet they were indicted for doing it.

The only other overt act charged against the Slades in the indictment was that they assisted in the identification of James W. Osborne while in the court room, a charge so ridiculous that every member of the committee must see immediately that it was merely a part of the general conspiracy, for they were the attorneys in the matter and had a right to talk to and ask the various witnesses whether they could identify the said James W. Osborne.

This part of the charge is covered in the testimony of Hon. Martin W. Littleton before this committee, and as there explained becomes so ridiculous it is almost impossible to believe the facts to be true at this day and age, which are, in effect, as follows:

James W. Osborne having testified in the examination before Commissioner Houghton on the arrest of Rae Tanzer that he was not at a certain hotel with her on a certain day when Safford was the clerk of the hotel, a stranger to the Slades, they brought him to New York for the purpose of seeing James W. Osborne in the court room at the hearing, and, when he said James W. Osborne was the man, put him on the witness stand, had him testify, as it was their duty to their client, irrespective of the truth or falsity of his statement, for it has never been alleged that they knew, of their knowledge or through any information that they had obtained, that James W. Osborne was not at the hotel on the day that Safford and Rae Tanzer swore he was; and while it is true that Safford was afterwards tried and convicted for perjury, yet it is far from showing that the Slades knew of the untruth, and the conviction has been reversed by the circuit court of appeals, which has said, in so many words, that the defendant never had a fair trial. (See opinion, circuit court of appeals, May, 1916, which ends by saying: "Without going further into the record, it is enough to say that the defendant had a right to be tried in accordance with the rules of law. The judgment is reversed.")

This conspiracy certainly makes a clear case against Mr. Marshall, and ought to be enough in itself to sustain the impeachment charges against a high public official, for if it is going to be permitted as a precedent that a United States district attorney can debase his office to the extent shown in this transaction by the actual commission of crime, namely, conspiracy to wrongfully use the processes of the court to obstruct justice and to oppress citizens of good repute—for the testimony shows that the Slades were of excellent repute until that time, (see p. 1321, Littleton's testimony)—and to misuse the grand jury, as done in this case, then all the bulwarks of our liberty and law are at the mercy of any man daring to use them for sordid, personal, or tyrannical purposes.

THE TANZER CONSPIRACY.

Rae Tanzer was arrested three days after she brought a civil suit for breach of promise against James W. Osborne in the New York Supreme Court (pp. 704 and 717), because she wrote a letter to James W. Osborne, charging her with the crime of using the mails to defraud. Copy of the letter has been submitted to the committee and is referred to in the testimony. It is only necessary to read this letter to see at a glance that her arrest was not based on the commission of a crime, but must have been caused by a conspiracy of those in charge of the process of the United States district attorney for the southern district of New York, and as Mr. Marshall had the said affidavit drawn in his office and had it presented and appeared in person and with his associates in prosecution, he certainly has been guilty of the vilest conspiracy to interfere with justice and to break up a legal action brought by a plaintiff in another court by "wrenching" the jurisdiction of a court in which he had power, arresting the plaintiff in the civil action, her witnesses, and all her relatives, for her sisters were also indicted for the testimony they gave at her hearing.

The warrant of arrest and the indictment were based on this affidavit, as a result of which this young girl had to actually spend time in a prison cell and to get bondsmen and employ attorneys; and there can be no doubt in the mind of any person who reads the letter for writing which she was arrested and indicted, that the arrest was improperly secured. If it were not so serious it would be a joke and fit for a farce comedy, that a love letter can be the basis of using the mails to defraud. To further harass her he afterwards obtained an indictment against her for her testimony on the hearing as perjury. In this connection it must be pointed out that if the jurisdiction of the United States district court for the southern district of New York had not been wrongfully asserted to arrest Rae Tanzer, or "wrenched," as Mr. Littleton puts it, there could never have been any indictment of Safford, McCullough, Maxwell Slade, David Slade, Rose Tanzer, or Dora Tanzer. Hence this conspiracy to arrest Rae Tanzer resulted in the public disgrace of all these persons, the ruination of character, oppression such as has never been equaled in this country. In aid of this conspiracy the defendant Marshall and his assistants obtained from this little girl a retraction of her identification of James W. Osborne through fraud and deceit, when she believed she was giving it under a written agreement of immunity and for the purpose of avoiding further disgrace of her family, her former attorneys, and the witnesses, all of whom had acted for her without compensation (p. 116).

Here we have Safford, a man of 62, Dora and Rose Tanzer, two respectable young working women, and the ruined girl herself, Rae Tanzer, testifying to and identifying the man who seduced her. Under what theory could the United States courts or the United States district attorney's office get jurisdiction? It defies reason to base jurisdiction on the letter she wrote, and all the other indictments arose out of the charges based on that letter.

The Tanzer-Osborne matter forms the most amazing and disgraceful exhibition of malpractice and the commission of crime by a public officer ever submitted to any court in this country.

THE TRIBUNE CONSPIRACY.

The testimony of Mr. Victor A. Watson (p. 970) was in effect as follows: That in the year 1914 and the early part of 1915, he called on Mr. Marshall and submitted to him various complaints in reference to a scheme to defraud by use of the mails. The Tribune, a New York newspaper, was obtaining large sums of money by falsely representing certain property which it was selling and using the mails in carrying out the fraud, and Watson, together with two post-office inspectors, and an assistant of Mr. Marshall, then conducted further investigations as a result of which all of them came to the conclusion that a good case had been made out agninst the New York Tribune, but when the matter was finally submitted to Mr. Marshall he failed and neglected to prosecute, and Mr. Marshall said, referring to Mr. Henry Wise, the attorney for the Tribune, who testified before this committee and who was the United States district attorney preceding Mr. Marshall (see p. 923):

> However, I have decided that the best thing we can do is to delay the case and I have so written Henry Wise.

And Watson testified (p. 923):

> To say that I was astonished is expressing it mildly. I said, "Mr. Marshall, isn't that rather unusual—why the letter to Mr. Wise?"
> He (Marshall) smiled and said, "Well, I want to let Henry collect his fee and get away on his vacation."

And on the same page Mr. Watson further states that nothing further has been done in the matter.

This instance of where information was brought to the attention of Mr. Marshall, showing the commission of a crime, whereby thousands of dollars were being obtained from the people fraudulently, and the refusal or neglect of Mr. Marshall to proceed, is a clear instance falling under the impeachment charges, and one needs only to read the testimony in order to see that a strong case had been made and that Mr. Marshall was more interested in letting "Henry" collect his fee and get away on his vacation than prosecuting a public offender of large caliber, and is another evidence of a conspiracy entered into by him to evade the laws of the United States.

Compare this with his acts in the Osborne-Tanzer case:

I have not attempted, gentlemen, to cover in detail the irregularities and misconduct in office on the part of Mr. Marshall, because I believe the committee is cognizant of these wrongs as well as myself. I have merely attempted to draw your attention to some of these offenses in order to show that my charges against Mr. Marshall have been sustained by the evidence, and that Mr. Marshall has proven himself utterly unfit to retain the responsible position which he now occupies.

His gross neglect and refusal to prosecute wrongdoers of the large type is in strong contrast with his pernicious persecution of innocent persons. His untiring efforts to shield his friends, for whom he has destroyed material evidence, falsified indictments, and committed perjury and subornation of perjury, become all the more criminal when compared with his zeal in prosecuting defendants against whom his wrath has been directed. And as a further evidence of the absolute inequality of justice as administered by Mr. Marshall we find him using every means possible to shield from the law such crimes as were committed by the New York Tribune, Mr. Silva, and Mr. Strauss.

I might further add in this connection that my charges of gross misconduct in the prosecution of the Tobacco Trust have been substantiated. Mr. Ochs, chairman of the Retail Tobacconists' Association, Mr. Locker, a tobacco wholesaler and jobber, and Mr. Thompson, the assistant of Mr. Marshall who investigated the charges against the Tobacco Trust, have all testified that the trust is now operating in violation of the antitrust law and the decree of the United States Supreme Court, and yet Mr. Marshall refuses to prosecute the trust as directed by the Attorney General, the result being that the people are being robbed of millions of dollars annually.

As I stated previously, gentlemen, it is not my intention to go over this entire matter in detail. Mr. Marshall has been charged with gross misconduct and malfeasance in office and the charges have been sustained by the uncontroverted evidence before the committee.

Mr. Marshall has been proven guilty and should be impeached, and I respectfully urge that the committee find accordingly.

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## Rural Credits.

## SPEECH

OF

# HON. T. H. CARAWAY,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, June 27, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the conference report on S. 2986, the rural-credits bill.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, in adopting this conference report we shall give to the farmers of this country a rural-credits system. That is a goal for which many of us have devoted the greater part of our congressional careers. Its attainment brings both joy and regret. We rejoice that a rural-credits law is to be on the statute books. We regret that its terms in some respects do not embody all for which we have in the past hoped and striven. I came to Congress with fixed convictions concerning this kind of legislation. I believe I understand the problems with which farmers contend. I have spent my life among them. All my people before me as far back as I can trace my ancestry were farmer folk. All my kith and kin are farmers. It necessarily follows that both my interests and my sympathies lead me to engage with them in their struggles against unjust economic conditions. And, however I may differ in detail with the committee that drafted this legislatin, in the whole I approve it, and wish here and now to congratulate the committee on the successful conclusion of its work. [Applause.] No question has arisen in Congress about which there have been more divergent opinions than that of rural credits, and this bill as nearly, if not more so than any other, harmonizes these conflicting views. If it does not accomplish all that we wish, we must remember that legislation is a compromise, a compromise not only of men and ideas but of sections. As such, I accept this legislation. If it be defective, time will disclose these, and a succeeding Congress will correct them. That the farmers have waited long and waited patiently for relief from unsound economic conditions that have stripped them of their profits is not to the credit of Congress. Opportunities to grant them relief have heretofore been frittered away because all could not agree merely as to detail respecting the provisions of a bill to grant them relief. Too many men entrusted with opportunity and power have refused to help, because in the enactment of a law each could not play the major rôle. This Congress and the American farmers, and, aye, the American people, both producers and consumers, are to be congratulated that that spirit has not prevailed here. This legislation, the conference report of which we shall adopt to-day, embodies no one man's work. Most of us have suggested changes. Some were accepted, others rejected; but we realize, I believe—I know I do—that it is easier to remedy defects in existing laws than to write new ones, therefore I am persuaded the majority of this Congress will accept this bill, and if perchance it does not grant all the relief we feel the American farmer is entitled to receive at our hands, we here and now pledge ourselves to correct these mistakes as time may disclose the necessity therefor.

INTEREST RATE ON FARM LOANS ALREADY LOWERED.

There is one thing I do know: That since this House passed this measure a few weeks ago the interest rate on farm loans in my own State has dropped at least 1 per cent. [Applause.] The rate of interest prevailing heretofore in that State on farm loans was from 8 to 10 per cent. Eight per cent was the lowest, and that only on large loans and on the very best of security; but since it has become apparent that this bill in some form was to become a law, advertisements have appeared in the daily papers in Arkansas offering to loan money to farmers on their lands in that State without the cost of appraisement, examination of title, or commissions, and on most favorable terms, at 7 per cent. I, myself, am recently in receipt of a letter from a large insurance company in the East offering to loan money in Arkansas on somewhat unfavorable terms at 6 per cent. From this and other information I am convinced that when this bill shall have been enacted into law the interest rate on farm loans in the South will be lowered at least 25 per cent; that is, the rate on private money loaned by private persons. This will be a saving to the farmers of the Southland of enormous sums that heretofore have been unjustly wrung from them by the money lenders of this country.

CARAWAY BILL OFFERED AS SUBSTITUTE.

I introduced a rural-credits bill during my first session in this House that embodied ideas and ideals that have been approved by farm organizations in every State in this Union. Its terms were simple and easy to comprehend. It was indorsed by the legislative council of the National Farmers' Union and many of the State organizations. I have consistently and continuously pressed for its passage. I offered it as a substitute for this pending measure on the 9th day of May, 1916. The Committee of the Whole adopted it by a rising vote of nearly 2 to 1. It was defeated, however, on a call for tellers. This bill we are now considering as a substitute for a Senate bill was then again laid before the committee for consideration. It is infinitely a better bill than the one introduced by the joint committee authorized by a joint resolution in the Sixty-third Congress to investigate the question of rural credits. The Senate bill was a better bill than that committee bill, but the Committee on Banking and Currency in the House that reported out this measure has greatly improved the Senate bill. We amended this Senate bill in its passage through the House, and it then went to conference. The conferees bring back this proposed measure on which we are about to vote. In some respects it is even better than the Senate bill as amended in the House, but in others not so good. It is so good, however, that it will command the vote of every true friend of the farmer in this House. I shall discuss some of its provisions briefly. I trust the committee and the House will not think me presumptuous in calling attention to the fact that this proposed law contains many of the provisions of the bill I introduced, and that many of these provisions at that time had been contained in no other proposed bill on this subject.

SIMILARITY OF SOME PROVISIONS OF THE TWO MEASURES.

First. There is created a board known as the Farm Loan Board. This is in the Department of the Treasury.

Second. The Federal farm-loan commissioners are to be appointed by the President by and with the consent of the Senate, and of this board the Secretary of the Treasury is to be a member.

Third. Loans are to be made to farmers, and farmers only.

Fourth. These loans are to be granted both on the lands and the improvements thereon. This provision was contained in my bill, and had been provided for in no other prior to its introduction.

Fifth. The agents and employees of the system are to be selected for fitness and without any regard to the civil-service requirements. The advantage of this was pointed out by me

in a speech on this subject delivered in the House on the 15th day of February, 1915, and that was the first suggestion that these employees should be selected solely for their fitness and without any reference to the provisions of the civil-service regulations.

Sixth. The farmers are to be permitted to borrow money not only to improve the lands that they then might own but to acquire lands on which they shall shortly fix their homes.

Seventh. The mortgages executed to secure these loans are exempted from taxation—National, State, and municipal. This is a just provision, as heretofore a farmer who borrowed money on his lands was taxed both on the lands and on the mortgage, because the lender increased the interest rate to cover the tax he had to pay on the mortgage. This bill relieves him of this double taxation.

Eighth. This bill grants to the farmer the privilege to repay his loan in full or in part any time after the expiration of 5 years, even if in its terms his loan was to run for 40 years. This is a great advantage to the borrower, as it enables him to adjust his loan at any time after 5 years to meet a falling interest rate, or for any other purpose, while at the same time, if he prefers it to remain, he is guaranteed against a raise in his interest rate for a full period of 40 years.

Ninth. The bill fixes both the minimum and maximum amount that may be loaned to any one person. This provision was carried in my bill for the first time, so far as I know, and it was

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included in this measure on an amendment offered by me in the House.

Tenth. It grants to the borrower the right to have his lands reappraised at any time. This is a valuable right. He may under its provisions, if the security will justify it, by that means procure an additional loan on his lands or he may take advantage of any difference in the interest rate in his favor.

Eleventh. The amortization plan is adopted. This enables the farmer, as the term implies, to pay off his loan in annual installments. These installments will be a very little more than the annual interest rate. The advantage is obvious. At the expiration of the period for which the loan was made the borrower will have discharged his entire indebtedness with these small annual payments. The advantages of this will be more particularly set out in tables I shall include in these remarks.

Twelfth. There is a provision in this bill whereby the Federal land bank, through its agents, may extend the time in which interest and amortization sums must be paid for a period of two years, if the reasons offered by the borrower which he alleges make it impossible for him to pay are thought to be good. This is a most valuable provision. It will prevent a borrower from losing his lands by foreclosure where misfortune may have overtaken him. It grants him a respite of two years before any additional burdens are laid upon him.

The above provisions are the more important ones that were contained in the bill I introduced. I shall now briefly discuss other provisions of this bill. This I shall not do, however, in detail. I undertook to do that in a speech when this measure first came into the House. The act consists of 35 sections, most of which deal with the organization of the various agencies to carry it into effect.

Section 1 sets out the title of the act.

Section 2 is one of definitions.

Section 3 provides the method of appointment of the members of the Federal Farm Loan Board, specifying their terms of office and salaries. It also gives to them the power to select all their subordinates. This board is charged with a further duty of having prepared printed instructions to farmers who wish to become borrowers under the system, as well as literature calling to the attention of those who wish to purchase the bonds issued under the provisions of this act the advantages of these investments.

Section 4 divides the continental United States, excluding Alaska, into 12 districts, and provides that there shall be established in each of these districts a Federal land bank. The directors of these banks, after their organization, shall be elected by the stockholders therein. These stockholders are to be the borrowers under the system.

GOVERNMENT AID TO FARMERS.

Section 5 provides that the Federal land banks each shall have a capital stock of not less than $750,000. This capital, if private parties do not subscribe it within 30 days after the books are opened for subscription, shall be advanced by the National Government. It further provides that on these funds so advanced the Government shall be paid no dividends or interest. In other words, the Treasury of the United States is open to the farmers for the entire capital of these banks, amounting to $9,000,000, and the use of these funds is to cost the farmers nothing. This is a substantial and valuable aid extended by the National Government to the farmers of this country.

Section 6, under certain circumstances, makes these Federal land banks Government depositaries, and at all times Federal agencies.

Section 7 deals with the terms and conditions under which farmers may become borrowers. It gives to the farmers who wish to borrow money under the system complete control of all the machinery by which the loans are to be made. It enables him to deal with his own friends and his neighbors. They appraise his lands. They employ their own agents and arrange all the details of the loans in their immediate community. This takes from them the hardship of being compelled, as now, to deal through foreign agencies. This section also contains the provision limiting the amount to be loaned to any one borrower at not more than $10,000. It provides further that these loans shall be made on none but agricultural lands; that is, farm lands; but not necessarily improved. It grants to him permission to use this money so borrowed in improving his lands, building houses, buying stock, machinery, and all necessary equipment for his farm, as well as permission to pay off existing indebtedness for whatever purpose it may have been incurred. It contains a further and most wholesome provision that no one shall hold lands where the aggregate of the indebtedness for money borrowed under this system is in excess of $10,000. This provision will prevent the use of the system by land speculators who wish to borrow money for the purpose of buying lands for speculative purposes. I am pleased to say that this provision came into the bill through an amendment offered by myself.

Section 8 sets out the provisions for the organization of what is known as the National Farm Loan Associations. These are to be associations of farmers who wish to become borrowers. Under the provisions of the bill they associate themselves together in a corporation, with all the powers incident thereto, and with but little, if any, expense.

Section 9 deals with the same subject, and provides the conditions and restrictions incident to the organization.

Section 10 sets forth the manner of appraising lands on which loans are sought.

Section 11 also deals with the national farm loan associations, its powers, obligations, and exemptions.

INTEREST RATE NOT TO EXCEED 6 PER CENT.

Section 12 contains further provisions with reference to the national farm-loan associations, setting forth the restrictions, opportunities, and advantages of borrowing under the system. It contains provisions with reference to the uses for which the money borrowed under this system may be used. It also contains a most helpful restriction; that is, that the interest rate shall not be in excess of 6 per cent. It may be much less. It also provides that the borrower shall not be required or permitted to pay any commissions or gratuities of any kind to any official or person through whom the loan is negotiated. There is a restriction, however, that the sum borrowed shall not be in excess of 50 per cent of the value of the land, and 20 per cent of the value of the permanent insured improvements thereon. The House bill provided 60 per cent of the value of the lands might be loaned and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements. The conferees have reduced that to 50 per cent of the value of the lands and 20 per cent on the improvements. The provision, however, permitting the loans to be made on the improvements is a wise one. This provision was carried for the first time in the bill I introduced. Its advantages were called to the attention of the House in a speech to which I referred a short time ago. I think it will prove to be of great advantage. This section also contains a provision for reappraisement, the advantages of which I have heretofore pointed out.

Section 13 defines the powers of the Federal land banks.

Section 14 contains the restrictions on these banks.

Section 15 provides that where national farm-loan associations for any reason have not been organized farmers who wish to borrow may do so through agents of the Federal land banks, subject to the same conditions and restrictions, and at the same rate of interest. The agents are to be banks or trust companies and may receive not more than one-half of 1 per cent for their commission in making these loans and collecting the interest thereon.

Section 16 is the section most criticized by the friends of this proposed legislation. This section gives to private capital the right under certain conditions to organize joint-stock land banks, which are authorized to loan money on first mortgages on farm lands and to issue bonds based on this collateral.

FARMER'S LOAN EXEMPT FROM TAXATION.

These bonds are exempted from taxation—National, State, and municipal. This is a great advantage, and one that many of us thought ought not to be granted unless with certain restrictions. It is believed by many that it will cripple the entire system; that these joint-stock land banks which are permitted to loan money in any amount on farm lands to any person and for any purpose, whether the person be farmer or speculator, will defeat the very object sought to be accomplished by the enactment of legislation of this kind; that is, that it will increase and not decrease the number of tenant farmers in this country, because we all recognize that the price of land in some respects, at least, is governed by the rate of interest that is charged for money loaned on these lands. Therefore to exempt private capital loaned on these lands from any of the burdens of taxation will give to those institutions a most decisive advantage. Those who deal with them, it is presumed, will be permitted to share in these advantages, because the bill itself provides that these banks shall not be permitted to charge a rate of interest in excess of 1 per cent above the rate borne by the bonds that they may issue and sell. It is apparent, then, if we cheapen the rate of interest on money to be loaned on certain agricultural lands by exempting the money so loaned from its burden of taxation, we will raise the price of these lands. This is inevitable. This will, as a matter of fact, then, make more difficult for those who are now without lands to become the owners thereof, and will inevitably lead to an increase of tenant farmers and to a larger number of absentee landlords. It will start an era of speculation and, I fear, an inflation of land values. This will of course lessen the opportunity of the poor man to buy lands. Another disadvantage incident to this section will be that these joint-land banks are without restrictions as to the locality, save that they must be confined to not more than two States, and they can relieve the borrower of any restrictions as to the uses for which he wishes to borrow the money or as to the nature and kind of business in which he is engaged. The more desirable loans will go to these joint-stock land banks, and thereby make it more difficult for genuine farmers to form associations and take advantage of the provisions of this measure. If these bad results shall follow—and I fear they may—I am certain a succeeding Congress will repeal this section.

In section 17 are the provisions incident to the Federal farm-loan board.

Section 18 embraces the provisions and conditions under which the Federal land banks may issue bonds. These bonds are secured by first mortgages on farm lands. The banks may issue these bonds to the extent of twenty times their capital stock.

Section 19 amplifies this provision.

Section 20 deals with the bonds to be issued under the provisions of this act, and prescribes that their denominations shall be in amounts of $25, $50, $100, $500, and $1,000, and in series of not less than $50,000. It provides the manner in which they shall be engraved and the expense incident thereto.

Section 21 makes each of the farm-land banks liable for the payment of any bonds issued by any of the other banks. In other words, it makes each bank liable for all the obligations of every one of the other 11 banks. This is a most helpful provision. It assures the payment of all bonds issued hereunder. It will also cheapen the interest rate and in a great measure tend to equalize the interest rates throughout the various sections, so that money on farm lands may be borrowed as cheaply in my State as it may in Massachusetts.

AMORTIZATION PLAN.

Section 22 provides for the amortization and interest payments. The amortization plan as applied to farm loans is the most helpful provision of this bill. It will enable the borrower to repay his loan in annual installments that are little in excess of his interest rate. The burden of repayment, distributed thereby through a number of years, is so slight as to hardly be appreciated. As an illustration of the advantages of this system I am inserting the following tables at this place. A careful study of this table will disclose the fact that a loan at 6 per cent running for 40 years will be repaid at an annual repayment of but a little more than 6¼ per cent, the 6 per cent being the interest and the fraction of 1 per cent being that part of the principal repaid at each annual interest-paying period. As pointed out, the borrower has the option of paying all or any part of his obligation at the expiration of five years. Should he desire that his loan should run for 20 years, we will say, the table given below will illustrate how a loan of $1,000, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent, will be retired in 20 years at an annual payment of $80.24. A study of the columns shows how from year to year the interest is reduced and the portion of the payment which goes to discharge the principal steadily increases, the final payment canceling the debt:

*Table showing the repayment of a loan of $1,000 in 20 years at 5 per cent.*

| Annual period. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.00 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.55 | 44.68 | 666.56 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.25 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.46 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.24 | 3.82 | 76.54 | ..... |
| Total | 1,604.80 | 604.80 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

The following table will show what would be the annual payment required to repay $1,000 in 36 years at 6 per cent; that is, an annual payment of $68.39 will pay the interest and repay the principal of $1,000 drawing interest at 6 per cent within the period of 36 years. One thing that should not be lost sight of is that under this system the borrower and not the lender has the option of fixing the time of his loan, whether it should be for a long or short period. This is a reversal of the conditions that now exist:

*Table showing the repayment of a loan of $1,000 in 36 years at 6 per cent.*

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 6 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $68.39 | $60.00 | $8.39 | $991.61 |
| 2 | 68.39 | 59.49 | 8.90 | 982.71 |
| 3 | 68.39 | 58.96 | 9.43 | 973.28 |
| 4 | 68.39 | 58.40 | 9.99 | 963.39 |
| 5 | 68.39 | 57.80 | 10.59 | 952.80 |
| 6 | 68.39 | 57.16 | 11.23 | 941.57 |
| 7 | 68.39 | 56.49 | 11.90 | 929.68 |
| 8 | 68.39 | 55.79 | 12.60 | 917.08 |
| 9 | 68.39 | 55.02 | 13.37 | 903.71 |
| 10 | 68.39 | 54.28 | 14.11 | 889.60 |
| 11 | 68.39 | 53.37 | 15.02 | 874.58 |
| 12 | 68.39 | 52.47 | 15.92 | 858.66 |
| 13 | 68.39 | 51.52 | 16.87 | 841.79 |
| 14 | 68.39 | 50.50 | 17.89 | 823.89 |
| 15 | 68.39 | 49.43 | 18.96 | 804.93 |
| 16 | 68.39 | 48.29 | 20.10 | 784.83 |
| 17 | 68.39 | 47.08 | 21.31 | 763.52 |
| 18 | 68.39 | 45.81 | 22.58 | 740.94 |
| 19 | 68.39 | 44.45 | 23.94 | 717.00 |
| 20 | 68.39 | 43.02 | 25.37 | 691.63 |
| 21 | 68.39 | 41.49 | 26.90 | 664.73 |
| 22 | 68.39 | 39.88 | 28.51 | 636.22 |
| 23 | 68.39 | 38.17 | 30.22 | 606.00 |
| 24 | 68.39 | 36.36 | 32.03 | 573.97 |
| 25 | 68.39 | 34.43 | 33.96 | 540.01 |
| 26 | 68.39 | 32.40 | 35.99 | 504.02 |
| 27 | 68.39 | 30.24 | 38.15 | 465.87 |
| 28 | 68.39 | 27.94 | 40.45 | 425.42 |
| 29 | 68.39 | 25.52 | 42.87 | 382.55 |
| 30 | 68.39 | 22.95 | 45.44 | 337.01 |
| 31 | 68.39 | 20.22 | 48.17 | 288.84 |
| 32 | 68.39 | 17.33 | 51.06 | 237.78 |
| 33 | 68.39 | 15.26 | 53.13 | 184.65 |
| 34 | 68.39 | 11.07 | 57.32 | 127.33 |
| 35 | 68.39 | 7.63 | 60.76 | 66.57 |
| 36 | 70.56 | 3.99 | 66.57 | ..... |
| Total | 2,464.21 | 1,464.21 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

Section 23 deals with reserves and their manner of accumulation.

Section 24 contains other provisions dealing with the same subject and also provides the means by which the interest and amortization payments of any borrower who is unable to meet his obligation may be taken care of for a period not exceeding two years. This is a wise and sympathetic provision.

Section 25 deals with defaults made by borrowers and the manner in which these defaults are cared for, and results in extension of loans so that no deserving and honest borrower will be harshly dealt with should misfortune overtake him.

Section 26 deals with the tax exemptions of the assets of these banks which are exempted from taxation, except their real estate.

FARMERS' BONDS TO BE LEGAL INVESTMENTS FOR TRUST FUNDS.

Section 27 makes the bonds issued by both the Federal land banks and the joint-stock land banks legal investments for all fiduciary and trust funds, and provides also that they may be accepted as security for all public deposits. This provision gives to these bonds the advantages heretofore accorded only to United States bonds. It will greatly increase the demand for these bonds, and result in a lower interest rate to the farmer who borrows under the system, and ultimately enables him to borrow at an interest rate very little, if any, higher than the Government pays.

Section 28 deals with the examination of the Federal land banks. It provides that these banks shall be examined pretty much as national banks now are.

Section 29 provides the means of dissolution of banks or the appointment of receivers in case of insolvency.

Section 30 gives to the farm-loan commissioner who shall be appointed under the provisions of this bill the authority to inquire into the laws of the various States, to determine whether those laws grant adequate security to a lender of money in that State. The power is also granted to withhold the right to issue bonds based on mortgages in those States until the legislature shall have amended the law to meet the requirements of the provisions of this section.

Section 31 sets forth the penalties for the violations of the provisions of this act, whether committed by officials and employees of the banks, or by one seeking to become a borrower therefrom.

GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS IN AID OF THE SYSTEM.

Section 32 grants to the Secretary of the Treasury the authority to deposit Government funds in any of the Federal land banks if the bank shall find itself temporarily without means to meet its obligations. The aggregate of all such sums to be deposited at any one time shall not be in excess of $6,000,000. This provision again extends the resources of the National Treasury to the farmers who are to be borrowers under the system. It will enable the bank that handles his securities to meet all obligations, whether the borrower has been able to pay promptly his debt or not. It is a direct and substantial Federal aid to the borrowing farmers of this land.

Section 33 makes an appropriation for the carrying into effect of this act.

Section 34 limits the effect of an adverse court decision, if any shall be rendered on this act.

Section 35, the concluding section, contains the ordinary provision for repealing all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this act.

A WRONG RIGHTED.

There are more than 6,000,000 farmers in this country. These farmers owe more than $6,000,000,000. They have an aggregate wealth of $41,000,000,000. They possess the best security in the world, and yet, under existing conditions, their average interest rate on this vast indebtedness is 8½ per cent. In other words, they pay the enormous sum of $510,000,000 annually as interest on their indebtedness. The report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into this question sets forth the fact that they can not pay in excess of 6 per cent and prosper. In other words, the farmers of these United States, the producers of its wealth, and, in the last analysis, the owners of it, are compelled to pay $150,000,000 annually as interest in excess of that which they can afford to pay. This vast sum has been wrung from them every year as a tribute to a system which is not adapted to their needs and which the enactment of this law it is hoped will remedy. It will permit the farmers of this country to retain this vast sum to enrich them and their families. Against the burdens of this false economic system the farmers everywhere have long cried out. Political platforms have long promised relief, but it has been left for this Congress to grant them emancipation. In doing this we have but discharged a duty for those whose commissions we bear, and in doing it we are but keeping faith with the American farmer. By this legislation, if it accomplishes what we hope it will, we shall have lifted from them these burdens which they should never have borne, and then, indeed, our land will "flow with milk and honey." Plenty will take the place of want. Good roads will stretch out their arms from neighborhood to neighborhood, and the church and schoolhouse will spring up by their side. Discontent and unrest will disappear, good cheer and understanding will replace distrust and suspicion, and that ideal condition will come again where each farmer will be, I sincerely hope, the owner of the field he tills and of the rooftree that shelters him and his. [Applause.]

## History of Democratic Congress on Labor Legislation.

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES.

"Thus, the workers have before them the platform declarations of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive Parties upon the subjects which most directly affect them. Now, the workers must make up their minds as to which of these political parties is most likely, if intrusted with power, to carry their declarations into effect, and to the adequacy of the response which each party made to labor's demands. For 30 years wage earners had vainly endeavored to secure the amendment of the Sherman antitrust law so as to place voluntary organizations of toilers outside the pale of antitrust legislation that they should not be regarded in the same category as trusts and organizations organized for profit. For 30 years organized labor had been vainly knocking at the door of Congress to secure relief from the injunction abuse and to have restored the right of trial by jury in contempt cases. For 30 years the workers of America had vainly asked Congress to relieve the seamen from the position of bondmen, and all this occurred under the domination of Congress and the Presidency by the Republican Party. The Democratic Congress passed and President Wilson signed the Clayton antitrust law. * * * The Democratic Congress passed the seamen's act and President Wilson signed the act."—(Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor, in Federationist.)

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, my purpose is to call the attention of the laboring men of this country to the legislation of the Democratic Party in their interest since we came into power in the House of Representatives six years ago in contrast with the inactivity of the Republican Party, that for 14 years has all the auxiliaries of legislation. The Democratic Party has only been in power in all branches of the Government for three years, but in that three years its record of accomplishment, of promises made and kept, is a magnificent one. That record emphasizes the response of the people's representatives to the sentiment of the country based upon broad, comprehensive propositions well considered. The Democratic Party proceeds upon the theory that these rights that touch the human side of life are paramount; that the American home whose roof shelters the American workman and which is fundamentally the unit of our Government and our civilization should have all the aids that make for a better condition. A virgin field of legislation opened up before the Democratic House of Representatives when it was returned to power six years ago. We began immediately to enact those laws that labor had demanded of the Republican Party for years, which demands had been denied. The growth of public sentiment and the development of economic conditions forced consideration of these propositions upon the public mind. Our constructive program embraced the following legislation:

First. A law creating a Department of Labor, having for its head a Secretary who became a member of the President's Cabinet.

Second. The Underwood tariff act which reduced the tariff on necessities, increased them on luxuries, and placed a tax on incomes.

Third. A law extending the operations of the eight-hour law to all work done by the Government as well as all work done for the Government.

Fourth. A Children's Bureau to promote the physical and moral interests of children.

Fifth. An Industrial Commission to investigate the entire relations between employee and employer. This commission has already made its report and it constitutes one of the most valuable contributions to the subject of our industrial relations.

Sixth. The act creating the Bureau of Mines amended and strengthened so that accidents may be lessened, and providing better means for preventing accidents and increasing efficiency in rescue work when accidents occur.

Seventh. An eight-hour provision included in the fortifications bill applying to all persons working for the Government in the manufacture of arms and powder.

Eighth. An eight-hour law for Government post-office clerks and carriers.

Ninth. An eight-hour day for those engaged in mining coal for the Navy.

Tenth. An eight-hour day for females engaged in work in the District of Columbia over which Congress has jurisdiction.

Eleventh. A provision in the Post Office appropriation bill removing the "gag" rule made by Executive order of Roosevelt and enlarged by Taft that made it impossible for clerks to

appeal to Members of Congress with their grievances without being subject to removal.

Twelfth. Prohibition of importation of convict-made goods or goods made by persons detained by law or made by paupers.

Thirteenth. Convict-labor bill requiring that all goods shall conform to the regulation of their separate States before they shall be admitted to interstate commerce.

Fourteenth. The seaman's bill designed to promote the condition of seamen and insure the safety of travel by sea.

Fifteenth. A law providing for a Board of Mediation and Conciliation. This board has successfully adjusted many disputes between employer and employee where the question of hours of labor and wages were involved.

Sixteenth. A law creating a Bureau of Safety Devices in the Department of Labor. The work of this bureau is to study the entire field of safety devices on common carriers so that the appalling number of accidents in the industrial works shall be very materially lessened.

Seventeenth. An act amending and extending an act entitled "An act to promote safety of employees and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereunto," to cover the entire locomotive and tender.

Eighteenth. As a result there was an order by the Interstate Commerce Commission requiring railroads engaged in interstate traffic to equip their locomotives with high-power headlights.

I have called attention to 18 specific acts in which labor has been and is directly interested. I call your attention to four more most important epoch-making pieces of labor legislation, and do so for the purpose of enlarging my remarks upon them.

First. The amendment of the Sherman antitrust law so as to exempt labor organizations from the operation of the act. There has been a disposition on the part of judges in Federal courts to include labor organizations with the class of trusts, monopolies, and combinations in restraint of trade that the enactment of this law was designed to control. Everybody now knows that it was not the intention of Congress to bring within the scope of the act the relation of the employer and employee. It is settled beyond cavil now that the Congress of the United States never intended to include labor organizations as a body within the provision of the law that mulcts them in "threefold" damages should they commit a tort. That would be a penalty for a trust or a monopoly to respond to. People imagined that if labor was exempted from the operation of the Sheriman antitrust law, labor organizations would assume that they had a license to do things and commit acts of depredation that other bodies of citizens or other combinations would not be at liberty to do or commit. That supposition grew out of the idea that labor was a commodity, that the man who wanted labor could go into the market and buy the same as he would a ton of coal? That error crept into the public mind through the conditions under which labor is compelled under abnormal conditions frequently to employ itself. Labor can never be a commodity to be bought and sold. It can not be under a democratic form of government. That question was settled by the Civil War, and settled forever. It has been well stated that the legal attributes of a commodity was property. The legal attributes of a workingman is his sovereignty, his citizenship. Then, too, if no other reason obtained, there is the very highest social and economic reasons why commodity—property and the workingman—and his sovereignty should not be classified on a common plane for legislative purposes.

Second. The trial of cases of indirect contempt must be by a jury if the party charged demands a jury. No Federal judge, and I care not how exalted his station, ought to have a right to determine the facts upon which he may pass judgment when he himself is an interested party. It is contrary to the very fundamental principles of enlightened American jurisprudence. The indirect contempt is a fact to be determined and should be referred to a jury always of the peers of the party charged with the offense. There is nothing so sacred about the judiciary that the life and liberty of a single person or any number of citizens may not be intrusted to the judgment of a jury and with the full knowledge that the rights and dignity of the courts will be maintained. In my opinion no sounder principle was ever enacted into law than the question whether a man charged with indirect contempt is guilty or not should be submitted to a jury for trial.

Third. The child labor-bill provides:

That it shall be unlawful for any producer, manufacturer, or dealer to ship or deliver for shipment in interstate commerce the products of any mine or quarry which have been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 16 years or the products of any mill, cannery, workshop, or manufacturing establishment which have been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of 14 years, or by the labor of children between the ages of 14 years and 16 years, who work more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any week or after the hour of 7 o'clock post meridian or before the hour of 7 o'clock antemeridian.

No more important legislation has ever claimed the attention of Congress than the child-labor bill. Congress thought it to be its duty to take out of interstate commerce convict-made goods, so that they should not come into competition with the product of free labor. If the State is remiss in protecting its childhood from the debasing effects of toil upon tender years, the sovereign power of the Federal Government ought to intervene. The Government must stand between the child and the great corporations that through their greed and avarice would coin the tender years of childhood into dividends on stock investments. Products from such labor are denied, and of right ought to be denied, the privilege of interstate commerce. Such legislation appeals to the sympathies of every man for the child and his duty to protect it.

Fourth. The last and most important legislative act of Congress was to pass the Federal compensation act providing for compensation to men receiving injury while employed in the Federal service. We have eliminated the problem, "Should Congress pass a compensation act?" We are now to determine what the details of the bill should be and how it shall be administered. The Federal Government is the largest employer of labor in the United States. There are 500,000 men and women doing its business. No one questions now the policy of protecting to some extent those employed in the Government service when injured in the line of employment. The States and the Federal Government have cast aside those defenses that so long stood as an answer to the man who was injured in the employ of corporations—negligence of the employee, assumption of risk, and injury by fellow servant. We are living in a progressive age where humanitarianism prevails. Employment has become so great, machinery so complicated, and with it the liability to injury has so increased that the man entering the employment of a corporation that reaps the entire profits of his toil ought not to compel him to assume the entire hazard of his employment. There are numerous reasons why he should not wholly take the burden. Thirty-four States of the Union have, through their respective legislatures, compelled corporations to respond to the employee for injuries sustained when in their employ. Employers of labor themslves have found that it was a wiser provision instead of a burden to their business; that it was a much cheaper way than to fight lawsuits. Besides, it established a closer and more friendly relation between the employee and employer. Not only is the worker benefited but the family dependent upon the employment of the father is not left destitute through his injury.

Briefly, the acts enumerated are of direct interest to every laboring man. It may not be improper to remind you of other progressive legislation in which the worker is indirectly benefited. The Democratic Party has been as faithful to every other class of citizens as it has to the worker.

(1) For the agricultural classes we passed the agricultural-extension act, appropriating $10,000 annually to each State for experimental and demonstration purposes.

(2) It created a bureau of markets to give information for marketing farm products.

(3) A bill preventing gambling in farm products, grain-grading bill, and so forth.

(4) A rural credits bill, which will aid the farmer in getting money on long time and at low rates of interest not exceeding 6 per cent.

(5) The good-roads act, directing the Federal Government to aid the States build roads.

In addition, we did not forget the soldier who saved the Union in 1861–1865. We increased his pension, increased the widow's pension when she became 70 years from $12 to $20 per month, passed a Spanish-American War widow pension bill, and raised the limitation so that widows who married after 1890 could be pensioned.

A few of the legislative acts of general and universal character affecting beneficially everybody are as follows:

First. A bill creating a parcel post, which is saving to the common people of the country $11,000,000 annually that formerly went into the maw of the express companies.

Second. A new currency system, that took the surplus cash out of the Wall Street banks, where the Republican Party left it, and placed it within the reach of the business of the country and not in the control of any class of men. An absolute anti-panic remedy that has done more to restore confidence, steady business, and bring permanent and universal prosperity than any single piece of legislation.

Third. Antitrust laws to prevent combinations in restraint of trade, give small business an equal chance, and protect the people against reprehensible schemes of great corporations.

Fourth. An income-tax law which last year lifted a burden of $124,000,000 from the shoulders of the common people and placed it on the shoulders of those who possess the wealth of the country. It is not improper to state that there is not a civilized government in the world but that recognizes the income tax as the most equitable system of taxation ever devised. Neither is it improper to state that every leading standpat Republican is squarely against the income tax and voted against it on the 10th day of July this year. Every candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket at Chicago is against the income tax, and most of them have voted against it. Candidate Hughes sent a message to the New York Legislature asking the legislature to reject the amendment to the Constitution so that Congress could not pass an income-tax law. Ex-President Taft is against an income tax, and so stated in his letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency in 1912. Leading Republicans in Congress have spoken against the income-tax measure in the present session. The Democratic Party passed the preparedness bills providing for a larger Army and larger Navy in response to the demands of the country. We levied a special tax on munitions of war, on inheritances when estates were over $50,000, and an income tax, and every leading Republican voted against it in this House, and they will do the same thing in the Senate. Does the laboring man want to take the chances of the repeal of the income tax by turning the Government over to the Republicans? Their announced method of raising the enormous amount of money necessary to meet the burdens of preparedness is to reenact the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill or a similar measure. They propose to tax the coat on the laboring man's back, the wearing apparel of the wife, and the food on the table for his children provided by the laborer's work instead of taxing the swollen fortunes amassed under a high protective system.

The welfare of the laborer, the farmer, the banker, the commercial man, the manufacturer, the professional man—in fact, every field of activity now so abundantly blessed by prosperity—have been included in the program of constructive legislation by the Democratic Party. The welfare of the laborer is so intimately and directly interwoven with the welfare of the whole country that legislation for their benefit must necessarily be a benefit and a blessing for all.

The foregoing comprises substantially the important legislative activity of the Democratic Party. It touches all phases of our industrial and economic life, making a record for the present administration unparalleled in the legislative history of the country.

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## Appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the Year Ending June 30, 1917, and for Other Purposes.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD H. WASON,

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. WASON. Mr. Speaker, the subject before the House at this time is an amendment to the Agricultural appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1917. This amendment has been adopted by the Senate and provides for the appropriation of $3,000,000 to be used under the terms of the Weeks Act, so called, which passed Congress in 1911, for purchasing of land in proposed reservations, known as the Appalachian system of national forest reservations.

A large portion of the acreage of the White Mountain Forest Reservation is within the confines of the congressional district of New Hempshire which I have the honor to represent. Therefore I feel it my duty to trespass upon the time of the House and ask your indulgence and patience while I briefly recall some of the reasons which support the wisdom of the Nation-wide policy of forest reservations.

Congress extended the policy of Federal reservations to the Atlantic States, in what is known as the Weeks Act, above referred to, and in that act $3,000,000 was appropriated for the years 1910 and 1911 for the so-called White Mountain Reservation and the Southern Appalachian Reservation. From the report of the National Forest Reservation Commission for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, it appears that—

> These appropriations at the start were made available only during the fiscal years for which they were made, consequently the appropriation nominally made for the year 1910 never actually became available; that for the year 1911 was available too short a period to be economically utilized, and all of it but $17,320.76 reverted to the Treasury. Appropriations for the years 1912 to 1915, by amendment to the act, were made available until expended.

The net sum with which the commission has worked, therefore, is $8,017,320.76. To restore the appropriations for the years 1910 and 1911, which lapsed, this amendment is offered and its adoption urged.

The Secretary of Agriculture in his report to Congress, in 1908, on the Southern Appalachian and White Mountain watersheds said:

> The forest bears a vital relation to successful utilization of water power and effectual artificial storage. No matter what its purpose or design, any reservoir system developed in the Southern Appalachians is foredoomed to failure unless the watersheds which feed it are kept under forest. The present torrential discharge of the streams is due to the extent to which the forest has been cut away or damaged. The more this sole equalizing factor is lessened, the more extreme will be the floods on the one hand and low-water stages on the other. A mountain watershed denuded of its forest, with its surface hardened and baked by exposure, will discharge its fallen rain into the streams so quickly that overwhelming floods will descend in wet seasons. In discharging in this torrential way the water carries along great portions of the land itself. Deep gullies are washed in the fields, and the soil, sand, gravel, and stone are carried down the streams to points where the current slackens. The stone and gravel are likely to be dropped in the upper channel of the stream, to be rolled along by subsequent floods, but the sand and silt are carried down to the still water of the first reservoir, where they are deposited. It is this silting up that makes uncertain any reservoir system outside the limits of a forested watershed.
>
> Since the extensive removal of the forest on the upper watersheds there has been a vast accumulation of silt, sand, and gravel in the upper stream courses. Examples of reservoirs completely filled are already to be seen on almost every stream. Removal of the silt is usually impracticable. If sluiced out of the highest reservoir, it gathers in the next below, and so on through whatever system may have been developed. If perchance it should pass the last reservoir, the silt is then free for deposit in the navigable stretches of the stream.
>
> Regardless of whether there are reservoirs, the ultimate deposit of the detritus is in the navigable sections, whence its removal can be accomplished only by a stream dredge at the expense of the Government.
>
> In the degree that the forests are damaged on the high watersheds, then, inevitable damage results to water power and navigation through increased extremes of high and low water and through vast deposits of gravel, sand, and silt in the stream channels and in any reservoir which may have been constructed.

After many years of study and work on the part of many individuals and organizations, a widespread sentiment and earnest efforts convinced Congress that forest reservations in the Atlantic States should be provided for. In 1911 the Weeks Act was passed, which provided for a national forest reservation in the White Mountains and the Southern Appalachian Mountains. An examination of that act shows that this project was established upon the basis of an appropriation of $11,000,000, $1,000,000 for the year 1910, and $2,000,000 for the year 1911, which, as I have before mentioned, reverted to the Treasury and was not utilized. Hence we feel that the sum of $3,000,000 ought to be reappropriated in order that the working force of the department could complete the project. To disband the force on account of failure to pass necessary appropriations would be unbusinesslike, and the National Forests Commission is emphatic in its recommendation that the work should be carried forward in a systematic way until its completion.

If this Congress should fail or refuse to reappropriate and make available this money that had been previously appropriated for this purpose, that policy would be a repudiation of governmental obligations that Congress entered into with the people in 1911. I believe that Congress is in honor bound to keep those obligations, and I am not in sympathy with the discontinuance of this Government's undertaking. The project is well under way, as will be noted by an examination of the following table:

| State and area. | Headquarters. | Acquired. | Additional approved for purchase. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEW HAMPSHIRE. | | | | |
| White Mountain | Gorham | *Acres.* 106,012.67 | *Acres.* 160,258.90 | *Acres.* 266,271.57 |
| VIRGINIA. | | | | |
| Massanutten | Woodstock | 3,683.86 | 50,006.07 | 53,689.93 |
| Natural Bridge | Buena Vista | 25,241.59 | 52,622.06 | 77,863.65 |
| Potomac (part) | Woodstock | 6,125.63 | 32,093.03 | 38,218.64 |
| Shenandoah (part) | Harrisonburg | | 101,883.37 | 101,883.37 |
| White Top (part) | Abingdon | 11,358.38 | 820.88 | 12,179.26 |
| Total | | 46,409.44 | 237,425.41 | 283,834.85 |

| State and area. | Headquarters. | Acquired. | Additional approved for purchase. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NORTH CAROLINA. | | *Acres.* | *Acres.* | *Acres.* |
| Boone | Marion | | 36,386.00 | 36,386.00 |
| Mount Mitchell | do | 28,680.23 | 33,932.59 | 62,612.82 |
| Nantahala | Andrews | 28,462.90 | 5,677.08 | 34,139.98 |
| Pisgah | Asheville | | 86,700.00 | 86,700.00 |
| Savannah (north, part) | Highlands | 12,364.85 | 22,899.48 | 35,264.33 |
| Total | | 69,507.98 | 185,595.15 | 255,103.13 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA. | | | | |
| Savannah (south, part) | Clayton | | 17,816.62 | 17,816.62 |
| GEORGIA | | | | |
| Georgia | Blue Ridge | 31,002.89 | 27,869.70 | 58,872.59 |
| Savannah (south, part) | Clayton | 4,171.70 | 31,690.60 | 35,862.30 |
| Total | | 35,174.59 | 59,560.30 | 94,734.89 |
| WEST VIRGINIA. | | | | |
| Monongahela | Elkins | | 51,537.51 | 51,537.51 |
| Potomac (part) | Woodstock, Va. | 18,240.10 | 17,026.48 | 35,266.58 |
| Shenandoah (part) | Harrisonburg, Va. | | 16,700.56 | 16,700.56 |
| Total | | 18,240.10 | 85,264.55 | 103,504.65 |
| TENNESSEE. | | | | |
| Cherokee | Etowah | 45,121.44 | 85,350.02 | 130,471.46 |
| Smoky Mountain | Townsend | | 41,042.27 | 41,042.27 |
| Unaka | Johnson City | | 18,055.58 | 18,055.58 |
| White Top (part) | Abingdon, Va. | 27,809.44 | 46,468.93 | 74,278.37 |
| Total | | 72,930.88 | 190,916.80 | 263,847.68 |
| Grand total | | 348,275.66 | 936,837.93 | 1,285,113.59 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Approved acreage | 1,317,551.00 |
| Surveyed acreage | 1,285,113.59 |
| Difference | 32,437.41 |

You will notice that the Government has acquired up to June 30, 1915, 348,275 acres of land and has surveyed and approved for purchase 1,285,113 acres in the States of New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, West Virginia, and Tennessee.

As evidence of our sincerity in asking for money from the Government for the establishment of national forest reservations, showing our own individual loyalty and belief, let me call your attention to the significant fact that the several Atlantic States are maintaining departments and annually appropriating money for reservations of their own and to assist the Government in the care and preservation of the national forests in the several regions acquired under the terms of the Weeks law.

I wish particularly to call your attention to the fact that the State of New Hampshire has purchased the Crawford Notch, one of the group of White Mountains. This tract contains about 6,000 acres and cost the State, in round numbers, nearly $100,000. What is true of this State, I am informed, is true of her sister States in the East, as an examination of the following authentic data conclusively shows:

FOREST ACTIVITIES OF THE SEVERAL STATES IN THE GENERAL REGIONS AFFECTED BY PURCHASES UNDER THE WEEK'S LAW.

Maine: Annual appropriation for forestry work, $71,400, of which $1,000 is expended for investigations and publications, $69,400 for fire protection, and $1,000 for nurseries and reforestation work.

New Hampshire: Annual appropriation for forestry work, $38,800, of which $9,400 is expended for investigations and publications, $20,900 for fire protection, $3,500 for nurseries and reforestation work, and $5,000 for the purchase of waste lands for State forests.

Vermont: This State makes an annual appropriation of $19,500, of which $6,000 is expended for administration, publications, and investigations, $2,000 for fire protection, $4,000 for nurseries and reforestation work, and $7,500 for the purchase of State forests.

Massachusetts: Total annual appropriation for forestry work, $83,000; for administration, publications, and investigations the amount expended is $20,000; for fire protection, $33,000; for nurseries and reforestation work, $10,000; and for the purchase and maintenance of State forests, $20,000.

Connecticut: Total appropriation for forestry, $7,500. Of this amount $2,500 is expended on administration, publications, and investigations, $3,500 for fire protection, and $1,500 for the purchase and maintenance of State forests.

Rhode Island: Expenditures for forestry, $3,000, $1,500 of which is for publications and investigations and $1,500 for fire protection.

New York: Total appropriation for forestry work, $177,840; amount expended for administration, publications, and investigations, $26,340; fire protection, $100,000; for nurseries and reforestation work, $55,000; for purchase and maintenance of State forests, $16,500.

New Jersey: Total appropriation for forestry, $43,000, of which $11,500 is expended for administration, publications, and investigative work; $21,500 for fire protection, and $10,000 for purchase and maintenance of State forests.

Pennsylvania: Total appropriation for forestry, $315,375. Expended for administration, publications, and investigations, $51,000; for fire protection, $100,000; for nurseries and reforestation work, $20,000; for purchase and maintenance of State forests, $144,375.

Maryland: Total appropriation for forestry work, $10,000, of which $5,000 is expended for administration, publications, and investigations; $3,000 for fire protection; and $2,000 for the purchase and maintenance of State forests.

Virginia: Total appropriation for forestry work, $5,000, all of which is to be expended in investigations and educational work.

West Virginia: Total appropriation for forestry work, $10,000, all of which is expended in fire protection.

North Carolina: Total appropriation, $23,000, of which $3,000 is expended for administration, publications, and investigations, and $20,000 for the purchase and maintenance of State forests.

Tennessee: Total appropriation, $3,000, which is expended in investigative work.

Kentucky: Total appropriation, $15,000, of which $5,500 is expended for administration, publications, and investigative work; $4,000 for fire protection; $2,500 for nurseries and reforestation work; and $3,000 for the purchase and maintenance of State forests.

Alabama: Total appropriation, $500, which is all expended in investigative work.

In addition to the work done by appropriations in the several States, I want to call your attention to a portion of a memorial addressed to the Secretary of Agriculture in September, 1915.

The movement for the Government to acquire large sections of the Appalachian and White Mountain Ranges is a conservation measure which thus far has been steadfastly carried out and which has received widespread public support. Before the bill became law numerous congressional hearings were held which were attended by representatives from many business as well as forestry and conservation organizations. These organizations have closely followed the work as it has gone on. In September, 1915, representatives of more than a dozen such organizations met with Secretary Houston in Washington, commended the way in which the National Forest Reservation Commission and the Agricultural Department had executed the law, and pledged their fullest support in continuing the work. A memorial was presented to the Secretary which embodied the following reasons for the continuation of appropriations:

1. Congress has begun the policy. It did so only after long consideration and discussion and after obtaining convincing proof of its necessity. Under the authority obtained and the appropriations a good start has been made. An effective procedure has been worked out; a force of experts has been trained; the machine which has been created for the work and which under the law is somewhat complicated is in motion.

2. It would be a great loss to have the program interrupted. The force which it took two or three years at the start to get together and train would be lost, so that when the work is taken up again a new force would have to be gotten together and trained. Touch would be lost with the landowners, and with it that intimate information as to titles, surveys, and values which is now making the work go forward effectively.

3. The wisdom of the Secretary of Agriculture has been shown in limiting at the start purchases to certain specific areas of great importance. But the purchases are not complete in any of these areas and undoubtedly can not be made so with the appropriation already made. If the purchases should stop now, the Government would be put to too high a cost for protecting and administering its lands, on account of intervening private lands. Furthermore, the work would not have gone far enough to accomplish the purpose which the legislation was intended to accomplish.

4. This program is of too great importance to be carried on intermittently. It is of the utmost national importance that the mountain watersheds be protected, so that the streams may be capable of the highest development, so that the soils should not be washed from the mountain sides nor the property of persons or communities ruined or damaged by floods which could in part be restrained, so that the river valley soils may not be destroyed as a result of the floods and debris from the mountains.

5. Finally, the continuation of this program is urged as a matter of economy. It is believed that it will cost less to carry it on than not to do so. Carried on it will mean an expenditure of $2,000,000 per year, with some three or four hundred thousand acres of mountain timberlands passing each year into the hands of the Government to be developed for timber production and to be utilized in many useful ways

by the public. In this case at any time in the future the property will be worth more than the cost. If the program is not carried on, the result will be the certain deterioration of these lands by fire and by unwise timber cutting and tillage, the loss of at least a portion of the soils, and likewise a loss in the navigability, power possibilities, and purity of the streams, increasing damage by floods to cities, communities, and persons along the rivers, and also to river valley soils. After all this loss has been sustained—and it will certainly amount to more than the cost of these lands—the necessity will still exist for the Federal Government to handle the situation, and the cost of doing so then will be greater than it is now.

American Forestry Association, Washington, D. C.: Henry S. Drinker, president, and president of Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., and P. S. Ridsdale, executive secretary, Washington.

Massachusetts Forestry Association, Boston, Mass.: Harris A. Reynolds, secretary, and Allen Chamberlain, Boston.

Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, 6 Hancock Avenue, Boston, Mass.: Philip W. Ayres, forester, and delegation.

North Carolina Forestry Association, Chapel Hill, N. C.: Hugh McRae, Wilmington, N. C.

Appalachian Mountain Club, Boston, Mass.: Harvey N. Shepard, Boston.

Appalachian Park Association, Asheville, N. C.: George S. Powell, secretary.

Knoxville Board of Commerce, Knoxville, Tenn.: W. M. Goodman, Knoxville, Tenn.

New Hampshire State Board of Trade, Concord, N. H.: George B. Leighton, Dublin, of the State Forestry Commission.

Western New England Chamber of Commerce, Springfield, Mass.: Frank M. West, Springfield, Mass.

Pennsylvania Forestry Association, Philadelphia, Pa.: Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia.

Connecticut Valley Waterways Association, Springfield, Mass.: Ashton E. Hemphill, Holyoke, Mass.

Southern Commercial Congress, Washington, D. C.: Clarence J. Owens, managing director, Washington, D. C.

New Haven Chamber of Commerce, New Haven, Conn.: Charles E. Julin.

The following western associations have indorsed this proposition: San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Minneapolis City Commerce Association, Commerce Club of Omaha, Portland (Oreg.) Chamber of Commerce, Spokane (Wash.) Chamber of Commerce, Seattle Chamber of Commerce, National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, and Chicago Association of Commerce. The merits of this proposition are recognized in all parts of the country, and we should grant these requests.

I desire to appeal to my colleagues from Arizona with your 12,288,125 acres of national forests, from Arkansas with your 1,169,379 acres of national forests, from California with your 19,866,203 acres of national forests, from Colorado with your 13,107,681 acres, from Florida with your 299,166 acres, from Idaho with your 17,868,826 acres, from Kansas with your 139,049 acres, from Michigan with your 83,157 acres, from Minnesota with your 987,377 acres, from Montana with your 16,104,734 acres, from Nebraska with your 198,056 acres, from Nevada with your 5,287,710 acres, from New Mexico with your 8,469,511 acres, from North Dakota with your 6,414 acres, from Oklahoma with your 61,480 acres, from Oregon with your 13,259,992 acres, from South Dakota with your 1,129,208 acres, from Utah with your 7,449,160 acres, from Washington with your 9,953,166 acres, and from Wyoming with your 8,385,288 acres to assist us in the East to authorize the Government to complete its plans with reference to the national forests in the Atlantic States and to the membership from the South and Middle West to treat us, by your vote and influence, as considerately and wisely as you have the western border of our country.

I am not envious of the great acreage of forests of the far West which the Government has acquired, for I believe in the soundness of the principles which induced our predecessors to appropriate the necessary money for their acquisition and their maintenance, but to our needs in the East, embraced in the confines of the Atlantic States, I plead for your consideration and aid.

Will you by your vote and influence place yourselves and your congressional districts on record denying the people of the Atlantic States an appropriation which will enable us to increase and extend our acreage of 348,275 when you realize that from the same source appropriations have heretofore been made which enabled the West to acquire 138,013,672 acres of national forests, as shown by Government statistics, above referred to?

Mr. Speaker, we are one people, embraced in the territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific and between Canada and the sea. We live under one Government. We all enjoy, directly or indirectly, the blessings of industrial development, the protection of one flag, one country, and one liberty. We are one great family under one parental care—our National Government. Can it be that that parent will deny the appropriation that it gave and provided for five years ago? Will we repudiate and abandon a policy and the authority contained in the Weeks Act, passed in 1911? I think not. I have faith in our Government; I have faith in the wisdom of her rulers; I have faith in the honor and integrity of our citizenship as represented in this body; and I have faith that we will appropriate this needed and necessary money to restore to the full extent the intent and purposes of the Weeks law, which was enacted to conserve the forests of the Appalachian Mountain system and preserve the great watersheds in that system which supply the great arteries of commerce and industries dependent thereon.

Permit me to call your attention to that portion of the report of the Secretary of Agriculture above mentioned:

> In the degree that the forests are damaged on the high watersheds, then, inevitable damage results to water power and navigation through increased extremes of high and low water and through vast deposits of gravel, sand, and silt in the stream channels and in any reservoir which may have been constructed.

Four of the most important rivers of New England have their rise and are supplied with water from the great watersheds forming the White Mountain region. The largest of these streams, the Connecticut River, rises in the lakes of the same name in northern New Hampshire; it forms the boundary line between that State and Vermont for the distance of about 180 miles, and flows across the western part of Massachusetts and the central part of Connecticut, a distance of 120 miles more. It has a drainage basin of 10,924 square miles, and about one-tenth of the same is in the White Mountains. This portion of its watershed averages 4,000 feet in elevation, including portions of the Presidential and Franconia ranges. Their slopes are steep and rocky; there are no large lakes or swamps to retard the flow of water, and only a dense forest covering those mountains prevent the quick and ready flow from them.

Another of these rivers is the Merrimack, which enjoys the reputation of being the most notable water-power stream for its length in the United States. It is formed by the Pemigewasset and Winnepesaukee Rivers. The source of the latter river is in the lake of the same name, while the Pemigewasset River rises in the Franconia Notch in the White Mountains and drains a large area of high mountainous country. This stream also depends upon the forest cover alone for its regularity of flow; it has no lakes or swamps to retard the flow of its waters. Between Franklin, N. H., and Newburyport, Mass., where the Merrimac River reaches the ocean, a distance of 110 miles, it has a fall of 269 feet, of which 185 feet is developed, representing approximately 50,000 net horsepower. Its great water powers are in Manchester, N. H., and Lowell and Lawrence, Mass. On the tributaries of the Merrimack valuable powers exist. Those at Franklin, N. H., on the Winnepesaukee, are equal in value to some on the main stream of the Merrimack.

The third river—the Saco—rises in Crawford Notch, in the heart of the White Mountains, and drains a larger proportion of the principal ranges than any other stream. None of the tributary streams from these mountains have lakes to restrain their waters, though, like the Merrimack at its lower levels it is the outlet of important lakes. Toward its headwaters it flows variably and has no water power. Farther down the stream in Maine we find water powers of great value; at Saco and Biddeford, at Union and Salmon Falls and Bar Mills are excellent water powers which are utilized. At Hiram, near its mouth, is found the most extensive power on the river. This river is more dependent upon the forest cover for the evenness of its flow than any river having its source in the White Mountains.

The fourth river is the Androscoggin; its drainage basin has a higher general elevation and a larger lake system than any other New England stream. It is formed by the union of the Magalloway River and the outlet of Umbagog Lake at Errol, N. H. At its headwaters are the Rangely Lakes, the outlet of which is controlled by dams. Hence the flow of the upper river is uniform. Down its course the river receives the drainage of the northern part of the principal ranges of the White Mountains through Peabody and Moose Rivers. There are no important lakes on this part of its drainage.

The water powers of the Androscoggin are at Berlin, N. H., Rumford Falls, Livermore Falls, Lewiston, and Berwick, Me. In the 167 miles between tidewater and Umbagog Lake there is a fall of 1,235 feet, of which 610 feet is used, giving about 120,000 net horsepower. Of the remaining 625 feet, possibly two-thirds can be utilized, giving about 60,000 horsepower, making a total of 180,000 horsepower.

Thus it will be seen that the watersheds and streams of the White Mountains are of great importance in furnishing power for great industries, and which are the basis of development of many of our prosperous centers in each of the New England States, except the State of Rhode Island.

These streams are dependent and influenced vitally in flow by the forests which cover the tops and slopes of these mountains. These streams which drain this mountainous area are all navigable in their lower courses. The Connecticut River is the more important for its commerce. The Androscoggin and Saco in their upper courses are used to a large extent for the driving of logs.

Upon these streams are located the extensive cotton, woolen, and paper mills of New England. Manufacturing enterprises on these streams represent more than $250,000,000 of capital invested.

Traffic movements upon the Connecticut River consists largely of coal, lumber, building material, and merchandise. It has a developed water power: Wheels, 3,110; horsepower, 292,899. A maximum of available water power of 491,000 horsepower.

Some of the important and flourishing cities or centers that have grown in consequence of these industries are Bellows Falls, in Vermont; Manchester, Franklin, and Berlin, in New Hampshire; Holyoke, Lowell, and Lawrence, in Massachusetts; Biddeford, Brunswick, and Lewiston, in the State of Maine, with populations ranging from 10,000 to 150,000.

Traffic movements upon the Merrimack River consist chiefly of coal and lumber. It has developed water power: Wheels, 1,466; horsepower, 161,333. Power available: Horsepower, assumed maximum, 190,000.

Traffic movements upon the Saco River consist chiefly of coal and building materials. Water power—power developed, used: Wheels, 237; horsepower, 25,332. Power available, maximum assumed, 69,000.

I have not information regarding the traffic movements and horsepower of the Androscoggin River.

*Connecticut River.*

TRAFFIC MOVEMENTS.

| | Tons. | Value. |
|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 723,187 | ..... |
| 1902 | 709,000 | ..... |
| 1903 | 681,000 | ..... |
| 1904 | 675,000 | ..... |
| 1905 | 673,383 | ..... |
| 1906 | 440,024 | $11,531,040 |
| 1907 | 485,704 | 12,349,420 |
| 1908 | 515,581 | 14,001,989 |
| 1909 | 614,780 | 27,162,727 |
| 1910 | 636,874 | 22,689,942 |
| 1912 | 619,445 | 39,443,282 |
| 1913 | 644,633 | 38,843,681 |
| 1914 | 559,728 | 35,193,842 |

*Merrimack River.*

TRAFFIC MOVEMENTS.

| | Tons. | Value. |
|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 60,000 | ..... |
| 1902 | 29,901 | ..... |
| 1903 | 65,400 | ..... |
| 1904 | 76,527 | ..... |
| 1905 | 88,324 | ..... |
| 1906 | 73,827 | ..... |
| 1907 | 98,446 | ..... |
| 1908 | 113,840 | ..... |
| 1909 | 107,021 | ..... |
| 1910 | 102,178 | $540,588.00 |
| 1912 | 86,651 | 438,706.65 |
| 1913 | 108,609 | 513,000.00 |
| 1914 | 88,559 | 501,285.00 |

*Saco River.*

TRAFFIC MOVEMENTS (MOSTLY COAL AND BUILDING MATERIAL).

| | Tons. | Value. |
|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 42,625 | ..... |
| 1902 | 38,072 | ..... |
| 1903 | 33,879 | ..... |
| 1904 | 39,730 | ..... |
| 1905 | 48,537 | ..... |
| 1906 | 40,679 | $206,735 |
| 1907 | 46,120 | 242,679 |
| 1908 | 44,074 | 216,517 |
| 1909 | 50,745 | 241,597 |
| 1910 | 47,155 | 220,000 |
| 1912 | 51,867 | 300,000 |
| 1913 | 68,855 | 385,000 |
| 1914 | 64,251 | 325,000 |

From the foregoing general observations it is clearly noticeable that these streams are of vital importance to navigation in New England and that considerable traffic is handled thereon. More clearly is it seen that these rivers furnish power upon which a large proportion of our industrial development and maintenance depends. It therefore becomes our duty in a prudent, careful, and conservative way to maintain conditions that will give to these industrial centers an even and continuous flow of water, also maintain the same condition farther down the streams nearer their outlets for the traffic that constantly moves thereon.

From another viewpoint, which relates to the health and pleasure of the people living between the Atlantic coast and the Middle West; aye, to many of the American citizens residing west of the great Mississippi River. In these mountainous regions of New England, extending from the western part of Massachusetts, north through Vermont and New Hampshire, on either side of the Connecticut River, then deflecting northeast to the northern part of Maine, we find the inland health retreats and pleasure resorts of the Northeast. Near the central portion thereof, created centuries ago, are the picturesque mountains and gorges, collectively designated as the White Mountains, situated as they are northerly of the beautiful and placid waters of Lake Winnepesaukee, with their peaks rising to various altitudes thousands of feet above the level of the sea, each and every one having its characteristic and picturesque lines of beauty, and all bowing gracefully and obediently to Mount Washington, whose apex is 6,280 feet above the water level. Here are found locations for camps, homes, and pleasure resorts where many thousands of tired and careworn people enjoy rest and recreation for many months of the year.

Through this area the traveler, by vehicle, during the hot and burdensome days of July and August can wend his way in comfort, enjoying an atmosphere which is healthful and invigorating perfumed with the odor of the white pine, the fir, birch, and maple which grows on either side of the many highways. Radiating from these highways are paths and trails for the pedestrian and nature hunter to ascend or descend the mountain sides and from the apex of 75 mountains view the landscape for hundreds of miles around. It is in this country that the tired find rest; the sick find health; the weak find strength; the artist finds scenes to copy upon the canvas; the student and lover of nature, the fisherman and hunter each finds satisfaction for his time and efforts. It is here that the people from the crowded centers of the East, of the Middle West, and the extreme West and South go for vacations of different durations, and it is to this class of our population that our hostelries in the northern part of the State extend the hand of welcome and provide for every comfort of the visitor, which tends to make their stay healthful and enjoyable and impresses their soul with a real desire for an opportunity to return year after year and enjoy the grandeur, beauty, and varying scenes which nature possesses in northern New Hampshire, and which many describe as the "Switzerland of America."

In addition to the industrial benefit to New England and our country, these forests, if preserved and maintained, will prove a lasting benefit year by year to thousands and thousands of members of the great American human family, whose health, comfort, and pleasures we should always foster and preserve.

## Army Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 9, 1916.*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I strained my conscience almost to the breaking point when I voted for the Army appropriation bill as it passed the House, carrying the enormous total of $182,303,356.10, an increase of $81,000,000, or about 80 per cent over the amount carried in the bill for the fiscal year 1916.

The bill as it passed the Senate carried a total of $313,970,447.10, an increase over the House bill of $131,667,091. In conference the House conferees succeeded in paring the Senate figures down by $46,373,917, leaving a net increase in the appropriations over those carried in the original House bill of $85,293,174. There is nothing in the condition of the country to warrant this tremendous increase for military purposes. It is sheer extravagance to which I can not in good conscience lend my approval.

If the opportunity were offered, I should vote against this wasteful measure. As matters stand, the only thing left for me to do is to register my protest and to say to this House that, in my judgment, the chickens sent abroad to-day will, sooner or later, come home to roost. The American people will in good time make it clear that militarism and military extravagance have no proper place in this free Republic.

## Wage Increases.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. THOMAS F. KONOP,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. KONOP. Mr. Speaker, the accompanying is a tabulation of wage increases from July 1, 1915, to May 15, 1916, as reported in the daily and trade papers of the country so far as it was possible to examine files. In the collection of the material 18 representative metropolitan daily newspapers were read, most of them for the whole period from July 1, 1915, to May 15, 1916. Twenty semimonthly or monthly trade journals and union-labor periodicals were read for the same period. In addition, there were about 100 weekly and monthly trade journals examined for the last two months of the period, so that in all the files of 128 papers were examined.

A card was made for each increase in wages noted in these journals. Some 3,000 cards resulted. Nothing was considered a wage increase which did not mean that more money was being received by the employees. For instance, a large number of cases were noted in which there was a reduction of hours without reduction of pay. These were eliminated as not being increases in wages.

The 3,000 wage-increase cards were then carefully sorted for duplicates and the number reduced to 1,486, and this number, from which every effort has been made to eliminate duplicates, was used as the basis for the following tabulation. The various statements have been tabulated by States and industries. No attempt has been made to classify by occupations. In many cases the industry classification has necessarily been made quite general. This general classification was found necessary owing to the indefinite character of many of the published newspaper statements upon which the tabulation is based.

Wherever possible the number of establishments involved and the number of employees affected by the increase of wages have been given, as also the date on which the increase became effective. In some instances, while the date upon which the increase was granted is not reported, the date upon which it became effective has been shown.

In the column of the detailed tabulation headed "Increase" is given the amount of the increase secured by the employees as nearly as that could be ascertained from the press notices. In some instances it was shown in the form of percentage; in others the increase in the hourly, daily, or weekly rate is given. The material is tabulated by States and under the State by industry within that State, except some 33 instances of increases by interstate establishments, such as railroads, iron and steel and other establishments operating in two or more States. These are brought together at the end of the tabulation.

Table II is a summary of all the statements included in Table I by States without regard to industry. This table shows for each State the total number of wage increases noted, the number of reports which showed establishments involved, and the total number of establishments involved, as published. It also shows the number of reports that give data relative to the number of employees that were affected by the increase and the aggregate number of employees who were reported to have received an increase in wages. Here again the interstate establishments are noted at the bottom of the table.

Interpreting the totals of this summary, it should be read as follows:

One thousand four hundred and eighty-six notices of wage increases were clipped from the papers examined. Of these 794 reported the number of establishments involved in the increase; 692 do not show the number of establishments involved. The 794 items showing the number of establishments involved reported 2,247 establishments as having been affected by the increase in wages. Of the 1,486 newspaper notices, 493 showed the number of employees affected, the number so reported being 1,901,322; but of the 1,486 notices, 993 did not show the number of employees affected.

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, and the number of employees affected, by States and industries, July 1, 1915, to May 15, 1916.*

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA. | | | | |
| Railroad operation | 1 | | | Mar. 17, 1916 |
| ALASKA. | | | | |
| Railroad operation | 1 | 4 to 7 cents per hour, laborers; 15 to 20 cents per hour, skilled. | | Apr. 29, 1916 |
| ARIZONA. | | | | |
| Building trades | 1 | Up to $6 per day | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | 25 to 50 cents per day | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| Mining and smelting | | $3 per week | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | 20 per cent | 5,000 | —, 1916 |
| | | 88 cents per day | 4,000 | |
| | | 50 cents per day | | Apr. 16, 1916 |
| | | Up to 60 cents per hour | 4,000 | |
| CALIFORNIA. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | 150 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | do | 64 | Do. |
| | | $1 to $2 per week | 29 | Do. |
| Brewery workers | | $2 to $8 per week | | |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per day | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 4 | Up to 62½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 50 cents per day | 700 | |
| | 2 | 60 cents to $1 per day | | |
| | | | | Do. |
| | 7 | 60 cents to $1 per day | | |
| | | Machinists to $3.75 to $4; molders and blacksmiths $4; pattern makers $5; steam fitters $3.50; machine hands $3. | | |
| Hotels and restaurants. | | Waiters $2 per day; first cook, $18 per week; second cooks, $16 per week. | | |
| Laborers, city | 1 | Up to $3 per day | | |
| Laundry workers | 1 | | | —, 1916 |
| Metal workers, not specified. | 1 | Up to $4 per day | | Feb. 19, 1916 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $2 and $2.20 per week | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | | $1 per week | | |
| | | Up to $25 per week | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| Stone cutting | | | | Do. |
| Telephone construction. | | Up to $2.50 per day | | |
| CONNECTICUT. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 and $2 per week | 116 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | 60 | Do. |
| | | $2 per week | 155 | Do. |
| | | $2 per week for bench hands. | 19 | Do. |
| | | $1 per week | 80 | Do. |
| Building trades | | 25 cents per day | | Do. |
| | | 6¼ cents per hour | | |
| | | 4 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 2 cents per hour | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | $2.50 per week | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per day | | Do. |
| | | 24 cents per day | | |
| | | Painters, 4½ cents; paper hangers, 5 cents per hour. | | |
| | | 14 cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 36 cents per day | | Do. |
| Clothing | | Tailors, $2, $3, and $4; pressmen, $2; female helpers, $1, $2, and $3. | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 12½ per cent | | |
| | 1 | | 8,000<br>8,500 | Aug. 14, 1915 |
| | 1 | 48 hours with pay for 55 hours. | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products | 1 | 15 per cent | 2,000 | Mar. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Sept. 20, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10, 15, 20, and 25 per cent as to patterns. | | Sept. 15, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | do | 4,600 | Nov. 15, 1915 |
| | 1 | 25 per cent, piecework | | |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 2,600 | Sept. 28, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | Before Oct. 19, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Oct. 21, 1915 |
| | 3 | do | | Sept. 9, 1915 |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONNECTICUT—contd. | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | 5 per cent | 1,000 | Apr. 1, 1916; June 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 7½ per cent | 100 | Oct. 15, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Before Sept. 9, 1915 |
| | 1 | ....do | 1,300 | Feb. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | ....do | | |
| | 19 | 15 per cent | 23,015 | Sept. 11, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 8,000 | Aug. 25, 1915 |
| | 1 | 2½ cents per hour | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 80 | Sept. 12, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | July 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | 500–900 | Oct. 21, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 900 | Sept. 11, 1915 |
| | 1 | | 56 | Aug. 25, 1915 |
| | 16 | | | |
| | 1 | | 1,530 | Sept. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 14½ per cent | | Oct. 16, 1915 |
| | 2 | 10 per cent | 22 | |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Sept. 18, 1915 |
| | | | 30,000 | |
| | 1 | | 231 | Aug. 23, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | Aug. 2, 1915 |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | 3,300 | Aug. 13, 1915 |
| | 1 | 12½ per cent, piecework | | |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 250 | Aug. 31, 1915 |
| Laborers | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 175 | Feb. 17, 1916 |
| Metal workers, not specified. | 1 | 15 per cent | 150 | May —, 1916 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 3 | | | Sept. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | Apr. 12, 1916 |
| | | 54 hours, double pay Sundays. | 12 | Aug. 31, 1915 |
| | | | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | $4 and $5 per week | | |
| | | 20 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 25 to 50 cents per day | 100 | |
| Munitions and fire-arms. | 1 | | | Mar. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | May 25, 1916 |
| Paper and paper goods | 1 | 25 cents per day | 150 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | | 12½ per cent | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | | May 4, 1916 |
| | | $3, $6, and $7 | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | $1.50 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| Rubber goods | 1 | 12½ per cent | | Sept. 13, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | Oct. 11, 1915 |
| Silverware | 1 | | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Dec. —, 1915 |
| | 1 | ....do | 225 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| Textiles | | 5 per cent | 10,000–15,000 | |
| | 4 | 5 to 10 per cent | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 8 | ....do | 3,000 | Apr. 20, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | 100 | Feb. 23, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 cents per 100 pounds of yarn. | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 2,700 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | Do. |
| COLORADO. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $2 per week | 13 | May 1, 1916 |
| Building trades | | $1 per day | | Do. |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | | ....do | | Do. |
| | 7 | ....do | 50 | |
| Clothing | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shop. | | | | Do. |
| Iron and steel | 1 | 10 per cent | 6,000 | Apr. 15, 1916 |
| | 1 | ....do | 4,500 | —— —, 1916 |
| Mining, other than coal. | 1 | 10 to 25 per cent | 1,500 | Sept. —, 1915 |
| | | 10 per cent | | —— —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 to 10 per cent and bonus | 500 | May 10, 1916 |
| | | 10 per cent | 1,500 | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | 300 | |
| Mining, coal | 1 | 10 per cent | 5,000 | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 4,000 | —— —, 1916 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | 4 | $1 per week | | |
| | | | | Jan. —, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | | |
| DELAWARE. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| Foundry and machine shops. | | ....do | | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. | | | | |
| Building trades | | Millmen, 25 cents per day; others, 7½ cents an hour. | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 7½ cents per hour | 70 | May 1, 1916 |
| Foundry and machine shops. | 4 | Double for overtime, Sundays and holidays; machinists, minimum to $4 per day; machinists' apprentice not less than 75 cents per day after 21 years old. | | Mar. 11, 1916 |
| | 1 | Average about 40 cents per day. | 250 | |
| | 1 | Machinists, 24 cents per day; toolmakers, 32 cents per day. | 1,800 | Oct. 9, 1915 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1.80 per week (daywork) | | —— —, 1916 |
| Street railways | 1 | 1 to 4½ cents per hour | 1,200 | Mar. 13, 1916 |
| FLORIDA. | | | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1 per week | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | Hand men, $3 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| GEORGIA. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 7½ cents per hour | | |
| | | Up to $5 for 8 hours | | |
| Foundry and machine shops. | 8 | 2½ to 5 cents per hour | 50 | |
| | | | 50 | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | 90 cents to $2.80 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| | 1 | $1 per week | | Jan. —, 1916 |
| HAWAII. | | | | |
| Laborers, sugar | 1 | 20 per cent | 40,000 | May 4, 1916 |
| IDAHO. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per day | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | ....do | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1.50 per week—all | | —— —, 1916 |
| ILLINOIS. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | 17 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 2,099, $1, and 349, 75 cents per week. | 2,448 | Do. |
| | | $2 per week | 46 | Do. |
| | | $1 per week | 16 | Do. |
| Brewery workers | 2 | | | |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | 10 cents per hour | | |
| | | Up to 50 cents per hour | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | ....do | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | ....do | | May —, 1916 |
| | | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | Up to $5 per day | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 2½ to 5 cents per hour | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| Clothing | | 10 per cent | 1,000 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 70 | |
| | 1 | ....do | | |
| | 1 | 10 to 40 per cent | | Jan. —, 1916 |
| | | | 6,000 | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | 3 to 5 cents | | |
| | 1 | Machinists, to 40 cents; apprentices, to 10 cents per hour. | | |
| | 1 | Machinists, to 43½ cents per hour; toolworkers, to 49½ cents per hour. | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | To 40 cents per hour minimum. | | |
| | 1 | 1 and 2 cents per hour | | |
| | 2 | Machinists, to minimum of 43½ cents per hour; tool and die makers, to minimum of 49½ cents per hour. | | |
| | | Up to $3.75 per day (minimum). | | |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | 8 per cent | 200 | |
| | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent per hour | | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ILLINOIS—continued. | | | | |
| Laborers | 1 | Foremen, $5 per month; laborers, 1½ cents per hour. | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| Theaters | | $1 per week | | |
| Printing and bookbinding | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | | | Do. |
| | | | | Do. |
| | | $1 to $3 per week | | —— —, 1915 |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | | 2 cents per hour | | —— —, 1915 |
| | | $2 to $3 per week | | July 1, 1915 |
| | | $2 per week | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | do | | |
| Railroads | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 800 | May 10, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1 cent per hour | | |
| | 1 | $2.50 to $7 per month | 4,000 | Apr. 22, 1916 |
| | 1 | $5 to $10 per month | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| Street railway | 1 | 2 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 3 cents to 4 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Dec. 16, 1915 |
| Stockyards and packing plants. | | 2 cents to 5 cents per hour | 40,000 | May 10, 1916 |
| | 4 | 60 cents to $1 per week | 30,000 | Mar. 11, 1916 |
| | 3 | | 5,000 | Feb. 28, 1916 |
| Teamsters, drivers, etc | | Up to 62½ cents per hour | | |
| | | Up to $1.50 per day | 1,500 | |
| Miscellaneous | | $1 per week | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | | $7.50 to $17.50 per month | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 7½ per cent | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,100 | Jan. 15, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | | Apr. 15, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | 13 | | | May 16, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | | 7½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 10 per cent to mechanics, 2½ cents to helpers. | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| INDIANA. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | 79 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | do | 55 | Do. |
| Building trades | | 2½ cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | | | May —, 1916 |
| | 10 | 5 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | | do | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | do | | |
| | | do | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | 10 per cent | 4,000 | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | May —, 1916 |
| | | Machine operators, minimum, 40 cents per hour. | | |
| | | Molder and bench, minimum, 30 cents per hour. | | |
| | | Floor molder, minimum, 25 cents per hour. | | |
| | 1 | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | | 40 per cent | | |
| | | 10 per cent | 4,500 | Mar. 1, 1916 |
| Laborers | 1 | 5 cents per hour | | |
| Printing and book binding. | | $1 per week | | May 31, 1916 |
| | | $1.50 per week | | July 1, 1915 |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | | | Do |
| Miscellaneous | | Up to $1.70 per day | | |
| | | 10 per cent each month for 10 months. | 800 | Aug. 1, 1915 |
| | | $3 per week | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 3,000 | |
| IOWA. | | | | |
| Bakeries | | $2 per week | | |
| Building trades | 1 | | | |
| | | | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | | do | | Do. |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| | | 25 per cent | | |
| Foundry and machine shops. | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | | do | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1 per week for 2 years | | June 1, 1916 |
| Street railway operation. | | 1 cent per hour | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | 1 to 4 cents per hour | | Do. |
| Teamsters and drivers | | $1 to $4 per week | | |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 8 per cent | 2,300 | Feb. 26, 1916 |
| | | 30 per cent | | |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | Apr. 17, 1916 |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| KANSAS. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1.50 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | | Do. |
| | | Job, 75 cents a week; news, $1 a week. | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| Miscellaneous | | Women, to $1 per day; $1.50 for Saturday and overtime. | | |
| | | 50 cents per day | | Apr. —, 1916 |
| KENTUCKY. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| Iron and steel | | 10 cents per day | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | Tonnage men, 10 per cent; laborers, 10 cents per day. | | Jan. 27, 1916 |
| Laborers | 1 | Up to $2 per day | | |
| Mining, coal | 1 | 10 per cent | | July 16, 1915 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | 1 | $2 per week | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | | $1.50 per week | | Oct. 28, 1915 |
| | | Assistant foremen, $1; journeymen, $1.50 per week. | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | | Foremen, to $24 per week; journeymen, $3 a day. | | |
| Street railway operation. | 1 | City, to 17 to 21 cents; suburban, 20 to 21 cents. | | |
| LOUISIANA. | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | $5 to $7.50 per month | 1,800 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 50 to 75 cents per day | 2,330 | |
| MAINE. | | | | |
| Longshormen | 1 | | | |
| Paper and paper goods | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 1,000 | Feb. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | 9 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | 1 | $1 per week | | |
| Street railway operatives. | 1 | 10 cents per day | 100 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| Textile workers | 1 | | 900 | Jan. 5, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 7,000 | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 800 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 1,050 | Jan. 17, 1916 |
| Water transportation | 1 | | | May —, 1916 |
| MARYLAND. | | | | |
| Bakeries | | $1 per week | 75 | May 1, 1916 |
| Breweries | | do | (1) | |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per day | | |
| Clothing | 1 | 15 per cent | | |
| Foundry and machine shops. | 2 | 16 to 24 cents per day | | |
| | 8 | 3½ cents per hour | 150 | |
| | 2 | Up to minimum, 40½ cents per hour; maximum, 50 cents per hour. | 400 | |
| | 1 | 15 to 25 per cent | 100 | |
| | 1 | 30 per cent | 1,600 | |
| | 1 | 15 to 25 per cent | 2,000 | |
| | 1 | 15 to 30 per cent | 25 | |
| | 1 | 30 to 33⅓ cents per hour | 2,000 | |
| Longshoremen | | 1½ for overtime; 2 for Sundays and holidays; 2½ to 7½ cents per hour. | 4,000 | |
| Stone cutting | | 3½ cents per hour | | |
| Mining (coal) | | 2½ cents per ton; 10 cents per day for laborers. | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 12, 1916 |
| Other metals (not specified). | 1 | 10 to 17 per cent | 600 | May 1, 1916 |
| MASSACHUSETTS. | | | | |
| Bakeries | | $1 per week | 31 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | do | 57 | Do. |
| | | do | 26 | Do. |
| | | do | 49 | Do. |
| | | do | 18 | Do. |
| Boots and shoes | 1 | | | |
| | | 10 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | To $21 per week | | |
| Breweries | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| Building trades | | | | May —, 1915 |
| | | | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 700 | Jan. 24, 1916 |
| | | From 45 cents per hour for 48-hour week to 50 cents per hour for 44-hour week. | | June 26, 1915 |

(1) Several hundred.

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MASSACHUSETTS—con. | | | | |
| Building trades | | | | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | | $2 per week | | Mar. —, 1916 |
| | | 3½ cents per hour | | |
| | 22 | 5½ cents per hour | | |
| | 75 | do | | |
| | | Demanded $6 per day; returned to work at desired rate pending settlement. | 600 | July 1, 1916 |
| | | 30 cents per day | 200 | Do. |
| | | 20 cents per day | 50 | Oct. 27, 1915 |
| Candy | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,200 | Sept. 2, 1915 |
| Clothing | | do | 500 | Apr. 4, 1916 |
| | | Ranging up to 33 per cent | (1) | |
| | 1 | 8½ per cent | | |
| | | 5 to 20 per cent | (2) | |
| | | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | New scale; old scale not reported. | | |
| Firearms and munitions | 2 | | 500 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| Foundry and machine-shop products | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | 125 | Dec. —, 1915 |
| | 1 | | 220 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 150 | May 8, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 20 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 25, 1916 |
| | 3 | | 1,950 | Sept. 15, 1915 |
| | 1 | | 75 | Dec. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 500 | July —, 1915 |
| | 1 | | 200 | Sept. 13, 1915 |
| | 2 | | 2,500 | |
| | 1 | 24 cents per day | | |
| | 2 | 25 cents per day | 500 | Jan. 31, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 450 | Jan. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 450 | |
| | 1 | | 2,000 | |
| | 1 | | 15 | |
| | 1 | | 40 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 900 | May 2, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 800 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | Apr. —, 1916 |
| | 2 | 7½ per cent | 2,500 | Feb. 2, 1916 |
| | | | | July —, 1915 |
| | 1 | | 400 | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | do | 6,000 | Sept. 28, 1910 |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | Dec. 14, 1915 |
| | 1 | 19½ per cent | 4,500 | Apr. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 to 15 cents | 225 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | 55 | Feb. 8, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 55 | Jan. 24, 1916 |
| | | do | | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | | Apr. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | May —, 1916 |
| | 2 | | | Apr. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 2½ cents per hour | 1,100–1,200 | Feb. 7, 1916 |
| | 6 | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 10 to 15 per cent | 175 | Feb. 4, 1916 |
| | | | | Aug. 11, 1915 |
| | 1 | Loop men and coremakers, 8 per cent; day laborers, 25 cents per day. | 400 | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | | 550–600 | |
| Laborers | 1 | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | (1) | |
| | 1 | | | May —, 1916 |
| Longshoremen | 1 | 5 cents per hour | 300 | Apr. 5, 1916 |
| | 1 | 7 cents per day; Sundays, 10 cents. | 150 | Apr. 19, 1916 |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour for day work. | | Apr. 12, 1916 |
| | 1 | Grain handlers, 5 cents per hour; general cargo, 2 cents per hour. | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 4 cents per hour from 5.30 to 7 a. m.; 2½ cents per hour from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. | | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| Paper and paper goods | 1 | 10 per cent; foremen, $2 per week. | | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 175 | Feb. —, 1916 |
| | 4 | | 500 | |
| | 1 | Day workers, 25 cents per day; piece workers, 10 per cent. | 3,700 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 11 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Jan. 31, 1916 |

(1) Several hundred.
(2) Several thousand.

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MASSACHUSETTS—con. | | | | |
| Paper and paper goods | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | | 50–75 | Feb. 12, 1914 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 18½ cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 75 cents per week | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| Printing and bookbinding | 1 | Men, $2 per week; women, $2.50. | | |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| | | Machine men, $2 per week | | |
| | | $4 per week in all, $1 each year for 4 years. | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | $1 per year for job and machine men; foremen, $2 per week. | | |
| | | $3 per week | | |
| | | 50 cents in 1916; 50 cents in 1917. | | |
| Railroads (street) | 1 | Surface line employees, ¼ cent per hour; elevated motormen, 1 cent per hour; all others ½ cent per hour. | | |
| | 1 | ½ cent per hour | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | Motormen, 2 cents per hour; conductors, 3 cents. | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| Stone cutting | | Ranging from 33 to 60 cents per day. | | May 1916 |
| | | 75 cents per day (?) | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | 1,400 | Do. |
| Teamsters and drivers | 1 | $1 per week | | |
| | 1 | do | | Dec. 1, 1915 |
| | | | | Sept. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | do | | May —, 1916 |
| Textile workers | | 10 per cent | 50,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,000 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 700 | Apr. 22, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | Apr. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | | |
| | 1 | do | 40 | Jan. 19, 1916 |
| | | do | 32,100 | Jan. 24, 1916 |
| | 6 | do | 2,100 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 6 | 10 per cent | 2,100 | Apr. 19, 1916 |
| | 1 | 38 cents per week to all earning less than $8. | 100 | Feb. —, 1916 |
| | 4 | 10 per cent | 1,300 | Apr. 19, 1916 |
| | 2 | do | 500 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 to 10 per cent | 2,000 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 12½ to 25 per cent | 150 | |
| | 2 | 10 per cent | 2,900 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 2,200 | |
| | 1 | | 1,200 | Do. |
| | | 5 per cent | 32,000 | Jan. 15, 1916 |
| | | | 20,000 | Apr. 24, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 7,000 | |
| | 2 | | 6,500 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 2,000 | Do. |
| | 1 | | | Do. |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 600 | Jan. 15, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 2,700 | Jan. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 2½ cents per hour | 21 | Nov. 18, 1916 |
| | 5 | 5 per cent | 2,300 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 450 | Apr. 24, 1916 |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | 450 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 3 | 5 per cent | 925 | Jan. 24, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 400 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 500 | Jan. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Apr. 19, 1916 |
| | 4 | 5 per cent | 750 | Jan. 24, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,000 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | do | | |
| | 1 | 5.2 per cent | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 300 | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 2 | 10 per cent | 3,000 | Mar. 25, 1916 |
| | 1 | 7 to 12 per cent | 2,500 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 5 per cent | | |
| | | 10 per cent | 2,200 | |
| | 2 | $1 to $3 per week | | Jan. 15, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 800 | Apr. 20, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 100 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | | Do. |
| | | 25 per cent | 50 | Mar. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 cents per day | 200 | Jan. 10, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | $5 per month | | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 2,000 | Feb. 16, 1916 |

(1) Second increase since Jan. 1, 1916.

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MICHIGAN. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 and $2 per week | 78 | May 1, 1916 |
| Brewery workers | | | | |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | 5 | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | Minimum wages, up to 37½ cents; 35 cents; beginners, 24 cents. | | |
| | 1 | Minimum, up to 42 cents per hour for inside; outside, 62½ cents; apprentices, first year, 14 cents; second year, 16 cents; third year, 19 cents; fourth year, 21½ cents. | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | Piece rate enabling men to earn $4 per day. | | |
| | 1 | Minimum, up to $4 per day. | | |
| | 2 | Up to 45 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | Up to $4 per day | | |
| Longshoremen | 1 | 5 cents per hour | | Dec. —, 1915 |
| Railroads, steam | 1 | Machinists, 2 cents per hour; boiler makers, 1½ cents per hour. | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per week | | Do. |
| | | $1 per week | | Do. |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | | | Feb. 26, 1916 |
| Street railway operation. | 1 | First 6 months, up to 27½ cents per hour; next 12 months up to 32½ cents per hour; thereafter, up to 35 cents per hour. | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | $1.50 to $2.50 per week | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 14,000 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | July 5, 1916 |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 6 cents per hour | | Apr. 6, 1916 |
| | 1 | Up to 50 cents per hour | | |
| | | 50 cents to $1.50 per week | | |
| MINNESOTA. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $2 per week | 18 | May 1, 1916 |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | ....do | | Do. |
| | | 7½ cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | Do. |
| | | Up to $3 per day | | |
| | 1 | 6¼ cents per hour | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | | Up to $5 per day | | |
| | | 10 per cent | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 76 cents per day | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1.50 to $3.50 per week | | |
| | | $1.50 per week, hand scale; $1 per week, machine men. | | ——, —, 1916. |
| Teamsters (and drivers). | | $2.50 per week | | |
| | | Up to $3.25 per day | | |
| MISSISSIPPI. | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 2 | | | |
| Railroads, steam | 2 | | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | 90 cents to $1 per week | | |
| MISSOURI. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week each 6 months for helpers. | 29 | May 1, 1916 |
| Brewery workers | | $1 per week | | |
| | | $1 per week upward | | |
| Building trades | 1 | 45 cents per day | | |
| | | 20 cents per day | 225 | Do. |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | Up to 65 cents per hour | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| Foundry and machine-shop products | 7 | 4 to 8 cents per hour | | |
| | | Up to $4.25 per day | | |
| | 2 | Up to 53 cents per hour plus $1 per week. | | May 1, 1915 |
| | 7 | | | Do. |
| | 16 | | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | 12½ per cent average | | Apr. 27, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,700 | Prior to May, 1916. |
| | 1 | 3 to 7 cents per hour | | |
| | | Up to $4 per day | | |
| | 1 | 4 cents per hour | | |
| | 2 | ....do | | |
| | 1 | Up to $1.25 per day | | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MISSOURI—cont'd. | | | | |
| Laborers | 1 | 25 cents per day, day laborers; 50 cents per day, fire and water board. | 1,100 | Jan. 25, 1916 |
| Railroads, steam | 1 | Engineers, 35 cents per day; firemen, 25 cents per day; others, 45 and 35 cents per day. | | Mar. 8, 1916 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1.50 to $3 per week | | |
| | | 6 months $1 per week; second 6 months, 50 cents per week; third 6 months 50 cents per week. | | |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | $1 per week | | —— —, 1915 |
| | | $2 per week | | Feb. 4, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per week | | July 1, 1915 |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| Teamsters and drivers | | $1 per week | | |
| | | $2 to $4 per week | 90 | |
| | | 50 cents per week | 1,500 | Aug. 15, 1915 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 10 per cent | { 5,000–6,000 | |
| | | Up to $1.10 per day | | |
| | | $1 per week | 30,000 | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | | $2 per week | | Sept. 1, 1915 |
| | | 10 per cent | 7,000 | May 4, 1916 |
| MONTANA. | | | | |
| Building trades | | $1 per day | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | ....do | | May —, 1916 |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 2 | Minimum up to 50 cents per hour. | | June 15, 1915 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1.50 per week | | —— —, 1915 |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| Teamsters and drivers | | 50 cents per day | | |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | 25 cents per day | 25,000 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | Salaried employees, 10 per cent; 25 cents per day, miners. | 25,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | Up to $5 per day | | |
| NEBRASKA. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 50 to 55 cents per day | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 15 per cent | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 7½ cents per hour | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | Foremen, up to $3.75 per day; journeymen, up to $3 per day. | | |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | ....do | | May 13, 1916 |
| | | 7½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 2 cents per hour | | |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | 33 | May 1, 1916 |
| Boots and shoes | 1 | | | |
| Building trades | | 3½ cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | 32 cents per day | | |
| Stone cutting | | 75 cents per day | | |
| | | ....do | | |
| Street railway operators. | | First three years, 1 cent per hour; sixth and seventh years, 3½ cents per hour; others, 2 cents per hour. | | |
| Textile workers | 1 | 10 per cent | | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | | ....do | 500 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 300 | Apr. 24, 1916 |
| | 1 | ....do | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 2 | 5 per cent | 20,000 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 2 | | | |
| | 2 | | 20,000 | Apr. 24, 1916 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 10 per cent | 600 | May 1, 1916 |
| NEW JERSEY. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | 50 | Do. |
| | | ....do | 55 | Do. |
| | | $1 and $2 per week | 138 | Do. |
| | | $1 per week | 436 | Do. |
| | | ....do | 66 | Do. |
| | | $1 and $2 for Jewish members. | | Do. |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per day | | May —, 1916 |
| | | Bricklayers, up to 70 cents per hour, laborers, up to 37½ cents per hour. | 1,800 | Before Apr. 2, 1916. |
| | | 50 cents per day | 1,500 | Before Sept. 2, 1915. |
| | | ....do | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | Before Sept —, 1915. |
| | | 25 cents per day | (1) | May 10, 1916 |
| | | | | Before May 9, 1916. |

[1] Several hundred.

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEW JERSEY—contd. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 40 cents per day | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | | Electricians, up to $4 to $4.50 per day; helpers, 5 per cent. | | Before Mar. —, 1916. |
| Clothing | 1 | $1 per week | 450 | May —, 1916 |
| | | | | Before Apr. —, 1916. |
| | 1 | | 200 | Before May 6, 1916. |
| | 1 | 20 cents a skin for dressing rabbits. | 50 | Before May 10, 1916. |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | | | Before Oct. 14, 1915. |
| | 1 | 50 cents per day | 90 | Before Feb. 10, 1916. |
| | 3 | 2 cents per hour | 6,000 | May 9, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1 cent per hour | | Aug. 16, 1915 |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | 500 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | $1.44 per week | 150 | |
| | 1 | | 500 | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | | |
| | 2 | 9 per cent | 77 | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 250 | Oct. 12, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | Before Oct. 14, 1915. |
| | 1 | 7 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 15 cents per day | | Apr. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 12 per cent | 120 | |
| | 1 | 17 per cent | 16 | |
| | 1 | | 350 | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | 30 | |
| | 1 | Saturday afternoon off; overtime. | | |
| | 4 | 25 to 75 cents per day | 100 | |
| | | Up to $4.65 per day | | Apr. 2, 1916 |
| | | Up to $5 per day | | June 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 50 | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 13 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 250 | |
| | 21 | 3 cents per hour | 122 | |
| | 1 | 15 to 25 cents per day; others, 10 cents per day | | Before Oct. 14, 1915. |
| | 1 | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | Up to $4.25 per day | | |
| | 1 | 22½ per cent | 450 | —— —, 1915 |
| | 1 | 22 per cent | 550 | Do. |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 28 | Do. |
| | 4 | 12½ per cent | 354 | Do. |
| | 2 | 12 per cent | 190 | Do. |
| | 1 | 11 per cent | 72 | Do. |
| | 1 | 8½ per cent | 175 | Do. |
| | 1 | 7 per cent | 285 | Do. |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 6 | Do. |
| | 1 | 4 per cent | 23 | Do. |
| | 1 | 32 per cent | 12 | Do. |
| | 1 | 28 per cent | 22 | Do. |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 16 | Do. |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | Do. |
| | 1 | ....do | 8 | Do. |
| | 3 | 12½ per cent | 25 | Do. |
| | 2 | 12 per cent | 1,558 | Do. |
| | 2 | 5 per cent | 20 | Do. |
| Iron and steel | 1 | To 19½ cents per hour | | Aug. 3, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Aug. —, 1915 |
| | 1 | ....do | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | Increase of 5 per cent for all receiving less than $3. | | Do. |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Do. |
| | 1 | 10 per cent a few days | 1,000 | |
| | 1 | After 25 per cent increase to all, 5 cents per hour. | 6,000 | Feb. —, 1916 |
| Miners, metal | 2 | 10 per cent | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 10 per cent (approximate) | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | Up to 26 cents per hour; 1¼ cents overtime. | | |
| | | $2.50 per week | | |
| | 1 | Male, 20 per cent; female, 18 per cent. | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 28½ per cent | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | $1 per week | | |
| | 1 | 5 to 10 per cent | | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 to 15 per cent | 1,800 | July 30, 1915 |
| | | 10 to 15 per cent | 15,000 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 300 | |
| | 1 | 7½ per cent | 1,000 | Mar. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| Munitions and firearms. | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | | 25 | |
| | 1 | $1 per 100 bullets | 30 | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEW JERSEY—contd. | | | | |
| Printers | | $1.50 per week | | |
| | | To $25, hand men; $27, machine men. | | |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | $1 per week | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per week | | |
| | | $1 per week | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| Railroads, operation | 1 | 10 per cent | 700 | |
| | 1 | ....do | | |
| Rubber goods | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| Teamsters | | $1 to $2 per week | | |
| | | $1 per week | | Dec. —, 1915 |
| Textiles | 1 | 10 per cent | 400 | |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | Before Apr. 29, 1916. |
| | | 25 per cent | 1,000 | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | ½ cent per yard | | Sept. 14, 1915 |
| | 3 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | ....do | | |
| | 1 | ....do | 500 | May 4, 1916 |
| | 1 | ....do | | Do. |
| | 1 | ....do | | May —, 1916 |
| | | ....do | | Mar. 1, 1916 |
| | 2 | 5 per cent | 1,600 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| NEW YORK. | | | | |
| Autos | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Mar. 3, 1916 |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | | May —, 1916 |
| | | $1 and $2 per week | 1,297 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | 564 | Do. |
| | | $2 per week | | Do. |
| | | Foremen, $2; second hands, $1; Hebrews, $2. | 200 | Do. |
| | | $1 per week for bench hands. | | Do. |
| | | $2 per week | 25 | Do. |
| Breweries | | To $23 per week | | |
| | 1 | $1 per week | | May —, 1916 |
| | | | | May 1, 1916 |
| Building trades | | 35 cents per day | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | | | 150 | |
| | | 50 cents per day | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | 3½ cents per hour | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | | 25 cents per day | | Aug. 1, 1915 |
| | | 10 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 27 cents per day | | |
| | 600 | 25 cents per day | 14,000 | |
| | 100 | To $5 per day | 5,000 | Mar. 10, 1916 |
| | | ....do | 7,000 | Apr. 7, 1916 |
| | | 30 cents per day | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | 40 cents per day | | May —, 1916 |
| | | To $4.50 per day | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | | ....do | | May —, 1916 |
| Cigar makers | 1 | | | |
| Clothing | 13 | 10 per cent | | |
| | | 10 to 15 per cent | 3,000 | Mar. —, 1916 |
| | | To operators, 70 cents; cutters, $27.50; pressers, $24; underpressers, $20.15; machine button sewers, $18 per week, or 15 to 30 per cent. | 6,000 | |
| | | 10 per cent; $1 per week to girls; $2 to cutters. | | |
| | | 13 to 20 per cent | | |
| | | 50 cents to $2.50 per week | 40,088 | Aug. 4, 1915 |
| Electrical workers | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | 2 | 25 cents per day | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | | To minimum 42 cents per hour. | | —— —, 1915 |
| | | 2 cents per hour | 500 | Do. |
| | | 24 cents per day | 280 | Do. |
| | 1 | Average of 28 cents per day. | | Do. |
| | 1 | | 1,000 | Sept. 4, 1915 |
| | 2 | 3 cents per hour | 950 | —— —, 1915 |
| | 1 | 5½ cents per hour | | Do. |
| | 1 | 2 to 6 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | 2 | 4 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | 3 cents per hour; 10 cents per hour. | | Do. |
| | 1 | 25 cents per hour | 50 | Do. |
| | 4 | To 44 cents per hour | 105 | Do. |
| | 3 | To 45 to 65 cents per hour | 450 | Do. |
| | 4 | To 40 to 50 cents per hour | 1,200 | Do. |
| | 1 | To 40 to 44 cents per hour | 25 | Do. |
| | 1 | To 35 to 45 cents per hour | 300 | Do. |
| | 1 | To 35 to 44 cents per hour | 100 | Do. |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEW YORK—contd. | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products | 1 | To 35 to 50 cents per hour | 450 | —— —, 1915 |
| | 1 | To 35 to 42 cents per hour | 100 | Do. |
| | 1 | To 41 to 50 cents per hour | 200 | Do. |
| | 1 | To 40 cents per hour | 150 | Do. |
| | 1 | To 38 to 48 cents per hour | 1,500 | Do. |
| | 1 | 25 per cent | 3,000 | Do. |
| | 1 | $1.50 per week | 3,300 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 300 | |
| | 1 | 2 to 7 cents per hour | 200 | July 21, 1915 |
| | | 75 cents per dozen for case-makers; 25 cents per dozen for molders. | | |
| | 20 | 50 cents per day | 600 | |
| | | To minimum $3.75 per day. | | |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 7½ per cent | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | To minimum 42 cents per hour. | 10 | Aug. 6, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | Aug. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 25 cents per day | | May 4, 1916 |
| | 1 | Minimum for polishers, etc., 38 7/7 cents per hour. | | Mar. 30, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 2,000 | Nov. 5, 1915 |
| | | 35 cents per day | 400 | |
| | | 35 to 90 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 34 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 50 cents per day | | |
| | | Journeymen up to 40 cents per hour; apprentice, 25 per cent. | | |
| | | 8 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 1 to 8 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | Up to frame fire, 46½ cents; first fire, 43½ cents; too fire, 43½ cents. | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| Iron and steel | 1 | 10 to 18 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 100 | Apr. 22, 1916 |
| | 1 | 2½ cents per hour | 2,000 | Apr. 27, 1916 |
| Laborers | | 52 cents per day | | |
| | | Up to, laborers, $2 a day; lumbermen, $2.75 a day; helpers, $2.20 a day; concrete machine runners, $2.50 a day; wooden concrete form makers, $2.75 a day. | 10,000 | |
| | | 7 cents per hour | 600 | |
| | | 3 cents per hour | | |
| Longshoremen | 1 | Day, 5 cents; night, 15 cents per hour; Sunday, 25 cents. | 5,000 | |
| | | Up to, day, 35 cents; night, 50 cents. | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour, night work. | 1,500 | July 27, 1915 |
| | 1 | 4½ cents for day; 15 cents for night. | 700 | |
| Metal trades, not specified. | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 cents per day | 150 | Jan. 12, 1916 |
| | 1 | .....do | | Aug. 5, 1915 |
| | 1 | .....do | | |
| | | 5 per cent | | Nov. —, 1915 |
| Munitions and fire-arms. | 1 | | 700 | Feb. 19, 1916 |
| Railroad operation | 1 | 1 cent per hour | | |
| | 1 | | 1,000 | May 12, 1916 |
| Printing | | $1 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | $1.50 per week | | Do. |
| | | Up to $16 per week | | |
| | | $1 per week | 4,500 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | Hand men, $2 per week | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | | $1 per week | 2,600 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | .....do | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | .....do | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | .....do | | Nov. 17, 1915 |
| | | Hand men, $2 per week; jobmen, $1 per week; others, $1 per week. | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | $1.50 per week, book and job. | | |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| Granite cutters | | 75 cents per day | | |
| Street railway operation. | | 1 cent per hour for those 5 or 9 years in service. | | |
| | 1 | 1 cent per hour, surfacemen; 1–2½ cents per hour subway and elevated men. | 11,000 | Jan. 2, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1 cent per hour, motormen and conductors; 25 cents per day, elevated motormen. | 6,000–7,000 | Dec. 25, 1915 |
| | | 1 cent per hour | | |
| | | 2 cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 1 cent per hour | | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEW YORK—contd. | | | | |
| Boots and shoes | 1 | 20 per cent | 30 | |
| Teamsters | | $2 per week | | May —, 1916 |
| | | .....do | | Mar. —, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| Textiles | | 10 per cent | 200 | Apr. 19, 1916 |
| Water transportation | 1 | | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 2 | $15 per month | 200 | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 3,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | $2.50–$10 per month | | Mar. 1, 1916 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 10 per cent | 200 | |
| | | .....do | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Jan. 16, 1916 |
| | 1 | 4–10 cents per hour | 4,300 | Feb. 13, 1916 |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | | |
| NORTH DAKOTA. | | | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| NORTH CAROLINA. | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | Wages from 27½ to 35 cents per hour increased to 42 cents per hour. | 75 | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | 7 | $2 per week | | ——, 1916 |
| | 1 | Jobmen, 50 cents per week; foremen, $1 per week. | | Do. |
| | 1 | 50 cents per week | | Do. |
| OHIO. | | | | |
| Automobiles | 1 | 5 to 15 per cent | 3,500 | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 11,000 | July 5, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,300 | |
| | 1 | 16 per cent | 1,500 | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | 196 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 9 | $2 per week | 50 | Do. |
| Breweries | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | | Drivers, $1 per week; laborers, $1.25 per week; bottlers, $1.50 per week. | | |
| | | Teamsters, $2 per week; bottlers, $2.50 per week; engineers and firemen, $2.50 to $4 per week. | | May —, 1916 |
| | | $3 per week | | |
| | 2 | $1 to $2 per week | 20 | |
| | | $2 per week | | |
| | | $1 to $2 per week | | |
| Building trades | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 35 cents per day | | |
| | | 8 cents per hour | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| | | Up to 50 cents per hour | 400 | May 2, 1916 |
| | | Up to 45 cents per hour | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | Up to $4.25 per day | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 2¾ cents per hour | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | | | | Do. |
| | | 3½ cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | | | 1,400 | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | 192 | |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | | $1 to $2 per week | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 7½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | 50 cents per day | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 5 cents per hour | 200 | |
| | | 10 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 12½ and 25 cents per day | | Do. |
| Firearms and munitions | 1 | | | —— —, 1915 |
| | | | 100 | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | 15 per cent | 1,500 | Oct. 25, 1915 |
| | 1 | 13 cents per hour | | |
| | | Minimum, up to $4 per day | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | .....do | | |
| | 1 | Minimum, up to 42½ cents per hour. | | |
| | 4 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | | |
| | 2 | Minimum rate up to 31 cents per hour. | | |
| | 20 | Minimum wage up to $3.50 and piece rate to make $4.25 per day. | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,500 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 30 cents per day; after 3 months, 20 cents per day additional. | 1,000 | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OHIO—continued. | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | 3 cents per hour | 500 | Apr. 20, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 5,800 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 5 to 15 per cent | 400 | |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | 1,200 | |
| | 1 | 12 per cent | 600 | |
| | 1 | 15 per cent | 700 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 600 | |
| | 1 | 16 per cent | 45 | |
| | 1 | Minimum rate up to 37½ cents per hour. | 35 | |
| | 1 | 17 per cent | 1,600 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 16 | |
| | 1 | Up to 36 to 40 cents per hour. | 30 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 5 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 40 | |
| | | Minimum rate up to 39 cents per hour. | | |
| | 1 | | | May 3, 1916 |
| | 1 | Minimum rate up to 33½ and 40 cents per hour. | | Aug. 2, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 5 to 6½ per cent | | |
| | 5 | 5 per cent | 1,000 | |
| | 1 | Up to 48 cents per hour | | Aug. 14, 1915 |
| | 1 | 3 cents per hour | 21 | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 14 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 100 | |
| | 1 | 5 cents per hour | 200 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 200 | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 12 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 15 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 200 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 25 | |
| | 1 | 5 cents per hour | 16 | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 20 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 6 | |
| | 1 | 4 cents per hour | 550 | |
| | 1 | 5 cents per hour | 15 | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 12 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 24 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 16 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 300 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 460 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 75 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 100 | |
| | 1 | ....do | 500 | |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | 7 | 2½ cents per hour | 40 | Do. |
| Iron and steel | 3 | 10 per cent | 30,000 | Jan. 6, 1916 |
| | 3 | ....do | 30,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 7½ per cent | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,700 | May —, 1916 |
| Laborers | 1 | 25 to 50 per cent per day | | |
| | 1 | Minimum rate up to $2.50 per day. | | |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | | May 5, 1916 |
| Longshoremen | | | | May —, 1916 |
| Metal workers, not otherwise specified. | | Up to 50 cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| Miners, coal | | 3 to 5 cents per ton | 13,626 | Do. |
| | | | | Do. |
| | | 3 cents per ton; other work 5 per cent. | | |
| | 4 | 3 cents per ton day work 5 per cent. | | |
| Paper and paper goods | 1 | | | |
| Printing and book binding. | | $1 per week | | ,1916 |
| | | $3 per week | | Do. |
| | | $2 per week | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | $1.50 per week | | ,1915 |
| | | Day work up to $22.50 per week; night work up to $25.50 per week. | | |
| | | $1.50 per week | | ,1916 |
| | | $1 to $3 per week | | Do. |
| | | $1 per week | | Do. |
| | | $2 per week | | ,1915 |
| | | 50 cents to $1.50 per week. | | ,1916 |
| | | 50 cents per week | | Do. |
| | | $1 per week | | ,1915 |
| | | $1 to $2 per week | | |
| | 3 | | | Do. |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | | | Do. |
| | | | | Do. |
| | | | | Do. |
| Railroad operation | 1 | 6 per cent | | |
| Railroads, steam | 1 | 2 cents per hour | 1,000 | |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 500 | May 1, 1916 |
| Rubber workers | 1 | 15 per cent | | —— —, 1916 |
| Stonecutting | | 3½ cents per hour | | |
| | 2 | ½ to 1½ cents per hour | | Apr. 8, 1916 |
| | | 75 cents per day | | |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | ....do | | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OHIO—continued. | | | | |
| Street railway operation. | 1 | Up to 20 cents per hour | | Jan. 11, 1916 |
| | 1 | 4 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | ½ to 2 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | 1 | 3 cents per hour to 75 per cent of employees; 2 cents per hour to 25 per cent of employees. | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1-year men, up to 27½ cents per hour; 2-year men, up to 30½ cents per hour; over 2-year men, up to 33 cents per hour. | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | 2 | 2 cents per hour | | May 4, 1916 |
| | 1 | Motormen and conductors, 3 cents per hour; shopmen, 15 per cent; electric workers, pay increased. | | |
| | | Motormen and conductors, 3 cents per hour; barn and shopmen, 15 per cent. | | |
| Unknown | 1 | 25 cents per day | | |
| Water transportation. | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | $2.25 and $5 per month | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | Up to 55 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | Firemen and policemen, $5 per month; street laborers, 25 cents per day. | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 5 | | 1,000 | Nov. 13, 1915 |
| | | $6 per week | | |
| | | $1 per week | | |
| | | 5 to 13½ per cent | 800 | |
| OKLAHOMA. | | | | |
| Bakeries | | $1 per week | 29 | May 1, 1916 |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| Foundry and machine shops. | | 25 cents per day | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | | | Do. |
| | | $1 per week | | |
| | | Night work, $2 per week; day work, $1 per week. | | Apr. 3, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| | | $2 per week, sliding increase. | | Do. |
| | | For women operatives, floormen, $2 per week; machinist operatives, $2.50. | | |
| | 1 | $1 per week | | |
| | | Handmen, $3; machine men, $1.50. | 200 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | | |
| Stone cutting | | 25 cents per day | | |
| Miscellaneous | 3 | ....do | 1,200 | Jan. 15, 1916 |
| OREGON. | | | | |
| Bakeries | | Foremen and oven hands, $1 per week; bench hands, $2. | 138 | May 1, 1916 |
| Paper and paper goods. | 1 | 10 per cent | 325 | Do. |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | Ad men, $3 per week; foremen, $1.50 per week. | | Jan. —, 1916 |
| Railroads, steam | 1 | 30 cents to 90 cents per day | 750 | Prior to May, 1916. |
| Miscellaneous | | $2 to $2.25 | 4,000 | Winter 1915-16. |
| PENNSYLVANIA. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $1 per week | 736 | May 1, 1916 |
| Building trades | | Up to 45 cents per hour | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 cents per hour | | |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | Do. |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | ....do | | |
| | | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | Up to $4 per day | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | | 3½ cents per hour | | |
| | | 6 cents per hour | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | 225 | |
| | | Up to 46 cents per hour | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 20 cents per day | | May 1, 1916 |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PENNSYLVANIA—con. | | | | |
| Clothing | | | 6,000 | Jan. 20, 1916 |
| | | 5 per cent | | |
| Firearms and munitions. | 1 | 15 per cent | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 to 35 cents per day | | May 4, 1916 |
| | 1 | 18 per cent | 315 | Nov. 8, 1915 |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | Minimum up to 37½ cents per hour. | | Oct. 14, 1915 |
| | 2 | Up to 40 cents per hour | 20 | |
| | | | | Apr. 6, 1916 |
| | 1 | 3 cents per hour | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | | | |
| | | Average increase, 52 cents per day. | | |
| | 1 | Average increase, 34 cents per day. | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 20 | |
| | 1 | | 4 | |
| | 1 | $1 per day | 12 | |
| | 1 | 40 cents per day | 110 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Apr. 3, 1916 |
| | | 1 cent per hour | | Nov. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 35 cents per day | 15 | |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 1,200 | Aug. 2, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 4 per cent | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 6 per cent | | Oct. 14, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | 19 | Up to $1 per day | | |
| | | 5 per cent | | |
| | | 10 per cent | 400 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | do | | |
| | 1 | 5 to 10 per cent | | Do. |
| | 1 | | 400 | Apr. 27, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 500 | |
| | | | 350 | Apr. 21, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 to 30 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 40 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 30 cents per day | 900 | Apr. 29, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 900 | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 500 | Jan. 29, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | Apr. 20, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | | do | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| Hats | 1 | $1.25 per week | 1,500 | Mar. 2, 1916 |
| Iron and steel | 1 | | | Jan. 6, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 900 | Apr. 21, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 1,700 | Apr. 22, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 700 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | Up to 17½ cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | Up to 20 cents per hour | 5,000 | Do. |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Apr. 20, 1916 |
| | 1 | 4 to 14 per cent | 2,000 | May 4, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Aug. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | do | 10,000 | Jan. 16, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 24,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per ton | 2,500 | Apr. 24, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 17,000 | Aug. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | 10 per cent | 3,000 | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | Puddlers, up to $6.75 per ton. | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 9,000 | Jan. 10, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 6,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 to 15 per cent | | Do. |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 5, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | Feb. 28, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | | 1,200 | Do. |
| | 1 | 5 to 10 per cent | 4,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | Laborers, up to 19 cents per hour; others, 2½ cents per hour. | | Do. |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | — —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per ton | | May 8, 1916 |
| | 2 | | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 8, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | Sept. 16, 1915 |
| | 1 | 10 and 14.4 per cent | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | | 90 cents per ton | 10,000 | May 10, 1916 |
| | | | 1,500 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 5,000 | Jan. 4, 1916 |
| Laborers | | 5 per cent increase | | |
| | 1 | ⅛ cent per hour | 150 | May 9, 1916 |
| Mining, coal | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | do | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 7 per cent | 900 | Feb. 18, 1916 |
| | 3 | | 600 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 3 cents per ton for pick and loading machine, 5 cents for cutting and loading, 5 per cent all others. | | |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PENNSYLVANIA—con. | | | | |
| Mining coal | | 5 cents per ton for pick, 6 cents for machine; laborers, 11 per cent. | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 3 cents on machine-mined coal; 5 per cent day labor. | 20,000 | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | |
| | | 7 per cent for contractors, 3 per cent for day men. | 170,000 | May —, 1916 |
| | 1 | $5 per month | 600 | Feb. 3, 19— |
| | | | 50,000 | |
| | | 10 per cent | | |
| | | 62 to 72 cents per ton | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | | 8 per cent | 40,000 | |
| | 3 | 10 per cent | 3,300 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 20,000 | Do. |
| | 1 | do | | |
| | 2 | | | Jan. 7, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| Paper and paper goods | 1 | do | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $1 per week for day and $2 per week for night. | | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | | $1 to $2 per week | | Feb. 15, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | | — —, 1916 |
| | | $4 per week for foremen, $2 per week for hand compositors, $1 per week for machine men. | | Jan. 3, 1916 |
| Stonecutting | | 75 cents per day | | Feb. 26, 1916 |
| Street railway operation. | 1 | 1 cent per hour under 15 years' service; additional for those employed 15 years. | 300 | Jan. —, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1 cent to 2 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 cents per day | | May 4, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1 cent per hour | 7,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 3½ to 5 cents per hour | | May 3, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 and 11 per cent | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | 1 and 2 cents per hour | 150 | |
| Teamsters and drivers | | 2 cents per hour | | |
| | | 25 cents per day | | |
| Textile workers | | $1 per week | | |
| | | 10 per cent | 3,000 | May 10, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | May 15, 1916 |
| | 5 | do | 3,200 | May 4, 1916 |
| | 21 | 10 to 12 per cent | 2,000 | |
| | 1 | 5 to 10 per cent | 1,500 | |
| | 1 | 7½ cents and less | 1,700 | |
| Miscellaneous | | 10 to 12½ per cent and 8 cents per hour for sample workers. | | Apr. —, 1916 |
| | | 10 to 15 per cent | 400 | |
| | | 10 per cent | 2,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 2 | do | 775 | May 5, 1916 |
| | | $2 to $3 per week | | |
| | | $3 per week | | |
| | | 1 cent to 5 cents per ton | | Apr. 23, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | | Aug. 16, 1915 |
| | 1 | 12 per cent | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | do | 5,000 | |
| | 1 | | 1,700 | |
| | 1 | 8 to 33⅓ per cent | 300 | May 15, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | do |
| | | 10 per cent | | |
| | | 5 per cent | | |
| | | do | | |
| | 170 | | | |
| | | 10 per cent | | |
| | | 10 to 15 per cent | | May 5, 1916 |
| | | 10 cents per day | | |
| | | $1 per week | | |
| | 1 | 7½ per cent | | May —, 1916 |
| | | 15 cents per day | | Jan. 29, 1916 |
| | 1 | $16.50 per month | 150 | |
| RHODE ISLAND. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per hour | | |
| | | Painters, 45½ to 50 cents per hour; paper hangers, 50 to 55 cents per hour. | 150 | |
| Machinists | 1 | | 600 | |
| | | Fitters, $6 per week; floormen, $3 per week. | 100 | |
| | 1 | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 1,000 | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 1,000 | Aug. —, 1915 |
| | 1 | 7½ per cent | 700 | Before Feb. 10, 1916. |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 1,000 | June 1, 1916 |

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RHODE ISLAND—con. | | | | |
| Machinists | 1 | 32 to 64 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 20 per cent | 200 | May 1, 1916 |
| Metal trades not specified. | 1 | 10 per cent | 2,500 | |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 5 per cent | 700 | Feb. 7, 1916 |
| Rubber goods | 1 | | | May —, 1916 |
| Street railway operation. | | ½ and 1½ cents per hour | | July 17, 1916 |
| Textiles | 1 | 10 per cent | 200 | Before Feb. 10, 1916. |
| | 1 | do | 2,600 | Jan. 3, 1916 |
| | 1 | | 2,500 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 1,500 | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | | Feb. 7, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 3,000 | Apr. 18, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 6,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 3 | do | 7,300 | Apr. 28, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | | Jan. 24, 1916 |
| | 1 | do | 500 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Apr. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | | 10 per cent | | Do. |
| | 1 | do | | Do. |
| | 1 | do | 800 | Do. |
| | 1 | do | | Do. |
| | | 5 per cent | | |
| | | 10 per cent | | Do. |
| Water transportation | 1 | $5 per month | | Apr. 15, 1916 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA. | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | | 25 cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 24 cents per day | | |
| Street-railway operation. | 1 | 1 to 3 cents per hour | | |
| SOUTH DAKOTA. | | | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | Up to, night operators, $3; operators, day, $4; jobmen, $2; day foremen, $4; night foremen, $4.50; jobmen (morning), $3. | | June 1, 1915 |
| TENNESSEE. | | | | |
| Building trades | | To $4.50 per week | | |
| | | To 35 cents per hour | | |
| | | 2½ cents per hour | | |
| Foundry and machine shop products. | | Day workers, 35 cents per day. | | |
| | | Piece workers, 5 per cent | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | Machine men, $1 per week | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | Hand and job men, 50 cents per week. | | |
| | | Increase all but machine men. | | —, —, 1916. |
| | | | | Dec. 1, 1915 |
| | | 90 cents per week | | |
| Textiles | 1 | | 1,500 | |
| TEXAS. | | | | |
| Bakers | | | 95 | May 1, 1916 |
| Breweries | 1 | 20 to 30 per cent | | |
| | | | | May —, 1916 |
| | | Bottlers, $2.25 per week; drivers, $1 per week. | | |
| Building trades | | To $4 per day | | |
| Electrical workers | 1 | | | |
| Laundries | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | $5 to $15 per month | (1) | Mar. 1, 1916 |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | Third year, foremen to $4.50 per day; $4.75 per night; second and third year, journeymen, $4 per day. | | |
| | | Foremen to $4 per day; journeymen, $3.50. | | |
| | | Foremen, $30 per week; journeymen, $3.75 per day. | | |
| | | $1 per week | | Jan. 1, 1916 |
| | | 50 cents per week every 3 months. | | May 1, 1915 |
| | | 10 cents per hour and overtime to 70 cents per hour. | | |
| | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| | | $1 per week | | ——, 1915 |
| | | $2, handmen; $1, machine men. | | ——, 1916 |
| Teamsters | 1 | To $2.25 per day and double for Sundays and holidays. | 60 | |
| UTAH. | | | | |
| Bakers | | $2 to $3 per week | 60 | Mar. 1, 1916 |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per hour | | |
| Miners, metal | 1 | | { 7,000- 8,000 | } Aug. 1, 1915 |

[1] Several hundred.

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| UTAH—continued. | | | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | | | Dec. 11, 1915 |
| VERMONT. | | | | |
| Laborers | 1 | To 22 cents per day; time and one-half for overtime; double for Sundays and holidays. | | |
| VIRGINIA. | | | | |
| Building trades | 1 | Plumbers, 16 cents per day; pipefitters, 32 cents per day. | | |
| Machinists (foundry products). | 1 | 32 cents per day | | |
| | | Minimum machine hands to 40 cents per hour; machinists getting $3.25 per day, 9 per cent; $3.75 per day, 7 per cent; $4 per day, 5 per cent. | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| Railroad operation | 1 | 7 per cent | | Do. |
| Stone cutting | | 75 cents per day | | |
| WASHINGTON. | | | | |
| Bakeries | | $1 per week | | May 1, 1916 |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | | 5 cents per hour | | |
| Longshoremen | | | | |
| Printing and bookbinding. | 1 | $1.50 per week | | —— —, 1916 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | May 1, 1916 |
| | | | | March and April, 1916 |
| | 1 | 25 per cent | | |
| WEST VIRGINIA. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 50 cents per day | | |
| | | 1 cent per hour | | Apr. 30, 1916 |
| | | Up to 34½ cents per hour | | June 1, 1916 |
| | | To $4.50 per day | | |
| Foundry and machine shops. | | 5 to 10 cents per hour | | July —, 1915 |
| | | 40 cents per day | | —— —, 1916 |
| | 1 | Minimum rates up to 37½, 45, and 46 cents. | | Aug. 1, 1915 |
| | 1 | 3 cents per hour | 126 | |
| Glass workers | 1 | 15 per cent | (1) | |
| | | 12 per cent | | |
| | | do | | |
| | | do | | |
| | | 15 per cent | | |
| Mining (coal) | 1 | 10 per cent | 2,500 | Feb. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | Miners, 4½ cents; laborers, 15 cents a day. | | Feb. 19, 1916 |
| | 1 | 5 per cent | 1,000 | May 10, 1916 |
| | | do | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | | do | | |
| | | do | | Do. |
| | 7 | | 3,000 | Do. |
| Printing and bookbinding. | | $2 per week | | Jan. —, 1916 |
| Theaters | | $4 per week | | Do. |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 10 per cent | | Nov. 12, 1915 |
| WISCONSIN. | | | | |
| Bakeries | | $1 for night workers | 13 | May 1, 1916 |
| | | $1 per week | 71 | Do. |
| Breweries | | $1.50 per week | | |
| Building trades | | To 47½ cents per hour | | Apr. 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | | |
| Foundry and machine Shops. | 1 | 2½ cents per day | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 500 | Oct. 1, 1915 |
| | | 4.6 per hour | | May 25, 1916 |
| | 1 | | | Jan. 17, 1916 |
| | 1 | 10 to 12 per cent | 12,000 | May 1, 1916 |
| | 1 | 16 cents per hour | | |
| Paper and paper goods | | $2 per week | | |
| Stonecutting | 1 | | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 5 cents per hour | | |
| WYOMING. | | | | |
| Building trades | | 5 cents per hour | | Feb. 22, 1916 |
| INTERSTATE. | | | | |
| [Establishments which operate in 2 or more States.] | | | | |
| Agricultural implements. | 1 | | | May —, 1916 |
| Coke works | 1 | 5 per cent | 18,000 | May 8, 1916 |
| Fisheries | 1 | | | |

[1] Several hundred.

TABLE I.—*Number of establishments which granted increase of wages, the amount of increase granted, etc.*—Continued.

| State and industry. | Number of establishments. | Increase. | Number of employees affected. | Date of increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| INTERSTATE—contd. | | | | |
| Foundry and machine shops. | 1 | 3½ cents | | Apr. 1,1916 |
| Glass | | 7½ per cent | | Feb. 29,1916 |
| Gold beating | | In New York and Boston, $3 per week; in Philadelphia, $2.50 per week. | 300 | |
| Iron and steel | | 10 per cent | | Jan. 1,1916 |
| | 1 | ....do | 162,400 | Feb. 1,1916 |
| | 1 | ....do | 250,000 | May 1,1916 |
| Paper and paper goods | 1 | ....do | 6,500 | Do. |
| Railroads, steam | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | 100 | |
| | 1 | Up to 38 and 40 cents per hour rates. | | Dec. 1,1915 |
| | 1 | Conductors, 10 per cent; porters, up to $30 to $60 per month. | 9,000 | Jan. —,1916 |
| | 14 | 1 to 3 cents per hour | | |
| | 1 | | | |
| | 1 | 1½ cents per hour | 450 | Nov. 1,1915 |
| | 1 | 2 cents per hour | | Dec. 1,1915 |
| | 1 | 10 per cent | | Mar. 24,1916 |
| | 1 | Machinists, 2 cents per hour; boilermakers, 1½ cents per hour; others increased. | | |
| | 1 | Range from 1 to 2½ cents per hour. | | May 1,1916 |
| | 1 | 1 cent per hour | 2,500 | |
| | 1 | Machinists, 1½ to 2 cents per hour; 10 per cent. | 12,000–15,000 | Mar. 15,1916 |
| | 1 | 7 per cent | | |
| | 1 | $5 per month | 4,000 | |
| | 1 | | 1,000 | Dec. 8,1915 |
| | 1 | | | |
| | | 9 per cent | | Nov. 1,1915 1916 |
| | 4 | | | |
| | 1 | 7 per cent | | |
| Textiles | 44 | 5 per cent up | 35,000 | Jan. 3,1916 |
| Water transportation | | $5 per month | | Mar. 15,1916 |
| | | $5 and $10 per month | | May 1,1916 |

TABLE II.—*Summary of wage increases, establishments involved, and employees affected, by States, July 1, 1915, to May 15, 1916.*

| State. | Total number of wage increases noted. | Reports showing establishments involved. | | Number of reports which do not show number of establishments involved. | Reports showing employees affected. | | Number of reports not showing number of employees affected. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number. | Total number of establishments. | | Number. | Total number of employees. | |
| Alabama | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Alaska | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Arizona | 9 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 13,000 | 6 |
| California | 23 | 6 | 16 | 17 | 4 | 943 | 19 |
| Colorado | 19 | 9 | 18 | 10 | 10 | 23,363 | 9 |
| Connecticut | 93 | 65 | 113 | 28 | 34 | 97,906 | 59 |
| Delaware | 3 | | | 3 | | | 3 |
| District of Columbia | 7 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 3,320 | 3 |
| Florida | 2 | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| Georgia | 9 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 100 | 7 |
| Hawaii | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 40,000 | |
| Idaho | 4 | | | 4 | | | 4 |
| Illinois | 80 | 33 | 52 | 47 | 15 | 92,197 | 65 |
| Indiana | 32 | 6 | 15 | 26 | 6 | 12,434 | 26 |
| Iowa | 17 | 3 | 4 | 14 | 1 | 2,300 | 16 |
| Kansas | 10 | 1 | 1 | 9 | | | 10 |
| Kentucky | 10 | 6 | 6 | 4 | | | 10 |
| Louisiana | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4,130 | 1 |
| Maine | 18 | 12 | 12 | 6 | 6 | 10,850 | 12 |
| Maryland | 17 | 11 | 20 | 6 | 10 | 10,950 | 7 |
| Massachusetts | 184 | 135 | 282 | 49 | 87 | 225,050 | 97 |
| Michigan | 30 | 16 | 21 | 14 | 2 | 14,078 | 28 |
| Minnesota | 18 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 1 | 18 | 17 |
| Mississippi | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | | | 3 |
| Missouri | 41 | 14 | 43 | 27 | 9 | 4,644 | 32 |
| Montana | 10 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 50,000 | 8 |
| Nebraska | 10 | 1 | 1 | 9 | | | 10 |
| New Hampshire | 18 | 9 | 12 | 9 | 6 | 41,433 | 12 |
| New Jersey | 120 | 90 | 128 | 30 | 56 | 46,512 | 64 |
| New York | 148 | 66 | 820 | 82 | 55 | 148,774 | 93 |
| North Carolina | 5 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 75 | 4 |
| North Dakota | 2 | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| Ohio | 172 | 91 | 148 | 81 | 62 | 119,036 | 110 |
| Oklahoma | 15 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 3 | 1,429 | 12 |
| Oregon | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5,213 | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 184 | 110 | 335 | 74 | 62 | 401,542 | 122 |
| Rhode Island | 35 | 27 | 29 | 8 | 19 | 32,350 | 16 |
| South Carolina | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | 3 |
| South Dakota | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Tennessee | 9 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 1,500 | 8 |
| Texas | 20 | 5 | 8 | 15 | 2 | 155 | 18 |
| Vermont | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 2 |
| Virginia | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | | | 5 |
| Utah | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 7,560 | 2 |
| Washington | 8 | 2 | 2 | 6 | | | 8 |
| West Virginia | 25 | 8 | 14 | 17 | 4 | 6,626 | 21 |
| Wisconsin | 16 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 12,584 | 12 |
| Wyoming | 1 | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Interstate[1] | 33 | 26 | 82 | 7 | 13 | 471,250 | 20 |
| Total | 1,486 | 794 | 2,247 | 692 | 493 | 1,901,322 | 993 |

[1] Railroads, iron and steel plants, and other establishments which operate in two or more States.

## The Philippine Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. NELSON E. MATTHEWS,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Saturday, August 5, 1916.*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege of extending my remarks on the Philippine bill in the RECORD, I will say that I have listened with a good deal of interest to the discussion of this bill and have learned a great many things I did not know concerning not only the islands but the people who inhabit them.

I am satisfied that the great mass of the people of the United States are not at all familiar with the conditions existing in the Philippine Islands previous to our taking them over and what has been accomplished there since 1898 and the great improvement made by the Filipino people in every direction.

Undoubtedly the question as to what to do with the Philippine Islands will for some time be one of the leading and interesting questions before our people.

I am now more than ever convinced that the fair, honorable, manly thing to do is to keep the islands and fulfill the obligations we assumed toward the people of the islands when we took possession, at least until such time as they may be capable of self-government. To turn them adrift now means to the islands a state of anarchy—something, at least, like the present conditions existing in Mexico.

As a part of my remarks I herewith insert an address delivered at Yale University by Hon. William H. Phipps, of Paulding, Ohio, at one time auditor general of the Philippine Islands under President Taft:

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM H. PHIPPS.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT AND TO THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION.

In the consideration of this problem it is well to divide it:

(a) Social conditions of the islands.

(b) Economic conditions and possibilities of the islands.

(c) Their significance to the American people generally.

(d) Their significance in connection with the eastern question.

Considering the proposition from social conditions in the islands we must first review the people themselves. Originally the islands were inhabited by negritos. Negritos are dwarf negroes, just as black as the negroes of Africa, but having neither their physique nor intelligence. At one time they were presumably the sole inhabitants of the archipelago. They have no fixed homes. Their intelligence is very low. They live in the fastness of the forest and their protection from the elements is constructed in the crudest possible way and is very temporary in its durability. They live largely upon wild game, roots, and herbs. Their method of capturing game is with the bow and arrow and a crude knife which they always carry. They are not robust and easily succumb to disease.

Something like 1,000 years ago, the exact time being conjecture, Malays came to the islands by way of Borneo. Take a map of Asia and you will observe that the Malay Peninsula extends south almost to the Equator and that by crossing from the Malay Peninsula to Sumatra, then travel to the southeast along the chain of islands to the east of Sumatra, which extends to a point probably not a hundred miles to Borneo, they could easily reach that island. Borneo is peopled by Malays. I have seen at Sandakan many small sailing boats from the Sulu Archipelgo. Chinese are smuggled into the Philippine Islands by Moros sailing in such boats from Sandakan along the northeast shore of Borneo to the islands of the Sulu Archipelago, and from there on through by Basilan to Mindanao. It was by the same route that the Malays came to the islands. The Malays drove the Negritos to the mountains and occupied all of the low, fertile plains of the entire group and the Negrito gradually decreased in number until now there are only about 30,000 of them left.

There are many Negritos in the Zambales Mountains and especially in the mountain Marivales, which lies across the bay from Manila. Occasionally they are seen in the city of Manila, but when seen there it is safe to conclude that they are there as slaves.

The islands were unknown to the white race until discovered by Maghallanes in the year 1521. It is worth while to note that Maghallanes, or Magellan as we known him, was killed on the island of Magtan April 25, 1521. Magtan is a small island across from the city of Cebu on the island of Cebu. A monument has been erected to his memory on the spot where he fell.

It is perhaps well that Magellan died here in the Philippines, else he might have suffered a fate similar to that of Columbus. As it was, the King, unable to lay his hands upon Magellan, sought his wife and children, who were placed in prison. Thus, came the Spaniard to the Philippine Islands, and he, like his predecessor the Malay, drove the native before him. The Spaniards appropriated to themselves most of the property acquired by Filipinos by long years of struggle with the native jungles. Long before the advent of Spaniards to the Philippine Islands the Chinese had traded with the semibarbarous Filipino islanders. These Chinese mainly came from Canton. Just when their visits to the islands begun we are not able to say, but the religious rites of the Chinese were firmly established with the natives before the advent of Magellan. The Chinese were largely on the island of Luzon, along the west coast down to Manila. It was due to the Chinese that a measure of prosperity was brought to the islands, and their established commercial relations excited the envy of the Spanish when they came to Manila, about the year 1570. There was an attempted conquest of the Philippine Islands by the Chinese in 1574, who sought to regain their former prestige, but in the end this attempt was frustrated, and a large portion of the army of Limahong, the Chinese general, fled to the mountains in north central Luzon, which is now inhabited by the Igorrotes, who show traces of the Chinese character.

The islands were visited early in their history by the Japanese, but until the advent of Spaniards there seemed to be no disposition on the part of either the Japanese or Chinese to control the islands nor to proselyte the natives to their religious belief. The inhabitants were not savages, entirely unreclaimed from barbarism on the advent of the Spanish. They had a culture of their own, undoubtedly absorbed largely from the Chinese. Possibly the Malays and Japanese contributed toward their redemption from a state of barbarism.

The Chinaman is distinctively a tradesman, and his expeditions to the islands were for the purpose of barter and trade, and they established stations at various points in the islands for that purpose. The Spaniard not only appropriated property of the natives to his own use, but sought to compel the natives to adopt the Christian religion. This they succeeded in doing in the northern part of the archipelago, but they almost wholly failed in the Sulu Archipelago and the island of Mindanao.

The interior of all islands was practically unknown to the Spaniards. They made but little attempt toward penetrating the interior, and no attempt whatever to better the condition of the natives inhabiting the interior. The mixture of blood resulting from settlement of Malays, Chinese, Japanese, and Spaniards has produced a peculiar race.

In the southern part of the archipelago the Malay race predominates. With the Christian population of Luzon, Negros, Penay, Cebu, and other of the larger islands the inhabitants are an admixture of original Negrito, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, and Spanish. They are divided into a great number of tribes, there being more than 30 tribes among the wild people and a score of tribes among the Christians.

As before stated, the Moros and Sulus are Mohammedans. They vigorously resent all attempts to force upon them the Christian or any other religion. The Mohammedan is a fighter and he despises the inhabitants of the remainder of the archipelago. The average Filipino is sly, cunning, crafty, and cowardly. He has little capacity for constructive work and less capacity for doing now what he may put off until to-morrow. Left to himself he will not perform even the necessary work for his well-being. I have sometimes doubted his capacity for real friendship. They are profuse in their adulation and profession of friendship and affection, but there have been a number of instances where they have turned on their best friends and stabbed them in the back. It is a well-known proverb among Americans that it is best not to go among Filipinos alone, especially out in the Provinces. The Filipino, as we understand him to be, is a mestizo, and the best of them are those in whom Chinese blood largely predominates. For instance, Jose Rizal was a mestizo of about 75 per cent Chinese and Spanish blood.

The larger percentage of Christian Filipinos are mestizos. They have some very lovable traits; they are nearly all musicians, but their music runs to plaintive airs. They, however, take readily to American ragtime music, and it is not uncommon to hear "There will be a hot time in the old town to-night," played as a funeral march; also "Dixie," "Yankee Doodle," and other American airs of the same sort are very popular.

We divide the Filipino into two general classes from a religious standpoint—7,000,000 Christian Filipinos and 1,000,000 non-Christians, 500,000 of which are Mohammedans. Between the Mohammedans and the Christians there is open warfare. The Christian Filipino has no liking for the Moro and, in fact is deadly afraid of him, for the Moro is a fighter who will fearlessly look a white man in the eye. He does not fear death and makes a good soldier, the Moro constabulary being the best native soldiers we have. The other half million non-Christians are called pagans. They are residents of the interior of the various islands, and have about the same sort of religion and worship that the American Indians originally had.

As to the Christian Filipino, while they profess the Christian religion, the church has resorted to various devices to hold them. They have many parades and fiestas. In these parades they carry images of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, and of many of the saints. These images are full size statues and are frequently carried on a platform on the shoulders of a dozen Filipinos. In conversing with Father McLain, who was for a time acting archbishop of the islands, I asked him why they did this and he said it was necessary to do so, necessary to give them something that they could see in order to have them appreciate the Christian religion, their mental capacity being such that they did not comprehend fully the Christian religion without these figures being presented to them as an ocular evidence of Christ. I heard Dr. Salebee say, in a lecture in Manila one night: "Scratch a Filipino and you find a pagan."

SLAVERY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Until November, 1913, there was no law that was in effect generally throughout the islands prohibiting slavery. As auditor general of the Philippine Islands I was requested to make a report upon slavery. I made a thorough investigation of the question and made my report to the Secretary of War in the summer of 1913.

When the report was published the existence of slavery was denied by the delegates from the Philippine government to Washington and by local Filipino papers, but little effort was made to controvert the evidence that had been accumulated by Secretary Worcester and myself. I am thoroughly convinced that slavery did exist up to the time I left the islands and that a system of peonage was practiced in every province. I found that there were natives who made a business of going into the mountains and capturing negritos, bringing them down into the lowlands, and selling them as slaves. In a number of instances I traced the person so sold into slavery into the residences of Filipinos in the city of Manila. I found somewhere near a hundred cases of slavery in one locality on the island of Cebu, and in the Bicol Provinces I found about 3,000 slaves.

I have no doubt that were the Philippine people to be given an independent government the practice of slavery would be revived. There is a system there that is styled caciquism, which is very detrimental to the tao. The caciqui, who is a self-constituted boss, controls the labor of the tao, and he may not enter into a contract to perform any sort of work excepting through the caciqui who takes quite a share of the wages earned for his pay. The average Filipino has no idea or knowledge of

his individual rights. Practically all the poorer classes of the Philippines are slaves in the sense that they do the bidding of the caciqui and the rich Filipino. It is almost the universal rule for the rich Filipino or the buyer of products to rob the Filipino of the fruits of his labor, paying him only a fraction of what they are actually worth in the market. We found instances where Filipino traders would obtain signatures of mountain people of the tao class to a paper, which was in effect mortgaging to the tradesman the products of the person who signed the paper, and it frequently occurred that he would get his whole crop for a fraction of what it was worth.

Principles of sturdy honesty practiced by the Anglo-Saxons is not a part of the code of honor of the Filipino. The Filipino has many traits that are similar to those of the African negro. He is very fond of music, very fond of singing and dancing, and has the very peculiar habit of picking up and appropriating to his own use anything on which he can get his hands. They are also very fond of making public addresses and have a very ready flow of language. It has seemed to me that they are not overscrupulous in their efforts to mislead their audience.

Prior to our going to the Philippines their courts were in bad condition. In fact, it seems to have been the rule, rather than otherwise, to purchase decisions from the court, and litigants were very much astonished to learn that they could not buy decisions from American judges.

We have established a leper colony on the island of Culion and have gathered together there all the lepers of the islands, completely segregating them. This has been resented by the native Filipino, and in almost every session of their assembly they have introduced bills to repeal the law providing for this segregation, although the lepers in this colony are much better clothed, fed, and housed than most Filipinos, and at the same time the public is relieved from contact with this dread disease. When we went to the islands cholera and plague ran riot in almost every part of the islands. The city of Manila was almost like a great pesthouse. Its streets were filthy and muddy; little, if any, effort was made to cure cholera and plague. We have cleared the islands of both these diseases, and the death rate in the city of Manila will compare favorably with that of any city of the United States.

So much for the social side of native Filipino life.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND POSSIBILITIES OF THE ISLANDS.

This division of the subject we will subdivide into two branches:

(a) Government finance, and

(b) Business interests and possibilities of the islands.

The statement has been frequently made that the Philippine Islands are costing the United States a large sum of money each year. If I remember correctly, and I think I do, I have seen it stated that the Philippine Islands were costing the United States from $40,000,000 to $45,000,000 per annum. I think Mr. Jones, the author of the Jones bill, which seeks to grant independence to the Philippine Islands, has made this statement, and various other persons have made similar statements. So far as I can see, there is no foundation for this statement, for all expenditures of the Philippine general, provincial, and municipal governments are paid from local revenues.

The general government of the Philippine Islands is supported by general revenues amounting to from ₱27,000,000 to ₱30,000,000 per annum. These revenues are produced in the following manner: Customs revenues (such as we have from our own customs duties) have ranged in the past four or five years from ₱15,000,000 to nearly ₱18,000,000 per annum. For instance, in the fiscal year 1912 customs revenues were nearly ₱18,000,000, while in the fiscal year 1913 customs revenues were ₱15,549,899.47, the decrease being due quite largely to the change in the tariff law and of the business unrest caused by agitation for the independence of the islands. Internal revenues for the fiscal year 1912, ₱9,459,421.33; 1913, ₱10,880,462.95. Other revenues, 1912, ₱3,733,699.88; 1913, ₱1,221,410.56. Added to this should be noted the friar lands bond sinking-fund accretions and the public works bond sinking fund for each year, so that the total revenues of the islands for 1912 were ₱31,270,884.06; 1913, ₱27,199,544.16; for the corresponding period the expenditures were somewhat less than the receipts for the respective years. Thus it is easily seen that the general government is conducted and all expenses paid from sources of revenue which we have noted.

In the Provinces each Province pays its own expenses outside of what may be allotted to the Provinces for public improvements by the general government. These allotments are included in the statement above made. Likewise, each municipality raises its own local funds by taxation, just as we do in the States, so that the declaration that the Philippines are costing us a large amount of money each year seems to be utterly without foundation, excepting that there is some additional expense attached to the keeping of an army in the Philippine Islands by the United States. Estimates have been furnished which indicate that this expense does not exceed $3,000,000.

As to the second division of this proposition, I find that possibilities of business are almost unlimited. When we took over the islands at the close of our War with Spain, the total trade with the United States and these islands was less than $268,000 per annum. In the year 1912 total amount of trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands was about $25,000,000. Up to the time agitation became very marked for the independence, American capital was investing quite extensively in business. Numerous firms were engaging in timber projects. Gold mines were being developed, sugar plantations were being developed, one of the large projects being on the island of Mindoro. Copper mines were being developed north of the city of Baguio. Improved methods were aiding in the production of cotton, coconuts, tobacco, and so forth. Enough tropical fruits could be produced on the Philippine Islands to more than supply the entire United States. There have been discovered and developed to a limited extent 135 outcroppings of coal. There are 40,000,000 acres of timber in the Philippine Islands, and, like the timber in all tropical countries, is very heavy, dense, and very fine in quality, Philippine narra being one of the most beautiful woods grown, and it grows very large. I have seen table tops 7 feet across made from one board. There is enough timber on the islands to pay a hundred times over all that we have ever expended in any way on the islands. The Philippine Islands constitute an area of 122,000 square miles. A large percentage of this area ought to be brought under cultivation. As it is, I think the estimate is about 5 per cent of the lands of the Philippine Islands are actually under cultivation, and that 5 per cent is feeding 8,000,000 people.

The soil is limestone in quality and all of the plains are very fertile, as well as most of the mountain sides. Oranges grow very well, but very little effort has been made to improve the quality of any of their fruits. Their bananas are not as good as we can buy in any town in the United States, solely because little or no effort has been made to cultivate and improve them.

Take a map of the Orient and note the location of the Philippine Islands. They lie at the door of China—Hongkong being but 600 miles from Manila, Saigon being about 900 miles away, Shanghai about 1,100 miles away, Canton a short distance up the river from Hongkong. With the Philippine Islands as our base of operation we are in fine position to command trade in the Orient. Without the Philippine Islands this opportunity is lost. China is a country of four hundred twenty-five or twenty-six million people just coming into the use of products of the Occident, and China is very friendly to the United States because we have been honest with her. They like American goods, and you may buy American manufactured goods far inland now in China. Borneo lies at the door of the Philippines. It is now in a crude state, with only two English settlements of importance, one on the west side and one on the north end. Australia lies directly to the south. If our industries are to continue prosperous they must do so by development of our foreign trade. We can only develop our foreign trade by careful, painstaking work. Having the Philippines as a base, we should be able to develop trade in the Orient very rapidly, and we have done so in the past 15 years.

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE GENERALLY.

The Philippine Islands came to the United States as a result of our endeavor to free Cuba from oppression. When the Maine was destroyed in Habana Harbor a wave of indignation spread over our country, and it was not possible to avoid a war with Spain. Seeing that war was inevitable, it behooved us to win a victory in that war. We could not afford to lose; our losing that war would have meant the loss of all our national prestige and the continuance of Cuba under a condition that was unbearable. It became a question of how best to proceed and to strike hardest.

One of the things we always undertake to do in fighting an enemy is to strike him in an unexpected and unprepared quarter. It was necessary to destroy the Spanish Fleet in the Orient, and this was the task which came to our fleet commanded by Admiral Dewey, and the result of the battle of Manila Bay is history. With the destruction of the Spanish fleet we practically destroyed Spanish Government in the islands. Spanish Government there, while bad, was better than no government at all. Hence, it became our duty to see that the islands were properly governed. We were obliged to do this to protect what few Americans were there; also, to protect residents of foreign countries with which we were at

peace. Had we not done so and had we left the Philippines to the Filipinos, there would have been a state of chaos, vandalism, and pillage that would have caused intervention on the part of countries whose subjects were in the Philippines. Hence, we did the only thing we could do—we established a stable government for the Filipino. It was not our choice to stay; it was one of necessity. McKinley, recognizing that necessity, asked Mr. Taft to go there and establish a stable government. This was a new field for us. The form of government provided was that of a commission of which Gov. Taft was the president. The commission exercised a dual capacity, that of providing all needed laws for the islands under and by virtue of the authority of the act of Congress, and that of administering those laws as heads of departments. To provide proper administration of civil government many persons were taken from the Army and given positions in the various bureaus. Later many were appointed from the States, who were well qualified for important posts in the Philippine government. A school system was established and hundreds of teachers went from the United States to the islands to teach the Filipino the rudiments of a common-school education. The Filipino child is taught to read and write and speak the English language. When we went to the Philippine Islands only a small percentage, something like 3 per cent, could read and write.

Now, if I remember correctly, the percentage of those who can read and write is 65, and there are 550,000 Filipino children in school being taught under the supervision of American teachers. Many excellent school buildings have been provided by the bureau of public works. Ten thousand miles of good roads have been built; good substantial provincial buildings have been erected in almost every Province in the islands. To carry on this work many engineers and architects from the States were given employment in the Philippines. Likewise, Americans have been employed to quite a large extent in all of the bureaus. While this has greatly benefited the Filipino, and we have made more progress in the Philippines in the past 17 or 18 years than Spain did in her 400 years of control of the islands, yet the benefits accruing have not been alone to the Filipino. It has been an education to every soldier who has gone to the Philippines and made use of his opportunities. It has been a benefit to every American school-teacher who has gone to the Philippines and stayed even the minimum time of two years. It has been a great benefit and a school to our American doctors, our American scientists, our American architects, our American engineers, to all Americans who have gone to the Philippines and made use of the opportunities that presented themselves in their work.

Thousands of Americans have come to a good knowledge of the Orient through their residence in the Philippines. Hundreds of them have made the trip around the world, many of them going through Asia and Europe and both the southern and northern routes. As a people, America has greatly benefited from the broad view that has been given us through so many of our citizens being thus employed.

Were our policy in relation to the Philippines thoroughly settled, and it were known that we were to remain in the islands, the opportunities for business would be the finest in the world. The development of sugar plantations, development of trade with the United States, development of coconut plantations, development of the hemp industry, development of tropical fruits, and possibilities of the timber industry are all very great, and they are scarcely comprehended at all.

The timber is quite largely hardwood, much of which is exceedingly valuable; narra, which is called the Philippine mahogany, being one of the most valuable; camagon, which is a very dense wood with black and brown streaks, ebony, acle, molava, ipil, yacal, and many other fine woods, all of which are very dense and have great tensile strength. These woods that I have named all take a very fine finish and are very useful in furniture, shipbuilding, piling, and so forth.

In the Bukidnon country of the island of Mindanao are vast plains that should be covered by herds of cattle and sheep. The grass here is as fine as can be found in the blue-grass region of Kentucky, yet these great plains are unemployed because of unsatisfactory governmental regulations.

In our endeavor to protect the Filipino in his heritage we have passed many laws that are greatly to his detriment, because they prevent progress. They prevent the development of resources. When we consider that only 5 per cent of the Philippine Islands are actually under cultivation, we must realize at once that something is wrong or they would have developed faster. We must also realize that if the small portion which is in cultivation can support 8,000,000 people what a vast population the islands would support if all the available lands were brought under cultivation.

Owing to the seasons of the year there being wet and dry, the Philippine Islands do much better with irrigation. The broad, deep streams, all headed in the mountains, furnish ample water supply for this purpose, and as an economic proposition the water so supplied ought to serve a double use, the primary use being irrigation; but, connected with that, without loss of water for irrigation purposes, the same water could be used at or near the irrigation dam for producing power with which to run machinery, and so forth. It seems to me that in our own country we are exceedingly wasteful. Take, for instance, some of our large irrigation dams: Why should not the water used in connection with these dams supply power for running large manufacturing plants at a very small cost? There are scores of rivers in the Philippine Islands which could be so used, and the plains through which they pass could be irrigated, and thus we could grow three crops a year instead of one, and at the same time vast manufacturing plants could produce goods for the oriental market on a basis that would enable us to compete with Europe, because of the cheapness of the power necessary to run such plants.

America has become one of the great manufacturing countries of the world. The time must come when our manufacturing industries must be limited, because the markets of the world have been preempted by other countries. Shall we as a country forego the opportunities that present themselves to us in the opportunity we have for development along this line by retention of the Philippines?

All the other countries of the world are reaching out for additional territory, and they are thus preparing for the future, for in this sphere of the influence acquired they build up for themselves a market for their manufactured goods. England has her possessions the world over. Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Russia, and other countries that might be named are taking care of the future by securing to themselves colonies which will serve a double purpose—first, that of furnishing a market for the goods manufactured at home; secondly, providing an outlet or place of abode where the congested population of the mother country may go and still preserve their nationality.

We have had such vast expanse of country that our statesmen have given little heed to this question; but with the present ratio of increase in population the question of providing homes and employment for our congested population will become a serious one.

When we but consider the vast number of Germans, Swedes, Irish, Italians, and other nationalities of our own population we realize how rapidly population of the mother countries from which they have come would have congested had it not been that they had been able to find homes in America. The day is not far distant when we will realize the importance of preserving American soil for our children. The Philippine Islands now have a population of about 8,000,000 people subsisting on an area of about 5 per cent of the total area of the islands. It has been estimated 60 per cent of the area of the Philippine Islands is fit for profitable cultivation. At this ratio, what a vast population the islands will sustain!

It is true the islands are in the Tropics, extending from about 4½° north latitude to about 21° north latitude. Continual heat is claimed to be detrimental to the average American; be that as it may, I have seen a great many Americans who have been in the islands for 15 years, and I have seen Europeans who have advised me that they have been there 30 years practically without leaving the islands, and they appear to be in excellent health. However, the mountains give relief from this continuous heat, and at the city of Baggio we attain altitude of more than 5,000 feet, which is sufficient to give a temperate climate the year round, and during the months of December, January, and February it sometimes freezes thin ice. One always has a fire in the evening and blankets are a comfort. The temperature at scarcely any point on the islands becomes as intensely hot as it does in the United States, there always being a good breeze from the sea. The temperature at Manila scarcely ever rises above 91 or 92° and rarely goes below 65. It is this continuous temperature that is detrimental. To counteract this we established a capital at Baggio for what are called the summer months—March, April, and May, and June until the beginning of the wet season. At this capital we become renovated and fit for the remaining nine months of the year on the plains of Manila. It is essentially important that this change be strictly observed.

There is in the breast of all true Americans a desire to remain Americans. With the Philippines a permanent possession of the United States, many Americans would seek them and make them a permanent home and would undoubtedly there engage in business and manufacturing for the oriental trade.

In my judgment, the Tropics in the future will show great development, even greater development than has taken place in the Temperate Zone. There is a growing demand for the products of the Tropics, and as the demand grows the product must be increased to meet this demand.

Modern science is obliterating disease in the Tropics and with the sanitation of the Tropics so that it is safe to reside there comes the desirability of getting away from our long and arduous winters. The Tropics have the further advantage of being able to make progress the entire year round, while here our harvest season is comparatively short. Our growing season is scarcely more than 4 months, while there with irrigation it is 12 months. How much more rapidly things may be done and how much more may be accomplished in a climate where we may engage actively in our pursuits all the year round. What we have accomplished in the Philippines has been the marvel of the world. We have done more for them in the 17 years that we have been there than Spain accomplished in her 400 years. We have done more for the Philippines than England has accomplished in all her years in India. We have done more in the Philippines than France has accomplished in her 60 years of occupancy of Indo-China. We have made the city of Manila a health resort whose climate for five months in the year is the most delightful in the world. If we were to leave the Philippines, all that we have accomplished in the way of sanitary reforms, governmental progress, and public improvements would go into decay and vanish. It is not in the Filipino people to do constructive work. It is not in them to continue a work already accomplished, nor even to preserve it. The Filipino people are better governed now than they ever have been in their history; they have a better government and are nearer self-government now than they ever will be again if they are granted independence. You can not confer independence on a people not capable of preserving that independence. They have little conception of self-government, although they think they have learned it all under our tutorage of the past 15 years. The Filipino people are practically a Malay race and no Malay people is self-governing in the sense of an organized government of a civilized country. It is true that all peoples are to an extent self-governing. Even the wildest tribes of the interior of Africa have a sort of government by tribes as did the Indian, the inhabitants of Borneo, and other uncivilized countries, but that grade of self-government is not the kind that is beneficial to a people or brings progress to a country.

So I must again repeat that, in my judgment, the Filipino people are not fit for self-government. It is true that certain Filipino characters will be cited to us as being of high intelligence. I could name Filipinos who have high intelligence, but they are comparatively so few that it is no more proper to judge the Filipino race from these few persons than it would be to judge the Negro race in America by the deeds of Booker T. Washington and Fred Douglas. If we in America, with all our training and traditions for centuries past, are scarcely capable of self-government in the sense of a popular government by the people, what can we expect from a people who until the advent of America knew nothing of participating in self-government. Surely they are not of such a superior race that they can acquire in 15 or 16 years all that it has taken us of America a thousand years to acquire.

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EASTERN QUESTION.

This division of the question has been largely discussed ever since we acquired the Philippines, and our friends of the anti-imperialistic society have held this phase of the question before the American people almost continuously, until even the children at the fireside shudder at the thought of what Japan may do to us if we retain the Philippines. Japan lies along the eastern coast of Asia and is much closer to China than it is to the Philippine Islands. Recently Japan obtained control of Korea and the immediate country surrounding Port Arthur. In the present war she is undertaking to obtain control of additional territory adjoining Korea. Is not this the sane thing for her to do, if she can? Why should she desire the Philippine Islands more than any other of the islands in the far eastern seas? Why should she desire the Philippine Islands more than she should desire Indo-China or Borneo, a continent island with 300,000 square miles, as fertile as the Philippine Islands and more than twice as large? Then there are Celebes, New Guinea, New Zealand, Sumatra, Java, and many other islands and groups of islands in this immediate vicinity that are as desirable as the Philippine Islands. France owns Indo-China, a country more than twice as large as the Philippines; England owns the Straits Settlements, India, a large portion of Borneo, all Australia, New Zealand, and a part of New Guinea.

The Dutch own Sumatra, Java, Celebes, a portion of New Guinea, and many other islands in this Archipelago. Germany and Spain have possessions, all in the vicinity of the Philippine Islands. Do we read of any of these nations considering the proposition of giving up their possessions because of their fear of Japan? No matter how small the country, none have ever even considered such a proposition. At least, no such sentiment has ever been given voice. The proposition of giving over the Philippine Islands because we might some day be compelled to fight Japan is not only foolish, but cowardly. The very fact that we say such things in this country has been a detriment of our prestige in the Orient. We should never give up any possession that we have because of fear of any country. Surely we, with our hundred million people, our ingenuity, our capacity for fighting, and our loyalty to the mother country, ought to be able to cope with the strongest nation in the world, so if we ever do give up the Philippines for any cause, let not that cause be cowardice.

Let us, however, consider the probabilities of Japan entering into a war with the United States over the Philippine Islands. Conceding that she desired possession of these islands we should remember that Japan is very heavily in debt. They have the largest per capita debt and the highest rate of taxation of any civilized country in the world. The burden of taxation in Japan is almost unbearable. Four years ago the then Emperor, who is now dead, was in great fear of assassination and had the palace guarded by soldiers. There had been an attempt to assassinate him just a few days before our visit in June, 1911. There was then, and still is, great unrest in Japan owing to the burden of taxes the people are carrying. Since our visit Japan has entered into this world war and is now undertaking to force China to make concessions that will give her a larger amount of territory nearer home. She had an expensive siege of the fortress held by Germany and is continually increasing her indebtedness.

In the summer of 1913 Japan undertook to borrow a large sum of money running into many millions of dollars. She wholly failed excepting that she was finally able to raise enough money by this method with which to pay her interest. Her interest account runs into millions. I do not know whether Japan has been able to raise revenues sufficient to meet current expenses and interest charges since then or not, but I am quite certain that she has not in any way reduced her indebtedness. Nagasaki is the nearest port of importance to the Philippines, and that is five days' sailing from Manila.

Manila could only be taken after a long siege, as Corregidor, the Gibraltar of the Philippine Islands, lies at the entrance of Manila Bay. To land an army to the north of Manila and to march it down to Manila would be a difficult task, so that the taking of Manila by any hostile country would be a question of considerable time. In the meantime our Navy surely would not be idle. We always have a squadron in the Orient, and that squadron would undoubtedly be prepared and ready for action before hostilities were actually declared. I do not claim to be an expert in military affairs, but it seems to me that it would be a difficult and expensive undertaking on the part of Japan to capture the Philippines and a more difficult undertaking to retain them once captured. Our taxes in this country are nothing compared with the taxes levied in Japan. Our resources are at least a hundred to one. We could raise ten billion dollars in the United States easier than Japan could raise a hundred million. Our unpreparedness is not so great as some of our military friends would have us imagine. We are not prepared as well as we should be, I grant, but we have always met every emergency, and the temper of the American people is such that we would not permit ourselves to be defeated by Japan or any other country on the face of the globe. Hence, should any country take from us the Philippine Islands, it would only be a temporary victory. Japan knows this as well as we. Japan knows better than we her financial condition. They realize that it would be folly for them to engage in a war with the United States, however much they would like to have the Philippine Islands. They also realize that territory adjacent to their possessions in Asia would be much more valuable to them than any detached island or group of islands, so I do not think we need fear war with Japan, nor do I think we need fear the result in case we should engage in war with Japan.

We need a base of operation in the Orient. The Philippine Islands furnish that base. China is certain to develop into a great market for manufactured products. There will be thousands of miles of railroads to build; there will be a demand for modern farm machinery and implements. There are rich deposits of minerals in the mountains of China to be obtained—coal,

iron, steel, copper, lead—some of the richest deposits in the world of these minerals are in China. Then there are the vast fertile plains of China, that are certain to produce valuable exports. There are 425,000,000 people in China to consume manufactured products and to produce exports. We shall want and need as much of this trade as we can obtain, and if we retain possession of the Philippine Islands we have a splendid opportunity to secure a good portion of it. Should we give up the Philippines from any cause, our doing so will be misunderstood by the oriental; in fact, those who are continually crying our inability to cope with Japan have convinced the Japanese public that this is true, and, what is worse, they have convinced most oriental countries that this is true, and our prestige has greatly suffered thereby. It seems to me that our continual crying out from the housetops our frailties and defects is detrimental to our prestige abroad. The effect at home may be what is desired, but the effect in foreign lands is tremendously bad.

From the standpoint of what is best for the Filipino, we should retain possession of the islands for the following reasons:

First. We have secured for them a stable government which is better than they ever had before or ever will have again should we sever our connection with the Philippine Islands.

Second. Under American rule of the Philippine Islands the people have been more prosperous than at any other time in their history.

Third. We are just beginning the development of the Philippine Islands, and should we retain possession of them unquestionably the beneficial result of such development would be very great, not only for the Philippines but for the United States.

Fourth. By retaining possession of the Philippine Islands we keep them out of the clutches of some nation that will not be as unselfish as we have been in working out their salvation.

Fifth. The increase in trade of the Philippines with the United States has been very great. It will be much greater in proportion in the next 25 years if our relations continue as they now are.

Sixth. They furnish a base of operation for trade with China and Japan, which will be greatly beneficial not only to the United States but to the Philippine Islands as well; and, lastly:

The Philippine Islands now are a part of a great nation. Were they given independence, they would become, from a national standpoint, insignificant, with no voice in the affairs of the world and subject to be trampled upon whenever they became necessary to the welfare of any other country.

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**Address of Mr. John A. Edwards, of Eureka, Kans.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I present the address of Mr. John A. Edwards, of Eureka, Kans., delivered by him at the forty-fifth annual meeting of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, January 12–14, 1916. In view of our efforts to secure a comprehensive Federal investigation of the meat packers and their control of live-stock prices and marketing, this address of Mr. Edwards, who is himself a cattleman and much interested in behalf of the investigation, is particularly interesting and illuminating. Anybody who even pretends to know anything about the methods of the packers will immediately recognize that Mr. Edwards states actual facts and conditions that are almost everyday occurrences.

LIVE-STOCK MARKETING PROBLEMS.

"Mr. EDWARDS. This subject of the marketing of farm products is vital and big enough to occupy all the time of an extra session of the Kansas Legislature. I want to compliment your secretary for having put this most important topic on the program. I do not congratulate his judgment, however, in assigning the treatment of it to me. But time is too brief to apologize for either of us.

"When I noticed that he had given me this big, broad subject, I thought of the little boy who set 40 eggs under an old hen, and when he was asked why he gave her so many he said 'he wanted to see the old thing spread herself.' I intend to spread over only one phase of our marketing problems, which is that of our cattle and hogs. *Every one who has marketed cattle and sat on the fence at the stockyards knows that the packing interests control and own the situation*, and apparently pay very often their own prices. When I said sat on the fence, I meant sat on a rail or stood in the slush and peeked through a crack in the fence. Before the packers became the owners of the various stockyards a broad plank was nailed over the top of the fence, on which one could walk or stand so long as he had strength, and then when he sat down this board was wide enough to hold him and let him take his medicine or die in peace. Now, since the packers own all of the equipment pertaining to the cattle business this comfortable plank has been transformed into interest-bearing property.

"*We ship our live stock, as I have stated, to public yards owned by the packers. Every morning in every packing-house city of the land buyers for the packers come to the yards at 8 o'clock and buy or look around until 8. In the fall, when the runs are large, the buying has been delayed until late in the day, which makes weighing continue until evening. That is one of the serious problems of our marketing, and makes a big loss, which is always borne by the countrymen.*

"*If competition existed in our stockyards, weighting and buying would be more speedily executed. There have been instances even this season where good killing cattle were passed without a bid from Monday morning until Wednesday or Thursday evening.* These conditions, however, would not be frequent if our markets were more than one-man markets.

"*All of the buyers on all of the markets for all of the packers every morning bid as though it was a phonograph talking. It is 'steady' or 'higher' or 'lower' with all of them, and at exactly the same hour. The result would be the same if only one packer and one man bid on all of the cattle and hogs and sheep which we offer.*

"One morning this summer I met a belated cow buyer of the packers uptown in Kansas City. I joined him in a mad race for the stockyards. We overtook a Ford jitney and jumped in. As we rode I asked:

"'Dave, what is your cow market going to be to-day?'

"'Search me,' he said; 'I haven't learned yet. All I care to do is to get there soon enough to hold my job.'

"In a few minutes he rode up the alley and bid on our cows. The salesman remarked to him that the bid was lower, and he said, '*Yes; we are all bidding lower, and they are likely to be lower yet.*'

"So we sold them, and then he made what seemed to us the best bid of the day, which was 'Good day.'

"My remarks are not an arraignment of the packers. We need them, and must have some one to buy our live stock, but what we do complain of is that they often *seem not to buy them, but just merely take them. We also note that it is useless to ship on to another market if the price does not suit. Conditions ahead are always made worse for the man who goes on.* There is no court of higher appeal from the bid of the packer. Regardless of how much one may criticize the courts of this country, we must admit that there is a decided preference for their procedure. They often reverse themselves. The packer never does.

"The theory of the big packing houses and big stockyards and the concentration of live-stock shipments is sound, but when all of the ownership and management and all of the buying falls to the hands of a very few, and those few work in unison, the practice is wrong, and the public pays the penalty.

"A year ago, at the beginning of 1915, any person who had the least possible imagination would have thought that this would have been a banner year for the live-stock interests of the country. It ought to have been. Our exports of meat have been the greatest in history. Our imports of live cattle and meat, on the other hand, have been less by half than in 1914. During the past year labor has been employed overtime and at higher wages; business has prospered amazingly; all of the raw materials have advanced, many of them many times. It would seem that with these sky-high prices and favorable conditions that the meat producer would certainly have a fat year, but he has not. It has been a lean one.

"Fat cattle on the markets of this country have averaged lower during 1914 than in 1915; hogs have averaged lower than in 1914—with the result that the bank accounts of the majority of the live-stock producers have averaged lower, while dressed meat has sold readily and at good figures and at a great profit. *This profit, which should have gone into the pocket of the producer, has gone entirely into the treasury of the packer. This great injustice could not be worked against the countrymen if there was competition between the killers of live stock. Competition is the fundamental element of trade, and the element which the packers for years have been trying to eliminate. I believe*

*they have succeeded. Should two of the packers happen to desire the same bunch of cattle, rather than compete they buy and divide the drove.*

"Those who believe in big business combinations have ground to admire this great organization which fixes the price on our products and which owns more gigantic industries than Heinz, who advertises 57 different varieties.

"Our American packer owns a great percentage of the meat and killing business of South America, Mexico, and Australia, and owns or controls the ocean meat-carrying vessels. He owns public stockyards, and has organized banks and loan companies, and loans us the money he has made from us. He owns many of the refrigerator and storage plants and the poultry, egg, and butter concerns and the tannery works of the country. He owns the tankage and manure works of the land and sells these by-products back to us—and with them a number of hog-cholera germs, I believe. In another year or so they will likely include with each shipment of tankage or fertilizer a few bottles of hog serum, a monopoly of which, I presume, they will eventually possess.

"One day at the stockyards at Kansas City I was sitting on the fence to learn who would pay the lowest price for my cattle, when an old farmer, who came from somewhere near Osawatomie, stepped up and stated that he had been buying fertilizer and had been paying about 2 cents per pound to the packers for it, but that now he had decided to buy manure at about $24 per car; that he did not believe there was much difference in the quality; that the chief difference between them existed in the bulk. He asked if I was farming. I said I was. So he advised me to buy fertilizer, and I told him I thought I had better buy brains. I asked him if he had ever handled cattle. He said yes; that he had just sold some discarded milch-cow stuff for canners at $3.80. I figured it up and found out how much money he had received for his cattle, and I said, 'Why in the name of heaven didn't you grind those cows into fertilizer and save the freight?'

"I have attended in the past few years many agricultural meetings intended for the education and good of the agriculturist and have been instructed as to how our wonderful bluestem and yellow corn properly combined would make the beef steer gain 2 pounds where he only had gained 1 pound before, and as I have listened I have wondered what's the use of this extra pound when the Shylocks of the market get the pound. I have been taught how to produce more pork from a given amount of corn, but I have not become duly enthused, for I feel that although I may obtain this added gain, the packer will get the added profit. At the present price of hogs it almost requires the price one receives for a live hog to buy the bacon one dressed hog has made. I believe that the packers made more money this fall overnight on the hogs I sold them than I did in a year, and I began with them before they were littered. Last year and this year hogs came down almost $2 per hundred, which is $4 per head, but bacon and ham did not feel the decline. This would mean that the packers made $4 per head more profit out of my hogs than they were making before the drop in the market.

"During the past two years I have been receiving a great deal of instruction in vaccinating hogs. The agricultural colleges and Government have aided materially in helping us save our hogs from cholera and often offering sympathy afterwards. *I feel that I have lost a greater percentage of my hogs from the packers' combine than I have from the disease.*

"I am convinced that if the State and Government experts would devote as much time to preventing the market losses as they do to the loss from contagion, and would give as much time to the making of a competitive market for our hogs as they do in teaching us how to raise more and fatter hogs, the Kansas farmer would have dollars in the banks where now he has only experience.

"A few years ago I happened to step into a hotel and saw sitting there, with his feet in the window and his hat over his eyes, one of the well-to-do, influential, standpat citizens of that district, one who had believed in caucuses and gag rule and conventions and fewer laws and more liberty. I said:

"'Hello, my old standpat friend. Are you trying to decide between Fairbanks and Weeks?'"

[I might say that Mr. Edwards and I do not belong to the same political party.]

"'I am not mixing that kind of medicine any more,' he said. 'I am trying to take what they have mixed for me. I have just been over settling up with the International Harvester Co. I complained a little about the price of some machinery I have been buying and of the repairs that I am obliged to buy of the International Co. I was told by their representatives that if I did not like their prices that I could go without machinery for a while; that their company was only making about 8 per cent on $250,000,000 capitalization. I was just thinking also that I would be obliged to buy a lot more gasoline to keep my tractor going, and I find that the Standard Oil Co. has raised the price of gasoline 3 or 4 cents a gallon; that the stock of their company was not selling high enough; so they are taking my money, and it is legal.'

"Then the man told me that he was building a house for his son-in-law, and that the local lumber dealers sold at fixed prices, and that the only chance he had to save his bank account from open robbery was to buy from the Chicago House Wrecking Co. *This man also related to me that for a great many years he had been feeding cattle in large numbers for the packers, and he said he had usually been allowed something for his feed and work, but this year they took the whole blamed thing.*

"'I have been sitting here thinking if we fellows could raise the price of something besides Cain,' said he, 'and if I have to vote next fall and there is an anarchist running I will vote that ticket.'

"The analogy between the hog and cattle industry is close, except that the loss on fat cattle is greater and the end of the farmer who feeds his grain to them is quicker. *I have known a great many farms to go when the farmer shipped his cattle. I have never known the packer who bought them to be overcome with disaster.*

"The marketing of all of our stock has not been conducted, fortunately, on these open markets. There are a few bright spots and some which the big combinations neither painted nor created. These spots are the cow and the pure-bred business, and the reason that they are bright is because the public and the law of supply and demand have had an opportunity to work. If it had not been for the evolution of the cow and the calf many of us would to-day be riding in the long caravan the packers have been bearing to the cemetery.

"A few years ago I was in Roswell, N. Mex., buying Panhandle steers, and in the evening I was lonesome because I was good, so I went down to the big gambling house where there was society. There were large tables and much hilarity. I took a seat on an elevated platform and became fascinated watching the players and the dealers. When morning came the most of the players had been thrown out or dropped out and only a few lucky ones remained. I noticed that about all the money that had come into the gambling house with the visitors the night before was put away in the morning in the safes by the dealers. I noticed with every roll of the wheel or cut of the cards the dealer took a percentage, until when daylight arrived and the last few went away the percentage had equaled the whole. Yearly, or oftener, when I go to Kansas City and notice the wealth and the extension of the packers, the absence of some old live-stock man, or find that his farm is gone or that he is working for the packers, or is in the commission business, or out of commission, the scene of the Roswell dealers comes to my mind; *and so long as the packers can shuffle and can deal the cards and take a percentage from our hides and leather and poultry and cattle and hogs, he will eventually own not only the packing houses and yards but the prosperity of our State and the property of her citizens.*

"A few years ago Tom Lawson, through one of the magazines, on the subject of 'Frenzied finance,' described vividly the evils of Wall Street. A few years later he proposed a remedy. He discovered, like physicians, that it is much more difficult to find a cure than to diagnose the disease. We find that same trouble with the live-stock market problems. *We know now that we have the disease, and in a malignant form, and that this packing-house disease will eventually kill us.* No one, so far as I know, has been able to prescribe a cure.

*One of the remedies proposed in my county is Government ownership of packing plants, one plant to be established at every market.* It is not the intention that the Government should destroy the present packers, but only build and compete with them, the same as the parcel post competes with the express companies. The Government employs a large corps of men to help the live-stock interests protect themselves against Texas fever, scab, and foot-and-mouth disease. The Government ought to go further and protect our ownership of our herds when we offer them on the markets. This is as important and more necessary than any other remedy the Government can prescribe. I know that Government ownership is repugnant to many, but at the same time many of the severe losses which we suffer in our marketing are also repugnant. *I would rather be an advocate of this doctrine than to be broke, and I think and I believe there are many who agree with me that Government ownership is preferable to being out of business.*

*I believe that last year the cattle interests lost one hundred times more from the advantage the packers took of the markets than the cattle owner did in the country from the foot-and-mouth disease.*

It is further suggested in my home county of Greenwood that should the Government fail to do more for the live-stock raisers than to see that their herds go to slaughter in good health, that the State of Kansas should come to the rescue, for the prosperity of Kansas and her welfare and the value of her farms and pastures and forage crops are based on the price of her live stock. *Our values will not greatly increase in this State so long as our live-stock prices are dependent upon the questionable generosity and the whims of the packers and the dividends they decide to make.* It is contended by some that Kansas ought to install on Kansas soil a packing plant which may be run and managed on a plan similar to the State twine plant. *This little institution has lowered the price of twine; it has saved a great many thousands of dollars to the farmers of Kansas which otherwise would have gone into the surplus department of the harvester companies. Such a packing house would afford competition and prevent the strife between the cattlemen and the packer and would make our whimsical markets more stable.*

A third proposed remedy, which we have talked of freely in our county, is to the effect that the owners of the sixty-odd millions of cattle in the United States should pay $1 per head into a company as capital to conduct a packing business, and that this amount of money, together with that which would be raised by the sale of stock to consumers, would provide enough millions to give us competition in the markets of the world. *It would also make a company strong enough to secure a few ocean ships, or at least space in them, so that we might enter freely into all phases of the meat and packing business.* It is contended that such a packing plant might not make money for the stockholders, and it is true it might not. But if it failed to make money as a packing plant it would be because it had made live stock sell higher, and should this be the result the live-stock owners of this Nation would have gained the chief object which they have sought. On the other hand, if cattle were not higher and the packing plant lost money, it would be because the meat sold too low; and should this be the case there still could be no objection, *for the reason that the consumers would be the beneficiaries. It is not material in this scheme whether the plant is profitable or not, just so the consumers and the producers who are the stockholders profit by it.*

The greatest hindrance to this last remedy and rescue is, I find, the lack of a Moses. I feel that if there is a Moses in this society, or on the face of the earth, he would find that $100,000 down in Greenwood County would be pledged at once to this project.

*In conclusion, I wish to state that until Government or State or private ownership is installed, and until competition is restored, the State of Kansas will allow its best and its most productive business to pay the dealers of this marketing game annually millions and millions of dollars which should stay in the State of Kansas and go to build up her farms and her industries and her citizenship.*

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## Naval and Military Expenditures.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, August 5, 1916.*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, we are soon to agree upon pending appropriation bills carrying such stupendous and staggering totals that the human mind fails to grasp their meaning. It is impossible for the ordinary brain to grapple with figures mounting into the hundreds of millions; they can be comprehended only with an effort and after they have been translated into other forms.

Never before in a time of peace has any nation gone into expenditures for military purposes on any such lavish scale as this Congress has adopted. At heart it is to be doubted whether this House or whether the body at the other end of the Capitol is satisfied with the performance which is about to be completed. It exceeds reason as far as it exceeds all precedent. But both House and Senate have yielded to what they have conceived to be the country's demand, yet I seriously question whether the country really favors so monstrous a program as that for which we are providing by appropriations aggregating $700,000,000.

However, these expenditures are justified in the minds of some men on the ground that they are in the interest of peace. The millions we are taking out of the toil and privation of the masses of America are the premium we pay for an insurance policy against war. But are armaments an insurance against war? Were the armaments of Europe an insurance against war? Have armaments in any country or in any era been a guaranty of peace? As I read history, I say that all human experience proves the contrary.

And in this connection, Mr. Speaker, and as a part of my remarks, permit me to incorporate a remarkable address at the recent Lake Mohonk conference by the Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D. D., LL. D., pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, under the title, "Do Large Armaments Provoke War?" This address is one of the strongest and most convincing contributions to this discussion of armaments from the peace angle that have come under my notice; and I commend it to the thoughtful men of this House and of the country, to whom it should make a powerful appeal. Dr. Jefferson spoke as follows:

DO LARGE ARMAMENTS PROVOKE WAR?

[Charles E. Jefferson, D. D., LL. D., pastor Broadway Tabernacle, New York City.]

DO LARGE ARMAMENTS AS SUCH PROVOKE WAR?

My answer is they do, and these are my reasons: First, because of their nature. They are in reality enormous masses of explosives. The explosives are of two kinds, chemical and human. Their presence deranges the normal beating of the world's heart. We can never have national health on this planet until swollen armies and navies are abolished. They create a state of mind out of which war, soon or late, must inevitably come. They are fomenters and feeders of fear. Dump down in front of my house a ton of dynamite or gunpowder and I at once become nervous. I can not help it. You may say that they will not hurt me. That does not quiet me a bit. I know there are many bad boys and mischief-making men in the world, and I can not sleep sound with that pile of explosives at my front door. Great armaments are huge heaps of gunpowder and guncotton and dynamite and lyddite and melinite, and when they are piled along all the national frontiers, the nations can not work with quiet pulse nor sleep a sleep that is sound. For 40 years Europe has tossed and moaned in a hideous nightmare. War itself came at last as a relief. Fear begets suspicion. Out of suspicion springs dislike, dislike deepens into hate, hate rushes on to bloodshed. Fear, suspicion, dislike, hate, slaughter, these are steps in the stairway down which nations pass to hell—shoved down by their armaments.

MORE THAN METAL AND CHEMICALS.

But armaments are more than metal and chemicals. Armaments are made largely of flesh and blood. Armies are men, so also are navies. Large armies and navies mean tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of men. Along, then, with your tons of chemical explosives you have explosive material done up in the bodies of a vast multitude of men. These men must have officers—hundreds, thousands of them—thirty-five thousand to every million men—and out of every hundred of them you can expect one or more Bernhardis—men who believe that war is a biological necessity; that it is the mother of all the virtues; and that every nation must perform those deeds of blood and valor which, above everything else, bring national renown. Bernhardi is not simply a Prussian; he is a Russian, a Frenchman, an Englishman, an American. He lives everywhere. He is in every army. He is a type which persists. He is a product of the barracks. You can not eliminate him. You must always reckon with him. He will talk. He will write. He will organize a war party. The bigger the army, the taller is Bernhardi; the mightier the war party. You may lament it, but you can not change it. If you want an army, you must take Bernhardi. If you insist on a big army, you will have a crowd of Bernhardis. It is cruel injustice to say that all military and naval officers want war. Many of them abhor war with an abhorrence deep and true. But you can not have an army in which there will not be at least one Bernhardi, and in every army in every country to-day there are many Bernhardis. Now Bernhardi is a provocative of war. He always has his eye on the next war. It is inevitable, imminent. He dreams of power—of conquest. He moves heaven and earth to plant his ideas in the public mind. By his propaganda he makes his nation feared. He kindles at last a fire which may burn up the world.

HUGE ARMIES BREED BERNHARDIS.

Huge armies give birth to Bernhardi, also to a twin brother, Krupp. You can not have an army without Krupp. The army is dependent on him. Without him the army can do nothing. Krupp is the munition maker. He manufactures the guns and

the ships and all the explosives. The bigger your army the taller becomes Krupp. If the nation votes millions for armament, Krupp is pleased; if it votes tens of millions, Krupp is delighted; if it votes hundreds of millions, Krupp is hilarious; if it votes billions, Krupp dances for joy. The bigger the military and naval budgets the happier is Krupp and the mightier. He employs more and more men, adds more acres to his plant, amasses more capital, and extends his influence until he looms the chief man in the nation. He becomes at last a demigod, able even to control the national weather. He launches international storms; he covers the heavens with clouds; he sends the lightning, and while the lightning is playing he tightens his clutches on the national treasury; he starves every department of national activity in order to convert national treasure into guns. He has costly machinery; it must be kept running. He has thousands of workmen; they can not be allowed to be idle. Hence improved guns must be introduced every few years, and battleships must go to the junk heap before they have seen service. A great man is Krupp. He is not merely a Prussian; he is a Russian, a Frenchman, a Britisher, an American. He has different names in different lands, but he is everywhere the same man.

He is a patriot, and he always puts money in his purse. You must get acquainted with him if you want to know why great armaments are a menace.

HOW KRUPP WORKS THROUGH THE PRESS.

Krupp works through the journalist. Without the printing press he is undone. Newspapers when owned by men of low type are the most dangerous of all the poisoners of the wells of international good will. Their capacity for mischief can not be measured. In all countries the big newspapers, with few exceptions, are for big armaments. Krupp and the millionaire journalist usually join hands. They are both men of power. It would be unfair to say that the munition maker bribes or hires the editor. He simply uses him.

The editor is indispensable when it comes to creating war panics and stampeding the nation into wilder schemes of preparedness. He crowds his columns with insolent gossip and lying rumors and fills his readers' hearts with dark imaginations and terrifying fears. He excites hatred toward every nation against which he sets his heart. Lord Northcliffe, for instance, owns the Daily Mail, the Daily Mirror, the Daily Graphic, the Daily Express, the Evening News, the Daily Times, and the Weekly Dispatch. This is what Lord Northcliffe said several years ago in an interview in the Paris Matin: "We detest the Germans cordially. I will never allow the least thing to be printed in my journal which might wound France, but I would not let anything be printed which might be agreeable to Germany." There you see the journalist at his worst. Northcliffe is found in every one of the world's capitals. He lives in Washington, New York, Chicago, San Francisco. You can not get rid of him. You can not silence him. You must reckon with him. He has matches, and you jeopardize civilization when you pile up the gunpowder around him. Are large armaments provocative of war? Yes; for the reason that they are explosives and are within the reach of Bernhardi and Krupp and Northcliffe.

ARMAMENTS A CONFESSION OF DISTRUST.

There is a second reason why huge armaments provoke war. They are confessions of distrust, and therefore strain and finally break down international friendship. Without confidence nothing goes on well in this world. Armaments smash confidence to splinters. Nations all arm now in defense. They themselves seek only justice and the things which are right, but their neighbors, alas! are unprincipled rascals, against which they must be on their guard. To arm in defense is therefore an insult to the nation you arm against. A nation multiplying its guns, and all the time protesting its arms solely in defense, is slandering its neighbors. It is saying, "My neighbors are cutthroats and bandits and I must be ready to beat them off with a club." That is what we say to Japan when we strengthen our Pacific defenses, and that is what we say to Germany when we talk about $500,000,000 in five years for new ships to be ready for her when she comes. When once bad feeling is engendered it is easier to fight.

HOW ARMING FOR DEFENSE PROVOKES COUNTERARMING.

Armed peace is a form of war. Armament is in reality an attack on some other nation. That nation meets it with a counterattack. Launch a dreadnaught and there is a counter-dreadnaught, a cruiser and there is a countercruiser, a submarine and there is a countersubmarine. You can not arm for defense without compelling others to arm in defense, and when the defenses have reached a certain point of perfection there will be war. Just now many Americans are trying to draw a line between armament for defense and armament for aggression. There is no such line possible. What is defensive for you will be offensive for your neighbor. Men say: "We arm not for war, but against war," and think they have said something. They have said nothing. You can't change a situation by altering a preposition. It makes no difference at all whether you arm for offense or defense—for war or against war. The effect is precisely the same and the budgets are the same. Great Britain armed for defense only. A navy was necessary, she said, to protect her commerce. Germany built up a vast commerce, and acting on the British philosophy, she said she had to protect it with a fleet. Every German, from Von Buelow down, declared it was only for defense, but no Englishman believed it. Every Englishman declared that the British Navy was solely for defense, but no German believed it. What is the use of fooling ourselves with words? It is not what we say, but what we do, that shapes the character and destiny of the world. England armed for defense, and Germany did the same, and they met at last on the field of blood. They did not want to fight. Every Englishman of note has said that within the last 10 years. Every German in official position has said that Germany desired only the friendship of England. The Kaiser said it, and Marschall von Bieberstein and Prince Lichnowsky and Herr von Jagow, and all the rest of them. You may say they were lying. I can not go with you. I believe they were all honest men, and spoke the truth. The best men in Britain and Germany had no desire to fight. Those two great Empires were driven to war by their guns. The expanding squadrons of battleships on the North Sea simply drove them irresistibly apart, snapping the ties made sacred by the memories of a thousand years.

ARMAMENTS PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE MILITARISTS.

In the third place, large armaments precipitate war, because in times of national excitement the control of affairs passes inevitably into the hands of the most aggressive and best-organized body of men in the nation. As a recent writer in the Berliner Tageblatt says: "Even the most gifted and most industrious monarch disappears behind the machine." Now, the Army and Navy are machines. They are organized for swift and vigorous action. The English papers have prided themselves for years on the fact that in case of war the British Navy would get its blow in first, before the other nation had the time even to read in the papers that war had been declared. At the first Hague conference the head of the German delegation, Count Munster, disparaged arbitration, saying: "It would be injurious to Germany. Germany is prepared for war. She can mobilize her army in 10 days. Arbitration simply gives rival powers time to put themselves in readiness." At the same conference Sir John Fisher spoke for England. His argument was this: "The British Navy is prepared. A vast deal depends on prompt action by the Navy. The truce afforded by arbitration proceedings will give other powers time to put themselves into complete readiness." This is the spirit of the Army and Navy always. It is fundamental in military tactics that the blow shall be swift. No time must be wasted on reflection or on discussion. The machine, when ready, must move at once. It is disheartening, therefore, to hear just now so many Americans crying for guns and saying, "We do not want war; we do not intend war," just as though nations get what they want or intend. They get what they prepare for. In a crisis our big Army and Navy, if created, will fall into the hands of the then dominant political party, into the hands of the ruling faction of that party, into the hands of the most energetic group in that faction, into the hands of the most vigorous and ambitious individual in that group. The people will have nothing to say when the crucial hour arrives. Even the alleged rulers will have exceedingly little to say. It is the men who have been trained for war who, when the clock strikes, leap into the saddle and drag the Nation after them. That is what happened in Berlin in the feverish August of 1914. William II is a man of unusual strength, but when the Army chiefs all told him there must be no delay the fateful ultimatum was sent, and the war was on.

ARMIES THE FOE OF ARBITRATION.

Great armies and navies are of necessity the implacable foes of arbitral and judicial methods of settling international disputes. Militarists have scant patience with diplomatists who want to investigate and consider and reason. They do not care to untie knots; they prefer to cut them. In 1908, when Bosnia and Herzegovina were taken by Austria there was no conference for discussion. Germany appeared in shining armor and the case was settled, not by reason but by the army. Later on, at Agadir, Great Britain appeared by the side of France in shining armor. The case was settled not by reason but by the navy.

It was those two settlements which unsettled the world. Big armaments shove reason aside and throw the purple over the shoulders of force. If you point a gun at me I can not reason. I fall back on my primitive instincts. If I am strong, the tiger in me comes to the front, and I try to knock you over or tear you to pieces. If I am weak, the fox in me becomes dominant and I trick you if I can. Guns cut the nerves of arbitration. Diplomatic pressure—which means the pressure of 16-inch guns—is a kind of pressure that squeezes out the life of justice and of liberty and leaves nations irritated and revengeful.

A DEADENING AND BLIGHTING CURSE.

Great armies and great navies are a deadening, blighting, intolerable curse. They are a nuisance and a menace, a plague, and a scourge. The world can not breathe freely until they are eliminated. International diplomacy can not be sound, so long as these excrescences exist. World finances can not be normal until this incubus is thrown off. Our Christian ideals can not be realized so long as Cæsar sits on the throne of the world. The mailed fist is an enemey of Christ. Shining armor is an abomination to God. Hague conferences will make tardy progress until we escape the domination of military-naval experts. Peace palaces are built in vain so long as competitive armaments surround them. The rights of humanity are never safe when propped up by huge engines of war. Great armaments must be gotten rid of. They will be when the people decree it. It is for all who love mankind to proceed to organize the world. Our fathers organized 13 Commonwealths into a Republic. The principle was sound, and the 13 have increased to 48. We must now help to organize the nations into a family to be governed by justice and liberty and good will. It is not for us to adopt the stupid European policy of armed peace, or to train every boy to shoot, which is the old Pequot ideal, or to give a new lease of life to a philosophy that is pagan and rotten; it is for us to bend all our energies at this crisis of history to the working out of a plan whereby the world's armaments shall be melted, and the streams of gold and brain energy now devoted to the multiplication of the instruments of blood shall be consecrated to the creation of those constructive and beneficent agencies and institutions which shall heal the running sores of the world, provide for its multitudinous and clamorous needs, and open the beautiful gates of a thousand years of peace.

## The Federal Child-Labor Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, August 5, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, a sound democracy demands the abolishment of a practice which deprives our children of their natural growth, their chances in life, and an education. I dare say the conscience of this entire Nation opposes exploitation of children for cheap labor. I have always been heartily in favor of any legislation that would tend to the betterment and safeguarding of women and children, and I am proud of the opportunity to cast my vote and express my sentiments on the child-labor bill, now up for consideration.

Since national preparedness seems to be the great issue on the minds of the American people to-day, it seems to me that before we can hope for adequate military and naval preparedness we must have sound industrial preparedness. In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, the social and moral preparedness of our youth is a more momentous question than military preparedness. We are responsible for the types of American citizens that are growing up among us, and it therefore behooves us as men having the welfare of our people at heart to legislate liberally and willingly for such laws as will tend to develop the highest types of American citizenship.

Child labor is one of the great moral evils of this country, affecting, as it does, our younger generation, to whom we look in after years for the men and women to conduct the affairs of this Government. I believe, therefore, that we are in duty bound to do our part to have the bill that would strike at the very roots of this evil enacted into law at this session.

We have spent much time and investigation in the consideration of laws for the conservation of our natural resources and in the interest of animal and plant industry, but I regret to state we have not been as active as we should have been in conserving human life. What issue could surpass in importance that of the conservation of human life? A nation's greatest asset is her children—the statesmen, the business men, the professionals of to-morrow are the children of to-day. What legislation could have any nobler purpose than the measure before us—a measure seeking to protect and to safeguard our young girls and boys from the dangers of premature labor in mills, factories, and mines. Did not the Greeks of old boast of a perfect race and high-minded, ideal type of citizen, which was acquired as a result of laws that looked to the health, protection, and education of their children?

Mr. Speaker, the bill under discussion has for its object not only the protection and safeguarding of the child employed in the mill or mine, but it looks to the health, the comfort, and the education of our young boys and girls. The rapid strides of progress made in the industrial world have caused our social and industrial problems to become interstate problems, and the changed conditions make it imperative for us to enact Federal laws to protect and safeguard our thousands of men, women, and children employed in factories, mills, and mines. We can ill afford to sacrifice our precious boys and girls by exploiting their earning powers. I have always advocated child-labor laws for humane reasons. The district which I have the honor of representing and my native State, I am proud to say, will not have need for this legislation, and I am therefore not urging this measure because it would affect my constituency. Kansas, as usual, has taken advanced steps for the protection of its women and children workers, and we have laws on our statute books that are working out most satisfactorily.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am pleading for a bill that will benefit the less fortunate of our sister States where there is a crying need for Federal legislation that can work out adequately and be enforced properly. The inconsistencies existing in the different State child-labor laws and the unsatisfactory method of enforcement make it imperative that we devise a uniform Federal law that can be operated in every State in the Union. We are confronting an interstate situation in the industrial world which can only be remedied through Federal rather than State aid.

The bill introduced in the House by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING] seeks to prohibit interstate commerce in certain of the most vicious forms of child labor. In effect this bill would render unlawful the shipment of interstate-commerce commodities that have been produced either wholly or in part by—

First. Children under the age of 16 in mine or quarry products.

Second. Children under 14 years of age in manufactured or milled products.

Third. Children under 16 years of age employed more than eight hours.

Fourth. Children under 16 years of age employed at night.

In reading over the bill, together with the report of the committee, I find it to be clear and explicit, fully informing manufacturer, mine owner, and dealer alike of the full requirements and exact standards to observe. It authorizes the Department of Labor, acting in cooperation with State officials, to aid in the enforcement of this law. Authority is granted to the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor, a board of three, to establish uniform rules and regulations for the rigid enforcement of the law. Accredited agents of the Department of Labor will be authorized to make the necessary inspections to see that the provisions of the law are enforced.

Nineteen States, I am pleased to note, including some of the leading manufacturing States of our Union, have already enacted an eight-hour law for children under 16 years of age through State legislation, just as this House did a few years ago when it enacted an eight-hour law for employees in the District of Columbia. While we have a number of child-labor laws on the statute books of our several States, yet they are, on the whole, ineffectual because different States have different laws and methods of enforcing them; but a Federal child-labor law will do away with all discrepancies of State laws, inasmuch as its regulations and rules will be uniform in the 48 States. A law on a statute book is of no value and may even be a detriment unless some effectual method of enforcing it has been adopted. We have still several States that have so far failed to adopt the four minimum standards I have just mentioned, and conditions in those States are deplorable enough to warrant a Federal child-labor law. Wherever a child is wronged a nation and a nation's industry is wronged.

In considering the child-labor question we are dealing with a helpless class of our population, whose "neglect defeats the very success of democracy itself." The first State laws pertaining to child labor were not enacted from a humanitarian

standpoint; on the contrary, they were enacted for the purpose of securing better efficiency in manufacturing and mining. Child labor is everywhere practically inefficient. Any thinking charitable man will concede that the place of a boy or girl between the ages of 9 and 16 is in the school and not in the mill or mine. How can we hope to rear a vigorous, enlightened, sturdy type of citizen if we deprive our children, during the adolescent period of their lives, of a chance to normally grow, play, and attend school? Ask any parent, teacher, or social worker and they will tell you that some States permit boys and girls of the tender ages of 9 and 12 years to work as long as 11 hours in their mills, and they have not even factory inspection. Any physician will vouch for the great danger in allowing young girls and boys to work long hours at monotonous work. Dr. Woods Hutchinson, of the American Academy of Medicine, says:

> The nation that works its children has no right to call itself civilized, and is about as rapacious and intelligent as the farmer who grinds his seed corn.

I do not wish to criticize the child-labor laws of the several States, but I do contend every State has a different method of enforcing its laws and applying them, and some of our States have never even sought to provide for factory inspection, and therefore I believe it to be of vital importance that we enact a Federal law that will be uniform and that can be effectively enforced in every State. Are the 2,000,000 children now employed in our mills and factories not worth safeguarding? The census report of 1910 shows that nearly 2,000,000 children under the age of 16 are employed in mechanical, manufacturing, milling, and mining pursuits, 5 per cent of all the laborers of the United States. Nearly 50 per cent of the boys and girls are under 14 years of age. More than a million girls and boys are working more than eight hours a day. There can not be any bad results emanating from the passage of this bill, which is solely humanitarian and remedial in its nature. The States that are already safeguarding their children will not need this law, but it will benefit the States that have been backward in passing child-labor legislation—in that it will bring about better conditions among such children and will give them a longer period in which they can attend school. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the Keating bill will give the less fortunate children of our land a better chance to thrive, to enjoy their childhood, to attend school, and thus aid in molding their future careers.

I am astonished to find that we have men here in Congress who have the heart to oppose a bill that tends to the conservation of human life. And I was much surprised to find opposition coming from men whom I believed stood for all that was humanitarian and uplifting, men who personally are considerate of others around them, protesting against the measure under the pretense that it might be "unconstitutional."

The only opposition that can possibly be made to this legislation is the fact that the mill owner and the manufacturer are profiting by the employment of child labor. Mills can almost be run on the labor of children, which is cheaper and in turn fills their coffers of wealth more rapidly. When men have no good argument they usually resort to the "Constitution."

I admit, Mr. Speaker, we have no exact precedent on our statute books, but the committee has given careful attention to this phase of the bill and have reached the conclusion that it is constitutional. The Supreme Court has upheld the acts providing against the sale of lotteries and also the Mann White-Slave Act. In neither case was there any purpose of protecting commerce itself, but the two acts I have just mentioned were held to be constitutional by the Supreme Court because the power to regulate interstate commerce included the power to regulate it in the interest of public welfare, public health, and public morals. We need therefore have no fear as to the constitutionality of the legislation now before us, as these cases prove the principle that Congress can exercise its power over interstate commerce in such a way as to see that interstate commerce is regulated in the interest of public safety.

Let me ask the gentlemen who would hinder the passage of this urgent legislation, Would they approve of long hours of labor for their loved ones in crowded factories or mills? Would they be willing to send their young children to the mills and workshops rather than to send them to school? Would they deny little children their birthright? Would they wish to deprive children of the sunshine or a chance to grow? I have yet to hear the opponents openly attack this bill on its merits. Their only excuse is the question of its constitutionality. I for one would not wish it said of me that I ever supported legislation that was unconstitutional, but I will always fight for any measure that is humanitarian in its scope. I would not call men high-minded American citizens who would criticize a Member of Congress for supporting a measure for the conservation of children simply because the practice of employing children in mills and factories swells the gain of a few manufacturers who pay starvation wages, and, not satisfied with earning big dividends at the expense of grown men and women, they must drag childhood into their factories to satisfy their extravagance and desire for power and wealth. Men of that caliber have no heart for the protection and welfare of humanity.

The social conscience of this land has been awakened to the evils of child labor, and people everywhere are opposed to the exploitation of children for profit. The bill which we have before us is one of the most remedial and constructive measures that any Congress could enact. It is our duty to legislate to abolish premature labor of children and to provide opportunities for the normal development and education of every child in the United States.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, permit me to state that conservation can reach no higher plane than in the conservation of human life. In supporting this measure we show the world that we are conscious of the needs of reforms in the industrial world and are ready to meet such reform by effective, humane legislation. This House has been convinced that a national evil of great extent is known to exist in our industrial world; that Federal relief is the only method to remedy it. A practical bill has been submitted to us, and we have now the privilege of enacting into law a measure that will commend itself to every thinking man and woman.

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## Army Reorganization Act.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 8, 1916.*

Mr. OLNEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me I extend herewith article by David J. Maloney, Esq., of Boston, Mass., on the present status of the active corps and the National Guard. Mr. Maloney has for many years been a member of the First Corps Cadets, M. V. M., and is well qualified on this subject:

THE ARMY REORGANIZATION BILL—THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE ACTIVE CORPS AND NATIONAL GUARD.

[By David J. Maloney.]

The unusual conditions of the country in reference to preparedness and the seeming confusion in the minds of our citizens as to the effect of recent legislation upon the status of the active corps and National Guard prompts the writer to outline the important provisions of the new act with the hope that his effort may be of interest to the readers of the Quarterly.

Committees of both the House and Senate spent many weeks of arduous and exacting labor in formulating what seemed to be a complete reorganization of the military department of the Government and early in the year there was introduced in the House of Representatives the Hay bill and in the Senate the Chamberlain bill, taking their names from the chairmen of the Committees on Military Affairs.

Each bill was adopted in its respective branch and in so many ways were they different and there being no possibility of either the House or Senate yielding in its position, a committee of conferees of both branches was appointed to bring in a compromise measure, which resulted in the passage of the Army reorganization bill, approved by the President June 3. The great difference between the two bills, as affecting the National Guard, was that the Senate bill provided for a Continental Army and the House bill the federalization of the National Guard.

Hon. RICHARD OLNEY, 2D, representing the Fourteenth Massachusetts district, an estimable gentleman, was a member of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House. The original Hay bill had a provision preserving the ancient rights and privileges of the active corps and other organizations which had a continuous existence prior to the act of 1792, with a further provision that these organizations should be subject to all laws relating to militia but should not be a part of the National Guard or entitled to any of the privileges of the new act. If passed in that form it meant the existence of the active corps, for if it was barred from the National Guard it could no longer exist as an active military organization.

When convinced of the seriousness of the situation as affecting the corps, Congressman OLNEY made the protection of its active existence, the preservation of its ancient rights and privileges, and its membership in the National Guard—with the resulting privileges under the new act—his personal effort; and section 63 of the reorganization bill, preserving to the corps its ancient rights and privileges, was the successful result of his conscientious and persistent service, and to him the corps is greatly indebted.

The section mentioned, when it reached the Senate, was amended by adding a qualifying clause which in no way affected the active corps as an organization, and as finally enacted was as follows:

"Any corps of Artillery, Cavalry, or Infantry, existing in any of the States on the passage of the act of May 8, 1792, which by the laws, customs, or usages of said States has been in continuous existence since the passage of said act, under its provisions and under

the provisions of section 232 and sections 1625 to 1660, both inclusive, of title 16 of the Revised Statutes of 1873, and the act of January 21, 1903, relating to the militia, shall be allowed to retain its ancient privileges, subject, nevertheless, to all duties required by law of militia: *Provided*, That said organizations may be a part of the National Guard and entitled to all the privileges of this act, and shall conform in all respects to the organization, discipline, and training of the National Guard in time of war: *Provided further*, That for purposes of training and when on active duty in the service of the United States they may be assigned to higher units, as the President may direct, and shall be subject to the orders of officers under whom they shall be serving."

The concluding clause providing that these organizations may be assigned to higher units and shall be subject to the orders of officers under whom they are serving was to enable the department to make use of the corps when necessity required, as this could not be done, if as formerly, the corps received orders only from the Commander in Chief and could be attached only to a division.

One of the principal provisions of the new act provides that the number of the National Guard shall be 200 for each congressional and senatorial district, with an increase of 50 per cent each year until a maximum of 800 is reached, thus making the quota of National Guard for Massachusetts a maximum of 14,400, practically twice the number now credited to this State. The act also provides for pay for enlisted men and officers on the basis of one-fourth of that of the Regular Army, the maximum officers' pay to be $500, but no officer of a higher rank than a major to receive pay.

It also provides for 48 drills a year, payment depending upon the number of drills attended, with no provision for pay for less than 24, and also provides for a tour of duty in camp each year of 15 days.

Under section 69 the period of enlistment in the National Guard shall be for six years, the first three years of which shall be in an active organization and the remaining three years in the National Guard Reserve. The qualifications for enlistment are the same as prescribed for enlistment in the Regular Army, with a provision that National Guardsmen shall still have the privilege of continuing in active service during the whole of the enlistment period if they so desire, and also the privilege of reenlistment.

One of the most important provisions is section 70, which defines the oath to be taken by the enlisted men. Heretofore in enlisting in the service in the National Guard a soldier subscribed to an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the constitution of Massachusetts, and to obey the orders of the commander in chief, the governor of the Commonwealth. The new oath is as follows:

"I do hereby acknowledge to have voluntarily enlisted this — day of ———, 19—, as a soldier in the National Guard of the United States and of the State of ——— for the period of three years in service and three years in the reserve, under the conditions prescribed by law, unless sooner discharged by proper authority. And I do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and to the State of ———, and that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies whomsoever, and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and of the governor of the State of ———, and of the officers appointed over me according to law and the rules and articles of war."

The act finally passed both branches on May 20 and was immediately sent to the President for his signature and was actually signed and went into effect on the 3d day of June. But in the meantime trouble was brewing in Mexico, and the crisis, in the opinion of the department, was reached on June 18, when the President sent a call to the governor of each State for the mobilization of the National Guard, defining the actual units to participate. It was the purpose of the department to equip and train the men in mobilization camps, but necessity required that they be immediately sent to the border, and within a few days the National Guard, as it was ready, was sent to perform police duty in those States adjoining Mexico.

At first there was some doubt as to when the act went into effect, and it became important to know whether the troops were called into service under the new act or under the act of 1903, the Dick bill, so called. Another important question was whether or not the Dick bill was repealed.

The War Department, in reply to a question as to under what authority the troops were at the border, stated that they were there under sections 57 and 101 of the new bill and sections 4 and 5 of the Dick bill. Sections 4 and 5 of the Dick bill are as follows:

"SEC. 4. That whenever the United States is invaded or in danger of invasion from any foreign nation, or of rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States, or the President is unable with the regular forces at his command to execute the laws of the Union, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth such number of the militia of the State or of the States or Territories or of the District of Columbia as he may deem necessary to repel such invasion, suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, and to issue his orders for that purpose through the governor of the respective State or Territory or through the commanding general of the militia of the District of Columbia, from which State, Territory, or District such troops may be called, to such officers of the militia as he may think proper.

"SEC. 5. That whenever the President calls forth the Organized Militia of any State, Territory, or of the District of Columbia to be employed in the service of the United States he may specify in his call the period for which such service is required, and the militia so called shall continue to serve during the term so specified, either within or without the territory of the United States, unless sooner relieved by order of the President: *Provided*, That no commissioned officer or enlisted man of the Organized Militia shall be held to service beyond the term of his existing commission or enlistment: *Provided further*, That when the military needs of the Federal Government arising from the necessity to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, or repel invasion can not be met by the regular forces, the Organized Militia shall be called into the service of the United States in advance of any volunteer force which it may be determined to raise."

"SEC. 57. Composition of the militia: The militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who shall be more than 18 years of age and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than 45 years of age; and said militia shall be divided into three classes, the National Guard, the Naval Militia, and the Unorganized Militia."

"SEC. 101. National Guard—when subject to laws governing Regular Army: The National Guard, when called as such into the service of the United States, shall, from the time they are required by the terms of the call to respond thereto, be subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army, so far as such laws and regulations are applicable to officers and enlisted men whose permanent retention in the military service, either on the active list or on the retired list, is not contemplated by existing law."

The department decided that the Dick bill was not repealed, except as to where its sections were inconsistent with those of the new act. It is clear, however, that sections 4 and 5, as quoted, of the Dick bill, relating to the call of the militia into the service of the United States, survive, for on the subject matter of these sections the new act makes no provision whatever.

There is a provision in the new act, however—section 61—as follows:

"SEC. 61. Maintenance of other troops by the States: No State shall maintain troops in time of peace other than as authorized in accordance with the organization prescribed under this act: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed as limiting the rights of the States and Territories in the use of the National Guard within their respective borders in time of peace: *Provided further*, That nothing contained in this act shall prevent the organization and maintenance of State police or constabulary."

And the question arises, Are the enlisted militia of the Dick bill troops in the sense of section 61? The War Department urges that it seems to be arguable from judicial precedent that the Organized Militia are not to be classified as "troops" within the meaning of this section, and in issuing the call of June 18 it acted under that view; but if we assume that they are to be classified as "troops," then there is grave doubt as to the constitutionality of section 61, for, in the words of the department, "Is it competent for Congress to forbid the States to keep militia at their own expense? For there is no doubt that it is the effect of the new national-defense act to discontinue, from July 1, 1916, all financial provision for the Organized Militia as such." It is likewise to be considered that if it be held that the militia are troops within the meaning of section 61, then there has been no Organized Militia since June 3, 1916, when the President approved the act.

So many questions arise in reference to the new legislation that there was little wonder that difficulties and obstacles confronted the enlisted man. The three years' active service and three in the reserve seemed an insurmountable obstacle to many men; and, while there was no hesitancy about assuming a new contract for the emergency or for any continued war, they feared the three years' enlistment in the reserve period. All were anxious for active service. Another obstacle was the fact that regulations had not been promulgated by the department giving rulings on the meaning of these sections affecting the enlisted man, but leaving him with a confused mind in regard to just what his status was when he was asked to assume an obligation that probably meant much sacrifice of business and personal comfort; and at that very time his mind ought to be free of such responsibilities.

The new oath of the National Guardsman requires an enlistment for six years. It seemed to those who had considered the matter from the viewpoint of the Massachusetts militiaman that this was an added hardship imposed upon men who had been for a long period in the service. It has been the custom in Massachusetts to encourage continued service in the National Guard for a period of nine years, thereby securing a long-service medal, which carries with it exemption from jury duty. The obligation under the new act to enlist for three years' active and three years in the reserve works a hardship on men of such long service.

Assuming that a man of ordinary age enlisted in the Massachusetts militia, his first enlistment for three years and the reenlistment for one year at a time to make up nine years' continuous service; he is a man approaching 35 or 40 years, and is on the last year of his nine-year period, with six months of it unexpired. In taking the new oath he obligates himself for three years active and three years in the reserve, with a credit of six months on his present enlistment contract, which would give him a service of almost 15 years.

The young man, however, who is on his first enlistment of 3 years, of which 2 years and 10 months have expired, is at an age when he has less responsibilities and should be ready and willing for a considerable service, yet if he takes the new oath he gets a credit of 2 years and 10 months on his 3 years' active service and his obligation practically means 2 months in active and 3 years in the reserve. It would seem equitable that the man who had been in the service of the State for 9 years, with but a small portion of it unexpired, should be able to take the new oath with a credit for previous service on both his active and reserve periods under the new contract.

This phase of the question was taken up with the War Department for the purpose of readjustment, and in reply to a communication it was stated that the framers of the new law did not take into consideration the requirement of State laws prior to June 3, 1916, regulating the contract of enlistment, and that the execution of the laws of the State of Massachusetts, whose laws radically differ from the laws of other States, causes this inequality. The department doubts what form any corrective or remedial legislation should take.

The thought that prior service rather than length of service in current enlistment should have determined the amount of active service required by the new law did not seem to impress the department, as it stated that in the Regular Army prior service did not shorten any new enlistment contract entered into by the soldier, and that the legislative mind was not accustomed to thinking along such lines. The department further stated that it was not compulsory for the organized militiaman under the Dick bill to qualify and become a National Guardsman under the new national defense act, so that anyone adversely affected by the provisions of law relating to enlistment could have escaped all resulting embarrassment and hardship by declining to become a new National Guardsman.

That, however, does not offer much compensation to the militiaman who has served nine years and ought to be allowed to take the new oath and serve the balance of his present enlistment without creating an obligation that has existed and will continue to exist for practically a third of his life above the age required for entrance into the militia. The Department would not, however, be quoted that it was of the opinion that a man embarrassed by long service and the new contract was at liberty to obey or not to obey the call of the President, either as an organized militiaman or a National Guardsman, and that his obligation to respond to the call of the President must not be confused with an alleged obligation to transform himself from Organized Militiaman into National Guardsman by taking the new oath and subscribing to the new enlistment contract for three years in active and three years in the reserve, with a credit for the unexpired portion of his present enlistment contract.

Another important question arises as to what becomes of the members of the militia who fail to take the new oath. It has been determined by the department that they are still members of the Organized

Militia; and, acting upon that ruling, they have been called for service under the sections of the Dick bill, and if they refuse to take the old form of muster oath will be subject to arrest and court-martial. This, of course, affects only those organizations that were subject to the call of the President, and, it would seem, has no effect on the active corps.

As to just what the future status of the members of the Organized Militia who did not subscribe to the new oath will be is a serious question for the future, as it would seem impossible that an organization should have one part of its membership federalized National Guard and another part Organized Militia, rendering a service each under a different enlistment contract; but it is assumed that such difficulties will be cared for perhaps more decisively by action in the courts to determine whether or not Organized Militia exists after the act of June 3, 1916, and whether section 61 of the new act, providing that no troops should be maintained in time of peace by the States except the National Guard, is constitutional in the event that it is decided that the Organized Militia are "troops."

Then the question is going to be raised if the Organized Militia of the States are not troops as contemplated by our military system—what are they? Unfortunately the decision of this subject, with so many apparent contradictions and the confusion which seems to prevail as to just what the meaning of the new military act is, and when allied with the Dick bill still more confusing, finally resolves itself in a series of questions which never decide, and I assure you the writer has not approached this subject as "a doubter who asks questions but answers none," but one who desires to lay before the readers of the Quarterly some of the thoughts suggested by men in the service. The Army appropriation bill has a section instructing the Judge Advocate General to codify and make necessary changes in the military act, and with reasons therefor to report to the next Congress, so many, if not all, inconsistent laws may be harmonized.

The active corps participated in the mobilization at first voluntarily, going into the field to be at the highest point of efficiency if the call came taking the organization into the active service of the United States. The voluntary tour was interrupted by a call from The Adjutant General assigning the corps to guard the camp at South Framingham, to assist in the distribution of supplies, and to train the recruits. The men of the active corps were disturbed, as were all militiamen, by the terms of the new act, especially the enlistment contract. There was never a question of active service, and every man in the corps, if he were called upon to subscribe to an oath for any emergency, would have met the issue fairly and squarely.

The doubt as to under what law the forces were serving and the many questions which no one seemed to answer with any conclusiveness, caused the men to become serious minded, and some of them acted most wisely in not subscribing to the new oath. Whether or not individual men took the oath is not the question for a great percentage of the active corps subscribed to the new contract of enlistment, and the organization is now enrolled in the federalized National Guard.

The situation resulting from the call of the President of June 18 was a healthful one. It was a test. One can never tell when he may be asked to fulfill his pledge of devotion and loyalty to any cause, and one never knows, nor should he know, when the test may come. No one ever questioned the loyalty of the militiamen to the State and the Nation, and amid the confusion as to the meaning of the new Army reorganization bill, its purposes, its effect upon the States and individuals, there could be but one consistent policy to follow, and that the basic principle of all success in military affairs—obedience. Obedience is loyalty, it is patriotism, and when the Nation calls, no matter under what law or confusion of laws, whether right or wrong—

"Ours is not to reason why,
Ours is but to do or die."

## Conservation of the Appalachian Forests.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES J. BRITT,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, on the 2d day of May last I urged this House, with all the force at my command, to add to the Agricultural bill an item of $3,000,000 for the extension of national-forest purchases, under the Weeks Act, in the White Mountains of New England, and the southern Appalachian ranges. I did not succeed in my undertaking. But the Senate has very wisely added this necessary provision, and it is here for consideration on the pending conference report.

Mr. Speaker, the reasons which I then offered for the allowance of this sum have since been strengthened manyfold. Within the last month many sections of the southern Appalachian regions have been visited by appallingly destructive floods, leaving ruin and death in their wake. Western North Carolina, and particularly that part of it embraced in my district, is the scene of the heaviest loss and the greatest destruction. Here thousands of acres of crops have been destroyed, lands have been ruined, buildings have been swept away, roads and bridges are gone, and more than a score of people have lost their lives. And it is here where the major part of this proposed appropriation for forest conservation would be expended.

Of course no act of this Congress can stay the fall of the rains or change the laws of nature, but this appropriation will put into the hands of the Federal Government the control of the use of the lands and forests about the headwaters of our impetuous mountain streams, and earth, grass, shrub, and tree, nature's kindly reservoirs, will be preserved, and destruction by the overflow of mad streams and raging torrents will be prevented.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not detain the House. I do not deem it necessary. Surely it is apparent to all that this amendment should pass. I know of no other way in which $3,000,000 could be so profitably spent. I trust I may have the high satisfaction of knowing that not a single vote is cast against it.

## Indiana.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTIN A. MORRISON,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 8, 1916.*

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Speaker, it is often said by those who do not reside in Indiana that there is more politics in Indiana per capita and to the square mile than in any other State of the Union. That is probably true. Many who make this statement mean by it that there is more partisan zeal and political personal ill will and antagonism in Indiana than is to be found elsewhere. I am not at all convinced of that. In Indiana political affiliations and activities rarely affect in any degree the social relations or personal friendships of men. All persons are at all times interested in politics in its broad and proper sense. The campaign of education, from the standpoint of intelligent and efficient good citizenship, never ends. It is perennial. The campaign for partisan or personal political advantage begins late in the summers of campaign years and ends with election day. It is strictly biennial.

The pending campaign furnishes an illustration of this happy situation. Indiana furnishes the candidates for Vice President on the tickets of both of the great political parties. one the Vice President and the other a former Vice President. Both reside in the same city. They are, and have long been, warm personal friends. Their campaigns will be without a trace of the personal element which sometimes enters into political contests. It is certain now that whatever may be the result of the election the successful candidate for Vice President will bear with him into his high office the friendship, esteem, and good will of his unsuccessful rival.

While Indiana's public men are loyal to their respective party organizations, they may be counted upon to be in complete accord and vote as a unit on questions which involve fundamental principles of government, the honor and integrity of our treaties and other public covenants and obligations, or the maintenance of American ideals of national and international rights, relations, and duties.

When the statute granting to vessels engaged in our coastwise trade exemption from the payment of Panama Canal tolls passed the House both great parties were represented in its membership from Indiana, but they all voted as a unit against the bill. In that respect no other State of considerable size has a like record.

When the bill to repeal the tolls exemption was pending the discussion by public men of Indiana was cast on a high patriotic, nonpartisan plane. Former Senator and former Vice President Fairbanks, a gentleman of the old school and a public servant of whom we are all justly proud, had complete personal and official knowledge of all the facts involved in the controversy as to the propriety of the repeal of the tolls-exemption law. He discussed the situation frankly at home and abroad, helping to give to the people of Indiana that perfect knowledge of the case which made public sentiment for repeal undivided and insistent. He strongly urged immediate repeal upon the high ground of the maintenance of our national integrity.

Some days ago President Wilson delivered a public address, in which he intimated that some, at least, of the most enthusiastic advocates of Mexican conquest were, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by motives personal and sinister. Assuming that the people of Indiana, each of whom is reputed to be a politician, would be easily moved to bitter partisan controversy as to the propriety of the President's intimations, the official trouble makers of the campaign committee began to appeal to loyal Republicans in fierce denunciation of the President's address. The appeal has fallen upon deaf ears. It has

brought no favorable response. If the trouble makers admit that they are surprised, they plead guilty to inexcusable ignorance of the general public interest in and knowledge of public questions, to be found in Indiana all the time on all public questions by all the people.

The Republicans of Indiana do not resent the mild intimations contained in President Wilson's address. Indeed, they have heard much stronger statements from perfectly regular Republican sources, and are prepared to criticize the President for the mildness, rather than for alleged impropriety, of his statements.

On the evening of Thursday, August 15, 1913, the Indiana Republican Editorial Association was given a reception at the home of former Senator and former Vice President Charles Warren Fairbanks. During the evening Mr. Fairbanks delivered an address in which he told the editors much of the inside history of the war with Spain, from which he drew sound reasons to support his earnest plea against intervention in Mexico by the United States.

A portion of his address relating to the War with Spain and our duty in relation to Mexico was published in the Indianapolis News, in its issue of August 15, 1913. The story was as follows:

MEXICAN SITUATION.

Regarding the Mexican situation, Mr. Fairbanks said, in part:

"We have no need to fear any alien power, for we shall not willingly provoke any of our international neighbors to the point where war will become necessary. It is a safe assumption that there will be no war unless we provoke it. As our country grows in numbers and material strength it becomes increasingly important that we should beware that we do not allow ourselves to become needlessly engaged in conflicts with our neighbors. A great nation will not pick quarrels with others, particularly with those who are weak compared with its tremendous strength.

"The nation which imagines that other peoples are lying awake nights to offer it indignity, the nation which is in a continual ferment over little things, is wasting its energies and dissipating its opportunities. The greatest menace to international peace are the jingoes—the most undesirable members of the community. They take no account of the terrible consequences of war, and avail themselves of the slightest pretext to involve their country in a serious engagement with others, and, as a rule, if war comes, they leave the hard fighting to be done by some one else."

INCIDENT CITED.

Illustrating this point, Mr. Fairbanks related an amusing incident when a man living in southern Indiana wrote to Mr. Fairbanks prior to the Spanish-American war strongly criticising President McKinley for not beginning war at once. Mr. Fairbanks replied by offering to get the man an appointment on the first battleship which would be engaged in the war if it should come, but the man who was eager for somebody else to begin the war was not willing to go to the front himself.

Mr. Fairbanks continued:

"It is perfectly obvious that *much of the agitation which led to the War with Spain* and ultimately imposed on us the responsibility of governing 10,000,000 of people, *and which caused the Government to spend hundreds of millions of dollars, was of the most selfish and sinister character.* Men who wanted to fatten on Government contracts, or who were eager for military distinction, or who wanted Cuba annexed because of the chance to exploit her railroads, sugar and tobacco plantations, and other sources of wealth, were eager for war; they felt that out of it would come the annexation of Cuba to the United States, and as American territory the value of its resources would be largely increased.

"PART OF YELLOW PRESS.

*"The yellow press played its selfish and nefarious part; it was moved by no considerations of either patriotism or national honor.*

"After stable government was established in Cuba and the island surrendered to its people, internal disturbance led to the retaking of the island under our reserved power. I have no doubt whatever that the internal dissensions were provoked by speculators, by the owners of public utilities, and of great sugar and tobacco plantations, in the hope that the United States would make an end of the matter and take the island under its permanent control, in which event the value of all the property in the hands of speculators would be greatly enhanced; and it is quite probable that we have not seen the last of an effort made by those who would exploit the island for selfish purposes to bring about a situation which would lead the United States to resume and retain permanent possession of it.

"INFLUENCES IN MEXICO.

*"I have no doubt that the disturbances in Mexico during the last few years have been due in a greater or less degree to an effort on the part of ambitious, cunning men to force intervention and possibly annexation to the United States.* The exploiters of public utilities and of the mineral and agricultural resources of our neighbor have undoubtedly thought that they would gain much if they could force intervention by the United States. *There are soldiers of fortune in Mexico who would undoubtedly welcome such a contingency.*

"Sensationalists are adding to the confusion of the situation and making more difficult the solution of the problem. Intervention in Mexico is, of course, not a matter to be considered lightly; for intervention means war, and war means the destruction of human lives and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars. *It means, furthermore, the responsibility of the Government of 20,000,000 of people for an indefinite period. We are now engaged in governing 10,000,000 of aliens as the result of the Spanish-American War—a war which could very probably have been averted if we could have exercised a little more patience, patriotism, and self-restraint.*

SUPREME CRIMINAL FOLLY.

"If our speculators in Mexico suffer pecuniary loss as the result of recurring revolutions, that is a matter for future consideration, when stable government and peace are fully established in that country. It is not warrant for shedding the blood of Americans. *To sacrifice the life of one soldier for all of the dollars investors or speculators have ventured in Mexico would be the supremest criminal folly.* Without a deliberate affront on the part of the Mexican Government whether it exists de jure or de facto, is no good ground on which we would be justified in sending our armies beyond the Rio Grande.

"How much of the troubles in Mexico is caused by sinister influences, both internal and external, no one can, of course, tell; but that such influences exist there can be no reasonable doubt. It is perfectly obvious with the transfer of the responsibility of Mexican Government to our shoulders—and that is what intervention means—the value of every dollar invested in Mexican enterprises would be increased many fold. The contingency of intervention under all the circumstances would be a calamity which every American concerned in the best interests of his own country might regard with grave concern. *We have enough questions, both at home and in our insular possessions, to tax our serious attention without adding to their number graver ones in Mexico.*

TAFT AND WILSON.

"President Taft dealt admirably with the Mexican situation under serious provocation, and I believe that Ambassador Wilson carried himself with poise and good judgment. It seems to me that the Mexican situation is one that need by no manner of means cause serious alarm. The duty of the United States is plain. President Wilson is dealing with it as best he can. We may not entirely agree that his course is better than that of his distinguished predecessor, nevertheless we should endeavor to uphold his hands.

"There should be no difference of opinion as to that. By doing so we shall make his task a comparatively easy one.

"It is not an hour for either little politics or sensational journalism. The clamor of the jingoes should not be allowed to drown the voice of rational deliberate statesmanship. *It is a pretty safe rule when we come to deal with grave international problems to put our faith in the President of the United States and follow where he may lead.* He speaks for the country when we come to deal with international affairs. The President of the United States is a safer guide than sensationalists and the soldiers of fortune, who come to the surface whenever international controversies arise."

I shall indicate for the RECORD certain italics to call attention to the particular statements to which I have referred.

The Indianapolis News is one of he most ably edited and strongest of American newspapers. I am not always in accord with its policy, but it must be conceded that its editorials are always ably written in clear, concise, and correct English. The News is powerful in the making of public sentiment in the Middle West, and its editorials are usually expressive of the mind of the people of that territory.

In its issue of August 16, 1913, the leading editorial of the News was a strong approval of the address of Mr. Fairbanks, to which I have just referred. The editorial was as follows:

MR. FAIRBANKS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

In his speech before the Indiana Republican Editorial Association Mr. Fairbanks strongly opposed intervention in Mexico, and urged all good citizens to stand by the President in his patriotic efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problems. But the most interesting part of his very able address was his discussion of the general subject of our foreign relations, and of the duty of the people with reference to them. There are, as he said, always men who want war. Peace is always menaced by the jingoes, whom the speaker characterized as "the most undesirable members of the community." "They take no account," he went on to say, "of the terrible consequences of war, and avail themselves of the slightest pretext to involve their country in a serious engagement with others, and, as a rule, if war comes, they leave the hard fighting to be done by some one else."

Mr. Fairbanks practically admits that the McKinley administration was almost coerced by an excited public opinion into declaring war against Spain. His opinion on that subject is entitled to great weight, as he was at that time one of the leading Members of the Senate. He said:

"It is perfectly obvious that much of the agitation that led to the War with Spain and ultimately imposed on us the responsibility of governing 10,000,000 of people, and which caused the Government to spend hundreds of millions of dollars, was of the most selfish and sinister character. Men who wanted to fatten on Government contracts, or who were eager for military distinction, or who wanted Cuba annexed because of the chance to exploit her railroads, sugar and tobacco plantations and other sources of wealth, were eager for war; they felt that out of it would come the annexation of Cuba to the United States, and as American territory the value of its resources would be largely increased. The yellow press played its selfish and nefarious part; it was moved by no consideration of either patriotism or national honor."

The speaker also said that he had no doubt that trouble was stirred up in Cuba after the first Government in the island had been established "by speculators, by the owners of public utilities and of great sugar and tobacco plantations" who desired annexation as a means of enhancing the value of their property. Nor does he think that we have seen the last effort of those "who would exploit the island for selfish purposes to bring about a situation which would lead the United States to resume and retain permanent control."

The same sort of campaign is now in progress to force intervention in Mexico. The men who are making it know that intervention would mean war, the slaughter of many men, and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, and it would involve, as Mr. Fairbanks said, the government of 20,000,000 people for an indefinite period, and possibly annexation. As it is now, we are governing 10,000,000 aliens as the result of the Spanish War, which the speaker thought "could very probably have been averted if we could have exercised a little more patience, patriotism, and self-restraint." How much better off we should have been to-day if it had been averted!

Fortunately, our people have profited by their experience. There is to-day practically no demand for war with Mexico. We think that public opinion is accurately reflected in these words of Mr. Fairbanks:

"If our speculators in Mexico suffer pecuniary loss as a result of recurring revolutions, that is a matter for future consideration, when stable government and peace are fully established in that country. It is not warrant for shedding the blood of Americans. To sacrifice the life of one soldier for all of the dollars investors or speculators have ventured in Mexico would be the supremest criminal folly. * * * The contingency of intervention under all the circumstances would be a calamity which every American concerned in the best interests of his

own country might regard with grave concern. We have enough questions, both at home and in our insular possessions, to tax our serious attention without adding to their number graver ones in Mexico."

All of which is admirable. We commend the speech of Mr. Fairbanks to those few Republican Senators who have been somewhat disposed to antagonize the administration program.

The speech of Mr. Fairbanks and the editorial of the Indianapolis News are typical of the innumerable educational forces continually at work among the people of Indiana. The general public information on public questions resulting from this perennial campaign of education can not be nullified or substantially modified by ultrapartisan activities carried on during the stress and strain of political campaigns.

The statement I have made will explain why it is useless to seek to induce the members of any political party in Indiana to look with favor upon an attempt to force the country into a false attitude toward a grave international question for the sake of a mere partisan advantage. It is too late in our history for that.

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## Wilson's Policies Menace to Nation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 8, 1916.*

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to have printed in the RECORD a letter written by Mr. Louis E. Rowley, of Lansing, Mich. Four years ago Mr. Rowley was an ardent Wilson supporter. He now proposes to vote for Charles E. Hughes, and in this statement he gives his reasons therefor.

Mr. Rowley's letter, as printed in the Detroit Free Press of August 7, is as follows:

WILSON'S POLICIES MENACE TO NATION IN MIGHTY CRISES—SO DECLARES LOUIS E. ROWLEY IN TELLING WHY HE HAS TURNED AGAINST MAN HE SUPPORTED ARDENTLY—ATTITUDE TOWARD MEXICO BROUGHT REIGN OF ANARCHY—VACILLATING AND UNNEUTRAL STANDS TOWARD GERMANY AND ENGLAND CAUSED DANGEROUS TANGLE.

[By Louis E. Rowley.]

It was said of Lamartine, the brilliant French writer and political rhetorician, that his career as the virtual head of the short-lived provisional government in 1848 had proved that the government of a great country can not be carried on permanently by making speeches from a balcony.

The unpractical but well-meaning and highly gifted hero of the democratic reaction in France was supposed to have furnished the most classic example of the failure of specious phrases to do the work of government, but I am regretfully obliged to say that it has remained for the present Democratic President of the United States, in one of the most critical periods of the world's history, to outdo him in this kind of achievement.

I was one of those who ardently supported Woodrow Wilson in both the preconvention and electoral campaigns of 1912, because I regarded him as the most philosophical, the most eloquent, and the most clear-visioned Democratic leader of his day.

I had formed my opinion of his character and public capacities from reading his occasional deliverances, both as a distinguished American scholar and as a thoughtful and luminous commentator on political affairs, and I was led to believe that he would be as wise and courageous in action as he had been in speculation.

But I have learned to my sorrow that a man may be a philosopher in his maxims and yet a palterer in his practice; a statesman in his concepts and yet a fatuous opportunist in his actual handling of public affairs.

I have also learned that even a Democratic label is not an absolute guaranty of clear and undeviating Democratic conduct, and that even the skin of a mellifluous Jeffersonian may conceal an irresponsible autocrat.

I supported Woodrow Wilson in 1912 in the full conviction that he would make a great and worthy Democratic successor of Grover Cleveland, who combined a high idealism with a powerful practical judgment.

"SAVING COMMON SENSE" OF CLEVELAND ABSENT.

I am opposing Woodrow Wilson in this campaign in the equally firm conviction that he has neither the intellectual conscientiousness nor the "saving common sense" of the man whose administration shed such luster on the Democratic name.

I supported Woodrow Wilson in 1912 because he stood for "open and disentangled processes of government," for "pitiless publicity," and for the restoration of the "authority of our legislative bodies," which he declared was necessary to the "recovery of their self-possession and self-respect," and in order that "the people may again depend, and depend with confidence, upon their legislators, and not lean as if for rescue upon their Executive."

I am opposing Woodrow Wilson in this campaign because as President he has done more to discourage "open and disentangled processes of government," to stifle publicity, to belittle legislative bodies, and to teach the people to "lean as if for rescue upon their Executive" than any American President since Andrew Jackson, whose arbitrary conduct—to quote from that distinguished work, Woodrow Wilson's History of the American People—"broke the course of all settled policy, forced every question to square itself with the President's standards, altered the elements of parties"—because, in a word, by his secretiveness, his academic arrogance, and his studied contempt for Congress he has willfully and persistently belied his own oft-repeated and fascinatingly phrased pronouncements on these matters of supreme Democratic concern.

I supported Woodrow Wilson in 1912 because I believed that he would sincerely strive to be a useful and single-minded President of the United States, and would glory in promoting the best interests of his country at whatever sacrifice of his academic predilections.

I am opposing Woodrow Wilson in this campaign because he prides himself on being the "President of humanity" and persistently acts on the theory that his duties are defined, not by the laws of the United States but by the general moral law—according to St. Woodrow.

PLEDGES OF PLATFORM FLOUTED AND REPUDIATED.

I supported Woodrow Wilson in 1912 because I firmly believed that he could be counted on to carry out with a measurable degree of faithfulness the pledges contained in the Democratic platform of that year—pledges which he himself vauntingly declared "say what they mean and mean what they say."

I am opposing Woodrow Wilson in this campaign because he has repeatedly and defiantly flouted and repudiated some of the most important of these pledges, thus paltering with both his party and the country in a double sense, breathing the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

I have briefly set forth in the foregoing some of the principal reasons why four years ago I gave my voice and vote for Woodrow Wilson, but I have stated only a few of the reasons which have impelled me to take my stand against him in the present campaign. I have reserved the more important of them for a more extended synopsis and discussion.

Among the really vital declarations of the Baltimore platform was one favoring "the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal." A Democratic Congress already had passed a law exempting American ships from these tolls, and a Republican President (Taft) had signed it. Both the law and the platform indorsement of it were specifically and unreservedly commended by candidate Woodrow Wilson. It will be recalled that while the canal tolls exemption bill was pending in Congress it was widely and earnestly discussed in the public press and monthly reviews, and that all the international aspects and implications of it were thoroughly considered by Congress before passing it. The author of the bill was the Hon. FRANK E. DOREMUS, one of the ablest and most influential Democratic Members of the House. It received a large Republican vote in both branches of Congress, but it was widely acclaimed as an especially meritorious Democratic legislative achievement.

BRINGS ABOUT REPEAL OF TOLLS-EXEMPTION LAW.

However, it was destined not long to be thus acclaimed. Within a few months after his accession to the Presidency, Woodrow Wilson went before the assembled Houses of Congress, and, with dexter finger upraised and brow of heavy portent, made this cryptic announcement:

"I shall not know how to deal with matters of veen greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it—the repeal of this self-same Panama tolls-exemption law—to me in ungrudging measure."

And he spake further words of wisdom, thus:

"We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong."

Acting in the same esoteric spirit, and with a submissiveness born of fearsome respect for the presidential aura, the Democratic majority hastened to carry out their instructions in exactly the manner they had been told to do by repealing the law "without raising the question whether we were right or wrong."

And who cared a rap "whether we were right or wrong?" Wasn't it enough to know that an infallibly prescient President had commanded them to repeal the law? What are party pledges anyway compared with "matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence" that arise to vex and perplex the presidential mind—especially when the interests of our "English cousins" happen to be involved in them?

But let no one think that this was the first time a subservient Congress had jumped through the hoops at the bidding of a pledge-scoring President. It had done so a short time before in the case of the sugar tariff. Most people will recall that both as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination and later for the suffrages of the people, Woodrow Wilson had distinctly pledged himself not to favor any tariff legislation that would "injure or destroy legitimate industry." So anxious was he to have the country understand that neither he nor the Democratic Party was committed to a radical tariff-smashing policy that he made the straight-out declaration that "there is no Democrat of thoughtfulness that I have met who contemplates a program of free trade."

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But notwithstanding these voluntary and very explicit assurances, he had no sooner assumed the Presidency than he announced that he would take the boldest step toward the realization of the purely academic idea of free trade that had ever been attempted by any first-class modern Government (for even "free-trade" England imposes a revenue duty on sugar) by wholly removing the tariff on sugar which had been maintained since the days of Thomas Jefferson and which had been defended by Grover Cleveland as "the most logical and equitable" customs tax ever levied by the Government.

Such was the "program of free trade" which Woodrow Wilson made the ne plus ultra feature of his initial legislative policy, despite his vehement preelection declaration that "no Democrat of thoughtfulness" ever contemplated it or would stand for it. However, he forced a Democratic Congress to stand for it two years, and then it repealed it because neither the finances of the Government nor the economic welfare of the country would stand for it any longer. But in the meantime a large public revenue had been lost and a legitimate agricultural industry jeopardized and only saved from practical annihilation by the "world smash" in Europe, which suddenly sent sugar prices booming.

DENOUNCER OF CAUCUS, HE INVOKES THE CLOSURE.

It is to be remarked that neither in the Panama tolls exemption matter nor in his free-sugar coup did the President deign to enlighten anyone as to the real reasons which had induced him to insist on such a startling volte face. He was not frank, he was not consistent, and he was hardly intelligible. Although he had been a vigorous denouncer of the "secret caucus," under whose workings legislators had become "mere automata," he now resorted to the most offensive use of the old tyrannical caucus system to force his pledge-smashing measures through Congress. Even the hateful and undemocratic closure was invoked by him to silence the congressional dissentients to his legislative plans. He assumed an attitude of undisguised impatience and even intolerance toward those who opposed him, and demanded the adoption of his recommendations without debate and without question. He seemed to think that all the functions and all the policies of the Democratic Party were

comprehended, controlled, and included in himself, and that it was rank sacrilege to impugn either his wisdom or his acts. As for the Democrats in Congress—

Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do—and sigh!

Some of them, of course, swore, but the most of them "took their medicine" as innocuously as possible. Before the authority and prestige of the omnificent White House evangel of the new freedom they were powerless, not to say obsequious.

There is still another and more signal instance of the President's apostacy to his platform obligations. There was one particular plank in the Baltimore platform that was so thoroughly American, so clear, so straight, so inspiringly patriotic that if it had been the only issue in the election all the States in the Union would have been Democratic. Let me quote it here in full:

"The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property."

How well this promise has been kept let the shameful and gruesome history of the last three years of abandonment of American citizens and their property and of our national obligations under the Monroe doctrine in Mexico tell.

GEOGRAPHICAL LINES IN PROTECTING CITIZENS.

I know it will be contended that the President has attempted in his own furtive, spasmodic, and irresponsible way to enforce this pledge as against the central powers of Europe; but why shouldn't it mean the same thing in Mexico as to American citizens and their property as it does upon the deck of an armed British merchantman flying the flag of St. George?

Who can imagine a Washington or a Jackson or a Cleveland enacting such a rôle of executive impotence as Woodrow Wilson has enacted in respect of those American rights in Mexico which the above-quoted splendid plank in the Democratic platform was so evidently intended to vindicate and defend?

"A man who violates a party pledge is a criminal, worse than the man who embezzles money." And when that pledge relates to the most vital "constitutional rights of American citizens," how much greater is the criminality of him who has registered a solemn oath to see that it is implicitly kept?

I hope I shall be pardoned if I ask William Jennings Bryan, the renowned Democratic oracle who pronounced the condemnation on the violator of party pledges which I have quoted in the preceding paragraph, to answer this question. Maybe he can do so if he will divert his ratliant gaze from that anusecond-term plank in the Baltimore platform long enough to take an impartial survey of the other pledge-breaking achievements of the Wilson administration which call so loudly for patriotic reprobation.

I shall touch very briefly upon the other examples of evasion and violation of platform declarations which have been so frequently furnished by the administration. The Baltimore convention reaffirmed the time-honored party pledge to "honestly and rigidly enforce" the civil-service law, but the President has not only violated the spirit of it by making more purely "personal"—not to say questionable—appointments than any of his immediate predecessors, but he has given his executive approval to acts creating great departmental bureaus and expressly exempting them from civil-service regulations. This was a distinctly retrograde step. There was also a plank in the national platform denouncing "the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses," and demanding "a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government"—but which, alas, has not been practiced by it even under the guidance of the most exalted exemplar of Jeffersonianism that has ever woozled the people with language and promises.

FROM PEACE IDEALISM TO PREPAREDNESS SWIFT STEP.

There has been the same exhibition of vacillation and back pedaling by the President in many matters concerning which he had previously expressed the most positive views. His penchant for dismissing an ugly fact with a golden-cadenced phrase has probably never been more vividly illustrated than in that passage in his message to Congress of December 14, 1914, in which he discussed the question of preparedness—he called it "militarism" then—and in which he declared that to inaugurate such a policy "would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession; that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes do not touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble."

Within three months from the day he made this beautiful and affecting idealistic utterance the President was "swinging around the circle" warning his countrymen that the most urgent duty of the hour was to inaugurate a policy of "militarism," advocating the building of a navy "incomparably the strongest in the world," and raising a veritable continental din with his "fearful preparation for trouble."

What a cinematographic picture we have here of the President in professorizing and performing. Beautiful words; inspiring words, but how utterly irreconcilable with what he actually did.

It is apparent that the trouble is not with the President's work. It lies elsewhere. His words are good, but his word is not good.

This may sound like pretty harsh criticism, but note how even in his handling of the tremendously momentous international questions which have arisen since the war broke out he has justly merited it.

During the first few months of the war President Wilson maintained an unexceptionable American attitude toward all the belligerent nations. He enjoined absolute neutrality on his countrymen and he practiced it himself. But when the desperate necessities of Germany and England led them to make reprisals against each other that were wantonly violative of international law and of our maritime rights, the President lost his self-possession and turned some epistolary flip-flaps that finally involved the American Government in an appalling mess of diplomatic contradiction and unneutrality.

LACK OF FIRM STAND BRINGS AN UGLY TANGLE.

The task which he faced was not a Sisyphean one. It required no extraordinary powers of statesmanship. Only common sense and courage were essential to the surmounting of it. The infractions of international law were notorious. So plain was our duty in the premises that on Feberuary 29, 1916, the administration sent an "identic note" to the British and German foreign offices. It set forth certain rules of conduct that both sides should observe in common and certain others that Germany should observe on her part, with still others that Britain should observe. "The American position was fair and reasonable," declares Dr. Albert Shaw, the distinguished editor of the Review of Reviews, one of our foremost English-American monthlies. "We asked the one belligerent to agree on condition that the other should do the same. Germany replied courteously within 10 days and accepted our proposals. England waited 23 days and declined the proposals."

It is certain that if we had taken a firm stand at that time there would have been no serious international complications. "England was wrong," says Dr. Shaw (and in this opinion he is supported by the leading diplomatists of all the neutral countries), "and we were in a position to set her right by a firm word that meant 'business' without controversy, but without delay. It was our Hamlet-like lack of promptitude and firmness at that moment of rare opportunity that has been a contributory cause of all the unfortunate incidents of Germany's ill-conceived form of reprisal through the long and painful period that has ensued."

This just arraignment of the administration has not been answered for the simple reason that no satisfactory answer can be made to it. When President Wilson undertook to hold only one of the warring European powers to an accountability for the violation of our international rights he deliberately entered upon a course of unneutrality that has cost us the respect of the world. The culpability of England was as clear in fact if not in degree as that of Germany. She had deliberately, grossly, and defiantly transgressed neutral rights, and she is just as deliberately, grossly, and defiantly transgressing them to-day. "In premeditated disregard of neutral rights," says the New York World, the most powerful Democratic newspaper in the country and a strong supporter of the entente, "England is as guilty as Germany." Even the New York Sun, another pronounced champion of the allies, has significantly declared that "it is a poor rule that works only in the case of Germany."

ATTITUDE TOWARD WARRING POWERS MOST INCONSISTENT.

The merest tyro in international ethics knows that the rule of inflexible neutrality, of friendly vigilance for the protection of American rights, of an even attitude toward the contending powers goes to pieces when it is unequally applied. Nobody complains of President Wilson's firm stand with regard to Germany; but when he turns his back upon England's lawbreaking while bringing us to the threshold of war with her great rival in the name of the freedom of the seas, we can not but deplore the flagrant inconsistency of his conduct.

Another irritating instance of the administration's tendency first to wabble and then to ignominiously reverse itself even where the highest "moral considerations" are concerned, was furnished in the matter of making loans to the allies. It will be recalled that when England and France first asked us to help finance their war operations, Secretary Bryan announced that "it is inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality for a neutral nation to make loans to belligerent nations, for money is the worst of contrabands—it commands all other things—and American bankers were notified that the Government would look with marked disfavor on the placing of such loans in the United States.

The justice and reasonableness of Secretary Bryan's stand were not seriously questioned by even the most ardent American sympathizers with the allies. It was almost universally admitted to be the only consistent and honorable position that a great neutral nation could take. There was, of course, no legal inhibition on the making of such loans, but on moral grounds the supplying of vast sums of money to the allies was indefensible. To do so would virtually make us an ally of the allies. Accordingly, in officially discountenancing these loans, the administration was acting in the spirit of a true, if exalted, neutrality.

But unfortunately it did not long exemplify this sort of neutrality. In the midst of the marvelous industrial activity which had followed the placing here by the allies of unlimited orders for munitions and other war supplies, the President forgot all about his mission to "blaze a new way" for the world in the observance of neutrality, and thinking only of the tremendous material gains which were imparting such a thrilling significance to the Democratic slogan of "Peace and prosperity," he gave his consent to the American underwriting of the half-billion Anglo-French loan—the largest foreign loan ever negotiated in the history of the world.

The real purpose and effect of this loan were perfectly described by the London Spectator when, with characteristic British bluntness, it said that "two belligerent countries are borrowing from a neutral to finance their operations of war."

THIRD OF ENGLAND'S OUTPUT FOR WAR SPENT IN UNITED STATES.

There is no escape from that crude fact. And when the banking "credits" established here by the several allied Governments are added to the half-billion public loan, even the most prejudiced sympathizer with the allies can begin to sense the appalling unneutrality of the American position. Altogether, I suppose we have directly contributed a billion dollars to the war funds of Germany's enemies. Indirectly we have contributed two billions more, as it is officially announced that the total war supplies purchased in this country by the entente powers amount to three billions—almost a third of England's total war expenditures up to date.

Is there anyone bold enough to gainsay Bryan's declaration, which created such "a profound sensation throughout the world," that "it is inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality for a neutral nation to make loans to belligerent nations, for money is the worst of contrabands—it commands all other things"?

And if there is none to gainsay it, how can the administration's approval of the Anglo-French loan be defended by any fair-minded American, especially when, by a special ruling of the Treasury Department, the national banks were permitted to purchase the Anglo-French bonds in unlimited amounts, notwithstanding the law restricts the amount that can be loaned to a private American citizen or an American corporation to 10 per cent of a bank's capital and surplus?

I challenge any straight-thinking American to justify this official stultification of our vaunted professions of neutrality. Morally and legally we were guilty of the most flagitious transgression of the code of international morality. No matter where our individual sympathies may be in this war, we can not shut our eyes to the awful travesty of the administration's efforts to "serve mankind" by placing all the vast banking capital under its control at the disposal of the allies.

Passing over the administration's chameleonic shifting in the armed-merchantman controversy (at one stage of which it announced that it was "seriously considering" accepting the German contention and applying it for Germany's benefit, only a little later on to reject that contention and to threaten to break off diplomatic relations with

Germany because it insisted on the justice of Secretary Lansing's view that "a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort * * * should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government"), I wish to invite attention for a moment to the glaring contradiction in which the administration has involved itself by its recent announcement—made through Counsellor Polk, of the State Department—that it would not permit any American citizen to take passage on the merchant submarine *Deutschland* in order to avoid any possible controversy with Great Britain in the event af the sinking of that vessel by a British warship.

How completely this negatives the Wilsonian position, which was so arrogantly assumed last winter, that the congressional supporters of the McLemore resolution, warning Americans not to travel on British armed merchantmen, were pursuing a highly unneutral and harmful course that threatened to seriously embarrass the administration's efforts to "serve mankind."

Was there ever a more flagrant example of governmental tergiversation presented for the afflictive contemplation of American citizens? Was there ever a more humiliating incident in the history of Democratic management of our foreign affairs—a history that is resplendent with the diplomatic achievements of some of the most virile and uncompromising asserters of Americanism the Republic has known?

ADMINISTRATION BLUNDERS IN MEXICAN SITUATION.

Let us now turn from this record of Cervantean (or shall I call it Machiavellic?) diplomacy to review the equally futile but more obstinately exemplified academic dalliance with dangerous matters that has characterized the administration's Mexican policy.

It has been said that President Wilson inherited the Mexican problem from his Republican predecessor. President Taft left him no problem—only a plain official duty. Victoriano Huerta had succeeded to the dictatorship only eight days before Taft retired from office, and in that brief time there was no adequate opportunity to establish official relations with him. And, anyway, Taft was unwilling to do anything which might embarrass his successor, especially in an international determination that was certain to seriously affect the official relations of the two countries. He accordingly left the incoming administration entirely free to determine what those relations should be.

But Mr. Taft himself had the clearest comprehension of the rightful American attitude. Speaking over a year ago on the Mexican question, he said:

"We made a serious mistake at the outset, not in failing to recognize Huerta but in actually departing from the attitude of true neutrality to work against him."

In this simple sentence Mr. Taft exposed the crux of the President's blundering. It was not his withholding recognition from the Huerta government, but his deliberate attempt to overthrow that government, that made him particeps criminis in the Mexican debacle.

As President of the United States Mr. Wilson had only to deal with the actualities of the Mexican situation, but he proceeded to act as though he had been commissioned as the moral governor of the Western Hemisphere. This conception of his mission became an obsession with him and has maintained a solitary despotism in his mind.

Whatever repugnance one may feel to the methods by which Huerta rose to rulership in Mexico, one should not lose sight of the fact that it was a time in that country like the French Revolution when politics became the art of guillotining your neighbors before they guillotined you.

Moreover, the methods Huerta employed to place himself at the head of the government were only the usual methods of changing an Executive in Mexico. It is equally clear that as President he had received that support which the Mexicans have shown, throughout their whole history, they are prepared to give to an autocrat rather than to a constitutional ruler.

Even the stanchest defenders of the President's Mexican policy frankly admit that Huerta had received this support. William Bayard Hale, who was the first of the "confidential agents" whom the President dispatched to Mexico to "work against" Huerta, has stated in the World's Work that "our recognition of him would have made his success easy and certain." A similar opinion is expressed also by L. Ames Brown, who contributed a leading article to the June number of the Atlantic Monthly extenuating the President's course in Mexico. Both of these eminent Wilson apologists candidly declare in effect that the only justification for the President's interference in Mexico was his holy desire to "serve mankind" by crushing a personally and morally obnoxious dictatorship. To achieve that "benevolent" end he was willing to see the last vestige of centralized authority in that country destroyed and the people turned over to the tender mercies of the jackal banditti elements that had marshaled under the banner of "constitutionalism," which he himself had helped to raise in Mexico.

Thus was accomplished the greatest tragedy that has ever been committed in the name of American diplomacy. It was more than a tragedy, it was a crime—a crime against both the sovereignty of the Mexican nation and against the "humanity" which it was so fatuously designed to serve.

WILSON'S POLICY GREATEST DRAWBACK TO MEXICANS.

I make bold to say that if Huerta had been the most infamous dictator that has ever figured in Mexican history he could not have accomplished a hundredth part as much havoc in that country as has been wrought by the incredibly weak, quixotic, indeterminate, yet vindictively pursued policy of President Wilson. It has produced nothing but confusion and anarchy in Mexico. It has made it impossible for the Mexicans themselves to set up a stable government, and a stable government is that country's greatest need.

"For forms of government let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best."

President Wilson has not only contended for a form of government totally unsuited to the genius and needs of the Mexican people, but in the pursuit of his fantastic ends he has furnished indubitable proof of the administration's utter lack of "preparedness" to fulfill either our boastfully assumed obligations under the Monroe doctrine or our imposing promises to act as a beneficent providence in behalf of Mexico.

Chimerical as was the President's belief that he was "serving" Mexico by driving out Huerta, it was the quintessence of practical wisdom compared to his childlike faith in the capacity of the Mexican people to govern themselves, and in the "constitutionalism" that was to be the means (in the hands of his allies, Carranza and Villa) of achieving that end. He took no account of the vitally important fact that the life of a nation is greater than any constitution, and that a new system of government can not be ordered like a new suit of clothes.

It is not a question of constitutionalism in Mexico at all. It is an Indian question. We had an Indian question in this country once, and everybody knows how we settled it. Is it not permissible to hope that it will not be settled the same way in Mexico?

It is estimated by the best authorities that in 90 per cent of the Mexican population Indian blood predominates, and that considerably over 50 per cent of the population is of pure Indian blood. The bare statement of this fact shows how visionary is the high-flown talk about "serving Mexico" by setting up there an Anglo-Saxon form of constitutional government under which the people would hold "full, fair, and free" elections, and thus at once bring peace and civilized order and responsibility to the country.

There are only two kinds of government that will ever succeed in maintaining any semblance of authority in Mexico. One is a dictatorship and the other is a protectorate; and both must be strong in the outward show of force, but essentially paternalistic in their workings. Diaz and Huerta gave their country the first kind; only the United States can give it the latter.

It is doubtful whether Carranza can give Mexico any real government at all, but inasmuch as he has been recognized as the de facto first chief, he should have a chance to show whether he can make himself a de jure one. However, the Washington Government is exhibiting the same incertitude in treating with him that it has exhibited in nearly all its other major international transactions.

RECOGNITION OF CARRANZA FOLLOWED BY INSULTS.

Although it was the first to recognize Carranza, it has been the first to invade the sovereignty of his government. It sent a large armed force into Mexico over his emphatic protests, and it afterwards added insult to injury by charging him in an official note with "encouraging and aiding" the marauding gangs which it was trying to suppress—a charge which, if true, should warrant it in incontinently pitching him out of office and taking the Government into its own hands.

Later, when Carranza ironically retorted by referring to the American punitive expedition as "interned in Chihuahua," and reiterated his demand for its immediate withdrawal, Secretary Lansing wrote him another "sharp note" of rebuke and warning in which it was plainly intimated that the United States would never—no, never—take its soldiers out of Mexico as long as Villa and his murderous bands remained unpunished—an intimation, however, which was no sooner officially given than the President hurried over to New York and reneged on it.

Of course, Carranza was technically right. The American Army had no business to be "interned" in Mexico. It went into Mexico to get Villa, and it had not got him. Indeed, it had virtually abandoned the attempt to get him. In these circumstances there was no other honorable alternative except to withdraw our Army to the American side. Its continued presence on Mexican soil only served to inflame the susceptibilities of the Mexican people. No nation with a spark of self-respect would stand for the indefinite quartering of foreign troops on its territory.

Thus was contributed another of the ghastly paradoxes which have marked the evolution of the administration's Mexican policy—a policy certain only in its weakness and indeterminations, and which attained the climacteric of pharisaic pretenses when the President declared the other day that he had constantly to remind himself that he is not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican holdings.

This was another of his grandiose utterances which so irresistibly recall Burke's remark about "the delusive plausibilities of moral politicians." It also exposes the obsession which has perverted the view of many Americans concerning the Mexican situation. It is my deliberate opinion—which is based upon several years' experience in Mexico—that far more Americans have been exploited in that country than have ever succeeded in exploiting it, unless the investing of hundreds of millions in the mines, railroads, cotton mills, power plants, and oil lands of Mexico can be called exploiting it. It is certain that Mexico owes an incalculable debt—far greater than can be expressed in the most imposing array of figures—to the American capital and enterprise which were such a powerful factor in raising her a few years ago to a first place among the second-class nations of the world. If that capital and that enterprise do not deserve and imperatively call for a greater measure of protection from the Washington Government than is represented by the "steady (?) pressure of moral force" against the rapacious banditry which masquerades under the name of "Constitutionalism," then the boasted "Americanism" which is being exemplified at Washington is itself the greatest exploiter of a people the world has ever seen. And the worst of it is, it is our own people who are being exploited—for purely "humanitarian" purposes, of course!

QUESTION OF PROTECTION OF AMERICAN LIFE AND RIGHTS.

It is a palpable reflection on adult intelligence to say that it is a question of the enhancement of values in Mexico. It is an infinitely bigger question. It is a question of defense, of the protection of American life and legal rights under Mexican and international law. The statesmanship that takes any other view of it is a misnomer and a fraud. It is gratifying to note that Secretary Lansing does not indorse the President's stand. In his note of June 20 rejecting the Carranza request for the withdrawal of the American troops he used these truthful and weighty words:

"For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife, the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed, vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered nonprofitable," etc.

These are the weighty things which the Secretary of State recited to justify the retention of our Army in Mexico. There is not a word in his note about the mythical "sinister" American interests in Mexico—about the bugaboo of enhancing the value of Mexican values. He was talking in a serious strain. He was under the necessity of stating facts, of making out an American case that would stand the test of the searching scrutiny of the chancelleries of the world. Moreover, he was laying the ground for an appeal to American patriotism, if war should come, and he knew that the professional twaddle about the "American adventurers" in Mexico would never do. That demagogic device served very well while President Wilson was trying to create the popular impression that he was preventing us from being made the victim of a plot to enhance by war the value of the holding of "predatory" American interests in Mexico. But when the country was actually facing the possibility of war as a result of the breakdown of the administration's puerile and pedantic policy of "serving mankind," instead of the interests of the American Nation, it was necessary to tell the truth and to admit that for three years the "lives of Americans" had been wantonly sacrificed in Mexico without eliciting anything more than an occasional mildly deprecatory "note" from the Washington Government, which almost invariably reserved the sharpest rebukes for those arch trouble makers, the "American adventurers" who had been presumptuous enough to act on the theory that the American eagle is not a hen bird.

It was inevitable that, with the perplexities and futilities that were bound to inhere in the policy of watching and waiting (only to "butt in" at the wrong time!) our relations with Mexico should rapidly progress from worse to worse—and the worst was attained when the President sent the punitive expedition into Mexico to catch the elusive Villa. It signalized the complete collapse of the vaunted policy that was to restore order and "the rule of the people" in the stricken Republic. But no one really believed that he would go very far in playing the part of a "strong elder brother" to Mexico—not even when he was threatening Carranza in his biggest bow-wow strain and mobilizing all the available State militia to make a formidable military demonstration along the Rio Grande. Nearly everybody was convinced that the man who had dispatched the American Fleet to attack and capture the seaport of Vera Cruz on the pretext of obtaining a salute to our "insulted" flag, and then had suddenly and ignominiously recalled the fleet after presenting the keys of the city to that inveterate American hater, Carranza, without receiving or stipulating for the long overdue salute to our flag, could not be depended upon to pursue any aggressive policy to a definitive conclusion.

PALES BEFORE CONDITIONS RHETORIC CAN NOT ALTER.

Thus was again illustrated the fateful propensity of Mr. Wilson to be forever starting something which he either can not or will not finish. He frequently talks in a very brave and even highly provocative fashion, but just as he gets the whole country worked up to follow him, he stops and sounds the note of retreat. This is the inevitable consequence of his pedantic dependence upon "the teeming wonder of his words" to achieve his ends. When he goes up against conditions which no spell of rhetoric can conjure away he loses all his driving power and relapses into a state of complete Executive desuetude.

It is difficult to speak in terms of restraint of the "benevolent" conduct of President Wilson toward the Mexicans. He has unsettled their Government and then denounced their lack of order. He has incited civil war and then used the excesses which it has produced to justify his abortive interventions. He has thus marked a nation to be cut off from the world; he has thus covenanted for Mexico's destruction. For when we go into Mexico—as we will surely have to do some day to restore the peace which we have made it impossible for the Mexican people themselves to recover—we shall go in there to stay, and Mexico will cease to exist. Its Government and its independence will be destroyed, and the country itself will become American territory. That will be the final grim and unwelcome result of Mr. Wilson's quixotic efforts to "serve Mexico" and to vindicate "the inviolability of the sovereignty of small States."

It is not necessary to impugn the President's intentions to emphasize the failure of his amazing Mexican misadventure. We are bound to say that Mr. Wilson's character presents one of the most puzzling paradoxes in American history; the peculiarities of a mind in which great powers are formed in company with great weaknesses. He is at once the most self-willed idealist and the most vacillating executant that has ever filled the presidential office. Inflexible as granite where his scholastic crochets are concerned, he is as weak as heliotrope in applying principles and enforcing administrative policies. A peculiarly repellant combination of doctrinaire and dictator when he has an academic theory to impose on Congress or an individual (like the "usurper" Huerta) to punish and pursue, he is the incarnation of indecision and feebleness when he faces the responsibility of effectuating concrete statesmanlike designs.

It is these antitheses in his character which account for the most of his successes and failures, for his remarkable ascendancy over Congress and his party, and for his equally remarkable impotence in accomplishing great administrative and diplomatic tasks. They explain at once why he has domineered over everybody and everything at Washington, and procrastinated with everybody and muddled everything in his foreign dealings.

INSTINCTS OF PRACTICAL STATESMAN ARE ABSENT.

So far as his relations with Congress are concerned, the President is the acid impersonation of aloofness. He has not counseled with it; he has only dictated to it. He has no capacity for teamwork unless he is driving the team. He lacks the practical statesman's instinct and guidance concerning men as well as concerning public measures. It may seem a strange thing to say, but there is hardly a Democratic Member of either House who fully trusts the President or is fully trusted by him.

"Those he commands move only in command,
Nothing in love."

Apparently his idea of the Democratic majority in Congress is that it should study and conform to his own cranial convolutions—that it is a mere dot above the presidential "i," something that follows of course and need not be seriously considered. Naturally the Democratic congressional leaders deeply resent this presidential attitude, but they could probably put up with it with far more grace than they do if they had any real confidence in the statesmanlike judgment and consistency of Mr. Wilson. But they have learned from bitter experience that he does not hesitate to put them in a false and humiliating position—as was shown in the Panama tolls exemption case and later in the controversy over the McLemore resolution—provided he can only win an ephemeral triumph for himself or for one of the sumptuous Princetonian proposals.

The Democratic leaders know how uncertain and undemocratic he is—how vague and vaporish are his convictions, and how purely academic is his political philosophy. They know how inaccessible he is to appeals made to him from honest motives and with naught but the most friendly feelings. But they know also how skillful he is in the use of his single but unrivalled talent of literary bamboozlement—of indulging in large dithyrambic affirmation and lofty moral reflections which the multitude applaud without analyzing. Like the President himself, the Democratic leaders have come to believe that these grand ear-tickling utterances can be depended upon, like the beneficent wind in the fairy tale, to blow everything into the right place—if not in an economic or governmental sense, then at least in a partisan sense, which is what some of them are chiefly concerned about.

But it is certain that the great majority of thoughtful and patriotic Americans will demand something more than the command of an attractive literary style as the chief qualification of their President. They know that something more than this is necessary for effectiveness in statecraft. They want some assurance as to where their President is going to stand. They know that while Mr. Wilson has an enormous capacity for rousing great public expectations, he has little, if any, capacity for realizing them; that while he assumes to exemplify the highest public rectitude, he does not hesitate to discard one conviction after another, as if they were so many worn-out gloves, if political exigencies happen to require their sacrifice; that while he has boasted of keeping us out of war, he has persistently pursued a course that has made for war by either running away from duty or perversely miscomprehending it; that while he has urged neutrality upon everybody else, he has been a most lax practitioner of it himself; that while he has warned the people not to get "nervous and excited" about preparedness, because "the question has not changed its aspect even if the times are not normal," he has worked himself up into a perfect furor of excitement lest Congress and the country shall not back him up in a big armament building program; that while he has protested his unalterable opposition to armed intervention in Mexico, he has done more intervening in that country than any President since Polk; that while he has talked bravely and finely about his "lullaby policy" that is to "serve mankind," he has really had no policy at all, but drifts, drifts.

COUNTRY PASSING THROUGH TREMENDOUS CRISIS.

Speaking as a Democrat, I would not give my vote to indorse such a record as the present administration has made if Thomas Jefferson had indorsed it a thousand times. I say it sadly, but in many respects Woodrow Wilson has been the most undemocratic President the country has ever had—undemocratic alike in his temper and in his conception of the functions of his office. If a Republican President had done the arbitrary, inconsistent, and incredibly maladroit things which Woodrow Wilson has done from the very outset of his presidential career, the Democratic leaders and press would long ago have united in a deafening demand for his summary impeachment as an intolerable dictator. They are only prevented from doing so now by the fact that over his head flies the Democratic flag, which in the stress of a presidential contest they prefer to the flag of their country.

But I can not take such a narrow, partisan view of my responsibility as an American voter. We are passing through one of the most tremendous crises in world history. Tempest weather is still threatening. Even the signing of a peace concordat in Europe may increase rather than diminish our national difficulties by precipitating a revolutionary tumult that will rival the war in its world-convulsing consequences. In any event the end of the war will bring momentous economic and international changes. If there was ever a time when the United States needed wise, strong, and steadfast statesmanly guidance, it is in these destiny-fraught days.

Fortunately in the midst of our national anxieties and bewilderment one rock of assurance rears its head. It is the figure of that courageous, masterful, and forthright American statesman, Charles Evans Hughes. "He is a tried and proved certainty," is the tribute which was paid to him by the Democratic New York World over eight years ago. No one has ever accused him of rhapsodizing or trimming in the presence of grave public perils. No one has ever questioned his intellectual conscientiousness. He owes all of his national prominence to the independence, the directness, and the unhasting thoroughness of his political action. Never in all his public career a bidder for popularity, he has nevertheless been taken up by the people and advanced to the highest official position. By consequence his career is one of the great examples, one of the great inspirations, of our country. All of which goes to prove that he has the quality of a representative mind—the mind of a real leader to whom the people instinctively turn in a time of national need.

I shall therefore vote for Charles Evans Hughes with the same patriotic confidence that I voted for Grover Cleveland. Although a Republican, there is no suggestion of the lock step in his partisanship. He strides out for himself. And this is a mighty significant fact to keep in mind to-day when American political parties differ chiefly in the accident of personnel. If they differ in theory, it is in the matter of emphasis rather than of belief. Woodrow Wilson is a Democrat in name, but he has the instinct of a tyrannical dogmatist. Hughes is nominally a Republican, but he is the incarnation of the Democratic characteristics of sincerity, equality, frankness, and square dealing. Moreover, he is the one American statesman who has shown that he can refer to principles on all occasions without losing his hold on practice and keep a firm grip of elevated public ideals without forgetting the art of adapting them to actual conditions.

Just before he assumed the Presidency, in 1913, Woodrow Wilson said that "the rarest thing in public life is courage"—an impressive saying which he proceeded to exemplify in his ingratiatingly grandiloquent way by announcing that "the people of this country are going to be served by conscience and not by expediency."

But a rarer thing in public life is the man who has not only courage and conscience but also common sense, and how fortunate is the country that after March 4 next will be served by a man possessing all three.



## Salaries of Veterinary and Lay Inspectors.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES O. LOBECK,
OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 9, 1916.*

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on House bill 16060, introduced by me on May 27, 1916, providing for the classification of the salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors—grades 1 and 2—employed in the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture.

The bill is as follows:

A bill (H. R. 16060) providing for the classification of salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors (grades 1 and 2) employed in the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after July 1, 1916, the Secretary of Agriculture shall classify the salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors (grades 1 and 2) as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. That the entrance salary of all veterinary inspectors within the classified service and actually employed as such in the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture shall be $1,400 per annum; those of said veterinary inspectors who on and after the date of July 1, 1916, may be receiving a salary less than $2,400 per annum shall thereafter from said date receive an annual increase of $100 until their minimum salaries shall amount to $2,400 per annum; all other promotions or increases in salaries shall be made at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture.

SEC. 3. That the entrance salary of all lay inspectors (grade 2) within the classified service and actually employed as such in the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture shall be $1,000 per annum; those of said lay inspectors (grade 2) who on and after the date of July 1, 1916, may be receiving a salary less than $1,800 per annum shall thereafter from said date receive an annual increase of $100 until their minimum salaries shall amount to $1,800 per annum; all other promotions or increases in salaries shall be made at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture.

SEC. 4. That the entrance salary of all lay inspectors (grade 1) within the classified service and actually employed as such in the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture shall be $840 per annum; those of said lay inspectors (grade 1) who on and after the date of July 1, 1916, may be receiving a salary less than $1,600 per annum shall thereafter from said date receive an annual increase of $100 until their salaries shall amount to $1,540 per annum, and after an additional year's satisfactory service their minimum salaries shall be increased to $1,600 per annum; all other promotions or increases in salaries shall be made at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture.

SEC. 5. That no promotion shall be made except upon evidence satisfactory to the Secretary of Agriculture of the efficiency and faithfulness of the employee during the preceding year.

SEC. 6. That there shall be appropriated annually in the Agricultural appropriation bill such additional sums to the $3,000,000 annual appropriation, provided for in the act approved June 30, 1906, found in the Thirty-fourth Federal Statutes, page 674, as may be necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this act.

SEC. 7. That all acts and parts of acts inconsistent with this act be, and the same are hereby, repealed: *Provided, however*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal any part of the meat-inspection law contained in the act of June 30, 1906 (34 Stat. L., p. 674), entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907," and in the act of March 4, 1907 (34 Stat. L., p. 1260), entitled "An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908."

In the Sixty-third Congress I had the honor to introduce a similar bill, known as H. R. 9292, on which extensive hearings were held on April 21 and 22, 1914, before the Committee on Agriculture, to which it had been referred for consideration, but no report was made by the committee to the House during the Sixty-third Congress. In this, the Sixty-fourth Congress, I again introduced this measure, which was numbered H. R. 5792, and on which extensive and interesting hearings were held March 28 and 29, 1916, before the Committee on Agriculture, and after full consideration by the committee, accepting some suggestions made by the members of the committee, I reintroduced the bill, which is known as H. R. 16060, on May 27, 1916. This bill was favorably reported to the House on June 8, 1916 (see committee report 810). The bill is now on the Union Calendar, and I hope may receive consideration at this the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Mr. Speaker, in behalf of this measure I have this to say:

It proposes to classify the salaries of those employees in the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture who perform the important work of inspecting and examining the products of all of the big meat-packing houses throughout the country, as well as examining and inspecting the live animals coming into the stockyards connected with these great packing plants. A number of these men are also assigned to stamping out the foot-and-mouth disease epidemic which spring up from time to time, exterminating cattle ticks quarantine work, inspection of serum plants, and other duties in connection with the enforcement of the meat-inspection law and the pure-food law and quarantine regulations.

These employees a e designated as veterinary inspectors, lay inspectors, grades 1 and 2. There were on June 1, 1916, 1,250 veterinarians, 800 lay inspectors, grade 1, and 1,100 lay inspectors, grade 2, in the Government service who come under the provisions of this bill. There are about 200 of these men located in my district and stationed at the great packing plants of Omaha. I have had occasion to observe the far-reaching importance of their work and its effect upon supplying the consuming public with pure and more wholesome meat products and the safeguarding of the general public under the meat-inspection law and the pure-food law.

During my visits to the large packing plants of Kansas City and Chicago I have had occasion to observe similar work being done by these men. They are also stationed in every city in the country where meat products are produced for shipment in interstate commerce. Therefore I know from first-hand knowledge the technical nature of the work they do and the conditions under which they labor. You will find them on the killing floors, in the steam rooms, in the refrigerating rooms, in the outside pens in all kinds of weather, and at the cars where the products are being shipped to the consumer. It is risky work on the floors of these packing houses, and they are subjected to all degrees of changing temperature in going from one department to another. The degree of heat and cold varies greatly during their day's service. In time, of course, they become skilled and experienced in their work. Before entering the service they must qualify from a practical standpoint. The vast percentage of them have been employed in actual packing-house work before taking up their duties with the Government. In the case of veterinarians a technical and scientific three-year course—which recently has been increased to four years—in a veterinary college is required before they can take the civil-service examination. The lay inspectors must pass through a civil-service examination also. It naturally follows that with this training and equipment they have a certain degree of skill to start with, and the longer they are in the service the more valuable they become. Realizing the importance of keeping such qualified, trained, and experienced veterinarians and inspectors in the Government service, as there has been frequent resignations, due to better opportunities offered them by private concerns, I introduced a bill in the last Congress and reintroduced it at the opening of the present session providing for the classification of these employees under a similar arrangement to that now existing in the Post Office Department. Hearings were held before the Agricultural Committee of the House during the last Congress and again during the present session. Several of these employees appeared before the committee and described the nature of their work and why they desire this bill approved.

Numerous Members of the House described the work carried on by these men in their respective districts and presented numerous resolutions and indorsements of it from State officials, municipal governments, improvement clubs, health associations, veterinary societies, and hundreds of personal testimonials to the effect that this legislation is for the public good and general welfare and recommended the keeping of trained, efficient employees in the Government service.

Each year the promotions in the Bureau have been left to the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture. We appropriate a flat sum to take care of the promotions and extension of work. The extension of work has been so great that little is left to take care of promotions promised these employees when they took the civil-service examination to enter the service. If this bill becomes a law, it will cost but little more annually to put this classification bill into effect and under it Congress will know, the people will know, and these deserving employees will know where the salary money is to go and to whom. The bill amply provides for a rigid efficiency, and no promotions will be made except on merit and satisfactory service. The public is demanding of the Government better food inspection and more wholesome food products. Let us give them efficient men to do the work by properly caring for our present competent, efficient, and experienced force in the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture.

I desire to state my personal appreciation to the many Members of Congress who appeared before the committee and to all who have come to me and assured me of their interest in support of the bill. The committee report, No. 810, reads as follows:

[H. Rept. No. 810, 64th Cong., 1st sess.]

CLASSIFICATION OF SALARIES OF VETERINARY INSPECTORS AND LAY INSPECTORS.

Mr. DOOLITTLE, from the Committee on Agriculture, submitted the following report to accompany H. R. 16060:

The Committee on Agriculture, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 16060) providing for the classification of salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors (grades 1 and 2) employed in the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture, having considered the same, report thereon with a recommendation that it do pass.

Certain facts in support of this legislation were submitted in the printed hearings held on H. R. 9292, before the House Committee on Agriculture during the Sixty-third Congress (Apr. 20 and 21, 1914), and in the printed hearings held on H. R. 5792 before the House Committee on Agriculture on March 28 and 29, 1916.

The chief purpose of the bill is to standardize the salaries of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors (grades 1 and 2) by providing a uniform compensation and a definite schedule of promotions.

Some unrest and discontent exists among the employees in this branch of the service due to the fact that certain salary schedules were announced by the United States Civil Service Commission that have not been put into effect.

SALARY SCHEDULES ANNOUNCED FOR VETERINARY INSPECTORS AND INSPECTOR'S ASSISTANTS (NOW DESIGNATED LAY INSPECTORS, GRADE 1).

The Civil Service Commission and the Department of Agriculture announced to all who proposed to enter into this newly created branch of the service as veterinary inspectors with the entrance salary of $1,400, that promotion to $1,600 would be made after two years' satisfactory service, with promotion to $1,800 after satisfactory service for two years at $1,600 per annum. The above schedule was announced by the United States Civil Service Commission in several publications.

The first announcement of the salary schedule for inspector's assistants (now included in the group of employees designated as lay inspectors, grade 1) was contained in the notice issued by the Civil

Service Commission for examination to be held on September 5, 1907 (Notice Form No. 1248), which stated the entrance salary as $840 per annum, promotion to $1,000 per annum to be made after three years' satisfactory service at $840, promotion to $1,200 to be made after three years' satisfactory service at $1,000.

The committee recognizes that the announcements of the Civil Service Commission are not binding on Congress, and these announcements are cited here only for the purpose of setting forth the circumstances.

The following public announcements regarding this matter were made by Dr. A. D. Melvin, Chief of the United States Bureau of Animal Industry:

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[Service Announcements, No. 26, June 15, 1909, p. 50.]

PROMOTIONS DELAYED FOR LACK OF FUNDS.

"On account of a considerable increase in the cost of inspection, due to the constantly increasing number of establishments under Federal inspection without a corresponding increase in the funds appropriated for carrying on the work, the bureau now finds it impossible to adhere to the schedule of promotions which have in the past been announced in connection with the positions of veterinary inspector, stock examiner, and inspector's assistant. As a result a number of employees have unfortunately failed to receive the promotions which they expected and which the bureau fully intended to make as planned. Nevertheless the bureau wishes to assure all faithful employees that their work is appreciated and that their cases will be considered just as rapidly as possible.

"In view of this notice inquiries on this subject from bureau employees are being filed without reply."

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[Service Announcement No. 32, Dec. 15, 1909, p. 102.]

LACK OF FUNDS PREVENTS PROMOTION.

"Referring to the notice in service announcement for June, 1909, to the effect that the consideration of promotions must be delayed at least until January 1, 1910, and to the notice in service announcements for November with reference to the necessity for retrenchments in meat-inspection expenditures, the expenditures so far made from the appropriations for the current fiscal year have nearly exhausted the funds allotted for the various kinds of work for the portion of the year which has thus far elapsed, and the possibility of making promotions in the near future is very doubtful. The chief of the bureau greatly regrets this condition, but there appears to be no relief possible until more funds are available for the bureau's work."

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[Service Announcement No. 77, Sept. 15, 1913, p. 84.]

PROMOTIONS OF EMPLOYEES.

In view of numerous communications received relative to veterinary inspectors and inspector's assistants not being advanced in salary as soon or as often as was expected, the following information is given for the benefit of all concerned:

"Early in the year 1907 a plan was outlined whereby veterinary inspectors should enter the bureau service at $1,400 per annum and be advanced to $1,600 after two years' satisfactory service, and to $1,800 after two years' additional satisfactory service at $1,600; also that inspector's assistants should enter the service at $840 per annum and be advanced to $1,000 after three years' satisfactory service, and to $1,200 after three years' additional satisfactory service at $1,000, and after passing an examination. In a number of announcements for examinations the Civil Service Commission outlined this plan. These announcements were made in good faith, and at the time it was fully expected that the plan would be followed. However, on account of necessary expenditures in the extension of the service, it has not been possible to promote employees as proposed, and after this became evident the Civil Service Commission omitted any reference to such promotions.

"Promotions of employees on account of length of service and efficiency will continue to be made, but as the possible number depends entirely on the funds available the bureau is unable to adhere to any fixed plan as to the length of service for promotions."

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[Service Announcement No. 50, Apr. 13, 1912, p. 35.]

EMPLOYEES AVAILABLE FOR TRANSFER.

"It is found that the expenses incurred by the bureau for salaries paid from the various appropriations are running close to the limit of the funds allotted for the use of the bureau, and it will be necessary immediately to make a considerable curtailment in these items of expense. New appointments or promotions will therefore be out of the question except in extreme emergencies; and vacancies must be filled, just as far as possible, by transfer within the bureau. With this end in view, each inspector in charge is directed to forward to the Washington office immediately the names and designations of all employees who can be spared for transfer in case of urgent need, indicating the preference of each as to assignment. The employees proposed for transfer must, of course, make no definite plans for transfer until so instructed specifically, but they must understand that when the needs of the service demand their transfer they must comply with the instructions if they desire to continue in the service. Each employee named, however, may be assured that he will not be transferred against his wishes if this can be avoided without impairment to the service."

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[Service announcement No. 31, Nov. 15, 1909, p. 87.]

RETRENCHMENT IN MEAT-INSPECTION EXPENDITURES NECESSARY.

"On account of the large increase in the number of establishments under Government inspection since the enactment of the present meat-inspection law, the bureau finds that unless current expenditures are considerably curtailed the available appropriation will not be sufficient for this year's work. Each inspector in charge of meat inspection will therefore carefully consider the matter of assignments at his station, and, if possible, arrange for a reduction in his present force, and inform the Washington office of the names of employees available for transfer."

The report of Dr. A. D. Melvin, Chief of Bureau of Animal Industry, bearing date of November 19, 1912, contains the following:

"The number of employees in the service of the bureau at the beginning of the fiscal year (July 1, 1911) was 3,284. During the year there were 638 resignations and terminations, including 28 dismissals for cause. The accessions by appointment, reinstatement, and transfer numbered 665. The force on July 1, 1912, numbered 3,311, of whom 2,410 were engaged in the work of meat inspection.

"Owing to the rapid increase of the work of the bureau, the funds from which promotions are ordinarily made are consumed in providing for this extension of the work. It is only natural that employees entering the service under the impression that they are to receive promotion after satisfactory service should become dissatisfied and disgruntled at not being advanced in salary after a reasonable time.

"In order to attract and hold capable men, as well as to reward efficient service, I consider it desirable that some definite schedule of promotions should be arranged for the different classes of employees, and that funds should be provided by Congress according to these schedules, so that those who are giving their best efforts to the service may expect and realize promotions within a reasonable time."

Since the establishment of the Bureau of Animal Industry in 1884 there has been such an expansion in the activities of that bureau, with a corresponding increase in the number of employees, that it seems no longer practicable to deal with those employees as individuals, since the greater part of the work of said employees is routine in character. The department finds it necessary to deal with this large body of men as a group in the enforcement of rules and regulations, and it would seem proper that Congress should provide that they be dealt with as a group in the matter of compensation.

No veterinary inspectors or lay inspectors are employed in any bureau or division of the United States Department of Agriculture other than the Bureau of Animal Industry.

The number of employees in the Bureau of Animal Industry on June 1, 1916, to be affected by this bill, were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Veterinary inspectors | 1,250 |
| Lay inspectors (grade 2) | 1,100 |
| Lay inspectors (grade 1) | 800 |
| Total | 3,150 |

Among the projects to which the employees provided for in this bill may be assigned for duty are the following: Meat inspection; tuberculin testing of cattle; control and eradication of hog cholera; eradication of dourine; interstate inspection of cattle and horses; eradication of glanders, sheep scab, cattle scab, horse mange, and Texas-fever ticks; handling of southern cattle outside of quarantine area; execution and administration of the 28-hour law; eradication of foot-and-mouth disease; inspection relative to existence of contagious diseases; supervision of import and export animals (quarantine of import animals and tuberculin testing of export animals); scientific investigations of animal diseases; control of importations and manufacture of viruses and serums, toxins, and other analogous products.

These employees are exposed to many dangerous communicable diseases in the discharge of their duty, as they must manipulate much diseased tissue. They work frequently in water and blood, wearing boots and overalls, and must often inhale vapors and steam, and are exposed to sudden changes of temperature which are injurious to their health. In many cases they find it necessary to pass from a freezer where the temperature ranges around zero and go immediately to the lard refinery where the temperature ranges from 90° to 110° F. These sudden changes are made without time to make any changes in clothing.

Veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors are engaged in a work attended with peculiar hazards, as evidenced by the fact that accident insurance companies charge them an extra insurance rate.

The veterinarians of the Bureau of Animal Industry are engaged in work of a scientific and technical nature, requiring expert training.

The lay inspectors are engaged in technical work requiring practical experience and good, sound judgment.

All of these employees are performing a work that is valuable to the Federal Government, as they are safeguarding the meat food supply of the Nation, and the economic value of their work in conserving the live-stock industry is indisputable.

The lives of these bureau employees are in many cases nomadic.

The nature of the work in the Bureau of Animal Industry is such that the department often finds it necessary to transfer the employees to different sections of the country on short notice, which in many cases results in their having to neglect their homes and families for long periods of time. Especially is this true in the event of an epidemic among live stock.

The exigencies of the service, necessitating transfers from one section of the country to another, are such as to make uncertain how long the employee thus transferred will be kept on the new assignment.

Males only are admitted to examinations for the positions of veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors in the United States Bureau of Animal Industry.

A brief summary of the sections of the bill may be of value to the House.

Section 1 prescribes the short title of the act.

Section 2 specifies the salary schedule for veterinary inspectors, as follows: Entrance salary, $1,400 per annum; promotions of $100 per annum until a salary of $2,400 is attained.

The Civil Service Manual for the spring of 1916 contained the following statements:

"The applicant must show that he has graduated from a veterinary college of recognized standing or that he is a senior student in such an institution and expects to graduate within six months from the date of the examination."

The Civil Service Commission announced the age limits at from 21 to 41 years.

Beginning in the year 1917, the United States Civil Service Commission will require that all applicants for the position of veterinary inspector must be graduates of a school with a course of four years leading to a degree in veterinary medicine. In view of this fact it is evident that the Bureau of Animal Industry will find it difficult to attract capable veterinarians to the service in the absence of an equitable salary schedule being established.

The new Army bill gives to the Army veterinarians rank and commission up to major, with pay and allowances of such office. The maximum pay of a major is $4,000 per annum, hence the Army veterinarian will be advanced to $4,000 per annum with quarters, fuel, and light free. It would appear that the salary provided for in this bill for bureau veterinarians is reasonable, especially so since the veterinarians provided for in this bill do not have quarters, fuel, and light furnished free.

Section 3 provides a salary schedule for lay inspectors, grade 2, as follows: Entrance salary, $1,000 per annum; promotions of $100 per annum until a salary of $1,800 is attained.

Those who entered this grade through examinations for the position of meat inspector held from March 6, 1908, to March 3, 1913, were required to have not less than five years' experience in curing, packing, or canning meats, and by reason of their experience in canning rooms, dry-salt or sweet-pickle cellars, sausage, lard, oleo, butterine, or beef-extract departments were competent to inspect meat and meat food products as to their soundness, healthfulness, and fitness for food. Grade 2 includes meat inspectors, stock examiners, field stock examiners, and vessel inspectors.

Section 4 specifies the salary schedule for lay inspectors, grade 1, as follows: Entrance salary, $840 per annum; promotions of $100 per annum until a salary of $1,540 per annum is attained. Promotion to $1,600 after an additional year's satisfactory service.

"The duties of this position are to assist both veterinary inspectors and lay inspectors, grade 2, at slaughterhouses and packing establishments in connection with their duties as inspectors of meat and meat food products. Appointments in grade 2 positions (formerly meat inspector) will be made by promotion from grade 1.

"At least three years' experience in handling live meat-producing animals is a prerequisite for consideration for this position * * *. Experience in handling meat alone will not be considered sufficient.

"Applicants must have reached their twentieth but not their thirty-fifth birthday on the date of the examination."

Section 5 provides that the promotions shall be made upon records of efficiency and faithfulness.

The legislative appropriation act of 1913 provided for the establishment of a Division of Efficiency in the Civil Service Commission. The division is required to work out a system of efficiency ratings for the classified service in the several executive departments and independent establishments, to determine the needs of the service with respect to personnel, etc. The division has worked out a system of efficiency ratings which has been adopted by the Post Office Department and could, no doubt, outline efficiency schemes applicable to the United States Bureau of Animal Industry.

Section 6 provides that in addition to the permanent annual appropriation of $3,000,000 there shall be appropriated annually sufficient sums to carry this bill into effect

It is estimated that the additional appropriation for the first year would be $309,420.

It is impossible to secure an accurate estimate as to what it would cost for the second, third, and fourth years, because it can not be estimated reasonably how many men would be in the service or remain in the service to receive these promotions or how many new men coming into the service would be entitled to the increase. It is believed that the additional appropriation annually would be approximately $300,000. These figures are based on the number of employees in the service June 1, 1916, to be affected by the bill.

Section 7 provides for repealing acts inconsistent with the bill.

The Postmaster General in his annual report of 1906 (p. 118) directed the attention of Congress to the matter of classifying the salaries of employees of the Postal Department.

In his annual report of 1907 (p. 106) he reports the success of the classification as follows:

In accordance with the earnest recommendation of the department Congress enacted at its last session a new salary law, providing adequate compensation for clerks and letter carriers at post offices of the first and second classes. This law has accomplished much toward raising the efficiency of post offices to a higher standard and has placed the compensation of postal employees on a substantial and satisfactory foundation, making it possible for the department to retain efficient clerks and carriers and to induce other high-grade men to seek employment in the service. Postmasters and special agents of the department state that the new legislation is not only bringing better men into the service, but has caused marked improvement in the quality of the work done by employees previously appointed. The higher compensation and greater opportunity for advancement offered have checked the alarming increase in the rate of resignations from the service, while the number of applicants for appointment has so increased that little difficulty is anticipated in filling future vacancies.

The passage of the reclassification act has undoubtedly infused into the great army of post-office employees a new spirit of enthusiasm for the service and of loyalty to the department, the effect of which can not be overestimated.

It is only safe to predict that a law classifying the salaries of the employees of the Bureau of Animal Industry would accomplish results similar to the above.

I respectfully submit herewith a list of the indorsements, in order to show that the demand for this legislation is constantly increasing:

INDORSEMENTS OF H. R. 16060 RECEIVED SINCE HEARINGS WERE HELD ON H. R. 5792 BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, MARCH 28, 29, 1916.

1. Traders' Live Stock Exchange, Union Stock Yards, Chicago: Letter dated April 4, 1916; signed by W. L. Darlington, president, and G. R. Hebert, secretary.
2. Mary E. McDowell, University Settlement, 4630 Gross Avenue, Chicago, Ill.: Letter dated April 7, 1916.
3. Virginia State Veterinary Medical Association (Inc.): Resolutions indorsed in session at Ocean View, Va., July 14, 1916; signed by Dr. W. G. Chrisman, secretary.
4. Conway Chamber of Commerce, Conway, S. C. Letter dated July 20, 1916, from L. H. Burroughs, president.
5. Tacoma Commercial Club and Chamber of Commerce, Tacoma, Wash. Resolutions adopted at meeting of board of trustees July 11, 1916. Signed A. L. Sommers, secretary.
6. Toledo Branch, No. 44, N. A. B. of A. I. E., Toledo, Ohio. Indorsement dated June 16, 1916, and signed by C. W. Sheehan, secretary.
7. Boston Fruit and Produce Exchange. Resolutions indorsed at meeting on May 6, 1916. Signed Alton E. Briggs, executive secretary.
8. Spokane Branch No. 48, Spokane, Wash. Resolutions indorsed at regular meeting June 26, 1916. Signed by C. A. Raque, president; Guy Maycumber, secretary.
9. The Commercial Club of Arkansas City (Inc.), Kans. Resolutions indorsed at meeting on June 27, 1916. Signed by W. H. Nelson, secretary.
10. Little Rock Board of Commerce, Little Rock, Ark. Indorsement through Profitable Farming Bureau. Letter June 15, 1916. Signed by Carl J. Baer, manager.
11. Minnesota State Veterinary Medical Association. Resolutions indorsed at St. Paul (Minn.) meeting January 13, 14, and 15, 1915.
12. North Carolina Veterinary Medical Association. Telegram dated Wrightsville Beach, N. C., June 22, 1916. Signed J. D. Spoon, secretary-treasurer.
13. Cape Fear Fair Association. Letter dated Fayetteville, N. C., January 28, 1916. Signed R. M. Jackson, secretary.
14. International Association of Machinists. Letter dated Springfield, Mass., May 20, 1916. Signed E. J. Zoarb, city business agent.
15. The McClure Publications. Letter signed by L. B. Allyn, food editor, dated Westfield, Mass., May 17, 1916.
16. Dominion Meat Inspectors' Association of Canada. Resolutions unanimously adopted. Signed F. E. H. Fisher, secretary.
17. Forest City Branch, No. 40, National Association Letter Carriers, Cleveland, Ohio. Resolutions indorsed at meeting April 8, 1916. Signed A. W. Driggs, secretary.
18. Michigan State Live Stock Sanitary Commission. Letter dated Lansing, Mich., April 14, 1916. Signed by President Holladay.
19. Mitchell Commercial Club, Mitchell, S. Dak. Letter dated July 31, 1916. Signed by board of directors, P. H. Kelley, H. I. Jones, T. C. Burns, H. E. Bjodstrup, A. B. Darling.

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## Preparedness and Neutrality.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. HELGESEN. Mr. Speaker, on the second day of the present session of Congress President Wilson delivered his annual message to the Congress, the message for which not only all Americans but the whole civilized world had waited with intense interest—even anxiety. In the opening sentences of his message, President Wilson spoke briefly of the European war, and said:

> We have stood apart, studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so.

Mr. Speaker, let us observe, coolly and impartially, how our "manifest duty of studious neutrality" has been performed.

Since the grim specter of war cast its black and appalling shadow over the Continent of Europe—a shadow which lengthens with increasing menace daily—thousands of factories have been erected in the United States for the manufacture of arms and other munitions of war for export. Throughout this country powder and acid manufacturing plants have sprung up like mushrooms. Screw factories, pipe works, cutlery plants, and other concerns for the manufacture of useful commodities for peaceful nations, have been converted into factories for the production of munitions of war for Russia, France, and England.

In the early days of his administration, in a message on the Mexican situation, President Wilson said:

> I shall follow the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality, by forbidding the exportation of arms and munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico—a policy suggested by several interesting precedents and certainly dictated by many manifest considerations of practical expedience.

Why did Mr. Wilson take this high moral ground at that time in our relations with Mexico, and why does he now follow a directly opposite course in connection with the European war? Were the people of Mexico more worthy of consideration, more deserving of the application of humanitarian principles than our friends across the sea? If President Wilson had faithfully adhered to the same principles in our relation to the European war which he outlined in his message on the Mexican situation as it existed at that time, if he had prohibited the exportation of arms and munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any belligerent European country, the European war would perforce long since have ended, for lack of war supplies, and President Wilson could rightfully have been honored as the greatest humanitarian the world has ever known. But no; because our steel companies, our powder manufacturers, and our makers of death-dealing instruments are reaping a fabulous harvest of wealth from this iniquitous traffic in human lives, President Wilson finds it impolitic and inconvenient to apply the same definition of neutrality in the case of Europe that he outlined for Mexico. We are told by President Wilson and his ardent supporters that the inhibition of this foreign traffic in arms and munitions of war would be "unneutral." If "unneutral" in Europe, why was such inhibition in Mexico "the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality, a policy suggested by several interesting precedents, and certainly dictated by many manifest considerations of practical expedience"?

We are also told by the administration that no obligation rests upon this Government in the performance of its neutrality, to prevent trade in contraband, and thus equalize the difference due to the relative strength of the belligerents. The misleading statement is made that the markets of this country are open upon equal terms to all the world, to every nation, belligerent or neutral. But, when similar conditions on an infinitely smaller scale existed in Mexico as now prevail in Europe, President Wilson advanced the theory that because Carranza had no ports, while Huerta had them, and was therefore able to import munitions of war, it was our duty as a nation to place Carranza and Huerta on an equality, if we would preserve the spirit of true neutrality as compared with mere paper neutrality.

This theory apparently bore the stamp of fair-mindedness, but though it sounded well, it, too, developed into a mere paper theory, for while President Wilson sent our ships to blockade Huerta's ports, at the same time he permitted shipments of ammunition to be made to Carranza, instead of following the plan outlined in his message and forbidding the exportation of arms and munitions of war, of any kind, from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico. In the case of Mexico, President Wilson directly reversed his clearly outlined policy, and the presence of our American troops on the border and in Mexico to-day is a vivid object lesson of the result of President Wilson's whiffling, vacillating method of handling the Mexican situation.

A practice permitted by the administration, which, in my opinion, can not be too strongly condemned, is the policy of permitting American citizens to travel on belligerent vessels carrying munitions of war destined to a belligerent country. When, as the result of such policy, harm overtakes these American citizens, immediate and strenuous protest is made to the nation responsible for the damage to or destruction of the vessel of its recognized enemy on which an American citizen has taken advantage of his technical right to travel. President Wilson upholds the theory that a neutral American citizen has the right, under international law, to travel to a belligerent country, on a belligerent vessel, even though that vessel carries munitions of war. That such a policy is not generally adopted by other nations is shown by Sweden's attitude in the present European war, the Government of that neutral country having recently notified Swedish subjects that the Swedish Government will not be responsible for the safety of persons taking passage on a ship of any of the belligerent nations.

Sweden has surrendered none of her rights as a neutral country by such a proclamation; on the contrary, she has followed the only sane course open to a neutral nation.

In direct contrast to this action by the Swedish Government, we are told that international law gives an American citizen the right to travel on ammunition-loaded belligerent ships, and that this Government will protect him in such action. Granted, for the sake of argument only, and notwithstanding the fact that time-honored precedent is against such a theory, is not this a deplorably narrow concept of the "right" of a true American citizen? Is the man who insists on his technical, selfish "right" to travel whenever, wherever, and however he pleases, and who demands that his country protect him in the exercise of this technical, selfish right typical of true American citizenship? No! a thousand times, no! Rather is he a puny-minded egotist, who prefers to risk the embroilment of a Nation of 100,000,000 people in a bloody and futile war rather than temporarily forego one jot or tittle of his petty little personal right to the freedom of the seas, the use of belligerent ships, and a sojourn in the countries at war with each other.

The Encyclopædia Britannica, eleventh edition (1911), defines neutrality as—

> that branch of international law in which the practice of self-restraint takes the place of the direct sanctions of domestic law most effectively.

Believing that those of our citizens who recklessly choose these perilous times for European travel should exercise the "practice of self-restraint," I, together with many other Members of this legislative body, voted in favor of warning Americans from traveling on ammunition-loaded belligerent ships, for which vote we have been mercilessly criticized and censured by those persons who prefer to uphold the administration, whether right or wrong, and we have likewise received the warmest commendation from the great body of American citizens who do not wish to see this country uselessly and needlessly drawn into a war which we have no logical or reasonable cause to enter.

We do not have to go back of the present administration to remember when the citizens of the United States were warned by the President to refrain from travel in Mexico; and our citizens in that country were advised to withdraw from there, notwithstanding that many could do so only at heavy financial and personal loss. When recently 18 peaceable United States citizens, on their way to their ordinary employment in Mexico, nominally under the protection of the Mexican Government which President Wilson has insisted on recognizing, when these 18 citizens were dragged from the train, subjected to indescribable torture, and finally murdered in cold blood by Mexican bandits our calm and collected President, who was watchfully waiting the course of events, said only that "Those Americans were specifically warned not to go into Mexico."

Why is President Wilson less ready to warn Americans to keep away from other belligerent countries and avoid travel on belligerent ships of other nations than he is to "specifically warn" them not to go into Mexico? Why do we "waive our rights" in keeping clear of one war zone any more than in avoiding another? As citizens of the United States we have a right to use the sidewalks of this city, and none can gainsay that right. Nevertheless, in the event of a street riot, a fire, or even a circus parade, we do not consider that we forego our personal rights and privileges when we refrain, by request of the police or other civil authority, from entering and using the restricted territory.

A patriotic American citizen manifests a truly patriotic, humane, and broad-minded concept of personal liberty when he refuses to exercise his technical right to expose himself to unwarranted danger and his country to the useless risk of engulfment in the turgid maelstrom of warfare which is to-day depleting Europe of the flower of her citizenry.

Our American laws prohibit persons from traveling on ammunition loaded vessels. If President Wilson had insisted on the enforcement of these laws, a great amount of scholastic rhetoric of a highly polished character could have been diverted to other channels and not expended in notes to foreign nations.

While President Wilson is energetically defending the right of the allies to protect their shipments of war supplies by carrying American passengers on vessels thus loaded, how is our right to the freedom of the seas maintained, so far as our commerce to neutral countries is concerned? With a war extending over the greater European countries, with those countries requiring all of their own products for home consumption, our exports, especially of agricultural products, should show an enormous increase, particularly to neutral countries. If the inhibition of traffic in war supplies is "unneutral," surely our export trade in other commercial products must be allowed to continue unhampered. Is such the situation to-day? I quote from one of the diplomatic "notes" sent from our State Department to England last October:

> Vessels whose cargoes and papers have been of such a character as to require but brief time for examination have been held in British ports, according to this Government's information, for prolonged periods, in some instances more than a month, and then released without the institution of prize-court proceedings.
>
> Vessels carrying oil from the United States to long-established markets in Scandinavian countries have repeatedly been detained, without being sent to the prize court for adjudication.
>
> Vessels have been held until they have reconsigned their cargoes to a consignee in a neutral country designated by the British Government.
>
> Detentions have been made without evidence amounting to probable cause. The steamer *Annam*, which was detained at Kirkwall, carried a cargo of food products from the United States to Swedish ports. She was detained owing to a suspicion, as the British Government stated, that a part of its cargo was destined for Germany.
>
> The steamer *Dronning Olga* was detained at Kirkwall, and her cargo, which consisted of cotton and food products, was placed in the prize court, on the ground, as the department was informed by the British Government, that it was "believed" that it was ultimately destined for Germany.
>
> Goods have been seized by the British Government on the ground, as this Government has been informed, that the country to which they were shipped had not prohibited their export.
>
> The British authorities have repeatedly seized articles classified as contraband, articles classified as conditional contraband, as well as non-contraband goods shipped to Scandinavian countries, to the Netherlands, and to Italy (then neutral), although the reexportation of such commodities from these countries had been forbidden.

During the Boer War the British Government held the position that foodstuffs with a hostile destination can be considered contraband of war only if they are supplies for the enemy's forces. It is not sufficient that they are capable of being so used; it must be shown that this was in fact their destination at the time of the seizure.

In 1904 when Russia, then a belligerent, seized a cargo of flour consigned to private dealers in Japan—her opposing belligerent—the position of the United States and Great Britain relative thereto was so clear and conclusive that it leaves Great Britain no possible defense for her present course. At that time Lord Lansdowne declared that—

> The test appeared to be whether there are circumstances relating to any particular cargo to show that it was destined for military or naval use.

Great Britain adopted a different attitude when she herself was a neutral country than she maintains to-day, when the

British Government effaces international law and procedure and issues a decree that "orders in council" are supreme.

Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, declared that Russia's action in seizing a cargo of foodstuffs bound to her opposing belligerent was in effect a declaration of war against commerce of every description between the people of a neutral and those of a belligerent State. What, then, can we say of the action of Great Britain in seizing cargoes of foodstuffs shipped from neutral countries to neutral countries on the mere possibility or suspicion or fear that any part of those cargoes will eventually reach the homes of her enemies? Is not such action on the part of Great Britain a practical declaration of war against our commerce? Shall we submit tamely to such high-handed procedure, or shall we insist that Great Britain and her allies recognize our rights as a neutral country to ship our products to other neutral countries without interference or detention by England or France? We ought to remonstrate as swiftly and as surely with Great Britain and her allies in their unwarrantable and unprecedented interference with our peaceful commerce as we should do were the offending nations on the side of the Teutonic allies.

In regard to shipments of commercial products from this country other than food supplies and munitions of war I shall mention one in particular, namely, cotton. Again allow me to refer to the position maintained by the British Government during the Russo-Japanese War, when Russia attempted to classify cotton as unconditional contraband. At that time England's protest was based on the argument that the amount of cotton that might be used for explosives was infinitely small as compared with the quantity designed for peaceful purposes, and the treatment of cargoes of the latter description as unconditional contraband would subject this branch of innocent commerce to unwarrantable interference. In this position Great Britain was upheld 10 years later by the Solicitor of the State Department of the United States, the Hon. Cone Johnson, who in October, 1914, declared that—

There is no impediment to the shipment of cotton to any country, not excepting the belligerents.

Cotton is noncontraband for the manifest reason that in its raw state it can not be used for the purposes of war. In order to be available for use by armies and navies it has to undergo a long process of manufacture. It is ranked as noncontraband in the London convention.

There is no legal impediment to a shipload of cotton going direct to Hamburg consigned to German spinners, and personally I hope to see the exportation of cotton to the countries at war increase.

For many months after the above hope was expressed by the Solicitor of the State Department our exports of cotton did not increase; on the contrary, owing to the unwarranted and unprecedented interference with our innocent commerce by Great Britain and her allies, our southern warehouses were long filled with cotton which should have been entering our long-established markets in neutral countries, but which was deterred therefrom by the indefensible interference with our peaceful commerce by Great Britain and her allies. Owing to the limited number of merchant vessels to-day sailing under our own flag we are, unfortunately, dependent on the vessels of foreign nations for the transportation of the bulk of our foreign commerce, but this dependence is no reason why we should allow the belligerent necessities, so called, of Great Britain and her allies, or of Germany and her allies, to place an embargo on the products of our farms, our mines, our ranches, and our factories, which products are destined to supply the needs and commerce of neutral foreign nations. Yet this is what Great Britain has done, regardless of the milk-and-water protests that from time to time have reached her through our State Department. It is the duty of Congress to free our peaceful, neutral commerce from this unwarranted tyranny of Great Britain and her allies.

A further violation of the spirit of true neutrality in favor of paper neutrality, was exemplified in the change of attitude on the part of the administration in regard to loans to belligerents. In the early days of the European war, President Wilson announced that the Government would regard the making of loans by American citizens to the Governments of nations engaged in war as inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality, and a number of mellifluent reasons were given for this policy. In the Democratic platform which was published in 1914, and was used by the Democratic Party after the inception of the European war, we find the following:

NO LOANS TO BELLIGERENTS.

The announcement made by this Government that it regards the making of loans by American citizens to the Governments of nations engaged in war as inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality has created a profound impression throughout the world. It is the first time that a great nation has taken this stand on the subject of war loans. The matter has been discussed at The Hague and at peace conferences, but it encountered so much opposition that nothing tangible has resulted. The President, therefore, blazes a new way when, without conference with other nations and without support from conventions, he commits this Nation to this policy.

It is inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality for a neutral nation to make loans to belligerent nations, for money is the worst of contrabands—it commands all other things. A very forcible illustration has been used in support of this proposition, namely, that as a neutral government does all in its power to discourage its citizens from enlisting in the armies of other countries, it should discourage those who, by loaning money, would do more than they could do by enlisting. The Government withdraws the protection of citizenship from those who do enlist under other flags—why should it give protection to money when it enters into foreign military service? There is only one answer.

But there are other reasons. The European war is imposing a burden upon all the neutral nations as well as upon those engaged in the conflict. If the United States were to loan money to the belligerent nations, it would be less able to assist the neutrals, and it has already received notice from neutral nations that desire loans. We are under special obligation to render such service as we can to South and Central America; it would be difficult to do this if all of our surplus money was flowing into the war chests of Europe.

Then, too, our own country might be embarassed by loans to the belligerents. Already a material reduction has been made in the Government's income from import duties owing to the partial suspension of commerce. If the war is prolonged it may become necessary for the Government to issue bonds, and foreign loans might so affect the local market as to compel a higher rate of interest.

There are still other reasons, but these are enough to show that the President's course was abundantly justified—enough to show, also, that in this case, as in nearly every other case, a stand taken upon moral grounds is supported by considerations of a material character.

The foregoing were the principles and pledges contained in the Democratic platform upon which the Democratic Party stood before the American people in the last election, but in a few short months we find President Wilson forsaking the new way which he himself had blazed and the policy which he so proudly declared "without conference with other nations and without support from conventions," for, at the expiration of those few short months, a loan of $500,000,000 to the English-French allies was successfully negotiated, preceding which negotiation long and private conferences were held between administration officials and J. Pierpont Morgan, jr., that king of American finance, through whom the transaction was conducted.

The climax of President Wilson's inconsistency is reached when we compare his "Plea for neutrality," made in 1914, with his message to Congress in December, 1915. In his "Appeal for neutrality" the President said:

Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. * * * The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action; must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every action that might be construed as a preference of one party in the struggle before another. Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

A year after these words were uttered we witnessed the most extraordinary spectacle this country has ever beheld, the President of this Nation, in his message to the Congress of the United States, inculcating and encouraging the germs of race hatred toward those of our number who are of foreign extraction. It matters not, Mr. Speaker, whether the President in his message just mentioned referred to men of English, French, or German ancestry; I contend that such utterance by the President of this Nation was unwise, undignified, and un-American, and carefully calculated to arouse a spirit of antagonism and race hatred toward those of our citizenry who, in a moment of would-be facetiousness, have been dubbed "hyphenated Americans."

Our Democratic friends are fond of lauding the far-sighted statesmanship and steadfastness of President Wilson, but when pinned down to specific facts and asked to name the important public issues on which Mr. Wilson has not reversed himself since the election of 1912, they find that the proverbial search for a needle in a haystack is easy by comparison. This reversal of opinion is especially noticeable in the text of President Wilson's recent message, the subject to which all other topics are mere auxiliaries, namely, "Preparedness"; that is, the preparedness of the United States for war—offensive or defensive—with a foreign nation or nations.

No one seems able to satisfactorily account for President Wilson's sudden change of base, from the promulgation of practically a pacificist's disarmament theory to a peremptory demand for an overwhelming Navy and an equally powerful standing Army. If a Member on the Republican side of this Congress should state frankly his opinion as to what had caused this remarkable change of heart, he would probably be accused of the assignment of motives to the President that would be a credit neither to Mr. Wilson's statesmanship nor his sincerity. The President's conversion from a pacific to a militaristic and navalistic standpoint is too sudden and too radical to result from careful study and thorough conviction. In some quarters he is even accused of looking for a new and popular issue on which to successfully conduct the coming presidential

campaign. It is rumored that he thoughtfully changed his policy on the eve of this campaign, because some of his potential political opponents are expected to press for "preparedness." Be that as it may, he makes a strong appeal in his message for assistance to develop his "preparedness" program, and has recently taken the stump in favor of that program.

In an apparent endeavor to account for the seeming inconsistency of his position, President Wilson, in a recent speech, said:

> There is so much to understand that we have not the data to comprehend that I for one would not dare, so far as my advice is concerned, to leave the Government without the adequate means of inquiry.
>
> I can not tell you what the international relations of this country will be to-morrow, and I use the word literally. And I would not dare keep silent and let the country suppose that to-morrow was certain to be as bright as to-day.

President Wilson has also declared that he is daily and hourly in receipt of "notes," giving him information that no other man in the country is in a position to obtain.

What is this knowledge which Mr. Wilson has that no other man has, the possession of which incites him with a desire to "warn" the people of this country of impending danger? What is this grave danger? If this Nation is facing a crisis, and President Wilson is the only man aware of it, why does he not make the facts in his possession known to Congress, because Congress is a responsible body. We are not children to be frightened into action or nonaction by a vague threat of some hypothetical "bogey man that will catch us if we don't watch out"! President Wilson can not declare war without action by Congress; he can not provide for any emergency without the help of Congress; therefore I should like to know why Mr. Wilson expects us to act blindly on his advice without knowing whether this wonderful "information" in his possession is fact or fiction. As a lawmaking body, Congress is entitled to information before taking action. What is the danger which confronts the country?

Mr. Speaker, although President Wilson has shifted his position with the unexpected agility of an acrobat, I am personally of the opinion that the Congress should not allow itself to be floated away on any tidal wave of popular or presidential enthusiasm for "preparedness."

I do believe that our Navy should be brought to its utmost efficiency. The old saying that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link is as true of navies as it is of chains—and our present Navy has some weak links that almost destroy its efficiency, or at least seriously impair it, even for defensive purposes alone. President Wilson, however, does not advocate the strengthening of these weak links. We have only a few submarine boats that can be truthfully deemed efficient vessels of that character. Some of our present submarines refuse to do anything but float, while some of those that dive decline to come to the surface, not to mention an occasional explosion on account of defective batteries. We therefore need more submarines.

We have practically no mines with which to defend our harbors and coast lines. These should be provided. We have an insufficient number of transports, colliers, or supply ships for the fleet, and without them the fleet would be tremendously handicapped, if not altogether powerless. Therefore, these also should be provided. Our number of airships is small, and in these days of modern warfare we should have an air fleet sufficiently large to train and equip an experienced corps of aviators to care for the needs of both the Army and Navy in case of war.

The completion of those additions to our Navy which are now in process of construction and those contracted for should be hastened, so that in the event of our placing a contract for a modern, efficient vessel, that same vessel will not be a back number before it is finished. Since the Democratic Party has been in control of this House Congress has authorized the construction of 39 submarines, 2 transport and supply ships, 17 destroyers, and 9 dreadnaughts—a fairly good-sized navy of new vessels—not one of which is completed and some of which have not been commenced. Instead of "speeding up" Congress to carry out his elaborate "preparedness program," President Wilson would do better to "speed up" the construction and completion of these vessels for which we have already contracted.

The inconsistency of the "preparedness" alarmists is forcibly illustrated by the present condition of the battleship *North Dakota*, named for the State which I have the honor to represent in part. This great battleship, one of the finest superdreadnaughts in our Navy, whose crew held the record of the entire Navy for marksmanship, and in discipline and efficiency was second to none, now lies helplessly out of commission in the backwaters of the League Island Navy Yard, at Philadelphia, her crew scattered to the four winds of heaven, and barely a sufficient number of men aboard of her to prevent her being carried away piecemeal for junk.

The *North Dakota* was the victim of an experiment in the installation of turbine engines. She was one the first ships on which these turbines were installed, and with a nominal speed of 21 knots an hour; with the new turbines she was able to make only a speed of 16 knots an hour. To replace these defective turbines, and thereby place again in commission one of the finest battleships in the whole American Navy, would cost about $700,000; and yet, while our President and his henchmen are straining their vocal chords with their cries for "preparedness," this magnificent vessel lies helpless and useless in the League Island Navy Yard, a shameful example of the penny wise and pound foolish policy of this administration. If the danger of war with any other nation is as imminent as our alarmists would have us believe, why is no demand made by naval experts for the few hundred thousand dollars necessary to place the *North Dakota* in commission? The fact that no radical steps have been taken to place our present Navy on its highest plane of efficiency is one of the best indications possible that the administration and the naval experts do not fear this potential danger as much as they pretend, otherwise no special urging would be necessary to place one of the best ships in the Navy in commission.

We ought also to bring our present Army up to its full strength and create a reserve army sufficiently large, so that if, in an emergency, we find it necessary to expand our forces we can draw on that reserve army for all the men needed for emergency purposes. In regard to our Army, we have failed to profit by the experience of the other nations of the world. Our type of regular standing army is that which other countries have abandoned.

A comparison of the Hay Army reorganization bill with the Senate bill shows that the Hay bill provides for a maximum Regular Army of 207,000 men, with an enlistment of two years with the colors and five years in the reserves.

The Senate bill provides for a maximum Regular Army of 250,000 men, with an enlistment of three years with the colors and four years in the reserves.

No nation in all of the world's history, in time of trouble, has ever been saved by its standing army, but has always had to rely upon its trained reserves. Therefore, in comparing the Hay or House bill with the Senate bill, the one that furnishes the country with the largest number of soldiers and trained reserves is the one that gives the country the greatest protection.

Assuming that the Army is enlisted up to the maximum provided for by each of these bills, under the Hay bill we should have 207,000 men and under the Senate bill we should have 250,000 men. Under the Senate bill we should therefore have at the first enlistment an army larger by 43,000 men than under the Hay bill.

But at the expiration of the second year the 207,000 serving Hay bill, would again go into the reserves, and the Regular Army at the beginning of the third year would be replenished by 207,000 new recruits. We should then have a Regular Army of 207,000 men and 207,000 reserves, making a total of 414,000, as compared with 250,000 under the Senate bill.

At the end of the fourth year the Regular Army, under the Hay bill, would again go into the reserves, and the Regular Army at the beginning of the fifth year would again be replenished by 207,000 new recruits, making the total in the Regular Army and in the reserves 621,000. By that time, under the Senate bill, 250,000 soldiers would have been placed in the reserves and another Regular Army of 250,000 enlisted, making a total of 500,000 in the Regular Army and in the reserves as compared with 621,000 under the Hay bill.

At the end of the sixth year, under the Hay bill, another 207,000 soldiers would be placed in the reserves, and the Regular Army, at the beginning of the seventh year, again replenished by 207,000 recruits, making a total in the Regular Army and in the reserves of 828,000, while at the same time, under the Senate bill, 250,000 would have gone into the reserves and the same number of recruits would have taken their place in the Regular Army, making a total in the Army and in the reserves of 750,000 under the Senate bill as compared with 828,000 under the Hay bill.

At the beginning of the seventh year the Hay bill will therefore have created 78,000 more soldiers and reserves than the Senate bill.

But that is not the only advantage that the country would have under the Hay bill as compared with the Senate bill. Government statistics prove that the cost of the Army has averaged $1,000 per soldier per year. As the Senate bill provides for 43,000 more soldiers per year in the Regular Army than does the Hay bill these would cost, at the rate of $1,000 per soldier per year, $43,000,000 per year more than the Army provided for by the Hay bill. In six years, which is the period

in which we have shown that the Hay bill would provide 78,000 more soldiers and reserves than would the Senate bill, the cost under the Senate bill would be $258,000,000 greater than under the Hay bill, although the Hay bill would have produced 78,000 more soldiers and reserves than the Senate bill.

This comparison is graphically shown by placing the numbers of increase under the respective bills in parallel columns:

| | Under Hay bill. | Under Senate bill. |
|---|---|---|
| First enlistment | 207,000 | 250,000 |
| Beginning of third year | 414,000 | 250,000 |
| Beginning of fifth year | 621,000 | 500,000 |
| Beginning of seventh year | 828,000 | 750,000 |
| Cost for 6 years | $1,242,000,000 | $1,500,000,000 |

The greatest objection to both of these bills is the length of service with the colors, principally because it has been demonstrated that it is practically impossible to fill up the ranks of the Army on a plan of three years with the colors and four years with the reserves. This was clearly demonstrated last spring, when President Wilson asked for an addition of 20,000 soldiers to the Regular Army, and Congress granted his request with only one dissenting vote; yet after several months of very active efforts on the part of the recruiting department of the Army they have not yet succeeded in getting the 20,000 men.

It is quite evident that recruits would be obtained much easier under the Hay bill, providing for two years' service with the colors, than has been the case under a plan of three years with the colors; but if the Hay bill had provided for a one-year term of service with the colors, it is conceded by Army officers that there would be practically no difficulty in keeping the Army up to its maximum limit all the time.

This being true, the Hay bill would, at the beginning of the seventh year, place in the Army and in the reserves a force of 1,449,000 men, as against only 750,000 men in the Army and reserves under the Senate bill, with its provision for three years' service with the colors. The Hay bill would thus have produced 699,000 more soldiers and reserves than the Senate bill, at a saving of $258,000,000 in cost.

A comparison of these figures is also graphically shown in parallel columns:

| | Under Hay bill (if enlisted only 1 year with colors). | Under Senate bill (if enlisted 3 years with colors.) |
|---|---|---|
| First enlistment | 207,000 | 250,000 |
| Beginning of second year | 414,000 | 250,000 |
| Beginning of third year | 621,000 | 250,000 |
| Beginning of fourth year | 828,000 | 500,000 |
| Beginning of fifth year | 1,035,000 | 500,000 |
| Beginning of sixth year | 1,242,000 | 500,000 |
| Beginning of seventh year | 1,449,000 | 750,000 |
| Cost for 6 years | $1,242,000,000 | $1,500,000,000 |

Those who have so viciously criticized the Hay bill and its supporters have done so because they have been ignorant of the facts, for we have to assume that they desire actual, practical results for the defense of the Nation, and we must also assume that they would not object to getting such results at the least possible cost. In both of these respects, the Hay bill, as has been shown was far preferable to the Senate bill.

Sooner or later the country will come to its senses and demand that its soldiers be given only one year in the Regular Army and then placed in the reserves for a reasonable number of years, for the best Army experts, both here and in Europe, admit that the man who can not be made into a good, practical soldier in a year will never become one. One year in the Regular Army would be a splendid experience for any young man, and if our Army was composed of the average young men of the country most parents would be glad to have their boys given a year of such training. As it is now, under our long enlistment, the Government has to depend on the slums of the cities and the derelicts of society generally to get its soldiers for the Regular Army, which plan is fundamentally wrong.

But, Mr. Speaker, while I strongly advocate a condition of efficient preparedness, this does not necessarily nor advisedly mean the immediate expenditure of the fabulous sums of money that are so glibly mentioned by the promulgators of militarism and the apostles of navalism as the first step toward attaining and maintaining such a condition. The needs I have enumerated are those of any efficient army and navy, and mean only a reasonable care for our national defense and prestige. President Wilson and those of his supporters who advocate an exorbitant appropriation for our Navy claim that it is entirely for defense. The President has carefully assured the American people that his preparedness program does not mean preparedness for aggression or offense. Early in the current year President Wilson made a brief speech-making tour through the Middle West. On January 27, 1916, in speaking to the Railway Business Association, in New York City, President Wilson said:

> The circumstances of the world to-day are not what they were yesterday or ever were in any of our yesterdays. And it is not certain what they will be to-morrow. I can not tell you what the international relations of this country will be to-morrow, and I use the word literally; and I would not dare keep silent and let the country suppose that to-morrow was certain to be as bright as to-day.

In Cleveland, Ohio, on January 29, 1916, he said:

> I do not know what a single day may bring forth. * * * I know that we are daily treading amidst the most intricate dangers, and that no man in the United States knows what a single week or a single day or a single hour may bring forth.

Again, on February 1, 1916, President Wilson told the people of Des Moines, Iowa:

> My fellow citizens, you may be called upon any day to stand behind me to maintain the honor of the United States.

The next day, in Kansas City, Mo., he said:

> My natural duty is in Washington, not here. I have a certain scruple of conscience in being away from Washington for many days at a time, because it is one of the interesting circumstances of the moment that there is hardly a day which does not in some degree alter the aspect of affairs.

And in the same address he made the statement that—

> Speaking with all solemnity I assure you that there is not a day to be lost; not because of any new or specially critical matter, but because I can not tell 24 hours at a time whether there is going to be trouble or not. * * * This month should not go by without something decisive done by the people of the United States by way of preparation of the arms of self-vindication and defense.

If President Wilson had honestly believed these statements which he made to the people in the large cities of the Middle West, what would he have done? He would have hurried back to Washington and he would have gone before Congress and asked for an immediate appropriation with which to put the forces which we have into the best possible condition; and if, under the circumstances which he professed to believe existed, he had asked for such an appropriation there would not have been one vote against it in Congress. But although President Wilson sounded the tocsin of alarm in this manner to the American people, when he returned to Washington he took no such steps, nor has he yet taken them, thus showing plainly that either he did not believe what he said or else he is utterly incompetent to take care of the interests of the country in the emergency which he claimed to believe confronted us.

Without question, however, President Wilson voiced his real object when in his St. Louis address on February 3, 1916, he made the statement that—

> The American Navy ought, *in my judgment*, to be incomparably the greatest navy in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the American people want "incomparably the greatest navy in the world," and if they understood that such a navy was the object of the present "preparedness" agitation the American people would repudiate such a plan. If we should prepare to build the greatest navy in the world, we should first be obliged to bankrupt England. England has twice as large a navy to-day as we have and can build faster than we can build. If we should immediately start to build ships as fast as we are able to do, England would do the same, and "the sky would be the limit" until one country or the other was bankrupted.

It is therefore useless, because impossible, for us to expect to bring our Navy to an actual, numerical equality with the British Navy in the next decade. Such an attempted procedure is not only inadvisable but is unnecessary in order to enable us to successfully defend ourselves, even in the unlooked-for event of war with England. Official proof of this assertion is abundant and easily presented. In his recent stumping tour President Wilson has made the assertion that he has learned much about the present situation by listening to the lies that have been told him. Without, I trust, undue presumption, I venture to assert that a more satisfactory method of learning the exact status of any subject is by listening to the truth. I shall therefore quote from the official Hearings before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives on Estimates Submitted by the Secretary of the Navy. This book contains the expert testimony of two men, one of whom, Admiral Fletcher, is one of the highest ranking officers in the Navy to-day, and the other, Admiral Badger, until his recent retirement, held the position to which Admiral Fletcher was advanced. These two men were perhaps better fitted than any other two men in the country to give expert opinions on the condition of our Navy's efficiency. It must be remembered also that both

Admiral Fletcher and Admiral Badger were in favor of a larger navy, therefore any admission from them that our Navy is sufficiently large and efficient is doubly valuable.

The expression, "battleship strength" in this testimony, refers in the case of each nation to the number of battleships built, building, and authorized at the time of these hearings, in December, 1914, or more than one year ago. Our American battleship strength at that time, as brought out at the hearing by Congressman Witherspoon, was 40—easily remembered, 40—American battleships.

When asked by Congressman Butler, a member of the Naval Committee, his opinion of our relative naval strength as compared with that of other nations of the world, Admiral Fletcher said:

I have not personally gone into that, but I have estimates that place us about third at the present time.

Admiral Fletcher was of the opinion, then, that both England and Germany were ahead of us in naval strength. But when held to actual figures and comparative "battleship strength," he was forced to admit that only one nation—Great Britain—is our superior or even our equal. This fact was brought out by Congressman Witherspoon, also a member of the Naval Committee, in the following manner:

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, according to the Navy Yearbook, Germany has battleships built, building, and authorized, 39. Would you say that if she could send all of those ships against us, we would not be able to resist them?

Admiral FLETCHER. I should say that we ought to, if we have the greater force.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Certainly, we ought; and we could?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir; the greater force should win.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, take France. This Navy Yearbook says that France has a grand total of battleships, built, building, and authorized, of 29—11 less than we have. Would you not say that if she sent all hers against us that we would be able successfully to resist them?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; our force available being the greater.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. That is the way I look at it. Here is Japan, which, according to the Navy Yearbook, has only 19 battleships, or 21 less than we have got. If Japan should send all of her 19 against us, do you not think we would be able successfully to resist them?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; I should say, if all our force were free to meet them at the time.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, here is Russia, that the Navy Yearbook says has a grand total of battleships, built, building, and authorized, of 15. If she should send all of them against us, would you not say that we could successfully resist them?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Here is Italy, that has a grand total, according to the Navy Yearbook, of 17 battleships. We could successfully resist them, whether she sent all of them or a part of them, could we not?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; I think so.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Now, Austria-Hungary, according to the Navy Yearbook, has a grand total of battleships, built, building, and authorized, of 10. We could successfully resist them, could we not?

Admiral FLETCHER. I think so.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then, what nation is there that we are not prepared successfully to resist? I have gone through the big ones. Tell me which one?

Admiral FLETCHER. I should say that England has a navy so much more powerful than that of any other nation in the world that she could easily keep control of the seas.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Then there is no other nation except England that, in your judgment, we could not successfully defend ourselves against?

Admiral FLETCHER. I think that is correct; yes.

Therefore, instead of being third in the naval strength of the world we are, according to this naval expert, second only to England, and that on the supposition that England should have her full naval force available to send against us. But it was further developed by Congressman Witherspoon that it is the opinion of high naval experts that in case of a war between the United States and England, on account of England's relations with other European nations, she could not afford to send more than half of her ships against us; therefore, notwithstanding our smaller battleship force, we should still be able to successfully compete with her.

Under Congressman Witherspoon's examination, Admiral Fletcher also admitted—rather unwillingly—that our largest ships are the most powerful in the world. Mr. Witherspoon again referred to the Navy Yearbook for figures:

Mr. WITHERSPOON. In this Navy Yearbook, which gives a list of the English battleships, I find that the last five dreadnaughts that England built or is building each has a tonnage of 26,000.

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. And we have two ships, the *Pennsylvania* and the *No. 39*, which have a tonnage of 31,400, and then we have authorized three more that are to have a tonnage, as I understand, of 32,000 tons. In other words, the tonnage of the *Pennsylvania* and *No. 39* is 5,400 tons greater than that of the last five English dreadnaughts that are building, and the last three dreadnaughts that we are building have a tonnage of 6,000 tons greater than the last five English ships. Do you tell me that these English ships are equal to ours?

Admiral FLETCHER. No; I did not say that.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. Do you not regard them as inferior to ours?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes; as near as we can estimate.

Mr. WITHERSPOON. I do, too. And the armament of these five ships is eight 15-inch guns, while the armament of the five American ships I have referred to is twelve 14-inch guns. Which is the more powerful armament—eight 15-inch guns or twelve 14-inch guns?

Admiral FLETCHER. I think the twelve 14-inch guns more powerful.

Therefore, as I said before, notwithstanding Great Britain's superior battleship strength, it is unreasonable to assume that we shall ever be called on to combat her full naval strength, for the reason that she could never afford to send her complete forces against us, and with larger and more powerful battleships, equipped with more powerful armament, with our present Navy brought to its highest state of efficiency, we could successfully defend ourselves against the fraction of Great Britain's Navy which she would be free to send against us in the unlooked-for event of war with that nation.

As I have previously stated, this testimony of Admiral Fletcher was given in December, 1914, when he unwillingly admitted that our Navy was second only to England's. A little over a year later, in March, 1916, Admiral Fletcher was again called on to testify before the Committee on Naval Affairs, at which time we find that he again has our Navy ranking fourth among the navies of the nations, placing England, Germany, and France ahead of us in naval strength. Admiral Fletcher gave this as his opinion in his opening remarks to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and later in replies to questions made the same statement—that is:

Mr. ROBERTS. Admiral, you said in your opening statement to the committee you thought our Navy would be third or fourth, and I wanted to ask you if you were willing to give us the benefit of your judgment as to the relative strength of our Navy, whether it is third or fourth.

Admiral FLETCHER. In my judgment, as near as I can estimate, it is some place between third and fourth. We do not know just where it can be placed, since the commencement of the war.

Mr. ROBERTS. Then you would place England and Germany ahead of us without question, and possibly also France?

Admiral FLETCHER. Possibly France.

Mr. ROBERTS. Where would you place Japan in the relative strength of the navies?

Admiral FLETCHER. I would place Japan after France.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean ahead of the United States?

Admiral FLETCHER. Japan would be fifth.

Mr. ROBERTS. That is, you would place the United States Navy after France, making us fourth?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, possibly; although the fact is we have not enough information so that we can get an exact comparison.

Notwithstanding Admiral Fletcher's unwilling admission, in December, 1914, that only one country—Great Britain—was ahead of the United States in naval strength, and his statement in March, 1916, that the United States was fourth in naval strength, Congressman CALLAWAY brought out the interesting statement that our Navy *is better developed to-day than it was a year ago.* This admission, however, was obtained only by judicious questioning:

Mr. CALLAWAY. Would you not say that our Navy, throughout all its departments, is in a much better condition to-day than it was a year ago?

Admiral FLETCHER. It depends on what you mean by better condition. If you refer simply to the condition of the material, their upkeep and repairs, it is no better to-day than it was a year ago.

Mr. CALLAWAY. You say that we have developed mine laying, submarines, and aircraft because of the development in the foreign war; and in those particulars we are much better developed to-day than a year ago, are we not?

Admiral FLETCHER. We are better developed to-day than a year ago, but we are not developed to such an extent that we can have aircraft and submarines actively operating with the fleet; they are not yet sufficiently developed for that purpose.

Mr. CALLAWAY. I am not asking you that question. I am asking you the comparative question as to our relative strength to-day throughout our Navy as a whole and a year ago.

Admiral FLETCHER. *You are quite right. We are stronger to-day than we were a year ago,* and if that is what you referred to by asking the question if the general condition is better, then I will answer yes.

These hearings from which I have thus quoted at length, therefore, developed two important facts—i. e., a year ago we were *second only to Great Britain in naval strength,* and that *we are stronger to-day throughout our Navy as a whole than we were a year ago.*

Moreover, Great Britain claims that in the recent engagement between Germany's navy and her own, and in minor encounters, Germany has lost seven capital ships and about 40 auxiliary cruisers. Whether or not Germany's loss is as great as reported by Great Britain, the fact remains that Germany's naval decrease during the last year has been greater than her naval increase, or in other words, she has been losing vessels faster than she is able to build them. Great Britain also admits some naval losses. Such being the case, we are indisputably further ahead of Germany and a closer second to Great Britain in naval strength to-day than we were a year ago.

Why, then, should we spend hundreds of millions of dollars annually, in excess of our already large expenditures, for a "preparedness program," which, after these enormous expenditures have been made, will not place us on a nominal equality

with the only naval power to which we are at present theoretically inferior? During the three years just past we have spent over 20 per cent more on our Navy than Germany, the nation more nearly our equal in naval strength than any other, has spent on hers. Throughout the decade immediately preceding the opening of the European war, our annual expenditure on our Navy was from $20,000,000 to $30,000,000 more than any other nation, except Great Britain, was expending on its navy. And now the proposed five-year preparedness program of Mr. Wilson calls for an increase in our naval appropriation over forty times as large as the increase in Germany's naval appropriation for the five years preceding the European war; and $200,000,000 more than the combined increase of the naval appropriations of all the nations in the world for the same five years. This increase of $600,000,000 or over, in addition to our already large naval appropriations, is demanded by President Wilson during the next five years, in order to prepare ourselves—for what? To defend ourselves against attack? A little over a year ago, in his message to Congress, President Wilson said:

What is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary.

And, at that time, after proceeding to outline a policy almost extreme in its moderateness, President Wilson continued:

More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity. More than this, permit me to say, would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession; that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble.

Are we to understand that our esteemed President and the Secretary of the Navy have lost their self-possession and have been thrown off their balance in one short year? At that time it was our duty, according to President Wilson, to be ashamed of any fearful preparation for trouble. Why is such "fearful preparation" more praiseworthy to-day?

Why did the Navy General Board prepare the report changing the program which had been followed since 1903? Was it because of any sudden emergency? Was it because of any immediate or apparent impending danger? Let us see what Admiral Badger said on this point in the hearings from which I have already quoted.

Admiral Badger said:

The July program was only for one year, and the order by which that program was drawn up was stated as follows:

"In July last the General Board was called upon to express its opinion to the department as to what the Navy must be in the future in order to stand upon an equality with the most efficient and practically serviceable, and to submit a program formulated in the most definite terms."

The July program was drawn up on that order, based on the use of all the building facilities that could be obtained. The recommendation was not approved; and Admiral Badger says, on page 1967 of the hearings, that—

The board was instructed to get up a five-year program, to cost for new construction $500,000,000, or about a hundred million dollars a year; and the October recommendation was made in view of that instruction and to comply with it.

Mr. CALLAWAY. This five-year program did not have in contemplation any emergency, did it, Admiral?

Admiral BADGER. No, sir. *That program was made according to order.*

The wishes of the Navy General Board are plain and unmistakable. They desire all the naval construction that can be handled by the building facilities of the Nation. Note the testimony of that distinguished naval officer and president of the War College, Admiral Knight:

Admiral KNIGHT. First, what do we want and when do we want it? We want a Navy *equal to the largest maintained by any nation in the world, and we want it now.*

We can go on from year to year, each year taking advantage of the best that we know at that time. Build all we can this year with what we know now. Build all we can next year with what we know next year.

Mr. KELLY. Do you think the plan for building for five years a certain number, such as the General Board worked out at the request of the department, is a better arrangement than the second-place plan which we have held to for so long?

Admiral KNIGHT. I think the plan which the General Board had in mind—of building every ship that it is possible to build this year and every ship that it is possible to build next year, and to keep on building as fast as possible—is the most rational plan.

Again, when questioned by Senator OLIVER, Admiral Knight testified:

Mr. OLIVER. Just as briefly as you can, will you tell me just how many capital ships you calculate we should build by 1925?

Admiral KNIGHT. In my mind it has been impossible to arrive at a definite figure, because the results of this war may very seriously modify the standard toward which we are working.

Mr. OLIVER. I understand that general statement.

Admiral KNIGHT. I mean, for instance, now, the largest navy in the world is that of Great Britain.

Mr. OLIVER. Yes.

Admiral KNIGHT. It is quite possible that a good many of her ships may be destroyed before the war is over. If she should be victorious in the war, in spite of losing a good many of her ships, she would still remain with the largest navy in the world—the largest, although it would be much smaller than it is now.

Mr. OLIVER. What I would like to have you do is to state what is the standard you have in mind that we have to build to. Perhaps that might be modified later, lessened by what you have stated; but what have you in mind, conceding perhaps there will not be any great amount of vessels destroyed whose places will not be taken by others; what had you in mind as the standard to which you would be aiming?

Admiral KNIGHT. *A navy equal to that which Great Britain had at the beginning of the war.*

Mr. OLIVER. How many capital ships do you calculate you will have to build in order to have a navy of that strength? I will ask you how many additional capital ships you will have to build?

Admiral KNIGHT. Approximately 20 dreadnaughts.

Mr. OLIVER. How many battle cruisers?

Admiral KNIGHT. In addition to the 9 I am recommending for this year's program, I would say 6, making 15 in all.

Mr. OLIVER. Thirty-five capital ships.

Admiral KNIGHT. When I said what Great Britain had at the beginning of the war I meant built and building.

Mr. OLIVER. How many scouts would you say?

Admiral KNIGHT. We have none now. I would say 24.

Mr. OLIVER. How many submarines additional to the 75 that we now have?

Admiral KNIGHT. Seventy-five more.

Mr. OLIVER. Seventy-five more. How many torpedo boats?

Admiral KNIGHT. We have now 75 boats. I would say 75 more.

What would be the result of this policy if it was carried out? Have we any reason to think that it would differ from the result of the same policy when followed by England and Germany? Let me again quote from the hearings:

Mr. CALLAWAY. Admiral Fiske states in the North American Review that military and naval men have seen for years that England and Germany, competing in naval strength and for commerce, would have to go to war some day in self-defense. Do you agree with that statement?

Admiral FLETCHER. *Yes, sir.* That has been regarded by many experts as the inevitable outcome of conflicting interests and the expansion of Germany upon the sea.

Mr. CALLAWAY. And as soon as they began to build against each other that became apparent to military and naval men, did it not?

Admiral FLETCHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CALLAWAY. If they entertain the same general view that you entertain with reference to it, would it be possible for us to ever equal their navy with the start they have?

Admiral BADGER. I think that the financing burden of greater expansion would hamper them, and that if we adopted such a policy we certainly have the money in this country to carry it out. When we come near equality there might be some racing.

When Congressman CALLAWAY examined Admiral Knight on this subject he elicited the following reply:

Mr. CALLAWAY. Admiral, you stated a while ago that we would have to have 20 battleships, 15 battle cruisers, and accompanying craft in the way of scouts, torpedo boats, and submarines to make our fleet equal to what England's is now; that we would have to have those in addition to what we now have. Did you take into consideration in that what England might add in the meantime, or would we have to carry on a separate building program equal to England's building program?

Admiral KNIGHT. I expressed the opinion that in order to be on a par with England in 1925 it would be necessary for us to build between now and that time the number of ships which you have named, and I do not believe that it will be necessary for us to build more than that by 1925 in order to find ourselves on a level with England at the expiration of that time.

Simmered down, the expressions of opinion which I have quoted mean that the result of such a policy as is advocated by our high-preparedness experts would lead this country into bankruptcy or war, or both. Granted for the sake of argument, that, as Admiral Badger said, we have money in this country sufficient to carry out such a policy, thus eliminating the factor of bankruptcy. That leaves the other horn of the dilemma—war.

But why would the mere fact that, as a matter of national pride, we desired to have "incomparably the largest navy in the world" necessarily lead a peaceful Nation like the United States into war? Simply because Great Britain would never permit the United States to equal, much less surpass, herself in naval strength. Long before such a condition could be attained, and before either country was bankrupted, Great Britain would find some pretext for a conflict with any nation which threatened her vaunted supremacy of the seas. Great Britain's national existence depends on her maintenance of the position which she has proudly held for centuries as mistress of the seas. Without this control Great Britain would fall an easy prey to any powerful nation which might cast covetous eyes and reach acquisitive hands toward her possessions. Therefore notwithstanding our unlimited national resources, which, other things being equal, would stand the drain necessary for us to become the possessors of "incomparably the largest navy in the world," Great Britain is too jealous of her control of the seas and of her national life to permit us to usurp the position which she has held so long, and if war was the only means of preventing such usurpation—we should have war.

Who would be the gainers in a conflict between Great Britain and ourselves? Who would benefit by a condition of affairs in this country such as exists in Europe to-day? None but the great interests who to-day are commercializing the loss of life and property among our sister nations in Europe. Shall we, for the sake of gratifying President Wilson's inordinate vanity in the contemplative possession of "incomparably the greatest Navy in the world," and for the further object of placing more money in the already overflowing coffers of the great interests concerned, follow a policy which must inevitably lead to national bankruptcy or war—perhaps both? I for one shall oppose to the utmost limit such a policy.

Mr. Speaker, I shall also assuredly oppose the adoption of any preparedness measure by this Congress which will irrevocably bind not only this Congress but many more to come, to the expenditure of millions of dollars annually in addition to our already large annual appropriations for the Army and Navy. Why should we act on the assumption that the Sixty-fourth Congress is the only patriotic Congress that will ever honor this Nation?

Both the time and money necessary to place our present Navy on a high plane of efficiency are comparatively small. Our manufacturers have large and profitable contracts to supply the belligerent nations of Europe with military and naval equipment, for use in the European war. It should not be difficult, therefore, to provide this same equipment for home consumption if necessary.

Furthermore, it is impossible for us to foresee to-day the form of armament that will be most highly approved 10 years hence, and battleships authorized to-day after the most approved models 10 years from now may be out of date before they are completed.

Therefore the 10-year program for which we are asked to appropriate funds is impracticable and improvident. We need only consider the present status of the *Oregon*, the *Indiana*, the *Iowa*, and the *Massachusetts*, which during the Spanish-American War were the pride of the American Navy, to see how quickly a battleship becomes antiquated, and in the eyes of our naval experts fit only for the junk pile. Therefore I am in favor of a steady development and improvement of our military and naval forces, not of a spasmodic and hysterical outpouring of the Nation's wealth at the demand of sensational alarmists. These alarmists would be less numerous and less sensational if the Government should arrange to build its own ships and submarines and manufacture its own arms, ammunition, and other war equipment.

I know of no speedier or more efficacious method of reducing to quiescent sanity the shrieking advocates of militarism and navalism (the majority of whom, it may be noted, are found in manufacturing districts) than by the inhibition of the system of awarding huge Government contracts to private individuals or concerns. Perhaps in no other department of our Government is so great an opportunity afforded private concerns to obtain an enormous amount of graft money as is afforded when our naval vessels are built by private concerns. For instance, a contract is awarded with the proviso that the ship must be completed within a given time, fixed by the contractors as the shortest reasonable time in which the contract can be completed. To the sum paid the contractors for the work a 20 per cent bonus is offered for the completion of the ship earlier than the time limit fixed by them. What can be easier than for the contractors to fix a time limit six months, or more or less, as the case may be, longer than they know will be required to complete the work, and then, by using only such time as is actually necessary, to complete the ship six months earlier than was agreed upon, thereby receiving their 20 per cent bonus, in addition to the large sum paid for the actual work. If a battleship, for example, was to cost $20,000,000 and a 20 per cent bonus paid for her completion six months earlier than the contract time, the contractors would have the very tidy little sum of $4,000,000 in addition to their legitimate profit. If the same contract was placed with the Government, this "bonus" expense would be eliminated, and a practical and economical method of paying the regular contract price could be inaugurated if the money for that purpose was raised by a graduated income and inheritance tax.

It is a popular fallacy that it costs more and takes longer to build a battleship at a Government navy yard than it does at a private shipyard. This impression has been kept alive for many years by persistent and interested misrepresentation, and the quicker this erroneous idea is overcome the greater will be the advantage which will accrue to the Treasury of our Government and the pockets of our taxpayers.

Those goods which only the Government can use should be manufactured by the Government in Government-owned plants. This would insure a reserve of supplies for the Government to draw upon whenever necessary, and the cost to the Government would be less than when the same goods are made by private contract. In the report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1914, Secretary Daniels stated that the Government can manufacture any of its equipment for less than it can buy the same articles from private interests. That being the case, the manufacture by the Government of our necessary military and naval improvements would perceptibly decrease the amount of the appropriations needed for those improvements, since, when contracts are awarded to private manufacturers, those manufacturers must make a reasonable profit, and that profit—and a possible bonus—would thus be saved to the Government.

I consider it the duty of this present Congress to expend those amounts necessary to place our Navy on the highest plane of thorough efficiency, this basis to be currently maintained, not only by this Congress, but by the good judgment and patriotism of future Congresses; and I am confident that our faith in that good judgment and patriotism will be abundantly justified.

President Wilson asks, "How can Americans differ about the safety of America?"

True Americans do not differ about the safety of America, although we may honestly differ as to the most effectual method to preserve that safety.

President Wilson asserts that America has been reluctant to match her wits with the rest of the world; that we have preferred to be "provincial."

Mr. Speaker, it is not a preference for provincialism, neither is it a tendency toward a policy of national parsimony, which leads us to consider long and well before we embark on a policy which involves the expenditure of additional hundreds of millions of dollars on extraordinary preparations for warfare on a mammoth scale. All implements of war require human energy for their operation. The human factor in war must always be considered. Huge battleships and stealthy submarines, swiftly darting aeroplanes, and death-dealing machine guns are alike useless without their complement of human operators. In our mad rush to expend inconceivable sums for the mechanics of war, what consideration do we give to the problem of the development of that factor of superlative importance, the human operator?

Our Army officers deplore the annual increase in the number of physically inferior men who apply for enlistment in the Army. As I have already said, our Army is at present recruited from the slums and human derelicts of our cities, and our official reports show that 80 per cent of the applicants for enlistment in the Army and 50 per cent of the applicants for naval enlistment are rejected on account of physical, mental, and moral undesirability. As one immediate result of this physical inferiority of a certain portion of our population, statistics show that the production of feeble-minded children has more than doubled in the United States in the last decade. The number of these unfortunates who reach maturity are unfit to fight in the Army or Navy; furthermore, they are physically and mentally unable to add their pro rata share to the economic productiveness of the Nation. I have neither the time nor the desire to discuss the eugenic problem, but I will say that the first requisite of a successful Army and an efficient Navy is well-nourished men of physical, mental, and moral normality. A few of the millions which our high-preparedness advocates propose to expend in war machinery will stand the country in better stead in the event of war if expended in time of peace to build up a nation of healthy, sturdy, contented men and women. Such men and women, however, can never be evolved from overworked, underfed, poorly housed laborers. In this respect we can learn a lesson from the German nation, which has long enforced a more equal distribution of the physical necessities of life, and in whose land child poverty is practically unknown.

Mr. Speaker, our best preparedness and our utmost efficiency do not lie in the expenditure alone of large sums of money for the maintenance of our Army and Navy. The best preparedness of a nation rests with its people, in their patriotism and their unity of purpose. I am aware that it is unpopular to use Germany as an example of such unity, but at the risk of unpopularity I shall mention a few points in which any civilized nation could well follow Germany's example.

Notwithstanding the cry of "militarism" that goes out against Germany, it is not her militarism that makes her the formidable opponent she is to-day against those nations that have hitherto been considered invincible on land or sea. Rather is it the whole-hearted patriotism of her men, women, and children, their unquenchable love for their "Fatherland," their unity of purpose against a common foe that, whether Germany is eventually

defeated or victorious, has won for her the grudging wonder and admiration of the whole civilized world.

Shortly after the creation of the Prussian Empire Prince Bismarck delivered a speech in the German Reichstag, in which he said that no nation can become great and no great nation can long remain great that does not do two things: First, so legislate as to make the agricultural element of the population prosperous and contented; second, to so legislate that all the people of the nation may have three square meals a day and be properly clothed and housed. These are fundamental principles and have formed the foundation upon which every great and prosperous nation has rested. The great nations of the world that have passed out of existence have perished because they failed to live up to these fundamental principles.

The primary aim of the German Government is the protection of its citizens, and by protecting its citizens it protects the nation. In Germany pauperism is unknown; three meals a day, sufficient clothes, and shelter are within the reach of the humblest citizen; the haunting fear of a penniless old age which dogs the faltering steps of far too many of our own elderly citizens loses its paralyzing grip in a country where an old-age pension is granted to every person whose years have lengthened beyond the period of active labor. No taint of so-called "charity" attaches to this pension; it is the rightful meed of every German citizen.

In Germany the railroads are Government owned; railroad rates are established by the Government, and are therefore regulated not with a view to the payment of enormous dividends to immense corporations but in the interest of the producer and the ultimate consumer. The home products of the country are guarded and conserved for the common good. It is considered unpatriotic to purchase anything outside of Germany that is produced within her borders, and her tariff laws are systematically regulated to encourage home consumption of home products. Even now, when the country is engulfed in war, Germany is preparing for the peace which may be far in the future or, on the other hand, may come with cataclysmic suddenness. The hundreds of factories throughout the country which have been equipped to meet the exigencies of war have paid for themselves by their war output, and when the war is ended will be subsequently devoted to the demands and needs of the nation's normal commerce. Every manufacturing plant impressed into war service is free to continue its regular business to a limited extent. As no immediate demand exists for its legitimate output, its specialty is stored against the future day when the export market shall again be open to German products. If Germany in time of peace prepared for war, no less in time of war does she prepare for peace. Germany is not a nation that considers only the exigencies of the moment.

In all of her national work Germany's inciting motive, the prime object of her Government, is not the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, not the advantage of huge enterprises able and willing to pay enormous sums for profitable concessions, but the betterment of the social, moral, and civic conditions of her people. The glowing fires of patriotism and a national sentiment of the brotherhood of man weld the people of the German nation into an indissoluble unit.

A similar unity of purpose, a like concept of the true brotherhood of man, should exist, not only in name but in spirit, between the people of all nations on the Western Hemisphere.

In his speech in New York City on January 27 President Wilson said:

> Nobody seriously supposes that the United States needs fear an invasion of its own territory.

Four days later, in Chicago, Mr. Wilson said:

> We are not now thinking of invasion of the territory of the United States. We are not asking ourselves shall we be prepared only to defend our own homes and our own shores. Is that all we stand for? To keep the door shut securely against our enemies? What about the great trusteeship set up for liberty of national government in the whole Western Hemisphere? We stand pledged to see that both the continents of America are left free to be used by their people as those people choose to use them under a system of national popular sovereignty as absolutely unchallenged as our own.

In these well-chosen words President Wilson seeks to support his contention that it is vitally necessary to immediately increase to an enormous extent our national outlay for defense and offense, and to have "incomparably the greatest Navy in the world."

But, Mr. Speaker, such arguments are mere platitudes and specious sophistry. It is unnecessary to greatly increase our armament in order to fulfill our national pledge to maintain intact and unmolested the individual freedom of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. If each American nation—whether of North America or South America, it matters not—does its individual share to merit the assistance and protection which our much-discussed Monroe doctrine assures, the populace of the Western Hemisphere will be so united in an earnest effort to promote the common good that the Americas will be impregnable and peace of the Western Hemisphere will be permanently assured. No outside power can seriously menace our peace and prosperity if we unite on the basic principle of America for Americans, and liberalize our own interpretation of "American" to embrace all those who swear true fealty to our Government, whether "hyphenated" or native born.

We must have protection; we must have preparedness; and until the millennium arrives we must have an efficient Army and an equally efficient Navy to insure this preparation and protection. Nevertheless our strongest defense, our greatest protection, our most efficient preparedness, lies not in our force of arms but in the hearts of our people.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE R. SMITH,
OF MINNESOTA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 8, 1916,*

On the bill (H. R. 16763) to increase the revenue, and for other purposes.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, the imposition of an inheritance tax in the manner and form of that imposed in H. R. 16763 is unwise, unnecessary, and unjust to the small property owners. An inheritance tax is one of the fairest methods of raising revenue, and no one familiar with the subject of taxation would in this hour of progress proclaim against it.

It is not a new legislative invention for raising public funds, but, on the contrary, has been in vogue since very early times. Gibbons, the historian, claims that Emperor Augustus originated this method of taxation to support the Roman Army. It was introduced into Great Britain in 1780 by Lord North, and has been resorted to by nearly all of the European countries. In 1826 Pennsylvania adopted it, since which date 41 other States of the Union have made it a part of their tax system. From the standpoint of those who agree with the French tax commissioner, that "the science of taxation consists in plucking the most feathers with the least squawking," it is perfect.

The ability or faculty to pay has come to be the test in determining the justness of this tax, as has been well stated by the Supreme Court of Minnesota in State against Bazille, Ninety-seventh Minnesota, page 11. Seligman, in his excellent work on taxation, has this to say in reference to the ability to pay test:

> That it is not only the basis of taxation but the goal toward which society is steadily working. It lies instinctively and unconsciously at the bottom of all our endeavors at reform.

Notwithstanding we are in full accord with this method of raising revenue, we recognize a very serious objection to it when it is resorted to to fill the coffers of the Federal Treasury at the expense of the small property owner, as does the present bill. When the Federal Government attempts to impose new and additional taxes upon the people it should take into consideration the tax burdens that its citizens are already carrying in the support of their municipalities, counties, and States.

Under our dual system of government State and local taxes greatly exceed in amount Federal taxes, and this condition will prevail so long as the States continue to perform their part of the contract of union, which was to do everything possible for the enlightenment, comfort, and happiness of the people within their borders not expressly delegated to and undertaken by the Federal Government. Realizing their obligations to their citizens, the States have vied with each other in establishing and maintaining excellent public-school systems, extending to rich and poor alike on terms of absolute equality the opportunity to get an education; in building asylums, reformatories, and prisons for the unfortunates; in establishing and maintaining free hospitals for the sick and infirm; and in a thousand other ways helping the people in their battle against the vicissitudes of nature. The things that affect us in our everyday life can be better performed by the States and municipalities, because they are nearer to the public. Through their personal touch and intimate knowledge, local officials can better discharge their duties and obligations to the people than the Federal officials, who are far removed from the home life of the average citizen and who are more chiefly concerned with formulating and initiating our foreign and domestic policies. Until recently the officers of the Federal Government gave but little of their time to our foreign policies.

But since the Spanish-American War the isolation of the United States is past, and with its passing a colossal responsibility has been imposed upon the General Government which at times monopolizes its attention to the exclusion of everything else. Therefore, instead of surrendering to the Federal Government matters of local concern, as has become the custom of late, we should resist every effort which, if successful, will deprive the State of exercising power and control over matters inherently local. Those functions of government that are local in their character belong to the States and should be jealously guarded. For the last 127 years we have adhered to this basic principle, and in the light of the success that has come to us, it would be an act of folly to abandon it. Instead of decreasing the activities of the State they should be materially increased, and as they are increased there will be a corresponding increase of local taxes. In 1913, under existing conditions, the American people paid in taxes for all governmental purposes—Federal, State, and local—the following sums:

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|---|---|
| General Government | $664,000,000 |
| State | 307,000,000 |
| County | 310,000,000 |
| Municipalities | 850,000,000 |
| Total | 2,103,000,000 |

It will be seen from the foregoing that the head of the average American family is compelled to pay $75.50 per year for the support of his State and municipality, and $32.30 for the Federal Government, making in all a tax of $110 per family. Heretofore the bulk of this tax has been derived from a direct tax on property, duties on imposts, and excise duties, such as that imposed on tobacco and liquors. While an inheritance tax is by no means a new method of taxation, it has been but little resorted to, probably for the reason that when the majority of the State constitutions were framed the only form of taxation provided for was that on property, import duties, and excises. The authors of these documents were more concerned about "the rule of equality of taxation" than they were over a new source of revenue, as the old sources were then but slightly tapped.

Taxes were not burdensome as now. In our modern city the mechanic, artisan, and man of small means could afford to own his own home. Alas! That time is rapidly passing and the enactment of this measure will materially hasten it, as an examination of our tax laws will demonstrate. It is claimed by the proponents of this bill, the Democratic Party, that it is designed to make those who can best afford it pay this tax. If this is what it did, then the only objection that could be urged against it is that it is unnecessary. While I am satisfied that under anything like an economic and business administration of our public affairs this tax would be unnecessary, I am not going to attack it on that ground, but on the ground that it takes from the States their only indirect source of revenue, which they must retain if they expect to remain a community of home owners.

By the Constitution of the United States the great source of revenue to be found in duties on imports was reserved to the General Government alone, and it was the policy of the founders of the Government to use the duties on imposts as the normal source of the national revenue. The field of direct taxation, except for the excise on liquors and tobacco, was left to the States, and it was tacitly understood that this field was not to be invaded by the General Government except in times of stress. As the activities of the State and municipal governments broadened and increased additional revenues had to be secured, and 42 of the 48 States have passed inheritance-tax laws to meet this ever-increasing demand for funds with which to not only carry on the ordinary functions of government but to perfect and extend the public-school system, to provide more liberally for dependents, and in other ways to bring home to the people more of the blessings of a wise and munificent Government.

Every dollar raised in this way relieves the small property owner of a part of his tax burden and tends to keep the tax at a point where he could meet it and save his home. In Great Britain a large share of the normal taxes is derived from inheritances. The effect of this bill will be to deprive the States from ever-increasing inheritance tax rates, and thus limiting this source of revenue to its present amount. The excuse offered for such a performance is that the States never have derived a very large revenue from this tax. Neither did the Federal Government derive any tax at all from incomes until very recently.

If the Federal Government forecloses the States opportunity to increase its revenue from inheritances because it has not as yet worked this field to the limit, can not the State follow the same line of argument with equal justification and demand that the Government limit or abandon its tax on incomes because it failed to do so for a long time. If State, county, and municipality taxes amount to nearly three times Federal taxes, as I have clearly shown, should the only special source from which the State derives a part of its revenue be appropriated by the Federal Government when the latter has at its command a number of sources from which it can derive revenue without interfering with the State tax system?

And this is not all. The administrative features of this bill will tend to delay, embarrass, and burden the administration of estates, as will be seen by an examination of section 108, the provisions of which are exceedingly harsh and unwise in that they compel the collector of internal revenue to force a sale of the property of the estate within 14 months after decedent's death. This undoubtedly would result in considerable loss to the State. It is often a question of judgment when a piece of property will bring most. On such questions the judgment of the representatives of the estate is worth far more than that of the average collector of revenues, who is apt to know but little or nothing about local conditions or the value of the property. True, the court may decide there is reasonable cause for delay, but this is after suit is brought and expenses incurred. Neither the collector nor the representative of the estate has power under this bill to determine when a reasonable cause for delay exists. That is left to the court. Section 108 can be stricken from the act without in any way impairing the chances of the Federal Government getting the tax due it in the orderly administration of the estate under State laws. There is no necessity for such drastic legislation as this, for under State laws the court has power to order the property sold to pay any charge against the estate and to remove a representative should he fail to obey such an order of the court. The collector has access to the State court the same as any other party interested in the administration of the estate. Then why compel the collector to interfere with the administration of an estate when such interference is bound to work a hardship on the estate and an interference with and a supersedence of State laws and courts. Under ths bill the collector must bring suit in the Federal court. He is not permitted to apply for relief to the court in which the estate is being administered, but must seek relief in a Federal court. I trust that at least section 108 will be amended so as to make it possible for the collector to intervene in the State court having jurisdiction of the estate.

## Political Campaign Claims.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ANDREW J. VOLSTEAD,
OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, August 5, 1916.*

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, political campaigns usually abound in extravagant claims, and it is not surprising that many of the statements made in this campaign do not entirely square with the facts. These claims are only a part of the usual campaign rhetoric and do not determine the issues between the parties. The issues must be determined by the character of the legislation enacted by Congress and the manner in which the country has been administered.

The legislation for which the Democrats claim especial credit may be divided into banking laws, laws against trusts and monopolies, and tariff and other revenue laws. Great claims are made for the so-called Federal reserve act, under which the country is divided into 12 districts, with one Federal reserve bank in each district. These banks are authorized to hold the reserve money of other banks, and are given the exclusive power to issue new bank-note currency. The National Monetary Commission, created by a Republican Congress, secured the information and outlined the general features of this legislation. Its passage was not made a partisan question; a majority of the Republicans supported it. I opposed it, not on partisan grounds, but because I did not consider it either fair or safe. Only a few days ago a meeting was held in this city to protest against it as unfair to the smaller banks and to the communities in which they do business. Under this act the country banks bear a large burden that inures to the almost exclusive benefit of the large city banks. The country banks do not have the class of notes and bills required under the law to secure currency or other relief from these Federal reserve banks, and because they are required to keep their reserves in these Federal banks, to the capital stock of which they must

also contribute, they are greatly handicapped in securing relief from other banks.

The act is extolled as placing the money of the country beyond the control of National and State banks. The exact opposite is true. The act provides for the gradual retirement of the national-bank notes, now a very important part of our currency. As these notes disappear Federal reserve notes must be issued in their place, or a money stringency will result. The Federal reserve banks are owned and controlled by the National and associated State banks. They own the capital stock and elect six out of the nine directors who appoint the officers and manage the Federal reserve banks. All six may be stockholders of banks, and three may be bank officers of State or National banks. If the National or State banks shall deem it for their interest to curtail the amount of currency, they may, through these directors and officers of the Federal reserve banks, refuse to issue a sufficient amount of reserve notes. No provision is made for any relief should such a policy be adopted. The Federal Reserve Board, under whose supervision these 12 reserve banks are to operate, has no power to compel the issue. Then, again, should it be found profitable to issue a surplus, the danger is very great that the country might be plunged into a panic the like of which we have never known. No large commercial country has banking laws that threaten such disaster. Germany, France, and England guard with great care against the expansion and contraction of their currency. This act permits currency to fluctuate with the greed of business or the exigencies of politics. No law restrains the issue.

But it has been said, and said on very high authority, that the Federal reserve act saved this country from a panic when the European war broke out. I do not understand how anyone can justify such a claim. The act did not go into operation until months after the war broke out. Not one of these Federal reserve banks had then been opened for business. The act that gave relief was the Vreeland emergency currency act. Under that act several hundred million dollars in emergency notes were issued. Democrats may not like to give credit to that act, as it was passed against the almost unanimous opposition of their party in Congress.

It will be time enough to commend the Federal reserve act when it has proved its worth. It has already been amended, and several bills are pending to have it still further amended. One of these amendments would give still greater power to the large city banks, as it permits such banks to have branch banks within certain territory.

An act has been passed to aid farmers in securing first-mortgage loans on their lands. The Republican platform of the last presidential election demanded such legislation. This act was passed with the almost unanimous support of the Republicans. I gave it my support in the hope that some day it will be amended and made workable. Those who are sponsors for this legislation anticipate that money may be secured under the system it creates at interest rates ranging from 5 to 6 per cent per annum. That is the rate now in the more prosperous communities on the class of loans authorized. Unless the farmers can profit by borrowing under this plan, they are not going to make themselves individually liable for each other's failure to pay, as this act provides that they must, and I doubt that banks are going to agree to accept one-half of 1 per cent per annum for making loans, collecting the interest, and guaranteeing the payment of the loans. At any rate, those who anticipate immediate relief under this act are likely to be sorely disappointed, though I believe that it eventually will prove a valuable law.

The legislation against trusts and monopolies is contained in two acts—the Federal Trade Commission act and the Clayton Act.

The Federal Trade Commission is given the power formerly exercised by the Bureau of Corporations, and in addition is permitted to examine into and make orders against unfair methods of competition in trade. No penalties are provided against such unfair methods nor against a violation of any such order. The order can only be enforced by bringing a suit for an injunction. There is nothing in the act that requires our courts to punish any act not punishable under prior existing law.

The Clayton Act reenacts, in less drastic form, prohibitions against some three or four of the more frequent abuses of which trusts have been guilty. These provisions are to be enforced by the Federal Trade Commission, the same as the provision against unfair methods of competition. Here again the investigation and order of the commission must be followed by a suit for an injunction. No penalty is provided for the acts complained of nor for a violation of the order made by the commission. The act does contain two sections with criminal penalties, but these do not protect the public against the extortions of trusts, but corporations against the dishonesty of their officers and agents. Added to this, and but remotely related to the subject, are provisions in regard to labor, agricultural and horticultural societies, and in regard to the power of courts to issue injunctions. Those who stood sponsors for these provisions claimed that they only codified and reenacted existing law, as such law had been administered by our best courts, except that they give a jury trial in certain cases of indirect contempts; whether they do give a jury trial or not is a disputed question. Speaking of the much-lauded declaration contained in this act to the effect "that labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce," Mr. WEBB, the Democratic chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who had charge of this legislation, said:

> Of course that is a mere legislative declaration or postulate. I don't think it does any harm and I don't know that it does any good.

It seems to me that he might very properly have applied that language to all these labor provisions.

I shall not attempt to further analyze the Clayton Act, but allow Senator REED, of Missouri, that brilliant lawyer and Democrat, to express my views. I clip at random from his speech the following, which he addressed to his Democratic associates in the Senate:

> When the Clayton bill was first written it was a raging lion with a mouth full of teeth. It has degenerated into a tabby cat with soft gums, a plaintive mew, and an anemic appearance. It is a sort of legislative apology to the trusts, delivered hat in hand, and accompanied by an assurance that no discourtesy is intended.
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> The doctrine of extermination has given place to the policy of diplomatic negotiations to be conducted by various boards, with the express understanding that whatever the result, no law violator is to be hurt, no trust magnate is to be sent to jail, no rude sheriff or marshal is to lay his callused fingers on the perfumed collar of a captain of industry.
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> Ah, this is a great antitrust Congress. Compared with the Congress that put upon the statute books the Sherman Act, we appear as would a lot of wet nurses in comparison with soldiers on the field of battle arms in hand. If we had the original Sherman Act before us this Congress, the trust busters of the present day and generation, would shy like the country horse of 15 years ago did at the sight of an automobile. Well, old Sherman and the Republicans of that day did pass that law. Their little fingers were bigger than our loins. Theirs was the spirit of the eagle, ours that of the barnyard fowl.
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> It (the Clayton Act) is a sort of a Hague propaganda, promulgated under the white flag to the soothing melody of peace on earth, good will toward the trusts.

This is the act passed in fulfillment of the platform promise to exterminate all trusts and monopolies. It has been on the statute book about two years, and according to the last available report from the Trade Commission, which body has charge of the enforcement of the act, not a single order has been made to enforce any of its provisions. Instead of putting trust magnates in jail and destroying special privileges, as was loudly promised, all prosecutions of predatory wealth have apparently been abandoned, though trusts are as greedy and as large as ever.

During the Democratic administration a number of acts have been passed to raise money. Democrats appear to be anxious to have the country believe that they are the only ones who have had the courage to impose an inheritance and an income tax. They appear to forget that the Republicans passed the income-tax amendment to the Constitution, which made such a tax possible; that the Republicans enacted the corporation tax from which most of the income tax is now received, and that during the Spanish-American War they collected an inheritance tax. It is true that the Republicans repealed the inheritance tax after the war ended. That was done because nearly every State had an inheritance tax, and to retain it would have necessitated larger real and personal property taxes in the States. The only merit the Democrats can claim is that they have largely increased the burden. If that is a merit they are entitled to it. The Underwood tariff law is in line with Democratic principles. The ordinary farm products are nearly all on the free list. It carries into effect and extends the principles of the Canadian reciprocity treaty as to many articles. That treaty the Democrats agreed to put in force by an almost unanimous vote of their party, while a majority of the Republicans in both the House and Senate opposed it. Under the operation of this law agricultural products in the year just prior to the war were, despite a shortage in crops, the lowest in many years. Not only did the law directly affect prices by the importation of foreign products, but also by depriving our people of the wages that purchase such products. Under the low rates imposed on foreign manufactured articles many of our factories had to suspend, labor was idle, and general distress prevailed throughout the East. There were hundreds of thousands of idle people in our large cities; the total number has been estimated at not less than 3,000,000. New York alone had some 300,000. The effect of this law can not be judged by

conditions during the war while our competitors are bending every energy and compelling every industry to aid in the struggle. This war must end some day; then the great industrial contest will again be renewed. The millions of men now in the trenches will again enter the factories or work in the fields, the forests, or the mines. The wonderful industrial organization of Germany that has astonished the world by its power and resources will enter the field for the conquest of foreign markets. The other nations will likewise turn the energy and determination now wasted in war in the direction of peaceful conquests. All will need money to rebuild, and must get it by producing and selling some article of commerce. So long as the price of labor in foreign countries is less than half of what it is here there is only one way to keep our people employed, and that is by requiring the foreigner who sends his goods here for sale to pay to our Government as a tax the difference between the cost of producing that article abroad and producing it here. Such a policy is not only just, it is necessary. But tariff laws should not discriminate, as the Underwood law does, against the American farmer. Not only does the American factory, but also the American farmers, pay twice as much for labor as do their foreign competitors.

In the last presidential campaign the extermination of the trusts, economy in public expenditures, and reduction in the high cost of living were especially insisted upon by the Democrats. I need say nothing more on the subject of trusts. Instead of lessening governmental expenditures, the Democrats—before the war broke out and before any unusual expenses had been incurred—increased the ordinary expenditures by about $150,000,000 per annum in excess of the highest amount ever expended by the Republicans. Much of this was, perhaps, due to inexperience in the conduct of business, but other sums went for fat jobs. They have appointed more than 30,000 persons, most of them without civil-service examinations; these were new jobs and entailed an added expense of more than $40,000,000 annually. Despite the stagnation in business that followed the Democratic administration up to the beginning of the European war, there was no appreciable reduction in the cost of living. This industrial depression saw hundreds of thousands of idle freight cars. As a result the railroads, to save themselves from bankruptcy, applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission for leave to make a general increase in their freight rates. They continued to beg for this increase, month after month, until it was finally granted. The railroads are still enjoying these higher freight rates, which it was then said would bring some $75,000,000 in added revenue. And we are now paying not only this sum as a part of our present cost of living, but additional sums due to the increase in business. It is a significant fact that the Democratic platform of the last presidential election laid especial stress on these demands and that the Democratic platform recently adopted omits all mention of trusts, says nothing about the high cost of living, and makes no claim of any reduction in the expenses of the Government. The amount of money spent this year by this Congress will be almost double that spent by any Republican Congress.

Aside from the legislation that I have referred to, nearly all measures that have been passed are mere amendments to prior laws on the same subject. I voted for the so-called good-roads bill. That bill simply appropriates some money to aid States in the building of roads. The so-called corrupt-practices act adds some rather unimportant provisions to the Republican law which forbade corporations to contribute to political campaigns and required publicity of all campaign expenses. I voted against the so-called shipping bill. It proposes to spend $50,000,000 for a purpose that I believe to be worse than useless. It requires the Government to buy ships now and sell them five years after the present war ends. Ships can not be bought now without paying two or three times more than they are worth; this excess price must be lost when they are sold. The purchases will add nothing to our shipping facilities, as every available bottom is now in the service. The number of ships to be bought is so small that the purchase can not materially affect the business; still the fact that the Government threatens to enter it will naturally tend to discourage private enterprise. The ships purchased are to engage chiefly, if not exclusively, in the South American trade.

In considering the Democratic administration attention is necessarily directed to the Mexican and other foreign affairs, as these have, almost to the exclusion of all other matters, occupied its attention and the attention of the country. While criticism of our Government is less agreeable than commendation, neither courtesy nor false pride can justify a person in failing to call attention to a course that has brought upon our people disaster and humiliation. Less than two weeks before President Wilson took his office, on March 4, 1913, Mr. Huerta assumed control of Mexico as its President.

President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta as President of Mexico, though Germany, Great Britain, France, Russia, Spain, and Japan did so. It is said that he refused because he believed that, directly or indirectly, Huerta was responsible for the death of his predecessor. Such a reason assumed that he had a right to pass upon the moral fitness for the position of President of a sister Republic. Huerta was then in control of the Mexican Government, and if our people then in Mexico were to be protected we must seek that protection, the same as the European Governments did, by recognizing the only Government then in existence. But the President did not only not recognize Huerta, he sent him a note demanding that he promptly arrange for an election for President, and that in that election he should not be a candidate for the office. He thus demanded that Huerta give up his office as President and dictated to the Mexican people what they must do, a thing that no self-respecting nation could or would submit to. Should some foreign country make such a demand upon us, what do you think would happen? The Mexican people naturally resented this unauthorized interference on our part, and Huerta refused to be eliminated. This interference, in a country so prone to revolution, naturally encouraged Carranza and Villa, in the northern part of Mexico, to raise the standard of revolt against Huerta. This controversy between Huerta and this Government dragged on month after month. In the spring of 1914, while it was still pending, some American seamen in a small boat landed to secure supplies at Tampico, at a point forbidden by the port regulations, and were promptly arrested by a petit officer, who detained them on the street for a few moments while he secured information of a superior officer as to his authority to make the arrest. This officer promptly released them and apologized for the indignity. Huerta also apologized, but our administration demanded that in addition to the apology the Mexicans must salute the American flag. This they refused to do, and the President then demanded of Congress the passage of a resolution giving him authority to use the armed forces of this Government against Huerta. I voted against this demand as unjustified. Had he asked that right for the protection of our citizens, who were being murdered in Mexico, I should have considered it my duty to vote for it; but I was not willing to go to war to settle what are the proper courtesies in a case like that. It has been said that this was not a declaration of war. That is a quibble. This was as much a declaration of war as the one passed when we went to war with Spain. There is no substantial difference in the effective language of the two resolutions; both authorize the President to use our naval and military forces against a foreign power. Without waiting for the passage of this resolution Vera Cruz was seized by our Navy after a battle in which a score of our marines were killed and about a hundred Mexicans. A large number were also wounded on both sides. The pretense for this haste was that a German ship was about to enter Vera Cruz with a shipload of ammunition, and to prevent this the attack was made before the resolution could be passed. That the demand for the salute was a mere pretense has since been admitted. The object was to force Huerta to resign his position as President. The shipload of ammunition was allowed to land a week after this attack at Puerto Mexico, and from there reached Huerta. Some months later we withdrew from Vera Cruz without having compelled the salute, but as the result of a threat made by Carranza that if we did not withdraw he would attack us.

Holding the city of Vera Cruz, the chief port of entry for foreign goods, we deprived Huerta of a large share of the revenues upon which his Government depended for support. We collected that money and we have still got it. We have no right to that money unless this was war. Our attitude made it impossible for Huerta to secure money or credit, and this eventually forced him to eliminate himself. Can anyone wonder that the proud and sensitive Spanish population, that make up the ruling classes in Mexico, hate us for thus interfering? During this struggle against Huerta our Government was encouraging the revolt of Carranza and Villa as the saviors of Mexico. When Huerta, their common enemy, disappeared, they fell out, and they have since been fighting each other. In this fight our Government has not been neutral. At first Villa, the brutal assassin, was favored, but his fortunes failing, Carranza was at last recognized as the head of the Mexican Government. In the contest between Carranza and Villa our Government aided Carranza when his forces were surrounded by Villa at Agua Prieta, by allowing Carranza to send troops over American soil on our railroads to relieve the Carranza forces and defeat Villa; and this was done, though our Government was distinctly notified that the Villa forces would revenge them-

selves upon Americans should this privilege be granted Carranza. Villa carried out the threat. The raid on Columbus followed, where a large number of our people were murdered. That raid precipitated our second invasion of Mexico. In that invasion, which we entered upon ostensibly for the purpose of persuing and punishing Villa, Carranza denied us the use of the Mexican railroads. Though wholly unprepared for the task, our little army penetrated some 300 miles into the country apparently with the purpose of establishing stations from which the country could be policed. Carranza promptly refused to allow us to do this and ordered our Army out of Mexico. We refused, and a fight followed at Carrizal in which our whole force at that point was either killed, taken prisoners, or dispersed. Since then we have been gradually getting out of Mexico. And all our available regular and militia forces are now near the Mexican border trying to patrol it against the Mexicans.

Our course in Mexico has brought its natural results, results that might reasonably have been anticipated. The Mexican people resent bitterly our constant meddling in their affairs. If we had only sought to protect our own people, a thing we had a right to do, we should have had their respect, and the support of the better element of Mexico. Instead of trying to protect our people, they have been told to get out of Mexico, which meant to many absolute financial ruin. When our own people have called attention to the murders and outrages perpetrated upon our citizens in Mexico, the administration has tried to minimize, if not justify, those outrages by calling our citizens robbers and despoilers of Mexico. This is indeed humiliating. The owners of mines, railroads, and like properties that are charged with despoiling the country are not the ones who have been murdered; they are not in Mexico, but safe beyond its border. Those who have been killed or outraged are their employees or the owners of small properties. A government that will not defend its citizens but seeks to divert attention from its neglect by unjustifiable attacks upon their character is a disgrace to any country. I do not believe that we ought to have intervened in Mexico. It has been clear throughout this controversy that all those who have exercised authority in Mexico have been anxious to retain the good will of this Government. By treating all with absolute fairness there is reason to believe that our people would have been quite safe. If we had intervened at all, it should have been only for the protection of our rights and not to mix in the quarrels going on there. The difference between such a course and that pursued by our Government was strikingly illustrated by an incident at Tampico. At the time our attack was made at Vera Cruz the lives of our people at Tampico were threatened, but our fleet did not dare to go to their rescue for fear that the infuriated Mexican people would murder them as soon as the fleet appeared. The German gunboat *Dresden*, then in the harbor, came to the relief of our people. Without any request from our Government the captain of that ship promptly notified the authorities that if any attack was made upon the Americans, he would shell the town and raze it to the ground. He did not stir animosity by interfering with Mexican rights. He insisted with firmness on neutral rights and there was no difficulty.

The repeal of the provision allowing our coastwise ships to pass through the Panama Canal free of tolls is another humiliating episode in the history of this administration. The President though pledged to the maintenance of free tolls both by his own declarations and that of his party platform, appeared before Congress and appealed to it for the repeal of the law under which ships were allowed to pass the canal without payment of charges, and gave as his reason that unless the repeal was granted he would "not know how to deal with matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence." This was taken to mean and can only mean that he asked Congress to pass this repeal at the dictation of some foreign power.

For many years prior to the beginning of the European war it was quite generally believed in this country that nations could not be induced to engage in such a war. The fact that it did start was a threat against all the world, and nations not in the struggle mobilized their armies and prepared to defend their neutrality. It soon developed that our military preparations, as compared with those employed in the European war, were wholly inadequate to protect us against such danger as might threaten at any time. Many men in public speeches and journals called attention to this fact and urged upon the President and Congress to take steps to put the country in a position to defend itself. Four months after the war broke out President Wilson, in his message to Congress, sneeringly answered these appeals by characterizing those who made them as "excited and nervous." A year later, with no material change in the situation, he appeared before Congress and asked for very large increases, both in the Army and Navy, and strenuously urged the danger that made necessary this increase. Had the President at the beginning of the war asked and obtained, as he might, this increase in our defenses, we should not have been humiliated as we have been in our dealings with foreign nations. When the law of force rules the world moral suasion can have but scant hearing. This is a land of untold wealth and, as against the military machines of Europe, practically defenseless. A leader that does not rise to the actual situation until more than a year after the threatened danger had become apparent to thinking people in all sections of the country is not a safe leader; is not the kind of leader this country demands in a crisis like this.

Great credit is claimed for the President on the plea that he has kept us out of war. He has certainly not kept us out of the difficulty with Mexico. More than a thousand of our people have been murdered there and unnumbered others have been brutally outraged, while their property, amounting to millions, has been destroyed. We have lost more lives in Mexico than we lost in the Spanish-American War. Our boys are not in Cuba or the Philippines, but they are in and on the border of Mexico, in a climate as trying, where they are constantly exposed to the dangers of guerilla warfare. Our attack on Vera Cruz cost us many millions in money, and it is estimated that it will be necessary to issue a hundred and twenty-five million dollars in bonds to finance our present border warfare.

It is true that we are not at war with Europe, but is there any reason why we should enter such a war? No European nation wants war with us at this time. If countries like Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries can keep out of the war, situated, as they are, almost in the midst of the struggle, why should not we, who are separated from the warring nations by an ocean 3,000 miles wide? No one wonders why the South and Central American countries are keeping out of this war. Can it be that the President is entitled to any special credit for not doing the most foolish, the most criminal thing he possibly could do? While it is true that the President can do things that may endanger our peace, he has no right to force the country into war. The Constitution provides that Congress and not the President has the power to declare war. As long as there is no sentiment in this country in favor of war with Europe there is no danger that Congress will consent to force one. The situation is very different from that which existed before the Spanish-American War. Then the Democrats in Congress did everything they could to force war. No end of taunts were hurled by them against President McKinley and the Republicans for not rescuing the Cubans from the cruel Spanish concentration camps in Cuba and for not avenging those who died when the *Maine* was sunk. Notwithstanding that the Democrats were voicing a public sentiment that was quite general, many months elapsed after the *Maine* was sunk before war was declared, and it was then declared with great reluctance. Is there any reason why Congress should act less hastily in taking a very much graver step. The Republicans have not interfered with the President in his management of the Mexican or European situation. The party has been strictly neutral. The only criticism that I have heard has been against those Republicans who joined with some of the Democrats in voting to warn our citizens not to take passage in the armed ships then being sunk at sea. To contrast themselves with those who sought to avoid this entirely unnecessary danger to our peace, these critics have praised themselves as Americans par excellence and with self-righteous scorn denounced as un-American the 142 who voted to warn. The 142 need not apologize to those who claim as their chief asset in this campaign that the President has kept us out of war. Aside from many matters that might be mentioned, they approve the President's course in ordering our citizens out of Mexico, a place where they had a right to be under treaty stipulations with that country, while they complain of those who were willing to advise our citizens not to go on ships that were being sunk, a place where the administration had expressed grave doubt that we had any rights at all.

The Democrats constantly appeal to the Republicans for support upon the ground that good men should be elected regardless of party. Such a plea impliedly promises that good men in office should not be removed because of party. But do the Democrats carry out this policy? No; decidedly no. Fiercely determined to find places for their Democratic friends, good men, splendid men, have been removed to make places for inexperienced and incompetent men. This is the most intensely partisan administration within the memory of anyone. To avoid politics interfering with public business it has been the policy in the past to divide the appointments upon the great administrative boards as nearly equal between the parties as

possible. There are seven members upon the Federal Reserve Board. Few believed that the President in making up such a board would serve party purposes, but he appointed none but Democrats. Five were appointed on the Trade Commission; not one of them was a Republican. This policy is in line with the President's attitude in his Indianapolis speech, where he voiced his contempt, if not his hatred of the Republicans. This is very different from the policy pursued by Presidents Taft and Roosevelt. They appointed a number of Democrats. This administration is not only intensely partisan but it is also sectional. Legislation in Congress is prepared in the committees, and the committees practically determine not only the form but whether the legislation shall pass. The chairmen of these committees largely control the business to be considered. They usually have charge of the legislation in passing it through the House, and as members of the conference committees that settle disputes between the two Houses. Their influence is very great. In the House there is not an important chairmanship that does not come from the South except one; the same is practically true in the Senate. This gives to one section of the country a dominating influence in legislation.

The Republicans are not asking for office from the Democrats, but they expect that the man they elected by their votes shall treat them courteously and not express both in word and action his hatred of them. The great progressive North, with its vast agricultural and industrial interests, are not always going to allow the control of legislation to be parceled out in the sectional fashion that it is to-day.

The Democrats, to divert attention from these facts, are busy pointing to what they are pleased to call good times. They are careful, however, not to call attention to the depression in business that prevailed up to the beginning of the European war, the normal and usual effect of Democratic policies. The Republican Party does not have to point to a prosperity born of war with its awful carnage in an appeal for votes. Its policies extend to all the hand of opportunity and make for prosperity in peace as well as war. Within it beats the patriotic heart of America, a heart intensely jealous of the Nation's honor and tenderly solicitous of its safety and success.

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**What Has the Administration Done?**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. WILLIAM KETTNER,

OF CALIFORNIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. KETTNER. Mr. Speaker, a short time ago I had the pleasure of a visit with one of the leading business men of southern California, and a conversation took place between us regarding the administration. I was somewhat surprised to learn from such a well-read man how little he knew of what has actually transpired and the work that has been done. Therefore, while I take very little of the time of the House and I might add very little space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as a business man I am convinced that it is my duty to present a synopsis of my conversation with my friend:

"DICK. Well, Billy, being in New York, I could not resist the temptation of stopping at Washington, not only to see you but also to find out what is going on in Washington, and particularly the things that are of especial interest to the eleventh district of California. While I am a Republican, I have supported you strongly in the last two elections, and I should like to know what this administration has done and just how you have fared in the general line-up.

"KETTNER. My dear Dick, do you wish to know as a Republican, as a friend, or as a business man really interested?

"DICK. Well, I believe I wish to know as a business man. What has the administration done, anyway?

"KETTNER. Your proposition is big and covers a great deal of ground, but I shall try to answer it as frankly as you have asked the question. I presume the first question, as the papers are full of it, is the President's foreign policy.

"DICK. Pardon me, Billy, but if I am any judge, preparedness is the main issue at the present time.

PREPAREDNESS.

"KETTNER. So you think preparedness is the main issue? Very well, we will look up the records and see what has actually been done, taking first the fortifications bill, which has already become a law. Last year this bill carried $6,060,216 in cash and a contract authorization of $300,000. The fortification act of the present session carries $25,747,550 in cash and $13,800,000 in contract authorization, making a total of $39,547,550.

"The peace strength of the Army has for a number of years been at 100,000, although the department has never been able to recruit the Army to that figure. On May 20, 1916, the House increased the peace strength of the Army to 175,000 and the staff to 17,000, making a peace strength of 192,000. The same bill provided for a war strength of 216,000, and a National Guard strength of 467,000; making the first line of defense in case of trouble 683,000. The vote on the conference report in the House is shown on page 8406 of the RECORD, May 20, 1916, only 25 Members voting against it.

"The Army appropriations bill of last year carried $101,974,195. The conference report for this year carries $267,596,530, an increase of $165,622,335. I think that you will admit that this is some preparedness.

"The Naval appropriations bill for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, carried $149,661,864, and provided for two battleships. This year the bill as it has passed the Senate carries approximately $316,000,000 and provides for four battleships and four battle cruisers. This also provides for 30 submarines, 12 of which are to be built on the Pacific coast.

"For a number of years Congress has been appropriating something over $1,000,000,000 a year. This year it is appropriating practically a billion and a half, which is caused by the large appropriations made in the interests of preparedness. For instance, the fortifications bill carries practically $33,000,000 more than formerly; the Army bill will carry about $165,000,000 more than usual; while the Navy bill will carry about $167,000,000 more than last year. There have been other extraordinary expenses, such as caring for the eradication of the citrus canker and controlling the foot-and-mouth disease.

"DICK. That seems to be doing fairly well. Now, to return to the foreign policy.

FOREIGN POLICY.

"KETTNER. I know that a great many people think the President writes too many notes. As the London Punch said: 'He is all write.' But, really, now, isn't there a reason in every one of his notes? Haven't they served in reality and fairness to raise the standard of respect among the thinking peoples for American ideals and the American mission? Haven't they served to impress Americans, at least, with the fact that among civilized nations, recognizing the brotherhood of man, force and might are to be made use of only as a last resort? My dear Dick, you will admit that he has kept us out of war. Put yourself in his place—would you have gone to war? See the mothers and sisters at Camp Radio, the recruiting place for the District National Guard, crying as if their hearts would break because of the mobilization of the handful of men in our Mexican trouble.

"Two million of the men in Europe lie in their graves as a result of the war that is still in progress. Woodrow Wilson conceived that America's destiny is to lead the world, not to drive it, and the only true leadership is a moral and intellectual one. And when all is said and done, speaking courteously but insistently for the American people, he has stood for their real and substantial rights and yet has kept us out of war. Put that down to his everlasting credit—with no sacrifice of any of our prestige he has kept us out of war.

"DICK. I hear a criticism occasionally that President Wilson is vacillating.

"KETTNER. Yes; and in Congress among men who know him best the statement is sometimes made that he is also too uncompromising. To my mind, neither is true. He insists at all times and in the face of all opposition on those things he regards as essentials; when he is shown to have been in error, he is big enough and human enough to admit the fact and govern himself accordingly.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

"DICK. Well, some of your banking friends and mine complain of the Federal reserve act.

"KETTNER. My dear Dick, I think that has been in the past. The Federal reserve act is now recognized as one of the leading pieces of legislation passed in 50 years. Were it otherwise, the Republican convention held in Chicago recently would have criticized it. The best proof of this is that, with two-thirds of the world at war, we did not have a money panic. You may take it from me—it is the greatest piece of constructive legislation that has ever been put upon the statute books in the history of the country. The vote on the conference report is shown on page 1477 of the RECORD for December 22, 1913—245

Democrats and 53 Republicans for the bill, and 58 Republicans and 2 Democrats against it.

PAN AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONGRESS.

"Now, then, the Pan American Financial Congress.

"DICK. No, Billy, you need not go into that. We all admit that was a brilliant idea.

"KETTNER. Yes, Dick, that will go down in history. The rewriting of the Monroe doctrine in terms of neighborliness and mutual interest with the South American Republics. It secured for us their good will, wiped out their distrust, and opened their markets to our manufacturers and other business men.

FEDEARL TRADE COMMISSION.

"Now, I should like to ask you a question. As a business man, what do you think of the Federal Trade Commission?

"DICK. Well, I think that is a fairly good measure. I am told that it will relieve legitimate business from the stringency of the Sherman Act and open the door for the business man of smaller capital.

"KETTNER. Well, I am glad that you understand what a good many business men do not—the real principle of the foundation of the Federal Trade Commission.

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

"Now, have you studied the functions of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce?

"DICK. I must confess that I know little of that except by the name.

"KETTNER. Well, briefly, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce was developed under this administration and is an output of the Department of Commerce. Its purpose is to ascertain where and how business is to be gotten for the merchants and manufacturers of this country from every country in the world. Through commercial attachés, consuls, and special commercial agents in other countries and branch offices in some 14 or 15 of the principal business centers of our own country, information is brought to the very doors of the merchants and manufacturers where they can have ready access to all the information which the department possesses. In other words, this bureau not only tells the merchants and manufacturers where the business is and how to get it but seeks them out and tries to put the information within easy reach.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

"KETTNER. Beginning January 8, 1915, the Department of Labor inaugurated a system by which information concerning employment could be given to those in need of it. Eighteen zone centers were established through the Division of Information, making use of the officials of the Bureau of Immigration. Wherever an immigrant station existed, it was designated as a labor distribution headquarters. There are now 61 subbranches throughout the United States. How much this meant to the laboring classes is shown when they took care of the thousands that were thrown out of employment by the Salem, Mass., fire. Through this department 58,000 men were given employment in 1915. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, 75,195 people were directed to places where profitable employment awaited them. You understand that these are side issues of these two departments, and my reason for calling attention to them is that they are along the right lines and should be commended.

"DICK. It would seem as if it is a great work that both of these departments are doing.

CHILD LABOR.

"KETTNER. As a business man, are you not interested in other legislation?

"DICK. Why the smile? To what do you refer?

"KETTNER. Well, humanitarian legislation. For instance, the child-labor bill.

"DICK. Yes; I certainly am interested in that, for one's own children extends one's interest to all the children of the country. By the way, how did you vote on that question?

"KETTNER. I not only voted for it but I worked for it; and I hope to have the pleasure of presenting you to Mr. EDWARD KEATING, of Colorado, who fathered the bill. This passed the House February 2, 1916, by a vote of 337 to 46; 169 Democrats and 168 Republicans voting yes, and 44 Democrats and 2 Republicans voting no. (RECORD, p. 2035.)

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

"KETTNER. Another important humanitarian matter is the workmen's compensation bill.

"DICK. Yes; that has been a law in California for some time.

"KETTNER. This bill passed the House July 12, 1916, by a vote of 285 to 2—145 Democrats and 140 Republicans voting for the bill and 1 Democrat and 1 Republican voting against the bill. (RECORD, p. 10916.)

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"DICK. By the way, what about the suffrage question—what action has been taken, if any?

"KETTNER. The suffrage question has not come up for action in the House this session. All western members of both parties have voted continuously for this measure. You will find my vote recorded in favor of suffrage in the RECORD, January 12, 1915, on page 1483. While I think of it, as you may wish to verify some of my statements, I send the RECORD to nearly every library in my district and to very many of the high schools. A Congressman receives only 58 copies, and you can readily see there are not enough to go around.

MEXICAN POLICY.

"DICK. Let's go back to the President's Mexican policy.

"KETTNER. All right. Don't you approve of his sending Gen. Pershing for the bandit Villa?

"DICK. Yes.

"KETTNER. Do you approve of his demanding that the Mexican administration immediately turn over to us the prisoners they captured when Capt. Boyd and his command were dealt with so treacherously at Carrizal?

"DICK. Yes; but he has been so long in doing anything.

"KETTNER. Well, what would you have done? Would you take it upon yourself or would you ask me or anyone else to try to force a conflict that would mean thousands of lives and many hundreds of thousands of dollars? Now, Dick, we have no God-given nor even earth-given privilege to conquer and rule over Mexico. It is absolutely opposed to American tradition, destiny, and ideals for us to assert a suzerainty over any nation except in virtue of strictest necessity. If Mexico can work out her own internal problems, she is entitled to do so, just as we have worked out many of ours without supervision or interference.

"True, and 'pity 't is 't is true,' a considerable number of Americans have lost their lives because of a lack of government in Mexico; but should we add thousands of American lives in an attempt to intervene? In other words, the unfortunate and extremely regrettable slaying of a few Americans in Mexico by bandits and outlaws of that country ought not in itself to impel us to bring about the sacrifice of untold numbers of other American citizens except, as I said a moment ago, in the face of strictest necessity. No species of effort we might now indulge in could result in anything but punishment and indemnity; but these must be accomplished, so far as possible, in terms of justice and not of conquest.

"DICK. But why dwell on justice? There is no justice in Mexico.

"KETTNER. My dear fellow, our position in the world and our duty to the world does not depend upon the presence or absence of justice in Mexico. Our concern is whether or not we shall stand by the claims and dictates of justice. Intervention can not bring back the lives that have been lost, and surely we do not want to buy Mexican properties with good American blood.

"DICK. No; but suppose we watch and wait to no avail; suppose Mexico demonstrates that she can not set up a stable government; suppose if one is set up she refuses to make reparation for wrongs committed and properties taken; what then?

"KETTNER. Then there will have been brought into existence that 'strictest necessity' of which I have spoken. Mr. Wilson's whole course shows that he will make the appeal to the compelling power of might if it is necessary, but the very essence of his 'watchful waiting' policy is that he shall have such assurance of that necessity as to find favor with his conscience and his God.

TARIFF COMMISSION.

"DICK. Well, Billy, there is one question that I am afraid you will not be able to answer so satisfactorily. It is the old question of the tariff. Let me have your view—as a business man, not as a partisan.

"KETTNER. In the first place, Dick, I never have been a partisan. I have given my people a business administration, and will continue to do so as long as they keep me here. Regarding the tariff, I think you will be somewhat surprised when I explain to you the real facts, as they are found in the records of Congress. The great Payne-Aldrich bill, of which we hear so much in California, was not voted for by the really progressive statesmen of the Republican Party in the House as it came from the Senate; and, my dear Dick, the Republican platform of 1912 carried these words: 'Some of the existing import duties are too high and should be reduced,' and later, 'this information can best be obtained by an expert commission.' Answer this: How much would they have reduced the products of the Pacific coast? For surely you will not contend that they would have reduced the products in the East and not on the

West coast. The platform adopted in Chicago in 1916 winds up as follows: 'We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.'

"I shall now recite a few facts not generally known. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, on page 4755, July 31, 1909, Sixty-first Congress, first session, will show you that such men as Hon. JAMES R. MANN, of Illinois, now leader of the Republicans in the House; Hon. IRVINE L. LENROOT, of Wisconsin; Hon. FRANK P. WOODS, of Iowa, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee; Hon. MILES POINDEXTER, now Senator of the United States from Washington; Hon. ALSA J. GRONNA, now United States Senator from North Dakota; and numerous others, voted against the Payne-Aldrich bill on its final passage. Then, again, Dick, you might turn to page 962 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 2, 1913, where Mr. Willis, now Republican governor of Ohio, then a Member of Congress, did everything in his power to put raisins on the free list, and would have succeeded had it not been for the Democratic leader of the House at that time, Hon. OSCAR UNDERWOOD.

"In this connection, also, it might not be out of place to let you know that Hon. J. I. NOLAN, of California, Republican and Progressive, and Hon. WILLIAM KENT, a California independent, voted for the Underwood bill.

"But, Dick, the tariff should no longer be made a political issue. We have just passed a bill creating a tariff commission—mark you, a nonpartisan tariff commission—by a vote of 240 to 140—39 Republicans and 1 independent voting for the bill. This is indorsed by the chambers of commerce of the United States. Think of it, Dick, the business men of the United States are indorsing this bill. Let me call your attention to the resolution of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce indorsing this bill, as follows:

"Whereas the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce has heretofore taken action favoring the creation, by proper legislation, of a permanent tariff commission; and

"Whereas there is now pending in Congress a bill 'To create a United States tariff commission and define its powers and duties, and for other purposes,' which said bill (H. R. 13767) was introduced by and is known as the Rainey bill; and

"Whereas the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has examined and analyzed said bill and found it to comply with the referendum (No. 2) of said body, in which said referendum this organization voted in the affirmative; and

"Whereas said national chamber has indorsed said Rainey bill and now asks its members to use their influence in securing the adoption thereof by Congress: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce*, That we indorse said bill and respectfully request our Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote for and use all honorable means to secure the passage of the same.

"*Resolved*, That a certified copy of these resolutions be forwarded to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

"I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of resolutions adopted by the board of directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce at the regular meeting held Wednesday, May 3, 1916.

"JOHN S. MITCHELL, *President*.

"Attest:

"FRANK WIGGINS, *Secretary*.

"Some time ago I presented to the House a letter from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, which set forth the terms of the bill and gave the result of the referendum vote of the various chambers of commerce of the United States, which showed 715 votes in favor of a commission to 9 opposed (p. 2484, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 64th Cong., 1st sess.).

"A recent letter from Mr. Elliott H. Goodwin, secretary of the National Chamber of Commerce, states, 'After the Rainey bill had been introduced and perfected our committee * * * met in Washington and examined the Rainey bill, concluding that the bill substantially agreed with the principles decided upon by the organizations in the membership of the national chamber in the referendum.'

"This commission will be established, the vote in the House July 10, 1916, being 200 Democrats and 39 Republicans for it and 139 Republicans against it (p. 10768, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD). All parties agree, Dick, that the country has progressed too far to be torn to pieces every few years by changing the tariff. Under this tariff board our citrus growers, who unquestionably are entitled to protection (by way of a tariff) will receive that protection as a matter of right and not simply as a matter of grace nor because they consent to support a tariff on some other article of commerce not entitled to equal protection. Under this commission, Dick, the justice of the demand and not the politics involved will appeal to the people and to Congress.

"DICK. By George, you have really convinced me that you are about right. Personally I agree with you that the tariff ought not to continue to be made a political issue. It is an administrative question, in my opinion, pure and simple. In the emergency which is arising out of this war and which is upsetting and which will continue to upset the economic conditions it is indeed wise to have a nonpartisan board of experts to study the situation as it develops and to promptly and accurately advise the President and the Congress concerning the facts involved for the purpose of molding advisable legislation.

INCOME TAX.

"KETTNER. Another measure is the income tax. Surely you do not object to the wealthy paying their just proportion of taxes?

"DICK. No; I am perfectly in accord with that measure. It is a tax upon accumulated wealth and the incomes from invested capital, and removes to that extent the tax upon consumption and upon toil.

"KETTNER. You will notice that the new law repeals the stamp tax, which was found to be unsatisfactory.

FARM LOANS.

"KETTNER. Then there is the farm-loan bill. All parties have been speaking about this for some time, but I must remind you, Dick, that this Congress has passed the bill. While it may not be perfect—like the first little automobile—it will be perfected and become a magnificent machine. I believe it will do more for the farmers of our country than any law that has yet been passed. If you will remember the first money providing for rural post delivery was $50,000, in 1897, and the papers of the United States made a great deal of fun about putting the post office on wheels. The Congress has in this session approved practically $53,000,000 for this service. The sentiment in favor of a rural-credits bill is shown by the vote in the House (p. 9037, temporary RECORD, May 15, 1916), 186 Democrats and 108 Republicans voting 'yes' and 10 Republicans voting 'no.'

THE SHIPPING BILL.

"DICK. I see the House has passed the shipping bill.

"KETTNER. Well, what do you say about that?

"DICK. Frankly, I do not know.

"KETTNER. Well, I will tell you what I think of it in a very few words. In 1858 the American registered over-sea tonnage was 2,499,742, or 17 per cent of the world's tonnage, and the American flag floated in every port. The world's tonnage in 1910 amounted to approximately 45,000,000 tons, and to-day less than 3 per cent of this tonnage is carried under the American flag. We are making an effort to reinstate ourselves in a satisfactory position in transporting the world's commerce, and at the same time provide the necessary auxiliary ships in case of trouble with any foreign nation. The bill in this connection passed the House May 20, 1916, by a vote of 211 to 161—194 Democrats voted 'yes,' 16 Republicans voted 'yes,' 161 Republicans voted 'no.'

"DICK. Well, Billy, under your method of reasoning, what will be the issue in the present campaign?

"KETTNER. Frankly, I must confess that I can not see any real persuasive issue that can be raised against the record of this administration. Of course, there must be some sort of an issue, but the people of my district are up-to-date, progressive, accustomed to caring for themselves, and they know what is going on, without having to be told.

"DICK. Now, Billy, tell me something about yourself. What have you done for the people in general and for the eleventh district of California in particular? In other words, what can I tell them about your work here that directly interests them—for instance, Imperial Valley, where the pioneering problems are still so difficult to work out?

"KETTNER. Do you mean during the four-year term, or for this session?

"DICK. No; I mean this session. The people have already demonstrated that they were satisfied with your work during your first term.

"KETTNER. Well, I have been fortunate enough to take a prominent part in securing the establishment of a land office in the Imperial Valley. This will mean a saving of thousands of dollars to the bona fide residents of the valley, whose troubles in the adjustments of surveys and other matters you know so well. I probably spend more time on the problems directly relating to the Imperial Valley than any other one section in my district, and, while all of my efforts have not yet met with success, the conditions there are becoming better known, and the proper solutions will be reached very shortly, I am sure.

"DICK. What about San Bernardino County?

"KETTNER. San Bernardino County has a reclamation problem still unsolved. On January 26, 1916, I introduced a bill (H. R. 10125) which I believed would provide a way to relieve the people of Victor Valley. A little later, Mr. SMITH of Idaho introduced H. R. 12365, which was broader and, in my opinion, better than my own bill. Mr. SMITH being a member of the committee, we worked together, and this bill has now become a law. Under this law I hope that it will be possible in the near future to turn the millions of gallons of water now stored in

the San Bernardino Mountains into the great valleys which so greatly need this water for their development.

"The Public Buildings Committee has granted in its report $70,000 for the public building at San Bernardino which is so badly needed, and $30,000 for a site at Redlands.

"DICK. And Orange County?

"KETTNER. For three years I have carried on a continuous fight, and finally won out by having inserted in the rivers and harbors bill a clause recognizing Newport Harbor, in Orange County.

"DICK. Why, Billy, has Orange County a harbor?

"KETTNER. My dear Dick, the records will show you, if you will take the time to read them, that at one time there were as many as 500 vessels a year landing at Newport Harbor, loaded both ways, and the people naturally want to rebuild and reestablish this place. (These reports are H. Doc. No. 215, 50th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 12, 1888; H. Doc. No. 82, 60th Cong., 1st sess., Dec. 4, 1907; H. Doc. No. 42, 63d Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 30, 1913).

"I am proud to say now that they have recognition. The harbor lines will be established and a breakwater built, for which I understand they have the money, and Congress has demonstrated in the past that it is ready to help those who help themselves

"DICK. Well, you see how little I really know of your district, although I told a man in New York yesterday that I considered myself well posted on southern California. There is still Riverside County?

"KETTNER. Riverside County has one of the finest nonresident Indian schools in the United States, and I think Mr. Conser, the superintendent, will tell you that it has been enlarged every year during my term in office. If it has not been well taken care of, or if there has been any complaint, I have heard nothing of it. In other words, instead of being restricted to 550 pupils, the present bill provides for 700 pupils.

"Incidentally, the exceptional floods in southern California this year have done great damage to the Indian reservations, washing out irrigation systems and roads, and these all have required attention. Besides these, you know the condition of the desert roads, and an appropriation of $10,000 for the roads of the Fort Yuma Reservation, the largest reservation in the district, has been granted.

"DICK. Mono and Inyo Counties?

"KETTNER. These counties seem to have no large problems—some water problems, some land difficulties, and great power difficulties, which I am just now calling to the attention of the departments. There is one thing of interest to all westerners, and especially to Inyo and Mono Counties, in this: That in the good-roads bill, which means so much to all rural communities and which has become a law, there is an added item which provides that a million dollars a year for 10 years shall be expended for roads in the forest reserves. (House vote, Jan. 25, 1916: 163 Democrats and 128 Republicans for the bill; 13 Democrats and 68 Republicans against the bill.)

"DICK. Well, what about San Diego County?

"KETTNER. For several years the departments have been recognizing more and more the strategic importance of San Diego, and it has been my privilege to assist in having these advantages utilized.

"Here is a letter which shows improvements provided for in the fortifications bill at Fort Rosecrans: $166,481.90 for a fire-control system and $127,000 for eight large searchlights. The naval appropriation bill carries $250,000 toward the establishment of a marine advance base on what is known as the Dutch Flats.

"And the rivers and harbors bill carries an item for dredging at the foot of D Street, which will open up the approach to the municipal pier, where the city has spent $1,400,000. The dredged material taken from this place will be dumped on the Dutch Flats, adding from 500 to 600 acres to the land to be acquired for the marine base. This would tend to refute the charge of continued extravagance in Government projects.

"The Army appropriation bill carries $300,000 toward making permanent the aviation school which has been in operation on North Island for some time.

"DICK. This seems to account for about 24 hours of the day. Is there anything else?

"KETTNER. Well, smaller matters too numerous to mention. The Government publishes very many valuable documents, and the difficulty is in getting these publications into the hands of the people for whom they are intended. We have taken pride in seeing that the physicians receive what is available and particularly suited to them; that the teachers receive every help possible in the way of maps, bulletins specially adapted to their use, etc.; that the attorneys are kept posted on matters of legislation so far as possible.

"I have the entire California-Mexico border, with its immigration and smuggling troubles, that are department matters, but continuously require the attention of the Representative. There are the fishing industries, the shipping matters, the land adjustments, the pension matters for the old friends who have come to southern California to live comfortably and out of doors in their declining years.

"DICK. By the way, what has been done for the old soldier?

"KETTNER. Look at this file, devoted entirely to pension matters in the Bureau of Pensions; these are eight special bills that I have been able to have passed; but this Congress has passed two general bills that mean more than all of these. One provides for certain soldiers in Indian wars that had not heretofore been provided for; and one, known as the widows' pension bill, advances the limit of the time of marriage to the soldier and increases the widow's pension in certain cases.

"The House has also passed a bill providing pensions for widows of Spanish-American War veterans, which will doubtless pass the Senate.

"And now, Dick, when you go home, you may impress upon the banker friends that you had in mind when speaking of the Federal reserve act the fact that on August 1, 1916, the gold coin in the United States was $2,500,229,564, which is greater than the gold coin and bullion held by the Bank of France, the Russian State Bank, and the German Reichsbank, and is five-sixths as large as the amount held in the Bank of England, Bank of France, Russian State Bank, Bank of Italy, German Reichsbank, Bank of Netherlands, Norges Bank of Norway, Riksbank of Sweden, Bank of Spain, and the Swiss National Banks. The amount in circulation—that is, the amount not held in the central bank of issue—in the European countries is indeterminable; but making the most liberal allowance it is safe to say that the amount of gold coin and bullion in the United States is greater than the total amount in England, France, and Germany.

"And I want to impress upon you that the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, showed a balance in the Treasury of $174,965,231, the largest since 1908, with a surplus of $78,737,000 for 1916."

## Civil Service Board Keeps Records Secret.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. GILLETT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement issued by the officers of the National Civil Service Reform League, consisting largely of correspondence with officers of the league and the Civil Service Commission.

The statement is as follows:

CIVIL SERVICE BOARD KEEPS RECORDS SECRET—PRESIDENT WILSON SUSTAINS MCILHENNY COMMISSION IN ITS REFUSAL TO OPEN OFFICIAL REGISTERS TO THE NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE—PUBLICITY "MIGHT BE EMBARRASSING TO THE ADMINISTRATION."

The National Civil Service Reform League made public to-day some recent correspondence between the league, the Federal Civil Service Commission, and President Wilson in regard to the examination of fourth-class postmasters under an executive order of May 7, 1913. The commission has refused to allow the league access to the formal records of the results of this examination, which involved nearly 50,000 postmasters.

So far the President has sustained the commission's ruling. The league declares that this is the first time in its existence that information as to the public administrative work of the Federal commission has been denied to it, except during a short period in the year 1899. The league charges that in refusing its request the present commission has inaugurated a policy of secrecy full of foreboding for the proper administration of the civil-service law.

Complaints have come to the league during the past three years that the practical effect of the executive order of May 7, 1913, requiring fourth-class postmasters to submit to competitive examination, was in many instances to secure the appointment of Democratic postmasters in place of the former incumbents, most of whom were Republicans. Other complaints have reached the league that Postmaster General Burleson, in putting into effect his policy of motorization of the Rural Free Delivery Service, turned out the old rural carriers and filled the vacancies in large part with Democrats who took new examinations.

In order to investigate these complaints and to determine whether the civil-service law was being impartialy administered, the league has been endeavoring for the past two years to obtain the facts with regard to the conduct and results of the examinations in question.

A conference between the commission and members of the league's counsel was held in Washington on March 31, 1916. At that conference, acording to the league, John L. McIlhenny, president of the commission, told Richard H. Dana, president of the league, that if access were given to these records it might lead to such criticism of the ad-

ministration as would seriously embarrass it. Commissioner McIlhenny consequently persisted in his refusal to grant the league's request.

President Wilson refused to accept the league's version of Mr. McIlhenny's statement and stood by the commission. He wrote Mr. Dana, saying that he had referred the league's correspondence to the commission, "with the suggestion that in their annual report for the year 1916 the commission disclose the method employed by them and by the Post Office Department in administering the Executive order referred to, together with the results obtained thereby." The league did not take kindly to this suggestion, as it sought names and facts as well as "methods" and "results." Moreover, the commission's next annual report is not likely to be published until after election day.

ASKS WILSON TO RECONSIDER.

The league has now written a letter to the President asking him to reconsider the whole matter and reverse the commission's ruling.

The fourth-class postmasters were "covered in" under the Roosevelt and Taft administrations; that is, the men who then occupied the offices were, by Executive order and without examination, enrolled in the competitive class of the civil service. Just two months after he took office, President Wilson issued a new Executive order, the effect of which was to throw the great bulk of the fourth-class postmasterships open to competitive examination, in which newcomers stood on an equal footing with the former incumbents. From the beginning the National Civil Service Reform League viewed this procedure with suspicion, because under the regulations of the commission the Postmaster General might appoint to a given office any one of the three candidates standing highest on the eligible list resulting from such examination. This gave the Postmaster General a chance to consult with Members of Congress and on their recommendation to replace a politically objectionable incumbent, even though he passed the examination with the highest rating, by either of the other two men at the head of the list.

As early as September 10, 1913, the secretary of the league made formal request by letter, without satisfactory result, for permission to examine some of the commission's records with regard to the fourth-class postmasterships. On April 13, 1914, the league renewed its request, this time making application to examine the records of the office for the purpose of obtaining the following specific information: The number of candidates who took part in the examinations, the names of the successful candidates, with their ratings, the names of the candidates appointed from the list, and whether the previous incumbents of the offices entered the examinations. The commission denied the league's request on the ground that such action was necessary "in the interest of the public business, owing to the congestion of the work of the office."

The conference of March 31, 1916, having failed to accomplish its object, the secretary of the league, on April 19, reiterated its request for permission to examine the eligible registers, and asked the commission to establish a general rule granting public inspection of the records of the commission under proper supervision. No reply was received to this letter and the request was repeated on May 24. A week later the league took the matter up with President Wilson himself. Through his secretary, the President asked the league to furnish him with further information.

POLICY OF SECRECY DENOUNCED.

Accordingly, on July 3, the league complied with the President's request by sending him a memorandum in regard to its controversy with the Federal Civil Service Commission. In a letter accompanying the memorandum, President Dana said:

"The commission has not only refused to grant us access to the records under proper supervision but has also failed to establish a general rule. We, therefore, respectfully ask you to issue an Executive order which will put an end to the policy of secrecy.

"We desire to state with all frankness that the league believes that the present policy of secrecy is a denial of a right which belongs to the individual or an association of individuals in a democracy, to know what their officials are doing and how they are doing it.

"At various times since the Executive order of May 7, 1913, in relation to fourth-class postmasters, many complaints and charges have been made to the officers of the league, alleging that its practical effect has been to secure the appointment of postmasters belonging to the political party now dominant and recommended by Members of Congress or other prominent politicians belonging to that party in preference to applicants or incumbents better qualified to discharge the duties of the office but connected with another political party. Within the past six months similar complaints and charges have been received with respect to the appointment of motor rural carriers on certain routes.

"In accordance with its unvarying custom during the 35 years of its existence, the league having first ascertained, by a preliminary inquiry, that these charges are not frivolous, has referred them for investigation and report to a competent committee. The report of this committee may be given to the public later in the present year if this course shall be deemed appropriate by the governing body of the league. It is obvious that access to the registers above mentioned is desirable to enable the league to make the publication in question—if it shall be made—with the benefit of the best information obtainable."

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY.

To this letter and memorandum the President made reply on July 19 in the following communication, addressed to the president of the National Civil Service Reform League:

"MY DEAR MR. DANA: I acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 3d instant, transmitting copy of a memorandum relating to the request of your league to obtain access to the records of the Federal Civil Service Commission with regard to fourth-class postmasters, and requesting that I issue an order directing the Civil Service Commission to permit a committee from your organization to examine the records of the commission relative to the certification and appointment of postmasters of the fourth-class under the Executive order of May 7, 1913.

"In reply I would advise that the correspondence which you have furnished me is being referred to the Civil Service Commission with the suggestion that in their annual report for the fiscal year 1916 the commission disclose the method employed by them and by the Post Office Department in administering the Executive order referred to, together with the results obtained thereby. The chairman of the Civil Service Commission advises me that the allegation made on page 5 of the memorandum, dated June 17, 1916, conveys the wrong impression and that his refusal to grant your league access to the civil-service record was not based on any fear that the records would lead to criticism of the administration. He states that there is not the slightest apprehension that any proper criticism can be made of the manner in which the Executive order has been administered and that his refusal to permit general access to the files and the holding of such records as confidential, investigating on their merits all cases of alleged improper action brought to the attention of the commission, is based upon good administrative practice as is explained in a letter of the commission to you under date of May 27, 1916, the transmission of which has been delayed.

"Sincerely, yours, WOODROW WILSON."

Two days after the arrival of the President's letter there was received in the offices of the league the commission's letter, the transmission of which the President said had been "delayed." This letter was in answer to the league's letter of April 19, was dated May 27, and was received on July 22.

"'The long-established and consistent practice of the commission in regarding its records as privileged had the express sanction of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft,' said the commission in its letter. 'The commission regards the practice as wise and necessary to good administration, and it feels that the practice should not be changed.'

"The records of the commission as well as of the executive departments are ordinarily open to either House of Congress, and if it is believed that the commission is hiding things which should be disclosed, it is competent for either House of Congress to make demand for the records, and the commission would then determine its action.

"If it is important that the charges made to the league should be thoroughly investigated, it is believed that they should be referred to the body constituted by law to make such investigation. An investigation by an outside body may be ex parte, partisan, mischievous, imperfect, and calculated grossly to mislead the public, and attack and embarrass an administration, as experience has shown. The commission, on the other hand, has the legal machinery and experience needed to conduct such an investigation, and its work may be reviewed by the President and a committee of Congress."

DANA REPLIES TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

Finally, on August 1, Mr. Dana wrote to President Wilson acknowledging the receipt of his letter and reviewing at length the findings of the commission as given in its communication of May 27. In his letter Mr. Dana said:

"May we call your attention to the fact that such eligible lists are constantly made public in all parts of the country by State and city civil service commissions? During the entire existence of the National Civil Service Reform League prior to your administration information as to the public administrative work of the Federal commission has never been refused to us, except during a short period in the year 1899.

"The reasons given by the commission for this concealment are contradictory and inconsistent. In its letter to the league of April 24, 1914, it says: 'This action is necessary in the interests of public business *owing to the congestion of the work in the office.*' Yet after we had waited nearly two years, when it might properly be assumed that this congestion had been overcome, we were told by Mr. McIlhenny, the president of the commission, at our Washington conference on March 31, 1916, that if access were given to these records *it might lead to such criticism of the administration as would seriously embarrass it.* Finally, in its letter received July 22, the commission amplifies this ground for its action by stating that an investigation by an outside body may 'mislead the public and *attack and embarrass an administration.*' This, therefore, appears as the vital reason for the refusal.

"It is idle to say, as the commission does in its letter, that it is 'of the utmost importance that the league and the public should have confidence in the honest and intelligent administration of the civil-service law, and that confidence should not be withheld upon imaginary grounds.' Grave complaints have been made and detailed specifications given that fourth-class postmasterships and positions in the motor rural delivery service have been made the patronage of Congressmen, in violation of the civil-service law, by the action of the Postmaster General in directing that eligible lists should be referred to such Congressmen with requests for their recommendations, and when we ask for an inspection of lists of eligibles by which such complaints can be established or refuted the commission refuses to allow us to see them, lest an inspection should 'embarrass an administration.' The inference from such conduct is not 'imaginary.' The general principles of law, founded upon universal experience, declare that the suppression of evidence furnishes the inevitable inference of indefensible conduct on the part of those by whom that evidence is suppressed.

"While earnestly protesting that an inspection of these lists would afford no proof of any violation of the civil-service law, the commission reminds us that the league has no special privilege; that it is merely a part of the general public; and that if a disclosure of the records of the commission is desired the way to obtain that is to apply to Congress to investigate. This is a specious suggestion, which would deceive no one but the commission. Is it likely that Congress can find time for such an investigation until after March, 1917? If it could find time, is it likely that a Democratic Congress would investigate the acts of a branch of the Democratic administration; that dispensers of patronage would inquire closely into the record of its dispensation?

In conclusion Mr. Dana says:

"We therefore earnestly request you to reexamine this matter. If you find that the reasons suggested by the commission for its action are, as we believe, unsound, and that you have adopted them without full consideration, that the general interest not merely under your administration but under all administrations is best served by full publicity, we shall expect that you will issue a general order in accordance with the suggestion in our former letter to you."

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SECRECY V. PUBLICITY—TWO VIEWS OF POLICY RELATING TO PUBLIC RECORDS.

[NOTE: This letter was received at the office of the league on July 22, 1916.]

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
*Washington, D. C., May 27, 1916.*

MESSRS. RICHARD HENRY DANA, *President*,
and GEORGE T. KEYES, *Secretary*,
*National Civil Service Reform League, 79 Wall Street, New York City.*

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of April 19 requesting permission to examine the eligible registers for the position of motor rural carrier and fourth-class postmaster established since May, 1913, and in this connection asking that the commission establish a general rule granting public inspection of its records under proper supervision is acknowledged.

The long-established and consistent practice of the commission in regarding its records as privileged had the express sanction of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. The commission regards the practice as wise and necessary to good administration and it feels that the practice should not be changed.

The civil-service act, section 2, requires that the commission shall make an annual report to the President for transmission to Congress showing its own action, and these reports are intended to meet the rights of individuals and associations in knowing what the commission is doing and how it is doing it. It is entirely impracticable, however, that individuals or associations should be permitted to search at will the files of the national commission. No opinion by any court or law officer or writer on government or legislative action, so far as the commission is aware, maintains any such right on the part of individuals or associations in a democracy. On the contrary, it is the uniform practice in the National Government, and maintained by the highest judicial authority, that official records belong to that class of communications which, out of considerations of public policy, are regarded as privileged, and their production can not be compelled without express authority of law.

The records of the commission are filled with confidential letters and reports from the departments. If the departments apprehended that documents of this character might become public, they would not trust the commission in the future with similar records, and the work of the Government would be embarrassed. Persons would stop giving testimony to the commission if it were known that their testimony would soon become public property. Only the most perfunctory information would be given in any form. As long as the records of the departments are privileged, the records of the commission must also be privileged. The relations of the commission with all the departments are so intimate and intertwined that the same rule must apply. It is of the highest importance that the departments and the public should feel implicit assurance that statements and records intrusted to the commission in confidence will be kept inviolate.

The work of the commission is very complicated and it requires highly expert knowledge of the system in many if not in most cases to draw correct conclusions from the records. The inferences drawn from certain records may be erroneous if considered apart from other records. It is therefore imperative that the commission should prescribe the conditions regarding the use of its records. This authority throughout the executive service is unlimited in the head of the office "so long as not inconsistent with law." The commission can not grant a privilege to the league in this regard which it would deny to any citizen. The discussion, however, is academic, and the attitude of the commission is so completely supported by the uniform decisions and practice of the executive departments that it seems unnecessary to pursue the question further. Its actions as to its own administrative matters are at all times within the purview of every citizen under reasonable limitations of which the commission must be the judge.

The commission has at all times sought to give the fullest publicity to its work and to the operation of the law. Suspicions have thus been allayed, misrepresentations answered, and abuses exposed. With full explanations and candor, greater confidence has been inspired in the honesty of the system. It is therefore with regret and concern that the commission observes in your letter that you regard it as having a "present policy of secrecy." Nothing can be further from the commission's intention, and it earnestly hopes that upon consideration you will agree with it that such an expression is not justified. The present policy of the commission in this regard has been its policy throughout its history.

Of course it is to be deeply regretted if the league and the public "will imagine evils which do not exist." This consideration, however, must be balanced with the duty of the commission of deciding at what stage of a proceeding the records may be disclosed. It is of the utmost importance that the league and the public should have confidence in the honest and intelligent administration of the civil-service law, and that confidence should not be withheld upon imaginary grounds. The commission is charged with large and important responsibilities, and charges should not be made against it upon "imaginary grounds." To entertain such suspicions would be a reflection not only upon the commission but upon the many educated and intelligent employees of all shades of political opinions having knowledge of its records. If the commission were reckless enough to have things which it desired to conceal, these employees and officials throughout the departments would know of it. The records of the commission, as well as of the executive departments, are ordinarily open to either House of Congress, and if it is believed that the commission is hiding things which should be disclosed it is competent for either House of Congress to make demand for the records, and the commission would then determine its action. This is the orderly and constituted procedure in a democracy having representative institutions where the people may act through their legal representatives. While voters are empowered by law to elect members of the legislature at stated intervals, they have no power of political action beyond this.

If it is important that the charges made to the league should be thoroughly investigated, it is believed that they should be referred to the body constituted by law to make such investigation. You state, however, that the administration should welcome an independent inquiry by the league. But the league is a body not known to the law, without power to compel testimony, the production of papers, or to punish for perjury. It is not responsible to any constituted authority. Citizens have a right to an investigation if one is needed, through the lawful and responsible agencies of government. The league may not be differentiated in this regard from other bodies of citizens. An investigation by an outside body may be ex parte, partisan, mischievous, imperfect, and calculated grossly to mislead the public, and attack and embarrass an administration, as experience has shown. The commission, on the other hand, has the legal machinery and experience needed to conduct such an investigation, and its work may be reviewed by the President and a committee of Congress. These are the checks in the framework of government upon maladministration, and it is the duty of citizens to seek the betterment of governmental conditions through the processes and under the legal machinery thus provided.

In conclusion, the commission would state that it believes that the influence of the league in the advancement of the cause of efficient public service is incalculable, and for that reason it has always been most favorably inclined toward requests from it for information from the records; but it deems it unwise to establish a general rule granting public inspection, and is therefore obliged to deny your request. It earnestly requests that you send it the "many complaints and charges" which you state have been made to the officers of the league, "alleging that the practical effect of the Executive order of May 7, 1913, has been to secure the appointment of postmasters belonging to the political party now dominant and recommended by Members of Congress or other prominent politicians belonging to that party, in preference to applicants or incumbents better qualified to discharge the duties of the office, but connected with another political party," and also the "similar complaints and charges" which you state "have been received with respect to the appointment of motor rural carriers on certain routes."

The commission will be pleased to give consideration to these complaints and to take such action thereon as the facts and the authority of the commission under the law and rules may require. Of course you will appreciate that in any event it would undoubtedly be necessary that the Government should make investigation through its own agencies, since it could not very well accept and act upon the findings of a body without official responsibility.

By direction of the commission.

Very respectfully,

JOHN A. MCILHENNY, *President.*
CHAS. M. GALLOWAY,
H. W. CRAVEN.

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AUGUST 1, 1916.

The PRESIDENT,
*The White House, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: We are directed by the council of the National Civil Service Reform League to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 19, in which you advise us of the transmission of a letter of the Federal Civil Service Commission in answer to our communication of April 19.

The transmission of the commission's letter, as you say, "has been delayed"; in fact, though dated May 27, 1916, the letter did not arrive until July 22. The commission can hardly be congratulated upon its promptness in the dispatch of public business when a letter remains unanswered for more than three months, when a subsequent request for an answer is made in vain, and when an answer is finally sent only after the commission's delay has been brought to your personal attention.

You refer us to the letter of the commission for reasons for its refusal to grant our request. The reasons which it assigns appear to us to be wholly insufficient. They are in part irrelevant, in part self-contradictory, in part disingenuous, and in part such as lead to a conclusion diametrically opposed to the action of the commission. They suggest the inference that the commission finds itself in an embarrassing position. We invite you to reconsider them, in the very confident hope that you will find cause to revise the action of the commission.

As appears from the opening paragraph of the commission's letter, what the league requests and the commission refuses is liberty to inspect the commission's "eligible registers for the position of motor rural carrier and fourth-class postmaster established since May, 1913," the date of the order directing the reexamination of some 36,000 fourth-class postmasters. It is important to bear this in mind, for the propriety of the commission's refusal to permit such an inspection involves no considerations which might justify a refusal of leave to inspect "confidential letters or reports from other departments," or "statements or records intrusted to the commission in confidence," or transcripts of "testimony to the commission," or of leave to "search at will the files of the national commission," with which the commission's letter deals in some detail. It tends merely to confusion to advert to such matters as a ground for the commission's refusal to permit an examination of the records of its own administrative acts.

May we call your attention to the fact that such lists are constantly made public in all parts of the country by State and city civil-service commissions? During the entire existence of the National Civil Service Reform League prior to your administration information as to the public administrative work of the Federal commission has never been refused to us, except during a short period in the year 1899. In regard to this refusal Commissioner John R. Proctor, one of the most distinguished of Civil Service Commissioners, in his dissenting opinion, said:

"I can conceive of nothing which is calculated to do more damage to the work of the commission and its power for good than the refusal to permit access to files in cases in which action has been completed. * * * Instead of being against public policy, the opening of the records is in the interest of public policy. Nothing so much fosters the spoils system as secrecy in the administration of patronage. I consider the action of the commission contrary to the principles of republican government. People have a right to know what their officials are doing, and if the records are closed to their inspection they will imagine evils which do not exist."

It is now more than two years since the league has sought in vain leave to examine these eligible lists. While the commission has refused our request, it has at times professed that it was eager to grant it. In the very letter containing the present refusal the commission says: "Its actions as to its own administrative matters are at all times within the purview of every citizen under reasonable limitations, of which the commission must be the judge. The commission has at all times sought to give the fullest publicity to its work and to the operation of the law. Suspicions have thus been allayed, misrepresentations answered, and abuses exposed. With full explanations and candor, greater confidence has been inspired in the honesty of the system." In another letter now before us, written to a member of this league during the present year, the commission says that its files as to administrative matters were at all times "open to the least scrap of paper to anyone interested either publicly or privately therein." If this is sound, as we think it is, the commission should have complied with our request for an inspection of its eligible lists more than two years ago.

The reasons given by the commission for this concealment are contradictory and inconsistent. In its letter to the league of April 24, 1914, it says: "This action is necessary in the interests of public business *owing to the congestion of the work in the office.*" Yet after we had waited nearly two years, when it might properly be assumed that this congestion had been overcome, we were told by Mr. McIlhenny, the president of the commission, at our Washington conference on March 31, 1916, that if access were given to these records *it might lead to such criticism of the administration as would seriously embarrass it.* Finally, in its letter received July 22 the commission amplifies this ground for its action by stating that an investigation by an outside body may "mislead the public *and attack and embarrass an administration.*" This, therefore, appears as the vital reason for the refusal.

We think you must have overlooked this, for we can not assume that the President of the United States could permit such a reason to be urged for the concealment of official records concerning official acts or that he would willingly appear to adopt the argument that such concealment is necessary to preserve his administration from attack.

It is idle to say, as the commission does in its letter, that it is "of the utmost importance that the league and the public should have confidence in the honest and intelligent administration of the civil-service law, and that confidence should not be withheld upon imaginary grounds." Grave complaints have been made and detailed specifications given that fourth-class postmasterships and positions in the motor rural delivery service have been made the patronage of Congressmen in violation of the civil-service law by the action of the Postmaster General in directing that eligible lists should be referred to such Congressmen with requests for their recommendations, and when we ask for an inspection of lists of eligibles by which such complaints can be established or refuted the commission refuses to allow us to see them lest an inspection should "embarrass an administration." The inference from such conduct is not "imaginary." The general principles of law founded upon universal experience declare that the suppression of evidence furnishes the inevitable inference of indefensible conduct on the part of those by whom that evidence is suppressed.

While earnestly protesting that an inspection of these lists would afford no proof of any violation of the civil-service law, the commission reminds us that the league has no special privileges, that it is merely a part of the general public, and that if a disclosure of the records of the commission is desired the way to obtain that is to apply to Congress to investigate. This is a specious suggestion which would deceive no one but the commission. Is it likely that Congress can find time for such an investigation until after March, 1917? If it could find time, is it likely that a Democratic Congress would investigate the acts of a branch of the Democratic administration—that dispensers of patronage would inquirely closely into the record of its dispensation?

The commission says in its letter that it believes the influence of our league in the advancement of the cause of efficient public service is incalculable, yet it refuses us the means of prosecuting our legitimate inquiries, and when we appeal to you from its decision you tell us that you have suggested to the commission that in its annual report for 1916 it shall disclose the methods employed in administering your Executive order of May 7, 1913. It would be a most incompetent body which could not draw up a report furnishing a plausible explanation for even the gravest abuses, and we feel sure that neither the league nor the public will remain satisfied with a plan which allows any department or branch of the service to be the only interpreter of its own conduct and denies to the world all access to the evidence by which the truth of its interpretation can be established or refuted.

We therefore earnestly request you to reexamine this matter. If you find that the reasons suggested by the commission for its action are, as we believe, unsound and that you have adopted them without full consideration, that the general interest not merely under your administration but under all administrations is best served by full publicity, we shall expect that you will issue a general order in accordance with the suggestion in our former letter to you.

Respectfully, yours,

RICHARD HENRY DANA, *President.*
GEORGE T. KEYES, *Secretary.*

## Federal Aid to Road Building.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, more than three-quarters of a century have elapsed since our Government discontinued making appropriations for the construction of public highways, and except for the comparatively small mileage of State roads just completed in recent years, public-road improvement in this country has made but little progress since the time of the Civil War. And strange as it may be, the backwardness in legislating for good roads has been all the more marked by contrast by the enormous development of transportation and traffic. From the Office of Public Roads I learn that there are approximately 2,300,000 miles of public roads in all of the States, but only 6 per cent of this mileage can be classed as good roads. Europe, in this respect, far outranks the United States, for since time immemorial have her nations maintained the finest highways in the world.

The lack of good roads in this country, however, has not been due to lack of funds, for we have expended more than one and a half billion dollars in money and labor for the building of roads in the past 10 years, but, I regret to state, with poor and extremely unsatisfactory results. Lack of efficient supervision, failure to cooperate, the inequitable distribution of the burden of the tax for such roads, personal and political influence have all caused the existing deplorable conditions of our highways.

I am gratified, Mr. Speaker, to have been able to participate in the consideration of this important legislation, and rejoice with other Members of this House in the thought that we have finally devised a measure that is ideal and practicable in its provisions and one that is bound to result in great good to every man, woman, and child in the United States. By enacting this legislation we have again fulfilled one of the party pledges of the Democratic platform and have convinced the people that we are only seeking to serve their best interests.

The good-roads bill, as devised by the gentleman from Missouri, is, in every particular, feasible and practical; it provides that for every dollar which a State receives, that State must contribute a dollar from its own funds. Such money is to be expended upon whatever roads may be mutually agreed upon by the State highway commission and the Secretary of Agriculture. This bill will necessitate the establishment of a State road commission or the appointment of a road commissioner, and every State will have to keep up the road built by Federal and State money or suffer the penalty of losing future appropriations for road construction.

The greatest advantage, in my opinion, of the measure before us is that it provides for a series of graduated appropriations which will permit of the conservative and efficient development of an organization to the working out of a suitable policy. The public are assured of the full and free use of Federal-aid roads, because provision has been made that no tolls shall be charged.

From the latest statistics obtainable we learn that our 12,000,000 farmers in the United States, after the enactment of this law, will save approximately $5,000,000 a year on their cotton crops, ten millions a year on wheat crops, and twelve and a half millions on the corn crop. We further note that under existing transportation facilities our farmers pay as much to transport a bushel of potatoes an average distance to their markets as it does to transport a similar bushel of potatoes from Dublin, Ireland, to New York City by ocean transport. The cost to the American wheat grower to move his grain an average distance to railroad stations or elevators is as much as the cost of transportation of a bushel of wheat from New York to Liverpool. A large portion of this enormous cost to the American farmer is due to bad roads over which he must haul his grain. According to information received from the Office of Public Roads, the cost of wagon transportation on the excellent Government highways of Germany, France, and England is only 10 cents per ton per mile, which is less than half the cost in the United States, and thus the European farmer has a great advantage over the American producer in this respect.

One of the greatest drawbacks now confronting our rural population is the fact that they must market their crops while the roads are in fair condition regardless of what market prices may be or what the demand for the product may be. In many sections of our country the farmer is unable to rush his grain or his produce to market when prices are high or when the products are seasonable. Under existing conditions he must haul his products when he is usually needed in the field. With the establishment of adequate roads he will be in position to come to market when the weather is inclement and when he can not work in the fields, thus saving a great deal of time.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am not urging the necessity of good roads for the benefit of our farmers alone, or for the handling of traffic, but I advocate good roads because it is essential to the development and progress of our great country, particularly the great interior, and because it is essential to the furtherance of our physical, moral, and social welfare.

We have, it is estimated, nearly 50,000,000 people living in rural sections and more than 42,000,000 of our population living in crowded cities. We have more than 1,000,000,000 acres of uncultivated, unused land waiting to be settled and developed. Is it therefore not of vital importance that we make these vast tracts of unused lands accessible and communicable to the thousands of people crowded in our cities who are anxious to take up farming in some form or other? The "back-to-the-farm" movement would be greatly stimulated.

Closely related to public-highway maintenance is our rural-school system. The percentage of attendance is far lower where pupils attend schools located on bad roads. In sections where the highways are neglected we find no interest in community circles or social intercourse among neighbors. Thus, our whole system of rural education may be transformed through the medium of good roads. Mr. Speaker, I believe every dollar that we expend for the use of better highways will yield a good return to the Government, the State, and the community, not only in dollars and cents, but in the happiness, contentment, and enlightenment of that portion of population so benefited. The prosperity of our Nation depends upon our rural population, who own $16,614,647,491, or one-third of the total real estate values of the United States. This portion of our population pay more in county, State and Federal taxes, in proportion, than any other class of American citizens. They are the wealth producers of the land. Give them good roads, and we will double the wealth produced upon our farm lands.

I shall not take the time to discuss fully the advantages gained in the Rural Delivery Service of our country by the establishment of good highways. We appropriate $53,000,000 for the maintenance of our rural service and employ nearly

44,000 rural carriers who travel upward of 1,100,000 miles of road per day, and of this mileage only 6 per cent can be called good roads; the remaining 94 per cent are traversed at great expense of time and energy, due wholly to bad conditions of public highways. To the rural service we have added the Parcel Post System. During the year 1915 we have handled more than 113,000,000 parcels on rural and city routes. Under the able direction of our present Postmaster General, our postal facilities have been greatly improved, but we can never hope to have a thoroughly efficient rural post service until our roads are bettered. But I dare say that in a short time we will have adequate post roads established in every section of the country, and every farmer in the land will be receiving his daily paper, his market report, and his parcel post.

Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for a wise scheme of road improvement which will yield innumerable returns to not only the Federal Government in the way of efficient service and decreased expenses in the Rural Delivery Service, but will be commensurate with our plans for better transportation and from a military standpoint it will be invaluable, for our Military Establishment of to-day demands rapid transportation for men, ammunition, and supplies. A system of railways is not sufficient for all lines of transportation. This must be supplemented by good highways.

The Nation and State that increases and improves its public highways, improves the quality of its citizenship, increases the wealth of the farm and the factory, and adds to its military assets.

On account of the interest which this bill has created among the business men and farmers of this country, I shall extend my remarks by including a copy of the bill.

[Public—No. 156—64th Congress.]

An act (H. R. 7617) to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to cooperate with the States, through their respective State highway departments, in the construction of rural post roads; but no money apportioned under this act to any State shall be expended therein until its legislature shall have assented to the provisions of this act, except that, until the final adjournment of the first regular session of the legislature held after the passage of this act, the assent of the governor of the State shall be sufficient. The Secretary of Agriculture and the State highway department of each State shall agree upon the roads to be constructed therein and the character and method of construction: *Provided*, That all roads constructed under the provisions of this act shall be free from tolls of all kinds.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of this act the term "rural post road" shall be construed to mean any public road over which the United States mails now are or may hereafter be transported, excluding every street and road in a place having a population, as shown by the latest available Federal census, of 2,500 or more, except that portion of any such street or road along which the houses average more than 200 feet apart; the term "State highway department" shall be construed to include any department of another name, or commission, or official or officials, of a State empowered, under its laws, to exercise the functions ordinarily exercised by a State highway department; the term "construction" shall be construed to include reconstruction and improvement of roads; "properly maintained" as used herein shall be construed to mean the making of needed repairs and the preservation of a reasonably smooth surface considering the type of the road; but shall not be held to include extraordinary repairs, nor reconstruction; necessary bridges and culverts shall be deemed parts of the respective roads covered by the provisions of this act.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, the sum of $5,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, the sum of $10,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the sum of $15,000,000; for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the sum of $20,000,000; and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the sum of $25,000,000. So much of the appropriation apportioned to any State for any fiscal year as remains unexpended at the close thereof shall be available for expenditure in that State until the close of the succeeding fiscal year, except that amounts apportioned for any fiscal year to any State which has not a State highway department shall be available for expenditure in that State until the close of the third fiscal year succeeding the close of the fiscal year for which such apportionment was made. Any amount apportioned under the provisions of this act unexpended at the end of the period during which it is available for expenditure under the terms of this section shall be reapportioned, within 60 days thereafter, to all the States in the same manner and on the same basis, and certified to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the State highway departments and to the governors of States having no State highway departments in the same way as if it were being apportioned under this act for the first time: *Provided*, That in States where the constitution prohibits the State from engaging in any work of internal improvements, then the amount of the appropriation under this act apportioned to any such State shall be turned over to the highway department of the State or to the governor of said State to be expended under the provisions of this act and under the rules and regulations of the Department of Agriculture, when any number of counties in any such State shall appropriate or provide the proportion or share needed to be raised in order to entitled such State to its part of the appropriation apportioned under this act.

SEC. 4. That so much, not to exceed 3 per cent, of the appropriation for any fiscal year made by or under this act as the Secretary of Agriculture may estimate to be necessary for administering the provisions of this act shall be deducted for that purpose, available until expended. Within 60 days after the close of each fiscal year the Secretary of Agriculture shall determine what part, if any, of the sums theretofore deducted for administering the provisions of this act will not be needed for that purpose and apportion such part, if any, for the fiscal year then current in the same manner and on the same basis, and certify it to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the State highway departments, and to the governors of States having no State highway departments, in the same way as other amounts authorized by this act to be apportioned among all the States for such current fiscal year. The Secretary of Agriculture, after making the deduction authorized by this section, shall apportion the remainder of the appropriation for each fiscal year among the several States in the following manner: One-third in the ratio which the area of each State bears to the total area of all the States; one-third in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of all the States, as shown by the latest available Federal census; one-third in the ratio which the mileage of rural delivery routes and star routes in each State bears to the total mileage of rural delivery routes and star routes in all the States, at the close of the next preceding fiscal year, as shown by the certificate of the Postmaster General, which he is directed to make and furnish annually to the Secretary of Agriculture.

SEC. 5. That within 60 days after the approval of this act the Secretary of Agriculture shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury and to each State highway department and to the governor of each State having no State highway department the sum which he has estimated to be deducted for administering the provisions of this act and the sum which he has apportioned to each State for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and on or before January 20 next preceding the commencement of each succeeding fiscal year shall make like certification for such fiscal year.

SEC. 6. That any State desiring to avail itself of the benefits of this act shall, by its State highway department, submit to the Secretary of Agriculture project statements setting forth proposed construction of any rural post road or roads therein. If the Secretary of Agriculture approve a project, the State highway department shall furnish to him such surveys, plans, specifications, and estimates therefor as he may require: *Provided, however*, That the Secretary of Agriculture shall approve only such projects as may be substantial in character and the expenditure of funds hereby authorized shall be applied only to such improvements. Items included for engineering, inspection, and unforeseen contingencies shall not exceed 10 per cent of the total estimated cost of the work. If the Secretary of Agriculture approve the plans, specifications, and estimates, he shall notify the State highway department, and immediately certify the fact to the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury shall thereupon set aside the share of the United States payable under this act on account of such project, which shall not exceed 50 per cent of the total estimated cost thereof. No payment of any money apportioned under this act shall be made on any project until such statement of the project, and the plans, specifications, and estimates therefor, shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

When the Secretary of Agriculture shall find that any project so approved by him has been constructed in compliance with said plans and specifications he shall cause to be paid to the proper authority of said State the amount set aside for said project: *Provided*, That the Secretary of Agriculture may, in his discretion, from time to time, make payments on said construction as the same progresses, but these payments, including previous payments, if any, shall not be more than the United States' pro rata part of the value of the labor and material which have been actually put into said construction in conformity to said plans and specifications; nor shall any such payment be in excess of $10,000 per mile, exclusive of the cost of bridges of more than 20 feet clear span. The construction work and labor in each State shall be done in accordance with its laws, and under the direct supervision of the State highway department, subject to the inspection and approval of the Secretary of Agriculture and in accordance with the rules and regulations made pursuant to this act.

The Secretary of Agriculture and the State highway department of each State may jointly determine at what times, and in what amounts, payments, as work progresses, shall be made under this act. Such payments shall be made by the Secretary of the Treasury, on warrants drawn by the Secretary of Agriculture, to such official or officials or depository as may be designated by the State highway department and authorized under the laws of the State to receive public funds of the State or county.

SEC. 7. To maintain the roads constructed under the provisions of this act shall be the duty of the States, or their civil subdivisions, according to the laws of the several States. If at any time the Secretary of Agriculture shall find that any road in any State constructed under the provisions of this act is not being properly maintained he shall give notice of such fact to the highway department of such State, and if within four months from the receipt of said notice said road has not been put in a proper condition of maintenance then the Secretary of Agriculture shall thereafter refuse to approve any project for road construction in said State, or the civil subdivision thereof, as the fact may be, whose duty it is to maintain said road, until it has been put in a condition of proper maintenance.

SEC. 8. That there is hereby appropriated and made available until expended, out of any moneys in the National Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $1,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and each fiscal year thereafter, up to and including the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, in all $10,000,000, to be available until expended under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture, upon request from the proper officers of the State, Territory, or county for the survey, construction, and maintenance of roads and trails within or only partly within the national forests, when necessary for the use and development of resources upon which communities within and adjacent to the national forests are dependent: *Provided*, That the State, Territory, or county shall enter into a cooperative agreement with the Secretary of Agriculture for the survey, construction, and maintenance of such roads or trails upon a basis equitable to both the State, Territory, or county, and the United States: *And provided also*, That the aggregate expenditures in any State, Territory, or county shall not exceed 10 per cent of the value, as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture, of the timber and forage resources which are or will be available for income upon the national forest lands within the respective county or counties wherein the roads or trails will be constructed; and the Secretary of Agriculture shall make annual report to Congress of the amounts expended hereunder.

That immediately upon the execution of any cooperative agreement hereunder the Secretary of Agriculture shall notify the Secretary of the Treasury of the amount to be expended by the United States within or adjacent to any national forest thereunder, and beginning with the next fiscal year and each fiscal year thereafter the Secretary of the Treasury shall apply from any and all revenues from such forest

10 per cent thereof to reimburse the United States for expenditures made under such agreement until the whole amount advanced under such agreement shall have been returned from the receipts from such national forest.

SEC. 9. That out of the appropriations made by or under this act, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to employ such assistants, clerks, and other persons in the city of Washington and elsewhere, to be taken from the eligible lists of the Civil Service Commission, to rent buildings outside of the city of Washington, to purchase such supplies, material, equipment, office fixtures, and apparatus, and to incur such travel and other expense as he may deem necessary for carrying out the purposes of this act.

SEC. 10. That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to make rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 11. That this act shall be in force from the date of its passage.

Approved July 11, 1916.

## For the relief of S. Spencer Carr.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HENRY A. COOPER,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I introduced the bill for the relief of S. Spencer Carr, and desire to have made a permanent, public record of the facts in this very deserving case as these are set forth in the following excerpts from the report of the Committee on Military Affairs:

RACINE, WIS., *November 9, 1903.*

Hon. H. A. COOPER, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: As per your suggestion that I write you about the 9th instant, I hereby take advantage of the privilege of doing so, and I hope that my letter will not prove tedious to you as it will necessarily have to be quite long.

I was sworn into service September 18, 1861, in the Eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry for the term of three years, and served as an enlisted man until July 10, 1862, when I was commissioned second lieutenant. Just after the seven days' battle of the Chickahoming Swamps, Ga., under Gen. George B. McClellan.

I served as second lieutenant one year and was promoted to first lieutenant July 1, 1863; both of my promotions were given me in the field, one just after the hard-fought campaign in front of Richmond, and the other just before the Battle of Gettysburg. I served with my regiment continuously from the date of my muster in, September 18, until about March 1, 1864, when I was detailed as acting inspector general, Cavalry depot, at Grisboro Point, Va. I was relieved of duty as inspector general April 5, 1864, and appointed assistant regimental quartermaster of my regiment, in which capacity I served until about August 1, 1864. I was relieved from this duty and appointed assistant provost marshal at Camp Stoneman with the understanding I would have time to make out my reports as quartermaster and make my final settlement with the Government preparatory to being mustered out at expiration of term of service (I was mustered for the unexpired term of three years both as second and first lieutenant), September 18, 1864, which was now close at hand. Here is where my troubles began. About the first week in September I was ordered to join my regiment, which was then stationed about 28 miles from Washington on the upper Potomac. This order came from John M. Walt, major in command of the regiment at that time (while I had permission of Col. William Gamble, who was colonel of my regiment, but was then in command of Camp Stoneman, to remain and finish my quartermaster reports, which must be done before I could be mustered out of service).

I was working hard to get through and at the time believed it could make no difference if I finished and reported afterwards to the regiment, which, of course, I would have to do in order to get my discharge. A few days after this I was arrested in Washington by order of the provost marshal and sent to the old Carrol place, which was then used for the purpose of holding officers who were under arrest and awaiting court-martial. No charges were ever preferred against me, and I never received any notice of any having been made, and after many endeavors to learn under what kind of offense I was held in arrest, I was at last notified from Gen. C. C. Augin's headquarters that I was dismissed from the service and was at liberty to go where I chose. This notice was given me some time in November, some weeks after my term of service had legally expired; furthermore, I had not even the privilege to make any defense in my own behalf, or so much as a statement. I have always believed that if charges had been preferred against me and I given an opportunity to make a defense, I would then and there have been honorably discharged from service, having earned such discharge by having legally earned it by full service for which I enlisted.

You may think it strange that I did not make any effort in all this time, but at that time I was young and inexperienced and also very much embarrassed by the position I found myself in. I felt very bitter at the way I had been treated after having more than three of the best years of my life served my country through her darkest hours, and to the best of my ability; I had been turned down in disgrace, as I could have then proved without any just cause. I said then that I would never ask justice or favor, but would go on to the end without a word, but late years I have so yearned to have my war record made good that it has rarely been out of my mind, and I do now pray that you may be able to have it so amended as that I may be placed on the roll of honorably discharged soldiers and I may leave this as my right and due to my children.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

S. SPENCER CARR.

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RACINE, WIS., *June 3, 1916.*

This is to certify that I was a member of Company B, Eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and personally acquainted with Samuel Spencer Carr, of Racine, Wis., having served in the same company; that he was mustered into service on the 18th day of September, 1861, as a private soldier, at St. Charles, Ill., and was promoted to rank of second lieutenant July 10, 1862, and to rank of first lieutenant July 30, 1863, and was discharged October 5, 1864, having served full three years.

HIRAM S. DEWITT, *Hampshire, Ill.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of June, 1916.

[SEAL.] CHARLES S. BACKUS, *Notary Public.*

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D. C., May 22, 1916.*

Hon. HENRY E. HULL, M. C.,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. HULL: I have been informed by Mr. FIELDS, chairman of your subcommittee on desertions, that my bill (H. R. 10697) for the relief of S. Spencer Carr has been referred to you for personal consideration and report.

May I be permitted to say a word concerning the beneficiary of this bill and the merits of his case.

Mr. Carr is a highly respected citizen of my home city, Racine, Wis. I have known him personally for more than 20 years. He has until recent years been a hard-working employee of the J. I. Case Threshing Machine Co., and the main support of a large family. He is now nearing 80 years of age and without competency to insure him necessary comforts during the few remaining years of his life.

Please note that, according to the records of the War Department, Carr was mustered into the service to serve three years, and that he had served more than three years at the time of his dismissal. He considered himself virtually out of the service, and delayed availing himself of a discharge until he should fix up his accounts as quartermaster. During this period he was arrested, and, without trial or court-martial, dismissed from the Army. He alleges that his arrest was not justified and that, had he been given opportunity, he could have so proved. But the order for dismissal having been issued by the War Department, there was no recourse under the law, and the soldier since then has been bearing the ignominy of a charge of desertion against his military record of more than three years. I am sure that you will see the merit of this case, and sincerely hope that you will see your way clear favorably to report the bill back to your committee, so that this soldier may not be compelled to leave behind him a stain on his military record.

With personal regards,

Very sincerely, yours, HENRY ALLEN COOPER.

## Kansas City as a Postal Center.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, Kansas City has won another fight by the inclusion of an item in the public buildings bill for the purchase of a site for a terminal post office at Kansas City. Our showing convinced the committee that it was necessary to have a new building immediately adjacent to the splendid new Union Station at Kansas City to be used exclusively for postal business, leaving the old building for an uptown post office, for the courts, and Federal offices. All collections and distribution of mail throughout the city will be made from the new terminal post office, and a great deal of unnecessary handling and delay will be saved.

When Secretary McAdoo and Assistant Secretary Newton were in Kansas City last fall they made a personal investigation into the situation and decided that Kansas City was typical of a new condition which must prevail in the postal business. The growth of the parcels post and the distribution of the railway mail will make necessary the location of post-office buildings in great postal centers immediately adjacent to the railway station. These will be strictly business buildings of the highest possible utility. They will be the most modern type of structures, filled with labor-saving devices and facilities for the rapid handling of mail.

The action of the committee in authorizing the purchase of the site is the first step toward the erection of such a building. The site is to cost $1,000,000, and is to be followed by the erection of a building to cost $2,000,000. The present Federal building is to be enlarged and remodeled to accommodate an uptown post office and the courts and Federal offices.

The history of this legislation shows how rapidly Kansas City has advanced. In 1911 I introduced a bill for the enlargement of the old post office at Ninth and Grand, asking for an appropriation of a quarter of a million dollars. In 1912 I increased this amount to $500,000, and succeeded in having the bill passed. It was supposed at that time that the old building could be enlarged sufficiently to meet the increased demands of Kansas City and the increased demand for office room for Federal activities. In that bill I had provision made for absorbing the cost of the changes made necessary by the grading of

McGee Street, thereby relieving the city treasury of the charge of about $10,000. When the Government architects looked over the situation, however, they concluded that the old building could not be enlarged to answer demands of the future upon Kansas City as a postal center, and they advocated that the appropriation be used only to the extent necessary to remodel the old building for Federal offices.

About $300,000 of the $500,000 authorized for the old building will be used for remodeling that structure for its temporary use as a post office and for its permanent use as court and Federal office building. The Federal officials, however, who looked into the matter at my request, took the broad view of the situation that we must build for the future of Kansas City as a postal center. They decided to try at Kansas City the experiment of having an exclusive postal building. Kansas City, therefore, will be one of the first cities in the country to have an exclusive postal building adjacent to its railway station and an uptown post office with Federal offices attached.

The population of Kansas City, Mo., to-day is 300,000; that of Kansas City, Kans., is 100,000. While Kansas City, Kans., has a separate post office, yet much of its mail passes through Kansas City, Mo., on account of the movement of the trains or because letters are addressed to "Kansas City" without naming the State. Kansas City does the postal business of a very large extent of country. In postal matters as in banking, our business is much larger than our population would indicate, and it is sometimes difficult for eastern people to understand how we do so much more business than eastern cities of the same or larger population.

The present post office and Federal building was occupied in May, 1900, 16 years ago.

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| The site cost | $451,578.33 |
| Original cost of building | 900,050.47 |
| Extensions | 400,077.32 |
| Total | 1,751,706.12 |

At that time the postal receipts at Kansas City were $670,256. In 1916 the postal receipts at Kansas City were $3,393,543.97. This shows a growth of 500 per cent in postal business in 16 years. This record is astonishing, but it is based on official figures.

In other activities of the Federal Government, Kansas City is also a center. It is the seat of an internal-revenue district which employs 65 deputies and collected for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, $2,774,845.03. The following Government agencies are quartered in the present Federal building: The post-office inspectors; the customs office; the customs assay office; the special customs agent; the Immigration Service; the special pension examiners; the supervising superintendent of public buildings; the mechanical inspector of the Treasury Department; the Navy recruiting station; the United States courts, with the clerk, attorney, and marshal; the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice; the grain standardization laboratory; the civil-service board; the Secret Service, and the pure-food inspectors.

All of the present building, except what will be used for an uptown branch of the post office, will be needed in the immediate future for Government offices. The court rooms will have to be enlarged, as it is my intention to introduce in Congress very soon a bill for a session of the Circuit Court of Appeals at Kansas City. The Interstate Commerce Commission frequently holds hearings in Kansas City and the Federal Trade Commission will undoubtedly do so. I find that the naturalization examiners, with headquarters now in St. Louis, have applied for quarters in Kansas City, claiming that $2,500 per annum can be saved in time and traveling expenses of their inspectors if their offices were located in this city, which is practically in the center of their district. The Bureau of Rural Organizations has also applied for space.

The Federal reserve bank is located at Kansas City, and while the bank provides its own quarters, yet the bank examiners for this district must also be located there. It is probable that the rural-credit board will establish a regional headquarters in Kansas City.

At the present time there are a number of Government agencies in rented quarters in Kansas City which can not be accommodated in the present building. Uncle Sam pays about $50,000 a year rent, as follows:

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| Depot quartermaster | $750 |
| River and harbor engineers | 2,976 |
| Weather Bureau | 1,440 |
| United States Army | 750 |
| Army recruiting station | 2,124 |
| Interstate Commerce Commission | 3,350 |
| Regional bank examiners | 960 |
| Bureau of Animal Industry | 1,200 |
| Government free-employment bureau | 1,500 |
| Railway Mail Service, at terminal station | 35,230 |
| Total | 50,280 |

Until recently we had also the headquarters of the National Board of Managers of National Soldiers' Homes. The grain inspection and warehouse laws will also require inspectors at Kansas City.

The truth is that the Federal building at Kansas City is not for the use of that city alone, but to supply proper facilities to carry on the activities of the Government and enforce the laws of Congress in all the territory of which Kansas City is the center. Public buildings of this character are positively necessary in the centers of Federal activity in the country, and the present public-buildings bill was drawn with the greatest care to recognize and provide for these plain business demands.

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### The Mexican Situation.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GEORGE W. EDMONDS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. EDMONDS. Mr. Speaker, in reading over House Report No. 885, relative to House resolution No. 257, bearing on the right of a Representative in Congress to hold commission in the National Guard, I am glad to note that the conditions of the Mexican War of 1846 and of to-day were somewhat similar in so far as the patriotism of the Members of Congress who resigned their seats to go to the front to fight is concerned.

In this connection prominent mention should be made of the distinguished record of Gen. Thomas Lyon Hamer, of Ohio, who was a Member of the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth Congresses, and while serving as a Member of the House obtained for Ulysses S. Grant his appointment to the United States Military Academy. Gen. Hamer, in his forty-sixth year, volunteered as a private in 1846, and the next day was commissioned by President Polk as brigadier general. He commanded his brigade at the battle of Monterey in the division of Gen. W. O. Butler, and when that officer was wounded, he succeeded to the command of the division. He died in Monterey, Mexico, December 3, 1846, and on March 2, 1847, Congress passed a resolution of sorrow, and as an expression of their deep regret presented his nearest male relative with a sword. His remains were afterwards brought to Georgetown, Ohio, whose citizens erected an imposing monument to his memory.

But on the other hand, conditions existing in Mexico in the early days and to-day are entirely different, when comparing the actions of the administration of Polk and the Wilson administration, the latter, as we all know, being one of vacillation.

Our troubles with Mexico during the past three years are too fresh in the minds of the people to relate, but two very serious blunders should not be passed by unmentioned. One was the sending, during the first part of the present administration, of John Lind, an agent unexperienced in diplomatic affairs, to the City of Mexico for the purpose of forcing the resignation of Huerta, the then de facto President. Lind had hardly begun to play the cards of the great game of diplomacy, in which he was unskilled, when the shrewd and wily officials of the Mexican state department won with hands down.

The other blunder was the lifting of the embargo that had been placed by the administration of William Howard Taft upon the wholesale passing of arms and munitions of war across the Texas boundary into Mexico. The lifting of this embargo by President Wilson had the effect of uniting the two factions of Carranza and Villa for the time being, which was the prime factor in bringing about the present deplorable conditions in Mexico and along the border.

Twenty years ago the Cleveland administration left, as a heritage of the Government to the succeeding administration of McKinley, the solving of the Cuban problem. Unless all signs fail between now and the 7th of November, the present administration will come to an end March 4 next, when history will repeat itself and another Republican administration will be called upon to assume the reins of Government and to commence to solve the great diplomatic and international questions involved in the present Mexican question.

The Cuban question was settled successfully in a comparatively short time. But this is not to be expected in the case of Mexico, which is a country many times larger than Cuba and where the questions to be settled are more numerous and intricate. Had the present incumbent of the White House

started out with a less vacillating policy and intrusted the adjustment of the differences to experienced diplomatic agents the conditions of to-day would be different. While during the past few weeks there has been less disturbance on the border than heretofore, it is simply the calm before the storm, for intervention is bound to come. It will not be an intervention for annexation, but an intervention to assist the Mexicans to place their house in order and help prepare them for a future existence that can be made as happy and prosperous as that of any people on the face of the earth, for no nation has been blessed with so many natural resources as Mexico; the country can be converted into a veritable land of milk and honey.

Who is best fitted to commence such a great undertaking—an Executive who has already demonstrated the terrible consequences of vacillation or one whose record in all walks of life, whether public or private, has been that of firmness, steadfastness, consistency, logic, sincerity, and honesty?

Certain Democratic Senators of late have been endeavoring to force an issue in the coming presidential campaign of a Justice of the United States Supreme Court becoming a candidate for office. Before Charles E. Hughes was practically unanimously chosen as the standard bearer of the Republican Party he did everything to discourage his nomination at Chicago. But because he was nominated, and because he immediately sent in his resignation as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, thereby taking the judiciary out of politics, he is being criticized most harshly for leaving the bench to accept the nomination which came to him unsolicited.

There seems to be, also, objection to a person of a judicial temperament becoming President. William Howard Taft was also formerly a judge, and in his judicial temperament he deemed it fit to place an embargo upon the transmission of munitions of war into Mexico. Had this embargo been permitted to stand by President Wilson our troops would probably not be patrolling the border to-day.

I am perfectly willing, Mr. Speaker, to intrust the solution of the Mexican situation during the next four years to the judicial mind and temperament of Charles Evans Hughes.

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**Child-Labor Law.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN G. COOPER,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. COOPER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, to my mind one of the best and greatest laws that has ever been placed upon our statute books is the child-labor law which has passed both House and Senate during this session of the Sixty-fourth Congress. This law provides for the conservation of our boys and girls, and protects them from those who would commercialize their little bodies and take away from them that great inheritance of education which rightfully belongs to every American child.

Now, Mr. Speaker, my purpose in calling attention to the child-labor law at this time is to try and make it clear to the minds of the voters of our country, and especially organized labor, that it was the votes of Republican Members of the House and Senate that made possible the passage of the measure. Ever since the bill passed the Senate there has been a special effort on the part of the Democratic publicity bureau, Democratic newspapers, and some who claim to be leaders in organized labor movements, but who in reality are Democrats who are trying to deliver the votes of the workingmen for Mr. Wilson and his party, to lay claim for the credit for the passage of the child-labor law.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the fact that for 20 years, up to the time that I began my term in Congress on March 4, 1915, I was actively associated with the workers of the country as a locomotive fireman and engineer. At the present time I am a member in good standing of one of the greatest labor organizations of the country, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and I challenge the right of Mr. Wilson and his Democratic brethren to claim the credit for the passage of the child-labor law.

I am one of the members of the Committee on Labor, which considered the measure and reported it to the House, recommending its passage. Every Republican member of the Labor Committee voted to report the bill favorably for passage. Can the Democrats who are members of the committee say the same? No. On the contrary, three of the Democratic members of the Labor Committee signed a minority report opposing the measure. But for the action of the Republican members the bill never could have been reported out of committee.

Mr. Speaker, who was it that stood on the floor of the House, and also in the Senate, and fought for hours to defeat the passage of this bill for the protection of little children? Was it the Republican Members? No; it was the great leaders of the Democratic Party from the South, who were listening to the wolfish cries of the southern cotton and silk mill operators, who tried to prevent the passage of this law. On the final passage of the bill in the House, on February 2, 1916, a total of 179 Republicans voted for the measure and only 1 Republican against it. On the Democratic side 136 voted for the bill and 45 against it. This record speaks for itself; and yet, in face of the fact that it was Republican Members of Congress who advocated the passage of this bill on the floor and later backed up their words by their votes, the Democratic publicity bureau and party leaders are trying to take all the credit for the passage of the child-labor law.

If the Democratic Party is so interested as it now claims it is in protecting children, why does it not pass a law prohibiting the importation of foreign child-made products into our country? During the consideration of the revenue measure one of the Republican Members offered an amendment prohibiting the importation of European child-made products into this country. Where did Democratic Members of this House, these champions of the little children, stand on this amendment? Every Member on the Democratic side voted against this amendment. Now they are pleading for the votes of organized labor on the ground that they are opposed to child labor.

Where did the Democratic champions of the working classes stand on the Borland rider to the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, which would have increased the daily working hours of Government employees and reduced their salaries 10 per cent? Did these champions of labor support the working people during the consideration of the Borland rider? No; 67 members of Mr. Wilson's party who are now trying to appeal to the working classes to support the Democratic Party next November voted to increase the working hours of Government employees and reduce their pay. The record also shows that only one Republican voted in the House for the Borland rider. Yet in the face of these facts the Democratic Party is proclaiming with a loud voice that it is the champion of the laboring people.

But, Mr. Speaker and my Democratic friends, let me predict that you can not fool the workingman voter. They know your record, and they will not be misled by a few so-called labor leaders who are trying to hold positions given them by the administration. If the Democratic Party is the friend of organized labor, why does it not pass the immigration bill, which was advocated by every labor union in the United States?

The Republican Party has always advocated and supported good labor legislation. The Republican Party originated the shorter workday by enacting into law the bill limiting the hours of labor to eight hours a day for all mechanics and laborers employed in the navy yards and other workshops of the Government. It was under a Republican administration that the eight-hour law was amended to include all employees of contractors on public work for the Government.

The Republican Party passed the alien contract labor law preventing the importation of cheap foreign labor into the United States to take the place of American workingmen. The Republican Party is responsible for the convict labor bill, abolishing the contract system of labor for United States convicts. The Republican Party passed the Chinese exclusion act, which protected labor all over the country; also the safety-appliance law compelling railroads to equip cars with automatic couplers and power brakes; the bill known as the ash-pan act, requiring all locomotives to be equipped with self-dumping ash pans, which eliminated the danger of railroad men being killed in getting under engines. The law known as the 16-hour law, which was a great benefit to the railroad employees, and which also made it safer for the public to travel on railroads, was passed by a Republican administration, as was the bill providing for the inspection of locomotive boilers and equipment so as to make it safer and better for railroad employees. The Republican Party is sponsor for the bill creating the Bureau of Mines; also the "phossy jaw" bill for the protection of employees in match factories. Provision was made by Republicans for steel mail cars to protect the lives of mail clerks; and last, but not least, the Republican Party has always stood for the protection of American workingmen from cheap foreign-labor competition through a protective tariff, which I believe is one of the greatest blessings that can come to the American workingman, his family, and his home.

## Capt. John Ericsson, Inventor, Patriot, Benefactor.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ASHTON C. SHALLENBERGER,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Mr. Speaker, I have been intensely interested in the remarks of the gentlemen who have addressed the House in eulogy of that distinguished citizen of the United States and representative of the Swedish race in America, Capt. John Ericsson. Seldom, if ever, has a more valuable contribution been bestowed upon a nation by a citizen than that which Ericsson bequeathed when he wrought the seeming miracle of the *Monitor*, the floating fortress of steel, and gave it as a bulwark of defense to the Republic. It was in keeping with the genius and history of a race which for a thousand years had sailed the seven seas of the world as warrior conquerors of the deep, that a man of viking blood should shape and design the ship that should totally change the art of ocean warfare and determine the destiny of the nations that would control the commerce of the world.

The mightiest battleship that floats is useless without the steel turret which shields its guns and makes possible their fire to every point of the compass. The revolving turret of the modern dreadnaught or battle cruiser is the legitimate and direct descendent of the turret of the *Monitor*, which Ericsson first evolved from his master mind. Ericsson was the author of many inventions that were of fundamental and lasting value to mankind. But he was more than that. He was a fitting representative of that strong and virile race from which he sprung, and which, through the millions of sturdy sons and daughters it has sent to our Republic, has contributed one of the most valuable elements to our national life and development. They have been one of the strongest currents in the stream of races that has flown to America and helped to make our Nation what she truly is to-day, a composite of the best that Europe had to bestow upon us.

I was much pleased to hear the story of the earlier history of the compatriots of John Ericsson in America as told by my colleague, Mr. LOBECK. He and I were both born in Illinois near to Bishop Hill, the first Swedish settlement in the West. Later, 35 years ago, as a young man, I located at Stromsburg, one of the earliest settlements of Swedish people in Nebraska, and my present home is in a congressional district that numbers among its best and most prosperous citizens many of the blood of that sturdy, honest, industrious, and enterprising race of people who gave the genius and patriot John Ericsson to America. They yield to no citizens of American in their loyalty to the Republic and their devotion to the principles and ideals of true Americanism. They are great home builders, the very best of farmers if engaged in agriculture, successful in business or professional life, and hold to the highest standards of education and Christian character. When they came to America they came to make it their home; theirs is no divided allegiance. Like Ericsson they came to live and die Americans and for America first and always. If the hour of national danger or peril shall ever come to us again, the American citizens of Swedish blood will be found, like Capt. Ericsson himself and emulating his great example, giving the very best that is in them and to the uttermost for the safety and preservation of America and American ideals, whether in peace or in war. I desire to extend my remarks by adding a portion of the very interesting speech of my colleague, Mr. LOBECK, because of its historical value and for the further reason that he speaks with the authority of one who knows and feels the spirit that has animated the Swedish people since first they came to our shores to find a home for themselves and their generations that have come after them.

In after years, when citizens of Nebraska who are of Swedish blood shall visit the National Capital here at Washington, it will be a source of satisfaction and just pride for them to see here in the Capital a statue to Capt. John Ericsson, a hero of two continents, a fitting recognition of the contribution that the Scandinavian race has made to America.

Mr. LOBECK said in part:

"If there was any man in this country who was intensely American it was Capt. John Ericsson. Throughout the entire country, from East to West, we do not know anything of Swedish-Americans. They are all Americans. [Applause.] Though often called Swedish-Americans, it is nevertheless true the Swedish-born people, adopted citizens of our Nation, love the land which gave them birth. They are an educated people. They read and recite the sagas, the literature, and sing the songs of their forefathers. They read the history of its warrior kings, its poets, and love its splendid music, instrumental and vocal. While this is all dear to them, above all they love their adopted country, and no citizenship of the United States is truer than they to the Stars and Stripes and what the flag stands for. [Applause.] The first settlement of the Swedish-born people in the West was in 1846, in Henry County, Ill., led by Eric Janson, with a company of about 1,000 men, women, and children from the hillsides and the valleys of Sweden. They established the well-known colony of Bishop Hill in as beautiful a portion of Illinois as can be found, and they and their descendants have transformed it into a veritable garden. I was born in the same county, so known because of the energy, industry, and perseverance of the pioneer Swedish citizens of that county.

"When the Civil War came there were no people in this country of foreign birth who responded better in relation to numbers to the call to preserve the Union and for the defense of the flag. [Applause.] Of the men of Swedish birth in Illinois it is said that every fifth man able to carry arms responded to the call of Lincoln and of the Nation.

"When the news came that John Ericsson had constructed the *Monitor* which won the victory over the *Merrimac* and saved the Capital of the Nation, with the same news came that of victories won by the valor of Swedish-born soldiers in the battle fields of the West.

"The Swedish-born people, their sons and daughters, are and have always been true to this Government, whether you find them in the factories in the New England States, or in the shops of the great centers of manufacture, or in the fields of Minnesota, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, or Illinois; wherever you may find them from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in shops, factory, farm, mine, forest, or as merchants, bankers, or educators, they are a patriotic people.

"They love to speak of John Ericsson and the brave boys who, during the Civil War, were always found loyal to this country. [Applause.]

"In the schools and colleges of our land they have gained highest distinction, and the sons and daughters of Scandinavia in our schools compare favorably with those of any lineage or ancestry. They came to this country poor, with empty hands, but with an ambition to succeed. Their civilization was of the type that read the Bible. They brought the Bible and hymn book with them. They taught their children to worship God. They gave them the best education they could. They taught them to be true Americans, and to-day their children and grandchildren are filling honored places. [Applause.]

"I am glad to be present and vote for this measure; I wish the committee would have recommended a larger amount, still I am pleased that Congress will show its appreciation to the memory of Capt. John Ericsson."

## Federal Aid for Good Roads Made Possible Under the Democratic Administration.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic administration, in the passage of the good roads bill, has added another great achievement to its splendid record of excellent legislation enacted in the interests of the whole people. I desire at this time to point out the essential features of this law so that the main points of it may be easily understood.

The Federal aid road act (Public, No. 156, 64th Cong.) approved by the President, July 11, 1916, appropriates from the Federal Treasury the following amounts to be expended in cooperation with the States in the construction and improvement of rural post roads:

For the fiscal year 1917, $5,000,000; 1918, $10,000,000; 1919, $15,000,000; 1920, $20,000,000; 1921, $25,000,000; total, $75,000,000. As the States are required to make available at least an equal amount or its equivalent in labor and materials, there will be available not less than $150,000,000 for cooperative construction work extending over a period of five years.

This measure for the encouragement of rural road building is fundamentally sound. It should conduce to the establishment of a more effective highway machinery in each State, strongly influence the development of good road building along right lines, stimulate larger production and better marketing, promote a fuller and more attractive rural life, add greatly to the convenience and economic welfare of all our people, and strengthen our national foundations.

The act provides among other things:

1. That the State and the Federal Government shall cooperate in the construction of rural post roads. It seems highly desirable that the two jurisdictions serving the same people shall work together instead of at cross-purposes and that the people shall have the benefit of the joint counsel and direction of the best agencies the two jurisdictions have been able to devise.

2. That each State shall assent to its provisions.

3. That the funds made available shall be used only for the purpose of construction, which is defined as including reconstruction and improvement.

4. That for such purpose each State shall put up at least an equal amount of money or its equivalent in labor and materials.

5. That it shall be the duty of the State or the civil subdivisions thereof, as the law of the State provides, to maintain the roads constructed thereunder.

6. That the money shall be expended in cooperation with the State highway departments of the several States.

7. That the Secretary of Agriculture and the State highway department of each State shall agree upon the roads to be constructed therein and the character and method of construction.

8. That the State highway department of any State desiring the benefits of the act shall submit to the Secretary of Agriculture project statements setting forth proposed construction; that the Secretary of Agriculture may approve or disapprove a project; and that no money shall be paid out of the Federal Treasury under the act on any approved project until the plans, specifications, and estimates therefor shall have been submitted to and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

ROADS AND TRAILS IN THE NATIONAL FORESTS.

The Federal aid road act, in addition to appropriating $75,000,000 for the next five years for rural post roads in the States, appropriates $1,000,000 a year for 10 years, or $10,000,000, of Federal funds for the survey, construction, and maintenance of roads and trails within or only partly within the national forests when necessary for the use and development of resources upon which communities in or near the forests are dependent. The act provides that this expenditure shall be reimbursed eventually by the application of 10 per cent of the annual revenues from the forests within or near which the roads and trails are located. This aid to road building in the national-forest areas is highly equitable, because the Federal Government, which is the owner of assets in many communities of the West, to the extent in some instances of 50 per cent or more, should take its proper part in assisting struggling communities to develop themselves. Without this Federal aid these communities, many of which are just beginning their existence, either would have to bear the full cost of roads or do without proper means of communication for the marketing of their supplies and the conduct of their business. Under the present plan, at the time when these communities need help most, the Federal Government advances the money for road building, which is repaid gradually out of the national forest revenues, in which these communities already share.

The necessity for this legislation was set forth clearly by the Secretary of Agriculture in his annual report for 1914, as follows:

> Assistance should be given in the building of roads to bring into productive use the resources of each region. Therefore the suggestion contained in the last annual report is repeated—that upon a showing of public necessity appropriations be made for specific roads and similar improvements, to be charged against the State's future share of receipts from the forests. Such action would promote the local development of agriculture and other resources.
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> To secure the maximum use of the lands still remaining in Federal ownership further legislation is needed. There must be a constructive program which will promote development and safeguard public interests. The aim should be to make these properties more useful, available to greater numbers, and effectively instrumental in building up industries.

RESULTS EXPECTED FROM ACT.

The $10,000,000 referred to here will be expended over a period of 10 years, making a total contemplated expenditure out of the Federal Treasury for the 5 and 10 year periods of $85,000,000. There will be at the same time an expenditure from State funds of approximately the same amount—perhaps a larger amount—making an aggregate contemplated by the bill of about $170,000,000.

The act furnishes satisfactory safeguards for the efficient expenditure of this money. It will result in a wiser application of large sums which will be expended in the several States in excess of the amounts which it appropriates. It has been estimated that for several years past the Nation has been expending the equivalent of approximately $225,000,000 a year for roads, much of it through inadequate machinery, with consequent waste. Through the improvements of machinery, methods, and processes which this act will effect there will result greatly increased efficiency in handling the additional local funds.

This act is the result of the deliberation not only of the Congress but of the officials of the Department of Agriculture and of the several States. It has the indorsement of the State highway commissioners, and marks a tremendous advance over the proposals heretofore considered.

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## War Prosperity.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. SYDNEY ANDERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in a recent speech the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS] declared that the country "now enjoys a greater era of prosperity than it has ever enjoyed in its history." He proclaimed this era of prosperity as an achievement of the Democratic Party.

That there is in the country a certain specious and temporary prosperity I am not prepared to deny. I assert with the utmost confidence that such prosperity as we now enjoy is specious and temporary, that it is in no way due to anything which the Democratic Party has done, but that, on the contrary, such as it is, it is due to conditions which exist outside the country and over which the Democratic Party exercises no control.

It is a universal rule, tested by the experience of this and other countries, that the increasing or decreasing of the tide of exports is the best and soundest index of the business condition of the country. It is the invariable experience of this country that when business is upon a sound basis, when men are fully employed, when the country is prosperous, the exports increase; and when the country is unprosperous, when business is depressed and labor unemployed, exports decrease. In other words, the volume of exports is the best and most conclusive index of the prosperity of the country.

During the fiscal years 1915 and 1916 the exports of the United States, taken in the aggregate, have very materially increased, indicating a certain quality and degree of prosperity. We have a right, however, to examine the character of these exports, with a view of ascertaining the exact quality of the prosperity which we now enjoy and of determining its sources and its probable future continuance.

Since the 1st of August, 1914, the greatest war in all history has been carried on. Of necessity, the war has not only disturbed and modified business conditions in the countries immediately affected, but has disturbed and modified business conditions the world over. It has served to increase tremendously the demand for certain products of the United States, while cutting off the sources of supply of many articles heretofore furnished by the warring countries. I think I shall be able to demonstrate conclusively that this war alone is responsible for the tremendous increase in exports during the past two years.

For the purpose of making this demonstration I have divided the export business of the country into two great groups, the first including those general classes of exports, the demand for and consumption of which is not directly increased by the war in Europe. In this class I have included agricultural implements, animals, carriages, wagons, cement, coal, cotton cloths, earthen and stone ware, electric machines and appliances, gasoline engines and steam engines, mill, mining, and other machinery, oils and paints, timber, furniture and other manufactures of wood, and articles of general classes the consumption of which is not materially increased by the demands of war. In the aggregate this class includes a total of $745,973,561 in value of the exports in 1913.

In the second class I have included those articles the demand for and consumption of which has been greatly and directly increased by the war abroad. This class includes explosives, fire-

arms, certain fabrications of steel and iron, wearing apparel of wool, automobiles and auto tires, wire nails and spikes, barb wire, leather boots and shoes, harnesses, beef, bacon, ham, butter, cheese, and condensed milk, zinc, cotton knit goods, horses, mules, grains, and so forth, exported in 1913 to the amount of $422,294,233.

In the aggregate the two groups include exports amounting in value to $1,168,267,794, or 53 per cent of the total exports in 1913.

I have excluded from the groups raw cotton, which constituted about 26 per cent of the total exports in 1913, and certain other classes of articles, such as chemicals, which, owing to their intrinsic character or unusual trade conditions, I thought it improper to include in either group.

For the purposes of comparison and in order to determine the increase or decrease in the tide of exportations as to each group, I have ascertained and compiled in a table which I shall print in connection with these remarks the total exports of each group for the years 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916. At the time these figures were compiled I did not have the detailed exports for the fiscal year 1916 for the months of May and June, and I therefore ascertained the total exports for that year on the basis of the preceding five-sixths of a year.

In order that the comparison and the conclusions to be drawn from it may be perfectly clear, I should state that the figures are for the fiscal years, and while the beginning of these years does not coincide with the beginning of the present administration, it is sufficiently coincident for the purposes of comparison.

The first nine months of the year 1913 the Government was under the control of the Republican Party, and during the last three months of that year under the control of the Democratic Party, but during that time no change had occurred in the fiscal policy of the Government affecting directly, at least, the business of the country.

During the first three months of the fiscal year 1914 the Democratic Party was in control of the Government, but the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill was still in effect. On the 3d day of October, 1914, the Underwood tariff law went into effect, and was in effect during the remaining nine months of that year.

The European war began in August, 1914, and affected the exports of the country during the remainder of the fiscal year 1915 and 1916.

In general terms, the year 1913 may be considered a normal Republican year, 1914 a normal Democratic year, and 1915 and 1916 were normal except as they were affected by the war in Europe.

With this explanation, I now again direct your attention to the two groups of exports which I have already outlined, namely: Group I, including nonwar materials; and Group II, including war materials.

In 1913, a Republican year, the exports of Group I, nonwar materials, amounted to $745,973,561; and Group II, war materials, to $422,294,233.

In 1914, a Democratic year, the exports included in Group I, nonwar materials, had fallen to $647,789,184; and Group II, war materials, to $346,045,051—a falling off in the exports of Group I amounting to $98,184,377, or 13.1 per cent; and in Group II, war materials, $76,248,182, or 18 per cent.

In 1915 the exports of Group I, nonwar materials, continued to fall off until it had been reduced for that year to $473,593,164. In other words, the business depression resultant upon the passage of the Underwood tariff law continued to show its effects in the exports of nonwar materials included in Group I. Now let us see what happened in Group II, war materials. In 1915 the exports of this group had increased until it represented the enormous sum of $1,126,093,109. In other words, while the exports of nonwar materials fell off $272,383,397, or 36.5 per cent, as compared with the normal Republican year 1913, the exports of war materials included in Group II increased $683,799,476, or 154 per cent, as compared with 1913.

Again in 1916, as compared with 1913, the exports of the first group, nonwar materials, had fallen off to $652,669,848, while exports of Group II, war materials, had increased to $1,910,288,672.

To express it yet more clearly, exports of nonwar materials as compared with 1913, a normal year, fell off in 1916 $93,303,713, or 12.5 per cent, while Group II, war materials, increased as compared with 1913, $1,487,944,439, or 352 per cent.

In other words, in those classes of exports unaffected by the war, there was a falling off in 1914, 1915, and 1916, while in Group II, war materials, there was a falling off in 1914 and an increase in 1915 and 1916.

What demonstration could more conclusively prove that the present prosperity of the country, such as it is, is due solely to increased business and to increased employment resulting from the abnormal demand for war materials?

And yet this fact may be made even more apparent by a comparison of the percentage of exports represented during each of these fiscal years by each group. For illustration, in 1913 Group I, nonwar materials, represented 63.9 per cent of the exports of that year, and war materials 36.1 per cent. In the normal Democratic year which followed, 1914, these proportions were scarcely changed, Group I representing 65.1 per cent and Group II 34.9 per cent of the total.

But now, coincident with the beginning of the war in Europe, the character and percentage of these exports change. From 65.1 per cent of the total exports in 1914, Group I, nonwar materials, fell in 1915 to 29.6 per cent, while Group II, war materials, increased in proportion from 34.9 per cent in 1914, a normal Democratic year, to 70.4 per cent of the total exports in 1915.

This change is even more marked in 1916, when Group I represented 25.4 per cent of the total exports, and Group II 74.6 per cent.

An analysis of these changes shows that while in the normal years both of Democratic and Republican rule, nonwar materials represented approximately two-thirds of the exports, in 1915 and 1916, during the war in Europe, nonwar materials represented but one-fourth of the exports, while war materials represented three-fourths.

We may carry the analysis and the comparison yet another step in our demonstration of the character and the quality of our present prosperity, as represented by the exports of the country. In 1913 we had a favorable balance of trade of $615,498,124. In other words, we sold foreign countries $615,498,124 more of goods than they sold us. In 1914, a Democratic year, that balance of trade dropped to $435,758,368. In 1915 the war in Europe had increased the balance of trade to $1,042,008,725, but if from this balance of trade we deduct the excess of exports of war materials in 1915 as compared with 1913, instead of having a balance of trade of $1,042,008,725 in our favor, we have a balance of $358,208,249, which is $257,289,875 less than it was in 1913 under the Republican Party.

And again in 1916, if the excess of exports of war materials as compared with 1913 is deducted from the balance of trade of that year, instead of being $1,947,994,112 it will be found to be $458,999,673, or $156,498,451 less than it was in 1913.

To sum up the whole proposition, if the tremendous increases in exports due solely and wholly to the war are eliminated, the exports of the country during the past three years of Democratic rule have been in every instance less than they were in the preceding Republican year, and the balance of trade favorable to the United States has been correspondingly smaller.

It is only necessary to call attention to the tremendous increases that have taken place in the exports of certain classes of articles included in group 2 and used very extensively by the armies in Europe to demonstrate the fact that these tremendous increases are due to the war alone and the necessity of appropriate legislation to meet the situation that will result when the quantity of these exports again becomes normal.

For example, the exports of aeroplanes and aeroplane parts, motorcycles, automobiles and automobile parts, and automobile tires increased from $3,943,222 in 1913 to $150,066,444 in 1916. The exports of this class of articles in 1913 represented 1.4 per cent of the total exports for that year and in 1916 represented 3.7 per cent of the total exports for that year.

Exports of brass and articles made from brass in 1913 amounted to $6,396,831 and in 1916 to $123,355,188. In 1913 these exports were twenty-six one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the total exports for that year, and in 1916 they were 3 per cent of the total exports for that year.

The exports of horses and mules increased from $4,693,897 in 1913 to $100,931,558 in 1916. In 1913 they were nineteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the total exports, and in 1916 they were 2.5 per cent of the total exports.

In 1913 the exports of barley, corn, oats, rice, rye and rye flour, wheat and wheat flour were $199,118,256 and in 1916 they were $428,471,198. In 1913 these articles constituted 8.2 per cent of the exports for that year; in 1916 they constituted 16.6 per cent of the exports for that year.

The exports of leather, boots and shoes, harnesses, and saddlery were $28,414,836 in 1913 and $88,387,158 in 1916. In 1913 they constituted 1 per cent of the total exports, and in 1916 they were 2.2 per cent of the total exports.

Fresh and canned beef, bacon, hams, and shoulders were exported to the amount of $49,048,698 in 1913 and $151,647,318 in 1916. In 1913 they represented 2 per cent of the total exports for that year; in 1916, 3.7 per cent of the total exports for that year.

In 1913 the exports of explosives amounted to $3,850,806; in 1916 they amounted to $399,852,192. In 1913 they represented eleven one-hundredths of 1 per cent of the total exports for that

year; in 1916 they represented 9.9 per cent of the total exports for that year.

The significance of these figures is not alone in the fact that the exports of these materials used by the armies of Europe have so tremendously increased, but lies particularly in the fact that while they have increased they represent a percentage of the total exports from two to one hundred times greater in 1916 than they did in 1913.

A falling off in these exports is inevitable at the end of the war, and an increase of the imports is just as inevitable. Our Democratic friends, however, refuse to see this fact or to make any suitable provision to meet it.

Perhaps, in all charity, we ought to give the Democratic administration credit for one prosperous year out of four. I confess that one prosperous year out of four is a fairly good average for the Democratic Party. As Republicans, however, we should be ashamed of our record if it were no better than that.

Every thinking man who has studied the business of the country during the past three years, as it is evidenced by the export business of the country, concluding, as he must, that such prosperity as now exists is due solely and wholly to the unexampled commercial conditions due to the war, and remembering that this extraordinary demand will soon be cut off, and looking forward to the commercial contest with a regenerated and newly energized Europe, must be appalled at our failure to make adequate preparation for the conditions which will then exist.

The Democratic Party has ever confined its efforts to an attempt to "lock the stable door after the horse has been stolen." Its policy has been one of "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," and its efforts have been limited to an abortive attempt to correct these evils. It has no vision, and having no vision makes no provision for the future. It has done practically nothing to meet the conditions which may be upon us ere we are aware. It has made no effort to protect our industries and our agriculture against the flood of European importations which is certain to come as a result of the efforts of the European countries to give employment to millions of men who are now under arms.

It has done nothing to foster and develop our business in Central and South America, and it is a conspicuous fact in this respect that our exports to these countries have not appreciably increased during these two years in which foreign competition has been very materially decreased.

We have spent millions of dollars to prepare the country against an attack by armed force, but nothing has been done to defend the country against the commercial attacks which are certain to come at the conclusion of the war.

GROUP I.—*Exports of nonwar materials.*

| | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GROUP I-A. | | | | | |
| Abrasives: | | | | | |
| Emery wheels, and other | | $809,720 | $155,778 | $786,879 | $1,439,[illegible]92 |
| All other | $1,654,718 | 1,501,692 | 1,458,854 | 1,065,369 | 1,576,662 |
| Hay rakes and tedders | | 746,748 | 410,121 | 181,570 | 221,022 |
| Mowers and reapers | 16,994,386 | 20,567,107 | 18,658,363 | 3,514,803 | 5,590,476 |
| Planters and seeders | 1,606,120 | 1,314,874 | 865,642 | 382,070 | 268,458 |
| Plows and cultivators | 7,212,118 | 7,659,278 | 5,265,926 | 2,528,410 | 3,003,[illegible]50 |
| Thrashers | 4,253,417 | 4,805,694 | 2,519,276 | 1,029,234 | 1,565,[illegible]90 |
| All other agricultural implements and parts | 5,573,064 | 5,478,751 | 4,246,461 | 2,668,891 | 4,576,378 |
| Cattle | 8,870,075 | 1,177,199 | 647,288 | 702,847 | 2,677,[illegible]20 |
| Hogs | 159,370 | 151,747 | 133,751 | 93,067 | 257,[illegible]06 |
| Sheep | 626,915 | 605,725 | 534,543 | 182,279 | 211,[illegible]18 |
| Babbitt metal | 240,432 | 287,147 | 181,958 | 122,597 | 383,124 |
| Blacking | 715,346 | 782,154 | 649,395 | 503,629 | 741,408 |
| Carriages | | 902,541 | 537,118 | 172,556 | 104,224 |
| Wagons | | 1,429,330 | 1,121,389 | 1,118,868 | 1,110,[illegible]82 |
| Cars: | | | | | |
| Steam passenger | | 1,761,923 | 2,018,853 | 509,024 | 843,[illegible]12 |
| Freight and other | | 7,981,215 | 5,390,705 | 1,198,806 | 21,351,044 |
| Bicycles, etc | | 703,436 | 608,031 | 424,892 | 805,302 |
| Wheelbarrows, pushcarts, and trucks | 601,225 | 799,700 | 632,977 | 299,550 | 285,138 |
| Celluloid, and manufactures of | 2,024,371 | 1,639,046 | 1,387,541 | 722,850 | 2,185,962 |
| Cement | 5,083,046 | 5,822,107 | 3,382,282 | 3,241,686 | 3,566,072 |
| Clocks and parts | 1,661,468 | 1,823,608 | 1,552,725 | 1,660,033 | 2,572,080 |
| Watches | 1,880,870 | 1,783,249 | 1,460,424 | 914,776 | 1,391,508 |
| | | 70,591,261 | 54,319,451 | 23,973,686 | 57,447,914 |
| GROUP I-B. | | | | | |
| Pig iron | 2,658,428 | 4,141,210 | 2,850,830 | 2,071,308 | 4,536,762 |
| Scrap | 1,196,409 | 1,435,426 | 841,450 | 359,199 | 2,243,326 |
| Locks | | 1,639,936 | 1,450,557 | 1,063,912 | 1,416,006 |
| Hinges and other | 5,708,223 | 4,670,526 | 4,581,322 | 3,231,672 | 5,197,114 |
| Coal: | | | | | |
| Anthracite | | 24,523,800 | 20,881,373 | 19,389,523 | 18,[illegible]33,822 |
| Bituminous | | 40,573,421 | 39,539,640 | 36,039,640 | 43,61[illegible]754 |
| Coke | | 3,318,437 | 2,789,814 | 2,304,475 | 3,769,950 |
| Cotton cloth: | | | | | |
| Unbleached | | 14,928,599 | 13,838,005 | 12,292,261 | 17,149,342 |
| Bleached | | 3,161,526 | 3,302,969 | 3,854,039 | 5,523,594 |
| Colored | | 12,578,109 | 11,613,653 | 12,536,215 | 17,794,466 |
| Building bricks | | 785,696 | 623,696 | 369,869 | 267,930 |
| Fire brick | | 1,098,893 | 976,335 | 652,131 | 1,561,716 |
| Chinaware | | 135,768 | 166,635 | 97,089 | 231,984 |
| Earthen and stone ware | 1,492,979 | 455,763 | 413,261 | 294,014 | 390,924 |
| Tiles, except drain | | 921,535 | 779,323 | 499,611 | 267,180 |
| Tiles, all other | | 1,569,364 | 1,394,572 | 851,724 | 545,928 |
| Electric dynamos | | 2,773,407 | 2,634,365 | 2,013,130 | 1,427,352 |
| | | 118,681,416 | 108,276,809 | 97,909,812 | 124,601,240 |
| GROUP I-C. | | | | | |
| Electric fans | | 358,781 | 432,656 | 258,309 | 358,044 |
| Electric lamp, arc | | 186,019 | 76,766 | 30,766 | 157,020 |
| Electric lamp, incandescent | | 294,692 | 219,439 | 473,149 | 1,209,246 |
| Electric motors | | 3,797,917 | 4,541,541 | 2,818,743 | 4,162,608 |
| Telephones | | 1,371,546 | 1,552,951 | 1,149,361 | 944,046 |
| Telegraph instruments | | 215,105 | 136,592 | 76,271 | 148,542 |
| Electric, all other | | 17,447,061 | 10,440,114 | 8,152,141 | 12,822,798 |
| Apples, dried | | 2,898,211 | 2,628,445 | 3,270,638 | 1,415,688 |
| Apples, green and ripe | | 7,898,634 | 6,089,701 | 8,087,466 | 6,513,558 |
| Apricots | | 3,513,473 | 1,937,771 | 2,241,061 | 2,401,116 |
| Prunes | | 6,655,870 | 4,602,546 | 3,274,197 | 4,266,092 |
| Raisins | | 1,512,642 | 997,575 | 1,718,547 | 6,069,828 |
| Fruits, canned | | 5,599,373 | 4,863,946 | 6,064,765 | 7,753,872 |
| Furniture of metal | | 1,029,267 | 913,968 | 565,401 | 1,113,790 |
| Jewelry | | 1,467,942 | 1,005,285 | 631,387 | 1,110,582 |
| Bathtubs | | 280,183 | 183,659 | 114,061 | 135,570 |
| Adding machines | | 1,252,168 | 1,670,385 | 448,536 | 981,852 |
| Air-compressing machinery | | 614,352 | 352,587 | 386,720 | 525,456 |
| Brewers' machinery | | 618,247 | 321,888 | 124,709 | 28,434 |
| | | 57,071,483 | 43,228,013 | 39,889,308 | 52,215,[illegible]93 |

GROUP I.—*Exports of nonwar materials*—Continued.

| | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GROUP I-D. | | | | | |
| Cash registers | | $4,309,648 | $4,834,626 | $1,371,053 | $1,390,572 |
| Cotton gins | | 261,941 | 179,404 | 45,048 | 71,742 |
| Cream separators | | 430,152 | 390,313 | 214,682 | 488,654 |
| Elevator machinery | | 1,659,309 | 1,382,893 | 808,973 | 1,495,194 |
| Electric locomotives | | 273,516 | 437,452 | 324,478 | 506,808 |
| Gas stationary engines | | 412,024 | 382,613 | 419,819 | 348,342 |
| Gas auto engines | | 1,728,596 | 1,391,893 | 1,402,334 | 2,414,910 |
| Gas marine engines | | 1,586,926 | 1,599,364 | 753,476 | 2,386,524 |
| Gas stationary engines | | 2,876,536 | 2,331,216 | 1,200,308 | 2,243,982 |
| Gas traction engines | | 5,177,495 | 1 416,294 | 983,198 | 2,872,542 |
| Steam locomotives | | 6,442,674 | 3,692,225 | 2,115,866 | 13,870,926 |
| Steam marine engines | | 60,608 | 120,507 | 69,681 | 57,648 |
| Steam stationary engines | | 708,383 | 737,877 | 298,246 | 373,494 |
| Steam traction engines | | 1,343,346 | 657,815 | 236,589 | 1,015,016 |
| All other engines, steam | | 1,450,250 | 932,078 | 794,361 | 2,637,738 |
| All other engine parts | | 3,766,112 | 3,356,764 | 2,956,103 | 6,635,580 |
| Mill machinery | | 1,570,706 | 1,125,660 | 1,437,968 | 2,457,948 |
| Mining machinery | | 10,041,432 | 9,556,634 | 6,298,157 | 7,386,824 |
| | | 44,099,554 | 34,527,663 | 21,690,710 | 48,654,454 |
| GROUP I-E. | | | | | |
| Paper mill machinery | | 1,203,442 | 653,873 | 706,939 | 916,800 |
| Printing presses | | 2,561,887 | 2,487,277 | 1,431,070 | 1,489,218 |
| Pumps, pump machinery | | 4,023,650 | 3,723,337 | 2,539,693 | 4,335,168 |
| Refrigerating machinery | | 871,786 | 978,457 | 636,064 | 669,036 |
| Sewing machines | | 11,573,740 | 11,491,801 | 6,223,521 | 5,353,521 |
| Shoe machinery | | 1,826,706 | 1,502,375 | 1,193,212 | 1,339,032 |
| Sugar mill machinery | | 2,889,055 | 2,547,662 | 2,092,016 | 6,542,172 |
| Textile machinery | | 1,918,383 | 1,611,279 | 1,525,644 | 2,521,608 |
| Typesetting machines | | 1,653,640 | 2,047,469 | 664,349 | 705,162 |
| Windmills | | 1,318,771 | 1,018,349 | 709,697 | 1,074,126 |
| Sawmill machinery | | 859,902 | 671,305 | 316,814 | 354,252 |
| All other woodworking machinery | | 1,505,223 | 1,383,951 | 189,738 | 1,135,761 |
| All other machinery, n. e. s | | 22,564,291 | 21,750,386 | 17,773,245 | 30,518,289 |
| Pipes and fittings | | 16,761,540 | 14,337,973 | 9,229,754 | 11,154,636 |
| Radiators, etc | | 700,881 | 429,720 | 296,845 | 204,912 |
| Steel rails | | 13,429,311 | 10,259,109 | 4,537,978 | 17,154,639 |
| Railway track material | | 2,806,212 | 2,534,148 | 2,407,490 | 4,963,122 |
| Safes | | 478,395 | 369,527 | 191,546 | 257,574 |
| Scales and balances | | 1,181,685 | 1,128,764 | 661,073 | 1,016,124 |
| | | 90,181,536 | 81,519,762 | 53,737,288 | 91,704,294 |
| GROUP I-F. | | | | | |
| Galvanized iron | | 7,652,956 | 3,773,425 | 3,557,979 | 6,080,778 |
| Iron sheets and plates | | 1,721,454 | 600,491 | 505,145 | 1,968,360 |
| Steel plates | | 9,239,105 | 5,986,554 | 4,471,972 | 10,878,216 |
| Steel sheets | | 5,368,957 | 6,769,237 | 4,017,965 | 4,183,416 |
| Stoves and ranges | | 2,146,192 | 1,808,196 | 1,624,833 | 1,456,038 |
| Structural iron and steel | | 16,054,788 | 12,533,003 | 6,289,466 | 11,313,126 |
| Axes | | 1,177,353 | 1,115,303 | 502,217 | 692,358 |
| Hammers and hatchets | | 385,307 | 358,021 | 213,735 | 596,466 |
| Saws | | 1,605,940 | 1,474,077 | 972,167 | 1,627,104 |
| Shovels and spades | | 401,848 | 328,625 | 257,431 | 538,974 |
| Lamps, etc | | 3,170,233 | 2,806,034 | 2,222,747 | 2,978,718 |
| Motor boats | | 768,523 | 519,584 | 273,516 | 768,204 |
| Organs | | 647,451 | 555,743 | 190,160 | 220,392 |
| Piano players | | 388,293 | 335,299 | 356,532 | 417,708 |
| All other pianos | | 1,513,672 | 1,416,888 | 808,565 | 1,610,304 |
| Piano players | | 287,720 | 177,683 | 80,427 | 71,274 |
| Rosin | | 17,359,145 | 11,217,316 | 6,220,321 | 8,108,274 |
| Turpentine | $10,039,135 | 8,794,656 | 8,095,958 | 4,476,306 | 4,279,812 |
| | | 78,733,593 | 59,871,437 | 37,037,484 | 57,798,524 |
| GROUP I-G. | | | | | |
| Corn oil cake meal | | 1,131,330 | 909,407 | 708,206 | 337,338 |
| Cotton seed cake meal | | 15,225,798 | 11,007,441 | 18,906,370 | 17,814,324 |
| Linseed meal | | 12,982,423 | 9,650,379 | 9,048,061 | 11,951,790 |
| Crude mineral oils | | 7,750,767 | 6,812,672 | 4,911,634 | 5,319,726 |
| Illuminating oil | | 66,189,265 | 74,500,162 | 53,107,082 | 50,309,790 |
| Lubricating and paraffin oil | | 29,574,410 | 27,852,959 | 28,499,786 | 34,504,344 |
| Lampblack | | 505,748 | 421,548 | 368,825 | 382,716 |
| All other dry colors | | 785,907 | 690,836 | 1,072,736 | 1,527,162 |
| Ready-mixed paint | | 1,211,580 | 1,096,335 | 884,700 | 1,311,192 |
| Varnish | | 1,267,860 | 1,038,864 | 682,352 | 762,486 |
| White lead | | 944,205 | 1,013,506 | 1,070,646 | 1,727,544 |
| Paper bags | | 436,799 | 422,075 | 449,952 | 507,030 |
| Books, maps, etc | | 10,092,719 | 9,639,860 | 8,096,473 | 9,021,528 |
| Boxes and cartons | | 386,877 | 505,203 | 340,387 | 646,614 |
| Paper hangings | | 482,836 | 453,412 | 251,815 | 350,634 |
| Playing cards | | 319,786 | 330,194 | 268,145 | 377,178 |
| News print | | 2,450,520 | 2,177,483 | 3,079,137 | 2,897,004 |
| Writing paper and envelopes | | 1,351,226 | 1,179,232 | 1,098,197 | 1,404,828 |
| All other | | 3,520,109 | 3,351,689 | 2,659,747 | 4,292,796 |
| | | 156,610,165 | 153,053,257 | 136,094,293 | 145,446,214 |
| GROUP I-H | | | | | |
| Paraffin and paraffin wax | | 9,679,273 | 6,516,338 | 10,589,845 | 11,638,170 |
| Plaster | | 391,634 | 283,325 | 189,418 | 207,780 |
| Plated ware | | 1,102,284 | 899,391 | 624,490 | 1,100,304 |
| Roofing felt | | 1,427,695 | 1,029,127 | 880,944 | 1,488,918 |
| Grindstones | | 167,386 | 129,184 | 105,729 | 165,096 |
| Stone | | 609,967 | 676,723 | 433,579 | 348,072 |
| Roofing slate | | 282,789 | 188,057 | 86,020 | 37,608 |
| All other stone | | 1,176,680 | 1,152,794 | 639,588 | 708,252 |
| Hickory timber | | 309,896 | 297,643 | 73,786 | 49,206 |
| Oak timber | | 125,818 | 63,850 | 10,563 | 50,070 |
| Walnut timber | | 692,665 | 582,059 | 78,338 | 102,672 |
| All other | | 3,095,029 | 2,512,501 | 720,836 | 616,260 |
| Firewood | | 228,244 | 201,080 | 156,234 | 100,596 |

GROUP I.—*Exports of nonwar materials*—Continued.

| | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GROUP I-H—continued. | | | | | |
| Timber: | | | | | |
| Hewn | | $933,887 | $788,327 | $163,106 | $246,318 |
| Sawed pine | | 9,516,618 | 7,821,364 | 2,785,379 | 3,343,500 |
| All other pine | | 700,072 | 562,720 | 229,491 | 274,188 |
| Lumber: | | | | | |
| Cypress | | 455,649 | 420,982 | 319,065 | 370,704 |
| Fir | | 8,650,747 | 8,709,140 | 4,251,620 | 2,955,150 |
| Gum | | 2,580,286 | 2,104,017 | 715,017 | 1,081,956 |
| | | 42,126,619 | 34,848,601 | 23,054,646 | 24,944,856 |
| GROUP I-G. | | | | | |
| Lumber | | | | | |
| Oak | | 13,377,912 | 10,661,310 | 4,870,864 | 4,919,823 |
| White pine | | 1,661,396 | 1,606,864 | 662,786 | 1,150,008 |
| Yellow pitch pine | | 18,596,796 | 19,521,719 | 7,565,272 | 9,043,074 |
| Yellow shortleaf pine | | 1,086,593 | 634,103 | 160,219 | 88,614 |
| Other pine | | 5,211,158 | 3,001,399 | 1,123,212 | 1,121,928 |
| Poplar | | 1,719,274 | 1,448,622 | 962,248 | 1,087,716 |
| Redwood | | 1,355,340 | 1,917,315 | 1,102,532 | 1,195,974 |
| Spruce | | 619,837 | 557,838 | 462,087 | 1,343,208 |
| All other | | 6,661,021 | 6,948,239 | 2,925,984 | 3,707,094 |
| Joists and scantling | | 479,969 | 206,919 | 103,456 | |
| Railroad ties | | 2,616,513 | 2,561,543 | 2,036,200 | 2,377,920 |
| Shooks, box | | 1,366,649 | 1,270,477 | 1,303,127 | 1,834,416 |
| Shingles | | 261,058 | 112,403 | 30,578 | 56,106 |
| Shooks, all other | | 3,037,943 | 1,542,272 | 1,024,093 | 1,045,290 |
| Staves | | 7,325,535 | 5,552,230 | 2,481,592 | 3,499,542 |
| Heading | | 346,258 | 332,612 | 258,662 | 313,152 |
| All other staves | | 3,087,005 | 3,028,612 | 1,650,760 | 3,276,366 |
| Doors, sash, and blinds | | 1,598,442 | 1,139,378 | 559,258 | 296,160 |
| Furniture | | 7,295,256 | 6,529,249 | 2,923,203 | 3,081,078 |
| | | 77,701,915 | 68,879,194 | 33,206,133 | 39,497,466 |
| GROUP I-K | | | | | |
| Trimming, molding, etc | | 1,023,581 | 654,635 | 295,135 | 434,240 |
| Woodenware | | 767,317 | 573,154 | 450,814 | 534,888 |
| Wood pulp | | 765,020 | 529,741 | 369,741 | 1,739,100 |
| All other | | 7,620,101 | 7,516,876 | 5,884,112 | 7,651,620 |
| | | 10,176,019 | 9,265,006 | 6,999,802 | 10,359,854 |
| RECAPITULATION, GROUP I. | | | | | |
| A | | 70,591,261 | 54,319,451 | 23,973,686 | 57,447,914 |
| B | | 118,681,416 | 108,276,800 | 97,909,812 | 124,601,240 |
| C | | 57,071,483 | 43,228,013 | 39,889,308 | 52,215,032 |
| D | | 44,090,554 | 34,527,663 | 21,090,710 | 48,654,454 |
| E | | 90,181,536 | 81,519,762 | 53,737,288 | 91,704,294 |
| F | | 78,733,593 | 59,871,437 | 37,037,484 | 57,798,524 |
| G | | 156,610,165 | 153,053,257 | 136,094,293 | 145,446,214 |
| H | | 42,126,619 | 34,848,601 | 23,054,646 | 24,944,856 |
| J | | 77,701,915 | 68,879,194 | 33,206,133 | 39,497,466 |
| K | | 10,176,019 | 9,215,006 | 6,999,802 | 10,359,854 |
| Total Group I | | 745,973,561 | 647,789,184 | 473,593,164 | 652,669,848 |
| Total Group II | | 422,294,233 | 346,045,051 | 1,126,093,709 | 1,910,238,672 |
| Grand total | (1) | 1,168,267,794 | 993,824,235 | 1,599,686,873 | 2,562,908,520 |

[1] 51 per cent of total 1913.

*Percentage of total exports in Group I.*

| | Per cent. |
|---|---|
| 1913 | 63.9 |
| 1914 | 65.1 |
| 1915 | 29.6 |
| 1916 | 25.4 |

*Percentage of total exports in Group II.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913 | 36.1 |
| 1914 | 34.9 |
| 1915 | 70.4 |
| 1916 | 74.6 |

GROUP II.—*Exports of war materials.*

| | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GROUP II—A. | | | | | |
| Horses | $4,764,815 | $3,960,102 | $3,388,819 | $64,056,534 | $77,950,608 |
| Mules | 732,095 | 733,795 | 690,974 | 12,726,143 | 23,080,950 |
| Brass bars, sheets and plates | 780,530 | 1,177,626 | 791,629 | 6,149,183 | 29,994,654 |
| Brass, articles made from | 4,448,343 | 5,219,205 | 3,966,645 | 12,819,373 | 93,561,534 |
| Barley | 1,267,999 | 11,411,819 | 4,253,129 | 18,184,070 | 21,106,764 |
| Corn | 28,957,450 | 28,800,544 | 7,608,028 | 39,359,014 | 27,084,114 |
| Corn meal | 1,519,792 | 1,444,530 | 1,165,861 | 1,923,214 | 1,523,974 |
| Oats | 1,135,135 | 13,206,247 | 757,527 | 57,419,964 | 44,678,972 |
| Rice | 851,402 | 765,447 | 721,046 | 3,158,335 | 5,096,242 |
| Rye | 4,844 | 1,210,384 | 1,555,012 | 14,733,409 | 14,829,536 |
| Rye flour | 17,029 | 21,311 | 31,119 | 416,182 | 581,508 |
| Wheat | 28,447,584 | 89,036,428 | 87,953,456 | 333,552,226 | 227,272,920 |
| Wheat flour | 50,999,797 | 53,171,537 | 54,454,175 | 94,869,343 | 86,297,178 |
| Aeroplanes | 105,805 | 81,750 | 188,924 | 958,019 | 2,566,074 |
| Aero parts | | 25,802 | 37,225 | 583,427 | 4,958,053 |
| Motorcycles | | 749,072 | 1,234,194 | 1,494,176 | 3,331,518 |
| Automobiles: | | | | | |
| Commercial | | 1,737,141 | 1,181,611 | 39,140,682 | 58,678,056 |
| Passenger | | 24,275,793 | 25,392,963 | 21,113,953 | 41,122,986 |
| Parts | | 5,240,599 | 6,624,282 | 7,853,183 | 21,868,080 |
| | | 242,317,161 | 201,406,499 | 729,440,439 | 785,282,616 |

GROUP II.—*Exports of war materials*—Continued.

| | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GROUP II–B. | | | | | |
| Cartridges | $2,294,921 | $2,657,106 | $3,521,533 | $17,714,205 | $40,155,283 |
| Gunpowder | 556,725 | 378,123 | 247,200 | 5,091,542 | 147,897,720 |
| All other | 812,491 | 815,577 | 916,280 | 17,746,362 | 211,799,184 |
| Firearms | 3,358,419 | 3,971,872 | 3,442,297 | 9,474,947 | 15,979,164 |
| Bar iron | 577,898 | 925,562 | 502,132 | 446,146 | 2,801,739 |
| Wire rods | 1,416,271 | 2,178,669 | 1,623,170 | 2,744,018 | 5,556,684 |
| Billets, ingots, and blooms | 5,154,221 | 5,335,128 | 1,042,854 | 4,815,233 | 33,722,886 |
| Wearing apparel, wool | 1,743,022 | 2,460,326 | 2,148,235 | 9,108,900 | 22,610,064 |
| Auto tires | 2,657,869 | 3,943,220 | 3,505,267 | 4,963,270 | 17,541,672 |
| Nuts, bolts, and washers | | 1,700,205 | 1,635,707 | 1,635,707 | 2,552,520 |
| Car wheels | | 518,133 | 414,371 | 183,290 | 740,892 |
| Castings | | 3,564,014 | 2,631,997 | 1,288,131 | 2,992,308 |
| Nails and spikes, wire | 2 865,980 | 2,521,550 | 1,693,632 | 2,476,537 | 6,378,948 |
| Railroad spikes | | 562,200 | 346,032 | 203,663 | 1,358,052 |
| Tin plates, terneplates, and taggers tin | 6,269,329 | 5,767,043 | 3,643,806 | 5,712,104 | 16,521,450 |
| Barbed wire | 5,469,398 | 4,499,508 | 4,039,590 | 7,416,389 | 22,264,176 |
| | | 41,798,336 | 31,354,013 | 90,040,044 | 550,582,738 |
| GROUP II–C. | | | | | |
| Wire, all other | 6,511,490 | 6,198,902 | 3,799,561 | 6,948,938 | 14,460,036 |
| All other manufactures of steel and iron | 24,506,663 | 20,068,523 | 18,230,560 | 20,397,835 | 127,522,503 |
| Leather: | | | | | |
| Sole | 9,947,784 | 8,804,955 | 7,475,843 | 21,351,434 | 27,460,194 |
| Upper calf | | 2,392,861 | 2,175,262 | 1,868,093 | [1] 5,961,858 |
| Boots and shoes, men's, leather | | 11,255,708 | 10,117,963 | 17,679,931 | 37,953,030 |
| Harness and saddlery | | 786,133 | 786,455 | 17,460,519 | 4,971,750 |
| All other leather | | 2,175,179 | 1,881,233 | 13,102,714 | 12,039,726 |
| Beef: | | | | | |
| Canned | | 857,826 | 461,901 | 11,973,530 | 7,200,090 |
| Fresh | | 902,149 | 788,793 | 21,731,633 | 26,210,502 |
| Bacon | | 25,647,167 | 25,879,056 | 47,326,129 | 78,279,246 |
| Hams and shoulders | 24,983,376 | 21,641,386 | 23,767,447 | 29,049,931 | 39,957,480 |
| Butter | 1,468,432 | 872,851 | 877,453 | 2,397,150 | 3,978,003 |
| Cheese | 898,035 | 441,186 | 414,124 | 8,463,174 | 6,057,390 |
| Condensed milk | 1,651,879 | 1,432,848 | 1,341,140 | 3,066,042 | 9,718,950 |
| Naphtha oil | | 14,269,878 | 5,653,210 | 10,296,923 | 27,248,340 |
| Refined sugar | 3,681,072 | 1,681,302 | 1,839,983 | 25,615,016 | 71,603,349 |
| Zinc, bars, plates, and sheets | | 924,234 | 247,864 | 20,067,306 | 44,117,478 |
| Cotton knit goods | | 2,613,806 | 2,546,822 | 13,080,445 | 19,515,324 |
| Cotton wearing apparel, all other | | 6,211,724 | 5,999,887 | 14,743,148 | 10,117,473 |
| | | 138,178,736 | 113,284,539 | 306,613,226 | 574,373,318 |
| RECAPITULATION, GROUP II. | | | | | |
| A | | 242,317,161 | 201,405,499 | 729,440,439 | 785,282,618 |
| B | | 41,798,336 | 31,354,013 | 90,040,044 | 550,582,738 |
| C | | 138,178,736 | 113,284,539 | 306,613,226 | 574,373,318 |
| | | 422,294,233 | 346,045,051 | 1,126,093,709 | 1,910,238,672 |

[1] See upper kid.

*As compared with 1913, exports, decreased or increased.*

| | 1914 | Per cent. | 1915 | Per cent. | 1916 | Per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group I | −$98,184,377 | −13.1 | −$272,380,397 | − 36.5 | − $93,303,713 | − 12.5 |
| Group II | − 76,249,182 | −18 | + 633,799,476 | +154 | +1,487,944,439 | +352 |

## Who Owns Mexico?

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. PAT HARRISON,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article that appeared in La Follette's Magazine, written by Senator LA FOLLETTE, the title of which is "Who owns Mexico?"

The article is as follows:

WHO OWNS MEXICO?

The plain citizen has no determining voice on the issue of war or peace.

For more than 50 years money has been powerful enough to force war upon any country at any time. The student of world politics will find that practically all modern wars have been dictated by great financial interests.

As long as capital finds its best field for profit in its own country, the peace of that country is reasonably secure. But whenever the financial interests have acquired such a control of the national resources of their own country and such mastery over the industrial and commercial affairs of their own people that they can exact profits at will, such interests seek new fields for their surplus capital.

This excess capital which has been ground out of an exploited country and its people, if retained at home, would reduce interest, and farmers, merchants, and small business enterprises could borrow upon reasonable rates.

But the masters of finance consider little else besides their own profits.

The people of the United States do not want war with Mexico. The Mexican people do not want war with us. And both President Wilson and Carranza have manifestly done everything in their power to avert war.

What is it, then, that menaces the peace of these neighboring countries?

It dates far back of the Columbus raid. That outrage upon the residents of one of our border towns was the logical outcome of conditions for which the Mexican people were in no wise responsible. Worse than that! The Mexican people were really innocent victims of traitors in our midst. For it is charged upon the highest authority that the raid was inspired and arranged for in our own country!

Do you get the full meaning of that statement? Benedict Arnold was not more guilty of treason.

The secret service of this Government has a long arm and a strong arm. The net may yet be drawn on the "higher up." It is fair to assume that President Wilson did not disclose all of the facts in his possession when he declared officially a few days after the raid that—

> There were persons along the border actively engaged in creating friction between the Government of the United States and the de facto government of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain owners of Mexican properties.

There you have it! The gentlemen who want war with Mexico are the gentlemen who "have Mexican properties."

They are a very powerful lot. They own most of the United States and a good big slice of Mexico. They are our captains of industry, our masters of finance. They own or control our great newspapers. They are for a "strong Mexican policy," a "strong foreign policy," a big Army, a big Navy.

They prate about "patriotism." They clamor for "preparedness." They have tried to plunge the country into a hysteria of fear that we are going to be thrown into war with Germany or England or Japan.

These privileged interests are not taxing the people of the United States for their great Army and Navy scheme to fight Germany, England, or Japan. They have other plans for the present. They have the irons on the American people. They control the prices of labor and the products of labor. They control the cost of every necessary of life. They own the coal, the oil, the timber, the water powers. Their profits are so enormous that they must lower interest rates or else invest in foreign countries. The timber, oil, coal, and mineral wealth of Mexico and of the Central and South American countries are most inviting in every way. The Governments are poor; the labor is cheap as slave labor.

There is just one risk, and that is a large risk. The Governments are most of them weak. Revolutions in many of them are frequent; property rights are insecure.

But a scheme has been worked out by the masters of finance to make foreign investments as good as a Government bond. Just put the Stars and Stripes back of them!

There was a time when the slogan of munition makers was, "Trade follows the flag." That put the commercial interests behind the Navy. But, "New needs, new deeds," that slogan has been completely reversed. The cry now is, "The flag follows the investment."

We will protect our citizens abroad. Assuredly! That is, our bounden duty, if we are to uphold the standing and dignity of our Government among the other nations of the world—strong or weak. But if the protection of "citizens" were our only concern there would be no "border raids," no "mobilization," no "war talk." There would be no occasion for the clouds that darken so many American homes to-day. "Investments," in these plutocratic times, are vastly more important than "citizens."

These American "investors" in Mexico—millionaires—are using every instrument they can control—their money, their newspapers, their magazines, their political influence, all their "dark and devious ways"—to bring about "intervention." Intervention means war. War means blood and killing and bereaved families and unmentionable horrors. And all for what? Profits! Privilege profits!

Privilege exploits us folks here in our own United States. And privilege makes so much money out of us that it creates a huge surplus. Privilege, never satiated, wants this surplus to be at work bringing in still more profits. Weak and undeveloped (and unexploited) countries offer the biggest returns. So privilege buys a foreign "concession." Cheap! The system looks to that bargain. But to maintain the great profits it is ordinarily necessary to resort to "strong-arm" methods. Sometimes people, like the workers in the mining district of Colorado, Michigan, and West Virginia, resist oppression and exploitation. Machine guns become the order of the day. And after all our present "Mexican situation" is only a "Ludlow" on a bigger scale. Privilege is to-day trying to shape public sentiment so that "our boys" shall be made to march down into Mexico and offer up their lives for the purpose of placing the guarantee of the United States Government behind those gold mines and other concessions and to make the profits of privilege secure.

Who owns Mexico? Really owns it?

Let us glance at a few figures. Dollars, they are—millions and millons of them. And they tell the story. What follows shows the wealth of Mexico, according to nationality of ownership. It is taken from the United States Consular Report No. 168 issued July 18, 1912, by Consul Marion Letcher, of Chihauhau. This table was prepared by William H. Seamon, late of Chihauhau, who, according to the statement of this Consular Report, "has had long experience in Mexico as a mining engineer":

NATIONALITY.

| | Amount of Investment. |
|---|---|
| American | $1,057,770,000 |
| English | 321,302,800 |
| French | 143,446,000 |
| Mexican | 793,187,242 |
| Other nations | 118,535,380 |

Hold fast to these figures. Whatever may be urged upon you in these trying times by way of justifying "intervention," keep in mind this big, outstanding fact:

American financiers have more money invested in Mexico then the Mexicans themselves have—$264,582,758 more.

American investments are biggest of all in that unhappy, system-ridden country.

This American money is found in railroad stocks and bonds, mines, national bonds, ranches, smelters, timber lands, factories, oil, rubber, insurance, and other enterprises.

Let us glance at a few more figures from the same authority:

Railway stocks: Mexican money invested, $125,440,000; American money invested, $235,464,000.

Railway bonds: Mexican money invested, $12,275,000; American money invested, $408,926,000.

Mines: Mexican money invested, $7,500,000; American money invested, $223,000,000.

National bonds: Mexican money invested, $21,000,000; American money invested, $52,000,000.

Smelters: Mexican money invested, $7,200,000; American money invested, $26,500,000.

Timber lands: Mexican money invested, $5,000,000; American money invested, $8,100,000.

Factories (miscellaneous): Mexican money invested, $3,270,200; American money invested, $9,600,000.

Oil: Mexican money invested, $650,000; American money invested, $15,000,000.

Rubber: Mexican money invested, $4,500,000; American money invested, $15,000,000.

Insurance: Mexican money invested, $2,000,000; American money invested, $4,000,000.

In the ownership of Mexico we find the real menace to the peace between Mexico and the United States. American capitalists are desperately attempting to have the flag follow their investments.

They who own Mexico are the ones who want war.

Shall these powerful interests be permitted to succeed in their plot?

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

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**Speech of Hon. Joseph G. Cannon at Greensboro, N. C., July 29, 1916.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JAMES J. BRITT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. BRITT. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to print, I desire to insert a very able speech delivered by the Hon. JOSEPH G. CANNON in the opera house at Greensboro, N. C., on the evening of the 29th of July last, the place of delivery being near the birthplace of the distinguished ex-Speaker of the House.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, all my life, if I have attained anything, it has been along the line of keeping step with the boys who stood for correct policies for the great Republic; not falling out with them, but keeping step with them when they were right, and thinking twice before parting with them if I thought they were not right. The result has been that while as a Representative I have disagreed sometimes about minor matters, yet I have been one of the many millions that stood for the economic policies, the patriotic policies, and the financial policies of the American people under the leadership of the Republican Party. [Applause.]

I entered congressional public life in 1873. That was at the beginning of Grant's second administration. I have been there ever since, except when I had two leaves of absence that I did not ask for. [Laughter.] That has been over 40 years. Now, at a ripe old age I am still on terra firma, unshaken in the belief that a majority of the American people are nearly always right. Sometimes we make mistakes. In a government by the people, where all of us are sovereigns, where a majority determines what shall be done, it would be impossible not to make mistakes here and there. But it is all right. When we make mistakes and have suffered in the school of experience, if we have the patriotism and the judgment to suffer until we can reverse the engine, then it is all right. And there never has been a time in the history of the Republic when we could not throw a monkey wrench into the machinery either in the House, Senate, or White House and stop the machine in two years and reverse it in four years. [Applause.] The four years will be up on the 4th day of next March. [Applause and laughter.] We will vote in November. In the meantime we

are not going into revolution. We are not going to assassinate our President. We are not going to repudiate our form of government, but we will grit our teeth and grin and bear it and wait, observing the law, and when November comes we will vote.

I am an optimist. Ever since I reached the age of responsibility I have believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and have tried to contribute my mite along proper lines.

But you say, "Well, Mr. CANNON, do you mean to say that everybody is equal?" Yes; politically equal. I mean that everybody in the United States of America, whether he be simple-minded, whether he be insane, whether he be a mediocre, or whether he be an exceptional man, every American citizen is entitled under the law and the Constitution to protection of life and liberty and protection in property. [Applause.] I do not mean that every man is equal intellectually or equal in efficiency. In Illinois a man waits until he is 21 years old before he can vote. We might say that he could vote at 18 or at 16. The State fixes the qualifications of the voter, and all the States do not fix them alike, either.

In the State of Pennsylvania you have got to pay a poll tax before you can vote. In the State of Massachusetts you have got to be able to read and write before you can vote, and so in Connecticut. In the State of Indiana you can vote when you are 21 years old, and they are very liberal there, and let a foreigner vote after he has been in the State a year if he has taken out his first papers and declared his intention to become a citizen at the end of five years. The States fix the qualifications of the voter, but under the Constitution of the United States every citizen, every man, every woman, every child, every naturalized citizen, whether he be Irish or English or German, or no matter what his nativity, and every native-born citizen, whether he be black or white, is entitled to liberty and protection under the law. [Applause.] You stand for it, and that is what we stand for in Illinois. You regulate your local affairs as we regulate ours in Illinois. I have lived 80 years. I have lived through two generations. Oh, what marvelous things have happened since the year 1840. Out here at New Garden there were 20 families that loaded their small amount of chattels into wagons and hitched up the horses and passed through this city and started for the Wabash in Indiana. Oh, I recollect very well. I was 4 years old. I am going to tell you a little story. I am not going to talk much politics. I am going to wander along here. When we came to Greensboro a member of our family went into a store, which may have stood right where this opera house stands. I went with her, and she inquired for something that when you rubbed it on a piece of sandpaper there was a light; and she told me afterwards that she paid 25 cents for that box of matches. It was a little tin box, and when they could not borrow fire on that journey of 1,200 miles to the westward there was that little box of matches to fall back on, and she told me that when they got out there on the Wabash there were two matches left. Now you can buy a dozen boxes of safety matches for 5 cents. Well, so much for that.

After that I learned that my father was a Whig. I recollect the log cabins, and where the procession of people would move along and hurrah for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too. You know that boys, when they are quite young, very readily learn the wicked things. I recollect a song they sung as we moved along:

> Maine, Maine, oh, have you heard from Maine?
> How she went, hell bent, for Governor Kent,
> For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too,
> Hurrah, hurrah!

[Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, that was the year when your Grandfather Morehead was elected governor of North Carolina. He was a Whig and lived in this goodly city. [Applause.] William Henry Harrison was chosen President in that year, 1840. And from 1836 down to 1860, whenever you in the State of North Carolina had to pass upon the proper economic policies for the great Republic, after full discussion, you declared for the policies of the Whig Party. [Applause.] We got into trouble, you know, and there was that great contest that made men change their politics, so that men whose judgment said "In God's chancellery we ought to travel on this road," found that their interest said, "No; we will travel here." You did not have a monopoly of that down South. We divided the responsibility with you up North. The evil days came. Great men like Webster and Calhoun disagreed. Why, Webster from Massachusetts was a free trader after he began public life in the Congress of the United States, and Calhoun, South Carolina's favorite son, was a protectionist. The chief interest of Massachusetts was the sea. The chief interest of South Carolina was servile labor and cotton. In the fullness of time Massachusetts was driven from the sea and took to manufactures. Then Webster became a protectionist, and just at that same time Calhoun became a free trader. They changed positions. It was the material standpoint that changed, and they changed with it. Whatever brings the greatest good to the greatest number controls the politics of the leaders and controls the politics of the followers in this country.

Again, in 1844, the gallant Harry of the West, born in Virginia, owner of slaves in Kentucky, the advocate of "the American system," the great leader for protection, came down here and made a speech at Raleigh. Do you want to know what Clay then said? Here it is in substance:

> Free trade between equals might work, but not between cheap labor and well-paid labor.

That was true then, and it is true now. When he said that, we had 17,000,000 people in the United States. We have 100,000,000 people now. We had a country yet to develop, substantially. We had just at about that time settled the forty-ninth parallel for the northern boundary, and Oregon was ours, but California was not yet ours, because the Mexican War had not been fought, and we had not obtained that great stretch of territory reaching substantially from the Mississippi River across to the Golden Gate. All those things have happened since that time. What Clay said so clearly was true then, and it is true now.

Do you down here in North Carolina know that a Government by the people is not a cheap Government? In the United States the people are sovereigns. The sovereign may be ever so patriotic, but unless he is wise and informed, he is not a safe sovereign. Therefore, as the life of a generation is less than 40 years, all the while the on-coming sovereign must be taught, must be educated. There is education and education. Some is gotten on the farm, some in the factory, some is gotten in the school of experience, some is gotten in the schoolroom, but the on-coming sovereign has got to be educated. It is not a cheap Government. Do you know that the United States of America spent last year for education $600,000,000 in the common schools alone and 18,000,000 children of school age were enrolled? Why do we spend all that money? In order that we may remain competent for self-government. These be great burdens.

I call your attention to that, as one item, to show that the American people can not live on Japanese wages and this country remain a Republic. [Applause.] And you know that we have more comforts and conveniences than any other people on earth. We have more railways and telegraphs and telephones. We have more appliances and conveniences of life on farm and in factory. We can not have these things and we can not bear the burdens that we have to bear on the wages of Great Britain. Their wages average two-thirds of what ours do. You can not live in competition with Germany and France when their wages for production are only one-half of what our wages are. Let me read again what Mr. Clay said:

> Free trade between equals might work, but not between cheap labor and well-paid labor.

I might talk all night, and I do not think I could make that any plainer. You may play upon the prejudices of men. You may deceive a part of them a part of the time, but you can not deceive all of them all of the time. [Applause.] And do you know the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it? To buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest market was the old cry of our Democratic friends—a sweet song to the uneducated ear. Why, do you know that since my father moved out of Guilford County into Indiana I have lived to see the population of the United States increase from 17,000,000 of people to over 100,000,000 of people. I have lived to see the tide of immigration go West. I have lived to see that great Northwest country, which was not then admitted to the Union, organized into States. I have lived to see the great struggle, that had to come, that resulted in the abolishment of servile labor. Thank God, it was abolished. Oh, of course, it was precipitated by servile labor or those who controlled it. The Grahams and the Vances and the Mangums and the Moreheads and the Alexanders begged that you would not secede, but a majority thought otherwise; and with Virginia on one side and South Carolina and Tennessee surrounding you, you did secede. And how the sons of the Old North State did fight! You always fight, you know. Generally you are right; but you fight anyway. [Applause.]

Well, it came in the fullness of time. There is not a man or woman within the sound of my voice, I doubt if you can find one in the county of Guilford, I doubt if you can find one in the State of North Carolina, who would not say, "Oh, God, I thank Thee that servile labor does not exist in the United States." On account of the negro? Well, yes; it was good for the negro in the long run that he should no longer be a slave. But let me tell you, there were more white men in North Carolina who did not own negroes, and their freedom from the competition of servile labor was of much more importance than the freedom of the servile labor. [Applause.] If it had not been for

that feeling north of Mason and Dixon's line things might have been different. But, you see, on the north side of the Ohio River there was free labor and sovereign labor, and just on the south side of the Ohio River the same kind of work was performed by slaves. Do you not see, it degraded the white man. Lincoln understood that, and under his leadership that is what gave success. And thank God for it. If I had my way about it, I would about once a year assemble the people at all the churches and thank God that all our people are free, especially the white people. [Applause.]

I did not intend to say all that. I told you I would wander around. I want now to talk to you for a little while about what is to happen in November. Let me say that I did not come to North Carolina to abuse any individual, and as I grow older I do not go anywhere to abuse any individual, especially a person who is in office or who wants to be in office. Abuse does not catch any flies. Great God, every candidate for office in North Carolina might be stricken by the angel of death this minute, everyone in this great audience to whom I am now talking might be stricken by the angel of death, and the balance of the people in North Carolina would be sorry and would give them decent burial, and then, to be practical, they would fill up the ticket and march on in the contest.

Less than 40 years is the life of a generation. How many of us stop to think what has become of the men who 40 years ago were talking to the audiences of that day as I am talking to you to-night! Dead, crossed over, and I have no doubt that God in His providence is doing the best that He can for them, as He will do for us when we cross over. Forty years from now we will have crossed over, and the boy not yet born, the son of the woman now with child, will be carrying on the affairs of this Government. But that is looking a little bit into the future. What may happen to us who will then have crossed over, I do not know and you do not know. Some of us may be wearing asbestos halos and some of us muslin. [Laughter.] But, coming right down to the present, I know a number of you people in Guilford County, some of whom are in public life. I know the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Mr. Osborn, one of your most respected citizens. There are no flies on that commissioner. He is a very able man. He is in now, and I think is conducting his office very well. Sometimes I wish he had a little more power to influence legislation and administration than he has, but he is doing the best he can. I am glad to call him my friend.

Then, there is your present Representative in Congress, Maj. STEDMAN, a dignified gentleman, a Democrat, it is true, but I have no doubt an honest man. I have no stone to throw at him. And I might go through your whole delegation. There is the chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the House of Representatives, Mr. WEBB, who represents the Mecklenburg district, a very able man. Mr. KITCHIN, the Democratic leader of the House, is my personal friend and I would trust him in many things, but not to represent me in Congress and make a revenue law, for on that question he is to me a heretic.

*Do you elect men to Congress, do you elect men to the Presidency, do you elect men to the State legislature because they are tall or short, because they are handsome or homely, or because it is well enough to give them the salaries? Nay, nay! Under our organized government you send men to legislate for you, because you can not all get together and call the roll and legislate for yourselves. Because you can not do that, you must act through the ballot box. So, understand me, while I have no stones to throw at the personality of individuals, yet upon the question of the proper economic policy, if the best friend I had on earth stood for a different policy from what my judgment and experience tell me to be the correct policy, whether he be great or small, tall or short, whether he needed the salary or not, he could not have my vote to sit in the American Congress or in the State legislature unless he stood for the policies that my experience and judgment tell me are for the best interests of the citizens of this great Republic.* [Applause.]

The wealth of North Carolina has been multiplied by five since 1860 and more than doubled in the last 10 years. The total wealth of the people in North Carolina in 1912 was $1,807,000,000, and this great wealth was not developed by the economic policy supported by the Democratic Senators and Representatives from this State. They have steadily voted for a tariff for revenue only, and declared that a tariff for protection is unconstitutional; but your industries here have been built up by that protective policy, and all the people of the State prospered under that policy while it was maintained by a Republican Congress and administration.

Your cotton manufacturing industry is only about 20 years old, and your furniture industry younger; but North Carolina is the second State in the Union in the value of its cotton manufactures, only Massachusetts excelling; and in furniture, I am informed, you rival Michigan. The product of your factories in North Carolina in 1880 was valued at $20,000,000 and in 1912 at $260,000,000, or thirteen times as great. The product of your farms increased from $52,000,000 in 1880 to $190,000,000 in 1912, and the greatest increase was in your cotton crop, which was valued at $18,000,000 in 1899 and $50,000,000 in 1909, or nearly trebled in 10 years.

Who has furnished a market for your cotton in the last two years? Not England nor even New England. The New Orleans Cotton Exchange reports that the southern cotton mills consumed more than 4,000,000 bales of cotton in the last fiscal year, or an amount approximately the same as do the English cotton mills in an ordinary year. England has been the greatest manufacturer of cotton in the world, *and last year the cotton mills in the South, established and developed under the Republican policy of protection*, consumed as much raw cotton as did the mills of England in time of peace. The southern mills consumed one-third of the cotton crop of this country, and another third was consumed by the mills of New England.

With two-thirds of the crop consumed in this country, the price of cotton was fixed at home by the demands of our own domestic mills. *Under the Democratic free-trade policy there would have been no cotton mills built here to consume one-third of the crop in the last year and make the cotton growers practically independent of the European demand.* Why, you consumed more cotton last year in your southern mills than the whole South produced in 1876 or in any one year prior to that, when cotton was your chief mainstay in the South.

You people of North Carolina and other parts of the South have profited by this policy of protection, and, in my judgment, you are now more dependent upon it than are the industries of my State of Illinois; but in politics you have done little or nothing to support that policy. You have elected to Congress Senators and Representatives who have been compelled by party caucus to vote against your economic interest. Your senior Senator [Mr. SIMMONS] resisted the reduction of the tariff on lumber from $2 to $1 per thousand when the Republican Payne-Aldrich bill was under consideration in 1909, and he made one of the best protective speeches I ever heard on that occasion; but, as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate in the Democratic Sixty-third Congress, Senator SIMMONS reported to the Senate and passed a bill which cut off all protection to North Carolina in the lumber industry. In a Republican Congress he stood up and defended the industries of North Carolina with his voice, if not by his vote, but in a Democratic Congress he was compelled by caucus rule to sacrifice the industries of his State because the Democratic Party had declared in the Baltimore platform that protection is unconstitutional.

Senator SIMMONS and his colleague, Senator OVERMAN, and all your Democratic Representatives from North Carolina voted for the Democratic policy, regardless of the needs of the industries in their own State. I have no stones to throw at your Senators and Representatives from the mere personal standpoint, but it must be patent to you that they do not represent many of you on this great economic policy as to what protection shall be given by the tariff to your industries. They are still voting as Calhoun voted before the Civil War, when he believed that the products of servile labor in raising cotton could best be exchanged for manufactured products in England. But you have changed conditions here, and you were able to make the change under the Republican policy of protection.

How many cotton mills were established here under the operations of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law of 1894? I do not know, but I would guess that the increase was not very great. Your development in manufacturing cotton and in other manufacturing was under the Republican Dingley law, enacted in 1897, and the Republican Payne-Aldrich law, which succeeded it in 1909. The Democratic Underwood tariff law, enacted in October, 1913, did not boost your cotton in the first nine months of its operation, because under that law the cotton mills of England and Germany were able to compete with the cotton mills of this country, and importations of cotton goods from England and Germany increased at the rate of a million dollars a month; but since August 1, 1914, all Europe has been engaged in a great war, and that has been your protection. Germany has not been able to send any manufactures to this country, and England has needed her production at home, while Russia has been compelled to buy cotton goods here.

A foreign war is not a very safe defense for the industries of North Carolina to rely upon. All wars must end, and this war, which is costing billions of money, is rapidly exhausting the resources of the contestants. When it ends, and millions of soldiers return to the mills and factories of England, France, Germany, and Austria, with Belgium's factories again engaged

in the production of the commodities of peace, the old competition with the world in the production of cotton goods and other products will resume, and the Underwood schedules will not protect these cotton mills in Greensboro, or give the operatives of these mills any assurance of continuing the present wages, because there will be cheaper labor in the cotton mills across the Atlantic.

If I could take a vote here on the single question of the tariff on cotton goods and lumber products I believe that that vote would be overwhelmingly in support of a tariff for protection. I have no doubt that when the next Republican Congress meets, and the Ways and Means Committee begins the preparation of a protective tariff bill, there will be petitions from every cotton-mill town and every place where furniture is manufactured in North Carolina for an increase in the tariff on your products. Then why should you send such petitions by Representatives who will vote against granting your petitions? North Carolina industries can not always look to New England and the North to sustain a protective policy without helping to maintain it.

The Congress is now Democratic; I believe it will be Republican after the November elections. But we in Illinois and the West have a right to look to North Carolina to help make this change in Congress to change the tariff laws for the benefit of North Carolina and the whole country. If you who believe in protection and realize the need of protection to your industries, continue to vote for Representatives who will vote in Congress against any change in the Underwood law, the Republicans of the North will have a right to say that you do not desire the consideration you will demand.

This is a representative Government, and the way to send your petitions to Congress is by Senators and Representatives who will vote as you petition. In the old days North Carolina believed in instruction to her Senators by the legislature, and some of your Senators were recalled in that way. Your protection is in your own hands, and if you send your petitions for the protection of the cotton mills of Greensboro and your other industries by Mr. Grissom here, then, as your representative, his vote as well as his voice will represent your will.

Why do I say that the Democratic Party will not help you? Because it has for many years declared that a tariff for protection is unconstitutional and robbery. President Wilson called an extra session of Congress within 30 days after his inauguration to revise the tariff, and in his message to that Congress he declared that "the object of tariff duties henceforth must be effective competition with the world," that American manufacturers and wage earners must whet their wits against the wits of the world. You, here in Greensboro, must compete with the cotton manufacturers of Manchester, England, and with those of Germany. *The President might have substituted the word "wages" for "wits," because that is where the competition will fall, and unless you are willing to accept the same wages as the cotton-mill operatives of England and Germany, your competition will fail.*

The Underwood law cut the duties on cotton cloth in half, and made lumber free of all duty. President Wilson, when he signed that bill, made quite a jollification of the ceremony and declared that it gave him great pleasure to sign the bill, as it accomplished something that he had had in mind since he was a boy. So, you see, President Wilson has not changed. He holds to the old Democratic free-trade theory which, had it continued in force here, would never have built these splendid cotton mills, furniture factories, and other industries with $125,000,000 capital, which pay $41,000,000 a year in salaries and wages to those who work in these factories and produced more than $200,000,000 worth of products.

Notwithstanding the war in Europe, the importations last year were the largest in the history of this Government, amounting in value to $2,198,000,000, and two-thirds of these importations came in free of duty. Had the tariff rates of the Payne law remained in force, we should have had $150,000,000 more customs revenue than we had last year. In the three years since the Underwood law was passed, it is estimated that we have lost more than $300,000,000 in customs revenues, or enough to have paid for the proposed preparedness program, without the extra taxation this Congress is expected to assess upon the people. The Democratic Party, under the leadership of President Wilson, has reduced the revenues paid at the customhouses in these three years $300,000,000, and without reducing the cost of living to you people in Greensboro or to the people in Danville, Ill.

The realization of President Wilson's boyhood dream has been costly to the Government without any compensation to the people. They have been taxed instead of protected.

The great war in Europe has taken the place of a protective tariff, and has been substantially your only protection and the cause for your prosperity by cutting off European competition. But you have already been told that if that great struggle in Europe should end to-morrow and the great factories of Europe should begin their production again, with keener necessity and sharper competition than ever before—because they must work and they must find markets to make up for the losses which they have sustained—there would not be another day's work in the cotton mills of Greensboro at your present wages or anything like them; and when that day comes you, like all the other manufacturers of America, must have protection against that overwhelming tide of competition.

That is why I believe that the best industrial preparedness against depressed markets, slack work and wages is a protective tariff, and that is why I say if you want protection to your greatest industry you should elect to Congress your Republican candidate, Mr. Grissom, who is pledged to that policy as is the Republican Party. [Prolonged applause.]

Now, who is the Democratic candidate for the Presidency? Why, you know, the former president of Princeton is a candidate for reelection. He has written a history of the American people, some six volumes; he has preached sermons; he has written essays; he has been a prolific writer. If he wanted to be a successful candidate, now that we have read his histories, it seems to me that he would have done better if he had bought them all up and burned them, because you may take what he wrote and the conclusions which he announced, and they do not tally with what he does. Why, he said that Bryan ought to be knocked into a cocked hat; yet he made him Secretary of State. I think he found out his mistake. At least one of them did, because Bryan and Wilson parted company. Let them quarrel it out between them. [Applause and laughter.]

He indorsed the platform upon which he was nominated, which declared in favor of a single presidential term of four years. There is the platform. He pledged himself to that, not only when he accepted the nomination but he went out of his way to make speech after speech declaring that he indorsed that plank in the platform which said that American shipping, sailing under the American flag, with American cargoes, in the coastwise trade of the United States, should go through your Panama Canal and mine without payment of tolls, and that was a great feather in his cap. Yet what did he do? He led in the repeal of that act, not only by word of mouth, not only by line upon line and precept upon precept, but he exerted that extraordinary power that he has so often exerted since then, to make it "my policy," the policy of the President, and thereby violated his party's platform in that particular. Talk about czars! Great heaven! Why, they did me the honor when I was the humble Speaker of the House of Representatives to say that I was a czar, when a majority of the House any hour of any day under the Constitution could have removed me. They put it in their platform in 1908 that I, poor me, had destroyed the Republic, you know, and they wanted the Republican Party turned out to get rid of that wicked old czar. [Laughter.] There were some places over in Missouri where, when a naughty child would cry, its mother would get the Democratic platform and say, "Be still, or that wicked old Czar Speaker, will git ye if ye don't look out." [Laughter.] I had not much power then. I could not have done anything, except as a majority supported and directed. They could have removed me by a majority vote any day. They tried it on the motion of Representative Burleson, who is now Postmaster General. His colleagues swarmed about him and said, "Oh, my God, withdraw that; withdraw that." I saw what they were up to, and I wanted a test vote on Burleson's motion, and I put the question in a holy minute, "As many as are in favor say 'aye,' those opposed 'no'; the Chair is in doubt." He could not withdraw it after the question was put. Burleson's resolution was defeated by a larger majority than I received when I was elected Speaker. [Applause and laughter.] So there you are. But now they have a real czar in the White House.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish it were possible that you could be in Washington, and that you could have your ears to telephones connected with the Democratic cloakrooms; and in one day after the President has published in the papers that he is going to have this, that, or the other bill passed, and has sent down to Congress his orders, you could hear more profanity than you ever dreamed of before. Why, the air is blue with profanity; and that order from the White House means to your Representatives from North Carolina, "Come under the rod. There is no fodder for you if you don't." [Laughter.] Now, if this was not so serious we might laugh about it. But where has it brought us?

Pause with me a moment. Ten days before Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated President Madero of Mexico had been assassinated. The great nations of the world recognized Gen. Huerta

as the head of the Mexican Government. It was only 10 days until the end of President Taft's term. I talked with him about it, and he said:

Well, the new administration is coming in, and I am not fully advised. I think I will let the new administration deal with that question.

Huerta was not acknowledged by our Government, but our diplomatic representatives and those of the civilized world were being protected by Huerta. The President sent the Hon. John Lind to Mexico as his agent to say in substance to Huerta: "You damned old usurper, you are an assassin. Get out! I am going to have the people in Mexico elect a constitutional President by a fair vote of the people. You get out, and they may elect anybody except you." In the meantime Huerta was to protect the representatives of the United States. No; the President did not say "damned"; I said that to save time. [Laughter.]

Huerta did not get out. Then the President of the United States went into copartnership with Villa and Carranza and all the other bandits who were opposing Huerta. Then he lifted the embargo that Taft had imposed and let those robbers and bandits get arms and munitions of war from the United States; then he sent the fleet down to Vera Cruz and closed that port to the ships of the world to prevent them from carrying munitions of war to Huerta, who had already been recognized by the other great nations of the world as the responsible head of the Government in Mexico; and still President Wilson insisted that we were not engaged in war with Mexico. Then, with that copartnership between Villa, Carranza, and President Wilson, it took 12 months plus to put that hardy, red-blooded old bandit Huerta out of Mexico. What did they do when he got out? Why, then President Wilson dissolved the partnership and broke it up. Villa wanted to be first; Carranza wanted to be first; Zapata wanted to be first. They could not all be first. And the copartnership was dissolved, and we have had hell, not on the Wabash, but in Mexico and along the border, from that day to this.

From one of the ships in the harbor of Tampico some of the marines went on shore in the performance of duty. They were arrested and held for a short time by the police of that city. Nobody was killed, nobody was hurt. Finally they got back on the ship, and there came the demand that this usurper, Huerta, whom our Government would not acknowledge, should salute our flag. The authorities at Tampico proceeded to apologize at once, and Huerta, who was over in Mexico City, said, "Well, I will do the best I can. I have apologized, but if that will not do, if you, Mr. President of the United States, will salute my flag, I will salute yours." Our Navy took Vera Cruz and held it for months. A lot of our boys got killed. But the American flag has never been saluted. In the Democratic platform is that ringing plank which said in substance that the American citizen wherever he may be upon God's footstool of this earth shall be protected in life and in property against all the world. Read that platform if you do not think it is so. That is good Democratic doctrine. There is no organized government on earth, whether it be a monarchy or whether it be a republic, that is worth three whoops in the place that burns with fire and brimstone that will fail to protect you and me if we are citizens of that country, whether we go to Mexico or to Cuba or to South America, or wherever we may go. And that has been done heretofore. But we had 20,000 or 30,000 Americans who had gone over into Mexico. American capital had builded the Mexican Central Railroad from El Paso down to the City of Mexico. English capital had built a railroad from Vera Cruz up to the City of Mexico. French capital had built a railroad into that country. Great things were being done toward its development. British capital had gone over there and American capital had gone over there and had built cotton factories and mills. They had invested money. They had acquired silver mines and copper mines and gold mines, especially silver and copper. There were over 30,000 of your citizens and my fellow citizens in that country. When the struggle came on over there, when the bandits, Villa and Carranza and Zapata, and a hundred lesser leaders, were attacking the property of our citizens, and they appealed to the United States for protection, that silver-tongued orator, who has so many hundreds of times delivered his lecture, "The prince of peace," that man, after Woodrow Wilson had made him Secretary of State, the head of the great department whose duty it is to protect the citizens of the United States in whatsoever country they may be, that man said to those 30,000 Americans, "You went down there at your own risk. You had no business to go there. You had better get out at your own risk," and a proclamation was issued calling them out. Was that keeping the platform?

Think of the American citizens, think of the women and children, who have been compelled to endure insult and persecution and outrage, killing, marauding, destroying in that country, where 15,000,000 people are living in a state of anarchy. When you go home to-night, my Democratic friends, turn back to the newspapers of three weeks ago and read the letter of Secretary Lansing, sent by authority of our President to Carranza, demanding an immediate answer, and setting forth that long list of outrages and killings. That was after the killing of our soldiers at Carrizal. Carranza's folks did the killing, or else Villa's. I do not make much distinction between them, but it is said that it was Carranza's people who did the killing. "Oh, well," Carranza said, "your United States soldiers had no business to invade Mexico." But they had gone over there, by the direction of Woodrow Wilson, after our soldiers and citizens were killed at Columbus, N. Mex., by Mexican bandits invading the United States. Pershing is still over there, and 100,000 members of the National Guard are now down upon that border of 1,800 miles. They are not fully trained soldiers. They are down there under pay. They are having trouble. They are being trained down there in that hot climate. They went down there supposing they were going to fight for the flag; that they were going to defend American life and American property. They are there on the boundary; and now we are informed by the newspapers, and I have no doubt it is true, that a commission of three or five Americans is to be appointed to meet three or five Mexicans, to be appointed by Carranza, to settle the whole thing. Why, my fellow citizens, if a man had committed murder, had killed your family, had lied to you, had shown that he was an anarchist and bandit, and he should come to you and say, "Look here, I have been doing a lot of killing," would you be likely to say to him, "Won't you be kind enough to appoint five of your friends and I will appoint five of my friends and they can settle the trouble?" Well, suppose they meet and settle. Who will enforce the award?

The other day I made this statement to a good Democratic friend of mine. He shook his head. He could not answer. Said he, "Cannon, I think it is a good enough Morgan to answer until after the election." Some of you older men know what a "good enough Morgan" is. Away back in the earlier days there was a man named Morgan, a member of the order of Masons up in New York, who, they said, had betrayed the secrets of Masonry. He disappeared, and governors were nominated and some of them elected upon that issue—that an American citizen had been assassinated by the members of a secret society. Morgan was never found. No one knew whether he ran away or whether he was killed, but it upset the politics of the country, and I, being older than most of you, can recollect that in campaign after campaign the alleged killing of that man who had revealed the secrets of Masonry was talked about on the stump, and whenever somebody would start a roorback it was "a good enough Morgan until after the election."

Well, the college professor who is now our President is agonizing about gathering up the South American markets, and it is proposed to appropriate $50,000,000 right away to get some Government ships so that we may go to South America, so that the Government may carry your products and mine to those markets. Do you suppose our people are going down there to capture the trade of all those countries when they remember the fate of the thousands of Americans who have gone to Mexico? If there is anything on God's footstool that is more helpless than an American citizen is in Mexico to-day I wish you would tell me what it is. Why, contrast Mexico with Cuba. We made Cuba write into her constitution that if she did not maintain law and order Uncle Sam would do it for her. We have gone over there once and restored law and order, and the Cubans understand that we will go again if necessary. Therefore those people in Cuba who would like to make a revolution there are behaving themselves. Well, the Monroe doctrine applies to Mexico, does it not?

The Monroe doctrine is that no Government of the world shall establish a monarchy on this hemisphere—that is, in North America or South America. They have revolutions every month or two in Haiti and Santo Domingo and Nicaragua. They have had several down in Venezuela; and when England or Germany or any other Government has said, "Why, those people owe our citizens money, and if they do not pay it we will go there and take possession of their customhouses, and, if necessary, will take a part of their territory," what has Uncle Sam said? It is not written in the law, it is not written in any treaty, but Uncle Sam harks back to the Monroe doctrine and says, "Don't you put your footstep there." Well, then, they have replied, "If you will not let us protect our citizens, you protect them." And to-day, by order of President Wilson, the marines are in the island of Haiti and in Santo Domingo and in Nicaragua, armed forces of the United States, and we have taken possession of the customhouses, and we are collecting their revenues, as we collected the revenues at Vera Cruz.

under President Wilson, and those revenues collected at Vera Cruz are now in our Treasury. According to Wilson's notion, he had no more right to collect those revenues there than I have to hold you up in the street. But in those other countries our representatives are collecting their revenues and maintaining law and order. In Haiti they got a coal-black African, one of the revolutionists, and they set him up in business. They protected him with our armed marines, landed from our warships. When they got him in there and guarded him, they acknowledged him as the de facto government, and made a treaty with him. But we have a President who put his hand to the plow in Mexico, and then looked back! How long, O Lord, how long is all this to continue?

Do not let any man say I am abusing the personality of Wilson. I am not. He is my President for the time being. He is entitled to my loyal support while he is President, but when he comes and wants to be President again, I would be false to myself, I would be false to my constituency, I would be false to you unless I told the truth about it. Is it true?

You who have read the papers and kept track of things know that it is true, and if I should stand here all night, I could not tell one-tenth part of what has happened. Well, but was he not a great teacher? Yes; the president of Princeton. Does not he know a good deal? Yes. Let me tell you, the man of affairs who is competent to be the Executive of a great Republic of 100,000,000 people, as a general rule wants to be a broad, all-around man. He needs to have had experience; he needs to have dealt with his fellow citizens face to face. He should not as a general proposition be selected because he has taught a lot of boys and young men, because by doing that he ordinarily becomes one-sided and dictatorial. Great heavens, whether a Democrat or a Republican is elected as Chief Executive, I hope in the future we may be preserved from the necessity of educating him, by the waste of treasure, by the bloodshed of our people, after he becomes President, for that is an expensive education. [Applause.]

In conclusion, oh men of North Carolina, I am proud to speak to you to-night in this county of Guilford, where I was born; in this land of virile people, settled by men of courage; the land that furnished the Stevensons, the McKenzies, the Howards, and all the others who migrated from here to Kentucky and western Tennessee and Indiana and Illinois and Kansas and Iowa and away across the continent; men who are among the foremost of the great citizenry of this country. To-day this Old North State has in the voter the oldest Caucasian American citizenship of any State in the Union. [Applause.] You have had less of immigration. Sometimes I think it might have been better if you had had more, but you have had less. You are Scotch-Irish, you are English. You have been reinforced by some Quakers who escaped from Massachusetts over to Nantucket to save themselves from being hanged, and then came down here. You have been reinforced by a few Germans and Moravians, but you are of the purest type of Caucasian Americanism. If you believe it is best for the hundred million people of this country, then reelect Woodrow Wilson; but God save you from the leadership of demagogues who raise false cries with the intent to revive the issues that grew out of the Civil War, when all those problems have been settled, and when there is good feeling in the Northland, as I believe there is good feeling in the Southland. God save you from the leadership of men who would seek to divert your attention from the discussion of these living, wonderfully important questions, and who would like to stir up the ashes of a generation gone by. When you go to the ballot box, lay your hands upon your hearts, and say God help me to use my judgment to vote not only for my own best interests but for the best interests of the hundred million people of the United States. [Applause.]

## The Rural Route Service.

### SPEECH

OF

### HON. HORACE M. TOWNER,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, July 18, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 10484) making appropriations for the service of the Post Office Department and post roads for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. TOWNER. Mr. Speaker, the main provisions of the Senate amendment were contained in a bill which I introduced in the House last December.

That bill provided that the rural-mail delivery should be extended to all the rural population of the United States. The Senate amendment contains the same provision.

The bill which I introduced for the first time classified and standardized the Rural Service. It established two classes: (a) Horse-drawn vehicle routes of 24 miles in length; (b) motor-vehicle routes of 50 miles in length. This classification and standardization is adopted in the Senate amendment.

In the House bill it was provided that in the establishment of new routes and the reorganization of existing routes the Postmaster General should approximate such routes to such standards, and that routes should not exceed such standards by more than 20 per cent; that is, that horse-drawn vehicle routes should not be over 28.8 miles in length; and that motor-vehicle routes should not exceed 60 miles. The Senate amendment increases the limit from 20 to 50 per cent; that is, it allows the Postmaster General to establish horse-drawn vehicle routes of 36 miles in length, and motor-vehicle routes 75 miles in length.

I am satisfied that this large measure of discretion is unwise. It has been demonstrated by years of experience that an every-day, all-the-year-around service can not be maintained on earth roads, for which horse-drawn vehicle routes are established, if the length very much exceeds 24 miles. It is also true that such service on hard-surfaced roads, for which the motor service is intended, can not be maintained if the length very much exceeds 50 miles. To allow the Postmaster General at his discretion to increase the length of routes on earth roads to 36 miles is to deprive the patrons where such extension is made of regular service for at least four months of the year. I sincerely regret that the Senate did not adopt my limit of 20 per cent instead of the 50 per cent limit contained in the amendment.

It is true that the Senate amendment directs the Postmaster General to conform to the standards fixed of 24 and 50 miles, and only allows him to increase the standard when necessary to allow more complete service. It is probable the Senate believed the limitations on extensions beyond the standard would be observed in good faith by the Postmaster General. But unless that officer is more willing to follow the direction of Congress in the future than he has been in the past there is great danger that the good intended will not be secured.

In the House bill it was provided that the carriers should be paid $1,200 a year for a standard route of 24 miles and $30 in addition for every mile above said standard. That was not only fair to the carriers, but it was a check on lengthening the routes to the detriment of the service by the Postmaster General. The Senate amendment fixes the salary at $1,200 for a 24-mile route, but it allows no increase in pay to the carrier until the length of the route exceeds 30 miles. That is an unfortunate provision, for it will operate almost as an invitation to an administration willing to sacrifice service to save cost to extend the routes to 30 miles.

It was provided by the House bill introduced by me that no motor routes of 50 miles or over should be established except on hard-surfaced roads. It is apparent and experience has demonstrated the fact that no regular motor service can be maintained on earth roads during the autumn, winter, and spring. The attempt to force such service on such roads has resulted disastrously whenever tried and has deprived the farmers of regular service when the roads were bad. The Senate amendment adopts a different check and allows the establishment of motor-vehicle routes only when a majority of the patrons to be served petition for it. It is probable that this provision is better than mine, for it is not likely the people will petition for a service that can not be regularly maintained.

Other features of the Senate amendment are commendable. The provision that the department can not by order prevent the use of motor vehicles on horse-drawn vehicle routes is necessary in view of the previous action of the department. The provision that in making appointments on new routes preference shall be given dismissed carriers on discontinued routes is also necessary and just. The provision that the carriers whose back pay has already been appropriated for and is in the Treasury, but which has been withheld by an arbitrary and unwarranted order of the department, shall now be paid, is only an act of simple justice to the carriers.

The bill which I presented was approved by practically all those Representatives who represent rural communities. It was supported by many of those who appeared before the committee. It was offered in the House as an amendment to the postal appropriation bill, but was stricken out on a point of order raised by the chairman of the committee. Fortunately, it was possible to include many of the best features of my bill in the amendment introduced in the Senate by Senator HARDWICK, of Georgia, which we are now considering. I am glad that the

conferees have approved it and feel sure that in its main features it has the approval of the House.

HOSTILITY OF THE DEPARTMENT.

It is a lamentable fact, but a fact nevertheless, that the attitude of the Post Office Department of the Government under this administration, regarding the Rural Mail Service, has been and is unfriendly. The Postmaster General has a deep-seated belief that every branch of the Postal Service should be self-supporting. The rural service has never been self-supporting, and as it has been extended from year to year in answer to the imperative demands of the people its cost has increased. This the Postmaster General endeavored to remedy. But every attempt made by him in that direction has been an assault on the efficiency of the service.

The largest item of expense in the rural service is the salary of the carriers. From time to time, as their duties have been extended, their salaries have been increased. This the Postmaster General determined to stop. In order to do this he conceived the plan of letting the service out to the lowest bidder as a substitute for the salary basis. In order to discredit the carriers he charged that under the salary system they became independent, indifferent, and neglectful of their duties.

Immediately when the plan was proposed and the charge made there arose a storm of protest from the farmers all over the land. There had never been a Government service which on the whole had been as satisfactory to the people as that rendered by the carriers to their patrons. The charge that the carriers were inefficient was so utterly unfounded as to be ridiculous. Neither did the auction system meet with any favor. It was understood by everybody but the Postmaster General that in order to maintain effective and satisfactory service a condition of trust relationship must be established between the patron and the carrier, intimate and confidential in its nature. To intrust such service to any scalawag who could manage to secure two mustangs and a cart, and who would have no interest in the service except to draw his pay, would be a calamity, indeed. The people were unanimously opposed to the proposition. Congress made answer by increasing the salaries of the carriers and appropriated the money to pay them on that basis.

Congress had determined the rate of pay for the carriers upon a mileage basis. For a standard route of 24 miles or more it gave the carrier $1,200 per year, and smaller amounts for lesser distances. This did not suit the Postmaster General, and without authority of law and by executive order he established another basis. Upon this basis a carrier was required to carry and distribute a certain number of pieces of mail in order to receive his salary. A schedule of time was also established, and if carriers made their routes in less than the time specified for each length of route they could not receive the salary fixed by law.

Under this system the Postmaster General, by an arbitrary order, was able to withhold from the carriers over $2,000,000 of their salaries, the money for which was in the Treasury.

This flagrant disregard of the expressed purpose of Congress met with such a storm of protest that with great reluctance it was abandoned. A new scheme was then devised. If the salary as fixed by Congress could not be cut down, the same object could be accomplished by lengthening some routes and abolishing others. By this means the department could strike at the carriers on two sides; by abolishing a large number of routes they could dismiss an equal number of carriers. By lengthening the remaining routes they could compel the carriers still in the service to do a greater amount of work for the same money. This was accomplished by their reorganization scheme.

THE REORGANIZATION PLAN.

The main features of the reorganization scheme were: First, lengthening of existing horse-drawn vehicle routes; and, second, consolidating existing horse-drawn vehicle routes into motor-vehicle routes.

Where approximately complete service had been established, as in Iowa and the other Middle Western States, where for the most part earth roads only were available and where the average length of the routes was about 24 miles—in such cases a large number of routes were abolished and the remaining routes were lengthened from 20 to 40 per cent.

The administration plan for the institution of motor service was to combine two horse-drawn vehicle routes into one motor-vehicle route of from 50 to 60 miles in length. Up to the time when the reorganization was undertaken, and as a result of years of experience, the department has established a standard of length for rural routes of 24 miles on earth roads. It had been demonstrated in thousands of cases that an every-day, all-the-year-around service could not be maintained on earth roads which very much exceeded that standard. More than 95 per cent of the roads traversed by the rural carriers were earth roads. The changing seasons, with winters when snowdrifts in the Northern States impede travel, while in the fall and spring rains make the roads muddy and almost impassable, prevent uninterrupted service on longer routes. It has never been claimed before that the standard could be lengthened 25 per cent and satisfactory service maintained.

Regarding the establishment of motor service, it should be apparent that to establish routes 50 to 60 miles in length and to serve 200 to 300 families every day the year round is impracticable over earth roads. Motor vehicles to an extent even greater than horse-drawn vehicles can not be used over muddy roads. On hard-surfaced roads which can be traveled the year round such service is possible. But on earth roads motor service is impossible for a large part of the year.

For these reasons the reorganization scheme put into operation proved a disastrous failure.

The reorganization plan began to be put in operation April 1, 1915. From that date to September 1, 1915, the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General reported that 846 "unnecessary routes" had been discontinued; 928 ordinary routes had been abolished; and 491 motor-vehicle routes established in their stead. Since then these numbers have been largely increased. At that time Mr. Blakslee, the Fourth Assistant, claimed the reorganization was a success and that "the new plan is working well." This claim was utterly unfounded. It was not a success, and the plan, far from "working well," was a complete and humiliating failure.

At that time when the legislation was pending before the committee and in the House Members on both sides were earnest and emphatic in condemning it. Mr. CLARK, a leading Democrat from Florida, said:

I have sent petition after petition to the department, letter after letter, and protest after protest from the people who live in the community, who know the roads * * * and yet in the face of all these protests and petitions the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, directed, I presume, by the underlings who claim to have made these investigations, simply says that a motor-vehicle service can be maintained there.

Many other Congressmen from different portions of the country voiced the protests of their constituents against the scheme.

In the Senate the protests were not less emphatic. Senator HARDWICK, a distinguished Democrat from Georgia, in supporting his amendment, said:

Mr. President, this is not an effort to cripple a great department of the Government, but, on the contrary, it is an effort to keep a department of the Government from absolutely crippling and ruining a great department of the public service.

Again, in speaking of its political effect, Senator HARDWICK said:

If my State were not as certainly Democratic as it is * * * the conduct of the Post Office Department in that State would have lost it to the Democratic Party, and, as it is, it may cost it many votes, although, thank God, we can stand it and still have plenty to spare. If it were a State in the Middle West, it would be impossible for the Democratic Party to carry it with any such administration of the Post Office Department as we have had there, in respect to this matter of the Rural Mail Service.

Senator HARDWICK was not alone. Other Democratic Senators were even more emphatic. Senator SMITH of Georgia said:

The manner in which they have torn to pieces the rural service in my State and cut it off has been something intolerable.

The North as well as the South joined in protesting. Senator GALLINGER, of New Hampshire, in the debate in the Senate, said:

I want to say that the destruction is universal. I have been deluged with appeals and protests from my own State and from other New England States that the administration of the Rural Delivery Service was absolutely indefensible

The press of the country has been equally severe. The Atlanta Constitution, a leading Democratic paper of the South, speaking editorially of this reorganization, said:

The Constitution denominated it "A Dangerous Experiment," because under present conditions regularity and efficiency are practically impossible.

In Iowa the service has been seriously injured by the changes made. The carriers have not been able in the wintertime for days in succession to make their lengthened routes. Individual reports show that in many cases carriers were last winter on their routes from 10 to 12 hours daily.

One carrier writes:

We go to the office at 6.30, start on the route at 8, get back about 4, and it takes 30 minutes in the office after that.

Another says:

My time put in on January report averages 10 hours 6 minutes per day. Add to this 1 hour for taking care of my horses, which is less than the time really spent, makes 11 hours a day for me.

Another states:

I was carrier on an old route which was 23½ miles long. They changed it to 35 miles. I tried it for about three weeks. I made it part of the time, but when the roads were muddy I could not make it two days in succession. The patrons complained terribly, and I quit. But nobody has done any better than I did.

Still another testifies:

There are seven routes out of ———. In January there were several days none of us made our routes. In February we could not go the routes, and so we made one end one day and the other the next. Sometimes we could not do even that well. Two of our carriers were sick and two resigned.

The testimony of the carriers is amply corroborated by the patrons. I give some extracts from letters received:

Our old route was 26 miles long, and we got our mail tolerably regular. Now our route is 35 miles long and has 166 boxes. In bad weather it can not be done. So when that is the case we get our mail about every other day. Most of us have stopped taking dailies.

—

Eighteen boxes on our route receive their mail only three times a week.

—

The carrier can't get in until after dark, and our letters don't go out until 4 o'clock the next day.

—

Our route is so long, carrier takes one end one day and the other end the next day. That makes an every-other-day service. And they call that "extending the service."

—

Carrier has such a long route he can't stop to take money orders or packages or sell stamps.

—

We are now placed three-quarters of a mile away from the route. We don't know when to expect carrier. Can't get stamps or money orders or send packages. Packages sent to us can't be left out in the rain and snow without being ruined.

—

We live 1½ miles from ———. Our mail used to come from there. We go to church there, send our children to school there, and do our marketing there. Now our mail by rural route comes from the county seat 9 miles away. We do not take it at all, but go to ——— for our mail.

—

I used to get my mail every morning by 10 o'clock. Now I am placed half a mile away from the route, and my mail comes any time from 3 to 6 in the afternoon. I handle cattle and hogs, and used to take two daily papers, for I need to study the markets. Now I do not take any. It is no use.

—

My paper is always one day late now, and sometimes two or three. We did not get any mail at all for four days in one week.

—

After careful computation we find that after the change of rural routes the patrons of our old route will in a year have to travel 10,000 miles farther to get their mail accommodations than they did before the change. That is farther than the carrier has to travel in the whole year making all his deliveries. There are only three patrons on the old route that have better mail service than before the change.

These could be multiplied indefinitely from the mail of nearly every Congressman from a rural district where the reorganization scheme has been put into effect. It shows what a failure in practical operation the plan of the department is.

Under the old system changes were made upon petition of the patrons and inspection. Under Mr. Blakslee's scheme the reorganization was made without the knowledge of the patrons by clerks in Washington who were entirely without knowledge of the conditions affecting the service. In some places routes were plotted to cross impassable streams; to traverse roads that had never been improved and were not traveled; to climb hills and cross swamps that no one attempted. It was hardly possible that a plan thus formulated could be successful. It was wrong in conception and wrong in application.

BLAKSLEE'S DEFENSE.

In defense of the reorganization scheme Mr. Blakslee admits some few farmers have been inconvenienced, but "no one has been entirely cut off from the service." In view of the fact that hundreds of patrons abandoned their route service and went to town for their mail, and that still more were compelled to locate their boxes half a mile or more from their homes, his statement seems hardly justified. He said that by the readjustment, "extravagant waste was eliminated." This, he claims, was accomplished by eliminating "duplications and unnecessary service." "Duplications" did not exist except in individual instances which could have been corrected without a reorganization of the entire system. In fact, in many instances duplications and retracings are greater in his readjusted routes than under the old schedule.

The administration claims that it has established 6,000 new rural routes and extended the service to millions of new patrons. This is a most remarkable claim in view of the facts. In 1913, the last year under the former administration, the number of rural routes as officially reported was 42,805. In December, 1915, as reported by Mr. Blakslee, there were 42,993. In this two years and a half under the present administration they had increased the routes only 188, instead of 6,000.

The normal increase in spite of the unfriendly attitude of the administration had increased the number in 1914 to 43,652. As a result of the reorganization plan this was reduced in less than a year to 42,993. In that time Mr. Blakslee had destroyed 659 rural routes instead of making any increase. Since that time the number of routes abolished has been largely increased. In many of the instances where new routes have been established only triweekly service has been installed. In view of the facts this claim of the extension of the rural service is one of the most remarkable ever made by an official of the Government.

But Mr. Blakslee's chief defense of the reorganization scheme is based on the claim that the carriers are overpaid and do not earn their salaries. In a carefully prepared paper presented to the House committee he said he had gathered data which conveyed "startling information." He said he had tabulated "the actual hours of service rendered by these carriers in the performance of their duty." He asserted that "there are 4,320 carriers in the Rural Delivery Service who are working to-day less than four hours per day." He claimed that in hundreds of cases the carrier was "performing but two hours service per day, according to actual count kept by himself and not by us."

No one ought to have believed these statements of Mr. Blakslee. His statements were not entitled to credit. But evidently some gentlemen were deceived, for we find that the chairman of the House committee, Judge MOON, in defending the administration on the floor of the House, said:

I am aware of the fact that there are 4,320 rural routes in the United States where the carriers are getting $1,200 a year and performing only four hours a day of service, and other routes where they are performing only two hours a day.

This statement was made doubtless in good faith by the chairman of the committee on the authority of the Fourth Assistant. Such a statement, coming from such a source, would carry weight and influence the action of Members. Yet it was utterly unfounded.

An examination of the records, reports, and statements made by Mr. Blakslee himself show that none of the charges made by him against the carriers can be sustained.

He asserted before the committee that he had tabulated the record, "according to actual count kept by himself—the carrier—and not by us," of 4,320 carriers, showing "the actual hours of service rendered by these carriers in the performance of their duty."

This was a misstatement of the facts. Mr. Blakslee did not furnish the committee with a true statement of the reports of the carriers as sent in by them. In each instance he reduced the time reported by them by half an hour, an hour, or an hour and a half in order to make it appear that "the actual hours of service rendered by these carriers in the performance of their duty" were less than they really were.

In one instance given by Mr. Blakslee the time as given in his schedule as compared with the time reported by the carrier for the month of July was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Route 1, 27.80 miles | 3.26 |
| Time actually reported | 4.26 |
| Route 2, 25.60 miles | 3.51 |
| Time actually reported | 4.51 |
| Route 3, 25.53 miles | 3.59 |
| Time actually reported | 4.59 |
| Route 5, 29.03 miles | 3.49 |
| Time actually reported | 4.49 |

It will be seen that the time as reported by the carrier is reduced in the schedule given by Mr. Blakslee in each instance one hour less than reported. The same is true of the other months reported. In other instances ascertained the time as reported had been in like manner reduced one hour. It is practically certain that in none of the schedules printed has the time as reported by the carrier been given, but the time has been reduced by Mr. Blakslee arbitrarily a half hour, an hour, or an hour and a half.

The report made by the carrier and forwarded to the department gives the "Time carrier reported at office"; "Time carrier left office after return from delivery of mail"; and the "Total time on duty in the office and on the route."

It will be seen that the time the carrier is on the route can not be ascertained from the reports made, but must be estimated. This the department has done by deducting the time they estimate the carrier spent in the office in making up his mail before he starts and in making disposition of his collected mail and making his reports after he returns. This the department usually estimates at one hour, and deducts that amount. Perhaps this is a fair estimate.

The difficulty is that this is not explained, and an actual misstatement of the facts is made by the Fourth Assistant. He says his tabulation states, "the actual hours of service rendered by these carriers in the performance of duty." This is not true. It only gives the estimated time the carrier took in making his

route. In his statement Mr. Blakslee says: "I show here that there are 4,320 carriers in the Rural Delivery Service who are working to-day less than four hours per day." This is untrue in two particulars. His statement does not show the hours that the carrier worked. It shows only the time actually spent on the route, and excludes one hour's work every day in the office. Where Mr. Blakslee says the carrier only worked two hours, he actually worked three. When he says the carrier only worked four hours, the official reports in the office of the department show that he worked five hours.

The statement of Mr. Blakslee is untrue and misleading in another particular. He says that 4,320 carriers only work four hours per day, and that the reports show it. The reports are given for four months of the year: January, April, July, and October. The four hours is not an average of all these months, but is only the average for the month of July, as admitted by Mr. Blakslee himself.

In his examination before the committee Mr. Blakslee was asked:

Mr. ROUSE. How long a period of the year was this average made for—1 month, 2 months, or 12 months?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. It was made from their last report in July of this year.
Mr. ROUSE. That is, for three months?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. No; just the one month.
Mr. ROUSE. That is all in the summer time?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. Yes.

Again the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BEAKES] asked him:

Mr. BEAKES. I take it this statement was prepared from the records of last July, when the roads up there were in good shape.
Mr. BLAKSLEE. Sure.
Mr. BEAKES. In other seasons of the year he could not make it in that time?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. Yes; that is right.

So it appears that Mr. Blakslee's statement of the average time the carriers spend in the performance of their duties applies only to the month of July. It is needless to say that July is the one month of the year when practically all over the United States the roads are hard and dry. If the carrier owned a motor car he used it. If he did not own one he often borrowed or hired one. Under such conditions it is not strange that the carrier should make his route in four hours or even less.

All the foundation, therefore, to be had for the statement made by Mr. Blakslee that the carriers are only working four hours a day is that he has been able to pick out, among all the 430,000 carriers in the United States, about 1 in 10 who has made his route in four hours during the month of July. And in his statement is excluded the time which the carrier is compelled to work in the office before starting out and after returning from his route. No allowance is made for the time required by the carrier in taking care of his team, making preparations for his daily trips, or any other outside necessary work. The whole effort is an attempt to show that carriers are receiving $1,200 a year for doing only two or four hours work daily.

Mr. Blakslee, when before the committee, in order to impress the members with his claim that the carriers were only working a few hours a day and were grossly overpaid, said:

I will take some of the cases in Michigan which are particularly interesting. Here is a carrier at Blissfield, Mich., who operates a 29.54-mile route in 1 hour and 24 minutes.
Mr. LAFEAN. How does he get over the route?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. With a motor vehicle. He enjoys a joy ride every day and get $1,200 a year for doing it.
Mr. LAFEAN. Do you call it a joy ride when he travels over a 29-mile route and delivers the mail?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. I do not call it a fair day's work when covered in two hours.

Here Mr. Blakslee endeavored to deceive the committee in two regards.

First, he tried to create the impression that the Michigan carrier made his route in less than two hours the year around. "He enjoys a joy ride every day and gets $1,200 a year for doing it." As a matter of fact, the schedule afterwards filed with the committee shows that the time quoted was only for the month of July. The report, which Mr. Blakslee himself filed, shows that the time required to serve that route in January was 8 hours; for April, 5.48 hours; for October, 3.45 hours; while for July alone was the time as reported, 1.54.

Not only in that respect did Mr. Blakslee deceive the committee, but he carried the clear implication that less than 2 hours was all the carrier worked. As reported to him, the carrier had worked 9 hours in January, 6.48 hours in April, 2.54 hours in July, and 4.45 hours' work in October. Seldom, if ever before, has a high official of the Government so endeavored to deceive and mislead a committee of Congress.

Again, Mr. Blakslee was asked during that examination:

Mr. FINLEY. In computing the time these men take up, do you compute from the time they leave the post office until they return to the post office?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. That is the schedule as reported by them.
Mr. FINLEY. Do you make any allotment of time for them to separate their mail?
Mr. BLAKSLEE. Not in this statement, as such time depends entirely upon the number of pieces, and I have found on the heaviest routes, on motor routes, when all the facilities are at hand, and they have a routing directory that is up to date, in an hour, and, as a rule, it takes anywhere from 15 to 20 minutes or half an hour.

So we see that in his statement to the committee, Mr. Blakslee says that on ordinary routes, "as a rule, it takes anywhere from 15 to 20 minutes or half an hour" to separate their mail. This, he says, when he is trying to make it appear that such part of the carriers' work is inconsequential.

Yet when he is making up the schedule of time to show how little work the carrier actually does he estimates the time spent in the office at—in some instances as much as an hour and a half—so he can subtract as much as possible from the time actually reported to make up his schedule of the time the carrier was on the route, and then presents that schedule as the time the carrier actually worked.

As a result of this reorganization scheme hundreds of carriers have lost their places. After years of faithful service they have been discharged, although they are within the classified service, and under the provisions of the law can not be discharged except for cause. In one instance four carriers from one office were dismissed. All four were veterans of the Civil War, and very popular with the patrons. No charges were preferred against them, and they offered to submit to any mental or physical examination to determine their fitness, but this was refused. In some instances dismissed carriers have been offered positions in other places. But this involves a change of residence, and is in most cases impracticable.

There were 2,405 carriers separated from the service last year—1,228 resigned, 232 died, and 618 were removed. It is not pretended that those removed were discharged on account of any fault of their own. Of those who resigned many did so because of the lengthened routes and additional work. Resignations are being sent in wherever the reorganization has resulted in materially lengthening the routes because of the difficulty, and in many cases the impossibility, of maintaining regular service.

THE GOOD OF THE SERVICE.

Although the reorganization plan has resulted in great injury to the carriers, that is not the most serious result of such action. It is to the service itself and the millions of farmers throughout the United States who are its patrons that the greatest injury has been done. The department evidently determined to punish the carriers. But in doing so it has harmed the people still more than it has the carriers. It should be evident to anyone that the prime requisite for good service to the people is good carriers. Congress has recognized that fact always. It has increased the carriers' salaries from time to time. But that has been amply justified by the increased duties, the higher cost of living, and the greater expenditures necessary to maintain the service. The department requires the carriers to furnish their own horses and carriages or autos, but it appears not to recognize that this entails a large and continued expense on the carriers. The department seems to think that the carrier who works with a team or auto, which he is required to furnish, should do so on the same scale of wages as a workman who furnishes nothing. This is unreasonable and unjust.

In matters so vitally affecting the most important branch of the Postal Service it is deeply to be regretted that the present administration occupies such a hostile attitude. That such an attitude is not approved by members of the administration party is shown by the fact that there is little sympathy with the acts of the administration among Democrats, either in the House or Senate. Many have opposed the reorganization plan from the first. To such men as the Representative from Florida [Mr. CLARK], in the House, and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK], in the Senate, is largely due the credit for preventing the entire demoralization of the service.

The present amendment is known as the Hardwick amendment, for to Senator HARDWICK, more than to any other one man, is due the credit for securing its adoption. The Senator from Georgia made a brave and able fight for this restriction on the department all along the line. Through the Senate committee, on the floor of the Senate, and finally through the conference, he followed it; and, notwithstanding the strenuous and almost frantic opposition of the department officials, carried it to victory. He is entitled not only to the thanks of his own people, but also to the gratitude of the entire rural popu-

lation of the Nation. For, unless the spirit and intent of this legislation is disregarded and its purpose entirely subverted, the law will prevent the further demoralization of the service.

It is strange that anyone should desire to injure the Rural Delivery Service. It is little that the Government has done or can do for the farmers of the country in any event. This service has been, is now, and will continue to be an inestimable benefit to them. One would think that instead of showing hostility, instead of discrediting the interests of the farmers, the administration ought to help and not hurt, to increase its efforts to benefit rather than to curtail and harass and discourage.

From the time the department was organized the farmers have paid their share of the appropriations to deliver mail to every home and place of business in the cities. The city business man demands from three to seven deliveries daily, and complains if he does not receive them promptly on time every business day. Gradually it dawned on the intelligence of the Nation that the farmer also was a business man; that information of the markets and of current events was as important to him as to the city man, and out of that illumination came the Rural Free Delivery System. It has not only been successful, it has been a veritable boon and blessing. It has helped the farmer and the farmer's wife and family more than anything else they have ever received. It is impossible to estimate its benefits. It has added hundreds of millions to the wealth of the Nation by increased production. It has educated the children, it has brightened the farm home, it has taken away the feeling of isolation and loneliness, and placed the farmer and his family immediately in the citizenship of the world.

It is to be hoped that this legislation will be of some benefit in securing and preserving this great service to the rural population of the Nation.

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**Address of Hon. John J. Fitzgerald.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. DANIEL J. GRIFFIN,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of the permission of the House granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting the forceful and eloquent speech of my distinguished colleague, Hon. JOHN J. FITZGERALD, delivered at the Democratic State conference, held at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., on August 11, 1916.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE AT SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. Y., AUGUST 11, 1916.

We meet under most favorable auspices. Our country is prosperous and at peace; our party is united and harmonious. Our opponents have lost their jaunty confidence, and have degenerated into chronic scolds and wearisome faultfinders.

Heretofore it has been the custom of Republicans sneeringly to challenge the Democratic Party to exhibit its contributions to the constructive legislation essential for the advancement of the people and the complete development of the country. As our party had long been out of power the task was impossible, and we have had to rely upon the accomplishments of days long past, and upon our professions of present-day capacity and our sincerity to strive disinterestedly for the public weal.

As representatives of the Democratic Party we now have just cause to rejoice. Conditions are completely changed. We no longer rely upon professions. Our performances speak eloquently of our capacity and of our good faith. Every department of the Government has felt the stimulating influence of Democratic control, and the country responding to the same impulse is prospering, while the people are enjoying a measure of contentment and of tranquility never before experienced in the history of our country.

HUMAN FREEDOM.

Prior to the present Democratic administration the Republican Party had been for 16 years in complete and uninterrupted control of the Federal Government. During that time a great world movement, especially manifest in our own land, gathered irresistible momentum. The demand was insistent that governments should be more efficient instrumentalities for the uplift of humanity, and that their powers should be more freely and fully utilized to curb greed, to end the economic enslavement of the individual, and to broaden the opportunities of the everyday man to attain a fair measure of the benefits which would result from the just distribution of the fruits of his toil.

GREED AND MONOPOLY CHECKED.

Those in control of the Republican Party distrusted the people. A system had developed under which a comparatively few men almost completely dominated the Government and had acquired practically absolute control of our national finances and large business enterprises. Business and politics were so interwoven that the welfare of the great masses of the people was subordinated by those in control of the Government to the interests of the few specially favored financial dictators and their pet enterprises.

To thwart the humane and patriotic movement to free the people from the grip of greed and monopoly the stand-pat Republicans had resort to every trick and device that skillful, cunning, able, and unscrupulous men could devise. But the people would not be denied. Their patience was exhausted. They demanded speedy relief from intolerable conditions. Tired of reiterated promises and unfulfilled pledges, aroused by the repeated betrayal of their interests, and angered at the continued and complete subserviency of their chosen officials to an arrogant financial oligarchy, the country repudiated the Republican administration with all of its works and idle promises and returned to power a united and a rejuvenated Democracy pledged and determined to end the shameful conditions which under Republican rule prevailed in practically every department of the Government.

A GREAT LEADER FOR THE CRISIS.

No trifling task awaited the Democracy. It was not the work of a day, nor of a year, nor even of a decade that had to be undone. Imperative reforms were demanded in government, in finance, and in business, while vicious and indefensible conditions in the industrial world had so ramified as to affect disastrously every part of the social structure. Giants were needed for the work in hand, and a leader was required who possessed unusually unique qualifications for the task to be done.

From the very beginning our country seems to have been specially favored by Divine Providence. The man for every crisis has always been at hand. Such a one was selected by the Democratic Party to lead the contest in 1912. Speaking of him in that campaign I said:

> He has a profound knowledge of our history, of our Government, and of the development of our country; he keenly appreciates the proper force of the many varying elements responsible at different periods of our history for many movements of far-reaching consequences; he has an accurate understanding of the complicated methods of modern finance and business; he has devoted his entire life to the study of public questions and to the consideration of adequate remedies for existing or possible abuses in our governmental system. He has in a marked degree the ability to discern capacity in men and to utilize them in a common movement for the best interests of the people; he has a rare charm of manner that attracts men and makes easy their cooperation under his guidance; he is admittedly free from obligations of every character excepting those incumbent upon him as a public official to dedicate his best efforts in unselfish service of the people. He knows and respects our Constitution and he comprehends the genius of our Government.

Under the wise, courageous, and inspiring leadership of such a man the Democratic Party has successfully accomplished innumerable and much-needed reforms. The country has not yet enjoyed the full measure of the benefits of his brilliant administration. Sufficient time has not elapsed to enable his beneficial achievements to be fully comprehended. But as the days pass on and the people realize that the new freedom has been attained, as they gradually step forth from the oppressions of the past and find themselves free from the shackles of prior days, as they more fully appreciate the social and industrial revolution which has been quietly but effectively accomplished, as their hearts beat more rapidly with new hopes of happier and brighter days, and as their ambitions to enjoy a fuller and better and more noble existence are the more and more realized, then the wisdom, the courage, the patience, the prescience, the patriotism, and the disinterested devotion of their great leader will sink more deeply into their consciousness and they will universally and enthusiastically proclaim as the first friend of humanity, the determined foe of oppression, the unrelenting enemy of evil in government, the fearless champion of social and industrial reform, the candidate of the Democratic Party in this campaign, the present and next President of the United States—Woodrow Wilson.

CONSTRUCTIVE LAWS ENACTED.

The record of achievements upon which these assertions are based is unrivaled in our history. The Democratic Party in three brief years has enacted more progressive, remedial, and beneficial legislation than had been perfected previously in any

two decades. Problems were pressing for solution from every quarter in almost endless confusion, but the task was done in a systematic manner, and so effectively as to compel our political opponents to support many of the measures which they now vociferously condemn.

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

To end the constantly recurring scandals in the election of United States Senators we proposed, and the States ratified, a constitutional amendment to provide for their election by direct vote of the people.

THE INCOME TAX.

To more equitably distribute the burdens of taxation and to relieve the backs and the tables of innumerable toilers of the unequal proportion of the cost of the Government, which properly should be borne by the wealth of the land, we proposed, and the States ratified, a constitutional amendment empowering the Congress to levy a tax upon incomes without apportionment among the several States. This amendment was ratified, despite the powerful opposition of the Republican candidate for President while governor of this State.

Under the authority conferred by that amendment, the Democratic Congress levied the present income tax, which has yielded during the 32 months in which it has been in operation more than $137,000,000.

THE TARIFF REDUCED.

We reduced the tariff. Both the great political parties promised to do so. The Republican Party, however, betrayed its trust, violated its pledge, and actually increased many rates in the odious Payne-Aldrich Act.

The Underwood tariff law is an honest compliance with the promise of the Democratic Party to revise the tariff downward. It was framed by men who were under neither express nor implied obligations to secure special advantages to favored individuals or industries. The welfare of all of the people was the controlling motive in its preparation, and it was designed to be fair and just alike to the producer and to the consumer.

It destroyed the disgraceful alliance which had so long existed between certain monopolistic enterprises and the Republican Party. It ended the evil practice of adjusting tariff schedules in proportion to the amount of the campaign contribution. It freed industry from the possibility of legislative blackmail, and it initiated the movement to have our tariff laws based upon accurate information after exhaustive investigation by disinterested officials, so that there should be no special and unjust favors in future revisions.

Intended to raise revenues adequate for the Government under the conditions existing at the time of its enactment, it exceeded the estimates made by its framers and produced ample revenues until the present world war radically disarranged our commercial relations with other nations.

BANKING AND CURRENCY REFORM.

For more than 40 years our banking and currency systems had been universally condemned. The Republican Party dallied and toyed with the problem, indulging in caustic criticisms of the prevailing conditions, and promising profusely to remedy the admitted evils. All of its efforts were of a makeshift and temporary character.

The Democratic Party, with broad vision and sound statesmanship and displaying a knowledge and a grasp of the problems to be solved, which amazed the country and silenced criticism, enacted the Federal reserve act. It is concededly the most comprehensively constructive legislation enacted since the Civil War. It has made impossible the recurring of money panics of Republican administrations and has rendered stable and secure the financial transactions essential for the unrivaled commerce of our country.

LOANS FOR THE FARMER.

While the Federal reserve act made possible certain farm credits, the Democratic Party did not stop its efforts to provide adequate financial aid to those engaged in agricultural pursuits, so the rural-credits act, which completely rounds out our financial system and extends the same needed facilities to the farmer as had been provided for those engaged in commerce, was enacted. Although the Republican platform denounces the law as "ineffective," it is a noteworthy fact that only 5 votes were cast against it in the Senate and but 10 in the House of Representatives. Never in our history has any law honestly believed to be ineffective by any substantial body of our citizens been approved by the two Houses of Congress with but 15 adverse votes out of a combined membership of 531.

ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE FOR BUSINESSMEN.

As a result of Republican maladministration the business of the country had been plunged into a state of uncertainty and chaos. Business men were dismayed. All of their enterprises seemed to depend upon the partisan whim of the Attorney General. Those who desired to comply with the law were as gravely menaced as those who sought to evade it. The Democratic Party ended the uncertainty and restored confidence in business circles by the enactment of the Clayton Act and the creation of the Federal Trade Commission, which, as President Wilson said in his Detroit speech, substitutes "for the harsh processes of the law the milder and gentler and more helpful processes of counsel." The purpose of this legislation has been to help, not to harass; to build up, not to destroy.

The evils resulting from trusts and monopolies have practically been eliminated. No honest man now need fear the heavy hand of the law for innocent acts in the conduct of legitimate business, while the dishonest, the unscrupulous, and those inclined to resort to unfair practices alike injurious to the individual producer and to the purchasing public have been compelled to abandon their evil ways and to conduct their business with decent regard for the rights of others.

GOOD ROADS.

Inadequate transportation facilities have added largely to the cost of commodities. While many States have been alive to the necessity of good roads a comprehensive plan for the entire country is required to obtain lasting results. To this end the Democratic Congress has enacted a good-roads law to encourage and to aid the construction of such highways as will make readily available the great markets for our farm products.

A MERCHANT MARINE.

A universal demand has long existed that our merchant marine be rehabilitated. When the great maritime nations became involved in war and the ships in the over-sea trade were turned from the peaceful channels of trade to the necessities of the war a staggering blow was dealt our commerce. Lack of shipping has seriously embarrassed our foreign trade; abnormal carrying charges have placed undue burdens upon it; and the warring nations have arbitrarily regulated and controlled the transportation facilities demanded by our commerce greatly to its disadvantage. Commodities from the West have been delayed, stranded in box cars which stretched inland from the seaboard for many miles, all because of lack of cargo-carrying ships under the American flag.

There are but three ways to establish a merchant marine. By the investment of private capital, by subsidies from the Federal Treasury to those most highly favored by the controlling element in our Government, or by the construction, and, if necessary, the operation, by the Government itself of sufficient cargo ships to make our foreign commerce free from alien domination.

The Democratic Party has determined to provide the ships at public expense and to have them privately operated under suitable regulations, or, as a last resort, to have the Government itself operate them. Despite the divergence of opinion as to the wisdom of the plan it is the best solution thus far proposed. Since 1872 the Republicans have talked of restoring our merchant marine, but have accomplished nothing. They offer no specific remedy now for the appalling conditions which prevail. They severely denounce what Democrats propose in an idle effort to prevent some practical movement to afford facilities imperatively required.

AGRICULTURE, PENSIONS, CONSERVATION, AND FLOOD PREVENTION.

Within the time at my disposal it is impossible to discuss in a comprehensive manner all of the legislation proposed and perfected by this Democratic administration for the alleviation of the evils which Republican misrule had brought upon the country.

We have enacted the Agricultural Cooperative Extension Act of inestimable value to those engaged in agricultural pursuits; liberal pension laws for the survivors of our wars and for those who were dependent upon them; conservation laws to enable the people to utilize the wonderful natural resources of the country; and legislation designed to end the disastrous floods which have so long devastated the Mississippi Valley, so that an area equal in extent to many ancient empires may be available for the cultivation of commodities essential for the sustenance of our people.

HUMANITARIAN LAWS FOR THE LABORER.

The welfare of the toiler has not been neglected. By the Clayton Act and the anti-injunction law laborers struggling by legitimate means to better their condition have been freed from the menace of hostile courts. For the first time in our history there has been written into the law the principle that human labor is no longer to be considered in the category of a mere commodity, but rather as a thing of flesh and blood. By the enactment of the eight-hour law, the safety of railway employees act, the creation of the Bureau of Safety, the Children's Bureau, the proposed child-labor bill, and the Kern-McGillicuddy compensation bill more forward steps have been taken to con-

serve the health, safeguard the lives, and promote the welfare of our people than was done during the long period of Republican control.

PREPARATION FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Other matters of vital importance to the national security had to be adjusted. With the civilized world convulsed with the shock of the most horrible war of all time, it was suddenly realized that our country should make additional provision for the national defense. Radically divergent views were entertained by the best equipped military experts as to what was required and what should be done. The legislation needed could not be drafted overnight. It required careful study, thorough consideration, and statesmanship of the highest order to determine what was essential for the national welfare and the methods most desirable to adopt to secure the Nation against foreign aggression.

Under such conditions no legislation could be framed that would fully satisfy every element of the body politic. What is being done, however, in the opinion of the men best fitted to judge, fully meets the necessities of the Government. The appropriations for the national defense during the present session of Congress will aggregate more than $700,000,000.

The naval bill, for instance, as it passed the House of Representatives provided more money, excluding authorizations to make contracts, than Great Britain expended in 1915, and it was $130,000,000 in excess of the largest appropriation ever made for the Navy by a Republican Congress.

In his speech of acceptance Mr. Hughes asserts that—

It is not words, but the strength and resolution behind the words that count.

It is not words, nor is it merely the strength and resolution behind them, but it is deeds that count. The Democratic Party demands that its position regarding the safety and security of the Nation, as well as upon all other public questions, be measured neither by its own words, nor by the misleading assertions of its opponents, but by its acts and its deeds, which alone have made the country safe.

AMERICA PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS.

There are two simple facts of tremendous importance to the country which our Republican opponents desperately seek to minimize. All the keenness and ingenuity of a judicially trained mind have not enabled Mr. Hughes to do more than reiterate threadbare and fallacious arguments. Strive as they may they can not blind the people to the fact that the country is enjoying a period of heretofore undreamed-of prosperity, and that during many months of temptation and travail during which he has been nagged and abused and violently and unreasonably denounced the President of the United States has with a dignity and patience and courage that has commanded the respect of mankind so conducted our relations with the warring nations of the world as to keep our own beloved country at peace.

OUR PROSPERITY PERMANENT.

Mr. Hughes, in his speech of acceptance, states that the "temporary prosperity to which our opponents point has been created by the abnormal conditions incident to the war." Since when was he endowed with prophetic vision to enable him accurately to predict the future? How does he know that this unexampled prosperity is temporary? This prosperity is temporary only in the sense that it began after the Democratic Party assumed the management of the Government, and it will only end should Mr. Hughes, by any fortuitous combination of circumstances, be successful in this campaign.

It is intimated by him and boldly asserted by other Republican spokesmen that our prosperity is due entirely to our traffic in munitions of war. The assertion is unjustified; it is preposterous. Our exports have practically doubled since the advent of President Wilson's administration, now aggregating the enormous sum of $4,000,000,000 annually. The value of munitions exports is not 6 per cent of the total.

The present prosperity is not due primarily to abnormal war conditions. Only biased partisans make such a claim. While some industries have undoubtedly benefited because of unusual demands resulting from the war, it must be remembered that a tremendous stimulus was given to business by the Democratic legislation which provided a suitable and elastic currency and substituted scientific and modern banking facilities for the archaic systems in vogue during Republican administrations. The removal of the uncertainty existing prior to the advent of this administration because of the inability of business men safely to embark in new enterprises or to extend existing ones has immeasurably aided the healthy expansion evident in every phase of industry. Democratic policies, legislation, and leadership have been the chief factors contributing to our present marvelous prosperity which is universal in our land. Steadily increasing bank deposits and continued widespread increases in all lines of industry are the evidences of a business renaissance—one of the beneficent results of the administration of President Wilson.

Only the other day it was pointed out that for the four weeks ending July 8, 100 new mills were reported for textiles, with 135 expansions in prospect; that there have been 187 wage increases in 34 States to those engaged in the building trades; that our banking resources increased in the year ending March 1, 1916, $2,271,000,000; that during the present administration the bank deposits of New England increased 31 per cent; of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, 42 per cent; that Oklahoma, where there are no munition plants, increased her deposits 100 per cent, while the only State which showed no increase is Delaware, the home of the du Ponts, the chief munition makers of the United States.

There is another significant and controlling cause of our phenomenal prosperity. The country knew that its affairs were in safe hands. It had no fear that it would be plunged into an unnecessary and unjustifiable war. It had accurately appraised the character of President Wilson and realized that to serve no personal or selfish ambition would he unnecessarily bring upon his countrymen the horrors and the miseries and the incurable heartaches which war entails.

Capital is notoriously timid. If just cause existed to involve this country in hostilities, or if some swashbuckler were now our Chief Executive, the needed funds would not have been advanced, nor would the necessary credits have been extended to make possible the wonderful business expansion so conclusive of the progressive efficiency of the Democratic administration.

DOES MR. HUGHES WANT WAR?

Mr. Hughes in his speech of acceptance viciously criticises President Wilson for his attitude toward Mexico and for his foreign policy. What would Mr. Hughes have done had he been President of the United States during the past three years? Would he have thrown into Mexico a great armed host to subjugate a people already prostrate and the victims of unscrupulous bandit chieftains?

Would he have made imperative demands upon the warring nations in Europe in the asserting of American rights, and limit the negotiations to a single exchange of notes? He complains that the Wilson administration has pursued too leisurely a correspondence. Would he have compelled the belligerent nations to suspend hostilities to answer forthwith his peremptory demands? Where, except in his own mind, even if there, does the belief prevail that if Mr. Hughes had been President during the past two years that he could have accomplished more, or even as much, as President Wilson has done? Let Mr. Hughes answer the American people in definite and unqualified terms—would he have involved the country in war with any nation for any of the occurrences of President Wilson's administration had he been President and obtained no more favorable results from negotiations than have resulted from President Wilson's efforts? That question can not be evaded. It must be squarely met. The home makers of our country demand an answer. It means much to them. The women of America are vitally interested in this campaign.

AMERICA'S WOMEN ARE WATCHING.

They know what is happening in Europe. They do not want husbands, sons, fathers, or brothers taken in the heyday of life to gratify some one's lust for power. They are not anxious to satisfy the craving for the spectacular for the price involved. They believe, indeed they know, that national rights may be enforced, national honor may be preserved, and national dignity may be maintained without quick resort to bloody war with all of its harrowing consequences. Their heartstrings are attuned to the soft, sweet, and alluring music of peace, of domestic happiness, and of national tranquillity. They do not desire to have those heartstrings torn out by the impetuous rashness or the vainglorious pride of a timid or a scheming leader. As they contemplate what is happening in the war-stricken nations, as they realize the heartaches their sisters in those unhappy lands suffer, as they dwell upon the dreadful agony and horror from which they have been providentially spared, it will require no desperate and unique appeals to incite the women of America to an interest in this campaign. But theirs will not be a boisterous part. It will not be evidenced by parades and political rallies and frenzied appeals to passion. Who looks for such manifestations will look in vain. But in every home, however humble, where woman in all the glory of womanhood reigns supreme, her interests will be determined.

There will be no noisy demonstrations to affect the public judgment; but in the sanctity of the home, surrounded by happy

and innocent children, the women of America will offer silent, fervent, and all-persuasive prayer to the God of Nations that the light be given to our people to know the right, and that strength be given them to do it by continuing in place and power in our beloved land him who, despite temptation, the urgings of unruly ambition, the promptings of selfish interests, steadfastly stands for the right of humanity, for the welfare of his countrymen, for the preservation of American homes, for the cause of American womanhood, for peace on earth and good will to all men, President Woodrow Wilson.

DEMOCRATIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN NEW YORK STATE.

Our demand to be judged by our acts is not confined alone to our conduct in National affairs. It applies with equal force to our conduct in State affairs.

When in control of the State government the Democratic Party carried to successful enactment a program of long demanded and imperatively needed humanitarian legislation of incalculable benefit to the people of our State. The legislation was universally commended. It gratified those unselfishly laboring for the cause of humanity; it cheered those becoming despondent over the apparent irresponsiveness of our institutions to the progressive demands of the day; it awakened renewed confidence in the capacity, the willingness, and the determination of the Democratic Party to execute the expressed will of the people in the administration of their government.

A Democratic legislature ratified the amendments to the Federal Constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators by the people, and authorizing the imposing of an income tax without apportionment among the several States. It gave to the people the State-wide direct primary, so that they themselves might select their candidates for public office. It adopted the Massachusetts ballot to compel a closer scrutiny by the electors of the candidates for the various offices to be filled.

It enacted the workmen's compensation act, and as a result of the labors of the Wagner-Smith factory investigation commission adopted a large number of recommendations to secure the safety and to improve the conditions of those engaged in many industries.

The banking laws were revised. So admirably was the work done that the statutes have been considered as model laws and have been followed closely by many other States. Legislation to regulate the stock exchange, for State farm credits, for the licensing and bonding of commission merchants, for the standardization of insurance policies, and establishing the optional charter for certain cities is the permanent and indestructible monument to Democratic statesmanship and Democratic control.

PROGRESSIVES COMMEND DEMOCRATS.

The Republicans came into power after a campaign in which the Democratic Party was charged with waste, extravagance, incompetency, and criminality. Widely heralded as the great apostle of reform Gov. Whitman was inaugurated with the announced determination to put Democratic rascals in jail, to reform the fiscal system of the State, to eliminate waste, and to lead a forward movement for humanitarian legislation and social reform.

It was an ambitious program, worthy of a great leader of men, and requiring capacity and courage of the highest order.

The people who had been misled by false and unwarranted assaults upon Democratic officials soon had ample cause to regret the return of the Republican Party to power.

On August 9, 1915, Mr. George W. Perkins in a letter to a prominent Progressive said:

> In this State the Democrats have given us the only social-justice legislation that has been enacted; while the Republicans have since tried to nullify that legislation. You all know that personally I am opposed to Democratic rule, that I have not approved of President Wilson's policies. No one can accuse me of leaning in that direction, but as matters stand to-day it would be more easy to make an argument for our affiliation with the Democrats than with the Republicans.

That indorsement of the Democratic Party and condemnation of the Republican Party is by one who is opposed to Democratic policies and Democratic control.

A DESTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

Upon the record of the parties no other conclusion could be justified. The Republican Party has not to its credit a single important enactment beneficial to the State. All of its energies were concentrated to undo what had been done during Democratic administrations, and where unable to completely emasculate the humanitarian legislation enacted to make inefficient its operation.

Against the overwhelming protests of the people the workmen's compensation act was amended so as to permit of private settlement of claims. It was one of the glaring evils of our social system designed to be eliminated by the statute. The law was intended to secure the dependent and unfortunate against the greed and cunning of those upon whom the liability was imposed. By permitting private settlements of claims the protection of the State is withdrawn and those whom the law was designed to protect are left subject to the coercion and pressure exerted by their better informed and more skillful adversaries.

In his speech of acceptance Mr. Hughes criticizes President Wilson for replacing Republicans in the Diplomatic Service of the Government. Since the formation of the Republic it has been the recognized and uniform policy to have as representatives to foreign Governments men in sympathy with the party in power and in harmony with its policies. In following this custom President Wilson acted as the country expected he should and as Mr. Hughes would do himself if President of the United States. But if it were just ground for the condemnation of the Democratic national administration, will Mr. Hughes's vocabulary be sufficiently extensive to furnish suitable words to condemn Gov. Whitman and his Republican associates in this State for their indefensible conduct in emasculating Democratic humanitarian laws for the sole purpose of eliminating competent officials whose only offense was their Democracy.

Upon his inauguration into office the governor caused searching investigations to be made of every governmental service under the control of the Democratic officials. Not only did those investigations fail to disclose a single criminal act upon the part of any Democrat, but there was no evidence of any irregularity or incompetency upon which he could remove a single Democratic official from office.

Then was initiated the scheme of reorganizing various governmental activities. The primary purpose was to terminate the services of Democratic officials, not to improve the public service. The result was chaos in the State government and widespread disgust among the people.

REPUBLICAN FLAYS REPUBLICAN.

The situation was tersely stated on April 24, 1915, by the New York Tribune, a stalwart Republican paper, in an editorial speaking of the Republican majority of the legislature, in the following manner:

> They discerned a license to destroy legislation that represented gains for humanity and protection for the less fortunate, and an opportunity to plunder the great city of New York. To the failure of the legislature there has been added that of the governor. * * * When the situation required courage he could only resort to cunning. When his party called out for leadership, he could not make up his mind whom to follow. When the State demanded an executive, he could only be a candidate.

GOV. WHITMAN'S BUNGLING FINANCIAL POLICY.

The most conclusive proof of the incapacity and failure of Gov. Whitman is his management of the finances of the State. He charged the Democratic Party with extravagance, with waste, and with the profligate expenditure of public moneys. His charges were unfounded; but if all he asserted were true, it but the more convincingly demonstrates his own incompetency and failure.

The total appropriations approved by the last Democrat who occupied the office of the governor of the State were $47,000,000. That record will continue as an enduring monument to the courage, the capacity, and the unswerving devotion to public duty of one of the most competent officials who has ever served the people, and who has been an honor to the State and a credit to the Democratic Party, the Hon. Martin H. Glynn.

During the campaign Gov. Whitman charged that the appropriations were too great; after his inauguration he claimed they were inadequate.

He approved appropriations during the first year of his service aggregating $63,000,000, which resulted in a direct tax of $20,000,000.

There had been no direct tax during the administration of Gov. Glynn; there would have been none had he been reelected. There should have been none under Gov. Whitman, but it was necessitated because of an unpardonable error of $18,000,000 in the preparation of the budget.

In the second year of his administration he approved appropriations totaling $59,000,000. As the fiscal year had been changed, these appropriations were for a period of only 9 instead of 12 months.

In submitting to the legislature his budget which, exclusive of debt service, amounted to $45,597,564, Gov. Whitman said:

> I feel sure the legislature can reduce these figures from $1,000,000 to $2,000,000 more.

Instead of reducing they increased them to $48,355,140 and the governor approved the bills with legislative additions. His action was in striking contrast to his declaration in December, 1915, when he said:

> I propose to carry through my financial program for economy in State affairs if it is the last thing I ever do as governor.

If a Republican governor's program for economy results in an increase of $14,000,000 in expenditures, an increase of practically 30 per cent over the previous Democratic administration, may we not well appeal to the people to spare us from the calamity of a Republican administration that will not strive so desperately to safeguard the public funds?

Gov. Whitman attributed his failure to keep down appropriations in his first year to his ignorance and incompetency. In December, 1915, he said:

When I took office of governor last January I knew absolutely nothing about State finances. It was made apparent to me when I went over the bills that there were many useless and extravagant appropriations. Salaries were padded, department heads stood before me and pointed to items which they declared they had never seen or heard of before. I determined then that I would have a budget prepared for this year which would bear my name as sponsor.

The bills which contained the vicious and unnecessary items and padded salaries were passed by a Republican legislature with a majority of two-thirds in each house; the department heads who "stood before him" and furnished the information were Republicans appointed by himself. Despite his unequivocal declaration to end such abuses the appropriations approved by him this year, the budget "which bore his name as sponsor," was more indefensible than the previous one and equally as large though covering only a period of 9 instead of 12 months.

HIS BUDGET DENOUNCED BY EMINENT REPUBLICANS AND PROGRESSIVES.

The governor could not plead ignorance for this year's acts. It was clearly a case of "when an executive was needed he could only be a candidate." The vicious features of the budget which bore his own name as sponsor were pointed out in unmistakable terms. The bureau of municipal research which he invited to cooperate in the preparation of the budget denounced it in unmeasured terms. The tax reduction committee, which numbered among its membership such distinguished Republicans as William R. Wilcox, chairman of the Republican national committee, Joseph H. Choate, William M. Calder, Willis L. Ogden, and Alexander M. White, and was headed by the chairman of the Kings County Progressive committee, Mr. William Hamlin Childs, a distinguished citizen and a prominent business man of the metropolis, denounced the budget and urged the governor to veto specifically enumerated items aggregating $14,000,000. But to them all the governor turned a deaf ear. He ignored his own declaration that the budget as submitted by himself could be reduced by the legislature from $1,000,000 to $2,000,000 and he approved appropriations $5,000,000 in excess of the sum he had publicly stated was sufficient to meet the expenses of the State.

REPUBLICAN PARTY STILL REACTIONARY.

The Republican Party has not only demonstrated its incompetency but its record discloses that it has not changed its reactionary character. It was not the fault of the Republican legislature that women and children are not working 18 hours a day in the canneries of the State. The legislature passed a bill to undo the work of reform accomplished under the Democratic administration, and only a protest so vigorous, so pronounced, so determined as to be irresistible deterred Gov. Whitman from approving that detestable bill.

The action of the legislature in that respect was characteristic of its party's action and policies.

A Democratic legislature had provided for a constitutional convention. It was realized that the time had come to submit to the people many important questions relative to the organic law that would mean much for the future development of the State and for the security and happiness of the people. Unfortunately the convention was controlled by reactionary Republicans, and its labors were so repugnant to the people that the proposed constitution was rejected by an overwhelming and unprecedented vote.

A calm survey of the political field makes readily apparent the causes of the buoyant hopes of the Democracy and the gloom and despair of our Republican opponents.

NATIONAL AND STATE WELFARE DEPENDENT ON DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS.

Democratic administration of public affairs in both the State and Nation has displayed the same attractive characteristics. Everywhere the public service has been improved. Men of demonstrated capacity and of unimpeachable integrity have safeguarded the public interests and have added to the renown of the Government. Our legislative acts have been wise, progressive, beneficial, and democratic. No existing evil, however trivial, has been permitted to continue unchecked. No abuse has been disclosed that determined efforts have not been made to end it. Our pride in the accomplishments of the Democratic Party is increased because of the vicious criticisms leveled by our opponents. Our confidence in our party's capacity is augmented by the desperate and unfounded attacks made by Republican candidates upon Democratic officials. Abuse and vituperation will not be sufficient to snatch the victory from us. The American people, just and discriminating, will not be mislead by idle chatter and random abuse.

They know that the country has been passing through a crisis that only undaunted courage, extreme patience, and superb statesmanship could master. They are familiar with the comprehensive program of beneficial legislation enacted despite the fierce opposition of the heretofore unchecked hordes of desperate reactionaries. Our house has been cleaned; its affairs have been put in order. Under Democratic leadership the people have been restored to the control of government. We are living in an era with peace, plenty, and prosperity prevailing in our own land, while nearly every other nation is devastated by the ravages of bloody war.

We appeal to the people upon our unparalleled record of demonstrated capacity. We enter this contest without fear or doubt. We confidently call to the hosts of Democracy—regardless of the standards which they may have previously followed, indifferent to the cause with which they have heretofore been identified—to unite in a common and patriotic effort to sustain the foremost statesman of our time by earnestly and heartily and effectively supporting the Democratic cause under the inspiring leadership of a true and really great American citizen, President Woodrow Wilson.

## An Open Letter to the Old Soldiers of the Country.

The Democratic Party, with grateful acknowledgment of the splendid work of the "old boys," has provided generously for them in their declining years.

The Republican Party, forgetful of that splendid army who sacrificed so much for their country, fails to even mention them in their party platform.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN A. KEY,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. KEY of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I submit, as chairman of the House Committee on Pensions, the following open letter to the old soldiers of the country:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 15, 1916.*

To the VETERANS OF OUR COUNTRY AND THEIR DEPENDENTS.

DEAR FRIENDS: You have doubtless noticed that the Republican platform of this year, as well as that of 1912, is absolutely silent on pensions and the old soldier who saved this Nation from ruin. This characteristic indifference to the "old boys," whose political usefulness is on the wane, is in striking contrast to the broad and generous pension plank in the Democratic platform. The Democratic Party can point with a glow of pleasure to its record in pension legislation and its broad and liberal administration of the pension laws. The Sherwood Act of May 11, 1912, eclipsed in its breadth and benefits all previous legislation, and was conceived by a grand old Democrat, Gen. SHERWOOD, of Ohio, and passed by a Democratic House, and since March 4, 1913, has been administered by Democrats.

The Russell amendment of March 4, 1913, also a Democratic measure, relieved pensioners of the necessity of applying for the increases fixed in the act of May 11, 1912, thus providing for automatic increases, without further effort on the part of the pensioner. This act, as amended, has reached and relieved more real need and suffering throughout this broad land, and in a shorter period, than any pension legislation ever enacted, and, as now administered by our able and generous Commissioner of Pensions, is from day to day demonstrating to the country and its defenders that the love of the old soldier and the high estimate of his value to the Nation still deeply stirs the warm heart and deathless memory of the Democracy, however lukewarm it may have grown with those whose political power has heretofore so largely rested upon the soldier vote; however he may be forgotten by those for whom his efforts at the polls made victory possible in the years before age and decrepitude made him, in their opinion, a negligible factor!

There are now pending in Congress pension bills which are designed to supplement and very largely extend the benefits of present laws. This legislation, conceived and enacted by the Democracy, reaches the high-water mark of liberality in pension matters, not only for this country but for the entire world. It will be administered in the same broad spirit of liberality by a Pension Bureau so organized and conducted that its every impulse is for the square deal to the soldier.

The Key bill, which would provide liberal pensions for needy widows and minor children of Spanish War veterans, has passed the House and is now on the Senate calendar.

The Ashbrook bill that has passed the House and is now pending in the Senate is for the relief of Civil War veterans' widows, and has four principal provisions, which would admit many worthy women to the rolls who are now barred through some legal technicality. Under this measure widows who were wives while their husbands were in the Civil War service will get $20 per month. Widows of veterans of the Civil War who were not wives until after the Civil War, but who

are now 70 years of age, will get $20 per month. Widows who lost their pensions upon remarriage will be restored to the rolls if again widowed. The House provision extending the limitation on marriage from June 27, 1890, to June 27, 1905, was further extended through the efforts of Senator JOHNSON of Maine, of the Senate committee, to include the date of the final passage of the act. Senator JOHNSON in the Senate and Gen. SHERWOOD in the House are and have always been vigilant for the best interests of the old soldier and originators and stanch supporters of all proper measures for his betterment. Senator JOHNSON has, in addition, secured the passage of a great many deserving private pension bills for the veterans of Maine, his own State.

All veterans of the Grand Army who visited Washington at its last Grand Army of the Republic reunion must retain a vivid recollection of the kindness and courtesy with which they were received at the Pension Office Building, which was a restful rendezvous for the visiting veterans. They will remember how the efficient officers and force of this important bureau decorated the grand court of the building with flags, bunting, and numerous Army corps emblems, and provided seats around the fountain for the weary and footsore and a hospital tent with trained nurses and physicians for prompt attention to the sick and indisposed. Here in this great court the broadminded, genial commissioner, G. M. Saltzgaber, held daily receptions and listened to the complaints of his welcome old comrades, promptly adjusting any grievance and furnishing, through a corps of trained examiners, expert information as to their claims and pension matters generally. Hundreds of cases were drawn from the files for the inspection of the old boys who wished to see their papers and understand the processes of adjudication. The veil was lifted and all realized that the procedure was open, fair, and honest, and that every claimant could confidently depend upon getting all that he is legally entitled to. All carried away with them the satisfying conviction that the heart of the Democracy, and of its great instrument, the Pension Bureau, still throbbed warmly for those who sacrificed the strength and vigor of their young manhood that the Union should stand.

The Pension Bureau since March 4, 1913, has removed many of the long-prevalent irritating features, both of procedure and payments. It has eliminated the annoyance and hardship of requiring all pensioners to produce certificates for comparison with the certificate numbers on their checks before payment could be made. This mode of procedure was of little use for identification, yet caused at times great irritation and delay. It was therefore abolished as ineffective and unnecessary.

Claims that heretofore were many months, and even years, in process of settlement are now adjudicated promptly and justly. Letters of inquiry receive immediate attention and reply, so that correspondence is current, and this huge mill through which literally billions of dollars have been disbursed, relieving real want and suffering, continues to grind out its grist of beneficence from month to month in a steady stream that reaches and carries succor to every village, town, and hamlet from Maine to California, from Alaska to the Panama Canal, from Porto Rico to the far Philippines, of our own country, and even penetrates the remotest recesses of most of the countries on the globe; all resultant from the undying gratitude of a generous people.

Should the pending pension bills become law, it will be necessary only for prospective beneficiaries to write to their Senators or Congressmen for information, and they will be promptly supplied with all necessary blanks, instructions, etc.

With sincere asurance of continued interest,

Your friend,

JOHN A. KEY,
*Chairman House Committee on Pensions.*

## Child Labor.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. J. M. C. SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the second Sunday in May is designated as Mother's Day and is observed throughout the Nation. In some of the States the first Sunday in June is designated as Father's Day. Bills have been introduced that this day may be observed as Father's Day throughout the Nation.

On the passage of this bill this will be a children's national remembrance day, and throughout the length and breadth of our land the great masses of our youths, the children of our land, will get a beneficial recognition which will inure to their earthly welfare and be a direct benefit to them in the after years of their life.

In considering the question of child labor we are too prone to think that a child of tender years had better be to work than idle. I think this comes from the fact that many are forced to employment in the years after they attain the age of 16 upward than from the consideration of those of less mature and more tender years.

I do not think a child within the age of 14 years ought to be employed in a factory. Neither do I think a child within the age of 16 years ought to be employed in a quarry. The tree is largely formed from the way the plant is looked after and cultured. I think that the instruction of the child in its early years largely shapes not only the disposition but as well the temperament and physical development of the grown person.

It is to the credit of nearly every State in the Union that they have laws prohibiting the employment of child labor within the age of 14 years in factories, and under 16 years of age in quarries, and it is designed by this bill to have a uniform law passed by Congress which will affect every State in the Union alike.

I incorporate a table showing the number of children employed in factories in the different States:

*Number of children employed in 1910 in industries affected by the bill.*

| | Manufacturing and mechanical (specified occupations). | | Extraction of minerals (specified occupations). | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 10-13 years. | 14-15 years. | 10-13 years. | 14-15 years. |
| Total | 27,005 | 176,137 | 2,266 | 15,401 |
| Alabama | 2,003 | 3,141 | 486 | 993 |
| Arizona | 5 | 45 | 3 | 28 |
| Arkansas | 324 | 654 | 11 | 74 |
| California | 81 | 1,581 | 4 | 64 |
| Colorado | 29 | 383 | 33 | 178 |
| Connecticut | 43 | 4,246 | ..... | 7 |
| Delaware | 34 | 373 | 1 | 1 |
| District of Columbia | 3 | 102 | ..... | ..... |
| Florida | 668 | 1,720 | 55 | 69 |
| Georgia | 2,784 | 4,038 | 23 | 78 |
| Idaho | 19 | 74 | ..... | ..... |
| Illinois | 556 | 9,592 | 26 | 213 |
| Indiana | 289 | 4,743 | 28 | 305 |
| Iowa | 128 | 1,473 | 29 | 131 |
| Kansas | 66 | 572 | 17 | 107 |
| Kentucky | 488 | 2,483 | 168 | 323 |
| Louisiana | 249 | 1,736 | 2 | 1 |
| Maine | 154 | 1,995 | 2 | 9 |
| Maryland | 849 | 4,028 | 45 | 213 |
| Massachusetts | 259 | 18,275 | ..... | 25 |
| Michigan | 103 | 3,258 | ..... | 77 |
| Minnesota | 85 | 843 | 3 | 19 |
| Mississippi | 556 | 1,069 | ..... | ..... |
| Missouri | 389 | 5,255 | 14 | 214 |
| Montana | 8 | 78 | ..... | 9 |
| Nebraska | 41 | 313 | 1 | 9 |
| Nevada | ..... | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| New Hampshire | 63 | 2,067 | ..... | 9 |
| New Jersey | 259 | 10,020 | 3 | 26 |
| New Mexico | 20 | 90 | 10 | 42 |
| New York | 518 | 18,502 | 3 | 47 |
| North Carolina | 6,344 | 8,475 | 15 | 27 |
| North Dakota | 11 | 53 | ..... | ..... |
| Ohio | 370 | 8,703 | 47 | 703 |
| Oklahoma | 70 | 359 | 9 | 47 |
| Oregon | 20 | 256 | ..... | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 1,272 | 20,688 | 529 | 7,695 |
| Rhode Island | 81 | 4,712 | ..... | 4 |
| South Carolina | 4,154 | 5,506 | ..... | ..... |
| South Dakota | 1 | 72 | ..... | 6 |
| Tennessee | 1,029 | 2,289 | 188 | 663 |
| Texas | 734 | 2,204 | 20 | 87 |
| Utah | ..... | 94 | 3 | 18 |
| Vermont | 18 | 259 | 2 | 36 |
| Virginia | 1,337 | 7,568 | 152 | 469 |
| Washington | 51 | 586 | 1 | 31 |
| West Virginia | 298 | 1,317 | 318 | 1,534 |
| Wisconsin | 81 | 3,670 | 2 | 16 |
| Wyoming | ..... | 17 | 1 | 39 |

I do not think that it is harmful to have a uniform law wherever its application will affect all people alike.

I think it will be conceded that to work a child in a factory within the age of 14 and in a mine within the age of 16 is a recognized evil.

We have uniform laws affecting our commerce, uniform laws against the adulteration of our foodstuffs. We have uniform laws concerning the employment of labor among Federal employees, laws affecting the health and morals of our people, as well as other laws that might be incorporated. All of these are important, but none more important than laws affecting the welfare and vitality of our children.

The greatest asset of the State, and hence of the Nation, is the child. A sickly or deformed child is greatly to be regretted. This is not the fault of the child, and generally not of the parent. The children elicit our sympathy, and an appreciative public comes to their relief in the establishment of many institutions for their care and protection.

I think a better feeling will exist between the States when the law is uniform. I am not solicitous concerning the constitutionality of this act, because I think that under the Constitution the general welfare will be promoted best by doing all we can to promote the welfare of the child, and the act will be held clearly constitutional.

I am one of those who would be glad to vote for a uniform education law whereby the Government might contribute to the intellectual welfare of the child in caring for its education. A

step in the right direction is the vocational education bill now before the Committee on Education, and which will open the door of opportunity to thousands throughout the land who otherwise might be kept in ignorance and darkness throughout life.

According to the Census Bureau of 1910 there are 1,990,215 children from 10 to 15 years of age in gainful occupation in the United States, 1,353,139 males and 637,086 females, and by eliminating those engaged in agricultural pursuits leaves many thousands engaged in factory and mine, as is shown by the report of the States above mentioned.

It is to be noted that the bill aims at children working in factory, quarry, and mine. I incorporate that provision of the law prohibiting the shipment of goods manufactured by children so employed.

That no producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce any article or commodity the product of any mine or quarry, situated in the United States, in which within 30 days prior to the time of the removal of such product therefrom children under the age of 16 years have been employed or permitted to work, or any article or commodity the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, situated in the United States, in which within 30 days prior to the removal of such product therefrom children under the age of 14 years have been employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of 14 years and 16 years have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of 7 o'clock p. m., or before the hour of 6 o'clock a. m.

It is needless to say that I would go much further than this bill and I would prohibit the importation of goods into this country which are manufactured by child labor.

Some say that this bill is supported by the labor unions. If it is, so much more then to the credit of those organizations who know how to work and who know what it is to work and know what the child has to endure in following their occupation.

But to me comes the appeal, not from the labor unions so much as from the mothers and women's organizations who have the care of the child in its infancy and who know best its capability and its capacity.

The great medical authorities in this country and of Europe are opposed to child labor, and so uniform is the opposition to child labor that every State in this great Republic has laws regulating child labor.

And I recite from the statement of Hon. A. J. McKelway, secretary for the Southern States of the National Child Labor Committee, who testified before the committee considering this measure, that from the Census Bulletin No. 69, entitled "Child Labor in the United States":

That the census takers were not required to report children at work under 10 years of age, due to the complacent assumption, I presume, that there were none. Some of them exceeded their instructions and did report such children. Two children of 5 were reported at work, 1 6 years of age, 27 of 7, 87 of 8, and 250 of 9 years of age, a total of 370 children reported employed from restricted areas in North Carolina and South Carolina and the State of Georgia.

To me it is inconceivable that a child of 5, 6, 7, 8, or even within the age of 14 years, should be set to work at manual labor.

I want, in justice to these States and this condition of things, to state that they are correcting this abuse and have since passed laws to remedy such employment, so that only two of them permit the employment of children in factories within the age of 14, namely, North Carolina and South Carolina. The work is too severe and often the place too damp in quarry and mine for child labor; while the dust, lint, and noise of a busy factory undermines its health.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this bill because it tends to eradicate a well-recognized evil. I have yet to find a person who states that he is in favor of an infant child working in factory or mine. The school is the place for such a child. It makes him a better citizen. It preserves his health, and with the opportunities in this country, open to everyone with good health and an ordinary education in the simple rule of three—reading, writing, and arithmetic—it is not only a benefit to the child but likewise to our Republic, composed of enlightened and cultured citizens.

The bill also prohibits the employment of the child for more than eight hours a day or six days in the week. In some of the factories longer hours are required, and, as shown by Mr. McKelway, in his report before the committee, the laws of some of the States require the child to work 11 and 12 hours.

I think there should be no night work for a child. In most of our well-organized factories work is done by the hour, and where it is not, many of them require only eight hours of labor for a day, which is the Government standard in all its factories and for all its employees.

I give this bill my whole-hearted support, and I believe that in the end, when even those who are now opposing this measure adjust their factories to the employment of more mature labor, they will benefit by it, and that better conditions will exist on account of the passage of this meritorious act.

## The Illinois Waterway. Its Great Advantage to the People of the Mississippi Valley. Its Construction Prevented by the General Government. The People of Illinois Impatiently Demand that Permission be Given to Make This Much-needed Internal Improvement.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 19, 1916.*

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the construction of a waterway in connection with the Illinois River that will connect the Great Lakes with the Gulf is a project that has been much in the mind of the people of Illinois for many years.

For some reason or other the construction of such waterway has repeatedly encountered obstacles on the part of the Federal Government that, it seems to me, are wholly unreasonable and entirely unjustified.

The attitude of the recent Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, denying permission to the State of Illinois to construct this waterway is, in my opinion, arbitrary.

In this connection I desire to submit a brief history of this proposed waterway.

A WATERWAY FROM THE GREAT LAKES TO THE GULF OF MEXICO.

A waterway connecting the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico, via the Des Plaines, Illinois, and Mississippi Rivers, has been the prophecy and the recommendation of the pioneers and statesmen of the State of Illinois from the time that Pere Marquette and the explorer, Joliet, discovered the portage between the Chicago and the Des Plaines Rivers in 1673 down to the present time.

THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL.

When the State of Illinois, in 1818, was admitted to the Union, Nathaniel Pope, the far-sighted representative of the Territory in Congress, secured an amendment to the act fixing the boundaries of the State of Illinois, shifting its northern boundary so far north as to bring within the limits of the projected State the upper portion of such a waterway. The State was hardly admittted to the Union when the agitation of its statesmen was directed toward the construction of a canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River. Congress, in 1822, and again in 1827, provided for the construction of this waterway by the generous donation of lands owned by the Government to the State of Illinois.

The construction of the canal was begun shortly after 1827, and was opened for use by the public in 1848. At the time it was designed and completed it was considered to be of adequate size to provide for the development of waterway commerce. At that time the only known motive power for the operation of boats upon canals was animal power. Not a steam railroad existed in Illinois, and no railroad was in operation in the State of Illinois until six years after the canal was opened for public use.

The only way then known to propel barges was by horses and mules, and a canal boat with a capacity of 200 tons was the then known limit of barge propulsion. A speed of from 3½ to 4 miles an hour was the utmost that could be considered in a canal. With this motive power in view, and this capacity in contemplation, a canal adequate for the then possibilities of operation was constructed from Chicago to La Salle, about 100 miles in length. At La Salle this canal entered the Illinois River, which has a natural depth from La Salle to the Mississippi of 7 feet. This canal had a depth of 6 feet, a width of 36 feet at bottom, and 60 feet on water line. Its locks were 100 feet long and 17 feet in width and only 4½ feet deep. Soon afterwards, however, the whole science of transportation was revolutionized.

Steam was harnessed, and adapted to railway and water transportation, and although the canal for many years proved to be a practical waterway and paid for its construction with the revenues derived therefrom, it became very apparent 30 or 40 years ago that the canal as constructed must fall into disuse because of the competition of modern transportation as developed in railroads, and the inadequate dimensions of the canal.

For the last 15 or 20 years the canal, built in the first half of the nineteenth century, has been practically fossilized and useless. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, however,

it again became apparent that transportation by water between the Great Lakes and the Illinois River must be provided.

THE SANITARY DISTRICT CHANNEL.

The sanitary district of Chicago was organized in 1890, primarily for the purpose of affording drainage and sanitation to the great city of Chicago, but the public became impressed with the fact that while primarily the object of the sanitary district canal was for drainage and sanitation, incidentally it should provide for navigation as far as it was built, and therefore a tremendous waterway was constructed from Chicago to Lockport, with a depth of 22 feet to provide for the commerce of the future. This provides a waterway of adequate depth from Chicago to Lockport, a distance of over 30 miles. From Lockport to Joliet, about 3 miles, there is a natural depth in the river, with which the sanitary district canal connects of over 100 feet.

Since the completion of the sanitary district canal the citizens of Illinois have been confronted with the following waterway situation: A channel from Chicago to Joliet, over 30 miles, with a depth of approximately 22 feet, and a depth in the river of over 10 feet for the 3 miles between Lockport and Joliet. Thence a gap between Joliet and La Salle of 65 miles, in which the Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers flow over a sharply descending rocky ledge of 144 feet declivity, making the river in its natural condition impractical for utilization as a waterway. Alongside of the river on this stretch is the old Illinois and Michigan Canal, with a present depth of about from 4 to 5 feet, with a width of 60 feet and with locks of such narrow dimensions as to be impractical for modern use. From La Salle to Grafton, where the Illinois River enters the Mississippi River, we have a stretch of 233 miles, a waterway created by the Almighty, with a natural depth of 7 feet, easily capable, by dredging, of being deepened to 8 feet by the expenditure of a comparatively small amount of money.

From Grafton, where the Illinois River enters into the Mississippi River, down past St. Louis to Cairo we have a depth in the Mississippi River of 8 feet, with no immediate prospect of securing a further depth without the expenditure of an enormous amount of money, an amount so enormous as to justify the Federal engineers in declaring that at the present time it is, from an engineering standpoint, impractical of development to a greater depth. This has been the situation confronting the people of the State of Illinois for the last quarter of a century.

THE DEMAND FOR AN ADEQUATE WATERWAY.

The necessity for the development of a waterway between Joliet and La Salle has been clearly recognized by the people of this State. In 1907, or thereabouts, the people of this State, upon a referendum vote, amended the constitution so as to provide for the issuance of $20,000,000 worth of bonds to construct and create a deep waterway between Joliet and La Salle. After the passage of this constitutional amendment providing for the issuance of these bonds for this purpose a controversy arose between the engineers as to the depth and capacity of the proposed waterway. Some advocated a 14-foot channel, others a greater depth, and still others advocated the rehabilitation of the old canal to a depth of 6 feet. Unfortunately, as the result of this engineering controversy, the project of the creation of a waterway over the 65 miles between Joliet and La Salle has languished and nothing has been done.

This being the situation, Gov. Dunne invited several prominent engineers to accompany him, in the summer of 1914, on a trip down the old Illinois and Michigan Canal for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the physical surroundings thereof.

During that trip on the Illinois and Michigan Canal the governor suggested to the engineers that, in view of the fact that there was only an 8-foot depth in the Mississippi River for over 200 miles between Grafton, the mouth of the Illinois, and Cairo, it might be wise to devise some engineering scheme which would give the people of the Mississippi Valley a depth of 8 feet in the Illinois River and from Chicago to Grafton in such a way as not to foreclose the future depth of the Illinois waterway, in the event that engineering science would hereafter discover a way to give us a greater depth in the Mississippi River. These engineers readily promised to give the matter consideration, and in 60 days thereafter they devised a scheme, which they submitted to the governor in a written report, and which he submitted to the legislature, to various associations of commerce in the State of Illinois, to engineering boards, and to other bodies, and this scheme has received practically universal approval.

THE ILLINOIS WATERWAY LAW.

The law recently passed by the Legislature of Illinois provides for the deepening and using of the old Illinois and Michigan Canal for 20 miles between Joliet and Dresden Heights, thence entering the Illinois River and deepening the channel thereof to at least an 8-foot depth and 150-foot width and using it as a waterway for 45 miles from Dresden Heights to Starved Rock, which is located just above Utica, except for about 2 miles at Marseilles, where the waterway channel is diverted from the river to a by-pass along the south side of the river and thence back to the river after passing the private dam and water power of the Marseilles Water & Power Co. This diversion is made for the purpose of avoiding any legal delays or complications with that company which now maintains a dam and electric-light plant at Marseilles. If this project as above outlined be carried out, it will be seen that it would afford the people of Illinois a continuous waterway with a minimum depth of 8 feet from Lake Michigan to Cairo and thence by the Mississippi River to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico.

Heretofore, as has been said, there has been a wide divergence of opinion between engineers as to the depth of the proposed waterway. But in view of the fact that the Federal Government maintains a channel of only 8 feet for 225 miles in the Mississippi River—between Grafton and Cairo—and in view of the further fact that there is no probability of a greater depth being attained in the Mississippi River between the said points for a generation at least, the governor was convinced, after reading the report of the Federal engineers as to the condition of the Mississippi River, that it would be useless to attempt the construction of any waterway at present in the Illinois and Des Plaines Rivers between Lockport and Utica at a greater depth than the channel in the Mississippi River.

AN 8-FOOT CHANNEL SUFFICIENT FOR THE PRESENT.

At the same time it was believed to be unwise for the State of Illinois to delay the construction of a usable canal, and if an 8-foot channel can be secured at the present time without in any way jeopardizing the future greater depth of the Illinois River in the event that a greater depth could hereafter be obtained in the Mississippi River, such a course should be pursued. Four engineers, appointed by the governor, after carefully examining the subject matter, made a unanimous report, in which report was developed a scheme for the construction of an 8-foot waterway between Lockport and Utica. That scheme with some amendments demanded by local conditions at Dresden Heights, Marseilles, and Ottawa has, after the fullest discussion in the press and before committees of the legislature, been finally adopted and crystallized into the law.

The project will cost the State of Illinois not to exceed $5,000,000, which is to be paid for by the issuance of bonds not to exceed that amount. The waterway power to be developed at Starved Rock and at Joliet at the present time will, it is estimated by these engineers, not only pay interest upon those bonds but will pay an amount every year into the sinking fund to help retire these bonds.

THE PLAN OF THE ILLINOIS WATERWAY.

The plan contemplates the using of the Illinois and Des Plaines Rivers for 45 miles at the present time, and the use temporarily of about 20 miles of the old Illinois and Michigan Canal between Joliet and Dresden Heights. The temporary use of the canal for this 20 miles at the present time is necessitated by the fact that the Economy Light & Power Co. claims rights through a lease in the regular course. This lease prevents the State from utilizing the river at the present time between Dresden Heights and Joliet without paying this company a very large amount of money demanded by them to cancel their lease. It is intended to proceed promptly with the construction of the waterway between Dresden Heights and Starved Rock over the 45 miles in which the river channel is used, and to endeavor in some way to procure a surrender, or cancellation, or make some arrangement with the Economy Light & Power Co. under which the river may be utilized between Dresden Heights and Joliet. Failing so to do the old canal will be used temporarily between these points, enlarging the locks and deepening the channel to an 8-foot depth.

THE WATERWAY AN URGENT NECESSITY.

As before stated a navigable commercial waterway between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River has been the prophecy and recommendation of every great statesman in Illinois from the very earliest down to the present day. These prophecies and recommendations seem to be realized so far as legislative action is concerned, by the Illinois law, and it is believed that tremendous commerce will be developed over this waterway as soon as it is opened to the public.

The city of New Orleans has already spent $9,000,000 in the construction of its municipal docks and wharves, preparing for a trade that must inevitably come down the Mississippi Valley en route to the Pacific coast through the Panama Canal. New Orleans is 900 miles nearer the Panama Canal than the ports of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

For this reason this project is of enormous value to the whole Mississippi Valley. It will cheapen freight rates between the Gulf of Mexico and the Great Lakes, which must redound to the benefit of this great manufacturing and agricultural valley.

LACK OF WATER TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES A SERIOUS HANDICAP.

To let the waterway proposition linger along as it has done for the last quarter of a century with nothing done in the way of opening up a practical channel would be a commercial, financial, and political blunder.

The reasons that can be adduced for the immediate construction of this waterway are overwhelming, as shown by the statements of such manufacturers, merchants, and shippers as those identified with Marshall Field & Co., Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., Libby, McNeil & Libby, Edward Hines Lumber Co., Illinois Malleable Iron Works, W. W. Kimball Co., and a host of other manufacturers, merchants, and shippers almost too numerous to mention.

Since the opening of the Panama Canal, ocean traffic has been wonderfully developed between the eastern and western seaboards of the United States. The ocean tariff has proved to be much more economical than the transcontinental railroad tariff, and as a result the transcontinental railroad tariff has been lowered, but not lowered in the Mississippi Valley.

THE WATERWAY WILL REDUCE FREIGHT RATES.

Mr. S. A. Thompson, secretary of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, declared before the Illinois Legislature that the opening of the Panama Canal instead of being a benefit to the Mississippi Valley would be a disaster to that valley, unless we availed ourselves of waterway transportation down the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. New Orleans is 900 miles nearer the Panama Canal than is New York, and, if the citizens of the Mississippi Valley were in a position to ship their manufactured products to New Orleans by water, they would be in a position more nearly equal with the manufacturers who ship from New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

The Edward Hines Lumber Co., in a letter addressed to the Legislature of Illinois, declared that the railway tariff upon lumber from the Gulf of Mexico to Chicago is now $12 per 1,000 feet, and that, if the 65 miles between Joliet and La Salle were provided with an adequate waterway, these rates by water from the same point will not exceed $6 per 1,000 feet, and that the saving by reduction of freights upon lumber alone from the Gulf of Mexico to Chicago, if only one-half of the lumber shipped to Chicago were shipped by the waterway, would amount to $1,800,000 a year.

Mr. Thompson, secretary of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, also produced figures before the legislature showing that the cost of waterway transportation on the Great Lakes was one-eighth of the railway transportation between the same points thereon, and that all waterway transportation was at least one-half less than the cost of railway transportation.

Self-propelled barges carrying from 1,000 to 1,500 tons of freight can and will operate over this waterway between Chicago and New Orleans, to the great benefit of the people of the Mississippi Valley, if this imporant waterway be constructed and placed at the disposal of the people.

THE CONTROVERSY RELATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PERMIT.

The State of Illinois by an act of its legislature has authorized the construction of this connecting link of 65 miles in the 1,600 miles of waterway between Chicago and the Gulf of Mexico at its own expense, for the benefit of both the State of Illinois and its sister States in the Mississippi Valley.

An application for a permit to construct the waterway has been made to the Secretary of War and the Engineer in Chief of the War Department. That application is still pending and undetermined. It would, no doubt, have been granted some time ago were the question not raised that the construction of this gap in the waterway would require the diversion of additional waters from Lake Michigan.

Some of the great cities on the inland lakes have become unnecessarily alarmed over this bugaboo. The State of Illinois does not require for the construction or operation of this waterway one gallon of water in excess of the 250,000 minute-feet which have been permitted to be diverted by the Secretary of War to the sanitary district of Chicago for nearly 20 years last past. The waters pouring into the Illinois River from the Des Plaines, Kankakee, and Fox Rivers, together with the amount legally permitted for years last past to be diverted through the Chicago River for sanitation purposes, are more than ample for all the needs and necessities of the proposed waterway. The sanitary district of Chicago and the city of Chicago are desirous of securing from the Secretary of War additional flowage of water for sanitary purposes, but this is an issue created by the sanitary needs of the great city of Chicago, with its 2,500,000 population, and not an issue raised in any way by the application for a permit to construct this waterway.

UNIVERSAL APPROVAL OF THE PROJECT.

Eight governors of eight of the great States in the Mississippi Valley have joined in requesting the Secretary of War to grant the permit for the building of this waterway. The executive officers of nearly every great city in the Mississippi Valley from New Orleans to Minneapolis and St. Paul, including St. Louis and other large cities on the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, have also requested the Secretary of War to act favorably and grant the permit desired.

New Orleans has spent millions of dollars in building municipal docks and wharves to prepare for the trade that must go to that great city from the Mississippi Valley and thence to the Panama Canal. Nearly all the great cities on the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers are preparing to erect or have in contemplation the erection of municipal docks and wharves to take care of the commerce that is certain to develop when this waterway is opened. Nearly one-half of the population of the United States resides in the Mississippi Valley, and the retardation of the opening of this great improvement will work incalculable damage to the interests of that great valley.

In these days, when an outcry is raised against the pork barrel, attention may be properly directed to the fact that Illinois for this great improvement does not seek one dollar from Congress. That great State is prepared to take upon itself the expense of the whole project, which will inure not only to its own benefit, but to the benefit of its sister States in the Mississippi Valley.

On May 16, 1916, when the State of Illinois was appearing before Secretary of War Baker and the Board of Engineers of the United States Army asking that the decision of former Secretary of War Garrison should be reviewed and that permission be given to the State of Illinois to construct this waterway, I appeared before the Secretary of War and the Board of Engineers at the request of the State of Illinois and presented the following argument:

ARGUMENT OF HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD, OF ILLINOIS, BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF WAR AND THE BOARD OF ENGINEERS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I wish to say to you at the commencement of the remarks that I desire to make that I have no interest of any kind in this proposition except as a citizen of Illinois.

"Gov. Dunne is not of my political household. I have no expectant or possible connection with this waterway if it becomes an established fact.

"I could not take any other position than that which I do take favoring this project as a citizen of Illinois and having its best interest at heart. * * *

"It is surprising, when we attempt to bring to successful fruition an enterprise that has slumbered in the imagination of the people of the State of Illinois for many years, how many guardians rise up for the State of Illinois and tender their services to prevent the accomplishment of what we think the State of Illinois has an absolute right to accomplish.

"In the first place, there are numerous questions that have been suggested by such self-tendered guardians here that, in my judgment, are not the principal questions, but are only collateral and not in any way associated with the proposition which is before us to-day. For instance, there is the proposition that has been raised by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. STAFFORD], who has become, in connection with the lowering of the water level in the Milwaukee River and Lake Michigan, so much interested in the conservation of the water power in the State of Illinois, which comes just to this, that the question of the ownership of the water power of Illinois in an intrastate stream is no longer an open question, either so far as principle or the decisions of courts are concerned.

"The Illinois River runs wholly within the State of Illinois.

"The General Government, in a certain sense and to a certain extent, is vested with jurisdiction for the purpose of navigation over this stream. Those of us who have spent our lives in Illinois and know intimately every step connected with the matter know that the people do not feel overwhelmingly a sense of gratitude for the things that the General Government has done for the Illinois River, for it has done practically nothing.

"There is no lively sense of obligation upon our part. The Government made a survey of the river and built two dams that my friend, Mr. RAINEY, is seeking to have removed because they overflow lands in which he and his friends are concerned. And, parenthetically, I might say that Mr. RAINEY's proposition was a 14-foot waterway and is not entirely dissociated from the idea that property will be improved in which he and his col-

leagues are very directly interested. But the United State Government has done practically nothing for the Illinois River.

"In the State of Illinois, by a long line of decisions, as my esteemed friend Gen. Crowder will corroborate, he having looked with care into this question, the title to the bed of the Illinois River is in the riparian owners.

"The adjoining owners on either side own to the center of the stream.

"The United States Government has no interest, Mr. Secretary, to the amount of a single fluid ounce in the water power that is created in the Illinois River. You may talk about conservation—and with that I am not going to quarrel to-day, for it is not raised here in any way—but the Federal Government has absolutely no interest in the water power of the Illinois River, and that has been decided both by State and by Federal courts, the ownership being entirely private, subject merely to one easement, to one reservation, and that is the easement and the reservation of navigation that exists in the Federal Government.

"I will not take the time to cite cases, because there can be absolutely no question but this is the fact and has been decided, as I say, by both Federal and State courts, notwithstanding the imaginings of my friend Mr. Cahill.

"Maj. ANSELL. May I interrupt you?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You may, Major.

"Maj. ANSELL. Is the power of Congress over a river that is intrastate more limited than it is over a river that is interstate?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. What power, Major?

"Maj. ANSELL. This easement that you refer to, the navigation easement. Does it differ?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am not seeking, by anything that I may say, to limit this department to exercising such control over this stream as would be exercised over an interstate stream, so far as navigation interests are concerned. I do not attempt to distinguish in that respect, nor will I attempt to distinguish between the two. The principle of the right to regulate navigation is well established. Many decisions have made this principle closed and adjudicated, unless they should be disregarded and overturned.

"Yesterday there was mentioned by some of those who presented the matter the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The Illinois and Michigan Canal was built at a time when the internal improvement of the Nation was one of the questions that vitally concerned all the people. It served its day and its generation, and the State of Illinois expended millions and millions of dollars for its creation and millions of dollars for its continuation and for its upkeep, and the State of Illinois only lost its interest, and an interest, I might say in passing, that was without bounds of generosity, when this canal, by reason of its limitations and its location no longer did the business of the State of Illinois, or any considerable portion of it.

"In that day when the wilderness was developing and when the movement was from East to West, thousands and thousands of the settlers traveled over this canal, thousands and thousands of tons of freight were brought in by this route, and there was a time when commerce was most lively upon this canal in the antiquated methods then used.

"But because of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, it fell into disuse, Mr. Secretary, and no one is so lowly now to do it reverence. It became a stench; it became a matter of offense; it became a matter for which there was no utilitarian use. It became a place that was filled with stagnant water and the decaying ribs and bones of abandoned canal boats, and it virtually passed out of existence because the need for it had passed out of existence. And, parenthetically, I might remark that I know whereof I speak, for I was for some time the attorney for the Illinois and Michigan Canal. I know its internal workings, and I know, without the slightest question, the statements I make to be true.

"You may withhold the permit to construct this waterway. If you feel it your duty, you may withhold the permit, but the Illinois & Michigan Canal will not be revived by that act.

"It will lie sleeping with the useless dead, stagnant, and of no serviceable purpose. It will create no new condition.

"About the land that is occupied by the bed of the canal, I would respectfully submit—is that a question that concerns this department in any way? If there are lands of the United States Government that belong to the United States Government by reason of the breach of some condition regarding the canal, I inquire of all of the gentlemen who are associated in interest in the hearing of this matter if that is a matter that concerns this department in any way?

"I think not.

"I think it concerns another department of the Government. And whatever action the Government may see fit to take with reference to the misuse of this canal can not properly enter into the matter of the granting of the permit to construct this waterway, it seems to me.

"It would be a singularly ungracious act of the United States Government to claim these lands, taking into consideration the fact that Illinois is paying one-eighth of all the internal revenue of the United States, and that in three years it has paid in $360,000,000; and when the Government needed its services, out of the 2,700,000 enlistments furnished for the Civil War, Illinois depopulated itself by furnishing 270,000. I say it would be a singularly ungracious act, it seems to me, after the furnishing of this waterway, after saying to the people of the United States, 'Come, and use it freely at our expense, without adequate compensation,' to advance any claim for the lands granted to aid in the construction of the canal.

"Maj. ANSELL. I hate to interrupt you.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You need not hate to, sir.

"Maj. ANSELL. Do you concede, Mr. CHIPERFIELD, that one of the conditions of that grant made to the State of Illinois was that the State should not only construct but also maintain?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Oh, no, Major; I do not concede that.

"Maj. ANSELL. What is your view about that?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I would delight to go down to your office and go over the matter with you for two reasons: First, that we might discuss the legal features and that I might have the pleasure of the personal visit. But the United States Government made its grant at the time when the lands were practically without value and when Chicago was practically a morass, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of this canal, as it aided in the construction of railways; and without going into it, you know where these railways have fallen into disuse what the rule has been, and how it was not a condition precedent or subsequent to the making of the grant, as in the cases which I have in my possession is clearly shown. So I say that that question does not properly enter into this matter.

"Gen. BLACK. I have been very much troubled and worried about one thing in connection with this matter, not being a lawyer. As I understand it an intrastate stream is a stream of waters which are gathered together within the limits of a State, flowing within its boundaries, running through its minor water courses, and comprising a stream altogether within the State.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. General, I would have to differ with you very positively, so far as my mental assent is concerned. I do not think that that is a fair definition. I do not assume any monopoly on legal knowledge. I have been practicing my profession for 25 years. I can not decide this question offhand, but I will tell you what my idea is——

"Gen. BLACK. I will tell you what I was leading up to. We had the condition on the Des Plaines River of a stream which originally was entirely within the State but which now owes its capacity for the development of power and the development of navigation almost entirely to the waters that are drawn from without the State. Does that make any particular difference in your mind?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. It does not, in my opinion. I think that an intrastate stream is a stream that rises and has its mouth within the borders of a single State.

"Gen. BLACK. In saying "rise," what do you mean by rise?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I mean where the stream itself is developed. I realize there are more than 24,000 square miles in the watershed of the Illinois. I realize that right in the——

"Gen. BLACK. I do not want to take up your time, but can the Des Plaines River, with the waters now flowing through the Des Plaines River, be said to rise within the limits of the State of Illinois?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. It does not. I am quite convinced if you mean the origin of the waters——

"Gen. BLACK. Yes; the origin of the waters.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. The waters of other rivers go to make up the Illinois. They rise in Indiana. A great deal of water has been added to the Kankakee River by the artificial reclamation in the State of Indiana.

"The SECRETARY. The fact about it is that an intrastate stream is a portion of a larger body of water to which a single name is applied only within the limits of a particular State.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is my estimate of the situation.

"Mr. MATHIAS. I think the construction of the statute would be that an intrastate stream is a stream the navigable portions of which lie wholly within a State.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I would not take any exception to that definition. And why should we raise consideration of that, when not only the navigable portions, but all the portions lie within the State of Illinois, even if that rule be the correct one?

"Speaking of the flow from Lake Michigan, it is only fair for me to tell you one thing. For many years I have represented

the sanitary district of Chicago. I do not come here under false colors. My firm is representing the sanitary district of Chicago to-day. I have had charge of the overflow cases in the Illinois River Valley, and I do not believe in posing in any attitude that I can not gladly and clearly disclose. It is a legitimate employment which I have the right to take, but you should know the fact. So far as the flow from Lake Michigan is concerned, it is entirely separate and divorced from the question that is presented to you, sir. It may extend to the development of this power by the fact that the more water the greater power; but this enterprise does not rest in any way, shape, or manner, upon the amount of water which you have allowed to be drawn from Lake Michigan.

"The SECRETARY. Suppose the Government found it necessary to forbid the further taking of water by the sanitary district of Chicago, in order to maintain the levels of the Great Lake system.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You mean any water?

"The SECRETARY. Any further.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. This project would suffer most sadly. There is no use in attempting to becloud the issues. Two things would happen; first, you would kill off the people of Chicago——

"Gen. BLACK. Oh, no. I claim a little knowledge of sewage disposal.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. No; you could not put that water into the lake for 48 hours without contaminating the water supply of the people of the city of Chicago. You have in mind one thing and I have another.

"The SECRETARY. Every one of the Great Lake cities started out with the project of dumping its sewage into the lake. They are not now doing that. Chicago is the only one that is attempting to avoid that heavy burden, and they are doing it by taking out water from the lake and turning it down into the Mississippi River. If that method is profoundly prejudicial to the Great Lakes I can easily imagine the Government saying to the city of Chicago, "You can not do that." And if that should happen to be the fact, then would this waterway be of any value?

"Gen. BLACK. I might add to that that the system at Chicago is entirely unsatisfactory to Chicago itself.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I can not go quite that far with you, General, because with all due respect to your knowledge on this subject, which I very freely concede, I do not think your statement is accurate in that matter, because the health statistics of the city of Chicago, sir, show that it is singularly immune from those diseases that can be traced to water contamination sources. There can be no question about that.

"Gen. BLACK. It has helped Chicago very largely; there is no question as to that. But Chicago itself is now engaged in studying how it can be bettered. Conditions are getting very bad.

"The SECRETARY. Gen. Black's proposition is, I think, conclusively proved by the fact that the limit that is imposed is 25,000 cubic feet per minute. As a matter of fact the system requires 500,000, or some other figure.

"Gen. BLACK. And must be assisted in addition.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I do not think anyone can question the statement that the more the sewage is diluted the better the condition becomes from a sanitary standpoint when it has flowed through the channel. Everybody knows that; and they are getting as much water as they can. I do not want to becloud that issue. But, Mr. Secretary, upon the question of the right of the city of Chicago to conduct these operations, it was passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States, and its right was sustained in the case of the Sanitary District of Chicago against the State of Missouri and the State of Illinois. There the whole plan was laid before the Supreme Court of the United States.

"The SECRETARY. That, however, from the names of the parties in the case, raised only the question as to whether the city of Chicago had the right to pass its sewage from these other cities.

"Gen. BLACK. Whether it would interfere with the other cities?

"The SECRETARY. It did not raise the question, probably, as to the power of the Government to control the withdrawal of water.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I would not pretend that it went that far; but the State of Missouri asked for an injunction, claiming that it was going to be injurious to its citizens——

"Gen. BLACK. That the Mississippi would be contaminated unduly.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. And the health of the various cities on the stream would be affected prejudically. There the matter was passed upon by the Supreme Court. I would not be understood for a moment as saying or suggesting that this went so far as to say that this department would not have power to regulate the flow, and, perhaps, under some conditions, to abolish it. Those are mooted questions that I would not attempt to pass upon. But I want to say this: This is a matter that is particularly dear to the people of the State of Illinois. The United States Government has done nothing—before I get to that point, however, let me say that so far as we are concerned in connection with the waterway we do not care what you do with the flow if there is a minimum of 250,000.

"I think that, so far as the entire Illinois delegation is concerned, with its great interest in the city of Chicago, they would bitterly fight any attempt to prevent the use of the sanitary district channel. I think the sanitary district of Chicago would make a very vigorous insistence, and the city of Chicago would do it also. But so far as this enterprise is concerned, Mr. Secretary, it does not depend upon any increased amount of flow. So far as the State of Illinois is concerned, it is vitally interested in this question.

"Here is what we propose: We propose to give to the country at large, in place of the obsolete Illinois & Michigan Canal, a waterway more than 60 miles in length covering a portion of the river where a scow can not go through at ordinary times, in the Des Plaines River, connecting the sanitary district channel with the Illinois River by the route that is outlined in the plan, and thence with the lower Mississippi, giving a better route when it is completed than any that is found in the Mississippi River to-day, because it would not be subject to the same changes of channel. It would not be subject to the same embarrassing situations that tend to hamper navigation in the Mississippi occasionally.

"I was surprised at the statement of my friend Mr. STAFFORD that no commerce would use this canal in connection with the Panama Canal. Mr. Secretary, adjacent to this proposed enterprise is that part of the State where I have had the great pleasure of living. It is the richest portion of the Nation. Bayard Taylor, after wandering all over the country and over the civilized and uncivilized lands on the earth, pronounced it to be the heart of the Nation. It is, in fact, the garden of Eden of the whole Central West. Here is produced practically every product—live stock, coal, stone, sand, corn, grains, fruits, all the agricultural products—and there are manufactures through that valley that are reaching out for markets all over the world.

"Why, sir, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which is so vitally interested in this project, manufactures every year $3,000,000,000 worth of products within the territory that would be affected by this waterway. I do not know what our national wealth is at the present time, because no one knows. It was somewhere in the vicinity of $160,000,000,000. They figure it now as high as $200,000,000,000; but we are manufacturing on that basis more than 1 per cent of all the national wealth every year. Our products are of unnumbered millions. Our people desire an additional outlet. They desire access to the Mississippi River, and the Mississippi River people desire access to and from the city of Chicago. This enterprise has been indorsed by Gov. Bilbo, of Mississippi; Gov. Hall, of Louisiana; Gov. Clarke, of Iowa; Gov. Major, of Missouri; Gov. Hammond, of Minnesota; and Gov. Dunne, of Illinois.

"I was in the Legislature of the State of Illinois at the time the constitutional amendment was submitted to the people. It passed the house by more than a two-thirds vote and was submitted to the people of the State of Illinois, and by an overwhelming majority at the polls the people confirmed and adopted it. Then the project failed for reasons I will not take the time to relate now; and after Gov. Dunne came into office it was again sought to put this project through. There was a Republican house and senate at the time, and the Republican house passed it by a two-thirds vote, and also in the Senate. The people of the State of Illinois are vigorous in demanding the right to make this improvement, subject, sir, to your right of supervision and inspection and approval.

"As I understand it—and I have no desire to misstate anything—the legal features of this plan have been, to a large extent, approved by the Judge Advocate General's Department of the United States Army. There is a report of the Engineer's Office practically approving it, as far as the engineering features are concerned.

"What can be the possible detriment which this department would be called upon to take into consideration to justify its refusal? Only one. Water power, sir. And I stake my reputation as a lawyer, for whatever it may be worth—and I would not be ashamed of it in the State of Illinois—I stake my reputation that the Government of the United States has not one iota of interest in the water power of the Illinois River. Then, what is the objection? It gives a channel where none existed before.

The United States Government does not propose to build it. We are not come, sir, like the States from the South, that seek to improve creeks and streams where, according to popular reputation, artesian wells are needed to supply them. We are not spending millions and millions of dollars of United States money in an effort to improve a worthless stream; but we are seeking to give our State and the people of the United States an 8-foot channel without one dollar expense to the General Government. It brings up this question——

"The SECRETARY. A great many of these southern streams would not need artesian wells if they had Lake Michigan.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is very true, Mr. Secretary; but let me tell you that when these gentlemen would have you believe that the Illinois River is a meager stream, I will tell you that the Illinois River, in high stages, has certain places where it is from 6 to 7 miles wide from shore to shore. There is plenty of water there; there is no question about that.

"But to get back to my subject: We are not asking the Government for a single dollar. We are asking the right and the privilege of doing this work in aid of the commerce of the State of Illinois and in response to a long-felt want. We are not asking the Government to forego any of its substantial rights. Your department, sir, as I understand it, has jurisdiction upon one theory, and that is the theory of a disturbance or interference with the navigation of the river. At the present time, for the kind of trade we desire to put upon the Illinois River, there is no navigation. Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean that boats do not ply on this stream. They do. I do not mean that cargoes are not hauled over this stream. They are.

"Gov. DUNNE. Not between Lockport and Utica.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Oh, no; you can not row a boat through that. But the Illinois River has some use as a carrying stream under certain high-water conditions. But we propose to establish a channel that will carry cargoes from the city of Chicago and to the city of Chicago that will link that city and the Illinois and the lower Mississippi together. The Illinois is not alone interested in this plan. Association after association throughout the South——

"The SECRETARY. I will have to leave, now, Mr. CHIPERFIELD, and attend a Cabinet meeting. I am very grateful for all that you have said, and if you care to be heard any further I can hear you at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If I may have 10 minutes more at 2 o'clock, I will not further inflict myself upon you.

"(Whereupon, at 11 o'clock a. m., a recess was taken until 2 o'clock p. m.)

"AFTER RECESS.

"TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1916.

"The hearing was resumed, pursuant to the taking of recess at 2 o'clock p. m.

"The SECRETARY. You may continue, Mr. CHIPERFIELD.

"ARGUMENT OF HON. B. M. CHIPERFIELD.

(Continued.)

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Resuming where I left off and making this as concise as I can, because I do not want to take any more of your time than is absolutely necessary, I wish to speak of the universal desire of the people of the State of Illinois that this canal may be constructed and put into operation as speedily as possible. Now, I am fully aware that if the only argument we had to offer were public opinion—or, if that expression does not suit, public clamor—it would not be a very substantial basis for an argument. In the State of Illinois, however, Mr. Secretary, there was as nearly a unanimous sentiment in favor of this waterway as I think has ever existed upon any question within the borders of the State.

"The SECRETARY. On which of these problems was it based—the power or the transportation end?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I can say very frankly for our people, if it were purely a power proposition, they would repudiate it absolutely.

"Now, let me make a little diversion from my subject along that line. Gov. Deneen, who preceded Gov. Dunne, at a time when I was in the Legislature of the State of Illinois, put in a bill for the construction of a waterway. The main thing sought, however, was power. A vast amount of water power was to be produced, and that proposition smacked so much of pure commercialism that the legislature smote the proposition hip and thigh.

"Gov. DUNNE. How many special sessions were called for the purpose?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Well, Governor, we were like firemen at that time. We slept in our clothes and waited for a call for a special session.

"The proposition then was to create water power. The people of the State of Illinois rejected it; and if that were the proposition to-day they would reject it again. The people of the State of Illinois are desirous of connecting the State of Illinois with the balance of the Union by a water route; and in connecting the rest of the Union with the State of Illinois they incidentally furnish one of the greatest public highways in the Union. As to the water-power proposition, since you refer to it, Mr. Secretary, let me say what I had in mind to say somewhat later on. The water-power proposition, or the water power that is to be developed, is merely incidental. It is not the main thought, Mr. Secretary. Every Illinoisan connected with this enterprise would pledge his word that it is not the main thought. But, in the construction of this enterprise they have got to create power.

"The SECRETARY. Why?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Well, Mr. Secretary, as to the project for the creation of power, these gentlemen of the Engineer Board and the Chief of Engineers can advise you so much better than I can that I hesitate to speak. In order to get the depth for the pools, and in order to get the available channel for navigation through these stretches of the river, where the fall is more precipitous, the pools are created by the construction of dams. There is one of these dams at Starved Rock.

"Gov. DUNNE. The only one is at Starved Rock. The other dams are diverting it down.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Well, the only power plant involved here in this present plan is the one at Starved Rock. By that construction they get an added depth and also gain power that has been referred to.

"As to the power proposition, we have proceeded, in the State of Illinois, upon the theory, Mr. Secretary, that the natural resources shall be conserved as far as possible and shall be devoted to public uses and the interest of the State upon the best terms possible. Illinois has been essentially a conservation State.

"The SECRETARY. Without wishing to interrupt you, Mr. Chiperfield, I want to follow that line until we get to the end of it. If I understand the production of hydroelectric power, it requires water to do it?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes, sir.

"The SECRETARY. If you have a dam that holds back water in Lake Michigan, except you let it out, then all you take out for power purposes is taken out of Lake Michigan and reduces the level to that extent. If you eliminate the power element entirely, would not that conserve the water in Lake Michigan to that extent?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I wonder if you have this situation correctly in your mind?

"Gov. DUNNE. The Starved Rock Dam is 100 miles away from Lake Michigan and about 150 feet below the——

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD (interposing). The waters of the Sanitary District Canal ultimately discharges into the Des Plaines River. They proceed along in that stream until they reach the Kankakee River; the Kankakee River comes in here [indicating], joining with the Des Plaines River, and then the Illinois River is formed. I presume that Starved Rock must be 30 or 40 miles below the junction of the Kankakee with the Des Plaines, making the Illinois. In that distance, Mr. Secretary, there is a drop of more than 100 feet. This dam is but a few feet in height. Your thought is that there would be an added incentive for a greater discharge through the canal because of this power. It is recognized that so far as the flow of water from Lake Michigan for Sanitary District Canal purposes is concerned, within all reasonable limits that question is in your hands. What is a reasonable limit, and what is the effect it is having are questions now in the courts, but the ultimate effect of the flow of this water can be entirely eliminated, because, so far as we are concerned, you are in control of that proposition. I have not the faintest idea that under the conditions existing the Secretary of War will say that there shall be no flow from Lake Michigan. I do not believe you will ever get to that point. However, the State of Illinois is willing to take its chances on that proposition.

"The SECRETARY. What power is now developed in the sanitary district by the Sanitary Canal?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I was going to say about 22,000, but Mr. Kelly has been one of the engineers, and he knows exactly.

"Mr. KELLY. Twenty-two thousand is about right.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. There is absolutely no connection between the sanitary district and this proposition.

"The SECRETARY. Except that the water is turned over to the State of Illinois and subsequently turned out by the State of Illinois.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If you had that matter before you, you could say to the State of Illinois that so long as it can properly use that power for public purposes——

"The SECRETARY (interposing). There are some things where it pays to stop before you begin. If we allow water power to be built up, of 18,000 horsepower, and it turns out to be a useful and cheap mode of obtaining power, the pressure upon this department to allow an increase in the water power will be constant. There will be a more or less constant demand for an increase in water power. This is the situation: Illinois is a sovereign State, but it is a sovereign State against a sovereign State. The interests of Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York—all States that touch this systems of waterways below the Great Lakes—are in opposition to any such change as would advantage the State of Illinois.

"Gov. DUNNE. I think I can safely say that the height of this dam has been fixed at the lowest possible stage that it can be to secure a waterway.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. If the people of the State of Illinois and those who are now coming before you present their cause to you by saying that they are willing to take the proposition as they find it; that they are not collaborating with the sanitary district of Chicago or anyone else upon the question of the flow of water; that they are not seeking to bind any future action of this department, it seems to me there could not be any exception taken by you to that position, and that it could not be held that there was implied bargaining that would embarrass the action of this or any other department, or any of your successors, I should say.

"The SECRETARY. Suppose the State of Illinois, under authority granted by this department, were to put five or six or seven million dollars into water power from that waterway and into hydroelectric-power development, and then would come back to the department and say, 'We thought we did not need any more water—the engineers advised us so—but by reason of a number of things we find we do need more water, and we want to take more water out of Lake Michigan.'

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. It would be a very brave man, indeed, who would come back and ask for more.

"The SECRETARY. It is at the beginning of it that we have to be very careful.

"Gov. DUNNE. Is not the legitimate business of the State to develop water power?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. This water power, Mr. Secretary, is purely incidental. It is not the main idea at all. Here is the situation: The position I take, Mr. Secretary, is that we should build up the welfare of the General Government, and at the same time not do damage to the individual States. Illinois as a State can not prosper, and concerns that may use this power can not make returns to the Government and can not pay their proportion of the burden; can not carry their part of the load, without its inuring beneficially to the best interests of the General Government. As to this proposition, you would say that the State of Illinois was profligate, and that it was careless, if it did not conserve this power that it was creating. It is not creating this power because of a desire to go into business, but the power is being created incidentally and must go to waste if it is not used. The people of the State feel that ordinary conservative methods would require that it shall be saved and used. I can not understand how it would embarrass this department.

"Col. TAYLOR. This is based on the 18,000 plan?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes, sir.

"Col. TAYLOR. And that requires double the amount of water that is required to go through the Sanitary Canal?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I have not figured the matter.

"Col. TAYLOR. As a matter of fact, the limit which is allowed now, 250,000 cubic feet, will permit the development of approximately 9,000 gross horsepower?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is low water.

"Col. TAYLOR. That is what?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I say, that is low water.

"Col. TAYLOR. That is the primary horsepower; that is the all-the-year-round power. Now, suppose that you make your plant capable of developing 18,000 horsepower, and you make a contract with somebody to deliver that power to them. Don't you think it would be right embarrassing for the department to have to limit it to 250,000 cubic feet and cut it down to 9,000 horsepower?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. We could not make that contract.

"Gov. DUNNE. We could not make those contracts and we would not make those contracts.

"The SECRETARY. We all seem to be having difficulty, not with the State of Illinois but with the subordinate governmental agency of the State of Illinois. Apparently neither this Government nor your government is able to control the city of Chicago.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. You mean so far as flow is concerned?

"The SECRETARY. Yes, sir.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. For a number of years the flow was approximately 250,000 cubic feet. I know that to be true. It approximated that flow. I do not understand, although the opinion of the Chief of Engineers and of this board would be vastly superior to anything that I can say, that any injurious condition, so far as the lake levels is concerned, resulted when the flow was limited to that amount.

"Col. TAYLOR. I think the reports show that the level of the lake began to fall in 1900 and has continued to fall ever since, and that it has never reached since 1900 the mean lake level.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. It has never gone to the average since that time?

"Col. TAYLOR. Has never gone back.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Secretary, so far as this proposition is concerned, the State of Illinois is asking for permission to construct and operate this waterway. The State of Illinois will take its chances on what this department may require it to do. Of course, I undersand the difficulties attending the situation. This amount of flow from the sanitary district at times is absolutely negligible in the Illinois River. There are times when the flow does not equal 6 inches of added depth. Those high stages prevail a good many months during the year.

"Col. TAYLOR. How many months do they prevail?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. It is a matter that has been in evidence many times. I would say that the high stage of water—that is, considerably above the low—will prevail for five or six months during the year.

"Col. TAYLOR. 'Considerably above the low' does not mean extreme high.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. The crest of a flood in the Illinois River only lasts a very short time. It is a case of rising until that crest is reached, and then receding.

"It occurs to me that there would be no estoppel, if I may use that expression, or there would be no embarrassment to this department in what it might be required to do.

"Now, Mr. Secretary, I want to leave with you—I did not know that your name appeared upon the first page, or I might not have done this—the editorial comments of the State of Illinois with reference to this waterway and water-power situation. The newspapers of Illinois are unanimous on this proposition. The civil bodies are unanimous. Why do I mention it? I mention it for this reason: Illinois is a sovereign State. We do not require, in the State of Illinois, any guardian for our internal affairs. It is only when we get to the place where we encroach upon the rights of others that such a thing is necessary. The Congressman from Illinois [Mr. RAINEY] gave the impression, by innuendo, if not by a direct statement, that this plan had not been approved by the people of the State of Illinois. I want to sweep away any such idea as that. There was never a plan more fully considered; there was never a plan more fully approved.

"The SECRETARY. As I understood it, the argument was that the project for the 8-foot waterway and the development of 18,000 horsepower had never been submitted to a popular vote.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. That is right in that sense. I would feel grieved if my remarks were misconstrued. I do not want to say an unkind word. I do not care to criticize the Congressman. It is just a matter upon which he and I do not agree. I do not want to misquote. The matter was submitted to the Legislature of the State of Illinois, and the public bodies of the State of Illinois swooped down upon the legislature and required the passage of this bill.

"Let me dwell upon one phase of this matter, and then I am through. There is a question of tolls. If I understood you correctly, at the time the hearing commenced you stated you had a natural prejudice against any avenue or course that was public in its character being subjected to tolls. There is a proposition in which I can sympathize with you. But the situation is this: The State of Illinois has committed itself to the principle of some toll. They are constructing and building a waterway where none exists. They are affording a channel for the cheap transportation by barge and by boat where there is no channel at all to-day. For 19 miles, or thereabouts, they construct an artificial channel.

"Gov. DUNNE. In the old canal?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes; in the old channel. Then they have used some of the basin of the Des Plaines River, where no boat could navigate to-day. They make this channel; they make this waterway; and the State of Illinois is willing to bring itself within any suggestion that the Secretary of War or this depart-

ment may make that does not totally abolish the principle of tolls. Under the provisions of the legislature that can not be done. It can be made upon such a basis as would not be onerous or burdensome to any degree, excepting it does not comply absolutely with the principle of free waterway. It would amount to that.

"Mr. RAINEY yesterday said that it was a treaty obligation that might interfere with the imposition of tolls. There is no such obligation. As I understand the treaty obligation, it is simply that citizens of Canada and of Great Britain shall be upon the same basis as our own citizens with reference to the use of water.

"The SECRETARY. It is a stipulation for equality of rights?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Yes. If our citizens are taxed, they should be taxed, and vice versa. It seems to me, so far as the treaty objection is concerned, that disposes of that.

"The people of Illinois, 6,000,000 of them, come before you and say, 'We want to internally improve our State in this respect; we are not going to do any harm whatever to any other interests; we are not going to ask the United States Government for one dollar.' I was very much impressed by the speech that was made by our Chief Executive at the opening of Congress, wherein he very graphically and very forcefully painted the necessity for industrial preparedness in this country. I can not conceive of a thing that would go further toward encouraging enterprise than to have this channel available for all uses that might be made of it; to have this power available for manufacturing; to have, in the inland section of the country these facilities that would be naturally attractive; to have greater avenues of commerce and trade, avenues for the carrying on of the industries of the land, to promote the agricultural and mining interests, and all the allied industries. That is the only thought that was embraced within this bill that was passed the other day by the Legislature of the State of Illinois, and is now embraced within this application. I am inclined to think, Mr. Secretary, that quite unconsciously, perhaps, there has gotten into your mind, to some extent at least, the belief that there is some pooling of interests between the sanitary district of Chicago and this waterway.

"The SECRETARY. Quite the contrary. I am surprised at the alienation that exists between these two naturally wedded interests.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. They are not wedded. We of the State of Illinois would do all we can to support the sanitary district, but the sanitary district is doing nothing for this waterway except letting the water pass through its channel where they have to let it go. They have no power to retain it. It goes, and after it goes it is not subject to their direction.

"The people now ask that this permit shall be granted. They see no possible detriment to any person or to any interest. They have loyally supported the Government. They certainly are intensely patriotic in their every impulse. I tell you, Mr. Secretary—and I say this in all frankness, because I despise a man who would not speak frankly on a subject of this kind—that the people of Illinois would feel intensely hurt if they could not carry on this enterprise that they so much desire. There was a time when many of the best lawyers of the State of Illinois—and I say to you that there is some basis for their statement—believed that the consent of the Secretary of War was not required. There were those who did not share in the desire to avail themselves of that opinion or to ascertain whether it was correct or not. They wanted to work in harmony with the Federal Government. I venture to say that of all the States of the Union there is not one that has a greater desire to stand with the Federal Government than has the State of Illinois. They come here asking for this consent, and they can not understand why, as a sovereign State willing to spend this money, permission can not be given. They have been disappointed and grieved.

"The SECRETARY. You are in Congress. Why have you not gotten a bill through?

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I disapprove of that method. I think this is a matter that is under the jurisdiction of this department, and I am not in favor of establishing a rule in one case that does not apply in another. I believe that when the law confides this matter to your department in a regular manner that it is not right to seek to obtain something in an irregular manner. I say this to you very frankly, because the suggestion has not come from those who are most interested in this matter that there has been no desire to escape the consequences of coming here.

"I have taken more time than I intended to.

"The SECRETARY. The point that I am especially interested in, and which I trust Gov. Dunne will note, and which has impressed me as being a very serious one, is the effect of this withdrawal of water on the lake levels. I regard that as a serious matter. Mr. RAINEY yesterday was disposed to feel that that did not make any difference. He is in favor of taking a lot more.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. His idea, I would say—and I do not say this in a spirit of unkindness—is to cut down that channel.

"The SECRETARY. I understood him perfectly.

"Mr. CHIPERFIELD. He has land that would be drained. If he can get this 14-foot channel, then his agricultural proposition is all solved.

"The SECRETARY. The second point upon which I want to have a statement, or be put in the way of getting some evidence, is the real value of the waterway when it is done. I am disposed to have an uninformed doubt on that subject. That is not addressed to you, however, Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I am told that the New York Central lines offered the State of New York that they would carry free from Buffalo to Albany all the grain offered if the State of New York would give the interest annually on the amount which it proposed to expend in the deep-water canal which it is building. That is simply an illustration of one view.

"Gov. DUNNE. Would they have done that if there was not a canal to be built there?

"The SECRETARY. It illustrates the view which is current in the country that these inland waterways, at the present price of coal and under present conditions, are not so valuable.

"Gov. Dunne gave me yesterday a picture of a boat which it is proposed to use on this canal. It looks like a small boat. Just what the value of that kind of transportation would be I do not know. I do know that the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal, which was the same sort of an enterprise, has become practically useless. The Susquehanna Canal did practically the same thing. I am wondering whether there is any belief that the canal you propose to build is sufficiently an advance over the old Illinois & Michigan Canal, from a commercial standpoint, to justify the project.

"Gov. DUNNE. We have a lot of data on the amount of commerce that can be accommodated.

"The SECRETARY OF WAR. You do not arrive at it by showing the capacity of the canal. You have to show that it will be used to capacity. You can say that a million tons can be drawn over the canal, but will there? That is the question.

"Gov. DUNNE. I think we have data from manufacturers as to the use of the canal, and I would be very glad to go to the Manufacturers' Association at Chicago to get such information. As you have been told, they manufacture about $3,000,000,000 worth of material. They can give that information. I have also a statement from the greatest lumber dealer in the Northwest, the Edward Hines Co.

"The SECRETARY. The question is, of course, Would it move in such large quantities? You have given the figures showing that Chicago manufactures $3,000,000,000 worth of merchandise and manufactured articles. Of course, a substantial part must go by railroad. Now, what I want to get at is some pretty sure basis of estimating how much will go by canal. I have to determine this question, and it is a difficult one, involving large responsibility. I have to determine two or three things about that. First, is any canal at this place a peril to the Lakes. If so, is the advantage of such character that it outweighs the disadvantage. Second, is it a useful enterprise?

"I can not guess at that. I can not take the capacity of the canal and say that demonstrates the proposition. I will say, however, that before I reach any conclusion or determination as to the application of the State of Illinois, or before I reach any conclusion that is adverse, I am going to submit tentatively a basis of such judgment, or any doubt I have, and you may have the opportunity to supply me with any evidence which would militate against any such decision.

"Gov. DUNNE. We have some data, and I think we will be able to furnish you with that."

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me say that the people of the State of Illinois are very impatient with the delays caused by the General Government which have up to this time prevented the construction of this great waterway.

In preventing the construction of this waterway the General Government has done a distinct injury to the development of Illinois, and when it injures the development of Illinois it injures itself.

We indulge the hope that at an early day this permission will be granted and that the waterway will be an accomplished fact.

When this is realized a long step forward will have been taken in solving the problems of transportation between the Lakes and the Gulf, and every square mile of the territory lying adjacent to the waterway for a great distance on either side will have been materially increased in value and in productivity. That this day may speedily come is the hope of us all.

## The Naval Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM,
OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. LINTHICUM. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the adoption of the conference report and the Senate amendments providing a larger program for naval construction and improvement therein, because it seems to me that one of the great lessons we should take from the present war in Europe is that preparation, even if it is with the expenditure of millions of dollars annually, is indeed far cheaper than war, which not only costs billions of dollars but the lives of millions of our ablest and bravest citizens, together with the vast hoard who are permanently disabled, disfigured, and rendered helpless, and the countless number of widows, orphans, and mothers, who by the loss of their loved ones are forced to endure poverty and suffering.

As we continue to grow in prosperity and wealth and forge further to the front as one of the most progressive countries in the world we are sure to be embroiled in war unless our state of preparedness and readiness renders attack upon us too great a hazard to be undertaken.

NAVAL PROGRAM.

I would like to point out that the difference between the number of ships recommended by the Secretary of the Navy and the General Board of the Navy does not indicate a difference of opinion between these parties. The Navy Department has submitted a five-year building program and has recommended an appropriation for the next fiscal year for the construction of a certain number of vessels included in this program; the General Board has recommended larger programs, especially in the number of ships to be authorized now. And in addition to this many individuals, the president of the War College, and the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet have recommended even more extensive programs; but it can clearly be seen by carefully reading the report of the Secretary that, in his opinion, if a sufficient sum of money were available, he, too, would recommend enlarging the program submitted by him. As this question is a matter which should be decided by Congress, to my mind we should in no way endeavor to evade the responsibility, but to so enlarge and supplement our resources as to adjust the financial status to the defense needed by the country. I am happy to see that the Senate has authorized an enlargement as to the number of ships to be constructed and the time to be consumed in their construction, and trust that my colleagues in the House will support the larger program and provide the revenue for its construction and maintenance.

WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES ARE DOING.

It is a well-known fact that Great Britain and Germany have a shipbuilding capacity far in excess of this country. In view of this and the additional fact that their peace program for the year 1914–15 consisted of 15 dreadnaughts and battle cruisers, and that this was in addition to the merchant tonnage output of these countries, we can readily see how adequately Great Britain and Germany are supplied with the various kinds of ships.

While it is impossible to secure any data as to the number of ships being constructed by Germany since hostilities began, we do know that the men engaged in shipbuilding trades have been exempted from military service; that every effort is being made to increase the output of shipbuilding establishments by overtime work, a close supervision of the men, the utilization of alien workers and prisoners of war; also that according to some authorities the German shipyards are capable of constructing 25 capital ships at one time, in addition to the usual auxiliaries and merchant ships, it would certainly appear that a vast amount of work is being done by them.

I am strongly of the opinion that the nations engaged in the present war are building men-of-war as rapidly as possible, and in that event it is highly possible that after the present conflict is concluded they will be possessed of not only more experience than we have, but a correspondingly larger supply of ships. It is highly necessary, therefore, when taking into account the various factors of the present situation, we lay down a program that will enable us to hold our own against any invading power and be able to protect our interests at all times.

DUTY OF CONGRESS.

One of the duties of Congress is to provide for common defense, and we can only do this by providing an adequate and efficient Navy and a trained Army, supplied with all the necessities thereof in the way of equipment and munitions. Under existing conditions I can not see how it could be possible for Congress to refuse to make adequate appropriation for enlarging, developing, and maintaining our Navy, our first and, to my mind, most important line of defense, particularly so because of our geographical location—the countries to the north and south of us not being formidable foes; all the rest of the world must approach us from the oceans and seas.

With 3,000 miles separating us from the warring nations of Europe and 7,000 miles between our western shores and the continent of Asia and the Far East, with the sea guarded by a strong Navy and modern fortifications, we need have little fear of the landing of a hostile army on our shores. However, without a Navy of sufficient size and strength to prevent the enemy from gaining a foothold upon our soil, we are open to attack, and if the enemy take advantage of the opportunity we afford them we will be powerless to defend ourselves against the seasoned and well-trained soldiers, modern guns, and other instruments of warfare unless we have a great standing army, equip our forts and fortifications with the various guns, and so forth, and have in reserve vast quantities of arms and ammunition. Even if we have such an army and could drive them out, would it not be better to be able to prevent the foe from landing rather than to drive them out after they have succeeded in piercing our lines, which is usually difficult, as shown by the war in northern France?

While we have no desire to take advantage of any other nation, I firmly believe that we should build a large Navy and assume a position which would give our people security and protection. I believe this is their desire, judging from the great parades taking place in all centers of population, which indicates public sentiment in favor of preparedness. I have heard a great deal said in this committee about the hysteria in the country for preparedness, and some seem to think it will not last. I do not agree with this view. I know that the people of this country will never feel safe again until there is provided and maintained an adequate Army and Navy and a large reserve force. I wish to say to the committee—and I do not propose to take many minutes in saying it—that I have always stood for a large Army and a very large, substantial Navy, the latter second alone to that of Great Britain. I feel that in a democratic government like ours, where the government rests with the people, it is the duty of Representatives elected by them to carry out their wishes in matters of legislation and government.

In my district the sentiment is overwhelmingly for preparedness—for very substantial preparedness—and for that reason I voted for a larger Army than the bill gives—2 additional battleships and to construct 50 submarines instead of 20. I felt then, as I do now, that I was voicing by my vote the views and wishes of my constituents.

As additional proof and to show conclusively that the sentiment is strong in my district and in the State of Maryland, and particularly in Baltimore City, I desire to call attention to a campaign the Baltimore Sun recently conducted, in which it asked the people, "Are you in favor of preparedness?" The Sun stated what the War College had recommended for the Army and what the General Board of the Navy had recommended for the Navy. They also asked the people whether they were in favor of a universal military system and stated definitely the Swiss system, and in reply to that request there were 9,732 ballots cast. The total for preparedness out of the 9,732 was 8,591 and against it 781. In other words, 91 per cent of all the people who voted, out of nearly 10,000, voted for adequate preparedness in line with what the War College and the Naval Board has recommended. In the city of Baltimore they were stronger for preparedness than they were in the counties. In the city the percentage was 95 in favor of preparedness. In the counties it was 75 per cent in favor.

Now, I merely bring these figures before the committee to show the sentiment in the State of Maryland, which adjoins the Capital here, as it were, and particularly in my district, in the city of Baltimore. This balloting was carried on with absolute fairness. The number of men recommended for the Army and the number of ships recommended for the Navy was distinctly stated, and the people voted with a full knowledge of what the vote stood for. Eighty-seven per cent voted in favor of a universal military system in line with the Swiss system. And you might like to know that the women voted strongly in favor of preparedness and a universal military system. Eight to one of them voted for preparedness and six to one for universal service.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not want to take any more time, but I ask leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting therein the articles from the Baltimore Sun to which I have referred.

The SPEAKER Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. HULBERT. I would like to ask the gentleman how many people participated in this canvass?

Mr. LINTHICUM. Ninety-seven hundred and thirty-two.

Mr. HULBERT. And what percentage of the people who participated were registered voters?

Mr. LINTHICUM. The article does not state.

Mr. HULBERT. I would like to say to the gentleman——

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Maryland has expired.

Mr. LINTHICUM. The following are the articles to which I have referred:

ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF PREPAREDNESS?

The Sun wants to know what its readers think about national defense.

Adequate military preparedness, in the opinion of the Army War College, means a Regular Army of 281,000 men, with a regular reserve, bringing the total number of soldiers available at home at the outbreak of war up to 500,000. In addition, it thinks there should be 500,000 more men ready to take the field at the outbreak of war, with sufficient training to enable them to meet a trained enemy within three months' time. The War College proposes a program which will take eight years to organize fully an army of this size.

Adequate naval preparedness, in the opinion of the General Board of the Navy, means the construction within the next five years of 10 dreadnaughts, 6 cruisers, 10 scouts, 50 destroyers, and 67 submarines, with appropriate subsidiary craft.

The Swiss Army system, generally regarded as the model universal military system for democratic countries, requires military service of all physically fit male citizens. Each Swiss youth in his twentieth year must spend from 60 to 90 days, according to the branch of the service to which he is assigned, in a training camp. After that, for 11 years he must spend 11 days annually in camp to refresh his training. During the next 12 years he must spend 11 days each alternate year in training.

With these definitions in mind—

Are you in favor of preparedness?

Are you in favor of universal military service?

The Sun would like to know what its readers think, and to that end asks them to cut out and mark the ballot below and mail it or bring it to the Sun, Baltimore:

For preparedness _____

Against preparedness _____

For universal service _____

Against universal service _____

Name ——— ———,
Address ——— ———.

[From the Baltimore Sun, June 2, 1916.]

NINETY-ONE PER CENT VOTED FOR DEFENSE—RESULT OF THE SUN'S POLL SHOWS AN OVERWHELMING SENTIMENT FOR NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS—9,732 BALLOTS WERE RECEIVED—UNIVERSAL SERVICE A CLOSE SECOND, WITH MORE THAN 87 PER CENT—25 STATES WERE HEARD FROM—WOMEN STRONGLY IN FAVOR.

More than 91 per cent of the nearly 10,000 persons who were enough interested in the subject voluntarily to send their ballots to the Sun are in favor of preparedness for national defense, and more than 87 per cent are in favor of universal military service, most of them according to the Swiss system.

The result is perhaps as surprising to the Sun as to any others, especially the percentage in favor of universal service, for, like England, America has always heretofore been wedded to the volunteer system and very loath to adopt any form of conscription or compulsory enlistment.

About four men voted to every woman, which was rather disappointing, but the composite decision of the women was rather astonishing. They voted nearly 8 to 1 for preparedness and about 6 to 1 for universal service, and a great many of them insisted that women should be trained to do their part in case of war as well as men—that service should be really universal.

BALLOTS STILL COMING IN.

Hundreds of ballots are still being received every day, but as the averages have not differed materially at any time since the beginning, and as there is no prospect that they will, it has been decided to announce the result now.

The Sun believes that this vote is fairly representative of public opinion, at least east of the Alleghenies. It was, in the first place, entirely voluntary. No effort was made by the Sun outside of the invitation in its own columns to get any person whatever to vote, and, of course, no effort to influence any vote. The fact that nearly 10,000 should have accepted the invitation, more than half of them expending postage for the privilege, shows the widespread interest in the subject.

In the second place, a great majority of the ballots came singly or in little batches of two, three, or half a dozen. A few batches of votes came from big business houses, but it was noticeable that in these different opinions were expressed, the averages differing very little from the general averages. A few bundles of pacifist votes also came, chiefly from the counties of Maryland. There was some evidence that a little organized effort was being made on both sides, but it did not appreciably affect the result. The Sun believes that it was a spontaneous and representative expression of public sentiment.

It was remarkable how evenly the trend of opinion ran. On no single day were the votes received anything but overwhelmingly in favor of preparedness and universal service, and the same may be said of every hundred votes cast. All through the counting the averages showed surprising consistency.

VOTES FROM 25 STATES.

Votes were received from 25 States, besides the District of Columbia, and from Americans in Canada and Cuba. Among the voters were a great proportion of the most prominent men in Maryland, but the large majority of the votes came from the plain people, many of them workingmen of little education. They came from every sort and condition of men and women, the millionaire and the ditch digger, the club woman and her cook, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Wars, and the recently arrived immigrant, from the rampant Roosevelt man and the no less earnest Wilson admirer. The electorate was remarkably representative, apparently, and that is why the Sun is so confident that the result plainly indicates popular opinion.

The total number of votes received was 9,732. The total for preparedness was 8,591, and against it 781. The total for universal service was 8,186, and against it 1,055. This was divided as follows: Men for preparedness, 7,307; against, 572; for universal service, 6,632; against, 811. Women for preparedness, 1,644; against, 209; for universal service, 1,554; against, 244.

The votes were divided according to localities, as follows: From Baltimore and its suburbs (including all Baltimore County), 7,169; from the balance of the State, 1,542; Virginia, 375; West Virginia, 295; District of Columbia, 156; Pennsylvania, 53; North Carolina, 45; New Jersey, 22; New York, 20; Delaware, 14; South Carolina, 6; Massachusetts, 5; Michigan, 4; Alabama, 4; Texas, 2; Florida, 2; Illinois, 2; Ohio, 2; Tennessee, 2; Maine, 1; Arizona, 1; Montana, 1; Kentucky, 1; Oregon, 1; Georgia, 1; Arkansas, 1; Rhode Island, 1; Canada, 3; and Cuba, 1.

CITY STRONGEST FOR DEFENSE.

The strongest sentiment in favor of preparedness was shown in Baltimore City and suburbs, as was natural, and the strongest pacifist sentiment was disclosed in the vote from the counties of Maryland, but it did not vary greatly. In the city the vote was probably about 95 per cent in favor of preparedness, and in the counties it was fully 75 per cent, although the vote was not divided and tabulated in that way. Virginia was stronger for preparedness than the counties of Maryland and a little weaker on it than West Virginia and North Carolina. All were strongly in favor of both propositions.

The whole object of the Sun's effort to get this poll was to test public sentiment on one of the most momentous and interesting questions before the American people. The support given Henry Ford in the Middle West and the noise made by pacifists and "hyphenates" all over the country led many persons to the conclusion that Americans had become imbued with the peace-at-any-price idea; that they had lost their patriotism and become cowardly and timid and lazy and not disposed to defend their country. The Sun wanted to find out for its own and its readers' benefit. The result ought to be a conclusive answer to the question.

That every effort has been made to make the poll as absolutely fair and uninfluenced as possible and the result correctly ascertained ought to go without saying. For some reason the antipreparedness people have shown a disposition to be angry and insulting. A sample of this was received yesterday, which reads as follows:

"How much graft does the allies' American press and preparedness pay the Baltimore Sun? By what and whose authority does the Sun undertake to act as sponsor for the American Nation? Who will believe the Sun's lies in this matter?

"PATT."

As the Sun does not know who the writer is nor his address, his vote could not be counted, but a number of similar epistles have actually been registered in the pacifist result.

DOUBTERS MAY HAVE RECOUNT.

In this connection the Sun wishes to say that the ballots have been preserved, and if a respectable committee of pacifists who doubt the Sun's honesty in the matter would like to have a recount it can be easily arranged so that the committee may itself count them.

It has not always been easy to get at the exact sentiments of the voters. A good many voted in favor of the Swiss system and against preparedness. These were counted as marked, although it seemed that the vote against preparedness was the result of misunderstanding. Many voted only for universal service, and these were counted for preparedness as well. Many others voted simply against preparedness, and these were counted against the universal service as well. It was believed that in doing this the real sentiments of the voters could be best obtained.

If any very large number of ballots is received hereafter, or if they change materially the percentages as given, a supplementary announcement of the change and the results will be made, but this is not expected.

BUILDING PROGRAM.

The provisions of this bill as provided by the Senate amendment comprise the largest building program for strengthening a navy that has ever been undertaken by any Government in the history of the world. It has been agreed upon after an exhaustive investigation as to the types of ships necessary to better balance our fleet and increase its fighting efficiency. The number and character of ships recommended are as follows:

Ten first-class battleships, carrying as heavy armor and as powerful armament as any vessel of their class, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; four of these at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $11,500,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Six battle cruisers, carrying suitable armor and as powerful armament of any vessels of their class, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; four of these to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $16,500,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Ten scout cruisers, carrying suitable protection and armament suited to their size and type, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; four to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $5,000,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Fifty torpedo-boat destroyers, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; 20 to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,200,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable: *Provided*, That not less than four of these shall be built on the Pacific coast: *Provided further*, That the cost of construction on the Pacific coast does not exceed the cost of construction on the Atlantic coast, plus the cost of transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Nine fleet submarines.

Fifty-eight coast submarines, of which number three to have a surface displacement of about 800 tons each, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,200,000 each, and 27, which shall be the best and most desirable and useful type of submarine which can

be procured at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $700,000 each, shall be begun as soon as practicable; and the sum of $8,217,000 is hereby appropriated for the construction of said submarines, to be available until expended. Not less than 12 of the submarines herein authorized to be begun as soon as practicable shall be built on the Pacific coast: *Provided*, That the cost of construction on the Pacific coast does not exceed the cost of construction on the Atlantic coast, plus the cost of transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

One submarine, equipped with the Neff system of submarine propulsion, exclusive of armor and armament, $250,000: *Provided*, That the owners of the Neff system of submarine propulsion will construct, in accordance with drawings, plans, and specifications provided by them, one coast-defense submarine of about 150 tons displacement when submerged, carrying armor and armament similar and equal to that of the "C" class of submarines, with fittings, equipment, machinery, devices, appliances, and appurtenances of every kind with latest improvements, complete in all respects, and suitable for naval purposes: *Provided further*, That the money appropriated for this purpose shall not be paid to the builders of said boat until the same has been completed, passed satisfactory service tests, and been accepted by the Secretary of the Navy; but upon such completion, tests, and acceptance by the Secretary of the Navy the sum appropriated shall be paid.

Three fuel ships, one at a cost not to exceed $1,500,000, to be begun as soon as practicable.

One repair ship.

One transport.

One hospital ship, at a cost not to exceed $2,350,000, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Two destroyer tenders.

One fleet submarine tender.

Two ammunition ships, one at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $2,350,000, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Two gunboats, one at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $860,000, to be begun as soon as practicable: *Provided*, That the 66 vessels directed herein to be begun as soon as practicable shall be contracted for or shall be begun in navy yards within six months from the date of the approval of this act.

The Secretary of the Navy shall build any of the vessels herein authorized in such navy yards as he may designate should it reasonably appear that the persons, firms, or corporations, or the agents thereof, bidding for the construction of any of said vessels have entered into any combination, agreement, or understanding the effect, object, or purpose of which is to deprive the Government of fair, open, and unrestricted competition in letting contracts for the construction of any of said vessels: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to build any of the vessels herein authorized in such navy yards as he may designate.

Construction and machinery: On account of hulls and outfits of vessels and machinery of vessels heretofore and herein authorized, to be available until expended, $59,000,194.

Increase of the Navy, torpedo boats: On account of submarine torpedo boats heretofore authorized, to be available until expended, $5,282,593.

Increase of the Navy, armor and armament: Toward the armor and armament for vessels heretofore and herein authorized, to be available until expended, $47,110,000.

Increase of the Navy, ammunition: Toward ammunition for the vessels herein authorized, to be available until expended, $19,485,500.

Total increase of the Navy heretofore and herein authorized, $139,345,287.

I am aware that the Navy bill of this Congress is very large, as I have said before—the largest ever passed. I am aware that the total amount appropriated is tremendous. But, in my opinion, money spent on the Navy is the most economical expenditure we will make. I do not believe there is an American of any party who begrudges sufficient money to build and maintain the American Navy, which safeguards and protects our people. To endeavor to do it cheaply or slowly would be the falsest kind of economy. We have a gigantic task before us to make our Navy what it should be, and this bill goes a long way toward placing it on a proper footing.

It is highly essential that we have a well-proportioned Navy, and for this reason I was and am unalterably opposed to abandoning our program for enlarging from year to year our dreadnaught fleet, which must necessarily constitute our first line of defense. It has been said that the dreadnaught has played but little part in the present war, but to my mind that is in a large measure one of the strongest arguments in their favor; they are so formidable no warship desires to attack. So convinced am I of the importance and necessity of a great Navy and more dreadnaughts that I voted for two of them in addition to the battle cruisers provided by the Navy bill when it was before the House prior to its passage by the Senate, and am pleased that the correctness of my views as expressed by that vote has been confirmed by vote of this House upon the Senate amendment. It has been clearly demonstrated that the theory upon which all nations have acted, that the dreadnaught, the heavy armored fighting ship, is the backbone of the navy, is sound, and that whatever we do in adding to our Navy we must keep the great central fighting force always up to the highest level which we seek to attain. Admiral Fletcher, in his statement before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House, in speaking of the relative standing of the various navies of the world, said:

If we consider that dreadnaughts constitute the main fighting strength of any navy, and place navies in the order of number of dreadnaughts now in commission, it would run something like this: England, 48; Germany, 25; the United States, 8; France, 7. That includes battle cruisers.

Which but demonstrated how lax this country has been in providing the proper fighting units, and in endeavoring to keep at least in line with the improvements and additions being made by the other nations.

A nation's naval policy must depend on its requirements. If other nations did not maintain navies it would not be necessary and really uncalled for for us to do so. But if the nations with which we are likely to be brought in contact maintain extravagantly large forces, it is absolutely necessary for us to do so if we wish to maintain our standing among the nations of the world. There is a general feeling that the Navy is for the first line of defense, its value as such a weapon depends upon the knowledge that its units can be moved from one place to another, and be used as an offensive weapon, as well as for defending our coasts and outlying possessions.

While considering the question of the effectiveness of dreadnaughts, I wish to say that while the dreadnaughts we have to-day are in every way most desirable and up to date, they are lacking in one most important, indeed, paramount feature, and that is they have not the speed that would enable them to effectively cope with the dreadnaughts of foreign nations. This question of speed is one that should be given the most careful attention of all those concerned about the effectiveness of this type of ship.

Our fastest dreadnaughts have a speed of 21½ knots, while the English average nearly 4 knots greater speed, and some of the newer types constructed by them are capable of making 29½.

NORTH SEA BATTLE.

To illustrate the need of speed, let us take, for instance, the battle which took place in the North Sea between the German and English armored cruisers. The German fleet consisted of the battle cruisers *Moltke*, *Derfinger*, *Seydlitz*, *Von Der Tann*, and *Blücher*, all, with the exception of the *Blücher*, capable of making 28 knots. Had they come in contact with British ships of inferior speed, they would no doubt quickly have dispatched them to the depths of the ocean; but it happened that they were attacked by the British cruisers *Lion*, *Tiger*, and *Queen Mary*, all of the latest, fastest, and most improved type, slightly larger than the German ships, and averaging 1½ knots greater speed. They were, of course, so far as speed was concerned, immeasurably superior to the German ships, at least to the *Blücher*, which was 2 knots slower than the other German ships, and this, coupled with the fact that their guns were slightly larger, enabled them to overhaul the German ships, rendering telling damage; and while, with the exception of the *Blücher*, the German ships escaped through disabling the *Lion*, yet we know that the *Blücher*, because slower than the other vessels, was completely crippled and promptly sunk by a destroyer. Yet the *Blücher* was capable of making 26 knots, just 4½ knots faster than our fastest.

BATTLE CRUISERS.

The House committee, after carefully considering the matter of the various types of ships, recommended as most needed to balance our main fleet and increase its fighting efficiency an increase in cruisers, saying in their report:

It is a significant fact that officers of the War College who have been studying war games and the officers of the fleet, including its commanders in chief of the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets, who have been taking part in the war games and in maneuvers, recommend the construction of battle cruisers in this year's program. These officers contend that battle cruisers are needed to support our own scouts and assist them to break through the enemy's scouting line, technically known as the enemy's screen; also that they are needed to support our own screen and prevent the enemy's scouts from breaking through; also to seek and destroy the battle cruisers of the enemy which might be operating to intercept the supply ships along our trade routes or on our coasts. Battle cruisers are used to harass the enemy's supplies and to act in concert with the battle fleet in a general action by placing the enemy at a tactical disadvantage, as their superior speed enables them to obtain a superior position or prevent the enemy's battle-cruiser division from obtaining a similar tactical advantage. In operations against an enemy that possesses battle cruisers the United States without any such vessels will be at a most serious disadvantage, for the reasons above set forth. At the outbreak of the present war there were of this type, built and building, in the British Navy, 10; in the German Navy, 8; in the Japanese Navy, 4; and in the Russian Navy, 4. Recent reports tend to indicate that these numbers are being added to as rapidly as building facilities under war pressure will permit. A lesson to be learned from this war seems to be that if a possible enemy is operating vessels whose speed enables them to elude a battleship with certainty and which are powerful enough not to fear smaller craft, the only method of defense against the battle cruiser seems to be the battle cruiser.

The compelling reason for the recommendation for the battle cruiser is the fact that each of several foreign navies have the battle cruiser, and it therefore becomes an absolute necessity for the proper naval defense of the country for the United States to likewise equip the Navy with this type of vessel. If no other nation possessed battle cruisers, it is not likely that a recommendation by this committee would be made for their construction, but when a comparison of relative strengths of the navies of the world is made the committee deems that the time has arrived when battle cruisers in sufficient number should be authorized in the interest of preparedness for a proper naval defense of our country.

In addition to the fighting qualities of the battle cruiser, the European war demonstrates that a battle cruiser acting independently can act over wide areas, protect its own commerce, and destroy the enemy's

merchant marine. They even prove successful in raids on vulnerable points of the enemy's coasts, and owing to their great gun power can, within a very short period of time, work great destruction before a superior enemy force can arrive on the scene.

While it is realized that there have been no major fleet operations, the dreadnaught fleets of Great Britain by their mere existence and their readiness to act have kept the fleet of the enemy in port behind mines and shore defenses. It is not denied that the dreadnaught is the backbone of the fighting efficiency of any proper naval defense of a country. Yet the employment of battle cruisers in the present European war has been effective in the raids in the North Sea and in the protection of commerce, and if possessed by the enemy can be defended against only by vessels of the same type.

Admiral Fletcher, when asked how many battle cruisers he would build this coming year, said: "I would build all the country can build." Then, too, Admiral Knight, in speaking of battle cruisers, said:

The experience of the War College, repeated day after day and month after month and year after year, emphasizes the absolutely vital necessity for scouts and battle cruisers. Of course, if we could make them all battle cruisers, as was said in that report, that would be fine, because then the moment contact is made with the enemy the battle cruiser breaks through their scouting line and finds out what is behind it. When he comes closer to the enemy he finds the enemy's main fleet, surrounded by what we will call a defensive screen, and he is able to make touch with that and perhaps to break through it and find out what lies beyond it. In other words, he has all the powers of a scout and a great many more, as stated in the General Board's report; but if we can not have every one of our scouts a battle cruiser—and it seems a little too much to ask—then we should have our line of scouts backed up by battle cruisers, so that when the scout sees something that looks a little dangerous he calls for the battle cruisers to deal with the situation.

This is the experience of every officer who comes to the War College. Officers come there not very friendly to the battle cruiser; they do not know just what it really is. But I venture to say there is not one of them there now—and there are 36 there—who to-day would not say, "Give us battle cruisers first of all." Before I left there to come down here a number of officers urged me to speak out strongly for this type.

To further illustrate the practicability and usefulness of the battle cruiser I quote from the statement of Capt. McKean, as follows:

Capt. McKean. Battle cruisers have different uses at different stages of the campaign. At the commencement, when we were in search of the enemy, we would have scouting vessels—purely information seekers—out ahead of the fleet, and so would the enemy. Their business is not to fight; it is to get information; and, if they carry out their job, they will avoid each other and go on through when these two lines come together in an effort to get information. At a certain later stage, by the time you come up against a screen, which is the inner circle about your fleet, that is to deny information. Your scouts can only get information just as a cavalry picket, by avoidance, going around the other fellow, and not fighting; but you get into that screen, and then the enemy is going to try to deny you information. Then your force must be such that you can butt through or drive through, as a division of cavalry does; get in touch with the enemy, determine exactly what his forces are, how they are distributed, etc., and come back with the information. When your enemy tries to pick up your scouts on this outer line with his battle cruisers you are, in turn, trying to pick up his, and that will probably bring on a battle-cruiser action way out at the front on the scouting line; but as the two forces approach each other each will be trying to drive through to get the information about the other's formation and their exact number.

That may bring on another battle-cruiser action, or, if one side's battle cruisers have defeated the other, they will have to send out some of their battleships to fend off that group, so they can not tell what you are doing and how many of you there are, etc. Now, when it comes to battle, before the battle I believe the battle cruiser would be useful in running in and scattering the scouts and the screens, so that our destroyer attack could go home—at night, this is; then, when it comes to the day of the battle, you would pick up the destroyers you have left after your different night attacks, and soon; and then the battle cruisers would, through their speed and their gun power, lead these destroyer flotillas around to the head of the enemy's column, or at the tail, so that if he reversed his movement they would be at the head for launching the torpedo attack as soon as the main fleets became busily engaged with their main batteries, one against the other. Each would be trying to bring in a torpedo attack. Your battle cruisers would have torpedoes as well as guns, and they would clear the way; the one that had succeeded in defeating the enemy's battle cruisers, and so on, would drive away the others, so that their torpedo boats could make a daylight attack during the action; and the special qualities of these vessels is that they have the speed to get away from anything that they can not whip; they have the gun power to defeat anything except their own class or a battleship; they have the radius of action to accompany the scouting vessels and to remain at sea a long time. They have two functions—information gathers at the critical time, and still can take their place in the battle.

A VALUABLE LESSON.

**The history of the world teaches one sure lesson—that naval supremacy ultimately means national preeminence and triumph. More than ever before sea power is the best and strongest military power. The rise and fall of nations and empires teaches us the same lesson—that national safety and national success are inseparable from naval strength and naval power. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in the English Channel was the first and controlling cause in the bloody drama which ended a few years ago when the flag of crimson and gold was banished from the Western World and Spain closed her glittering career.**

**If we are to build a navy, then we should build a large one. It is an ambitious and expensive policy, but it is the best of the two open for us—either to provide a navy of sufficient force to defeat the naval forces of our probable enemies or entirely** abandon our naval program rather than maintain an insufficient force, which would bring nothing but dishonor and defeat when brought into conflict with any nation or nations.

In this connection all phases of the situation must be taken into consideration, and we must consider what kind and number of ships will best round out our naval force. This, as all know, can not be accomplished without a sufficient number of battle cruisers. I do not express my opinion as that of an expert, nor do I claim to be one, but the impression which I in common with most of our people have received as to the lessons of the European war is that the battle cruiser has proved its value as an essential factor of a naval establishment. The almost unanimous opinion of the men in active command, as expressed before the Naval Committee, was in favor of the battle cruiser as the first essential to round out our Navy so that it might cope with the navies of other powers.

Our officers frankly admit that until recently they had not become thoroughly convinced of the great importance of battle cruisers, but they now find that to send our fleet of battleships to sea without battle cruisers would be like depriving it of its real eyes. In addition to the five battle cruisers indorsed by the House to carry out the views of the experts, it was my pleasure to vote for the amendment providing for the two dreadnaughts, and to-day I vote for the larger and more comprehensive Senate program.

SUBMARINES.

Regardless of all views as to what shall constitute our Navy, we all agree that we want to be safe from foreign invasion; that is our main object. The best method to insure safety from invasion at a comparatively small cost and with quickness and dispatch is the submarine. And we do not need experts to extol the virtues of the submarine—the daily press is telling us, and has been telling us, of the value of the submarine as a weapon for war. I find that during the progress of the war so far 6 battleships and possibly 7, if we admit the *Audacious* was sunk by a submarine, have been sunk by submarines, and also 5 armored cruisers, 3 protected cruisers, 6 cruisers, 5 destroyers, 1 auxiliary cruiser, 3 torpedo gunboats, 2 torpedo boats, 1 gunboat, 3 submarines, 1 mine layer, 1 scout, 3 transports, and 3 coast-guard vessels, a total of 43 or 44 war vessels sunk by submarines. The article from the Marine Review, given below, will illustrate the loss sustained through the use of this weapon of war:

[From the Marine Review.]

NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY VESSELS SUNK IN WAR OPERATIONS—NEARLY 1,000 MERCHANT SHIPS DESTROYED IN 17 MONTHS OF HOSTILITIES—SUBMARINES CAUSE 55 PER CENT OF LOSS.

The European war up to January 1, 1916, has caused the loss of 990 merchant vessels of all classes, with an approximate gross tonnage of 1,878,003 tons. This estimate is probably below the actual loss as the tonnage of some of the ships sunk could not be learned. The accompanying compilation was prepared by The Journal of Commerce and supplements the data published in the Marine Review, August, 1915. The table showing vessels lost includes those destroyed between June 30 and December 31, 1915. The ships sunk previously were shown in the former article.

WORLD'S TONNAGE AND SHIP LOSSES.

The following table shows the number, tonnage, and nationality of steam and sailing vessels destroyed in operations directly or indirectly resulting from war operations during the first 17 months, and shows also the number and tonnage of vessels owned in each country. The tonnage given in "tonnage owned by nations" is gross for the steam vessels and net for the sailing vessels:

| Flag. | Steam and sailing vessels owned according to Lloyd's Register Book, 1915-1916. | | Gross tons of sail and steam vessels destroyed in war (17 months). | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number. | Tons. | Number. | Tons. |
| United Kingdom | 9,285 | 19,541,364 | 602 | 1,192,551 |
| British Colonies | 2,068 | 1,732,700 | | |
| United States[1] | 2,580 | 3,522,943 | 7 | 14,087 |
| Austro-Hungary | 433 | 1,018,210 | 6 | 13,240 |
| Danish | 835 | 854,966 | 29 | 53,293 |
| Dutch | 809 | 1,522,547 | 21 | 36,843 |
| French | 1,539 | 2,285,728 | 54 | 125,973 |
| German | 2,166 | 4,706,027 | 65 | 161,888 |
| Italian | 1,177 | 1,736,545 | 24 | 60,217 |
| Japanese[2] | 1,155 | 1,826,029 | 3 | 10,415 |
| Norwegian | 2,174 | 2,520,188 | 77 | 103,023 |
| Russian | 1,256 | 1,054,762 | 31 | 34,193 |
| Spanish | 642 | 899,204 | | |
| Swedish | 1,462 | 1,122,883 | 35 | 52,667 |

[1] Excluding vessels trading on the Great Lakes of North America.
[2] Japanese sailing vessels are not inserted in Lloyd's Register Year Book and are therefore not included in these tables.

ENGLAND'S LOSSES 1,192,551 GROSS TONS.

England's merchant marine aggregated 21,274,064 gross tons on June 30, 1914, according to the last official figures given by Lloyd's. Without reference to the number or tonnage of enemy vessels held or captured by

the respective belligerents. England's gross tonnage in the first 17 months of the war had been reduced by about 1,192,551 tons. A total of approximately 602 vessels flying the Union Jack has been destroyed by submarines, mines, cruisers, or from other war operations. The British tonnage losses were divided about as follows: Three hundred and thirty-eight merchant steamers and 264 trawlers, fishing smacks, steam drifters, and sailing vessels.

Germany's merchant tonnage at the last official reckoning aggregated 4,706,027 gross tons. Up to the close of 1915, or in 17 months of the war, close search of all available records shows that this gross tonnage had been reduced through actual destruction of about 65 vessels of all classes, by approximately 161,888 tons. This comparatively small loss of tonnage through destruction, against the total losses of England, results largely from German and Austrian vessels rushing into shelter at all ports of the world when the war broke out.

The detailed tabulations of the merchant tonnage losses by the different nations indicate, in striking manner, the power of the submarine in destroying commerce. Considerably over 55 per cent of the vessels given in the lists have been destroyed by such instruments of warfare. The serious danger to shipping in war time from mines is also evident. Neutral tonnage of the Scandinavian countries, adjacent to Germany, being exposed to mine hazards to the greatest extent, have suffered extremely heavy losses from such weapons of war, although in the more recent instances of neutral ship losses, attacks by hostile submarines have also occurred.

LOSSES BY NATIONS.

How the various nations have suffered in the loss of tonnage as the result of the war, is shown in the following table, showing the number of vessels and their aggregate known gross tonnage:

| Country. | Number ships of lost. | Gross tons. |
|---|---|---|
| England, including 320 merchant steamers, and 264 trawlers, sailing vessels, etc. | 602 | 1,192,551 |
| Germany, vessels of all types | 65 | 161,888 |
| Norway, vessels of all types | 77 | 103,023 |
| France, vessels of all types | 54 | 125,978 |
| Denmark, vessels of all types | 29 | 33,293 |
| Sweden, vessels of all types | 35 | 32,667 |
| Holland, vessels of all types | 21 | 36,843 |
| Russia, vessels of all types | 31 | 34,193 |
| Greece, Spain, and Japan, all vessels | 15 | 39,662 |
| Italy, vessels of all types | 24 | 60,217 |
| Turkey, vessels of all types | 18 | 18,150 |
| Belgium, vessels of all types | 6 | 12,211 |
| Austria-Hungary, vessels of all types | 6 | 13,240 |
| United States, vessels of all types | 7 | 14,087 |
| Total | 990 | 1,878,003 |

We do not need experts to tell us that the weapon that will drive a battle fleet out of our waters and keep it out and prevent it from returning, that will make our shores safe from invasion or attack by hostile fleets, is the submarine. Sufficient submarines will keep any enemy fleet out of gunshot of the American coast.

PERSONNEL OF THE NAVY.

Much has been said about the lack of personnel in the Navy—shortage of both officers and men. I feel that if those who harbor this belief will but read the testimony of Admiral Fletcher, in command of the Atlantic Fleet, he will be convinced that many of the slanderous statements made against our fleet and its present head are base misrepresentations.

Below I quote a portion of Admiral Fletcher's statement:

The personnel now with the fleet meets every requirement. There is no body of officers in any navy of the world that are better educated. There are none more skilled in their profession, and none required to maintain a higher standard of efficiency than those in our Navy.

The enlisted men who man our battleships are the best the country can produce. They come from good homes and from every State in the Union. They are picked men from a high mental and physical standard for their work. They are well cared for, well clothed, well fed, and well paid. They have plenty of exercise, and drilling in the open air. They lead healthy lives and are afforded every practicable recreation and amusement. We are amply repaid for this by their efficiency.

As far as can be ascertained there is no fleet that is more constantly drilled or exercised than our fleet on the Atlantic coast, or any fleet where more exacting requirements are demanded. This is borne out by the results shown in our maneuvers, our war games, our tactical problems, and our target practice. Had I any doubt upon these questions of personnel and efficiency as far as the active fleet is concerned I would not hesitate to inform this committee in order that steps might be taken to remedy any defects.

In my annual report there are pointed out some defects in the material of the fleet and its needs and requirements to make it a more effective fighting force. These are of long standing and are only now emphasized by events abroad. The Navy Department has done everything that lies within its power to remedy the shortcomings and carry out the recommendations from the fleet, but most of these requirements are beyond the control of the department and require the legislation of Congress.

All the experts have said that our Navy is in good condition, although all seem to voice different opinions as to just how it could be improved. I am strongly of the opinion that our Navy is in as good shape at this time as it has been in years, although of course, with the increased number of ships, it will be necessary to materially increase the personnel, hence the provisions contained in this bill for that purpose.

Our Navy should be our pride and boast. We should be and are proud of its achievements, men, and tradition. It has never been whipped, and whenever it has been called to action it has performed its work with signal efficiency and success. At all hazards it has defended our country, and no one has ever questioned its devotion.

AUXILIARIES.

In all the desire to have an abundant supply of weapons of war, we must not forget the important rôle of the auxiliaries—the mine layers, mine sweepers, fuel ships, repair ships, transports, supply ships, etc.—and the fact that our Navy must be provided with an adequate supply of same. I feel, however, that the provisions made in this bill and the ships of these various types already on hand will be sufficient, and that we will have a well-balanced Navy in every respect.

AERONAUTICS.

Aircraft, the latest development in the naval service, although comparatively new, is most important. They are the eyes of the Navy, and are rapidly developing into means of defensive attack. The aeroplane, although it has a small carrying space and limited radius of action, is decidedly useful in every way for fast scouting purposes, and in that respect will be a necessity and of great value. If our fleet did not have them, and the enemy's fleet did, we would be absolutely handicapped. In addition to this, aeroplanes are absolutely necessary for fighting the enemy's aeroplanes to prevent them from getting information. It is the most efficient method to pursue.

The aeroplane is rapidly developing, and although we may say that it is in its infancy, owing to its small carrying power and range of action, I feel that it will not be long before these drawbacks are overcome. The reports from abroad indicate that they are building aeroplanes of 1,000 horsepower, having a high speed and long range of action, but of course to just what extent this is done we are unable to estimate except by experimenting with the designs we use. When the problem of the motor question is effectively solved I am of the opinion that we will be able to outclass any of the foreign nations engaged in the building of aircraft.

The statements of Capt. Mark L. Bristol, United States Navy, when he appeared before the Committee on Naval Affairs, in speaking of the purposes for which aircraft are desired, said as follows:

Aircraft for the fleet are required for three general purposes, namely, the mobile fleet, the coast defense, and the advance bases.

Aircraft have passed the experimental stage in development to a great extent. The general principles of design and construction are fairly well established. It is now a question of deciding upon the mission they have to perform in war and providing the necessary types of aircraft and the officers to man and maintain them in order to carry out that mission. It is not a question of developing this service gradually, but of getting it as soon as possible, so that our fleet will conform to existing requirements. The mission of our air service, though it may be changed in the future, is for scouting, for patrolling, for fighting an enemy's aircraft, for attacking submarines and unarmed vessels and naval auxiliaries, for controlling gunfire of battleships, battle cruisers, and coast fortifications, and for carrying dispatches. Aeroplanes and dirigibles are required for all these duties. Kite balloons are required for controlling gunfire from ships and advance bases as well as elevated points of lookout from aircraft stations.

There are several secondary duties that aircraft may be required to perform, according to the special character of the operations of the fleet.

I am thoroughly convinced from the statements made by the various naval officers and those with thorough knowledge as to the condition of your air service, that we are more backward in aeronautics than any other one thing. It is our one weak point, and we should strive to overcome this at the earliest practical date. For this reason, aeronautical appropriations should now and hereafter be ample, for until battleships and battle cruisers can be built and commissioned, the Pacific coast must look to submarines and aeroplanes for its defense. If we could secure, say, 1,000 aeroplanes, with a well-organized corps, we would have an air force that could drop large bombs and launch torpedoes against invading forces and thus prevent an attack. On the whole, I believe that by means of aeronautics we can accomplish more in a short space of time than by anything else.

I do not think that the appropriation for this branch of the service is in anywise too large, and expect to hear of wonderful improvements in the aeronautic field, improvements that will cause our aeroplanes to at least equal, if not surpass those now being used by the warring nations.

The newspapers are daily bringing us reports of the increased activity of air craft, of various air raids, in which large numbers of aeroplanes have participated at one time, and which have been attacking cities, destroying railroads, numbers of troops, supply stations, etc. It is a well-known fact that they now operate in fleet formation, are equipped with machine guns, and fight other aeroplanes to prevent them from carrying on attacks or securing information. It is not an uncommon thing

nowadays to hear of aeroplanes bombarding battleships or sinking submarines.

It has been said, and I doubt not its correctness, that Germany has 9,000 aeroplanes available and not less than 5,000 trained aviators; that England has 900 trained aviators in the reserve corps alone, who are waiting for machines, and that France and Russia are not so far behind in the development of this branch of endeavor. The aeroplane is not only a spy and scout, but likewise is able to defend and destroy.

Earl Kitchener is reported as having said that "an aviator is worth an army corps," and the developments of the present conflict in Europe have demonstrated the truth of his conviction.

NAVAL LABORATORY.

I am particularly pleased with the provision in this bill providing for the establishment of an experimental and research laboratory, as follows:

Experimental and research laboratory: For laboratory and research work on the subject of gun erosion, torpedo motive power, the gyroscope, submarine guns, protection against submarine, torpedo, and mine attack, improvement in submarine attachments, improvement and development in submarine engines, storage batteries, and propulsion, improvement in radio installations, and such other necessary work for the benefit of the Government service, including the construction, equipment, and operation of a laboratory, the employment of scientific civilian assistants as may become necessary, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy, $2,000,000.

There is need of mobilizing the inventive genius and organization of the Republic for national defense. While it is fully recognized that the naval experts have been responsible for the chief development of the Navy by invention and progress, some of the greatest improvements utilized by the Navy came from civilian inventors and civilian engineers. It was a civilian who gave us the *Monitor*, who built the first submarine, who mastered the science of flight, who perfected wireless communication, who invented the gyroscope compass, electric steering gear and electrical propulsion, and silk-floss life preservers. Most of the development of the larger naval ships, throbbing with electricity and delicate engines of all sorts, was perfected by naval officers. There has been a feeling among civilians that their suggestions did not receive friendly consideration from naval experts. This feeling is not well founded, but it is widespread and doubtless grew up because there was no well-organized method of getting the naval expert and civilian expert together.

There is no great business establishment that does not have a workshop similar to the one now proposed for the Navy to study scientific and efficiency methods. The work to be done in the laboratory for the Navy Department is to be entirely under the control and advice of scientific experts. It is intended to inaugurate a practical business investigation of the needs of the Navy and the Army. Gun erosion is one of the very important subjects they will study, and if we can make a saving there we will save the amount appropriated very quickly. We should, in my opinion, by all means have a laboratory or some proper means of practically ascertaining the best way to prevent the rapid erosion of our guns.

It is perhaps true that the great gun factories and manufacturing establishments have applied every scientific test, but we must remember that the Government manufactures a great many of its own guns; therefore we should have an equal opportunity to find the best, cheapest, and most scientific way of accomplishing something. If this country wishes to have its fighting machinery kept up to date and not excelled or equaled by any other nation, that machinery may be thoroughly tested and standardized and duplicates obtained at low cost from competitive manufacturing plants, then the establishment of an experimental laboratory is the way to accomplish the desired result. Through this method we can give our Army and Navy a chance to have the most scientific assistance possible. If we are to have an Army and Navy, it seems to me that we ought not hesitate to equip it with the best of everything that can be obtained. When we realize all the improvements that have been made in armaments, in guns, in ammunition, in shells, in aeroplanes, which were the result of investigation, we certainly ought to have our Navy scientific and efficient enough to make further improvements, especially in aeronatics and submarines, and particularly when the department earnestly requests that it be put on an equal footing with private plants that construct guns, gunpowder, torpedoes, submarines, various laboratories, and scientists.

The German nation is to-day the greatest nation for efficiency, and it is needless to relate the wonderful achievements of that country. The German Government has laboratories of its own and makes experiments in agriculture, war, munitions, and all directions in which it can ascertain the efficient, economical, and scientific way of accomplishing things.

Then, too, we are particularly fortunate in being in position to put such a plant under the experts of the Navy, with the advice of 22 of the most scientific men in America, headed by Mr. Edison, who himself has accomplished so much in our interest, and all this without any expense whatever to the Government in making the laboratory a success.

I can not understand how anyone could be in favor of the large appropriations we are making for increasing our Navy without also sanctioning the appropriation for a naval laboratory, so that the new ideas for submarines, air craft, new explosives, and so forth, can be tested, and thus save the Government millions of dollars. We are able to learn wonderful lessons from the present struggle in Europe, and it is up to us to take advantage of this knowledge and enable our men to make such tests and experiments as may be necessary.

I know our men have as much initiative, brains, energy, and inventive genius as any other people on earth. We have made wonderful discoveries in the past, and in the future, as in the past, will make more discoveries that will startle the world. That the Government should teach them how to be efficient is well demonstrated by the fact that the German people are able to hold their own, although facing great odds, by virtue of the fact that they are so wonderfully efficient.

To my mind there is nothing so important as keeping abreast of the various new ideas offered the Government. They should be thoroughly examined, tested, and the result of this examination and testing be kept secret, so that no other nation may profit by what we have learned. It is through this method that Germany has been able to startle the world with the wonderful equipment with which she is provided. With the aid of the scientific members of the board in this laboratory we could do this in half the time and with greater thoroughness than any other body of men, because they are fitted for it. They are scientists, engineers, mechanics, and inventors.

I believe that this laboratory is one of the most vital items in this bill. It will be a clearing house for American inventors and revolutionize warfare. And when a man has an invention he wishes to submit to the Government he will know that it is given due attention, not submitted to some naval officer who has neither the time nor inclination to give the matter the serious consideration necessary, and who merely informs him that he does not find it practicable.

There is little doubt in my mind but that the work performed in such a laboratory would in a short time pay for itself many times over, and result in the improvement in the construction of torpedoes, submarines, battle cruisers, aeroplanes, etc.

This laboratory should be located near deep water where the largest ships can come alongside and where propellor and other tests relating to naval architecture and marine engineering and ordnance installation could be carried on, and for this reason I wish to urge that it be located at Baltimore.

Baltimore, the thriving commercial and industrial city, situate on the Patapsco River near the head of the magnificent Chesapeake Bay. As a city and a seaport it possesses opportunities and advantages second to none on the Atlantic seaboard, while its ample harbor and water front, though highly developed, still offer an abundance of virgin opportunity.

The growth of any port is naturally restricted by its geographical location and limited by the confines of its harbor. The first essential to growth is, therefore, the necessary available room for expansion. While other cities on the Atlantic coastal plain have almost reached the ultimate of their possibilities in this respect, Baltimore's extensive waterfront presents a well-nigh unlimited field for future development and its superior advantages are attracting the serious attention of the maritime and commercial world.

The fortunate location of Baltimore in its nearness to the agricultural, industrial, and commercial centers gives it a decided advantage over other Atlantic ports. This is illustrated and emphasized when we realize that Baltimore is 1,369 miles closer than San Francisco to the Panama Canal; is 470 miles closer than San Francisco to the city of Valparaiso, Chile, which latter city is the chief seaport on the western side of South America; that after computing the 50 miles which is the length of the canal from Colon to Panama, it is only 4,670 miles from Baltimore to Valparaiso, while it is 5,140 miles from San Francisco to that place? Baltimore is closer to Cuba and Jamaica than any of the big Atlantic seaports; and nearer to the Middle West by many miles than they.

Baltimore may well boast of a harbor whose salient features are unsurpassed. Entering the Patapsco River from where it empties into the bay at historic North Point, one finds a broad, well-sheltered expanse of naturally deep water made navigable to the largest ocean liners by a dredged channel 600 feet wide and 35 feet deep, which channel under the report recently submitted by the Army engineers, it is hoped will in the near future be further improved by an appropriation of $800,000 to

carry out the work recommended by them for the further improvement of our harbor. Tributary to the river on the north and south are numerous creeks whose deep water and proximity to railroad facilities have already attracted many large manufacturing industries. Chief among these tributaries is Curtis Bay with a 31-foot channel leading to an excellent harbor. Its merits are attested by the multitude of big plants located along its shores.

Passing up the river, one enters a commodious landlocked harbor, which spreads like the fingers of a giant hand in four huge, navigable prongs from northwest to southwest, with Curtis Bay for the thumb. Here, indeed, is found a port that affords every facility for anchorage and dockage, of loading and unloading to all manner of craft, from the far-famed oyster pungy to the leviathan Atlantic liner. The harbor proper is about 150 nautical miles from the capes where Chesapeake Bay enters the Atlantic Ocean, and is 14 miles from the mouth of the Patapsco River. The mean average tide is but 12 inches. There are 38 miles of dockage and water front within the present city limits, and a total of 120 miles of available water front facing at least 10 feet of water in the immediate environs of Baltimore Harbor. A uniform depth of 35 feet is maintained up to the piers provided for trans-Atlantic liners. The city of Baltimore, through the harbor board, will have expended at the close of pending operations $2,800,000 for deepening the harbor and $9,200,000 for public wharves and docks and marginal or water-front streets. In addition to this the National Government has spent more than $9,000,000 in improving the channel approaches to the port—an aggregate of $21,000,000.

Although Baltimore is the youngest of the commercial cities on the Atlantic seaboard, it has always been a prominent seaport. At this port, the *Dewey*, the largest floating drydock in the world, was constructed in 1905. Shipbuilding and various other enterprises are engaged in by a number of representative firms, and many of the merchant vessels of this and foreign countries, as well as some of the finest colliers and torpedo-boat destroyers of the United States Navy, have been built here.

The city's proximity to the mines, together with the modern coal piers equipped with rapid-loading devices, makes Baltimore the greatest exporter of coal on the continent. For instance, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad has one of the largest and best equipped coal terminals in the world. Its pier is 800 feet long and can accommodate vessels up to 30 feet draft. On November 23, 1912, the United States collier *Neptune* was loaded here in 3 hours and 45 minutes with 7,500 tons of coal. In addition to this, the railroads make no charge for the use of their water-front terminals on shipments over their lines.

Many experts have declared that Baltimore has the finest, most advantageously situated harbor in the entire world. This should certainly demonstrate the practicability of selecting Baltimore as the site for the proposed laboratory, even without the many other advantages that make it such an ideal spot. Battle cruisers and dreadnaughts could come almost to the door of the laboratory should it be erected in Baltimore. In addition to this Baltimore's proximity to Washington, the home of the Navy Department and the naval gun factory, where many of the Navy's largest guns are made, should be considered. It seems to me that the laboratory should be so located that the scientists located there would be able to quickly get in touch with these branches of the Government. The excellent railroad service, the number of plants engaged in the manufacture of chemicals and other things valuable to the Nation industrially and defensively.

THE DEUTSCHLAND.

Another illustration of the accessibility of Baltimore and its splendid harbor is given in the fact that the German Government selected Baltimore as the port of entry for the first of their submarine liners, the *Deutschland*. The first trans-Atlantic submarine the world has ever known.

INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

While I am extremely anxious to appropriate sufficient money to maintain a splendid Navy that will be able to cope with that of any other nation, and provide our scientists with a laboratory in which to perfect inventions, continue research, and examine the inventions submittted them, yet I hope that the day is not far distant when all disputes between nations may be settled by courts of arbitration. Every civilized country in the world requires its subjects to submit their differences and disputes to tribunals and courts that have been organized under the forms of law for their settlement, and yet these same nations violate the principle of the law which they compel their subjects to obey.

Citizens must settle their differences before courts organized according to law and based upon justice and right, and yet kings and rulers settle their disputes by battles, without any regard of justice. Among the educated people of the world a strong sentiment for universal peace is growing, and in every civilized Government public sentiment is the great moving force and will be finally victorious. War has never settled any dispute on a principle of equity, morality, or justice. All wars that have been held, of course, have not been wrong or could have been avoided, but why should there not be some practical way of solving the difficulties that arise?

What nation is best fitted to take the important step of endeavoring to organize such a tribunal; surely no nation is in better position to do so than the United States. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the power invested in the President of the United States by the following provision:

Upon the conclusion of the war in Europe, or as soon thereafter as it may be done, the President of the United States is authorized to invite all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of suggesting an organization, court of arbitration, or other body, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States who shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law, and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives and such secretaries and other employees as may be needed. Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

That if at any time before the appropriations authorized by this act shall have been contracted for there shall have been established, with the cooperation of the United States of America, an international tribunal or tribunals competent to secure peaceful determinations of all international disputes, and which shall render unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments, then and in that case such naval expenditures as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal or tribunals shall be suspended, when so ordered by the President of the United States.

will enable him to put into execution this highly desired and necessary function. However, until this happy state is established we must be thoroughly prepared in every way by enlarging our military preparations, increasing the strength of our Army and Navy, and industry, so that we may, in the event of necessity, have a wealth of strength in these various branches, each of which is more or less dependent upon the other. We are not constructing this Navy for aggressive purposes, but solely for the purpose of defending our land in the event of an attempt to invade it; to maintain and preserve the greatest Republic which the world has known. I can therefore see no reason why we should not build a larger Navy, and yet, at the same time, endeavor to establish peaceful relations and a court of arbitration. It can never be estimated when the former may be needed until the latter is in working force.

After a careful study of facts, and I have enumerated a number of them, I am firmly convinced that the people of the country will be entirely satisfied with the action of Congress upon preparedness; that they will feel this bill sufficiently increases the Navy to meet any present or future emergency, and will bring it up to the highest point of efficiency.

When taking into consideration the vast sum of money required to complete and maintain the proposed naval program, we must also bear in mind that we are one of the largest and most progressive nations on the globe; that in our hands has been lodged those priceless principles of government established by our forefathers, not alone to be enjoyed by us, but to be handed down to the generations yet to come; that in the protection of our people and the Government so established, it is the duty of Congress to provide the way and for the people to stand shoulder to shoulder with its lawmakers in providing this country with ample protection, as a safeguard in the event of war with foreign nations. There is an old saying, and a very common one, that "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." I feel that this saying, though old, is applicable to the preparation of this Nation while at peace for emergency in the event of war.

There is a story written in Æsop's Fables where the boar is whetting his tusks against an old tree. The fox, who happened to come by at the same time, asked, him why he made those martial preparations of whetting his teeth, since there was no enemy near that he could perceive? "That may be, Master Reynard," said the boar, "but we should scour up our arms while we have leisure, you know; for in time of danger we shall have something else to do." So it is with the American Nation. We should be doing our preparing now, and not be preparing when we ought to be fighting.

## Laws Governing the Selection by and Exchange of Lands with the Several States.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a letter from the Department of the Interior in regard to the bill H. R. 15096.

The letter is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
*Washington, August 14, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. RAKER: Referring to H. R. 15096, an act to amend the laws governing the selection by and exchange of lands with the several States, I submit the following facts in connection with the measure and the importance of its early enactment:

The purpose of this bill is to make certain the proper administration of the above act, but does not in any way enlarge grants heretofore made to the various States for common-school purposes, nor permit the States to receive lands in lieu of other lands which they did not receive. The uncertainty which attends the administration of this law is due to the different construction placed thereon by this department and some of the State courts, as well as the Federal courts, and it is to clarify this situation that the bill has been introduced.

The department has held that said act provides for and authorizes exchange of title between State and Federal Governments, as well as indemnity in case of loss to the State of granted lands. See Henry C. King (14 L. D., 332), Gregg *v.* Colorado (15 L. D., 151), McNamara *v.* State of California (17 L. D., 296), Rice *v.* California (24 L. D., 14); Dunn *v.* State of California (30 L. D., 608), Territory of New Mexico (29 L. D., 364), Territory of New Mexico (34 L. D., 599), State of California (34 L. D., 613).

Under these rulings a large number of selections based upon the principle of exchange were made and carried to certification, wherein were designated as bases sections 16 and 36 in various reservations that were established subsequent to the public survey.

This construction of the act of 1891 has been the subject of judicial decisions, in which the view of the department did not meet with approval; it being held in the case of Hibbard *v.* Slack (84 Fed. Rep., 571) and Deseret Water, Oil & Irrigation Co. *v.* State of California (138 Pac., 981) that said act does not authorize such exchanges, but only indemnity to the States for losses of lands to which they were entitled.

With respect to the school land grants made the States of Washington, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota, by the act of February 22, 1889 (25 Stat., 676), the Supreme Court of Washington, in the case of the State of Washington *v.* Whitney (120 Pac., 116), held in substance that the grant was a grant in præsenti, applicable to all lands, whether surveyed or unsurveyed. The three other States named have not made this contention, but have offered lieu selections or exchanges for lands lost or included within national forests. The department has held that the grant does not attach until the land is surveyed, and that Congress may make other disposition thereof before that time. State of Washington *v.* Geisler (41 L. D., 621).

There have been other decisions of the State courts dealing with and complicating the question of these grants and exchanges; and, in view of the various decisions referred to, the department has felt that it was incumbent upon it to suspend pending applications for indemnity selections or for the exchange of lands, and to refuse to entertain further applications therefor. This situation has resulted in delay and hardship to the States and to purchasers of lieu lands from the various States, and calls for action which will enable the United States and the States to adjust and settle these grants. It is the purpose of this bill to accomplish this object.

Section 1 of H. R. 15096 declares that the provisions of sections 2275 and 2276 of the Revised Statutes, as amended by the act of February 28, 1891, are applicable to all grants of school land heretofore made by Congress, and proposes to ratify and confirm all pending and unapproved indemnity selections heretofore made for losses incurred under the school grants and in accordance with the statutes just cited, if otherwise valid, and for nonmineral lands, and which were subject to selection at the time the applications were filed, unless the same have been reserved under the act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat., 847). With respect to lands so withdrawn, it is provided that selections made prior to such withdrawals may be approved subject to such conditions, limitations, or reservations as may be authorized by present or future acts of Congress. The latter clause has particular reference to lands withdrawn because of their oil or phosphate content, in which cases the act of Congress of July 17, 1914 (38 Stat., 509), permits, under appropriate conditions, the issuance of a patent for the selected land, reserving to the United States, however, all of the minerals therein, with the right to enter upon the land, extract, and remove such minerals. The last-described clause is only proposed to be made applicable to lands, the surface of which is found to be of substantial value for agriculture, grazing, or timber.

Section 2 of the bill proposes a method for the exchange of surveyed school sections in national forests owned by the State and for the taking of indemnity for unsurveyed sections lost to the State by the creation of the forest, providing that the State and the Federal authorities may enter into an arrangement whereby the said lands scattered throughout various parts of the national forest may be surrendered and a solid block or blocks of lands of approximately equal value within the boundaries of any national forest within the State may be acquired in lieu thereof. This is manifestly to the advantage of all parties concerned.

Section 3 proposes to ratify the exchanges heretofore made under the practice of this department of surveyed school sections in place in forest and other reservations for vacant nonmineral public lands of the character described in the bill, and further provides that exchanges in future may be made either in the form provided in section 2, or at the election of the State, vacant unappropriated nonmineral public lands of equal acreage outside the limits of national forests may be taken in lieu of lands surrendered or relinquished within the forest, or at the discretion of the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture, State lands outside may be exchanged for lands within national forests.

Section 4 ratifies agreements of exchanges heretofore made between the States of South Dakota and Idaho and the United States, concerning consolidation of holdings within national forests in those States.

Section 5 provides that the provisions of the act shall be applicable only where the State is now authorized by law to make such selections, relinquishments, or exchanges, or shall hereafter by constitutional legislative enactment authorize the same to be done.

The department is heartily in favor of the enactment of this measure, believing that it will be of mutual benefit to the States and the Federal Government; and that it will permit of the early adjustment of the school grants, and I trust, therefore, that it will receive favorable consideration at this session of Congress.

Cordially, yours,

ANDRIEUS A. JONES,
*Acting Secretary.*

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,
*House of Representatives.*

## Federal Trade Commission.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS,
OF OKLAHOMA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, on August 15, 1916, I introduced a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 297) authorizing and directing the President to place an embargo on print paper, pending the report of the Federal Trade Commission, as follows:

Whereas the Federal Trade Commission was by Senate resolution, adopted April 24, 1916, requested to inquire into the increased price of print paper; and
Whereas the Federal Trade Commission has not as yet submitted its report; and
Whereas the price of print paper has more than doubled within the past six months; and
Whereas it is believed that the increase in the price of print paper is due to contracts for the exportation of large quantities to European countries and not to increased cost of manufacturers: Therefore be it

*Resolved, etc.*, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, empowered, and directed to place an embargo on the shipment out of the United States of print paper until the report of the Federal Trade Commission is submitted, as requested by Senate resolution (S. Res. 177) adopted April 24, 1916.

In support of the statements made in the preamble of the resolution, I desire to read an article from The Fourth Estate of date July 22, 1916, a magazine published in New York City in the interest of newspapers:

THE PRINT-PAPER SITUATION—REDUCTION IN RATES FOR OCEAN FREIGHT MAY AFFECT UNITED STATES USERS.

The following is a fairly close approximation of the present prices of news print paper in various foreign countries and we believe it will be of interest to the newspaper publishers of this country:

Great Britain: 6 to 7 cents.
France: 6½ to 7 cents.
Germany: Don't know.
Austria: Don't know.
Italy: 6½ to 7 cents.
Spain: 6½ to 7 cents.
Holland: 6½ to 7 cents.
Denmark: Don't know.
Norway: 5 to 6 cents.
Sweden: 5 to 6 cents.
Russia: Don't know.
Japan: Don't know.
Australia: 6 to 6½ cents.
New Zealand: 6 to 6½ cents.
Brazil: 6½ to 7 cents.
Uruguay: 6½ to 7 cents.
Argentine: 6½ to 7 cents.
Chile: 7 to 7½ cents.
Peru: 7 to 7½ cents.

In the United States spot-cash sales are being made to-day at 3 cents to 4½ cents.

The attractive prices offered for foreign shipments and the heavy ocean freight have served to indicate to the paper manufacturers how much the customer would stand in the foreign countries.

Last week in the Baltic alone over 200 cargo steamers were released by employing governments and are now available for handling commercial tonnage.

Ocean rates have fallen practically 50 per cent within the past three weeks, and tonnage is now being solicited by the steamship companies. This will naturally mean that the paper manufacturers of this country can get still larger net mill prices for shipments abroad.

Hence the temptation will be correspondingly greater to take export business.

The output of the news print mills for the month of June exceeded that of any prior month in the history of the industry in this country and Canada. The spur of high prices has worked wonders in this respect, and yet the demand keeps pace with this condition.

The following article is taken from the Editor and Publisher, of New York City, for July 22, 1916, a publication, as its name indicates, devoted to the interests of newspapers:

STRONG MEASURES REQUIRED TO CURB GREED OF NEWS PRINT MANUFACTURERS.

The news print situation grows more serious. If the manufacturers are to have their way, and are to be allowed to fix prices arbitrarily when deigning to make new contracts with publishers, newspaper profits, in the coming year, will be largely turned over to them as spoils of the economic war they are waging against the publishing interests of this country.

They are finding it possible to export white paper to France, lured by the war-time profits of the game, but contend that they are unable to meet the home demand.

The present outlook is for prohibitive prices for domestic consumers after January 1, 1917. In cases where contracts expired on May 31 and June 30 publishers have been compelled to meet advances of from 40 to 50 cents per hundred pounds on contracts which will expire on December 31. When these short-term contracts expire their renewal will present further difficulties, if present indications count.

One of the leading newspaper publishers of the country, reported to be making a profit well toward the half-million mark, recently stated that if he had to pay such exactions to the paper makers all his profit would be wiped out. Another publisher said that the increased penalty he is now paying would amount to $240,000 a year.

These advanced prices for news print would amount to a general confiscation by the manufacturers of the earnings of newspapers.

According to figures printed in the Editor and Publisher last week 2,282 tons of print paper had been exported to France from July 1, 1915, to and including May, 1916, as against none for the five previous fiscal years.

The exports of news print paper for the past five fiscal years ending June 30 were: 1911, 99,510,875 pounds, valued at $2,434,964; 1912, 103,573,428 pounds, valued at $2,501,529; 1913, 100,426,614 pounds, valued at $2,450,520; 1914, 88,966,738 pounds, valued at $2,177,483; 1915, 125,681,633 pounds, valued at $3,079,137. For the 11 months of the present fiscal year, up to May 31, the exports of news print were 112,668,568 pounds, valued at $2,735,533.

If, lured by the temporary high prices to be obtained abroad, the news print manufacturers plan to divert from home markets so large a part of their product as to create a real shortage here, through which domestic prices are to be boosted to prohibitive levels, then, in the public interest, Congress should place an embargo on the export of white paper.

According to conservative reports, paper can be made and delivered in New York at a fair profit from $34 to $37 a ton, or about $1.75 per hundred pounds. Publishers of very important newspapers, using enormous quantities, have recently been paying $1.90 and upward at the mill.

An embargo on exports would serve to readjust this disturbed market—to put a sudden stop to the joy-riding and war-baby tactics now being indulged in by the manufacturers—and avert a menace of such serious import that it involves and endangers the public interest.

Reports from cities throughout the country indicate that the manufacturers are unwilling to quote to publishers a price applying to renewals of contracts until such contracts shall have expired, and not then under competitive conditions. It is safe to assume that there does not exist any written agreement between manufacturers, but there is assuredly a common understanding that they shall demand all that the traffic will bear.

The investigation by the Federal Trade Commission should disclose what part is being played in the drama of confiscation by stock-watering methods. It should make clear to what extent the product of the mills is being held in reserve for possible export profits. It should establish the actual present per ton cost of production; and if this varies materially with different manufacturers, the matter of over-capitalization in particular instances should be sifted.

An embargo on exports of white paper would be a strong measure, but it may be a necessary one. And if the publishers of the country stand as a unit in favor of it, Congress will promptly enact it.

In my judgment, these articles abundantly sustain the statements made in the resolution and warrant an immediate investigation by Congress; and if found to be true, prompt action should be taken.

On April 26, 1916, the Senate adopted a resolution requesting the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the increase in the price of print paper. Inquiry of the commission as to when a report may be expected brings the information that it may not be made until October. By that time Congress shall have adjourned. Contracts for print paper will be renewed before Congress reconvenes in December. If relief is to be given, action should be taken now.

I am submitting this resolution and these articles in support of the statements made at this time:

First. To invite the attention of the Committee on Ways and Means to the matter in the hope that prompt consideration may be given it.

Second. To have the Committee on Rules take such action as will permit consideration of the resolution by the House at this session.

Third. To call the attention of the country to the reasons for the increase in the price of print paper, trusting that if the facts set forth in these articles are true, newspaper publishers will verify them through their Members of Congress.

Fourth. To bring the matter to the attention of the Federal Trade Commission.

Press reports indicate that newspapers for business reasons hesitate to aid the commision by submitting proof.

A large number of daily papers throughout the United States are increasing their subscription price and their advertising rates because of the increase in the price of print paper, among them being the Republic and the Globe Democrat, of St. Louis, Mo. A responsible newspaper publisher of my own State informs me that he is now paying $3.85 per 100 pounds for paper which he used to buy for $1.85, and that his supply will be exhausted the last of August, after which he does not know where or at what price he shall be able to get paper. He made a trip to New York City and thence along the Canadian border in an effort to secure a supply at living rates, but was unable to make a contract at reasonable figures. Many small publications will be forced to suspend.

I submit that the question is so serious that it should engage the immediate attention of Congress.

## The Work of the Administration for Agriculture.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ASBURY F. LEVER,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. LEVER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter received by me from the President of the United States containing a brief summary of the work of this administration for agriculture.

The letter is as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington, August 11, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. LEVER: It has given me much satisfaction to approve to-day the bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes, because the bill not only makes very generous provision for the improvement of farm production in the Nation and for investigations and demonstrations in the field of the marketing of farm crops and of the organization of rural life, but also contains three well-conceived measures designed to improve market practices and the storage and financing of staple crops. As the passage of this bill marks the practical completion of an important part of the program for the betterment of rural life which was mapped out at the beginning of the administration, I feel that I can not let the occasion pass without conveying to you and to your associates in both Houses my appreciation of the service rendered to the Nation in strengthening its great agricultural foundations.

The record, legislative as well as administrative, is a remarkable one. It speaks for itself and needs only to be set forth.

1. Appreciation of the importance of agriculture has been shown through greatly and intelligently increased appropriations for its support.

2. Particular pains have been taken to foster production by every promising means, and careful thought has been given especially to the matter of increasing the meat supply of the Nation.

3. Greatly increased provision has been made, through the enactment of the cooperative agricultural extension act, for conveying agricultural information to farmers and for inducing them to apply it. This piece of legislation is one of the most significant and far-reaching measures for the education of adults ever adopted by any Government. It provides for cooperation between the States and the Federal Government. This is a highly important and significant principle. When the act is in full operation there will be expended annually under its terms, from Federal and State sources alone, a total of over $8,600,000 in the direct education of the farmer; and this amount is being and will be increasingly supplemented by contributions from local sources. It will permit the placing in each of the 2,850 rural counties of the Nation two farm demonstrators and specialists, who will assist the demonstrators in the more difficult problems confronting them.

4. Systematic provision for the first time has been made for the solution of problems in that important half of agriculture which concerns distribution marketing, rural finance, and rural organization.

5. Provision was made promptly for the creation of an Office of Markets and Rural Organization, and the appropriations for this office, including those for enforcing new laws designed to promote better marketing, have been increased to $1,200,000.

The more difficult problems of marketing are being investigated and plans are in operation for furnishing assistance to producers of perishables through a market news service. A similar service for live-stock interests will be inaugurated during the year.

6. The problem of securing the uniform grading of staple crops, of regulating dealings and traffic in them, of developing a better system of warehouses, and of providing more available collateral for farm loans has been successfully dealt with.

7. Under the cotton-futures act standards for cotton have been established, the operations of the future exchanges have been put under supervision, and the sale of cotton has been placed on a firmer basis.

8. The United States grain-standards act will secure uniformity in the grading of grain, enable the farmer to obtain fairer prices for his product, and afford him an incentive to raise better grades of grain.

9. The United States warehouse act will enable the Department of Agriculture to license bonded warehouses in the various States. It will lead to the development of better storage facilities for staple crops and will make possible the issuance of reliable warehouse receipts which will be widely and easily negotiable.

10. Of no less importance for agriculture and for the national development is the Federal aid road act. This measure will conduce to the establishment of more effective highway machinery in each State, strongly influence the development of good road building along right lines, stimulate larger production and better marketing, promote a fuller and more attractive rural life, add greatly to the convenience and economic welfare of all the people, and strengthen the national foundations. The act embodies sound principles of road legislation and will safeguard the expenditure of the funds arising under the act not only, but will also result in the more efficient use of the large additional sums made available by States and localities.

11. The Federal reserve act benefits the farmer, as it does all the other people of the Nation, by guaranteeing better banking, safeguarding the credit structure of the country, and preventing panics. It takes particular note of the special needs of the farmer by making larger provision for loans through national banks on farm mortgages and by giving farm paper a maturity period of six months.

12. It was essential, however, that banking machinery be devised which would reach intimately into the rural districts, that it should operate on terms suited to the farmer's needs, and should be under sympathetic management. The need was for machinery which would introduce business methods into farm finance, bring order out of chaos, reduce the cost of handling farm loans, place upon the market mortgages which would be a safe investment for private funds, attract into agricultural operations a fair share of the capital of the Nation, and lead to a reduction of interest. These needs and these ideals have been met by the enactment of the Federal farm-loan act.

I am glad to have had an opportunity to take part in the execution of this large program, which, I believe, will result in making agriculture more profitable and country life more comfortable and attractive, and therefore insure the retention in rural districts of an efficient and contented population.

Faithfully, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. A. F. LEVER,
*Chairman Committee on Agriculture,*
*House of Representatives.*

## Increase of the Navy.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, under general leave granted to the Members of the House to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the Senate amendments to the naval bill, H. R. 15947, with special reference to amendment No. 238, increase of the Navy, I wish to state that I shall vote for the amendment because of a forced choice to either support or oppose it as a whole without opportunity of further amendment.

Having voted for the Browning motion to recommit the naval bill to the Committee on Naval Affairs, with instructions when the bill was formerly before the House on June 2, which instructions contemplated a building program of two battleships and six battle cruisers, making eight capital ships in all, I have no hesitancy in voting for the immediate building program in the Senate amendment which provides for four battleships and a like number of battle cruisers still comprising eight capital ships in all changed only as to the relative number of battleships and battle cruisers.

But, like the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], I do not approve of the continuing program and, were opportunity afforded, would cast my vote against it. Unfortunately, under the present parliamentary status, an amendment to limit the building program to one year is not in order, and believing a present emergency exists justifying a present substantial increase in capital ships I shall support the amendment as drawn, reserving the right, however, to vote in the next session, or in the Sixty-fifth Congress, should I be so fortunate as to be a Member, as the conditions confronting our Nation at such time shall warrant.

Permit me to take this occasion to call the attention of the country to the danger of being carried too far on the present preparedness wave. And while ready to discharge our duties in meeting the existing exigency, let us remain free to perform our duty in the future as the requirements of that future shall demand. No man knows what the effects of the present European war will be on the question of armaments of nations. Let us hope that some earnest effort will be made looking to the curtailment rather than the increase of the armies and navies of the world.

I am pleased that the present bill recognizes in some degree this possibility, providing as it does:

> If at any time before the construction authorized by this act shall have been contracted for there shall have been established, with the cooperation of the United States of America, an international tribunal or tribunals competent to secure peaceful determinations of all international disputes, and which shall render unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments, then, and in that case, such naval expenditures as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal or tribunals may be suspended, when so ordered by the President of the United States.

This, at least, looks forward to the possibility of the establishment of a world court or some such tribunal. I am in favor of a world court, and trust that this Nation of ours will assume a prominent place in a sincere effort to bring about such a desired institution. Of course, I do not anticipate that such a tribunal, if established, would put an end at once and forever to war, but I do believe that it would go a long way in lessening the chances of war, and would lead more speedily to the creation of a sentiment throughout the world that would in the end banish this scourge from mankind, as it led to a higher conception of the meaning of human brotherhood.

## Mr. James H. Patten.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, on July 18 a speech was made on the floor of this House denouncing my close personal friend, Mr. J. H. Patten, who is a native of my State, a graduate of the University of Kansas, and who has many warm personal friends residing in the district which I represent.

It was my intention to refute some of the statements made in the speech by the gentleman from South Carolina, but I am to-day in receipt of a letter from the editor of the Farmers Tribune published at Anderson, S. C., which explains the situation possibly more comprehensively than I could by a speech at this time; therefore I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing a letter I have to-day received from Mr. V. B. Cheshire.

The letter is as follows:

THE ANDERSON FARMERS' TRIBUNE,
*Anderson, S. C., August 14, 1916.*

Hon. GUY T. HELVERING, M. C.,
*Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I see by the Congressional Directory that you are the Kansas member of the Ways and Means Committee. The Ways and Means Committee being the committee of the House which selects the

various committees of the House, and really constitutes the steering group of the House, and you, being one of the Democrats on that committee and a Democratic Congressman from the State in which Mr. J. H. Patten was born, and, I take it, familiar with his reputation, I am writing to call your attention to certain facts with reference to an attack made upon him on the floor of the House July 18, 1916, by the Congressman from this congressional district, the Hon. WYATT AIKEN.

As I understand, the Constitution and the laws forbid a Congressman being questioned or held to account for anything said on the floor or inserted in the proceedings of the House in "any other place." For a person to assault a Congressman for what that Congressman has said about him a non-Member, would be contrary to the Constitution, and for a non-Member to even "question" a Congressman about anything said on the floor in any other place makes him liable to arrest, being brought before the bar of the House and convicted of contempt of the House and violation of the Constitution. But the Congressman can be questioned there, in the House, and only there. The only way open to the non-Member therefore is for him or some friend or person who resents the attack to write or have some Congressman reply to the attack.

It is for that reason that I am writing you. I am writing you because Congressman AIKEN stated that Mr. Patten was not well thought of down here and was known as a grafting lobbyist, had been fired from the purity federation and the farmers' union, was a Republican, and a number of other things, to which reply ought to be made, if those remarks of Congressman AIKEN's are to stand in the official published proceedings of Congress if for no other purpose than to clear the record from the hearsay allegations, which, if unchallenged, might be a source of affliction to the innocent friends and relative of the accused.

I am not asking that any vituperative innuendoes or floating rumors carried around by scandal mongers or irresponsible gossips be used, but that merely authentic signed statements, genuine letters, and other authoritative, unanswerable evidence be inserted.

* * * * * * *

On the first page of the speech is the following: "I thereupon wrote to Hon. John Gary Evans, Democratic State chairman for South Carolina, and who was himself a delegate to the St. Louis convention, and have received a reply in which he says:

"'Patten took no part in the proceedings of the convention as an alternate from South Carolina, but merely was given a ticket and badge to enable him to get into the convention.'

"It thus appears that Patten was simply given a ticket of admission to the convention."

Mr. Evans has written: "I can not imagine why WYATT AIKEN read only one sentence of my letter into the RECORD" and has sent a copy of his full reply, with permission to use in any way seen fit, since "Mr. AIKEN has done what he did." The rest of the letter reads as follows:

SPARTANBURG, S. C., *June 24, 1916.*

Hon. WYATT AIKEN,
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have your telegram asking me if J. H. Patten was appointed alternate from South Carolina to the St. Louis Convention, etc. Mr. Patten came to me with a letter from Hon. SAM. J. NICHOLLS, asking me to do what I could for him at the convention. He claimed to be a South Carolinian and the husband of a daughter of Senator Latimer. * * * As none of our alternates attended the convention, we gave all of their seats to South Carolinians who were present in St. Louis. This is all I know about it. * * * Mr. Patten also produced a telegram from Senator TILLMAN asking me to do what I could for him. He did no harm that I know of.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN GARY EVANS,
*State Chairman.*

With reference to the next statement of Mr. AIKEN that: "I am told that upon his return to Washington he stated that he went to St. Louis in response to a telegram from Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, of Oklahoma, a Member of this House."

Mr. Patten denies ever having told anyone any such thing, and says that Congressman FERRIS spoke to him immediately after Mr. AIKEN asked him as to what Patten was doing in St. Louis and about what Patten wired him (FERRIS) and said that Mr. AIKEN replied, in answer to his query, that "Patten was a hell of an enemy of his," and that he (FERRIS) said that Patten was a friend of his, and he did what he would do for any friend in arranging for hotel accommodations at his hotel.

The gist of Mr. AIKEN's next paragraph is that when the officers of the National Farmers' Union "found out what kind of a man that he (Patten) is, they removed him from the position" of general counsel early in 1914. The official minutes of the 1914 annual convention of the National Farmers' Union and the following letters do not seem to bear out that information, which Mr. AIKEN said was conveyed to him by President Barrett and E. W. Dabbs.

The official printed "Minutes of the National Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, tenth annual session, held in Fort Worth, Tex., September 1, 2, 3, 1914," at pages 33 and 34 show that delegates in national convention assembled still considered Mr. Patten general counsel, for he is commended for his "valuable services," and "instructed" with reference to criticizing in private conference with Congressmen the administration of the "bureau of markets," which he seems to have looked upon as more or less of a "joke," the way it was being administered. That is doubtless the "convention condemnation" spoken of.

The following telegram to a Congressman seems to point clearly to the fact that State President Mobley, who was at Fort Worth, and the membership still regarded Mr. Patten as general counsel, and there is no reason to regard him otherwise after the action at Fort Worth in 1914, since there is not a word in the minutes of that convention about his being retired or his resignation, which he had tendered to President Barrett in March, 1914, being accepted. His successor has not yet been chosen.

With reference to what National President Barrett and National Secretary Davis thought of him is shown by the following extracts from letters extending over a period of three years:

"On March 14, 1911, National Secreatry A. C. Davis wrote a letter to Mr. Patten, closing with the following: 'Patten, I am glad that you continue to keep things moving,' and on April 7, 1913, Secretary Davis wrote Mr. Patten at some length, closing as follows: 'On behalf of the organization and also personally, I desire to thank you for the excellent services you have rendered the union. * * * It is indeed a rare thing to find a man who is willing to do things for the good of a cause and not for the filthy lucre. My experience in this office has been that most fellows take every occasion to dig into the funds, and it is quite a pleasure to find one whose standards are higher than a few cents.'

"A. C. DAVIS, *National Secretary.*"

"On October 22, 1910, National President Barrett wrote Mr. Patten among other things: 'Dear Patten: * * * Now, Patten, I am preparing an article for the brethren on the tricks and schemes of politicians, so you see what I want. Please help me out. I know you know just how they manipulate things in Washington.' * * *

"C. S. BARRETT."

"On July 1, 1913, National President C. S. Barrett wrote Mr. Patten: 'Brother Patten: I see that lobby committee is going to summon Bowen to appear before it. Of course you know the farmers' union is not responsible for Bowen's conduct, and I wish you would go over to the hearing when he is to appear. The last question he asked me in Washington was whether you were our attorney. I told him that you were the chief counsel of the whole shebang.' * * *

"C. S. BARRETT."

—

In this connection the following letter from the past national president, past chairman of the national legislative committee, and past State president of the Georgia division is most complimentary to Mr. Patten:

UNION CITY, GA., *August 4, 1916.*

Mr. J. H. PATTEN, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR PATTEN: I am surprised that anybody would attack your record as general counsel for the Farmers' Union.

As president of the Georgia division, national president, and chairman of the national legislative committee, I know the union's affairs and your connection with the union for some seven years—four years of which you were general counsel.

I remember you resigned in March, 1914, but I think you will find from consulting the national minutes of September, 1914, that no action was taken on your resignation, and the union in national convention assembled was still instructing you in your official acts, which proves the delegates in national convention assembled considered you still to be their attorney.

My records show that you answered some inquiries from members in Alabama with reference to the record of Oscar Underwood some time in February, 1914, Underwood being a candidate for the Senate. To my knowledge you stated facts.

* * * * * * *

Your friend,

R. F. DUCKWORTH,
*Ex-National President of the National Farmers' Union, Ex-Chairman of its National Legislative Committee, and Ex-State President of the Georgia Division of the National Farmers' Union.*

* * * * * * *

Mr. AIKEN next states that Mr. Patten sent letters into the late Judge Witherspoon's district, but does not offer one of the letters in evidence, and Mr. Patten asserts that he wrote only one letter in which he named Congressman Witherspoon, and that was in response to the direction of the Mississippi State Union secretary, who did not live in Congressman Witherspoon's district, she having asked for the vote and attitude of the Mississippi congressional delegation on parcel post, which he gave, as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, a public record.

With reference to Mr. AIKEN's assertion that Congressman BENNET, of New York City, Republican, denounced Mr. Patten for sending letters into his district, Mr. Patten denied that at the time in the following interview, which was incorporated in a speech by Congressman Macon, of Arkansas, February 8, 1910, as follows:

"Now, Mr. Chairman, it is easy to denounce a statement as false, just as it is easy to call a defenseless person a liar, but proving the fact is a different thing. After the gentleman had made his speech in reply to what I had to say in regard to the conduct of the commission, Mr. Patten was interviewed by an Evening Star reporter of this city on Thursday, January 27, and, among other things, said:

"'Representative BENNET is quite mistaken in representing that I did anything one year ago last fall to prevent his reelection to Congress.

"'His allegations, in so far as they are material and implicate me as knowingly or unknowingly misrepresenting the situation, are absolutely untrue, false, and unfounded in fact, and he does not dare to prosecute my statements or to make his libelous statements in an unprivileged place.

"'One year ago Representative Victor Murdock, of his own motion and notion, and without any knowledge on my part, called attention to the commission's expenditures. Similarly Senator Gary, in the Senate, February 18, 1909.

"'The best authority is perhaps Representative Tawney, who said Monday, after the debate on the commission's expenditures, according to page 947 of the RECORD: "All the facts brought out in this debate came to the Committee on Appropriations, were discussed," and resulted in the commission's curtailment.

"'I mention this to show that the gist of the episode certainly can not be attributed to my fabrications, as Mr. BENNET's accusations allege.'"

Mr. AIKEN seems to have been misinformed about Mr. Patten having "worked for PENROSE" last election and having "stumped" Pennsylvania "from one end of the State to the other denouncing President Wilson's administration," according to the following letter from Senator PENROSE, who ought to know better than some gossiper who seems to have imposed on Congressman AIKEN, for Senator PENROSE wrote Mr. Patten:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ADDITIONAL ACCOMMODATIONS
FOR THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
*July 22, 1916.*

J. H. PATTEN, Esq.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have yours of July 19, calling my attention to a statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to the effect "that during the last senatorial campaign in Pennsylvania Patten was in that State working for PENROSE, the Republican candidate, against Palmer, the Democratic candidate, and went from one end of the State to the other denouncing the Democratic Party and the Wilson administration."

This statement is absolutely without foundation. I know very well that you took no part in the State campaign in Pennsylvania in my behalf or in behalf of any other candidate. The statement is so entirely without basis of fact or color of truth that it is hardly worth notice or denial.

Yours, sincerely,

BOIES PENROSE.

Likewise Congressman AIKEN'S statement that Mr. Patten was "removed bodily" from office in the Purity Federation seems to be based on erroneous information, for the president of the Purity Federation has just written as follows:

LA CROSSE, WIS., *July 21, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. PATTEN: I have your favor of July 19, and am very much surprised, indeed, to learn of the remarks that Congressman AIKEN made relative to yourself and the Purity Federation.

You were for some years with the federation as legislative superintendent at Washington—having been chairman of the national legislative committee of the American Purity Federation, of which I was president, a position which you retained until it was merged into the present federation—and to the very best of my knowledge you performed the duties of the office with great care and thoroughness. You rendered very signal and valuable service in securing the passage of the Kenyon red-light bill and in many other matters that benefited our work and promoted the great cause for which we stand.

It is true that at our congress, held in Minneapolis, Mr. Pringle was appointed legislative superintendent to take your place, but only because he was moving from Maine to Washington, and we understood he would be in the city the entire time and could possibly be in a position to render even better service than you had done. But you were continued as assistant legislative superintendent, and you are still holding that position, so this refutes any statement on the part of anyone that you were thrown out of the federation, or out of official position with the federation.

Very truly, yours, B. S. STEADWELL,
*President World's Purity Federation, Successor to American Purity Federation.*

—

With Mr. Patten's being a common lobbyist, Senator OVERMAN, who ought to know and who ought to be an authority on lobbies and lobbyists, since he presided over the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee, and Senator UNDERWOOD, who was Democratic House leader for several years, until he was elevated to the United States Senate by the people of Alabama, seem to violently differ with Congressman AIKEN'S opinion of Mr. Patten. Senator OVERMAN, a North Carolina Democrat, wrote me the following letter in reply to an inquiry of mine:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES,
*Washington, D. C., January 5, 1916.*

Mr. VICTOR B. CHESHIRE,
*Editor Anderson Farmers' Tribune,*
*Anderson, S. C.*

DEAR SIR: Replying to your inquiry of recent date, in regard to Mr. J. H. Patten, the Washington representative of the Farmers' Union and other farmers' organizations, I beg to say that I have known Mr. Patten for a number of years, and I have never heard, and so far as I know he has not been regarded here in Washington as a common lobbyist.

As chairman of the Senate Lobby Committee, I subpœnaed and caused to appear before the committee quite a number of witnesses to give testimony, but Mr. Patten was never subpœnaed, nor did he appear before the committee.

I regard Mr. Patten as a man of fine character and thoroughly competent to properly execute his duties as representative of the different organizations which he is connected with, and any report to the contrary I believe to be unfounded.

Very truly, yours, LEE S. OVERMAN,
*Chairman Senate Lobby Investigation Committee.*

The above letter was written long before the present controversy arose, as was the following letter by Senator OSCAR UNDERWOOD, who at the time he wrote it to Col. Forney Johnston, of Birmingham, Ala., February 13, 1914, was House Democratic leader and in a position to know whereof he spoke:

"Mr. Patten is the son-in-law of the late Senator Latimer, of South Carolina, who was known as the leading farmer Senator from the South for many years. The family owns a large amount of cotton lands around Belton, S. C., and Mr. Patten is interested in the agricultural development of the South. He is also assistant secretary of the Farmers' National Congress of the United States of America. Mr. Patten is and has been for years identified with the World's Purity Federation, of which Rev. B. S. Steadwell, of La Crosse, Wis., is president. This organization is urging the passage of laws curbing the liquor traffic and aimed at the white-slave traffic and commercialized vice. The last issue of The Light, which is the official publication of the Purity Federation, gives Mr. Patten and Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts the credit for having introduced and pushed the passage of the so-called Kenyon red-light bill for the District of Columbia, which is directed at the red-light district of this city. Rev. W. F. Crafts is the leading spirit in the International Reform Bureau and is well known by the clergy throughout the country.

"Mr. Patten occupies a very prominent position as the representative of farmers' societies and uplift societies throughout the country."

I have a letter from Mr. Frank Morrison, the secretary of the American Federation of Labor, which shows in what high esteem Mr. Patten is held by the officials of the labor movement, men who are devoting their lives to the improvement of conditions and whose hearts beat continually and continuously for humanity. Mr. Morrison wrote me under date of January 4, 1916, as follows:

"DEAR SIR: Your favor of December 31 was duly received to-day, in which you ask me what I think of Mr. J. H. Patten and what standing he has in Washington with the true friends of labor and with labor representatives and the cause for which we stand.

"I desire to say that I have known Mr. Patten a number of years. He has twice been a fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia and the convention held last November in San Francisco, representing the Farmers' National Congress. As a representative of farmers' organizations he has been not only sympathetic but helpful in the efforts to secure remedial legislation for organized workers as well as the farmers' organizations which he represents. He is here at the present time representing the farmers' organizations, and we expect his cooperation in securing much-desired and needed legislation. His services are appreciated, and I have never heard a word from anyone reflecting upon his activities except the statement contained in your communication to me.

"Yours, very truly,

"FRANK MORRISON,
"*Secretary American Federation of Labor.*"

An anonymous statement was made down here in a paper that Mr. Patten was not much of a lawyer and that he had never had a case, when I knew he had right here, but I wrote a Washington firm and received the following, which might explain why some don't like him:

WASHINGTON, *May 24, 1916.*

Mr. V. B. CHESHIRE,
*Anderson, S. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of last Saturday making inquiry about Mr. J. H. Patten, and stating that some one has said in print that he is not a lawyer and never had a case in any court.

The above firm, of which I am the president, has employed Mr. Patten as our attorney on several occasions, and has found him capable, efficient, and well qualified. He is and has been admitted to practice in the courts here for some years, and everyone up here seems to think the District examinations for admission are severe.

The official records of the municipal court here will show that during the past year Mr. Patten has been our attorney in a case against a United States Senator, and in a case against a Member of the House, among others, and that single handed and alone he successfully prosecuted each case and secured everything we claimed.

I have known Mr. Patten personally for some time, and can state from personal conversation had with him four years ago, and from a knowledge of printing done for him at the time, that he favored and worked for the election of Woodrow Wilson as President.

Mr. Patten has represented and still represents a number of farmers' and patriotic organizations, which speak for the people, and whose principles are Democratic. Having been a lifelong Democrat myself, I am confident I know whereof I speak.

It is most astounding to hear that any such extraordinary statement was made, as your letter indicates, and particularly in the very section of the South to which I have heard him repeatedly refer as "home." I can not comprehend any respectable person making such a groundless allegation, and I am looking forward with much interest to learning from Mr. Patten, when he returns shortly, as I understand over the phone that he is expected back from South Carolina within a few days, the party and occasion for its having been made.

Very truly, yours,
C. F. SUDWARTH,
*President Sudwarth Printing Co.*

—

I have gone into the matter thoroughly because I have come to look upon Mr. Patten, whose "in-laws" live in this county, with much favor and pride. I know he has been doing and is doing a great work for the farmers, the plain folks, for humanity and right. I think I appreciate the need of his not being falsely accused and of his not being crippled as the result no doubt of the big selfish interests and others opposed to the objects he has in mind in fighting for the classes and the causes he represents. It is because of the fear that he might be crippled in his work as a result of men being imposed upon and him being put in a wholly wrong light, just as Congressman AIKEN seems to me clearly to have been misinformed about him and to have gotten the wrong ideas about him, precisely as the Congressman did about Carrier W. R. Clark, as shown by the letters he wrote the Post Office officials accusing Clark of things and painting as a creature he was later found not to be, Mr. AIKEN manfully apologizing for the mistake he made.

As a result of these convictions, I want to include two more letters, and then I am through, although there is much other evidence that can not be controverted, which I would like to include, but won't, as this letter has become quite lengthy. The first letter is from Senator HOKE SMITH of Georgia. It is as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
*Washington, D. C., May 24, 1916.*

Mr. V. B. CHESHIRE,
*Anderson, S. C.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 20th instant has been duly received and it gives me pleasure to reply to your inquiry.

I have known Mr. James H. Patten ever since I came to the Senate in December, 1911, and had heard of him previously through officers of the State and national farmers' unions, as the general counsel of the national union, and officer of other farmers' organizations.

I recall distinctly the origin of the market bill to which you refer. In January, 1912, when the national legislative committee of the Farmers' Union was in session in Washington, President Charles S. Barrett, ex-national president and ex-State president and chairman of the national legislative committee; Mr. R. F. Duckworth; National Secretary A. C. Davis; Mr. T. J. Brooks; and Mr. Patten, general counsel for the national organization, called on me several times to discuss the interests of the farmers and the people. One of the topics we discussed was the need of the Government doing something to stimulate the marketing of farm products. As the Federal Government was assisting in the matter of production, it seemed to me that something ought to be done to facilitate the marketing process, and I urged these men to outline a bill. They did so, and after going over it with them and making certain changes, I introduced it and secured its passage through the Senate.

It was with reference to this bill that I appeared before the House Committee on Agriculture, of which Congressman LEVER, of your State, was then a member and is now chairman. Mr. Patten, State president Dabbs, of your State, National Secretary Davis, and other members of the national legislative committee of the Farmers' Union also appearing and arguing in favor of the bill being reported, which was done later by the House committee. Mr. Patten appeared as general counsel for the National Farmers' Union, argued for the proposition, and introduced to the committee other officials of the Farmers' Union, who urged the reporting of the bill and its passage.

I may be mistaken as to all of the gentlemen whom I have mentioned having been engaged in support of the Bureau of Markets at the times stated, but it was with Mr. J. H. Patten, representing the National Farmers' Union, that I most frequently conferred, the other officers of the union having left the matter largely to his direction. I went over the bill with him a number of times, and I relied upon him to actively represent the National Union in connection with its passage.

Mr. Patten is most favorably known here and has done good work in behalf of the farmers and for the farmers' organizations which he has represented. I am glad to give you this information.

Yours, very truly,
HOKE SMITH.

The last letter is one written by the Senate Democratic leader, who was a presidential standard bearer with Bryan in 1896 and who I regard as the salt of the earth. Senator JOHN W. KERN wrote me as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
*Washington, D. C., June 3, 1916.*

VICTOR B. CHESHIRE, Esq.,
*Anderson, S. C.*

DEAR SIR: Answering your recent letter of inquiry will say that I have known Mr. James H. Patten since I have been in Washington and his relatives in Indiana for very many years. His uncle, Capt. James B. Patten, after whom he was named, was a very dear friend of mine and one of the best known and best loved Democrats in Indiana. He was a member of the State senate for years and held many other offices of trust and profit.

Our Mr. Patten's father, H. H. Patten, was also born in Indiana, and, like his brother, Capt. Patten, was a sturdy Democrat. His cousin, William T. Patten, Esq., the son of another brother, lives in my home city of Indianapolis and has just completed a term of four years as auditor of the county.

All the Pattens I have ever known are splendid Democrats, and I have no reason for otherwise regarding Mr. James H. Patten. I have known him and Mrs. Patten very pleasantly since I have been in Washington, they having lived at the same hotel with me. He and his wife are regarded highly by the many Congressmen living at that hotel and by everybody else here, so far as I know.

I understand Mr. Patten is identified with certain farmers' organizations, one of which, the Farmers' National Congress, meets in national session at Indianapolis next fall.

I am very glad to number Mr. and Mrs. Patten amongst my warm personal friends.

With kind regards, I am,
Yours, very truly,
JNO. W. KERN.

I thank you.
Very truly, yours,
V. B. CHESHIRE,
*Editor Farmer Tribune, Anderson, S. C.*

## The War and the Tariff.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN JACOB ROGERS,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, on January 27 last I made a speech, "The war and the tariff," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 1822. In the course of that speech I referred to the effect of the war on certain classes of exports from the United States. I desire to submit a table giving this information in greater detail and down to the 1st of June.

The table is as follows:

*Table showing effect of war orders on export trade of the United States.*

| Class. | Payne law. | | Underwood law. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Peace period. | | War period. | |
| | Oct., 1912–July, 1913. | Oct., 1913–July, 1914. | Aug., 1914–May, 1915. | Aug., 1915–May, 1916. |
| Aluminum and manufactures | $794,000 | $956,000 | $2,946,000 | $4,808,000 |
| Cattle: | | | | |
| Horses | 3,511,000 | 2,824,000 | 55,820,000 | 59,141,000 |
| Mules | 677,000 | 562,000 | 10,159,000 | 18,296,000 |
| Brass and manufactures | 6,755,000 | 6,184,000 | 15,779,000 | 128,388,000 |
| Breadstuffs and oats | 189,057,000 | 132,523,000 | 513,287,000 | 383,697,000 |
| Buttons and parts | 700,000 | 540,000 | 972,000 | 1,515,000 |
| Cars, carriages, etc., aeroplanes and parts | 74,000 | 201,000 | 1,115,000 | 5,755,000 |
| Autos and parts | 27,740,000 | 28,279,000 | 51,936,000 | 99,942,000 |
| Auto tires | 3,234,000 | 2,769,000 | 3,883,000 | 15,730,000 |
| Steam railway cars | 14,347,000 | 7,768,000 | 2,910,000 | 23,909,000 |
| Miscellaneous vehicles | 6,847,000 | 5,865,000 | 9,042,000 | 11,929,000 |
| Acids: | | | | |
| Sulphuric | 63,000 | 101,000 | 450,000 | 1,557,000 |
| All other | 302,000 | 302,000 | 2,238,000 | 18,274,000 |
| "Other" chemicals | 7,084,000 | 7,575,000 | 18,713,000 | 45,313,000 |
| Copper pigs, etc | 115,405,000 | 120,929,000 | 80,008,000 | 139,888,000 |
| Cotton manufactures: | | | | |
| Knit goods | 2,064,000 | 2,039,000 | 11,417,000 | 17,104,000 |
| All other | 5,253,000 | 5,213,000 | 13,413,000 | 9,140,000 |
| Eggs | 3,654,000 | 3,028,000 | 4,435,000 | 5,433,000 |
| Explosives | 4,395,000 | 5,480,000 | 29,032,000 | 398,229,000 |
| Fish | 8,722,000 | 11,623,000 | 10,605,000 | 18,045,000 |
| Fruit, dried | 13,152,000 | 8,744,000 | 10,786,000 | 13,020,000 |
| Fruit, canned | 3,902,000 | 3,606,000 | 5,667,000 | 6,528,000 |
| Hay | 821,000 | 642,000 | 1,578,000 | 2,505,000 |
| India-rubber goods | 8,442,000 | 7,273,000 | 8,094,000 | 14,469,000 |
| Instruments, and appliances, medical, surgical, and optical | 2,341,000 | 2,638,000 | 5,743,000 | 7,617,000 |

*Table showing effect of war orders on export trade of the United States*—Continued.

| Class. | Payne law. | | Underwood law. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Peace period. | | War period. | |
| | Oct., 1912–July, 1913. | Oct., 1913–July, 1914. | Aug., 1914–May, 1915. | Aug., 1915–May, 1916. |
| Iron and steel manufactures: | | | | |
| Bars, rods, blooms | $12,103,000 | $6,596,000 | $11,743,000 | $65,506,000 |
| Cutlery | 917,000 | 925,000 | 1,361,000 | 3,650,000 |
| Firearms | 3,585,000 | 2,749,000 | 8,244,000 | 13,943,000 |
| Horseshoes | 82,000 | 79,000 | 1,499,000 | 1,493,000 |
| Locomotives | 5,550,000 | 2,797,000 | 1,944,000 | 11,615,000 |
| Machine tools | 13,599,000 | 11,157,000 | 23,617,000 | 48,976,000 |
| Nails, wire | 1,939,000 | 1,249,000 | 1,913,000 | 5,697,000 |
| Rails, railway | 11,467,000 | 6,286,000 | 3,175,000 | 14,933,000 |
| Wire, barbed, etc | 8,342,000 | 6,481,000 | 11,168,000 | 32,029,000 |
| All other manufactures of iron and steel | 17,009,000 | 14,736,000 | 15,274,000 | [1] 116,424,000 |
| Leather, tanned skins, and manufactures: | | | | |
| Men's shoes | 9,282,000 | 8,077,000 | 13,110,000 | 31,731,000 |
| Saddles and harness | 641,000 | 706,000 | 15,871,000 | 5,076,000 |
| All other | 42,197,000 | 38,301,000 | 76,944,000 | 89,711,000 |
| Meat products | 128,474,000 | 114,798,000 | 169,430,000 | 220,908,000 |
| Dairy products | 2,722,000 | 2,417,000 | 11,159,000 | 19,657,000 |
| Oils, gas, and fuel | 7,051,000 | 12,959,000 | 15,317,000 | 20,776,000 |
| Distillates (except gasoline) | 11,475,000 | 4,715,000 | 7,420,000 | 24,185,000 |
| Paraffin | 7,560,000 | 5,298,000 | 8,886,000 | 10,167,000 |
| Vegetables, canned and other | 5,973,000 | 5,926,000 | 9,006,000 | 12,992,000 |
| Wool manufactures | 3,717,000 | 4,034,000 | 23,291,000 | 47,365,000 |
| Zinc manufactures | 1,005,000 | 279,000 | 18,265,000 | 38,283,000 |
| Articles not listed | 6,965,000 | 6,253,000 | 9,792,000 | 20,068,000 |
| Total, 47 classes | 734,476,000 | 630,657,000 | 1,360,266,000 | 2,383,598,000 |
| Total exports, 10-month period | 2,110,466,000 | 1,951,870,000 | 2,345,903,000 | 3,601,186,000 |
| Percentage, above classes | 35 | 32 | 60 | 66 |

[1] Includes shell steel.

## Resolution Expressing the Hope that Hereafter Great Britain Will Treat the Irish Revolutionists as Prisoners of War.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. L. C. DYER,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, on May 12 last I introduced in this House a resolution asking that—

**This House expresses the hope that His Britannic Majesty's Government will hereafter treat such prisoners as it has taken or may take in the act of attempted revolution in Ireland as prisoners of war in accordance with the rules of international law, and hold them immune from punishment as traitors, outlaws, or criminals.**

At the time I introduced this resolution I issued the following statement:

The measure which I have introduced is one which I am confident voices the sentiments of America with regard to the recent and present tragic occurrences in Ireland. Without distinction of class, creed, party, or opinion on the European war, Americans must sympathize with patriots who strike for freedom according to their conscientious view of their duty to their Nation and must abhor the execution of such men by the swift, secret, and pitiless operations of the court-martial.

It is not within the province of the Congress of the United States to express an opinion on the merits of a war existing between two other nations. It is, however, distinctly within the privilege of Congress to voice a sentiment which has swept the country as the sentiment of horror at the executions of Irish patriots has done. It is within the province of Congress to express an opinion that the laws of civilization should be observed when those laws are being so flagrantly disregarded. It is proper for Congress to hope, as surely we may hope, that the second thought of the English Government, harkening to the voice of the English people, will correct the harsh and cruel procedure which seems to have been adopted in a moment of panic.

"International law as set forth in The Hague conventions and in the United States Army Regulations, and as interpreted by the leading authorities, recognizes the right of rebels and revolutionists to treatment as belligerents or public enemies according to the laws of war, provided they are commanded by a responsible person, have a distinctive and recognizable emblem, carry arms openly, and conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war. All these requirements were met by the Irish rebels, who were for three or more years organized as the Irish volunteers and the citizens' army. They were commanded by officers, they were drilled, and they obeyed discipline. That they were subject to authority is shown by the fact that when the bitter order to surrender was given by their own chiefs, all whom that order reached obeyed. They bore arms openly, most of them were uniformed, and they fought according to the rules of war. The English Government accorded them belligerent rights while they retained their arms, as is conclusively proved by the negotiations carried on under flags of truce. International law as it stands to-day does, to be sure, sanction the treatment of men who have been recognized as belligerents as traitors after their capture. But this sanction, accorded by professors of the law who naturally side with established power, clearly runs counter to the dictates of fairness, chivalry, and humanity, and is seldom acted on. This rule of the international code should be revised to accord with the practice of the United States after the Civil War, when none of the brave soldiers of the Confederacy, though regarded as traitors, were treated as such. I maintain that our example in 1865 established a precedent which is in accord with the supreme law of civilization. These Irish prisoners should be treated as prisoners of war, and no other way. Their leaders were men of spotless character and nobility of motive comparable to Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and Hancock. The rank and file were the flower of Irish manhood, and whatever we may think, they thought they were following the footsteps of the founders of this Republic, with the same justification. They conceived Ireland and the Irish race as totally distinct from England and the English, entitled to full freedom, and under no obligation to their rulers for seven centuries of most tragic history. We can express only private judgment as to the correctness or incorrectness of these views, but in the light of American tradition, and in gratitude for the inestimable services of Irishmen to America, surely we may, recognizing the purity of their motives, voice without fear the American opinion that, having fought as soldiers, they should be treated as soldiers when captured."

The resolution went to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, where it has been ever since without action. Since that time Sir Roger Casement has been hanged by the British Government, and another great outrage against humanity and international law perpetrated. In the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Sunday, August 13, 1916, appeared the following article:

CASEMENT AND WASHINGTON.

To the EDITOR OF THE POST-DISPATCH:

The writer, signing himself "Real Mercy to All," expresses the characteristic sentiments of the extreme British Tory. He thinks that the American press is "quite right" in its criticism of the "hyphenates," but is influenced entirely by fear of the Irish vote in its condemnation of the Casement execution. The press, of course, overlooked the German vote when it rebuked the "hyphenates"; otherwise it would not have done so. Typical Tory logic.

What does "Real Mercy" think of George Washington? Like Casement, he also rebelled against English tyranny and "traitorously" accepted the assistance of England's enemy, France. The American Colonies belonged to England, but Ireland was stolen from the Irish by England. The wrongs of the American Colonists were petty compared with the centuries of persecution and suffering endured by the Irish in their struggles to free their native land. Was Washington a "murderer and traitor," who should have been "justly executed"? If a man robs you of your property and beats you nearly to death besides, is he justified in murdering you for trying to recover your property? That is what England did to Casement, the personification of Ireland's wrongs.

JEFF MACKAY.

The above in a few words tells how the American people look upon this execution of Sir Roger Casement and the other Irish patriots of some months ago. My resolution was intended to put an end to all this, and I am sure that my action was justified by all the circumstances. Shortly after introducing the resolution I presented to the Speaker a petition signed by a number of the Members of this House, asking action by the House. That petition was as follows:

To the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

We, the undersigned Members of the House of Representatives, believing that a great service can be rendered to the cause of humanity and to the cause of international law by the passage of House resolution 235, hereby petition you that by the publication of this memorial in the House the attention of the Committee on Foreign Affairs may be called to the desirability of action on said House resolution 235, which is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives, remembering how this Republic was erected by men who had the courage to shed their blood and to risk condign punishment for their country's sake, hereby expresses the horror of the American people at the summary execution by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Irish patriots, who, following the inspiration of the American Revolution and dedicating themselves to their country's cause as they conceived it, attempted, as an organized military force and under the forms of war, to erect a republican form of government; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That recalling how the American Revolution and the Civil War between these States furnish notable proofs that the cause of humanity is best served when established governments treat the participants in organized military operations against their authority as public enemies possessed of the rights of belligerents, this House expresses the hope that His Britannic Majesty's Government will hereafter treat such prisoners as it has taken or may take in the act of attempted revolution in Ireland as prisoners of war in accordance with the rules of international law and hold them immune from punishment as traitors, outlaws, or criminals."

L. C. DYER, twelfth district, Missouri; W. A. RODENBERG, twenty-second district, Illinois; JOSEPH TAGGART, second district, Kansas; JAMES A. HAMILL, twelfth district, New Jersey; JACOB E. MEEKER, tenth district, Missouri; JEFF MCLEMORE, at large, Texas; WM. J. CARY, fourth district, Wisconsin; THOMAS GALLAGHER, eighth district, Illinois; M. F. FARLEY, fourteenth district, New York; CLYDE H. TAVENNER, fourteenth district, Illinois; MARTIN DIES, second district, Texas; WILLIAM S. BENNET, twenty-third district, New York; WILLIAM W. WILSON, third district, Illinois; JOHN F. CAREW, seventeenth district, New York; JOHN J. FITZGERALD, seventh district, New York; ISAAC SIEGEL, twentieth district, New York; M. E. BURKE, second district, Wisconsin; OSCAR CALLAWAY, twelfth district, Texas; C. O LOBECK, second district, Nebraska; B. C. HILLIARD, first district, Colorado; JOHN J. ESCH, seventh district, Wisconsin; DANIEL J. MCGILLICUDDY, second district, Maine; CARL C. VAN DYKE, fourth district, Minnesota; P. D. NORTON, third district, North Dakota; N. J. SINNOTT, second district, Oregon; JAMES P. GLYNN, fifth district, Connecticut; STEPHEN G. PORTER, twenty-ninth district, Pennsylvania.

I received many letters and telegrams and clippings from the press of the country commending me for my action, and convincing me that the patriotic sentiment of the United States was for action by this Nation as outlined in that resolution. Yet nothing has been done; and as this session of Congress is about to adjourn without action, I insert some of these in the RECORD, that the people may know how greatly we have neglected an opportunity to do something for the patriotic people of Ireland, as follows:

BREWSTER, MASS, *May 13.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR SIR: I earnestly hope that something similar to your resolution will be sent to England at once. I am neither of Irish nor German descent, but English and Welsh, and I love England, and I am horrified to see her stoop to such atrocities.

Yours, sincerely,
Mrs. GRACE E. ASHTON.

—

3549 OLIVE STREET,
*St. Louis, Mo., May 25, 1916.*

Hon. LEONIDAS C. DYER,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Friends of Irish Freedom, held Thursday evening, May 18, 1916, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas Congressman DYER, of St. Louis, has introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives expressing the horror of the American people at the summary execution of those Irish patriots who fought for the same ideals which the fathers of our country fought for against the same oppressor: Be it

*Resolved*, That we, the Friends of Irish Freedom in St. Louis, hereby express our sincere appreciation of his stand for liberty for which our kinsmen have so gallantly fought once more and of his sympathy for the brave men who gave their lives for the principles so dear to every true American heart which beats in unison with the spirit of '76.

Very truly, yours,
JAMES J. O'PHELAN, *Secretary.*

—

ST. LOUIS, *May 13, 1916.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. DYER: Your fine resolution introduced yesterday is the subject here of much comment, and I sincerely hope you will press it to passage. A vigorous debate supporting its sentiments would still more rivet the attention of the world on the hypocrisy and tyranny of the self-styled protector and guardian of small nations struggling for liberty.

Yours, sincerely,
O'NEILL RYAN.

Entirely sympathizing with above.

Truly, yours,
THOMAS MOON.

—

ST. LOUIS, *May 12, 1916.*

Hon. L. C. DYER, *Washington.*

DEAR SIR: It is to be hoped that the resolution mentioned in the attached press clipping will be passed as an act of humanity.

We hear a lot in the press against the men in Dublin for their attempt to establish a republican form of government and realize the ideal of Emmett, but I believe every American, regardless of the blood in his veins, feels that even in their failure to effect their aim they should be treated with regard for the high ideal which prompted their acts. Had we after the Civil War shot Davis and Lee, how England would have howled and held us up to derision of mankind. It is the inherent right of every people to take forceful action to recover their liberty or to establish it, and any party or person who holds the contrary to be the case can not be regarded as a believer in the government of the people. The people of Ireland are held to the Government

of England by force of arms, and it is only by the same force they can be freed. The Dublin revolt was caused by the fact that the English Government had planned to disarm and disband the Irish citizen forces and then to enforce the draft act against all Irishmen, and those who led the revolt only died in Ireland in place of being forced to die in France. Had they gone to France to fight for England and been captured by the Germans, they would not have been shot, so why should they be shot by the English for fighting for their own land and the right to govern same?

It does not seem proper that such a resolution as yours had to wait until now, as it seems to me it should have been fathered by the present Government, who we hear are very strong for the "rights of humanity"; so we hope they will support your resolution, unless it be that the Irish are not considered to be human and to have any rights. Anyway, you did the right thing, and good will surely come of it. With best wishes, I beg to remain,

Respectfully, yours,

DAN HOGAN.

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JEFFERSON CITY, MO., *May 14, 1916.*

Hon. L. C. DYER,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: As one of the many who love fair play, "even in war," and justice to all, allow me to thank you for the resolution offered on the murder of the Irish patriots at Dublin. Though they may have been deceived and misguided, who can blame them for being ready to do or die for their country? Also your remarks as given in Globe-Democrat.

Yours, respectfully,

J. W. RUTHVEN.

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[Telegram.]

NEW YORK, N. Y., *May 14, 1916.*

Congressman DYER,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:*

Congratulations on your true American-spirited resolution condemning British Government murder of Irish insurrectionary-war prisoners.

LEITRIM MEN'S ASSOCIATION,
Per JAS. F. P. KELLY,
*Chairman Pro Tempore.*

---

MAY 12, 1916.

Representative DYER,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Permit me to thank you for introducing the resolution expressing the horror of the American people at the execution of Irish revolutionists.

While the same can not undo the murders, the same may prevent any further executions, and I trust that the proper steps are being taken by the committee to whom the resolution was referred so that the same may become known to the English authorities.

Very truly, yours,

L. WITSENHAUSEN
*37 Maiden Lane, New York.*

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GALESBURG, ILL., *May 12, 1916.*

Representative DYER,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have just now read a copy of your resolution with regard to the leaders of the Irish rebellion in to-night's paper. It pleased me very much to read of it, and I hope that our Nation will show, by adopting it, that it takes the stand for freedom that it has always taken. As an American, as a citizen of the United States, and as an Illinoisan, I want to thank you for introducing that resolution into the House. While it may not be very patriotic to think of one State above another, yet I can not help but feel glad that your resolution has come from one of the States of the Mississippi Valley.

Please pardon the brevity of the address of this letter, but the newspaper account did not give your first name or initials, and though I have often read of your work in Congress before, I have forgotten them.

Yours, truly,

JOSIAH BABCOCK.

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BOSTON, MASS., *May 13, 1916.*

Hon. Mr. DYER,
*Representative from Missouri, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Good for you and your resolutions.

More power to you.

Yours, truly,

E. S. CONNOLLY,
*2576 Washington Street.*

---

BOSTON, *May 18, 1916.*

Hon. L. C. DYER, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In behalf of the committee whose names are appended to the resolutions herewith inclosed, I send you the same for whatever use you may see fit to make of them.

The sentiments therein expressed are the unanimous sentiments not only of the Irish clubs of Boston but of every man, woman, and child in Boston of Irish blood or extraction. However their views may have differed in the past as to Ireland's duty and responsibility in the present European struggle, they speak as one man in denouncing the British Government for the barbarous outrages perpetrated not only upon Irish prisoners of war but, in some instances, as we learn, upon the unarmed and defenseless civilian population as well.

Doubtless outrages have been committed by both sides in the terrible conflict being waged in Europe, but, as far as I have been able to discover, no Government except England's has openly sanctioned the execution of prisoners of war upon surrender or capture in open conflict. No troops save those of England and no naval forces except England's in that great struggle have stooped to murder their prisoners of war. The executed Dublin revolutionists and the murdered German sailors upon the steamship *Baralong* brands England as the foulest and most contemptible among the nations of the world.

Proud America must hang her head in shame and acknowledge that she has been deceived by the so-called self-styled champion of small nations. The people of Irish birth and blood in Boston heartily indorse the resolutions now before Congress of which you are the author, and in behalf of the Irish clubs of Boston I will ask you to kindly accept their sincere thanks.

Trusting that your efforts may be crowned with success and that the American Nation will honor itself by condemning those atrocities and adopting your resolutions, I am,

Yours, very truly,

MICHAEL F. O'MALLEY.

IRISH COUNTY CLUBS SCORE ENGLAND.

Resolutions denouncing Britain for brutal inhumanity were passed at the regular meeting of the Central Council of Irish County Clubs of Massachusetts, representing 18,000 members.

The resolutions were:

"Whereas the revolution in Ireland, which resulted in the massacre, torture, court-martial, execution, and cold-blooded murder of men of our race, has astounded the civilized world, which has heard so much of England's justice and civilization during the past two years and of her fight for humanity and on behalf of the small peoples of Europe, heard her hypocritical plea for the restoration of Belgium and Serbia, and all her many plausible tales of righteousness; and

"Whereas those Irish prisoners of war were not accorded the treatment which is given to prisoners of war in every civilized land and recognized by England herself in South Africa since the outbreak of the present European war, but were ruthlessly murdered after a so-called trial by court-martial by order of British officers who have so frequently during the present European conflict proven their utter inability to fight troops who could meet them on equal terms, while others were not even given such a trial, but were shot down in cold blood to appease the bloodthirsty and cowardly scoundrels who represented His Majesty, 'King George'; and

"Whereas these heartless ruffians, true to the traditions of English brutality against defenseless victims of its power, shamefully and cruelly tortured Irish prisoners, some of whom were mere boys, to force them to betray their brethren:

"*Resolved*, That we, the Central Council of Irish County Associations, representing the 32 counties of Ireland in Greater Boston, irrespective of religious belief or political views, in meeting assembled, do hereby lift our voices in denunciation of the British Government for having, through its military officers, brutally murdered in cold blood several of our fellow countrymen and inflicted upon others untold tortures and agonies under the guise of military law, and at which atrocities the whole civilized world stands aghast;

"*Resolved*, That we appeal to all liberty-loving Americans to denounce England for these, her latest acts of tyranny and barbarity against a weak and defenseless people, whom she has ruthlessly oppressed for generations for no other reason than their steadfast and unyielding struggle for justice and liberty.

"JOHN S. SMYTH, *President.*
"JOHN J. HICKEY, *Secretary.*
"M. F. O'MALLEY.
"PATRICK J. DROMGOOLE.
"DENNIS J. CARROLL.
"J. J. MCCARTHY.
"RICHARD F. CARROLL."

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[From the Gaelic American, New York, May 20, 1916.]

THE RESOLUTION APPROVED.

Strong approval of Representative DYER'S resolution has already been expressed by numerous Members of the House. It is a fact that most of these expressions of sympathy have come from Republicans, but many Democrats are also known to be favorable, and while it is the fate of most resolutions to rest quietly in committee, there is hope that this measure will soon be acted on.

A very interesting thing about it is that Representative LEONIDAS C. DYER is of what is called "old American stock," though the name is probably a modification of Dwyer, and his remoter ancestors may have been among the numerous Irish immigrants of the early days. His family has a patriotic record which he has sustained. His father was a captain in the Union Army, and his uncle, now Federal Judge D. P. Dyer, was a colonel. LEONIDAS C. DYER himself served through the Santiago campaign, and is now National Commander in Chief of the Spanish War Veterans. He is a Republican, and the city of St. Louis, in which is located the twelfth congressional district of Missouri, may well be proud of him.

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[From the Irish World, New York, May 20, 1916.]

ENGLAND'S BLOODTHIRSTINESS DENOUNCED IN CONGRESS—RESOLUTION INTRODUCED EXPRESSING "THE HORROR OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AT THE SUMMARY EXECUTION BY HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH PATRIOTS"—ENGLAND REMINDED OF THE NOBLE EXAMPLE SET BY AMERICA—SHE IS ASKED TO TREAT CAPTURED IRISH INSURGENTS "AS PRISONERS OF WAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW."

WASHINGTON, *May 12, 1916.*

Representative DYER introduced a resolution to-day asking Congress formally to denounce the action of the British Government for its execution of the leaders of the Irish rebellion. Congressman LEONIDAS C. DYER, of St. Louis, Mo., is a man of American stock, whose father and uncle were officers in the Union Army during the Civil War. Mr. DYER is a veteran of the Santiago campaign, and is National Commander of the Spanish War Veterans. In politics he is a Republican, and it would seem to be part of the penalty the Democratic Party is paying for the Toryism of the administration, that it was left to a Republican to ask Congress to raise its voice in behalf of Ireland.

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[From the New York Freemen's Journal, May 20, 1916.]

William Dean Howells, the distinguished American author, voices the verdict of the American people when he says:

"The shooting of the Irish insurrectionists is too much like the shooting of prisoners of war. * * * England has aroused the moral sense of mankind against her."

In these words there is sounded the keynote of American sentiment. It was again sounded in Congress when Congressman DYER, of Missouri, introduced in the National House of Representatives his resolution.

The vast throng that crowded Carnegie Hall of this city last Sunday night gave vent to the feelings that dominate men and women of the Irish race in every part of this land. The speeches delivered and the resolutions adopted demonstrate that England by murdering 15 Irish patriots has flung a challenge at the Irish race the world over. Irish-Americans have accepted the challenge and have set themselves to the task of proving to England that she can not murder their Irish brothers with impunity. The issue is now made up. John Dillon outlined it a few days ago in the House of Commons when he said:

"You are letting loose a river of blood between two races which after 300 years of hatred we had nearly succeeded in bringing together. You are washing out our whole life work in a sea of blood."

Such is the outcome of England's giving way to her brutal instincts in murdering Padraic Pearse and his fellow Irish patriots.

## River and Harbor Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. STEPHEN M. SPARKMAN,
OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 12193) making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, the statement to which the House has just listened recites substantially the agreement between the House and the Senate conferees upon the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, so that very little need be said by myself or anyone else in explanation of the report. As the bill left the House it carried $39,680,000. As it came back to the House from the Senate, it aggregated $44,448,000. As a result of the conference this was reduced by $1,562,000, leaving cash and authorizations $42,886,000. There are some items of increase, however, in this bill to which I wish to call the attention of the House. One is the Passes at the mouth of the Mississippi River. That was increased from $400,000, as the House had it, to $1,000,000, and was made necessary by reason of a gale that passed over the upper Gulf region last fall, injuring several of the navigable waterways of that region, including the South and Southwestern Passes, the latter to such an extent as to make the additional amount necessary.

Now, when the bill was before the House I had some idea that a request for an increase would be made, but no estimate was before us, otherwise I should have asked that the necessary amount be put in the bill, because it is very necessary that those passes into the Gulf be kept open; hence the House conferees experienced little difficulty in agreeing to the increase. The same is true in reference to an item for Port Bolivar, where the amount was increased from $25,000 to $50,000, the increase having been made necessary as a result of the hurricane to which reference has been made.

Another item to which I wish to call attention, but which as a result of the conference goes out of this bill, is what is known as the Illinois waterway, a State project in its inception, having for its purpose the connection of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. The State of Illinois passed a law some years ago authorizing the construction of a canal connecting Lake Michigan, through the so-called Drainage Canal, with the Mississippi River. It requires the authorization of Congress to carry on this work, and the purpose of the Senate amendment was to grant such authority. At the last moment, when the proposition was before the Senate, an amendment was tacked on to the original Senate amendment restricting the amount of water that could be taken out of Lake Michigan through this drainage canal to 250,000 cubic feet per minute. The matter therefore presented two propositions, at least, to the House conferees: First, whether we should take on the project at all; second, if we adopted it, whether we should also accept the provision limiting the amount of water to be taken from the lake.

The House conferees were opposed to both propositions. To the first because we thought the time had not arrived for the beginning of that work. Besides, it has not been examined by us with that thoroughness we are accustomed to give all projects, especially those of such great importance. It may be a good project; it may be something that ought to be done; but, not having had time to investigate it, we were not prepared to pass upon it intelligibly. If the interests now behind the proposition should still desire congressional action, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors will be glad to go into the matter and give it full consideration in the near future.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Certainly.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was any consideration given by the committee to the amount of flowage going through the drainage canal as it lowered the lake levels of Lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie, and even Ontario?

Mr. SPARKMAN. To some extent, I will say to the gentleman, but not as thorough a consideration as ought to be given to a proposition of that kind.

Mr. STAFFORD. The mere elimination of the Senate amendment was not because the House was not in sympathy with the limitation of flowage of water through that canal?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Not at all.

Mr. REILLY. Did the committee get any information as to how much water is taken out now?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Something like 400,000 cubic feet.

Mr. REILLY. They go beyond the 250,000?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes; and in just a moment I will answer that question.

As I was saying, we were opposed to the original proposition without further investigation, and not having time to give it that thorough consideration its importance demanded, we concluded it ought to go out. I was also opposed to the amendment on account of the provision limiting the amount of water to be taken. I had theretofore given some thought to the subject. I had had occasion from time to time to consult the reports of the Government engineers on the subject with a view to determining, in so far as was possible, the amount of water that could, with safety to the navigation interests of the lakes, be discharged through that canal. But even now I must say I have not any clearly defined idea on the subject. There is a suit however, pending in the United States courts, having for its purpose the settling of that question, and it may be determined in that litigation. If now, however, and anyone wishes to present the proposition to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, we will be glad to have hearings and thrash the matter out as best we can. We, of course, want to do what is right, but at present we do not know what is right, at least I do not. We do not want to injure the great city of Chicago or her people, nor do we wish to destroy or injure the navigability of any harbor on the Great Lakes or the shipping interests there. The paramount consideration is, of course, navigation. But along with that in this case is sanitation in the Chicago district, both of which may and should be considered together.

Mr. REILLY. At the present time the flowage is absolutely in the discretion of the Secretary of War, is it not?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

Mr. REILLY. Does not the gentleman think there ought to be some legislation at some future time making that a permanent matter of legislation instead of leaving it to his discretion?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Maybe so, but we will have to know a good deal more before we can legislate wisely on the subject.

Mr. REILLY. You do not think the committee has sufficient information on it at this time to make any recommendation of that kind?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I do not think so.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The fact is the committee has never investigated it?

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is true.

Now, with reference to new projects, it is well known by every Member here, I presume, that the House committee did not include any new projects in the bill, and that as it left the House none were embraced therein, save and except that portion of the East River project which provides for a deeper channel from New York Harbor to the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

I was sanguine enough to indulge the hope that no other new project would be inserted by the Senate. But that body saw proper to include several, and we did the best we could to eliminate them, with only partial success, for several still remain. However, we excluded some of them—for instance, the harbor of refuge at Duck Island. True, a provision still remains for work there, but it is purely for maintenance. The new project we struck out. The part remaining is only for maintenance.

The project for the improvement of the Narrows of Lake Champlain was also taken out. It is a good project, an excellent one, one that ought to be taken care of; but the Government engineer whom we consulted told us that this bill would probably not get through in time to make contracts for any work to be done there between now and next spring; that the water is frozen in the wintertime; that there was no urgent need of appropriating money now or adopting the project at this time; and that if it is cared for in the next river and harbor bill the work can be done about as early as if adopted now. And let me say right here that we propose, if possible, to have a bill with new projects in it at the next session. Further, that I see no reason now why this project should not be taken care of in that measure.

Another new item is that for the Savannah River at Augusta; but it is really not a new project. It is a maintenance proposition, and we let it remain in the bill.

The item for the removal of the middle ground in the harbor at Key West, Fla., went out. There has been no survey, nor any project covering it has been recommended by the engineers. This is a piece of work, however, that, in my judgment, ought to be done. Key West occupies a very important position on the Straits of Florida, and the commerce there is growing quite rapidly, so that this work will be needed in the near future. Indeed, in my judgment, it is needed now.

The same is true of the Sabine-Neches project, and partially so for that of the improvement of the harbor at Arcadia, Mich.

Neither of them was based upon a project recommended by the engineers. The bill, however, carries surveys for the harbor at Key West and the proposed cut-offs on the Sabine-Neches Canal.

The New London Harbor is one we left in. The people are building a pier and other terminals there at a cost of about $1,000,000, and most of this amount has been spent upon the work. We thought in fairness to the people there who are thus trying to help themselves the item should remain in the bill. I for one believe that such a display of interest in a project and of the commerce of an important port should be encouraged.

The provision for the improvement of Black Rock Harbor, N. Y., also remains in the bill. While this is, in a sense, a new project the item appropriates no money, as the work is to be done with funds heretofore furnished and yet in the hands of the engineers.

The St. Clair River project is one, in my judgment, of very great importance. The engineers say it is necessary to do the work without unnecessary delay, as, on account of the congested condition of the commerce in those waters, there is constant danger of collisions and other accidents to vessels, many of which have already occurred, resulting in great loss to vessels and shipping.

Two of these new projects are in California, one for the improvement of San Diego Harbor, the other the harbor at Los Angeles. Both are worthy and the work called for much needed. Under conditions imposed by the provision for the San Diego project the Government obtains, as a local contribution, 500 acres of valuable land near the city and contiguous to the navigable waters of the harbor.

The project for the improvement of Los Angeles is also adopted contingent upon certain conditions of local participation, which is estimated to cost nearly a million of dollars, almost, if not quite, as much as the amount to be expended by the Government. Moreover, this is an urgent improvement and is designed for the purpose of diverting the flood waters of the Los Angeles, San Gabriel, and connecting waters from the Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors, into which these streams flow after heavy and torrential rains, and often with disastrous effect, as they at such times carry down large quantities of silt, completely blocking the harbor at some places to useful navigation. These floods are liable to occur at any time during the rainy season, and the House conferees thought that if any new projects were to be adopted, this being one among the most urgent, might be permitted to stand. Similar reasons, together with the fact that we could not eliminate all the new projects inserted at the other end of the Capitol without unduly delaying or imperiling the passage of the bill, caused us to agree to the retention of some of them. But I can assure the House that none have gone in that are unworthy, and that ought not to be adopted in the near future.

In this connection I will again call attention to the necessity for a bill at an early day, with the inclusion of new projects therein. Three years have now passed since any were adopted. During this time we have only been taking care of old work; projects theretofore adopted, mainly in the bill of 1910, and those of prior years. Since the bill of 1913 something like a hundred and fifty new projects have been recommended by the engineers, and are now before Congress awaiting action. The most of these are meritorious and urgent. I therefore hope that in the interest of commerce—yes, in the interest of preparedness, both for peace and war—the next bill, the one due at the short session of this Congress, may carry all such of these projects as are meritorious and pressing.

The delay in the passage of this bill has not perhaps cost the Government much up to date, but from now on every day's delay will result in loss, and this loss will grow heavier as its passage is deferred, and were it to fail entirely the loss would run into millions.

The failure of the bill of 1914 to become a law until some time in October of that year cost the Government directly nearly a million dollars, and indirectly nearly as much more; that, too, at a time when there was a large surplus on hand amounting to twenty or thirty millions of dollars. Now there is very little for any of the projects left unexpended since the close of the last fiscal year. Hence, the loss in the laying up of plants, the deterioration of work already done, and other direct losses would be considerable.

But, Mr. Speaker, who wants the bill to fail? Who desires that the work on the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Delaware, the Columbia and other rivers should cease? Who would like to see the work on our harbors, great or small, stop, and the easy and economical flow of commerce even partially impeded by the failure of Congress to furnish the necessary money for the continuation of these great works, for great and important they are. Few, I hope and believe. But if the work is to go on, if it is not to encounter a serious setback, the conference report must be adopted without delay.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I know this bill, even as a whole, as well as in some of its details, has been severely criticized. At the same time I know, and a majority of this House knows, that these criticisms have been and are unjust. That there are degrees of merit among the projects for which we are appropriating money in this bill is true. That some of them are more urgent than others we know, but I maintain that all of them have merit and are clearly in line with the policy pursued by Congress for the past quarter of a century, and especially since and including the year 1896. In fact, all of the projects thus criticized, with a single exception, I believe—that of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal—were adopted prior to the bill of 1912, the first framed by the committee since I have had the honor of being its chairman.

In this connection, I can not do better than to quote from some remarks I made on this floor in 1914, when the river and harbor bill of that year was pending in the Senate, where it was being severely criticized. After calling attention to those criticisms, and in discussing the nature of the bill, I then said:

After all, Mr. Speaker, what is the nature of the measure that seems to provoke such harsh language on the part of the gentleman from Wisconsin and a few others? Why, sir, it is a bill for the improvement of the navigable waters throughout the country in order that their efficiency may be increased so that they may aid the people, exporters and importers, shippers, farmers, manufacturers, and producers everywhere in reaching the consumers with the greatest ease and at the lowest possible cost, to the end that all, producers and consumers alike, may be benefited. It is a bill proposed in response to an economic, commercial, and popular demand, nation wide in its sweep, for liberal treatment of our rivers and harbors—a bill framed on the same lines and of like character, both in detail and substance, in purpose and effect, with its predecessors for the past 20 years and more.

Since 1894 there have been nine general rivers and harbors bills enacted into law, one for each of the years 1896, 1899, 1902, 1905, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913. That of 1896 carried cash and authorizations amounting to $76,195,570.37, being the largest in amount of any that had up to that time passed. In addition, it was the largest in the number of projects treated of any that has ever passed Congress, and may be said to have marked the beginning of the present liberal policy toward our navigable waterways.

True, the bill of 1899 was relatively a small one, only aggregating $36,730,166.07; the next bill, however, that of 1902, was much more liberal, carrying $65,107,602. Again, the bill of 1905 was not large as compared with the preceding one, only appropriating and authorizing $35,355,533.04; but this was followed in 1907 by a bill carrying in all $86,872,432, the largest by far that was ever enacted. Indeed, it was twice as large as the pending measure when it left the House. Nor were those the only efforts made during that time to enact river and harbor legislation, for in 1901 a bill framed by the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House, during the chairmanship of the Hon. T. E. Burton, had passed the House and was sent to the Senate carrying $59,935,415. There, however, it was talked to death by a Senator who, having determined to kill the measure, procured and held the floor in a so-called discussion of its provisions until the session came to a close on the 4th of March of that year.

This was a very meritorious bill and ought to have passed, but the language used by that Senator and one or two others in its denunciation was almost if not quite as harsh as any used in criticism of this bill. For instance, in opening his remarks on the conference report, this Senator said:

"Mr. President, I have no hesitation in saying in the presence of the Senate that the basis upon which this bill and all river and harbor bills for a dozen years, within the scope of my knowledge, have been constructed is vicious and entirely contrary to just and equitable principles of legislation. Any Senator who will carefully read this bill and in conjunction with it the report upon which it is based will inevitably be driven to the conclusion, unhappy though that conclusion may be and humiliating as it is, that the bill is framed, constructed, and completed upon the despicable principle of division and silence."

Later on in the debate another Senator characterized it as "one of those iniquitous measures that is attempted to be passed upon each and every occasion by interesting this, that, and the other Senator in this, that, and the other State." He further expressed the belief that it was "an iniquitous measure—to use," as he said, "the vulgar term, a steal."

I only make these quotations, Mr. Speaker, to show not only that like criticisms of river and harbor bills have been going on for many years, but that one of the best measures ever introduced into Congress did not escape the severest condemnation. The bill was not only a highly meritorious measure, but was framed upon lines identical with others before and since, including the present, some of which passed without serious criticism.

After 1901 criticism ceased, or was considerably reduced in volume and vehemence, for several years. The defeat of the bill, however, of that year was not popular with the people of the country, but was severely condemned by them; and, noting the ease with which even a meritorious measure could be killed on its way to the statute books, they began to demand the enactment of annual bills. But it was not until 1890, and under the leadership of that able and progressive statesman, Hon. D. S. Alexander, who was then chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, that we embarked upon that plan. This measure was followed by three other measures—those of 1911, 1912, and 1913—all along the same line of policy we had been pursuing for nearly two decades—that of improving the navigable waterways of the country as rapidly as possible to their full economic capacity. These measures met with little or no criticism. But when the bill of 1914—one among the best that had ever been framed—was before Congress, and after 12 years of acquiescence in that line of policy by everyone, after its hearty approval by the great bulk of the people, and after we had appropriated more than $375,000,000 in pursuance of that

policy, a perfect storm of criticism began, which has been kept up ever since, some of the parties indulging therein no doubt believing that their political advancement would be more certain and rapid by such a course.

The two bills of 1914 and 1915, leaving the House in the usual form of appropriations for each project treated, came back to us with all such items stricken out and lump-sum appropriations recommended. These we accepted because it was found that it was the only way to keep the great work of river and harbor improvement going on and of preventing great loss to the Treasury and to the commerce of the country.

This bill now comes back to us unchanged in form. The other law-making body has returned to the old practice of treating individual projects on their merits, recognizing the right of Congress to say how much money shall be appropriated for each in a river and harbor bill, the only substantial change being to include several new projects, which the House, with one exception, declined to do. And I think we are to be felicitated and the country congratulated on this return to saner methods in dealing with this great work.

Mr. Speaker, there is no political advantage to be gained by the wholesale denunciation of river and harbor bills, as some have already ascertained and as others will discover in the future. The people—a large majority of them—want this work to continue, and they will have it go on despite criticisms, no matter from what source they may come.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, in giving consideration to the bill presented to this House to-day we are exercising one of the greatest powers vested in the National House of Representatives by our Constitution, namely, the "power to lay and collect taxes to pay for the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

Every citizen as a unit of his Government must bear his proportional tax in accordance with the value of his property and the increased efficiency and strength of his country. A nation's wealth, I contend, depends upon its resources, the virtue of its citizens, and the ingenuity of its workingmen. The highest motive of any Government is to protect and safeguard its citizens in their social, commercial, and economic lives. The prosperity of to-day, however, differs from that of any other previous time during the past 30 years, in that it is shared by our whole people.

The farmer, the laborer, and the business man have all shared in this prosperity. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the committee upon whom devolved the task of framing the revenue bill, I do not hesitate in saying that in designing this far-reaching and vital measure we have avoided, as far as possible, all partisanship or politics. If we are to respond to the seeming popular demand for greater preparedness and if we are to meet the unprecedented conditions confronting us to-day, it becomes necessary for us to pass the pending revenue bill. Heretofore the cost of maintaining the National Government was met by the imposition of taxes, which increased the cost of living; but it is a pleasure for me to state that the plan devised by our committee proposes to raise $225,000,000 additional revenue and not one cent of it will be put on the shoulders of the farmer or the laborer. We propose to derive this amount of revenue by taxing incomes, large inheritances, and munition manufacturers—those who can well afford to pay a tax in return for the amount of protection their interests demand of the Government.

Under the emergency revenue act we levied a series of stamp taxes, which, while they were not a heavy tax, yet they were cumbersome and a great inconvenience to the business man—I refer to the stamp taxes on checks, documents, bills of lading, and so forth. In this connection I might state that I was in a measure responsible for the elimination of these stamp taxes, having made the motion in the committee to strike out all those sections of the emergency act relating to stamp taxes.

As I stated a few minutes ago, Mr. Speaker, if the United States must increase her military and naval strength and maintain that degree of prosperity which now prevails throughout our land, we must of necessity provide means for raising money to carry these plans into effect.

When our committee met to draft this measure, we realized that we were confronted by a condition and not a theory. We realized that unprecedented conditions prevail throughout the world, and these conditions have made a marked impression on our land.

With all the facts at hand we drafted a measure that is nonpartisan, businesslike, and will meet all exigencies that may arise. At least it is so sound and so far nonpartisan as to place any Member of the minority in great peril who does not support it. It is a measure which I honestly believe meets with the hearty approval of the people of the United States.

We have provided revenue in the amount of $225,000,000 to derived from three principal sources—from incomes, vast inheritances, and manufacturers of munitions.

First. An increased income tax:

The increase in the income tax will produce more than $100,000,000. As an explanation of this tax permit me to say that under the provisions of the bill before us we will be able to double the normal income tax and levy an additional sur tax, commencing with 3 per cent on incomes of $20,000 and graduating up to 12 per cent on annual incomes of $500,000 or more. We have placed the income exemption of single persons at $3,000 and married persons at $4,000. This phase of the income-tax provision is the same as found in the measure enacted two years ago.

Second. The Federal estate tax:

The revenue bill also provides for a tax upon inheritances exceeding $50,000. If the Senate sees the advisability of concurring with the committee in this provision we would produce $17,000,000 the first year and $54,000,000 each year following. We have been considerate in designing the rates on estates, in that we made allowance for administrative expenses, mortgages, loss by fire or storm not covered by insurance, and so forth; all these items we do not propose to include in taxing the estates. While it is true that most of our States levy an inheritance tax, yet they have never been a source of large revenue. Of the 42 States having such laws a total of about $25,000,000 only is derived. According to the plan of the inheritance tax bill the Federal Government will receive $17,000,000 for the year ending June, 1917, and the sum of $54,000,000 each succeeding year. In fixing the minimum at $50,000 we have been mindful of the widows and orphans who might otherwise be burdened with a tax and who could least afford it.

Third. The munitions tax:

The third method of taxation we designed was on the manufacture of munitions of war. We believe that this industry has been remarkably stimulated, due to extraordinary conditions, and they are able to share largely in furnishing a part of the additional revenue needed. I dare say, Mr. Speaker, 99 per cent of the people of the United States will heartily indorse the tax on munitions. Many of our citizens, directly or indirectly connected with the manufacture of guns, ammunition, and so forth, have made the loudest wail for more adequate armies, a better Navy, and more coast defense, and therefore they should help pay for such increased preparedness. I shall not take the time to fully discuss this subject, but I can not refrain from stating that I never sanctioned or boasted of the tremendous increase of business made by munition manufacturers, which is, to a large extent, due to the European war.

This tax is very reasonable, and I favored a heavier tax on this industry, inasmuch as this source of revenue would cease with the close of the war.

#### TARIFF COMMISSION.

The creation of a tariff commission has been advocated by the farmer, the banker, and the business man for a number of years. The subject was brought up and exhaustively discussed in several administrations. Many plans were submitted, but none of them found practical until the Democratic administration presented a bill for the establishment of such a commission that was absolutely nonpartisan and nonpolitical. We have long hoped for a commission that could effectively regulate tariff schedules to cope with conditions and emergencies as they might arise. We have all contended that the tariff should not be made a "football of party politics," because its final adjustment must consult the welfare of the citizen, the consumer, the producer, and the business man. As an indispensable means to the final settlement of this vital question I am proud to state our committee has taken action to provide for a permanent tariff commission, created on strictly nonpartisan, scientific, and eco-

nomic principles. Upon coming into power, this administration, always progressive in its ideas, realized that the time had come when we must emancipate the tariff issue from its century of existence as a part of party politics. We realized that public sentiment not only favored it, but demanded a tariff commission. In giving favorable consideration to the bill as presented by the Ways and Means Committee for such a commission, this House has the golden opportunity to meet that popular demand—an opportunity unsurpassed in the history of the country, and I believe we will avail ourselves of that opportunity.

I have always contended that tariff legislation must be of a nature that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry. In fact, any legislation which a Congress may deem necessary to enact should not disturb or disrupt the business situation. No administration should be so prejudiced or so narrow as to wantonly delay action on urgent questions that vitally affect the economic or commercial welfare of a nation. I am gratified to know that it can not be said of this administration that we have overlooked any vital issue or refused to act at the critical time.

We do not hesitate to legislate to meet new conditions; we realize that there must be some modifications and readjustments of the present tariff schedules to the end that legitimate enterprise may be reasonably sure of its ground, and that new industries which have sprung up as a result of the European war shall not be subject to deterioration immediately following the close of the war. The American dyestuffs industry is one example of the many new enterprises that have sprung up recently, which must be guarded against unfair competition.

The creation of a tariff commission, however, does not, as some believe, indicate that tariff schedules will be made higher or lower. The commission is not a device for either lowering or raising the tariff, but simply a means to ascertain what specific rates should be, whether more or less, according to existing conditions. I believe, however, that upon the establishment of such commission they will in all probability see the need of lowering some schedules and increasing others, only with a view to stimulate or safeguard American enterprise.

We have in our hands the means, both of accomplishment of what will be of inestimable value to American business and of prevention of what would be sure to injure American commerce. If we enact the tariff-commission bill into law, we will have the most thorough and practical means for the regulation and fixing of tariff schedules based solely on established principles of economic science by facts authoritatively gained without any partisan or political object in view. The tariff commission once in operation will aid in the stimulation of labor, agriculture, manufacture, and the expansion of American markets.

In concluding my remarks on the revenue bill that engages our attention at the present time, permit me to state that if we hope to continue our present prosperity, if we hope to carry out American ideals, if we hope to figure largely in the world's trade and wish to maintain our rank as one of the leading powers of the world, if we want our interests protected and our national honor guarded, it behooves every one of us to give his hearty and undivided support to this patriotic legislation.

## National Guard Rulings.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the status of the National Guard now along the Mexican frontier continues to be a subject of absorbing interest to the relatives and friends of those who have thus engaged in the public service. On August 2 I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD certain rulings of the War Department, including an opinion from the Judge Advocate General, affording information and instruction upon certain mooted points raised by members of the National Guard and their families. Since new inquiries are constantly arising and are gradually being responded to from official sources, I shall insert under leave additional information with respect to some of them.

THE MATTER OF DISCHARGES.

I recently asked the War Department (a) as to the discharge of college students; (b) as to the discharge of soldiers having dependent relatives; (c) as to the length of time the guard would probably be kept upon the border.

The answer was as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"*Washington, August 9, 1916.*

"Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
"*House of Representatives:*

"Department commanders have been authorized to discharge as soon as practicable after September 1, 1916, all members of the National Guard mustered into the service of the United States who can show a bona fide intention of entering or returning to colleges or schools at the beginning of the fall term in 1916, unless the military situation at the time indicated shall be such as to render their retention in the service necessary.

"Therefore, if any soldier desires his discharge for the purpose indicated, he should make application for such discharge through military channels.

"This information has not yet been issued in printed form.

"Attention is invited to inclosed copies of Bulletin No. 20, War Department, July 18, 1916, relative to the discharge of enlisted men of the National Guard on account of dependent relatives.

"The length of time troops will be kept on the border will depend on future conditions.

"H. P. MCCAIN,
"*The Adjutant General.*"

DEPENDENT-RELATIVES BULLETIN.

Bulletin No. 20, to which Adjt. Gen. McCain referred to in the foregoing letter, is of such general interest that I include it herewith, not only for the information for the soldiers themselves but for inquiring relatives who desire to be informed as to the method of procedure:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"*Washington, July 18, 1916.*

"BULLETIN No. 20:

"The following rules are prescribed for observance in the cases of enlisted men of the National Guard or the Organized Militia who are called into the service of the United States and who have dependent relatives:

"(a) Department commanders may issue discharges to enlisted men, except noncommissioned officers, of the National Guard or Organized Militia called into the service of the United States, who are serving within their respective departments, provided applications for discharge are made to them in due form, through military channels, setting forth that the applicant has one or more relatives who are dependent upon him for support, each application to be accompanied by adequate written evidence of real dependency. Applications from noncommissioned officers for discharge under the conditions referred to herein will be forwarded to the War Department for action.

"(b) When it comes to the knowledge of a commanding officer, through authentic sources, that a soldier of his command has one or more dependent relatives, the soldier concerned will be informed of his right to make application for discharge on that account, and the discharge will be issued upon application if warranted by the circumstances. Should the soldier express a desire to remain in the service and at the same time decline to allot any portion of his pay to his family or dependents, the case will be reported to the War Department for final action.

"(c) When an application for discharge has been finally approved, the proper recruiting agencies will be at once informed, so that the vacancy caused may be filled as promptly as possible. Recruiting and mustering officers will be enjoined to avoid the acceptance of recruits having relatives dependent upon them for support. Department commanders will report to the War Department at the close of each month the number of soldiers discharged by them under these instructions during the month for which the report is made.

"By order of the Secretary of War:

"H. L. SCOTT,
"*Major General, Chief of Staff.*

"Official:
"H. P. MCCAIN,
"*The Adjutant General.*"

Another inquiry related to the appointment or promotion of National Guardsmen to higher positions than those now held by them. The War Department indicates that at the present time such appointments and promotions are vested in the State

authorities, as appears from the following letter signed by The Adjutant General:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"*Washington, August 10, 1916.*

"Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
"*House of Representatives.*

"MY DEAR MR. MOORE: The Secretary of War desires me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 3 in regard to the appointment of ———, Company —, Engineers, Pennsylvania National Guard, as an adjutant of the Battalion of Engineers, and to inform you in reply that the appointment of all officers for the Battalion of Engineers, National Guard of Pennsylvania, is vested in the State authorities, and that the War Department is unable to recommend or control selections for these positions.

"Regretting that I can not be of assistance to you in this matter, I am,

"Very truly, yours,
"H. P. MCCAIN,
"*The Adjutant General.*"

INSPECTORS OF SMALL-ARMS PRACTICE.

On the other hand, the War Department seems to have the power to dispense with the services of inspectors of small-arms practice. The Organized Militia, under the so-called Dick Act, authorized these inspectors. They were omitted from the new national-defense act, and so far as the inspectors of the National Guard of Pennsylvania were concerned, they were recently given an unsolicited but honorable discharge. The Pennsylvania Guard is about the largest at the border, and the officers of the guard, from the major general down, were not inclined to approve the dismissal of these men with whom they had worked side by side for so many years. In this instance, however, the Regular Army prevailed, as will be observed from the following letter of the Secretary of War:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"*Washington, August 11, 1916.*

"Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
"*House of Representatives.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, inquiring as to the position of the War Department with regard to legislation looking toward the restoration of the office of inspector of small-arms practice, and to inform you that I do not deem it advisable to recommend such legislation. The office of inspector of small-arms practice has no tactical function when the National Guard is called into Federal service, and at other times the duties which have been performed by the incumbents of the office properly pertain to regimental officers. The observation of the War Department indicates that generally the existence of the office has in the past relieved regimental officers from a sense of responsibility for the instruction of their organizations in this most important work, and sometimes has resulted in conflict and interference. With the pay allowance provided by the national-defense act, company and regimental officers should be required to devote the necessary time and attention to the instruction of their organizations. If a special supervisor of target practice is desired in particular cases, there seems to be no reason why the duty can not be performed by staff and other officers of the regiments.

"The War Department appreciates the unfortunate position of those inspectors of small-arms practice who were mustered into the Federal service before the provisions of the national-defense act were on this subject generally understood.

"It is believed, however, that the proper remedy to be applied to these cases is to provide for their appointment to other offices in which vacancies may exist. Such appointments are, of course, in the hands of the governors of the States. It is believed that as officers of the former Organized Militia, inspectors of small-arms practice were, under the provisions of section 73 of the national-defense act, eligible to be placed on the reserve or unassigned list of the National Guard, and that they should now be held to be in that status from which, under the provisions of section 74, they may be appointed to any vacancy now existent in the active National Guard. The view of the War Department is that, while the office of inspector of small-arms practice was in effect abolished by the national-defense act, it was not the intention of the act to legislate the incumbents out of office in the National Guard, nor to limit the period of adjustment to a moment of time.

"Very respectfully,

"NEWTON D. BAKER,
"*Secretary of War.*"

While the Secretary states the Army view with respect to inspectors of small-arms practice, he also points the way for the retention of these officers in the service, if the governors of the States, who have the power of appointment, avail themselves of the opportunity.

The publication of the foregoing, it is hoped, will be of some service in aiding those concerned to a better understanding of the status of the National Guard.

A NATIONAL GUARD VIEWPOINT.

From numerous letters coming up from the frontier, some of them complaining, others expressing curiosity as to the purpose of the Government in holding the troops on the border, and others evincing a rare good humor over the situation, much of real value as to the relation of the guard to the Government can be ascertained. From one letter written by an officer whose sincerity of purpose can not be questioned, I extract this much of the views entertained by him. It should be of interest to the Regular Army as it is to the National Guard.

After detailing the difficulties of mobilization and analyzing the complaints resulting therefrom the writer says:

"It is also to be remembered that the regular service has a large number of extra officers in excess of the exact complement necessary to officer the troops, while the National Guard is entitled only to the actual number required to fill the specified positions with troops.

"In any consideration which you may give this subject permit me to suggest that not much attention should be given to individual complaints and criticisms or to newspaper reports of privations. There has been, of course, much discomfort at times and perhaps some personal suffering. But some of this was inevitable under our system and existing conditions. There has been considerable exaggeration of hardships; on the other hand, the official attitude that everything has worked out admirably is quite wrong. There are great lessons to be learned from this mobilization, but they will not be learned if the War Department and the Army do not frankly recognize and admit such shortcomings and mistakes as have been manifest to everyone in a position to learn of them by personal observation and experience.

"Individual blame or censure are not due; nearly everyone has probably done the best he could under the circumstances without previous experience on so large a scale and in the absence of means for better preparations for these large demands. It must be recognized that to many thoroughly competent regular officers and civil officials this mobilization presented problems relatively as new, untried, and difficult as those which would confront a peace time private suddenly required to assume the duties of a company commander in the field. Skill and experience in such large mobilizations can only be had with practice such as the European Governments gave in their autumn maneuvers.

"There have been doubtless some incidents of personal incapacity and individual blundering, such as can not but be expected where so many officers have to be intrusted with responsibile duties, but these have been the exception. Most of the difficulties are the result of inexperience and previous national indifference to preparedness. Most of the Regular officers were, through no fault of their own, just as inexperienced in the needs and requirements for quickly placing in the field so large a force as we now have as is a new and inexperienced National Guard officer in the duties of his position.

"Regular and Militia officers alike are men endowed collectively with about the same natural aptitudes and qualifications. The Regular becomes the better qualified in proportion to the greater opportunities and time he is able to devote to practice, and he has had next to no experience and practice in mobilization on as large a scale as this one, for which much of the equipment had to be newly provided.

"If any profit is to come to us nationally from the great public expense and private sacrifice which the organization of this force has caused, the mistakes must be studied in a broad and liberal spirit, with a view to their avoidance in the future rather than for the purpose of measuring out blame now. There should be no disposition to seek exoneration for one group by criticism of another. Civil officials, Regular officers, and National Guard officers should give chief consideration to the mistakes and shortcomings of their own organization rather than try to find fault with others. We are all—civil, Regular, and Militia—living in glass houses. Above all, the subject should not be made a partisan one. If it is, no real advancement in practical preparedness can be expected.

"It would, I think, be a good thing if a joint commission could be created, composed of competent and interested men of broad vision, with no selfish, personal, or partisan ends in view, to study the working out of this mobilization and concentration while the facts are fresh in memory. Such a commission should

include a representation of the legislative branch, of the War Department or Regular Army, and of the National Guard. It should visit all the concentration camps to seek first-hand testimony as to what difficulties were experienced in mobilization, recruiting, physical examination, mustering in, procuring equipment, local transportation, and so forth. Such a commission should, in the beginning, make clear that its policy would be not to encourage the airing of personal complaints and grievances, but to ascertain how any of these mistakes can be avoided in the future."

## Our Troops on the Border.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, on March 9, 1916, a large number of Mexicans, under the leadership of Gen. Villa, crossed the Mexican border at Columbus, N. Mex., raided the town, killed citizens and soldiers, destroyed buildings, and performed various depredations. The events leading up to this occurrence have been repeated so many times that it is not my purpose to again discuss them. About a week later orders were given Gen. Funston to organize an expedition to pursue the bandits across the border and conduct a "punitive expedition," the main purpose of which was plainly shown in the official documents and orders, namely, to punish Villa for the atrocities committed at Columbus.

It will be noted that the raid on Columbus occurred more than five months ago. Having recently returned from a visit to the Massachusetts troops now stationed at Columbus, I feel it my duty to acquaint the House with the situation as I found it to be there.

On June 18 President Wilson issued an order calling out the militia of the various States. As quickly as possible these troops were mobilized and sent to the border. The Second Massachusetts, in which I was particularly interested, was ordered to Columbus. They have been there ever since. Camp conditions seem to be good. The food supplies, sanitary conditions, and other necessary features of camp life seem to me to be as satisfactory as could be expected under all the circumstances. In addition to the Massachusetts regiment, there are also a regiment from New Mexico and a large number of Regulars, all under Col. Farnsworth, stationed at that point. Columbus is the base for Gen. Pershing's army in Mexico, and nearly all of his supplies are being forwarded from that place. Through Col. Farnsworth's courtesy, I went about 20 miles beyond the border—far enough to form an excellent idea of the difficulties under which our troops are laboring in shipping supplies to the Army.

The situation is a peculiar one, and it is to this fact that I desire to call attention. Orders were given to conduct "a punitive expedition" into Mexico. Have the purposes of that expedition been accomplished; and, if not, what means are being taken to conclude them? Gen. Pershing's orders were evidently changed following the engagement at Carrizal. Up to that time he was pushing ahead, making considerable advance into the country. When I left the border, two weeks ago, he was camped near a small town called Colonia Dublan, 112 miles from Columbus. His advance line was 75 miles farther south, at a place called El Valle. There had been no movements of these lines for four weeks, and, so far as I am informed, they have not moved since.

It is a pertinent question to ask, What has become of the punishment feature of the original order issued to Gen. Funston? It would appear that Gen. Pershing has received revised orders of which the public is not aware. Quite likely these are based on the latest phase of the Mexican program which seems to be to establish a board of arbitration between this Government and the de facto government of Mexico, for which the principal object, "preferably," is to see in what way Gen. Pershing's army can be conducted out of Mexico. I am surprised that a board was not inaugurated which would ask Carranza's consent as to how the Army should get into Mexico. In order not to unduly displease this gentleman, who seems to be such a source of friendly interest to the administration, we have been to the great expense of purchasing an enormous number of automobile trucks and sending them over very poor apologies for roads, whereas we could with the greatest ease have taken possession of a railroad running conveniently near the base of the Army location.

It would seem to me much greater consideration has been shown Carranza than has been shown our own citizens. On Saturday night, June 17, thousands of our citizens left their usual pursuits, expecting to renew them on Monday morning. Instead they found themselves suddenly called upon to report to their various armories, join their companies, leave their personal affairs in a chaotic state, give up their occupations, break away from their homes and families, and march forth to the Mexican border.

Taking Columbus as a fair example of the posts to which our militia companies were sent, it is difficult for a layman to understand the reasons why they should be there. It is true they are receiving excellent drill and are under splendid discipline. If this is the sole object of their retention there, they, as well as the Government, are paying a high price. There seems to me to be only one possible explanation of the reason for the militia companies, now national troops, being retained on the border. Gen. Pershing is to await developments where he now is. If he should become involved in an engagement and assistance should be needed, the administration, retiring from its attitude of being "too proud to fight," can say we were prepared and had reenforcements on hand. If nothing of this nature develops before Carranza's mediation board tells Gen. Pershing how to retire, he will be able to follow up their suggestion, the militia will be sent home, and the voters of the country will again be told that it was through Mr. Wilson's wonderful wisdom and sagacity that we were kept out of war with Mexico.

It is very difficult to bring oneself to the belief that such a gigantic political movement as this could be conceived of, but the more I have thought of the matter since my return from the border the more I am convinced there is no other reason whatever for Gen. Pershing being in Mexico or our boys called upon to do police duty along the border. If there are other reasons, the American people are entitled to know them. If there are not, we should insist on the prompt return to their homes of the troops who have been so greatly inconvenienced by the President's order of June 17.

Our soldier citizens are patriots, willing and anxious to do their duty by the flag and their country. They are not contented to be a wheel of a political machine. The people do not expect this of them and will not accept a long continuance in this kind of service.

Provided there is no political significance in the attitude of the administration, are not the people entitled to know what object is to be accomplished by the police duty our men are performing and for how long a time the administration expects this service of them?

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I had expected to be here on last Tuesday to vote on the conference report on the naval appropriation bill, but was detained by an unexpected illness in my family and was compelled to be absent on that day and secure a pair on votes that were taken upon that bill. I am glad to be here to-day to vote for the bill and to state in the RECORD my position upon that measure.

I very much wished to vote for the Senate amendments that were concurred in on last Tuesday. I believe a Republic of 100,000,000 people, with many miles of coast line to protect, with important insular possessions to defend, and with the Monroe doctrine to maintain, should have a strong Navy.

For these reasons I am for this bill. It provides for increases which are in keeping with my ideas and what I believe to be the sentiment of the country for preparedness.

The Democratic Party has shown in this Congress that it is for adequate naval and military preparedness. The Republican Party demonstrated during the 16 years of its control of this Government that it did not have the foresight and the statesmanship to provide for adequate national defense.

I desire to incorporate as a part of my remarks an article from the New York World of Sunday, July 2, 1916, showing

that under Republican administrations the efficiency of the Navy greatly decreased and that under the three years of the Wilson administration its efficiency has greatly increased, and under the policy of President Wilson will soon become a most efficient fighting organization. Many of the Republican shortcomings have already been eliminated and others will be in the near future:

SHORTCOMINGS OF HIS PREDECESSORS LEFT AS LEGACIES TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

One of the most serious criticisms of the Navy is its shortage of officers. As a matter of fact, the Navy was never so well supplied with officers as it is to-day. The records show most conclusively that more officers are assigned to our naval vessels to-day than formerly, and that among them there is much greater proportion of officers of experience.

The Wilson administration, of course, was obliged to take things as it found them. It found the Navy very much short of the number of officers required. It has been greatly hampered in increasing the complements of ships to the extent desired by the inherited shortage of officers and midshipmen and by the necessity for assigning officers to postgraduate courses in ordnance, engineering, submarine duty, aviation, and to the War College. Instruction along these lines is considered by naval experts vital to the future efficiency of the Navy; yet it had been almost entirely neglected in the past. If the present administration had followed the example of its predecessor and neglected this training of officers it would be able at once to assign nearly 150 officers to sea duty and to claim that it had increased the percentage of officers at sea from 69 to 75 per cent.

Secretary Daniels found it impossible to immediately remedy the shortage of officers, but he set about at once to correct the condition. Two months after he entered the office, and long before any suggestions from outside sources, Secretary Daniels had recommended and Congress had authorized an extension of the law, allowed by the Republicans to lapse, providing for two midshipmen for each Member of Congress. This one step permitted about 300 additional midshipmen to enter the Naval Academy during the past two years. This year, with the cooperation of the Democratic Congress, instead of two midshipmen to each Member, provision has been made for three, making 531 additional appointments immediately available, or a total of more than 800 additional midshipmen provided for in the first three years of the Democratic administration.

Compared with this record, the Republicans failed to increase the number of midshipmen and actually allowed the law which provided for two midshipmen to each Congressman to lapse. This is the real reason for the deficiency in naval officers about which George von L. Meyer, Secretary of the Navy under Taft and Roosevelt, Congressman AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER and other Republican Navy agitators have made so much noise.

As a practical administrative step for securing additional officers for active duty, provision has been made by the Democrats for the appointment of civilian aviators, civilian engineers, and civilian instructors at the Naval Academy. This measure will considerably relax the pressure for officers.

BETTER OFFICER SUPPLY.

As proof that the vessels of the Navy are better supplied with officers to-day than under the long and unbroken Republican régime a glance at the personnel of 11 of the battleships now with the Atlantic Fleet should be convincing. Only 11 of the ships are taken into consideration, because there are with the fleet at present some ships not in commission during the last Republican administration. The 11 ships mentioned in the following table were in commission on March 1, 1913, and will be with the fleet again on July 1 of this year. The table shows the number of officers assigned to each of these ships on the dates mentioned:

| Ships. | Officers, Mar. 1, 1912. | Officers, July 1 1916. |
|---|---|---|
| Wyoming | 23 | 36 |
| Arkansas | 32 | 36 |
| Florida | 28 | 34 |
| Delaware | 26 | 34 |
| Utah | 27 | 34 |
| Michigan | 23 | 31 |
| South Carolina | 24 | 31 |
| Vermont | 24 | 31 |
| New Hampshire | 23 | 31 |
| Minnesota | 24 | 31 |
| Kansas | 23 | 31 |
| Total | 287 | 360 |

These figures show that on board the 11 battleships named there are now 73 more officers than when Wilson was inaugurated, being an average increase of 7 officers to a ship. The increase varies from 3 on *Wyoming* to 9 on *New Hampshire* and *Kansas*.

On March 1, 1913, there were assigned to the torpedo-boat destroyers three officers each, against four officers at present. Under the Taft régime the rule was to assign one young officer to each destroyer placed in reserve. At present no destroyers are in a reserve status that corresponds to the reserve of March 1, 1913. On the contrary, all destroyers in the Atlantic Fleet which are not operating with the fleet are engaged in patrol or neutrality duty, each having two officers and in many instances three. Four officers are assigned to each of the 1,000-ton destroyers which have been added to the fleet since March 1, 1913, and this number is being increased to five officers as rapidly as the men can be found available.

An examination of the Naval Register will show that on March 1, 1913, only one officer was assigned to each submarine with the Atlantic and Asiatic flotillas. With the exception of the "A," "B," and "C" boats, which are of an early and small type, two officers now are assigned to each boat. In the near future two officers will be assigned to the submarines in the "C" class.

MORE EXPERIENCED.

In addition to increasing the number of officers on submarine and destroyer duty, Secretary Daniels has seen to it that more experienced men were chosen. For example, take the Asiatic destroyer flotilla. The Naval Register for April 1, 1916, shows that compared with conditions on March 1, 1913, the Navy has four more officers, all lieutenants, on Asiatic station.

Only 3 of the 24 officers assigned to the Pacific destroyer flotilla are ensigns. On March 1, 1913, 15 of the 22 officers assigned to destroyers in the Pacific were ensigns. In the Atlantic destroyer flotilla only 7 out of 116 officers are ensigns, compared with 45 out of a total of 71 on March 1, 1913.

On March 1, 1913, there were 16 submarines in commission. Of the 16 officers on these perilous underwater craft 14 were ensigns. On April 1, 1916, the Navy had 32 submarines in commission, to which were assigned 48 officers, of whom only 7 were ensigns.

The comparative assignments of officers under the Wilson and Taft administrations are shown by the official records to be proportionately the same on all classes of naval vessels as on battleships, destroyers, and submarines. The rule from the outset of the present administration has been to place more experienced men in command of all classes of ships, and to detail less experienced officers to post-graduate work in order to increase their efficiency.

THE ENLISTED MEN.

The unquestioned shortage of enlisted men in the Navy also is attributable to conditions inherited by the Wilson administration. The Navy, under Mr. Wilson, was presented with a shortage of men too great to be entirely overcome in any three years of peace. On top of this there was a prejudice against service in the enlisted ranks that had to be corrected before any considerable gains could be made.

No Republican administration in the 16 unbroken years of national rule by that party claimed to have enough enlisted men to man all vessels for war. The authorized strenght of the Navy—which means the strength that Congress was willing to pay for—was far below the number that would have been required. In the 16 years of Republican rule no provision whatever was made for a naval reserve with which to fill the big gap in the ranks that admittedly existed. Presumably, one reason the authorized strength was not made sufficient to properly man all vessels was that Republican administrations could not fill the ranks even to the limited strength previously authorized by Congress.

Until recently the Navy has not had enough men to adequately man all ships on a peace basis with some in reserve. At no time since the Spanish War have there been enough enlisted men in the Navy to man all ships on a war basis. For many years Congress authorized new ships without making provision for crews to man them. Had such provision been made it probably would have been ineffective under Republican administrations because of the fact that the authorized strength was never fully enlisted.

UNDER ROOSEVELT AND TAFT.

Col. Roosevelt might take a moment to look at these figures: When he began his second term the authorized strength of the Navy was 34,500. It was entirely inadequate, and 3,000 additional men were recommended during his first year. All told, during the Colonel's second term, 7,500 additional men were authorized. This number was barely sufficient to man the new ships authorized during the same period. It made no provision for a reserve or for cutting down the previously existing shortage, which was a legacy given to the Taft administration.

Here are some figures which should prove interesting reading to former Secretary of the Navy Meyer: The ships authorized in the Taft administration required 9,888 men. Mr. Meyer, who was head of the Navy Department during the entire administration, and who has seen fit to bitterly criticize the present administration for its lack of men, recommended an increase of 4,000 men and 1,000 apprentices. This was exactly 4,888 short of the number required to man the ships authorized while he was Secretary. It did not provide a single man toward overcoming the accrued shortage of preceding years.

Congress came to the rescue of Mr. Meyer to the extent of authorizing an increase of 6,000 men and 1,000 apprentices—the Democrat House voted for 4,000 apprentices which was still short more than 2,000 the number required for new ships. The increase in men actually enlisted under this authorization of 7,000 was exactly 3,200.

CRITICIZING THEMSELVES.

Just why the Wilson administration should be held responsible for the accumulated shortages of the Roosevelt administration and the Taft administration is anything but clear. Yet the very men responsible for those shortages are the ones who most bitterly criticize the shortage of to-day.

The authorized strength of the Navy on March 4, 1913, was many thousands short of the number actually required. In spite of this fact the Navy was turned over to the Wilson administration exactly 5,000 men short of the number authorized.

As a matter of record and unquestioned fact there actually were fewer men in the Navy when President Taft and Secretary Meyer left office than there were eight months prior to that day, although Congress had in that time authorized an increase of 4,000 men, and the retiring administration had the best season of the year in which to recruit them.

Under Secretary Meyer there were 10,360 cases of desertion in the Navy. Of the experienced men, with good records, honorably discharged upon completion of their enlistment only 52 per cent reenlisted. Under Wilson's administration desertions have dropped to less than 90 a month, or more than 50 per cent, and are steadily decreasing. Furthermore, by substituting more enlightened though stricter regulations, the administration has decreased the number of naval prisoners from 1,800 to 700.

DANIELS HAS ADDED 6,331.

During Secretary Daniels's régime 6,331 men have been added to the enlisted strength of the Navy, filling the vacancies which Secretary Meyer failed to fill. The much criticized vocational training established by Secretary Daniels is given credit for having greatly increased the attractiveness of the Navy for promising young men.

The fact that 85 per cent of honorably discharged men are now reenlisting bears eloquent testimony to improved conditions in the Navy from the standpoint of the average young man. For the first time in a great many years there are a few more men on the pay roll of the Navy than Congress has actually authorized.

Congress is providing in the pending naval bill for 16,650 additional men. Arrangements are now being perfected for carrying on an effective recruiting campaign to secure these men. Secretary Daniels is confident that all of them will be secured within his administration. This will mean an actual increase of 22,981 men in the Naval Establishment during four years of Democratic rule, compared with 3,500 under

President Taft. The permanency of the enlisted force, relatively speaking, is shown by the increase in reenlistments from 52 per cent under the last Republican administration to better than 85 per cent under the present administration.

The increase in personnel up to date was achieved under what some critics of the Navy predicted would be the handicap of more liberal regulation which allowed men to obtain their discharges prior to the expiration of their enlistments if conditions at their home made it essential. More than 2,000 enlisted men availed themselves of this privilege last year. Their loss to the service was probably compensated by the relative decrease in desertions. It was also discounted by the greatly increased number of experienced men who reenlisted. Improved conditions in the Navy, Secretary Daniels believes, will make easy the work of securing the large increase which Congress is now authorizing.

The Naval Reserve provisions in the new bill are calculated to quickly build up an effective force to fill prospective gaps in the future. The provisions are liberal. In addition to ex-service men, seafaring people, mechanics with a knowledge of the trades employed in the Navy, yatchsmen, and persons familiar with the handling of light craft are eligible to enlist in the Naval Reserve. Many duties in the Navy, aboard merchant scouts, fuel ships, mining vessels, and similar craft can be performed by competent men who have not had training on ships of war. The naval Plattsburg idea, for which the pending bill provides, will furnish this year a month's training on the sea for at least 2,500 men, many of whom undoubtedly will be found qualified for immediate admittance to the reserves.

VESSELS IN RESERVE.

The present administration has been seriously criticized for its policy in assigning vessels to a reserve status. The purpose of these criticisms has been to create the impression that the Democrats were decreasing in both number and strength the active fleet of the Navy and were assigning to reserve vessels powerful enough to justify their retention in the first line. As a matter of fact, the practice of assigning the older battleships to the reserve is not new with this administration. It was in vogue on March 4, 1913, when Mr. Wilson came into office. In fact, before leaving the Navy Department Secretary Meyer approved a plan to assign two battleships to reserve when the *New York* and *Texas* joined the fleet, although he knew that these two vessels would not be ready for active service until after he had left public life. The wisdom of the policy has appealed strongly to all great naval powers. It is by no means peculiar to the United States Navy. For example, when the great European war commenced England and all the powers now engaged had large numbers of ships in reserve. The folly of maintaining in full commission in time of peace every vessel which the Navy would commission in the event of war is too obvious to require comment, in the opinion of naval experts.

Under the present administration, however, an improved policy was followed in placing ships in reserve and maintaining them while in that status. For example, in 1913 the Taft administration had in reserve 11 battleships and 5 destroyers. In no instance was the personnel on those ships maintained to the same extent that it is maintained on ships now in reserve. Eight of the 11 battleships in reserve in 1913 had less than 200 men on board. One had 209 men, another 259, and a third, which was receiving ship, or depot, for new recruits pending their assignment to duty, had 700 men. All battleships in reserve now are maintained with 40 per cent of the complement aboard. This number is sufficient to keep the ships in material readiness to enable cruising and exercising within certain limits.

THE ATLANTIC FLEET.

There are 14 battleships now in reserve. All of these vessels will be in active service during the maneuvers this summer. One is assigned to patrol duty, 3 form a practice squadron for Naval Academy midshipmen, the other 10 are being, or will be, utilized for Naval Militia and civilian cruises. During the summer months there will be in commission on the Atlantic a total of 30 battleships, compared with a total of 19 three years ago.

The status of reserve destroyers is quite similar to that of battleships. Not one reserve destroyer now has a status corresponding to that in which destroyers were placed in 1913.

At the present time the number of vessels out of commission or in navy yards is the most insignificant part of the fleet. There are five battleships; three of them—*Massachusetts*, *Indiana*, and *Iowa*—have undoubtedly outlived their usefulness. *Connecticut* and *Georgia* are undergoing extensive boiler repairs. There are also out of commission six destroyers, all built under specifications and contracts approved by the last administration. Their absence from the fleet, with the exception of one, which was due to an explosion, is due to defective engines. In the Atlantic there is one submarine out of commission—the *E-2*, which was seriously damaged by an explosion and will require extensive overhauling. All these vessels hardly represent the fighting power of a single modern dreadnaught.

IN RESERVE FOR GOOD REASON.

There has been some criticism of the assignment of the battleship *North Dakota* and vessels of the *Connecticut* class to the reserve. As a matter of fact, all of these vessels have serious mechanical defects. All of them were authorized, designed, and built before President Wilson was elected. The Democratic administration is endeavoring to remedy the defects in them. While so doing all of them are kept in such condition that, if need be, they can be sent to sea on 24 hours' notice, ready to render an excellent account of themselves.

The engines of the *North Dakota* have been found thoroughly unreliable. They must be replaced. Instead of withdrawing practically the entire crew of the ship, in accordance with the Republican policy, the department has decided to maintain her present equipment in the most efficient state possible.

Four of the five vessels in the *Connecticut* class have broken their propeller shafts repeatedly, requiring numerous extensive overhaulings. Until the exact cause of the trouble and the remedy for it are found and applied, Secretary Daniels, Admiral Benson, and other naval experts believe the readiness of these vessels for immediate action can best be secured by keeping them in reserve and in a constant state of material preparedness. If permitted to operate actively with the fleet at present, these ships might become crippled and rendered wholly unsuitable for service by the defects which are known to exist in them.

AS TO SUBMARINES.

The submarines of the United States Navy, which have been quite severely criticized, were all authorized and built or contracted for under Republican administrations. Some of them unquestionably have defects which are a proper subject for criticism. On behalf of the present régime it is only fair to say that not until three years ago were the submarine difficulties treated seriously in the Navy Department. It is frankly admitted that we have an unsatisfactory motor, battery, and engine. Despite this fact, under the old régime only the youngest officers, lacking in theoretical and practical experience, were assigned to submarines and expected to solve their intricate problems.

Without intending to reflect in any way on the industry or the ability of these young officers, high administration officials now feel it is a most serious reflection upon those charged with the administration of the Navy that no experienced officers were assigned to submarine duty. Not a few naval experts believe that the facts warrant the assumption that our submarine troubles of to-day are due principally to the indifference with which the problem was regarded in the past.

Secretary Daniels and those under him have taken the submarine seriously and attempted to solve the many problems bound up in it. The flotilla has been detached from the destroyer flotilla and made an independent command under a rear admiral. The number of officers assigned to submarines has been increased, so that two instead of one are now assigned to each of the larger boats. Officers of experience have been selected for this work. The cooperation of manufacturers has been sought. Under the new policy, before assuming duty on a submarine, an officer is instructed at the works where the engine, batteries, and motors are manufactured. Had one-half of the work and study which the submarine question has received during the past three years been given to it during the Taft Administration, Secretary Meyer could not have turned over to his successor this highly important branch of the Navy in so pitiable a condition.

AVIATION BRANCH.

Like the submarine branch, aviation in the Navy has taken on a new lease of life. Secretary Daniels began with four aviators and four highly unsatisfactory machines. Until the present administration took hold the construction of naval aircraft had received little study in the Navy Department, and no more outside of it. While it can not be said that the Navy now has a machine which conforms to the reasonable requirements of the department, unquestionably much progress has been made. Naval experts are satisfied that this work has arrived at a stage where the immediate future can be faced with complete confidence.

There was no station under the Navy where aviators might be trained three years ago. One of the first things Secretary Daniels did was to appoint a board to study aeronautics. Its first recommendation was that such a school be established, and that it be located at Pensacola, Fla. During the past three years the abandoned naval station at Pensaco'a has been utilized as a training school. Consequently, the naval Aviation Corps now numbers 43 officers, of which 30 are certified air pilots, and 120 men. Eight additional officers are assigned to the stations every three months, the number being limited only by the number of officers available.

At present naval experts are experimenting with a steam engine for aircraft. Rear Admiral Griffin, chief engineer of the Navy, is personally interested in these experiments and is hopeful that such an engine may be perfected in the near future. Such an accomplishment would mark a great forward stride in naval aeronautics, since the motor continues to be the greatest weakness of the flying machine. Congress, in the pending bill, is providing $3,500,000 for aviation in the Navy, many times more than the aggregate appropriated in several preceding administrations. This total may be increased in the Senate.

MARKSMANSHIP.

Congressman GARDNER and other Republicans, to say nothing of outsiders, have taken occasion to seriously criticize marksmanship in the Navy. The Massachusetts representative has declared, in speeches in the House and in documents that he has circulated, that gunnery is on the decline in the Navy under the Wilson administration. Reputed scores were circulated to discredit the Democratic administration of the Navy. Comparison was made between the hits scored by naval gunners and those scored by Coast Artillery experts. In view of the fact that the Coast Artillery fire is always from a firm foundation, while the naval marksmen must fire from a moving vessel at a moving target, such a comparison, no matter what the figures show, was regarded as a compliment by naval experts.

From the standpoint of military policy the actual scores made by different ships of the fleet have always been withheld from publication. The propriety of discussing such a subject is even questioned by officials. Since high-ranking naval officers, such as Admiral F. F. Fletcher and Admiral W. S. Benson, appeared before the House committee and told its members the actual facts criticism of our naval marksmanship has ceased. Admiral Fletcher said in part: "Scores recorded at the last target practice were higher than ever before made at open sea and show not only an increase in accuracy of pointing but in rapidity of fire as well."

As a matter of fact, target practice held in southern waters last winter was at unprecedented ranges. The ranges were nearly twice as great as those at which the boasted records of the Roosevelt administration were achieved.

NAVAL BOARD SECRECY.

Much has been made of Secretary Daniels's reluctance to have the reports of the Naval General Board made public. The rule throughout the long Republican régime was to hold these reports confidential, not even turning them over to the naval committees of the Senate and House. Republican Secretaries of the Navy simply buried them from the date of the board's creation until they went out of power three years ago. Representative THOMAS S. BUTLER, of Pennsylvania, ranking Republican on the House committee, frankly confessed that he had "sat on this side of the table in this committee 18 years, and I have been in the dark for 18 years, and I have come to the point in my life where I do not want fine phrases, but I want plain language and I want honest instruction."

Here is what Representative ERNEST W. ROBERTS, of Massachusetts, second Republican on the House Naval Committee, said about the naval board's report: "I recall very well sitting here when Secretary Moody came before us and placed before us the plan adopted by the General Board, which he stated at that time was to be regarded as a naval secret. I will be frank to say that in the 14 or 15 years that I have never seen the complete report of the General Board until your report last year and this year. What we have had is the building program, just enumerating the units and classes."

OVERHAULS TOO FREQUENT.

With a view to getting a maximum of the Navy, Secretary Daniels, following the recommendation of Admiral Fletcher, issued orders requiring this class of ships to cruise for two years before going into overhaul. Admiral Fletcher reported that one of the weaknesses of the fleet under his command was too frequent overhaul of battleships.

Under the old régime battleships went into overhaul after a one-year cruise and remained for months at a time. The policy of the present régime is to keep them at sea two years unless accidents befall them and then send them in for general overhaul, the work to be accomplished in the shortest practicable time. The same rule as to expediting overhaul and repair work is applied to all classes of ships. It has resulted in keeping the keel in a much higher degree of efficiency and readiness for instant service than before its adoption by Secretary Daniels and Admiral Benson, the Chief of Operations.

Under the present system no battleship goes into overhaul until after it has been subjected to inspection by the Board of Inspection and Survey. There is no longer such a thing as a "routine schedule," by which ships automatically go to the navy yards for this purpose. Even after a ship is inspected and ordered into overhaul it is not sent to the yard until the equipment for its repairs is assembled and ready for immediate work. The new system has the effect of reducing to a minimum the length of time ships are absent from the fleet.

MINING AND MINE SWEEPING.

One of the marked shortcomings of the Navy when the Wilson administration took hold of it was in its mining and mine-sweeping equipment. Secretary Daniels early recognized the importance of this modern branch of the Naval Establishment. Steps were taken as early as the spring of 1913 to develop this arm of the service. In March, 1913, the Navy had just one mine depot ship, the *San Francisco*. In 1908 Congress authorized the conversion of both the *San Francisco* and the *Baltimore* into mine depot ships. Five years later work had not been completed on the *Baltimore*. It was immediately pushed after March 4, 1913. The *Baltimore* has been operating in this capacity for some time past. Since then the mining division has been organized, and the mine layer *Dubuque* and a number of fleet tugs equipped as sweepers have been assigned to it for conducting experiments and training crews.

The mining division has been created within the past three years. A large number of other vessels of the fleet have been equipped with mine-laying and mine-sweeping devices for use in emergencies. Furthermore, the Navy experts have fully realized the practicability and value of light merchant ships for this service. A large number of vessels considered suitable for such uses in time of war have been surveyed and are listed in the department.

The experiments in mining have extended to the equipment of the fleet with entanglements, nets, and mines. No such equipment, with the exception of a few mines of an antiquated type, was in existence or even designed up to two years ago. The first order for nets was placed on April 21, 1915. These nets were used during the winter maneuvers of the Atlantic Fleet in the Caribbean last winter.

NEW CHIEF OF OPERATIONS.

The new office of Chief of Operations, headed by Admiral Benson, and created under this administration, is believed by many officers to constitute a competent General Staff, an institution which many Navy enthusiasts on the outside are demanding from Congress in the pending bill.

Admiral Benson is known to believe that all is being done now that could be "reasonably expected" from a General Staff which critics of the Navy are demanding. A thoroughly competent staff has been built up in the Office of Operations and is running smoothly and in a thoroughly American and businesslike way.

Admiral George Dewey goes a step further than Admiral Benson in discussing the General Board, saying: "Our own General Board is, I think, the best General Naval Staff in the world."

Rear Admiral Knight, president of the Naval War College, where high officers of the Navy are instructed in modern strategy, made this statement while testifying before the House committee: "Secretary Daniels has done more for the War College than any of his predecessors."

THE WINE-MESS ORDER.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, the first full year of operation of Secretary Daniels's order abolishing the wine mess among officers on shipboard, 8 officers were tried by court-marial for drunkenness, compared with 15 officers during the preceding year, which also was in Mr. Daniels's administration. For the last fiscal year of the Taft administration, 3 months of which overlapped the Wilson administration, there were 13 court-martial cases for this offense. For the fiscal year 1912 only 9 officers were tried for this offense.

Secretary Daniels issued an order, dated September 10, 1913, requiring commanding officers of naval vessels and stations to report to him all cases of drunkenness and immorality among commisisoned officers. Theretofore commanding officers not infrequently reprimanded offending officers in person unless the case was grave or the offense frequently repeated.

It is believed doubtful by naval officers that the additional order, or wine-mess regulation, which was not issued until June, 1914, had much to do with the sudden drop in court-martial cases for drunkenness from 15 in the preceding year to 8 during the first year the new regulation was in operation.

THE PRIMARY OBJECT.

The primary object of the wine-mess order was to remove temptation from midshipmen and other younger officers while on board ships of the Navy. Many officers would drink wine when they found it constantly before them at mealtime who would not drink if they went ashore or under other circumstances. Many young officers would not acquire the drinking habit in the absence of wine from the mess, as Secretary Daniels viewed the matter.

Necessarily there is less drinking among naval officers afloat than at any time when the wine mess was in vogue. Many officers drink while ashore, and some of them drink too much. The fact that the 15 court-martial cases is the largest number in any one year since Mr. Daniels entered the department shows that the proportion of naval officers who drink to excess is relatively small.

The Navy regulations always have prohibited drunkenness and provided severe punishment for the offense. This applies to enlisted men as well as to officers. In the old days it frequently happens that the best sailors aboard naval vessels were regular "soaks" when they got ashore. This class of drinkers among the enlisted men would regularly lay in a stock of liquid refreshments too great to be borne and return to their ships intoxicated after shore leave, knowing full well that such conduct meant three months' enforced stay on the ship. This particular type of enlisted men has practically disappeared, although many Jack Tars still indulge freely in the flowing bowl. Naval officers in position to know the modern trend, however, declare there is much less drinking among enlisted men of the Navy than formerly.



## The United States Navy and John Ericsson.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE EDWARD FOSS,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. FOSS. Mr. Speaker, I introduced a bill in the Sixty-second Congress authorizing an appropriation of $100,000 for the construction of a suitable memorial to John Ericsson, the designer, inventor, and constructor of the *Monitor*, and I also introduced a similar bill in this Congress.

The Congress has passed a bill authorizing only $35,000 for such a memorial, and I greatly regret that it was not more, as John Ericsson proved himself a great patriot in an important crisis of the Civil War by the construction of the famous ironclad which revolutionized the naval architecture of the United States Navy and all navies.

I desire to briefly review his life and work:

John Ericsson was born on July 31, 1803, in Vermland, Sweden. He derived his mechanical bias, as Emerson would say, from his father, who was a miner, an educated man, a college graduate, and a fine mathematician. He derived his great, distinguishing characteristics, however, from his mother. She was a handsome, intellectual woman of large sympathies, a great reader, and student of fiction, poetry, and history. Young Ericsson received the best education that the means of his parents would permit, but his instruction was largely in the home. At an early age he secured a position as draftsman in the Gota Canal Co. and learned to draw maps, and later received lessons in architectural drawing. He studied Latin and French and mechanical drawing as well; but it was during his employment with the canal company that his superior work attracted the attention of Count Platen, the great engineer of the canal which connects the Baltic Sea with the North Sea, who from that time on took a special interest in his career. In fact, it was through his friendship that he was appointed cadet in the mechanical corps of the Swedish Navy. In 1817 he became a leveler on the canal; in 1820 he entered the Swedish Army, at 17 years of age, and went to Jemtland with his regiment, which it was ordered to survey. It was at this time that he conceived the idea of a flame engine, which he afterwards invented. Desiring a larger field for exploiting his invention, he obtained a leave of absence from the army and went to England on May 18, 1826, but overstayed his leave, and was technically a deserter. However, through the intercession of his friend, the Crown Prince, he was later restored to the Swedish Army, and received his commission as captain on October 3, 1827, when he resigned.

He remained, however, in England and pursued his work with increasing energy and zeal. He made many applications of power, invented surface condensation and a steam fire engine. He made the first use of compressed air and artificial draft, but his greatest invention at this time was a locomotive named "Novelty," which competed on October 15, 1829, with Stevenson's famous "Rocket" for the prize of £500 offered by the Liverpool & Manchester Railroad and nearly won the prize. It made a mile in 56 seconds, but on the third trip the boiler, which had been hastily constructed, burst, but nevertheless he was highly praised for the genius of his construction. He also applied steam to canal navigation, and in 1835 designed a rotary propeller to be actuated by steam power. This propeller he applied to a number of boats. In 1837 he designed an engine to impart motion to screw propeller shafts; this was the first direct-acting screw propeller engine ever built. During the same year he constructed a boat and invited the lords of the British Admiralty to take an excursion. This vessel, named *Francis B. Ogden* after the American consul at Liverpool, made the trip at the rate of 10 miles an hour, but the British Admiralty gave him little encouragement.

It was at this time, through Ogden, that he met Capt. Stockton, of the American Navy, who became much interested in Ericsson's steam propeller, and ordered two of them for the Delaware & Raritan Canal in New Jersey, and on May 30, 1839, a steam schooner, 70 feet long and 10 feet wide, with a tonnage of 30 tons, built by Ericsson and named after Capt. Stockton, arrived in New York after a 46 days' voyage, and was used as a towing vessel on the New Jersey canal for 30 years.

Ericsson at this time, discouraged somewhat by his failure to break through the crust of British Admiralty exclusiveness, and encouraged by his friends Ogden and Stockton to visit America, and with all his instincts, his heart, and his mind compelling him toward a larger field of activity, arrived in New York on the 23d of November, 1839, and made that his home ever afterwards; and here it was, under the invigorating spirit of our institutions, in this free land of America, where, as the Irishman once said, "Every man is just as good as every other man and a little better, too," that John Ericsson found the full scope for his genius, his industry, and his patriotism. He introduced his propellers on all the inland waters of the United States, fitting out merchant vessels on the canals and the Great Lakes. He was the father of the present steam merchant marine of the world.

But his great work was yet to be done. In 1842 he built the *Princeton*, of 1,000 tons displacement, the first screw steam war vessel ever built in any country. She was the first warship in which all her machinery was below the water line, out of reach of shot, and the first to be supplied with fan blowers for forcing the furnace fires. This vessel was received with great favor and was the wonder of the times. She carried Ericsson's wrought-iron gun, with which he experimented upon iron targets and proved that 4½-inch armor could not withstand it.

From this time on he was more or less engaged in assisting the Government. In 1854 he presented to Louis Napoleon the Third, of France, the plans and description of a war vessel which we declined, but seven years afterwards he made available in the construction of the celebrated *Monitor;* and this brings me to the greatest work of his lifetime, which was the invention and construction of that ironclad.

After Fort Sumter had been fired upon in 1861 and the war had broken out Ericsson addressed a letter to President Lincoln stating that, as the inventor of the present system of naval propulsion and the construction of the first screw ship of war, he now offered to construct a vessel for the destruction of the Confederate fleet at Norfolk and for scouring the southern rivers and inlets of all craft protected by Confederate batteries. The naval board appointed for the consideration of warships, after full deliberation, finally recommended the adoption of the Ericsson floating battery, but not without some misgivings as to its cruising ability. However, the contract for the construction of the ironclad gunboat was agreed upon on October 4, 1861, and work was commenced the day the contract was signed. Her keel was laid on October 25, she was launched on January 30, completed on February 15, turned over to the Government on February 19, and put in commission in command of Lieut. Worden on February 25, and on March 4 was favorably reported on by a board of naval officers, a remarkable record for speedy construction of a war vessel which was destined to revolutionize the navies of the world.

The vessel was designed in all its parts by Ericsson, and in a letter which he wrote he said that "the entire labor of preparing the original working plans was performed by himself, every line being drawn by my own hands." She contained at least 40 patentable contrivances, marvels of ingenuity and skill. She was a vessel 172 feet long, 41 feet 6 inches wide, and had a tonnage of 776 tons, and drew about 10½ feet of water. Her armament was two 11-inch Dahlgren guns in an iron turret 8 inches thick, having an inside diameter of 20 feet. An eminent authority on naval architecture has declared that the *Monitor* was a "creation altogether original, peculiarly American, admirably adapted to the special purpose which gave it birth."

When the Civil War broke out the Federal Government abandoned the navy yard at Norfolk and sunk some of its vessels there, including the *Merrimac*, a fine frigate of 3,500 tons, nearly five times the tonnage of the *Monitor*, which the Confederates, afterwards taking possession of the yard, raised and converted into an ironclad vessel. They cut her decks down to within 3½ feet of her light water line and roofed over her mid section for 170 feet with pitch pine and oak 2 feet thick, extending from the water line to a height over her gun deck of 7 feet, where the two sides joined at an angle of about 45°. The ends were covered over, thus making a shed. Her sides were plated with iron 4½ inches thick, which was bolted to the woodwork. She was provided with a cast-iron ram, which projected about 4 feet. This vessel was 280 feet long, breadth 57 feet, and her draft in water 24 feet. Her armament consisted of two 7-inch guns at the bow and stern and two 6-inch guns and six 9-inch guns on her sides, 10 in all. Such were the two vessels which were to meet in awful combat.

On Saturday, the 8th of March, 1862, the *Merrimac*, under command of Capt. Buchanan, with 300 men on board, left the Norfolk Navy Yard a little before noon, steamed into Hampton Roads, and began her attack upon the Union fleet, which consisted of the *Cumberland*, *Congress*, *Minnesota*, *Roanoke*, and *St. Lawrence*, the flower of the Union Navy, all wooden ships and all unarmored. She was attended by several gunboats. She fired upon the *Cumberland*, and her fire was returned by the Federal fleet, but did no damage, as the shots glanced from her sloping iron sides. She steamed down past the *Congress* and then turned around and made for the *Cumberland* and rammed that vessel, breaking a great hole in her side, so that 40 minutes afterwards she went down with the American flag flying at her peak and her guns still firing. This collision tore the ram off the bow of the *Merrimac*. Then she made for the *Congress* and ran her ashore, firing into her with such tremendous effect that the *Congress* hoisted her white flag as a token of surrender, and then scattered the other boats into the shoals and left, on account of the approaching darkness, for Norfolk Navy Yard.

The effect of this terrible defeat of the Union Navy, in which her finest ships were crippled, was a tremendous blow to the North and created tremendous consternation in Washington, which city would naturally be the objective point of the enemy. A great army was at that time being massed in Virginia, and the *Merrimac's* victory, according to the commanding general, was likely to change the whole plan of campaign just on the eve of execution. On the following day President Lincoln convened a special Cabinet meeting, at which the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, expressed the general feeling of the hour in these words:

> The *Merrimac* will change the whole course of the war; she will destroy seriatim every naval vessel; she will lay all the cities on the seaboard under contribution. I shall immediately recall Burnside; Fort Royal must be abandoned. I will notify the governors and municipal authorities in the North to take instant measures to protect their harbors. I have no doubt but that the enemy is this minute on her way to Washington, and it is not unlikely that we shall have a shell or a cannon ball from one of her guns into the White House before we leave the room.

Lincoln himself was much cast down.

On the other hand, the South was wild with exultation over the victory. Great crowds flocked to every station along the railroads to get the latest news. The hopes of the Confederates rose to the highest pitch.

On the following morning the victorious *Merrimac*, after being overhauled at the navy yard, returned to the fray to destroy the rest of the Union ships. She made for the *Minnesota*, which was lying helpless upon the shoals, when lo! behold, the little *Monitor*, which the night before had come down through a stormy sea with a crew of 57 officers and men under the command of Lieut. Worden and had anchored at the *Minnesota's* side, unexpectedly steamed out and without apology made for the *Merrimac*. The *Merrimac* opened the battle with the firing of her 7-inch gun, and the *Monitor* replied with her two 11 inch. The battle raged furiously for hours between the ironclads, with the shots of each having but little effect upon the other, when suddenly the *Merrimac* withdrew from the scene of battle. Neither vessel inflicted any serious damage upon the other, although both smokestacks and the muzzle of two of the guns of the *Merrimac* were shot away. Each side claimed the victory, and while it may be regarded as a drawn battle, yet, nevertheless, the *Monitor* remained the undisputed mistress of the sea, as the *Merrimac* never returned to finish the fight.

The North which but a day before was wrapped in gloom and despondency now broke out in joyful acclaim. John Ericsson, the designer, the inventor, and constructor of the *Monitor*, was the hero of the hour. Resolutions from chambers of commerce and boards of trade and State legislatures showered in upon him. The Congress of the United States presented him with a vote of thanks for the great service which he had rendered the country, and made public acknowledgments "for his enterprise, skill, energy, and forecast displayed by him in the construction of his ironclad, the *Monitor*, which under gallant and able management came so opportunely to the rescue of our fleet in Hampton Roads and resisted the work of destruction then being successfully prosecuted by the enemy with her ironclads, seemingly irresistible by any other power at our command."

But throughout the festivities of that hour John Ericsson bore himself with the modesty and mien of a true patriot, and when in after years it was proposed to give him some financial recognition for his services he gave expression to the noble spirit of unselfish devotion to his country when he said, "I have not received any remuneration from the Nation for the *Monitor*, nor did I patent the invention, as I intended it as a contribution to the glorious cause of the Union."

This contest between the ironclads revolutionized the naval architecture of the world. The battle of March 8 between the *Merrimac* and the Union fleet demonstrated that wooden ships could not stand up against ironclads, and the battle of March 9, the day we celebrate, between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*

demonstrated that the little ironclad, with its single turret and superior guns, could hold its own against its greater antagonist. At that time began the race between armor and projectiles.

The Battle of Hampton Roads created a sensation in every nation of the world. Every shipyard stopped and took notice of the great lesson drawn from this naval conflict, and immediately started to profit by it. The London Times of that day said:

> Where, as we had available for immediate purposes 149 first-class warships, we have now 2, these 2 being the *Warrior* and her sister, *Ironsides*; there is not now a ship in the English Navy apart from these 2 that it would not be madness to trust to an engagement with the little *Monitor*.

The "cheese box of Ericsson" became the prototype of the great battleship of to-day, which is but a duplication or multiplication of turrets on a high freeboard. The fighting ships of all the navies of the world bear upon them to-day the evidence of the overmastering genius of the greatest engineer of this time.

John Ericsson afterwards contributed much to the cause of science and engineering, and gave the benefit of his services oftentimes to his native country and was crowned with many honors by foreign nations. He closed his useful and honorable career at the age of 86 years, on the 8th day of March, 1889, on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the *Merrimac's* victory, which his indomitable skill transformed on the following day into a glorious Union triumph. Sixteen months later the United States cruiser *Baltimore*, under the command of Capt. Schley, bore his remains to the land of his birth, where he sleeps among the beautiful hills of Vermland, in the land of legend, of romance, of poetry, and of song.

John Ericsson was the greatest contribution ever made by the Swedish nation to the United States of America.

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**Trade, Commerce, and Transportation Rates in Alaska.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES WICKERSHAM,

OF ALASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Speaker, Henry Villard was the first great organizer of transportation on the north Pacific coast. His first view of Alaskan trade and transportation in "A Journey to Alaska" is interesting for comparison:

"In April, 1876, I sailed from San Francisco, on the old paddle-wheel steamer *John L. Stephens*, for Portland, Oreg., where I was to assume control as president of the properties of the Oregon Steamship Co. On reaching the mouth of the Columbia River, we saw a little screw steamer of 300 tons register dancing up and down on the agitated sea. It proved to be the *Gussie Telfair*, belonging to the company, on her way from Alaska to Portland, but detained outside by the rough sea on the bar. She brought down from the recently acquired American possession 3 passengers, a score of tons of miscellaneous freight, and a letter bag with less than 30 letters. The United States Government, having established some civil authorities and a military post at Sitka, was in duty bound to maintain communication with its representatives and troops, and the steamship company had reluctantly undertaken to perform a mail contract requiring it to make monthly trips to the point named. The passenger and freight traffic was too insignificant to make the route a profitable one. The trifling load described was about equal to the average one for a trip one way, and the business of the year aggregated only a few hundred passengers and not exceeding 700 tons of other than Government freight. That represented practically the total of the Alaskan trade in those days, and it grew very slowly, as no white settlements were made, with the exception of a few trading posts and fisheries and the opening on a small scale of two or three mines."

A comparison of the Villard statement of the small Alaskan trade of 1876, with the official figures of the trade in 1915, is highly suggestive and interesting. The official customs report of the Alaskan trade for the latter year shows that Alaska purchased from the merchants of the United States and imported to the northern territory merchandise of the value of $28,017,307, while the exports of gold, copper, fish, furs, and other production amounted to $54,856,875, a total Alaskan trade for the year of $82,874,822.

A more suggestive contrast may be had by comparing the Alaskan trade for specified years with that of the United States with China and the Philippine Islands. The following table shows the total imports and exports of Alaska for the years 1913, 1914, and 1915, and also the total imports and exports for the same period between the United States and China and the Philippines:

| Country. | Years. | Imports. | Exports. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| China | 1913 | $40,120,826 | $25,299,802 | $65,420,628 |
| | 1914 | 36,313,770 | 20,367,701 | 56,681,471 |
| | 1915 | 52,837,503 | 19,752,824 | 72,590,327 |
| Total, 3 years | | 129,272,099 | 65,420,327 | 194,692,426 |
| Philippine Islands | 1913 | 26,676,261 | 16,434,018 | 43,110,279 |
| | 1914 | 24,020,395 | 24,427,710 | 48,448,105 |
| | 1915 | 26,381,069 | 23,653,211 | 50,034,280 |
| Total, 3 years | | 77,077,725 | 64,514,939 | 141,592,664 |
| Alaska | 1913 | 26,761,848 | 40,767,677 | 67,529,525 |
| | 1914 | 25,849,944 | 44,655,924 | 70,505,868 |
| | 1915 | 28,017,307 | 54,856,815 | 82,874,122 |
| Total, 3 years | | 80,629,099 | 140,280,416 | 220,909,515 |

The total trade of Alaska with United States merchants exceeds the total trade and commerce of the United States with China or the Philippines or any other country in Asia, excepting only British India and Japan; it exceeds that of every country in South America, excepting only Argentina and Brazil; it exceeds that of every country in North America, excepting Canada, Mexico, and Cuba. It is greater than the total trade between the United States and all the countries on the African continent combined. Its trade with the United States is national in amount and constantly increasing. Alaska is the best customer the United States has in four continents, for every dollar in the Alaskan trade, both imports and exports, is an American dollar, engaged both ways in American trade. There is no balance of trade against the United States in either direction. Every dollar flowing into or out of the United States from the Alaskan trade helps to increase the trade and labor product of the whole United States and aids in developing the great national resources of our common country. The greater the trade is between the United States and Alaska the greater will be the development of Alaska; the greater the development of Alaska the greater will be the trade with the United States. A foreign trade is a 50-cent trade; that with Alaska is dollar-for-dollar trade.

A BILLION-DOLLAR-TRADE TERRITORY.

The total amount of merchandise purchased by Alaska from the merchants of the United States since its acquisition in 1867 amounts to the sum of $331,072,778. In that period the people engaged in developing Alaska have paid into the United States Treasury for internal revenue, customs, public lands, and other public dues the sum of $17,787,153. Alaska has produced more than 47 per cent of all the canned or other fish marketed from the Pacific coast, including Canadian waters; the value of the Alaskan fish and fur output since 1867 now amounts to the sum of $326,083,246. Alaska's mineral production for the same period amounts to the sum of $333,840,589.

| | |
|---|---|
| Credit Alaska with her cash trade value since 1867: | |
| Merchandise imported from the United States | $331,072,778 |
| Cash paid into the United States Treasury | 17,787,153 |
| Production of fish and furs | 326,083,246 |
| Mineral production | 333,840,589 |
| Total trade value of Alaska since 1867 | 1,008,783,766 |
| Charge Alaska with all national expenditures: | |
| Purchase price paid to Russia | $7,200,000 |
| Treasury Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 43,904,681 |
| Commerce Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 7,271,657 |
| Interior Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 8,127,810 |
| Agriculture Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 859,934 |
| Justice Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 8,394,676 |
| Navy Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 1,146,665 |
| War Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 24,573,702 |
| Labor Department expenditures, 1867–1916 | 76,068 |
| Total national expenditures a/c Alaska | 101,355,193 |
| Trade balance due Alaska | 907,428,573 |

The trade of Alaska with the United States for 1915 exceeded $82,000,000; that for 1916 will exceed $100,000,000; if that for 1917 shall be as large, the total trade balance due Alaska on October 18, 1917, the date of the semicentennial of its purchase from Russia, will exceed $1,000,000,000 over and beyond all the national expenditures made in its purchase, government, and development.

The trade of Alaska for 1916 will amount to more than $100,000,000, and every pound of it, both imports and exports, must move over transportation lines, to, from, or in Alaska. The miners and merchants, the shippers and settlers of Alaska now pay, and for years have paid, the most extortionate freight rates of any people in the world. Nothing has been done by their government, or its appointive officials in Alaska, to protect them from unreasonable and discriminatory rates, and the transformation of Alaska into a land of homes and developed industries is being actively consummated under greater handicaps than ever before burdened any part of our American frontier. The enormous output of the Territory to date has been produced from that portion of its natural resources most easily and readily to be reached. It has come from bonanza placer mines and other resources on the seashore where the cheapest rates obtain. Any attempt, however, to develop lower grade placer and quartz gold, copper, or other mineral products in the interior or at any distance from the seacoast must fail until some governmental control of rates of transportation will enable capitalists and laborers alike to have reasonable and equal charge for freight. Settlers away from the coast can not get household goods and farm implements to their farms, or their farm products to market, without that control is exercised. In short, the greater development of Alaska waits on the control and reduction of transportation rates.

UNCONTROLLED TRANSPORTATION CONDITIONS IN ALASKA.

Prior to beginning construction on the Government railroad from Seward to Fairbanks in 1915, the total railway mileage in Alaska was as follows:

| Name of railroad. | Terminals. | Gauge. | Mileage. |
|---|---|---|---|
| White Pass Ry | Skagway-Summit | 3-foot | 20 |
| Yakutat & Southern Ry | Yakutat-Situk | do | 9 |
| Copper R. & N. W. Ry | Cordova-Ken'cut | Standard | 195 |
| Alaska Northern Ry | Seward-Mile 71 | do | 71 |
| Council C. & S. Ry | Solomon-Penelope | do | 32.5 |
| Wild Goose Ry | Council-Ophir | 3-foot | 7 |
| Seward Peninsula Ry | Nome-Shelton | do | 86.5 |
| Tanana Valley Ry | Fairbanks-Chatanika | do | 45 |

Total railway mileage in Alaska, 1914, 466 miles.

The Alaska Northern Railway mileage included in the foregoing statement was purchased by the President of the United States in 1915 under authority vested in him by the act of Congress approved March 12, 1914, "An act to authorize the President of the United States to locate, construct, and operate railroads in the Territory of Alaska, and for other purposes" (38 Stat. L., 305). No other railroad construction is in progress in Alaska except that carried on by the President in extending that road to the Matanuska coal fields and to the Tanana Valley and Fairbanks.

The following steamship lines operate from Seattle to Alaska:

The Alaska Steamship Co.
Pacific Coast Steamship Co.
Pacific-Alaska Navigation Co.
Border Line Transportation Co.
Humboldt Steamship Co.

A single line (the Canadian Pacific Ry. Co. steamships) operates from Vancouver, British Columbia, via Prince Rupert, British Columbia, to Skagway, Alaska, where it connects with the White Pass & Yukon Route Railway and steamers on the Yukon River.

On the Yukon and Tanana Rivers from Whitehorse, British Columbia, to points in Alaska, the White Pass & Yukon Route operates the American Yukon Navigation Co. steamboats and Northern Navigation Co. steamboats.

While other smaller or tramp steamships infrequently ply from Puget Sound to Alaskan ports, they do not substantially affect the situation, for the foregoing steamship lines are the principal carriers and control the trade. The Humboldt Steamship Co. runs only one small vessel to Skagway and way ports. The Border Line Transportation Co. runs two steamers on the same limited route, while the Pacific-Alaska Navigation Co., the "Admiral Line," runs two steamers on the through route to Anchorage and Kodiak. The Canadian Pacific Railway steamers from Vancouver, British Columbia, via Prince Rupert, British Columbia, to Skagway are foreign bottoms and carry but little, if any, American freight and do not really affect the transportation situation in Alaska.

The large and dominating factors in steamship transportation between Seattle and Alaskan ports are the Alaska Steamship Co. and the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. Their dominating influence comes from their ownership and use of a large and well-manned fleet of vessels, well adapted to the Alaskan carrying trade, but more particularly from their unity of action and their interlocking stock and traffic connections with each other, and with the White Pass & Yukon Route, over both its Alaskan-Canadian Railway and its Yukon and Tanana Rivers steamboats; also with the Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co., the Kennecott Copper Corporation, and, prior to its purchase by the United States, with the Alaska Northern Railway Co.; and their joint-stock ownership or control of the wharves at Ketchikan, Juneau, Skagway, Cordova, Valdez, Seward, St. Michael, and Nome.

Under the House resolution No. 587, Sixty-second Congress, second session, the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries was authorized to, and did, make an investigation of alleged shipping combinations and steamship agreements and affiliations in the American foreign and domestic trade, and therein made a brief inquiry touching the combinations and affiliations in the Alaskan carrying trade. In volume 4 of its report, beginning on page 347, it submitted some facts and conclusions on "Steamship company affiliations on the Pacific coast," and on page 351 on "The trade between Puget Sound and Alaska." Beginning on page 352 of that report, the following conceded facts in relation to combinations for the control of Alaskan rates are made by the committee of the House of Representatives:

"Steamship consolidations in the Alaskan trade: With the exception of the Alaska Coast Co., the Northland Steamship Co., and the Humboldt Steamship Co. (the last two companies operating only one steamer each, of 697 and 1,075 gross tons, respectively, on the southeastern route), all of the above-mentioned lines operating to and from Seattle and Tacoma seem to be affiliated through stock ownership or traffic agreements. In the first place, $1,499,100 of the $1,500,000 of the capital stock of the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. is owned by the Pacific Coast Co., the latter company owning 14 steamers of 34,683 gross tons, and the former operating them. The Pacific Coast Co. (with outstanding common stock of $7,000,000, first and second preferred stock of $1,525,000, and first-mortgage bonds of $5,000,000) controls through stock ownership numerous companies besides the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. Among the companies thus controlled should be mentioned the Juneau Steamship Co., whose entire capital stock is held half-and-half by the Pacific Coast Co. and the Alaska Steamship Co.; and the Ketchikan Wharf Co., whose entire stock is also owned in equal shares by the same two companies. Two-thirds of the capital stock of the Western Alaska Steamship Co. (which owns no vessels but charters them from various parties, including the Alaska Steamship Co. and the Pacific Coast Steamship Co.) is also owned by the Alaska Steamship Co. and the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., each owning one-third of the $25,000 of capital stock outstanding.

"The Alaska Steamship Co. (with $3,000,000 of common stock outstanding and representing a consolidation of the Alaska Steamship Co. and the Northwestern Steamship Co. (Ltd.)) owns and operates 13 steamers of 28,319 gross tons, and, aside from the company's interest in the Juneau Steamship Co. and the Ketchikan Wharf Co. (acquired in 1908), owns all of the stock of the Union Wharf Co. (owner of a wharf at Juneau). The Pacific Coast Steamship Co. reported to the committee that it 'has at times had arrangements or understandings with the Alaska Steamship Co. as to sailing dates between Puget Sound and Alaska, with a view to avoiding sailing of different boats on the same date, but has now no such arrangements.' The Alaska Steamship Co. reported that it now 'has no agreements or understanding with any other navigation companies, except that a practice exists of exchanging traffic with the Juneau Steamship Co. at Juneau, when such traffic is to or from points reached by that company and not by our own vessels.' All the other companies engaging in the Alaskan trade denied the existence of any agreements or understandings with other navigation companies; yet the foregoing facts clearly indicate that the three lines operating on the Nome or Bering Sea route—the Alaska Steamship, Western Alaska Steamship, and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos.—are closely interrelated through stock ownership.

"The aforementioned carriers also have, or recently have had, traffic agreements with the two dominant carriers on the Yukon River route, viz, the Northern Navigation Co. (operating 34 steamers and 45 barges, with a total of 32,619 gross tons) and the Merchants' Yukon Line (operating 10 steamers and 23 barges, with a total gross tonnage of 14,644). Both of these companies, as already stated, quote the same rates on through business between Puget Sound and Yukon River points exchanged with the Alaska Steamship and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos. at the mouth of the Yukon. The Alaska Steamship Co. states in its answers to the committee's schedule of in-

quiries that it has an arrangement with the Northern Navigation Co. for through routing and a division of through rates on traffic destined to points on the Yukon River in Alaska, this arrangement, however, to expire on December 31, 1912. On the other hand, the Western Alaska Steamship Co. (two-thirds of whose stock is owned in equal portions by the Alaska and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos.) reports that it has a traffic arrangement for the interchange of freight at St. Michael with the Merchants' Yukon Line, the arrangement being based on a percentage division of through freight rates quoted in a joint through tariff. The Northern Navigation Co., it may be added, represented at the time of organization a consolidation of the Alaska Commercial Co., the Alaska Exploration Co., the Empire Transportation Co., and the Seattle-Yukon Transportation Co.; and following its organization absorbed the Alaska-Yukon Transportation Co. and the firm of Thebo & Oachon. All of its capital stock of $2,125,900 is owned by the Alaska Commercial Co., the Alaska Gold Fields (Ltd.), the International Mercantile Marine Co., and the Northern Commercial Co. Four of the directors and important officers of the Northern Navigation Co. are also directors and officers of the Alaska Packers' Association, a private carrier operating 31 steamers, schooners, and other vessels (with a total of 41,750 gross tons) between San Francisco and Puget Sound ports and the Alaskan canneries of the association.

"Not only have the aforementioned companies entered into traffic arrangements with the two dominant Yukon River lines connecting at St. Michael, but according to the latest advises received by the committee the Alaska Steamship and Pacific coast steamship companies, together with the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. and the Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., also control the so-called White Pass & Yukon Route via Skagway. This route comprises the steamship service from Puget Sound and Vancouver to Skagway, at which port the entire wharfage facilities are said to be owned by the North Pacific Wharf & Trading Co., thence by railroad—the White Pass & Yukon Route is the trade name applied to the route composed of the Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., British Columbia Yukon Railway Co., British-Yukon Railway Co., and the British-Yukon Navigation Co. (Ltd.), all appearing to be operated under a common control or arrangement for through carriage. These various companies are designated hereafter, both in the text and in the cases to be referred to, as the "railway company"—to the headwaters of the Yukon River, and thence by boat down the Yukon to Dawson and other points. According to the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission (Humboldt Steamship Co. *v.* White Pass & Yukon Route et al. Opinion No. 1347, decided June 6, 1910) the one steamer of the Humboldt Steamship Co. was operated during 1902 and 1903 in conjunction with the Alaska Steamship Co., under an arrangement whereby the Alaska and Pacific coast companies collected freight money and sold tickets for the Humboldt Co. upon a commission basis. Upon the termination of this arrangement, early in 1909, the White Pass & Yukon Route et al. canceled their through routes and joint rates with the Humboldt Co. As the Humboldt Steamship Co. reported to the committee, under date of October 10, 1912, 'we have a verbal arrangement with the White Pass & Yukon Route for through billing of freight and through ticketing of passengers beyond Skagway, Alaska, but there are no joint rates, the through rates being the sum of the locals.'

"The situation in this respect, until very recently at least, is fully set forth in the case of United States *v.* Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., Pacific Coast Steamship Co., Alaska Steamship Co., and the Canadian Pacific Railroad Co. (228 U. S., 87 and following), decided April 7, 1913. From the facts outlined in this case it appears that by mutual agreement among the Alaska Steamship and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos., the wharves company, and the 'railway company' through routes and joint rates were established, thus making one continuous line of common carriers for freight and passengers between the United States and northern Alaskan ports. By agreement, however, the railway company 'refused to make any through route or joint rates with the Humboldt Co., or with any of the independent steamship lines, and refused to bill freight or passengers from the United States to Yukon River points or reversely, except by ships belonging to one of the defendant lines.' By the same arrangement the railway company fixed local rates between Skagway and the Yukon River, which were very much higher than the railroad's pro rata share of the through rates; while the wharves company charged $2 a ton for freight if shipped on a vessel not owned by one of the defendant companies, but only $1 to those who had entered into or were about to enter into a contract to have all shipments carried by the defendant lines. As a result of this agreement it is stated in the case:

"'Shippers were compelled to use only the ships of the defendant companies, as in that way alone could lower through rates be obtained. Competition in water transportation was destroyed between the defendant steamship companies and the independent lines, defendants obtaining a monopoly of the transportation business between the United States and Alaska, and the Humboldt Steamship Co. was discriminated against in the matter of through rates.

"'The only possibility of competition is in the water part of this route. The entire transportation is controlled, and the means of control is an agreement between the defendants to throw all the trade into the hands of the defendants' steamship companies, by the railroad company establishing through rates and joint rates with them and refusing to do so with the Humboldt Co. or any of the independent companies.

"'The wharves company gave its assent by its wharfage charges, and all evasion was prevented by so fixing the local rates that their combination was greater than the through rate agreed upon. It is manifest that the scheme was effective and cut out the Humboldt line and the independent lines as factors in the routes of transportation between the United States and the Yukon River points.'"

These findings of the House Committee on the Merchant Marine were made on written inquiries submitted to the steamship companies, and their voluntary answers, in 1912 and 1913, were probably correct, so far as the facts were disclosed, at that time. Since that time, however, other and more important combinations have been made, by which closer affiliations have been secured in favor of a new dominating force, the Kennecott Copper Corporation, representing the Alaska Syndicate.

THE ALASKA SYNDICATE TRANSPORTATION MONOPOLY.

The Alaska Syndicate has for a decade controlled, and now controls, transportation combinations and transportation rates to and from and in Alaska. Through stock ownership in the transportation, mining, and smelting companies it completely dominates transportation by rail and by sea. It controls and limits the production and transportation of copper from Alaska. It thus owns and controls the copper smelters on the Pacific coast, the Everett and Tacoma smelters in Washington and the Selby smelter at San Francisco. It controls the copper market on the Pacific coast. It thus owns and controls the Kennecott and Beatson copper mines in Alaska, the Copper River and Northwestern Railway, and the Alaska Steamship Co. Through its joint-stock ownership and affiliations with the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. it controls the steamship carrying trade to and from Alaska and the wharves at Ketchikan, Juneau, Skagway, Cordova, Valdez, and Nome. Through its affiliation with the White Pass & Yukon Route it controls rates over the White Pass Railway and over its line of steamboats on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers to every point in interior Alaska. It assumes to and does exercise a more practical and forceful control over all transportation rates in Alaska, or to or from Alaska, than the Interstate Commerce Commission and exerts a greater power of governmental dominance over Alaska and its people than the Government of the United States.

On February 18, 1910, Messrs. Stephen Birch and John N. Steele, special representatives of the Alaska Syndicate, appeared before the Senate Committee on Territories and sought to stem the tide rapidly carrying their principals toward indictment in the United States courts in connection with the Alaska coal-land frauds, by ostentatiously laying their cards on the table where the Government officials might see, and seeing, be barred. They were tenderly permitted to cross-examine each other, not under oath, and the Delegate from Alaska was excluded from asking either of them questions by a formal vote of the Senate committee. Notwithstanding the care taken to prevent them from disclosing real facts to the public, they did testify with regard to the personnel of the Alaska Syndicate, and their statements are to be found in the printed hearings of the committee on that date at page 72, as follows:

"Mr. STEELE. Who compose what is known as the Alaska Syndicate?

"Mr. BIRCH. The Messrs. Guggenheim and J. P. Morgan & Co.

"Mr. STEELE. When you say 'The Messrs. Guggenheim,' do you mean M. Guggenheim Sons?

"Mr. BIRCH. M. Guggenheim Sons.

"Mr. STEELE. Who have charge of the affairs of that syndicate in New York?

"Mr. BIRCH. Mr. S. W. Eccles, Mr. John N. Steele, and myself.

* * * * * * * *

"Mr. STEELE. About when was this Alaska Syndicate formed? In the spring of 1906, was it not?

"Mr. BIRCH. In the spring of 1906.

"Mr. STEELE. In what enterprise in Alaska is that syndicate interested?

"Mr. BIRCH. They are interested in the Northwestern Commercial Co., the Alaska Steamship Co., the Northwest Fisheries, the Kennecott Mines Co., the Copper River & Northwestern Railway, and the Katalla Co.

"Mr. STEELE. We will take up first the Northwestern Commercial Co."

On page 88 of the committee hearings is the record where these two gentlemen very carefully interrogated each other with respect to the community of interest which existed between the Alaska Syndicate and the White Pass owners. Of course, they told no more than just enough to put up bars to the feared indictments, and the Delegate was not allowed to cross-examine them. They testified as follows:

"Mr. STEELE. Who at that time owned the Copper River Railway?

"Mr. BIRCH. At that time——

"Mr. STEELE. I mean at that time.

"Mr. BIRCH. The Alaska Syndicate owned it.

"Mr. STEELE. At the time the Copper River & Northwestern Railway was first acquired by the Alaska Syndicate, who owned the Copper River Railway?

"Mr. BIRCH. M. J. Heney, Mr. Graves, and Close Bros., of London.

"Mr. STEELE. Did the Alaska Syndicate acquire the entire interests of those gentlemen in the Copper River Railway?

"Mr. BIRCH. Yes, sir; by permitting them to participate in the Alaska Syndicate up to the amount they had expended.

"Mr. STEELE. In other words, they gave them a participation in the syndicate up to the cash amount they had expended in the construction of the Copper River Railway to that time?

"Mr. BIRCH. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, I have a map showing this railroad, if you desire it."

Here, then, is the carefully stated testimony of the Alaska Syndicate itself, disclosing who its principal owners are and admitting its ownership or control of the Alaska Steamship Co., the Kennecott Mines Co., the Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co., and its affiliation with the White Pass & Yukon Route by joint ownership in the Copper River & Northwestern Railway.

Again, on May 8, 1913, when the Alaska Syndicate lobbyists were in Washington opposing the passage of the Alaska railway bill, Mr. O. L. Dickeson, the president of the White Pass & Yukon Route, in his testimony before the Senate Committee on the Territories, hearings, page 155, testified on the same general matter as follows:

"Senator MCLEAN. Have you any interest in common with the Guggenheims?

"Mr. DICKESON. Yes, sir; we have. Frankly, I might say here that in this talk that I have made against the extension of that line, I am talking against a part of our interests. The interest comes about in this way: The firm of Close Bros. & Co. and a man by the name of M. J. Heney, who built the White Pass & Yukon road, entered into the original scheme of building the Copper River & Northwestern Railroad. We went down in our pockets and each of us put up 50 per cent of the money to start the project. We got to the 20-mile point, and we found that some one was building over the Valdez route—I think it is the Valdez route—and we found that this man was one John Rosene, who is now projecting the Haines route, and we also found that this man was backed by the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate, and that being true, and our making efforts to raise money in New York to complete the extension of this plan, we did not feel that we were likely to be very successful, and we therefore thought that the only other thing to do was to go to England and get the money.

"Mr. WICKERSHAM. Why could you not raise the money in New York in opposition to them?

"Mr. DICKESON. I was not with the road then, Mr. Wickersham. We thought the only thing to do——

Senator JONES. If you had been, do you think you could?

"Mr. DICKESON. No, sir; I do not believe I could. We thought the only other thing to do was to go to England, and, in going to England, the English people, who had or could have raised the money to put up for a railroad project, said the White Pass & Yukon route had not paid anything, and they said, 'Why ask us for money to build another railroad?' So we could not raise the money there. We had considerable difficulty, so we dropped the whole scheme and sold out to the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate, which is known as the Alaska Syndicate, and accepted paper for our interest. We sold for the paper."

The admission of Birch, Steele, and Dickeson, taken in connection with other well-known and admitted facts, conclusively established the intimate association of the Alaska Syndicate with the transportation companies mentioned, and shows why Close Bros. and Heney could not get financial support in their effort to build an independent road into the Alaska Syndicate's "sphere of influence," to wit, the copper region near Kennecott.

THE TRANSPORTATION MONOPOLY CRIMINAL.

The Alaska Steamship Co., the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., the White Pass & Yukon Route Railway and subsidiary lines, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. entered into a special combination to control the facilities of commerce and the transportation of freight into the Yukon Alaska via Skagway, the White Pass Railway, and thence down the Yukon River to Alaska points. Their arrogance became so great that they excluded other companies and heaped excessive burdens on the public. The prosecuting attorney at Juneau caused the United States grand jury to indict the members of the combination on several counts for conspiracy in restraint of trade, for violation of the interstate commerce laws, the antitrust act, and other criminal statutes. The attorneys for the Alaska Syndicate appeared as leading counsel in all those cases, and the decisions of the local court thereon will be found in the Fourth Alaska Report, at pages 518, 530, 552, 574, 583, 587, and 685, where a general discussion of the facts and law relating to the criminal combinations and conspiracies against the people of Alaska and the United States Statutes will be found.

Another of this series of indictments not reported in the Fourth Alaska came from the district court of Alaska on error to the Supreme Court of the United States. This case is entitled "United States of America *v.* Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., Pacific Coast Steamship Co., Alaska Steamship Co., Canadian Pacific Railroad Co." (228 U. S., 87). The court stated the facts upon which the indictment was based, as follows:

"Indictment for alleged violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act and of the interstate-commerce act. The indictments contain six counts. The first and second counts charge violation of the antitrust law. The first, by the defendants engaging in a combination and conspiracy in restraint of trade and commerce with one another to eliminate and destroy competition in the business of transportation in freight and passengers between various ports in the United States and British Columbia in the south and the various cities in the valleys of the Yukon River and its tributaries, both in British and American territory, in the north, upon a line of traffic described, for the purpose and with the intention of monopolizing such trade and commerce. The second count charges monopolization of trade and commerce in the same business between the same ports. The manner of executing the alleged criminal purposes is charged to be the same in both counts.

"The places of the incorporation of the corporate defendants are alleged, and the following facts: The Pacific Coast Steamship Co. and the Alaska Steamship Co. operate, respectively, lines of steamships, as common carriers of freight and passengers, running in regular routes between Seattle, State of Washington, and Skagway, Alaska, etc. * * * Continuously during the three years immediately preceding the finding of the indictment the defendants combined and conspired together to eliminate and destroy competition in the transportation business between the said southern ports and Skagway for the purpose and with the intention of giving to and creating for the Alaska Steamship Co., the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., and the Canadian Pacific Railroad Co. a monopoly of such business."

The Supreme Court sustained the indictment and remanded the case to the district court in Alaska "with instructions to proceed in accordance with this opinion." As soon as the cases were ready for further action in the Alaska court the defendants appeared, plead guilty as charged in the indictment, and were fined $25,000; paid the fine, and the rates are now higher to the same Yukon and Tanana points over the same route.

COMBINATION CONTROLLING RATES OVER THE WHITE PASS & YUKON ROUTE.

That the White Pass & Yukon Route was in combination with the steamship lines on the Seattle-Skagway route and on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers is now so well established that it hardly needed the admissions of Birch, Steele, and Dickeson to place it beyond doubt. This control began at the time Mr. Birch said the Alaska Syndicate was formed—"in the spring of 1906."

On March 28, 1906, a written agreement for the control of business and rates on the Yukon River was entered into by the British Yukon Navigation Co., by S. H. Graves, the president of the White Pass & Yukon Route, of which the British Yukon Navigation Co. was a subsidiary, the North American Transportation & Trading Co., and the Northern Navigation Co. These three were the owners of independent steamboat lines plying on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers, and that contract was made to

limit and restrain their competing business and to enable them to increase and maintain excessive rates.

This contract required the British corporation to turn over to the American corporations at Dawson all freight for points below Dawson, which covered all the interior Alaskan freight for the Yukon and Tanana Rivers. Excessive freights were provided for and agreed divisions made. Freight for the Yukon-Tanana points in Alaska were to be local and not through freights, and the British company was bound "not to issue through bills of lading or through passenger tickets by any other boats than those owned or operated by the parties of the second part."

This contract was to cover the years 1906, 1907, and 1908, but at the end of that term it was extended by other secret contracts until December 31, 1912. The contract of March 28, 1906, was the basis of the contracts between the White Pass & Yukon Route, these two American river lines, and the Seattle-Skagway steamers which sought to put the Humboldt Steamship Co. out of business by control of the Skagway Wharf, and which brought on the fight on May 26, 1909, before the Interstate Commerce Commission, in Washington, D. C., and the subsequent indictments in the district court in Juneau, Alaska. It is the contract, or one of them, mentioned in the report of the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1914, page 354, as follows:

"The Alaska Steamship Co. states, in its answer to the committee's schedule of inquiries that it has an agreement with the Northern Navigation Co. for through routing and a division of through rates on traffic destined to points on the Yukon River in Alaska, this arrangement, however, to expire on December 31, 1912. On the other hand, the Western Alaska Steamship Co. (two-thirds of whose stock is owned in equal portions by the Alaska and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos.) reports that it has a traffic arrangement for the interchange of freight at St. Michael with the Merchants' Yukon Line, the arrangement being based on a percentage division of through freight rates quoted in a joint through tariff."

This is a general statement of the transportation combination which existed from March 28, 1906, to December 31, 1912, and which included the Alaska Steamship Co., the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., the White Pass & Yukon Route from Skagway to Dawson, the Northern Navigation Co. from Dawson to St. Michael, where the combination between the Alaska Steamship Co. joined with the Northern Navigation Co. from St. Michael to Dawson. The combination thus covered the whole of the trade routes of interior Alaska, and all other Yukon and Tanana River points from Skagway to St. Michael. This secret combination, bound together by contracts in violation of the Sherman antitrust and the interstate commerce acts, fixed the excessive rates which burdened the Alaska miners of the interior for seven seasons.

In his report upon "The Mining Industry in 1909," in Bulletin 442, United States Geological Survey, 1910, pages 23–31, Alfred H. Brooks presents a study of transportation in that region at that time. With regard to the transportation of freight from Nome, then controlled by the Alaska Steamship Co., he says, on page 25:

"The total transportation charge on the supplies of Seward Peninsula will, then, be about $1,200,000, or nearly 30 per cent of the value of the entire gold output of the year."

He says of the interior rates and freight traffic, on page 26:

"No exact figures are available in regard to the amount of freight annually shipped to the Alaska portion of the Yukon Basin, but it is probably safe to say that this amounts to 30,000 tons, and that it costs over $2,500,000 to land it at the end of steamboat transportation."

It is simple division to demonstrate that this freight costs the people of Iditarod, Ruby, Fairbanks, and other interior points at the average rate of $83.33 per ton.

"The great tax on the mining industry of Alaska, caused by the present system of transportation, is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the annual freight bill—much, to be sure, paid indirectly—for every white man, woman, and child living in inland Alaska and on Seward Peninsula is over $350. As this figure is based on incomplete data concerning tonnage and on estimates of population, it is only approximate, but it at least indicates to what order of magnitude the true figures belong. If these estimates are correct, the amount paid for freight in the placer camps of Alaska is equal to nearly half of the value of the annual gold production. The freight charges are reflected in the high cost of all supplies and of labor. All of this clearly indicates why only the richest placer ground is being mined, and suggests that the present industrial advancement of inland Alaska is small when compared with that which will take place when railway communication with tidewater has decreased the cost of operating."

The freight rates to these interior points are now higher than they were in 1909, while the output of placer gold is less. The burden upon the average interior Alaska shipper and miner is heavier in 1916 than it was in 1909.

COMPETITION—THEN COMBINATION.

From March 28, 1906, to December 31, 1912, secret corporate contracts controlled the rates and the facilities for the transportation of freight on the Yukon River to the Interior Alaskan mining camps. These ceased to bind on January 1, 1913, and for the year 1913 there was competition in the carriage of freight over the Yukon and Tanana Rivers, and consequently reasonable rates. The White Pass subsidiary, the American Yukon Navigation Co., no longer bound by its contract of March 28, 1906, as extended to December 31, 1912, entered into competition with the Northern Navigation Co. below Dawson, and ran its boats to Fairbanks. The Northern Navigation Co., entering its freight via St. Michael, sought to protect itself in its old "territory," and for one brief season—and for only one—there was fair competition in freight traffic in the interior of Alaska.

In my possession are 14 receipts, aggregating $1,538.80, given by the American Yukon Navigation Co. (the White Pass & Yukon steamer trade name) for freight carried by the White Pass & Yukon Route from Skagway Wharf to Fairbanks for the Samson Hardware Co. in the open season of 1913. The articles of freight are generally iron and hardware. The flat rate is $25 per ton, but on some articles there is an exceptional rate of $45, and on the highest $55 per ton. These rates are from Skagway Wharf, the local rate from Seattle to Skagway, $5 per ton, being prepaid and additional.

Also I have in my possession 15 receipted bills, aggregating $784.49, together with 21 unreceipted original expense bills, all of which were paid, given by the Northern Navigation Co. for freight carried by it, as connecting carrier, from Seattle, to Fairbanks, Alaska, for the Samson Hardware Co. in the same open season of 1913. This freight came to Fairbanks via St. Michael and the mouth of the Yukon River. The freight was hardware, the same class of freight as that covered by the receipts given by the American Yukon Navigation Co. above. The receipts show the flat rate first charged was $50, but upon the showing that the competing line was only charging $39 the Northern Navigation rate was reduced to $40 flat from Seattle to Fairbanks, and the receipts are given for that rate. The general average freight rate paid by this shipper over both routes in 1913 was $35 flat. There was competition in freight traffic on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers in 1913—never before, never since.

The Northern Navigation Co. was a subsidiary company owned by the Northern Commercial Co. Both were owned by the Sloss group of financiers, of San Francisco. They organized the Natomas scheme of developing marshlands and placer mines near Sacramento, Cal., and about 1913 became heavily involved financially. (See Poor's Manual of Industrials, 1913, p. 1922.) Whereupon the competitive fight on them by their former friends of the Transportation Trust, beginning with the close of the secret contracts of combination and control on December 31, 1912, the Natomas failure and one year of competition put the wounded wolf on the ground.

During the winter of 1913–14, a new combination and a new contract was entered into between the Northern Commercial Co., the owner of the Northern Navigation Co. steamers, and the White Pass & Yukon Route, whereby the latter company obtained "control" over the boats and transportation facilities of the Northern Commercial Co., upon an agreement whereby the Northern Commercial Co. was to have an exceedingly low rate of freight in payment for a large sum of the purchase price of "control" held out to that use. The White Pass & Yukon Route, in its statement in Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1915, page 1985, makes this luminous admission:

Notes: In March, 1914, company sold £70,000, 6 per cent secured notes at 96, the proceeds to be used in purchasing control of the Northern Navigation Co.

What really happened was this: The Northern Commercial Co. agreed to put its fleet of river steamers, operating from St. Michael to Fairbanks, and on the upper Yukon to Dawson, on the ways and to keep them there, with the exception of some of the smaller ones to be used by the White Pass & Yukon Route; and the White Pass & Yukon Route agreed to pay to the Northern Commercial Co. $200,000 and to carry its freight for its Yukon and Tanana Rivers mercantile establishments at a greatly reduced special rate. This rate was to be exclusive to the Northern Commercial Co., and so far below the public rate

established by the interstate commerce tariffs for all other through shippers as to enable the Northern Commercial Co. to undersell all its competitors so far as to restrain and prevent competition with it in its mercantile business. This secret rate was then and is now sufficiently lower than the rate to other merchants to give the Northern Commercial Co. a monopoly of the mercantile business in the Yukon and Tanana Basins. It was and now is a flat rate, without exceptions, and did then and does now operate to restrain and to prevent other competitors of the Northern Commercial Co. from carrying on the mercantile business at a profit in that region.

While the Northern Commercial Co. was thus given a monopoly of the mercantile business in the Yukon and Tanana Basins, with no limit to its excessive mercantile prices, the White Pass & Yukon Route was equally given a monopoly of all river transportation on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers, with no limit to its excessive freight charges upon all the public excepting only the favored Northern Commercial Co. Immediately after the contract of monopoly between these two companies in the spring of 1914, and the withdrawal of the Northern Commercial Co.'s boats, the freight rates to the public were at once advanced higher than in previous years.

The Alaska Steamship Co. and the Pacific Coast Steamship Co. carried the freight to Skagway and to St. Michael as formerly, but it was now taken over at both ends of the great river, at the Skagway and St. Michael gateways, by the British transportation monopoly, the White Pass & Yukon Route, and carried to American miners in Alaska at higher rates than are charged anywhere else in civilized countries for a similar service. Competition has now given way to combination.

And now look at the freight rates. In my possession are 32 receipts aggregating more than $7,000 given in 1914 by the White Pass & Yukon Route, as the successor to the two competing companies of 1913, for freight carried by its railroad and steamboats from Skagway wharf and by its boats from St. Michael in the open season of 1914 for the Samson Hardware Co. to Fairbanks, Alaska. Notice the increase in the rates of 1914 over those of 1913. The maximum of 1913 became the minimum of 1914. The minimum flat rate of 1913 from Skagway wharf was $25; that for 1914 was $55, an increase of 120 per cent. The rates in 1913 from Seattle did not exceed $30 flat; in 1914 they are $55, $61, $63.75, $64, $66, $68.50, $77, $78.50, $82, $83.50, $92.75, $96, $110, $139.50, $142, $165.50. The average rate from Seattle to Fairbanks for 1913 was increased in 1914 more than 200 per cent and yet remains at that high-water mark. These excessive rates are now in force and now burden the shippers and miners of the great interior of Alaska and will continue to do so for two or more years until the Government railroad reaches the Tanana, without some action is taken by the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission to reduce them.

THE NORTHERN COMMERCIAL CO.'S MERCANTILE MONOPOLY.

The Northern Commercial Co. was incorporated April 15, 1901, in New Jersey to do a general merchandising business in the Yukon Valley. It was formed by a consolidation of the Alaska Commercial Co., the Alaska Exploration Co., the Empire Transportation Co., and the Seattle-Yukon Transportation Co. See Poor's Manual of Industrials, 1915, page 1429. The Alaska Commercial Co. was organized about 1868 and had the first United States 20-year lease of the Pribilof fur-seal islands. The Sloss-Liebes were the financial power behind the consolidation of 1901. The Alaska Commercial Co. and its successor, the Northern Commercial Co. have been continuously engaged in the mercantile business in Alaska since 1868.

When the Dawson and Nome gold strikes were made, in 1897–98, the Alaska Commercial Co. established a string of stores on the Bering Sea coast and along the Yukon River from Nome and St. Michael to Dawson and along the Tanana to Fairbanks and beyond. It owned and operated a line of packets and freight boats on these rivers, and from its St. Michael base supplied the merchandise to its own stores and along the route. The Alaska Exploration Co. and the Seattle-Yukon Transportation Co. were also engaged in steamer traffic and merchandising, so they were both absorbed. The Empire Transportation Co. was taken over and its boats added to the boneyard. The Northern Commercial Co. soon had the trade of the rivers and was the master of the mercantile and transportation business on the Yukon and Tanana until Natomas speculation crippled it financially in 1913. Owning the only regular line of steamers on the rivers, connecting at St. Michael with the Alaska Steamship Co., with whom it had a beneficial combination, it was able to crush all mercantile competitors by charging them such excessive transportation rates and applying other burdens that it soon became and long remained in control of the trade in and transportation of all merchandise on those rivers.

Natomas wrecked its owners in California, and in the spring of 1914 its boats were taken in "control" by the White Pass & Yukon Route and it became a participant in that combination, though not in "control" of transportation. It retained the exclusive control in the field of merchandising along the White Pass & Yukon Route in Alaska. Its secret and low rate of freight over the White Pass & Yukon Route enables it to crush out all competitors and to retain its control over and monopoly of the mercantile business in the interior of Alaska. No independent merchant can do business in interior Alaska in opposition to the Northern Commercial Co. because of its illegal rebates.

THE COPPER RIVER GATEWAY.

How enormously valuable this gateway to the Alaska copper fields is, how completely it is monopolized, and how highly capitalized by the Alaska Syndicate may be seen by an examination of the financial statement made by the Kennecott Copper Corporation on February 14, 1916, to the New York Stock Exchange, and which was approved by the governing board of the exchange on February 23, 1916. This financial statement admits many facts heretofore in doubt about the control of transportation in Alaska by the Alaska Syndicate and is conclusive proof of others. Among other items of admitted fact of interest in this inquiry are these:

On April 29, 1915, the Kennecott Mines Co., the Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co., the Beatson Copper Co., and the Alaska Steamship Co., all engaged in mining or transportation in Alaska, together with the Braden Copper Mines Co., engaged in copper mining in Chile, were combined into one company and incorporated as the Kennecott Copper Corporation under the business corporation law of the State of New York. The stocks of the old companies were traded for that of the new corporation upon an agreed basis, and other portions of the stock of the new company were traded to the Guggenheim Exploration Co., for a big block—about one-fourth—of the stock of the Utah Copper Co. These combined properties are capitalized at about $165,000,000, though the real value probably lies in the Kennecott copper mines, at the interior terminal of the Copper River & Northwestern Railway, and the ownership and control of that railway and the Alaska Steamship Co.'s boats and business.

The Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co. was incorporated May 16, 1905, under the laws of Nevada by the Alaska Syndicate interests, to construct a railroad to the Kennecott copper mines which it had previously purchased and then owned. The Alaska Steamship Co. was organized by the same interests under the laws of Nevada, November 12, 1907, as an auxiliary line to the Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co. to carry the Kennecott copper ore from Cordova, the ocean terminal of the railway, to its Tacoma smelter. The primary object of both the railway and the steamship line was to market Kennecott ore, and the business of carrying freight for the public was then and now is only secondary and incidental. They expected to and have made their profits out of the large output of highly valuable copper ore which they owned at Kennecott and which they desired to carry to their Tacoma smelter. The American Smelting & Refining Co., controlled by the Guggenheim interests, own the Everett and Tacoma smelters in Washington and the Selby Smelter at San Francisco, the only commercial copper smelters to be reached by Alaska ores. All these are controlled by the Kennecott Copper Corporation, so far as Alaska ores are concerned.

With this general plan of exploiting this Alaskan bonanza copper deposit—the greatest in the world—and making their returns on their investments from it, the Alaska Syndicate took possession of the Copper River gateway to the copper fields of Alaska. They exerted the powerful influence of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; the American Smelting & Refining Co.; the Guggenheim Copper Trust; and other influences to clear the gateway of obstructions and to enable them to secure an exclusive possession. In the canyons of Alaska and on the floor of Congress they slew their opponents where they were obliged and bought them off for participation where they could. The Home Railway Co. and its section men were shot; the partly constructed Close Bros.-Heney Railway, from Cordova to the Copper River gateway, was given over to the sydicate for participation. Those who sought to get a foothold at Katalla were clubbed into submission at the crossing, or placed under Senate Rule IX by one of the senatorial owners of the Alaska Steamship Co., aided by the senatorial treasurer of the Pacific Coast Co. In this high-handed way the Copper River gateway was cleared of all prior and independent enterprises, and the syndicate entered and took and has ever since maintained an exclusive and unchallenged possession.

MONOPOLY AND SUPPRESSION OF ALASKAN DEVELOPMENT.

The Alaskan Syndicate constructed their own Copper River & Northwestern Railway and organized their own Alaska Steamship Co. to transport their own Kennecott copper ores

to their own Tacoma smelter. These were merely separate elements of a single private enterprise, and the transportation of passengers and property for the public was, and now is, a secondary matter. These lines were intended primarily as private carriers of privately owned copper ore to a privately owned smelter. Even as they are now managed, less than 10 per cent of the earnings of the railway and less than 50 per cent of those of the steamships are derived from carrying for the public.

Nor is that result disappointing to the syndicate. No one knew better than they the conditions in the Copper River region when they built the railroad and organized the steamship company. They knew there was no traffic there—that it was an uninhabited wilderness. They knew that traffic must be created, if desired. They knew if traffic was developed, inducements must be offered to capital to come in and prospect for and open mines, extract the copper and other ore for shipment—or they must depend upon their own mines and enterprises to furnish freight. Their object then was, now is, and will continue to be, to bar all other enterprises, to prevent other mine development, and to suppress the independent copper operator that the syndicate may acquire the greatest copper deposits in the world and create great wealth for themselves. In aid of that object the Alaska syndicate has systematically and purposely restrained and prevented the opening and development of any independent copper mines in the region along its railroad and at its terminals, and has refused to give other mine owners who sought to open and develop properties there either reasonable or just rates or any facilities whatever for engaging in business there.

Their policy and purpose has been to bar all development along the line of their railroad, or "in their territory," except such as they created in their own interest. If rich prospects appeared they were in the market to buy, not for fair prices, but generally for "participation," or a pittance, for the mine could not be opened or developed without their aid as carriers or smelters, and they gave neither. Their policy seemed sound to them, and its success has demonstrated that it was flawless.

They openly and purposely wrecked every attempt to build any other railroad into their "territory," and with excessive, unjust, and unreasonable rates, and by refusing to give the usual facilities to competitors, wrecked and destroyed every independent attempt to develop other mines on the public domain in their "Kennecott territory." Their lines were constructed and were and are now operating to aid them in suppressing competition and in securing the ownership of other rich mines and development of their own, and not those of independent miners.

Their lines were not constructed then, nor operated now, as common carriers in good faith in aid of the public service. They were constructed and are now operated as a part of their conspiracy to secure to themselves the well-known great undeveloped copper riches of that region. Their purpose and policy was to control the Copper River gateway, out of which these great riches must come, and the rates, the ocean transportation, the smelters, the prices, and the copper market, in aid of securing the ownership of the copper wealth of Alaska—the greatest in the world. They fought interstate commerce control for years, and their lobbyists fought the passage of the act of Congress authorizing the President of the United States to locate and construct the Government railroad in Alaska. They dominate and control the Katalla coal fields as certainly as they do the Kennecott copper fields. They have always maintained excessive, unjust, and unreasonable rates, for it makes no difference to them in the movement of their own copper, how high the rate is—what they pay out of one hand they take in with the other—it is a mere matter of bookkeeping.

And in the Prince William Sound copper region the same successful policy of suppression, discrimination, and monopoly has enabled them to prevent the opening and development of a single successful shipping mine by any independent operator. Take the Beatson, for instance. Its owners were unable to operate it owing to the syndicate's control of transportation and smelters. They were compelled to sell to the syndicate for whatever "participation" they could get, but now that it has fallen to the syndicate this mine is capitalized on the New York Stock Exchange at a value of about $6,000,000. Hundreds of other good mines in these two copper belts are made valueless and their owners paupers by this repressive policy of the syndicate and its control of transportation, of rates, of smelters, and the copper market.

THE SYNDICATE'S COPPER ORE RATES.

The act of June 29, 1906 (34 Stat., 584), declares:

"All charges made for any service rendered or to be rendered in the transportation of passengers or property as aforesaid, or in connection therewith, shall be just and reasonable; and every unjust and unreasonable charge for such service, or any part thereof, is prohibited and declared to be unlawful."

The following is a copy of the special ore rate tariff over the Copper River & Northwestern Railway and the Alaska Steamship Co. boats from "Kennecott territory" to the Tacoma smelter:

*General ore rates.*

[Rates in cents per ton of 2,000 pounds.]

| Item No. | Articles. | To— | From— | Actual value per ton of 2,000 pounds not to exceed— | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | $25 | $40 | $50 | $65 | $80 | $100 | $125 | $150 | $175 | $200 | $300 | $400 | $500 |
| 4-A (cancels 4). | Ore and concentrates, bulk, carload, minimum weight 40,000 pounds (reissue, effective Aug. 16, 1915, in Supplement No. 5). | Seattle and Tacoma. | Alaganik | 575 | 750 | 900 | 1,100 | 1,250 | 1,250 | 1,300 | 1,400 | 1,450 | 1,450 | 1,710 | 1,840 | 1,970 |
| | | | Bremner | 985 | 1,050 | 1,100 | 1,200 | 1,300 | 1,300 | 1,400 | 1,500 | 1,600 | 1,850 | 2,190 | 2,360 | 2,530 |
| | | | Chitina | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Kostina | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Strelna | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Chokosna | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Moose Lake | 1,000 | 1,050 | 1,100 | 1,200 | 1,300 | 1,400 | 1,600 | 1,800 | 2,100 | 2,450 | 2,910 | 3,140 | 3,370 |
| | | | Long Lake | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Porphry | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | McCarthy | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Kennecott | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5-A (cancels 5). | Ore and concentrates, in sacks, carload, minimum weight 40,000 pounds (reissue, effective Aug. 16, 1915, in Supplement No. 5). | do | Alaganik | 475 | 650 | 800 | 1,000 | 1,150 | 1,200 | 1,300 | 1,350 | 1,350 | 1,350 | 1,610 | 1,740 | 1,870 |
| | | | Bremner | 885 | 950 | 1,000 | 1,100 | 1,200 | 1,300 | 1,400 | 1,500 | 1,600 | 1,750 | 2,090 | 2,260 | 2,430 |
| | | | Chitina | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Kotsina | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Strelna | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Chokosna | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Moose Lake | 900 | 950 | 1,000 | 1,100 | 1,200 | 1,300 | 1,500 | 1,700 | 2,000 | 2,350 | 2,810 | 3,040 | 3,270 |
| | | | Long Lake | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Porphry | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | McCarthy | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | Kennecott | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Before noticing the magnitude of these rates attention is called to other features of the tariff sheet. The fixing of these rates is assumed by the public to be an official act of the Interstate Commerce Commission under the United States statutes by which a just and reasonable charge is to be fixed for the control of the shipper and the transporting company. Notice the rates are fixed on the "actual value" of the ore. On an ore not exceeding $25 in "actual value" the rate is $10 flat. As the "actual value" increases the rate increases, until a $500 ore takes a flat rate of $33.70.

The greatest evil in this rate sheet lies in the words "actual value." Undoubtedly, the value of an article offered for shipment must be taken into consideration in fixing the rate.

But here a new and peculiar element is injected into the rate by the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The "actual value" must be determined before the carrier is compelled to accept the freight or the payment for its transportation. How is that "actual value" to be determined, and by whom, and when and where? As a matter of 10 years actual practice, it is determined by smelting the ore, by the Copper Trust, when the ore reaches its Tacoma smelter. The use of the words "actual value" in that rate sheet gives the syndicate and the Copper Trust as complete control over the ore shipped over its lines as if they were the owners of it. Not only must the ore go to its Tacoma smelter to have the "actual value" determined, but because of that necessity the Interstate Com-

merce Commission, in effect and actual practice, requires every shipper to pay the smelter charge of $3.75 and the wharfage and to accept the discount of 3 cents per pound upon his copper after it is reduced and refined. It forces a sale of the copper to the carrier on the carrier's own terms.

It is an unjust and unreasonable charge and in effect a transfer to the carrier of the shipper's control and ownership over his property. It is useless to split hairs and talk about the tariff sheet merely fixing the rate—fixing that rate upon "actual value" enables the carrier and the smelter to fix the other charges, and gives the carrier and the smelter the exclusive control over the price and the sale of the product.

While "actual value" does not contain the words "at the Tacoma smelter," it is equivalent to that for there is no other smelter nearer to Alaska. In addition, of course, there is the Everett smelter, at Everett, Wash., and the Selby smelter, at San Francisco, but both these are owned by the owners of the Tacoma smelter. The Granby smelter in British Columbia would not be allowed to compete, for the Alaska Steamship Co.'s boats would not carry the ore there. Nor is it the policy of our laws to compel the American ore shipper to send his product to a Canadian smelter, even if he could do so, and the fact that he has no other measure of freedom of trade is a most obvious reason for some relief from our own courts.

Nor are the tariff rates fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission the only charges upon the transportation of copper ore from "Kennecott territory." There is, first, the wharfage charge of $1.60 per ton at the Cordova Wharf, also owned by the Kennecott Copper Corporation. Whether there is a wharfage charge at the Tacoma smelter is not stated. On application the following information was received as to Tacoma smelter charges:

"Rates Tacoma smelter are on basis of $1.50 per ton, but depend on character of ore and varying demand at smelter for ores carrying excess of iron, lime, silica, etc. They charge penalty on excess silica and pay bonus for excess lime and iron, resulting in no smelting charge on some iron ores from Prince of Wales Island and rates at least as high as $2 on siliceous ores from same region. One copper smelter deducts 1.3 per cent from wet assay to cover losses in slag and pays in matte 3 cents less than New York quotations."

One independent copper operator who attempted to open a copper mine and ship ore out of "Kennecott territory" was charged a total of $3.75 smelter charges per ton, and was forced out of business by the accumulation of charges and rates. After the ore is reduced, "actual value" fixed, the rate determined, the smelter and wharfage charges paid, the smelter then takes the product at 3 cents per pound less than the New York market price. What justice there is in that is not apparent to the owner, but he can not help himself. It is a part of the burden imposed upon him by the "actual-value" clause, and he has no relief. He must either submit or lose much more in seeking a new market which does not now exist.

The following table is constructed from the foregoing data and shows the gross expense which every independent copper shipper from Alaska must pay at the Tacoma smelter on his ore shipped from "Kennecott territory." The items in the first two columns are taken from the Interstate Commerce Commission's official tariff sheet:

| "Actual value" ore at Tacoma smelter. | Freight rate to Tacoma. | Wharfage charge, Cordova. | Smelter charge, Tacoma. | 3 cents discount, Tacoma. | Total charge. | Total "actual value" taken. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | *Per cent.* |
| $25.00 | $10.00 | $1.60 | $3.75 | $3.00 | $18.35 | 73.4 |
| 40.00 | 10.50 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 4.80 | 20.65 | 51.6 |
| 50.00 | 11.00 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 6.00 | 22.35 | 44.7 |
| 65.00 | 12.00 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 7.80 | 25.15 | 40.2 |
| 80.00 | 13.00 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 9.60 | 27.95 | 34.9 |
| 100.00 | 14.00 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 12.00 | 31.35 | 31.3 |
| 125.00 | 16.00 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 15.00 | 36.35 | 29.0 |
| 150.00 | 18.00 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 18.00 | 41.35 | 27.5 |
| 175.00 | 21.00 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 21.00 | 47.35 | 27.0 |
| 200.00 | 24.50 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 24.00 | 53.85 | 26.9 |
| 300.00 | 29.10 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 36.00 | 70.45 | 23.4 |
| 400.00 | 31.40 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 48.00 | 84.75 | 21.1 |
| 500.00 | 33.70 | 1.60 | 3.75 | 60.00 | 99.05 | 19.8 |

This statement is approximately if not exactly correct—near enough to demonstrate the excessive burdens and charges which the Copper Trust imposes upon those miners in Alaska who still struggle futilely to own, hold, and develop copper mines in the "Kennecott territory," or on Prince William Sound. The rates are prohibitory and confiscatory, and, of course, unjust and

There are yet two or three optimistic copper mine owners on Prince William Sound, who are making a brave effort to mine and ship copper ore to the Tacoma smelter. They have an advantage over the "Kennecott territory" independents, for they can secure lower rates through competitive rates by independent steamers. The Pacific Alaska Steamship Co., the "Admiral Line," tariff fixes a rate of $3 per ton on shipments of more than 100 tons from the Cordova zone, and since substantially all shipments exceed that tonnage that may be adopted as the prevailing water rate on copper ore from Cordova. These boats do a pioneering work, and load from ramshackle wharves with inadequate facilities, running into bays and waters off their line of route; it is a more expensive service than that given by the Alaska Steamship Co., whose boats load "Kennecott territory" and "Beatson" ores from cars alongside at well equipped and lighted docks.

Copper ore is not affected by heat or cold, by rain or snow; it is solid, compact, and easily handled in bulk or in sacks. Once loaded on flat or coal cars—for it is not handled in box cars—it is carried over the Copper River & Northwestern Railway to the Cordova Wharf with no more care or attention than coal or brick. It differs from coal or brick in that its units or parts are not useful if stolen, and even a ton or more would have no value if thus taken. In case of wreck it can be easily reloaded without loss. It requires no attention, and will not deteriorate if sidetracked in the yards for an indefinite time. It is a valuable cargo as ballast at sea, and occupies space not otherwise used on return trips to the Tacoma smelter. The "actual value" of the ore adds nothing to the cost of shipment, either over the rail or steamship line, for the least valuable receives exactly the same care as the most valuable.

The official tariff sheet gives every point on the Copper River & Northwestern Railway from Chitina to Kennecott a common rate. Chitina is 130 miles from Cordova Wharf, and Kennecott 196 miles. The region from Chitina to Kennecott is therefore called "Kennecott territory," since the common rate enables a shipper to have the same rate from any point in it. The rates range from the lowest, $10 per ton, to the highest, $33.70, from "Kennecott territory" to Tacoma on copper ore, according to "actual value."

Three dollars of these rates are absorbed by the steamship, while the balance is rail rate. The following table shows the rail rate, the distance, and the ton-mile rate, in mills, from "Kennecott territory" to the Cordova Wharf:

| Rail rate. | Distance. | Mills. | Rail rate. | Distance. | Mills. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Miles.* | | | *Miles.* | |
| $7.00 | 196 | 35.7 | $15.00 | 196 | 76.5 |
| 7.50 | 196 | 38.4 | 18.00 | 196 | 91.8 |
| 8.00 | 196 | 40.8 | 21.50 | 196 | 109.6 |
| 9.00 | 196 | 45.9 | 26.10 | 196 | 131.3 |
| 10.00 | 196 | 51.0 | 28.40 | 196 | 144.8 |
| 11.00 | 196 | 56.1 | 30.70 | 196 | 156.6 |
| 13.00 | 196 | 66.3 | | | |

Now compare those rates, not one of which is less than 35.7 mills per mile, with the following for the carrying of similar ore not to exceed $100 in value:

| Terminal point. | Distance. | Rate. | Mills. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Miles.* | | |
| Anaconda to St. Paul | 1,155 | $6.00 | 5.19 |
| Wallace, Idaho, to Pittsburgh | 2,261 | 15.20 | 6.72 |
| Wallace, Idaho, to New York | 2,705 | 16.00 | 5.91 |
| Sand Point to East Helena | 311 | 3.25 | 10.45 |

While comparison of rates by the cost per ton-mile scale may not be the best standard, it is one so often used as to be considered reasonable. There seems to be no other common standard so convenient in this case. Other factors are also considered in the decisions of the commission, and still others will not be forgotten in the final determination.

In the decision by the Interstate Commerce Commission in Rock Spring Distilling Co. *v.* I. C. R. Co. (29 I. C. C. Dec., p. 24) this statement is made:

"The average revenue per ton per mile for all railways in the United States on live stock, for which these figures are available, is 12 mills, while the average for all freight is 7.5 mills, the revenue on cattle being about 60 per cent greater than the average."

In Ontario Iron Ore Co. *v.* N. Y. Co., etc. (30 I. C. C., p. 570), the commission said:

"Considering all the facts of record, we are of opinion and find that the rate of $1.60 per gross ton on iron ore in carloads from Fruitland and Ontario to Curtin, 256 miles; Milesburg, 259 miles; and Bellefonte, 262 miles, is unreasonable to the extent that it exceeds $1.40 per gross ton, and that any rate in excess of $1.40 for the future will be unreasonable."

The ton-mile rate shown in the table in that case, upon which the rates were based, are, respectively, 6.2 mills, 6.1 mills, and 6.1 mills.

In Lum *v.* G. N. Ry Co. (30 I. C. C. Dec., pp. 556–557), where rates from the iron fields of Minnesota to Lake Superior were involved, the commission said:

"Carriers sought to show that the 60-cent rate is not unreasonable by comparison with many other rates on a ton-mile basis. With the distances given on a previous page, the 60-cent rate yields earnings per ton-mile, as follows:

| | Average haul. | Earnings per gross ton-mile. | Earnings per net ton-mile. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Duluth & Iron Range: | *Miles.* | *Mills.* | *Mills.* |
| Mesabi Range | 67.07 | 8.946 | 7.987 |
| Vermilion Range | 89.32 | 6.717 | 5.997 |
| Duluth, Missabi & Northern | 77.43 | 7.749 | 6.919 |
| Great Northern | 108.23 | 5.544 | 4.950 |
| Average | 84.53 | 7.098 | 6.338 |

"Under all of the conditions that have been shown, we find that the rate on iron ore from points on the Mesabi Range should not exceed 55 cents for the future, and an order to this effect will be entered."

In the case of Pennsylvania Smelting Co. *v.* Northern Pacific Railway Co. (19 I. C. C., 60) a rate of $12 per net ton on lead ore and concentrates from Coeur d'Alene district in the State of Idaho to Carnegie, Pa., was held to be unreasonable and reduced to $11.40. Sixty cents additional was allowed to Atlantic coast points, an additional distance of 660 miles. The distance from Wardner, Idaho, the point of shipment to Carnegie, Pa., via the Northern Pacific Railway is 2,494 miles. The rate per ton-mile to Carnegie is 4.56 mills; the additional 660 miles is at the rate of 0.909 mill.

The argument of the commission in support of its judgment in Metropolitan Paving Brick Co. *v.* Ann Arbor Railway Co. (17 I. C. C., 197) seems to be decisive of the like feature in this case. The syllabus in the reported case reads as follows:

"There is no transportation reason for making different rates on different grades of fire, building, and paving brick. In so far as it was held in the Stowe-Fuller case (12 I. C. C. Rep., 215) that one rate should be applied to fire, building, and paving brick on shipments between the points involved, the conclusion then reached is sustained by further and more exhaustive inquiry."

And in the body of the opinion:

"It is conceded by defendants that it costs no more to transport fire brick than any of the other kinds. Claims for loss and damage are nominal only, and there appears to be no material difference in this respect between the various kinds of brick transported. It is well settled that in making a classification of articles bulk, value, liability to loss and damage, and similar elements affecting the desirability of the traffic should be considered and articles which are analogous in character should ordinarily be placed in the same class."

There is no transportation reason for making different rates on the different ores from "Kennecott territory" to the Tacoma smelter. Nor is it done for a "transportation reason." It is done to suppress development of independent copper mines by independent miners and to enable the syndicate to control the "Kennecott territory" and to secure a monopoly of the copper mines therein which may be found to be highly valuable as producers. It is done as a part of their purpose to own and control the copper fields of Alaska and the output thereof. It is a rate in restraint of trade and commerce and in suppression of the development of the United States public domain.

The average of the several ton-mile ore rates on the longest haul over the Copper River & Northwestern Railway, from the "Kennecott territory" to the Cordova Wharf is 8.03 cents, or 80.3 mills per ton-mile. That is more than ten times the amount of the average rate of all freight hauled in the United States; it is eight to ten times higher than any other ore rate in American territory under similar conditions; it is unreasonable and unjust and ought to be reduced nine-tenths. Its maintenance at that excessive mark is more than an unjust and an unreasonable railroad rate; it is an unreasonably high rate levied by the Alaska Syndicate to prevent any independent copper development in the "Kennecott territory" and to enable the Kennecott Copper Corporation to acquire all valuable copper properties therein. If there is any power in or inclination on the part of the United States officials to reach these rate makers and secure some freedom to American citizens on the public domain in the copper region of Alaska, it ought now to be exercised in this case. And, to begin where it will do the greatest good to the greatest number, these copper-ore rates ought to be reduced nine-tenths. Any rate above one-tenth what they now are will be unjust and unreasonably high. The "actual value" clause in the official-rate sheet ought to be stricken out, or so far modified that it can no longer be used by the syndicate or the American Smelting & Refining Co. as a means of monopoly, oppression, and extortion.

THE SYNDICATE'S GENERAL COMMODITY RATE.

The following is an official arrangement and statement of the rates on specified commodities from Seattle to Cordova over the Alaska Steamship Co.'s boats and from Cordova to McCarthy on the Copper River & Northwestern Railway:

Carload rates in dollars and cents per ton of 2,000 pounds, from Seattle, Wash., to Cordova and Valdez, Alaska, via Alaska Steamship Co., and from Cordova, Alaska, to McCarthy, Alaska, via Copper River & Northwestern Railway are as follows:

| Commodities. | Seattle to Cordova and Valdez, Alaska. | Cordova to McCarthy, Alaska. |
|---|---|---|
| Hardware | $9.00 | $48.20 |
| Hay, double compressed | 12.00 | 28.60 |
| Hay, single compressed | 16.00 | 28.60 |
| Grain | 9.00 | 36.20 |
| Flour | 8.00 | 41.60 |
| Automobiles | 11.00 | 41.60 |
| Automobile parts | 11.00 | 41.60 |
| Machinery, mining | 11.00 | 30.00 |
| Machinery, no single piece weighing over 4,000 pounds | 11.00 | 41.60 |
| Machinery, single pieces or packages from 4,000 to 40,000 pounds | 14.00–24.00 | (1) |
| Coal, blacksmith | 8.00 | 12.60 |
| Coal, fuel | 6.00 | 11.60 |
| Furniture | 9.00 | 41.60–59.40 |
| Household goods, released | 16.00 | 59.40 |
| Household goods, unreleased | 15.00 | 89.10 |
| Sugar | 8.00 | 41.60 |
| Clothing | 11.00 | 59.40 |
| Dry goods | 11.00 | 59.40 |
| Electric appliances | 11.00 | 89.10 |
| Wire rope | 11.00 | 41.60 |
| Nails | 8.00 | 30.00 |
| Picks | 9.00 | 41.60 |
| Shovels | 9.00 | 41.60 |
| Burial cases | 11.00 | 83.20 |
| Billiard tables | 11.00 | 59.40 |
| Groceries | 9.00 | 41.60–59.40 |
| Fresh fruit | 11.00 | 72.80 |
| Stoves, Klondike | 11.00 | 72.30 |
| Cooking stoves and ranges | 11.00 | 59.40 |
| Bicycles | 11.00 | 118.80 |
| Tobacco, cut | 12.00 | 59.40 |
| Tobacco, plug | 12.00 | 48.20 |
| Cigars and cigarettes | 12.00 | 118.80 |
| Books | 11.00 | 59.40 |
| Window glass | 11.00 | 41.60 |

[1] Single pieces or packages 4,000 to 20,000 pounds, $45.76 to $60.32.

Rates from Seattle to Cordova and Valdez are carried in Alaska Steamship Co. tariff I. C. C. No. 10. Rates from Cordova to McCarthy are carried in Copper River & Northwestern Ry. I. C. C. 3, in connection with Alaska Freight Classification I. C. C. No. 2.

McCarthy is 190 miles distant from the Cordova Wharf and is the last public station on the road before reaching its final terminal at the syndicate's Kennecott mines. McCarthy is the inland terminal used by the public and those engaged in prospecting and mining in the region beyond the end of the railroad. There is always some competition from Seattle to Cordova by independent or "tramp" steamers, but none whatever from Cordova inland.

For the purpose of comparison of the local rail rate from Cordova to McCarthy, over the Copper River & Northwestern Railway, the following table has been arranged to show the combination rate from Chicago, Ill., to Seattle, Wash., and from Seattle to the Cordova Wharf, alongside the local rate on the railroad from Cordova to McCarthy, upon the same specified commodities.

The distance from Chicago to Seattle is 2,276 miles, from Seattle to Cordova Wharf 1,581 miles, and from Cordova Wharf to McCarthy 190 miles.

| Specified commodities. | Cordova to McCarthy. | Combination rate, Chicago to Cordova. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Chicago to Seattle. | Seattle to Cordova. | Chicago to Cordova. |
| Hardware | $48.20 | $40.00 | $9.00 | $49.00 |
| Hay, double compressed | 28.60 | 15.00 | 12.00 | 27.00 |
| Hay, single compressed | 28.60 | 15.00 | 16.00 | 31.00 |
| Grain | 36.20 | 12.00 | 9.00 | 21.00 |
| Flour | 41.60 | 15.00 | 8.00 | 23.00 |
| Automobiles | 41.60 | 60.00 | 11.00 | 71.00 |
| Automobile parts | 41.60 | 41.40 | 11.00 | 52.40 |

| Specified commodities. | Cordova to McCarthy. | Combination rate, Chicago to Cordova. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Chicago to Seattle. | Seattle to Cordova. | Chicago to Cordova. |
| Machinery, mining | $30.00 | $30.00 | $11.00 | $41.00 |
| Machinery, under 4,000 pounds | 41.60 | 30.00 | 11.00 | 41.00 |
| Machinery, to 40,000 pounds | 60.32 | 30.00 | 24.00 | 64.00 |
| Coal, blacksmith | 12.60 | 8.80 | 8.00 | 16.80 |
| Coal, fuel | 11.60 | 8.80 | 6.00 | 14.80 |
| Furniture | 59.40 | 49.00 | 9.00 | 58.00 |
| Household goods, released | 59.40 | 24.00 | 10.00 | 34.00 |
| Household goods, unreleased | 89.10 | 35.40 | 15.00 | 50.40 |
| Sugar | 41.60 | 35.00 | 8.00 | 43.00 |
| Clothing | 59.40 | 60.00 | 11.00 | 71.00 |
| Dry goods | 59.40 | 60.00 | 11.00 | 71.00 |
| Electric appliances | 89.10 | 32.00 | 11.00 | 43.00 |
| Wire rope | 41.60 | 22.00 | 11.00 | 33.00 |
| Nails | 30.00 | 15.00 | 8.00 | 23.00 |
| Shovels | 41.60 | 27.00 | 9.00 | 36.00 |
| Picks | 41.60 | 25.00 | 9.00 | 34.00 |
| Burial cases | 83.20 | 49.00 | 11.00 | 60.00 |
| Billiard tables | 59.40 | 29.00 | 11.00 | 40.00 |
| Groceries | 59.40 | 35.00 | 9.00 | 44.00 |
| Fresh fruit | 72.80 | 49.00 | 11.00 | 60.00 |
| Stoves, Klondike | 72.30 | 35.00 | 11.00 | 46.00 |
| Stoves and ranges | 59.40 | 26.00 | 11.00 | 37.00 |
| Bicycles | 118.80 | 50.00 | 11.00 | 61.00 |
| Tobacco, cut | 59.40 | 40.00 | 12.00 | 52.00 |
| Tobacco, plug | 48.20 | 40.00 | 12.00 | 52.00 |
| Cigars | 118.80 | 60.00 | 12.00 | 72.00 |
| Cigarettes | 118.80 | 40.00 | 12.00 | 52.00 |
| Books | 59.40 | 28.00 | 11.00 | 39.00 |
| Window glass | 41.80 | 18.00 | 11.00 | 39.00 |

Notice that the following commodities—hardware, hay, grain (oats, etc.), flour, auto parts, machinery, furniture, household goods, electric appliances, wire rope, nails, shovels, picks, burial cases, billiard tables, groceries, fresh fruit, stoves and ranges, bicycles, tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, books, and window glass—can be shipped from Chicago to Seattle, a distance of 2,276 miles, and from Seattle to Cordova, a distance of 1,581 miles, a total distance of 3,857 miles, for a less charge than the same articles pay from Cordova to McCarthy, only 190 miles, over the line of the Copper River & Northwestern Railway.

Why? Because the Kennecott Copper Corporation does not want the traffic. It does not want hardware, grain, flour, furniture, household goods, nails, shovels, picks, and so forth, nor prospectors, miners, nor copper operators in its "Kennecott territory." It does not want that region of public lands, larger than the State of Ohio, prospected or settled—at least not now—not until it gets title to the mineral wealth here. It now has one $55,000,000 mine there, but it wants more; high rates are an aid to its increasing monopoly—hence high rates.

But there are independent prospectors and mine owners seeking to develop property there, who have been crushed for 10 years with the weight of this burden, who want just and reasonable rates established. Many of these people have appealed to the Delegate from Alaska for assistance. These rates ought to be reduced nine-tenths, for they will then be excessive.

The Kennecott Copper Corporation and its subsidiaries, the Copper River & Northwestern Railway and the Alaska Steamship Co., ought not to have sympathy extended to them, or very much consideration. They have long violated every rule of justice and fairness with the single purpose of monopolizing the public wealth in this region and excluding American citizens from that participation therein which the statutes of the United States guarantee them, and they ought now to be treated with that rigor which lawbreakers deserve.

SYNDICATE PROFITS JUSTIFY REDUCED RATES.

The owners of the Copper River & Northwestern Railway and the Alaska Steamship boats are entitled to a fair profit on their investment beyond maintenance. A rate will not be made so low as to be confiscatory nor so high as to force the public to pay unreasonably for the service rendered. Luckily in this instance the admissions of the owners of the railway and steamship line in their New York Stock Exchange statement leave little to consider on that phase of the case.

The New York Stock Exchange statement was filed February 14, 1916, in order to persuade the exchange to admit the Kennecott Copper Corporation's stock to sale to the public, and the statements therein must be taken as binding on the corporation, though not on anyone else. On the seventh page of the statement is their representation that the net income of the Copper River & Northwestern Railway for the year ended March 31, 1915, was $1,135,083.78, while the account on page 6, for the Alaska Steamship Co. for the same period, shows a net income of $564,889.15, a total on both for the year 1915 of $1,699,972.93. On the fourth page this statement is made:

The income and profit and loss accounts of the Alaska Steamship Co. for the eight years ended December 31, 1915, were as follows:

| Year. | Earning less P. & L. adjustment. | Depreciation. | Dividends. | Surplus. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1908 | $470,489.33 | $258,480.46 | $150,000.00 | $61,909.87 |
| 1909 | 661,837.21 | 245,278.50 | 250,000.00 | 166,558.71 |
| 1910 | 419,008.77 | 219,210.86 | | 199,797.91 |
| 1911 | 374,326.89 | 221,475.80 | | 152,851.09 |
| 1912 | 266,433.55 | 177,754.73 | 30,000.00 | 58,678.82 |
| 1913 | 241,198.62 | 171,108.21 | 120,000.00 | 49,911.59 |
| 1914 | 362,687.42 | 154,346.08 | 240,000.00 | 31,653.66 |
| 1915 | 564,886.15 | 134,311.55 | 330,000.00 | 100,577.60 |
| Total | 3,360,868.94 | 1,581,975.19 | 1,120,000.00 | 658,893.75 |

And on page 4 of the statement they represent that the earnings of the railway "since its acquisition by the Kennecott Copper Corporation has been in excess of $150,000 per month," or $1,800,000 per annum. It will, then, not be necessary to go behind these public representations on the question of profits. What its former owners may have made or lost is immaterial, for we may start with the profits of the present owners, and their representations in the New York Stock Exchange statement, in establishing present and future rates.

The owner of this railroad and steamship line made these statements of net income in its statement to the New York Stock Exchange to induce the public to buy its stock. It will not now be heard to deny the fact; otherwise it might be guilty of fraud in the sale of its stocks or even guilty of using the United States mails to defraud. Neither the public nor the United States is bound by those statements.

Another statement was made by this corporation, or in its presence and assented to by it, which amounts to the same thing. As a part of its campaign for putting its stock on the market and selling it to innocent purchasers, the New York Commercial, on Wednesday, March 1, 1916, on the front page, and other pages following, published a long account of the facts concerning the Kennecott mines, the Copper River & Northwestern Railway, and the Alaska Steamship Co. and their value and earnings. This statement was prepared by, or from statements made by, the Kennecott Copper Corporation, was assented to by it, and upon that statement the corporation is selling its stock on the market, and is as much bound thereby as by its statement to the stock exchange.

Near the end of this New York Commercial statement is a summary of the earnings of these two lines, and it says:

"The Kennecott Copper Corporation's copper production is now as follows:

* * * * * * *

"(5) The Copper River & Northwestern Railway and the Alaska Steamship Co. are earning $2,400,000 net per annum, combined, chiefly on transportation of Kennecott's ores, supplies, and materials. Such is the wonderful transformation in 16 years of an unknown desolate mountain peak in Alaska into the heart of a $165,000,000 copper organization, which is playing a leading rôle, and will play a bigger rôle, in the world's copper market."

Immediately preceding the summary just quoted from is this statement:

"At the present market value of Kennecott a value of about $55,000,000 is placed on the original Kennecott mine in Alaska, $43,175,000 on Braden, $11,265,000 on the Copper River Railroad and Alaska Steamship Co. (which cost $31,000,000 to construct and equip), $6,000,000 on the Beatson mine in Alaska, $33,385,000 for Kennecott's quarter interest in Utah Copper."

Now, on the first page of the New York Stock Exchange statement it is shown that all the properties comprising the wealth of the corporation were purchased in exchange for 3,000,000 shares of Kennecott stock, of which 205,760 shares were exchanged for the Copper River & Northwestern and 53 per cent of the Alaska Steamship Co. The Kennecott Copper Corporation properties are then advertised to the public in the Commercial as of the value of $165,000,000, which will fix the price of the stock at $55 and the purchase price of the Copper River & Northwestern Railroad and the Alaska Steamship Line at $11,316,800, substantially the sum stated by the Commercial in its "round up."

Assuming these statements to be correct, the net income of $1,699,972.93 shown in its New York Stock Exchange statement will pay interest on the $11,316,800 which the railway and

steamships represent at the rate of something over 15 per cent per annum.

The Kennecott Copper Corporation owns the railroad, the steamship line, the Kennecott mines, and the Beatson mines, and these are not different investments; they are one. Its profits are to be based upon its whole investment, and a glance at its New York Stock Exchange statement shows that its whole profit on its whole investment is a much larger pro rata amount.

On the fifth page of the Stock Exchange statement, at the bottom of the page, is the statement that its net income on the Kennecott and Beatson mines alone from May 27 to December 31, 1915, amounted to $7,709,503.90. Add to that sum its net income on the railway and steamship lines and it gives a grand total on the four Alaska elements of its enterprise of $9,409,476.83 profits for the year 1915.

Now turn to page 1277, Poor's Manual of Industrials, 1915, for the statement prepared by the Kennecott Copper Corporation of its net earnings for prior years. The statement there found connects with the New York Stock Exchange statement, and is as follows:

*Production and net earnings of Kennecott Mines Co. and 60 per cent of Beatson Copper Co.*

| Year. | Production. | Average selling price. | Net earnings. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Pounds.* | *Cents.* | |
| 1911 (8 months) | 22,854,000 | 12.03 | $1,754,500 |
| 1912 | 24,319,000 | 16.19 | 2,766,238 |
| 1913 | 17,729,000 | 15.15 | 1,636,579 |
| 1914 | 17,200,000 | 13.54 | 1,250,000 |
| 1915 (3 months) | 7,836,359 | 13.21 | 715,851 |

If these public statements issued by the Kennecott Copper Corporation are correct, and it will not be hard to deny them, the rates of Alaskan transportation to the public over its lines can be cut to the minimum without any real reduction in its millions of net earnings. A reduction of the public rate will not, of course, affect the rate at which the corporation hauls its own ore. A reduction of the public rate should be based upon its entire net earnings of both lines of transportation, but it is apparent that such reduction will not affect its own ore rate, so that there really will be no reduction except upon the small amount charged the public—probably less than 10 per cent of the whole net earnings. Therefore the reduction will only affect that much of the charge for transportation; the rest will remain just as valuable to the corporation as it now is. It will lose only the small reduction on the freight carried for the public—nothing on the much larger amount carried for itself.

Both the ore rates to Seattle and Tacoma and the general commodity rates both ways on both lines ought to be reduced 90 per cent; any rate above 10 per cent of the present rates on the Copper River & Northwestern Railroad and on the Alaska Steamship Co.'s boats on the charges now made for carrying property for the public will be unjust, unreasonable, and highly discriminatory against the Government and those settlers and independent copper miners whom the Government invites to locate copper claims in "Kennecott territory."

TANANA-YUKON RIVERS, ALASKA, RATES.

Since it acquired a monopoly of Alaskan traffic on the Tanana and Yukon Rivers, the White Pass & Yukon Route has increased the rates to the highest magnitude. It is not restrained by the railway commissioners for Canada (7th Rept., 1912, p. 223) and defies all restraint of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States, notwithstanding the decision of our Supreme Court in United States *v.* Pacific & Arctic Railway, and so forth (228 U. S., 87). The Pacific & Arctic Railway is on Alaskan soil and entirely within the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission and American courts. A proper order for through, just, and reasonable rates over the connecting steamship lines from Seattle over the Pacific & Arctic Railway and connecting lines down the Yukon River to Alaskan points on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers would be within the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission and could be enforced. Such through rates ought to be established and the defiance of the American steamship lines from Seattle to Skagway and the Pacific & Arctic Railway met with vigorous action by the American commission and courts. If this British corporation can control both gateways to the interior of Alaska, the Skagway and St. Michael terminii and the Yukon and Tanana Rivers routes, by its unlawful "control" of the Northern Commercial Co.'s steamers on the Yukon and its combination with the Alaska Steamship and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos. at St. Michael and Skagway, if it can break a through rate in defiance of our laws and continue to monopolize our interior Alaskan business in spite of the decisions of our Supreme Court, it is only because our officials are derelict in the performance of their duties.

The following table of specified rates from Seattle to Skagway and from Skagway to Fairbanks is prepared from the official tariff sheets:

*Table showing specified commodity rates from Seattle to Skagway, and from Skagway to Fairbanks, and the total charge per ton from Seattle to Fairbanks, over the White Pass & Yukon Route.*

| Specified commodities. | Seattle to Skagway. | Skagway to Fairbanks. | Seattle to Fairbanks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hardware | $5.00 | $66.00 | $71.00 |
| Hay D. Comp | 8.00 | 57.00 | 65.00 |
| Hay, S. Comp | 10.00 | 71.25 | 81.25 |
| Grain | 5.00 | 57.00 | 62.00 |
| Flour | 5.00 | 57.00 | 62.00 |
| Automobiles | 5.00 | 99.00 | 104.00 |
| Automobile parts | 5.00 | 99.00 | 104.00 |
| Machinery less than 4,000 pounds | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Machinery, 4,000 to 40,000 pounds | 28.00 | | |
| Coal | 3.50 | 57.00 | 60.50 |
| Furniture | 5.00 | 164.00 | 169.00 |
| Household goods, released | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Household goods, unreleased | 7.50 | 123.00 | 130.50 |
| Sugar | 5.00 | 57.00 | 63.00 |
| Clothing | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Electric appliances | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Wire rope | 5.00 | 57.00 | 62.00 |
| Nails | 5.00 | 57.00 | 62.00 |
| Shovels | 5.00 | 57.00 | 62.00 |
| Picks | 5.00 | 57.00 | 62.00 |
| Burial cases | 5.00 | 114.00 | 119.00 |
| Billiard tables | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Groceries | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Fresh fruit | 5.00 | 99.75 | 104.75 |
| Stoves, Klondike | 5.00 | 66.00 | 71.00 |
| Stoves and ranges | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Bicycles | 5.00 | 164.00 | 169.00 |
| Tobacco, cut | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Tobacco, plug | 5.00 | 66.00 | 71.00 |
| Cigars | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Books | 5.00 | 82.00 | 87.00 |
| Window glass | 5.00 | 57.00 | 62.00 |

The above rates do not include wharfage rates at Seattle or Skagway, nor Canadian customs brokers' fees at Skagway.

There are, of course, exceptional conditions over the White Pass & Yukon Route to interior Alaskan points, which do not occur on the Copper River & Northwestern Railway. The Yukon River is closed by ice by November 1 each year, and is not open for navigation to the White Pass & Yukon Route before the 1st of June, and no Alaskan freight moves over this route during that period. But the expense stops when the boats do. The boats are put on the White Horse ways during that period and the crews discharged. During the summer period the navigation by water is cheap. The railroad is a narrow gauge and not expensive to maintain. The winter expenses are not chargeable to through freight, but to local freight to Canadian points between Skagway and Dawson.

There ought to be through freight rates established from Seattle to Alaskan points over the White Pass & Yukon Route and the present rates reduced 80 per cent. If the White Pass & Yukon Route had not conspired with the Alaska Commercial Co. and unlawfully bought "control" of the Northern Navigation Co. steamers and forced them out of the competitive trade, there would be no legal impediment to reducing these rates that amount, and it ought not to be permitted to violate the antitrust and commerce laws of the United States, and then profit so greatly by its own wrong. Certainly the United States is not powerless to protect its citizens in Alaska from this British corporation, and it ought to do it in this case with a view to preventing any further looting of American territory and Alaskan shippers in the future.

THE MONOPOLY OF ALASKAN WHARVES.

The Alaska Steamship and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos. either jointly or severally own or control the wharves at Ketchikan, Juneau, Skagway, Cordova, Valdez, Nome, and St. Michael, over which more than nine-tenths of Alaskan freight and passengers go to the interior of Alaska. They have entered into combination at Skagway with the owners of all independent wharves for their closing, and only the wharf under their control is now used. There is no other wharf at Cordova than the one owned and controlled by the owners of the Alaska Steamship Co., and the St. Michael Wharf, over which all freight and traffic is carried to that port and to the Yukon interior, is also controlled, if not owned, by them.

There are two wharves at Valdez only, and the facts relating to their corporate control are typical of the conditions at other Alaskan wharves. The town of Valdez owns one of these wharves. It is in every way equal to the wharf controlled by

the Alaska Steamship Co. It extends equally to the deep waters of the bay, is large, safe, and has equally good facilities for the loading and unloading of freight and passengers. The town council has by law fixed low rates of wharfage over it and also over the dock and wharf controlled by the Alaska Steamship Co. But the steamship company refuses to land its boats at the town dock, and will not land either freight or passengers there, and refuses to submit to the rates fixed over the wharf controlled by it, and in defiance of the wishes of shippers and the town authorities continues to land all its boats, freight, and passengers at the dock and wharf controlled by it, and all shippers are there charged excessive wharfage rates, greater than those fixed by the town authorities. The wharfage rates so charged at the wharf and dock controlled by the said steamship company are unjust and unreasonable. The town authorities of the town of Valdez have endeavored to control the rates over the other wharf and to compel its owners to reduce their rates to correspond to those fixed by the town and charged at the town wharf, but have not been able to do so, because the outer end of both wharves is beyond the town line and upon the tide lands held in trust by the United States for the future State.

The Alaska Steamship and the Pacific Coast Steamship Cos., by their ownership and control of the landings, wharves, and docks at the principal ports in Alaska, all of which are situated upon the tide lands belonging to the public, are enabled to and do monopolize and control the trade over them, and do charge and force the shippers to pay excessive, unjust, and unreasonable rates of wharfage thereon. Both at Juneau and Valdez the Alaska Steamship and Pacific Coast Steamship Cos. unloaded and stored large quantities of coal brought from ports in British Columbia on their boats. This coal was stored for sale to the people at excessive rates of about $14 per ton. The town authorities were able to and did buy coal at the same British Columbia mines and procured it to be shipped on independent boats, and stored on the town wharf and sold it at $. per ton to the people of the town and still made a good profit. A suit was instigated by the steamship companies and brought against the town authorities to restrain them from using town funds for that purpose, and the court held it was not within their power, and the steamship companies immediately advanced the price of the coal to the old rate, where it has since been maintained. The control of these wharves is thus used to compel the people of the town to pay these excessive and unfair prices for coal and other necessities, and both of said companies refuse to give the towns or the people there, or shippers, equal or fair facilities in the handling of coal and other necessities thereon, and refuse to land the coal at the town docks and thus create and maintain an unjust and burdensome monopoly in such necessities to their own great profit and to the great injury of independent shippers and the people of the towns. They refuse to pay taxes on the value of the docks or the property or business thereon to the towns, or at all.

ET TU, BRUTE!

Section 22 of the commerce act provides "that nothing in this act shall prevent the carriage, storage, or handling of property free or at reduced rates for the United States, State or municipal government," and the following data is not intended as a complaint against the Alaskan transportation lines because they give reduced rates to the Alaskan Engineering Commission and to other Government bureaus. The facts are presented to show that they can carry freight for the shipping public at the same rates; also to show that Government officials have knowledge that excessive rates are charged to private shippers, and to show a standard by which to judge excessive rates, and for other purposes.

The White Pass & Yukon Route officials, in connection with the Alaska Steamship and Pacific Steamship Cos. have proposed to the Alaskan Engineering Commission to carry its railroad freight for the coming season from Seattle to Nenana, within 50 miles of Fairbanks, on the Tanana River, for $30 per ton. The same transportation companies in 1915 charged the miners and shippers of Fairbanks a flat and minimum rate of $62 for hardware and machinery, while exceptions raised both rates—hardware to $71 and machinery as high as $115 per ton. If these companies can carry general railroad supplies and materials for $30 per ton flat, they can carry hardware and mining machinery for the same price. The Alaska Transportation Co., of Fairbanks, does carry it as a private carrier for $26 per ton. Just what rebate the Northern Commercial Company gets under its secret contract of "control" with the White Pass & Yukon Route is not officially stated, but it is publicly declared they have a $35-per-ton rate—a rebate of $20 per ton less than the lowest rate to the public.

The Alaskan Engineering Commission, appointed by and representing the President of the United States in locating and constructing the Government railroad from Seward to Fairbanks, Alaska, advertised for bids for carrying its freight for the season of 1915 from Seattle to Seward and Anchorage. On April 13, 1915, the Alaska Steamship Co. made an offer in writing to carry the freight for the Government. The offer was accepted, and it carried the Government freight to those points for the prices named. The following table shows in separate columns the Alaska Steamship Co.'s freight rates specially quoted for 1915 to the Government railway and the regular tariff to the public at Seward and Anchorage upon the same commodities:

| Specified commodities. | Government rate. | | Public rate. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Seward. | Anchorage. | Seward. | Anchorage. |
| Cement | $5.00 | $6.00 | $6.00 | $6.00 |
| Coal, bulk, 2,240 pounds | 4.00 | 5.00 | 6.00 | 7.00 |
| Coal, sacks, 2,000 pounds | 4.00 | 5.00 | 6.00 | 7.00 |
| Fuel oil, in iron tanks | 6.00 | 7.00 | 11.00 | 13.00 |
| Grain, all kinds, 2,000 pounds | 6.00 | 7.00 | 9.00 | 11.00 |
| Gasoline, benzine, naphtha, etc | 10.00 | 11.00 | 15.00 | 15.00 |
| Hay, double compressed in bales, 2,000 pounds | 8.00 | 9.00 | 12.00 | 14.00 |
| Hay single compressed, 2,000 pounds | 15.00 | 16.00 | 16.00 | 18.00 |
| Lumber, not over 32 feet long, per thousand | 9.00 | 10.00 | 12.00 | 14.00 |
| Lumber, over 32 feet long, per thousand | 10.00 | 11.00 | 15.00 | 16.00 |
| Shingles, per thousand (4 bundles) | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.50 | 1.75 |
| Merchandise, not otherwise specified | 6.00 | 7.00 | 11.00 | 13.00 |
| Meat, fresh, poultry, etc | 20.00 | 21.00 | 25.00 | 28.00 |
| Horses and cattle, less than 10, each | 29.00 | 30.00 | 30.00 | 30.00 |
| Horses and cattle, 10 and over, each | 24.00 | 25.00 | 25.00 | 25.00 |
| Machinery, boilers, cars, etc.: | | | | |
| 4,000 pounds or under | 6.00 | 7.00 | 11.00 | 11.00 |
| 4,000 to 6,000 pounds | 7.00 | 8.00 | 14.00 | 14.00 |
| 6,000 to 8,000 pounds | 8.00 | 9.00 | 15.00 | 15.00 |
| 8,000 to 10,000 pounds | 9.00 | 10.00 | 16.00 | 16.00 |
| 10,000 to 12,000 pounds | 10.00 | 11.00 | 17.00 | 17.00 |
| 12,000 to 14,000 pounds | 11.00 | 12.00 | 18.00 | 18.00 |
| 14,000 to 16,000 pounds | 12.00 | 13.00 | 19.00 | 19.00 |
| 16,000 to 18,000 pounds | 13.00 | 14.00 | 20.00 | 20.00 |
| 18,000 to 20,000 pounds | 14.00 | 15.00 | 21.00 | 21.00 |
| 20,000 to 22,000 pounds | 16.00 | 17.00 | 22.00 | 22.00 |
| 22,000 to 24,000 pounds | 18.00 | 19.00 | 23.00 | 23.00 |
| 24,000 to 26,000 pounds | 20.00 | 21.00 | 24.00 | 24.00 |
| 26,000 to 28,000 pounds | 22.00 | 23.00 | 25.00 | 25.00 |
| 28,000 to 30,000 pounds | 24.00 | 25.00 | 26.50 | 26.50 |
| 30,000 to 32,000 pounds | 26.00 | 27.00 | 28.00 | 28.00 |
| 32,000 to 34,000 pounds | 28.00 | 29.00 | 29.50 | 29.50 |
| 34,000 to 36,000 pounds | 30.00 | 31.00 | 31.00 | 31.00 |
| 36,000 to 38,000 pounds | 32.00 | 33.00 | 32.50 | 32.50 |
| 38,000 to 40,000 pounds | 34.00 | 35.00 | 34.00 | 34.00 |
| Powder, gun and blasting | 15.00 | 16.00 | 20.00 | 22.50 |
| Refrigerator service | 20.00 | 31.00 | 40.00 | 44.00 |
| Rails | 6.00 | 6.50 | 11.00 | 13.00 |
| Railroad materials | 6.00 | 6.50 | 11.00 | 13.00 |

Special attention is called to the discrimination in the rates for coal, hay, grain, gasoline, lumber, merchandise, powder, and refrigerator service. These are commodities needed by every settler in a new country, and it costs the Alaska Steamship Co. no more to land the ordinary shippers' freight on the dock at Seward or at ships' tackle at anchorage than it does that for the United States.

UNITED STATES STATUTES NOT ENFORCED IN ALASKA.

The interstate-commerce laws and antitrust acts of Congress provide fully for criminal prosecutions and equity suits in United States and Territorial district courts against violation of the laws. All these acts provide that it shall be the special duty of United States district attorneys, under the direction of the Attorney General, to enforce the provisions of the law—but in Alaska it is not done, except in a single instance, which proves the rule. A shipper or anyone having a specific cause of complaint under the commerce act may also apply to the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington for relief. But "Heaven is high and Washington is far away"; prayers from Alaska have to travel a pioneer and high-rate route to reach the latter place, and no shipper has ever attempted it. The merchants have long "paid the freight," and charged it against the miner, but no one has sought the trail to relief.

When I came here as Delegate in 1909 the miners and shippers of Alaska began to appeal to me for relief from the distressing burdens of transportation monopoly and extortionate freight rates. Upon examination it seemed there was ample enactment by Congress, but no enforcement by officials charged with duty.

Prior to the beginning of the case of the Humboldt Steamship Co. against White Pass & Yukon Route, filed before the Interstate

Commerce Commission in May, 1909, no effort had been made to establish the jurisdiction of the commission over Alaskan transportation rates, or to control them in any way. On May 24, 1909, Mr. Stephen Birch, the representative of the Alaska Syndicate, wrote to the Delegate from Alaska in Congress, attempting to prevail upon him not to appear before the Intertsate Commerce Commission in support of his platform pledge made to Alaskans under date of July 16, 1908, that:

"I shall stand for * * *

"13. The encouragement of all legitimate railroad construction in Alaska; the building of a trunk line railroad from the coast to the interior under Government supervision; the strict Government control of transportation rates by rail or boat, and fair and not excessive rates for freight and passenger traffic.

"14. I shall oppose in every way possible the control of transportation or mining business within Alaska by the Guggenheims or any other dangerous combination."

Mr. Birch's communication was accompanied by a copy of letters from prominent officials and lawyers, and by a brief prepared by the then attorney (now the president) of the White Pass & Yukon Route in support of the argument that the Interstate Commerce Commission had no jurisdiction over Alaskan railroad or other rates because Alaska was a "District" and not a "Territory." It is needless to say neither the letter from Mr. Birch, nor the argument against jurisdiction had any effect on my action.

On May 26, 1909, the suit of the Humboldt Co. was filed before the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington. The White Pass & Yukon Route attorneys filed their objection to the jurisdiction of the commission over transportation in Alaska. The Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co. was not made a party, but it intervened, and the attorneys for the Alaska Syndicate filed their appearance and a brief against jurisdiction. While I was not an attorney of record for the Humboldt Co., I prepared and filed a brief in support of the jurisdiction of the commission. After a long contest the commission, by a divided decision, on June 6, 1910, held it had no jurisdiction or control over Alaska rates, Commissioners Clements, Cockrell, and Lane dissenting. (19 I. C. C. Report, 81 and 105).

Thereafter, on July 21, 1910, the Humboldt Co. brought suit in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia praying for a mandamus against the Interstate Commerce Commission to compel it to assume jurisdiction and to execute the law in Alaska. The railroad attorneys filed their brief in the case against the jurisdiction claim, and the court decided against the Humboldt Co. An appeal was then taken to the court of appeals, and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States. I appeared as one of the attorneys for the Humboldt Co. in the Supreme Court of the United States and prepared that part of the brief for the Humboldt Co. supporting the claim that Alaska was a Territory, and therefore the interstate-commerce laws were in force there. On April 29, 1912, the Supreme Court decided the case on all points in favor of the jurisdiction of the commission in Alaska and issued its mandate requiring the commission to enforce the law in that Territory (224 U. S., 474).

Thereupon, on May 24, 1912, three years after the original suit was begun before it, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued an order requiring all companies engaged in Alaskan transportation to file their tariff of rates with it under the law, and it assumed jurisdiction over Alaskan transportation and freight rates. This decision of the Supreme Court of the United States not only settled the jurisdiction and duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission in Alaskan transportation matters, but as well fixed the duty of United States district attorneys in Alaska to enforce the law there. The decision also afforded individual shippers in Alaska authority to institute proceedings before the commission in Washington to protect themselves against unreasonable or discriminatory rates or other damage to them by violation of the interstate-commerce law.

Many complaints from shippers and the people of Alaska kept coming to me, and many demands to secure relief from violations of the law. These were referred to the commission and other officials, but no action was taken. After waiting for a reasonable time, I determined if no official whose duty it was to act did so I would again press the matter to determination. In the summer of 1914, in pursuance to the secret contract made between the White Pass & Yukon Route and the Northern Commercial Co. for the control by the British company of the Commercial Co.'s boats, there was a tremendous increase in rates on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers. The people of that locality appealed to me for assistance and protection, and in pursuance of my promise to give it I turned to the official whose duty it is under the law to enforce its provisions when violated. Among the many complaints received was the following:

THE SAMSON HARDWARE CO. (INC.),
*Fairbanks, Alaska, November 13, 1914.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska.*

DEAR SIR: Inclosed herewith please find a few expense bills from the Northern Navigation Co., the Merchants' Yukon Line, and the Alaska-Yukon Line, or, as better known, the "White Pass," showing the rates we have had to pay on goods shipped to Fairbanks from outside points.

The bills from the Northern Navigation Co. from 1913 will show where a flat rate of $40 per ton was named, while those of the Alaska-Yukon Navigation Co. for the same year show a rate of $25 per ton from Skagway, plus $5 per ton from Seattle to Skagway, or a net of $30 per ton. During the season of 1912 we had a contract with the Merchants' Yukon Line at a flat rate of $45 per ton, without exceptions.

The bills of the White Pass this year show a base rate of $55, with exceptions on practically every class of merchandise shipped into the country. If this rate is continued, it will cause a number of the operators to close down, as there is but little placer ground left in the country that will pay to work under existing transportation rates.

We wish you would kindly bring this matter to the attention of the proper authorities and endeavor to obtain relief from the present intolerable conditions existing.

Thanking you for your efforts in advance, we are,
Yours, sincerely,

THE SAMSON HARDWARE CO. (INC),
J. E. BARRACK, *Manager.*

The following communication was thereupon addressed to the United States District Attorney at Fairbanks, Alaska:

FAIRBANKS, ALASKA, *November 16, 1914.*

R. F. ROTH,
*United States District Attorney, Fairbanks, Alaska.*

SIR: I am informed that in the recent sale to the White Pass Co. the Northern Commercial Co. received $500,000, to be paid in freight at a fixed and greatly reduced rate, thereby securing to itself as a shipper an advantage over all other shippers of freight into the interior of Alaska. While it is not possible at this moment to furnish proof, yet the United States district attorney has power under the Sherman antitrust and other laws for the punishment of conspiracy to prevent the restraint of trade to compel the production of the contract between the White Pass and the Northern Commercial Co., and thereby disclose the true situation and to punish those found to be violating the United States Statutes.

The White Pass Co. has increased the rate of transportation for 1914 over that of 1913 by so large an amount as to justify the most stringent efforts to control and curb the power of this British corporation to tax our people unjustly, and it is your duty as district attorney to act in the matter. Since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Interstate Commerce Commission v. United States ex rel. Humboldt Steamship Co. (224 U. S., 474; 56 L. Ed., 849), the interstate-commerce laws of the United States have been in force in Alaska, and will also give you much assistance.

Your attention is also specially called to the contract between the White Pass Co., the Northern Commercial Co., and the old N. A. T. & T. Co., which created and maintained the monopoly of transportation and high rates from 1906 to 1912, a copy of which is in the office of the United States district attorney at Juneau, and which was also a contract in restraint of trade, and did the people of the interior and of Fairbanks great injury. The Government ought to proceed against the parties to these contracts in restraint of trade by indictment, and, since the injury occurred in this district, it is here that the indictments ought to be found.

If there is any assistance I can give in aid of the destruction of this rate monopoly I shall be glad to do it, and will if requested.

I will send a copy of this letter to the Attorney General, Washington, D. C., and will call in person there to urge action as soon as I reach Washington in December.

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

On December 31, 1915, having had no acknowledgment of my letter addressed to the district attorney, a letter was written to the Attorney General, with which was inclosed a copy of the letter to the district attorney, fully acquainting him with the facts and praying for action by the Department of Justice. Soon the following letter was received from the Attorney General:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
*Washington, D. C., January 13, 1915.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: The department is in receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo, with inclosures, stating that in 1914 the steamboats of the Northern Navigation Co. plying the Yukon and Tanana Rivers were sold to the White Pass & Yukon Navigation Co., and that you are informed and believe that as a condition of the sale the White Pass Co. agreed to transport the freight of the Northern Commercial Co., which is affiliated with the Northern Navigation Co., at much lower rates than those charged other shippers.

You state that the result has been to put other shippers out of business, and you ask that an investigation be made to ascertain whether your information in this regard is correct; and if so, that appropriate action be taken.

United States District Attorney Roth, of Fairbanks, Alaska, whom you have also written on the subject, has been directed by telegraph to make a prompt investigation of your charge, with a view to developing all the material facts.

The receipts for freight payments inclosed in your letter are herewith returned as requested.

Respectfully,
For the Attorney General.

G. CARROLL TODD,
*Assistant to the Attorney General.*

Nothing more was heard from the Department of Justice officials and more than a year later the following letter was written to the Attorney General:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 22, 1916.*

Hon. T. W. GREGORY,
*Attorney General, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: On December 31, 1914, I wrote a letter to the Attorney General of the United States in relation to the excessive transportation charges made by the White Pass & Yukon Co. in connection with the Northern Navigation Co. and the Northern Commercial Co. upon the Yukon and Tanana Rivers in the interior of Alaska. With that letter I sent you a copy of a letter which I had previously written, on November 16, 1914, to R. F. Roth, United States district attorney, at Fairbanks, Alaska, upon the same subject. With my letter of December 31, 1914, I also inclosed a copy of a contract which had been in force between the transportation companies on the Yukon River for many years, together with other data in relation to the matter. In answer to my communication of December 31 I received your letter of January 13, 1915, in which you acknowledged the receipt of my letter and informed me that you had directed District Attorney Roth, by telegraph, to make a prompt investigation of the charges contained in my letter with a view to developing all the material facts.

I respectfully request you to inform me what, if any thing, was done by Mr. Roth in answer to your telegram or subsequently in the matter and what, if anything, the Department of Justice did in relation to it, and if any further proceedings are to be taken in relation thereto. I will thank you to send me a copy of any correspondence with District Attorney Roth about the matter, if compatible with the public interest to do so.

This inquiry is directed to you because the Delegate from Alaska has taken the matter of transportation rates and general conditions up with the chairman of the Committee on the Territories of the House with a view to securing some legislation for the appointment of a public utilities commission in Alaska, with probable control over transportation rates, and it seems desirable to present to him what the department has done heretofore in connection with it.

Very respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

In answer to that request the Department of Justice wrote me the two letters following:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
*Washington, D. C., February 29, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The department has received your letter of the 22d instant relative to the alleged sale of certain steamboats by the Northern Navigation Co. to the White Pass & Yukon Navigation Co. on condition that the White Pass Co. would transport the freight of the Northern Commercial Co. (which is affiliated with the Northern Navigation Co.) at much lower rates than those charged other shippers.

As you know, this matter was referred to United States Attorney Roth at Fairbanks, Alaska, for investigation. Mr. Roth conducted an investigation on the spot, and reported that he could obtain no evidence there of such an arrangement.

Subsequently, in accordance with his suggestion, an examination of the records of the Northern Commercial Co. at Chicago and San Francisco was made by agents of the department, and their reports were duly forwarded to him as a basis for further consideration of the matter. He has made no further report. He has been requested to advise the department by wire of the present status.

Respectfully,

G. CARROLL TODD,
*Assistant to the Attorney General*
(For the Attorney General).

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
*Washington, D. C., March 30, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Replying further to your letter of February 22, the department has been advised by District Attorney Roth, of Fairbanks, Alaska, that he was unable to find any ground for action under the Sherman law in the terms and conditions of the sale of certain steamboats by the Northern Navigation Co. to the White Pass & Yukon Navigation Co.

There were certain features of this transaction, however, which it is thought should be brought to the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and this has been done.

Very respectfully,

G. CARROLL TODD,
*Assistant to the Attorney General*
(For the Attorney General).

The Department of Justice having thus refused to act, and the announcement being made that the Transportation Trust intended to immediately increase the Alaskan rates, I was appealed to by the shippers and miners in every part of Alaska to take action in their name for such relief as might be had in private suit under the law.

Thereupon a complaint was prepared setting out in considerable detail the acts complained of and entitled: *Before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D. C.: The Samson Hardware Co. (Inc.) and James Wickersham, residents of Fairbanks, Alaska, for themselves and all other persons similarly situated, complainants, against The Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., the American Yukon Navigation Co., the British Yukon Railway Co., the British Yukon Navigation Co. (Ltd.), the Northern Commercial Co., the Northern Navigation Co. (Ltd.), the Kennecott Copper Corporation, the Alaska Steamship Co., the Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co., the Pacific Coast Co., the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., and the Valdez Dock Co., defendants.*

On April 10, 1916, the complaint was delivered to the Interstate Commerce Commission with the following communication:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 10, 1916.*

GEORGE B. MCGINTY,
*Secretary Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: Herewith I hand you a copy of the complaint and petition for the investigation of the transportation conditions in Alaska, being entitled The Samson Hardware Co. et al. *v.* The Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co. et al; also a copy of a post route map of Alaska with the lines of transportation superimposed thereon; also a copy of a letter dated November 13, 1914, from the Samson Hardware Co. authorizing me to use their name in this connection; also a large number of receipts given by the White Pass & Yukon Route, by the Northern Navigation Co., and by the American Yukon Navigation Co. to the Samson Hardware Co. for the carriage of freight in the years 1913 and 1914; also a copy of the New York Exchange statement dated February 14, 1916, made by the Kennecott Copper Corporation; and also a copy of a letter from Mr. Stephen Birch to James Wickersham, dated May 24, 1908, together with copies of attached letters; also a copy of a bid by the Alaska Steamship Co., dated April 13, 1915, addressed to the Alaskan Engineering Commission offering to carry freight from Seattle to Seward and Knik Anchorage; also a copy of a contract, dated March 26, 1906, between the British Yukon Navigation Co., party of the first part, and the North American Transportation & Trading Co. and the Northern Navigation Co., the parties of the second part. If you will advise me of the number of copies of the complaint in this action which will be required for service I will furnish them to you for that use.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

Some criticism was made of the detailed statements in this complaint, and an amended copy was prepared, with the same parties, and filed with the commission on June 3, accompanied by the following communication:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 3, 1916.*

Hon. B. H. MYERS,
*Chairman Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: Herewith I send to the Interstate Commerce Commission for filing nine copies of the complaint in the case of the Samson Hardware Co. et al. *v.* The Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co. et al. I respectfully request to have the case filed and set for hearing at such convenient time as will best suit the commission. I shall be here during the whole session of Congress, and have, I think, sufficient evidence to make at least a prima facie case, and I respectively request that I be heard as a witness in the matter.

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

Thereupon on June 5 the commission issued the following order, No. 8975, for a general investigation of Alaskan transportation:

ORDER.

At a general session of the Interstate Commerce Commission, held at its office in Washington, D. C., on the 5th day of June, A. D. 1916. No. 8975.

THE ALASKA INVESTIGATION.

*It appearing,* That the rates, practices, rules, and regulations governing the interstate transportation of persons and property, subject to the jurisdiction of this commission, wholly by railroad within Alaska and partly by railroad and partly by water between points in the United States and points in Alaska, and from points in Alaska, through Canada, to points in Alaska, and the ownership, control, and operation of wharves in Alaska used as facilities in connection with said transportation, has been the subject of formal and informal complaints to the commission:

*It is ordered,* That a proceeding of inquiry and investigation be, and the same is hereby, instituted by the commission on its own motion into the rates, practices, rules, and regulations of common carriers governing the transportation of persons and property, subject to the jurisdiction of this commission, wholly by railroad within Alaska, and partly by railroad and partly by water between points in the United States and points in Alaska, and from points in Alaska through Canada to points in Alaska, and also the rates, practices, rules, and regulations of said common carriers in connection with the operation of wharves used in the course of such transportation.

*It is further ordered,* That said inquiry shall ascertain, among other things, whether mineral products are mined or produced by or under the authority of common carriers by railroad subject to the jurisdiction of this commission engaged in the transportation thereof, or whether such common carriers own, in whole or in part, any mine or mines from which are produced minerals which they transport or whether such common carriers are directly or indirectly interested in any mine or mines from which are produced minerals which they transport.

*It is further ordered,* That this proceeding and inquiry be conducted with a view to the issuance of an order or orders requiring such respondents to cease and desist from charging, demanding, collecting, or receiving rates and charges for and from enforcing their practices, rules, and regulations governing the transportation of persons and property between the points herein named in so far as the same may be found to be unlawful, and requiring such respondents to substitute and thereafter to put in force and effect such rates, rules, practices, and regulations relative to the transportation of persons and property as aforesaid as may be found just and reasonable and not unjustly discriminatory, unduly prejudicial or unduly preferential, including such rail proportional rates and such joint rail and water rates over such through routes as, in the opinion of the commission, should be established between the points of origin and the various destinations referred to herein.

*And it is further ordered,* That the Alaska Steamship Co., Pacific Coast Steamship Co., Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co., Northern Navigation Co. (Ltd.), Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., British-Yukon Railway Co., British-Yukon Navigation Co. (Ltd.),

British Columbia-Yukon Railway Co., American-Yukon Navigation Co., Valdez Dock Co., Kennecott Copper Corporation, Northern Commercial Co., and Pacific Coast Co. be, and they are hereby, made respondents to this proceeding.

By the commission.

[L. S.] GEORGE B. MCGINTY, *Secretary.*

On June 7 the following acknowledgement was received from the chairman of the commission:

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
*Washington, D. C., June 7, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: This will acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, together with nine copies of the complaint of the Samson Hardware Co. et al. *v.* Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co. et al.

The commission will file the complaint and serve it in accordance, with the usual method, as outlined in our rules of practice. Before service can be made, however, it will be necessary for you to forward to the commission 16 additional copies of the complaint.

The commission in conference Monday decided to enter into an investigation of the transportation of passengers and property in Alaska on its own motion.

Very respectfully, yours,

B. H. MEYER, *Chairman.*

Later the following communications were received from the secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission:

No. 8976. INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
*Washington, June 30, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: The petition of the Samson Hardware Co. et al. against the Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co. et al. under the act to regulate commerce and acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto has been filed.

A copy of the petition has been forwarded to each carrier with notice to satisfy the complaint or answer the same in writing within 20 days from this date.

By the commission:

GEORGE B. MCGINTY, *Secretary.*

—

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
*Washington, July 24, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska, House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In connection with the Alaska Investigation Docket No. 8975, the commission desires to notify all boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and similar commercial and shipping organizations interested in Alaska traffic of the nature and scope of the investigation, the dates and places of hearing, etc., and to invite their cooperation. I shall be obliged if you will furnish me the names and addresses of such interested organizations and also of persons who, if called as witnesses, could give material information concerning the matters under investigation.

Yours, very truly, G. B. MCGINTY, *Secretary.*

The names and addresses of interested Alaskan organizations and witnesses were furnished to the commission as requested, and on July 31 and August 1 copies of the order of June 5 were forwarded to the Fairbanks Commercial Club and other similar bodies in Alaska and to witnesses, and specific demands made on the White Pass corporations, the Alaska Steamship Co., the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., the Copper River & Northwestern Railway Co., the Northern Navigation Co., the Pacific Coast Co., the Kennecott Copper Co., and the Valdez Dock Co. for information required by the Interstate Commerce Commission in the general investigation.

The two proceedings are now pending before the commission, and it will be necessary for shippers and those having information touching the allegations in the general order and in the Samson Hardware Co. complaint to present the same at the times and places fixed for hearings when announced by the commission. It is now up to the people of Alaska to make their complaints with specific proofs to the commission, with the view of curbing the hitherto unrestrained control of these Alaskan transportation companies and securing a judgment from the commission reducing their extortionate rates, requiring them to desist from giving rebates and discriminatory rates, and to establish just and reasonable through tariffs, to the end that the development of Alaska may be had under fair control and without unlawful combinations and unfair mercantile burdens upon the merchants and people of the Territory.

About the time the original complaint was filed in the Samson Hardware case the Alaska Steamship Co., the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., and other allied companies issued local freight and passenger tariff sheets increasing the coastwise rates to Alaskan ports 50 per cent, and since the complaint in the Samson Hardware case was filed the Alaska Steamship Co. and the Pacific Coast Co. have filed tariff increases on coast rates about 100 per cent, the White Pass & Yukon Route Railway and its inland steamboat connection also filed its tariff sheet with the commission increasing the rates to Alaskan points on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers by from $5 to $8 per ton. When advised of these increases, and on August 4, I filed the following protest against their allowance:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 4, 1916.*

B. H. MEYER,
*Chairman Interstate Commerce Commission,*
*Washington, D. C.*

SIR: I am informed that the Pacific Coast Co. the Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., and the Alaska Steamship Co. have filed with the commission freight tariffs increasing the rate on freight from Puget Sound to Alaskan points. Pacific Coast Co., I. C. C. No. 17, effective August 25, increasing by $1 per ton; the Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co., I. C. C. No. 54, effective August 25, increasing the rates from Skagway to points on the Yukon River from $5 to $8 per ton; the Alaska Steamship Co., I. C. C. No. 15, effective August 16, increasing rates from Puget Sound to Alaskan points 100 per cent.

I respectfully protest against the allowance of these increases until the whole matter of the investigation now on foot by the commission shall be concluded, and I also protest against their allowance until the hearing of the cases of the Samson Hardware Co. et al. *v.* The Pacific & Arctic Railway & Navigation Co. et al., now pending before the commission, in which case I am one of the complainants and attorneys. I respectfully request that these rates be not confirmed until final judgment in these matters can be had, and that the whole question of these increases be considered with these cases.

Respectfully,

JAMES WICKERSHAM,
*Delegate from Alaska.*

In conclusion I appeal to those public officials in Alaska whose duty it is to enforce the interstate commerce and anti-trust laws of the United States to perform their duty and to assist in curbing the extortionate and discriminatory rates of these violators of the United States statutes. If such assistance is given, the people of Alaska, who are being taxed one-half of the total output of the country for transportation, can be protected and extortion and unlawful combination and monopoly prevented. I appeal to the people of Alaska, and especially to the mercantile and business organizations, to come forward now, while there is opportunity, and assist in bringing these unjust charges upon our commerce and trade within due and legal restraint. Let the people of Alaska realize that these unreasonable extortions come out of their earnings, for every pick and shovel, every pair of shoes and pound of groceries, every dollar of gold from placer or quartz mine, the household goods going into the country and the products of your labor transported to or in or from Alaska are thus heavily and unjustly burdened. *How can you help? By gathering your receipted bills for freight shipments over any and every route of transportation to, from, or in Alaska to show what you have actually paid for freight; your receipted bills for groceries, household goods, machinery, coal, lumber, and all other mercantile purchases to show the prices you are obliged to pay to assist in developing the Territory; and by preparing a written statement by letter showing how these excessive rates and prices actually affect you in your business or home, and then send me the receipted bills and your statement, so I may have a general view of the burden, and also a special view of how it affects both the greater shipper and the most humble home in Alaska.* These receipts and statements properly tabulated will tell the story and do more to secure just, fair, and reasonable rates than a month's talk from your lawyer. Will you help? It is your duty to assist in securing a just and fair control of transportation rates now or you must be prepared to suffer in silence for years to come.

I appeal also, and finally, to the Secretary of the Interior, for if these combined criminal interests are not brought within the law the Alaska Government Railway, with which you are so intimately and officially connected, will become merely a connecting link between their steamships on the coast and their steamboats on the Tanana and Yukon Rivers. It will not avail the people of Alaska to give them reasonable rates over the Government road only to permit the combined Transportation Trust to add the excessive increases at both ends.

## The Good-Roads Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. E. W. SAUNDERS,
OF VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, August 4, 1916.*

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, the favorable action of the two bodies of Congress on the conference report on the good roads bill, marks the culmination of a movement to enlist the activities of the Federal Government in the direction of a new phase of domestic development, and one that will engage the

interest of a greater proportion of the general public than would be attracted by any other form of Federal activity. This movement has been actively prosecuted within the last decade, but over one hundred years ago Gen. Washington, and later Thomas Jefferson, advocated Federal aid for roads. Indeed it was due to the efforts of Jefferson, and other far-seeing, clear-visioned men of that day, that the Cumberland Road was begun. It is worthy of note that the prosecution of that enterprise, even in that day of small revenues, did not in anywise embarrass the Treasury, while the results secured, were of inestimable public benefit. This fact should allay the apprehensions of those statesmen, chiefly from the great cities, who view the passage of this measure with dismal forebodings, and sniff the odor of pork in every item which it carries. They may compose their souls with patience, for while an era of extensive road building is at hand, the expenditures will be far short of the sums that ought to be appropriated in this direction. It is a lamentable fact that while nations are often extravagant, they rarely err, in this respect, in the direction of domestic development. No one of the great nations of the world carries any heavy burden of indebtedness due to expenditures for internal enterprises of a civil character.

The public debts of these nations are composed of items that in the main are in nowise related to the homely and prosaic projects of domestic enterprise. These enterprises, unlike appeals for military expansion, do not touch the imagination, and can not be used as material for exciting public apprehension, and disturbing the public equilibrium. Hence the appropriations in this direction will always be carefully considered, and the likelihood is that the appropriating body will err on the side of parsimony, rather than of extravagance. But having in mind the benefits that will ensue from the appropriations for road development, and particularly the universality of these benefits, there is every reason to believe that these appropriations will be made from year to year on an increasing and expanding scale.

It is a singular fact that while this country has aided many forms of internal improvement, has built railroads, dredged rivers and harbors, and irrigated deserts, it has neglected the greatest and most manifestly needed of these improvements—namely, road building. When this measure went to the President for his approving action, and he affixed his signature to the bill, a great piece of constructive legislation was completed, one rich with the promise of better things for the farmers who, with ungrudging toil, have laid the stable foundations of national prosperity, while the rich streams of Federal appropriations have been applied to enterprises unrelated, save in a remote degree, to the development of rural United States on a scale commensurate with its deserts. The men who are responsible for this road bill have builded better than they knew. It is not sectional either in theory or application. Therefore it is essentially just. It knows no South, no North, no East, no West, but dispenses its benefits so equally, and so impartially, that no community earnestly desiring aid, and fairly entitled to receive it, will knock at the door in vain.

Under its beneficient operations the ordinary wagon road, the road that leads to all other roads, the universal road that serves every use—the local use, the county use, the State use, and the national use—will be developed not only for the benefit of the local community, but in the result, for the benefit of the whole country. The vast network of roads that in the aggregate the operations of this measure will raise to a higher level of excellence, will furnish improved facilities for that vast volume of commodities that are hauled from the farms to find their way into interstate commerce, and ultimately into world traffic. Whatever expands this traffic, and diminishes the cost of its transportation, confers a national benefit. Plainly this is what a better system of roads secured through national aid will inevitably accomplish.

The basic foundation upon which the prosperity of this Republic rests, is the gigantic annual production of the farms of the United States, a production that last year totaled over $10,000,000,000. In the first leg of their journey to the markets, whence they will be distributed to the four corners of the earth in the ceaseless ebb and flow of international traffic, the products of the farm must be hauled over the local roads to the highways of commerce, whether those highways are railroads, or hard roads of an extensive and permanent character. In time the return traffic must pour back over the same roads. How idle, then, to talk of a system of road aid which would be limited to the construction, or maintenance of a few great trunk lines of hard roads of the most expensive character! It is one of the merits of this bill that while a State, in its discretion, may use its allotted funds to build the latest types of hard roads on an extensive scale, it may also use the same fund to construct roads relatively insignificant, but of profound significance and intense value to the local community. Like the former and the latter rains which fall upon the just and the unjust alike, the benefits of this measure will affect road building on the largest, as well as the humblest scale.

There is no community with a road project of a meritorious character, that will not find itself within the purview of this bill. It has been well said that the question of good roads is a problem that concerns everybody. At one end of every road is the farmer with his crops for sale. At the other end of the road, is the city with its people waiting to be fed, its merchants with goods to sell, and the railroad with its trains ready to haul the farm products one way, and the industrial products on the return trip. To whose advantage is it, then, to have good roads to the villages, to the towns, to the great cities? Clearly it is to the advantage alike of the merchant, the farmer, the city, and the railroad.

Who will be benefited by this bill? Practically every individual in the 100,000,000 souls who compose this great Republic. Compare its benefits with the benefits conferred by the other measures which Congress annually passes, the public building bill, the rivers and harbors bill, the bills for draining swamps, and watering deserts, and the most ardent advocates of these confessedly meritorious measures, will be constrained to admit that in its effect upon the commerce and life of the whole Nation, the act for road construction through Federal aid, is of greater interest, and holds within itself possibilities of greater value for all the people of the entire Republic, than the other measures in their collective aggregate.

I have been somewhat surprised at the opposition to this bill, not at the size of this opposition, for its numbers have been small, something like 60 of our total membership, but at the quarter from which it has come. This opposition has been largely confined to the members from the great cities, who seem to think that the benefits of the measure will be limited to the farmers. Even if this were true, it would not be a valid objection, for in comparison with the beneficiaries of the huge appropriations that have been made in other directions, the farmers will not receive a tithe of their deserts under this bill. As a rule the benefits of appropriations for domestic development are largely confined to the localities in which they are immediately expended. But we should not withhold our support on that account. In this view the farmers should have opposed every appropriation that has been made for harbor development since the beginning of this Government. But they have not maintained so shortsighted, selfish, and ignoble an attitude. They have cheerfully approved these appropriations, though they were well aware that the immediate and palpable benefit of their expenditure would be in the localities where the expenditure would be made. The representatives from the cities which have grown rich and flourishing under a policy which has established and maintained their commercial facilities by Government expenditures, should not adopt the selfish and narrow attitude that aid of this character should be confined to city communities.

The measure of our prosperity, is the prosperity of that agriculture which sustains all the urban communities. It is an old illustration that should our cities be destroyed, they would be built again, but destroy our agriculture, and grass would grow in the streets of our proudest cities. No greater burden can be taken from the back of agriculture, than the burden of bad roads. It afflicts the farmer every day of his life. It is an indirect tax, but it is the greatest tax that he carries. It touches him in the repairs of his vehicles, the strain upon his draft animals, in the inadequate loads that he hauls, and in the time which is unnecessarily consumed upon the road. But there is another phase to this matter. Social life in the country is dependent upon the roads of the community. The progress of civilization, the uplift of our people, the interchange and adjustment of our civic views, depend upon the extent, and facility of our social intercourse, when mind meets mind, and neighbors come to know each other in the amenities of social life. The extent of this intercourse is limited by the facility of travel. So that in the result, not only on the material and economic side, but on the social side as well, the uplift of a community is intimately related to the condition of the roads in that community.

I find the same thought elaborated in the speech of a colleague.

It has been shown that as a result of good public roads, school attendance has been materially increased, social intercourse between the units of farming communities has become more frequent, and the interchange of opinions on political, economic, and educational problems has been stimulated. In counties favored with good roads all the social activities of the community have received an impetus in a forward direction.

Some interesting figures have been furnished by the Department of Agriculture showing the cost of transporting farm products over the bad roads of the United States, in compari-

son with the cost of like transportation over the good roads of Europe. In the first place it costs the American farmer an average of about 23 cents per ton per mile to haul his products to the river landing, or the railroad depot. The aggregate of this annual charge upon American agriculture has been estimated at $600,000,000, a colossal burden, and one susceptible of easy remedy through the betterment of our highways. By far the greater portion of this cost is due to bad roads. It may be remarked in passing that these are the roads which the Federal bill is designed to improve. The cost of transportation over the roads of Europe run as follows: In France the average cost of hauling farm produce to market is about 11½ cents per ton per mile, in England 12 cents, in Italy 9 cents, in portions of Germany from 11 to 13 cents, in other portions of that country as little as 5 cents a mile. Compare with these figures the cost of like transportation in the United States which runs from 19, to 27 cents per mile. What is the explanation of this difference in cost, one so much to our discredit, and so great a handicap on our farmers?

The explanation is easy, good roads on the one hand, bad roads on the other. The situation, however, is not wholly bad, the cloud has a silver lining. In the last decade many States, and many counties, have come to realize the secret of their backwardness, and have made wonderful strides in the direction of better roads. The thrill of this impulse has not been confined to any one section. The big States, and the little States, the poor States, and the rich States, Massachusetts, and Florida, New York, and California, the North, the South, the East, and the West have united in this great forward movement, and the results attained have been little short of wonderful. But while much has been done, much more remains to be accomplished. The long pull, the strong pull, and the pull altogether remains to me made. At this point the Federal bill comes in. It does not seek to interfere with, or overthrow any work that is in progress in the States. It holds out a helping hand. It proffers cooperation. The terms on which its aid will be afforded are simple. Any community in any State seeking to construct a highway, or a section of a highway, whether on an extensive, or a limited scale, will submit its project to the highway commission of that State. The engineers of the highway commission will examine and pass on the merits of the project submitted. If approved by them, they in turn will submit the project to the engineers of the United States Department of Agriculture. If these engineers find the project good, then a price is fixed for the work, and the specifications drawn. When the project is completed according to these specifications, and the road is accepted by the Federal department, then a warrant is drawn on the Federal Treasury for one half of the agreed cost of construction. The other half is paid by the State and the community, upon the terms arranged between them. If the work is done in a State like Virginia, the State, in many instances, will aid the community to the extent of one-half of the amount charged against the community. This aid would leave the community chargeable with only one-fourth of the entire cost. In brief this is the scheme of the Federal bill, popularly known as the good-roads bill. Its possibilities of benefit to the entire country are enormous. For the first year, operations under this measure will not be extensive.

The department must organize its forces and get ready for this work. It will be necessary to provide an adequate supply of inspecting agents, engineers, and experts, and create the elaborate machinery required for a new departure in governmental activity. But after the first year, the operations of this road bureau will expand at a marvelous rate. The growth of the green bay tree is usually cited to illustrate rapid development, but I predict that wonderful as the growth of that tree may be, it will take second place to the record-breaking pace that will be set by the expanding activities of this bureau. This is but a beginning, a small plant that will be watered and fostered. The proverb truly says, no beginning of things, however small, is to be neglected, for continuance makes them great. From little things, we go on to greater things. Look at rural delivery, that giant doing public service every day, save Sundays, rain, or shine, summer, or winter, over good roads, and bad, and recall that the span of its life is only about a decade and a half.

Mr. Speaker, the way to this legislation has been long and much encumbered by the obstructions of selfish opponents, heedless of any interest but that of their immediate localities. But everything is well that ends well, and we realize that we have come to the turning of a long lane, the friends of this measure, feel that they have fought a good fight, and having kept the faith with their constituents, they tender this bill to the country in the full assurance that our faith in its merits will be justified by the results of the severest tests to which it may be subjected. I wish that I could body forth in appropriate terms my vision of what this legislation will effect in the next decade. It will establish the prosperity and happiness of all the people of the entire Republic upon a basis as imperishable and enduring as the foundations of the everlasting hills.

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**Congressman James T. McDermott Makes His Annual Report to the Voters of His District.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JAMES T. McDERMOTT,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. McDERMOTT. As the Representative in Congress from the fourth congressional district, I submit for the consideration of the people of that district a brief report of the legislation passed and acted upon by Congress at the last session. It is but right that I should acquaint the people of the district of my activity regarding the many bills that were considered and which directly and indirectly concern the welfare of the constituency which I have the honor to represent. Ever since I have been in Congress it has been my policy to make an annual report of this kind to my constituents.

I was first elected to Congress on my promise to work and vote for all measures in the interest of the working masses. I gave my word that I would always be found on the side of the workingman when it came time to vote on any of the labor measures before Congress, and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the book that contains the true proceedings of the daily work of Congress, bespeaks the faith I have kept by showing that my vote has always been registered with labor. I have supported and voted for every bill indorsed by organized labor.

### REPRESENTS THE VIEWS OF HIS CONSTITUENTS.

In this connection I desire to say a few words regarding my vote on the immigration bill. Representing the constituency that I do, which is composed largely of Bohemian, German, Irish, Lithuanian, Polish, and other foreign-born citizens, I could not consistently, after receiving the views of these people, vote in favor of the literacy test. I am convinced that foreigners of sound body, mind, and morals, of good and patriotic intentions toward our country and institutions, and of sufficient means to justify the assumption that they will not become public charges, should be welcomed into our midst and made to feel that they are at home. They should be extended all the privileges of our laws and liberty that our Constitution provides.

The father of Abraham Lincoln could not read or write, and if he had been born abroad and had come seeking admission to our country he would have been excluded under the literacy test as provided in the immigration bill.

When Kosciusko and Pulaski appeared at our shores and offered their services for the cause of liberty and independence of our country no one asked them, "Can you read?" One of these Polish patriots gave up his life for the cause of independence, and the United States Congress, in grateful appreciation of the services rendered by these foreign-born heroes, authorized an appropriation for the erection of a monument in their honor in the city of Washington. And in my opinion the Polish people are to be congratulated on the active support that the Democratic administration has given their people both here and in Poland, and as a Representative in Congress of a district that has many Polish-American citizens I heartily agree with the State Department in their efforts to help these deserving people.

### VOTED AGAINST THE USE OF THE STOP WATCH ON HUMAN BEINGS.

One of the most important legislative battles that came before the Sixty-fourth Congress was the fight over the Tavenner amendment prohibiting the use of the stop watch in Government arsenals and navy yards. I supported the Tavenner amendment and did all within my power to bring about its passage. The stop watch is the principal feature of the so-called Taylor system of "scientific shop management." I do not believe the man lives who can successfully defend before an audience of average American citizens the Taylor system as Mr. Taylor himself described it.

Imagine any man confronted on the public platform with Mr. Taylor's own words, used in describing how he installed the Taylor system at the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co.:

The tasks were all purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five laborers (perhaps even a smaller percentage than this) could keep up.

The motive behind the stop watch and other speeding-up features of Taylorism is not efficiency, as the average man understands the meaning of the word, but an inordinate desire for a greater profit from the toil of man, and back of that desire is greed.

In its last analysis the Taylor system is simply the "scientific" grinding down of the spirit, the hopes, the ambitions, as well as the physical bodies, of those who toil; and for what? In order that dividends may be increased. The thing is too inhuman and too murderous to be imposed on beasts of burden, to say nothing of imposing it upon fellow human beings. It may be said to the credit of the average American employer that he has refused to go to anything like the extremes that Mr. Taylor recommended.

As so well stated by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING], the issue in the fight against the Taylor system is between those who want to hold a stop watch on some one else and those who have had the stop watch held on them.

ATTEMPT TO INSTALL SYSTEM IN GOVERNMENT ARSENALS.

Strange to relate, the Chief of Ordnance wants to install the Taylor system in the Government arsenals. The Sixty-fourth Congress deserves the unstinted thanks of the workers of the Nation for inserting in the Army, Navy, fortification, and sundry civil bills a provision prohibiting the use in Government arsenals and navy yards of the stop watch and other objectionable speeding-up features of the Taylor system.

This provision reads as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. TAVENNER:

"*Provided*, That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States while making or causing to be made with a stop watch, or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant."

The enactment of this legislation was accomplished in the face of the bitter opposition of the great manufacturers' associations of the United States.

Considering the powerful influences that opposed it, considering the treacherous parliamentary whirlpools through which it had to pass, and the dangers which beset it at every stage of its legislative journey, the workingmen of the Nation are to be congratulated upon its final passage by Congress.

ANTI STOP-WATCH LEGISLATION IMPORTANT TO ALL WORKERS.

This legislation is of importance to all workingmen, whether they are employed in Government establishments or not, because if the Taylor system could have been installed in Government plants, the fact could have been made use of to the disadvantage of employees in private plants where the installation of the system is contemplated. Private employers would be in the strategic position of being able to assert to their protesting employees that the Taylor system had been indorsed by the United States Government, and that if it was an inhuman and bad system Uncle Sam would not be putting his official stamp of approval upon it by introducing it in the Government arsenals and navy yards.

The Commission on Industrial Relations spent thousands of dollars in an investigation of "scientific management." The conclusions reached by disinterested investigators and students should be read by any man who doubts that these so-called systems are to-day the gravest danger facing the workers in their struggle for freedom and well-being. Briefly, the commission found:

(1) That the cardinal principle of "scientific management" is the pitting of each workman against the fellow workman at his side in a race for greater and greater output per minute and hour and day.

(2) That constant dread of discharge is deliberately implanted in every worker's mind in order to drive him forward at top speed.

(3) That this killing competition of worker against worker is the most efficient scheme ever devised to break down organization among employees by creating interests that are not common, but absolutely the reverse of common.

(4) That it is a fact, proved over and over again, that employers operating under scientific management reduce the basic rate of pay to about that prevailing before the system was introduced, as soon as they have speeded up their employees to the point where the latter are earning more than the prevailing rate of wages, as a result of their increased speed and productiveness. In other words, the workers' share of their increased production is taken away from them as soon as the standard has been set and the employers have demonstrated that the increased rate is possible.

(5) After the basic rate has been reduced, the employee must keep up the same nerve-racking race or he will not receive even the lower rate.

In the words of Andrew Furuseth, "they will scrap the whole human race unless some power stops them."

If organized labor had established its right to exist and were strong enough to take an equal voice in administering so-called scientific management systems, it might be a different story. But with labor already fighting against odds for the right to organize, the net result of the Taylor system if generally adopted would be simply to destroy unionism and leave the workers helpless.

WILL PLACE REPORTS AND TESTIMONY OF FAMOUS INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION REPORT WHERE ALL CONSTITUENTS MAY CONSULT THEM.

I desire to announce that I have 14 sets of the final report and complete testimony of the hearings of the famous Industrial Relations Commission, which I will place at labor centers and public libraries in my district where they will be available to the largest possible number of the men and women of my district. This is considered the most remarkable document that has ever been turned out of the Government Printing Office, and will have its effect on legislation for the next half century to come.

TAKES PRIDE IN ASSISTANCE GIVEN PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

When the present session of Congress comes to an end, legislation of great importance to the country will have been enacted into law. Since the opening of the Sixty-second Congress in 1911, the first Democratic Congress since 1895, more reform and progressive legislation, more legislation for the benefit of the great masses, has been placed on the statute books than in any period of our history. I believe I am justified in taking some pride in the long list of achievements in the interest of the American people, for I have worked faithfully to bring these great reforms about.

Because of a Democratic administration at Washington we now elect United States Senators by popular vote, and we have a publicity law which insures the honest election of Senators and Representatives.

We have the income tax, which places the burden of taxation on those best able to pay, and nets to the Treasury nearly $140,000,000 a year.

We have the Underwood tariff law, the first honest downward revision of the tariff in a quarter of a century, and we will have a nonpartisan tariff commission which will prevent the tariff from being used as a football of politics in the future.

We have a new banking and currency system which has emancipated the American people from the money changers of Wall Street.

We have the Federal Trade Commission and the Clayton antitrust law for the protection of honest business men and the encouragement of honest business.

We have passed a law for the physical valuation of railroad properties in order to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix just passenger and freight rates.

We have enacted liberal pension laws to take care of the old soldier and his widow in their old age.

And what about the 25,000,000 men in this country who labor by the sweat of their brows? For years they have been petitioning Congress for legislation, but not until after the election of a Democratic majority in the Sixty-second Congress were these petitions heard.

We have a Secretary of Labor, and labor now occupies a prominent position at the President's Cabinet table.

We have an eight-hour law on works done for the Government as well as work done by the Government.

We have the Children's Bureau for the protection and welfare of the youth of the country (Miss Julia Lathrop, of Chicago, appointed the head of this bureau), and we have a child-labor law.

We now have laws for the safety and protection of workmen in hazardous occupations, such as the phosphorus match act, the Bureau of Mines act, and Bureau of Safety Appliances.

We now have a seaman's law which has liberated the seamen, and we have exempted labor unions from the operation of the antitrust law, thereby liberating the laboring man and elevating him above property and the almighty dollar.

ADEQUATE DEFENSE PROVIDED FOR.

But this is not all. When this session ends we will have provided for the protection, security, and lasting peace of a hundred million people. We will have provided an Army and a Navy sufficient and able to protect the interests and honor of our Republic and of its citizens everywhere. We do not want war. These preparations are not for war. These are preparations against war. We love peace. God grant that there will never be another war. But why are we unprepared? Who is responsible for this condition? Who has been in power for 16 years before the Wilson administration? At no time in the history of our country has any administration equaled the present in the matter of providing adequate national defense.

While making adequate preparations against war, the greatest achievement of the administration is that our leader has kept us at peace with the world. While civilized Europe has been involved in the greatest slaughter of humanity during the past two years, President Wilson has kept us at peace.

FRATERNAL INSURANCE MEASURE.

Referring to the interpleader insurance bill which recently passed the House of Representatives, I wish to say that should this bill become a law it will afford a much-sought relief to the fraternal insurance companies in the United States. The outstanding feature of the bill is the giving to insurance companies the right to file bills of interpleader whenever a case occurs where two or more persons make claim to the benefits of a policy of a deceased member. The State courts had jurisdiction of cases brought within the State, although other suits may have been pending for the recovery of the sum due. The Moore bill, if passed, will compel the rival claimants to appear in a Federal court and assert their claims, treating the litigants fairly and deciding which is entitled to the benefits of the policy. Heretofore it has been possible for rival claimants under a policy of insurance to make recovery where but one sum was due, this happening where suit was brought in different States. One can readily conceive that the passage of the measure will give the fraternal insurance societies the opportunity to file a bill of interpleader in the Federal court and thus prevent a number of suits arising in various States. Under the present practice, where there are several claimants, it is necessary for the officer or officers of a fraternal insurance society to appear, with counsel, wherever a suit is brought. The expense of affording transportation of the officer and attorney and for counsel fees is necessarily borne by the members of the insurance society, which usually proves expensive and a hardship to be borne by the members of the organization.

This bill has passed the House of Representatives and is now in the hands of the Senate, and strong efforts will be made to have it considered and passed at this session. It is a meritorious measure and will result in the speedy adjudication of cases that heretofore have lingered in the courts for years.

CONGRATULATED BY SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK.

I wish to report to the voters in our district that I have been constantly in attendance at the sessions of Congress. I believe my record for faithfulness in this connection will compare favorably with that of any other Member.

In this connection it affords me much pleasure to state that the great Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Hon. CHAMP CLARK, has written me the following letter, calling attention to this phase of my service in Congress:

THE SPEAKER'S ROOMS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D. C., August 14, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES T. MCDERMOTT,
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MACK: This has been a very eventful session of Congress and one in which the Democratic Party has done more good for the United States and the American people than has been done in 20 years.

I congratulate you on your faithfulness in attendance and in the steady and constant discharge of your duties. You have been regularly at your post and have voted right.

I wish you luck in the impending campaign. The longer a man stays in the House the better Representative he ought to make.

Your friend,

CHAMP CLARK.

THIS IS CONGRESSMAN M'DERMOTT'S FINAL WORD TO THE VOTERS.

Upon this excellent record I shall go before the people of our district for renomination at the Democratic primaries, Wednesday, September 13.

This will be the only communication that will be sent to the voters of our district from me. Any other purporting to come from me will be sent out by my opponents, whose methods will be repudiated by all fair-minded voters of the district. As in the past, my campaign will be conducted in a dignified and manly manner befitting the position I aspire to, and I trust I will have the support of the voters of our district at the primaries on September 13.

**Read, Ponder, Act.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address by Andrew Jay Frame, president Waukesha National Bank, before the State Bankers' Association of Colorado, at Denver, July 21, 1916.

The address is as follows:

MONOPOLIZATION V. INDEPENDENT BANKING.

[Address by Andrew Jay Frame, president Waukesha National Bank, Waukesha, Wis., before the State Bankers' Association of Colorado, at Denver, July 21, 1916.]

Eternal vigilance is not only the price of liberty, but also of our vested rights.

Fifteen years ago the leaders of the American Bankers' Association, under the guise of providing an elastic currency for us, attempted to deliver our independent banking system into the hands of the monopolists under a branch banking system, which utterly failed.

This octopus has again revived, and it would seem the advocates have corralled the powers that be and the Democratic doctrine of an avowed enmity toward monopolization is dead, unless House bill 15734 is buried beyond resurrection. If this bill passes, then, in common parlance, Wall Street has swallowed the Democratic Party.

Let us briefly diagnose the case.

House bill No. 15734 reads practically as follows, as cited by Mr. Paul M. Warburg before the New York State Bankers' Association:

"Authorizing any national bank with $1,000,000 capital and surplus or over, located in a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants, to establish branches within the corporate limits of the city, and authorizing any national bank located in any other place, with the approval of the Federal Reserve Board, to establish branches within the limits of its county, or within a radius of 25 miles of its banking house, irrespective of county lines, etc."

To my mind the passage of such a bill would be signally destructive, and also would be the stepping-stone to a general monopolistic branch banking system, which would practically destroy the 25,000 to 30,000 independent banks of the United States. In 1901 and 1902, when some—not all—big bankers in a few big cities attempted to commit the American Bankers' Association to such a scheme, and in the discussion of which I had the honor of taking a material part, these branch-bank advocates were signally defeated. I feel confident this similar scheme will not prevail, as soon as its destructive results are fully comprehended by the Democratic Party. I am informed, on what I believe to be good authority, that a few big city bankers are now fostering this plan, because they desire to skim the cream from the whole country. No honeyed reasons advocating branch banking can begin to compare with the wonderful upbuilding power of the independent banking system of the United States.

As a new generation is born every 20 years and told to keep away from the fire, permit quotations from my address before the State Bankers' Association of Michigan, in 1902, and also from another in Oklahoma, in 1913, both of which show clearly the destructive results of branch banking.

To my mind this bill should read:

A BILL.

First. To revolutionize and monopolize the banking business of the United States.

Second. To pull down what we have been unbuilding for years.

Third. To substitute 100 or 200 great central banks, with 25,000 to 30,000 tails to their big kites, thus destroying our independent banking system.

Fourth. To skim the cream from the country to enrich the exchequers of the great central banks and to increase the people's tax burdens.

Fifth. To overthrow the party in power if this effort to monopolize is enacted into our laws.

In 1901 and 1902 we heard the soothing statement that branch banking in the United States would be evolutionary and not revolutionary. Does any one believe that, even if the opening wedge is now but driven in? We read it took 100,000 men 30 years to build the big Pyramid of Egypt. Would it take a Yankee over three months to duplicate the contract if the cash were forthcoming to pay the bill?

Great Britain has approximately 74 great central banks and over 7,000 branches. Over 86 per cent of her banking power is monopolistic. France has a few great central banks, and Germany likewise. In both of these countries these banks practically dominate the commercial banking business. In London, Paris, and other large cities wherein branch banks are authorized the great central banks throw out their arms all over those cities, thus overthrowing many independent banks therein. Mr. A. B. Stickney, in 1901, said there were five branch banks competing for the cherry in one small city of Canada and none paid local taxes.

With these facts before us, may we not well ask: If Congress should authorize branch banking in the United States, will not the great central banks in competing for the business of city and country openly or tacitly say to the well-to-do State, as well as national independent bankers, "Sell out to us or we will establish a branch bank near yours," and the result will be a fight to the finish if the local bankers will not sell? What would become of the investments of more than a million of stockholders who now own the local banks of the country? If any banker thinks he is strong enough to cope with that system, then let him sit idly by and fail to register his protest against con-

gressional legislation in favor of internal branch banking. I fear the result will be like Ben Franklin's description of quack doctoring: "I was well. I wanted to be better. I took physic and died."

Again: Mr. Stickney, in an address before the Marquette Club of Chicago, in 1901, said that "Eleven of the banks of Great Britain paid last year 20 per cent or more, and the average dividend paid by all the other banks was 13.8 per cent." This, of course, was by the central banks, as branches make no dividends. In 1900 the national banks of the United States paid 8 per cent.

Query No. 1. Is the meat in this coconut philanthropic on the part of the advocates of branch banking, or is it that the general central banks may skim the cream from the whole country to enlarge the profits of the central banks?

No. 2. Have we no vested rights that the monopolist is bound to respect?

No. 3. As branch banking means monopoly and revolution in banking, are you ready to surrender?

No. 4. Are these not serious questions for the country banker to ponder over and even a majority of the city bankers, as branches would be established in the cities as well?

After more than a half century of arduous labor in building up a good bank and encouraging local industries, I am led to urge that we do unto the monopolist as he would do unto us, but under David Harum's philosophy, "Do it to the monopolist fust by preventing legislation permitting it."

STRIKING COMPARISONS.

In my 1902 Michigan address, heretofore referred to, I compared results of panic conditions from 1836 to 1902 in Great Britain under its branch banking system with our independent system. Time forbids more than a sum up of records showing Great Britain had six recorded panics, with £106,000,000 of liabilities, as against four panics in the United States, with £81,000,000 liabilities.

Further: The American Encyclopedia for 1893 says as to the Australian branch banking system: "That out of 28 banks, with 1,700 branches, 13 of them, with 800 or 900 branches, failed in six months ending May, 1893, for the stupendous sum of £90,000,000." This sum in that single swoop exceeds the total liabilities of all the failed banks in the United States from 1863 to 1902, although the banking power of the United States was many times that of Australia. When we compare historical facts with unsupported assertion unjustly vilifying our banks it seems the banking business of the United States looms up so grandly that every American citizen should feel proud.

CANADIAN SYSTEM.

Permit just one more comparison with the much-vaunted Canadian system, with quotations from my Oklahoma address in 1913, substituting Denver in place of Muskogee.

First. The Canadian system requires not less than $500,000 of capital to start a bank there. There are now in the chief cities but 17 great central banks, with over 3,000 branches. In 1880 there were 41. It is a scandalous fact, widely admitted, that the powers controlling made it about as difficult to get into the select coterie as to get into a safe with a jimmie. The system evidently borders on a pure monopoly, whereunto we are trending.

Second. The stock of these central banks—no stock being issued by branches—is held largely in London, Liverpool, Quebec, Toronto, etc., and only a small percentage throughout the Dominion. Of course, dividends follow the stockholders' residence.

Third. I understand the stock is assessed where the holders reside. Branches pay a small license fee, but practically no taxes, except on buildings owned by the bank, which must be paid in any event.

Fourth. The branches in the country towns and smaller cities have no president or cashier and no board of directors, but are managed practically by figureheads. One man has general supervision over 10 to 20 branches in separate localities, and the so-called local managers take orders from him.

Fifth. They take the deposits from one locality and send to others where interest rates are higher to the detriment of home demands.

Let us compare conditions in Denver and the country generally with like cities in Canada.

Denver has 35 banks and trust companies with capital and surplus of about $15,000,000. The presidents, cashiers, and boards of directors are strong, influential, public-spirited citizens. The local stockholders are all on the alert to upbuild Denver and bring profits on their stockholdings.

Under the Canadian branch banking system the Denver presidents and cashiers would be set aside and the directorates abolished. There would be comparatively no stockholders, even of the central banks, and cashiers would be the managers of the branches. As self-interest is the first law of nature, this wrecking of the powerful influence for good of all these elements would breed indifference.

Again, as taxes are paid in Denver on capital and surplus, Denver would get filched out of $250,000 per year in bank taxes, which would simply add to the people's burdens. If stockholders get but 6 per cent per annum on their investment of $15,000,000, that would mean $900,000 less per annum for distribution in Denver, plus any undivided profits covering over a million dollars annually, all of which, if the Canadian system were adopted in the United States, would go to 100 or 200 great central banks of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, etc. A beautiful and enticing picture for Denver, other like cities, and the country generally. I appeal to you, gentlemen, is it not a fact that those allied to the ownership and management of the independent banks of the country have been wonderfully instrumental in the onward and upward progress of your farm sections, your hamlets, and your cities? If we upbuild these, do we not upbuild the great cities and the Nation as a whole?

Contrast these facts with the further ones that Canada, with splendid resources, has a territory about equal to the United States, with a population of but seven and one-half millions; that her whole banking power is not equal to that of Massachusetts alone; that losses to depositors and stockholders of Canadian banks, as compared to our national banking system, is as three to one in our favor; that interest rates are neither uniform, nor are they lower than in the United States; and then ask yourselves if I am not justified in declaring "the Canadian branch banking system skims the cream from the country to enrich the exchequers of the monopolists in the great cities, while the independent banking system of the United States helps wonderfully to upbuild the Nation as a whole."

As further proof permit a short quotation from a 1912 weekly edition of the Toronto Star, which has a daily circulation largely in excess of any of the other six dailies there.

Preceding a well-written, logical four-column article, the following strong headlines appear in the Star:

MONSTER BANKING MONOPOLY A LEECH AT CANADA'S THROAT, KILLING LOCAL INDUSTRY, DEPOPULATING RURAL DISTRICTS—CENTRALIZATION OF ALMOST ENTIRE FINANCIAL POWER OF DOMINION IN THE HANDS OF A FEW CAPITALISTS HAS RESULTED FROM OUR MUCH-VAUNTED BANKING SYSTEM—ALMOST TOTAL EXTERMINATION OF LOCAL BANKS.

I quote but two extracts therefrom, to wit:

"While large capital insures slow, steady transmission of deposits to 'branches' for control and use of head offices in smart, alien centers, local credit based on local savings is transferred to parasites on whom rests neither responsibility, object, nor desire to exercise banking functions in support of local enterprises. With such credit basis lost not only does the collapse or absorption of local bank institutions become inevitable, but local aspirations and confidence which had sustained local industry are wiped out or made dependent on the will and not of competitive enterprise. So secretly, so gradually, does this sequestration of savings proceed, so insiduously are local enterprises undermined, that planting of a 'branch' to suck out local earnings, to extirpation of even the last local industry or institution, is embraced by 'slow-going' people with the same artless innocence as a 3-year child fondles a viper."

"To this accursed system of concentration of credit and destruction of local industry the Dominion of Canada stands indebted for a contracted population of 7,000,000 in place of 25,000,000 rightfully due it under decentralized systems of banks designed to sustain, to breathe the breath of economic life through the remotest as well as the most insulated of its parts."

This indictment from a Canadian rather outstrips mine.

Brother bankers, if you value your liberty, then protest to your Representatives in Washington to vote against any internal branch banking bill, and thus preserve your vested rights.

New Jersey, under its State banking act, permitted branch banks. The big fish were eating up the little ones. A repeal bill was presented to the legislature by the country banks in 1915 and passed. The governor vetoed it. The country bankers' vigorous, educational campaign convinced the legislators of the menace to democratic banking, and they almost unanimously overrode the veto. This object lesson should awaken the Nation.

As further proof of my contention permit me to quote from a letter received from the president of a prominent trust company in New Jersey, to wit: "I notice that the branch banking danger is again looming up. The last issue of the Bankers' Magazine contains several references to it. It appears that a great many of the larger bankers are quietly lining up in its favor, and it may be necessary for the country bankers to organize in opposition.

"You will recall that last year we won out in our fight in New Jersey and succeeded in passing the repeal of the branch banking bill over the veto of the governor. It was a very hard fight, and I understand that the large institutions who opposed us are planning to make another attempt to force the branch banking law through in our State."

In another letter he says: "Branch banking promulgated by a national banking system would prove more dangerous than the State law which we were successful in having repealed. Our present banking arrangements would be seriously disarranged by the passage of this act. * * * The big banking interests are determined to introduce branch banking into this country. This can only be avoided by uniting in strong opposition along the same line carried out in the recent fight in our own State."

I have similar information from New York and other States.

Permit me to suggest that in every State wherein the law is not explicit against branch banking it should be made so without delay if the independent banking system is to be preserved. The enemy is active.

I now and always have approved of winning world trade by throwing out arms to the ends of the earth like unto the splendid work now being pioneered by the great National City Bank of New York and as authorized in the Federal reserve act as to foreign branches. I only take issue with internal monopolization. Permit me to digress for a few moments upon two live subjects.

FREE REMITTANCE FOR CHECKS.

The arbitrary and unjustifiable methods to bring about the free remittance for checks by country banks, to my mind, can not be defended on any equitable or economic grounds.

The noise about the excessive "float" of checks to and fro will be doubled and trebled under a rule of free remittance therefor. If bills made at the great centers were paid by draft, as they should be, there would be no "float" to be sent back home with time lost in transmission, doubling and trebling postage and entries, clerk hire, envelopes, etc.

To encourage the "floating" of checks from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast and vice versa is simply to greatly enlarge unnecessary expenses and encourages "kiting" of checks. It is a positive evil. The thought that it relieves the big merchants of material loss is a fallacy, because, if checks are sent instead of bank drafts to pay bills, the cost of collection to the city merchant is invisibly charged to the customer, where it belongs. I assert, it is indefensible to compel the banks to remit for these checks without charge, as they are not interested in the transaction. The banks are open at material expense and keep reserve city balances in order to sell exchange as one of the ordinary, legitimate functions of banking. Because a few banks charge excessively is no excuse for robbing the many doing a legitimate business. To my mind, if it is constitutional to compel banks to remit for checks at a loss, then it is constitutional to compel farmers to sell butter below cost. The very foundation of our Constitution is threatened.

Some argue that if any account is not large enough to cover the cost of free remittance, then the bank should decline the account. This seems queer logic. A banker in Milwaukee lately told me that his bank had 1,000 small accounts that were unprofitable, but it kept them to encourage the small dealer to grow.

The Waukesha National Bank has over 1,500 of such accounts. Banks generally have them; and I ask you in all seriousness, Shall we encourage or throttle them? Should they not pay the banks something for exchange to partially cover safety of their funds and for convenience in paying their bills? Banks generally, where accounts justify it, now sell drafts without charge to customers. No arbitrary rule can govern. Where facts are stated it would seem bankers are not all devoid of patriotism. "Consistency, thou art a jewel," seems

to apply in this case. Permit me to ask, Is it consistent for the Government to compel banks to remit for checks without charge when its own exorbitant charges for postal orders are as follows:

| For orders: | Cents. |
|---|---|
| From $0.01 to $2.50 | 3 |
| From $2.51 to $5 | 5 |
| From $5.01 to $10 | 8 |
| From $10.01 to $20 | 10 |
| From $20.01 to $30 | 12 |
| From $30.01 to $40 | 15 |
| From $40.01 to $50 | 18 |
| From $50.01 to $60 | 20 |
| From $60.01 to $75 | 25 |
| From $75.01 to $100 | 30 |

No post-office orders are issued in excess of $100 each.

Express companies charge exactly the same rates as post offices. Compare these with rates charged by the Waukesha National Bank to any customer or stranger:

Drafts up to $10 cost 5 cents each.
Drafts $10 to $100 cost 10 cents each.
Drafts $100 to $1,000 cost 10 to 25 cents each.
Drafts over $1,000 cost 25 cents per $1,000.

These rates are about one-tenth those charged 40 to 50 years ago. In well-settled sections charges for exchange are rarely equal to post-office rates. Lower rates generally prevail. The great increase of business and competition has justified the decrease of charges. The law of supply and demand must govern, and arbitrary action by Government is simply tyrannical and fully as indefensible as the exploded attempt to artificially regulate the rate of interest. Just a moment as to the—

UNJUST DEMANDS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS.

For the use of the New York Times Annual Financial Review of January 1, 1916, the editors asked me: "Why do not the State banks join the Federal reserve system?" My answer thereto was approximately as follows:

The national banks have paid into the Federal reserve banks for capital, say, $55,000,000.

| | |
|---|---|
| On this they get 6 per cent per annum if earned, or | $3,300,000 |
| Add to this the expenses of Federal reserve banks for 1915, say | 1,600,000 |
| Total | 4,900,000 |

which the Federal reserve banks will probably make soon, but at the expense of competition for liquid loans with the general reserve city banks. I say, competition, because, out of 20,000 millions of dollars of so-called "loans and discounts" of all the banks of this country, not over one-quarter of them are in "live paper." This is so because trade and commerce do not produce it, and we are all crying for it but can not get it. The fallacious arguments sent broadcast that we can manufacture "live paper" in abundance is too absurd for serious thought, and yet good men are constantly deceived. Further, why should banks be accessory to their own hanging by furnishing excessive funds to Federal reserve banks to be loaned in competition with the depositors?

The great expense of the Federal reserve banks at $1,600,000 per annum seems excessive as against but $125,000 cost in six years to the banks in the issue of some $380,000,000 Aldrich-Vreeland currency in 1914. This Aldrich-Vreeland currency practically pulled us through the great strain of 1914 without suspension of cash payments by banks, which aided trade and commerce so that no repetition of 1893 or 1907 took place.

As the strain had ceased and conditions were mending before the Federal reserve banks opened in November, 1914, and rediscounts thereafter were almost nil the claim that these banks did the work seems utterly fallacious.

It would seem that the last writing from the pen of the empire builder, James J. Hill, advocating 1 central bank instead of 12, would save probably 90 per cent of the expense and fully accomplish the true mission of a servant to and not master of our banking system. The banks of the country are paying the freight, which indirectly adds to the people's burdens.

In addition to the foregoing, the following sums are demanded of the national banks for deposit in the Federal reserve banks without interest or right to withdraw, as follows (approximately):

| | |
|---|---|
| By the three central reserve city banks of New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, 7 per cent of deposits, say | $190,000,000 |
| 52 general reserve city banks, 5 per cent of deposits, say | 120,000,000 |
| 7,578 country banks, 4 per cent of deposits, say | 150,000,000 |
| July, 1916, paid in on deposit | 460,000,000 |
| Nov. 16, 1916 and 1917, general reserve, city and country banks must pay in or hold in cash an additional | 100,000,000 |
| Thus tying up, without profit, a grand total of | 560,000,000 |

or more than one-half of the total capitals of all the national banks of $1,060,000,000 without any compensation for it whatever except the right to borrow back—from our own deposits, we might say—by parting with our limited stock of choicest interest-bearing securities, or, as the term goes, rediscounting. Rediscounting has always been open to good banks through their city correspondents, except in panic periods, and this defect is now remedied.

Permit me to appeal to the intelligence and fairness of the American people by asking what individual or corporation is willing to deposit one-half of his or its capital in the bank not subject to withdrawal in order that he or it may be sure to get an accommodation at that bank when panic threatens once in 10 to 20 years?

The amounts already paid in to the Federal reserve banks are more than ample to cover any threatened panic contingencies that may arise. The Federal reserve banks have now in cash on hand $400,000,000 and have the power to issue $1,000,000,000 of extra currency, and yet they insist on the last pound of flesh for 1916 and 1917 from member banks, and still want to double the unnecessary burdens by adding the State banks and trust companies, which now hold, outside of central reserve cities, but slightly in excess of 4 per cent of deposits in cash on hand, which must be retained to comply with the law and common prudence. Where will the payments come from? Wisconsin national banks by November, 1917, will have deposited outside of the State in Federal reserve banks or tied up about $8,000,000 in cash above reserves on hand. If State banks joined, they would be called upon for $10,000,000 more, which would come from present interest-bearing sources, as cash can not be spared.

How much will Colorado tie up outside of the State for a like purpose, thus lowering the banks' loaning powers to the people, unless they rediscount from their own deposits in Federal reserve banks, by worse than brokerage, as brokers do not indorse paper? But let us diagnose the

UNJUST BURDENS.

The three central reserve city banks part with 7 per cent out of 25 per cent cash heretofore held against their deposits. This is absolutely no burden to them, and they will never suspend cash payments and tie up country-bank balances as they did in 1893 and 1907, because the Federal reserve banks stand ready for relief.

I assert, if the reserve centers are cared for, no suspension of cash payments will ever again occur unless overexpansion of currency and credit runs rampant.

The 52 general reserve city banks have paid in more cash now than can be spared, and further calls add unnecessary burdens upon them.

The country banks have paid in, above capital-stock requirements, 4 per cent of deposits. Under the old law they were required to keep on hand 6 per cent of deposits. After November, 1917, it will be 4 per cent. This releases 2 per cent. But 4 per cent has already been paid in. The other 2 per cent has come from interest-bearing sources.

The act requires tying up absolutely 12 per cent of the country-bank demand deposits, and the burden is so great that practically the whole of them are chafing under the load, and many of them are threatening to leave the system unless relieved. The 3 per cent supposed reduction of reserves is largely mythical, because banks must keep city-bank balances against which to draw drafts.

While at Massachusets lately, where I addressed the joint session of all the New England State bankers' associations, I unfolded these facts to the governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

He frankly admitted the great burdens put upon the country banks. Mr. Warburg, in addressing the late New York State Bankers' Association, when referring to our "heavy sacrifice," said: "Sincerely appreciating the hardships it entails for the country banker, and sympathizing with the difficulties of his position, we must say to him, 'Forget these exchange charges.'" This confession seems like adding insult to injury, when neither of them are necessary to cover the object sought, and both are clearly un-American, undemocratic, and subversive of American freedom. Let us not forget that if incomes of the Federal reserve banks exceed the $4,900,000, heretofore referred to, the Government confiscates the surplus, which belongs, under any code of honorable ethics, to the depositing banks.

The great bulk of arguments of those who are everywhere working tooth and nail to unnecessarily enlarge the work and powers of the Federal reserve banks, and to justify their salaries, to my mind are seriously fallacious and only add to the burdens of those who pay the freight.

LOWER INTEREST RATES.

There is loud acclaim, that interest rates are lower, because of the Federal reserve bank act. Let us see. Political economists declare that the rates for money, like unto the cost of potatoes or any commodity, rise and fall under the law of supply and demand. Fictitious manipulation of prices does not make for permanent values. On the other hand, since 1914, the United States imports over exports of gold has approximated $500,000,000, which of itself is a basis for billions of credit expansion. In addition, our unnatural general exports in 23 months exceeded our imports by some $3,000,000,000, thus giving another big bank account for credit inflation. These have made money a drug on the markets. Further, I know from experience that after the panic of 1873, money was a drug on the markets for six years. From 1893 to 1896 like conditions prevailed. Political economists also record the fact that following undue stress, conservatism generally prevails and money becomes a drug. In view of these facts, as the Federal reserve act does not increase surplus capital by a single farthing, and rediscounting has generally been an insignificant factor since the banks opened in November, 1914, it would seem the claim has practically no foundation to rest upon.

It grieves me greatly to speak so plainly, but the life of the country banker is at stake, and these excessive, coercive measures can not be defended on any moral or sound economic grounds.

Finally, permit me to say that I do not present these facts in a critical but in a constructive spirit, therefore reiterate what I said on page 688 of Senate hearings on the bill in 1913. After citing approximately what has now been accomplished and calls yet to be made, I said: "Can any statesman justify such calls, especially from the country and general reserve city banks? This transfers immense sums to the great cities, and impoverishes the country banks' loaning powers. Is it constitutional to take such colossal sums from the banks? Stock subscriptions and deposits in European central banks, I believe, are entirely voluntary. Why not do likewise here?

"I am with you, only I think the demands excessive. I believe in the underlying principle of the bill. We all desire a reasonable mobilization of cash to the end that cash suspension of banks may be avoided, but such calls seem far beyond reason to accomplish the object sought. Reason must reign, or a continual warfare for a repeal of the bill will bring a second Andrew Jackson to destroy these banks. What we want is to work in harmony together. We want it so reasonable that we can afford to go into it, even if it costs us something. I believe all banks are willing if the calls are fair and not oppressive." I then added that "if the full measure is demanded, I believe State banks will not join."

In the light of experience, it would seem that our statesmen should seriously consider amending the act, to the end that no further calls be made and that reason must reign in the collection of checks.

Query: If the State banks generally joined, and the funds already paid in are ample for all purposes, why impoverish the country banks by doubling the Federal reserve banks' cash assets? To encourage State banks to join, the demands upon country banks should be halved.

If our statesmen will but turn a deaf ear to the monopolizers who are urging the "cream skimming" branch-banking scheme; and the several States will stand by and foster on sound lines the independent banking system, then with a reasonable mobilization of cash to prevent cash suspension by banks on a less expensive basis, we may reasonably hope that American freedom, for which our forefathers fought, will be maintained and our wonderful program continue undimmed.

I also insert a copy of the bill (H. R. 15734) to authorize national banking associations to establish branches, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, be, and the same hereby is, amended by adding a new section as follows:

"DOMESTIC BRANCHES.

"Sec. 25a. That any national banking association located in a city or incorporated town or village of more than 100,000 inhabitants and possessing a capital and surplus of $1,000,000 or more may, under such rules and regulations as the Federal Reserve Board may prescribe, establish branches within the corporate limits of the city, town, or village in which it is located.

"Any national banking association located in any other place may, with the approval of the Federal Reserve Board, and under such rules and regulations as such board may prescribe, establish branches within the limits of the county in which it is located, provided that no such branch shall be established unless the capital of the parent bank is at least equal to the aggregate of the amounts which would be required of each branch, under the provisions of section 5138, Revised Statutes, if it were organized as an independent association, together with the amount required of the parent bank itself by that section."

## Conference Report on Army Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,
OF WYOMING,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 9, 1916.*

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, if we accept the conference report we will dispose of the Army appropriation bill for the current year. I can not, however, approve all of the provisions of the bill as agreed to, and if I could vote against certain of them without voting against the entire bill I should certainly do so. The House conferees have succeeded in reducing the bill $46,000,000 in amount and are entitled to the thanks of the country for so doing. I am therefore inclined to support their work as the best that can be done under the circumstances. Astonishing things are done or sought to be done in these days in the name of and under the cover of preparedness. Schemes and projects of local benefit, but of questionable character, from the standpoint of the general good, propositions for general or special promotion and preferment, which under ordinary conditions would have short shift, are brought forward, have their innings, and some of them get through in the general hurrah for preparedness. Furthermore, the bill contains much legislation, including new articles of war, that is questionable in form. This bill, carrying $267,596,530.10, is more than $165,000,000 in excess of Army appropriations of last year. In addition to which the deficiency appropriations already made this fiscal year for Army service exceed $27,000,000 and deficiency estimates are pending, amounting to about $6,000,000, making the total for Army expenditures this year, not including $25,000,000 for fortifications, upward of $300,000,000 or three times the appropriation of last year and in excess of $100,000,000 more than the largest recorded expenditure of any nation on earth in time of peace, which was that of Germany the year before the outbreak of the European war.

Large as this appropriation is so far as the items of pay, equipment, supplies, and munitions are concerned, they are probably not excessively large for the number of men proposed to be under arms, including the militia, but there are many items other than these which might have been eliminated or reduced without harm to the service. Legislation on appropriation bills is never justified if it can be avoided, and this bill contains much legislation adopted hurriedly and without due consideration by either House.

It is a little difficult to estimate with entire accuracy the amount of these appropriations which are properly chargeable to the Mexican situation. The total of the appropriations for the National Guard, which have been called into the Federal service, are, of course, chargeable to that situation; but it is not so clear what part of other items should be so charged. After the Army bill passed the House, the Secretary of War sent to the Senate an estimate for $88,495,525.78 additional on account of the National Guard. Not all of that sum was finally appropriated, but other appropriations were made on behalf of the National Guard not included in that estimate, including $2,000,000 for dependent families. There were also increases under the various items for the regular establishment directly chargeable to the Mexican situation. It can be conservatively stated that at least $80,000,000 of the sums carried in this bill are to meet expenditures made necessary by the situation in Mexico. This does not, of course, include the deficiency appropriations of July 1, of over $27,000,000, or the deficiency items now pending of about $6,000,000 directly chargeable to the Mexican situation, the total cost of which for Army and Navy in the last three years has been upward of $150,000,000. These are mighty impressive figures when we recall that they are made necessary almost wholly by the Administration's indefensible policy in handling the Mexican situation. Under a policy firm, fair, and fearless, the conditions of revolution in Mexico would have added very little to the expense of either our military or naval establishment.

## John Ericsson.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. C. C. DILL,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. DILL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to take this opportunity to say a few words regarding the bill providing for the erection of a suitable memorial to John Ericsson, the inventor and constructor of the *Monitor*. He rendered services of extraordinary and incalculable value to this country in a most critical period of its history. Although born in Sweden, he is known to every schoolboy and schoolgirl in American because of the manner in which he served his adopted country. Because the naval officers of the Government during the Civil War turned down his invention of the *Monitor* his name has become inseparably linked with the name of Abraham Lincoln. When they said it was ridiculous, Mr. Lincoln gave his personal order that the proposition should be tried.

While the name of John Ericsson is known to all the world primarily because he constructed the *Monitor*, I desire to call attention to the fact that he was one of the greatest inventors of the world. He was the author of a large number of inventions and improvements of inestimable value to mankind. To him belongs the credit for the screw propeller, the use of compressed air for the transmission of power, the forced draft by centrifugal blowers, the surface condenser for marine engines, the location of propellers below the water line, and the deep-sea sounding device by which warning signals can be located accurately. In addition to all of these inventions and improvements, he invented and designed a large number of other mechanical devices of great advantage and value to the commercial world.

There is another reason, Mr. Speaker, why it is especially fitting that our Government should erect this memorial at this time. His native country is one of the few European nations which has remained neutral during the terrible war that is devastating that continent. The United States is also neutral and is on especially friendly terms with that great progressive nation. By the erection of this memorial, we shall not only do ourselves honor by thus recognizing his services, but we shall be building a shrine here in the National Capital to which will journey many millions of our own people of Swedish ancestry. The Swedish-born Americans are now, and history records they always have been, among the finest of our citizens, and this applies to all Americans of Scandanavian descent. In the State of Washington they hold high rank indeed. I know many of them personally and am proud to be a Representative in this Congress from a district which contains such a large body of citizens of Swedish and other Scandanavian ancestry. They are educated, honest, and industrious. While they read and recite the sagas and sing the songs of their forefathers and learn the history of their warrior kings, above and beyond all this, dearer than anything else to them, is their love for the United States, their adopted country. They are true to the Stars and Stripes and to all for which our flag stands.

In closing, I desire to insert as part of these remarks one of the finest speeches of its kind I have ever read. I refer to the speech of Congressman CHARLES H. SLOAN, of Nebraska. It contains some most interesting information about John Ericsson and also about the monuments already in the National Capital.

Congressman SLOAN's speech, in part, is as follows:

"Mr. SLOAN. Years ago in the schoolbooks we learned that Baltimore was the Monumental City. It is now seldom so designated. This is largely due to the fact that within an hour's ride from the 'Metropolis of the Chesapeake' there stands by the lordly Potomac, at a point where the waters from the mountains meet the tides of the sea, our National Capital.

"Its regular streets, broad avenues, palatial homes, and great buildings, public and private, together with its numerous parks, whose areas describe many geometric outlines, all challenge the notice and command the favorable comment of visiting Americans and foreigners.

"Some of the most interesting features of Washington are its monuments, erected as a protest against the oft-repeated statement that republics forget and are ungrateful. Between the Capitol and the Potomac, reaching toward the heavens, stands the greatest obelisk in the world. It was erected by a generous people's voluntary subscription and a congressional appropriation to the memory of Washington. Near the banks of the Potomac, beyond which rises in solemn grandeur Arlington Cemetery, the resting place of American heroism, is now being constructed a magnificent Greek temple in commemoration of Lincoln. [Applause.] In the various parks are imposing statues erected to brave, wise, and great Americans, 'whose deeds crown history's pages, and time's great volume make.' All these are in chaste marble, enduring granite, or imperishable bronze. These in the main are erected to commemorate America's native sons.

"However, America did not come into national existence by native effort alone, nor has that national existence been maintained independently of those who looked for the first time upon the sun in other climes or under other flags than ours. In an oblong square fronting the Executive Mansion is Lafayette Park. Here are beautiful walks under trees transplanted from many other countries. In the southeast corner upon an elevated pedestal, about which is the compatriot group, stands a bronze statue, with military trappings, of America's early, tried, and noble friend—Lafayette. [Applause.]

"At the northeast corner is a similar statue erected to Kosciusko, the Pole. May it stand there in grandeur until dismembered Poland, which gave him birth and for which he fought and fell, shall take its place among the other nations of the earth. [Applause.] In the southwest corner is another statue of heroic mold erected to Rochambeau, the great French general, who led his army, side by side with the Americans under Washington, up to triumphant Yorktown. The latest statue placed is in the northwest corner, that of Baron von Steuben, an officer under Frederick the Great. He became, after Valley Forge, the effective drill sergeant of our Continental Army. It was to a large extent his methods and discipline, added to the zeal, daring, and patriotism of the American Army, which humbled the land forces of Britain. [Applause.]

"Nor are those who distinguished themselves on land alone remembered. In Franklin Park there has recently been erected a bronze statue of Irish Jack Barry, who nobly earned the title, 'The Father of the American Navy.' [Applause.] Recently the American Government in just retrospect condemned its own neglect of John Paul Jones, who under different flags had become in that period of revolution on two continents 'the terror of the seas.' As a measure of justice the American Government transported his remains from their Parisian resting place and placed them in a mausoleum at the Annapolis Naval Academy. Afterwards a statue—enduring, imposing, and appropriate—was erected to his memory at Potomac Park in the National Capital. The achievements of this Scot in gallantry and daring reflected luster all along his career, but never more than when he patrolled the seas in vigorous warfare against all who would assail the encradled Republic of the west. [Applause.]

"John Ericsson was born with a genius for mechanics and a mind for mathematics. With the industry and persistence of his race this child of the north lived and closed his career with a record for achievement which, had he lived a few centuries ago, would have, by the iconoclasts of to-day, been called a romance.

"He first saw the light under the northern sun in Vermeland, Sweden. His nativity was but a few degrees from the Arctic Circle. It was the land of the short day and summer and the long night and winter. Eighteen hundred and three was a year of great import to America. It was the year when Napoleon, intending to deliver his greatest indirect blow at Britain, ceded Louisiana to the United States, giving us the scope of an empire. Far-off Sweden was then under the rule of the great Napoleon. There a boy was born who 59 years later was to prove a great factor in preserving intact, under the American flag, that mighty domain. Napoleon intended by so ceding Louisiana to build a western republic capable of battling successfully with Britain. That was an enterprise in which the great Corsican recognized his own inability, for already Britain's supremacy of the seas had confined Napoleon's triumphs to continental Europe.

"The march of events confirmed the foresight of Bonaparte. Britain was successfully combatted and our most marked victory was at New Orleans, the populous center of that great annexation. The supreme trial of the Republic was not destined to be with Great Britain or any other power. It arose between two parts of the Republic itself. In that John Ericsson earned the distinction which the bill for his monument now pending in this Congress would confer.

"Between the Swedish cradle and the American tomb (1803–1889) we find many interesting facts. Ericsson exhibited a precocity for drawing at the age of 4. At 8 he became an adept at understanding and handling machinery. He was the builder of a perfect miniature mill at 9. At 10 he astonished Admiral Platten, the great Swedish canal builder, who prophesied for the boy an extraordinary future. At 13 he directed 600 Government military laborers in the construction of public highways. So the good roads builders of to-day may find a pioneer in John Ericsson. At 17 he became a soldier in the army of Bernadotte, under whom he was rapidly advanced. At 18 he was a surveyor in the King's service. His measurements and maps made at that time still remain marvels of accuracy and utility. At 23 he left his homeland of the north, where he deemed his abilities and activities circumscribed, for Britain was then as now the empire of the sea. There he believed would be a demand for the creations of his brain and their perfection by his hand. [Applause.]

"Britain was not an hospitable host for the Scandinavian genius. The man who rivaled Stephenson in producing the steam locomotive, the foreigner who produced at a London fire the first steam fire engine, the alien who bound the cannon barrels against their bursting, and the originator of the screw propeller, came up against British official inertia and English red tape. While Ericsson could take dead metal and shape it to his will, chain the elements, make a gun safe, at least to its handlers, subdue the fire fiend, and seizing upon the theory of bird flight, apply it to shipping, revolutionize in cheapness and speed navigation, yet he could not jar loose the official mind of Britain. The official mind of Britain was much like the official minds of other countries which have so often dismissed the suggestions of genius with these insuperable objections: 'We never saw it before. It was never done before.' It almost leads one to inquire why the ancients wasted rocks with which to build pyramids Were there not sufficient official skulls for the purpose?

"So in 1839, wearied with Britain's official inaction, though he had acquired 30 British patents, he started for New York, the then ambitious port of the Western Continent, now the one through which passes more commerce than any other port of the world.

"He came to America at the invitation of Robert F. Stockton, an American capitalist. In 1842 he designed, and the Government adopted, its first real steam war vessel, known as the *Princeton*. He invented an instrument for measuring distances and in firing guns. The range finders on our great dreadnaughts are but the perfection of this instrument invented by Ericsson. Its importance may well be realized since size of guns, weight of projectile, resistance of armor plate, and distance between gun and target constitute the four great facts in naval gunnery.

"The New World became attractive to him. He conceived a patriotic devotion to the great Republic whose enterprising men and liberal government gave him scope for his genius and industry. From this country he was granted 100 patents. So, in 1848, he adjured his allegiance to the Crown of Sweden and became a naturalized American citizen. Before our Civil War he conceived the *Monitor* and offered it to Napoleon III, there seeming to be no American demand, but Napoleon rejected it. By a strange coincidence, the character of the great battle in Hampton Roads was to either side suggested by Ericsson. Mallory, the naval secretary of the Confederacy, had been a friend of Ericsson's before the Civil War. In his then talks with the inventor, the ironclad was discussed, and Mallory later upon obtaining his position in the Confederate Cabinet, used Ericsson's thought, years before the war informally communicated, for the construction of the *Merrimac*.

"The Civil War was on. Its first year had shown in the activities of the field the mettle of both sides, albeit lack of discipline and preparation were manifested on either side, but more particularly by the North. It is an ancient story now about the construction of the *Merrimac*. Her entering Hampton Roads, sinking our *Cumberland*, burning the *Congress*—both wooden vessels—and driving the *Minnesota* into a position of helplessness.

"But the building of the *Merrimac* was not unknown to the northern authorties, and the time of her arrival where the battle must take place was of course reasonably forecasted. It

seemed providential that preparation for meeting it should have been made by the one man then in the world capable of successful preparation. [Applause.]

"On September 14, 1861, the Government entered into a contract with Ericsson to construct the *Monitor*. One of his claims was that it should be impregnable to shot. Think of it! In that critical period the Government, dealing with the only individual capable of meeting the great national crisis, inserted in its contract of purchase a condition that payment should be withheld unless that condition could be clearly met.

"The *Monitor's* keel was laid October 25, 1861; her engines were steamed December 30. It was launched January 30, completed February 15, went into United States commission February 25, and on March 8 made her famous trip to Hampton Roads. Word painting of the first great sea fight, where gravity seems to have been conquered and where iron not only floated but fought iron, is left to the many writers and historians who with picturesque detail have given to the world an account of the first great naval battle as modern warfare then begun and since continued. Interesting as such an account might be, more interesting would be a statement of the fear and trembling on the decks of every northern wooden man-of-war. The consternation of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, who saw in the immediate future the menace of their invaded ports, their destroyed shipping, and their wealth placed under tribute to the ironclad monsters already under construction and fashioned after the *Merrimac*. More interesting yet was the suspense and almost terror in Washington, where those in authority in anticipation saw the *Merrimac* steaming up the Chesapeake on into the Potomac, past Mount Vernon, and up to the National Capital, with guns trained on the Treasury and the Capitol, which meant more than a mere battle and the destruction of property. It meant a release of the southern blockade. It meant recognition of the Confederacy by all the powers on earth. It meant their commerce aiding the seceding group. It forecasted an unconquerable South and a permanently divided Nation.

"Men sometimes refer to the battle in Hampton Roads as being undecisive, because neither ship was captured or sunk. But the best evidence of victory was the subsidence of fear throughout our Navy; the restoration of complete confidence in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the tightening of the southern blockade; the nonrecognition by foreign powers; the supreme relief and the glorious confidence of Lincoln and his Cabinet; and as time went on the complete victory by the North and the perpetuation of the Union left unquestioned proof of who was victor and who was vanquished in the first great battle of floating iron. [Applause.]

"That in building the *Monitor*, Ericsson's chief consideration was for battle rather than navigation is suggested in the final end of the historic craft. Late in the year of 1862, as the northern naval forces were prosecuting their conquest against the shore defenses of the South, the *Monitor* was sent down the Atlantic coast. There, in a stormy sea, it passed Cape Hatteras; but in the increasing gale which followed it yielded to the battering of Neptune's artillery, and on the 31st day of December, 1862, it sank in that section of the sea which has claimed so many craft of both wood and iron and levied, year by year, heavy tribute of human life.

"My attention has recently been called to the fact that Dr. Greenville Weeks, who was a surgeon on board the *Monitor* in its first battle cruise, and still with it on its final trip, still lives, at the age of fourscore years. He recently visited the great Capital whose preservation was the *Monitor's* prize in 1862. It may be a matter of general indifference, but to me one of the most interesting seafaring accounts I ever read was 'the last cruise of the *Monitor*,' written many years ago by Dr. Weeks, in which he graphically described the last trip and final passing of the *Monitor* upon which he had been an officer and witness in its battle triumph, and which he left on its final cruise only when it sank to rise no more.

"There is a story of the ancient Swedish kings, and, by the way, one of them was named Ericsson, that a prince entitled to the throne must look upon it, then go and perform some great and heroic deed; then drink a libation from a skull before he takes his seat of power. Ericsson had looked upon a throne of metal, proffered by Neptune. He drank a libation from rebellion's skull, and became entitled to his throne. That right was confirmed by Neptune and Mars. [Applause.]

"Some may think Ericsson's *Monitor* was the chance thought of the dreaming inventor. It was not. It was the legitimate product of a highly organized, tempered, tried, and cultured brain, which always controlled and commanded a hand of cunning.

"A tribute to Ericsson is, in a broad sense, a tribute to the race from which he sprung. No evidence of this would seem better or more appropriate just now than a quotation from Admiral Luce in a paper read before the Naval Institute April 20, 1876:

"The *Monitor* was the crystallization of 40 centuries of thought on attack and defense, and exhibited in a singular manner the old Norse element of the American Navy; Ericsson (Swedish son of Eric) built her; Dahlgren (Swedish branch of valley) armed her; and Worden (Swedish, wording, worthy) fought her. How the ancient Skalls would have struck their wild harps in hearing such names in heroic verse! How they would have written them in "immortal runes"!

## A Correction.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. THETUS W. SIMS,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Speaker, during the month of July, 1914, when the House was considering the conference report on what was called the Lever cotton-futures bill, I addressed the House for 5 or 10 minutes in opposition to the bill. I did not contend that the bill was not a good bill for the purpose of regulating dealing in cotton futures; in fact, I think it was quite a good bill for that purpose. But inasmuch as the Democratic national platform adopted in 1912 favored the enactment by Congress of legislation to suppress all pernicious practices of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges and others, as I now recall the language of the platform, I was opposed to regulation and favored legislation in accordance with the platform demands to suppress future dealing or, as the platform called it, gambling in farm products.

A few days ago my attention was called to what appears to be an editorial utterance in the issue dated August 8, 1916, of the Anderson Farmers' Tribune, published in the town of Anderson, S. C. One Mr. V. B. Cheshire appears to be editor of the paper. This editorial, if such it be, is written in opposition to the nomination of my honored colleague from South Carolina, Mr. WYATT AIKEN, and says in part:

We charged him with being absent when fake legislation curbing gambling in cotton, known as the Lever bill, was up for action July 27, 1914, and to prove what he says is untruthful and what we say is the gospel truth, let our readers who receive copies of a speech by a good Democrat from Tennessee, by the name of T. W. SIMS, containing the record yea-and-nay vote on the conference report, verify our statement. It consists of four pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and in those four pages you will find interesting evidence of the way AIKEN is absent and the way LEVER puts things over the wool-hat boys and buncoes the farmers in the interest of the cotton exchanges and cotton gamblers. Read carefully.

It will be seen by reading my remarks on that occasion that I had no controversy or words of any kind with Mr. AIKEN. Mr. LEVER had charge of the bill, and the only colloquy I took part in concerning the bill was with him.

In the editorial I have read from it is also stated, referring to my speech, that "it will reach you on or before this issue of this religious semiweekly does." From this statement it appears that this speech of mine is being sent to persons in the congressional district of Mr. AIKEN for the purpose of using it in opposition to his nomination. I want to state, Mr. Speaker, most positively that I have not sent out that speech to anybody in South Carolina or anywhere else. I did not even so much as have it printed and sent to my own district.

I have heard through private sources that this speech of mine is being sent into the district of Mr. AIKEN at this time—1916—under my frank. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that the editor of the paper referred to, nor anyone else, has any authority to use my frank for this purpose. I can not imagine how this speech can be sent out at this time under my frank, as I never had any of them published, even for use in my own district. A few days after I delivered the speech referred to, in July, 1914, one Mr. J. H. Patten came to my office and stated to me in substance, as well as I can now recall, that he wanted to use my speech with the Farmers' Union people in my district to aid in my election in November, 1914. He commended the speech and said that it would do me good. As a part of my speech I read and incorporated in my remarks a letter from Mr. Charles S. Barrett, national president of the Farmers' Union, bearing on the subject under discussion, and Mr. Patten wanted to use that letter also, and this was one of the reasons given for asking me to permit him to use my speech.

I had known Mr. Patten casually for two or three years prior to that time, and had been informed from sources that I regarded as perfectly reliable that he was an attorney or legis-

lative agent for the Farmers' Union. I had seen him in company with several of the officials of that organization and had at times talked with him concerning legislation in which the members of the Farmers' Union were interested. I knew that Mr. Patten had married the daughter of a former United States Senator from South Carolina. I had known Mrs. Patten and her father's family more or less intimately and had the very highest regard for them. If I had known nothing else but that Mr. Patten was the son-in-law of this former United States Senator from South Carolina, I would have taken it for granted that he was a perfect gentleman. In addition to this, knowing that he was associated in an official way with the Farmers' Union, I naturally had no thought that he wanted to use my speech for any other purpose than for the purpose I had in making the speech. He seemed to be very friendly disposed to me and wanted to help me secure my reelection to Congress, and stated to me, as best I can now recall, that if I would permit him he would send out my speech under my frank to the members of the Farmers' Union in my district. I can not say positively that he said that he would not send it to any other district than my own, but I had not the remotest thought that it was his intention to use my speech for any other purpose than to aid in the election of Members of Congress in the general election in 1914 who were favorable to the position taken by President Barrett on this question of the suppression of gambling in farm products on the exchanges of the country. So believing and so understanding him, I gave consent that he might have this speech published and sent out under my frank.

Now, I can not understand how this speech of mine can be circulated at this time under my frank in South Carolina or elsewhere unless some of the speeches which were secured by Mr. Patten were not sent out at that time and are now being sent out.

As it appears from this newspaper article that the speech is being used to prevent the nomination of Mr. AIKEN, I want to say, Mr. Speaker, that I have known Mr. AIKEN ever since he became a Member of this House and served with him on the District of Columbia Committee for a number of years, and in that way I have had an opportunity to know him much more intimately than a Member knows another with whom he has had no committee service, and I take great pleasure in saying that I have never received any impression of Mr. AIKEN other than that he is a most honorable gentleman, a man of ability, and an industrious and faithful public servant, and under no circumstances would I permit my frank to be used even for the sending out of my own speech when the object of doing so was simply to prevent, if possible, the nomination of Mr. AIKEN. In fact, I would not do so to prevent the nomination of any Member of the House, either Republican or Democrat.

I do not charge that this editor is using my frank, because there is nothing in the article in the paper that I have just read that would indicate that he was doing so, but if he or anyone else is doing so it is wholly without my knowledge or consent. The conference report upon which the speech was delivered was adopted more than two years ago, and is not now an issue before the House, nor will it be, so far as I can see, in the next Congress. Of course, I do not know that Mr. Patten is sending out this speech in South Carolina or elsewhere at this time. If he is, it can not possibly be done by him in furtherance of what I understood to be his object and purpose in requesting me to permit the use of my frank in the first instance. If any of these speeches were ever sent to my congressional district I have never heard of it, and if I had had the remotest idea that the speeches were to be used as it appears in this newspaper article that they have been, I would never, under any circumstances, have consented to the use of my frank. Whether it is known or was intended by the parties who are now using my frank for this purpose, such use is in effect, and in fact, an abuse and a misuse of my frank.

Mr. Speaker, in the 20 years' service that I have seen in this House I never have, except in this one instance, permitted my frank to be used by other than a Member of the House for any purpose, and this instance serves to show how cautious Members of the House should be in permitting the use of their frank for any purpose whatever by others than Members of the House.

The only conceivable purpose for the use of my speech at the time I gave this permission was to aid, through the instrumentality of the farmers' union, in securing the legislation regarding gambling in farm products that was demanded in the Baltimore Democratic platform; and now to find that that speech is being used, more than two years after it was delivered, for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the nomination of my friend and colleague from South Carolina, demonstrates how unwise it is for a Member of this House to ever permit the use of his frank by others than his colleagues for any purpose at all.

I want to notify any and all persons, whoever they may be, that may be sending out that speech of mine, or any other portion of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, under my frank that they are doing so without my knowledge or consent and that after this notice, if not before, any such use of my frank is an unlawful use and will subject the parties so using it to the penalties prescribed by law applicable to such cases.

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**Democratic Party Is of Necessity Sectional—Reason Pointed Out by Raymond Robins.—Why Chairman of Progressive Convention Supports Charles E. Hughes.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the greatest political importance is attached to the decision of Raymond Robins, of Illinois, chairman of the national Progressive convention of 1916, to support Mr. Hughes, not only because he had been the Progressive nominee for United States Senator in 1914, and the recognized Progressive leader in the Central West, but for the added reason that President Wilson's managers had expected confidently to land Mr. Robins as the one big Progressive who would stand out against Col. Roosevelt and the bulk of the Progressives and line up with Wilson.

Futile, foolish hope to expect a man of positive and practical progressive ideals like Robins, who has long been identified with the trade-union movement, and is trusted and beloved by its leaders, to seek sanctuary in a party whose dominant faction is almost feudal in its treatment of the laboring man.

As Mr. Robins says, in a recent statement giving his reasons for believing the Republican Party to be one of national progressiveness—

> The fixed southern control of the Democratic Party is individualistic in its thinking, sectional in its sympathies, and inherits a tradition against common labor as servile. The social organization is still semipatriarchal in the rural communities, and the southern environment presents the maximum of natural and cultural resistance to necessary social and industrial standardization.
>
> This doctrine of individualism, sectionalism, and disunion menaced and almost prevented the freeing of the colonies from foreign dominion. This doctrine well nigh defeated the adoption of a unifying constitution wherein the American Nation became a fact. This doctrine after 60 years almost overthrew the national structure in dissension over the issue of slavery. This doctrine since the civil war has delayed national legislation so urgently needed to solve the problems of pure food, transportation, child labor, and conservation.

Mr. Speaker, one dislikes to dwell on the inescapable consequences if the country has four more years of misrule by southern Democrats, for the success of the Democratic Party involves, indeed necessitates, the imposition of southern thought upon northern action. It has not been escaped and it can not be escaped.

There is a three years' record to prove that, and the American Nation, bound to nearly a year of it, is asked to accept four more beyond its period of bondage.

In an editorial on "Southern bondage" the Chicago Tribune of August 7 said:

> The social organization of the United States can not safely be directed by a section of the Nation which still remains semipatriarchal in its character. The foreign and domestic policies of the United States can not safely be formed by men with parochial instincts, by men who still believe in decentralized government, who still believe that the obligation is on the Nation for the benefit of the State and not on the State for the benefit of the Nation.

On this point Mr. Robins, in emphasizing our imperative need of a comprehensive foreign policy and an adequate preparedness to maintain our right part in the world movement of advancing human interests, as against the domination of privilege, autocracy, and militarism, asks:

> Can these imperative national needs be worked out by a State rights Democratic Party that plans a State-dominated militia, with its menace of shiftless incompetence, spoils politics, and organized snobbery in a national defense force at a time of world peril? More and more it becomes plain that most of our pressing problems of large import are national in scope and will yield only to national action. Yet we find in the Democratic Party the modern, and let us hope the last, stronghold of the advocates of local sovereignty.

Wherever the fight for more efficient and more humane government has been waged this baneful doctrine of State rights has been invoked to rally and shelter the antisocial forces to arouse sectional bias, local jealousy, and all the mean, narrow passions that hold men's eyes upon the ground, when great human needs call upon them to look beyond the rough and dusty roads to the far country that is worth the toil and sacrifice of the long, hard journey.

There is an infinite pathos in these last words, voicing as they do the yearning appeal of a noble idealist for justice against the arrogance and cruelty of class prejudice and bigotry.

In all their gaunt nakedness these hideous traits of minds infirm with selfishness stood revealed in Congress recently in the fight made by southern Members against a bill that was designed to free little children from the slavery of factory life and all its attendant evils. Such evils are rife in the Southland where child labor presents its most revolting aspects and the appalling results of it are exhibited in a wide-spread illiteracy and its inevitable companions, degradation and crime.

Of the southern representation in Congress 47 in the House and 10 in the Senate, after a bitter and acrimonious battle, voted against the bill, acting, possibly, under the instructions of aristocratic constituencies on the old, old ground that it was an invasion of State rights. So was the abolition of slavery an invasion of this sacred ground.

Mr. Robins considered all this when he chose the Republican Party as the party of performances. He says:

Comprehending our national necessities, how can a Progressive hesitate long to choose between the party of nationalism and the party of sectionalism?

He then adduces the following reasons:

The Progressive movement and revolt of 1912 having failed as a permanent political party, and the verdict of the voters having been rendered in favor of the Democratic and Republican Parties as the instruments of their organized political action, what is the present duty of the men and women who were loyal to the Progressive Party and who believe in Progressive principles? In which of these dominant parties in the long run will Progressive principles find most effective support, and where will the rank and file and leadership of the Progressive Party find largest cooperation in the service of our common country? The answer to this question is twofold—first, the character and environment of the primary voter mass control; and second, the permanent achievements of its leadership.

The primary voter mass control of the Republican Party is in the rural communities of the Central, Western, and New England States. This group represents the highest literacy in America, is freest from severe social and economic pressure, is in the zone of the greatest natural tendency to industrial standardization and equality of opportunity, and inherits the tradition of Lincoln and the men who saved the Union.

The Republican Party has a rank and file of men and women who have proved their capacity to reject false or dishonest leadership. Conceived in moral revolt against human slavery, it was born, baptized, and nurtured in the supreme national struggle to maintain the national heritage and fulfill the promise of equal opportunity to every citizen. Is not its rank and file best calculated to support a leadership that will create a national mind and conscience, and, having preserved the integrity of the Nation against the heresy of secession, will it not develop and maintain a progressive national program of social and economic organization?

The present leader of the Republican Party won his reputation as the Progressive Republican governor of New York. He there proved himself completely independent of all boss control and demonstrated that he will take advice from many but dictation from none. His words have been made good by deeds. His leadership is the fruit of the Progressive movement in American politics. Mr. Hughes's recognition of the Progressives in the appointment of his campaign committee is a guarantee of the good faith in which he appeals for Progressive support.

This estimate of the Progressive character of the Republican nominee does not rest upon the testimony alone of his record and his associates. From a statement over the signature of one of the ablest of the Progressive leaders in this Nation I quote as follows:

"The nomination of Mr. Justice Hughes will be acceptable to the great body of Progressive Republicans in this country. * * * He was not the choice of the reactionary element which formed the platform and otherwise controlled the convention. * * * He is able, independent, fearless, and possessed of high public spirit. There is no question of his personal and political integrity; he will go as far as his convictions carry him, and no ulterior influence can stop him.

"ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE."

We Progressives stand at the cross roads. American social, industrial, and political life has broken down under the old individualistic control. A new national mind and conscience developing social unity, industrial standardization, efficient political honesty; from a self-controlled democracy—this is the goal of our generation in American life.

I believe in the character and courage of the nominee of the Republican Party. He is the most conspicuous example in our history of the possibilities that American politics may hold for success in able and unselfish public service. For myself, I gladly enlist with the great majority of the Progressives of the Nation under the leadership of Charles Evans Hughes.

Mr. Speaker, when we read of these Democratic senatorial caucuses, and find one Democratic Senator from the Middle West deliberately and pointedly charging another Democratic Senator from the far South with framing a revenue measure designed to save the South and rob the West and the North we must be further convinced that the statements made by Raymond Robbins are true.

## Order of the Secretary of War to Mine Planters.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,

OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, May 19, 1916.*

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I have twice called the attention of the present Congress to a remarkable order issued on April 28, 1916, by the War Department. The order bears the signature of Secretary of War Baker, and calls upon the captains of the mine-planting ships to discharge immediately all members of the crews of these ships who are not citizens. Then follows this remarkable statement:

By citizens is meant American-born citizens.

The issuance of this order resulted in the discharge of quite a number of trusted and long-employed employees of the mine planter *Ringgold*, including Swedish born, Finnish born, Danish born, and others born abroad, but all naturalized citizens of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the United States can not, under the Constitution, discriminate between its citizens in this manner; and this order was not only illegal but extremely unfair, and without the slightest warrant. The matter first came to my attention through the following telegram:

We, the undersigned members of the crew of the United States Army mine planter *Ringgold*, have been notified that we will be discharged because we are not American born. Being naturalized citizens of the State of Washington, we think this gross discrimination against foreign-born citizens, and we therefore ask you to do us a favor and look into this matter for us.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. CARLSON.
ALFRED CHRISTIANSON.
CARL THOMASSON.
L. HERMANSEN.
WILLIAM MATHEON.

Carlson is a native of Finland, Christianson was born in Denmark, Thomasson in Norway, Hermansen in Norway, and Matheon in Finland. All are naturalized citizens. A few days after receiving the telegram Congressman JOHNSON received the following letter from Anton Greenroos, who also had been discharged because, although a naturalized citizen, he was not native born. His letter states the situation exactly. It follows:

HON. MR. JOHNSON,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: This is to let you know that I was a member of the civilian crew of the mine planter *Ringgold* at the time of my discharge on account of my foreign birth.

I was not present at the time when the telegram was dictated and sent to you, so my name was not included in it; but I will now state fully all details of my residence in this country from the day I landed to the date of my discharge.

I landed in Boston in 1903, then went to New York and took out my intention papers on the 20th of October, 1903. I started work on the mine planter *Ringgold* November 10, 1904, as fireman; was then promoted to oiler and worked in that position until May 7, 1910.

I took out my citizenship or naturalization papers May 7, 1910, and became assistant engineer on that date. Have been on the same vessel up to the time of my discharge.

I was born in Finland. Always since I became a citizen of this country I have tried to the best of my ability to promote its welfare and to do what is right. I don't say this on account of the position. I would point out that though I have been a citizen of the United States for several years I have received no more consideration in this matter than if I had been a newly landed immigrant.

Hoping to hear from you what is being done in regard to this matter, I remain,

Respectfully, yours,

ANTON E. GREENROOS,
*Seattle, Wash.*

In discharging Greenroos and the others Capt. Colley, commanding the *Ringgold*, gave each a certificate of character, and certified to their faithful performance of duty. Capt. Colley's letter to Greenroos concludes with the following paragraph:

He is being discharged this date due to no fault of his own. It is for the convenience of the Government, due to the fact that he is not an American-born citizen.

The contention is made that the United States, with sixteen and a half million foreign born within its borders, nearly all of whom are naturalized, can not in fairness make such discrimination between its citizens. A citizen is defined by the Constitution, and each citizen has equal rights.

Commenting on the War Department's order, the Bellingham (Wash.) Herald printed the following editorial:

Just why the Secretary of War has made such an order is hard to understand. There are no more loyal citizens of the United States than the Scandinavians. But from a political standpoint the administration probably believes it is "playing safe" with such an order, for the rea-

son that Scandinavians are generally Republicans, and so many assaults have been made on other "hyphenates" that a sweeping order to discharge those of foreign birth from Government service will not prove expensive from a voting standpoint. But it is none the less outrageous and will be resented.

As a contrast to the methods by which foreign-born citizens are debarred from one branch of the Army, the following telegram stands out in strong relief:

TACOMA, WASH.

In order that they might enlist for service in Mexico, two foreigners appeared at the office of County Clerk McKenzie yesterday and took out their first papers, declaring their intentions to become citizens of the United States. One was Enoch Arvid Ablon, age 33, who has been in this country two years, coming from Sweden, and the other was Joe Maccarto, age 23, an Italian, who has made his home here since 1904.

## Condition of Old Indians in the Northwest.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, May 12, 1916.*

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, during the consideration in the House of the Indian appropriation bill I had occasion to point out the sad condition of many very old Indians in my part of the country. I undertook to show that although comparatively wealthy in this world's goods, they were often at the actual point of starvation through inability to make use of that which is theirs—and all through burdensome and unnecessary governmental red tape.

I presented several actual cases of Indians, some 100 years old, with means, yet beggars. Now I wish to present another case which has come before the commissioners of Grays Harbor County, Wash. I present a statement from the Aberdeen (Wash.) Daily World:

A peculiar phase of the Federal Indian laws is shown in the case of Dud Yerks, white husband of a Taholah Indian woman, now in the Hoquiam general hospital as a county patient, although the family owns timberland on the reservation valued at upward of $7,000. Yerks's illness will deprive his wife and her child of their chief breadwinner, and if they happen to be out of funds they will have to accept charity despite the fact that Mrs. Yerks owns 80 acres of valuable timberland. The law provides that Indians must hold their claims for 24 years before they can dispose of them.

County Commissioner Phil S. Locke, speaking of the Indian laws this morning, said that the chief difficulty seems to be that the laws are drawn up in the form of a code intended to suit the Indians of the West as well as of the Middle West. "The trouble with this code," said Locke, "is that the Federal Government authorities are seeking to run the affairs of the Indians of the timber sections just as they do those in Oklahoma and other Middle West States."

Locke and others are of the opinion that the Indians ought to have some way of securing money when in need, especially when they hold timber tracts worth thousands, but which they are prohibited from selling.

## Child Labor Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD KEATING,
OF COLORADO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 8, 1916.*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, we are about to pass the Federal child labor bill. I introduced this bill on the opening day of the session, and on Wednesday, February 2, 1916, it passed the House by a vote of 337 to 46. On August 8, 1916, it passed the Senate with certain amendments, and to-day the House is placing the seal of its approval on the bill as amended by the Senate. Within a few days it will be signed by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

I want to take advantage of this opportunity to reaffirm a statement that I have repeatedly made since the bill passed the Senate: The lion's share of whatever credit may attach to the enactment of this legislation belongs to the President of the United States. I believe I am well within the facts when I say that if he had not intervened on behalf of the child labor bill its opponents would have succeeded in pigeonholing it for this session, and in all probability would have talked it to death at the December session.

Presidents have been frequent visitors to the great gray Capitol of the United States. They have come on many errands. Some have hastened here to urge that the interests of business be safeguarded; others have pleaded that labor might be protected; some have demanded war, and others have prayed for peace, but Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, was the first Chief Executive of this Nation who journeyed to the Capitol for the sole and exclusive purpose of demanding that the boys and girls of this country be given a chance—the chance that God in his mercy and wisdom intended should be theirs.

History will have much to say concerning this great leader of Democracy, but I do not believe there will be any page of that fascinating chronicle that posterity will linger over more tenderly and affectionately than the one that tells the story of how, when a struggle was being waged in the Senate of the United States between those who would conserve and those who would exploit the childhood of the Nation, Woodrow Wilson put aside the most perplexing problems that ever beset a Chief Executive and entered the lists as the champion of the tots of industry who were incapable of waging their own battle.

The mothers of the land blessed him when he kept us out of war with Europe, their prayers ascended to high heaven in his behalf when he proposed a peaceful solution for the Mexican difficulty, and to-day, from Maine to California, they are calling on God to safeguard him because he has become the "emancipator of children in industry."

THE SOUTH AND CHILD LABOR.

Mr. Speaker, a persistent attempt has been made to brand this bill as sectional legislation. Its opponents have insisted that we were striking at the South, and I am inclined to think that some of the gentlemen who voted against the bill permitted themselves to be influenced by this sophistry.

This is not sectional legislation. It is Federal legislation, and its beneficial effects will be felt as much in the West and East and North as in the South.

Fortunately those who sought to confuse the issue failed to accomplish their object, as is well illustrated by an analysis of the vote in the House and the Senate.

Of the State delegations in the House only four—those of North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Georgia—contained a majority opposed to the bill. All the other State delegations had a majority in favor of the bill, some of them a solid vote for the bill. The 45 southern Representatives who voted against the bill are only one-third of the southern representation in the House.

In the Senate, counting those who voted for or against, or were paired for or against the bill, we find that out of 32 southern Senators 10 voted against the measure. Of the Democratic membership of the Senate 11 out of 56 were recorded against the bill and of the Republican membership 4 out of 40 were recorded in opposition to the bill.

On the day I introduced the bill in the House, Senator OWEN, of Oklahoma, a southerner born and bred, rendered a similar service in the Senate. While the measure was pending before that body the task of explaining and defending its provisions devolved upon Senator JOE ROBINSON, of Arkansas, a brilliant and courageous son of the South.

No measure ever had a more loyal champion, and it is particularly gratifying to the friends of child-labor legislation that the work of this distinguished Senator has received nation-wide recognition. The following editorial from the New York Times emphasizes that point. The editorial is headed "A southerner against child labor," and reads as follows:

There is not a little of significance in the fact that it was a southern Senator who undertook the defensive explanation of the child-labor bill upon which President Wilson is urging Congress to act at once. The effort to exclude children from factories has encountered of late its chief antagonism in the South, the northern manufacturers having for some time past been content—or discontent—to accept such restrictions as were inevitable and to do little more than to call as much of attention as they could to the unfairness of compelling them to compete with manufacturers still permitted to use child labor. That is a just grievance, as industrial grievances go, and though it could be met, of course, and has been, by denial of any man's right to do a wrong thing merely because other men were doing it, still that reply does not meet satisfactorily the situation created by the discrimination in question.

That Senator ROBINSON was able to show, by many quotations from southern papers, the existence in the South, as in the North, of a widespread sentiment against permitting—which is the same thing as compelling—children to work in mills will be hailed with satisfaction by all in both sections of the country who have come to realize the many and serious evils incidental to a premature assumption of life's burdens.

When the overwhelming majority of the southern Senators and Representatives supported the child-labor bill they were voicing the sentiment of their constituents. To say that the people of the South are in favor of permitting greedy and unscrupulous employers to exploit their children is a cruel libel which will

not be accepted for a minute by anyone who is in touch with southern sentiment.

We may take it for granted that the people of the South speak through the newspapers of the South, and with the permission of the House I will insert as part of my remarks editorials from the leading papers of the southern States advocating the passage of this bill.

Before doing that, Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert an article on the child-labor bill from the pen of Frances Wayne, which appeared in the Denver Post, of Denver, Colo. It follows:

No more crying of children!

No more going to work at dawn and dragging away at dusk for little people who have never had time to learn the meaning of childhood!

No more exploiting of children by men greedy for wealth and more wealth!

No more chance for father to sit around all day while sonny and sis toddle to the factory, mine, mill, or cannery to earn his and their living!

No more hideous slavery of childhood to bring the blush of shame to the name and fame of this, our country!

All the misery and cruelty of machinery, bad air, crowding, body-killing work done, of childhood done away with, ordered abolished by the most powerful voice of this world to-day—the voice of Woodrow Wilson.

Since the world began and men wanted something for nothing, children have been put to work. They were usual features of the scenery of industrialism. Then one day civilization found its ears opened to a new note when Elizabeth Barrett Browning asked:

Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And that can not stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest,
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing toward the west—
But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

It was in 1843 that Elizabeth Barrett Browning asked the British Government what it intended to do for the children in the mines and factories of Great Britain, and in a flame of anger she drew the picture of existence as these children endured it.

SEVENTY-THREE-YEAR CRUSADE WON BY WILSON.

Seventy-three years is long enough for the sacrifice of thousands of children to greed, but at last it has come to an end or, under the provisions of the Keating child-labor bill, it will come to an end in one year from the time the signature of Woodrow Wilson is affixed to make it a law.

The end of child labor was distinguished when Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote her startling poem; it became more clear when former Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, made a tour of the South and with his own eyes saw thousands of children slaving in cotton mills, in canneries, and in the East and Middle West found them working long hours in mines.

On his return from that tour Senator Beveridge introduced a bill abolishing child labor.

The South and Pennsylvania rushed against that bill like the Germans rushed through Belgium and left it in tatters, and no President lifted his voice in behalf of the children.

Beveridge out, Representative Palmer, of Pennsylvania, took up the cudgels for the children. He introduced a bill in the House abolishing child labor. When his bill had met with the fate of the Beveridge bill, Palmer openly charged Senator PENROSE with having used more than $2,000,000 to encompass his defeat for reelection to Congress and to kill the child-labor bill.

Then Colorado stepped into the fray for the children—Colorado, with the best child-protection laws of any State of the Union, has sent EDWARD KEATING to Congress from the third district, and it was EDWARD KEATING who took up the fight where Mr. Palmer had been obliged to relinquish it.

VOICES OF LITTLE ONES TUGGED AT HEARTSTRINGS.

There was no mention of child labor in the Democratic platform on which Woodrow Wilson and his party had walked to power. But Woodrow Wilson at times is a law unto himself. He is a stickler for State rights, as witness the suffrage problem, but Woodrow Wilson, like former Senator Beveridge, had made a tour of the South and had seen things which did not look well in his sleep.

President Wilson knows that the women of the country desire the ballot for a number of reasons, chief of which is to use the vote in behalf of enslaved childhood. In the suffrage States and in other States where women have been devoting energy and talents to government, legislation has been devised to protect children in the rights of childhood, but the process has been slow and the children of the South and of Pennsylvania and other Commonwealths have been left at the mercy of greed.

What cared Woodrow Wilson that the South was standing on its State-rights prerogative and denied to Congress the power to send children into the sunlight and to school?

What cared he for the limitations of a party platform, when the voices of children were crying to him for help?

Not a snap of his finger cared Woodrow Wilson for any of those things when he thought otherwise.

NOW WOMEN MAY TURN EYES TO NEW GOAL.

And so the United States Senate received orders to pass the Keating child-labor bill without delay, let the South and Pennsylvania roar as they would. One sharp command from the Wilson voice, one stroke of the Wilson pen, and the children are released to childhood and the energies of philanthropists and social workers and women voters may turn to other channels. The cause is the greatest on earth, because no nation is greater than its children's opportunity.

There are plenty of laurels for the brows of the champions, plenty for the brow of Beveridge, plenty for the brow of Palmer, plenty for the brow of KEATING, and a great white sheaf for the memory of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

I also desire to insert a letter on the child-labor bill addressed to the New York World by Hon. James M. Curley, for many years a distinguished Member of this House and now mayor of the city of Boston. Mr. Curley's article is as follows:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORLD:

The greatest moral, economic, and political victory achieved by a party has been won through the courageous Democratic leadership of President Wilson in the assured enactment of the child-labor bill. Think well of the tremendous issue at stake. Over 500,000 little children are enfranchised, and the little hands that have labored in an eternal midnight at the bottom of the mines will now enjoy the sunlight, and little lives torn and emaciated by the exacting labors under the pitiless heat of the southern mills—operated by northern capital—in the still watches of the midnight hour will now rest in the manner that Divine Providence intended when the world began.

I have no words to express my enthusiasm. God willing, I hope to discuss this great moral and economic issue demanded and secured by the Democratic Party of this country upon every platform in Massachusetts during the coming fall.

Honest labor will again receive its just reward. Honest hearts and willing hands, ever ready to accomplish the toil for the Nation, will again receive a just return, and wages will not be materially lowered by reason of the injustice of child-labor proposals.

Sometimes when I have thought of the little children reaching the spindles in those southern cotton mills resting about on a level with their heads, under the glaring light of huge electric arcs, in stifling heat, in the dead watches of the night, it seemed to me that northern capitalists who were willing to accept such blood money in dividends were almost as guilty as those soldiers who stood helpless at the foot of the cross when the Saviour of Mankind was crucified.

I am especially gratified by the provision that will prevent children under the age of 16 years working in either mines or quarries. This means an utter and entire change in the conduct of anthracite mines of Pennsylvania, where there has been a shameless disregard of every moral right to which children are entitled, and the toll of little lives in tribute to the wealthy coal barons of this country will cease.

There has been a most pernicious abuse of the labor of children in the canneries situated in various parts of the country, and I am pleased to note that under the provisions of the Keating child-labor act this wearisome toil at a starvation wage will cease, because all children under 14 years are prohibited from such labor. The provision reads, "mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment," and will absolve the little ones who in some States have worked in sheds, because under a State law a shed could not be called a cannery.

The withholding from interstate commerce of the labor of children under 14 years is a most effective instrument, and in this provision Senator OWEN and Congressman KEATING made their strongest winning fight.

I also note with pleasure that no child between the ages of 14 and 16 years shall be employed more than eight hours a day. This is a most excellent provision, for there have been shocking abuses, especially in the South, in the hours of duration at which children have toiled.

Another excellent provision is that no labor of children shall begin before 6 o'clock in the morning or after 7 o'clock at night. This will effectively prevent the night labor of children in Southern mills, which has been the curse upon our country.

I have addressed strong messages of congratulations to both Senator ROBERT L. OWEN of Oklahoma and Congressman EDWARD KEATING of Colorado, my personal friends, upon their great victory. They deserve the hearty acclamation of every self-respecting citizen.

JAMES M. CURLEY,
*Mayor of Boston.*

BOSTON, *August 9.*

And now, Mr. Speaker, I desire to insert editorials from various southern newspapers illustrative of southern sentiment on the subject of child-labor legislation:

[From the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen.]

THE CHILDREN WIN.

The announcement that the Democratic Senators favoring child-labor legislation, headed by Senator JOHN W. KERN, of Indiana, had determined to push the Keating bill through at this session will come as welcome news to all who have labored unceasingly in behalf of suffering childhood. The victory has not been an easy one, by any means. The general public is aware that the most powerful influences were brought to bear in an effort to stifle all action on child-labor legislation at this session of Congress. When the situation looked darkest President Wilson went to Congress with the urgent request that the Keating bill be passed at this session, and he made it clear to Democratic Senators that they could not afford to evade their obligations to the country in this matter.

While there is glory enough to go around for all supporters of the Keating bill, the credit for victory must lie largely with the President and with Senator KERN, that tireless and energetic legislator from Indiana, who has the happy faculty of being nearly always on the right side of every national question. Senator KERN'S Democracy has been always of that unquestionable type which has endeared him to the people of his own State and has made him a national figure.

While all who have worked so zealously in behalf of the Keating measure, which would forever end child slavery in this country, have a proud share in this signal triumph over the most powerful interests that have yet arrayed themselves against national legislation, they will not begrudge the tribute which is due the President and Senator KERN. Had it not been for the watchful insistence of the latter that the bill be passed at this session, the President's request would have been lost sight of in the senatorial caucus.

Thus there is added to the long list of Democratic achievement the enactment into law of a bill which sounds the death knell of traffic in childish bodies. Hereafter mill, mine, and factory owners will have to pay living wages to full-grown men and women, instead of dwarfing the citizenship of the future by employing children in order to swell the profits. For such as these there will be no sympathy. They have bargained and trafficked in the children of the Nation and have brazenly fought every effort made to better the condition of these little ones. Now for them it is Waterloo, everlasting and glorious.

[From the Shreveport (La.) Journal.]

THE CURSE OF CHILD LABOR.

President Wilson is incontestably right in demanding from Congress a measure of child-labor reform which the national Democratic Party has promised the people. If the Senate permits a few selfish Members of that body to stand in the way of enactment of a satisfactory Federal child-labor statute, it will be doing the cause of the child worker an almost irreparable injury and, at the same time, will be shaking public confidence in the national Democracy. We can imagine nothing that would be of greater service to the Republican Party in the national campaign than Democratic repudiation of a covenant with the people affecting the moral and physical well-being of hundreds of thousands of youthful toilers, whose mute appeal for human sympathy and protection should silence every argument for maintenance of existing conditions in the child-labor marts of America.

—

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Dispatch.]

It is no credit to the South that any of its Representatives in Congress are opposed to a child-labor bill. No section should thrive on the toil of human beings.

—

[From the Shreveport (La.) Times.]

PASS THE CHILD-LABOR BILL.

President Wilson deserves the greatest commendation for his efforts to force a reactionary Senate to consider the Keating-Owen child-labor bill, which has been pending before that body since February.

A highly organized and well-paid lobby, supported largely by southern cotton-mill owners, who object to losing the profits on exploited children, has been successful so far in preventing action on this legislation. Now they plan to "postpone" the bill until the short session next December, and then talk it to death in a filibuster. There is no other conceivable reason why they object to its consideration at once. If it comes to a vote in the Senate the vote for it will be overwhelming. Few Senators will dare record themselves as in favor of child exploitation if it comes to a show-down.

The bill is exceedingly reasonable in its provisions. It prohibits the interstate shipment of commodities produced by the labor of children under 16 in mines and quarries, or under 14 in mills and factories; prohibits night work of children between 14 and 16; and provides an eight-hour day.

There is no form of preparedness more vital than is provided in legislation of this kind. The future of America depends on the kind of race that inhabits it. And the race is absolutely dependent on the children.

The gentlemen who want to grind profits out of the toil and blood of little children are as unpatriotic as a traitor who sells military secrets to an enemy in time of war.

Most important of all, the children are entitled to playtime, recreation, and education. The only product worth while for a nation is human welfare. And the children are capable of producing the largest amount of that valuable commodity. A nation which permits its children to be exploited is growing poorer every day in the only commodity it is worth while to produce. No matter how "great" it may be in terms of exports and imports, national wealth, crops, and other commodities—if it is producing a deficit of human happiness, it is a world failure.

Pass the child-labor bill! It is up to you to see that it does so!

—

THE CHILD-LABOR LAW.

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal.]

As long ago as last February Congressman KEATING, of Colorado, introduced into the House a bill intended to control child labor. The House passed the bill and sent it on to the Senate. Because of its conditions it was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and there it was "put to sleep," to use the popular term for such sequestration.

The bill is most carefully drawn to avoid treading on that highly prized principle of Democracy, State rights.

The Government can not interfere with the individual State's prerogative in dealing with its own children. Unless the States themselves enact protective legislation for their children and minors the manufacturers can snap their fingers at any outside orders. But there is a way to reach them through their purses, and that way the Keating bill chose.

For it lies in the province of the National Government to say what shall and shall not be handled in interstate commerce. There is where it had the whip handle on the manufacturers and miners who are sapping the vitality from the youth of so many States by child labor. It is supreme when it comes to such regulations.

Of course, no manufacturer with business acumen can afford to run his plant for local home trade; there would not be enough of this to justify either his investment or his ambition. That is where the Government gets its hold on him.

And that is why this Keating child-labor bill has been in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Committee.

But its long stay there is becoming a public scandal. The childhood of the country, that part of it that is held in bondage by the overlords of shop and mill, is being drained of joy and happiness and virility. Every day the bill is held up and its protection denied to them they are sinking deeper into that physical and mental lassitude that comes of overwork.

The President is urging the passage of the bill and the people should back him up in a general demand for it. They say the soldiers in the trenches are "cannon fodder"; with equal grim truth we may call the children in the mills "factory fodder." Good red American blood is too good and too precious to the Nation to be thinned and wasted thus in the early days of life.

If Congress does nothing else before it adjourns it ought to enact this child-labor bill into a law that will protect the helpless childhood wherever a factory sets up its spindles or a mill or cannery throws the shadow of its smokestack.

—

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) Observer.]

SENATE'S DUTY PLAIN.

The Washington Post can not be accused of hostility to capital. Rather, it has always been the champion of capital. It has consistently argued for the manufacturer and for all possible consideration that the Government can give the employers of the country.

The Post is not afraid of the child-labor bill. The measure which has been put through the House should also be passed by the Senate, the Washington paper says. It states the whole case when it says: "The mills and factories will survive the hardships which may come to them. The injustice that may be done to children in some cases will be more than overbalanced by the benefits that will accrue to most of them."

The friends of the child in North Carolina regret that an adequate law was not passed for this State. They would have preferred for the deserved consideration for the little ones in North Carolina to have come at the hands of the State. But the State not having seized its opportunity, childhood's champions in the State are willing to see the desired reform come through Federal sources. They do not anticipate any of the accompanying evils which the foes of the legislation predict.

The bill should become law. The country owes it to the child. As the Post says, the benefits will overbalance the disadvantages. The Senate's duty is plain.

—

[From the Greenville (Miss.) Democrat.]

THE CHILD-LABOR LAW.

The Vicksburg Herald comments on the attempt to hold up the passage of the child-labor law in the Senate, and the efforts of the President to have the bill passed as a fulfillment of the party's platform pledges, as follows:

"According to Washington dispatches, 'the Democratic leaders are worried over the holdup of the child-labor bill by a small group of cotton-mill operators.' The remark is deemed warranted—that when the party platform was charged with an enactment of 'an effective child-labor bill' not one of these 'cotton-mill Senators' raised a chirp against it. Then was the time, and the party convention was the place, to oppose such a measure as unconstitutional or violative of party principle. But it is in the Senate that pledges whose nonfulfillment handicaps the party fail. The House has long since passed such a bill. Aroused by criticisms of the Senate's holdup, the President seeks to compel action that will remove a campaign stumblingblock, and the press and the public should back him up against 'the small group of cotton-mill Senators.'"

—

[From the Laurel (Miss.) Leader.]

PASS THE CHILD-LABOR BILL.

President Wilson deserves the greatest commendation for his efforts to force a reactionary Senate to consider the Keating-Owen child-labor bill, which has been pending before that body since February.

A highly organized lobby, who object to losing the profits on exploited children, has been successful so far in preventing action on this legislation. Now they plan to "postpone" the bill until the short session next December, and then talk it to death in a filibuster. There is no other conceivable reason why they object to its consideration at once. If it comes to a vote in the Senate, the vote for it will be overwhelming. Few Senators will dare record themselves as in favor of child exploitation if it comes to a show-down.

The bill is exceedingly reasonable in its provisions. It prohibits the interstate shipment of commodities produced by the labor of children under 16 in mines and quarries, or under 14 in mills and factories; prohibits night work of children between 14 and 16.

There is no form of preparedness more vital than is provided in legislation of this kind. The future of America depends on the kind of race that inhabits it. And the race is absolutely dependent on the children.

Most important of all, the children are entitled to playtime, recreation, and education. The only product worth while for a nation is human welfare. And the children are capable of producing the largest amount of that valuable commodity.

Pass the child-labor bill! It is up to you to see that Congress does so.

—

[From the Galveston (Tex.) News.]

A TEXAS OPINION.

The child-labor bill is denounced as an invasion of State rights, and it is said that only by distorting the interstate-commerce clause can any constitutional warrant be got for it. Senator BORAH has discovered that the President himself thought so many years ago, when his chief employment was the writing of books in a closet. Since then the President has gained a more intimate view of child labor and of its consequences, with the result that his opinion as to constitutional limitation has become less academic. The President now thinks it is no more than a reasonable exercise of the interstate-commerce clause of the Constitution to enact that goods which are produced at the cost of the moral, intellectual, and physical wasting of children shall be kept out of the channels of interstate commerce. The bill he favors would leave every State free to do what it pleases as to child labor; every State could, if it should elect, train babies to the tendence of the shuttle. Its only inhibition is against the shipment of the particular goods thus produced outside the boundaries of the State in which they are made. This, it is said, would be an assault on the State's sovereignty.

Nevertheless, it seems to us, truth runs the other way about. To forbid the interstate shipment of goods made by children interferes less, if at all, with the right of the State to do in this matter as it pleases than it does to permit the shipment of such goods in interstate commerce. For when child-made goods are given access to interstate commerce the effect in many instances, if not in all, is to balk the State which either has legislated against child labor or contemplates doing so. Ordinarily man-made goods can not compete with child-made goods, so that this unfair competition puts a constraint on the State which has forbidden child labor or desires to do so. It has in a practical sense lost its freedom of decision. It is deterred from doing what it wishes to do by the economic cost of indulging its wish. Its right to forbid the working of children before either their brains or their bones are formed is practically violated as a consequence of the failure of the Government to protect it from the economic coercion of another State. Such a bill as the pending measure will make for the freedom of the States, because it will enable those States which wish to forbid child labor to do so without requiring those States of contrary disposition to do so.

—

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) Progressive Farmer.]

NATION MUST ACT.

Since southern manufacturers with their vast wealth and influence have used their power to prevent suitable child-labor legislation by State action, nothing remains but for the National Government to handle this matter.

[From the Hickory (N. C.) Democrat.]

UNFAIR TO MANUFACTURERS.

Every time a southern manufacturer goes to Washington and pleads the cause of southern mills he is adding votes to the Keating bill. Right or wrong, the country is convinced that child labor should be dispensed with, and no amount of arguing or pleading will convince Congressmen that the manufacturers are sincere. The Democrat is not an advocate of national legislation, but it does not expect to see any relief from the State and, unlike Senator TILLMAN, it does not see the destruction of local self-government in child-welfare legislation any more than it sees it in Government control of water power, national conservation of other natural resources, and a hundred things the Federal Government is doing.

In the testimony of various manufacturers there has been a variance. Some assert that children are employed for their own benefit; others assert that southern mills are forced to employ children and work longer hours in order to compete with New England mills, which enjoy cheaper freight rates; and still others declare that the children are employed to enable their parents to live. All these might be good reasons.

But we can not get away from the fact that southern mill owners are being assailed from every quarter of the country, that in a measure the whole South is indicted by the public opinion of the country—whether right or wrong—and that this section, and North Carolina in particular, will feel the sting of criticism more and more as the years pass, unless the Keatingites win.

This is a feature that the Democrat would respectfully submit is worth considering by our manufacturers, many of whom it knows to be the best men in the community, and all of whom, it has reason to believe, are far above the average business man in intelligence and public spirit. It is not fair to them to be placed in a false position before the world.

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[From the Hickory (N. C.) Record.]

There are only a few defenders of those who would stand for the system in North Carolina. A rich Commonwealth can not afford to be backward in the matter of child labor, and North Carolina manufacturers should let the world know that they are willing to go as far as any State in practical welfare legislation. Wholesome legislation is coming, and it would be much better if the broad-minded men among the manufacturers would take it upon themselves to see that good laws are made and then obeyed.

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[From the Greenville (S. C.) Home Circle.]

The Keating child-labor bill meets with favor in Congress. It passed by a vote of 337 to 46. This bill prohibits the interstate shipment of the products of child labor, under a heavy penalty, but excepts boys and girls' clubs.

If the bill passes the Senate, it then becomes a law. And it will be of a great benefit to all mill workers. It means better pay for the grown people that have children. It gives the children the benefit of education, while it don't prohibit children from work on the farms. And it don't prohibit children from working in cotton mills, but it does prohibit the shipping of child-labor products outside of the State in which produced.

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[From the Journal of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.]

TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN.

It was a brave thing for WILLIAM SCHLEY HOWARD to take the stand he did in the National House of Representatives when the bill to limit the product of child labor to the State of its production was up for consideration, and which passed the House with a splendid majority. Mr. HOWARD'S championship of the child as against its exploiters represented the true spirit of the thoughtful South.

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[From the Rome (Ga.) Herald.]

THE CHILD-LABOR BILL.

The Keating child-labor bill barring from interstate commerce the products of child labor has passed the National House of Representatives by a vote of 337 to 46. This is probably a forerunner of what will happen in the Senate. Under the provisions of the bill a heavy penalty is imposed for interstate shipment of any commodity made in whole or in part by children under 16 years of age.

Unless the children are protected, the foundation of the Government will soon begin to totter. There have been from time to time enacted in all States child-labor laws. The great trouble has been that these laws have never been enforced as they should be. Usually the lobbyists in the State capitals have managed in some sagacious way to add a rider to the child-labor bill which effectually impedes the real purpose of the law. Now that the Federal Government has taken a hand in the game of child protection the children of the future will be substantially looked after.

The Keating bill has been a source of contention for some time. It was prepared during the last session of Congress but was not presented at that time. Now that it has been passed with such a convincing vote in the lower House, its ultimate passage in the Senate can be safely predicted, but it is not probable that the vote will be so emphatic.

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[From the Spartanburg (S. C.) Herald.]

THE KEATING CHILD-LABOR BILL.

Capt. Ellyson A. Smyth, president of the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association, appeared before congressional authorities in Washington yesterday in opposition to the Keating child-labor bill, a measure the discussion of which has placed the textile-manufacturing States of the South in an embarrassing position before the whole country. The Keating bill has passed the House by a large majority and now goes to the Senate for consideration. Members of Congress from North and South Carolina and some from Georgia opposed the measure vigorously, but with little effect other than to cause the country generally to regard conditions in these States as much worse than they are.

And with all due respect to Capt. Smyth, who is the spokesman for the southern manufacturers, his words, as reported in the press dispatches this morning, have brought neither relief nor conviction that the textile interests of this part of the country are not wrong in the ground they have taken for opposing this bill. The more the opponents of the bill talk the more the country is inclined to believe the manufacturers are actuated by a desire to work children and to keep down wages.

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[From the Charleston (S. C.) Review.]

GREEDY MANUFACTURERS.

By a vote of 337 to 46 the child-labor bill passed the National House of Representatives. In looking over the personnel of the body we find that the 337 represent the people and that the 46 represent the corporations. Now it is up to the Senate, and we will soon have a chance to count up those who are in favor of the people and those who are for the interests. If this bill becomes a law, and there is not much doubt of it, it will accomplish what the States affected have repeatedly refused to do—thinking themselves safe in the hands of the different legislatures, many members of which are and have been mill owners and stockholders—protect the children. The mill owners had an idea they could run their factories forever on the cheap labor of infants. But the people tired of this sort of business and were compelled to appeal to the people at large in order to save the children, with the result that the popular branch of Congress passed the bill for their relief, and it is hoped by all lovers of little children that the Senate will do likewise by them.

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[From the Galveston (Tex.) Tribune.]

THE CHILD OR THE MILL.

Quite recently the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives at Washington approved a bill having for its purpose the discouragement of child labor. The provisions of the measure forbid the passage outside the State in which were originated the products of mines, quarries, or mills the result of child labor. It was expected that most of the opposition to the proposed law, if any opposition developed, would come from the factory regions of New England or the mining fields of Pennsylvania, but the surprising development in connection with the measure was that the most vigorous opposition to its passage came from Representatives of the Southern States. While the South has very few mines and not enough factories to be entitled to much space in tables of statistics, it is known that this section has for years been anxious that the cotton factories of the Nation be established where they logically belong—in close proximity to the cotton fields, in the section where most of the raw material is produced.

It may be true that conditions in the South Carolina mills are much better than they were in the New England cotton mills during the time children were worked, but even ideal conditions will not warrant the steady employment of children of tender age for long hours and in the close atmosphere of a factory with its lint-laden air and disagreeable odors which no factory has ever been able to entirely eliminate. There are men, plenty of them, who would not accept financial gain at the cost of a child's death, but they are never brought face to face with conditions as they actually exist and probably believe that their dividends are earned honestly, but there are others who would take advantage of anything that offers that their incomes might be made to show an annual increase, and it is against these avaricious ones that such laws as the one proposed are made.

No one argues that a child should not be made to work, but the work should be suited to the ability of the child and ample provision should be made for the recreation of those who are to in the future carry the burdens of society, commerce, and State.

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[From the Gainesville (Ga.) Herald.]

The purpose of the bill is to prevent capitalists from coining child blood and child flesh into dollars.

No measure has ever come before Congress for the protection of humanity that is equal to this measure. Anyone at all familiar with the reports of committees who have investigated the factory and shop life of the country, especially that of eastern cities, who has a spark of love for humanity in his bosom, a particle of sympathy left in his heart, or an atom of justice in the make-up of his patriotism will necessarily favor this bill to take the children out of these sweatshops, factories, and mills, where their very life is being ground out of them and where every hope is being smothered and where every opportunity to even become normal men and women is blasted.

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[From the Americus (Ga.) Times-Dispatch.]

CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION.

The lower branch of Congress is said to be ready to again pass the Keating child-labor bill, which would prevent shipment across State lines of the products of the labor of children under a certain age. It is the belief that the Senate will attempt to die without action, just as it did last session. This will be more difficult, however, because the life of this Congress—two years—began in December, and friends of the measure in the Senate, if they be sincere in their desire to get the bill on the statute books, can make life very miserable for its opponents.

There has been a marked advance in Congress in the past few years against this highly objectionable kind of child labor. When Senator Beveridge demanded restrictive legislation along about 1906 he was looked upon as a visionary and his bill went to the Judiciary Committee, where it was put to death on the ground that it was unconstitutional and therefore not fit to be even discussed in public place.

The thing is very much alive, however. Some day it will become a law.

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[From the Augusta (Ga.) Herald.]

GOOD REASONS FOR DISCOMFORT.

"We pray for the comfortable, who do not care for anything so long as they are left at ease." From a prayer by Rev. Levi M. Powers at the inauguration exercises of the Gloucester, Mass., municipal council on January 17.

There are many classes of these comfortable persons, and sometimes it becomes society's duty to stir them up a little bit. Just now there is the Keating-Owen bill, concerning which some prosperous, charitable, and altogether complacently comfortable persons prefer to remain in ignorance.

The Keating-Owen measure was introduced into Congress with the object of prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of goods in the production and manufacture of which child labor has entered.

Many very comfortable persons do not care to know that State legislation has not protected little children from exploitation. There are, in fact, a dozen States with very good child-labor laws—from which the canning industries are carefully exempted.

And so tots of 5 and 6 are permitted to snip beans or top cans from 4 a. m. for just as many hours as they can be kept awake in the season of ripe vegetables; and in certain fish canneries children of 8 and 10 work 15 and 16 hours a day in the busy season.

Details of some of the glass works of Pennsylvania, the coal mines of West Virginia, and the textile mills of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi would stir up a considerable amount of unrest among the comfortably ignorant if they would read the reports of the national child-labor committee.

The main opposition to the Keating-Owen bill in the Senate is expected from the southern cotton-mill interests, but—and this a most disturbing bit of information—these mills are often owned by members of New England corporations.

How can you help, not being a Senator or a southern mill owner.

You can help to stir up the too comfortable about the condition of child labor and they will see to it that the Senate becomes uncomfortable enough to pass the Keating-Owen bill.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Pilot.]

CHILD LABOR.

Any issue that strikes directly at the pocket nerve of a community is always a disturbing one in politics. The question of regulating child labor by law is not an exception to this rule.

The national Democratic platform contains a plank specifically pledging the party to favor such legislation, and a bill now before Congress in conformity with that promise has the indorsement of the administration. To arrest the physical and mental development of childhood for the sake of a few pennies saved or made, as the case may be, is the maddest of extravagances, from whatever angle regarded, moral or material. Stunt the childhood of one generation and whence are to come the sturdy men and women to do the work of the next?

There are laws to protect adults in every department of labor, yet presumably they should be able to take care of themselves. Yet balk is made when like protection is asked for the children who are helpless unless the shield of Government be thrown over them. To deny this guardianship would be cruel, unjust, and, as a matter of mere material policy, easily beyond computation.

[From the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph.]

MILLS AND CHILDREN.

The Telegraph realizes the seriousness of the cotton mill as a factor in the social development and progress of the South. Increasingly industry is following its natural bent and getting the manufacturer as close to the producer as possible, and so we are getting more and more textile mills each year because we are the textile staple producers. There is much to be said against the cotton mill's coming. It really doesn't help the community much, if it does not actually injure the standard of the race itself. A few people are bettered by them; a great many are affected in just the opposite.

The worst feature, of course, is the effect of the work, the pay roll and its limitations on those who tend to the spindles all day long. Not much is paid for this work, because it is not, as a matter of fact, worth much. Again, even these pay rolls can not be met unless the mill owner sells his product at a profit. If he makes any substantial increase in wages or reduction in hours and the other fellow doesn't, the only thing accomplished is the certain bankruptcy of the man who wanted to do better by his employees. But something has to be done. We've got to quit working our children, and that means raising the wages of adults.

For instance, let us look into the attitude engendered on the part of many mill owners by the necessities, if such they be, of their business, as exemplified in the hearings before the committee looking into Federal child-labor legislation. David Clark, editor of the Southern Textile Bulletin, is on the stand:

"Congressman KEATING. Did the mill owners of North Carolina, in effort to ameliorate the condition of the employees, support Gov. Kitchin in his recommendation? (This was a recommendation for rigid inspection of factories.)

"Mr. CLARK. I did not favor inspection.

"Congressman KEATING. Was that because you did not have faith in the State inspectors, or because you had a good deal of faith in the mill owners? * * *

"Mr. CLARK. It is largely a grafter proposition. * * *

"Congressman LONDON. What do you mean by a grafting proposition?

"Mr. CLARK. I am not prepared to give you the facts, but my understanding is that if you pay you get a clean bill of health.

"Congressman LONDON. You believe your mill owners would resort to corruption in order to escape a fair inspection?

"Mr. CLARK. Not more than any others; not more than was necessary.

"Congressman LONDON. You mean they would resort to corruption of a Government official?

"Mr. CLARK. Well, yes; if they were held up."

Asked about compulsory education—which, in the opinion of the Telegraph, is the only real solution of the problem—Mr. Clark gave voice to the following rather remarkable indictment against the statesmanship of North Carolina, of which those who come from it boast so loudly and lustily:

"When these people (the families of the operatives) come from the mountains they do not believe in education. That is the reason we do not have compulsory education in North Carolina, because the isolated mountain districts would go Republican if we forced compulsory education upon them."

The following are excerpts taken from the testimony of mill owners and their representatives at the hearing:

"If a mill operating 11 hours a day employs children only 8 hours, it would probably require additional machinery.

"The cotton mill has done more than anything else in the South to save the people from the farm.

"If this law passed, and the younger children were taken out of the mills, the families would go back to the farm.

"If this bill passed, it would affect 35 children between 14 and 16 in our mill of 400 people. This would necessitate our building eight new houses to take care of the new families that would be brought in.

"A roll of cotton cloth made by child labor is just as long, just as wide, just as white, and just as good as if made by adults.

"Congress never tried between 1830 and 1860 to prevent interstate commerce in the products of slave labor.

"You can't fix an age limit for child labor any more than you can tell when a pig becomes a hog."

[From the Savannah (Ga.) Labor Herald.]

Three cheers for the Members of Congress who supported the Keating-Owen child-labor bill, which scored such a success; the vote was 337 to 46. It is to be hoped that the Senate will give it equally as large a majority.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) News.]

THE HOUSE VOTES FOR KEATING BILL.

The Keating bill to exclude the products of child labor from the channels of interstate commerce passed the House by a vote of 337 to 46. The passage of the bill was clearly foreseen, but an agreement so nearly unanimous was hardly to be expected.

The measure now goes to the Senate. That body has been, in time past, something of a citadel for the opponents of child-labor legislation. Defeated everywhere else, they have been able to retire into the Senate and hold out against public sentiment. Undoubtedly the Keating bill will encounter the same stubborn opposition in the Senate that its several predecessors have. But the Senate must be somewhat impressed and persuaded by the size of the majority in the House, made up as it is so largely of men who are shrewd and unremitting in their efforts to find out what is wanted of them. To the Senate this huge majority must signify that public opinion not only desires but demands the enactment of this measure. If the bill shall fail in the Senate, it is likely to be because its opponents filibuster, for the indications are they will not be able to muster a majority.

[From the Beaumont (Tex.) Enterprise.]

The fight made by southern Congressmen against the Keating anti-child-labor bill, which passed the House Wednesday, was not creditable either to them or to the people whom they represent, for while the bill, if it passes the Senate and becomes a law, will not have the effect of preventing child labor in the several States when the manufactured product is sold only within the State, it goes, probably, as far as the Federal Government can proceed against an industrial evil.

[From Atlanta (Ga.) Way.]

HOW GEORGIA'S CONGRESSMEN VOTED.

The House has passed the Keating child-labor bill by a big majority. Now it is up to the Senate to complete the good job.

The Keating bill puts an end to interstate commerce in goods made in mills which employ children under 14 years of age, or in which children under 16 years of age work more than eight hours a day or work before 7 o'clock in the morning or after 7 o'clock in the evening.

The bill is not so deep as a well nor so wide as a door, but it will do for awhile.

It at least puts an end to child slavery—a shameful thing.

The amazing thing is that 45 Members of the House of Representatives could be found to vote against this bill.

We wonder how any of these 45 men would like to have his little girls work in one of those mills where, as the sworn testimony shows, the poor little creatures had ice water dashed in their faces to waken them when exhausted nature made them fall asleep at their weary tasks. Yes, sir; we do wonder how you would like that, Mr. Congressman—you, you were not ashamed to vote against this bill for the rescue of these poor, helpless little creatures, these children who have no childhood, no play, no sunshine in their hearts, no hope in the future but the dull drudgery of the factory, the duller drudgery of forlorn and slatternly wifehood and motherhood or the path that is lined a little way with primroses and then descends so swiftly, alas, to hell.

Let us hope for the honor of the Nation and for the sake of the decencies and the humanities that there will arise no defender of this child slavery when the Keating bill is put upon its passage in the Senate of the United States.

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial-Appeal.]

But the right to grind the hope and health and joy out of little children by long hours of hard labor in close factories or dark mines belongs to no man and no corporation of men. And it is against the greed of these would-be grinders that the child-labor committee has formulated its bill. The members of this committee are not speaking from hearsay information. They have personally inspected the mills, the sweatshops, and the mines, where the blood and hope of the undeveloped children have been coined into factory products. It is in behalf of these children that they are seeking to arouse public sentiment, that Congress may be induced to pass a national law that will be effective and protective.

[From the New Orleans Picayune.]

CHILD-LABOR LAW PASSED.

The House of Representatives, we are glad to see, has passed the Keating child-labor law barring from interstate commerce the products of child labor in mine and factory by the immense majority of 337 to 46. The bill now goes to the Senate for its approval; and with this overwhelming majority in the House there is no reason to doubt that it will soon become a law. The only opposition came from the South and particularly from the two Carolinas, which employ many children in their cotton factories and which have claimed that they can not manufacture cotton goods in competition with New England unless they are allowed to employ the cheapest possible labor—that of children. An effort has been made to shame them into the passage of adequate State child-labor laws like the other Southern States, but this has been found impossible. It was felt by many that legislation of this kind rightly belongs to the State, and that it was a strained construction of the interstate commerce provision of the Federal Constitution under which Congress proposed to interfere in this matter. This view was responsible for the many defeats this measure has met with before Congress.

Time has convinced the country that the only way in which relief could be obtained was through a national law; that the present system of working children in mines and factories is abominable, is against every instinct of humanity to-day, and further that there is no truth in the claim that the southern mills, situated in the midst of cotton fields and with everything in their favor, can not compete with establishments

a thousand and more miles away. It is because they have reached this view of the case that a majority of the southern Members have refused to longer support the proposition of employing child labor in hard factory work and voted for the Keating bill.

The law will pass Congress without difficulty and without doing the slightest harm to the southern mills, which are not as weak as their owners pretend. Even if it did affect some of them unfavorably, the South can not afford, any more than other sections of the country, to sacrifice its children to this manufacturing Moloch.

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[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.]

WOMEN AGAINST CHILD LABOR.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has given its indorsement to the Keating-Owen child-labor bill now before Congress. Nine State federations have already indorsed the bill, and many of the members of these clubs are cooperating actively with the National Child Labor Committee in its campaign for it. Now that the General Federation has put its stamp of approval on the bill, many other club women who have been waiting for the General Federation to take the lead will join with the National Child Labor Committee in its efforts to have it passed by the present Congress.

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[From the Roanoke (Va.) World.]

THE MODERN SLAVERY.

Those people of the South, and they may be counted by the million, who take a broad view of things and who want to see their Nation developed along the highest lines, are following with profound regret the attitude of southern Representatives toward the Keating-Owen child-labor bill.

This bill is designed to prevent the employment of children under 14 and to limit the hours of work for children between 14 and 16 to eight hours a day. In the large majority of States of the Union a law similar to this is in force, but in some southern States it is far below the standard which the best thought of the country plainly establishes.

Opposition to the Keating-Owen measure comes almost entirely from the South, and particularly from Virginia and North and South Carolina. Such opposition, in our judgment, does not express the convictions of Virginia and Carolina people. In fact, it misrepresents them. It advertises them before the world as champions of modern slavery.

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[From the Tampa (Fla.) Times.]

STATE RIGHTS AND CHILD LABOR.

The question of State rights has been injected into the fight against the Keating child-labor bill, now before Congress, and warfare on the measure, led by some southern Senators and Representatives, will be bitter.

The southerners who present strongest opposition to the measure represent States in which cotton mills are located, and therefore their fight is made in behalf of cotton-mill interests, headed by New England and southern capitalists. It seems almost impossible to place a decent child-labor law on the statute books of these States, which is anything but creditable to their political leaders and legislators. We object to Government interference with State rights, but the spirit of protection demands that something be done in behalf of the toiling children of Commonwealths the political representatives of which positively refuse to "see the light."

—

[From the Meridian (Miss.) Star.]

NOT SECTIONAL MEASURE.

The fight made by southern Congressmen against the Keating anti-child-labor bill which passed the House Wednesday was not creditable either to them or to the people whom they represent; for while the bill, if it passes the Senate and becomes a law, will not have the effect of preventing child labor in the several States when the manufactured product is sold only within the State, it goes probably as far as the Federal Government can proceed against an industrial evil.

—

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Journal.]

OVERWHELMING SENTIMENT BEHIND IT.

The Keating bill to bar from interstate commerce the products of child labor, which passed the House February 2 by a vote of 337 to 46, a majority which even surprised friends of the bill, is one of the most stringent in some of its features of any reform measure that has yet passed that body.

While a few Members of the South voted against the bill, the RECORD shows that, with the exception of one vote, that of PARKER of New Jersey, a Republican, not a single Member from the Northern and Western States voted against the bill.

A Washington correspondent, in commenting on the passage of the bill, expresses the opinion that "the tremendous vote against the effort to invoke State rights to continue a national wrong must be regarded as evidence of the breaking down of the old State-rights sentiment, even among Democrats. The southern men opposing this bill offered all the old arguments against the invasion of State authority by the Federal Government without making the slightest impression upon anyone but themselves."

"Northern and western Democrats and a number of southern men also," he says, "merely laughed at the suggestion that an evil should be allowed to continue because it is sanctioned by a State."

This is the same argument that has been used against the passage of a national prohibition amendment and the legislation against the conservation of natural resources.

—

[From the Greenville (S. C.) Circle.]

Here are the facts and the reasons why the cotton-mill owners don't want this bill passed:

First. When children are excluded from the mills they have to go to school, be educated, and enlightened.

Second. Ignorance is what pleases the cotton-mill authorities.

Third. Education means light, knowledge, power, emancipation, and freedom.

Fourth. The cotton manufacturers have been made vastly rich by working children at half wages, doing grown folks' work.

Fifth. When this bill is passed they well know they will have to pay the grown folks enough to support the children anyhow. If they don't the farms are inviting them.

Sixth. As long as they can keep the workers in ignorance they can cheat and rob them and control them more.

Seventh. When the textile workers are better educated they can get better employment, therefore demand better wages—a decent living.

The above are some facts and reasons why this bill is opposed by the money powers.

Didn't the mill owners circulate and beg their employees to sign petitions asking for this bill not to be passed, because it would seriously interfere with the factory business?

—

[From the Thomasville (N. C.) Charity and Children.]

The Keating child-labor bill passed the House by an overwhelming vote last week. It will have a harder time in getting through the Senate, but will no doubt pass that body if it ever comes to a vote. We do not like the Federal inspection feature of the bill, and there are several other objections to it; but the cotton-mill men have only themselves to blame. If they had not strangled any kind of child-labor law in the last senate that assembled in North Carolina this Keating bill would not have come upon them. They ought to have allowed our State legislature to deal with the subject. Having forbidden that, they must take their medicine.

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[From The News, Lynchburg, Va.]

CHILD-LABOR LAW.

Opposition to the child-labor law now under consideration in the United States Senate comes almost entirely from southern Representatives. This opposition, it is said, will be overwhelmingly defeated whenever the issue reaches a formal vote. For the present it is having tremendous effect in delaying action, and it is not improbable that it may postpone a definite decision until next session. President Wilson, deeply interested in the matter, has made a personal appeal to administration Senators to uphold the measure and to assist in carrying it through before Congress adjourns. In reply to an intimation that some sort of compromise or delay might be in order, the President has said: "Action at this session." All persons who keep in view the ultimate purpose of human life and the vast potentialities for usefulness in every child will cherish the earnest hope that Mr. Wilson's efforts may prove successful. Antagonism to child-labor legislation comes chiefly from cotton interests in the South. In the lower House, where the measure was adopted by a large majority, practically every vote in opposition came from the Southern States.

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[From the Greensboro (N. C.) News.]

THIS STATE AND THE KEATING BILL.

It is the fashion, we suppose, to regard the Keating child-labor bill as a Yankee enterprise intended to oppress and humiliate the South. That sort of thing was settled in the sixties. Why kick against the pricks? It is also more or less the fashion to think, or at least to speak, of this measure as directed exclusively against the cotton-mill interests. Be that as it may, the thing has loomed up for years as inevitable. We see no particular sense in anybody worrying about it, even those who we suspect are going to be injured in pocket.

And there are some who weep about poor old State rights. The trouble about that in North Carolina, so far as this particular right is concerned, is that our tears are strongly suspected of being of a crocodile nature. We have made the pretense of believing that child labor ought to be legislated against. We have legislated against it, somewhat, and our legislators winked the other eye when they did it. Who doubts whence came the latter inspiration? It is always a species of hypocrisy, and occasionally of ghastly hypocrisy, to pass such laws without provision for their enforcement. It inevitably alienates the moral sympathy of the world. If we believed in regulation in this State we have had abundant opportunity to exercise the right of a State in that particular. If we do not believe in it we should never have made a pretense of it. People active in this work say that North Carolina is the main argument in favor of the Federal law. Men and brethren, we have not in this thing been anxious to avoid the appearance of evil.

As for the Keating bill, we might as well recognize what looms up before us like a mountain, and that is that the moral sentiment, or the prejudice, if any reader prefers, of the United States as a whole is fixed and emphatic. It is good politics and good sense for the President to demand its passage; it is legislation that is demanded by the platforms of both parties, and the Democrats are in control. The enterprise is plainly that of sawing one plank from the platform of the opposition.

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[From the Richmond (Va.) News Leader.]

CHILD-LABOR BILL AND ITS CRITICS.

Congress owes it to the Nation, but particularly to the puny, undersized, overworked children of the factories, to pass the Keating child-labor bill, which has had the sanction of the House and has been held up in Senate committee for several months. In calling at the Capitol Tuesday, unannounced, to urge Democratic Senators to overturn the Democratic caucus program, which would have deferred action on the bill at this session, the President was emphatic in making known his wishes, not only in this regard but also in reference to the workmen's compensation act. To go before the country with both these worthy measures to the credit of his party will add measurably to Wilson's prestige, especially as the Republicans in the past persistently evaded taking action on either. That the bill has been determinedly obstructed in the upper House is notorious.

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[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Democrat.]

FEDERAL LAW NECESSARY.

It is difficult to imagine any worthy motives for opposition to the immediate enactment of the Federal child-labor law. All the political parties are a unit in their platforms in demanding such a law. The chief reason for this unanimity is the realization that there must be uniformity not only in enactment but in enforcement of child-labor legislation. Within the last few years nearly all the States have revised their laws with the view to conserving the minds and bodies of future citizens. Even Alabama at last yielded to the pressure and enacted a detailed child-labor measure, which went into effect last September. But the laws differ much in details, and there is still greater difference in enforcement. The machinery is so inadequate in some States as to encourage the suspicion that the lawmakers were not sincere.

The problem is peculiarly a national one. Under the freedom of interstate commerce the goods of one State must meet the competition of those of every other. The State that enforces a drastic child-labor law is likely to find its industries at a disadvantage, because of their

products coming into competition with child-made products from other States. Thus virtue is punished. Furthermore, the virtuous State does not even save its own children. They may be taken by the trainload to other States and put to work under conditions that stunt them mentally and physically. Federal legislation is essential, both for the protection of the industries of virtuous States and for the protection of future citizens of the Nation. The President should find the Senate responsive to his demand for immediate action, however the Senators may construe his sudden interest in the subject.

[From the Wheeling (W. Va.) Register.]

CHILD-LABOR BILL.

The child-labor bill now on the Senate Calendar can not be passed too soon. There is an expected opposition to its consideration at this time from southern Democratic Senators, and this opposition may prove strong enough to hold it over to the congressional session next winter. But the child-labor bill is progressive humanitarian legislation that is sure to come sooner or later.

[From the Bowling Green (Ky.) Journal.]

CONGRESS AND CHILD LABOR.

President Wilson went to the Capitol recently to urge the representatives of his party to pass a national child-labor bill before the adjournment of the session. Recently the Democrats in Congress held a caucus for the purpose of determining what bills should be passed before going-home time. They neglected to include child labor among the measures fixed upon for action.

President Wilson acted wisely in urging the passage of this law. Ten years ago there was not a dozen Members of Congress of either party who wanted a child-labor bill passed. Senators and Representatives said that if Congress by law should attempt to save the health and the lives of American children and thereby safeguard the future citizenship of the country, the Constitution of the United States would be shattered. The great document was sacred and must be spared if it cost the life of every baby in the land.

[From the New Decatur (Ala.) Daily.]

CHILD LABOR.

The Keating child-labor bill, barring from interstate commerce the products of child labor, has passed the House of Representatives and is now up to the Senate. According to press dispatches from Washington this much-needed and strictly humanitarian legislation is being strenuously opposed in the upper House of Congress, which, because of limited membership and more conservative tendencies, is usually regarded as the inner defenses of the antiprogressives.

A special to a Birmingham paper to-day says:

"Among those fighting the bill are representative men from every State of the Union, Alabama being represented by Scott Roberts, treasurer of the Adelaide Mills of Anniston."

It is easily apparent that the "representative business men" from Alabama who are opposing the liberation of the child from the dwarfing blight of legalized juvenile slavery are the cotton-mill owners.

What argument can these men advance?

There is but one—that it means money in the pockets of the textile producers for the childhood of Alabama to be deprived of its inalienable right to growth and development.

The argument is purely commercial. It places money above manhood, gain and greed above brawn and brain. No child allowed to grow up in the fetid atmosphere of the cotton mills, with young lungs filled with dirt and lint, can ever reach an unimpaired maturity.

[From the Greenville (S. C.) Piedmont.]

CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

(By request from Industrial Journal.)

There are two great evils connected with child labor in the southern cotton mills. The first is its effect upon the South in an ethical sense. The second is the effect upon the mills of the North, where a generation of effort has succeeded in eliminating child labor.

As to the first proposition, it is deplorably evident that the employment of babes, children, youths, and women long hours at low wages threatens the foundation of the American social system—the American home—and constitutes a form of slavery, white slavery, slavery more detestable and repugnant than that which drenched the favored Land of the Sun in blood four decades since, for it saps the vigor, health, and strength out of its victims in a few years and then discards their worn-out bodies to starve or become a burden to another generation of their kind. It is more far-reaching than the chattel slavery of antebellum times, because it lowers the moral tone of a whole community by accustoming men to the idea of tender children working while the father is idle as a result of an iniquitous system; it is more abominable than the slavery of old, because the negro was furnished food and medicine when sick, quarters calculated to keep him healthy and vigorous, and reasonable rest periods in the less busy seasons of the year, while the victims of rapacity and greed of the later dispensation are not able to have equivalent comforts even while in the prime of their productivity.

And there you have the effect of child labor and its analogues upon the people of the community. I could dilate upon it from now until eternity and could add nothing to its ghastliness. The system is an attack upon the moral and physical health, not alone of its immediate victims but of the community at large.

There is a certain class of bipeds who receive money from a certain other class of their kind who are held as beneath man's contempt, and yet that money I hold to be holy when compared to the fat dividends wrung from the souls and bodies of babes compelled to work 11 and 12 hours a day for a paltry dollar a week, or any other sum.

That mills employing even an inconsiderable portion of its help on such terms should pay dividends abnormally large is not to be wondered at, but those dividends are accursed in the sight of God and man, and the State or nation which permits of such a system is no more fit to live than the male and female amercers who profit from the toil.

It is strange, it is dreadful, that the moral phase of this question has not appealed to our brothers and sisters in Israel, whose devotion to the meek and lowly Nazarene is made a matter of perennial public manifestation.

"But," reason the stockholders, the presidents, the managers, and the powerful Podsnaps of the press, "it is impossible to establish this industry in the South unless we resort to child labor, and without this industry we will not be so wealthy as we will be with it."

Then let's be poor, and clean morally, and strong physically; our children drinking in God's pure air afield and absorbing knowledge, primitive though it be, in the log schoolhouse; our women folks—crackers and clay-eaters and goober-grabbers included, Mr. Jeems Yellowplus—our women folk tending their babies and their flocks and even their gardens, sun-blackened and knotted of hand, but still fit and fain to walk 4 miles, if need be, to the cross-roads house of worship to listen to the homely truths which are not yet beribboned to suit the esthetic eye of Mrs. President or Mrs. Stockholder, nor yet loud enough to drown the music of coupon-cutting scissors.

But Israel sulks! She has taken down her harp from the midst of the willows fringing the waters of Babylon. Nor does she longer refuse to sing the Lord's song in a strange land. The fatherhood of man—a tiresome phrase. Israel appears to need that financial support which she receives as a sort of conscience fund from the profit sharers in 20 per cent mills.

It behooves organized labor to take up the cudgels disdained by Israel, and in order to effect its purpose it may have to emulate the example of the millmen of the North a generation or so ago, and invade the field of politics in order to secure remedial legislation. Nor is it only for the tender youth of the South that the organized laborers of the South are called upon to exert their strength. Just as surely (and in the proportion) as 20 per cent exceeds 4 per cent in the eyes of the greedy exploiters of child labor, just so surely will efforts be made, if the system is perpetuated in the South, to have the Northern States repeal their child-labor laws—on the score that otherwise the cotton-spinning industry of the North will seek the more "inviting" field. Sectional animosity will be rekindled as its last sparks are fading into ashes, and what is now a Southern sore will become a national cancer, eradicable only by knife and at the risk of the patient's life.

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I shall vote for the adoption of this conference report for these reasons:

First. The failure of this Congress to pass the bill freeing the Phillipine Islands makes us for an indefinite time a world power and calls for a large navy.

Second. The recent slides which have put (we hope temporarily) the Panama Canal out of commission, indicates that we should have an adequate Navy in both oceans to properly maintain the Monroe doctrine on this hemisphere and to properly protect our coast cities on both oceans. Ours is a Janus-faced Nation, facing Japan and other oriental countries on the Pacific coast and all of the warring nations of Europe on the Atlantic coast. It behooves us to pick our flint and keep our powder dry by providing in advance for anticipated trouble by building an adequate navy for our national defense.

Third. One group of the warring nations of Europe have by their reckless submarine warfare brought us to the verge of war, and, on the other hand, the other warring group are unjustifiably interfering with our mails and in many ways interfering with our neutral commerce, which unjustifiable actions threaten to involve our country in foreign complications and possibly in war. Thanks to the patriotic, wise, and judicious handling of these vexed questions by the Wilson administration we have so far escaped a conflict with either group of these warring powers, and I believe that under the same wise guiding hand and statesmanship we will continue to be kept out of war.

These reasons have impelled me to accept the inevitable conclusion that in order to properly defend ourselves from the threatened foreign aggression above pointed out—all of which are of recent origin—that a large Navy is a pressing necessity at this time, but if it is found not to be, then the next Congress can repeal this law, and the ships provided for in this bill, not then under contract will not be built, and that part of this appropriation will not be used. Mr. Speaker, I am now—as I always have been—of the opinion that the recently concocted and money-promoted preparedness craze that has swept over this country like a forest fire have been originated and financed by the capitalist combinations that have been made richer by billions of dollars out of this war scare through the manufacture of war materials.

Now, is it not meet and proper that the capitalist and other minions of predatory wealth who have gotten up this nation-wide war dance should contribute largely out of their own profits toward paying for the vast military program that they have succeeded in promoting? Therefore, this Democratic administration shows its wisdom and justice in proposing to raise these funds by increasing the income and the inheritance taxes and the taxes on the manufacture of munitions of war, so that the

burden of militarism would fall on the manufacturers of munitions of war and on the wealth of this country and not upon the great masses of consumers, as would be done if this money had to be raised by means of a protective tariff, which means, together with the issuance of interest-bearing bonds, are the methods proposed by the Republican Party and their present candidate, Mr. Hughes, for raising these vast preparedness funds. Mr. Hughes has always opposed an income tax, and this proves conclusively that himself and his party favor the classes as against the masses. The classes are enabled to escape direct taxation on their wealth by means of the Republican protective tariff.

Several years ago Gov. Hughes, now Candidate Hughes, an active figure and political leader in the great State of New York, was called upon frequently to give his views upon questions of governmental importance. Some of those views have now come forward like ghosts of an unfortunate past to give him reasons to pause in his pursuit of further distinction, and doubtless cause him some grief.

Already his organs and advocates are in the harassing difficulty of explaining away his attitude as governor of New York on the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for taxing incomes.

The facts are these:

On January 5, 1910, as governor, he transmitted to the legislature a certified copy of the congressional resolution proposing an income-tax amendment to the Federal Constitution. He accompanied it by a special message, the concluding lines of which were: "I therefore deem it my duty as governor of the State to recommend that this proposed amendment should not be ratified."

Opponents of the proposed amendment were highly pleased with the governor's message. It was the response of a faithful servant to them who had so often and so unstintedly contributed to the success of his party.

His party, too, at least its legislative representatives, opposed his message, for the New York Legislature, Republican in both branches, promptly voted to reject the amendment.

This action took place April 20, 1910. Five days later President Taft appointed Gov. Hughes a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Just one year later, when Gov. Dix, a Democrat, was in the governor's chair at Albany, the legislature did ratify the amendment which Gov. Hughes and a Republican legislature had rejected. The income-tax law has now been in operation for several years. It has the sanction of the American people; it was drafted by a Democratic Member of Congress and enacted by a Congress Democratic in both branches. All this in spite of the positive and forceful opposition of the now presidential nominee of the Republican Party.

In the meanwhile so satisfactory has proven the workings of the Democratic income-tax law, so thoroughly has it established the wisdom and statesmanship of its supporters and so thoroughly has it disproved the arguments of its opponents and their explanatory pleas in resistance that it will remain upon our Federal statute books for all time.

Will Candidate Hughes leave off his nagging, faultfinding speechmaking long enough to frankly tell the people whether he now favors or opposes the income-tax amendment to the Constitution and the laws enacted by the Democrats to carry it into effect; also whether he favors or opposes the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people; and also whether he favors the Democratic regional banking system or its brother Democratic law, known as the Rural Credit System, designed to help the farmers of this country to finance their activities at a low rate of interest? It would be of great interest to organized labor to know what he thinks of the several Democratic laws recently enacted in their interest by the Democrats, including the Clayton anti-injunction act. Does he not owe it to himself and party to frankly tell the voters what he thinks of the Democratic record on these vital questions? Will he do it? I answer, no. He dare not oppose these wise and just laws for fear of injuring himself and his party thereby, neither is he politically honest enough to approve any of them or to give the Wilson administration and the Democratic Party any credit for these constitutional changes or the enactment of these wise and beneficent laws in the interest of labor and the masses of the common people of our common country. I prophecy that he will continue to run over the country telling the people in effect that he favors everything that is right and opposes everything that is wrong. What will the great body of silent and independent voters in this country think of this political sphinx who dares not discuss with them face to face the merits or demerits of the above-mentioned Democratic legislation? Will they not repudiate his oft-repeated and threadbare platitudes and vote for that brave and conscientious and constructive statesman, Woodrow Wilson, whose administration has in the past 3½ years enacted more wise and beneficial national legislation than had the Republican Party in the 16 years immediately preceding the present Democratic administration?

## Mr. Bainbridge Colby Declares Himself for the Reelection of President Wilson.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter of Mr. Bainbridge Colby, of New York, declaring himself for President Wilson for reelection in 1916.

The letter is as follows:

MR. COLBY'S STATEMENT.

Chairman McCormick also gave out the following letter from Bainbridge Colby, who placed ex-President Roosevelt in nomination in the Progressive convention at Chicago, telling why he and other distinguished members of the Bull Moose Party will support President Wilson for reelection. Whereas he has vigorously opposed Hughes in a number of public utterances, it is Mr. Colby's first announcement that he is for Wilson:

"Your suggestion that there is ample foundation for effective and agreeable cooperation between the Progressives and the Democratic Party in the reelection of the President is true beyond all question, and I accept your invitation looking to such cooperation unhesitatingly and with pleasure.

"The achievements of the Democratic Party under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson in the field of progressive legislation constitute much more than an appeal for support. The record of the President is a veritable claim for such support upon all sincere Progressives, which the latter can not consistently ignore or deny.

"Particularly is this true as the opposition to the President's reelection proceeds from an unregenerate Republicanism that has weathered the danger of reform, reabsorbed its most vociferous critic, and abandoned itself again to rancid reaction.

"There they all are—the old guard. See for yourself. Count them if you wish. CANNON and PENROSE, SMOOT and GALLINGER, Jim Watson, Joe Kealing, Estabrook, RODENBERG, MCKINLEY, of Illinois, Hert, McGraw, Hemenway, Crane—not to speak of the others, too numerous to mention—all 'friends of the tariff' and among 'those fit to govern.'

"What business a Progressive has in such company as this I can not for the life of me see. They are the pickets and the monitors of privilege. Hughes is only their decoy and retriever. If he were elected, they would rope him and tie him, as they did when he was governor in Albany, reducing him to plaintive futility.

"There are, of course, reactionary elements in the Democratic Party. Until lately we had them even in the Progressive Party. But these elements in the Democratic Party are at the worst only a retardation and drag upon the steady forward push which the President has maintained. In the Republican Party the reactionaries are in the ascendant. They dominate the party, giving to it their character and features. It is the party of reaction, and the Progressives who have allied themselves with it are the most unfortunate of dupes.

"I am rejoiced to know and to be able to assure you that the President will receive an immense support from the members of my party. They recognize the simple courage, the rugged fortitude, and the quiet strength which have enabled him to guide his contrymen in peace and honor through the dangers of the last two years. They admire him. They are grateful to him. And, as Americans, they are impatient to manifest their loyalty to him."

## Increase of the Navy.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EDWARD COOPER,
OF WEST VIRGINIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under general leave granted to the Members of the House to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the Senate amendments to the naval bill, H. R. 15947, with special reference to amendment No. 238, increase of the Navy, I desire to say that I am, in the nature of things, opposed to a large increase in our standing Army or in our Navy, but in the present state of international affairs I deem it wise and good insurance to be prepared to take care of ourselves in the event we become involved in the quarrel now going on in Europe. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and under existing circumstances I feel we can not

afford not to provide the means of defending ourselves properly if attacked. I am satisfied the people of America are opposed to a large standing army, and will not stand for a large army after the present war is over, but we had just as well face the situation and frankly admit that we are not to-day in a position to keep a strong enemy from our shores.

The President of the United States should be informed as to the danger the country faces, and it is his advice to prepare, and prepare quickly, to face war if war should come. I do not agree with some that a large army and navy will invite war or force us into conflict. We do not want to prepare for war, but against war, and feeling as I do about the present state of the country, I must vote to prepare the country for any trouble which may arise out of the European conflict.

We all carry insurance, both life and fire, to protect our families. We have our "Safety First" clubs to protect the men engaged in hazardous occupations against accidents. Our National Government, through the Public Health Service, expends millions of dollars fighting diseases of all kinds; the Agricultural Department also spends millions fighting the enemies of nature, and I see no reason why the National Government should not expend millions to protect the homes of a contented and happy people from the jealous and greedy eye of a foreign foe. A nation of our wealth and influence can not afford at this critical time to hesitate to provide the means to carry to a successful conclusion any reasonable program advocated by our best naval thought for the proper defense of our country.

The plan as proposed by the Senate for the building of a Navy far exceeds in number of ships, tonnage, and equipment the plan advocated by the Republicans in the House and opposed by the Democrats in the House because it was too broad. Little did the Democrats dream their leaders in the Senate would not only adopt the Republican plan but go the Republicans one and many better. It is apparent our people have determined to adhere to a program of building which will within a few years mean that our country will be in a position to command respect beyond the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific. No matter to what clime an American citizen goes in pursuit of happiness the American flag will follow him and give him the protection to which he is entitled.

We can not afford to "play the fiddle while Rome burns." We can not afford not to inspect our fire department, and if the department needs more men and more equipment to take care of an emergency, to quench the fire if it should begin, to provide the men and the means to properly equip the same.

The President's failure to "stand still," as expressed so forcibly by my colleague, Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin, is reflected to-day in this House in the vote on the naval bill as redrafted and rewritten by the Senate of the United States. A policy of uncertainty and wavering vacillation has marked the course of the administration in the conclusions reached on this bill, the same as the policy of the administration regarding the course pursued in Mexico. First, we were led to believe Garrison's plan for a continental army was to be the plan behind which the administration would stand, but the President's recession from the continental-army plan, as proposed and advocated by Secretary of War Garrison, led to the resignation of Mr. Garrison and out of chaos and confusion the plan adopted finally for the Army and Navy has been written into law.

The minority of the Senate Finance Committee calls the attention of the country to the fact that additional appropriations for what may be called "preparedness" by the Congress do not exceed $390,000,000, demonstrating that outside the program of "preparedness" this Congress has made appropriations for approximately $200,000,000 more than any preceding Congress.

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## Preparedness for National Defense Necessary.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. AARON S. KREIDER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Speaker, the question of "national preparedness" for self-defense is not a question of politics, and should not be regarded as such. For the last two years the daily papers and magazines have been filled with articles discussing every phase of national preparedness, and it seems the point under discussion is, "Does preparedness prevent war?" This question has been answered both in the affirmative and the negative, but I believe most of the thinking minds of the Nation have come to the conclusion, in the light of the European war, that, after all, "preparedness for national defense" is absolutely essential for this country.

I FAVOR PREPAREDNESS, BUT OPPOSE MILITARISM.

While it may be true that we are unduly excited at this moment, yet the facts are that we are woefully unprepared to defend our country against any nation with first-class naval and military equipment, and I am, therefore, in favor of the adoption of the report before the House; but I want to say here and now that while I favor national preparedness I am just as strongly opposed to militarism. It will, indeed, be a sad day when in our country we shall have a large standing army composed of hundreds of thousands of men whose only training and purpose in life is war.

I want my country to be and remain forever the great advocate of peace among all the countries in the world. I want the United States to lead in a movement to establish an international court of arbitration for the maintenance of perpetual peace among the nations of the world, and I thoroughly believe that it is both feasible, practicable, and possible that such a tribunal can and will be established when the war abroad ceases and the nations now engaged in this war have became exhausted, sickened, and horrified by the grim slaughter in which they have been engaged and have stopped long enough to coolly survey their fruitless record. I believe that then they will be ready to seriously consider this question.

I want to see our glorious flag continue to be the emblem of freedom, liberty, and justice, as against oppression, tyranny, and military despotism. The founders of our Republic designed this country to be a perpetual asylum of liberty and peace. They intended that the civil should remain forever above the military authority, but it should be remembered that the builders of our Government and the framers of the Constitution of the United States were not so-called "pacifists," or "peace-at-any-price" men; the infant Republic was born and created in the throes of revolution, which lasted for a period of seven years and eight months.

WHAT OUR EARLY PRESIDENTS THOUGHT OF PREPAREDNESS.

At the very beginning of our national life the country was warned by the first Presidents that in order to maintain peace we must be prepared for war. In Washington's first annual address, among other things, he said:

> To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace—

He urged the people to prepare to quell and suppress any insurrections which may come from within or repel any invasion which may come from without.

In his third annual message, speaking of the militia, he said:

> This is certainly an object of primary importance, whether viewed in reference to the national security to the satisfaction of the community or to the preservation of order—

And strongly urged the establishment of competent magazines and arsenals.

In his fifth annual message, among other things, he said:

> If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.

In his eighth annual message, speaking of the country's inability to protect its foreign commerce, he said:

> Will it not then be advisable to begin without delay to provide and lay up materials for the building and equipping of ships of war and to proceed in the work by degrees in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable—

And so forth.

President John Adams, in a special message to Congress, used these words:

> With a view and as a measure which even in time of universal peace ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration a revision of the laws for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia to render that natural and safe defense of the country efficacious.

In President Adams's second annual message he says:

> An efficient preparation for war can alone secure peace; we ought, without loss of time, lay the foundations for that increase of our Navy to a size sufficient to guard our coast and protect our trade.

Thomas Jefferson strongly advised compulsory military service.

James Monroe also advocated compulsory military service.

I simply refer to these messages to show the attitude and, as it were, the prophecy and advice of the early Presidents. In the light of what has occurred since then, we must acknowledge the wisdom of the policy advocated. For the truth is that, notwithstanding our high aims and pure motives, the hopes and aspirations for permanent and universal peace, the facts are that the fate of nations is still being decided by their wars.

This is sad, but nevertheless true. In the light of human history and experience we should never forget that the only safe guide for our footsteps is to walk in the light of the past.

THE WORLD NOT YET READY FOR UNIVERSAL PEACE.

For thousands of years the peoples of the earth have been, as it were, at each other's throats in terrific struggle. Within the memory of men now living, every important nation on the globe has fought one or more wars, and our own country is no exception to the rule. For ages it has been the dream of philanthropy and the hope of religion that the perfection of the Christian life and the advance of civilization would do away with all wars by illuminating the reason, softening the heart, and taming the savage qualities of man; but has this been realized? The terrible struggle in Europe is indication it has not. The Sermon on the Mount is the chart of the soul on the sea of life and its beatitudes are the glorification of the virtues of gentleness and mercy, love and peace. Nearly 2,000 years have passed since the sermon was delivered, and yet, to-day, the pathetic and appalling spectacle is presented of the so-called Christian nations of Europe employing all the ingenuity and methods that fertile brain and scientific aids can furnish or devise for the sole purpose of the destruction of human life. We all hope and pray that the time will come, and I believe it will come, when wars shall cease, but that time is "not yet."

OUR NEED FOR A LARGER ARMY AND NAVY.

I believe that we, a Republic of 100,000,000 people, with several thousand miles of coast line to protect, with important insular possessions to defend, with the Panama Canal to fortify and guard, and the Monroe doctrine to maintain, should be amply prepared to do so, not only with a sufficient and adequate Navy but with an Army of sufficient size and a system of military training which will give us adequate protection during times of peace and adequate defense should war come.

With this purpose and object in view and in mind, I shall support this report. I believe that my position represents the sentiment and wishes of a very large majority of my constituents.

The people of my district are a God-fearing and peace-loving people. They pray for peace perpetual with national honor unimpaired, but at the same time they are red-blooded Americans, who love their country, believe in it, adore its flag, and are ready, if need be, to fight and die for both. This has been evidenced from the very beginning. Whenever this country needed men to defend it, Pennsylvania and the eighteenth congressional district in particular, have always been the first to respond to their country's call. The gallant sons of Pennsylvania have in every war in which this country has engaged been an honor to the State and a credit to the Nation. They believe, as I do, in both peace and preparedness—peace, if possible, with honor and national self-respect; in preparedness as a guaranty of peace as well as a guaranty of victory should war come. It is well known on the floor of this House that I have lent all the influence and votes I have had in order to secure the enactment of a reasonable preparedness program, and while the laws enacted are, in many particulars, not as I would have written them, yet I consider them an improvement and steps in the right direction. I voted for the Kahn amendment to the Hay bill providing for a regular army of 220,000 men. This amendment was defeated; later I voted for the Hay bill, regarding it, however, as entirely insufficient but yet a short step in the right direction. Later, when the bill came back from the Senate, I voted for the Chamberlain or Senate amendment to the Hay bill. This amendment was again rejected by the House. Later I voted for the conference report which provided for approximately an Army of 206,000 men. This report was adopted.

OUR NAVY COMPARED TO THE OTHER NAVIES OF THE WORLD.

In considering legislation of this kind, I believe it is well to compare our Navy with the navies of the five leading nations of the world. The following table gives the tonnage and relative standing at the outbreak of the European war, provided all vessels in course of construction were completed:

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|---|---|
| Great Britain | 2,713,756 |
| Germany | 1,304,540 |
| France | 899,915 |
| United States | 894,889 |
| Japan | 699,916 |

The following is a list of dreadnaughts and battle cruisers, and are as follows:

England built 29; building or authorized, 17; total 46.
Germany, 17; building or authorized, 11; total, 28.
United States, 8; building or authorized, 7; total, 15.
France, 3; building or authorized, 9; total, 12.
Japan, 2; building or authorized, 6; total, 8.

All the countries now at war have greatly increased their building program, and these figures do not hold good after July, 1914. In the above totals vessels that are over 20 years old are not included unless they have been reconstructed and rearmed within five years. From the above it will be noticed that we stand practically third among the navies of the world, but in equipment and auxiliary vessels, and especially among submarines and aircraft, our Navy is woefully deficient.

THE NEED OF SUBMARINES.

I have no positive information as to the number of submarines owned by the various powers, but we know that they are well supplied and thoroughly equipped in undersea craft, and especially is this true of Germany. In the naval bill passed by the Sixty-third Congress provision was made for an increased number of submarines, but up to this time we have practically none that are worthy of the name. Commander Stirling, in his testimony before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, said that we had only one submarine that he thought could take part in maneuvers at sea. I wish to say that the press and the public generally have been censuring Congress for not providing the means and authorizing the strengthening of our Navy. In this they are mistaken. Congress has been anxious and willing, especially the Republican Members of Congress, to supply the money and authorize the construction of an adequate Navy. As evidence of this, I will quote from the hearings before the Committee on Naval Affairs when the bill was framed which passed the Sixty-third Congress.

Secretary Daniels, speaking for the administration, had requested Congress "to provide for eight new submarines." Admiral Fletcher said:

I think it would be a reasonable precaution to provide a few more submarines, considering our extensive coast line in the Atlantic and Pacific.

Further along in his testimony the admiral said:

I think a reasonable increase in submarines—somewhere about 8 or 10—would be a proper increase.

Notwithstanding the request for only 8 or 10, Congress appropriated for and authorized the construction of 18 new submarines, but they have not been constructed. It was only a few months ago that the contracts were let for their construction, and then the builders were given 18 months in which to complete them, so that they will not be available for use until nearly four years after their construction was authorized. This delay is uncalled for and is unnecessary—we know England is building the same type and size of submarines now in Canada in five months and we are furnishing the materials—and it is due entirely to the indifferent and inefficient management of the department under this administration. I am told, and I think it is true, that Congress has appropriated, not including the bill now under consideration, about $200,000,000 for warships and auxiliary vessels which are simply "under construction," and therefore are not now available. The failure of the Navy Department to see to it that these vessels are constructed and put into commission deserves to be and has been severely criticized on the floor of the House as well as by the press.

AIRCRAFT.

In regard to the equipment of our aircraft, our position is extremely humiliating. According to the best information, the aircraft equipment provided by various nations prior to the outbreak of the European war was as follows:

France was equipped with 22 dirigibles and 800 aeroplanes.
Great Britain was equipped with 19 dirigibles and 400 aeroplanes.
Belgium was equipped with 2 dirigibles and 100 aeroplanes.
Serbia was equipped with 60 aeroplanes.
Germany was equipped with 40 dirigibles and 1,000 aeroplanes.
Austria was equipped with 8 dirigibles and 400 aeroplanes.
United States was equipped with 23 aeroplanes.

In the case of the United States there were not more than two aeroplanes of the same pattern, and none of them modern in type or equipment.

The first step toward organizing an air service for the United States Navy was taken in 1911 under the Taft administration. This was the beginning, when our knowledge as to the possibilities of aviation was limited, but considerable progress was made. The Sixty-third Congress, however, appreciating our lack of equipment, appropriated $1,000,000 to be expended in developing aviation for the Navy. In a statement issued recently by Secretary Daniels he says:

Congress gave us $1,000,000 to begin upon an elaborate plan the real development of aviation in the Navy. At that time the Navy had but four aviators and no satisfactory machines. A special training school has been established at Pensacola, Fla., and we now have

about 40 machines in operation down there. The armored cruiser *North Carolina* has been equipped successfully as a mother ship for aeroplanes and participated in the recent exercises at Guantanamo.

Now, the facts are that when the appropriation of $1,000,000 was given to the Navy Department the General Board of the Navy had recommended the establishment of four aviation schools, but the only school established is at Pensacola, and I am informed that there have never been more than 15 aeroplanes in commission there at any one time. It is true that the *North Carolina* did go down to Guantanamo, but she carried only nine aviators and only four aeroplanes, no launching device, no radio for aeroplanes, no bomb-dropping device; and while there the fleet was so undermanned, we are told, the aviators had to do ship duty, which left little time for the aviation exercises. It was the purpose to use the aeroplanes to spot the fall of shot during gunfire practice, and in an effort to accomplish this an officer rigged up a radio set, but it was insufficient to meet the demands. This lack of equipment also prevented the working out of other naval problems, such as directing the movement of the fleet by advising it of the movement of the enemy ships. The launching device for aeroplanes was developed and tested before Mr. Daniels became Secretary of the Navy. I am calling attention to these facts to show that the fault is entirely with the executive and administrative department, and is not, as is generally supposed, the fault of Congress in not providing the money and authorizing the development of this service.

When the present bill was being framed the General Board of the Navy offered two plans: No. 1 recommended $5,000,000 for aviation purposes; plan No. 2 recommended $3,000,000 for aviation and $11,000,000 for ammunition. Plan No. 1 did not make mention of ammunition. Secretary Daniels, however, recommended only an appropriation of $2,000,000 for aviation purposes and $8,000,000 for naval ammunition, which were the amounts carried when the bill was reported in the House. When the bill was before the House, Representative ROBERTS of Massachusetts, the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, offered an amendment providing for an increase from $2,000,000, which the bill carried at the request of the Secretary to $3,500,000. I voted for this increase and was glad the amendment was adopted. I might state here also that the present bill when it came from the committee provided for 20 submarines. Representative ROBERTS also offered an amendment for which I voted increasing the number from 20 to 50. This amendment was adopted.

You will notice by the foregoing, and I wish to emphasize the fact, that the Republicans in Congress, with the aid of some of the Democrats, have been able to secure the necessary appropriations; but the trouble is that the administration through inefficient management and a lack of disposition to put into execution a proper and necessary program of preparedness, are directly responsible for the woeful inefficiency and deplorable condition of our Navy, and even the passage of this bill will not give us what we want unless the administration is aroused to action and a sense of its duty by the insistent demands of public opinion.

As another evidence of the seeming indifference governing every action of the department is the fact that the battleships provided for in the naval bill passed by the Sixty-third Congress are not being constructed with a view to early completion. The truth is that the keels of none of these ships have been laid and will not be laid until possibly in the month of November or later, notwithstanding the fact that the ships were authorized and the money appropriated for their construction several years ago. Even after the keels are laid, I think, 33 months is given to complete the ships, and after this 18 months more will probably elapse before they are equipped and commissioned. It is a known fact that we have no aircraft to-day worthy of the name, and it is indeed a sad reflection on the administration that with all the money available no better showing has been made in two years time, and especially at a time when President Wilson was traveling throughout the country and proclaiming to the people "that we may be plunged into a war at any moment."

Again, as a comparison, we might refer to the British Navy. When Lord Churchill became the head of the British Navy he found there were only a few aeroplanes and aviators in the service. He added aviators and aeroplanes of the most approved and modern type by the hundreds in a remarkably short time. It might also be stated that in the hearings before the Naval Affairs Committee, when the larger appropriations—those recommended by the navy board—were urged, Secretary Daniels said he did not know what to do with the money in case it was appropriated. And when the same matter was brought to the attention of Representative FITZGERALD, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, he was asked whether he was not aware that the General Board had recommended an appropriation of $5,000,000 for aeronautics, he replied, "I did, and that is the reason I paid so little attention to their recommendations." It seems to be the old story over and over again, that all the testimony offered by those in a position to know something of the subject under consideration is rejected and the advice of those who know nothing of the matter is accepted.

It is a notable and impressive fact, demonstrated by the European war, that the nations which were prepared for some particular purpose to meet certain contingencies have demonstrated the wisdom of their precaution. Noticeably on the one hand, England with her navy, and on the other hand, Germany with her army. Another noticeable and impressive fact is the universal efficiency of the industrial system of Germany. Of larger and more peculiar significance to us than any one single circumstance was the thorough and complete preparedness of the Swiss Army and its readiness to respond to the utmost demands of the situation. As a consequence Swiss territory has been respected and held inviolate.

IMPOSSIBLE TO COMPARE THE COST OF PREPAREDNESS WITH THAT OF WAR.

Above all, it seems imperative that we have an adequate Navy. The Navy must always be our strong right arm of defense.

Regarding the financial burden that preparedness will necessarily bring, I wish to say that the burden of cost is frequently greatly and grossly exaggerated. This is especially true of the Navy. Should we desire to compare the cost, a single battle on land would cost us more than it will cost to construct a powerful Navy; a single year of war with any first-class power will cost us more than the most elaborate program of preparedness ever suggested. And should we unhappily become involved in a conflict with a first-class power, who would stop to ask the cost on the day of battle; who or how could you measure in money the value of the dead or the agony of the wounded and dying, the suffering and privation of the widow and orphan? What is human life and human blood and human suffering worth measured in gold? In fact, we all agree it is not a question of cost. No; no; it is solely and entirely a question, "Will preparedness reduce the chances of war?" If so, I am sure we are all in favor of preparedness.

LOSS OF LIFE LESS IN NAVAL THAN IN LAND BATTLES.

Again, a strong Navy is more to be desired than a strong Army. The loss of life and human suffering is much less in battle, yet its power in shaping the destiny of nations is fully equal to that of the Army. The heroic Nelson destroyed forever Napoleon's dream of a universal empire, yet in doing so he lost but 1,690 men. Admiral Togo sent this message to the commander of the fleet *Tsu Shima*, "The rise or fall of the empire depends on to-day's battle." He was right; that day decided the mastery of the seas in the Far East and made that little island empire a world power and cost the lives of only 116 men.

The fight between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*, where John Paul Jones, when asked to surrender, declared that he had "just begun to fight," was one of the most desperate battles ever waged on the seas. It placed the name of that brilliant American admiral among the immortals, yet he lost only 150 men.

On Lake Erie Admiral Perry fought one of the fiercest of all naval battles and won a victory that vitally affected the world's history, yet he lost only the lives of 27 men.

Admiral Farragut struck one of the most deadly blows against the Confederacy, losing only 37 men. The fight between the *Merrimac* and *Monitor* at Hampton Roads changed the naval affairs of the world and sealed the doom of the Confederacy, yet in this battle not a single life was lost.

Spain was hopelessly defeated in our war with her when the Battle of Santiago ended. It was the most complete naval victory ever fought on the ocean, and yet the Americans lost only one man.

In the Battle of Manila Bay not a single American life was lost.

The loss of life in all the important naval fights of our Nation's history which have had such a tremendous effect upon our destiny and civilization does not equal the loss of life in a single skirmish on land.

With a powerful Navy we can protect our country without great loss of life. The property loss of a naval battle is nothing compared with a loss that would follow if our country were to be invaded.

Upon the British Navy to-day, as has been the case many times in the past, rests the fate of the British Empire.

ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PREPAREDNESS ALSO ESSENTIAL.

It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the Navy must be built and secured in advance, and in connection with

this I might say that military and naval preparedness mean nothing in modern warfare unless closely correlated with economic and industrial preparedness. Modern battles are not won by soldiers and sailors alone, but the necessary equipment is also essential. Proof of this may be found in the fact that the munition workers of France and England constitute numerically a larger army than the army of British and French soldiers in the trenches of Europe. The man who manufactures the machine gun, the shrapnel shell, is quite as essential and important and necessary as the soldier who actually uses the gun or fires the shell. Nor, indeed, is only preparedness necessary; the sinews of war not only consist of an army and navy and the equipment of same, but all these are dependent upon what I shall term commercial preparedness; that is, all the enterprises of manufacture, transportation, and distribution, so that the resources of the country can be put behind any body of men enlisted in the Nation's defense and be able to supply all their varied needs.

The matter of transportation is one of the all-important elements entering into preparedness. I need only to call your attention to the recent experience we had in transporting the comparatively few soldiers comprising our National Guard to the border to demonstrate our utter lack of preparedness along this line. German efficiency in the marvelous development of her roads and railway system with a view to military strategy and expedition is world famed, and has given her the greatest advantage she enjoyed at the beginning of the war. Her ability to transport vast bodies of troops overnight, as it were, from one frontier to the other has enabled her, more than anything else, to beat back from her territory the allied forces of Europe. It is the duty of Congress, as a matter of industrial preparedness, to frame such legislation as will give us complete control of railway transportation for the movement of troops in times of war as emergency may at any time demand. The patriotism of the owners and managers of our roads would undoubtedly render unnecessary drastic Government action to secure such control, but the sovereignty of the people over private interests should be ready and prepared to assert itself immediately if necessity arose. In addition to all these, there is still one other form of preparedness which I shall briefly mention, namely, intellectual and spiritual preparedness, and it is as much higher as the spirit of man is greater and nobler than his body; reason is stronger than brute force. It has been truly said "knowledge is power," especially military power. Brains are better than bullets. By this I mean to convey the idea that we must become an educated and trained people; we must not only have well-educated and trained officers in our Army and Navy, but we must also be a trained, educated, clear-thinking people.

My plea is for the maintenance of the rights and sovereignty of the plain citizen of this Republic and for the actual and absolute rule of the people under the representative form of government.

My plea is for the passage of laws that will make infamous and criminal the employment of children in sweatshops when they should be attending public school. I am an advocate of the public-school system. I do not deride or condemn American universities like Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, or Cornell, they are the jewels of our intellectual bodies, and let us hope there may be more of them, but the American university is not the great temple of intellectual and spiritual preparedness of the Republic.

It is rather the church and the public school building over which floats the Stars and Stripes, wherein the boy is taught to read and study the spirit of the Constitution of the United States. The public schools of America must be the great melting pot of patriotism and good citizenship. In the population of America are mingled representatives of nearly every race of every country on earth. This mass of humanity must be fashioned and molded into a homogeneous whole in the public school by the public-school teacher. There the minds of the young children, the future citizens of the Nation, must be filled with a spirit of Americanism, and must be taught an undivided allegiance to America—an allegiance that knows no fatherland and admits no loyalty except a devotion to the flag of our Nation. The child must be taught to glory in the achievements of our past and believe implicitly in the possibilities of our future.

To this must be added the teachings of the Bible and the church. There must be planted in the heart and soul of the child that love and reverence to Almighty God, his Creator, who dwells and rules in the hearts of men and shapes the destinies of nations.

This will result in an intellectual and spiritual preparedness, without which all other forms of preparedness are but achievements or manifestations of vulgar pride and brute force.

**On Adoption of Conference Report on Navy Bill.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the conference report ought to be adopted. Great economic changes wrought by the war in Europe in which our relationships with foreign Governments have become serious require a larger Navy. The world's business has taken on such an aspect as "to alarm neutral and peaceful nations." The United States is no longer an isolated and distant power pursuing lines of development essentially of her own choosing. Her sudden development as a governing force in world politics and world commerce brings new duties and new complications that the American Congress must meet, and one of them is to put a larger Navy upon the seas—one that shall command respect from the greatest of white nations. I have no fear of invasion; I have no fear of a war for conquest. We only covet peace and peaceful commerce. I have heard for months the cry of danger from invasion by foreign powers from the Members of this Chamber. In this long session not a man has risen from his place and declared from what source or for what reason we were liable to attack. No man to-day asserts that we are liable to be attacked by England or France or Germany or Japan. The dreams of what might happen as related by the enthusiasts on this floor are as baseless as the wildest vagaries of Munchausen.

I have no fear, Mr. Speaker, of the nations at war, with 5,000,000 of their best, their most perfect, their most virile sons sleeping for all the future in the blood-soaked trenches of European battle fields—a burden of a hundred billions on the shoulders of their widows, their orphans, cripples, and old men, their industries paralyzed. No man sitting in this Chamber will ever see another great international war. But there is another reason, more convincing than the fear of invasion, that we will not be attacked. No nation has a grievance against the United States through which she could provoke us to war. We are the leading figure in the great family of nations, our Government, our prosperity, our liberty, the largest in the realm of organized society and yet protected by law, is a guarantee of our future. So, Mr. Speaker, some other reason must exist for supporting the enormous expenditure set out in the conference report. I am reminded that Candidate Hughes is spilling his complaints about the country, charging that the Democratic Party has been grossly extravagant and that we are shockingly unprepared. He fails to tell the people that during the 14 years his party was in continuous power it spent three thousand millions of the people's money on the Army and Navy alone, and turned over to the Commander in Chief an Army without sufficient men, without guns, without equipment, without a reserve, and the country without adequate fortifications; that it turned over to the Commander in Chief a Navy without men enough to man the vessels it had, without auxiliary vessels, without submarines, without battle cruisers. That was the product of the expenditure of three billions of the people's money. It requires an unusual development of nerve to go about the country asking that the Republican Party be returned to power to prepare for national defense.

When the war is over there will arise the fiercest contest for the world's trade ever witnessed. The very nations now struggling under enormous debt to maintain mountains of inflated securities and bank currency, without gold to support them, will organize for a conquest to rebuild the gold reserves they have lost and which is now in American vaults. The very force of economic conditions will compel the tripple alliance and the entente alliance to resort to every means imaginable to undermine vast volumes of our accumulated wealth, to reinforce their credit and bolster their inflated securities. Taking advantage of the conditions which we did not create, we have become the greatest export Nation in the world.

The means of carrying that merchandise is in the hands of our commercial rivals. That is the situation that confronts the greatest Government of the white race. Fifty years of supremacy in the administration of the Government by the Republican Party, during which it was drunken by the greed and avarice,

always fostered by a high protective policy, led to the abandonment of all other considerations, and our ocean commerce was driven from the seas and the American people left helpless in the hands of their trade enemies. The very fact that the United States had distanced every competitor in the world's markets with her goods is conclusive proof of her genius, her thrift, and her business ability. Mr. Speaker, the coming conflict will not be one of individual conflict. The two great clusters of nations will reenforce every individual and every private corporation that strikes for the rehabilitation of their trade and commerce. They will invade the markets we have captured while they were fighting each other. No private individual, no private corporation will find again that freedom for his genius that he once enjoyed. Back of him must stand his Government as a factor in the contest. The great growth of socialism in Germany and France has had its influence in shaping the national combinations in western Europe in the situation with which we are face to face. The war in which was spilled the fraternal blood of kindred nations in a common cause will cement their friendship and augment the force of the bitterness of the contest for supremacy. There can be no question but that conferences and agreements binding with each other have already been entered into by the respective contending powers against each other. Tell me what chance an American manufacturer will have single handed and alone against such a combination, when the very men he is fighting have the shipping he must have to carry his goods into a disputed market to compete with the shipowners' goods with his Government back of him. The United States, with 100,000,000 people, must assert herself to the world's business and take her place unhesitatingly. To do that she must have a great Navy as an auxiliary to a great merchant marine. Mr. Speaker, this people will not long condone the offense offered by a rival nation when it lifts its black-listed hand against our great neutral commerce and we be put in the humiliating position of negotiating for our rights on the high seas. A national boycott against a free and neutral people pursuing its legitimate lines of business is the most exasperating conduct a nation can engage in. The unwarranted assumption that England can dictate the kind of commerce we can carry, to whom we may sell, and under what conditions, ought to be challenged. The time is here when the iron grip on the ocean lanes of commerce ought to be released and the use of the seas be as free as the sunlight and the winds that blow. I am opposed to having our mails rifled, our noncontraband commerce seized, and directed to selected ports and told with whom we can do business. Commercial concerns far removed to the interior of the American Continent have come under the ban of the English black-list decree. Concerns that have violated no neutral right and whose business ought to be protected are the sufferers. The President of the United States ought to be clothed with all necessary power to meet the situation that the facts warrant.

Preferential tariff rates and differential rates ought to be weapons in his hands. I favor the measure known as the Webb bill, authorizing manufacturers to enter into agreements for the purpose of meeting these combinations across the waters. I believe the administration will speedily take steps to protect American business men engaged in export trade as against unwarranted decrees that seek to put them out of business by the process of blacklisting.

But I vote for the conference report for another reason. The assumption of additional responsibility under the Monroe doctrine calls for a great Navy. We want no anxiety about our source of strength when questions arise in which we have such a vital interest, not alone in ourselves but in the Republics south of us. To safeguard that interest, which has become as wide as the hemisphere in which we live, we need a great Navy. We create it as a guaranty wherever our flag goes as a guaranty of our commercial rights and equal treatment. Present economic conditions of the greatest export nation in the world admits the necessity of a great merchant marine. The nation that depends upon a lesser power in importance to do its carrying business is always at a disadvantage. There are but three ways to create a merchant marine: Construct it with private capital, subsidize private capital out of the Federal Treasury, or let the Government engage in the enterprise. We have waited for 50 years for private capital to develop a merchant marine. All persons and all parties are opposed to looting the Federal Treasury to subsidize private concerns. I am in favor of putting the Government in a position to aid commerce and guarantee freight rates to the shipper. In that way the Government can, if it desires to do so, aid private capital and be of service in initiating the construction of a merchant marine. No more critical time ever existed in the history of the country with reference to foreign trade than exists now. The spectacle of the world's greatest trade nation without means of carrying on its business is humiliating. We have ourselves the richest markets in the world. It is our duty to protect them, not by a prohibitive tariff, for that would destroy them, but by friendly intercourse and such interchange of commodities as shall give us a market for our constantly increasing products. We need not confine ourselves to the South American Republics. Beyond the Carpathians and the Black Sea are an innumerable people just awakening to their possibilities in a land that is unsurpassed in fertility and resources. The possibilities for the United States ought not to be misunderstood. It is a problem for the ripest statesmanship. Its solution will admit of no partnership with protected interests, but only such perspective as will bring within the range of its vision our relationship with the world's trade.

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**Exit the Stop Watch.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the basis of the much-discussed Taylor system of "scientific" shop management?

Will it really enable a workman, without wearing him out prematurely, to earn more wages while putting in less time than he is now putting in per day, as Frederick W. Taylor, the originator of the system, contended? Or is the basis of the system in actual practice merely the "scientific" overworking of men for the purpose of increasing dividends regardless of whether the speeding up is injurious to the health and happiness of the victim?

It may be stated at the outset that the Taylor propaganda contains many excellent features of systemization and standardization. To these the workmen have not objected, could not object. It has been intimated the labor organizations oppose these reasonable and sensible features of the Taylor system, but there is not a word to substantiate it in the hearings of five investigations of the system—four by Congress and one by the Commission on Industrial Relations.

The Taylor system in its final analysis is based on extremes. This system is different from other so-called systems of "scientific" shop management principally in the fact that he covered in his propaganda all the ground covered by other labor-saving scientists—and they all went as far as they thought it would be humane to go—and then continued still further. It is these extremes, and these extremes only, that workmen oppose. It is these extremes and not the systemization and standardization features of Taylorism, which are to the mutual advantage of employee and employer that Congress has forbidden in Government arsenals and navy yards.

Many well-meaning employers and many men who are sincere in their desire to see the conditions of workingmen improved, have been misled as to what the Taylor system is and as to the motive behind it. I will mention, for instance, Mr. Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, a man who more than once has served the public and that, too, without being on the pay roll of the public. Justice Brandeis has spoken approvingly of the Taylor system methods. But with all respect to Justice Brandeis, I believe he is honestly mistaken in his idea that the Taylor system was conceived in the interests of man. It was not. It was conceived in the interests of greed, and in operation it exploits man and does not benefit him.

### ONLY ONE OUT OF FIVE WORKMEN COULD KEEP UP.

I do not believe the man lives who can successfully defend before an audience of average American citizens the Taylor system as Mr. Taylor himself described it.

Imagine Justice Brandeis, or any other man, confronted on the public platform with Mr. Taylor's own words, used in describing how he installed the Taylor system at the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co.:

> The tasks were all purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five laborers (perhaps even a smaller percentage than this) could keep up.

I desire to repeat that the motive behind the stop watch and other speeding-up features of Taylorism is not efficiency, as the average man understands the meaning of the word, but an inordinate desire for a greater profit from the toil of man, and back of that desire is greed.

In its last analysis the Taylor system is simply the "scientific" grinding down of the spirit, the hopes, the ambitions, as well as the physical bodies of those who toil, and for what? In order that dividends may be increased. The thing is too inhuman and too murderous to be imposed on beasts of burden, to say nothing of imposing it upon fellow human beings. It may be said to the credit of the average American employer that he has refused to go to anything like the extremes that Mr. Taylor recommended.

As so well stated by the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. KEATING], the issue in the fight against the Taylor system is between those who want to hold a stop watch on *some one else* and those who have had the stop watch held on them.

ATTEMPT TO INSTALL SYSTEM IN GOVERNMENT ARSENALS.

Strange to relate, the Chief of Ordnance wants to install the Taylor system in the Government arsenals. The Sixty-fourth Congress deserves the unstinted thanks of the workers of the Nation for inserting in the Army, Navy, fortification, and sundry civil bills a provision prohibiting the use in Government arsenals and navy yards of the stop watch and other objectionable speeding-up features of the Taylor system.

This provision reads as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. TAVENNERS

"*Provided*, That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States while making or causing to be made with a stop watch, or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant."

The enactment of this legislation was accomplished in the face of the bitter opposition of the great manufacturers' associations of the United States.

Considering the powerful influences that opposed it; considering the treacherous parliamentary whirlpools through which it had to pass, and the dangers which beset it at every stage of its legislative journey, the workingmen of the Nation are to be congratulated upon its final passage by Congress.

ANTISTOP-WATCH LEGISLATION IMPORTANT TO ALL WORKERS.

This legislation is of importance to all workingmen, whether they are employed in Government establishments or not, because if the Taylor system could have been installed in Government plants, the fact could have been made use of to the disadvantage of employees in private plants where the installation of the system is contemplated. Private employers would be in the strategic position of being able to assert to their protesting employees that the Taylor system had been indorsed by the United States Government, and that if it was an inhuman and bad system Uncle Sam would not be putting his official stamp of approval upon it by introducing it in the Government arsenals and navy yards.

IDA M. TARBELL, NOTED WRITER, ONE OF THE CHIEF EXPONENTS OF TAYLOR SYSTEM.

One of the most enthusiastic advocates of the use of the stop watch is Ida M. Tarbell. Miss Tarbell is one of the foremost women writers of the United States. I have the greatest respect for her ability. But had she taken the other side of this issue, and condemned the use of the stop watch on human beings instead of indorsing it, she could have made more powerful arguments.

Miss Tarbell has, but let us hope only temporarily, taken up the cudgels for that school which believes that a sufficient indorsement of a working condition is the fact that men can be found who will work under it, or that men are to-day working under it, and that, anyway, if workmen are not satisfied with working conditions in a given shop, let them quit their jobs and seek employment elsewhere.

But it is no solution of the problem to say that a workman need not work under the stop watch if he is dissatisfied with it. This attitude does not work toward the solution of any labor problem, because it is based on the theory that labor is voluntary and not compulsory to an individual. There could be no greater mistake, because in the last analysis every self-respecting man must labor somewhere, for some one, in order to live. As a general proposition, the right of man to the opportunity to labor somewhere, for some one, must be conceded by the employer, and is conceded by him, if he is intelligent and fair. The right of a workman to labor in order to obtain food to sustain himself and those dependent upon him is an inherent right, almost like the right to breathe. Having been born into the world, the very least man has a right to expect from the world is the privilege of working in order to live.

Let us analyze this theory a little further: A man is born into the world. He discovers that title to the coal, timber, and other natural resources of the earth that were unquestionably intended by the Creator for *all* His children has rightfully or wrongfully been acquired by a comparatively few persons; that these sources of life, intended for the use of *man*, have been taken possession of by a mere handful of *men*. Our subject finds, too, that practically all wealth and industry are also controlled by a comparatively few.

Therefore, with practically all of the natural resources gobbled up and with wealth and industry controlled by the few, about the only chance for life remaining to the worker is the privilege of obtaining employment. If even this should be denied him he would have to perish, which, however, was not nature's intention with respect to man. Nature intended that man should live, and therefore it is man's right to labor to obtain the necessaries of life with which to live.

And having the right to labor somewhere, for some one, man has the right, also, to treat with his employers as to the conditions under which he shall labor.

To say that if a workman is dissatisfied with the Taylor system his proper course is to leave that particular employer is not in any sense a solution of the problem, because the problem would still exist in the next plant in which he might find work, and the next, and the next, and so on. It is not practical for a workman to be wandering about from shop to shop, and under such a method of solving labor problems the employers would invariably win, as the necessities of the workman and those dependent upon him would ultimately force him to accept employment at any wage offered and under any conditions that the employer might decide upon.

Therefore the solution of the problem arising out of the introduction of the Taylor system is not to suggest that the men should give up their positions, but mutual agreement between employer and employee as to which features of the system are fair and reasonable and which are unduly oppressive and therefore unreasonable.

IS THIS WHAT MR. TAYLOR MEANS?

A statement in Mr. Taylor's book on scientific shop management, which supplies food for thought, is this:

In all cases money must be spent, and in many cases a great deal of money, before the changes are completed which result in lowering cost.

One inference which might be drawn from this language is that at first men must be paid higher wages to induce them to set the fastest possible pace, but that in the end the men will be doing a greatly increased amount of work for the same pay received before the installation of the system. Evidence is available to sustain this inference.

When Mr. Taylor undertook to install his system in the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co. the laborers handling pig iron were receiving $1.15 per day, and were handling between 12 and 13 tons per man per day. After the Taylor system was finally installed, the men were handling 48 tons per man per day, and the wages of the fastest workers had been increased to $1.85 per day. Thus it will be seen that before the installation of the Taylor system laborers were receiving 8.8 cents per ton for handling pig iron, and after it was installed they were receiving 3.8 cents per ton.

Mr. Taylor related that when he started in at the Bethlehem plant workmen were turning out 4 and 5 castings of a certain type per day, receiving therefor 50 cents each, and that he succeeded in speeding up the men to a point where they turned out from 8 to 10 castings per day. The price was reduced to 25 cents each.

Permit me at this point to quote from a colloquy between Congressman EDWARD KEATING, of Colorado, a member of the House Labor Committee, and Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, who is installing the Taylor system in the Government arsenals:

Mr. KEATING. You have shown that the efficiency of your establishment has been increased 274 per cent and the wages have been increased less than 33 per cent.

Gen. CROZIER. That is true.

Mr. KEATING. The practical result is that the efficient workman under the Taylor system is receiving one-half as much per unit for his output as the less efficient workman.

OUTPUT INCREASED 200 PER CENT, WAGES 33 PER CENT, IN INSTANCES.

Gen. Crozier admitted frequently that under the speeding-up processes workmen had increased their output over 200 per cent, and that the wages of some of the men had been increased as much as 33 per cent. The increased profit to the employer, therefore, is the difference between 200 per cent and 33 per cent, and even considerably more than this, because where there is an increase in the output of this proportion there is a considerable decrease in the overhead charges per unit, and because

not all the men are fortunate enough to receive anything like 33 per cent increase.

And this is the milk in the coconut! It reveals the motive behind the introduction of the Taylor system. Its sole object and purpose is to induce the workman to perform more work for less pay per unit. Its operation in the end is to decrease instead of increase wages.

That the system increases dividends for the employer there is no doubt. In fact, it is a get-rich-quick scheme for the employer who is heartless enough to use it to its final analysis, but there are very few employers who will resort to its use as Mr. Taylor described it.

WHEN A WORKMAN WEARS OUT FRESH MAN TAKES HIS PLACE.

Under the Taylor system the man is of secondary importance to the machine. Here is the "science" of it: Be careful of the machinery, because if it breaks down or wears out it costs money to repair or replace it. But if a workman breaks down or wears out, it costs the employer nothing to replace him. There are always fresh men waiting at the door to be employed. So as long as the supply of men holds out the Taylor system can go on.

But, whether Mr. Taylor took it into consideration or not, it is a fact that if a workman, because of long-continued overexertion, is finally thrown prematurely on the scrap heap, some one has to stand the loss even if the employer does not, and where the workman is the head of a family it is the family that must bear the burden. One of the principles of "scientific" shop management, it should be remembered, is that it is no concern to the employer what happens to the man who can not keep up to the pace.

THE SCIENCE OF PERSUASION.

Mr. Taylor laid great stress on his system of scientific "persuasion." Eight bosses assist in the "persuading." Five of them are directly over the workman urging him on.

The tasks laid out for the men are evidently so severe that at first the foremen themselves do not have the heart to insist upon the workmen under them performing the excessive amount of work "planned" for them. But Mr. Taylor foresaw the possibility of weak-hearted foremen, and he arranged to take care of them. He provided "overforemen." I quote from his book (p. 1397, par. 254):

BOSSES NEED NERVING AND BRACING UP TO THE POINT OF INSISTING THAT THE WORKMEN CARRY OUT ORDERS.

The functions of these overforemen are twofold: First, that of teaching each of the bosses under them the exact nature of his duties, and at start also of nerving and bracing them up to the point of insisting that the workmen shall carry out the orders exactly as specified on the instruction cards.

Mr. Taylor stated that foremen make a great mistake in trying to persuade several men at once. He indicated the way to successfully intimidate a workman is for all the foremen to center their persuasion "right onto a single man," and to keep after him until he is persuaded.

No workman—

Said Mr. Taylor—

can long resist the help and persuasion of five foremen over him. He will either do the work as he is told or leave. (P. 1479.)

It should be understood that these secrets of the Taylor system are generally not divulged to the employees, but are particularly for the consideration of employers. It is a part of the "science" of the Taylor system to introduce many of its features "quietly" and to "get them running smoothly in a shop before calling attention to the principle involved." When the effect of certain features of the system are finally realized, Mr. Taylor stated, "it invariably acts as the proverbial red flag on the bull."

But these are not all of the persuasive features that the originator of the Taylor system worked out. Here is an idea which can undoubtedly be employed with more or less success, especially on workers who have no other jobs immediately in sight and who have families that would be placed in want if they should quit their employment:

In piecework of this class the task idea should always be maintained by keeping it clearly before each man that his average daily earnings must amount to a given high sum (as in the case of the Bethlehem laborers, $1.85 per day) and that failure to average this amount will surely result in his being laid off (p. 1374, par. 166).

LAY OFF MEN "QUITE OFTEN" TO INTIMIDATE THOSE WHO REMAIN.

Men must be laid off occasionally, whether it is absolutely necessary or not, however. Mr. Taylor indicated this was necessary for the success of the system. Here is the philosophy in his exact words:

For the success of the system, the number of men employed on practically the same class of work should be large enough for the workmen quite often to have the object lesson of seeing men laid off for failing to earn high wages, and others substituted in their place.

It is no part of the "science" of the Taylor system to be concerned with any workman who can not keep up. Mr. Taylor stated it was really wonderful what a prodigious amount of work could be performed by the body of picked men who survived three or four years of his stimulating and eliminating processes. Nothing was said of bread earners who drop out in the preliminaries. The Taylor system concerns itself only with the survivors.

PUBLIC IS FOOLED SOMEWHAT AS TO JUST WHAT THE TAYLOR SYSTEM REALLY IS.

Mr. Taylor had two descriptions of his system. They differ somewhat. One was for the perusal of the general public, whose approval of his methods would be a valuable asset in imposing the system upon workmen in spite of their objections. To the public it was made to appear there was nothing about it objectionable to the workman, especially no such thing as hurry, and that it was, indeed, conceived in the interests of man instead of to exploit man.

Mr. Taylor had another description of his system intended for the eyes and ears of employers particularly. In this version he made no claim to being a humanitarian, but showed how after men have been speeded up and speeded up and speeded up they will be doing more work for less pay per unit, which, of course, means increased dividends, and increased dividends constitute the plot of the play throughout.

In other words, the picture Mr. Taylor drew of his system for the public was one of gentleness personified, while the other version left a vision of breakneck speed and enormous profits.

WHAT THE "SCIENCE" OF THE TAYLOR SYSTEM APPEARS TO BE.

A careful perusal of Mr. Taylor's various works explaining his system of shop management would indicate—

First. That the "science" of the Taylor system in its final analysis is the relentless speeding up of workmen by the setting of a task which, in some instances, but one out of five workmen can accomplish;

Second. That it is no part of the "science" to be concerned with any workmen who can not keep up to the pace of the fastest man on the part of an operation on which he is engaged;

Third. That if the Taylor system was adopted universally, a great army of workmen would be thrown out of employment or reduced in rank, such as mechanics being forced to take positions as laborers, because it is obvious that all men are not physically able to keep up, day after day and month after month, to a pace set by the fastest and freshest workers;

Fourth. That the Taylor system would tend to destroy organization among workmen, one of the corner stones of Taylor logic being the principle that workmen must be dealt with individually and not in masses or through committees; that it is no concern of one workman what happens to another. All men working under this system must be "satisfied"; the moment he becomes dissatisfied he must quit; otherwise there would be danger of his grievance becoming contagious and the "system" interfered with.

The Taylor system means, in a sentence, that the quickest time at which a job can be completed by a first-class man is to be the standard time at which all men are to be compelled to complete the same job, with a bonus—at least, to start with—for reaching the maximum speed, and a fine or discharge for not reaching that speed.

PRESS REPORT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE CONDEMNS "SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT."

The Committee on Industrial Relations spent thousands of dollars in an investigation of "scientific management." The conclusions reached by disinterested investigators and students should be read by any man who doubts that these so-called systems are to-day the gravest danger facing the workers in their struggle for freedom and well-being. Briefly, according to a press report issued by the Committee on Industrial Relations, the commission found:

"(1) That the cardinal principle of 'scientific management' is the pitting of each workman against the fellow workman at his side in a race for greater and greater output per minute and hour and day.

"(2) That constant dread of discharge is deliberately implanted in every worker's mind in order to drive him forward at top speed.

"(3) That this killing competition of worker against worker is the most efficient scheme ever devised to break down organization among employees by creating interests that are not common, but absolutely the reverse of common.

"(4) That it is a fact, proved over and over again, that employers operating under scientific management reduce the basic rate of pay to about that prevailing before the system was introduced, as soon as they have speeded up their employees to

the point where the latter are earning more than the prevailing rate of wages, as a result of their increased speed and productiveness. In other words, the workers' share of their increased production is taken away from them as soon as the standard has been set and the employers have demonstrated that the increased rate is possible.

"(5) After the basic rate has been reduced, the employee must keep up the same nerve-racking race or he will not receive even the lower rate.

"In the words of Andrew Furuseth, 'they will scrap the whole human race unless some power stops them.'

"If organized labor were strong enough to take an equal voice in administering so-called scientific management systems, it might be a different story. But with labor already fighting against odds for the right to organize, the net result of the Taylor system if generally adopted would be simply to destroy unionism and leave the workers helpless."

TAYLOR SYSTEM TRANSPLANTED IN ARSENALS FROM SHOPS OF THE WAR TRUST.

The attention of the Chief of Ordnance of the War Department was first attracted to the Taylor system at the plants of the Midvale Steel Co. and the Bethlehem Steel Co., two of the three concerns which constitute the War Trust in this country and to which concerns the War Department has awarded millions of dollars' worth of contracts for munitions of war, paying them from 20 to 60 per cent more than it would have cost to manufacture these supplies in the Government arsenals. The action of the Chief of Ordnance in transplanting the Taylor system from the plants of the Midvale and Bethlehem companies to the Government arsenals is additional evidence of the close cooperation between Army officers and the War Trust.

Gen. Crozier employed Mr. Taylor and his assistants to install the system in the Government arsenals.

It has been put into effect at the Watertown Arsenal and has been partly introduced at the Rock Island Arsenal. The employees at both establishments are opposed to the system almost to a man, and it was their protests that have brought about action by Congress.

In spite of the opposition of the workmen at the arsenals and in spite of the fact that four committees of Congress have investigated this system and reported adversely, the Chief of Ordnance has persisted in extending the system.

Relative to the activity of the Ordnance Department chief in introducing the Taylor system in the Government arsenals, the report of the Committee on Labor of the Sixty-third Congress, made to the House on September 30, 1914, had the following to say:

THE "SYSTEM" IS BEING FORCED IN.

The moving spirit behind the plan to install the Taylor system in the Government arsenals appears to be Brig. Gen. William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, who has jurisdiction over all of the Government arsenals. Gen. Crozier appears to be determined to install the stop watch and other objectionable speeding-up features of the Taylor system in the arsenals in spite of the protests of the workmen and even in spite of the strong denunciation of such methods by the special committee of the House of Representatives which investigated the subject during the preceding Congress.

This officer appeared before the committee and spoke in favor of the use of the stop watch and the Taylor system; and there appears to be every reason to believe that, unless Congress passes legislation absolutely prohibiting the use of such methods in the Government establishments, Gen. Crozier will proceed with the extension of the system, not only at Watertown and Rock Island, but in all the manufacturing establishments of the Government within his domain.

GENEROUS WITH WAR TRUST, BUT A SCIENTIST IN SHOP MANAGEMENT.

It is worthy of passing notice that while Army officers are not the least bit saving with the people's money when awarding contracts to the Bethlehem Steel Co., paying this concern 35 per cent more than they could obtain the same work for by Government manufacture, they are extreme economists when it comes to using the stop watch on a workingman.

Although Gen. Crozier's own testimony before the Appropriations Committee was that the arsenal workmen are turning out work 35 per cent below the price of the private manufacturers, and are saving the Government hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, Gen. Crozier is determined to make them work still faster.

GEN. CROZIER HIMSELF TESTIFIES THAT ARSENAL EMPLOYEES ARE SAVING MONEY TO THE GOVERNMENT.

Let us turn for a moment to certain recent testimony of the Chief of Ordnance as to the present efficiency of the plant at Rock Island, Ill., and thereby ascertain if the necessity exists for any drastic change of method, or speeding up. On January 13, 1912, Gen. Crozier said before the special committee of the House of Representatives to investigate the Taylor system, and so forth, as follows—see page 1118 of hearings:

We have recently manufactured gun carriages and are doing it still for 3-inch rifles; that is, field guns, at $2,510.60, the exact cost. We purchased those rifle carriages from experienced manufacturers, who had had preceding orders for the same thing, for $3,398.82, an increase of 35.4 per cent over our own price. Our carriages were made at the Rock Island Arsenal.

We have manufactured there, at the same arsenal, caissons for $1,128.67, and we have purchased the same caissons from private manufacturers who had had previous orders for them, so that they had experience in the manufacture, for $1,744.10, which is 54.6 per cent greater than our own price.

On page 1117 of the same hearings Gen. Crozier stated as follows:

At the Springfield Armory the principal manufacture is small-arms rifles. We make a few other things, but the manufacture is almost entirely of the small-arms rifle. We manufacture that rifle for about $15, and in doing so I take into account what I think should properly be taken into account in the cost; but the Springfield Armory, like the other arsenals, is maintained as an arsenal of storage and issue, as well as a manufacturing place; and, therefore, in computing these costs, I have subtracted from the total expense of the Springfield Armory those portions which I consider result from its character as an arsenal of issue and storage. Unless somebody goes into the details quite closely, there may be a question as to whether I subtract quite as much as I ought to.

Therefore, I, last year, for the purpose of satisfying some persons who might have some doubt, made up what I might call an exaggerated cost of the rifles at the Springfield Armory—that is, I took every cent of money that was sent up to the Springfield Armory and charged it to the rifle. Whether it was for the payment of the clerks that were used in the issue of stores, the payment of the storehouse force, whether it was for the payment of the watchmen—they are the guards and custodians of the valuable property we have up there—I charged all the pay of officers and all the pay of everybody concerned to the rifle, and by that means I arrived at a cost of the rifle of $17.64 instead of $15—that is, I found I had to add to the cost as I had reported it about 17 per cent. Now, that then became a statement of an exaggerated cost which, whatever the rifle might cost properly, it could not possibly reach. It must have been below $17.65; and if it were possible to obtain the opinion of an expert, I would be glad to ask him if he thought the Springfield rifle could be produced by anybody else anywhere and purchased for $25. My own opinion is that you could not get it as low as $25 from any manufacturer.

The rifles are also made at the Rock Island Arsenal at practically the same figure.

ARSENAL COST OF LIMBERS IS LESS THAN HALF THE PURCHASE PRICE.

On April 2, 1912, Gen. Crozier stated as follows before a subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives relative to the cost of manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal—see pages 637-638 of hearings:

The CHAIRMAN. Do your figures show the comparative cost of manufacture and purchase?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Put them in the record, please.

Gen. CROZIER. I will mention a few of them for the record. I think I can mention them more summarily, so they can be better comprehended in the record, than if I put in all of these details. I will take the limbers for the 3-inch rifles. The average of three contracts gave a price of $1,518 a piece for those limbers.

Mr. CANNON. What is a limber?

Gen. CROZIER. A limber is the forward portion of the wagon which transports the gun, the forward portion of the gun carriage; and the average of five orders for manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal was $684 a piece. The arsenal cost was less than half the purchase price.

* * * * * * * *

Gen. CROZIER. Now, for the 3-inch caisson, the average of five contracts shows a price of $1,708, and the average of six manufacturing orders given to the Rock Island Arsenal is $1,081. The 3-inch gun carriage proper—that is, the vehicle on which the gun rests and from which it is fired—gives as the average price three contracts, $3,268, and the average cost under five manufacturing orders at the arsenal was $2,341.

Mr. CANNON. Does that include overhead charges?

Gen. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

These figures, representing the cost of manufacture at the Rock Island Arsenal, include all overhead charges, such as pay of officers; interest on investment, which, for the ordnance department, is 3 per cent; insurance, allowance set aside for fire losses; and depreciation of plant.

It will be observed that the very shop in which ordnance materials are manufactured at approximately half the cost of purchasing from private contractors is the place where it is proposed to install the Taylor system. I submit the necessity does not exist for the installation of such a system of intensive production, with its accompanying disregard for the welfare of the employee, in a plant where efficiency has already reached such an advanced stage.

If the Chief of Ordnance had manufactured in Government arsenals all the munitions and supplies that he has purchased of the War Trust at excessive prices since he has been at the head of the Ordnance Department, he could have saved to the taxpayers more money than could be saved via the stop watch and speeding up of workmen in the next century.

LIFE IN THE MIDVALE STEEL PLANT.

Mr. Taylor received his first industrial training and first tested out his system at the plant of the Midvale Steel Co., in Pennsylvania.

Let us study the "science" of the shop management in this plant. C. H. Harrah, president of the company, happened to be testifying before the Committee on Labor of the House of

Representatives on Thursday, March 1, 1900, and the transcript of his testimony fortunately remains intact to this day to throw light on the working methods of the originator of the Taylor system:

"We had men with stop watches over the workmen working on an axle lathe, or whatever else it might be," said Mr. Harrah, "and every time a man looked up they took his time; every time he stopped to breathe they took his time, and in that way they got absolutely the amount of time employed in doing a certain amount of work.

"We made it a rule to run a machine to break," continued Mr. Harrah. "For instance, the life of a hammer bar may be two years. If that hammer bar does not break inside of the two years, I go for the forgemaster, because he is not getting the work he ought to out of the forge. It is the same way in the machine shop. If a lathe, the natural life of which might be two years, does not break down before that, I would go for the engineer in charge."

Mr. Harrah did not divulge information as to whether, in the event a workman failed to break down in a given number of years under the terrific pace scientifically mapped out by Mr. Taylor he would demand to know the reason, but he was frank enough to add, "We have absolutely no regard for machinery or for men."

Mr. Harrah's testimony was Tayloresque. See how well it corresponds with paragraph 312 of Mr. Taylor's book of instructions: "All employees should bear in mind that each shop exists first, last, and all the time for the purpose of paying dividends to its owners."

TAYLOR SYSTEM SMACKS OF ATMOSPHERE OF SHOPS IN WHICH IT WAS BORN.

After Midvale, Mr. Taylor installed his system in the plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co.

Thanks to an investigation of the Bethlehem Steel Co.'s strike in 1910, information is available as to conditions of labor in that concern's plants. The inquiry was made by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1910, under the direction of Ethelbert Stewart, a special agent of the Labor Bureau at the time, who bore the reputation of being one of the most experienced economic investigators in the country.

When this strike began there were no labor organizations in the plant; the company would not permit them.

The Government investigation revealed this:

That out of every 100 men 29 were working 7 days every week.

That out of every 100 men 43, including these 29, were working some Sundays in the month.

That out of every 100 men 51 were working 12 hours a day.

That out of every 100 men 25 were working 12 hours a day 7 days a week.

That out of every 100 men 46 were earning less than $2 a day.

These are the grim figures which the United States Bureau of Labor gives us of the working shifts of the Bethlehem Steel Co. as drawn from the company's own time books.

It may be imagined from the foregoing what a fine humanitarian atmosphere must abound at the Midvale and Bethlehem plants, where the Taylor system was born. And the Taylor system is just as humanitarian as the atmosphere in the shops from which it sprang.

AVERAGE OUTPUT OF AMERICAN WORKMAN EXCEEDS THAT OF GERMAN, FRENCH, AND BRITISH WORKER.

Is it true that the American workman "deliberately plans to turn out far less work than he is able to do, in many instances failing to do more than one-third or one-half of a proper day's work"? The originator of the Taylor system endeavored to convince the public that such is the case, and that this condition is the disease that his system of "scientific shop management" was aimed to cure.

Before endeavoring to estimate the value of a cure one must be sure of the disease to be cured. What are the facts? There are 63 prominent occupations in the United States in which the paying of workers by the piece is more or less common. Pieceworkers come within the scope of the Taylor system more than any others. Is it common sense that a pieceworker is going to do but "one-third or one-half" of a day's work? It is the universal experience that a pieceworker will do just as much work as he can to obtain the highest amount of wages possible on Saturday night. It is obvious, therefore, that the "disease" which Mr. Taylor set out to cure does not exist among pieceworkers. With the cost of living so high that the average workman must have steady employment to maintain his family, it is also obvious that day workers must do a full day's work. Otherwise they would be liable to speedily lose their positions and place their families in want.

Comparisons between the United States, Germany, France, and England have demonstrated time and again that the American worker turns out more work per man in a given length of time than the worker of any of the other three nations. The same comparisons also establish the fact that because of being compelled to work so fast the product of the American worker is inferior in quality to that turned out by the German, French, or British worker. The Taylor system, by means of the use of the stop watch and similar methods of sweatshop "speeding-up" processes, proposes to increase by one-third the present output per man, regardless of the additional terrific strain on the physical and mental constitution of the worker and the certainty of still further inferiority of quality in output.

Mr. Taylor frankly admitted his scheme was primarily aimed to "cheapen production." Is a decrease in the present labor cost in manufacture justified? Let us consider the steel industry, for instance. The United States Commissioner of Labor reports that the Steel Trust makes a profit on steel rails of $9.20 per ton. He also states that the labor cost of the same rails from the ingot is $1.16. In other words, the steel worker receives $1.16 for doing the work, while the Steel Trust magnates draw down $9.20.

APPLYING THE TAYLOR SYSTEM ON THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN WORKERS IN THE WOOLEN MILLS.

Here is a similar story from the woolen industry, which I heard first hand from Miss Josephine Liss, who accompanied the children of the Lawrence strikers to Washington:

"The reports in the newspapers have not told half the story of the outrages in Lawrence," said Miss Liss. She is a short, stout young woman, with a pretty face, but sad eyes, and has been working ever since she was 14 years old. "Take my case. I was walking quietly to my home one day during the strike, when I was stopped by a militiaman and told to go back. He called me horrible names and insulted me. When I refused to go back he attempted to stick me in the breast with his bayonet, and then I began to fight. I was knocked down, and then arrested and convicted.

"Even the most skilled workers do not earn more than $7 or $8 a week, and I can remember when my father was supporting a large family on $5 a week. The children earn about $4 a week. Most of us work in the mills, and our hours are long. And they are constantly putting in effect a faster pace through speeding-up systems. It means that we have no time or money for pleasure, but are practically slaves. It is not right that human beings should be treated so."

The question arises, if the proponents of the Taylor system could put their stop watches and other scientific methods of "persuasion" at work on these men, women, and children workers at Lawrence, setting paces, which in the language of the inventor, would be "purposely made so severe that not more than one out of five could keep up," what kind of fathers and mothers would the children make when they grew up? And what kind of children would their children be? This is as important to consider as dividends.

MEMBERS OF HOUSE RISK REELECTION TO STAND BY CAUSE OF LABOR—DESERVE FULL CREDIT FROM WORKERS.

In this connection I wish to thank my colleagues in the House, of both political parties, for the cooperation and aid which made possible the adoption of the amendments to the various bills prohibiting the use of the stop watch in Government establishments. My hope is that their constituents will appreciate their efforts in the cause of humanity and hold up their hands on election day, for they deserve it. I doubt whether the great manufacturing interests of the country worked so hard to defeat any legislation in the interests of labor that came before the Sixty-fourth Congress as they did the amendments prohibiting the use of the stop watch. Members of Congress came on the floor of the House on the day the anti-Taylor system amendment was up for a decision with telegrams in their pockets from powerful manufacturers' associations warning them to vote against these amendments.

There is reason to believe that the great manufacturing interests of the Nation will attempt to punish those Members of Congress who had the courage to vote for the amendments prohibiting the use of the stop-watch and other objectionable features of the Taylor system in Government arsenals and navy yards.

Here is a sample of the letters that have been received by Members of Congress who took a stand for the working people:

JULY 14, 1916.

Hon. ——— ———,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

HONORABLE SIR: We noted that in spite of our earnest requests for fair-minded action on your part that you voted "yea" in favor of the Tavenner amendment to the fortifications bill, H. R. 14303.

We can but assume from this action on your part that your attitude is deliberately unfriendly to business interests and to employers, and we shall conduct ourselves according to this assumption. We are,

Very truly,

———— ————.

FUND WAS RAISED TO DEFEAT LEGISLATION AIMED AT THE TAYLOR SYSTEM.

A committee of manufacturers and efficiency engineers, known as the Committee of Ten, solicited funds from manufacturing interests in all parts of the United States for the avowed purpose of defeating this legislation. When the hearings on the bill opened before the Committee on Labor the first witness in opposition to the bill was Mr. James A. Emory, of the National Association of Manufacturers. He was the leader of the opposition before the Labor Committee and the chief supporter of the Taylor system. The Members of this House will probably recall Mr. Emory in connection with the Mulhall investigation in the Sixty-third Congress. After the exposé of the methods followed by Mr. Emory and the National Association of Manufacturers in opposing legislation in Congress in the interest of labor we did not hear much from Mr. Emory during the remainder of the Sixty-third Congress; but at the beginning of this Congress he reappeared first as the opponent of child-labor legislation and then as the opponent of my bill prohibiting the use of the stop watch.

The fight against the stop watch is not finished, but will in all probability be before the next Congress. It behooves labor to retain in Congress those who have been tried in the past and not found wanting.

THE VOTE ON THE STOP-WATCH AMENDMENT.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 22, 1916, page 9791, records the following members as having voted in favor of the amendment prohibiting the use of the stop-watch and premium and bonus systems in Government establishments:

The SPEAKER. The question now is on agreeing to the Tavenner amendment.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 197, nays 117, answered "present" 14, not voting 106, as follows:

YEAS—197.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abercrombie | Dooling | Kincheloe | Rucker |
| Adamson | Doolittle | King | Russell, Mo. |
| Aiken | Dowell | Lazaro | Sabath |
| Alexander | Dupré | Lenroot | Schall |
| Almon | Eagan | Lesher | Scott, Pa. |
| Anderson | Ellsworth | Lever | Shackleford |
| Ashbrook | Elston | Linthicum | Shallenberger |
| Aswell | Estopinal | Littlepage | Sherwood |
| Austin | Farley | Lloyd | Shouse |
| Ayres | Farr | Lobeck | Siegel |
| Bailey | Ferris | London | Sims |
| Bell | Finley | McClintic | Sinnott |
| Borland | Foster | McCracken | Steagall |
| Britt | Fuller | McCulloch | Steele, Iowa |
| Brumbaugh | Gallagher | McDermott | Stephens, Cal. |
| Buchanan, Ill. | Gandy | McGillicuddy | Stephens, Tex. |
| Buchanan, Tex. | Gard | McKellar | Sterling |
| Burke | Godwin, N. C. | McLemore | Stone |
| Burnett | Good | Mapes | Sutherland |
| Byrnes, S. C. | Goodwin, Ark. | Martin | Sweet |
| Byrns, Tenn. | Gray, Ala. | Mays | Swift |
| Caldwell | Gray, Ind. | Meeker | Switzer |
| Campbell | Green, Iowa | Morgan, Okla. | Taggart |
| Candler, Miss. | Hadley | Moss, Ind. | Talbott |
| Cantrill | Hamlin | Murray | Tavenner |
| Caraway | Hardy | Neely | Taylor, Ark. |
| Carew | Harrison | Nelson | Taylor, Colo. |
| Carlin | Haskell | Nicholls, S. C. | Thomas |
| Carter, Mass. | Hastings | Nolan | Thompson |
| Carter, Okla. | Hawley | North | Tillman |
| Cary | Hayden | Oldfield | Tinkham |
| Casey | Heflin | Oliver | Towner |
| Chandler, N. Y. | Helgesen | Overmyer | Tribble |
| Cline | Helvering | Park | Van Dyke |
| Collier | Hensley | Phelan | Vare |
| Connelly | Holland | Porter | Venable |
| Coury | Hollingsworth | Quin | Vinson |
| Cox | Howard | Rainey | Watkins |
| Crisp | Huddleston | Raker | Whaley |
| Crosser | Hughes | Ramseyer | Williams, T. S. |
| Cullop | Hulbert | Randall | Wilson, Fla. |
| Curry | Hull, Iowa | Rauch | Wilson, Ill. |
| Davis, Tex. | Igoe | Rayburn | Wilson, La. |
| Decker | Jacoway | Reavis | Wingo |
| Denison | James | Reilly | Wise |
| Dent | Johnson, Wash. | Ricketts | Woods, Iowa |
| Dickinson | Keating | Roberts, Nev. | Young, Tex. |
| Dies | Kennedy, Iowa | Rodenberg | |
| Dill | Kettner | Rouse | |
| Dixon | Key, Ohio | Rubey | |

The RECORD also records Mr. GALLIVAN of Massachusetts, Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington, Mr. SCULLY of New Jersey, and Mr. BLACKMON of Alabama, as being paired in favor of the amendment. It should also be stated that many of the 106 members recorded as "not voting" were out of the city when the matter was before the House, and had they been present, would have voted for the amendment.

ATTEMPT MADE IN SENATE TO KILL AMENDMENTS.

After the anti-Taylor system amendment was in the House inserted in the various bills heretofore enumerated, and the bills went to the Senate, various attempts were made to have the amendments stricken from the bills in that body.

Such an attempt was made on July 25, when a motion was made to strike the anti-Taylor system amendment from the Army bill. The attempt was defeated by a vote of 36 to 15.

HISTORY OF BILL TO PROHIBIT USE OF STOP WATCH IN GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS.

On January 11, 1916, I introduced a bill in the Sixty-fourth Congress providing for the abolishment of the Taylor system in arsenals, navy yards, and other Government establishments.

The bill is as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*January 11, 1916.*

Mr. TAVENNER introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Labor and ordered to be printed:

A bill (H. R. 8665) to regulate the method of directing the work of Government employees.

Whereas certain executive departments are installing in their respective establishments new systems of shop management, known by the generic term of "scientific management," which have for their purpose the attainment of the maximum efficiency from both plant and workmen; and

Whereas a stop watch is used in timing workmen while at work to ascertain the maximum amount of work possible for the most capable man in a given time, and making this the "standard time" in which work must be done, and by a system of premiums and bonuses, together with disciplinary measures sufficiently severe to enforce the system, this "standard time" is the speed to which all workmen must eventually attain if they are to retain their employment; and

Whereas experience has shown that the American workman, by his exceptional celerity, performs about twice the work performed by the manual worker of other countries, with the concomitant condition that the ratio of accidents here is from three to four times as high as in other countries; and the tendency of so-called scientific management through the above timing and bonus features will be to further aggravate the accident disabilities and mortality aforesaid and reduce the workman to a mere mechanical, instead of a social and moral, relation to his work, and, moreover, are unnecessary to secure adequate efficiency of labor; and

Whereas by a stop-watch time study you may be able to determine the time in which a piece of work can be done, but you do not thereby determine the time in which it ought to be done: Therefore

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That it shall be unlawful for any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government to make or cause to be made with a stop watch or other time-measuring device a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work. No premiums or bonus or cash reward shall be paid to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvement or economy in the operation of any Government plan.

SEC. 2. That any violations of the provisions of this act shall be deemed a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 or by imprisonment of not more than six months, at the discretion of the court.

LABOR COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS PASSAGE OF BILL.

The House Committee on Labor held hearings on the bill and reported it favorably on May 17, 1916.

When it was ascertained that it might be impossible to obtain the passage of the bill prohibiting the use of the stop watch in all Government establishments at this session of Congress, owing to the fact that the "preparedness" bills were being given the right of way, the friends of the measure adopted the expedient of having the provisions heretofore mentioned tacked on the Army, Navy, fortifications, and sundry civil bills, which will prohibit the use of the stop watch and the premium or bonus features of the Taylor system in the arsenals and navy yards during the life of those appropriations.

I will quote from the report of the Committee on Labor which accompanied the bill, and which was submitted to the House by Hon. EDWARD KEATING, of Colorado.

I believe I am justified in taking some pride in this report, because it sustains practically all the statements I have made about the Taylor system in the five years I have been opposing it.

Report No. 698, to accompany H. R. 8665.

The Committee on Labor, to which was referred H. R. 8665, to regulate the method of directing the work of Government employees, introduced by Mr. TAVENNER, of Illinois, respectfully report the same back with the following amendments and recommend that as amended it do pass:

The object of the above bill is to end the use of the "stop watch" and the bonus and premium systems of payment of employees in Government arsenals and workshops.

EXTENDED HEARINGS ON BILL.

Your committee held extended hearings on the Tavenner bill, and many able witnesses appeared for and against the measure.

The opponents of the bill, led by Mr. J. A. Emery, chief counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, declared that to eliminate the "stop watch" and bonus and premium systems would "penalize efficiency and encourage waste."

The supporters of the bill insisted that the combination of "stop watch" and bonus and premium was "in spirit and essence, so far as labor is concerned, a cunningly devised speeding and sweating system."

The majority of your committee feels that the proponents of the bill made so strong a case that we are justified in urging Congress to enact the legislation needed to drive the "stop watch" and bonus and premium systems from Government shops.

EFFICIENCY WITHOUT THE STOP WATCH.

The opponents of this legislation have much to say about "efficiency" and "scientific shop management," and they seek to create the impression that "efficiency" can not be secured unless (a) the workman's every movement is timed by a "stop watch," and (b) that the old system of day's pay is abolished and bonuses and premiums substituted therefor.

Your committee feels there is nothing in the evidence submitted at the hearings, or in the experience of mankind, to sustain either of these contentions.

In this city we have the Washington Navy Yard, employing thousands of skilled mechanics. The stop watch is not used there, and the commandant will assure you he has the "most efficient body of mechanics ever gathered together inside one fence."

The workmen at the Rock Island Arsenal have succeeded in defeating Gen. Crozier's attempt to introduce the "stop watch," and they have demonstrated their "efficiency" by producing munitions of war for very much less than the Government pays contractors for the same articles.

For instance, Gen. Crozier tells us that a 3-inch gun carriage for which contractors asked the Government $3,398.82 was produced in the Rock Island Arsenal for $2,192.27, a saving of practically one-third. And this is not an exceptional case. Gen. Crozier is the author of the following tables, showing the difference between contract and arsenal costs, and your committee urges Members of the House to carefully examine same.

Is it necessary to still further "speed up" workmen who have displayed the skill and industry needed to produce these results?

*Manufacture of artillery ammunition.—Statement of total arsenal costs and total contract costs for ammunition being manufactured at the Frankford Arsenal and provided for in orders issued between July 1, 1912, and Apr. 25, 1913, and which will be completed by June 30, 1914.*

[Extract from testimony of Brig. Gen. William Crozier on Dec. 15, 1913, before subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations on the fortifications appropriation bill. See p. 149 of hearings.]

| Articles. | Quantities under manufacture. | Total arsenal costs per unit. | Aggregate total arsenal cost. | Contract price per unit. | Contract cost per unit. | Total contract cost. | Saving over contract cost. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3-inch finished shrapnel cases | 10,000 | $1.75 | $17,500.00 | $3.06 | $3.15 | $31,500.00 | $14,000.00 |
| 3.8-inch finished shrapnel cases | 1,000 | 4.68 | 4,680.00 | 6.65 | 6.85 | 6,850.00 | 2,170.00 |
| 6-inch finished shrapnel cases | 4,035 | 17.10 | 68,998.50 | 16.00 | 16.48 | 66,496.80 | 2,501.70 |
| 3-inch common shrapnel, without fuses or base charges | 48,000 | 3.55 | 170,400.00 | 5.79 | 5.96 | 286,080.00 | 115,680.00 |
| 3.8-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges | 4,500 | 7.94 | 35,730.00 | 17.50 | 18.03 | 81,135.00 | 45,405.00 |
| 4.7-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges | 14,500 | 15.45 | 224,025.00 | 25.26 | 26.02 | 377,290.00 | 153,265.00 |
| 6-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges | 5,000 | 30.20 | 151,000.00 | 37.00 | 38.11 | 190,550.00 | 39,550.00 |
| 21-second combination fuses | 48,000 | 2.16 | 103,680.00 | 4.30 | 4.43 | 212,640.00 | 108,960.00 |
| 31-second combination fuses | 26,500 | 2.92 | 77,380.00 | [1] 7.00 | 7.21 | 191,065.00 | 113,685.00 |
| 3-inch high-explosive shrapnel, fixed | 45,000 | 10.15 | 456,750.00 | ..... | [2] 13.17 | 592,650.00 | 135,900.00 |
| Fuse stocks | 74,500 | 1.66 | 123,670.00 | 2.40 | 2.47 | 184,015.00 | 60,345.00 |
| Rear plugs for fuses | 74,500 | .18 | 13,410.00 | .23 | .2369 | 17,649.05 | 4,239.05 |
| Front plugs for fuses | 74,500 | .09 | 6,705.00 | .17 | .1751 | 13,044.95 | 6,339.95 |

[1] This was the lowest and only bid received, but no contract was made.

[2] The shrapnel projectiles only were ordered abroad, and the contract cost includes the cost of assembling the projectile to the cartridge case and charge and of the necessary rounds for firing test based on a previous order.

| | |
|---|---|
| Grand total contract cost | $2,250,965.80 |
| Grand total arsenal cost | 1,453,928.50 |
| Saving | 797,037.30 |

*Purchase of artillery ammunition—Statement of total contract costs and of total arsenal costs for ammunition being purchased from outside manufacturers covered by orders given between July 1, 1912, and Apr. 25, 1913, and which will be delivered before June 30, 1914.*

[Extract from testimony of Brig. Gen. William Crozier on Dec. 15, 1913, before subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations on the fortifications appropriation bill. See p. 150 of hearings.]

| Articles. | Quantities ordered. | Contract price per unit. | Contract cost per unit. | Total contract cost. | Total arsenal cost per unit. | Total arsenal cost. | Contract cost over arsenal cost. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2.95-inch shrapnel case forgings | 4,109 | $3.06 | $3.15 | $12,943.35 | $1.75 | $7,190.75 | $5,752.60 |
| 3-inch shrapnel case forgings | | | | | | | |
| 3.8-inch finished shrapnel cases | 25,523 | 3.06 | 3.15 | 80,397.45 | 1.75 | 44,665.25 | 35,732.20 |
| 4.7-inch finished shrapnel cases | 7,055 | 6.65 | 6.85 | 48,326.75 | 4.68 | 33,017.40 | 15,309.35 |
| 6-inch finished shrapnel cases | 9,615 | 9.37 | 9.65 | 92,784.75 | 8.80 | 84,612.00 | 8,172.75 |
| 3.8-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges | 5,760 | 16.00 | 16.48 | 94,294.80 | 17.10 | 98,496.00 | 4,201.20 |
| 4.7-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charge | 2,500 | 17.50 | 18.03 | 45,075.00 | 7.94 | 19,850.00 | 25,225.00 |
| 6-inch common shrapnel without fuses or base charges | 7,000 | 25.26 | 26.02 | 182,140.00 | 15.45 | 108,150.00 | 73,990.00 |
| 3-inch common steel shell | 1,500 | 37.00 | 38.11 | 57,165.00 | 30.20 | 45,300.00 | 11,865.00 |
| 3.8-inch common steel shell | 3,000 | 4.87 | 5.02 | 15,060.00 | 2.29 | 7,170.00 | 7,890.00 |
| 4.7-inch common steel shell | 9,066 | 9.17 | 9.45 | 85,673.70 | 4.81 | 43,607.46 | 42,066.24 |
| 6-inch common steel shell | 10,605 | 12.46 | 12.83 | 136,062.15 | 8.30 | 88,021.50 | 48,040.65 |
| 3-inch fixed high-explosive shrapnel | 7,077 | 17.93 | 18.47 | 130,712.00 | 16.75 | 118,539.75 | 12,172.25 |
| | 10,000 | 13.17 | 13.17 | 131,700.00 | 10.15 | 101,500.00 | 30,200.00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Grand total contract cost | $1,112,334.95 |
| Grand total arsenal cost | 800,120.11 |
| Loss | 312,214.84 |

WORKERS CONDEMN "STOP WATCH."

The workers' attitude toward the "stop watch" is stated in the following excerpt from the testimony of Mr. John P. Frey, editor of the International Molders' Journal, before your committee:

"Mr. SMITH. What objection has the workman to time study?

"Mr. FREY. Some have the feeling that it is humiliating to have a man standing over your back, or around you, with a stop watch, checking off every movement you make, trying to catch you beating some little time. Others object because it forces them to work harder and harder, and it puts into the employer's hands a power which they use unjustly against them.

"Mr. SMITH. You think the general objection is that it overworks the men?

"Mr. FREY. I should say from what the workers told me, that I interviewed, it was half and half. It was partly the feeling of humiliation in having some one stand over them with a stop watch, and others felt that the system meant making their work that much harder.

"Mr. SMITH. What is the feeling of the workmen about the Taylor system?

"Mr. FREY. I have not encountered one who favored it. All that I have interviewed are bitterly opposed to it.

"Mr. SMITH. Are the workmen generally opposed to a bonus system?

"Mr. FREY. Some of the workers—I want to revise that statement as to the Taylor system. I found some workers working under the Taylor system who said they did not consider it hurt them much.

"Mr. SMITH. But, generally speaking, you think you are safe in saying they are opposed to it?"

WHERE "STOP WATCH" IS UNRELIABLE.

The advocates of the use of the "stop watch" emphasize the "scientific accuracy" of the system, but the evidence submitted to your committee shows that the "time studies" made in Government plants are grotesquely inaccurate and unreliable.

The Federal Industrial Relations Committee, at the request of the Secretary of War, appointed three experts to investigate the "efficiency system" installed by Gen. Crozier at the Watertown Arsenal. One of these investigators, Mr. John P. Frey, testified before your committee. His colleagues were Prof. R. F. Hoxie, of the University of Chicago, and Mr. Robert G. Valentine, a prominent "efficiency" engineer.

Mr. Frey's written statement of the results of the "stop-watch" studies made at the Watertown Arsenal follows:

"An interesting and most valuable analysis of variations of output by the same workmen under 'scientific management' has been made by

Mr. Miner Chipman, and we give the following figures from the study which he made of the conditions existing at the Watertown Arsenal after the system had been introduced.

"The analysis of the men's output or so-called efficiency covered a period of one month, which makes it well representative of the unevenness with which the tasks had been set.

"For the month of March, 1914, employee No. 2518 worked on 224 jobs. His average efficiency was 121.35 per cent, but his efficiency on these jobs varied from 21 to 200 per cent.

"In September, 1913, employee No. 2681 worked on 91 jobs. His average efficiency was 96 per cent, but his efficiency on the several jobs varied from 39.3 to 149 per cent.

"Employee No. 2518 worked on 140 jobs during April, 1914. He was a most competent workman, as his average efficiency for the month was 121 per cent. His efficiency on the several jobs ranged from 45 to 172.9 per cent, these variations indicating largely the too short or too long time which had been set on the jobs by the time-study and task-setting man.

"Commenting on these figures, Mr. Chipman said in his report:

"'Mr. Taylor, in his "Shop management," emphasizes "that this system rests upon an accurate and scientific study of unit times," which is by far the most important element in "scientific management." He also says that time studies made by this method determine with scientific accuracy "the quickest time that can be made by a first-class man" and to the effect that this "quickest time" or "standard times" is so set that it can not be bettered.

"'What can be thought of the times set on these jobs when this workman on the 224 jobs of one month showed a range of efficiency (efficiency being the ratio of time taken to time allowed) from 21 to 200 per cent, with an average of 121 per cent, and the following month on 140 jobs a range of from 45 to 173 per cent, also with an average of 121 per cent?

"'This workman may be rated as consistently of high efficiency. Why, then, this extreme variation in efficiency unless the time allowed for each job was not set accurately and scientifically? Can we assume that the worker varied in efficiency to the extent shown by the chart? We do not believe so. The variation is one of time setting or inaccuracy of time study.

"'Of the 244 jobs in the first month the time on 13 jobs was correct, efficiency 100 per cent; on the remaining 211 jobs the time varied 2.755 minutes, or 22.2 per cent from a total standard time of 12,935 minutes.

"'A study of the various jobs indicates that the variations in efficiency are due in part to the time-study man and in part to changes in conditions affecting work.'

"On two jobs in the foundry examined by the writer a difference of 2 hours and 30 minutes had been set, though at the outmost there could not have been more than 10 minutes difference in the time to make the molds, as the patterns were almost identical and were made in the same flask, the only apparent difference being that a longer hub on one of the patterns required about 2 inches more sand in the drag.

"An interesting case, through which the worker was forced to suffer because of the error made in setting the time for the task, occurred in one of the machine shops visited.

"A machinist was given eight crossheads to finish, 44 minutes being allowed for the finishing of each crosshead. As this machinist took considerably more time he was punished for his failure to accomplish the task by being laid off for 30 days.

"During this period a more careful investigation was made of the job, and it was afterwards given to another machinist, who received a rate of 3 cents less per hour. The time allowed for the finishing of the task was increased 120 per cent, and, although the machinist working on the job had a rate 3 cents less per hour than the other, it increased the cost of production 78 per cent. The machinist who was disciplined, however, was not allowed anything for the unjust punishment which had been meted out.

"It would be possible to go on almost indefinitely in submitting evidence to prove that the time set on jobs by time-study men and task setters in shops where 'scientific management' has been applied has been anything but scientifically accurate. While in theory it should have been, what the workers are directly interested in is what occurs when application of a theory is turned over to employers and placed in practice. It is the practice and not the theory which most vitally affects the workers."

SENATOR LODGE ON THE "STOP WATCH."

Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE presented the case against the "stop watch" in graphic fashion during a discussion of the subject in the Senate during the third session of the Sixty-third Congress. Senator LODGE said:

"The one object of the time measure is to produce speed. Now, speed is not the only thing that the Government or any other employer or manufacturer is seeking for. There is something more important than speed, and that is quality. Speed has nothing to do with quality. Owing to great inventions of our time, owing to steam and electricity, we have carried speed to such an extent in all of our manufactures that certainly in many cases the product has deteriorated in quality as it has advanced in quantity and rapidity of production.

"The stop watch and the time measure can tell you nothing whatever about quality. It may be a basis of fixing wages or anything else, but the only thing we can possibly tell by time is speed. We all associate a stop watch with its use for racing horses. I dare say it is used now for racing automobiles, but not by a man buying horses for his ordinary use. In the days before automobiles I used to own horses and be very fond of them and drove them a great deal, but I never put a stop watch on a horse I was going to buy. I wanted to know his qualities; I wanted to try him; but I was not going to buy a horse to use on the track, and therefore I had no use for the stop watch. They use a stop watch to test a horse that is going on the track to race in the derby, for instance, or in any of our great races. It is of the utmost importance to know what the horse can do on the furlong or on the quarter mile or on the half mile, but it does not tell the story of his quality. It will tell the story of speed and the qualities necessary to speed, but there are many qualities it does not tell.

"Now, to put the stop watch on human beings may tell how fast they can work, but it can tell nothing of the quality of their work, nor how long they may work. A horse may be very good for a short spurt and absolutely worthless for a 4-mile race. It is a poor test. It is a promoter of the idea that the one thing to do is to turn out just as much as we can just as far as we can. That has gone through everything in this period of ours. It has deteriorated style, it has deteriorated literature, it has deteriorated art; it is deteriorating manufacture.

"I do not believe, Mr. Chairman, in standing over men with stop watches to see how far they can go under pressure in securing speed in performing a given piece of work. The very fact of a stop watch implies strain on every faculty, on every physical power, driving the heart and lungs and every muscle to the utmost possible point.

"In the days of slavery it was said there was one school of slave owners who believed it was more profitable to work the slaves to the last possible point and let them die than to try and care for them when they were ill and work them reasonable hours and treat them without a stop watch. Those who believed in working them to death, I imagine, were a very small and merciless minority, but there is always that disposition.

"I am a thorough believer in the best man getting the best wage and the hard-working man getting what his hard work deserves. I have no desire to see the thriftless and idle paid as well as the industrious, steady, and hard-working men, but I do not believe anything is gained for the Government or for anybody else in standing over a man with a stop watch to see whether under pressure he can do a certain piece of work in a given time. I do not believe it is sound economy."

TESTIMONY OF PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.

The United States Public Health Service has just issued bulletin No. 73, "Tuberculosis Among Industrial Workers," by Surg. D. E. Robinson and Asst. Surg. J. G. Wilson.

Those gentlemen are surely impartial and competent witnesses, and here is what they have to say:

SPEEDING UP.

"This is a natural resulant of the piecework system, and from the standpoint of the employees' health, does more harm than any other one thing associated with factory work. Although it works, or appears to work, to the interest of the employer by increasing the output of the individual workers, these good results are probably only temporary, as the pernicious effect upon the health of the wage earner will, in the end, have the opposite effect."

And again on page 16 of the bulletin, speaking particularly of the boot and shoe industry:

"One of the most noticeable things about the work in these factories is the high tension at which everyone seems to be working, as the work is nearly all instances in piecework and earnings naturally depend on the output. This high-pressure work or speeding, in our opinion, is one of the most important causes of the lowered physical vitality noticed among these workers, as the constant strain of work at top speed, week after week, must tell in the end. The human body is only a machine, too often a delicate one, capable of standing only so much abuse. With this high-pressure work for eight or nine hours a day, with but a half hour's breathing spell for lunch, coupled with the effects of dissipation and loss of sleep, we have a combination that only the strong can resist, the weak succumbing to any infection with which they come into contact. Moreover, the nervous organization suffers in this speeding process and neurasthenic individuals were frequently observed among both male and female shop workers."

A TYPICAL CASE OF "SPEEDING UP."

The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, through Prof. Hoxie and his colleagues, devoted a year to the study of "scientific" management, including overstimulation or "speeding up." Here is a typical case taken from the testimony of Mr. Frey, one of Prof. Hoxie's assistants:

"One instance showing the extent to which 'efficiency experts' can develop methods of speeding the workers up to their physical and nervous limit made a permanent impression upon the investigators.

"The plant employed the usual forms of time and motion study for the determination of what the task should be, and the workers were paid a bonus if they accomplished the task. For example, if the time set upon a task was one hour, the worker, if he finished the job in an hour, was credited with an hour and a quarter's pay, based upon his hourly wage rate, so that if this was 20 cents he would receive 25 cents for the hour's work.

"This bonus was not considered sufficient to properly assist and stimulate the workers, so the foreman was also paid a bonus, this being based upon the number of workers under his charge who earned their full bonus. For the foreman's efficiency to reach 100 per cent it would be necessary for every worker in his gang to earn their bonus every hour of the working day. It was therefore to the foreman's interest to do all that lay in his power to see that every worker accomplished the task which had been set.

"However, this was but a part of the scheme or system which aimed to get all of the work possible out of the workers, for another factor entered largely into the plan. The time-study man and task setter was also paid a bonus which was based upon the number of workers who failed to make their tasks, the task setter's efficiency reaching 100 per cent only when every worker in a group failed to finish their jobs in the time set for the accomplishment of their tasks. The time-study man was therefore paid a bonus to set the tasks so high that the workers could rarely, if ever, accomplish them, while the foreman was paid a bonus based upon the number of workers who could be prevailed upon to finish their jobs within the time set.

"Under this system there were no rest periods or other provisions which would prevent the workers from being speeded up to their limit, but instead it became a contest between the time-study man and the foreman, the one depending for his extra wages upon setting the time so short for the finishing of the task that the workers could not make it and the other only receiving his bonus when he succeeded in having the workers accomplish these tasks. It was a clear case of playing both ends against the middle, the middle in this case being the unfortunate worker.

"In theory 'scientific management' would protect the worker from overexertion; in such an instance as the one just referred to the practical application of the system deliberately and with human ingeniousness aimed to secure the worker's last ounce of energy."

Many other cases could be cited, some so revolting as to be almost unprintable.

LABOR'S EARNEST OPPOSITION.

Labor, organized and unorganized, has systematically opposed the introduction of the system into Government plants. Gen. Crozier asserts that outside influences are responsible for the workers' hostile attitude, but the evidence submitted to your committee seems to completely disprove the general's theory.

The leaders of organized labor instead of fomenting trouble in the Government shops have with difficulty restrained the workers from throwing down their tools and quitting work. At the Watertown Arsenal the employees united to employ Miner Chipman, an engineer, to assist them in an attempt to induce the War Department to dispense with the obnoxious system.

Two hundred and thirty-five of the workers furnished Mr. Chipman with detailed information to enable him to complete his case. Of these,

214 were opposed to the system. Of the protestants, 113, or 52.8 per cent, were nonunion, and 101, or 47.2 per cent, were union.

All these men were asked to answer the following question: "Do you think the agitation is brought about through union labor or similar sources?"

They replied as follows: Noes, 137; yeas, 28; not answering, 70.

SYSTEM IN POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

Your committee found that the "stop-watch" system was being introduced in the Post Office Department in a most pernicious form. The pending legislation if enacted would, of course, end the evil at once.

In this connection your committee desires to call the attention of the House to the clear and convincing statement submitted to your committee by Mr. Edward Cantwell, secretary of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and which is as follows:

"Mr. CANTWELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Labor, I come before you to-day to enter my protest against the stop-watch or time-measuring device system in vogue in the Postal Service and to urge the committee to carefully weigh all the evidence that will be submitted to them in the hope that they will make a favorable report to the House of Representatives on a bill that will stop this practice in the future.

"For the information of the committee, I submit herewith a memorandum of the speed standard and the result of a test made in the Cincinnati post office.

"On October 14, 1915, a test was made of 210 carriers in the Cincinnati post office, divided as follows:

"Forty-six six-trip carriers; 10 five-trip carriers; 30 four-trip carriers; 31 three-trip carriers; and 93 two-trip carriers. Out of a total of 210 men, 130 fell below the standard in this test. Of the six-trip carriers, 23 measured up to the standard and 22 fell below it. Five trippers, 2 carriers made the standard and 8 fell below; of the four trippers, 4 men made the standard and 26 fell below; of the three trippers, 8 measured up to the standard and 23 fell below; of the two trippers, 43 made the standard and 50 fell below; of the total number, 80 carriers measured up to the speed test of the department and 130 fell below.

"Of the test taken on Friday, October 15, 1915, out of a total of 206 men but 72 measured up to the standard and 134 fell below the standard.

"In the speed tests an allowance of one minute is made for answering communications. It hardly seems reasonable to suppose that any man could answer a communication from his superior officer in one minute. In answering an official communication it must be drawn up intelligently and contain the information sought by the official and couched in respectful language. I will leave for the committee to judge whether there is one among us who could pick up an official document requesting a reply, read it, and make an intelligent answer in writing in the space of one minute. For example, the superintendent of a post office hands an official communication to a letter carrier reading as follows:

"'Complaint is made by Mr. EDWARD KEATING, formerly of Congress Hall, that his mail is being left at that address, although he filed an order to forward his mail to the Continental Hotel.'

"On receipt of this communication the carrier must first ascertain if the accusation be true. He knows that for the past several days he has forwarded Mr. KEATING'S mail to the Continental Hotel, and he further knows that the order to forward is only three days old, so he calls at Congress Hall and inquires if he, by any chance, left a letter for Mr. KEATING at any time, and is told by the clerk that a letter was left for Mr. KEATING on the morning of the day that he left the hotel, and that he had sent one of the employees to the CONTINENTAL Hotel the next day with the letter. Mr. KEATING had not filed a removal notice until the day following his removal from Congress Hall, hence at the time the letter was delivered at Congress Hall no order was on file to forward his mail. This must be made clear to the superintendent, so the carrier writes him as follows:

"MARCH 30, 1916.

"W. H. HAYCOCK,
"*Superintendent of Mails, Washington, D. C.*

"SIR: Replying to the attached communication, I beg to advise that I have forwarded all mail addressed to Mr. KEATING to the Continental Hotel as per order since the order was received by me, but prior to the filing of the order and after he left Congress Hall a letter was delivered there for Mr. KEATING, which was later taken by an employee and delivered to the Continental Hotel.

"Respectfully submitted.

"JAMES P. MAHER, *Carrier 96.*

"This answer is intended to make it clear to Mr. KEATING that his mail is receiving the proper attention, and explains the reason the delivery of the letter to him by the employee of the Congress Hall Hotel was due to his failure to file a removal notice until they day after he had left. Now, anything less than this would not answer the purpose, and no man living could write the above in one minute. What I mean by that is that he could not take that official communication, read it, and find out what the assistant superintendent wanted to know, and then compose a letter and answer it in one minute's time.

"One-half minute is allowed for change of address, which is not sufficient for the purpose, unless a letter carrier can make all the changes of address from memory and not be compelled to consult his removal book. Should a letter carrier make a change of address from memory and forward a letter to the wrong address the letter is delayed, and the carrier is disciplined by having demerits charged against his record. To mark up and forward seven pieces of mail per minute depends entirely on the character of the marking up. If it is simply to mark the number of the district on which the letter is to be delivered, seven pieces of mail could be readily marked up in one minute. If, however, one or more pieces of mail requires looking up in an order or removal book, it would be a physical impossibility to mark up seven pieces of mail in one minute.

"The pace set in these tests is beyond the physical and mental endurance of an ordinary man, and if lived up to would result in the breaking down under the strain of any human being. The tests could possibly be made by a man of extraordinary ability and training for a period of one hour when a man is at his best. No ordinary man could stand the pace and maintain all the requirements set out in the rules and regulations covering these speed tests.

"The system has a tendency to make mere machines of men and to destroy all initiative and to have them lose personal interest in their work.

"This system destroys harmony of effort and cooperation between the officials and the working forces and with resultant harm to the public service. It seems to me to be poor policy on the part of the Government to institute a system among its employees that takes away from them the incentive to take pride in their work. It is carrying the policy of economy to extremes and has the tendency to foster discontent and unrest among the men who do the real hard work.

OBNOXIOUS SECRET TESTS.

"I will now cite a condition that prevails in the Postal Service that to my mind is without justification or excuse. I have presented to the committee copies of the department's speed standard, which in themselves are worthy of the serious thought and consideration of the members of the committee. The strain incident to keeping up with this so-called standard of efficiency is heartbreaking in the extreme, but the condition of the employees is aggravated by what is termed 'the secret tests.' Each carrier is subjected to this so-called speed test on one day of each month, the day and date being unknown to the carrier, and the testing being secretly made. The purpose of these secret speed tests is to keep all the men working at top speed mentally and physically every minute each day, as the carriers do not know what day they are being tested.

"On the day a carrier is subjected to the test, I have been informed, inspectors secretly count the pieces of mail of all classes that the employee handles that day, before the carrier receives his mail for routing. Several weeks after these secret tests are made the employee receives a letter to the effect that he is not 'working up to a standard satisfactory to the office.' A concise statement is embodied in the letter, showing the number of pieces of mail the carrier handled and how far he fell below the required standard. The communication contains a statement to the effect that 'it is hoped you will take such steps in the future to bring your work up to a standard as not to make it necessary to write you again concerning it.'

"I will leave to the judgment of the committee the class of man and kind of mind that could conceive putting these secret tests into force and effect, in order to keep men working under a constant mental and physical strain. I also leave to your consideration the sort of mental and physical condition a man of nervous temperament will be in at the end of his day's work. When employees who are honest and upright and conscientious are subjected to this constant suspicion and continual driving, they can not do good work. They are required to keep up the tests regardless of whether the conditions are favorable or unfavorable. Inclement weather, snow, rain, or icy sidewalks, poor or irregular car service or freezing cold cuts no figure when the secret tests are being made. Such a system can only result in breaking down the health of the employees who are required to keep up with it or will result in making mental wrecks of employees of a high-strung and nervous disposition.

"I have placed before you a statement of the facts gathered together from the complaints of the letter carriers in all parts of the country, and I appeal to you in their behalf to make a favorable report on the Van Dyke or Tavenner bills, with a recommendation to the Congress that it be enacted into law."

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion your committee would suggest:

The system so persistently urged by Gen. Crozier involves a fundamental, not to say revolutionary, change (a) in determining what is a reasonable day's work for an employee in the national arsenals and workshops and (b) in the method of compensating the workers, to wit, the substitution of the "bonus" or "premium" system for the age-old "day's-pay" system.

The workers affected seem to be almost unanimous in their opposition to the change. They insist it will be oppressive to them and will be without benefit to the Government.

So intense is this feeling that an attempt to install the system in all the Government workshops would, in the judgment of your committee, lead to very serious consequences.

In view of these well-established facts, it seems to your committee it would be the height of folly to permit Gen. Crozier to persist in his plan. Apparently, the only way to restrain him is to enact the bill under discussion, and your committee trusts the House will take prompt and favorable action.

EVERY COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS THAT EVER INVESTIGATED TAYLOR SYSTEM REPORTED ADVERSELY.

The Taylor system was also investigated by a special committee of the House during the Sixty-second Congress. Two of the three members of that committee are now members of President Wilson's Cabinet—William B. Wilson, the Secretary of Labor, and William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce. I will now quote from the report of that committee:

Government in a mill should be like government in a State.

It appears to your committee that no one can seriously object, and as a matter of fact no one has objected, to any system which so standardizes and systematizes the work to be performed that a greater amount of production is secured with the same expenditure of labor. Employer and employee alike and the public generally are interested in securing the largest amount and the best quality of production that can possibly be secured by the amount of labor expended. All men have a mutual interest in the accomplishment of that end. It is only when it comes to a division of that which has been produced that their interests diverge. It therefore follows that any system of management which has a tendency to destroy the power of employees, individually or collectively, to secure the equivalent of the production which properly belongs to them must be looked upon as being dangerous to the welfare of the community at large.

Efficiency must not be had at the cost of the men, women, and children who labor and who should be the primary beneficiaries from efficiency. We should study how to produce the best results in output while also producing conditions to make the most efficient men and women to produce that output, and this must be done by conserving in every way not only their health and physical and nervous vigor, but by creating such conditions as will permit them to work out their own happiness and contentment, secure wages which will enable them to live in such a manner as to maintain their own self-respect and sufficient leisure to enjoy the refreshing influence of mental and moral recreation.

The Taylor system of shop management may be divided into three general heads: Standardization, systematization, and stimulation. Efficiency may be gained in whole or in part by any of these ways, by any two of them, or by all three combined. Any or all of these devices may

be carried to an extreme. In the first two devices, namely, standardization and systematization, the expense which would be created by carrying them to an extreme would act as a check against the continuance of such a condition, but that check would not exist in that portion of stimulation which is applied to the workman.

The expenses of standardization and systematization are borne by the management, while the expense of stimulation in the form of increased energy is borne by the workmen. Any system of shop management which creates a burden charge through standardization or systematization which is too heavy for the shop to bear or which imposes burden charges through stimulation which are too heavy for the workman to bear should be discontinued.

That there is some loafing or soldiering amongst workmen has been shown by the testimony before your committee, but it is not general, nor does it occur in numerous instances compared with the total number employed.

Ordinary intelligent management under any system could eliminate it entirely or at least reduce it to the point where it would not be a serious hindrance to production. Because there are some loafers is no reason why the remainder of the workmen should either be compelled or induced to work up to the very edge of the breaking strain. There is need for production at the lowest cost, but no economic necessity can justify requiring workmen to speed up to the highest point which they can continue from day to day and from year to year, even without injury to their health and strength. To place workmen in a position of that kind is to put them in the position of a beast of burden which is required to go on from day to day performing a given task.

There is a margin between the work performed by the loafer and the maximum task for a man, and in that margin lies a proper day's work. What constitutes a reasonable day's work can only be determined by practical experience and intelligent observation. It can not be wholly determined by a stop watch or any other time-measuring instrument used only for a brief period of time.

*By the stop watch you may be able to determine the time in which a piece of work can be done, but you do not thereby alone determine the length of time in which it ought to be done.*

The time study of the operations of any machine can be made with a reasonable degree of accuracy, because all of the elements can be taken into consideration in making the computation. A machine is an inanimate thing—it has no life, no brain, no sentiment, and no place in the social order. With a workman it is different. He is a living, moving, sentient, social being; he is entitled to all the rights, privileges, opportunities, and respectful consideration given to other men.

*He would be less than a man if he did not resent the introduction of any system which deals with him in the same way as a beast of burden or an inanimate machine.*

In making a time study of the operations of a workman, all of the elements can not be taken into consideration, and consequently the computation can not be made with mathematical accuracy. There is no work that can be performed, or that is performed, that is not preceded by a mental process on the part of the workman. The more skill needed in the work, the greater the mental process which precedes the expression of it. So far as your committee has been able to learn, there is no method known to scientific management by which a time study can be made of the mental process preceding the physical act.

SENATOR BORAH'S COMMITTEE MADE REPORT CONDEMNING STOP WATCH.

Senator BORAH, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, made a very exhaustive report of the Taylor system, following an investigation of the subject by his committee. This report condemns the speeding-up features of the Taylor system, reports they are wholly unnecessary, and recommends the passage of legislation prohibiting the use of the stop watch, and so forth, in Government establishments. This report is Senate Document, report No. 930, second session, Sixty-second Congress.

THE WORK OF N. P. ALIFAS, OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE TAYLOR SYSTEM.

Any recital purporting to describe the five-year fight that has been waged in Washington against the Taylor system would be incomplete without mention of N. P. Alifas, president of District No. 44, International Association of Machinists.

If there is anything that is inspiring to me, it is the sight of a workingman trying to improve the condition of his brother workers. I have had excellent opportunity to come to know Mr. Alifas, coming in contact with him almost daily for considerable periods, seeing him when the prospects for success in the thing he was laboring for seemed bright and when they seemed hopeless, and it is my great pleasure to testify that he has been faithful in the extreme to those he represents. Throughout the long fight he was, to my personal knowledge, patient, painstaking, and gentlemanly persistent in his effort to represent in Washington the views of his people. Being intimately acquainted with Mr. Alifas, I have no hesitancy in stating, and do state with the greatest of pleasure, that he is both an able and conscientious representative of labor.

He has made it his work to keep the Members of Congress informed of the status of the anti-Taylor-system measure, when it would come up for a vote, and as to the attitude of the arsenal and navy-yard employees toward this legislation.

Mr. Alifas appeared frequently before the committees of Congress in behalf of legislation abolishing the Taylor system in Government establishments. He testified at considerable length before the famous Commission on Industrial Relations on April 15, 1914, when the commission had under consideration the subject of "scientific management." His testimony was considered by those who heard it as especially clear-cut and to the point. Being himself a machinist and having been employed at the Rock Island Arsenal at the time the Ordnance Department began the installation there of a portion of the Taylor system, he was able to speak from first-hand knowledge, and at the conclusion of his testimony was congratulated by members of the commission upon the ability with which he handled the subject.

THE LA FOLLETTE SEAMAN'S LAW.

Another law which I supported and am deeply interested in is the La Follette seaman's law. As my position on this measure is fully outlined in a letter addressed to Mr. O. F. Hildebrandt, secretary of the Greater Moline Committee, Moline, Ill., I will include this letter in my remarks:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D. C., January 4, 1916.*

Mr. O. F. HILDEBRANDT,
*Secretary, The Greater Moline Committee (Inc.),*
*Moline, Ill.*

MY DEAR MR. HILDEBRANDT: I am in receipt of your letter of December 27, advising me of the action of the Greater Moline Committee, asking that I assist in bringing about amendments to the present seaman's law, so as to render it more favorable toward encouraging American capital to invest in the construction or purchase of ships, to be operated under the American flag.

In reply I have to say that under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the seamen's law, with the request that you point out in that law what provisions, if any, are working to the discouragement of the investment of capital in the construction or purchase of ships, and wherein the law needs amendment to bring about the results asked for in your letter and in the action of the Greater Moline Committee.

In this connection I want to submit these facts for your consideration: First, that the seaman's law was passed by the United States Senate October 23, 1913; that it passed the House of Representatives substantially in its present form upon August 27, 1914; that it became a law upon March 4, 1915; that long prior to the opening of the present war, August, 1914, every shipowner, every ship builder, every man who kept in touch with the situation throughout this whole country knew that legislation of the character embodied in the seamen's act would be enacted into law. Notwithstanding this fact, since August, 1914, there have been purchased from foreign owners and are now under the American flag ships which were formerly under the flags of other nations to the number of 170 of a capacity of over 570,000 tons. The addition of this tonnage since August, 1914, is the greatest acquisition that has ever been made to the tonnage of the American merchant marine in any year. Second, that at the present time there is building in the American shipyards for the merchant marine of the United States new vessels which will add 761,000 tonnage to the vessel capacity of this country; that this activity in ship building at this time represents the greatest activity that has ever existed in ship building at any one time from the foundation of this Government.

These two outstanding facts seem to me to demonstrate that there is nothing in the provisions of the seaman's law to discourage the purchase or the construction of ships for the merchant marine of the United States.

Within my experience with legislative matters here in Washington, I have never known of a piece of legislation which has been so misrepresented as the seaman's law. Prior to its enactment, and since it became a law, big shipowners of this country have misrepresented its provisions and their effects to business men and to business organizations. They have, through the public press, conducted a propaganda against this law and have misled those who have failed to study the provisions of the law, into believing that the act was designed and is a blow at American shipping. At the same time that they have been making this campaign of misrepresentation and have been tricking organizations composed of men with good intentions but with little or no information with respect to the act, to take action in opposition to it, they have been chasing over the world buying ships wherever they could and bringing them under the American flag. They have flooded the shipyards of our own country with orders and crowded them to work day and night to build new ships, at the same time that they have been representing to organizations such as ours that the law meant financial disaster and ruin to them.

The fact of the matter is that the seaman's act does two things. It provides greater safety for passengers on boats at sea than was formerly provided under the law and the regulations. I regret to say that the safety provisions of this law are not as adequate as they should be. I regret that this law does not provide lifeboat space for every passenger on board. I regret that it does not provide an adequate number of efficient seamen to man every lifeboat. Such protection was contained in the

original act as it passed the Senate, but unfortunately under the pressure of the shipowners was removed by the committee in the House, and the amended bill had to be accepted or no legislation could be secured. Does it not appear reasonable to you and to your committee that the men who undertake the transportation of passengers at sea should provide adequate and efficient safeguards against the dangers of the sea? Second, there is the provision of the seaman's act which has to do with the conditions of employment of seamen. You may not know, but until the enactment of this law the seamen employed on American ships and upon the ships of all countries coming into the ports of the United States were subjected to the provisions of a law almost identical with the fugitive-slave law; that these men were virtual slaves of sea masters; that they could not leave their employement at will; that if they would leave their employment the process of the United States courts was used to arrest, detain, and put them back on board ship and compel them to submit to involuntary servitude.

There may be, but I do not know him, an employer in the city of Moline who desires a mastery such as this over his employees; but if there be such, I unhesitatingly say that such a man is without understanding of the fundamental reasons for the Government which we have and which we honor. His opinion is not entitled to consideration, and I assure you that any man who advocates the repeal of the provisions of the seamen's act which abrogates slave conditions in the American merchant marine and in the ports of the United States will get no consideration by me of any such views upon this subject.

I am for men; I am for freedom. The provision of the seamen's act abrogating slaves was enacted for men. It was enacted for freedom.

I have submitted to you facts with respect to the shipbuilding and ship purchasing of this country, which demonstrate that the seamen's act has not interfered with the shipbuilding and shipowning interests of this country. I want to submit one more fact, and that is that the seamen's act has not increased unduly or unreasonably the cost of operation of American ships. Recently there has been a great amount of talk in the newspapers with respect to the conditions upon the Pacific Ocean. One of the men doing this talking is Robert Dollar, who operates a few small ships. A computation was made as to the increased cost of operation of one of the Dollar ships, and it shows that the increase in the cost of the operation of that ship under the provisions of the seamen's law would be about $6,000 per year, while the earning capacity of the ship is upward of $200,000 per year, which is an excess of its valuation. I will not stand, and I do not believe that the Greater Moline Committee will stand, for the patriotism (?) of the Robert Dollars, who, with an earning capacity of upward of 100 per cent on the value of their property, because of a trivial increase in the cost of operation, would have the American Congress restore slave conditions to American ships as a condition precedent to the maintenance of the American flag upon the sea. If that is the condition under which the American flag must be maintained upon the sea, better that it never floats from the masthead of a ship than that it cover and protect slavery.

Very truly, yours,

CLYDE H. TAVENNER.

## Universal Military Training and Service.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, I find in the American Defense Magazine for September an article on universal military training and service, which may well form a part of the consideration of the naval bill.

This article, which was written by Henry Litchfield West, a former Commissioner of the District of Columbia and a well-known writer, sets forth that inasmuch as the United States will never possess a navy large enough to thoroughly protect our entire Atlantic and Pacific coast lines the defense of this country must ultimately rest upon a land force of citizen soldiery created under a system of universal military training and service.

This article is the first comprehensive review of this subject which I have seen and is a valuable contribution to the cause of preparedness for national defense. It is as follows:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

The National Security League, through its executive committee, recently issued a declaration of principles in which compulsory military training and service wholly under Federal control for all physically fit male citizens, was set forth as the first of the cardinal requirements for adequate preparedness. This action of the league, taken after many largely attended conferences and congresses held under its auspices had formally declared in favor of compulsory military training and service, marks another step forward in the presentation of the most vital issue which can engage the attention of the American people.

The assertion that the United States must ultimately adopt universal military training and service as the basis of national preparedness rests upon a logical and incontrovertible foundation. Two facts must be admitted, as follows:

First. That the United States will never possess a navy sufficiently large to thoroughly patrol and defend its extensive coast line.

Second. That American tradition and sentiment will prevent the creation and support of a permanent Regular Army large enough to combat successfully the enemy forces which could be landed upon our shores.

Granting that these two things are true, the defense of our country must inevitably depend upon an adequate force of citizen soldiery pursuing peaceful vocations under normal conditions, but thoroughly trained and equipped to meet immediately an emergency of threatened danger.

The Navy is only the first line of defense. If we should have a Navy of sufficient strength to overcome an opposing fleet or fleets at one or more points between Portland and Galveston or between Seattle and San Diego, the people of the United States could rest in certain security from attack. A Navy of this size is, however, beyond our fondest hopes. It has taken England centuries to build up the Navy which she now possesses, and the construction of a fleet equal to the British would not only require many years but would entail an enormous cost upon our resources.

Even now, when the United States stands fourth in naval strength, there are other nations which could overcome our ships at sea, thus insuring a clear highway for the landing of transports bringing literally hundreds of thousands of men.

A large standing army is equally impossible. As a matter of fact, this ought to be the case. To create and maintain a Regular Army of 500,000 men would be an enormous tax upon the American people, besides which it would be entirely out of harmony with all our traditions and ideals. Even should such an Army be authorized, it is doubtful if it could be recruited. While the United States pays more per capita for its Army than any other nation, it is extremely difficult to get men to surrender the opportunities of earning a livelihood in order to receive the meager compensation which the Regular Army affords. The effort to increase the Regular Army under the stress of the excitement on the Mexican border has not been successful.

Recent events have also demonstrated that a volunteer army is not to be depended upon. After much delay several regiments of the National Guard have been sent to the Mexican border, but a very large number of men in the ranks wore the uniform for the first time, and were absolutely untrained and unfit for the work assigned them. It is not fair, moreover, that the force thus summoned for service should be composed wholly of men who regard devotion to their country as a duty, while thousands of other men even better fit physically and financially for the sacrifice remain at home.

If we had had in this country a system of universal military training and service such as the Swiss have had for many years, the men sent to the border would have been taken from all ranks of life; there would have been equality in the matter of enlistment and, more important than all, there would have been preliminary training which would have gone far toward making the organization effective in the military sense.

We speak of universal military training as if it were something new and at variance with the principles of our Government. Nothing could be further from the truth. The bitter experiences of the Revolutionary War, when Washington secured an army with great difficulty, demonstrated to that great commander the fact that if our Republic were to exist in the future it must rely for its defense upon a trained citizen soldiery. He unquestionably had much to do with the constitutional declaration that "well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free State," and he went further in the statement that "a free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined."

He emphasized his belief that the safety of the Nation depended upon "an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies," and he advocated the spread of this knowledge among the entire American people. He saw very clearly that if the United States should become a Nation so pacific as to be unable to defend itself, it would unquestionably become a prey to the greed and aggression of some more powerful nation. "If we desire to avoid insult," he said, "we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

Universal military training and service is the only system which is purely democratic. Thomas Jefferson, recognized as the founder and patron saint of the Democratic Party, emphasized this point of view. "We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens," he wrote to Monroe in 1813, after he had learned the lesson of unpreparedness in the War of 1812, "and make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We can never be safe till this is done." In 1814 he went still further and declared that it was an obvious truth "that we can not be defended, but by making every citizen a soldier, and that in doing this all must be marshaled, called by their ages, and every service ascribed to its competent class."

James Madison, a follower of Jefferson, urged, in his message to Congress on December 3, 1816, the organization of a militia which would include practically every physically fit male in the Republic, while James Monroe, in a message to Congress in 1822, urged the American people as a special duty "to be at all times prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed, and to surpass all others in sustaining the necessary burdens and in submitting to sacrifices to make such preparations."

Any unprejudiced reader of American history must realize that if the counsel of the fathers of our country had been followed a century ago we would have been saved unnecessary sacrifice of lives and money. In all of our wars the flower of our citizenship has paid the

penalty of inexperience and unfitness. We have been victorious, but at tremendous cost.

In the Revolutionary War, when our forces numbered 395,000 as against 150,000 of the enemy; in the War of 1812, when we had 350,000 men enrolled, with only 57,000 against us; and when in the War with Mexico we had twice as many men in the field as the Mexicans, we were taught an experience which did not profit us. Even though we have never fought a first-class power throwing its full resources into the opposing balance, we have never been able to win except by putting armies into the field greatly in excess of the other side.

It is not necessary, however, to rest our case for universal military training and service upon our own history. Switzerland at the present day affords an object lesson which we would do well to heed. The question came before the Swiss people in the form of a referendum upon the occasion of the adoption of the federal constitution in 1848, and by a popular vote of 170,000 to 70,000 the Swiss people decided that "every Swiss is open to do military service." It is safe to say that to-day not one vote would be cast in Switzerland against the system which has been in vogue there nearly 70 years. Everyone knows that if it had not been for the demonstration of the instant ability of the Swiss people to defend their territorial integrity the German Army would have sought entrance into France through Switzerland. The Swiss Army is enrolled for defense, not for offense; and every student of the Swiss Army agrees that the Swiss system is the living refutation of the charge that military training hurts good citizenship. The Swiss is, above all things, a free man, and there is no taint of militarism in his nation. The trouble is, however, as was pointed out 16 years ago in a report submitted by Lieut. Col. William Cary Sanger, that "universal military service still remains a theory with us, but in Switzerland it is real and actual."

Side by side with Switzerland in the adoption of compulsory military training stands Australia. Emphatic evidence of the success of the system in that country is found in the address of Hon. William H. Hughes, prime minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, at Ottawa, February 19, 1916, in which he said:

"It had been very well for us and very well for mankind if Britain had prepared as well by land as by sea. If she had done that there would have been no war to-day. And this I say—and it is all that I shall say on this point—that Australia has been able to do what she has done because we have adopted as the corner stone of our democratic edifice the system of compulsory military training. We believe that there is but one way by which a nation, being free, can remain so, and that is that every man shall not only be willing to defend his country, but be able to do so. And we think that if it is right, as it surely is, that a democracy should educate its citizens so that the franchise shall be wisely exercised, for government by the many, if the many are not educated, is a doubtful good. So we think that the State should train the citizen so that he may be able to defend his country, his home, and his liberties."

On the other hand, England, having failed to adopt a system whereby its people would be ready to meet danger, has paid a terrible penalty. For more than a decade farsighted men in England have been pointing out that no provision was being made to train English citizenry so as to be available for defense. Possibly the futility of these appeals was largely due to the belief that the island was protected from invasion by the strength of the navy and that no conflict was possible which would involve English people. Events have proven, however, that this point of view was entirely false. It is now a matter of history that when universal war was declared on the Continent, England was able to send only a very few soldiers, comparatively speaking, to oppose the onward march of the German Army through Belgium into France. It called upon its colonial dependencies for help and then, after the war had begun, undertook to train and equip 4,000,000 of its citizens.

It was nine months or a year before Lord Kitchener felt that his men were in condition to be sent against the trained veterans of the enemy, and the result was that all attempts to check the onward advances of the German forces were at first futile. The United States would undergo a similar experience if to-day a hostile army should land upon its coast or cross its borders. The men who would instantly volunteer to save their country would be utterly unprepared, not only physically but in the essential of necessary training and equipment. Untrained millions are nothing but an untrained mob. It is a matter of education to bring the American people to a realization of this fact.

There is no doubt that the men who have labored successfully to make the National Security League a great organization have been aided in their diligent efforts to secure universal military training and service by the fact that the European war has demonstrated the necessity of providing this system as the basis of national defense. Like the founders of our Government, they are placing the lesson of experience before their fellow citizens and the outlook is that their efforts will be attended by a larger measure of success. In other words, evidences of an awakening in the American mind are happily apparent—an awakening which has unquestionably been largely stimulated by the effective work of the league.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, an organization composed of more than a thousand commercial bodies, at its recent annual convention recommended a resolution in the following language:

VII. The committee, recognizing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic and to establish a system which will affect every man alike, recommends that universal military training be adopted as a fundamental democratic principle of our military policy, and be enforced by law to furnish adequate land, sea, and industrial forces in peace and war.

This resolution was submitted to the constituent bodies and was adopted, after thorough discussion, by the surprisingly large vote of 889 to 56.

In addition to this, several newspapers have been conducting polls on the question of universal military training, and the Chicago Tribune reported on June 6, 1916, that out of 6,255 votes reported, 6,180 were in favor and 75 against. The Baltimore Sun reported a vote of 8,186 to 1,055 against, and similar appreciation of the necessity of universal training was recorded in Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

The National Educational Association, at a convention in New York City last July, attended by more than 25,000 teachers, adopted a resolution recognizing "the right of the community or the State to introduce such elements of military training as may seem wise and prudent," although it registered the belief that such training should be strictly educational in its aim and work, and that military ends should not be permitted to pervert the educational purposes and practice of the school. This recognition of military training in the schools, which is the underlying feature in universal military training, is gratifying evidence that the great mass of the educators of this country realize that such training is the foundation upon which national security must rest.

Another indication of the growth of public sentiment was evidenced at the banquet of the Merchants' Association of New York City, when tremendous applause followed the statement of Senator O'GORMAN, of New York, that compulsory training is the one indispensable thing we should have in this country.

It is noteworthy that many magazines which admittedly reflect the intelligence of the country are advocating universal military training. This is particularly true of Everybody's Magazine, while the Century Magazine says that it is the only purely democratic system of national defense and the ideal goal at which a self-respecting democracy must aim. The Ladies' Home Journal, which goes into 2,000,000 homes, editorially admits the futility of the volunteer service and urges military training for every boy in the land as the real essence of preparedness. Physicians also recognize the physical value of military training, as shown by the fact that the American Medico-Psychological Association, in convention in New Orleans on April 16, 1916, strongly recommended universal military training and urged legislation enforcing it because it "promotes in the individual strength of muscular and bony tissues, improves organic functions, quickens perception, furnishes discipline in self-control, inculcates obedience, and creates respect for authority."

As for individual indorsements, pages might be filled with utterances of men recognized as leaders. Space allows only the following:

Theodore Roosevelt: "I believe in universal service based upon universal training. I believe in this because I think it would be not only of incalculable benefit to the Nation in the event of war, but of incalculable benefit to the individuals undergoing it, and therefore to the Nation as a whole as regards the work of peace. The military tent where boys sleep side by side will rank next to the public school among the great agents of democracy."

Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State (after his recent visit to the Mexican border): "I am more than ever convinced that there is but one satisfactory solution for military preparedness of the Nation, in fact, for the maintenance and endurance of the Nation itself in a high place in the affairs of the world, and that is universal service—the spirit of service and sacrifice for the Nation. Unless we learn to speak in terms of a nation, and subordinate our local and material ambitions; unless the Nation, in claiming its international rights, learns to appreciate its duties and international obligations, the Nation can not endure as one of the respected members of the society of nations.

"There has been a great change in sentiment and opinion about universal service. Everywhere that I have been—in New England, the Middle States, the Mississippi Valley, the South, and the great Southwest, as far as Arizona—I have found but one opinion: That universal service for the Nation, whether it be enrollment for the military or for broader work of industrial efficiency for national purpose, is the only democratic principle of national life, and only by such service can we obtain justice and equality for all citizens of the great community. These are the undoubted facts, which have been emphasized by the lessons of this great world war, and which are proved beyond a question to the mind of anyone who is brought in close contact with the army now encamped along our border, both Regulars and Militia."

John Grier Hibben, president of Princeton University: "As citizens of this great Republic we must realize that patriotism has come to have deeper meaning, namely, recognition of personal obligation to one's country and readiness for sacrifice."

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War: "I can not believe that I have the right to expect another man to defend my home and my family, if I am unwilling to defend them myself. It is essentially a democratic principle that every citizen should be willing to contribute his personal service to the common defense."

Gen. Leonard Wood: "The volunteer system has never succeeded and never will. The only true ideal is obligatory military service. Manhood suffrage and manhood service must go together."

Hon. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, United States Senator from New York: "We send our children to school so that they may fit themselves to combat forces of ignorance and vice, which, if allowed unrestrained within our borders, would soon destroy the Republic. Is it not likewise the duty of a true democracy to train its young men to combat successfully those forces which may attack its institutions from without?"

Cardinal Gibbons: "I believe in preparedness and in compulsory military service for all men of the Nation. Compulsory service is the best means to preparedness."

Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor: "We must have a preparation that means a comprehensive development of all the powers and resources of all our citizens. In Switzerland every man is a soldier—not necessarily to go to war, but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family, and his country. Under that system the Swiss have developed a manhood, a character, that challenges the admiration of the world. We will be satisfied with nothing less in America."

John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of New York City: "I believe in universal male military training after the plan of Switzerland or Australia. I believe that the American people must and will come to this sooner or later. I pray that they may adopt it before national disaster and not after."

Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War: "This problem of national defense will never be permanently solved until it is distributed among the whole people by some system of universal liability to military training."

These expressions of thoughtful, experienced, and patriotic men should carry conviction to every mind. It is the definite purpose of the National Security League to give the widest possible publicity to these and other affirmative views, and a pamphlet issued by the league, dealing solely with universal military training, has already been given a large circulation. The campaign of education will be thorough and extensive because, in a Republic like ours, nothing can be accomplished except through legislation and laws can not be enacted until public sentiment approves. The first step toward legislation has already been taken through the introduction of a bill proposing a system of universal military training and service by Senator CHAMBERLAIN, of Oregon, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. It is not necessary to present the details of this measure beyond stating that they provide for three classes, to be known as the "Citizens' Cadet Corps," between 12 and 17 years of age, inclusive; the "Citizens' Army," between 18 and 23 years of age, inclusive; and the "Citizens' Army Reserve," of persons 24 years of age and over, and that the training for

the members of the citizen army is to be not less than 120 hours, or 20 whole days, for six years, and not less than 10 whole days in camp of continuous training. The bill has not been pressed for passage because the necessity for its enactment is not yet fully appreciated.

The American people must, however, eventually realize that in universal military training and service lies the only safeguard for the Nation. In the meantime the National Security League is working earnestly, with hope and confidence, to hasten the day when a law fully realizing the ideal of universal military training and service shall be placed upon our statute books and the American people, proud of their Nation and determined to preserve its greatness, its liberty, its privileges, and above all, its honor, will be ready to defend it against all foes.

## APPENDIX.

### RESOLUTIONS INDORSING UNIVERSAL OBLIGATORY MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

[Adopted in referendum of Chamber of Commerce of United States of America.]

VII. The committee, recoginzing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic and to establish a system which will affect every man alike, recommends that universal military training be adopted as a fundamental democratic principle of our military policy and be enforced by law to furnish adequate land, sea, and industrial forces in peace and war.

[Adopted by the National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 22, 1916.]

*Be it resolved by the National Security League,* That the defense of the United States must depend upon an adequate Navy and a National Army founded upon a system of universal obligatory military training and service. This system must be wholly under the discipline and control of the national authorities. We deprecate all steps which tend to obstruct or postpone the adoption of such a universal system.

[Adopted by the national defense conference of mayors and mayors' representatives. St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 4, 1916.]

*Resolved,* That recognizing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic and to establish a system which will affect alike every man in the republic, we approve and recommend the adoption of universal military training under Federal control throughout the United States.

[From the Century Magazine, July, 1916.]

### THE DEMOCRACY OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

In the May issue of the Century, in an article entitled "Military training for our youth," the writer puts a pertinent question: "Is patriotism a duty that must be discharged by all, or a favor to be bestowed at will?" Obviously that means Are those of us who have not yet had the vision of the preciousness of our national existence content to accept it at the hands of charity? Is America going to be, without a protest, the one pauper among the nations? The question is not to be answered lightly. "Let George do it" must not be our national watchword when the very life of the Nation may be at stake.

It ought to be unnecessary even to ask the question; but there is a fact that we forget all too easily—democracy can exist only through education. Our average citizen knows little and cares less about the business of government. In matters that he understands he is the last person to be satisfied with inferiority of performance. Can you imagine the American public tolerating less than the highest aristocracy of skill in the one national affair that is thoroughly understood—baseball? Clearly, if the Nation were as solidly grounded in the rudiments of national business as in the requirements of the national game, it would never submit to the disgraceful clumsiness of our usual amateur performance.

There is one State that has already seen the source of our weakness in ignorance. Last spring a nonpartisan commission, composed of a college president, a journalist, a representative of organized labor, attorneys, and business men, was appointed by Gov. Walsh, of Massachusetts to study the question of "the practicability of providing military education for boys between the ages of 14 and 21" for the purpose of disciplining the youth of the Commonwealth and of "improving their physical, moral, and mental qualities," and to report the result of its investigations to the legislature with recommendations for legislation.

Through the summer that commission collected and analyzed public opinion and expert advice and submitted its report at the end of 1915. There were three recommendations—an enabling act permitting the State militia to cooperate with any scheme of Federal action that may be adopted; the institution of compulsory physical training in the high schools; a complete recasting of the militia law of the State in case the militia should be compelled by national neglect to remain a State force.

Those commissioners worked with a full realization of the essentially national character of the question of defense. They recognized the futility of recommending anything beyond the probabilities of immediate action, or anything based on the present feverish interest, that might fail to weather the test of the popular temper in normal times. They curbed the enthusiastic impulse to bespeak for the country general and compulsory military service, because they saw the absurdity in such a proposal from any single State. In the same way they stopped short of the ideal in asking for physical training in the high schools only, knowing well that less than a third of the boys would get the benefit, since the compulsory character of schooling ends with the grade schools.

Plainly the sum of their endeavor was to show the State that the quality of citizenship most sorely lacking in us is a sense of community duty; that this sense can be created by the habit of discipline only if the attempt is made early; that national strength, either for defense against aggression or for the business of good living, can be won only through education. We are notoriously lawless in America, but the remedy can be applied through the schools to the parents in our families. In our hysterical urge toward the development of the individual person we have lost sight of the chief value of education—discipline. Through discipline comes community consciousness, teamplay, and that is the beginning and the strength of civilization.

Last March there was a convention of mayors in St. Louis. The most important 75 cities in the country were represented, an imposing body of opinion from the whole breadth of America. They discussed the subject of defense, and the only proposal which met with unanimous indorsement was for universal compulsory military service. They knew that it is the only purely democratic system of national defense, that it is the ideal goal at which a self-respecting democracy must aim.

Massachusetts has been studying history and drawing conclusions. Understanding fully at last the pitiful failure of the voluntary principal in national service, as ridiculous in the military aspect as it would be in the payment of taxes or in education, and as unjust, the State is urged to train and discipline its citizens for the good of the common cause. It is a hopeful sign. After all, our country may really be learning. We may have reaped one tangible benefit from the great war, an awakening political conscience.

New York State has recently followed the example of Massachusetts.

If two States can make a forward step, so can other States, until we have in America a Nation united in support of ideals cherished in fact as well as in oratory.

[From the Ladies' Home Journal.]

### THE QUESTION FOR PARENTS. "SHALL THE MEN WHO WILL DEFEND THIS COUNTRY BE UNTRAINED?"

Now, all recent wars have demonstrated the futility of the volunteer service, and certainly the methods of modern warfare have proved its absolute inadequacy. * * *

The question, therefore, for parents of boys is not "Do we believe in war?" or "Do we believe in preparedness?" but "Are we willing that our boys shall be drafted for service in case of war absolutely unfitted and untrained?" That is the question that stares you and me, as the fathers of boys, in the face. I am not advocating the military training of our boys; I am not favoring or opposing preparedness here. That is not the function of this magazine. But I am a father of two boys, and I am asking myself the same question I am asking you: Whatever may be my personal view of war, am I willing to let my boys be drafted and go into war untrained, inefficient, for a foreign soldier, trained and efficient, to shoot at, and my boys unable to take care of themselves? There is no time for proper training once the boys are drafted. Military experts claim that a boy can be trained in six months' service with a week or 10 days each following year for "brushing up," so that a preliminary military training is not impossible for a boy earning his livelihood.

The question is ahead of us, and we can not dodge it: How are we going to let our boys face the possibility of being drafted for military service? As inefficient and unable to take care of himself, or, at least, as trained to the rudimentary knowledge of war? That is the real essence of "preparedness" for every parent of an American boy in good health to answer.

[From the New York Evening Sun, August 1, 1916.]

### FOR AMERICA!

Reasonable Americans comprehend that the safety of the United States demands at all times a force, ready for emergency work, larger than the one now mobilized on the Mexican border and a force which, at the same time, can be maintained under arms without the personal hardship and financial loss now being endured by our National Guardsmen. A large regular army might solve the problem. But to pay an army of such size would be extremely costly; besides which it has been found impossible to secure enough men to keep our present handful of Regulars recruited to maximum strength.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN'S bill, now buried in committee, to provide universal compulsory military training for male citizens of the United States would provide a way. This patriotic measure has evoked a howl of opposition from the hyphenated press, which interprets every such move as directed solely at Germany, and from that portion of the unhyphenated press which should be but is not able to distinguish between Prussianization and preparedness.

Criticism may be justly directed against this bill, but not against the fundamental principle of universal obligation in return for universal liberty on which it is based. The detail in which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN has erred most unfortunately is in stipulating that the six months of military service specified shall be performed during each citizen's eighteenth year.

Such a system would take the youths of the country when their minds were in the most acquisitive stage and their bodies not yet fully developed. It would interrupt the educational lives of those who would go normally in this year from preparatory school to college and who should be permitted to do so without interruption. It would be much better to require the service in the early twenties, just when the college men would be graduated into professions and the apprentices into journeymen in the trades. Not the least valuable feature of such a system would be the democratic postgraduate course in which men from every phase of American life would mingle on the same terms of equality on which Frenchmen meet in the French army during their period of military training.

The Chamberlain bill is the most thoroughly American defense measure that has been proposed to Congress. The cry of "conscription!" can be raised only by those who are blind to the fact that citizens of the United States are subject to-day to the most sinister form of conscription conceivable. Their Government gives them no instruction whatever in the most technical of arts, that of the soldier, yet it may draft them into military service in emergencies and send them inadequately trained into battle to fall victims more to their own ignorance than to the superior valor of the enemy. Americans need not be reminded that this draft power is not theoretical; it has been exercised already in the Civil War.

Such are the facts. If the American people will not awaken to the necessity for a system of universal training which will enable them to defend themselves with the least sacrifice of American manhood when they are compelled to go to war, the American people will pay for their refusal to understand. And the experience of Europe is that war will come not because but even though nations like France and England arm for their own protection.

[From the New York Sun, May 24, 1916.]

### SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER FAVORS TRAINING ENTIRE NATION.

WASHINGTON, *May 23.*

Secretary Baker, in an interview, came out squarely this afternoon for universal military training in the United States.

Secretary Baker said in his interview:

"As there exists a universal obligation resting on all male citizens of this country to defend the country in time of war, so there should be a universal willingness to train in times of peace against the day

of such emergency. So long as it might be possible to have universal training through volunteer service I should be in favor of limiting it to a voluntary service, but if adequate preparation for the national defense can not be reached through such a system I would favor a compulsory system.

"My belief is that educational institutions of our country should see to it that every boy in school has it instilled into him that one of the cardinal duties, if not the paramount duty, he will assume with citizenship is the obligation to defend his country in time of war, and if this is a duty, as I believe it is, then certainly the boy should be trained to perform that duty when the time comes for him to do so.

"I can not believe that I have the right to expect another man to defend my home and my family if I am unwilling to defend them myself. It is essentially a democratic principle that every citizen should be willing to contribute his personal service to the common defense."

—

[From an address by John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of New York City, at the National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 20–22, 1916.]

A FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATION—WITH CIVIC DUTY GOES MILITARY DUTY AND UPON BOTH OUR EXISTENCE DEPENDS.

I believe in universal male military training after the plan of Switzerland or Australia. I believe that the American people must and will come to this sooner or later. I pray that they may adopt it before national disaster and not after. I am as much opposed to militarism, as Europe knows it, as the most ardent pacifist, but I do believe that citizenship in a democracy carries with it a fundamental obligation; that mild and brief citizen training for a few weeks each year during adolescence and early manhood is the minimum necessary to realize the condition of a trained citizenship in arms. Anything less than this must be a makeshift, a mere temporary expedient, a perilous temporizing in the face of danger. The time to solve this question is now, when the attention of the Nation is focused upon it and its solicitude is acute.

We are passing to-day through a great crisis in our national life. The issue is more than national; it is as broad as the human race itself. Into our hands here has been committed the heritage of democratic government. It is our trust to perpetuate it, to develop it, to transmit it to posterity, a serviceable agent for the advancement of civilization and for the happiness of mankind. Here in this Nation and country of ours the efficiency of democracy is on trial to-day. Here under our free institutions through 130 years of effort and of progress we have developed governmental and civic efficiency. We teach our citizens the sense of individual civic responsibility, and they respond to it. During the greater part of the time, due to geographical location and the absence of hostile motives abroad, we have enjoyed peace. Now that science has obliterated distance and our prosperity and commerce supply the motive, we can no longer count upon an effective peace. Democracy, therefore, must meet the new conditions. But through its elementary sufficiency for self-preservation we must teach our citizens that with civic duty goes military duty, and that both are obligations on which the life of the State depends.

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LABOR'S ATTITUDE—SAMUEL GOMPERS DECLARES IN FAVOR OF TRAINING FOR DEFENSE OF THE NATION.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in his address before the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Civic Federation, January 18, 1916, said in part:

"The pacifists and those who hold to politics of nonresistance have failed as I had failed to understand and to evaluate that quality in the human race which makes men willing to risk their all for an ideal. Men worthy of the name will fight even for a 'scrap of paper' when that paper represents ideals of human justice and freedom. The man who would not fight for such a scrap of paper is a poor craven who dares not assert his rights against the opposition and the demands of others.

"The majority of our citizens no longer live in the open, and they show in their physical development the effect of the restricted life of the city. They have not the physical strength or endurance that would fit them without further preparation to be called into service in a citizens' army. Since opportunities for physical training are not freely and readily available to all, some definite national policy must be devised for physical training and physical preparedness of all citizens. Such a training could be readily given through our public-school system and other auxiliary agencies. The chief problem is that training of this nature should be in furtherance of broad, general usefulness and ideals and not be specialized or dominated by the purpose of militarism. Physical training must fit citizens for industry, for commerce, for service in the work of the Nation, as well as for service in defense of the Nation. But physical training and preparedness are insufficient.

"There must be a spirit among the people that makes them loyal to country and willing to give themselves to its service and protection. That spirit can not exist unless the citizens feel that the Nation will assure to all equal opportunities and equal justice. They must feel that they are a part of the Nation, with a voice in determining its destinies. This spirit of loyalty depends not only upon political rights but upon justice and right on the industrial field, aye, in all relations of life. * * *

"We must have a preparation that means a comprehensive development of all the powers and resources of all our citizens. In Switzerland every man is a soldier—not necessarily to go to war—but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family, and his country. Under that system the Swiss have developed a manhood, a character, that challenges the admiration of the world. We will be satisfied with nothing less in America.

"We must see to it that the great mass of the farmers and the workers in industry shall be thoroughly trained and organized. We must see to it that the military and naval forces of the country are controlled in the interests of peace, of justice, of democracy, and of humanity.

"There must be industrial, commercial, political, social, moral, as well as military defense. Citizen soldiery must be established and extended. It must be democratically organized, officered, and controlled. We must put an end to the present wasteful and unfair administration of our military affairs."

—

[George A. B. Dewar in the Nineteenth Century Magazine, 1915.]

THE EXPERIENCE OF ENGLAND.

Voluntary recruiting, despite its mettle and its high fervor, is essentially a thing of spurts, very heartening, and inciting us to throw up our hats whilst these spurts last. But spurts are succeeded by reactions, which are deadly and depressing. * * * By not adopting a simple, thorough, and perfectly fair and democratic service scheme, we are laying up for ourselves a world of ill-feeling, envy, and uncharity in the future, a world that may take a generation or more to pass away. Now by an honest act all this ill-feeling, all these hideous comparisons, must instantly disappear. * * * A general obligatory service law to-day in this country (England) must be a democratic law, rightly considered. But why be scared by names at this time? Democracy means the strength of the people, and the strength of the people exerted to its utmost is, after all, the only way by which we can prevail in this war.

—

[Brig. Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, United States Army, in Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States, July-August, 1908.]

THE SAFEST AND BEST METHOD.

Our military establishment has not the sympathy and approval of the people because it is not republican and representative in character. In discussing this problem I take for my text a statement of the New Orleans Picayune:

"There is," it asserts, "but one way in which this great Republic will be able to maintain a sufficient military strength, viz, by universal military service." * * * Our safest method for an offensive-defensive is universal military instruction and compulsory short-time service. We have billions of wealth to defend and millions of men to defend it, but untrained millions would be simply an untrained mob.

—

[From address of Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, at the National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 20–22, 1916.]

THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE—IT WILL NEVER BE SOLVED EXCEPT THROUGH UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

Four years ago when it became my official duty to study this question, I hardly dared dream that the time would ever come, within my lifetime, when the American people would seriously consider the institution in this country of any system of universal military training. The searching test of the European war has, however, put its finger squarely upon this weak spot of our American democracy. In our national development thus far we have focused our attention upon the rights, the privileges, the benefits which we have expected to get from free government, and we have paid scant attention to the duties or the obligations or the sacrifices which were correlative to them. But now, for the first time, we are beginning to realize how far we have fallen behind other nations in this respect. For the first time there has been made clear to us the superior strength of patriotism which has been developed in nations which hitherto we have been inclined to regard with little admiration or even respect. For the first time we have had revealed to us in blinding light the fact that men of other nations for years have been willing to give toward the building up of the efficiency of their nation a measure of time and personal effort which we have been unwilling to give.

We are beginning to realize the true meaning of the proposition that manhood suffrage postulates manhood services, and that the man who has a right to participate in the making of his own government is bound by the highest obligation of honor to share in the burden of defending it. And so to-day we find an increasing number of our people who believe, as I believe, that this problem of national defense will never be permanently solved until it is distributed among the whole people by some system of universal liability to military training.

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THE DUTY OF A TRUE DEMOCRACY—YOUNG MEN SHOULD BE TRAINED TO DEFEND OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS.

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, Jr., United States Senator from New York, in a speech before the Union League Club, of Chicago, on February 22, 1916, had this to say on the subject of universal military service:

"We send our children to school so that they may fit themselves to combat the forces of ignorance and vice, which, if allowed to operate unrestrained within our borders, would destroy the Republic. Is it not likewise the duty of a true democracy to train its young men to combat successfully those forces which may attack its institutions from without? Can there be any more democratic proposal than that every young man should prepare himself to a reasonable degree of efficiency for the defense of his country? Is it not his duty to do that promptly and cheerfully, just as truly as it is his duty to go to school in his younger days or to vote and take an interest in civic affairs when he comes of age?

"If it is not the duty of every young man to perform this service, shall we be so absurd as to say that those who volunteer to do it and those who, possessing less sense of responsibility, refuse to volunteer; shall we be so absurd as to say that those two groups of men entertain equally high ideals in their respective capacity as citizens of a democracy?

"In this question of universal military training there is something more important even than that of military defense of the country, about which we hear so much these days. The touch of the elbow is involved. I would like to see a state of affairs in which the son of the rich man, who does not have to labor with his hands for his living, working alongside of the son of the poor man. When two men work together physically and endure fatigue together at the same task there is created a bond of sympathy and understanding which no other process can establish. Each will come to an inspiring realization that the other, down deep in his heart, is his brother, possessed of the same courage, the same ideals, the same patriotism.

"I can think of no plan better calculated to prevent class feeling than the universal performance of service to the country by our young men. In no other way can we more truly fuse together the widely different elements of our population and instill into them the conviction that this indeed is a Nation. In no other way can we so surely help to perfect our democracy. Let us talk less about our rights and more about our duties. Inspired by such a spirit, we can successfully withstand all upon the American conception of liberty whether they are delivered from within or from without."

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[Extract from the address of Prof. Henry C. Emery, of Yale University, at the National Security Congress, Washington, January 20–22, 1916.]

UNIVERSAL SERVICE WILL PAY—ONE OF THE MOST PROFITABLE INVESTMENTS THIS COUNTRY CAN MAKE.

One of the most profitable investment this country can make, from the standpoint of universal business, is universal service and training. There can be no question about that.

It has been an old theory of the economists for years that there are two great costs in the maintenance of military establishments, one the money cost year by year paid out of taxes, the other what is supposed to be the great economic loss in the employment of a large number of young men in nonproductive activities. Neither of these is quite justified. Of course, there is the money expense; I do not need consider the question as to how that compares with other expenditures. I only call your attention particularly to the fact that the money spent by Germany before the war in maintaining her great establishment was one-third the amount spent by the Germans for beer.

If the American people were willing to sacrifice, say, two things—chewing gum and going to the movies—we could maintain an army so big that nobody would dare to look at us from across the way. These expenditures, when compared with the real expenditures of living—the things we care for—are very small. But it makes no difference how much the amount is, it does cost money, of course, to maintain a large Military Establishment. But then it takes money to build a Union Pacific Railroad; it costs money to build a Panama Canal; it costs money to build any great constructive enterprise.

The question is, what do you get back for your money and the question of the actual dollars and cents invested is of no importance. It makes no difference whether you spend $100,000,000 or $500,000,000, from the economic point of view; the question is, are you getting a fair return on your money? My argument is simply that for every man that you educate in the military training for a short period sufficient to give him the efficiency necessary for the industrial life, you get back more than the expense.

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[C. E. Calkins in Cyclopedia of American Government, vol. 2, p. 438.]

ADVANTAGES ARE NUMEROUS.

The military advantages of an automatic system which makes every class of the population bear a part in national defense are incontestable. Not only does it provide for an ample standing army during peace and perpetuate the military tradition but it provides a practically unlimited reserve of trained soldiers in the prime of life. Thus all the extravagance and disorder of hurried recruiting, the bounties for volunteering, and the irritating enforcement of conscription are avoided. The army is mobilized for war by filling the ranks of the existing organization, without sending improvised regiments or companies to the front; and no command is trusted to an untrained officer.

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[From address of Capt. Granville Fortescue, National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 20–22, 1916.]

THE ONLY EFFECTIVE MEASURE OF DEFENSE.

The only effective measure of defense is universal service. That is so obvious that it needs no repetition. I can tell you from what I have seen in England. There is an example for us—a pitiful example. * * * Any man who is worthy of being a citizen of the United States has with that worth, intrinsically, the duty of fighting for the United States.

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[From address of Eric Fisher Wood, author of The Note-Book of An Attaché and The Writing on the Wall.]

THE SWISS SYSTEM—IT TRAINS THE YOUNG MEN FOR DEFENSE AND NOT FOR AGGRESSION.

It is manifestly undesirable that we should ever attempt to maintain a standing army of 2,500,000 men. The objections which Americans have to great standing armies like those of Germany and Russia are well founded. How, then, can we ever be prepared to mobilize the needed number of trained and disciplined troops in so short a time? In answer to this question our military experts unanimously advocate the adoption of a system of universal compulsory military service based upon and largely copied from the Swiss system and its counterpart in Australia.

These offer us for adoption not an experiment, but a thoroughly tested and eminently successful method of national defense.

The underlying ideas of the German standing army and of the Swiss military system are diametrically opposed.

Militarism in the extreme type is overbearing, aggressive, and brutal. The patriotism it fosters is two-faced, for it inculcates hatred of neighboring nations quite as much as love of one's own country. In extreme cases it develops a patriotism gone mad, while it makes aggression easy and even inevitable.

By contrast, the Swiss and Australian systems make no preparation for aggressive warfare, and therefore do not hold up before the minds of the young any ambition for conflict beyond their own borders or for the conquest of their neighbors. Adequate preparation for self-defense curtails aggression and brings nearer and nearer the possibility of combined international action to curb truculent nations and to civilize barbaric races.

In the Australian system, military science taught by competent official instructors form a compulsory part of the education of every boy between the ages of 12 and 18; during those years he undergoes military instruction coincidently with his other studies, so that he reaches the age of 19 a trained soldier. His military education is imparted to him at the most acquisitive age, and does not interfere with his later productive industrial occupations. When he reaches the age of 19 he is enrolled as a soldier in the battalion of the region in which he lives. From that time he is in active service for two weeks of every year for practice which is intended to keep fresh in mind his military knowledge. He remains a member of the battalion for eight years, until he reaches the age of 27, and throughout that period he is at all times liable for service in defense of his country. After reaching the age of 19 he thereafter undergoes only about 112 days' training. He can not, however, be sent out of Australia unless he expressly volunteers for foreign service. The Australian Army unit is a battalion of 1,000 men. The country is therefore divided into units of population each of which contains approximately 1,000 young men between the ages of 19 and 27.

In Switzerland the young men after having had preliminary training in school join their regiments in their twentieth year, and during the summer of that year undergo two months of continuous intensive military instruction. For 12 years thereafter they are at all times liable for immediate service in defense of their country. During each of these years they perform two weeks' training in the field. After the age of 20, only about 30 weeks of military service are required, except in case of war.

The system recommended by American experts for adoption by this country would begin with the training of all boys between the ages of 12 and 18 in gymnastics, hygiene, the manual of arms, rifle practice, and platoon and company formations. In the summer of his nineteenth year every boy would be assigned to his regiment and begin active service with two months of intensive training in his battalion, regimental, and brigade maneuvers, and afterwards he would be enrolled for service for four years, or until he is 23—his service in time of peace being limited to two weeks spent in camp each summer. At 23 years of age the young man would be mustered out of his regiment and placed in the reserve, from which he could be called to active service only in case of dire need. This system would eventually furnish the United States with an active Army of 2,500,000 men under 24 years of age, and with a reserve of nearly 8,000,000 trained soldiers between the ages of 24 and 45 who could be called upon in case of a long war. Thus, after his eighteenth year a total of only 14 weeks' military training would be required of each normal male citizen.

No member of the citizen forces would be required either to serve outside the territory of the United States or to aid in suppressing local civil disorders such as strikes.

Each year in the United States a million men reach the age of 20, of whom about 65 per cent are fit for military service.

Military training and service would, under peace conditions, be completely finished by all men before they reached their twenty-fourth birthday, thus interfering as little as possible with their productive life. In the event that war were thrust upon us, the casualties would be borne by a class of men who, for the most part, had not yet acquired families or reached positions of great responsibility.

It should not be forgotten that the adoption of a system of preparedness in no way increases the liability of the individual to serve as a soldier in the event of war. If we should have a big war in the near future, the draft would, of necessity, be instituted and enforced and our citizens would all have to fight whether they liked it or not. Preparedness renders such an eventuality less likely, and makes it improbable that if we do fight, our dead would have to die in vain.

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[From address by Hon. William H. Hughes, prime minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, at Ottawa, Feb. 19, 1916.]

THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM—THE PRIME MINISTER TELLS WHAT A GREAT ORGANIZATION HAS DONE FOR THE COMMONWEALTH.

It had been very well for us and very well for mankind if Britain had prepared as well by land as by sea. If she had done that, there would have been no war to-day. And this I say—and it is all that I shall say on this point—that Australia has been able to do what she has done because we have adopted as the corner stone of our democratic edifice the system of compulsory military training. We believe that there is but one way by which a nation, being free, can remain so, and that is that every man shall not only be willing to defend his country, but be able to do so. And we think that if it is right—as it surely is—that a democracy should educate its citizens so that the franchise shall be wisely exercised—for government by the many if the many are not educated is a doubtful good—so we think that the State should train the citizen so that he may be able to defend his country, his home, and his liberties.

The defense of one's country is the primary duty of citizenship. It is the first duty of free men. Two years before the outbreak of war we had established in Australia a system of universal military training. To this we owe the complex and widespread organization for training officers, noncommissioned officers, manufacturing small arms, ammunition, clothing, and so on, without which we should have been almost helpless in this great struggle. A small community of under five millions of people, yet we have been able to train, to equip from head to foot, a great army of men. It is a great thing and one which we may mention with pride and satisfaction that Canada and Australia have together put into the field nearly twice the number of the original British expeditionary force. We have put close on 300,000 men between us of first-class fighting men in the field. Australia could not have done her part unless we had a great organization created to prepare for danger. This one lesson must be learned from this great war. Some day the wings of the dove of peace may beat a soft lullaby throughout the land. But that day is not yet. Until that day dawns it is the duty of free men to be able as well as to be willing to defend their country.

Neither liberty nor our national rights can ever be safe when we neglect the defense of our country. This is a primary duty of citizenship of a free country. Nor can it be safe if we intrust it to volunteers. It can not be ignored nor left to volunteers. For as it concerns all, so must it apply to all. Liberty, the very basis upon which our national edifice rests; liberty, the very breath of our being; liberty, without which the more material side of civilization is as a dry husk, must be defended by all. With that I leave it.

## Explanation of the Rural-Credits Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress who has sincerely the interests of the farmer at heart rejoices that we have passed the rural-credits bill, which will soon be organized and operated generally for the farmers' benefit.

Clarence Poe, Esq., one of the ablest writers of the South and now editor of the Progressive Farmer, published at Raleigh, N. C., says of this great piece of legislation:

> It is probably the most important piece of agricultural legislation in our generation, and every farmer ought to know its provisions.

I heartily agree with Mr. Poe, and am anxious that every farmer in the ninth congressional district shall understand thoroughly the provisions of this great measure, and I therefore present for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an

explanation of this measure prepared by the Department of Agriculture, which is as follows:

NEW RURAL-CREDITS LAW—OFFICIAL EXPLANATION OF NEW MEASURES WHICH EVERY FARMER WANTS TO UNDERSTAND.

The primary purpose of this act is to promote agricultural prosperity by enabling farmers to borrow money on farm-mortgage security at a reasonable rate of interest and for relatively long periods of time. To attain this object, two farm-mortgage systems are provided: (1) A system operating through regional land banks, and (2) a system operating through joint-stock land banks.

To attract money to the farm-loan field, the act provides a method whereby those who have money to lend can find safe investments in the form of debentures or bonds of small and large denominations, issued by the banks and based on the security of mortgages on farm lands.

These two systems are to be under the general supervision of a Federal Farm Loan Board in the Treasury Department, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, as chairman ex officio, and four members appointed by the President. This board has authority to appoint appraisers, examiners, and registrars, who will be public officials.

FEDERAL LAND-BANK SYSTEM.

Under the Federal land-bank system the act provides for Federal land banks which make loans, for the first 12 months, exclusively through local national farm-loan associations composed of borrowers. These associations shall be shareholders in the banks, and in that way the members, who are the borrowers, will share in the profits of the bank. The money for the loans is to come partly from the capital of the banks and partly from the sale by the banks of bonds secured by first mortgages on farm lands.

The United States shall be divided into 12 farm-loan districts, and a Federal land bank with a subscribed capital stock of not less than $750,000, each share $5, shall be established in each district. Each Federal land bank may establish branches in its district.

Within 30 days after the capital stock is offered for sale it may be purchased at par by anyone. Thereafter, the stock remaining unsold shall be bought by the Secretary of the Treasury for the United States. It is provided, however, that the Government shall not receive any dividends on its stock. Ultimately, it is intended that all the stock in the banks shall be owned by the associations of borrowers, and provision therefore is made in the law for transferring the original stock at par to these associations.

WHAT "NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS" ARE.

The act provides for the creation of local "national farm-loan associations" through which it is contemplated that the Federal land banks shall make their loans. Ten or more persons who own and cultivate farm land qualified as security for mortgage loan under the act, or who are about to own and cultivate such land, may form such an association, provided the aggregate of the loans desired by the membership is not less than $20,000. Each member must take $5 stock in his association for each $100 he wishes to borrow, selling this stock when he pays his debt. The association in turn, when applying for money from the bank, must subscribe for stock in the bank to an amount equivalent to 5 per cent of the sum it wants to obtain for its members. If a prospective borrower has no money with which to pay for his association stock, he may borrow the price of that stock as part of the loan on his farm land.

In the event that a local loan association is not formed in any locality within a year, the Federal Farm Land Board may authorize a Federal land bank to make loans on farm land through approved agents.

HOW LAND OWNER MAY GET A LOAN.

A member of a "national farm-loan association," before obtaining a loan, must first fill out an application blank supplied to the loan association by the Federal Farm Loan Board. This application blank and othe. necessary papers will then be referred to a loan committee of the association which must appraise the property offered as security. Such application as is approved by the loan committee is then forwarded to the Federal land bank and must be investigated and reported on by a salaried appraiser of this Government bank before the loan is granted. This appraiser is required to investigate the solvency and character of the prospective borrower as well as the value of his land. When a loan is granted the amount is forwarded to the borrower through the loan association.

RULES FOR MAKING LOANS.

The act specifically defines the purpose for which loans may be obtained. These are:

"(a) To provide for the purchase of land for agricultural use.

"(b) To provide for the purchase of equipment, fertilizers, and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the mortgaged farm; the term 'equipment' to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

"(c) To provide buildings and for the improvement of farm lands; the term 'improvement' to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

"(d) To liquidate indebtedness of the owner of the land mortgaged existing at the time of the organization of the first national farm loan association established in or for the county in which the land mortgaged is situated, or indebtedness subsequently incurred for one of the purposes mentioned in this section."

FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL FACTS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND.

1. Loans may be made on first mortgages on farm land.
2. Only those who own and cultivate farm land, or are about to own and cultivate such land, are entitled to borrow.
3. No one can borrow save for the purposes stated in the act, and those who after borrowing do not use the money for the purposes specified in the mortgage are liable to have their loans reduced or recalled. The secretary-treasurer of each association is required to report any diversion of borrowed money from the purposes stated in the mortgages.
4. No individual can borrow more than $10,000 or less than $100.
5. No loan may be made for more than 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the permanent insured improvements upon it.
6. The loan must run for not less than 5 and not more than 40 years.
7. Every mortgage must provide for the repayment of the loan under an "amortization" plan by means of a fixed number of annual or semiannual installments sufficient to meet all interest and pay off the debt by the end of the term of the loan. The installments required will be those published in amortization tables, to be prepared by the Farm Loan Board.

INTEREST RATES CAN NOT BE OVER 6 PER CENT AND MAY BE LESS.

No Federal land bank is permitted to charge more than 6 per cent per annum on its farm mortgage loans, and in no case shall the interest charged on farm mortgages exceed by more than 1 per cent the rate paid on the last issue of bonds.

For example, if the bank pays only 4 per cent on an issue of bonds, it can not charge more than 5 per cent for the next farm loans it makes.

The Democratic Party during the last four years has passed more helpful, useful, important legislation to the people of the United States than any dozen previous Congresses ever passed. The currency bill is one of the chief pieces of our legislation and its handmaid now is the rural-credits law, which we have just passed.

It is needless to say that I have been insistent upon the passage of such legislation for a number of years. I have urged it in season and out, because I believe it will bring about the emancipation of the farmer and will bring about conditions financially which will enable every energetic tiller of the soil to become prosperous and happy, and I am happy to have had an humble part in the passage of this epoch-making measure.

## Navy Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. SEWARD H. WILLIAMS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. WILLIAMS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I supported the original Navy bill and the amendments sought to be made to it in the House providing an increase in the number of vessels. I shall support the conference report now before us. There are many reasons why this Nation should adopt a substantial policy of strengthening the Navy. For years we have rested in the belief that a world struggle, such as exists to-day, could not happen. But the fighting spirit of humanity is aroused. The air seems to be saturated with a war temperature. Commercial jealousies have engendered hatred among nations, which will not die with the termination of the European war. Mexican troubles will bring home to us the grave responsibilities of the Monroe doctrine after the close of the war. The Paris agree-

ment, of June of this year, as to national European combinations relative to international trade will bring us face to face with a new world power in this respect. We must be prepared to meet this power and be in a position to command the respect of combinations of powers in Europe regarding our rights on the seas if we would maintain our over-sea trade. Had we to-day a navy commensurate with the needs of a nation of 100,000,000 people, it is safe to say that our legitimate trade and our mail service would not be as openly interfered with. It is necessary, in view of the alliances of European powers, for our country to have a navy of sufficient power to repel any possible invader. An adequate navy is the best instrument to insure the peace of our country. Its moral effect will be most beneficial in times of threatened disturbances.

Not only must we be prepared to resist invasion of our States, but we must also be prepared to protect our possessions which are located within the circle of influence of other powerful nations, and the cost of adequate preparation will not approach the cost in life and money necessary to repel invasion. All our responsibilities do not lie wholly within our own borders. There is bound to be a great struggle for the extension of commerce. Already national combinations are being formed to capture the trade over the seas. If we fail to place ourselves in a position to follow our legitimate trade with an adequate naval force, we will be brushed aside with a ruthless hand in the same manner by which we are now suffering from gross violations of international law in the illegal interference with the transmission of our mails to and from foreign countries.

As it is our duty to fortify the Panama Canal, so it is our duty to provide and maintain a Navy sufficiently strong to enable us to reach the canal at any time and under any conditions. We have expended $400,000,000 in constructing the waterway across the Isthmus in order to establish a shorter route between the Atlantic and Pacific. This canal is our property. It will be of immense value to us in time of war, but our ability to use it will depend entirely upon the ability of our Navy to keep the waters clear of belligerent vessels at either terminus.

Through the Monroe doctrine we have maintained the position that the American Continent is for Americans, and that European powers must keep hands off. At the same time we have acquired insular possessions in the Old World. Our ability to protect the islands and to enforce the Monroe doctrine and to assume the responsibilities of the Monroe doctrine will depend upon an adequate naval force. As to the question of what constitutes an adequate naval force for the United States, I know of no better answer than that of Admiral Knight, who said:

> The answer will depend, of course, upon the purpose for which we assume that the Navy is to be used. We are all agreed, I presume, that it is not to be used for aggression. Is it, then, to be used solely for defense? If we answer yes, we ought to do so with a full recognition of what we are to defend, and also of the elementary maxim that the best defense is a vigorous offense. In other words, no matter how resolute we may be to use our Navy only for repelling aggression, it does not follow that we should plan for meeting the aggressor only at our gates. Even if we had no interest outside our borders and no responsibilities for the defense of our outlying possessions and dependencies, we should still, as reasonable beings not wholly ignorant of history, prepare to project our battle line toward the enemy's coasts and to assume a course which would throw upon him the burden of replying to our initiative. In this sense, then, we need a Navy for offense; that is to say, for offensive action with a defensive purpose. In shaping our plans along these lines we should not overlook the fact that the policy which dictates the measure of our defense must take full note of the larger national policy which it is to enforce, in relation, for example, to the Monroe doctrine, the Panama Canal, the Philippines, and other matters which are at once of national and of international significance.

The provisions of the pending amendments tend toward the establishment of a strong foundation for an adequate naval force. It assures the people of our country, who are not too proud to fight should it become necessary, that there is some material at hand with which to defend and protect our territory and our rights.

While we must prepare to protect our territory and our rights on the seas, we should not overlook the necessity of proper preparation for the protection of our commercial interests, which will be threatened after the European war. For when that war terminates there will come a commercial struggle among the powers of the world which may, unless a protective policy is adopted, prove as disastrous to our country as shot and shell.

Our importations are greater now than at any other time in the history of our country, while our exports have been tremendously augmented by arms, munitions, and war supplies. In the future these latter exports will cease. We can not expect to sell so much arms and munitions of war to the nations of Europe when the war is ended. When peace is restored those nations of the world will go on selling us their products, as they are now doing, and in addition the nations that can not now sell will be free to dump their products into our country as they did before the outbreak of the war. The belligerent nations will be more heavily taxed than ever before and will seek to flood our markets with their cheaper-made goods. Our immense stacks of gold will be most attractive.

To-day statistics show that foreign imports are being received at a rate in excess of two and one-half billions of dollars a year with some of the largest trading countries of Europe shut out of the market. As long as these imports are exchanged for war material we will not suffer financially, but when the war ceases and we are not making war supplies, then our wage earners must find employment in our industries of peace; but if those industries are closed because of the importation of the cheaper-made products of Europe admitted under the free-trade act, then will our industries be crippled. Economic disaster can not be avoided unless we check the flood of foreign-made goods into our country, when our immense exports of war supplies have ceased, by adopting a protective tariff which has always brought substantial prosperity to American workmen and American industries alike.

In the readjustment of affairs following the close of the war our country may be materially affected, and if trouble does come it may be shortly after the close of the war. It is therefore necessary that the building of vessels be speeded along as rapidly as possible. If the facilities at the disposal of the Government are not ample to accommodate the building of vessels authorized by Congress, within the prescribed time, private shipyards should be given an opportunity to assist in the construction under such governmental supervision as would insure a proper return for each dollar expended. It is charged that a policy of economy has not been exercised in the matter of expenditures authorized for the building of our Navy and navy yards. It is reported that during the first 15 years of the present century we have spent $1,600,000,000 on our Navy, while Germany has spent $1,100,000,000. In other words, Germany spent 30 per cent less on her navy than we did on ours, and had a more powerful navy than we had. The difference of half a billion of dollars would have built two superdreadnaughts a year for a period of 15 years, at a cost of $15,000,000 each, with $50,000,000 still remaining for destroyers, submarines, or battle cruisers. This construction would have doubled the war strength of our Navy.

May speed, economy, and efficiency characterize the future construction of our Navy.

## The Washington Primary Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, there is an interesting article in the American Economist under date of August 16, 1916. While I can not say that I agree entirely with all opinions and conclusions drawn in that article, it does, I believe, correctly state the facts, and it will be read with interest by every voter in my State, for each one of them desires to understand the second-choice provision of our primary law and how to correctly vote when it is invoked. The article referred to is as follows:

"A FREAK PRIMARY LAW.

"We have given considerable attention to the direct primary laws. Some of them are good and some of them are bad. The primary system has doubtless come to stay, but all of these laws in the various States ought to be made uniform and fair, with special reference to securing the honest judgment of voters of all parties for nominations to public office.

"In the State of Washington they have a freak primary law, which provides that if four or more candidates 'file' for the same office the voter must vote his first and second choice. The second-choice law provides:

"(1) If the voter votes for one candidate only, the ballot is not counted.

"(2) If the voter votes for the same candidate for both first and second choice, the ballot is not counted.

"(3) The voter must vote for two different candidates or the vote is lost.

"This law virtually takes away the right of the voter to vote as he desires, and often compels him to help nominate a candidate he does not want, in order to cast his ballot for one he does want. Unless some candidate receives 40 per cent or more of the first choice votes, then the first and second choice votes

of each candidate are added together, and the one having a plurality of first and second choice votes combined becomes the nominee.

"This system of voting leads to many mistakes and much confusion. The strong candidate always suffers most. In one primary contest, Congressman HUMPHREY lost between four and five thousand votes, where the ballots were marked for him for both first and second choice. In view of the great importance, not only to that State, but to the whole country, of the senatorial contest in Washington, it is hoped that the voters will study well this law and make as few mistakes as possible.

"The weak man wants the second choice. It may happen under this reform system that a candidate may be nominated by the second choice provision who a small minority of the voters desire. It is used by designing politicians for this very purpose.

"Two strong men may be candidates. The weaker third man decides that, if he can get the contest thrown to second choice, he may be nominated on account of the mistakes and confusion which will arise by getting second choice votes from both of the strong men. It is an easy matter to persuade some "dummy" to file so as to invoke the second choice provision. This very situation exists in the present Washington senatorial contest.

"Senator POINDEXTER and Congressman HUMPHREY are the strong candidates. A majority of the Republicans want one or the other of these men nominated. Apparently there is but one way that the people can work their will, at least, in the coming senatorial contest to defeat the effects of this freak law, and nominate the candidate they wish. That is, the friends of the strong candidates should scatter their second choice votes among the weak and unknown candidates upon the ticket.

"The majority of the people of the State of Washington of all parties condemn this law. The last Republican State convention declared unanimously in favor of its repeal." (From the American Economist, August 16, 1916.)

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**The Real Issue Before the Country.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, August 21, 1916.*

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, there are two well-defined policies which have sharply distinguished two schools of political thought in this country. The one school led by Washington and Hamilton at the outset believed in establishing and maintaining an American standard of living in contrast with that of Europe, by aid of a protective law. Later, this American policy was styled by Henry Clay the "American system." While Calhoun favored it in 1816, he bitterly opposed it in 1828, and denominated similar legislation the "bill of abominations." Up to the thirties it was not in sharp dispute. But with the growth of cotton as the controlling staple of all the southern section of the country the question of protection which looked to a diversification of industry here at home was attacked as inimical to the southern cotton grower. He wished to sell his cotton in Europe and in turn buy his goods he did not produce in the European market instead of American, simply because it was a cheaper market. His theory was tariff for revenue, but no other purpose. The only "revenue only" bill enacted before the war was introduced by Walker, of Mississippi, and passed into law in 1846. It well expressed the southern theory.

During the Civil War the northern protection idea was enacted into law by the Morrill Act. Morrill was from Vermont. It was solidly opposed by all the cotton States. It well expressed the protection or northern theory.

In 1887 Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, introduced his famous Mills bill, which failed of passage notwithstanding a solid support from the cotton States. It was in line with the cotton States men's theory.

The protective measure of 1890 was carried through the Congress under the leadership of McKinley, opposed by all the cotton States. It again expressed the northern or industrial idea of the country.

In 1894 the famous Wilson bill became a law, the second "revenue only" law in our history. It was carried through Congress by Wilson, of West Virginia, with a solid support of all the cotton States. It was drafted over the southern plan.

In 1897 this bill was repealed and the famous protective measure, known as the Dingley law, was carried through Congress by Dingley, of Maine, against the solid opposition of the cotton States. It best expressed the northern idea.

In 1913 the Underwood law, the third "revenue only" bill of our history, was carried through the Congress by the solid vote of the cotton States, aided by Democrats of the North. It is a good expression of the southern idea on sugar and many other items.

It will be noted that the three "revenue only" bills which have been placed upon our books were southern measures, introduced by southern men, and carried into legislation by southern votes, while all the protective measures which cover all our periods since the Civil War save the three years 1894 to 1897, and the present period 1913 to 1916, have been introduced by northern men and carried into legislation by their votes against the solid opposition of the South. I mention this fact of history to call attention to its reasons. The South is the source of Democratic legislation on the revenue laws.

Unfortunately the South has persistently confined its productive activities to one staple product, in the main. While in recent years it has entered upon a more diversified production, yet it looks to cotton as the chief item of its production. Unfortunately it persists in sending its raw cotton to Europe to be manufactured into the finished article which it buys back, paying not only European labor for such work, but the transportation across the ocean of the raw cotton and again in return in the shape of a fabric. While it is true under northern stimulus many cotton mills have been erected in the South, yet three-fourths of the product to-day is exported in a raw state. This should not be. Here is the source of the free-trade propaganda. These southern statesmen insistently demand the right to purchase the needed articles of consumption in the European market because of lower prices due to cheaper labor in Europe. This is the Democratic theory as the party now is dominated. On the other hand, the Republican theory is the reverse—establish manufactures here by assisting capital here. Employ labor here, maintain an American standard of living here—diversify our industries by stimulating the producer to make possible the consumer, and vice versa. Produce everything here that is possible to our energy.

The Republican idea is to build up and maintain the home market. That means to bring the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the miner, and the exchange man all into close cooperation. It proceeds upon the theory that what will aid the one will not hurt the other. It means to make possible the producer by making possible the consumer. It invests capital in order to employ labor. In this way what helps the consumer will not hurt the producer.

If a policy looking to the upbuilding of American enterprise should be favored by anyone, it is the man who toils. What he wants is steady employment at American wages, which can not be realized by a revenue-only policy, simply because it is impossible if he is not protected from the low standards of Europe. The only protection is in the law. We have been able to secure this protection when we maintained protective legislation. This American legislation has been uninterrupted since the days of Lincoln save a bare half dozen years, the two periods marked by the Wilson bill and the Underwood bill—both periods notorious for the universal distress among our people. The Republican contention, backed by our own history, is that it is a national duty to insure our standards against the lower standards of Europe.

We have an object lesson of the result of open competition between this country and Europe in our own merchant marine. Upon the sea our law is not supreme as it is within our national boundaries. The practices of Europe on the sea are not within our control. Hence Europe's cheap labor, with no regulatory management such as we exercise on behalf of the American worker, has literally driven from the sea the American merchant marine—simply and only because American enterprise upholding American standards can not compete on the open sea with European enterprise with lower standards. This concrete object lesson is but an illustration of what will occur within our own domain when we remove our protective legislation and make our markets as open to European competition as is now the ocean. This is what Republicans refuse to do. This is what Democrats are trying to do. The President's pet phrase is to compel Americans to whet their wits; his Secretary of Commerce says he wants Americans to reach the efficiency of their European competitors.

If this theory, born in the cotton fields of the South, is to prevail, there is but one of two alternatives—either our business

will be transferred to Europe as in the case of the merchant marine or else our labor conditions will be made to compete with those of Europe.

Free trade presupposes equality of conditions. We can easily enter upon free-trade schedules with Europe if we are ready to lower our standards of expenditures to meet theirs. In that case we will retain our business at frightful cost to the American toiler. If we refuse to meet the competition, then we will lose the trade just as we have upon the sea.

Mr. Speaker, when the Underwood bill was under discussion I addressed the House on the 25th of April on the caption, "The Underwood Act, a bill which ought to be entitled 'An act in the interest of foreign countries as against the United States.'" I stated then that I would be willing to open our gates when Europe lifted her labor to our plane, but I would not vote to lower our labor to her plane. Any man who makes the effort to connect effect back to a cause could not be mistaken as to the inevitable effects of such legislation, even though he had not taken the time to refresh his memory upon the effects of similar legislation 20 years before.

Mr. Speaker, having been a student of the tariff question I had paid some attention to the Wilson bill of 1894. It did not escape my mind that while the southern Democrats exempt from the serious effects of the smashing of the industries of the country so long as they can sell their cotton to Europe were loudly declaiming the virtues of their "revenue-only" law of 1894–1897, the country's business struck its lowest ebb. Capital refused to invest; labor dependent upon capital went upon the streets to feed in soup houses and in the bread line. Imports from Europe increased while exports decreased, balance of trade against us, gold going to Europe to settle the balance, Treasury embarrassed, and an issue of bonds. A period of suffering relieved only by repudiation of the party guilty of such disastrous legislation, and a revival of protective policy at once in the Dingley bill.

With these facts fresh in mind the Democratic leaders were warned of the inevitable effects of their proposed legislation, the Underwood bill, which was still lower in rates of duty than its fatal predecessor of 20 years before.

The law went on the books October 4, 1913, 10 months before the European war opened. What followed? Note the deadly parallel.

Capital in hiding, enterprise paralyzed, business bankrupt, and labor on the streets seeking employment, charitable organizations, as well as municipalities taxed to their limit to provide relief. Soup houses and bread lines resorted to even to a greater extent than the disastrous period of 20 years before, imports from Europe increased, exports decreased the magnificent balance of trade of over one-half billion dollars in our favor, now for the first time in 20 years turned against us, gold leaving the country to settle the balances, a pool proposed to control the export of gold, Treasury embarrassed, Democratic deficiency, stamp tax levied.

Can there be any marks more distinguishing of Democratic legislation than these 1894–1897 and 1913–1916? These are the plague spots of recent years. President Wilson had assured the country he did not intend and would not cripple any legitimate industry. When told his proposed legislation would paralyze industry and displace labor, UNDERWOOD declared from the floor of the House that the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce would punish any employer who would dare slow down upon business to the hurt of labor. What followed?

Mr. Speaker, one of the best business barometers of the country is the railroads; they are so intimately connected with the business life of the Nation that injury to them will be felt quite generally. This is because of the tremendous importance of this branch of public and private business. Note these figures: Twenty million people, or one-fifth of our population, either directly or indirectly interested in the railroad business; 2,000,000 wage earners directly employed, to whom are paid $1,500,000,000 in wages; 1,000,000 workers in plants supplying the material for the roads, representing 5,000,000 more dependent upon them; 1,500,000 stockholders representing at least 6,000,000 persons. The roads paid in expenses in 1913, $2,165,000,000—$23.50 per capita of our entire population—including men, women, and children.

The effect of the Underwood bill upon this enterprise is shown by comparing the earnings of the fiscal year of 1914, the first year of the law, with those of the year of 1913. The gross earnings decreased $44,000,000, expenses and taxes increased $76,000,000, the net operating income decreased $120,000,000. Taxes increased $12,600,000, a total of $252,600,000 of loss to this branch of industry in one year, which marks the railroads' contribution to Democratic legislation.

DECREASE OF OPERATING REVENUES.

The total operating revenues during the fiscal year 1914 amounted to $2,991,398,735, or an average of $13,266 per mile of line; operating expenses amounted to $2,155,072,345, or an average of $9,557 per mile of line; the residue, net operating revenue, amounted to $836,326,390, or an average of $3,709 per mile of line. Compared with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, the fiscal year 1914 shows a decrease in total operating revenues per mile of $471, or 3.4 per cent; an increase in operating expenses per mile of $38, or 0.4 per cent; a resultant decrease in net operating revenue per mile of $510, or 12.1 per cent. Taxes per mile increased $53, or 9.6 per cent, while operating income decreased $577 per mile, or 15.7 per cent.

To meet this critical situation the roads inaugurated a campaign of retrenchment on expenses. Trains which had been a part of regular schedules for years were taken off. Great forces of labor were reduced. In the month of July, 1914, just before the war in Europe opened, the number of cars passing daily Lewistown junction on the main line of the Pennsylvania Road was 680 less than in July of 1913. For the month this would amount to 20,400 cars less than the year preceding on but one line of but one system among a great many railway lines in the country. By May 31, 1914, just two months before the war and seven months after the Underwood bill took effect, the Pennsylvania Co. laid off 24,124 men. In March of 1914, five months after the bill went into effect, 34 roads, representing one-half the railroad mileage of the country, had reduced their force 119,537 men, or over 10 per cent.

The disastrous effect of this law is best shown by comparing the number of idle cars on the tracks in 1914 with 1913. Here is the statement by months that tells its own story:

| | 1914 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|
| Jan. 15 | 214,883 | 28,433 |
| Feb. 1 | 200,678 | 37,260 |
| Feb. 14 | 197,052 | 22,182 |
| Mar. 1 | 153,907 | 31,381 |
| Mar. 14 | 124,865 | 37,775 |
| Apr. 11 | 139,512 | 57,988 |
| Apr. 15 | 212,860 | 57,498 |
| May 1 | 228,874 | 33,760 |
| May 15 | 238,642 | 59,294 |
| May 31 | 241,803 | 50,908 |
| June 15 | 232,334 | 64,927 |
| July 1 | 219,545 | 63,704 |

According to the latest report on April 1, 1915, the total surplus of cars was 313,421, the total shortage 348, and a net surplus of 313,073. On March 1, 1915, the corresponding surplus was 321,787, and on April 1, 1914, it was 139,512.

There is no more conclusive evidence of the prostrating effect of legislation than the above figures. They are in sharp contrast with the bombastic boast of our Democratic stump orators, who first denied the situation and then its causes.

The building program of the roads is another business index which impresses the country in the same way. Here is the statement from the New York Evening Post, a prominent free-trade sheet:

| | Locomotives. | Freight cars. |
|---|---|---|
| 1914 | 926 | 78,660 |
| 1913 | 5,332 | 207,684 |
| 1912 | 4,915 | 152,429 |
| 1911 | 3,530 | 72,161 |
| 1910 | 4,755 | 183,905 |
| 1909 | 2,887 | 93,570 |
| 1908 | 2,342 | 75,555 |
| 1907 | 7,352 | 284,188 |
| 1906 | 6,952 | 240,503 |
| 1905 | 5,491 | 195,155 |
| 1904 | 3,441 | 60,806 |
| 1903 | 5,152 | 153,195 |
| 1902 | 4,070 | 152,599 |

In 1914 orders for 926 locomotives were given, while in 1913 under protective tariff the number was 5,332, nearly six times as many. In 1914 orders for 78,660 freight cars were given, while in 1913, 207,684, or nearly three times the number.

It will be noted that the orders for locomotives the first year of the Underwood bill was the lowest in 20 years.

Closely identified with the railroad industry is that of steel, which is one of the best business barometers of the Nation. This is one story of the iron and steel industry, according to investigations made by the Daily Iron Trade:

Eighty-seven days of the "new freedom" and "free trade":
More than one-third of all the steel mills in the United States closed.
More than 1,000,000 men idle.
More than $2,000,000 in wages per day gone.

More than $125,000,000 invested in closed mills.
An annual pay roll of more than $746,000,000 wiped out.

But this is not all, for connected with the iron, steel, and metal trades are 28,000 separate and distinct establishments employing 2,000,000 men, 1,000,000 of whom are idle. So we have altogether 2,000,000 idle men in the iron and steel business.

Other industries felt the same shock. The Waltham Watch Co. in 1914, before the war opened, placed 3,000 men on short time.

The most serious effect of this sort of legislation is always felt among the toilers. In the railroad business alone 242,500 men were laid off in 1914 up to July, just nine months after the Underwood bill took effect and the month before the war broke out in Europe. It was estimated that the unemployment throughout the United States would reach the enormous figure of 4,000,000, either totally out of work or on short time. Here are the estimates of trade journals:

New York, March, 1914, 350,000 workers out of work; Boston, March, 1914, 20,000 workers out of work; Chicago, March, 1914, 50,000 workers out of work; Los Angeles, January, 1914, 35,000 workers out of work; San Francisco, August, 1914, 25,000 workers out of work; Pittsburgh, August, 1914, 50,000 workers out of work.

On January 10, 1914, three months after the bill went into effect, there were 1,000,000 men in the metal trades idle, with a loss of wages of $50,000,000 per month. There were 270,000 men in the mines, with a loss in wages of twelve million per month. There were at the same time 19,300 men idle in the Baldwin Locomotive Works. On March 1, 1914, five months after the law went into effect, there were 100,000 men idle on the Pacific coast. This stagnation of business extended to every line of industrial activity. The New York Herald, a supporter at the time of the Underwood Act, printed on December 15, 1913, two months after the law took effect, a statement of business conditions, as follows:

The north Atlantic group of States, embracing the great industrial centers found in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware was reported to be "at a standstill." The great States of the Middle West—Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri—were reported unfavorable.

Col. George Pope, of Connecticut, sent out an inquiry June, 1914, upon the business situation. This inquiry went to the heads of business firms, representing every shade of political opinion. The answers were substantially the same:

Business is unsatisfactory.
Our sales are below normal.
We can not make collections.
The outlook is discouraging.
We must have relief from lawmaking.

On May 29, 1914, a deputation representing manufacturing interests in Ohio and Illinois to the amount of at least three-quarters of a billion dollars, employing an army of workers, called upon the President at the White House to make a frank statement of the business situation of the country as it then existed, and to memorialize him for relief. The spokesman was from my own district, and is a distinguished Democrat. The President's answer to their prayer was the now famous assurance that business was all right, and the situation was merely psychological. Imagine the sensation of these seasoned business leaders, upon whose shoulders were the heavy burdens of keeping their business organizations intact, both for their own benefit and that of their employees, when told they must not be disturbed because the situation was a mere state of mind. They had not been conducting their business on such lines.

On the 25th of June the President, speaking to the country through the Virginia Press Association, which he addressed, assured the public that there were symptoms of a revival of business. The very papers that carried this surprising assurance detailed the Claflin failure of $34,000,000, the largest industrial failure in the history of business. The papers on the same day announced that 3,000,000 wage earners were on the streets of our cities looking for work throughout the country. This was the beginning of a riot of bankruptcies which before the year ended had scheduled more industrial failures than any similar period since the Wilson tariff law of 20 years ago.

At the very moment Democratic leaders were denying the state of affairs Mayor Mitchel, of New York, demanded that the municipal budget be cut from ten to six millions, because the city was in a state of "great business depression."

The spring of 1914 witnessed the greatest test in our history of various charitable associations to care for the unfortunate victims of bad legislation. Many cities issued bonds in order to find employment on public works for the suffering idle, who up to that time had been well employed. Every altruistic association in the great cities, including the churches, was strained to find public lodging houses, to establish municipal soup houses, to lodge and feed the unfortunates. The bread lines had never been so long and persistent as at this time. In his famous address at Indianapolis, January 8, 1915, the President recommended an employment bureau as a part of the Government activities. The country then, as now, believed the best possible employment bureau is an administration that will make possible the employment of labor in the thousands of industries, where self-respecting men can find work and wages and not be compelled to ask for charity. Here is where the country will indict this administration. It is foreign in its policy, its legislation, its effect. It is inimical to labor and inefficient from every point of view.

Its bald extravagance, which is simply appalling, together with its inefficiency of administration, will surely lead to its expulsion from power at the next election. It is amusing to note the various explanations of the administration. At first the leaders closed their eyes and refused to acknowledge the actual results. Democratic orators denied the fact of distress. However, the President admitted the situation, but explained it upon the basis of psychology. After this admission the leaders declared the situation was due to an overabundance of crops, a glutted market. But when that failed of satisfaction to explain the real situation they put the blame upon the Interstate Commerce Commission in its failure to give to the railroads an increase of rates. The demagogue loudly declared that it was the result of a conspiracy of business men to repudiate the administration. However, now and then a Democrat of independent mind was bold enough to admit the facts, as did Congressman METZ, of New York, when he declared on the floor of the House that "hundreds of businesses are running at a dead loss to keep their organizations together."

This was the situation July 31, 1914, just 10 months after the enactment of this southern "revenue-only" law took effect. Then the war in Europe came. Within a month the nations which contained half the world's people were in arms. In due time it encompassed three-fourths of the world's population. The European producer, who under the Underwood bill was rapidly seizing our trade and thus displacing our capital and labor, suddenly ceased to be our competitor and became our greatest consumer. On the 21st of last month I pointed out the figures which tell the story of the war-order prosperity. With all Europe looking to us for supplies our productive capacity has been taxed to its limit. This is expressed in our fabulous exports. The Democratic leaders immediately seized upon the war as an explanation of all the woes brought upon us by their legislation. At the time it was asserted on the floor of the House by Republican leaders that any man with a thimbleful of brains must know that the war can have but one effect upon our trade—a wonderfully stimulating result. In the face of this most apparent fact our Democratic leaders, without the slightest compunction, are daily making the absurd claim that these exports and the present stage of prosperity are due to Democratic legislation. In distress it was war, in prosperity it is Democratic legislation. It would appear that sheer respectability for opinion's sake would be a deterrent to such a claim; but not so in this Congress. This sort of twaddle will not get far. The American electorate are not to be deceived. They have already given evidence of that fact. They spoke in no uncertain tones in November of 1914, when the friends of protection were still in divided camps.

To-day, when these friends are under the same banner, the country can expect but one result—a complete repudiation both of this vicious legislation and the cheap demagogic claim for such legislation. This result will be reached in the repudiation of a policy conceived in the interest of foreign rather than American enterprise. It will be made also a decisive rebuke for the hardihood of the claim that the present blood-soaked European prosperity is due to legislation. If we wish to know what to expect in the future, we need but look to the past. The industrial situation in 1914, before the war opened, is sufficient evidence of what we may expect when the war closes. The people of this country will never risk the readjustment that must come at the close of the war to legislators now in control of the Government. When 30,000,000 soldiers return from the fields and trench to resume their industrial pursuits, they will find many places filled by women doing well the work they formerly did. Then will come that competition for place which will compel a reduction of wages from the already low standard of Europe. This lowering standard will be augmented by the staggering debt under which Europe is now groaning. They will cease to buy from us, and thus avoid an increase of debt, but they will sell to us to reduce it. Europe's goods, made by the cheapest-paid labor, will flood our markets and will expel our goods, made by the highest-paid labor. What we experienced prior to the war will be but an incident to what we must suffer after it ends, unless remedial legislation interposes. In

such a crisis this country will never risk the Democratic remedy in the form of tariff for "revenue only" legislation. It will naturally turn to a protective system, which has now been embraced by every country of Europe. It will naturally appeal to the Republican Party, under the leadership of the country's most distinguished jurist, and will place in his hands and in the keeping of those who believe in an American system the constructive work of readjustment, inevitable on the cessation of hostilities, and upon which the welfare of a hundred million people will be dependent. Whatever other issues may differentiate the dominant parties of the country, the paramount issue in this campaign must be whether the free-trade party of the country, dominated by the cotton States men, which under their latest legislation, styled the Underwood Act, precipitated the country, which up to that time was in the acme of prosperity, into the most disastrous prostration experienced since the last Democratic legislation of 20 years before—whether that party shall be intrusted to power to meet the problems of readjustment. A party that strangled the business of the country in 1913 will not be trusted in 1916 to rebuild from its own ruins.

## Invisible Government and the Consequence of It.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, I extend these remarks in the hope that they may be of interest to the country, for I know that the facts that I present are important and should be understood by everyone. No matter what individual professions and party claims may be to the contrary, it is apparent to anyone who has been more than four years a Member of Congress, that the will of the people in regard to legislation is seldom consulted. The price of leadership here is exactly the opposite of carrying out, in good faith, the will of those whom we are elected to serve. Wholesale deception of the electorate has been, and is now, the means most successfully used to secure office and remain in public life. Committees that meet in secret and party caucuses held behind closed doors restrict legislation strictly to such measures as are desired by "special privilege," or to manipulate and emasculate legislation made to conform to popular demand in the title clause only. The bosses know how, and they use their knowledge, when all other means fail, to so manipulate a disagreement between this body and the Senate as to completely avoid in conference such a compliance with the popular will as would in any degree benefit those who send us here and pay our public salaries. There is the rub. We are not, many of us, earning the salaries that the Government pays us, but rather receive the benefit of the campaign funds supplied by "big business."

Everyone here knows that these things are true. Go back, Mr. Speaker, in your own recollection, to those stormy days on this floor when your predecessor occupied that chair and you were the leader of the minority. Recall how a few of us on this side of the House lead in a fight, refusing to bow to the party lash. We were joined by you and your followers in a demand which was backed and applauded by a vast majority of the American people, that this should in fact and deed become a representative body with rules that would make it responsive to the will of a majority of its own Members. Does it not often recur to you in your meditations concerning your long service here, how the reforms then demanded were made innocuous and practically defeated by the defection of 23 Members of your own party who were here—and who can doubt it—for the express purpose of serving the selfish interests of the "invisible government"? I can not but believe that your mind has speculated upon what different and more beneficial lines the course of legislation might have followed had those 23 Members been true to the interests of good government at that time. Mr. Speaker, I feel sure that you will recognize that I am not at all exceeding the limitations of the probable when I say that if the outcome of that fight had been different than it was, and if we had secured the rules that would properly govern our deliberations, instead of limiting our action within the control of bosses, there would not have been in the White House to-day the leader of a disorganized and turbulent minority of the electorate, and you Mr. Speaker, instead would be occupying that high position—President of the United States.

And what of the 23 Members who, at that time refused to join us in battle for proper rules, and who deserted your leadership, and by their acts fastened upon this House rules under which it does not govern itself? It all proved to the country, that in its extremity, "special privilege" is no respecter of party lines, and that whatever it demands in this House and elsewhere, the "invisible government" is above party and country. What sinister influence controlled the 23? They were of unquestioned intelligence and knew the effect of their vote. No satisfactory explanation was ever made. If this is a Government by party, and party defection is treason, why have not these members of your party been punished? There is a reason, Mr. Speaker, and during the time that I have spent here, I have made it a part of my business to find out some of these things.

There is a sinister influence at work in our country, which, if it is not checked, intends to completely undermine the institutions of our Government and change it from a representative form of government to a monarchial and plutocratic system where it will be the privilege of a few to rule in splendor, and the fate of the many to spend their lives in unrequited toil and that hopeless condition of servitude which they came here to escape from. Already word has gone forth to lands across the sea, to those aspiring souls who search for liberty of person and freedom of conscience, that America no longer is in a position to offer to the world an asylum and refuge for the oppressed. That class of emigrants which was once our glory and our boast, has ceased to look for freedom here. It is a different class that now makes up the bulk of emigrants to our shores. It is a situation that deserves the careful consideration of all thoughtful persons. Amidst all this talk of "preparedness" we need to stop to inquire if, while we have been preparing for the foe who may possibly lurk without, we have entirely neglected to prepare for an infinitely more dangerous foe which, with the certainty of fate, exists within.

It is not my purpose to make a partisan political statement. I could not if I would, for I am not a partisan. I believe in looking the cold facts in the face and stating them as they are. After I have gone out from this body and return to private life it will be my proudest recollection that I have never allowed the dictates of party to influence my course. Nor will it ever be charged against me that "invisible government" in any of its forms has ever controlled my voice or vote. During my service as a Member of this House I have been a close observer of events during three different presidential administrations. I have seen the progressive tendencies of legislation under a Roosevelt, inspired by the logic, eloquence, and candor of LA FOLLETTE, strangled by the stand-pat proclivities of a Taft, and the power of a great party, which had controlled the country for 16 years, dwindle until it was able to carry only the electoral votes of two of the smallest States in the Union. I have seen another great party ride into power on the strength of roseate promises to the people, and I expect to see it go out of power, because it has been abundantly proved that those promises were merely statements to catch votes. The plain truth is that neither of these great parties, as at present led and manipulated by an invisible government, is fit to manage the destinies of a great people, and this fact is well understood by all who have had the time and have used it to investigate.

The most that anyone can at the present time, who has the good of his country at heart, dare to hope is that a new administration, not unlikely to be substituted for the one that now exists, will be to some extent better than the existing one. The attitude of many people at the present time is simply this, that a new administration without pledge of past performance or promise of future fulfillment is to be preferred to one that has been trusted on promises which it has broken in nearly every particular. It is in plain terms a contest between two men, one of whom has not been tried in the balancing of national and international problems and the other of whom has been tried and found wanting in some of the most important essentials. So far as the parties are concerned, the people may truly say, "For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

During the continuance of my service as a Member of this House and in the study of economic conditions which my conception of my duty to my constituents impelled me to make I have observed many abuses of government which I believed might be corrected if known to the public, and the correction of which could not fail to bring about infinitely better conditions of living among the plain people, which, after all is said, constitutes the very foundation of government itself. Imagine if you can—and you can, because sooner or later you will be forced to—the political situation in a representative government based upon the principle of government by, for, and of the people, wherein the representatives persistently refuse to consider ways and means of bettering the conditions surrounding those

who by right should be their masters, the great common people of this country. That is the political situation that I have encountered during the entire 10 years of my service as a Member of this body. From time to time, as I have observed abuses which certainly ought to be corrected if representative government is not to perish from the earth, I have introduced resolutions calling for investigation and better understanding of those abuses. I know that if such investigations were made in good faith and the facts established were given to the public there would not fail to be a correction of those evils. Before a wrong can be made right it must be known by what way the wrong exists. There exists among the Members of the House smaller bodies within the main body, and one of these is the Committee on Rules, to which is referred all resolutions calling for investigation of any subject that may be desired by a Member, and to it is committed by the rules of the House almost unlimited power over such resolutions. If the committee does not see fit to report out the resolution, it dies without ever being called to the particular attention of the House in any official way.

Now, some important resolutions that I have introduced have never been reported from the committee, and I can only conclude that a majority of the Committee on Rules either do not agree with me that the evils that I have pointed out are evils and a menace to the continuance of popular representative government, or else that a majority of the committee favor the continuance of the evils regardless of their effect upon the welfare of the people. It makes little difference to me personally which of these two views of the nonaction of the committee is correct, and I am content to abide by the decision of history to determine, but in the course of my present remarks I shall take the opportunity to refer to some of the resolutions.

Quite early in my service here I observed that there was some power outside the Government itself which was insidiously, but none the less effectively, dictating the course of legislation in reference to finance, currency, and the creation and control of credit throughout the country; that it was in a position to dictate, and did dictate to an extent almost unlimited, to whom credit should be extended and from whom it should be withheld; and that it largely controlled the political action and the influence of most of the banking and other corporations of the entire country. Knowing that the exercise of such power was inimical to the welfare of the Republic, I introduced a resolution in this House setting forth the facts, naming this insidious and well-nigh invincible power, the Money Trust, source of all the trusts, and calling for a committee to investigate its activities. The press, which is largely under the domination of "big business," ridiculed the resolution and especially ridiculed the idea that there could be a Money Trust; but they made the mistake, from their standpoint, of ridiculing it too openly. This gave it wide publicity, and, to their great amazement and chagrin, the people, who knew more about these things than the trusts supposed, took it seriously. So great became the demand for the proposed investigation that the House for once, in spite of the reluctance of the bosses here, was compelled to act. The Committee on Rules reported out my resolution under a different name, and, in order to prevent my being a member of the committee, as well as making it as harmless as possible to the Money Trust, provided that the investigation be made by the Committee on Banking and Currency, which was composed almost entirely of bankers and the former attorneys of banks.

The committee, nevertheless, reported that there was a Money Trust and that its activities were as I had stated them to be, and that its existence and the power it wielded were a menace to the institutions of this country, but for some reason it took no action to deprive it of that power. Woodrow Wilson, however, took notice of its existence during his campaign for the Presidency, and promised to exercise his influence, if elected, to curb its power and influence. I have no hesitation in saying that this promise, like many others, has not been kept, but, on the contrary, the principal result of the financial legislation during this administration has been to legalize and more firmly intrench the Money Trust in its control of business, credit, and politics of this vast country than ever before, and in order to screen that fact the Money Trust has bought the services of many prominent writers for the purpose of running articles in the press praising the system, which in less than six years the people will rise in rebellion against because of its intolerable and unjust burden.

One result of the Money Trust resolution, however, which I will notice here has been that never since has the controlled press seen fit to ridicule any resolution of mine. One lesson was enough. They have not dared to. In fact, they never state the facts as I have presented them, but prefer to misrepresent.

Profiting from my observation of the investigation of the Money Trust by a committee of this House, nearly all the members of which were interested parties and therefore desirous of limiting its activities as much as possible, I introduced a resolution declaring it should be the policy of the House membership that no banker or one who was financially interested in a bank should be a member of the Banking and Currency Committee. Also a resolution calling on members to declare the extent of their affiliations with banks, if any. Neither of these resolutions ever came out of the Committee on Rules, so we must take it for granted that a majority of the members of that committee believe that it is right for bankers to legislate for their personal benefit, as all financial legislation shows that they have.

I also introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee of the House on industrial relations. So far as I know, this was the first suggestion for the appointment of such a committee; and while my resolution was permitted to sleep in the Committee on Rules, it nevertheless suggested the subsequent passing of a law for the appointment by the President of a commission which made an exhaustive investigation and report, finding that exactly the conditions outlined by me in the preamble of my resolution and a speech upon it actually existed. Its report is destined to be long considered as classic in its delineation of the deplorable conditions which surround the industrial masses of our time. Some one in the management for "special privilege" blundered. For once, at least, a few persons were appointed on a commission who had not been educated to believe as "special privilege" demands for all such appointments. There was Frank P. Walsh, the chairman, whom the "special interest" press tried to ridicule after they saw his honest and fearless work. This man, with a majority of the commission of which he was chairman, have done a service to the world and no doubt have brought nearer the day when the people in their right will rise to claim their own. Every home should have a copy of the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

January, 1915, I introduced a resolution calling attention to the manner in which the Federal reserve law had legalized the Money Trust and placed it in absolute control of the finances of this country; how it could, and would, under the law make use of Government credit to finance a world-wide monopoly, and use the funds belonging to the people deposited in banks to loan to foreign countries at war, extend credit to expand foreign trade at the expense of our own people, control prices by the manipulation of its control of credit, and extend its influence to control the politics of this country. My Democratic friends, you are entering into a political campaign with the vain hope that special privilege, having obtained enormous benefits at your hands, is going to be grateful for the past favors that you have showered upon it and assist you in retaining control of the Government. They will furnish you campaign funds, as they do to both the dominant parties, but that is as far as they will go toward helping. You are due to a rude awakening. You are to learn that gratitude forms no portion of the make-up of this monster. You are to learn that you, having done all you could for it, are no longer necessary to its business, except that now that you have passed the laws that it wanted, you are estopped from complaining through your portion of the press and on the stump or from entering any protest whatever when the time comes that your eyes are open to the oppression the common people are surely destined to endure because of your falsely, so-called beneficial, legislation.

If in the future some party shall be needed to undo the things that you have done, you are not going to be in a position to enter a claim to be that party. In the hands of your opponents will lie the power that you have placed there, and all its evil effects will be laid to you. You have missed an opportunity that comes but once in a lifetime; one that will never come to you as a party again. The time will come when no Democrat who boasts of the achievements in legislation of this present Wilson administration will be considered worthy to hold any public office. You have gone "crossroads" with some of the most vital principles laid down by the great Thomas Jefferson. You may boast of him as a great Democrat, but not any one of you should boast who has been active in fastening some of the hardships of this administration upon the people.

During all this time I have been conscious that the Money Trust and its correlated trusts were not working alone; that there was ever present in our politics an element or elements that were wholly at its disposal and in every election formed a strong nucleus around which they could gather the forces subject to mercenary manipulation and thus always control in the matters of most vital concern to the people. I knew it must be so. The great mass of the voters of this country, while not as well informed upon these subjects as they should be, are

nevertheless too intelligent for a majority of them to vote in election after election directly contrary to their own interests unless they are made to believe that there is some issue whose paramount importance transcends their own material welfare and the greatest good to the greatest number.

Such political elements exist in all great cities of every section where large numbers of voters are absolutely controlled and delivered in every election by interests supported by vice of every kind, and especially the liquor traffic of those localities. And, while this element is most powerful in cities, it is not confined to them alone, but ramifies throughout the States in which the great cities are. In nearly every hamlet are to be found voters whose suffrages are at the disposal of these powers that prey without any other consideration whatever.

Such a political element exists in many localities where any large number of voters, or their parents, are of some foreign nationality and are misled on that account to give their support to unworthy candidates for no other reason than that they are of alien origin.

Such a deleterious element also exists in any community where any considerable number of voters stake everything upon a single issue without taking into consideration the general balance of things. It also exists where votes are cast in blocks according to the interests of high dignitaries, whether in church, lodge, or other organization, and even in the political parties. The fathers of our country wisely determined that there should be here absolute dissociation of church and state, and "church" is not a narrow or limited term, as used in the Constitution, but includes every organization separated from the functions of government itself in which all people by right should take part. The fathers of our country contemplated that every person was to be left free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that this might be assured it was intended that no church should ever control the state.

Whether or not the high dignitaries in the Roman Catholic Church has been such an element generally in our politics is not the prime purpose of my statement to discuss. I am dealing with the effect of human conduct upon our economic operations, with the purpose of showing that it is wise for people to understand their material welfare if they would secure the full advantages of intelligence in dealing with material, moral, and religious matters. They can not stake everything upon a single issue and make this world go right, because there are too many issues in which high-minded people take interest, and when everything is centered by those respectively taking interest in their particular issue, and all else thrown to the winds, it leaves the selfish interests where they can draw the balance in their favor, and that is exactly what has been done. Because of that the toilers who do the work of the world secure only about one-fifth of what their work would return to them if we had a general consistency in government and business. It is to secure this consistency that I make this statement, and I have worked for it all the time without prejudice of party, nationality, church, or anything else, because I realize full well that prejudice is the enemy of good government and defeats the exercise of the rights of the people.

The Free Press Defense League, and several other associations, have been organized as a protest against some of the activities in Government affairs of the high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. These associations have a very large following. The membership of the church itself also is large. The two followings can not help having appreciable effect upon political conditions, and consequently upon economic results in business. If we are to get anything like fair economic adjustment to be worked out in the interest of all the people, there must be an understanding on the part of people generally of the facts and the claims regarding the controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and these organizations. The charges that have been made, and that are being made, against the political activities of this great organization, and the following of those making the charges, are such that they can not be ignored if we are to remain a people free and independent of outside influences. For that reason I served notice upon the associations making charges against the high dignitaries in the Roman Catholic Church of their selfish interference with government, that I would introduce a resolution for an investigation of the charges, so that the issue might be determined. The resolution that I shall introduce is in words as follows:

Whereas there are many economic problems that require the action of Congress and the concerted action of all the patriotic people with Congress for their solution favorable to the public which, to the great loss of the people, have remained in a state of uncertainty because of disputes among the people upon other matters; and

Whereas one of the most important of the collateral matters that diverts the people from sufficiently considering the economic needs is the claim of the Free Press League, a Kansas organization, with affiliations in all parts of the country, involving a large following; and

Whereas the Free Press Defense League and similar organizations and their following represent that:

First. The Pope of Rome is a foreign sovereign, claiming allegiance in temporal as well as in spiritual matters throughout the world.

Second. The papal system of which the pope is the head is opposed to and seeks to destroy our free institutions, to wit:

(a) Our public schools.
(b) The free press.
(c) The right of free speech and public assembly.
(d) The right of freedom of thought in matters of conscience.
(e) The principle of separation of church and state.

Third. The papal system of America, which consists of the Roman Catholics, cardinals, bishops, priests, Jesuits, Knights of Columbus, Federation of Catholic Societies, and other Catholic societies, together with the Roman Catholic press, seek to substitute for our democratic system of government the monarchical or papal system.

Fourth. The Roman Catholic laity in the United States of America are taught, influenced, and commanded by those in authority to yield implicit obedience to the teaching of the Popes of Rome and to blindly obey their orders and decrees, even though said orders and decrees conflict with the Constitution of the United States of America.

Fifth. The Roman Catholic organization of America is perniciously active in politics, and, although having but few votes as compared with the whole body of electors, it manages, by threats, intimidations, blackmail, and by coercion of the press, to secure an undue proportion of the elective, and especially the appointive offices throughout the country, and these offices, when filled with Roman Catholics, are used to further the plan of making America dominantly Catholic.

Sixth. In carrying out the conspiracy to bring the United States of America under the complete domination of the Pope of Rome the Roman Catholic hierarchy, aided by the Roman Catholic politicians and the Roman Catholic press, has inspired a portion of the Roman Catholic laity to resort to threats, to intimidation, to boycott, to assault, and to riot.

Seventh. The Roman Catholic hierarchy is now and has been for more than a year last past actively engaged within the territory of the United States of America in fomenting and inciting revolution in the Republic of Mexico and attempting to bring about a state of war between the Republic of Mexico and the United States; and

Whereas the said claims on the part of the so-called Free Press Defense League and similar organizations have been and are now being broadcasted over the country and both sides to the controversy are causing to be sent to Members of Congress great numbers of allegations and assertions and counterallegations and denials upon the said various claims and others, which controversy injures the interests of both Catholics and Protestants; and

Whereas the said controversy foments troubles and interferes with the unprejudiced action of millions of electors in the United States, and thereby interferes with the natural, consistent, and impartial administration of the Government in the interests of all of the people; and

Whereas a true and impartial investigation and report thereon by a properly constituted public committee would take these controversies out of politics and stop the attempts to improperly influence the acts of public officials: Now, therefore be it

*Resolved, etc.*, That a joint committee of the Senate and House be appointed to make inquiry into the representations hereinbefore referred to.

SEC. 2. That the said committee shall have power to employ clerks and stenographers and to compel the attendance of persons and the production of papers, books, documents, and records, and to examine witnesses under oath; that said committee shall have power to sit anywhere that it may deem necessary to secure all the facts to complete the inquiry and shall report the testimony to Congress.

The introductory and the closing of the resolution is drafted by myself, but the charges are taken verbatim from those made by the Free Press Defense League. The charges made by the league should not be ignored by the church organization itself. Either the high dignitaries in the Roman Catholic Church are using the church and operating it as a political machine, as well as a church, or they are not. I have seen the effect upon government of the charges and countercharges, denials, and so forth, for some time. I am sure that it is for the interest of everybody, including Catholics, who believe in keeping church and state separate to have the facts, whatever they are, cleared up so the people may not be misled.

We have been accustomed here year after year, session after session, to hear charges, backed up by proof and circumstances that should not be ignored, that the Money Trust of this country was gathering to itself the influence and power which it is exerting to the detriment of the people to whom the Government rightfully belongs. Yet we have grown fully accustomed to having those charges, those proofs, and those circumstances ignored, and the Money Trust has gone on gathering to itself more power and more influence as the years have gone by to the extent that now it is well nigh supreme. Under the false exaggerated plea of "preparedness," of the kind it wanted, it could wrest from the people through their chosen representatives almost anything it may choose to ask. It dictates the choice of Presidents, Senators, Representatives, governors, and judges, and controls their action too often when chosen. It comes to the President and Congress and, under a threat of panic on the one hand and the promise of campaign funds on the other, secures such legislation as it desires. It demands and secures from the sworn

representatives of a great sovereign people absolute monopolistic control of Government credit, and uses its control for the maintenance of wars abroad and in a preparation for war which it intends we shall wage for its exclusive benefit at home and abroad. Its business politically is to oppress the people of this and all lands and lay upon them burdens too grievous to be born, and it coins the sweat and tears of hundreds of millions of people into riotous living for the few. The Money Trust does all that.

Read history and observe the signs of the times. You will find that everywhere, in all lands and at all times, the high dignitaries in the Church of Rome have been the ally of oppression, whether that oppression has been exercised under the exploited doctrine of the divine rights of kings, or whether it is exercised under the groveling greed of plutocracy. Claiming to hold in its hands the keys of the kingdom of heaven, it is, in all climes and in all lands, the active assistant of those who bring hell upon earth. That is not a fault of the church as such, but a fault of men in whom it trusts. Men are men, and wherever they are placed they are subject to the evil temptations, and it would be a miracle if there were any great body of men with such power as is exercised by those described if they did not exercise that power in many cases selfishly, and that is the reason why we in America demand that this shall be a government by and for the people. The same reason applies to political parties when they are dominated by leaders instead of by the rank and file of the membership. Nothing has ever been permanently successful that has depended upon individual boss direction instead of popular control. If these things are not true; if this organization is one that is exclusively the medium for promulgation of divine truth and righteousness, no opportunity would be avoided to let the people know the minutest details of its activities. Men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil. Righteousness loves light. The rank and file are righteous upon these matters, and of whatever party, denomination, or creed, will ask for light. The Free Press Defense League, and others making like claims, stand charged with statements which if untrue and so established would take from such association the following they have.

Is there any force or organization of persons in this land of free speech and free men interested and busy in preventing the free expression of any thing that should be spoken, written, or printed by the people? Bills have been introduced in this House designed to prevent the distribution through the mails of newspapers containing any information relative to the political activities of high church dignitaries. It is claimed that mobs have been organized in many communities, and in some have proceeded to the limit of murder and all forms of violence in an attempt to suppress free speech, and justice itself has been perverted to the same ends. Does any one claim that these acts are being done to prevent an abuse of the right of free speech or to silence slander and falsehood? Then, in fairness to all honest people, bring the proof, so that none may be unjustly charged.

Let there be a fair and impartial determination of all these things, so that all may know and understand the right. If these people and these papers are disseminating lies and the investigation asked for in the resolution that I shall introduce should show that to be a fact, then the bills pending here in Congress for refusing such publications the use of the mails will have just cause for enactment into law. The people are spending millions of postage stamps upon this subject which can by an investigation be saved to them.

If, on the other hand, the contention of the Free Press Defense League is true, that the Pope of Rome is a foreign sovereign, claiming allegiance in temporal as well as spiritual matters throughout the world, and that the Roman Catholic hierarchy has been engaged within the territory of the United States in fomenting and inciting revolution in the Republic of Mexico and attempting to bring about a state of war between the Republic of Mexico and the United States, then there is just cause for, and it is high time that there should be, legislation of a different sort.

If it is true, as definitely and particularly charged by the Free Press Defense League, that the Roman Catholic Church and its subsidiary societies, secret and other, are engaged in the political conspiracies charged, a proper respect for our free institutions demands of us a complete and fearless exposure of the facts, to the end that our institutions may be preserved and transmitted to our children.

Mr. Speaker, as things are now staged, the man who would be true to himself, to his fellow man, to his country, and his God faces a hard problem. He has not only himself to control, which is difficult at the outset, but he has strange men and women, a strange world, and strange gods to consider. To the average individual it seems too big an undertaking. Therefore each of us take up our separate schemes and know but little about the others. Instead of having a common consistency about the purposes of life and working to it, there is general inconsistency. We are working against each other—even seeking to take advantage one of the other.

If we were to live for three or four years, and then it was all over, possibly we could afford to go ahead with things as they are now staged. Perhaps, too, if we all died before we get old and left no children to take up life's problems where we quit them, we could run along without much further responsibility than we are taking, because the trusts, in order to keep us, as the farmer keeps his team, would be willing to give us enough of what our labor produced to feed and shelter us as long as we can produce for the trusts more than they give us. It would be poor business for them, however, to support us when we get old, for then we can no longer serve them. Therefore most old people live poorly.

WE MUST NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES.

We are here to live our lives out, and to do so in the right way. We must respect ourselves if we wish to be respected, but thus far the preparedness propaganda has not been presented in a way to stand the test of time nor to build the Nation to a real power. "Big business" has marshaled its subsidized press to build up a fear in the people for some unknown enemy—possible to be; probable if "big business" shall have its way. But to true Americans patriotism does not consist merely in defending the flag and the land of America against foreign foe. The value of Americanism is in the institutions of the people of America giving to Americans true government, promoting intelligent business and industrial development of the natural resources to suit the people's needs, thus forming the basis for prosperity and happiness, as well as a ripe patriotism instead of patriotism based upon fetish notions. A mere navy and army, however large, will not strengthen us, except for temporary military emergency. Unless we also prepare economically, a large navy and army will ruin us. The present preparedness propaganda is for a navy and army only. Every suggestion for economic preparedness has been slapped by the subsidized press. A large Army and a large Navy, with the economic conditions remaining as they are, would ruin us.

A PROBLEM PRESENTED FOR YOU TO THINK ON.

Is business done simply to afford the speculators a chance to exploit the people or should it be to supply us with conveniences? Surely it should be for the latter. Then, how stupid it is to waste the natural resources by exporting the raw material or the finished goods merely for speculation, and how senseless it is for our people to boast of exports exceeding imports. How ridiculous it is for any nation to attempt to force its material substances upon the people of other nations. Commerce should be, and would be if it were entered into to supply conveniences, as natural as the flow of the waters. There would be no friction. On the contrary, it would invite perfect harmony.

Last year's exports and imports is an example of the absolute absurdity of a commerce carried on for speculation, and it seems monstrous that our people should tolerate such injustice to themselves. We exported $4,334,000,000 in value of our products and got back $2,198,000,000 only of foreign products, and of this return $48,000,000 was diamonds and precious stones, exclusively for the rich. Let us understand the effect of such absurdity.

America is the real and only substantial market for American products. American consumers use every year many times more of its products than are exported. The exports this last year were for speculation principally and was made the excuse for the raising of prices to American consumers; so, all told, we paid in excess of the regular price more than the $4,334,000,000, the entire value of the exports.

American consumers of petroleum, for example, just before Europe took our export, paid 75 cents a barrel for crude Kansas-Oklahoma grade and $1.54 per barrel for Pennsylvania grade. The home consumption for 1915 was 211,933,000 barrels and export was 55,466,086 barrels. The price was raised from 75 cents a barrel to $1.55 on the western product and from $1.54 a barrel to $2.60 on the eastern. Assuming that the quantity used of the western and eastern product was equal, the American consumers had to pay in increased price on the one $84,000,000, and on the other $111,000,000, a total of $195,000,000 for a single year, and all merely for the benefit of speculators. That was the American consumers' extra burden because of the export of 55,466,086 barrels of American petroleum. The American supply is lessened and the American consumers will forever be forced to pay more for petroleum than if no petroleum had been exported. In the end it will amount to billions of dollars on petroleum alone.

214 were opposed to the system. Of the protestants, 113, or 52.8 per cent, were nonunion, and 101, or 47.2 per cent, were union.

All these men were asked to answer the following question: "Do you think the agitation is brought about through union labor or similar sources?"

They replied as follows: Noes, 137; yeas, 28; not answering, 70.

SYSTEM IN POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

Your committee found that the "stop-watch" system was being introduced in the Post Office Department in a most pernicious form. The pending legislation if enacted would, of course, end the evil at once.

In this connection your committee desires to call the attention of the House to the clear and convincing statement submitted to your committee by Mr. Edward Cantwell, secretary of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and which is as follows:

"Mr. CANTWELL. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Labor, I come before you to-day to enter my protest against the stop-watch or time-measuring device system in vogue in the Postal Service and to urge the committee to carefully weigh all the evidence that will be submitted to them in the hope that they will make a favorable report to the House of Representatives on a bill that will stop this practice in the future.

"For the information of the committee, I submit herewith a memorandum of the speed standard and the result of a test made in the Cincinnati post office.

"On October 14, 1915, a test was made of 210 carriers in the Cincinnati post office, divided as follows:

"Forty-six six-trip carriers; 10 five-trip carriers; 30 four-trip carriers; 31 three-trip carriers; and 93 two-trip carriers. Out of a total of 210 men, 130 fell below the standard in this test. Of the six-trip carriers, 23 measured up to the standard and 22 fell below it. Five trippers, 2 carriers made the standard and 8 fell below; of the four trippers, 4 men made the standard and 26 fell below; of the three trippers, 8 measured up to the standard and 23 fell below; of the two trippers, 43 made the standard and 50 fell below; of the total number, 80 carriers measured up to the speed test of the department and 130 fell below.

"Of the test taken on Friday, October 15, 1915, out of a total of 206 men but 72 measured up to the standard and 134 fell below the standard.

"In the speed tests an allowance of one minute is made for answering communications. It hardly seems reasonable to suppose that any man could answer a communication from his superior officer in one minute. In answering an official communication it must be drawn up intelligently and contain the information sought by the official and couched in respectful language. I will leave for the committee to judge whether there is one among us who could pick up an official document requesting a reply, read it, and make an intelligent answer in writing in the space of one minute. For example, the superintendent of a post office hands an official communication to a letter carrier reading as follows:

"'Complaint is made by Mr. EDWARD KEATING, formerly of Congress Hall, that his mail is being left at that address, although he filed an order to forward his mail to the Continental Hotel.'

"On receipt of this communication the carrier must first ascertain if the accusation be true. He knows that for the past several days he has forwarded Mr. KEATING'S mail to the Continental Hotel, and he further knows that the order to forward is only three days old, so he calls at Congress Hall and inquires if he, by any chance, left a letter for Mr. KEATING at any time, and is told by the clerk that a letter was left for Mr. KEATING on the morning of the day that he left the hotel, and that he had sent one of the employees to the Continental Hotel the next day with the letter. Mr. KEATING had not filed a removal notice until the day following his removal from Congress Hall, hence at the time the letter was delivered at Congress Hall no order was on file to forward his mail. This must be made clear to the superintendent, so the carrier writes him as follows:

"MARCH 30, 1916.

"W. H. HAYCOCK,
"*Superintendent of Mails, Washington, D. C.*

"SIR: Replying to the attached communication, I beg to advise that I have forwarded all mail addressed to Mr. KEATING to the Continental Hotel as per order since the order was received by me, but prior to the filing of the order and after he left Congress Hall a letter was delivered there for Mr. KEATING, which was later taken by an employee and delivered to the Continental Hotel.

"Respectfully submitted.

"JAMES P. MAHER, *Carrier 96.*

"This answer is intended to make it clear to Mr. KEATING that his mail is receiving the proper attention, and explains the reason the delivery of the letter to him by the employee of the Congress Hall Hotel was due to his failure to file a removal notice until they day after he had left. Now, anything less than this would not answer the purpose, and no man living could write the above in one minute. What I mean by that is that he could not take that official communication, read it, and find out what the assistant superintendent wanted to know, and then compose a letter and answer it in one minute's time.

"One-half minute is allowed for change of address, which is not sufficient for the purpose, unless a letter carrier can make all the changes of address from memory and not be compelled to consult his removal book. Should a letter carrier make a change of address from memory and forward a letter to the wrong address the letter is delayed, and the carrier is disciplined by having demerits charged against his record. To mark up and forward seven pieces of mail per minute depends entirely on the character of the marking up. If it is simply to mark the number of the district on which the letter is to be delivered, seven pieces of mail could be readily marked up in one minute. If, however, one or more pieces of mail requires looking up in an order or removal book, it would be a physical impossibility to mark up seven pieces of mail in one minute.

"The pace set in these tests is beyond the physical and mental endurance of an ordinary man, and if lived up to would result in the breaking down under the strain of any human being. The tests could possibly be made by a man of extraordinary ability and training for a period of one hour when a man is at his best. No ordinary man could stand the pace and maintain all the requirements set out in the rules and regulations covering these speed tests.

"The system has a tendency to make mere machines of men and to destroy all initiative and to have them lose personal interest in their work.

"This system destroys harmony of effort and cooperation between the officials and the working forces and with resultant harm to the public service. It seems to me to be poor policy on the part of the Government to institute a system among its employees that takes away from them the incentive to take pride in their work. It is carrying the policy of economy to extremes and has the tendency to foster discontent and unrest among the men who do the real hard work.

OBNOXIOUS SECRET TESTS.

"I will now cite a condition that prevails in the Postal Service that to my mind is without justification or excuse. I have presented to the committee copies of the department's speed standard, which in themselves are worthy of the serious thought and consideration of the members of the committee. The strain incident to keeping up with this so-called standard of efficiency is heartbreaking in the extreme, but the condition of the employees is aggravated by what is termed 'the secret tests.' Each carrier is subjected to this so-called speed test on one day of each month, the day and date being unknown to the carrier, and the testing being secretly made. The purpose of these secret speed tests is to keep all the men working at top speed mentally and physically every minute each day, as the carriers do not know what day they are being tested.

"On the day a carrier is subjected to the test, I have been informed, inspectors secretly count the pieces of mail of all classes that the employee handles that day, before the carrier receives his mail for routing. Several weeks after these secret tests are made the employee receives a letter to the effect that he is not 'working up to a standard satisfactory to the office.' A concise statement is embodied in the letter, showing the number of pieces of mail the carrier handled and how far he fell below the required standard. The communication contains a statement to the effect that 'it is hoped you will take such steps in the future to bring your work up to a standard as not to make it necessary to write you again concerning it.'

"I will leave to the judgment of the committee the class of man and kind of mind that could conceive putting these secret tests into force and effect, in order to keep men working under a constant mental and physical strain. I also leave to your consideration the sort of mental and physical condition a man of nervous temperament will be in at the end of his day's work. When employees who are honest and upright and conscientious are subjected to this constant suspicion and continual driving, they can not do good work. They are required to keep up the tests regardless of whether the conditions are favorable or unfavorable. Inclement weather, snow, rain, or icy sidewalks, poor or irregular car service or freezing cold cuts no figure when the secret tests are being made. Such a system can only result in breaking down the health of the employees who are required to keep up with it or will result in making mental wrecks of employees of a high-strung and nervous disposition.

"I have placed before you a statement of the facts gathered together from the complaints of the letter carriers in all parts of the country, and I appeal to you in their behalf to make a favorable report on the Van Dyke or Tavenner bills, with a recommendation to the Congress that it be enacted into law."

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion your committee would suggest:

The system so persistently urged by Gen. Crozier involves a fundamental, not to say revolutionary, change (a) in determining what is a reasonable day's work for an employee in the national arsenals and workshops and (b) in the method of compensating the workers, to wit, the substitution of the "bonus" or "premium" system for the age-old "day's-pay" system.

The workers affected seem to be almost unanimous in their opposition to the change. They insist it will be oppressive to them and will be without benefit to the Government.

So intense is this feeling that an attempt to install the system in all the Government workshops would, in the judgment of your committee, lead to very serious consequences.

In view of these well-established facts, it seems to your committee it would be the height of folly to permit Gen. Crozier to persist in his plan. Apparently, the only way to restrain him is to enact the bill under discussion, and your committee trusts the House will take prompt and favorable action.

EVERY COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS THAT EVER INVESTIGATED TAYLOR SYSTEM REPORTED ADVERSELY.

The Taylor system was also investigated by a special committee of the House during the Sixty-second Congress. Two of the three members of that committee are now members of President Wilson's Cabinet—William B. Wilson, the Secretary of Labor, and William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce. I will now quote from the report of that committee:

Government in a mill should be like government in a State.

It appears to your committee that no one can seriously object, and as a matter of fact no one has objected, to any system which so standardizes and systematizes the work to be performed that a greater amount of production is secured with the same expenditure of labor. Employer and employee alike and the public generally are interested in securing the largest amount and the best quality of production that can possibly be secured by the amount of labor expended. All men have a mutual interest in the accomplishment of that end. It is only when it comes to a division of that which has been produced that their interests diverge. It therefore follows that any system of management which has a tendency to destroy the power of employees, individually or collectively, to secure the equivalent of the production which properly belongs to them must be looked upon as being dangerous to the welfare of the community at large.

Efficiency must not be had at the cost of the men, women, and children who labor and who should be the primary beneficiaries from efficiency. We should study how to produce the best results in output while also producing conditions to make the most efficient men and women to produce that output, and this must be done by conserving in every way not only their health and physical and nervous vigor, but by creating such conditions as will permit them to work out their own happiness and contentment, secure wages which will enable them to live in such a manner as to maintain their own self-respect and sufficient leisure to enjoy the refreshing influence of mental and moral recreation.

The Taylor system of shop management may be divided into three general heads: Standardization, systematization, and stimulation. Efficiency may be gained in whole or in part by any of these ways, by any two of them, or by all three combined. Any or all of these devices may

be carried to an extreme. In the first two devices, namely, standardization and systematization, the expense which would be created by carrying them to an extreme would act as a check against the continuance of such a condition, but that check would not exist in that portion of stimulation which is applied to the workman.

The expenses of standardization and systematization are borne by the management, while the expense of stimulation in the form of increased energy is borne by the workmen. Any system of shop management which creates a burden charge through standardization or systematization which is too heavy for the shop to bear or which imposes burden charges through stimulation which are too heavy for the workman to bear should be discontinued.

That there is some loafing or soldiering amongst workmen has been shown by the testimony before your committee, but it is not general, nor does it occur in numerous instances compared with the total number employed.

Ordinary intelligent management under any system could eliminate it entirely or at least reduce it to the point where it would not be a serious hindrance to production. Because there are some loafers is no reason why the remainder of the workmen should either be compelled or induced to work up to the very edge of the breaking strain. There is need for production at the lowest cost, but no economic necessity can justify requiring workmen to speed up to the highest point which they can continue from day to day and from year to year, even without injury to their health and strength. To place workmen in a position of that kind is to put them in the position of a beast of burden which is required to go on from day to day performing a given task.

There is a margin between the work performed by the loafer and the maximum task for a man, and in that margin lies a proper day's work. What constitutes a reasonable day's work can only be determined by practical experience and intelligent observation. It can not be wholly determined by a stop watch or any other time-measuring instrument used only for a brief period of time.

*By the stop watch you may be able to determine the time in which a piece of work can be done, but you do not thereby alone determine the length of time in which it ought to be done.*

The time study of the operations of any machine can be made with a reasonable degree of accuracy, because all of the elements can be taken into consideration in making the computation. A machine is an inanimate thing—it has no life, no brain, no sentiment, and no place in the social order. With a workman it is different. He is a living, moving, sentient, social being; he is entitled to all the rights, privileges, opportunities, and respectful consideration given to other men.

*He would be less than a man if he did not resent the introduction of any system which deals with him in the same way as a beast of burden or an inanimate machine.*

In making a time study of the operations of a workman, all of the elements can not be taken into consideration, and consequently the computation can not be made with mathematical accuracy. There is no work that can be performed, or that is performed, that is not preceded by a mental process on the part of the workman. The more skill needed in the work, the greater the mental process which precedes the expression of it. So far as your committee has been able to learn, there is no method known to scientific management by which a time study can be made of the mental process preceding the physical act.

SENATOR BORAH'S COMMITTEE MADE REPORT CONDEMNING STOP WATCH.

Senator BORAH, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, made a very exhaustive report of the Taylor system, following an investigation of the subject by his committee. This report condemns the speeding-up features of the Taylor system, reports they are wholly unnecessary, and recommends the passage of legislation prohibiting the use of the stop watch, and so forth, in Government establishments. This report is Senate Document, report No. 930, second session, Sixty-second Congress.

THE WORK OF N. P. ALIFAS, OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE TAYLOR SYSTEM.

Any recital purporting to describe the five-year fight that has been waged in Washington against the Taylor system would be incomplete without mention of N. P. Alifas, president of District No. 44, International Association of Machinists.

If there is anything that is inspiring to me, it is the sight of a workingman trying to improve the condition of his brother workers. I have had excellent opportunity to come to know Mr. Alifas, coming in contact with him almost daily for considerable periods, seeing him when the prospects for success in the thing he was laboring for seemed bright and when they seemed hopeless, and it is my great pleasure to testify that he has been faithful in the extreme to those he represents. Throughout the long fight he was, to my personal knowledge, patient, painstaking, and gentlemanly persistent in his effort to represent in Washington the views of his people. Being intimately acquainted with Mr. Alifas, I have no hesitancy in stating, and do state with the greatest of pleasure, that he is both an able and conscientious representative of labor.

He has made it his work to keep the Members of Congress informed of the status of the anti-Taylor-system measure, when it would come up for a vote, and as to the attitude of the arsenal and navy-yard employees toward this legislation.

Mr. Alifas appeared frequently before the committees of Congress in behalf of legislation abolishing the Taylor system in Government establishments. He testified at considerable length before the famous Commission on Industrial Relations on April 15, 1914, when the commission had under consideration the subject of "scientific management." His testimony was considered by those who heard it as especially clear-cut and to the point. Being himself a machinist and having been employed at the Rock Island Arsenal at the time the Ordnance Department began the installation there of a portion of the Taylor system, he was able to speak from first-hand knowledge, and at the conclusion of his testimony was congratulated by members of the commission upon the ability with which he handled the subject.

THE LA FOLLETTE SEAMAN'S LAW.

Another law which I supported and am deeply interested in is the La Follette seaman's law. As my position on this measure is fully outlined in a letter addressed to Mr. O. F. Hildebrandt, secretary of the Greater Moline Committee, Moline, Ill., I will include this letter in my remarks:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, D. C., January 4, 1916.*

Mr. O. F. HILDEBRANDT,
*Secretary, The Greater Moline Committee (Inc.),*
*Moline, Ill.*

MY DEAR MR. HILDEBRANDT: I am in receipt of your letter of December 27, advising me of the action of the Greater Moline Committee, asking that I assist in bringing about amendments to the present seaman's law, so as to render it more favorable toward encouraging American capital to invest in the construction or purchase of ships, to be operated under the American flag.

In reply I have to say that under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the seamen's law, with the request that you point out in that law what provisions, if any, are working to the discouragement of the investment of capital in the construction or purchase of ships, and wherein the law needs amendment to bring about the results asked for in your letter and in the action of the Greater Moline Committee.

In this connection I want to submit these facts for your consideration: First, that the seaman's law was passed by the United States Senate October 23, 1913; that it passed the House of Representatives substantially in its present form upon August 27, 1914; that it became a law upon March 4, 1915; that long prior to the opening of the present war, August, 1914, every shipowner, every ship builder, every man who kept in touch with the situation throughout this whole country knew that legislation of the character embodied in the seamen's act would be enacted into law. Notwithstanding this fact, since August, 1914, there have been purchased from foreign owners and are now under the American flag ships which were formerly under the flags of other nations to the number of 170 of a capacity of over 570,000 tons. The addition of this tonnage since August, 1914, is the greatest acquisition that has ever been made to the tonnage of the American merchant marine in any year. Second, that at the present time there is building in the American shipyards for the merchant marine of the United States new vessels which will add 761,000 tonnage to the vessel capacity of this country; that this activity in ship building at this time represents the greatest activity that has ever existed in ship building at any one time from the foundation of this Government.

These two outstanding facts seem to me to demonstrate that there is nothing in the provisions of the seaman's law to discourage the purchase or the construction of ships for the merchant marine of the United States.

Within my experience with legislative matters here in Washington, I have never known of a piece of legislation which has been so misrepresented as the seaman's law. Prior to its enactment, and since it became a law, big shipowners of this country have misrepresented its provisions and their effects to business men and to business organizations. They have, through the public press, conducted a propaganda against this law and have misled those who have failed to study the provisions of the law, into believing that the act was designed and is a blow at American shipping. At the same time that they have been making this campaign of misrepresentation and have been tricking organizations composed of men with good intentions but with little or no information with respect to the act, to take action in opposition to it, they have been chasing over the world buying ships wherever they could and bringing them under the American flag. They have flooded the shipyards of our own country with orders and crowded them to work day and night to build new ships, at the same time that they have been representing to organizations such as ours that the law meant financial disaster and ruin to them.

The fact of the matter is that the seaman's act does two things. It provides greater safety for passengers on boats at sea than was formerly provided under the law and the regulations. I regret to say that the safety provisions of this law are not as adequate as they should be. I regret that this law does not provide lifeboat space for every passenger on board. I regret that it does not provide an adequate number of efficient seamen to man every lifeboat. Such protection was contained in the

original act as it passed the Senate, but unfortunately under the pressure of the shipowners was removed by the committee in the House, and the amended bill had to be accepted or no legislation could be secured. Does it not appear reasonable to you and to your committee that the men who undertake the transportation of passengers at sea should provide adequate and efficient safeguards against the dangers of the sea? Second, there is the provision of the seaman's act which has to do with the conditions of employment of seamen. You may not know, but until the enactment of this law the seamen employed on American ships and upon the ships of all countries coming into the ports of the United States were subjected to the provisions of a law almost identical with the fugitive-slave law; that these men were virtual slaves of sea masters; that they could not leave their employement at will; that if they would leave their employment the process of the United States courts was used to arrest, detain, and put them back on board ship and compel them to submit to involuntary servitude.

There may be, but I do not know him, an employer in the city of Moline who desires a mastery such as this over his employees; but if there be such, I unhesitatingly say that such a man is without understanding of the fundamental reasons for the Government which we have and which we honor. His opinion is not entitled to consideration, and I assure you that any man who advocates the repeal of the provisions of the seamen's act which abrogates slave conditions in the American merchant marine and in the ports of the United States will get no consideration by me of any such views upon this subject.

I am for men; I am for freedom. The provision of the seamen's act abrogating slaves was enacted for men. It was enacted for freedom.

I have submitted to you facts with respect to the shipbuilding and ship purchasing of this country, which demonstrate that the seamen's act has not interfered with the shipbuilding and shipowning interests of this country. I want to submit one more fact, and that is that the seamen's act has not increased unduly or unreasonably the cost of operation of American ships. Recently there has been a great amount of talk in the newspapers with respect to the conditions upon the Pacific Ocean. One of the men doing this talking is Robert Dollar, who operates a few small ships. A computation was made as to the increased cost of operation of one of the Dollar ships, and it shows that the increase in the cost of the operation of that ship under the provisions of the seamen's law would be about $6,000 per year, while the earning capacity of the ship is upward of $200,000 per year, which is an excess of its valuation. I will not stand, and I do not believe that the Greater Moline Committee will stand, for the patriotism (?) of the Robert Dollars, who, with an earning capacity of upward of 100 per cent on the value of their property, because of a trivial increase in the cost of operation, would have the American Congress restore slave conditions to American ships as a condition precedent to the maintenance of the American flag upon the sea. If that is the condition under which the American flag must be maintained upon the sea, better that it never floats from the masthead of a ship than that it cover and protect slavery.

Very truly, yours,

CLYDE H. TAVENNER.

## Universal Military Training and Service.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. **BENNET**. Mr. Speaker, I find in the American Defense Magazine for September an article on universal military training and service, which may well form a part of the consideration of the naval bill.

This article, which was written by Henry Litchfield West, a former Commissioner of the District of Columbia and a well-known writer, sets forth that inasmuch as the United States will never possess a navy large enough to thoroughly protect our entire Atlantic and Pacific coast lines the defense of this country must ultimately rest upon a land force of citizen soldiery created under a system of universal military training and service.

This article is the first comprehensive review of this subject which I have seen and is a valuable contribution to the cause of preparedness for national defense. It is as follows:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

The National Security League, through its executive committee, recently issued a declaration of principles in which compulsory military training and service wholly under Federal control for all physically fit male citizens, was set forth as the first of the cardinal requirements for adequate preparedness. This action of the league, taken after many largely attended conferences and congresses held under its auspices had formally declared in favor of compulsory military training and service, marks another step forward in the presentation of the most vital issue which can engage the attention of the American people.

The assertion that the United States must ultimately adopt universal military training and service as the basis of national preparedness rests upon a logical and incontrovertible foundation. Two facts must be admitted, as follows:

First. That the United States will never possess a navy sufficiently large to thoroughly patrol and defend its extensive coast line.

Second. That American tradition and sentiment will prevent the creation and support of a permanent Regular Army large enough to combat successfully the enemy forces which could be landed upon our shores.

Granting that these two things are true, the defense of our country must inevitably depend upon an adequate force of citizen soldiery pursuing peaceful vocations under normal conditions, but thoroughly trained and equipped to meet immediately an emergency of threatened danger.

The Navy is only the first line of defense. If we should have a Navy of sufficient strength to overcome an opposing fleet or fleets at one or more points between Portland and Galveston or between Seattle and San Diego, the people of the United States could rest in certain security from attack. A Navy of this size is, however, beyond our fondest hopes. It has taken England centuries to build up the Navy which she now possesses, and the construction of a fleet equal to the British would not only require many years but would entail an enormous cost upon our resources.

Even now, when the United States stands fourth in naval strength, there are other nations which could overcome our ships at sea, thus insuring a clear highway for the landing of transports bringing literally hundreds of thousands of men.

A large standing army is equally impossible. As a matter of fact, this ought to be the case. To create and maintain a Regular Army of 500,000 men would be an enormous tax upon the American people, besides which it would be entirely out of harmony with all our traditions and ideals. Even should such an Army be authorized, it is doubtful if it could be recruited. While the United States pays more per capita for its Army than any other nation, it is extremely difficult to get men to surrender the opportunities of earning a livelihood in order to receive the meager compensation which the Regular Army affords. The effort to increase the Regular Army under the stress of the excitement on the Mexican border has not been successful.

Recent events have also demonstrated that a volunteer army is not to be depended upon. After much delay several regiments of the National Guard have been sent to the Mexican border, but a very large number of men in the ranks wore the uniform for the first time, and were absolutely untrained and unfit for the work assigned them. It is not fair, moreover, that the force thus summoned for service should be composed wholly of men who regard devotion to their country as a duty, while thousands of other men even better fit physically and financially for the sacrifice remain at home.

If we had had in this country a system of universal military training and service such as the Swiss have had for many years, the men sent to the border would have been taken from all ranks of life; there would have been equality in the matter of enlistment and, more important than all, there would have been preliminary training which would have gone far toward making the organization effective in the military sense.

We speak of universal military training as if it were something new and at variance with the principles of our Government. Nothing could be further from the truth. The bitter experiences of the Revolutionary War, when Washington secured an army with great difficulty, demonstrated to that great commander the fact that if our Republic were to exist in the future it must rely for its defense upon a trained citizen soldiery. He unquestionably had much to do with the constitutional declaration that "well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free State," and he went further in the statement that "a free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined."

He emphasized his belief that the safety of the Nation depended upon "an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies," and he advocated the spread of this knowledge among the entire American people. He saw very clearly that if the United States should become a Nation so pacific as to be unable to defend itself, it would unquestionably become a prey to the greed and aggression of some more powerful nation. "If we desire to avoid insult," he said, "we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

Universal military training and service is the only system which is purely democratic. Thomas Jefferson, recognized as the founder and patron saint of the Democratic Party, emphasized this point of view. "We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens," he wrote to Monroe in 1813, after he had learned the lesson of unpreparedness in the War of 1812, "and make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We can never be safe till this is done." In 1814 he went still further and declared that it was an obvious truth "that we can not be defended, but by making every citizen a soldier, and that in doing this all must be marshaled, called by their ages, and every service ascribed to its competent class."

James Madison, a follower of Jefferson, urged, in his message to Congress on December 3, 1816, the organization of a militia which would include practically every physically fit male in the Republic, while James Monroe, in a message to Congress in 1822, urged the American people as a special duty "to be at all times prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed, and to surpass all others in sustaining the necessary burdens and in submitting to sacrifices to make such preparations."

Any unprejudiced reader of American history must realize that if the counsel of the fathers of our country had been followed a century ago we would have been saved unnecessary sacrifice of lives and money. In all of our wars the flower of our citizenship has paid the

penalty of inexperience and unfitness. We have been victorious, but at tremendous cost.

In the Revolutionary War, when our forces numbered 395,000 as against 150,000 of the enemy; in the War of 1812, when we had 350,000 men enrolled, with only 57,000 against us; and when in the War with Mexico we had twice as many men in the field as the Mexicans, we were taught an experience which did not profit us. Even though we have never fought a first-class power throwing its full resources into the opposing balance, we have never been able to win except by putting armies into the field greatly in excess of the other side.

It is not necessary, however, to rest our case for universal military training and service upon our own history. Switzerland at the present day affords an object lesson which we would do well to heed. The question came before the Swiss people in the form of a referendum upon the occasion of the adoption of the federal constitution in 1848, and by a popular vote of 170,000 to 70,000 the Swiss people decided that "every Swiss is open to do military service." It is safe to say that to-day not one vote would be cast in Switzerland against the system which has been in vogue there nearly 70 years. Everyone knows that if it had not been for the demonstration of the instant ability of the Swiss people to defend their territorial integrity the German Army would have sought entrance into France through Switzerland. The Swiss Army is enrolled for defense, not for offense; and every student of the Swiss Army agrees that the Swiss system is the living refutation of the charge that military training hurts good citizenship. The Swiss is, above all things, a free man, and there is no taint of militarism in his nation. The trouble is, however, as was pointed out 16 years ago in a report submitted by Lieut. Col. William Cary Sanger, that "universal military service still remains a theory with us, but in Switzerland it is real and actual."

Side by side with Switzerland in the adoption of compulsory military training stands Australia. Emphatic evidence of the success of the system in that country is found in the address of Hon. William H. Hughes, prime minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, at Ottawa, February 19, 1916, in which he said:

"It had been very well for us and very well for mankind if Britain had prepared as well by land as by sea. If she had done that there would have been no war to-day. And this I say—and it is all that I shall say on this point—that Australia has been able to do what she has done because we have adopted as the corner stone of our democratic edifice the system of compulsory military training. We believe that there is but one way by which a nation, being free, can remain so, and that is that every man shall not only be willing to defend his country, but be able to do so. And we think that if it is right, as it surely is, that a democracy should educate its citizens so that the franchise shall be wisely exercised, for government by the many, if the many are not educated, is a doubtful good. So we think that the State should train the citizen so that he may be able to defend his country, his home, and his liberties."

On the other hand, England, having failed to adopt a system whereby its people would be ready to meet danger, has paid a terrible penalty. For more than a decade farsighted men in England have been pointing out that no provision was being made to train English citizenry so as to be available for defense. Possibly the futility of these appeals was largely due to the belief that the island was protected from invasion by the strength of the navy and that no conflict was possible which would involve English people. Events have proven, however, that this point of view was entirely false. It is now a matter of history that when universal war was declared on the Continent, England was able to send only a very few soldiers, comparatively speaking, to oppose the onward march of the German Army through Belgium into France. It called upon its colonial dependencies for help and then, after the war had begun, undertook to train and equip 4,000,000 of its citizens.

It was nine months or a year before Lord Kitchener felt that his men were in condition to be sent against the trained veterans of the enemy, and the result was that all attempts to check the onward advances of the German forces were at first futile. The United States would undergo a similar experience if to-day a hostile army should land upon its coast or cross its borders. The men who would instantly volunteer to save their country would be utterly unprepared, not only physically but in the essential of necessary training and equipment. Untrained millions are nothing but an untrained mob. It is a matter of education to bring the American people to a realization of this fact.

There is no doubt that the men who have labored successfully to make the National Security League a great organization have been aided in their diligent efforts to secure universal military training and service by the fact that the European war has demonstrated the necessity of providing this system as the basis of national defense. Like the founders of our Government, they are placing the lesson of experience before their fellow citizens and the outlook is that their efforts will be attended by a larger measure of success. In other words, evidences of an awakening in the American mind are happily apparent—an awakening which has unquestionably been largely stimulated by the effective work of the league.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, an organization composed of more than a thousand commercial bodies, at its recent annual convention recommended a resolution in the following language:

VII. The committee, recognizing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic and to establish a system which will affect every man alike, recommends that universal military training be adopted as a fundamental democratic principle of our military policy, and be enforced by law to furnish adequate land, sea, and industrial forces in peace and war.

This resolution was submitted to the constituent bodies and was adopted, after thorough discussion, by the surprisingly large vote of 889 to 56.

In addition to this, several newspapers have been conducting polls on the question of universal military training, and the Chicago Tribune reported on June 6, 1916, that out of 6,255 votes reported, 6,180 were in favor and 75 against. The Baltimore Sun reported a vote of 8,186 to 1,055 against, and similar appreciation of the necessity of universal training was recorded in Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

The National Educational Association, at a convention in New York City last July, attended by more than 25,000 teachers, adopted a resolution recognizing "the right of the community or the State to introduce such elements of military training as may seem wise and prudent," although it registered the belief that such training should be strictly educational in its aim and work, and that military ends should not be permitted to pervert the educational purposes and practice of the school. This recognition of military training in the schools, which is the underlying feature in universal military training, is gratifying evidence that the great mass of the educators of this country realize that such training is the foundation upon which national security must rest.

Another indication of the growth of public sentiment was evidenced at the banquet of the Merchants' Association of New York City, when tremendous applause followed the statement of Senator O'GORMAN, of New York, that compulsory training is the one indispensable thing we should have in this country.

It is noteworthy that many magazines which admittedly reflect the intelligence of the country are advocating universal military training. This is particularly true of Everybody's Magazine, while the Century Magazine says that it is the only purely democratic system of national defense and the ideal goal at which a self-respecting democracy must aim. The Ladies' Home Journal, which goes into 2,000,000 homes, editorially admits the futility of the volunteer service and urges military training for every boy in the land as the real essence of preparedness. Physicians also recognize the physical value of military training, as shown by the fact that the American Medico-Psychological Association, in convention in New Orleans on April 16, 1916, strongly recommended universal military training and urged legislation enforcing it because it "promotes in the individual strength of muscular and bony tissues, improves organic functions, quickens perception, furnishes discipline in self-control, inculcates obedience, and creates respect for authority."

As for individual indorsements, pages might be filled with utterances of men recognized as leaders. Space allows only the following:

Theodore Roosevelt: "I believe in universal service based upon universal training. I believe in this because I think it would be not only of incalculable benefit to the Nation in the event of war, but of incalculable benefit to the individuals undergoing it, and therefore to the Nation as a whole as regards the work of peace. The military tent where boys sleep side by side will rank next to the public school among the great agents of democracy."

Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State (after his recent visit to the Mexican border): "I am more than ever convinced that there is but one satisfactory solution for military preparedness of the Nation, in fact, for the maintenance and endurance of the Nation itself in a high place in the affairs of the world, and that is universal service—the spirit of service and sacrifice for the Nation. Unless we learn to speak in terms of a nation, and subordinate our local and material ambitions; unless the Nation, in claiming its international rights, learns to appreciate its duties and international obligations, the Nation can not endure as one of the respected members of the society of nations.

"There has been a great change in sentiment and opinion about universal service. Everywhere that I have been—in New England, the Middle States, the Mississippi Valley, the South, and the great Southwest, as far as Arizona—I have found but one opinion: That universal service for the Nation, whether it be enrollment for the military or for broader work of industrial efficiency for national purpose, is the only democratic principle of national life, and only by such service can we obtain justice and equality for all citizens of the great community. These are the undoubted facts, which have been emphasized by the lessons of this great world war, and which are proved beyond a question to the mind of anyone who is brought in close contact with the army now encamped along our border, both Regulars and Militia."

John Grier Hibben, president of Princeton University: "As citizens of this great Republic we must realize that patriotism has come to have deeper meaning, namely, recognition of personal obligation to one's country and readiness for sacrifice."

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War: "I can not believe that I have the right to expect another man to defend my home and my family, if I am unwilling to defend them myself. It is essentially a democratic principle that every citizen should be willing to contribute his personal service to the common defense."

Gen. Leonard Wood: "The volunteer system has never succeeded and never will. The only true ideal is obligatory military service. Manhood suffrage and manhood service must go together."

Hon. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, United States Senator from New York: "We send our children to school so that they may fit themselves to combat forces of ignorance and vice, which, if allowed unrestrained within our borders, would soon destroy the Republic. Is it not likewise the duty of a true democracy to train its young men to combat successfully those forces which may attack its institutions from without?"

Cardinal Gibbons: "I believe in preparedness and in compulsory military service for all men of the Nation. Compulsory service is the best means to preparedness."

Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor: "We must have a preparation that means a comprehensive development of all the powers and resources of all our citizens. In Switzerland every man is a soldier—not necessarily to go to war, but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family, and his country. Under that system the Swiss have developed a manhood, a character, that challenges the admiration of the world. We will be satisfied with nothing less in America."

John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of New York City: "I believe in universal male military training after the plan of Switzerland or Australia. I believe that the American people must and will come to this sooner or later. I pray that they may adopt it before national disaster and not after."

Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War: "This problem of national defense will never be permanently solved until it is distributed among the whole people by some system of universal liability to military training."

These expressions of thoughtful, experienced, and patriotic men should carry conviction to every mind. It is the definite purpose of the National Security League to give the widest possible publicity to these and other affirmative views, and a pamphlet issued by the league, dealing solely with universal military training, has already been given a large circulation. The campaign of education will be thorough and extensive because, in a Republic like ours, nothing can be accomplished except through legislation and laws can not be enacted until public sentiment approves. The first step toward legislation has already been taken through the introduction of a bill proposing a system of universal military training and service by Senator CHAMBERLAIN, of Oregon, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. It is not necessary to present the details of this measure beyond stating that they provide for three classes, to be known as the "Citizens' Cadet Corps," between 12 and 17 years of age, inclusive; the "Citizens' Army," between 18 and 23 years of age, inclusive; and the "Citizens' Army Reserve," of persons 24 years of age and over, and that the training for

the members of the citizen army is to be not less than 120 hours, or 20 whole days, for six years, and not less than 10 whole days in camp of continuous training. The bill has not been pressed for passage because the necessity for its enactment is not yet fully appreciated.

The American people must, however, eventually realize that in universal military training and service lies the only safeguard for the Nation. In the meantime the National Security League is working earnestly, with hope and confidence, to hasten the day when a law fully realizing the ideal of universal military training and service shall be placed upon our statute books and the American people, proud of their Nation and determined to preserve its greatness, its liberty, its privileges, and above all, its honor, will be ready to defend it against all foes.

## APPENDIX.

### RESOLUTIONS INDORSING UNIVERSAL OBLIGATORY MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE.

[Adopted in referendum of Chamber of Commerce of United States of America.]

VII. The committee, recoginzing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic and to establish a system which will affect every man alike, recommends that universal military training be adopted as a fundamental democratic principle of our military policy and be enforced by law to furnish adequate land, sea, and industrial forces in peace and war.

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[Adopted by the National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 22, 1916.]

*Be it resolved by the National Security League*, That the defense of the United States must depend upon an adequate Navy and a National Army founded upon a system of universal obligatory military training and service. This system must be wholly under the discipline and control of the national authorities. We deprecate all steps which tend to obstruct or postpone the adoption of such a universal system.

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[Adopted by the national defense conference of mayors and mayors' representatives. St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 4, 1916.]

*Resolved*, That recognizing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic and to establish a system which will affect alike every man in the republic, we approve and recommend the adoption of universal military training under Federal control throughout the United States.

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[From the Century Magazine, July, 1916.]

### THE DEMOCRACY OF UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

In the May issue of the Century, in an article entitled "Military training for our youth," the writer puts a pertinent question: "Is patriotism a duty that must be discharged by all, or a favor to be bestowed at will?" Obviously that means Are those of us who have not yet had the vision of the preciousness of our national existence content to accept it at the hands of charity? Is America going to be, without a protest, the one pauper among the nations? The question is not to be answered lightly. "Let George do it" must not be our national watchword when the very life of the Nation may be at stake.

It ought to be unnecessary even to ask the question; but there is a fact that we forget all too easily—democracy can exist only through education. Our average citizen knows little and cares less about the business of government. In matters that he understands he is the last person to be satisfied with inferiority of performance. Can you imagine the American public tolerating less than the highest aristocracy of skill in the one national affair that is thoroughly understood—baseball? Clearly, if the Nation were as solidly grounded in the rudiments of national business as in the requirements of the national game, it would never submit to the disgraceful clumsiness of our usual amateur performance.

There is one State that has already seen the source of our weakness in ignorance. Last spring a nonpartisan commission, composed of a college president, a journalist, a representative of organized labor, attorneys, and business men, was appointed by Gov. Walsh, of Massachusetts to study the question of "the practicability of providing military education for boys between the ages of 14 and 21" for the purpose of disciplining the youth of the Commonwealth and of "improving their physical, moral, and mental qualities," and to report the result of its investigations to the legislature with recommendations for legislation.

Through the summer that commission collected and analyzed public opinion and expert advice and submitted its report at the end of 1915. There were three recommendations—an enabling act permitting the State militia to cooperate with any scheme of Federal action that may be adopted; the institution of compulsory physical training in the high schools; a complete recasting of the militia law of the State in case the militia should be compelled by national neglect to remain a State force.

Those commissioners worked with a full realization of the essentially national character of the question of defense. They recognized the futility of recommending anything beyond the probabilities of immediate action, or anything based on the present feverish interest, that might fail to weather the test of the popular temper in normal times. They curbed the enthusiastic impulse to bespeak for the country general and compulsory military service, because they saw the absurdity in such a proposal from any single State. In the same way they stopped short of the ideal in asking for physical training in the high schools only, knowing well that less than a third of the boys would get the benefit, since the compulsory character of schooling ends with the grade schools.

Plainly the sum of their endeavor was to show the State that the quality of citizenship most sorely lacking in us is a sense of community duty; that this sense can be created by the habit of discipline only if the attempt is made early; that national strength, either for defense against aggression or for the business of good living, can be won only through education. We are notoriously lawless in America, but the remedy can be applied through the schools to the parents in our families. In our hysterical urge toward the development of the individual person we have lost sight of the chief value of education—discipline. Through discipline comes community consciousness, teamplay, and that is the beginning and the strength of civilization.

Last March there was a convention of mayors in St. Louis. The most important 75 cities in the country were represented, an imposing body of opinion from the whole breadth of America. They discussed the subject of defense, and the only proposal which met with unanimous indorsement was for universal compulsory military service. They knew that it is the only purely democratic system of national defense, that it is the ideal goal at which a self-respecting democracy must aim.

Massachusetts has been studying history and drawing conclusions. Understanding fully at last the pitiful failure of the voluntary principal in national service, as ridiculous in the military aspect as it would be in the payment of taxes or in education, and as unjust, the State is urged to train and discipline its citizens for the good of the common cause. It is a hopeful sign. After all, our country may really be learning. We may have reaped one tangible benefit from the great war, an awakening political conscience.

New York State has recently followed the example of Massachusetts.

If two States can make a forward step, so can other States, until we have in America a Nation united in support of ideals cherished in fact as well as in oratory.

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[From the Ladies' Home Journal.]

### THE QUESTION FOR PARENTS, "SHALL THE MEN WHO WILL DEFEND THE COUNTRY BE UNTRAINED?"

Now, all recent wars have demonstrated the futility of the volunteer service, and certainly the methods of modern warfare have proved its absolute inadequacy. * * *

The question, therefore, for parents of boys is not "Do we believe in war?" or "Do we believe in preparedness?" but "Are we willing that our boys shall be drafted for service in case of war absolutely unfitted and untrained?" That is the question that stares you and me, as the fathers of boys, in the face. I am not advocating the military training of our boys; I am not favoring or opposing preparedness here. That is not the function of this magazine. But I am a father of two boys, and I am asking myself the same question I am asking you: Whatever may be my personal view of war, am I willing to let my boys be drafted and go into war untrained, inefficient, for a foreign soldier, trained and efficient, to shoot at, and my boys unable to take care of themselves? There is no time for proper training once the boys are drafted. Military experts claim that a boy can be trained in six months' service with a week or 10 days each following year for "brushing up," so that a preliminary military training is not impossible for a boy earning his livelihood.

The question is ahead of us, and we can not dodge it: How are we going to let our boys face the possibility of being drafted for military service? As inefficient and unable to take care of himself, or, at least, as trained to the rudimentary knowledge of war? That is the real essence of "preparedness" for every parent of an American boy in good health to answer.

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[From the New York Evening Sun, August 1, 1916.]

### FOR AMERICA!

Reasonable Americans comprehend that the safety of the United States demands at all times a force, ready for emergency work, larger than the one now mobilized on the Mexican border and a force which, at the same time, can be maintained under arms without the personal hardship and financial loss now being endured by our National Guardsmen. A large regular army might solve the problem. But to pay an army of such size would be extremely costly; besides which it has been found impossible to secure enough men to keep our present handful of Regulars recruited to maximum strength.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN'S bill, now buried in committee, to provide universal compulsory military training for male citizens of the United States would provide a way. This patriotic measure has evoked a howl of opposition from the hyphenated press, which interprets every such move as directed solely at Germany, and from that portion of the unhyphenated press which should be but is not able to distinguish between Prussianization and preparedness.

Criticism may be justly directed against this bill, but not against the fundamental principle of universal obligation in return for universal liberty on which it is based. The detail in which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN has erred most unfortunately is in stipulating that the six months of military service specified shall be performed during each citizen's eighteenth year.

Such a system would take the youths of the country when their minds were in the most acquisitive stage and their bodies not yet fully developed. It would interrupt the educational lives of those who would go normally in this year from preparatory school to college and who should be permitted to do so without interruption. It would be much better to require the service in the early twenties, just when the college men would be graduated into professions and the apprentices into journeymen in the trades. Not the least valuable feature of such a system would be the democratic postgraduate course in which men from every phase of American life would mingle on the same terms of equality on which Frenchmen meet in the French army during their period of military training.

The Chamberlain bill is the most thoroughly American defense measure that has been proposed to Congress. The cry of "conscription!" can be raised only by those who are blind to the fact that citizens of the United States are subject to-day to the most sinister form of conscription conceivable. Their Government gives them no instruction whatever in the most technical of arts, that of the soldier, yet it may draft them into military service in emergencies and send them inadequately trained into battle to fall victims more to their own ignorance than to the superior valor of the enemy. Americans need not be reminded that this draft power is not theoretical; it has been exercised already in the Civil War.

Such are the facts. If the American people will not awaken to the necessity for a system of universal training which will enable them to defend themselves with the least sacrifice of American manhood when they are compelled to go to war, the American people will pay for their refusal to understand. And the experience of Europe is that war will come not because but even though nations like France and England arm for their own protection.

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[From the New York Sun, May 24, 1916.]

### SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER FAVORS TRAINING ENTIRE NATION.

WASHINGTON, *May 23*.

Secretary Baker, in an interview, came out squarely this afternoon for universal military training in the United States.

Secretary Baker said in his interview:

"As there exists a universal obligation resting on all male citizens of this country to defend the country in time of war, so there should be a universal willingness to train in times of peace against the day

of such emergency. So long as it might be possible to have universal training through volunteer service I should be in favor of limiting it to a voluntary service, but if adequate preparation for the national defense can not be reached through such a system I would favor a compulsory system.

"My belief is that educational institutions of our country should see to it that every boy in school has it instilled into him that one of the cardinal duties, if not the paramount duty, he will assume with citizenship is the obligation to defend his country in time of war, and if this is a duty, as I believe it is, then certainly the boy should be trained to perform that duty when the time comes for him to do so.

"I can not believe that I have the right to expect another man to defend my home and my family if I am unwilling to defend them myself. It is essentially a democratic principle that every citizen should be willing to contribute his personal service to the common defense."

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[From an address by John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of New York City, at the National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 20–22, 1916.]

A FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATION—WITH CIVIC DUTY GOES MILITARY DUTY AND UPON BOTH OUR EXISTENCE DEPENDS.

I believe in universal male military training after the plan of Switzerland or Australia. I believe that the American people must and will come to this sooner or later. I pray that they may adopt it before national disaster and not after. I am as much opposed to militarism, as Europe knows it, as the most ardent pacifist, but I do believe that citizenship in a democracy carries with it a fundamental obligation; that mild and brief citizen training for a few weeks each year during adolescence and early manhood is the minimum necessary to realize the condition of a trained citizenship in arms. Anything less than this must be a makeshift, a mere temporary expedient, a perilous temporizing in the face of danger. The time to solve this question is now, when the attention of the Nation is focused upon it and its solicitude is acute.

We are passing to-day through a great crisis in our national life. The issue is more than national; it is as broad as the human race itself. Into our hands here has been committed the heritage of democratic government. It is our trust to perpetuate it, to develop it, to transmit it to posterity, a serviceable agent for the advancement of civilization and for the happiness of mankind. Here in this Nation and country of ours the efficiency of democracy is on trial to-day. Here under our free institutions through 130 years of effort and of progress we have developed governmental and civic efficiency. We teach our citizens the sense of individual civic responsibility, and they respond to it. During the greater part of the time, due to geographical location and the absence of hostile motives abroad, we have enjoyed peace. Now that science has obliterated distance and our prosperity and commerce supply the motive, we can no longer count upon an effective peace. Democracy, therefore, must meet the new conditions. But through its elementary sufficiency for self-preservation we must teach our citizens that with civic duty goes military duty, and that both are obligations on which the life of the State depends.

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LABOR'S ATTITUDE—SAMUEL GOMPERS DECLARES IN FAVOR OF TRAINING FOR DEFENSE OF THE NATION.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in his address before the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Civic Federation, January 18, 1916, said in part:

"The pacifists and those who hold to politics of nonresistance have failed as I had failed to understand and to evaluate that quality in the human race which makes men willing to risk their all for an ideal. Men worthy of the name will fight even for a 'scrap of paper' when that paper represents ideals of human justice and freedom. The man who would not fight for such a scrap of paper is a poor craven who dares not assert his rights against the opposition and the demands of others.

"The majority of our citizens no longer live in the open, and they show in their physical development the effect of the restricted life of the city. They have not the physical strength or endurance that would fit them without further preparation to be called into service in a citizens' army. Since opportunities for physical training are not freely and readily available to all, some definite national policy must be devised for physical training and physical preparedness of all citizens. Such a training could be readily given through our public-school system and other auxiliary agencies. The chief problem is that training of this nature should be in furtherance of broad, general usefulness and ideals and not be specialized or dominated by the purpose of militarism. Physical training must fit citizens for industry, for commerce, for service in the work of the Nation, as well as for service in defense of the Nation. But physical training and preparedness are insufficient.

"There must be a spirit among the people that makes them loyal to country and willing to give themselves to its service and protection. That spirit can not exist unless the citizens feel that the Nation will assure to all equal opportunities and equal justice. They must feel that they are a part of the Nation, with a voice in determining its destinies. This spirit of loyalty depends not only upon political rights but upon justice and right on the industrial field, aye, in all relations of life. * * *

"We must have a preparation that means a comprehensive development of all the powers and resources of all our citizens. In Switzerland every man is a soldier—not necessarily to go to war—but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family, and his country. Under that system the Swiss have developed a manhood, a character, that challenges the admiration of the world. We will be satisfied with nothing less in America.

"We must see to it that the great mass of the farmers and the workers in industry shall be thoroughly trained and organized. We must see to it that the military and naval forces of the country are controlled in the interests of peace, of justice, of democracy, and of humanity.

"There must be industrial, commercial, political, social, moral, as well as military defense. Citizen soldiery must be established and extended. It must be democratically organized, officered, and controlled. We must put an end to the present wasteful and unfair administration of our military affairs."

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[George A. B. Dewar in the Nineteenth Century Magazine, 1915.]

THE EXPERIENCE OF ENGLAND.

Voluntary recruiting, despite its mettle and its high fervor, is essentially a thing of spurts, very heartening, and inciting us to throw up our hats whilst these spurts last. But spurts are succeeded by reactions, which are deadly and depressing. * * * By not adopting a simple, thorough, and perfectly fair and democratic service scheme, we are laying up for ourselves a world of ill-feeling, envy, and uncharity in the future, a world that may take a generation or more to pass away. Now by an honest act all this ill-feeling, all these hideous comparisons, must instantly disappear. * * * A general obligatory service law to-day in this country (England) must be a democratic law, rightly considered. But why be scared by names at this time? Democracy means the strength of the people, and the strength of the people exerted to its utmost is, after all, the only way by which we can prevail in this war.

—

[Brig. Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, United States Army, in Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States, July-August, 1908.]

THE SAFEST AND BEST METHOD.

Our military establishment has not the sympathy and approval of the people because it is not republican and representative in character. In discussing this problem I take for my text a statement of the New Orleans Picayune:

"There is," it asserts, "but one way in which this great Republic will be able to maintain a sufficient military strength, viz, by universal military service." * * * Our safest method for an offensive-defensive is universal military instruction and compulsory short-time service. We have billions of wealth to defend and millions of men to defend it, but untrained millions would be simply an untrained mob.

—

[From address of Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War, at the National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 20–22, 1916.]

THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE—IT WILL NEVER BE SOLVED EXCEPT THROUGH UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

Four years ago when it became my official duty to study this question, I hardly dared dream that the time would ever come, within my lifetime, when the American people would seriously consider the institution in this country of any system of universal military training. The searching test of the European war has, however, put its finger squarely upon this weak spot of our American democracy. In our national development thus far we have focused our attention upon the rights, the privileges, the benefits which we have expected to get from free government, and we have paid scant attention to the duties or the obligations or the sacrifices which were correlative to them. But now, for the first time, we are beginning to realize how far we have fallen behind other nations in this respect. For the first time there has been made clear to us the superior strength of patriotism which has been developed in nations which hitherto we have been inclined to regard with little admiration or even respect. For the first time we have had revealed to us in blinding light the fact that men of other nations for years have been willing to give toward the building up of the efficiency of their nation a measure of time and personal effort which we have been unwilling to give.

We are beginning to realize the true meaning of the proposition that manhood suffrage postulates manhood services, and that the man who has a right to participate in the making of his own government is bound by the highest obligation of honor to share in the burden of defending it. And so to-day we find an increasing number of our people who believe, as I believe, that this problem of national defense will never be permanently solved until it is distributed among the whole people by some system of universal liability to military training.

—

THE DUTY OF A TRUE DEMOCRACY—YOUNG MEN SHOULD BE TRAINED TO DEFEND OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS.

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, Jr., United States Senator from New York, in a speech before the Union League Club, of Chicago, on February 22, 1916, had this to say on the subject of universal military service:

"We send our children to school so that they may fit themselves to combat the forces of ignorance and vice, which, if allowed to operate unrestrained within our borders, would destroy the Republic. Is it not likewise the duty of a true democracy to train its young men to combat successfully those forces which may attack its institutions from without? Can there be any more democratic proposal than that every young man should prepare himself to a reasonable degree of efficiency for the defense of his country? Is it not his duty to do that promptly and cheerfully, just as truly as it is his duty to go to school in his younger days or to vote and take an interest in civic affairs when he comes of age?

"If it is not the duty of every young man to perform this service, shall we be so absurd as to say that those who volunteer to do it and those who, possessing less sense of responsibility, refuse to volunteer; shall we be so absurd as to say that those two groups of men entertain equally high ideals in their respective capacity as citizens of a democracy?

"In this question of universal military training there is something more important even than that of military defense of the country, about which we hear so much these days. The touch of the elbow is involved. I would like to see a state of affairs in which the son of the rich man, who does not have to labor with his hands for his living, working alongside of the son of the poor man. When two men work together physically and endure fatigue together at the same task there is created a bond of sympathy and understanding which no other process can establish. Each will come to an inspiring realization that the other, down deep in his heart, is his brother, possessed of the same courage, the same ideals, the same patriotism.

"I can think of no plan better calculated to prevent class feeling than the universal performance of service to the country by our young men. In no other way can we more truly fuse together the widely different elements of our population and instill into them the conviction that this indeed is a Nation. In no other way can we so surely help to perfect our democracy. Let us talk less about our rights and more about our duties. Inspired by such a spirit, we can successfully withstand all upon the American conception of liberty whether they are delivered from within or from without."

—

[Extract from the address of Prof. Henry C. Emery, of Yale University, at the National Security Congress, Washington, January 20–22, 1916.]

UNIVERSAL SERVICE WILL PAY—ONE OF THE MOST PROFITABLE INVESTMENTS THIS COUNTRY CAN MAKE.

One of the most profitable investment this country can make, from the standpoint of universal business, is universal service and training. There can be no question about that.

It has been an old theory of the economists for years that there are two great costs in the maintenance of military establishments, one the money cost year by year paid out of taxes, the other what is supposed to be the great economic loss in the employment of a large number of young men in nonproductive activities. Neither of these is quite justified. Of course, there is the money expense; I do not need consider the question as to how that compares with other expenditures. I only call your attention particularly to the fact that the money spent by Germany before the war in maintaining her great establishment was one-third the amount spent by the Germans for beer.

If the American people were willing to sacrifice, say, two things—chewing gum and going to the movies—we could maintain an army so big that nobody would dare to look at us from across the way. These expenditures, when compared with the real expenditures of living—the things we care for—are very small. But it makes no difference how much the amount is, it does cost money, of course, to maintain a large Military Establishment. But then it takes money to build a Union Pacific Railroad; it costs money to build a Panama Canal; it costs money to build any great constructive enterprise.

The question is, what do you get back for your money and the question of the actual dollars and cents invested is of no importance. It makes no difference whether you spend $100,000,000 or $500,000,000, from the economic point of view; the question is, are you getting a fair return on your money? My argument is simply that for every man that you educate in the military training for a short period sufficient to give him the efficiency necessary for the industrial life, you get back more than the expense.

—

[C. E. Calkins in Cyclopedia of American Government, vol. 2, p. 438.]

ADVANTAGES ARE NUMEROUS.

The military advantages of an automatic system which makes every class of the population bear a part in national defense are incontestable. Not only does it provide for an ample standing army during peace and perpetuate the military tradition but it provides a practically unlimited reserve of trained soldiers in the prime of life. Thus all the extravagance and disorder of hurried recruiting, the bounties for volunteering, and the irritating enforcement of conscription are avoided. The army is mobilized for war by filling the ranks of the existing organization, without sending improvised regiments or companies to the front; and no command is trusted to an untrained officer.

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[From address of Capt. Granville Fortescue, National Security Congress, Washington, Jan. 20–22, 1916.]

THE ONLY EFFECTIVE MEASURE OF DEFENSE.

The only effective measure of defense is universal service. That is so obvious that it needs no repetition. I can tell you from what I have seen in England. There is an example for us—a pitiful example. * * * Any man who is worthy of being a citizen of the United States has with that worth, intrinsically, the duty of fighting for the United States.

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[From address of Eric Fisher Wood, author of The Note-Book of An Attaché and The Writing on the Wall.]

THE SWISS SYSTEM—IT TRAINS THE YOUNG MEN FOR DEFENSE AND NOT FOR AGGRESSION.

It is manifestly undesirable that we should ever attempt to maintain a standing army of 2,500,000 men. The objections which Americans have to great standing armies like those of Germany and Russia are well founded. How, then, can we ever be prepared to mobilize the needed number of trained and disciplined troops in so short a time? In answer to this question our military experts unanimously advocate the adoption of a system of universal compulsory military service based upon and largely copied from the Swiss system and its counterpart in Australia.

These offer us for adoption not an experiment, but a thoroughly tested and eminently successful method of national defense.

The underlying ideas of the German standing army and of the Swiss military system are diametrically opposed.

Militarism in the extreme type is overbearing, aggressive, and brutal. The patriotism it fosters is two-faced, for it inculcates hatred of neighboring nations quite as much as love of one's own country. In extreme cases it develops a patriotism gone mad, while it makes aggression easy and even inevitable.

By contrast, the Swiss and Australian systems make no preparation for aggressive warfare, and therefore do not hold up before the minds of the young any ambition for conflict beyond their own borders or for the conquest of their neighbors. Adequate preparation for self-defense curtails aggression and brings nearer and nearer the possibility of combined international action to curb truculent nations and to civilize barbaric races.

In the Australian system, military science taught by competent official instructors form a compulsory part of the education of every boy between the ages of 12 and 18; during those years he undergoes military instruction coincidently with his other studies, so that he reaches the age of 19 a trained soldier. His military education is imparted to him at the most acquisitive age, and does not interfere with his later productive industrial occupations. When he reaches the age of 19 he is enrolled as a soldier in the battalion of the region in which he lives. From that time he is in active service for two weeks of every year for practice which is intended to keep fresh in mind his military knowledge. He remains a member of the battalion for eight years, until he reaches the age of 27, and throughout that period he is at all times liable for service in defense of his country. After reaching the age of 19 he thereafter undergoes only about 112 days' training. He can not, however, be sent out of Australia unless he expressly volunteers for foreign service. The Australian Army unit is a battalion of 1,000 men. The country is therefore divided into units of population each of which contains approximately 1,000 young men between the ages of 19 and 27.

In Switzerland the young men after having had preliminary training in school join their regiments in their twentieth year, and during the summer of that year undergo two months of continuous intensive military instruction. For 12 years thereafter they are at all times liable for immediate service in defense of their country. During each of these years they perform two weeks' training in the field. After the age of 20, only about 30 weeks of military service are required, except in case of war.

The system recommended by American experts for adoption by this country would begin with the training of all boys between the ages of 12 and 18 in gymnastics, hygiene, the manual of arms, rifle practice, and platoon and company formations. In the summer of his nineteenth year every boy would be assigned to his regiment and begin active service with two months of intensive training in his battalion, regimental, and brigade maneuvers, and afterwards he would be enrolled for service for four years, or until he is 23—his service in time of peace being limited to two weeks spent in camp each summer. At 23 years of age the young man would be mustered out of his regiment and placed in the reserve, from which he could be called to active service only in case of dire need. This system would eventually furnish the United States with an active Army of 2,500,000 men under 24 years of age, and with a reserve of nearly 8,000,000 trained soldiers between the ages of 24 and 43 who could be called upon in case of a long war. Thus, after his eighteenth year a total of only 14 weeks' military training would be required of each normal male citizen.

No member of the citizen forces would be required either to serve outside the territory of the United States or to aid in suppressing local civil disorders such as strikes.

Each year in the United States a million men reach the age of 20, of whom about 65 per cent are fit for military service.

Military training and service would, under peace conditions, be completely finished by all men before they reached their twenty-fourth birthday, thus interfering as little as possible with their productive life. In the event that war were thrust upon us, the casualties would be borne by a class of men who, for the most part, had not yet acquired families or reached positions of great responsibility.

It should not be forgotten that the adoption of a system of preparedness in no way increases the liability of the individual to serve as a soldier in the event of war. If we should have a big war in the near future, the draft would, of necessity, be instituted and enforced and our citizens would all have to fight whether they liked it or not. Preparedness renders such an eventuality less likely, and makes it improbable that if we do fight, our dead would have to die in vain.

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[From address by Hon. William H. Hughes, prime minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, at Ottawa, Feb. 19, 1916.]

THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM—THE PRIME MINISTER TELLS WHAT A GREAT ORGANIZATION HAS DONE FOR THE COMMONWEALTH.

It had been very well for us and very well for mankind if Britain had prepared as well by land as by sea. If she had done that, there would have been no war to-day. And this I say—and it is all that I shall say on this point—that Australia has been able to do what she has done because we have adopted as the corner stone of our democratic edifice the system of compulsory military training. We believe that there is but one way by which a nation, being free, can remain so, and that is that every man shall not only be willing to defend his country, but be able to do so. And we think that if it is right—as it surely is—that a democracy should educate its citizens so that the franchise shall be wisely exercised—for government by the many if the many are not educated is a doubtful good—so we think that the State should train the citizen so that he may be able to defend his country, his home, and his liberties.

The defense of one's country is the primary duty of citizenship. It is the first duty of free men. Two years before the outbreak of war we had established in Australia a system of universal military training. To this we owe the complex and widespread organization for training officers, noncommissioned officers, manufacturing small arms, ammunition, clothing, and so on, without which we should have been almost helpless in this great struggle. A small community of under five millions of people, yet we have been able to train, to equip from head to foot, a great army of men. It is a great thing and one which we may mention with pride and satisfaction that Canada and Australia have together put into the field nearly twice the number of the original British expeditionary force. We have put close on 300,000 men between us of first-class fighting men in the field. Australia could not have done her part unless we had a great organization created to prepare for danger. This one lesson must be learned from this great war. Some day the wings of the dove of peace may beat a soft lullaby throughout the land. But that day is not yet. Until that day dawns it is the duty of free men to be able as well as to be willing to defend their country.

Neither liberty nor our national rights can ever be safe when we neglect the defense of our country. This is a primary duty of citizenship of a free country. Nor can it be safe if we intrust it to volunteers. It can not be ignored nor left to volunteers. For as it concerns all, so must it apply to all. Liberty, the very basis upon which our national edifice rests; liberty, the very breath of our being; liberty, without which the more material side of civilization is as a dry husk, must be defended by all. With that I leave it.

## Explanation of the Rural-Credits Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, every Member of Congress who has sincerely the interests of the farmer at heart rejoices that we have passed the rural-credits bill, which will soon be organized and operated generally for the farmers' benefit.

Clarence Poe, Esq., one of the ablest writers of the South and now editor of the Progressive Farmer, published at Raleigh, N. C., says of this great piece of legislation:

> It is probably the most important piece of agricultural legislation in our generation, and every farmer ought to know its provisions.

I heartily agree with Mr. Poe, and am anxious that every farmer in the ninth congressional district shall understand thoroughly the provisions of this great measure, and I therefore present for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an

explanation of this measure prepared by the Department of Agriculture, which is as follows:

NEW RURAL-CREDITS LAW—OFFICIAL EXPLANATION OF NEW MEASURES WHICH EVERY FARMER WANTS TO UNDERSTAND.

The primary purpose of this act is to promote agricultural prosperity by enabling farmers to borrow money on farm-mortgage security at a reasonable rate of interest and for relatively long periods of time. To attain this object, two farm-mortgage systems are provided: (1) A system operating through regional land banks, and (2) a system operating through joint-stock land banks.

To attract money to the farm-loan field, the act provides a method whereby those who have money to lend can find safe investments in the form of debentures or bonds of small and large denominations, issued by the banks and based on the security of mortgages on farm lands.

These two systems are to be under the general supervision of a Federal Farm Loan Board in the Treasury Department, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, as chairman ex officio, and four members appointed by the President. This board has authority to appoint appraisers, examiners, and registrars, who will be public officials.

FEDERAL LAND-BANK SYSTEM.

Under the Federal land-bank system the act provides for Federal land banks which make loans, for the first 12 months, exclusively through local national farm-loan associations composed of borrowers. These associations shall be shareholders in the banks, and in that way the members, who are the borrowers, will share in the profits of the bank. The money for the loans is to come partly from the capital of the banks and partly from the sale by the banks of bonds secured by first mortgages on farm lands.

The United States shall be divided into 12 farm-loan districts, and a Federal land bank with a subscribed capital stock of not less than $750,000, each share $5, shall be established in each district. Each Federal land bank may establish branches in its district.

Within 30 days after the capital stock is offered for sale it may be purchased at par by anyone. Thereafter, the stock remaining unsold shall be bought by the Secretary of the Treasury for the United States. It is provided, however, that the Government shall not receive any dividends on its stock. Ultimately, it is intended that all the stock in the banks shall be owned by the associations of borrowers, and provision therefore is made in the law for transferring the original stock at par to these associations.

WHAT "NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS" ARE.

The act provides for the creation of local "national farm-loan associations" through which it is contemplated that the Federal land banks shall make their loans. Ten or more persons who own and cultivate farm land qualified as security for mortgage loan under the act, or who are about to own and cultivate such land, may form such an association, provided the aggregate of the loans desired by the membership is not less than $20,000. Each member must take $5 stock in his association for each $100 he wishes to borrow, selling this stock when he pays his debt. The association in turn, when applying for money from the bank, must subscribe for stock in the bank to an amount equivalent to 5 per cent of the sum it wants to obtain for its members. If a prospective borrower has no money with which to pay for his association stock, he may borrow the price of that stock as part of the loan on his farm land.

In the event that a local loan association is not formed in any locality within a year, the Federal Farm Land Board may authorize a Federal land bank to make loans on farm land through approved agents.

HOW LAND OWNER MAY GET A LOAN.

A member of a "national farm-loan association," before obtaining a loan, must first fill out an application blank supplied to the loan association by the Federal Farm Loan Board. This application blank and other necessary papers will then be referred to a loan committee of the association which must appraise the property offered as security. Such application as is approved by the loan committee is then forwarded to the Federal land bank and must be investigated and reported on by a salaried appraiser of this Government bank before the loan is granted. This appraiser is required to investigate the solvency and character of the prospective borrower as well as the value of his land. When a loan is granted the amount is forwarded to the borrower through the loan association.

RULES FOR MAKING LOANS.

The act specifically defines the purpose for which loans may be obtained. These are:

"(a) To provide for the purchase of land for agricultural use.

"(b) To provide for the purchase of equipment, fertilizers, and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the mortgaged farm; the term 'equipment' to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

"(c) To provide buildings and for the improvement of farm lands; the term 'improvement' to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

"(d) To liquidate indebtedness of the owner of the land mortgaged existing at the time of the organization of the first national farm loan association established in or for the county in which the land mortgaged is situated, or indebtedness subsequently incurred for one of the purposes mentioned in this section."

FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL FACTS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND.

1. Loans may be made on first mortgages on farm land.

2. Only those who own and cultivate farm land, or are about to own and cultivate such land, are entitled to borrow.

3. No one can borrow save for the purposes stated in the act, and those who after borrowing do not use the money for the purposes specified in the mortgage are liable to have their loans reduced or recalled. The secretary-treasurer of each association is required to report any diversion of borrowed money from the purposes stated in the mortgages.

4. No individual can borrow more than $10,000 or less than $100.

5. No loan may be made for more than 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the permanent insured improvements upon it.

6. The loan must run for not less than 5 and not more than 40 years.

7. Every mortgage must provide for the repayment of the loan under an "amortization" plan by means of a fixed number of annual or semiannual installments sufficient to meet all interest and pay off the debt by the end of the term of the loan. The installments required will be those published in amortization tables, to be prepared by the Farm Loan Board.

INTEREST RATES CAN NOT BE OVER 6 PER CENT AND MAY BE LESS.

No Federal land bank is permitted to charge more than 6 per cent per annum on its farm mortgage loans, and in no case shall the interest charged on farm mortgages exceed by more than 1 per cent the rate paid on the last issue of bonds.

For example, if the bank pays only 4 per cent on an issue of bonds, it can not charge more than 5 per cent for the next farm loans it makes.

The Democratic Party during the last four years has passed more helpful, useful, important legislation to the people of the United States than any dozen previous Congresses ever passed. The currency bill is one of the chief pieces of our legislation and its handmaid now is the rural-credits law, which we have just passed.

It is needless to say that I have been insistent upon the passage of such legislation for a number of years. I have urged it in season and out, because I believe it will bring about the emancipation of the farmer and will bring about conditions financially which will enable every energetic tiller of the soil to become prosperous and happy, and I am happy to have had an humble part in the passage of this epoch-making measure.

## Navy Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. SEWARD H. WILLIAMS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. WILLIAMS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I supported the original Navy bill and the amendments sought to be made to it in the House providing an increase in the number of vessels. I shall support the conference report now before us. There are many reasons why this Nation should adopt a substantial policy of strengthening the Navy. For years we have rested in the belief that a world struggle, such as exists to-day, could not happen. But the fighting spirit of humanity is aroused. The air seems to be saturated with a war temperature. Commercial jealousies have engendered hatred among nations, which will not die with the termination of the European war. Mexican troubles will bring home to us the grave responsibilities of the Monroe doctrine after the close of the war. The Paris agree-

ment, of June of this year, as to national European combinations relative to international trade will bring us face to face with a new world power in this respect. We must be prepared to meet this power and be in a postiion to command the respect of combinations of powers in Europe regarding our rights on the seas if we would maintain our over-sea trade. Had we to-day a navy commensurate with the needs of a nation of 100,000,000 people, it is safe to say that our legitimate trade and our mail service would not be as openly interfered with. It is necessary, in view of the alliances of European powers, for our country to have a navy of sufficient power to repel any possible invader. An adequate navy is the best instrument to insure the peace of our country. Its moral effect will be most beneficial in times of threatened disturbances.

Not only must we be prepared to resist invasion of our States, but we must also be prepared to protect our possessions which are located within the circle of influence of other powerful nations, and the cost of adequate preparation will not approach the cost in life and money necessary to repel invasion. All our responsibilities do not lie wholly within our own borders. There is bound to be a great struggle for the extension of commerce. Already national combinations are being formed to capture the trade over the seas. If we fail to place ourselves in a position to follow our legitimate trade with an adequate naval force, we will be brushed aside with a ruthless hand in the same manner by which we are now suffering from gross violations of international law in the illegal interference with the transmission of our mails to and from foreign countries.

As it is our duty to fortify the Panama Canal, so it is our duty to provide and maintain a Navy sufficiently strong to enable us to reach the canal at any time and under any conditions. We have expended $400,000,000 in constructing the waterway across the Isthmus in order to establish a shorter route between the Atlantic and Pacific. This canal is our property. It will be of immense value to us in time of war, but our ability to use it will depend entirely upon the ability of our Navy to keep the waters clear of belligerent vessels at either terminus.

Through the Monroe doctrine we have maintained the position that the American Continent is for Americans, and that European powers must keep hands off. At the same time we have acquired insular possessions in the Old World. Our ability to protect the islands and to enforce the Monroe doctrine and to assume the responsibilities of the Monroe doctrine will depend upon an adequate naval force. As to the question of what constitutes an adequate naval force for the United States, I know of no better answer than that of Admiral Knight, who said:

> The answer will depend, of course, upon the purpose for which we assume that the Navy is to be used. We are all agreed, I presume, that it is not to be used for aggression. Is it, then, to be used solely for defense? If we answer yes, we ought to do so with a full recognition of what we are to defend, and also of the elementary maxim that the best defense is a vigorous offense. In other words, no matter how resolute we may be to use our Navy only for repelling aggression, it does not follow that we should plan for meeting the aggressor only at our gates. Even if we had no interest outside our borders and no responsibilities for the defense of our outlying possessions and dependencies, we should still, as reasonable beings not wholly ignorant of history, prepare to project our battle line toward the enemy's coasts and to assume a course which would throw upon him the burden of replying to our initiative. In this sense, then, we need a Navy for offense; that is to say, for offensive action with a defensive purpose. In shaping our plans along these lines we should not overlook the fact that the policy which dictates the measure of our defense must take full note of the larger national policy which it is to enforce, in relation, for example, to the Monroe doctrine, the Panama Canal, the Philippines, and other matters which are at once of national and of international significance.

The provisions of the pending amendments tend toward the establishment of a strong foundation for an adequate naval force. It assures the people of our country, who are not too proud to fight should it become necessary, that there is some material at hand with which to defend and protect our territory and our rights.

While we must prepare to protect our territory and our rights on the seas, we should not overlook the necessity of proper preparation for the protection of our commercial interests, which will be threatened after the European war. For when that war terminates there will come a commercial struggle among the powers of the world which may, unless a protective policy is adopted, prove as disastrous to our country as shot and shell.

Our importations are greater now than at any other time in the history of our country, while our exports have been tremendously augmented by arms, munitions, and war supplies. In the future these latter exports will cease. We can not expect to sell so much arms and munitions of war to the nations of Europe when the war is ended. When peace is restored those nations of the world will go on selling us their products, as they are now doing, and in addition the nations that can not now sell will be free to dump their products into our country as they did before the outbreak of the war. The belligerent nations will be more heavily taxed than ever before and will seek to flood our markets with their cheaper-made goods. Our immense stocks of gold will be most attractive.

To-day statistics show that foreign imports are being received at a rate in excess of two and one-half billions of dollars a year with some of the largest trading countries of Europe shut out of the market. As long as these imports are exchanged for war material we will not suffer financially, but when the war ceases and we are not making war supplies, then our wage earners must find employment in our industries of peace; but if those industries are closed because of the importation of the cheaper-made products of Europe admitted under the free-trade act, then will our industries be crippled. Economic disaster can not be avoided unless we check the flood of foreign-made goods into our country, when our immense exports of war supplies have ceased, by adopting a protective tariff which has always brought substantial prosperity to American workmen and American industries alike.

In the readjustment of affairs following the close of the war our country may be materially affected, and if trouble does come it may be shortly after the close of the war. It is therefore necessary that the building of vessels be speeded along as rapidly as possible. If the facilities at the disposal of the Government are not ample to accommodate the building of vessels authorized by Congress, within the prescribed time, private shipyards should be given an opportunity to assist in the construction under such governmental supervision as would insure a proper return for each dollar expended. It is charged that a policy of economy has not been exercised in the matter o. expenditures authorized for the building of our Navy and navy yards. It is reported that during the first 15 years of the present century we have spent $1,600,000,000 on our Navy, while Germany has spent $1,100,000,000. In other words, Germany spent 30 per cent less on her navy than we did on ours, and had a more powerful navy than we had. The difference of half a billion of dollars would have built two superdreadnaughts a year for a period of 15 years, at a cost of $15,000,000 each, with $50,000,000 still remaining for destroyers, submarines, or battle cruisers. This construction would have doubled the war strength of our Navy.

May speed, economy, and efficiency characterize the future construction of our Navy.

## The Washington Primary Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. HUMPHREY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, there is an interesting article in the American Economist under date of August 16, 1916. While I can not say that I agree entirely with all opinions and conclusions drawn in that article, it does, I believe, correctly state the facts, and it will be read with interest by every voter in my State, for each one of them desires to understand the second-choice provision of our primary law and how to correctly vote when it is invoked. The article referred to is as follows:

"A FREAK PRIMARY LAW.

"We have given considerable attention to the direct primary laws. Some of them are good and some of them are bad. The primary system has doubtless come to stay, but all of these laws in the various States ought to be made uniform and fair, with special reference to securing the honest judgment of voters of all parties for nominations to public office.

"In the State of Washington they have a freak primary law, which provides that if four or more candidates 'file' for the same office the voter must vote his first and second choice. The second-choice law provides:

"(1) If the voter votes for one candidate only, the ballot is not counted.

"(2) If the voter votes for the same candidate for both first and second choice, the ballot is not counted.

"(3) The voter must vote for two different candidates or the vote is lost.

"This law virtually takes away the right of the voter to vote as he desires, and often compels him to help nominate a candidate he does not want, in order to cast his ballot for one he does want. Unless some candidate receives 40 per cent or more of the first choice votes, then the first and second choice votes

of each candidate are added together, and the one having a plurality of first and second choice votes combined becomes the nominee.

"This system of voting leads to many mistakes and much confusion. The strong candidate always suffers most. In one primary contest, Congressman HUMPHREY lost between four and five thousand votes, where the ballots were marked for him for both first and second choice. In view of the great importance, not only to that State, but to the whole country, of the senatorial contest in Washington, it is hoped that the voters will study well this law and make as few mistakes as possible.

"The weak man wants the second choice. It may happen under this reform system that a candidate may be nominated by the second choice provision who a small minority of the voters desire. It is used by designing politicians for this very purpose.

"Two strong men may be candidates. The weaker third man decides that, if he can get the contest thrown to second choice, he may be nominated on account of the mistakes and confusion which will arise by getting second choice votes from both of the strong men. It is an easy matter to persuade some "dummy" to file so as to invoke the second choice provision. This very situation exists in the present Washington senatorial contest.

"Senator POINDEXTER and Congressman HUMPHREY are the strong candidates. A majority of the Republicans want one or the other of these men nominated. Apparently there is but one way that the people can work their will, at least, in the coming senatorial contest to defeat the effects of this freak law, and nominate the candidate they wish. That is, the friends of the strong candidates should scatter their second choice votes among the weak and unknown candidates upon the ticket.

"The majority of the people of the State of Washington of all parties condemn this law. The last Republican State convention declared unanimously in favor of its repeal." (From the American Economist, August 16, 1916.)

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**The Real Issue Before the Country.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, August 21, 1916.*

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, there are two well-defined policies which have sharply distinguished two schools of political thought in this country. The one school led by Washington and Hamilton at the outset believed in establishing and maintaining an American standard of living in contrast with that of Europe, by aid of a protective law. Later, this American policy was styled by Henry Clay the "American system." While Calhoun favored it in 1816, he bitterly opposed it in 1828, and denominated similar legislation the "bill of abominations." Up to the thirties it was not in sharp dispute. But with the growth of cotton as the controlling staple of all the southern section of the country the question of protection which looked to a diversification of industry here at home was attacked as inimical to the southern cotton grower. He wished to sell his cotton in Europe and in turn buy his goods he did not produce in the European market instead of American, simply because it was a cheaper market. His theory was tariff for revenue, but no other purpose. The only "revenue only" bill enacted before the war was introduced by Walker, of Mississippi, and passed into law in 1846. It well expressed the southern theory.

During the Civil War the northern protection idea was enacted into law by the Morrill Act. Morrill was from Vermont. It was solidly opposed by all the cotton States. It well expressed the protection or northern theory.

In 1887 Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, introduced his famous Mills bill, which failed of passage notwithstanding a solid support from the cotton States. It was in line with the cotton States men's theory.

The protective measure of 1890 was carried through the Congress under the leadership of McKinley, opposed by all the cotton States. It again expressed the northern or industrial idea of the country.

In 1894 the famous Wilson bill became a law, the second "revenue only" law in our history. It was carried through Congress by Wilson, of West Virginia, with a solid support of all the cotton States. It was drafted over the southern plan.

In 1897 this bill was repealed and the famous protective measure, known as the Dingley law, was carried through Congress by Dingley, of Maine, against the solid opposition of the cotton States. It best expressed the northern idea.

In 1913 the Underwood law, the third "revenue only" bill of our history, was carried through the Congress by the solid vote of the cotton States, aided by Democrats of the North. It is a good expression of the southern idea on sugar and many other items.

It will be noted that the three "revenue only" bills which have been placed upon our books were southern measures, introduced by southern men, and carried into legislation by southern votes, while all the protective measures which cover all our periods since the Civil War save the three years 1894 to 1897, and the present period 1913 to 1916, have been introduced by northern men and carried into legislation by their votes against the solid opposition of the South. I mention this fact of history to call attention to its reasons. The South is the source of Democratic legislation on the revenue laws.

Unfortunately the South has persistently confined its productive activities to one staple product, in the main. While in recent years it has entered upon a more diversified production, yet it looks to cotton as the chief item of its production. Unfortunately it persists in sending its raw cotton to Europe to be manufactured into the finished article which it buys back, paying not only European labor for such work, but the transportation across the ocean of the raw cotton and again in return in the shape of a fabric. While it is true under northern stimulus many cotton mills have been erected in the South, yet three-fourths of the product to-day is exported in a raw state. This should not be. Here is the source of the free-trade propaganda. These southern statesmen insistently demand the right to purchase the needed articles of consumption in the European market because of lower prices due to cheaper labor in Europe. This is the Democratic theory as the party now is dominated. On the other hand, the Republican theory is the reverse—establish manufactures here by assisting capital here. Employ labor here, maintain an American standard of living here—diversify our industries by stimulating the producer to make possible the consumer, and vice versa. Produce everything here that is possible to our energy.

The Republican idea is to build up and maintain the home market. That means to bring the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the miner, and the exchange man all into close cooperation. It proceeds upon the theory that what will aid the one will not hurt the other. It means to make possible the producer by making possible the consumer. It invests capital in order to employ labor. In this way what helps the consumer will not hurt the producer.

If a policy looking to the upbuilding of American enterprise should be favored by anyone, it is the man who toils. What he wants is steady employment at American wages, which can not be realized by a revenue-only policy, simply because it is impossible if he is not protected from the low standards of Europe. The only protection is in the law. We have been able to secure this protection when we maintained protective legislation. This American legislation has been uninterrupted since the days of Lincoln save a bare half dozen years, the two periods marked by the Wilson bill and the Underwood bill—both periods notorious for the universal distress among our people. The Republican contention, backed by our own history, is that it is a national duty to insure our standards against the lower standards of Europe.

We have an object lesson of the result of open competition between this country and Europe in our own merchant marine. Upon the sea our law is not supreme as it is within our national boundaries. The practices of Europe on the sea are not within our control. Hence Europe's cheap labor, with no regulatory management such as we exercise on behalf of the American worker, has literally driven from the sea the American merchant marine—simply and only because American enterprise upholding American standards can not compete on the open sea with European enterprise with lower standards. This concrete object lesson is but an illustration of what will occur within our own domain when we remove our protective legislation and make our markets as open to European competition as is now the ocean. This is what Republicans refuse to do. This is what Democrats are trying to do. The President's pet phrase is to compel Americans to whet their wits; his Secretary of Commerce says he wants Americans to reach the efficiency of their European competitors.

If this theory, born in the cotton fields of the South, is to prevail, there is but one of two alternatives—either our business

will be transferred to Europe as in the case of the merchant marine or else our labor conditions will be made to compete with those of Europe.

Free trade presupposes equality of conditions. We can easily enter upon free-trade schedules with Europe if we are ready to lower our standards of expenditures to meet theirs. In that case we will retain our business at frightful cost to the American toiler. If we refuse to meet the competition, then we will lose the trade just as we have upon the sea.

Mr. Speaker, when the Underwood bill was under discussion I addressed the House on the 25th of April on the caption, "The Underwood Act, a bill which ought to be entitled 'An act in the interest of foreign countries as against the United States.'" I stated then that I would be willing to open our gates when Europe lifted her labor to our plane, but I would not vote to lower our labor to her plane. Any man who makes the effort to connect effect back to a cause could not be mistaken as to the inevitable effects of such legislation, even though he had not taken the time to refresh his memory upon the effects of similar legislation 20 years before.

Mr. Speaker, having been a student of the tariff question I had paid some attention to the Wilson bill of 1894. It did not escape my mind that while the southern Democrats exempt from the serious effects of the smashing of the industries of the country so long as they can sell their cotton to Europe were loudly declaiming the virtues of their "revenue-only" law of 1894–1897, the country's business struck its lowest ebb. Capital refused to invest; labor dependent upon capital went upon the streets to feed in soup houses and in the bread line. Imports from Europe increased while exports decreased, balance of trade against us, gold going to Europe to settle the balance, Treasury embarrassed, and an issue of bonds. A period of suffering relieved only by repudiation of the party guilty of such disastrous legislation, and a revival of protective policy at once in the Dingley bill.

With these facts fresh in mind the Democratic leaders were warned of the inevitable effects of their proposed legislation, the Underwood bill, which was still lower in rates of duty than its fatal predecessor of 20 years before.

The law went on the books October 4, 1913, 10 months before the European war opened. What followed? Note the deadly parallel.

Capital in hiding, enterprise paralyzed, business bankrupt, and labor on the streets seeking employment, charitable organizations, as well as municipalities taxed to their limit to provide relief. Soup houses and bread lines resorted to even to a greater extent than the disastrous period of 20 years before, imports from Europe increased, exports decreased the magnificent balance of trade of over one-half billion dollars in our favor, now for the first time in 20 years turned against us, gold leaving the country to settle the balances, a pool proposed to control the export of gold, Treasury embarrassed, Democratic deficiency, stamp tax levied.

Can there be any marks more distinguishing of Democratic legislation than these 1894–1897 and 1913–1916? These are the plague spots of recent years. President Wilson had assured the country he did not intend and would not cripple any legitimate industry. When told his proposed legislation would paralyze industry and displace labor, UNDERWOOD declared from the floor of the House that the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce would punish any employer who would dare slow down upon business to the hurt of labor. What followed?

Mr. Speaker, one of the best business barometers of the country is the railroads; they are so intimately connected with the business life of the Nation that injury to them will be felt quite generally. This is because of the tremendous importance of this branch of public and private business. Note these figures: Twenty million people, or one-fifth of our population, either directly or indirectly interested in the railroad business; 2,000,000 wage earners directly employed, to whom are paid $1,500,000,000 in wages; 1,000,000 workers in plants supplying the material for the roads, representing 5,000,000 more dependent upon them; 1,500,000 stockholders representing at least 6,000,000 persons. The roads paid in expenses in 1913, $2,165,000,000—$23.50 per capita of our entire population—including men, women, and children.

The effect of the Underwood bill upon this enterprise is shown by comparing the earnings of the fiscal year of 1914, the first year of the law, with those of the year of 1913. The gross earnings decreased $44,000,000, expenses and taxes increased $76,000,000, the net operating income decreased $120,000,000. Taxes increased $12,600,000, a total of $252,600,000 of loss to this branch of industry in one year, which marks the railroads' contribution to Democratic legislation.

DECREASE OF OPERATING REVENUES.

The total operating revenues during the fiscal year 1914 amounted to $2,991,398,735, or an average of $13,266 per mile of line; operating expenses amounted to $2,455,072,345, or an average of $9,557 per mile of line; the residue, net operating revenue, amounted to $536,326,390, or an average of $3,709 per mile of line. Compared with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, the fiscal year 1914 shows a decrease in total operating revenues per mile of $471, or 3.4 per cent; an increase in operating expenses per mile of $38, or 0.4 per cent; a resultant decrease in net operating revenue per mile of $510, or 12.1 per cent. Taxes per mile increased $53, or 9.6 per cent, while operating income decreased $577 per mile, or 15.7 per cent.

To meet this critical situation the roads inaugurated a campaign of retrenchment on expenses. Trains which had been a part of regular schedules for years were taken off. Great forces of labor were reduced. In the month of July, 1914, just before the war in Europe opened, the number of cars passing daily Lewistown junction on the main line of the Pennsylvania Road was 680 less than in July of 1913. For the month this would amount to 20,400 cars less than the year preceding on but one line of but one system among a great many railway lines in the country. By May 31, 1914, just two months before the war and seven months after the Underwood bill took effect, the Pennsylvania Co. laid off 24,124 men. In March of 1914, five months after the bill went into effect, 34 roads, representing one-half the railroad mileage of the country, had reduced their force 119,537 men, or over 10 per cent.

The disastrous effect of this law is best shown by comparing the number of idle cars on the tracks in 1914 with 1913. Here is the statement by months that tells its own story:

| | 1914 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|
| Jan. 15 | 214,889 | 28,433 |
| Feb. 1 | 204,678 | 37,263 |
| Feb. 14 | 197,052 | 22,183 |
| Mar. 1 | 153,907 | 31,381 |
| Mar. 14 | 124,895 | 37,775 |
| Apr. 11 | 139,512 | 57,988 |
| Apr. 15 | 212,869 | 57,408 |
| May 1 | 228,879 | 39,799 |
| May 15 | 238,642 | 59,204 |
| May 31 | 241,802 | 50,908 |
| June 15 | 232,334 | 63,927 |
| July 1 | 219,545 | 63,704 |

According to the latest report on April 1, 1915, the total surplus of cars was 313,421, the total shortage 348, and a net surplus of 313,073. On March 1, 1915, the corresponding surplus was 321,787, and on April 1, 1914, it was 139,512.

There is no more conclusive evidence of the prostrating effect of legislation than the above figures. They are in sharp contrast with the bombastic boast of our Democratic stump orators, who first denied the situation and then its causes.

The building program of the roads is another business index which impresses the country in the same way. Here is the statement from the New York Evening Post, a prominent free-trade sheet:

| | Locomotives. | Freight cars. |
|---|---|---|
| 1914 | 926 | 78,604 |
| 1913 | 5,332 | 207,684 |
| 1912 | 4,915 | 152,429 |
| 1911 | 3,530 | 72,161 |
| 1910 | 4,755 | 180,905 |
| 1909 | 2,887 | 93,570 |
| 1908 | 2,342 | 76,555 |
| 1907 | 7,352 | 284,188 |
| 1906 | 6,952 | 240,503 |
| 1905 | 5,491 | 165,155 |
| 1904 | 3,441 | 60,935 |
| 1903 | 5,152 | 153,195 |
| 1902 | 4,070 | 152,590 |

In 1914 orders for 926 locomotives were given, while in 1913 under protective tariff the number was 5,332, nearly six times as many. In 1914 orders for 78,660 freight cars were given, while in 1913, 207,684, or nearly three times the number.

It will be noted that the orders for locomotives the first year of the Underwood bill was the lowest in 20 years.

Closely identified with the railroad industry is that of steel, which is one of the best business barometers of the Nation. This is one story of the iron and steel industry, according to investigations made by the Daily Iron Trade:

Eighty-seven days of the "new freedom" and "free trade":
More than one-third of all the steel mills in the United States closed.
More than 1,000,000 men idle.
More than $2,000,000 in wages per day gone.

More than $125,000,000 invested in closed mills.
An annual pay roll of more than $746,000,000 wiped out.
But this is not all, for connected with the iron, steel, and metal trades are 28,000 separate and distinct establishments employing 2,000,000 men, 1,000,000 of whom are idle. So we have altogether 2,000,000 idle men in the iron and steel business.

Other industries felt the same shock. The Waltham Watch Co. in 1914, before the war opened, placed 3,000 men on short time.

The most serious effect of this sort of legislation is always felt among the toilers. In the railroad business alone 242,500 men were laid off in 1914 up to July, just nine months after the Underwood bill took effect and the month before the war broke out in Europe. It was estimated that the unemployment throughout the United States would reach the enormous figure of 4,000,000, either totally out of work or on short time. Here are the estimates of trade journals:

New York, March, 1914, 350,000 workers out of work; Boston, March, 1914, 20,000 workers out of work; Chicago, March, 1914, 50,000 workers out of work; Los Angeles, January, 1914, 35,000 workers out of work; San Francisco, August, 1914, 25,000 workers out of work; Pittsburgh, August, 1914, 50,000 workers out of work.

On January 10, 1914, three months after the bill went into effect, there were 1,000,000 men in the metal trades idle, with a loss of wages of $50,000,000 per month. There were 270,000 men in the mines, with a loss in wages of twelve million per month. There were at the same time 19,300 men idle in the Baldwin Locomotive Works. On March 1, 1914, five months after the law went into effect, there were 100,000 men idle on the Pacific coast. This stagnation of business extended to every line of industrial activity. The New York Herald, a supporter at the time of the Underwood Act, printed on December 15, 1913, two months after the law took effect, a statement of business conditions, as follows:

The north Atlantic group of States, embracing the great industrial centers found in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware was reported to be "at a standstill." The great States of the Middle West—Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri—were reported unfavorable.

Col. George Pope, of Connecticut, sent out an inquiry June, 1914, upon the business situation. This inquiry went to the heads of business firms, representing every shade of political opinion. The answers were substantially the same:

Business is unsatisfactory.
Our sales are below normal.
We can not make collections.
The outlook is discouraging.
We must have relief from lawmaking.

On May 29, 1914, a deputation representing manufacturing interests in Ohio and Illinois to the amount of at least three-quarters of a billion dollars, employing an army of workers, called upon the President at the White House to make a frank statement of the business situation of the country as it then existed, and to memorialize him for relief. The spokesman was from my own district, and is a distinguished Democrat. The President's answer to their prayer was the now famous assurance that business was all right, and the situation was merely psychological. Imagine the sensation of these seasoned business leaders, upon whose shoulders were the heavy burdens of keeping their business organizations intact, both for their own benefit and that of their employees, when told they must not be disturbed because the situation was a mere state of mind. They had not been conducting their business on such lines.

On the 25th of June the President, speaking to the country through the Virginia Press Association, which he addressed, assured the public that there were symptoms of a revival of business. The very papers that carried this surprising assurance detailed the Claflin failure of $34,000,000, the largest industrial failure in the history of business. The papers on the same day announced that 3,000,000 wage earners were on the streets of our cities looking for work throughout the country. This was the beginning of a riot of bankruptcies which before the year ended had scheduled more industrial failures than any similar period since the Wilson tariff law of 20 years ago.

At the very moment Democratic leaders were denying the state of affairs Mayor Mitchel, of New York, demanded that the municipal budget be cut from ten to six millions, because the city was in a state of "great business depression."

The spring of 1914 witnessed the greatest test in our history of various charitable associations to care for the unfortunate victims of bad legislation. Many cities issued bonds in order to find employment on public works for the suffering idle, who up to that time had been well employed. Every altruistic association in the great cities, including the churches, was strained to find public lodging houses, to establish municipal soup houses, to lodge and feed the unfortunates. The bread lines had never been so long and persistent as at this time. In his famous address at Indianapolis, January 8, 1915, the President recommended an employment bureau as a part of the Government activities. The country then, as now, believed the best possible employment bureau is an administration that will make possible the employment of labor in the thousands of industries, where self-respecting men can find work and wages and not be compelled to ask for charity. Here is where the country will indict this administration. It is foreign in its policy, its legislation, its effect. It is inimical to labor and inefficient from every point of view.

Its bald extravagance, which is simply appalling, together with its inefficiency of administration, will surely lead to its expulsion from power at the next election. It is amusing to note the various explanations of the administration. At first the leaders closed their eyes and refused to acknowledge the actual results. Democratic orators denied the fact of distress. However, the President admitted the situation, but explained it upon the basis of psychology. After this admission the leaders declared the situation was due to an overabundance of crops, a glutted market. But when that failed of satisfaction to explain the real situation they put the blame upon the Interstate Commerce Commission in its failure to give to the railroads an increase of rates. The demagogue loudly declared that it was the result of a conspiracy of business men to repudiate the administration. However, now and then a Democrat of independent mind was bold enough to admit the facts, as did Congressman METZ, of New York, when he declared on the floor of the House that "hundreds of businesses are running at a dead loss to keep their organizations together."

This was the situation July 31, 1914, just 10 months after the enactment of this southern "revenue-only" law took effect. Then the war in Europe came. Within a month the nations which contained half the world's people were in arms. In due time it encompassed three-fourths of the world's population. The European producer, who under the Underwood bill was rapidly seizing our trade and thus displacing our capital and labor, suddenly ceased to be our competitor and became our greatest consumer. On the 21st of last month I pointed out the figures which tell the story of the war-order prosperity. With all Europe looking to us for supplies our productive capacity has been taxed to its limit. This is expressed in our fabulous exports. The Democratic leaders immediately seized upon the war as an explanation of all the woes brought upon us by their legislation. At the time it was asserted on the floor of the House by Republican leaders that any man with a thimbleful of brains must know that the war can have but one effect upon our trade—a wonderfully stimulating result. In the face of this most apparent fact our Democratic leaders, without the slightest compunction, are daily making the absurd claim that these exports and the present stage of prosperity are due to Democratic legislation. In distress it was war, in prosperity it is Democratic legislation. It would appear that sheer respectability for opinion's sake would be a deterrent to such a claim; but not so in this Congress. This sort of twaddle will not get far. The American electorate are not to be deceived. They have already given evidence of that fact. They spoke in no uncertain tones in November of 1914, when the friends of protection were still in divided camps.

To-day, when these friends are under the same banner, the country can expect but one result—a complete repudiation both of this vicious legislation and the cheap demagogic claim for such legislation. This result will be reached in the repudiation of a policy conceived in the interest of foreign rather than American enterprise. It will be made also a decisive rebuke for the hardihood of the claim that the present blood-soaked European prosperity is due to legislation. If we wish to know what to expect in the future, we need but look to the past. The industrial situation in 1914, before the war opened, is sufficient evidence of what we may expect when the war closes. The people of this country will never risk the readjustment that must come at the close of the war to legislators now in control of the Government. When 30,000,000 soldiers return from the fields and trench to resume their industrial pursuits, they will find many places filled by women doing well the work they formerly did. Then will come that competition for place which will compel a reduction of wages from the already low standard of Europe. This lowering standard will be augmented by the staggering debt under which Europe is now groaning. They will cease to buy from us, and thus avoid an increase of debt, but they will sell to us to reduce it. Europe's goods, made by the cheapest-paid labor, will flood our markets and will expel our goods, made by the highest-paid labor. What we experienced prior to the war will be but an incident to what we must suffer after it ends, unless remedial legislation interposes. In

such a crisis this country will never risk the Democratic remedy in the form of tariff for "revenue only" legislation. It will naturally turn to a protective system, which has now been embraced by every country of Europe. It will naturally appeal to the Republican Party, under the leadership of the country's most distinguished jurist, and will place in his hands and in the keeping of those who believe in an American system the constructive work of readjustment, inevitable on the cessation of hostilities, and upon which the welfare of a hundred million people will be dependent. Whatever other issues may differentiate the dominant parties of the country, the paramount issue in this campaign must be whether the free-trade party of the country, dominated by the cotton States men, which under their latest legislation, styled the Underwood Act, precipitated the country, which up to that time was in the acme of prosperity, into the most disastrous prostration experienced since the last Democratic legislation of 20 years before—whether that party shall be intrusted to power to meet the problems of readjustment. A party that strangled the business of the country in 1913 will not be trusted in 1916 to rebuild from its own ruins.

## Invisible Government and the Consequence of It.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 5, 1916.*

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, I extend these remarks in the hope that they may be of interest to the country, for I know that the facts that I present are important and should be understood by everyone. No matter what individual professions and party claims may be to the contrary, it is apparent to anyone who has been more than four years a Member of Congress, that the will of the people in regard to legislation is seldom consulted. The price of leadership here is exactly the opposite of carrying out, in good faith, the will of those whom we are elected to serve. Wholesale deception of the electorate has been, and is now, the means most successfully used to secure office and remain in public life. Committees that meet in secret and party caucuses held behind closed doors restrict legislation strictly to such measures as are desired by "special privilege," or to manipulate and emasculate legislation made to conform to popular demand in the title clause only. The bosses know how, and they use their knowledge, when all other means fail, to so manipulate a disagreement between this body and the Senate as to completely avoid in conference such a compliance with the popular will as would in any degree benefit those who send us here and pay our public salaries. There is the rub. We are not, many of us, earning the salaries that the Government pays us, but rather receive the benefit of the campaign funds supplied by "big business."

Everyone here knows that these things are true. Go back, Mr. Speaker, in your own recollection, to those stormy days on this floor when your predecessor occupied that chair and you were the leader of the minority. Recall how a few of us on this side of the House lead in a fight, refusing to bow to the party lash. We were joined by you and your followers in a demand which was backed and applauded by a vast majority of the American people, that this should in fact and deed become a representative body with rules that would make it responsive to the will of a majority of its own Members. Does it not often recur to you in your meditations concerning your long service here, how the reforms then demanded were made innocuous and practically defeated by the defection of 23 Members of your own party who were here—and who can doubt it—for the express purpose of serving the selfish interests of the "invisible government"? I can not but believe that your mind has speculated upon what different and more beneficial lines the course of legislation might have followed had those 23 Members been true to the interests of good government at that time. Mr. Speaker, I feel sure that you will recognize that I am not at all exceeding the limitations of the probable when I say that if the outcome of that fight had been different than it was, and if we had secured the rules that would properly govern our deliberations, instead of limiting our action within the control of bosses, there would not have been in the White House to-day the leader of a disorganized and turbulent minority of the electorate, and you Mr. Speaker, instead would be occupying that high position—President of the United States.

And what of the 23 Members who, at that time refused to join us in battle for proper rules, and who deserted your leadership, and by their acts fastened upon this House rules under which it does not govern itself? It all proved to the country, that in its extremity, "special privilege" is no respecter of party lines, and that whatever it demands in this House and elsewhere, the "invisible government" is above party and country. What sinister influence controlled the 23? They were of unquestioned intelligence and knew the effect of their vote. No satisfactory explanation was ever made. If this is a Government by party, and party defection is treason, why have not these members of your party been punished? There is a reason, Mr. Speaker, and during the time that I have spent here, I have made it a part of my business to find out some of these things.

There is a sinister influence at work in our country, which, if it is not checked, intends to completely undermine the institutions of our Government and change it from a representative form of government to a monarchial and plutocratic system where it will be the privilege of a few to rule in splendor, and the fate of the many to spend their lives in unrequited toil and that hopeless condition of servitude which they came here to escape from. Already word has gone forth to lands across the sea, to those aspiring souls who search for liberty of person and freedom of conscience, that America no longer is in a position to offer to the world an asylum and refuge for the oppressed. That class of emigrants which was once our glory and our boast, has ceased to look for freedom here. It is a different class that now makes up the bulk of emigrants to our shores. It is a situation that deserves the careful consideration of all thoughtful persons. Amidst all this talk of "preparedness" we need to stop to inquire if, while we have been preparing for the foe who may possibly lurk without, we have entirely neglected to prepare for an infinitely more dangerous foe which, with the certainty of fate, exists within.

It is not my purpose to make a partisan political statement. I could not if I would, for I am not a partisan. I believe in looking the cold facts in the face and stating them as they are. After I have gone out from this body and return to private life it will be my proudest recollection that I have never allowed the dictates of party to influence my course. Nor will it ever be charged against me that "invisible government" in any of its forms has ever controlled my voice or vote. During my service as a Member of this House I have been a close observer of events during three different presidential administrations. I have seen the progressive tendencies of legislation under a Roosevelt, inspired by the logic, eloquence, and candor of LA FOLLETTE, strangled by the stand-pat proclivities of a Taft, and the power of a great party, which had controlled the country for 16 years, dwindle until it was able to carry only the electoral votes of two of the smallest States in the Union. I have seen another great party ride into power on the strength of roseate promises to the people, and I expect to see it go out of power, because it has been abundantly proved that those promises were merely statements to catch votes. The plain truth is that neither of these great parties, as at present led and manipulated by an invisible government, is fit to manage the destinies of a great people, and this fact is well understood by all who have had the time and have used it to investigate.

The most that anyone can at the present time, who has the good of his country at heart, dare to hope is that a new administration, not unlikely to be substituted for the one that now exists, will be to some extent better than the existing one. The attitude of many people at the present time is simply this, that a new administration without pledge of past performance or promise of future fulfillment is to be preferred to one that has been trusted on promises which it has broken in nearly every particular. It is in plain terms a contest between two men, one of whom has not been tried in the balancing of national and international problems and the other of whom has been tried and found wanting in some of the most important essentials. So far as the parties are concerned, the people may truly say, "For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

During the continuance of my service as a Member of this House and in the study of economic conditions which my conception of my duty to my constituents impelled me to make I have observed many abuses of government which I believed might be corrected if known to the public, and the correction of which could not fail to bring about infinitely better conditions of living among the plain people, which, after all is said, constitutes the very foundation of government itself. Imagine if you can—and you can, because sooner or later you will be forced to—the political situation in a representative government based upon the principle of government by, for, and of the people, wherein the representatives persistently refuse to consider ways and means of bettering the conditions surrounding those

who by right should be their masters, the great common people of this country. That is the political situation that I have encountered during the entire 10 years of my service as a Member of this body. From time to time, as I have observed abuses which certainly ought to be corrected if representative government is not to perish from the earth, I have introduced resolutions calling for investigation and better understanding of those abuses. I know that if such investigations were made in good faith and the facts established were given to the public there would not fail to be a correction of those evils. Before a wrong can be made right it must be known by what way the wrong exists. There exists among the Members of the House smaller bodies within the main body, and one of these is the Committee on Rules, to which is referred all resolutions calling for investigation of any subject that may be desired by a Member, and to it is committed by the rules of the House almost unlimited power over such resolutions. If the committee does not see fit to report out the resolution, it dies without ever being called to the particular attention of the House in any official way.

Now, some important resolutions that I have introduced have never been reported from the committee, and I can only conclude that a majority of the Committee on Rules either do not agree with me that the evils that I have pointed out are evils and a menace to the continuance of popular representative government, or else that a majority of the committee favor the continuance of the evils regardless of their effect upon the welfare of the people. It makes little difference to me personally which of these two views of the nonaction of the committee is correct, and I am content to abide by the decision of history to determine, but in the course of my present remarks I shall take the opportunity to refer to some of the resolutions.

Quite early in my service here I observed that there was some power outside the Government itself which was insidiously, but none the less effectively, dictating the course of legislation in reference to finance, currency, and the creation and control of credit throughout the country; that it was in a position to dictate, and did dictate to an extent almost unlimited, to whom credit should be extended and from whom it should be withheld; and that it largely controlled the political action and the influence of most of the banking and other corporations of the entire country. Knowing that the exercise of such power was inimical to the welfare of the Republic, I introduced a resolution in this House setting forth the facts, naming this insidious and well-nigh invincible power, the Money Trust, source of all the trusts, and calling for a committee to investigate its activities. The press, which is largely under the domination of "big business," ridiculed the resolution and especially ridiculed the idea that there could be a Money Trust; but they made the mistake, from their standpoint, of ridiculing it too openly. This gave it wide publicity, and, to their great amazement and chagrin, the people, who knew more about these things than the trusts supposed, took it seriously. So great became the demand for the proposed investigation that the House for once, in spite of the reluctance of the bosses here, was compelled to act. The Committee on Rules reported out my resolution under a different name, and, in order to prevent my being a member of the committee, as well as making it as harmless as possible to the Money Trust, provided that the investigation be made by the Committee on Banking and Currency, which was composed almost entirely of bankers and the former attorneys of banks.

The committee, nevertheless, reported that there was a Money Trust and that its activities were as I had stated them to be, and that its existence and the power it weilded were a menace to the institutions of this country, but for some reason it took no action to deprive it of that power. Woodrow Wilson, however, took notice of its existence during his campaign for the Presidency, and promised to exercise his influence, if elected, to curb its power and influence. I have no hesitation in saying that this promise, like many others, has not been kept, but, on the contrary, the principal result of the financial legislation during this administration has been to legalize and more firmly intrench the Money Trust in its control of business, credit, and politics of this vast country than ever before, and in order to screen that fact the Money Trust has bought the services of many prominent writers for the purpose of running articles in the press praising the system, which in less than six years the people will rise in rebellion against because of its intolerable and unjust burden.

One result of the Money Trust resolution, however, which I will notice here has been that never since has the controlled press seen fit to ridicule any resolution of mine. One lesson was enough. They have not dared to. In fact, they never state the facts as I have presented them, but prefer to misrepresent.

Profiting from my observation of the investigation of the Money Trust by a committee of this House, nearly all the members of which were interested parties and therefore desirous of limiting its activities as much as possible, I introduced a resolution declaring it should be the policy of the House membership that no banker or one who was financially interested in a bank should be a member of the Banking and Currency Committee. Also a resolution calling on members to declare the extent of their affiliations with banks, if any. Neither of these resolutions ever came out of the Committee on Rules, so we must take it for granted that a majority of the members of that committee believe that it is right for bankers to legislate for their personal benefit, as all financial legislation shows that they have.

I also introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee of the House on industrial relations. So far as I know, this was the first suggestion for the appointment of such a committee; and while my resolution was permitted to sleep in the Committee on Rules, it nevertheless suggested the subsequent passing of a law for the appointment by the President of a commission which made an exhaustive investigation and report, finding that exactly the conditions outlined by me in the preamble of my resolution and a speech upon it actually existed. Its report is destined to be long considered as classic in its delineation of the deplorable conditions which surround the industrial masses of our time. Some one in the management for "special privilege" blundered. For once, at least, a few persons were appointed on a commission who had not been educated to believe as "special privilege" demands for all such appointments. There was Frank P. Walsh, the chairman, whom the "special interest" press tried to ridicule after they saw his honest and fearless work. This man, with a majority of the commission of which he was chairman, have done a service to the world and no doubt have brought nearer the day when the people in their right will rise to claim their own. Every home should have a copy of the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

January, 1915, I introduced a resolution calling attention to the manner in which the Federal reserve law had legalized the Money Trust and placed it in absolute control of the finances of this country; how it could, and would, under the law make use of Government credit to finance a world-wide monopoly, and use the funds belonging to the people deposited in banks to loan to foreign countries at war, extend credit to expand foreign trade at the expense of our own people, control prices by the manipulation of its control of credit, and extend its influence to control the politics of this country. My Democratic friends, you are entering into a political campaign with the vain hope that special privilege, having obtained enormous benefits at your hands, is going to be grateful for the past favors that you have showered upon it and assist you in retaining control of the Government. They will furnish you campaign funds, as they do to both the deminant parties, but that is as far as they will go toward helping. You are due to a rude awakening. You are to learn that gratitude forms no portion of the make-up of this monster. You are to learn that you, having done all you could for it, are no longer necessary to its business, except that now that you have passed the laws that it wanted, you are estopped from complaining through your portion of the press and on the stump or from entering any protest whatever when the time comes that your eyes are open to the oppression the common people are surely destined to endure because of your falsely so-called beneficial, legislation.

If in the future some party shall be needed to undo the things that you have done, you are not going to be in a position to enter a claim to be that party. In the hands of your opponents will lie the power that you have placed there, and all its evil effects will be laid to you. You have missed an opportunity that comes but once in a lifetime; one that will never come to you as a party again. The time will come when no Democrat who boasts of the achievements in legislation of this present Wilson administration will be considered worthy to hold any public office. You have gone "crossroads" with some of the most vital principles laid down by the great Thomas Jefferson. You may boast of him as a great Democrat, but not any one of you should boast who has been active in fastening some of the hardships of this administration upon the people.

During all this time I have been conscious that the Money Trust and its correlated trusts were not working alone; that there was ever present in our politics an element or elements that were wholly at its disposal and in every election formed a strong nucleus around which they could gather the forces subject to mercenary manipulation and thus always control in the matters of most vital concern to the people. I knew it must be so. The great mass of the voters of this country, while not as well informed upon these subjects as they should be, are

nevertheless too intelligent for a majority of them to vote in election after election directly contrary to their own interests unless they are made to believe that there is some issue whose paramount importance transcends their own material welfare and the greatest good to the greatest number.

Such political elements exist in all great cities of every section where large numbers of voters are absolutely controlled and delivered in every election by interests supported by vice of every kind, and especially the liquor traffic of those localities. And, while this element is most powerful in cities, it is not confined to them alone, but ramifies throughout the States in which the great cities are. In nearly every hamlet are to be found voters whose suffrages are at the disposal of these powers that prey without any other consideration whatever.

Such a political element exists in many localities where any large number of voters, or their parents, are of some foreign nationality and are misled on that account to give their support to unworthy candidates for no other reason than that they are of alien origin.

Such a deleterious element also exists in any community where any considerable number of voters stake everything upon a single issue without taking into consideration the general balance of things. It also exists where votes are cast in blocks according to the interests of high dignitaries, whether in church, lodge, or other organization, and even in the political parties. The fathers of our country wisely determined that there should be here absolute dissociation of church and state, and "church" is not a narrow or limited term, as used in the Constitution, but includes every organization separated from the functions of government itself in which all people by right should take part. The fathers of our country contemplated that every person was to be left free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that this might be assured it was intended that no church should ever control the state.

Whether or not the high dignitaries in the Roman Catholic Church has been such an element generally in our politics is not the prime purpose of my statement to discuss. I am dealing with the effect of human conduct upon our economic operations, with the purpose of showing that it is wise for people to understand their material welfare if they would secure the full advantages of intelligence in dealing with material, moral, and religious matters. They can not stake everything upon a single issue and make this world go right, because there are too many issues in which high-minded people take interest, and when everything is centered by those respectively taking interest in their particular issue, and all else thrown to the winds, it leaves the selfish interests where they can draw the balance in their favor, and that is exactly what has been done. Because of that the toilers who do the work of the world secure only about one-fifth of what their work would return to them if we had a general consistency in government and business. It is to secure this consistency that I make this statement, and I have worked for it all the time without prejudice of party, nationality, church, or anything else, because I realize full well that prejudice is the enemy of good government and defeats the exercise of the rights of the people.

The Free Press Defense League, and several other associations, have been organized as a protest against some of the activities in Government affairs of the high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. These associations have a very large following. The membership of the church itself also is large. The two followings can not help having appreciable effect upon political conditions, and consequently upon economic results in business. If we are to get anything like fair economic adjustment to be worked out in the interest of all the people, there must be an understanding on the part of people generally of the facts and the claims regarding the controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and these organizations. The charges that have been made, and that are being made, against the political activities of this great organization, and the following of those making the charges, are such that they can not be ignored if we are to remain a people free and independent of outside influences. For that reason I served notice upon the associations making charges against the high dignitaries in the Roman Catholic Church of their selfish interference with government, that I would introduce a resolution for an investigation of the charges, so that the issue might be determined. The resolution that I shall introduce is in words as follows:

Whereas there are many economic problems that require the action of Congress and the concerted action of all the patriotic people with Congress for their solution favorable to the public which, to the great loss of the people, have remained in a state of uncertainty because of disputes among the people upon other matters; and

Whereas one of the most important of the collateral matters that diverts the people from sufficiently considering the economic needs is the claim of the Free Press League, a Kansas organization, with affiliations in all parts of the country, involving a large following; and

Whereas the Free Press Defense League and similar organizations and their following represent that:

First. The Pope of Rome is a foreign sovereign, claiming allegiance in temporal as well as in spiritual matters throughout the world.

Second. The papal system of which the pope is the head is opposed to and seeks to destroy our free institutions, to wit:

(a) Our public schools.
(b) The free press.
(c) The right of free speech and public assembly.
(d) The right of freedom of thought in matters of conscience.
(e) The principle of separation of church and state.

Third. The papal system of America, which consists of the Roman Catholics, cardinals, bishops, priests, Jesuits, Knights of Columbus, Federation of Catholic Societies, and other Catholic societies, together with the Roman Catholic press, seek to substitute for our democratic system of government the monarchical or papal system.

Fourth. The Roman Catholic laity in the United States of America are taught, influenced, and commanded by those in authority to yield implicit obedience to the teaching of the Popes of Rome and to blindly obey their orders and decrees, even though said orders and decrees conflict with the Constitution of the United States of America.

Fifth. The Roman Catholic organization of America is perniciously active in politics, and, although having but few votes as compared with the whole body of electors, it manages, by threats, intimidations, blackmail, and by coercion of the press, to secure an undue proportion of the elective, and especially the appointive offices throughout the country, and these offices, when filled with Roman Catholics, are used to further the plan of making America dominantly Catholic.

Sixth. In carrying out the conspiracy to bring the United States of America under the complete domination of the Pope of Rome the Roman Catholic hierarchy, aided by the Roman Catholic politicians and the Roman Catholic press, has inspired a portion of the Roman Catholic laity to resort to threats, to intimidation, to boycott, to assault, and to riot.

Seventh. The Roman Catholic hierarchy is now and has been for more than a year last past actively engaged within the territory of the United States of America in fomenting and inciting revolution in the Republic of Mexico and attempting to bring about a state of war between the Republic of Mexico and the United States; and

Whereas the said claims on the part of the so-called Free Press Defense League and similar organizations have been and are now being broadcasted over the country and both sides to the controversy are causing to be sent to Members of Congress great numbers of allegations and assertions and counterallegations and denials upon the said various claims and others, which controversy injures the interests of both Catholics and Protestants; and

Whereas the said controversy foments troubles and interferes with the unprejudiced action of millions of electors in the United States, and thereby interferes with the natural, consistent, and impartial administration of the Government in the interests of all of the people; and

Whereas a true and impartial investigation and report thereon by a properly constituted public committee would take these controversies out of politics and stop the attempts to improperly influence the acts of public officials: Now, therefore be it

*Resolved, etc.*, That a joint committee of the Senate and House be appointed to make inquiry into the representations hereinbefore referred to.

SEC. 2. That the said committee shall have power to employ clerks and stenographers and to compel the attendance of persons and the production of papers, books, documents, and records, and to examine witnesses under oath; that said committee shall have power to sit anywhere that it may deem necessary to secure all the facts to complete the inquiry and shall report the testimony to Congress.

The introductory and the closing of the resolution is drafted by myself, but the charges are taken verbatim from those made by the Free Press Defense League. The charges made by the league should not be ignored by the church organization itself. Either the high dignitaries in the Roman Catholic Church are using the church and operating it as a political machine, as well as a church, or they are not. I have seen the effect upon government of the charges and countercharges, denials, and so forth, for some time. I am sure that it is for the interest of everybody, including Catholics, who believe in keeping church and state separate to have the facts, whatever they are, cleared up so the people may not be misled.

We have been accustomed here year after year, session after session, to hear charges, backed up by proof and circumstances that should not be ignored, that the Money Trust of this country was gathering to itself the influence and power which it is exerting to the detriment of the people to whom the Government rightfully belongs. Yet we have grown fully accustomed to having those charges, those proofs, and those circumstances ignored, and the Money Trust has gone on gathering to itself more power and more influence as the years have gone by to the extent that now it is well nigh supreme. Under the false exaggerated plea of "preparedness," of the kind it wanted, it could wrest from the people through their chosen representatives almost anything it may choose to ask. It dictates the choice of Presidents, Senators, Representatives, governors, and judges, and controls their action too often when chosen. It comes to the President and Congress and, under a threat of panic on the one hand and the promise of campaign funds on the other, secures such legislation as it desires. It demands and secures from the sworn

representatives of a great sovereign people absolute monopolistic control of Government credit, and uses its control for the maintenance of wars abroad and in a preparation for war which it intends we shall wage for its exclusive benefit at home and abroad. Its business politically is to oppress the people of this and all lands and lay upon them burdens too grievous to be born, and it coins the sweat and tears of hundreds of millions of people into riotous living for the few. The Money Trust does all that.

Read history and observe the signs of the times. You will find that everywhere, in all lands and at all times, the high dignitaries in the Church of Rome have been the ally of oppression, whether that oppression has been exercised under the exploited doctrine of the divine rights of kings, or whether it is exercised under the groveling greed of plutocracy. Claiming to hold in its hands the keys of the kingdom of heaven, it is, in all climes and in all lands, the active assistant of those who bring hell upon earth. That is not a fault of the church as such, but a fault of men in whom it trusts. Men are men, and wherever they are placed they are subject to the evil temptations, and it would be a miracle if there were any great body of men with such power as is exercised by those described if they did not exercise that power in many cases selfishly, and that is the reason why we in America demand that this shall be a government by and for the people. The same reason applies to political parties when they are dominated by leaders instead of by the rank and file of the membership. Nothing has ever been permanently successful that has depended upon individual boss direction instead of popular control. If these things are not true; if this organization is one that is exclusively the medium for promulgation of divine truth and righteousness, no opportunity would be avoided to let the people know the minutest details of its activities. Men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil. Righteousness loves light. The rank and file are righteous upon these matters, and of whatever party, denomination, or creed, will ask for light. The Free Press Defense League, and others making like claims, stand charged with statements which if untrue and so established would take from such association the following they have.

Is there any force or organization of persons in this land of free speech and free men interested and busy in preventing the free expression of any thing that should be spoken, written, or printed by the people? Bills have been introduced in this House designed to prevent the distribution through the mails of newspapers containing any information relative to the political activities of high church dignitaries. It is claimed that mobs have been organized in many communities, and in some have proceeded to the limit of murder and all forms of violence in an attempt to suppress free speech, and justice itself has been perverted to the same ends. Does any one claim that these acts are being done to prevent an abuse of the right of free speech or to silence slander and falsehood? Then, in fairness to all honest people, bring the proof, so that none may be unjustly charged.

Let there be a fair and impartial determination of all these things, so that all may know and understand the right. If these people and these papers are disseminating lies and the investigation asked for in the resolution that I shall introduce should show that to be a fact, then the bills pending here in Congress for refusing such publications the use of the mails will have just cause for enactment into law. The people are spending millions of postage stamps upon this subject which can by an investigation be saved to them.

If, on the other hand, the contention of the Free Press Defense League is true, that the Pope of Rome is a foreign sovereign, claiming allegiance in temporal as well as spiritual matters throughout the world, and that the Roman Catholic hierarchy has been engaged within the territory of the United States in fomenting and inciting revolution in the Republic of Mexico and attempting to bring about a state of war between the Republic of Mexico and the United States, then there is just cause for, and it is high time that there should be, legislation of a different sort.

If it is true, as definitely and particularly charged by the Free Press Defense League, that the Roman Catholic Church and its subsidiary societies, secret and other, are engaged in the political conspiracies charged, a proper respect for our free institutions demands of us a complete and fearless exposure of the facts, to the end that our institutions may be preserved and transmitted to our children.

Mr. Speaker, as things are now staged, the man who would be true to himself, to his fellow man, to his country, and his God faces a hard problem. He has not only himself to control, which is difficult at the outset, but he has strange men and women, a strange world, and strange gods to consider. To the average individual it seems too big an undertaking. Therefore each of us take up our separate schemes and know but little about the others. Instead of having a common consistency about the purposes of life and working to it, there is general inconsistency. We are working against each other—even seeking to take advantage one of the other.

If we were to live for three or four years, and then it was all over, possibly we could afford to go ahead with things as they are now staged. Perhaps, too, if we all died before we get old and left no children to take up life's problems where we quit them, we could run along without much further responsibility than we are taking, because the trusts, in order to keep us, as the farmer keeps his team, would be willing to give us enough of what our labor produced to feed and shelter us as long as we can produce for the trusts more than they give us. It would be poor business for them, however, to support us when we get old, for then we can no longer serve them. Therefore most old people live poorly.

WE MUST NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES.

We are here to live our lives out, and to do so in the right way. We must respect ourselves if we wish to be respected, but thus far the preparedness propaganda has not been presented in a way to stand the test of time nor to build the Nation to a real power. "Big business" has marshaled its subsidized press to build up a fear in the people for some unknown enemy—possible to be; probable if "big business" shall have its way. But to true Americans patriotism does not consist merely in defending the flag and the land of America against foreign foe. The value of Americanism is in the institutions of the people of America giving to Americans true government, promoting intelligent business and industrial development of the natural resources to suit the people's needs, thus forming the basis for prosperity and happiness, as well as a ripe patriotism instead of patriotism based upon fetish notions. A mere navy and army, however large, will not strengthen us, except for temporary military emergency. Unless we also prepare economically, a large navy and army will ruin us. The present preparedness propaganda is for a navy and army only. Every suggestion for economic preparedness has been slapped by the subsidized press. A large Army and a large Navy, with the economic conditions remaining as they are, would ruin us.

A PROBLEM PRESENTED FOR YOU TO THINK ON.

Is business done simply to afford the speculators a chance to exploit the people or should it be to supply us with conveniences? Surely it should be for the latter. Then, how stupid it is to waste the natural resources by exporting the raw material or the finished goods merely for speculation, and how senseless it is for our people to boast of exports exceeding imports. How ridiculous it is for any nation to attempt to force its material substances upon the people of other nations. Commerce should be, and would be if it were entered into to supply conveniences, as natural as the flow of the waters. There would be no friction. On the contrary, it would invite perfect harmony.

Last year's exports and imports is an example of the absolute absurdity of a commerce carried on for speculation, and it seems monstrous that our people should tolerate such injustice to themselves. We exported $4,334,000,000 in value of our products and got back $2,198,000,000 only of foreign products, and of this return $48,000,000 was diamonds and precious stones, exclusively for the rich. Let us understand the effect of such absurdity.

America is the real and only substantial market for American products. American consumers use every year many times more of its products than are exported. The exports this last year were for speculation principally and was made the excuse for the raising of prices to American consumers; so, all told, we paid in excess of the regular price more than the $4,334,000,000, the entire value of the exports.

American consumers of petroleum, for example, just before Europe took our export, paid 75 cents a barrel for crude Kansas-Oklahoma grade and $1.54 per barrel for Pennsylvania grade. The home consumption for 1915 was 211,933,000 barrels and export was 55,466,086 barrels. The price was raised from 75 cents a barrel to $1.55 on the western product and from $1.54 a barrel to $2.60 on the eastern. Assuming that the quantity used of the western and eastern product was equal, the American consumers had to pay in increased price on the one $84,000,000, and on the other $111,000,000, a total of $195,000,000 for a single year, and all merely for the benefit of speculators. That was the American consumers' extra burden because of the export of 55,466,086 barrels of American petroleum. The American supply is lessened and the American consumers will forever be forced to pay more for petroleum than if no petroleum had been exported. In the end it will amount to billions of dollars on petroleum alone.

Consider copper, another natural product. On August 3, 1914, before the export affected the price, copper was 12¾ cents per pound. May 3, 1916, copper had risen to 29½ and 30 cents a pound. The loss to the American consumers in one year on the item of copper alone amounts to over $120,000,000. We shall need all our copper, as well as our other mineral resources, but still the speculators export it and make the foreign demand their excuse to raise the price from 12¾ cents a pound to 29½ and 30 cents a pound.

On gasoline the speculators scalped approximately $88,000,000 excess; on shoes about $100,000,000; on steel several times that amount.

I could run the entire list of trust-controlled products and prove to a certainty that the export has served the speculators as an excuse to raise the price to American consumers more than $4,334,000,000, the entire receipts from foreign exports, this last year.

The few examples I have given are alone sufficient to show how the people are looted by a commerce run for speculation. Temporarily it gave employment to some of the idle, but that will not last long if we follow the absurdity. We need not be discouraged, however. On the contrary, there is reason for being encouraged, for when we can exist in any sort of way on the practice of such absurdities as those which are practiced, surely by sane and intelligent employment of ourselves and a use of the natural resources we shall become intensely prosperous.

American consumers, and especially the toilers who bear the main burden, should not be satisfied to let the products of our country be exported without receiving something equal in return. It should not be permitted for speculation. It is only desirable to export valuable goods when we can receive in return goods that we have greater need of than we have of what we export. Then and then only is the exchange desirable.

THE MONEY TRUST.

The Government itself has created a Money Trust in the banks by giving to the banks the financial control of the country. The Government loans its credit exclusively to the banks, which are private, and the owners as selfish as the rest of us are taking advantage of every opportunity to scalp profits. In addition to the advantage of having the exclusive privilege of borrowing from the Government, the banks hold approximately $25,000,000,000 of deposits made by the people and use that practically as they please to scalp profits off the very people who deposit it, as well as others. Having discussed this before, I shall not now do so, except to add that the credit extended by the Government to the banks and the deposits made by the people in the banks is being used by the speculators to exploit foreign markets. Foreign speculation keeps the rates of interest up. Europe, however, will soon administer a lesson to us that will not be forgotten. Europe is on its last legs so far as this fake financial system is concerned and in the near future will repudiate and cancel by the decree of the people there through their governments over $100,000,000,000 debts. Europe is bankrupt already, and all that remains is for the nations at war to recognize the inevitable.

FOREIGN SPECULATION MEANS WAR FOR AMERICA.

Last year, at the time of proposing the foreign loans by the speculators in Wall Street, and those acting with them, I showed that speculation, and loans made to carry on speculation with the warring nations, might get us mixed into the war. The trust-supported press refused to publish my statement made at the time, though one of its reporters asked for it, but since it was against the wishes of the trusts to have it published, it was refused publicity through their press. In December I published it myself. The following lines are taken from the statement:

> Speculation and loans in the foreign fields, especially with the nations at war, is not unlikely to bring us into the war. They form a powerful incentive on the part of the speculators to get us into the war, but even if it results that way, they will never be stated as the cause. The trust-supported press will be used to trump up some other thing as the pretended cause, or things will be staged to force some country to declare war on us, which would amount to the same thing.

Certainly no careful observer could fail to draw that conclusion, but most persons who did so failed to state it, because they knew they would be attacked by the press referred to, as I was. But now comes that same press that eulogized the American speculators for making the loans on the credit of the people and for stocking the foreign markets with our products in order to make American consumers pay more than the sales to foreign buyers will ever amount to, and prints in the Washington Herald, July 9, 1916, the following:

EUROPEAN FINANCES.

In retiring from the editorship of the London Economist, Francis W. Hirst, a prominent English financial authority and pacifist writes:

"In my view the financial balance of western Europe is in imminent peril, and in a few months it will no longer be possible to disguise the bankrupt condition of several great nations. Civilization, as we have known it, and representative institutions are doomed unless, through the exertions of individuals, the rights, without which all Englishmen, at any rate, will hardly care to live, are speedily restored. To this end freedom and independence must somehow be won back for Parliament and the press."

While it apparently was the purpose of this writer to present arguments in support of his advocacy of a peace movement his suggestion of the impending bankruptcy of several great nations of Europe is likely to create a keen interest in our own financial world, and a desire for an opportunity to study his views more in detail. It might be surmised that Mr. Hirst is not at all confident that the financial fate which he sees in store can be averted and certainly no one will expect that the allies at this juncture will pause in their war operations for any consideration of money. They have poured out too much blood and treasure for them to stop short of victory or annihilation so long as their resources in any form hold out. A great and decisive victory would do more to secure the economic future of these nations than anything else that is open to them. Beyond a doubt they will utterly bankrupt themselves fighting if that should be necessary.

And though we may try to deceive ourselves our own material interests are now very closely allied with those of the allies, for they are enormously in our debt. We are vitally interested in the successes of their armies. Also we may as well recognize that if it should come to a question of success for them or failure for the want of a few hundred millions more of credit in this country, ordinary business sense would dictate that we give them that credit quickly.

Therefore, if Mr. Hirst's dire predictions concern the allies, our financiers will be interested in the prospect that soon they may have to arrange further credit for them, for the purpose of safeguarding the heavy investments they have made already in their chances of a victorious war.

At the same time the Herald printed the above, similar articles appeared in the press generally. It is plain to see from the statement the reason why vast sums have been paid by the special interests to secure the publication of false articles to excite a fear in the public and a demand for "preparedness" of the kind the trusts want—that is, a big Army and Navy without any modification of economic practices. The trusts would seek, when the time comes, to use the Army and Navy to enforce the claims of the trusts against the bankrupt nations of Europe.

Yes; that is it. "Big business" absorbs the deposits the people make in the banks, as well as to use the credit of the Government, and with them bolster up not only their speculations in America but in Europe also. The rates of interest to American borrowers have already been increased and will be still further increased. On an indebtedness of approximately $80,000,000,000 in our own country, an increase of 2 per cent will be equal to $16 per annum for every man, woman, and child. That, too, like the foreign export of American goods, will increase the price to American users of credit more than the whole collections for interest will amount to on the European loans. Those are the "privileges" that are called the "rights of Americans," for the maintenance of which we are asked to patriotically support with our treasure and our lives, if demanded, and raise armies and navies in huge proportions to be ready when the occasion arises.

No true American will question the support of American rights everywhere when based upon well-founded principles, but those who would sacrifice the toilers of America to bolster up practices that are not only unnecessary, but absurd, ridiculous, and injurious to the rights of American citizens generally, are not entitled to the privileges they demand, and the country should not be called upon to support them. In fact, such practices should be prohibited.

THE "SYSTEM" EXPOSING ITSELF.

Take for example the dispute between the railway employees and the railways, pending. The railway toilers desire better hours and no person who understands the conditions doubts that they are right. Farmers, shopmen, railway men, and other toilers are all entitled to advantages that they do not now have, but the "system" now practiced will not give it to them. The pending dispute exemplifies as well as anything can, the fallacy of accepting any longer the existing "capitalistic system." The railways claim that to grant the demand of the employees will entail an additional expense in operating the roads, of $100,000,000. Assuming that that is true, which I do not believe, let us see how these trusts are intrenched to handle it.

Watchfulness on the part of the trusts, and adroit manipulation at opportune times, and a neglect of the people to be equally guarded in protecting their own interests, the trusts have gotten men suited to their way of thinking, appointed to the offices that regulate matters referred to them. It all depends on regulation. The "cards have been stacked." The public officials, before they were appointed, had been educated to believe in the kind of business that make billions of dollars for the trusts. So now the railways propose to submit the dispute between themselves and their employees to the Interstate

Commerce Commission. The railways know that a majority of the members of that commission resolves everything into figures measured by a rule that builds up wealth for a few to be taken out of the sweat of toilers, the rule, to-wit:

"That dead property—capital or credit—in the beginning the product of labor or supported by it—is entitled to an earning status independent of what the toilers who support it get, and which rule has no relation to what the laborers should receive. It is a rule which makes property superior to the well-being of men, women, and children."

With such a rule as the guide of the Interstate Commerce Commission, certainly the railway employees can not be criticized for refusing to consent to arbitration. It may be, a great deal of inconvenience will result, if a strike takes place. In fact, there can be no doubt of it. But are we to be so weak in asserting our common rights, as not to be willing to submit to inconvenience in order to establish a principle that is far more important to Americans than the privilege of speculation in foreign markets, and yet for the latter privilege to be guaranteed to citizen speculators, we are asked to not only tax ourselves to the limit to maintain a great Navy and Army, but we must call upon patriotic citizens to enlist, give their time and their lives if need be, in support of that privilege.

The railways have posted in their depots and published broadcast the following statement:

FEDERAL INQUIRY OR RAILROAD STRIKE?

Faced by demands from the conductors, engineers, firemen, and brakemen that would impose on the country an additional burden in transportation costs of $100,000,000 a year, the railroads propose that this wage problem be settled by reference to an impartial Federal tribunal.

With these employees, whose efficient service is acknowledged, the railroads have no differences that could not be considered fairly and decided justly by such a public body.

RAILROADS URGE PUBLIC INQUIRY AND ARBITRATION.

The formal proposal of the railroads to the employees for the settlement of the controversy is as follows:

"Our conferences have demonstrated that we can not harmonize our differences of opinion and that eventually the matters in controversy must be passed upon by other and disinterested agencies. Therefore, we propose that your proposals and the proposition of the railways be disposed of by one or the other of the following methods:

"1. Preferably by submission to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the only tribunal which, by reason of its accumulated information bearing on railway conditions and its control of the revenue of the railways is in a position to consider and protect the rights and equities of all the interests affected and to provide additional revenue necessary to meet the added cost of operation in case your proposals are found by the commission to be just and reasonable; or, in the event the Interstate Commerce Commission can not under existing laws act in the premises, that we jointly request Congress to take such action as may be necessary to enable the commission to consider and promptly dispose of the questions involved; or

"2. By arbitration in accordance with the provisions of the Federal law—the Newlands Act."

LEADERS REFUSE OFFER AND TAKE STRIKE VOTE.

Leaders of the train-service brotherhoods at the joint conference held in New York June 1–15 refused the offer of the railroads to submit the issue to arbitration or Federal review, and the employees are now voting on the question whether authority shall be given these leaders to declare a Nation-wide strike.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is proposed by the railroads as the public body to which this issue ought to be referred for these reasons:

No other body with such an intimate knowledge of railroad conditions has such an unquestioned position in the public confidence.

The rates the railroads may charge the public for transportation are now largely fixed by this Government board.

Out of every dollar received by the railroads from the public nearly one-half is paid directly to the employees as wages; and the money to pay increased wages can come from no other source than the rates paid by the public.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, with its control over rates, is in a position to make a complete investigation and render such decision as would protect the interests of the railroad employees, the owners of the railroads, and the public.

A QUESTION FOR THE PUBLIC TO DECIDE.

The railroads feel that they have no right to grant a wage preferment of $100,000,000 a year to these employees, now highly paid and constituting only one-fifth of all the employees, without a clear mandate from a public tribunal that shall determine the merits of the case after a review of all the facts.

The single issue before the country is whether this controversy is to be settled by an impartial Government inquiry or by industrial warfare.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF THE RAILWAYS.

It is the joint statement of 19 railway systems. It seeks to put the employees in bad light if they refuse to accept the Interstate Commerce Commission as arbiter. They know that the Interstate Commerce Commission is not an impartial body, even though the members of that body may be ever so honest in their intentions. A majority of them believe in the "system"—a system which gives capital a so-called "reasonable profit"—but a profit which bears no relation to the rights of persons, and the term "reasonable profit" as applied is a misnomer.

The railways suggest the so-called "impartial Federal tribunal," the Interstate Commerce Commission, as the arbiter, who have already laid down the rule for their government, and one which, if followed, will continually increase the cost of living, and defeat the purpose of the toilers to improve their condition. Such concession as might be granted to the men, the commission would levy the expense of it upon the service, and those served would charge it to the consumers of what the service was applied to. All told, everything measured by that rule would become a final charge against the men, plus the added interest or dividend. They, together with the toilers in other fields of endeavor, who in their respective fields had secured like concessions, would pay with added expenses.

INCREASED RAILWAY TARIFFS.

For a long time the public sought to reduce railway tariffs. Eight years ago I made a speech in the House showing that railway rates would not be reduced under the existing system. My statement was ridiculed then, the same as my statement later that a money trust existed, was ridiculed. Both of my statements have, the ridicule notwithstanding, proven true. Railway rates should be reduced, but on the contrary, they will be still further increased if we follow the existing system. In fact they will have to be increased from time to time to meet the increasing cost of living, until a common-sense rule shall be established that will coordinate all business and practices.

SHIFTING OF WEALTH FROM THE TOILERS TO THE SPECULATORS.

When the Civil War began more than 95 per cent of the wealth was controlled by the plain people individually and by Government title. Now more than 60 per cent of the wealth is owned by 2 per cent of the population—leaving 98 per cent of the people less than 40 per cent of the wealth. One man, John D. Rockefeller, increased his wealth from nothing in 1865, to a sum which is stated to be now so great that the so-called "reasonable income" upon it is $60,000,000 per annum, or equal to the average wages of nearly 100,000 toilers. He is one of the 2 per centers.

In 1861 land could be had for farming or for mining by mere entry. The forests, minerals, and water powers had scarcely been touched. The machinery and mechanical devices were becoming important even then in their influence on production, but did not then control occupations. The transportation, information, and finance agencies, supremely important to the control of commerce, attracted little public attention because of that fact, but were considered merely as expedients for anyone to grab up, control, and charge what they pleased for service, and in addition from time to time be rewarded for their greed by vast land grants or by express special privilege from Congress. It was then so easy for persons to be free and still have security of home, property, and occupation that the value of the natural resources and the control of the commercial agencies did not impress the rank and file of humanity with the value they would have later. Speculators, however, foresaw, so when the Civil War began, the call to the colors was met on the part of the rank and file with a patriotism never surpassed in the world's annals, but the selfish speculators kept clear of the firing line, and began their manipulation to control politics in secret and business in open defiance of the plain people's rights. The American plan was made practically the same as the European plan, which creates of the toilers industrial slaves and is a natural breeder of wars, and forces the maintenance of large armies and navies.

Now that 2 per cent of the population controls the financial system, the transportation systems, the telegraph and telephone systems, the news agencies, and 60 per cent of the wealth, and other advantages and privileges, they are in a position, if the public does not protect itself, to take all that remains, except what is necessary to the toilers for a mere subsistence. That is the condition that has grown out of existing practices. As long as we follow them we will become more and more dependent for our subsistence upon "big business." The system that has got us in bad will not bring us out good.

A FIGHT FOR REFORM.

I did not become a candidate for Congress for any other purpose than to do all I could to present for consideration the real economic problems. I did not object to "big business," but only to its predatory practices of first strangling small business and then, when its monopoly was complete, robbing the people. I did not realize that the constituted authorities in the administration of the Government, State and Federal, through the political machines, would join the trusts to fight me. They did, however, and the fight against me so fully illustrates the "system" of the "invisible government" that directs the affairs, business and political, that its importance justifies me in casting aside modesty to describe it, even if I were modest with regard to it.

When "big business" found that it was my purpose to expose its methods and work for a proper constructive reform, it used the political machines and the paid press to work plots

to discredit me. At every primary and election, when they had the remotest hope to win, they called upon their portion of the press to further attack me and put their supporters into the field working to deceive as many of the voters as they could. This is their practice in all such cases. If, however, an official does not expose their methods, but merely votes as he believes right, the interests do not always oppose him, because ordinarily if a Member does not fight the interests there are enough others who will follow the machine to put across what they want.

New Members often break down and yield when the machine in control withholds patronage from them. A high department official called me into his office soon after I came to Congress. It was when ship subsidy was before Congress to be voted upon. He said he had been asked by a Senator from my State to see me. "I see," he said, "that you oppose ship subsidy." I said yes. Then he asked me why I did not work in harmony with the "organization." If I would he said I could have the political patronage in my district to dispose of as I pleased.

That is one of the "keys." It is the political patronage, for which the people are taxed to pay the salaries, the machine uses to get Members to vote for measures that are against the people's interests and to vote against measures that are unfavorable to "big business" and favorable to the people. In that way the machine gets its power to make the rules of the Senate and House for complete machine rule.

In my district, for instance, I wished to secure appointees who were opposed to "machine rule." The Federal machine, however, was on the job from the beginning in most cases to prevent a removal of the old machine-ruled postmasters. Big officials informed my friends that they would be appointed to office if I would recommend them. Then these big officials would clandestinely go to the appointing officers and give them the "tip" not to do it unless these officials should first approve. That is their method for punishing those whom they can not control.

BIG BUSINESS ON THE JOB.

Enormously important problems will arise as a result of the wars. The trusts are determined to control these problems in their own favor, and use every adroit method to parade the machine office holders as the only "true Americans" in office. The Senate, being the smaller body, and practically having a veto on many problems that are presented that are of foreign concern, it is the body most sought by "big business." The Senate has become the seat of the most vicious political practices that politics makes possible. It is not, however, so much to get new laws and further special privileges that big business now so desperately seeks to control the Senate for an additional period. "Big business" needs no more laws, but it wants to control in order to prevent any laws from being passed in the interest of the people which would destroy the special privileges it already has. It frequently spends hundreds of thousands of dollars to elect to the Senate men whom it can control. It is important to know how it is done.

I think there was a conflict in my own State over the office of Senator between two of the candidates, either of which in the absence of the other's candidacy would have been acceptable to "big business." One of these had been governor for a long time, and the special interests knew by his record that he would do nothing to disturb big business even if it were gathering in most of the profits from the work of the toilers. He had certainly done nothing to disturb them while he was governor. The other of the candidates that would be satisfactory was a trained and special attorney for many of the trusts. I am informed that strenuous efforts were made to get the first to stay out of the race and leave the field clear for big business to support unitedly its more favored candidate. But there was more at stake than a senatorship. The liquor interests had been in control for many years. They had been backed up by the Steel Trust and the railway interests and had run things about as they pleased. Gradually, however, the Steel Trust had been building up a machine in opposition to that of the liquor interests. In some respects the Steel Trust machine poses as progressive. It was quick to attach itself as a tail to the Roosevelt kite. It was for "preparedness," of course, of the kind the trusts want. Why should it not be? It was in the munitions and armor plate business.

The Steel Trust, ever watchful of its own selfish interests, had observed that the use of intoxicating liquors made its employees less efficient, and that it must line up with the popular wave for temperance reform or it could not hope to wrest political power from the brewery-controlled interests which held it. So failing to sidetrack the candidate supported by the rival machine, there was at least a semblance of a fight for supremacy between these rival special interests. But it was only a sham battle after all. The brewery interests had long before seen the handwriting of popular disapproval and knew that their day of greatest triumph was over. They would still stand for a special-interest candidate, however.

A somewhat similar condition to that which existed in Minnesota exists in California, but the special interests there may be successful in withdrawing one of the rival candidates most favored by them there, as they have time yet to do so.

Comparatively few voters and not all of the press have the means for learning facts about candidates, and often support in good faith candidates not in sympathy with the cause of the people. The ordinary methods used by the trusts, such as boom articles published in the paid press for their candidates and falsehoods about the other candidates, sending out paid workers, and all that sort of thing, have become so common that everybody understands them. The trusts have other methods, however, not so well understood and that are more dangerous.

Immense sums of money were spent for two of the candidates in the recent Minnesota primary on the senatorship contest. The law limiting the expenses of candidates had no force whatever, and in the 1916 primary money flowed like the floods of the Mississippi in this same year. They illustrate the system.

BAITING THE LEADERS.

Old organizations exist and new ones are formed from time to time. They are all formed for good—with that purpose in view by the rank and file of the members—but whatever good is undertaken, there are always selfish persons who seek to take advantage of it. The selfish know that there is no place where the object sought is to secure good results, but what advantage for selfish purposes may be taken if they can in some way become leaders. Often the worst of scoundrels will themselves be instrumental in organizing new associations for good purposes or manage to become leaders in existing ones for the very purpose of taking advantage of the membership for the individual selfish gain of the leaders. But it more often occurs that the beginning is with perfectly good intentions, and that when a person has developed to a point where as a leader he gets a strong following the temptation is then first presented either for him to secure political power or material consideration, and experience shows that he yields in a majority of cases.

EXAMPLES OF THE PRACTICE STATED.

Take the Minnesota Anti-Saloon League, the Catholic organizations, and the organizations opposed to political power being exercised by the church. Take these merely as examples, and then apply the principles involved to all similar conditions, and it will be found how the leadership of any of them may result in defeating the very objects of their existence. These organizations became correlated in the recent Minnesota primary, and what happened exemplifies how the selfishness of individual leaders becomes instruments in the hands of the trusts to defeat the very objects of organizations intended for the good of mankind.

The Minnesota Anti-Saloon League was formed to curb and destroy the political power and influence of the liquor interests and to promote temperance. It is not an old organization, and had not attracted the watchful eye of the trusts until about two years ago, when it was discovered that the Anti-Saloon League had an influential and strong citizenship in the State supporting its work. It had demonstrated its strength. The officers in charge had high motives and meant to accomplish the results the supporters of the organization sought, and worked energetically to that end.

The secretary of the Anti-Saloon League, in cooperation with other workers, made splendid headway with the work of the league, but the Steel Trust, ever watchful of its selfish interests, had discovered that the use of liquor made its employees less efficient, and made its bow to the temperance forces. So far, so good; even though it did so for selfish reasons. It however, recognized the influence of the leaders in the league to promote other than temperance matters. They could, if they would, help promote the most selfish purposes of the Steel Trust. It therefore employed the secretary of the Anti-Saloon League, who, as we have seen, had become an important factor in the league work, and paid him splendidly. He was sent to Washington to lobby, first on temperance work and then to work up evidence to defeat the confirmation by the Senate of Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Brandeis had fought the power of the trusts and they did not want him on the bench. But there were adroit things yet in store. The greatest of the trusts wanted a certain man to become Senator, for great problems of vital importance to the trusts will be presented. They had worked to line things up in their favor, and now the "invisible government" went to work

to get this former Anti-Saloon League secretary back into the offices of the Minnesota Anti-Saloon League, and they did so at the opportune time—shortly before the primaries.

The Catholic Church is the strongest single influence, perhaps, on earth. It reaches everywhere in every land. For that reason big business seeks the Pope, bishops, priests, and influential lay members. They influence, in a large measure, the church members. That influence is immensely valuable for "big business" to have in its favor. Therefore big business favors in various ways the leaders individually and contributes liberally to their undertakings, as well as to their enterprises of whatever kind. Though selfish on the part of the trusts, it gets advertised as charity or as gifts and endowments and the church leaders are looked up to with pride because they can get rich gifts from the wealthy. These high church dignitaries get busy securing jobs, political and other, for the influential of the lay members, and because of the power they have in influencing the church members, the trusts support it, resulting, it is claimed, in more political and other patronage going to the membership of the church than is justified.

In Minneapolis, for instance, it is claimed that the Catholic population is less than one-tenth of the whole, but that members of the church, because of political interference on the part of high dignitaries, hold 65 per cent of the income from political jobs. Similar conditions, it is claimed, exist in other parts of the country. It causes "anti" Catholic organizations to be formed to free the administration of government, whether municipal, State, or national, from sectional or sectarian domination, church or other, and place all government in control of the people unprejudiced by such. No one doubts that the rank and file of the members of these "anti" organizations are influenced by a desire to get a true and impartial administration of government by the people and for the people, uninfluenced by leaders in religious or other organizations for selfish ends. These "anti" organizations also have influential leaders, to whom the members look for information, and since the membership is large and has a great power, the trusts use adroit methods to ingratiate themselves with these leaders.

Thus the stage was set. In addition to all the other advantages wealth could secure, there were these three great forces—the Minnesota Anti-Saloon League, the Catholic organizations, and the organizations opposed to the Catholic influence. The high church dignitaries had always favored the trusts and the wealth, for the reasons before stated, in Minnesota, particularly the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, Steel Trust, and other big business; then there were the anti-Catholic organizations, in one of which the leaders did not want to let one unit know what the others were doing or where they were, for fear the influence of their leadership would be weakened. That was the Tammany Hall system in New York. Then came the Minnesota Anti-Saloon League, with the old secretary temporarily back from the Steel Trust employment. Under the influence of the trusts these three sources of controlling votes were united in an attempt to put the man in the United States Senate that the trusts most wanted to have there.

Everything was now set for action; the primaries immediately at hand, enormous sums of money supplied by the Money Trust, Steel Trust, and other big business, to be tapped, to make it go the way the trusts wished. The typewriters, telegraph, the telephone, and all the other agencies were put to work simultaneously, and now no time was left for the people to learn other than from those who had become interested through the channels described. The leadership of each organization, including the church, had different purposes in supporting the same man, and each expected to be satisfied, but the rank and file of the people who are the members will find that by following blindly the leadership, they have again placed their necks in the yoke of the influences that have created a Government by and for the trusts instead of by and for the people.

To the intelligent, which includes practically everybody, no further detail is necessary to describe popular government as now practiced. Most of the organizations, and the political parties as well, have worked along the lines that I have described. Their object is for good, but leaders in them all have been tempted and have used their influence for selfish purposes. The trusts understand human nature, bait the leaders, and a majority of them yield to temptation. It would seem that after so much experience and observation the plain people would also understand human nature, but so far it has not proven a practical knowledge on their part, for they still are playing the game for the trusts. There will always be leaders, but the public should not be too trustful of them. The public must know what it wants, and see that the leaders stand for it, and especially be not fooled by the last word before election that comes by telephone, wire, mail, or otherwise, when everything could have been told before.

NO CONFLICT OF INTEREST AMONG THE PLAIN PEOPLE.

The interests of the plain people are all alike. It is no advantage, for instance, to the rank and file of Catholics to have an undue proportion of their number hold offices or positions that may be secured for them through the influence of the church dignitaries, for it is bound in the end to result in a prejudice which will deprive them of their proper influences. So, when the leaders in any organization undertake to get more than belongs to them, in the end it will defeat the purposes of the organization, and become the prey to special interests that know how to take advantage. The rank and file of the people, whether in organization or not, are honest and intend to do right by everybody, and only fail because they trust too much to leaders instead of judging for themselves, and because of that fact we find ourselves with a breaking down civilization on our hands as is evidenced by wars and other horrors.

Out of the kind of politics that controls us we have developed business practices that do not stand the test of common sense. We follow systems that destroy economy and efficiency. We have built up a false sort of patriotism, demanding things that are to our own eternal disadvantage, and the rest of the world apes the same kind of practices, thus producing a world chaos. The few examples I have given, though somewhat prolix, are sufficient to demonstrate the folly of doing business for speculation, because the profits all go to the ones least entitled to them and the rest of us become mere industrial slaves.

WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT IT?

To effect a remedy for all the existing evils is impossible, but to follow absurdities and deliberately bring on difficulties is a folly. We can become many times more prosperous than we are by the exercise of common-sense judgment. Every business which becomes or is by the nature of things a monopoly should be operated by the Government. The railways and other transportation systems should be operated by the Government just as certainly and necessarily as the mail carrying. Likewise the telephone and the telegraph, as well as the financial systems, should be operated by the Government, and all these natural monopolies separated from the rule laid down that these monopolies may levy a tribute upon the people to pile up the huge fortunes.

NONPOLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

Capital is organized completely through the Money Trust control, and, in the manner I previously described, controls the Government machinery. The latter it can not maintain when the public takes to itself the power which it has, if it will exercise it. When the public takes over the transportation companies, the telephone, telegraph, and financial systems there will be no more Money Trust and no other trusts. Then there will be a chance for the toiler to get his dues, whether he is a farmer, a shopman, merchant, or other. The Government may not be able at first to operate the several systems as cheaply as the trusts can; but what of it, if it can not, for there is a great margin? The rich now own over 60 per cent of the wealth, and they got it out of the people because of the monopoly practice. That 60 per cent would be saved to the people, and there would be no more piling up of hundreds of millions for single individuals to collect interest and dividends upon.

TIME REQUIRED—ORGANIZATIONS FORMED.

It will take some time before the Government will own the agencies that create the monopolies, and the question is, What shall be done in the meantime to protect the people while they are taking to themselves the control of politics and Government? The railway employees are giving us an example at this very time of what organization of individuals can do, even independent of Government regulation. The farmers are also forming effective organizations. The wageworkers can by pooling their forces with the farmers control the economic situation. This is one of the great steps to be taken, and the work has begun in a practical way and must be carried forward with all possible speed to prevent the monopolies from getting any further hold upon the resources of the country. I shall discuss the details of this nonpolitical organization at another time, but when I say "nonpolitical," I do not mean that the organization of the wageworkers and the farmers should neglect the Government agencies. The special interests have controlled these, and now it is time to wrest from them that control.

RIGHTS OF AMERICANS IN AMERICA.

We have heard a great deal of late about the rights of Americans in foreign lands. I have not fooled myself by any false notions of these, nor do I hold the rights of Americans, wherever they are, as of light importance. Respect them I do as of the

highest importance, but if any distinction in regard to their maintenance were to be made between Americans at home and Americans abroad, I should resolve that in favor of maintaining the rights of Americans at home, for when that is done we can depend upon the patriotism of those at home to protect those abroad who may be acting within their proper province. There are over a hundred millions at home all the time, while there are but a few thousand abroad at any time. I am not in favor of indifference to the rights of the hundred millions of Americans in the pursuits of their industries at home and the strictest vigilance at whatever cost for those abroad. I am in favor of fixing the rules for government of all their rights and then maintain them with the power of the Nation. If it takes mighty armies and navies to do that, then we should have them, but if we fix the rule of government as it should be but little militarism will be required.

I recently read a poem displaying by word, and by picture to illustrate, how the social conditions had seared the soul of a young girl. She had seen an old man on a bench in a park:

And the wind cut his feeble wrists,
Seared his collarless, pinched neck
Till his eyes blinked smarting * * *
Am I a coward that I do not go to him,
Lift him instantly from his wretchedness?
Am I afraid, dreading the great hoard of unanswered
And unanswerable problems (unsettled)
Before which governments and religions quail?
What have I done to you, old man,
What have all of us done to you,
Or what have we failed to do
That you should sit thus gaunt and lacking
While we have fires and homes in plenty?

"While we have fires and homes in plenty" referred to the 2 per cent who own 60 per cent of all the wealth.

The whole social system has seared my soul. I see life from its varied angles. I see, in many cases, thoughtless, glad faces, made so by the possession of riches wrested from the toil of others, magnify the sad faces of those put in distress by the "system." It is not alone—

The old man looking at me from a bench in the park. * * *

Nor was it the old man alone who seared the soul of the girl in the poem. It was the numberless victims of a false system. The world is filled with the victims of—

What have I done to you, old man,
Or what have we failed to do,
That you should sit thus gaunt and lacking?

What have we failed to do? Some one failed to protect childhood—the years that ripened into manhood and womanhood—and left them the victims of a false administration of government. They failed, as well as we have failed, to observe the very laws God created for self-preservation, and permitted a coterie of greedy speculators to dictate the whole social system and to educate us to their way of thinking and dealing, thus enabling them to dictate our elections, control our legislators, executives, tribunals, and courts; and, as a consequence, we are governed by practices and laws that permit them to appropriate the products of our toil and thus force us to walk through the world not only in sight of the feeble old man lacking the conveniences of life, but in sight of numberless, needless miseries that have opened the gates in my mind, where the wrongs of the world come trooping in.

I go into the fields and talk with the farmers; they take me to dine with them and their wives and children; I visit the mines, the factories, the shops, and the other industries, to see the toilers there, and then visit the back streets, alleys, and other places where they live, and they too dine me, that I may know more about them. I have gone to the homes of the wealthy, and there too, have dined and seen the waste and extravagance, supremely vulgar when one knows how the system which supplies the cost forces it from the earnings of the toilers, and leaves these toilers without the necessaries of life. I have also seen the places where some of the rich waste their wealth in revelry and debauchery, where in a single night in a single place its cost would have supported 50 families for an entire year. There are numberless such running every night. These are some of the offsprings from the wasteful "system" which I have briefly described, and is supported by the levy on those made poor for the support of special privilege.

I know how careful, how frugal the families of the farmers, the wage workers, of the smaller business operators, and of numerous others who depend upon the earnings of their own industry for a living, must be to enable them to barely subsist, or any of them to save for emergencies. I know that from the earnings of their toil is extracted the means for carrying on the excesses, the revelry, and all the other hell that takes place.

Yes; I have examined the conduct of the people so far as I have had the means and time to do so. I did so in the hope that I might be able to interpret our kind of civilization. What I have seen proves that it is leading us rapidly toward ruin. But I also see in it elements that I know can and will be forceful in bringing the mad race to a close, because the very absurdity which is now presented by the acts of civilized nations, by their very operation, will wake sane minds and bring into action sane judgment of the people instead of accepting the dictation and following the selfish speculators, as we do now.

The system, however, will never be corrected by simply following leaders, for, as I have explained, leaders are very valuable to big business, and are quickly discovered by big business. Big business can afford to and does buy them. It knows that the world has always been moved by selfishness, and since big business has extorted from the people the means, and through its use has obtained unnatural and improper power, it uses a part of the means and the improper power to buy or control the leaders as rapidly as they develop.

There were never enough honest leaders at one time who remained true long enough to win complete success for the plain people. Success will never come until the people themselves act through their own intelligence. The people must know enough about facts and conditions to make it impossible for leaders to deceive them. When we do, the field will be clear for peace and harmony and will be followed by a permanent general prosperity.

God has created the natural resources and man has invented and learned how to apply mechanical and other devices to aid nature in securing a bountiful production. A proper application on the part of the people of their intelligence will immensely increase the annual earnings of the toilers, prevent the operation of special privileges, reduce the cost of living, and increase manyfold the people's advantages, and produce a safe and sane civilization, thus leading the world out from and relieve it from the chaos now so general. The people have acquired the knowledge, and it remains now for them to use that knowledge in a safe and sane common-sense practical way. We can and should all be alive to the truth, and make America the light of the world by giving expression through its institutions to a coordination of the affairs of mankind, instead of allowing adventuresome speculators to fix the rules of action, that by their very nature invite jealousy and hatred of the world and consequent strife.

I have made this statement with the idea that it may be distributed with the aid of friends of good government. It covers only a few of the principles involved in bringing to the people the advantages that belong to them, and the power that is theirs for the mere fact of action. I have other statements in the records regarding work of making a people's government, and refer to them as related to this statement. To merely think about these problems will lead to nothing. Action is necessary. If any work in this life is worth doing well to make it pay, it is good government. The people who toil for a living, whether for wages or for themselves by ownership of what they work with, they can increase their advantages several fold by establishing good government. But it can never be done by blindly following leaders.

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## Laws Passed by the Democratic Congress During the Wilson Administration.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DENVER S. CHURCH,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, Jesus of Nazareth declared in His Sermon on the Mount more than 1,800 years ago:

A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. * * * Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

The human race will seek in vain for a better plan than this to test the virtue of any cause.

We are just beginning a national campaign, and it is proposed by some that the governmental tree, which has supplied protection and nourishment for this country during the past four years, shall be uprooted, and in its place be planted the Republican tree. It is up to the voters of this Republic to decide on election day whether the results of the Democratic administration have been good or bad. If the fruits have been good both wisdom and patriotism cries out to save the

tree, but if it has been bad it should be rooted up. Let us stand under the Democratic tree for a short time and examine and test its fruits.

Let us consider the laws passed by the Democratic Congress during the Wilson administration, and inspect them as fruits produced by the Democratic tree.

I present to you as a specimen the income-tax law which was approved October 3, 1913, during the special session of the Sixty-third Congress. It provides that a tax shall be levied upon the annual income of a single person which exceed $3,000 per year and upon a married person which exceeds $4,000, the tax rate increasing at a ratio directly proportionate to the amount of income.

Let me call your attention to the fact that this law, during the first 32 months of its operation, yielded $137,257,185.44, up to July 1 of this year. Thus a burden of more than $4,000,000 a month has been lifted from the bowed shoulders of the poor and placed upon the broad shoulders of the prosperous and rich; taken from the weak and placed upon the strong; lifted from the blacksmith who works at the forge, the carpenter who toils on the roof, the man who swings the sledge, and the man who holds the drill; lifted from the backs of the laborer and farmer whose wages are but $25 per month, and from the seamstress who receives but $1.50 per day, and from the girl in the store and the waitress who works at starvation wages, and paid by those whose annual income range from $3,000 to millions of dollars per annum. How do you like this fruit? Is it sweet or sour to you?

Governments are established for the protection of individuals and societies, to protect them in their personal rights and in their property rights. In reference to personal rights one person receives as much protection as another. It is murder just the same if the victim is a beggar as if he were the governor of a Commonwealth, but the amount of property protection depends upon the amount of property one possesses. The man with a million dollars worth of property receives a million times as much property protection from this Government as the man who has but $1. The income-tax law requires a person to pay property tax in proportion to the amount of protection he receives from the Government. It is laid deep in the fundamental principles of justice. It adds no extra hours of toil. It causes no self-denial or sleepless night. It adds no wrinkles to the face of the weary, and when its demands are met no one but the miser sighs. Is this fruit good or bad?

Well, here is another law. Let us see how you like it. The Federal reserve act signed by President Wilson December 23, 1913. A person who has not studied this banking system will never know its true merits. An elastic currency that expands and contracts according to the country's needs. A currency not based upon the bonded indebtedness of the United States, but based on assets. Not based on debts but on credits. Under the old system bank notes were issued according to the amount of Government bonds owned, and the circulating medium could be controlled to an extent by anyone who cared to invest in Government bonds. Under the old system all reserve and credits had a tendency to move to New York where the money powers manipulated and controlled debts and credits at their will, even to the bringing on of a panic, if they felt inclined, but under the new system we have 12 regional banks in 12 regions of the United States. Twelve Wall Streets, if you please, all under Government control. In these regional banks member banks may have proper credits discounted, and based on the assets of the farm, they can have issued Federal notes which are returned when the hypothecated property is redeemed. So under this system a panic can never visit the land again unless the winter rains shall cease and we be denied the reoccurring seasons of the year.

We have been having panics in this country ever since the old financial régime has been in operation, not the result of famine or drought, but because of our inadequate system of banking. Everybody admits this who has given the subject careful consideration.

Go back to the panic of 1873 when the New York banks, in order to avoid a complete destruction of their financial system, were obliged to issue clearing-house loan certificates to the value of $26,563. During that year there were 5,183 commercial failures in this country with an aggregate liability of $228,499,900. This panic was not caused by any natural reasons. The winter rains had not failed to fall, seed time and harvest had not been denied this goodly land. The grain and corn fields of the North had not ceased to fill the cribs and warehouses with their golden sheaves; the great wheels and belts of the factories in the far East were performing their usual service; the cotton fields of the South were still nodding with their heavy crop in Dixieland, and the gold mines, vineyards, and fruit trees of the West were still yielding their annual supply. It was a money panic heralded by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co.

Again, in 1893, the country found itself in the clutches of a money panic the like of which up to that time had not been known. In order to avoid its terrible consequence the New York banks were obliged to issue clearing-house loan certificates again to the value of $38,380,000. In this year there were 15,242 commercial failures in the country, with an aggregate liability of $346,779,889. This panic, like all the others which had preceded it, was not caused by any phenomena of nature, but came on in the very hour of plenty by the breaking down of our banking system, first heralded by the failure of Mitchell's Bank and the Erie Railroad.

Again, in 1907, a terrible money panic came upon us without a moment's warning. During this eventful year there were 11,725 commercial failures, with an aggregate liability of $197,385,225. The banks again resorted, two fold stronger than ever, to the clearing-house loan certificates, and in order to prevent thousands of other commercial failures placed in circulation these certificates to the value of $100,000,000. At the beginning of this panic unusual prosperity prevailed everywhere until the failure of the Knickerbocker Trust Co., which started the general spread of consternation throughout the country.

It is quite generally admitted that all these disasters were the legitimate fruits of an evil financial system. This Democratic Federal reserve law is a complete solution of the whole matter. It will in the future prevent more heartaches and tears than any law passed by the American Congress in 50 years. It will be the cause of more prosperity than any law ever passed by the Congress of the United States. It will grow in importance and popularity with the years, and I predict in 50 years from now the people looking backward a hundred years and observing, as they will, the dreadful misfortunes that periodically beset the people during the 50 years preceding the passage of this law, and observing since its passage no panic has occurred, will build a monument to the author of this splendid law.

I call your attention now to the law establishing a Federal Trade Commission, signed by President Wilson September 26, 1914. During the four years of the Taft administration and the seven years of the Roosevelt administration we could hear everywhere of great trusts that were oppressing the people. The newspapers were crying out against them; orators were denouncing them from platforms and ministers from the pulpits. The Attorney General was arresting people here and there, charging them with the violation of the antitrust law.

The present administration, as soon as it came into power, established a commission composed of five men whose duty it was to be continually on the watch, looking for violations of the antitrust law. This commission was clothed with sufficient power to make thorough investigation in its offices at Washington in regard to the operations of corporations or individuals who were charged, or in any way suspected, of being combined in restraint of trade. As a result of this commission we hear scarcely nothing in regard to oppressive trusts, and, as a matter of fact, those who originally violated the law have, since the creation of this commission, adjusted their business in such a way as to be within the demands of the law. As long as this Federal Trade Commission is in existence and composed of such loyal, faithful public servants as it is now the era of trust oppression will never again return to strangle the legitimate business interests of this country. Is the tree that produced this fruit good or bad?

Another piece of legislation, which is in many respects the most important that has been proposed in many decades, is the Federal tariff board, which recently passed the House and is now pending in the Senate. This bill is in keeping with the other great achievements of the present administration and will in a very strong way remove from politics the tariff considerations for the future. Almost since the establishment of this Government the business interests of this country have been subjected every four years to the experiments of the successful political administration. At the commencement of the national political campaign the business interests of the country are completely upset and hold their breath, as it were, until after election, not knowing which political policy is to be in vogue. Under the proposed plan duties will be levied not simply to meet the platform requirements but for the purpose of meeting the necessity of business conditions throughout the United States. I filed a bill, both in the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, asking for the creation of a nonpolitical tariff board. In each of these bills section 6 provides:

That when a verified complaint is filed with said commission, signed by the president and secretary of any chamber of commerce duly operating under the laws of any State in the Union, setting forth that a legitimate industry located within the region wherein said chamber of commerce is in operation is being injured by reason of excessive im-

portation of goods into the United States, caused by too low a tariff rate, or should said facts appear to said commission without said complaint, or when it shall appear to said commission that there is reason to believe any business interest in the United States is making unusual profits to the detriment of the users and consumers of its products, caused by a lack of importations into the United States resulting from too high a tariff duty, or when it shall appear to said commission that unlawful trusts and combines in restraint of trade are in existence in this country, resulting from a lack of imports caused by too high a tariff duty, said commission shall investigate said matter, and, if necessary, hold public hearings in reference thereto in order to determine whether or not said conditions exist, and shall, if considered advisable, visit the sections in which said business interests are located, and in case said commission finds that any such conditions do exist it shall, in its annual report, call attention to the same and make such recommendation to Congress as it considers wise for the purpose of remedying said evils, and in said report it shall set forth and give all evidence received by it upon which said opinions and recommendations are based.

Let me call your attention to another bill which was signed by President Wilson July 17, 1916—the rural-credits bill. This bill provides more money for the farmers and long-time loans with a minimum rate of interest. No bill ever passed by the American Congress is going to bring as much light to the farmers' face and so much joy to the heart of his wife and child as this bill. There are, as shown by the census report of 1910, 2,354,676 tenant farmers in this country, farming 226,512,843 acres of land, valued at $10,977,233,427. Besides this, there are 3,948,722 farmers who own or have some kind of an interest in the land they work. I can not tell you the hundreds of millions of dollars secured by mortgage on these lands. This bill will help the mortgagees of this country, the farm owners and those having equities in farms, and it will help nearly two and a half million men, tenant farmers, who toil on land they do not own. I see this mighty horde, the tillers of the soil, some in faraway New England States, others working in the northern fields, myriads from the South, and the pioneers and their sons from the States along the western coast, looking to Washington and saying at last there comes relief. Filled with courage and hope, against unequal odds, the farmers have bravely worked on from year to year, but the usurer has ever been standing at their gates, and the exaction accompanying the pound of flesh has taken courage from the farmers' heart. How do you like this fruit? Do you think the tree is good or bad?

Let me call your attention to the fact that it is almost impossible to estimate the wonderful developments that have taken place in reference to parcel-post matters under Mr. Burleson's management during the Wilson administration. I will only endeavor to mention a few:

On July 1, 1913, a system was inaugurated whereby parcels could be sent collect on delivery.

July 1, 1913. Insurance fee decreased from 10 to 5 cents on parcels having a value of $25 or less.

August 15, 1913. Increase in the limit of weight from 11 to 20 pounds and a material reduction in the rates of postage in the first and second zones.

January 1, 1914. A material reduction in the rates of postage in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth zones.

March 16, 1914. Classification of parcel post extended to include books.

April 24, 1914. Seeds, cuttings, bulbs, roots, scions, and plants admitted to the fourth class and transported at parcel-post rates.

July 10, 1915. Limit of size increased from 72 to 84 inches.

At the beginning of this administration, March 4, 1913, the volume of parcel-post business handled was approximately 3,000,000 parcels annually, while for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, 1,001,021,616 parcels were handled, each having an average weight of more than a pound. Taking into consideration this wonderful improvement and development of this marvelous system, I venture to say that the millions of farmers who have been accommodated by this improved system are eagerly declaring in favor of the fruit of this Democratic tree.

From what has already been said it is obvious that this administration has done much to develop the legitimate business industry of this country, but when we take into consideration the wonderful natural resources of the United States we can not fail to see the importance of opening up the ports of the world as a market for our products and goods. This has been sadly neglected during the past. Our country, bounded, as it is, by the two great oceans of the world, with half a dozen transcontinental railroads ever ready to bear our products to the sea, it is imperative that our trade interest should be stimulated with countries on the other side of the great waters. You will be surprised when I call your attention to the fact that during the year ending July 31, 1914, there were 3,325 vessels engaged in the foreign trade of the United States, and but 452 of these were vessels bearing the American flag, and of the remainder England alone had 1,733. In other words, the net tonnage of the American ships engaged in the foreign trade of the United States during the year in question amounted to but 7.63 of the net tonnage of all the ships engaged in that business. I am please to state that this percentage, through the foresight and adequate laws passed by the present administration, has been increased to 680 American ships engaged in our foreign trade during the year ending July 31, 1915, and that the per cent of net tonnage increased to 11.99. This has come about by the passage of S. 6357, known as the war-risk insurance law, which provides for the insurance on the part of the Government of ships engaged in American trade against possible loss occasioned by war, also by an act signed by President Wilson August 18, 1914, which added to our merchant marine 132 ships with 308,113 net tonnage.

It being thus apparent that the number of American ships have been greatly increased during this administration, but by no means to the extent that it will be under the ship-purchase bill which passed the House of Representatives May 20 of this year. The object of this law is to enlarge our merchant marine, so that in the event of war our Navy will be supplied with all of the auxiliary ships necessary; also that practically all the foreign commerce of the United States shall be conducted under the American flag. Can anyone find any objection to this law? Why was it not thought of before? Why were its good provisions, like many others that I have called your attention to, not enacted into law until the Wilson administration?

As a humanitarian measure, let me ask you how you like the child-labor bill which passed the Senate August 5, which provides that the product of no mine or quarry shall be sold in interstate commerce wherein children under the age of 16 years are employed, and also that children under the age of 14 years shall not be employed in mills and manufacturing establishments.

According to the United States census report there were in 1910 nearly 2,000,000 children under 16 years of age engaged in different industrial occupations—about 5 per cent of all the laborers in the United States. Nearly 50 per cent of this vast army of little workers were under the age of 14 years and many little fellows of only 10; 637,000 were little girls; 41,076 under the age of 16 were employed in the cotton mills; 11,811 were mere babies between the ages of 10 and 13 years, 5,500 of whom were little girls.

These statistics are sufficient justification for the passage of this bill. Who can imagine a man who is the father of a tender little child who would be opposed to it? Who can imagine a man who ever had a little brother or sister who would or could oppose it? Who can imagine a person whose memory bears him back to his own springtime of life who would not favor this bill? We hear a great deal in these times about conservation. We appropriate vast sums to conserve the forests and to conserve the oil and other industries. We make great appropriations in the interest of agriculture, in the interest of animal and plant industry. We spend large sums of money to conserve the fish and game of this country. But what about the fatherless, motherless, and friendless children?

I was in favor of this bill, because it conserved the childhood of our country. It conserves their strength and gives them time to grow. It conserves their intellect and gives them time to go to school. It conserves their health by removing them from the poisonous gases and filthy air. It conserves their lives by taking them away from vicious wheels and belts and revolving drums, and it conserves their childhood days by permitting them to have time to sleep and play, wander and wonder, grow big of soul, and sweet and kind of heart.

I do not like a robber and I despise with all my heart a person who forces away the property of his fellow man. He is a heartless robber, indeed, who steals the charm of childhood lives, that takes the sparkle from childhood's eye and the color from childhood's cheek, and causes the hearthstone and the threshold to become only places of refuge for tired feet.

Hark! I hear a musical voice. It sounds from far-away Judea hills. The multitude look and listen. It is the carpenter's son who speaks, "A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit." He who spoke these words was of lowly birth. His earthly parents on the night that He was born had not money enough to buy a bed, and the eastern star marked His birthplace to be a manger down in Bethlehem. About the time He spoke these words He boldly proclaimed Himself to be the Son of God. Soon we hear Him in Pontius Pilate's court accused, condemned, and finally rejected and dishonored dies upon a wooden cross. They adjudge the tree was bad and cut it down, but they did not test it by its fruits. In after years wise men reviewed their work, and now that both the fruit and tree were good is acknowledged by the world.

"A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit." Mr. Speaker, I have mentioned some of the achievements of this administra-

tion. Time will not permit me to mention many other victories that it has won for the American people, but I must call your attention to two conditions that prevail in this country at the present time. One, the result of progressive legislation enacted by the Congress; the other the result of wise leadership on behalf of the President of the United States.

Peace and prosperity, twin sisters, angels from on high, blessed be that home or land above which they spread their wings and bow. Neither famine or panic can approach its outer wall and war clouds can never drift across its blue and peaceful sky.

We have at this goodly hour the most prosperous time in the history of the country. In addition to the evidence which is continually before us, I will give you a few facts taken from the brilliant speech delivered in this House a short time ago by Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, of Oklahoma:

*Wages of railroad employees (all classes).*

| | |
|---|---|
| Average for the 7 years under Roosevelt, per day | $2.98 |
| Average for the four years under Taft, per day | 3.27 |
| Latest available figures (1914) under Wilson, per day | 3.68 |

WAGES OF FARM LABORERS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Average for 4 years under Taft: | |
| With board, per month | 20.05 |
| Without board, per month | 28.32 |
| Average for 3 years under Wilson: | |
| With board, per month | 21.23 |
| Without board, per month | 30.11 |
| Total number of people engaged in manufacturing industries in 1912 | 6,900,000 |
| Total wages paid in manufacturing industries in 1912 | $3,427,000,000 |
| Total number of people engaged in manufacturing industries in 1916 | 8,500,000 |
| Total wages paid in manufacturing industries in 1916 | $5,280,000,000 |
| Total increase in wage earners in manufacturing industries during Wilson administration | 1,600,000 |
| Total increase in wages paid in manufacturing industries during Wilson administration | $1,853,000,000 |

GENERAL PROSPERITY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Railway earnings in 1912 | $2,933,000,000 |
| Railway earnings in 1916 | 3,700,000,000 |
| Total increase in railway earnings in 4 years (26.1%) | 767,000,000 |
| Total wealth in 1912 | 187,000,000,000 |
| Total wealth in 1916 | 228,000,000,000 |
| Total increase in wealth in 4 years (21.8%) | 41,000,000,000 |
| Total manufactured products in 1912 | 20,672,000,000 |
| Total manufactured products in 1916 | 30,900,000,000 |
| Total increase in 4 years (49.4%) | 10,228,000,000 |

Mr. Speaker, the old Democratic tree hangs heavy with the golden fruit of prosperity. The question is, Shall we let it stand?

In conclusion let me call your attention to the fact that our country to-day is enjoying the unspeakable blessing of peace. To-day 14 of the great nations of the earth are engaged in a desperate war, more gigantic, more bloody, and more foolish and wicked than any of the wars that have preceded it. The killed, wounded, and missing in this war are already more than 13,000,000. Four million at least have been killed. If the bodies of all these dead were placed end to end in rows, one could go more than twice the distance across the American Continent, walking on dead bodies every step of the way. Millions of gallons of human blood has been shed in this war, blood shed in vain for a cause unknown; yet President Wilson is being criticized because he did not drive the United States into it in order to help the crowned heads of Europe settle their difficulties. As for me, I can see no honor in getting into a free-for-all fight, but I can see a great deal of honor in staying out.

If a score of men were fighting in front of my house, fighting furiously with knives, clubs, and guns, striking wildly, and all fighting madly for their lives, I would not think of standing around continually prodding the fighters about my rights. If I did, I would expect to get a broken nose or a nasty lick over my eye. Even if they staggered onto my radish patch I would not at once challenge the whole bunch for a fight. No; I would slip away and come back and see them at their homes when the fight was over and they were reasonable and cool, and I would ask them if they did not think they owed me something for tearing up my garden the day they had the scrap, and ten chances to one they would pay me all the damage I asked, and I would go away their friend, with not even a broken nose or a battered eye. It is no time to be exacting when a fight or war is on. I once knew a milch cow to run her master up a tree when he interfered with her fight, and at one time I was bitten through the hand by my own watchdog while I was trying to referee his scrap. That, however, was a long time ago, when I was young and foolish. Since then I have made it a universal practice to do my talking the day after the fight, when the air is no longer filled with dust, hide, hair, and foam.

The fact that our good President has kept us out of war seems to almost break the hearts of some.

Mr. Speaker, gratitude is the most commendable virtue of the human race, and I am proud to say it is one of the chief characteristics of the people of this country. The American idea of a square deal compels us to give credit where credit is due and to be grateful for every good thing received regardless of from whence it came. We do not demand that our blessings shall come to us in a fixed manner, through some preconceived or sanctioned course. It is only sufficient that they come; they are always welcome when they arrive. The vehicle, whatever be its name, that brings to our threshold peace, happiness, and prosperity is good. The generous spirit of our people recognizes it and bids it Godspeed. We live in the western world. Truth to us is good regardless of its brand. As the sunbeams at close of day linger upon our mountain tops as if loath to leave our goodly land, so we yearn and crave for light. We do not demand that we shall make or name its source.

To-day we stand under the great Democratic tree, and as we look among its ample branches we find it heavily laden with fruit.

That a good tree can not bring forth evil fruit was first declared over 1,800 years ago by Jesus of Nazareth. During all the ages that have intervened the lesson has been sinking deep into the human hearts, and on occasions too numerous to mention its truth has been verified in the affairs of man. Our people here have learned this lesson well. For four years they have been watching the growth of the Democratic tree. They have been labeling well its fruits, and on election day from East to West and from North to South will be heard the voice of the great American people shouting as if it were from the voting places of this Republic, "Woodman, spare that tree!"

## Pensions for Injuries to Federal Employees.

### SPEECH

OF

### HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, July 12, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15316) to compensate Government employees sustaining injury while on duty.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I assure you that I have derived a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction this afternoon from seeing a great many gentlemen on both sides of the House rising in favor of this bill.

In the Sixtieth Congress, as well as in the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses, I made every effort to secure recognition from the Committee on the Judiciary for the workingmen's compensation bill which I introduced. It is true that my bill would take care not only of Government employees, but it went further and provided for general workingmen's compensation to all employees over whom the United States Congress could have jurisdiction. For weeks and months I failed to secure recognition from that committee, until in the Sixty-first Congress a commission was created to investigate the principle underlying the bill for which I had so long contended.

I can not do otherwise than to congratulate the committee upon their reporting this bill which we have before us. I am aware of the opposition which has been brought to bear against this effort on my part and on the part of others who feel the same as I do to provide compensation for the injured employee, and therefore, as I said, I appreciate the fact that the Committee on the Judiciary has reported this splendidly drawn bill. I at all times was under the impression that the bills that I have drawn, the bills that I have advocated, the drafts that I have sent out to different legislators and governors and lieutenant governors and labor organizations throughout the United States were properly drawn, but as we grow older and wiser we realize that there might be some omission in a well-drawn bill, as I believe my bills were. Nevertheless, I am pleased that so much of my bills, even though, as has been charged, they have not been perfectly drawn, has been adopted by various States and legislatures, and that so much of them has been placed in the way of enactment by the adoption of this bill.

I am glad to be here to-day and say that this legislation is in the right direction, and I hope and trust that this great committee, which has the courage of its convictions to do what is right by the employees of our Government, will go further and do the same thing by all other employees over whom Congress has jurisdiction, and will report the bill that I introduced,

which provides for a general workingman's compensation to employees engaged in interstate commerce.

I realize that there might be some men who might be under the impression that the compensation fixed here is not quite high enough, but I believe it is a fair compensation. I believe it is a just compensation. Later on, when the principle has been established, we can easily increase the compensation in any case where we believe it should be increased. But for the present I believe this bill amply provides that compensation which for so many years has been denied the unfortunate man who has lost the ability to provide for his family and for himself through no fault of his own.

In view of that fact and the general demand for this legislation, I hope that all who favor just legislation will vote in favor of the bill. [Applause.]

To acquaint the new membership of the House with the provisions of my general workmen's compensation bill, which not only tended to take care of the Government employees but all of the workmen engaged in interstate commerce, over which Congress would have jurisdiction, I shall insert the same as a part of my remarks:

A bill (H. R. 466) to provide a system of compensation for injuries, resulting in disability or death, to employees of common carriers subject to the regulative power of Congress, to civil employees of the United States Government, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the provisions of this act shall apply to every common carrier or employer of labor, both by land or by sea, whose business is affected with a public use and who or which is subject to the regulative power of Congress and to any of the employees of every such common carrier while such employees are engaged in any employment subject to the regulative power of Congress, and to all civil employees of the Government of the United States.

SEC. 2. That any such common carrier or employer (hereinafter designated employer) of labor, both by land or by sea, whose business is affected with a public use and who or which is subject to the provisions of this act may elect to provide and pay compensation for injuries sustained by any of its employees arising out of and in the course of any employment covered by the provisions of section 1, according to the provisions of this act, and thereby such employer shall be relieved from any liability for the recovery of damages, except as herein provided. Every employer subject to the provisions of this act is presumed to have elected to provide and pay compensation as provided in this act unless and until notice in writing by the employer of his election to the contrary is filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission. No such employer, however, shall be entitled to any of the privileges or advantages specified herein until a notice in writing of an election by said employer to provide such compensation shall have been filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission, on blanks furnished by it for that purpose.

SEC. 3. That the filing of notice of an election to provide such compensation as aforesaid shall constitute an acceptance of all the provisions of this act, and such employer shall be bound thereby as to all his employees subject to the provisions of this act for a term of one year, and succeeding terms of one year thereafter until a notice by the employer of his intention to discontinue payment of compensation under the provisions of this act shall have been given to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and to all employees as aforesaid by written notice at least 60 days prior to the expiration of any such annual term: *Provided*, That no compensation shall be allowed for the death or injury of an employee where it is proved that his injury or death was occasioned by his willful, wanton, and premeditated intention to bring about the injury or death of himself or another.

SEC. 4. That when any employer elects to provide and pay compensation as provided in this act, and files notice of such election with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and thereby becomes bound to provide and pay such compensation according to the provisions of this act, then every employee of such employer who enters the employment subject to this act after the acceptance of this act by said employer as aforesaid, shall be deemed to have accepted all the provisions of this act as a part of his contract of hiring, and shall be bound thereby, except as hereinafter provided. Every employee subject to this act whose contract of service is in force at the time his employer elects to pay compensation and who continues to work for such employer, and every such employee who enters the service of such employer after the acceptance of this act by the employer, shall be deemed thereby to have accepted the provisions of this act and shall be bound thereby: *Provided, however*, That any such employee may, within 30 days after the election of the employer to pay compensation as provided by this act, or after such new employee enters the service of such employer, notify such employer in writing that said employee does not desire to receive the benefits or compensation provided for in this act, and from the day of the filing of said notice with said employer this act shall have no force or effect as to such employee, but the liability of the employer and the right to compensation by the employee shall remain the same as though this act had not been enacted: *Provided, however*, That before any such employee shall be so bound by the provisions of this act, his employer shall furnish to such employee personally, at the time of his hiring, a statement in writing of the compensation provisions of this act as herein provided, which statement shall also include a notice to the employee that the employer has accepted the provisions hereof. In the event that any such employee is unable to read the English language, then, in that case, before such employee shall be held to have accepted the provisions of this act, the said employer shall cause the said provisions of said statement and the notice to the employee that the employer has accepted the provisions of this act to be read to the said employee, or interpreted from the said English language into such language as is understood by the said employee, by a competent interpreter, and thereupon the said interpreter shall make a statement in writing, under oath, to the said employer of the fact of such reading or interpretation to said employee.

SEC. 5. That no common-law or statutory right to recover damages for injury or death sustained by any such employee while engaged in any employment subject to the provisions of this act, other than the compensation herein provided, shall be available to any such employee who has accepted the provisions of this act nor to any of such employee's dependents or his legal representative: *Provided*, That where the injury to the employee was caused by the failure of the employer to furnish or maintain any safety appliance for use in said employment, which is now or may hereafter be required by any act of Congress, nothing in this act shall affect the present civil liability of the employer.

SEC. 6. That the amount of compensation which an employer who has elected to adopt the provisions of this act shall pay for injury to an employee which results in death shall be:

(a) If the employee leaves any widow, child, or children, or parents, or other lineal heirs, who were dependent upon him for support, the compensation shall be a sum equal to 10 times the average annual earnings of the employee, but not less in any event than $4,000 and not more in any event than $10,000. Any weekly payments other than necessary medical or surgical fees shall be deducted in ascertaining such amount payable on death.

(b) If the employee leaves collateral heirs who were wholly or partially dependent upon him at the time of his death, the compensation shall be such a percentage of the sum provided in clause (a) as the contributions which deceased made to the support of such dependents bore to his earnings at the time of his death.

(c) If the employee leaves no widow, child, or children, or dependents as aforesaid, the compensation shall be the reasonable expense of his medical attendance and burial, not exceeding $200.

All compensation provided for in this section shall be paid to the personal representative of the deceased employee for the exclusive benefit of the persons entitled thereto, as provided in this section in the proportion provided by law in relation to the distribution of personal property left by persons dying intestate: *Provided, however*, That in case the said decedent shall leave a widow or children entitled to compensation provided for in this section, compensation shall be paid for the first six months after the death of said employee in installments at the same intervals and in the same amounts that the wages or earnings of said employee were paid to him while he was living. After the expiration of the said period of six months the balance of the compensation shall be paid in monthly installments equal to 60 per cent of deceased employee's monthly earnings, but in no case to be more than $75 nor less than $30 per month.

After the monthly payments above provided for have continued for not less than six months either party may, upon due notice to the other party, apply to the probate court or any other court having jurisdiction of the case for an order commuting the future payments to a lump sum. This application shall be considered by the court, and may be granted where it is shown to the satisfaction of the court that the payment of a lump sum in lieu of future monthly payments will be for the best interests of the person or persons receiving or dependent upon such compensation, and that the payment of said lump sum will not be prejudicial to the public welfare. Where such commutation is ordered the court shall fix the lump sum to be paid at an amount which will equal the total sum of probable future payments, capitalized at their present value upon the basis of interest calculated at 5 per cent per annum with annual rests. Upon payment of such lump sum the employer shall be discharged from all further liability on account of the death of the employee, and shall be entitled to a duly executed release, upon filing which or other proof of payment with the Interstate Commerce Commission the liability of such employer shall be discharged of record: *Provided*, That if the said widow or children entitled to compensation shall be residents of any foreign country the compensation due shall be paid in a lump sum at once. If there are other dependents as provided in this section, resident of any foreign country, said other dependents shall be paid compensation in a lump sum in amounts proportionate to the degree of their dependency upon the employee's earnings while living, but in no case shall the whole amount of such compensation exceed the maximum sum named in clause (a) of this section.

SEC. 7. That the amount of compensation which the employer shall pay to the employee for an injury resulting in disability shall be:

(a) Necessary medical and surgical treatment in all cases at the time of the injury, and thereafter until the degree of disability shall have been determined and the monthly or weekly payments due the injured employee shall have been fixed. Said medical and surgical treatment shall include all necessary medicines and apparatus, such as artificial limbs, crutches, and trusses, to aid in the success of the treatment and to diminish the effects of the injury. The employer may designate any duly qualified physician or surgeon to finish the medical and surgical treatment necessary, and to prescribe the necessary medicines and facilities. Should the employee be dissatisfied with the treatment given him by the physician or surgeon designated by the employer, said employee shall have the right to select his own physician or surgeon, but in that event the employer shall be liable only for such expense as he would have been liable for had the physician or surgeon designated by him been retained by the employee.

(b) If the period of disability lasts for more than seven calendar days, and such fact is determined by the physician or physicians as provided in section 9, compensation shall begin from the day the injured employee leaves work as the result of his injury, and shall continue as long as the disability lasts, or until the compensation paid equals the amount payable as a death benefit, payments to be made weekly in an amount equal to 60 per cent of the average weekly earnings of the employee at the time of his injury, but not less than $7 nor more than $18 per week.

(c) If the period of disability does not last more than seven calendar days from the day the injured employee leaves work as the result of his injury, no compensation other than the medical and surgical treatment specified in clause (a) shall be paid.

(d) If any employee shall receive any serious and permanent disfigurement to the hands or face by reason of any injury arising out of and in the course of his employment, but which disfigurement does not actually disable said employee from pursuing his usual and customary employment, such employee, unless he elects to maintain an action at law as provided in sections 4 and 5 herein, shall have the right to resort to the arbitration provisions of this act for the purpose of determining a reasonable amount of compensation to be paid to such employee for said disfigurement, but in no case shall the amount of compensation allowed an employee under this clause exceed one-third the amount of compensation that would be due him in case of his death.

(e) If after the injury has been received it shall appear upon medical examination, as provided in section 9, that the employee has been partially, though permanently, disabled so as to be incapacitated from pursuing his usual and customary employment, he shall receive compensation equal to 60 per cent of the difference between his average earnings at the time of his injury and the average amount which he

is earning or is able to earn in some suitable employment or business after the injury, if such employment is secured, the total of which shall not exceed one-half what would be due him in case of death.

(f) If permanent total disability results from any injury, compensation equal to 60 per cent of his annual earnings at the time of his injury shall be paid to the injured employee during the remainder of his life, payments to be made monthly, and in no case to be less than $30 per month nor more than $75 per month. For the purposes of this section it shall be conclusively presumed that the injury resulted in permanent total disability in the following cases, namely, the total and irrevocable loss of sight in both eyes, the loss of both feet at or above the ankle, the loss of both hands at or above the wrist, the loss of one hand and one foot, an injury to the spine resulting in permanent and complete paralysis of the legs or arms, and an injury to the skull resulting in incurable imbecility or insanity: *Provided*, That the specific cases of total permanent disability enumerated in this section shall not be construed as excluding other cases. In case death occurs before the total of the payments made to an employee who is totally and permanently disabled equals the amount payable as a death benefit, as provided in section 6, then in case the said employee leaves any widow, child or children, or parents, or other lineal heirs entitled to compensation under the provisions of this act, they shall be paid the difference between the compensation provided for death and the sum of such payment, but in no case shall this sum be less than $1,000.

In fixing the amount of the disability payments regard shall be had and deduction made for any payment, allowance, or benefit which the employe may have received from the employer during the period of his incapacity, except the expense of necessary medical and surgical treatment.

SEC. 8. That the basis for computing compensation as provided for in this act shall be as follows:

First. The compensation shall be computed on the basis of the annual earnings which the injured employee received as salary, wages, or earnings in the employment of the same employer during the year next preceding the injury.

Second. Employment by the same employer shall be construed as employment by the same employer in the grade in which the employee was employed at the time of his injury, uninterrupted by absence from work due to illness or any other unavoidable cause.

Third. The annual earnings, if not otherwise determined, shall be regarded as three hundred times the average daily earnings in such computation.

Fourth. If the injured employee has not been engaged in the employment for a full year immediately preceding the injury, the compensation shall be computed according to the annual earnings which employees of the same class in the same employment or employments of the same kind have earned during such period; and if this basis of computation should prove to be impracticable, then three hundred times the amount which the injured employee earned on an average during those days when he was working in the employment during the year next preceding the injury shall be used as a basis for the computation: *Provided*, That in no case shall the yearly earnings of the injured employee be computed at a less amount than 300 times the average daily wage of adult day laborers in the locality where the injury occurred.

Fifth. In computing compensation to be paid to an employee who before an injury was already disabled and drawing compensation, or entitled thereto under this act, additional compensation shall be awarded according to the combined disability, and in computing compensation for such combined disability the employee's earnings prior to his first injury shall be taken as a basis: *Provided*, That if the second injury was received while the employee was working for another employer then the one for whom he was working when he received his first injury, the compensation to be paid for the combined injury shall be apportioned between said two employers according to what each would be liable for in the case of the single injury happening under his employment.

Sixth. If an employee receive an injury which of itself would only cause partial disability, but which combined with a previous injury does in fact cause permanent total disability, such employee shall receive compensation for permanent total disability. If the second injury was received while the employee was employed by an employer other than the one for whom he was working when he received his first injury, then the payment of compensation for permanent total disability shall be borne by the said two employers share and share alike.

SEC. 9. That any employee entitled to receive compensation under this act shall be required, if physically able, to submit himself for examination by a duly qualified physician or surgeon, provided and paid for by the employer, at any time and place reasonably convenient for such employee, at any time within seven calendar days after the injury and at further intervals thereafter not oftener than six weeks, if deemed necessary by the employer, for the purpose of determining the nature, extent, and probable duration of such employee's disability and for the purpose of adjusting the compensation which may be due the employee from time to time. Said examination shall be made in the presence of a duly qualified physician or surgeon provided and paid for by the employee if said employee so desires, and in the event of a disagreement between said physicians or surgeons as to the nature, extent, or probable duration of said injury or disability the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be notified forthwith of said disagreement, and within six days after receiving such notice said commission shall select a third physician or surgeon, and the majority report of said three physicians or surgeons as to the nature, extent, and probable duration of such injury or disability shall be used for the purpose of estimating the amount of compensation payable to such injured employee according to the provisions of this act. Whenever it shall become necessary to select a third physician or surgeon as provided in this section, such third physician or surgeon shall be paid by the Interstate Commerce Commission. If the employee refuses to submit himself to examination as herein provided, or unnecessarily obstructs the same, his right to compensation shall be suspended until such examination shall have been made, and no such employee shall be entitled to receive compensation for any such period of suspension.

SEC. 10. That if any injured employee shall be mentally incompetent at the time any right or privilege accrues to him under this act, a conservator or guardian of such incompetent, appointed pursuant to law, may claim and exercise any such right or privilege, on behalf of said incompetent, with the same force and effect as if the employee himself had claimed or exercised such right or privilege; and no limitation of time herein provided for shall run so long as said incompetent employee has no conservator or guardian.

SEC. 11. That compensation payable under this act may be settled by agreement between the parties. Every such agreement and every award shall be in writing, signed and acknowledged by the parties and by the arbitrator or secretary of the committee hereinafter referred to, and shall specify the amount due and unpaid by the employer to the employee up to the date of the agreement or award, and, if any, the amount of further compensation that shall be paid. Every such agreement or award and every subsequent modification thereof, which modification shall be signed and acknowledged by the parties in the same manner as the original agreement or award, shall be filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission within 10 days after it is made. Upon approval of said agreement or award by said commission the parties shall be duly notified, and thereupon said agreement or award shall become effective from the date it was signed and acknowledged as aforesaid.

SEC. 12. That if compensation be not settled by agreement between the parties, then if any committee representing the employer and the employee has been organized for settling disputes under this act, the compensation shall be settled by such committee, unless either party objects by notice in writing delivered or sent by registered mail to the other party before the committee meets to consider the matter. If either party so objects, or there is no committee as aforesaid, then the compensation shall be settled by the Interstate Commerce Commission through an examiner appointed and paid by said commission for the purpose of settling controversies under this act. Said examiner shall be designated "arbitrator of compensation," and the said commission is hereby authorized and directed to employ as many of said arbitrators of compensation as may be necessary properly to execute and enforce the provisions of this act. Whenever any dispute as aforesaid has been referred to any such arbitrator of compensation the decision of said arbitrator shall be final and conclusive, subject to rehearing and determination by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and to a hearing by the Court of Commerce, subject to the rules and practice of said Court of Commerce.

SEC. 13. That said arbitrator of compensation shall not be bound by technical rules in making his investigation, but shall give the parties full opportunity to be heard, and shall act reasonably and without partiality. The provisions of section 20 of "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, as amended, in respect of the duties, powers, and liabilities of special agents and examiners, etc., shall be deemed to have been reenacted in respect of all the powers of said arbitrators of compensation, so far as applicable.

SEC. 14. That no said arbitrator of compensation shall act in any case in which he is interested, nor where he is related to either party by marriage, or by consanguinity or affinity within the third degree, as determined by the common law, nor who has been in the employment of any railroad as claim agent or attorney within a period of 12 months prior to his original appointment by said Interstate Commerce Commission. Whenever it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, upon application of either party, that the arbitrator before whom any case is pending is disqualified, or that he entertains bias or prejudice, so that a fair and impartial hearing of the case can not be had before him, it shall be the duty of said commission to supply another arbitrator to act in the case.

SEC. 15. That any agreement or award as aforesaid may be modified by a subsequent agreement or award, in the same manner and with the same effect as the original agreement or award, at any time after the expiration of six months from the date on which said original agreement or award was approved by said Interstate Commerce Commission; and before the expiration of any period for which payment of compensation has been fixed thereby, but not afterwards, any such agreement or award may be reviewed by an arbitrator of compensation upon application of either party after due notice to the other party, upon the ground that the disability of the injured employee has subsequently ended, increased, or diminished. Upon such review the said arbitrator may increase, diminish, or discontinue the compensation, in accordance with the facts, or may make such other order as the justice of the case may require, but shall order no change in the status existing before the application for review. The findings of the arbitrator upon such review shall be served on the parties, and filed with and approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission, in like manner and subject to like disposition as in the case of the original award.

SEC. 16. That the arbitrator in any case may, on his own motion or upon application of either party, appoint a disinterested and duly qualified physician or surgeon to make all necessary examinations of the employee and testify with respect thereto. The reasonable fee of said physician or surgeon shall be paid by the Interstate Commerce Commission, upon properly executed vouchers filed with said commission in accordance with its rules for the payment of accounts.

SEC. 17. That no proceedings for compensation under this act shall be maintained unless notice of the injury has been given to the employer as soon as practicable after the happening thereof, and during disability caused by such injury, and unless claim has been made within six months from the date of said injury; or in the case of the death of the employee, or in the event of his physical or mental incapacity, within six months after such death or removal of such physical or mental incapacity; or in the event that payments have been made under this act within six months after such payments have ceased. No want, defect, or inaccuracy of said notice shall be a bar to the maintenance of proceedings by the employee, unless the employer proves that he is unduly prejudiced in such proceedings by such want, defect, or inaccuracy, and then only to the extent of such prejudice. Notice of the injury shall in substance apprise the employer of the claim for compensation made by the employee, and shall state the name and address of the injured employee, the approximate time and place of the injury, and in simple language the cause thereof, if known. Such notice may be served personally or by registered letter addressed to the employer at his last-known residence or place of business. Failure on the part of any employee entitled to compensation to give such notice shall not relieve the employer of his liability for such compensation when the facts and circumstances of such injury are known to such employer or his agent.

SEC. 18. That when an injury or death for which compensation is payable under this act is caused under circumstances also creating a legal liability for damages on the part of any carrier subject to the provisions of this act other than the employer, the right of the employee to recover against such other carrier shall be subrogated to the employer, and such employer may bring legal proceedings against such carrier to recover the damages sustained by the injured employee in an amount not exceeding the aggregate amount of compensation payable to the injured employee under this act. When an injury or death for which compensation is payable under this act is caused under circumstances also creating a legal liability for damages on the part of any person other than the employer, such person not being subject to the provisions of this act, legal proceedings may be taken against such other person to recover damages, notwithstanding the payment of or

liability to pay compensation under this act; but if action is brought against such other person by the injured employee, or in case of his death by his dependents, and judgment is obtained and paid, or settlement is made with such other person, either with or without suit, the employer shall be entitled to deduct from the compensation paid or to be paid by him the amount so received by such employee or dependents: *Provided*, That if the injured employee, or in case of his death his dependents, shall agree to receive compensation or institute proceedings to recover the same, or accept from the employer any payment on account of such compensation, such employer shall be subrogated to all the rights of such employee or dependents, and may maintain, or in case an action has already been instituted, may continue, an action either in the name of the employee or dependents or in his own name against such other person for the recovery of damages; but such employer shall nevertheless pay over to the injured employee or dependents all sums collected from such other person by judgment or otherwise in excess of the amount of such compensation paid and to be paid under this act, and costs, attorney's fees, and reasonable expenses incurred by such employer in making such collection or enforcing such liability.

SEC. 19. That notwithstanding any agreement, award, or finding as hereinbefore provided, compensation shall not be paid for any case of disability while the injured employee is at work at wages which equal the established day's earnings he was receiving at the time of his injury. His failure to earn wages equal to what he was receiving at the time of his injury as aforesaid shall entitle him to compensation as provided in clause (e) of section 7.

SEC. 20. That if any employee entitled to compensation under this act shall at the time of his injury be employed and paid jointly by two or more employers subject to this act, such employers shall contribute to the payment of such compensation in the proportion of their several wage liabilities to such employee. If one or more, but not all, of such employers are subject to this act, then the liability of such of them as are so subject shall be to pay the proportion of the entire compensation which their proportionate wage liability bears to the entire wages of the employee: *Provided, however*, That nothing in this section shall prevent any arrangement between such employers for a different distribution as between themselves of the ultimate burden of such compensation.

SEC. 21. That when payment of compensation is made to a widow for the use of herself, or for the use of herself and child or children, her written receipt therefor shall acquit the employer. When payment is made to any infant or other dependent 18 years of age or over, the written receipt therefor of such infant or other dependent shall acquit the employer. When payment is due to any infant under the age of 18 years, the payment shall be made to a duly appointed and qualified guardian of such infant under the laws of the State or Nation or of the District of Columbia or Alaska, wherein such infant may reside, and the duly acknowledged receipt therefor of such guardian shall acquit the employer.

SEC. 22. That when compensation is being paid under this act to any dependent, such compensation shall cease upon the death or marriage of such dependent, or whenever such dependent shall become self-supporting. Upon the remarriage of any widow receiving compensation under this act a sum of money equal to 20 monthly payments, as provided in section 6, but not less than $1,000, shall be paid to such widow, and further payment of compensation to such widow shall cease.

SEC. 23. That no employee subject to the provisions of this act, nor any beneficiary hereunder, shall have power to waive any of its provisions with respect to the amount of compensation which may be payable to such employee or beneficiary hereunder.

SEC. 24. That any contract or agreement made by any employee or dependent within seven calendar days after an injury, with any employer or his agent, or with any attorney, with respect to the prosecution or settlement of any claim for compensation under this act, shall be presumed to be fraudulent.

SEC. 25. That any contract of employment, relief benefit, or insurance, or other device whereby the employee is required to pay any premium or premimums for insurance against the compensation provided for in this act, shall be null and void; and any employer withholding from the wages of any employee any amount for the purposes of paying any such premium shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than $500 nor more than $1,000, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 26. That any employee or dependent who shall become entitled to compensation under the provisions of this act, in the event of his inability to recover such compensation from the employer on account of his insolvency or other cause, shall be subrogated to all the rights of such employer against any insurance company or association which may have insured such employer against loss growing out of the compensation required to be paid by the provisions of this act, and in such case only a payment of the full amount of compensation that has accrued to the person entitled thereto, in accordance with the provisions of this act, shall relieve such insurance company or association from such liability.

SEC. 27. That the assignment of any cause of action arising under this act, or of any payments due or to become due under the provisions of this act, shall be void. Every liability and all payments due or to become due under this act shall be exempt from levy or sale for private debt. Every liability for compensation under this act shall constitute a first lien upon all the property of the employer liable therefor paramount to all other claims or liens, except for wages and taxes, and in case of insolvency shall be enforced by order of the court.

SEC. 28. That the term "dependent" shall include all persons who are entitled to receive compensation under the provisions of section 6, and wherever the context requires it, shall be held to include the personal representative of the deceased and guardians of infants or incompetent persons.

The term "injury" shall be held to include an injury resulting in death.

The term "employee" includes an apprentice. It shall include the singular and the plural of both sexes. Any reference to an employee who has been injured shall, where the employee is dead and the context requires it, include a reference to his dependents or personal representatives.

The term "child or children" shall include posthumous children and all other children entitled by the law of the State where the injury occurred to inherit as children of the deceased employee.

The term "disability" shall mean want of capacity or ability by reason of injury to make full wages and full time in the position where the employee was working at the time of receiving his injury.

The phrase "personal injury arising out of and in the course of his employment" shall be held to cover an employee while engaged in the service of the employer in, on, or about the premises occupied by or under the control of the employer, where the employee's services are being performed, or while such employee is engaged elsewhere in or about his employer's business where his service contracted for or reasonably volunteered or rendered for the protection of his employer's interests requires his presence as a part of such service at the time of the injury and subjects him to dangers incident to that employment. It shall not include an injury caused by the willful act of another directed against the employee for reasons personal to such employee and not against him as an employee or because of his employment.

SEC. 29. That nothing herein contained shall be construed as doing away with or affecting any common-law or statutory right of action or remedy for personal injury or death happening before this act shall take effect.

SEC. 30. That nothing in this act shall interfere with any proceeding by the Government to enforce any act of Congress regulating the appliances or conduct of any common carrier, or affect the liability of any such common carrier to a fine or penalty under any such act.

SEC. 31. That 60 days after the passage of this act every common carrier subject to the regulative power of Congress shall be liable for the following excise taxes for the purpose of paying the administrative expenses of this act, and for paying the compensation herein provided for, namely:

First. There shall be levied, collected, and paid on every engine, car, or motor vehicle used in the transportation of persons or property on the lines of every common carrier subject to this act, whether steam or electric lines, an excise tax of $6 per year.

Second. There is hereby levied, and there shall be payable by every telegraph and telephone company operated along the line of or connected with any telegraph line built, constructed, or maintained along the line of any railroad and telegraph line to which the United States has granted subsidies, or which telegraph line shall have accepted the provisions of title 65 of the Revised Statutes, an excise tax of $50,000 for and in respect of its plant within the District of Columbia.

Third. Every express company subject to this act shall pay an excise tax of $5 per year on every wagon or other vehicle used by it in the collection, distribution, and delivery of express matter, and on every car used exclusively by any express company on any line of railroad for the transportation of express matter a tax of $5 per year shall be levied and paid.

Fourth. Every vessel engaged or enrolled or licensed to act as a common carrier by water shall pay a tonnage surtax of 25 cents per gross register ton on the 1st day of July of each year.

SEC. 32. That every common carrier subject to the taxes named in this act who carries on business without having paid the car or vehicle or telegraph excise tax herein provided for shall, in addition to being liable to the payment of said tax, be fined not less than $1,000 and not more than $5,000, and every distinct violation shall be a separate offense, and in case of a continuing offense each day shall be deemed a separate offense; and unless otherwise limited, all fines, penalties, and forfeitures imposed by this act or by any section of the Revised Statutes may be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction. All laws relating to the collection, remission, and refund of internal-revenue taxes, or laws for the enforcement or collection of tonnage dues, so far as applicable and not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby extended and made applicable to the excise taxes or navigation surtaxes hereby imposed, and all penalties, fines, matters of form and procedure, heretofore enacted for the collection of navigation dues or of the internal revenue under an act to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures, and for other purposes, approved June 13, 1898 (30 Stat. L., p. 448), are made applicable to the collection of the revenue and the enforcement of this act as fully as though said act had not been repealed but had continued in full force and effect; and sections 3232, 3233, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, and 3243 of the Revised Statutes of the United States are, so far as applicable, made to extend to and include and apply to the special excises or internal-revenue taxes or navigation surtaxes imposed by this act, and to the persons, natural or corporate, upon whom they are imposed, as fully as though they or any one of them were herein set forth at length: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act in respect of taxation of vehicles on the lines or vessels and of mileage taxation of telegraphic lines shall be, and they are declared to be, suspended in respect of any carrier accepting this act in the manner herein set forth, and after such acceptance abiding by and complying with the provisions of this act.

Whenever the Interstate Commerce Commission shall have certified to the Secretary of the Treasury that any such common carrier has not complied with the orders of said commission in respect of paying any compensation due, it shall be the duty of said Secretary of the Treasury to collect the excise taxes hereby imposed during or for such time or times as said carrier is not complying with any lawful orders of said commission with respect to the matters contained in this act. Said excise taxes under the provisions of this act when collected and paid into the Treasury of the United States shall be, and they are hereby, specifically reappropriated, and shall constitute a permanent appropriation, to be called the "Federal compensation fund," to pay any compensation not paid by any carrier or person subject to this act, pursuant to any lawful order of said commission, and to meet the necessary expenses of administering this act; and all acts heretofore passed in aid of pensioners of the United States in respect of limitation of attorneys' fees, proof of claim, allowance, and payment and audit, are hereby, as far as applicable, extended to any funds exacted, collected, appropriated, and to be disbursed pursuant to this act.

SEC. 33. That it shall be the duty of every employer subject to the provisions of this act to make quarterly returns of accident payments and opertaions under this act to the Interstate Commerce Commission in such detail and form as the said commission may by general regulation require. Such reports shall be compiled by said commission and the results made public in such manner as the said commission may determine.

SEC. 34. That it is hereby declared to be the intent and purpose of this act and the policy of Congress that the financial burden of injury and death to employees in industries subject to the regulative power of Congress arising out of and in the course of the operation of such industries shall be placed upon the industries involved; and the Interstate Commerce Commission is hereby empowered and directed to make all regulations reasonable and necessary not herein provided for to give effect to the provisions of this act and to accomplish its declared intent and purpose. To this end the said commission shall consider the payments authorized herein to be an element of the cost of transportation or the operation of the industries affected by this act, and in any proceedings affecting rates the said commis-

sion is directed to recognize and give effect to the intent and purpose of this act.

SEC. 35. That the scale of compensation herein provided for shall be recognized by the United States Government in all industries operated by it directly or in its behalf, by contract or otherwise, and all said employees of the Government of the United States shall be entitled to all the benefits and privileges of this act, and to that end it is hereby declared that the Government of the United States has elected to accept the provisions of this act with respect to all of its civil employees, however or wherever employed.

SEC. 36. That this act shall take effect on the 1st day of July, 1916, and shall be cited as the Federal compensation act of 1915.

## Thomas W. and Alice N. Keller.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith a statement respecting the claims of Thomas W. and Alice N. Keller:

DAMAGES AND PAYMENT FOR GROUND ON ACCOUNT OF CONDEMNATION PROCEEDINGS.

On June 13, 1910, under the proceedings of the order from the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, a petition filed in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, holding a court in cause No. 880—to establish a building line on the west side of Thirteenth Street, between Park Road and Monroe Street—under the authority of an act of Congress entitled "An act to establish uniform building lines on streets in the District of Columbia less than 90 feet wide," under the law the assessment jury is required to assess benefits equal to the amount of damages including all expenses of the proceedings. The parcels of property taken in square 2838 were part of lot 11 (30 by 25 feet—750 feet), belonging to Thomas W. Keller, part of lot 12 (30 by 25 feet—750 square feet) belonging to Thomas W. and Alice N. Keller, making a total of 1,500 square feet. Also, lot 13, belonging to E. F. Davis, 53 feet 9 inches by 25—1,344 square feet, for which Mr. Davis received $6,000, no benefits assessed. Lots 11 and 12 were assessed $480 and 1,500 square feet of ground taken without any compensation. Thomas W. and Alice N. Keller recognize the right and the power of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to make an assessment against their property for improvements or benefits, and do not complain of the assessment of $480, which has been paid on the following dates and in the following amounts:

Mar. 9, 1914 (including interest)---------- $129.43
Nov. 12, 1914 (including interest)---------- 395.09

Mr. and Mrs. Keller hold receipts showing the $524.52 to have been paid in full. On one occasion it was stated by a gentleman on the floor of this House that the assessment had not been paid by Mr. and Mrs. Keller. Mr. and Mrs. Keller claim there is no law by which their property to the amount of 1,500 square feet can be taken without compensation satisfactory to them, while lot 13, being on the corner, was paid for by the condemnation proceedings, as these three lots, 11, 12 and 13, were all condemned, but only lot 13 was paid for. Mr. and Mrs. Keller's lots were condemned without any compensation, and they therefore further claim that they should be paid for the land taken. This amendment has had consideration by two committees of the Senate, first by the District of Columbia Committee, second by the Appropriations Committee, both committees recognizing the merits of the claim have placed the said amendment in the District of Columbia appropriation bill for the past three years, so it has stood the crucible test of the Senate committees and of the Senate itself. No Member of this body can say that when tax assessments are paid up to date any property holder's land can be taken without compensation. All Mr. and Mrs. Keller ask is that they shall be considered in the just and right, as was Mr. E. F. Davis for lot 13 in square 2838. I refer you to accompanying letter of E. H. Thomas, corporation counsel at the time of the condemnation proceedings.

Mr. and Mrs. Keller insist that they are entitled to the same amount of free park space as their neighbors on each side of them. The neighbors on each side paid nothing for this ground or parking space in front of their premises. Mr. and Mrs. Keller did pay their hard-earned money for ground or parking space in front of their premises, which is taken from them without compensation. When others enjoy their parking space without additional cost why not accord to Mr. and Mrs. Keller the same privileges as are enjoyed by other citizens of the District of Columbia?

LAW OFFICES OF EDWARD H. THOMAS,
*Washington, D. C., May 25, 1914.*

Hon. JOHN WALTER SMITH,
*United States Senate.*

SIR: On June 13, 1910, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia filed their petition in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, holding a district court in cause No. 880 to establish a building line on the west side of Thirteenth Street NW., between Park Road and Monroe Street, under the authority of an act of Congress approved June 21, 1906, entitled "An act providing for the establishment of an uniform building line on streets in the District of Columbia less than 90 feet wide." Under the provisions of this law the assessment jury is required to assess benefits equal to the amount of damages, including all expenses of the proceeding. Among the parcels of property to be taken and which were taken, under this proceeding in square 2838, were part of lot 11, being the east 25 feet by full width of said lot, containing 750 square feet, owner, Thomas W. Keller, and part of lot 12, being the east 25 feet by full width of said lot, containing 750 square feet, owners, Thomas W. and Alice N. Keller.

The building line sought to be established is less than a block in length and appears to be intended as a continuation of a building line established by subdivision on the west side of Thirteenth Street, running about two-thirds of the block. It appears that there were two jury verdicts, and that the cost of the first verdict, which was set aside, was $421.55. The total expenses being $721.55, and this sum was ultimately added to the damages found, making the total damages awarded $7,896.88. The total benefits assessed were also $7,896.88.

As to said part of lots 11 and 12, the jury found damages of $562.50 each, or $1,125, and assessed $750 benefits against lot 11 and $855 benefits against lot 12, being a total of $1,605, creating an obligation on part of the owners after the taking of their property of $480.

The lot immediately north of the Keller property, which fronts about 54 feet on Thirteenth Street and is on the corner of that street and Park Road, was allowed $6,000 as damages for the part taken and assessed no benefits.

While I held the office of corporation counsel, Mr. Keller personally protested to me against the taking of his property and the assessment against it of more than the award as benefits, but I could not help him, being obliged in the performance of my duty to insist upon the verdicts. Assessment of benefits is, I think, merely a matter of opinion, a guess, and this case, I thought, was a hard one. I should be glad to see relief granted Mr. Keller, particularly in view of the fact as shown by the verdict that the taking in said square embraced only the corner lot of his lots.

Very truly, yours, E. H. THOMAS.

| Name of property owners. | Lot No. | Width of lot. | Damages allowed.[1] | Benefits assessed. | | Difference. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Amount. | Per square foot. | | |
| | | *Feet.* | | | | | |
| Minnix | 22 | 57 | ..... | $199.50 | $0.14 | ..... | |
| Calvert | 23 | 17 | ..... | 93.50 | .22 | ..... | |
| Wells | 24 | 17 | ..... | 93.50 | .22 | ..... | |
| Cunningham | 25 | 17 | ..... | 102.00 | .24 | ..... | |
| Taplan | 26 | 17 | ..... | 102.00 | .24 | ..... | |
| Tweedy | 27 | 17 | ..... | 110.50 | .26 | ..... | |
| Breashears | 28 | 17 | ..... | 110.50 | .26 | ..... | |
| Middleton | 29 | 18 | ..... | 117.00 | .26 | ..... | |
| Loeffler | 30 | 18 | ..... | 126.00 | .28 | ..... | |
| Armstrong | 31 | 18 | ..... | 131.38 | .29 | ..... | |
| Thomas W. Keller. | 11 | 30 | $562.50 | 750.00 | ..... | $187.50 | Number of feet of ground, 750; 32 cents. |
| Thos. W. and Alice N. Keller. | 12 | 30 | 562.50 | 855.00 | ..... | 292.50 | Number of square feet of ground, 750; 32 cents. |
| | | | | | | 480.00 | |
| Davis | 13 | 53 | 6,000.00 | ..... | ..... | ..... | Amount awarded as damages ground and improvements (one-story building)—Number square feet, 1,444.8. |

[1] Lots Nos. 22 to 31, inclusive, have building line, leaving 25 feet of parking—established in deed by John Sherman.

Assessed benefits: Lot No. 31, 18 feet, $131.38; $7.29⅓ per front foot. Lots Nos. 11 and 12, 60 feet, $1,605; $26.75 per front foot.

Lots Nos. 11 to 13, inclusive, Ann Powers subdivision, and had no building line—could build in 8 inches of pavement.

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. LEMUEL P. PADGETT,
OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, I shall avail myself of the privilege granted to Members of the House to extend their remarks on the subject of the Navy and the naval appropriation bill and insert an interview from Admiral George Dewey, printed in the New York World of August 20.

In view of the many misrepresentations and unjust criticisms which have been made of the Navy and of naval administration, I think it eminently proper to print in the RECORD this interview from Admiral Dewey.

The interview as published in the New York World is as follows:

ADMIRAL DEWEY VIGOROUSLY DEFENDS THE NAVY.

"Those who make the charge that the Navy is demoralized are guilty of falsehood and misrepresentation. Our ships are as good as any, our officers are as good as any, and I believe our boys the best gunners in the world."

[By George Creel.]

For two years and more the United States Navy has been the subject of discussion as bitter as it is confused. The disputes between pacifists and militarists, between Democrats and Republicans, have resulted in a Babel, and out of it all have come prejudices that do not care to bother with facts.

The people of the United States are entitled to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. What is slander and what is fact? Is the Navy, as it stands to-day, an asset or a liability? Is the Navy bill honest and adequate, or a dose of "eyewash"? Has Secretary Daniels "demoralized"? Is he a faithful public servant, worthy of support, or a joke?

One man only has the authority and possesses the exact knowledge to answer dispassionately these questions. That man is Admiral George Dewey. He has been in the United States Navy since 1854, serving through two wars. Since 1903 he has been head of the General Board, passing upon naval defects, naval needs, and naval plans. No administration has power to hurt him. By law he is exempted from the usual retirement provisions, and if he does decide to retire, it will be of his own volition and at full pay. No partisan quarrel has ever had power to drag him from his height.

INDIGNANT OVER SLANDEROUS CRITICISM.

Aside from these qualifications, he is loved of the American people as few men have ever been loved. In a day when there is much talk of Americanism, he stands as one who has risked his life for it, and who has devoted that life to giving richer, finer meanings to the word.

I found him in Atlantic City, in a great, wind-swept room that looked out over the sea. His hair has whitened, but otherwise he is but little changed by the years that have passed since the wonderful day he returned from Manila to hear the shouts of a Nation. The same clear, steadfast eyes, the same tremendous simplicity, the same faith in America.

Speaking slowly, but never hesitatingly, for three long hours, he considered the United States Navy, past, present, and future; world war; world peace; national ideals and national destiny. Only in his first answers, when an evident indignation gripped him, did he depart from the tone of one trying to pick his words in the interest of understanding.

"The attacks that have been made upon the Navy," he said, "are as false as many of them are shameful. It is not a junk heap. There is no demoralization. Both in matériel and personnel we are more efficient to-day than ever before. Our ships are as good as any, our officers are as good as any, and our enlisted men are the finest in the world.

"It is true that we have not enough ships or enough men. But navies are not built in a day. It was between 1906 and 1909 that Germany passed us and that we commenced to lose rank as a naval power. This is in no sense a criticism of administrations. Congress, after all, expresses public sentiment in large degree, and the reason we dropped was because the people wanted the drop. The recommendations of the General Board went unheeded because they were not backed up by public opinion. Until 1914 people were thinking in terms of world peace. It is different to-day, and it is to-day that should concern us."

He walked over to his desk and taking up a copy of the Senate Navy bill spread it out before him. For a moment, as if to measure his words, he tapped it with a big, brown forefinger, and then he said:

"This is the best bill ever passed by either House of any Congress. It takes the five-year program of the General Board and changes it into a three-year program. If passed, it will restore us to second place and enable the United States to meet on equal terms any power in the world, save one."

ANALYSIS OF NEW NAVY BILL.

I asked him then for a consideration of the bill, or, rather, some such analysis as would permit a civilian to do a little thinking for himself. Patiently he went over each item:

"Four battleships at once and six more within three years." Now that he was firmly on his own ground, his words came like bullets. "The great clash at the mouth of the Skagerrack gave a test to every theory. As a result, naval authorities are now agreed that the battleship is still the principal reliance of navies. As never before, it is proved that victory or defeat rests with the dreadnaught.

"Four battle cruisers at once and two more within three years. This will remedy one of our chief weaknesses. The Skagerrack proves conclusively, however, that the battle cruiser can not give and take with dreadnaughts.

"Scout cruisers, four, and six more to come. More eyes for the fleet. Absolutely necessary."

"Like the battle cruiser," he said "the submarine has been permitted to gain a very exaggerated value. It is, of course, a most useful auxiliary, whose importance will no doubt increase, but at present there is no evidence that it will become supreme. The bill provides for 9 fleet submarines, 3 coast submarines, 800-ton type, and 55 submarines, smaller type, provisions that are in line with the recommendations of the General Board.

"A feature of the Skagerrack engagement," he continued, "was the convincing demonstration of the usefulness of the destroyer. These tiny ships, primarily designed to serve the purpose of a screen, to be outriders for the big ships, have been regarded as incapable of attacking first-class ships in the daytime. The German destroyers descended upon the British fleet in broad daylight and the destroyers of both fleets played an important part in the fighting. We feel that the bill's provision for 50 destroyers is amply justified. So!" He turned in the chair and clapped his hands together. "It is a bill that gives us strength, and, best of all, a bill that gives us balance."

WHY WE NEED A GREAT NAVY.

"Granting all that," I said, "but what about the need of it?" As carefully and fairly as possible I presented the feeling of many people in many Western and Middle West States—a feeling that this expenditure of millions on the Navy was a departure from American traditions, a hysterical surrender to the madness that has had hold on kings. His fine head nodded appreciation of every point, but at the end he spread wide his hands in a sweeping gesture of dissent.

"I know that I am not a militarist," he said. "Those who have never seen war or who have only played at war may talk in terms of jingoism, but men who know what war is and what war does are the last in the world to approach it in any swashbuckling fashion. I hope the day will come when peace and justice rule the world, but that day is not yet here. Not all our idealism can brush away facts. If we are to dwell in peace we must be able to protect that peace." He walked to the open window and pointed to the shining stretches of the sea.

"Look at our coast line! From Maine to the canal; from the canal to Alaska! Russia has had to maintain two distinct fleets, one in the Baltic, one in the Black Sea. Our problem is much the same. We can not be said to have met our defensive needs until we are able to maintain a fleet in the Pacific Ocean as well as in the Atlantic. Our geography, the immensity of our coast line, join to make the Senate Navy bill a minimum requirement. No! No!" he exclaimed. "We must accept conditions as we find them, although we are not to give up hope of changing the conditions.

"Given this increase," he declared, "given the ships and men that this bill provides, and the United States, as never before, will be a peace power, able at all times to protect and to advance its standards. Every cent appropriated by this bill is payment on an insurance policy."

"How about men?"

"We now have 55,000, and the bill authorizes 74,500."

"Can you get them?"

"I don't think there is a doubt of it. The Navy to-day offers as fine a chance for the American youth to fit himself for life as any other department of endeavor."

IN DEFENSE OF SECRETARY DANIELS.

"Tell me, Admiral Dewey," and I braced myself for the momentous question: "Has Secretary Daniels demoralized the Navy?"

"Bosh!" The exclamation was one of disgust and indignation. "Facts and figures tell their own story. The Navy was 5,000 short of the number of enlisted men allowed by law; over 6,000 have been added, although more rigid examinations have forced the rejection of five out of every six. Only 52 per cent of honorably discharged seamen were reenlisting. For more than a year about 90 per cent have reenlisted. Desertions have been cut in half and discipline has been improved to an extent that has permitted the restoration of a prison ship and a disciplinary barracks to normal uses. No, sir; the Navy is not demoralized, and those who make the charge are guilty of falsehood and misrepresentation."

"Did Secretary Daniels ever issue an order for officers and men to mess together, only withdrawing the order when informed that it might bring whites and blacks to the same table?"

"Slanderous! No such order was ever heard of."

It had been my purpose to take up with Admiral Dewey every one of the small things alleged against Secretary Daniels—every one of the petty charges that press and magazines have used to prejudice people against the Navy head. It proved impossible. It would have been like talking gutter gossip with St. Paul.

"How about officers?" I asked.

"Officers, like navies, are not made in a day." I could see his relief at getting away from mud. "When the present administration took charge it found that the law providing for the appointment of two midshipmen at Annapolis by each Member of Congress had been permitted to lapse. This law was extended, and the present Congress, upon the recommendation of the Secretary, has provided for three midshipmen to each Congressman. This makes 531 additional appointments immediately available. There is also the law that opens the Naval Academy to 15 enlisted men each year, provided, of course, they measure up to the mental, moral, and physical standards."

"Is that a good idea?"

PROMOTION OPEN TO ENLISTED MEN.

"It is more than a good idea." For a second I saw Admiral Dewey as he must have looked on the bridge in Manila Bay. "It is democracy. Eighteen years ago, when this matter first came up, I took a stand that has never changed. I said then that the Navy could not afford to be the one department of American activity in which a boy could not rise from the bottom to the top. I say it now. This is the United States, not an Old World monarchy.

"The same thing goes for the ship schools," he continued emphatically. "Education is our solid rock. Not only do the schools make better citizens, but they make better sailors. We want our youngsters trained in intelligence as well as in hands, so that if officers go the ship can still be fought. No, sir!" he exclaimed. "Opening the door of promotion to the enlisted man—giving him an elementary, technical, or industrial education, as may be deemed fittest—are American policies."

"What about the famous drinking order?"

"A good thing." His answer was instant. "There was some feeling about it at first, because the papers made fun of it, and there was also an attempt to make it appear that Secretary Daniels was charging officers with intemperance. I think that the feeling has disappeared completely. Every railroad, every great corporation, has long had an ironclad rule forbidding men to drink while on duty. Isn't a ship as important as a locomotive? Practically every European power has copied the order, by the way."

"And marksmanship? Is it true that our gunners can't hit the side of a barn?"

Before answering he pawed over some papers on his desk and pulled out a report of some kind.

PROFESSIONAL CONTROL MADNESS.

"Here are some facts," he smiled. "From 1909 on we did go down, owing to the discontinuance of elementary practice. But we've pulled up. Admiral Fletcher, reporting on the 1915 target practice, says this: 'It is believed that the scores recorded are higher than ever before in the open sea.' The recent practices were held at ranges of 16,000, 17,000, and 18,000 yards, which are even longer than the longest ranges at which firing has occurred in the European war. About 10 out of 20 shots would have hit an enemy ship at 18,000 yards. Do you know," he said, almost confidentially, "I believe our boys are the best gunners in the world?"

"Tell me, Admiral Dewey," I ventured another leading question, "what is all this clamor about the Navy needing a general staff?"

He laughed.

"I don't know," he said. "I've tried to pin them down, but not one has even been able to make clear just what it was that he wanted. Down in their hearts, I suppose, they want a small, select body to have entire charge of the Navy. Well, they'll never get it, and they shouldn't get it."

"You believe, then, that the Secretary of the Navy should be a civilian?"

"Absolutely. He represents the people, and the closer he is to the people the better. Same thing with the powers of Congress. I can conceive of no greater madness than to put the Navy in the power of a naval group or the Army in the hands of soldiers alone. As a matter of course, we would look at things only from our own professional point of view. The whole democratic balance would be destroyed."

"Here!" his eye caught a clipping tucked away under some papers on the desk. "This thing was in the back of my head all the time we were talking about the alleged demoralization of the Navy. Put that in."

What he handed me was an article by Hector Bywater, the famous English naval expert, written for a British journal after a careful study of the American Navy. I glanced it over and saw this paragraph marked:

"It need hardly be said that the political head of the United States Navy possesses infinitely more power than the civilian First Lord in Great Britain. And there is every indication that Mr. Daniels has been using his power to the utmost. His friends say he has accomplished wonders; his enemies, who are very many, declare that his personal fads and prejudices have undermined the morale of the naval personnel and made the service a laughingstock. But this charge is not borne out by the evidence. Those best qualified to speak assert that the last four years have witnessed a remarkable all-around improvement in the quality of the personnel. Thanks to the Secretary's drastic order shortly after he came into office, intemperance has disappeared from the Navy, and although the drink prohibition excited ridicule and bitter opposition at the start, the majority of naval officers now agree that it has had a most beneficial effect on efficiency and discipline."

"Do you stand for that?" I asked, looking up after reading the paragraph aloud.

"I would be dishonest if I didn't," he answered gravely. "As I told you, I have been in the Navy since 1854. Against the slanders that have been heaped upon the service that I love, I want to say again that never in my knowledge has the matériel and personnel been so efficient. The last few years have been very wonderful years for the United States Navy.

"This is more than I have talked for years," he said at last, rising to his feet and holding out his hand. "But I want the people of the United States to know that it is all right with the Navy. There is no demoralization, no lack of discipline, no absence of enthusiasm. The Navy has never failed America. It will not fail."

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## Public Building for Greenville, Pa.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. FRANK CLARK,

OF FLORIDA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. CLARK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks relative to the erection of a public building in the city of Greenville, Pa., I insert the following observations of Hon. S. H. MILLER, a Representative from Pennsylvania:

"Mr. MILLER of Pennsylvania. The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds have recommended an appropriation of $75,000 for the purchase of land and erection of a public building at Greenville, Pa., to be used for a post office and other necessary purposes.

"The population of Greenville as ascertained in the census of 1910 was 5,909, since then the population has been increasing rapidly and it is estimated that the population now is fully 7,000, while that of the adjacent territory served by the rural carriers is 3,500, making a total population of 10,500.

"The receipts of the post office have increased 50 per cent in five years. The receipts for the past year were $33,750.

"The following is a statement of the business of the office for the past year:

| | |
|---|---|
| Pieces of incoming mail handled | 3,208,904 |
| Pieces of outgoing mail handled | 3,065,000 |
| Money orders issued | 16,765 |
| Value of same | $124,188 |
| Money orders paid | 43,420 |
| Value of same | $84,459 |
| Number of city carriers | 7 |
| Number of rural carriers | 6 |
| Number of clerks | 7 |
| Other employees | 2 |
| Total | 22 |

"INDUSTRIES.

"The following is a list of the industries of the city with the annual pay roll and number of men employed:

| Industries. | Annual pay roll. | Number of men. |
|---|---|---|
| Bessemer & Lake Erie R. R | $1,650,000 | 1,570 |
| G. Steel Car Co | 400,000 | 500 |
| Chicago Bridge & Iron Works | 150,000 | 150 |
| Carnegie Steel | 500,000 | 500 |
| Hodge Manufacturing Co | 60,000 | 70 |
| Small industries | 240,000 | 250 |
| Total | 3,000,000 | 3,040 |

"There are three railroads passing through the city—the Bessemer & Lake Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Erie. The

main shops and offices of the Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad are located in the city and the increase and development of its lines has its reflection on its prosperity.

"Its public schools are rated among the highest in the State. The enrollment is 1,553. There is also a parochial school; number of enrollment, 300. St. Paul's Orphanage adjoins the city, occupying a 300-acre farm, a portion of which is used by the State of Pennsylvania for experimental-farm purposes. The valuation of the church buildings in the city is over $300,000. The city is growing rapidly and its future prospects are very promising. The United States Steel Corporation has recently purchased 250 acres of land adjoining the city. A part of this land is to be laid out in lots to enable its employees to build modern homes. The Carnegie Steel Co. has also purchased land adjoining their plant to enable the corporation to increase the capacity of its mills.

"The water plant is valued at $300,000, has a pressure of 60 pounds down town, has a daily capacity of 1,000,000 gallons, and is building a standpipe that will give the town a pressure of 50 pounds at any point in the city.

"The city has provided parks and playground places for the people. Riverside Park, bounded by the river and a boulevard, will extend, when completed, a distance of 2 miles. In addition to this there are three other smaller parks which materially beautify the city. Then, too, Greenville is surrounded by an agricultural population of great development and value. All things considered, it is one of the most prosperous and beautiful cities in western Pennsylvania."

## Hog-Cholera Virus, Serum, and Toxins.

Hogs, the great mortgage lifter to the farmers of Iowa and the Union. Hogs in the United States, 1916, 68,047,000, valued at $571,890,000 annually; Iowa, 8,750,000, 4,500,000 more than any State in the Union, and valued at $73,500,000 annually.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. THOMAS J. STEELE,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. STEELE of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, it is to be regretted that with Congress drawing to a close many worthy bills now upon the calendars, which have been reported by its several committees for passage during this session, will be carried over to the next session for want of time to pass them. I am fully aware that legislation for preparedness has consumed a great portion of the time of this Congress, but it does seem to me that a large portion of the time consumed in political speech making could have been used to better advantage to the taxpayers of this country in passing some of these important bills that really are in the interest of the producers and farmers of this country. The bill to which I particularly desire to call attention, H. R. 15914, entitled "An act to control viruses, serums, and toxins," is one which I introduced, and is now No. 39 on the Speaker's list of bills to come up under suspension of the rules. This bill has the sanction and support of the Animal Industry Bureau of the Agricultural Department and the unanimous support of the Agricultural Committee of the House. After being authorized by the Agricultural Committee I reported this bill on May 23, 1916, and it was given No. 260 on the Union Calendar. Knowing that it could not be reached on this calendar during this session, I had it placed on the Unanimous Consent Calendar. The bill was reached on two different unanimous-consent days, but while Mr. MANN, of Illinois, the minority leader, did not object to its passage, he insisted that it should be passed over without prejudice as it was too important to pass by unanimous consent. I then had the Speaker place it on his list of bills to come up under suspension of the rules, and, as stated before, it now occupies No. 39 on that list.

This bill was introduced to give the animal industry bureaus more specific authority to issue licenses and restrictions to manufacturers of hog-cholera serum and to control the testing of the animals under one uniform method, thereby giving the consumers of hog-cholera serums a real, potent serum. It has been fully demonstrated by Government tests and honest manufacturers of serum that the hog crop each year can be immunized and saved to the farmers of this country by vaccination of the hogs with potent serum. Unscrupulous, dishonest manufacturers of these serums have distributed their impotent serums over the country, causing a spread of the disease and resulting in untold damage and loss to the farmer, and, as a result, the farmers have become skeptical even of the Government's formula and have permitted their hogs to die rather than expend money for the serums fearing their worthlessness; or, finding that their hogs are sick, rush them to the market half grown, thereby destroying to the consuming public the advantages of the increased production of pork.

The hog has always been classed as the mortgage lifter to the farmer of the Middle West, where farming is worth while. To give to Congress some idea of the importance of this pressing legislation I will call to its attention the number of hogs and their value upon the farms of the United States January 1, 1916, as given by the United States Department of Agriculture, amounting to the enormous number of 68,047,000 hogs, and valued at $571,890,000. The Iowa farmer is particularly interested in the protection and health of this great industry and of its real producing wealth. Iowa raised in the year of 1915, 8,750,000 hogs, valued at $73,500,000, which was four and one-half millions more than raised by any other State in the Union. Because of these important reasons, I think that Congress should pass this bill without delay.

My observation of legislation in the short time I have been here is that when the big appropriation bills are before Congress the session is well attended by Members, with gaping mouths, wide open, waiting to share in the benefits of the bills; but when the farmer of the Middle West requests a simple bill passed for his protection and benefit, not asking a dollar out of the Treasury, the "pork-barrel" Congressman has left the city or is consuming the time of Congress in injecting political gas into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This bill, of which the following is a copy, together with committee report thereon, ought to pass before adjournment and without opposition:

[H. Rept. No. 814, 64th Cong., 1st sess.]

THE VIRUS, SERUM, AND TOXIN ACT.

Mr. STEELE of Iowa, from the Committee on Agriculture, submitted the following report, to accompany H. R. 15914:

The Committee on Agriculture, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 15914) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to license establishments for and to regulate the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report it back favorably and recommend that the bill do pass with an amendment.

Amendment: Insert on page 7, in line 17, between the word "product" and the word "and," the words "its date of manufacture."

The present law regulating the manufacture and sale of virus, serum, toxin, and analogous products used in the treatment of domestic animals was passed in 1913 as an amendment to the Agricultural appropriation bill. The principal purpose of the law is to insure, through Government supervision, the manufacture and sale of pure virus and serum used in the treatment of hog cholera. At that time there were in the United States only a few establishments manufacturing these products. Since then, however, the number of these establishments has materially increased, there being at present about 90 regularly licensed manufacturers whose products go into interstate commerce. In addition to these, many States have establishments of their own, and there are a few institutions which do only intrastate business. Some idea of the increase in the manufacture of hog-cholera serum can be had when it is shown that in 1915 there were licensed establishments in 39 States, and their combined output amounted to 208,271,000 cubic centimeters.

The work of the Department of Agriculture during the past three years has fully demonstrated the practicability of controlling the disease of hog cholera by the use of hog-cholera serum, and this has increased enormously the demand for this product. It is believed that the use of this serum will continue to increase at a very rapid rate. It is of the greatest importance to the live-stock industry that all virus, serum, or toxin intended for the treatment of the diseases of domestic animals shall be absolutely pure and free from the germs of any disease. There is no doubt that the second outbreak of the foot-and-mouth disease which occurred last year was caused by infected hog-cholera serum. Particular attention is here called to the fact that recent experiments in the Bureau of Animal Industry, in the Department of Agriculture, have developed a method of treating hog-cholera serum which will free it of any possible infection of foot-and-mouth disease. The following letter from Dr. Melvin is of interest in this connection:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY,
*Washington, D. C., April 14, 1916.*

Hon. T. L. RUBEY
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. RUBEY: Referring to your telephonic request for information concerning our recent experiments conducted for the purpose of obtaining an improved serum for hog-cholera immunization, I beg to advise you that our latest experiments indicate that the treatment to which this serum is subjected will free it from possible contamination with foot-and-mouth disease virus, but does not interfere with its power to protect hogs against hog cholera. Doses of this serum as small as 3 c. c. per hog have been found effective in giving immunity to hogs inoculated with 2 c. c. of hog-cholera virus.

* * * * * * *

Very truly, yours,

A. D. MELVIN, *Chief of Bureau.*

As has been stated, the act of 1913 was enacted as a part of the Agricultural appropriation bill. Necessarily it was very brief in its provisions, and much was left to the rules and regulations to be promulgated by the Secretary of Agriculture. That it has worked fairly well is admitted by all, but the enormous increase of the use of this serum, together with the dangers which attend such use, if it be impure or contaminated, makes absolutely necessary the legislation proposed in this bill.

For information and in order that a comparison may be made between the present law and the proposed law, both are here inserted and made a part of this report:

"PRESENT LAW, ACT OF 1913.

"That from and after July 1, 1913, it shall be unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation to prepare, sell, barter, or exchange in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories, or in any place under the jurisdiction of the United States, or to ship or deliver for shipment from one State or Territory, or the District of Columbia, to any other State or Territory, or the District of Columbia, any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product intended for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and no person, firm, or corporation shall prepare, sell, barter, exchange, or ship as aforesaid any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product manufactured within the United States and intended for use in the treatment of domestic animals, unless and until the said virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product shall have been prepared, under and in compliance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture, at an establishment holding an unsuspended and unrevoked license issued by the Secretary of Agriculture, as hereinafter authorized. That the importation into the United States, without a permit from the Secretary of Agriculture, of any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and the importation of any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals, are hereby prohibited. The Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized to cause the Bureau of Animal Industry to examine and inspect all viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products, for use in the treatment of domestic animals, which are being imported or offered for importation into the United States, to determine whether such viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products are worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful, and if it shall appear that any such virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product, for use in the treatment of domestic animals, is worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful, the same shall be denied entry and shall be destroyed or returned at the expense of the owner or importer. That the Secretary of Agriculture be, and hereby is, authorized to make and promulgate from time to time such rules and regulations as may be necessary to prevent the preparation, sale, barter, exchange, or shipment as aforesaid of any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and to issue, suspend, and revoke licenses for the maintenance of establishments for the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products, for use in the treatment of domestic animals, which are not worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful. All licenses issued under authority of this act to establishments where such viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products are prepared for sale, barter, exchange, or shipment as aforesaid, shall be issued on condition that the licensee shall permit the inspection of such establishments, and of such products and their preparation; and the Secretary of Agriculture may suspend or revoke any permit or license issued under authority of this act, after opportunity for hearing has been granted the licensee or importer, when the Secretary of Agriculture is satisfied that such license or permit is being used to facilitate or effect the preparation, sale, barter, exchange, or shipment as aforesaid, or the importation into the United States of any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals. That any officer, agent, or employee of the Department of Agriculture duly authorized by the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose may, at any hour during the daytime or nighttime, enter and inspect any establishment licensed under this act where any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals is prepared for sale, barter, exchange, or shipment as aforesaid. That any person, firm, or corporation who shall violate any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not exceeding $1,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court. That there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended as the Secretary of Agriculture may direct, for the purposes and objects of this act, the sum of $25,000, which appropriation becomes available on July 1, 1913, and may be expended at any time before July 1, 1914.

PROPOSED LAW.

[Union Calendar No. 260, 64th Cong., 1st sess., Rept. No. 814.]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*May 23, 1916.*

Mr. STEELE of Iowa introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and ordered to be printed.

Reported June 9, 1916, with an amendment, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

A bill (H. R. 15914) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to license establishments for and to regulate the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and for other purposes.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to issue licenses for the maintenance in the District of Columbia, the Territories, or any place under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States of establishments for the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals and for the maintenance in any State of establishments for the preparation of such viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products for shipment from such State to or through any other State, or to or through any Territory or the District of Columbia, or to or through any foreign country.

"SEC. 2. That it is hereby made unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation to prepare, sell, barter, or exchange in the District of Columbia or in the Territories, or in any place under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, or to ship or deliver for shipment from one State or Territory or the District of Columbia to or through any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia, or to or through any foreign country, any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals. No person, firm, or corporation shall prepare, sell, barter, exchange, or ship or deliver for shipment as aforesaid any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product manufactured within the United States for use in the treatment of domestic animals unless and until said virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product shall have been prepared under and in compliance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture at an establishment holding an unsuspended and unrevoked license, issued by the Secretary of Agriculture, as hereinafter authorized.

"SEC. 3. That the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized to cause to be inspected and tested, under regulations prescribed by him, all such viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, prepared or intended for sale, barter, exchange, or shipment as aforesaid by any establishment licensed under this act. If, as a result of such examination, inspection, or test, it shall appear that such virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product is worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful, the same shall be destroyed by the owner or manufacturer thereof, or by any other person, firm, or corporation in possession of the same, in accordance with the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture. It is hereby made unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation to sell, barter, exchange, or ship or deliver for shipment as aforesaid, or otherwise than in compliance with the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture, to remove from any establishment licensed under this act any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals which has not been examined, inspected, tested, and passed in compliance with the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"SEC. 4. That no license shall be issued under the authority of this act to any establishment where viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products are prepared for sale, barter, exchange, or shipment as aforesaid, except upon the conditions that the licensee will conduct the establishment and will permit the inspection of such establishment and of such products and their preparation, and the examination and testing of the same, and will furnish all necessary animals, materials, and facilities for making such inspections, examinations, and tests, in compliance with the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"SEC. 5. That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to issue permits for the importation into the United States of viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products, for use in the treatment of domestic animals, which are not worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful. The importation into the United States without a permit from the Secretary of Agriculture of any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and the importation of any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product, for use in the treatment of domestic animals, are hereby prohibited. The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to cause to be examined, inspected, and tested any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product, for use in the treatment of domestic animals, which is being imported, or offered for importation, into the United States to determine whether the same is worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful, and if it shall appear that any such virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product is worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful, the same shall be denied entry and shall be destroyed or returned by the owner or importer, at his own expense, in compliance with the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"SEC. 6. That no carrier, or other person, firm, or corporation, shall transport or receive for transportation from one State or Territory or the District of Columbia to or through any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia, or to or through any foreign country, any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals, unless and until the shipper or his agent shall make and deliver to such carrier, or other person, firm, or corporation, a written certificate, in form prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture, signed by the shipper thereof or the agent of such shipper, stating that the same has been prepared under and in compliance with the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture at an establishment holding an unsuspended and unrevoked license issued by the Secretary of Agriculture under this act, or has been imported into the United States by an importer holding an unsuspended and unrevoked permit issued by the Secretary of Agriculture under this act, and stating the kind and amount of the product transported or offered for transportation, the license number of the establishment which prepared the same or the permit number of the importer who imported the same, that it is not at the time of shipment or delivery for shipment worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful, and such other facts as the Secretary of Agriculture may require by regulations made pursuant to this act.

"SEC. 7. That the Secretary of Agriculture may suspend or revoke any license or permit issued under the authority of this act, after opportunity for hearing has been afforded to the licensee or permittee, when the Secretary of Agriculture is satisfied that the license or permit is being or has been used to facilitate or effect the preparation, sale, barter, exchange, or shipment as aforesaid, or the importation of any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals, or that the licensee or permittee has violated any provision of this act or of the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture. The Secretary of Agriculture is also authorized to refuse to issue a new license or permit to any person, firm, or corporation whose license or permit has been theretofore revoked, if the cause for such revocation was, in his judgment, a willful violation of this act or of the regulations prescribed hereunder, on the part of the licensee or permittee; also to refuse to issue a license or permit to any applicant composed in whole or in part of, or with which there is connected any person, who, in the judgment of the Secretary of Agriculture, has been guilty of willful misconduct in the preparation or sale of any such products or a willful violation of this act or of the regulations prescribed hereunder. Pending investigation, a license or permit may be suspended temporarily by the Secretary of Agriculture, without affording the permittee or licensee an opportunity for a hearing.

"SEC. 8. That any officer, agent, or employee of the Department of Agriculture duly authorized by the Secretary of Agriculture for the purpose may, at any time during the daytime or nighttime, enter and inspect any establishment licensed by the Secretary of Agriculture under this act.

"SEC. 9. That containers of viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals which are sold, bartered, exchanged, shipped, or delivered for shipment as aforesaid shall bear the name of the product, its date of manufacture, and such devices, marks, or labels for the identification and indication of potency of the same as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture, in form and manner as required by the regulations made pursuant to this act, and shall not bear, contain, or be accompanied by any statement, design, or representation which is false or misleading in any particular.

"SEC. 10. That it shall be unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation, or officer, agent or employee thereof, to forge, counterfeit, simulate, or falsely represent, or otherwise than in compliance with the provisions of this act and the regulations prescribed hereunder, to use, fail to use, detach, or knowingly or wrongfully to alter, deface, or

destroy, or fail to deface or destroy, any certificate, stamp, label, seal, or other identification device or mark provided for in this act, or in and as directed by the regulations prescribed hereunder by the Secretary of Agriculture, or any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals or the containers thereof, subject to the provisions of this act.

"SEC. 11. That specimens or samples of viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals which are intended solely for scientific use, experiment, or investigation and not for sale, barter, exchange, distribution, or the usual and ordinary treatment of domestic animals, may be exempted from the operation of the provisions of this act by order of the Secretary of Agriculture on conditions and terms prescribed by regulations made by him.

"SEC. 12. That any person, firm, or corporation who shall violate any of the provisions of this act, or of the regulations prescribed hereunder, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both.

"SEC. 13. That any person, firm, or corporation or any agent or employee thereof, who shall pay or offer, directly or indirectly, to any officer or employee of the Department of Agriculture, or of the United States, authorized to perform any of the duties prescribed by this act, or by the regulations made hereunder, any money or thing of value, with intent to influence such officer or employee in the discharge of any duty herein provided for, or which may be provided for by the regulations prescribed hereunder, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or by both; and any officer or employee of the Department of Agriculture, or of the United States, authorized to perform any of the duties prescribed by this act or the regulations made hereunder, who shall accept any money, gift, or thing of value from any person, firm, or corporation, or any officer, employee, or agent thereof, given with the intent to influence his official action, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be summarily discharged from his office or employment and shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000, or by imprisonment for not more than two years, or by both.

"SEC. 14. That the Secretary of Agriculture shall make and promulgate, from time to time, such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, including regulations to prevent the preparation, sale, barter, exchange, shipment, transportation, importation, or exportation, in violation of this act, of any worthless contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals, and regulations prescribing the records to be kept and reports to be made by establishments licensed under this act and by importers holding permits issued under this act. All such regulations shall have the force of law.

"SEC. 15. That so much of this act as authorizes the making of regulations by the Secretary of Agriculture shall be effective immediately; all other parts of this act shall become and be effective on and after January 1, 1917.

"SEC. 16. That so much of an act entitled 'An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914,' approved March 4, 1913 (37 Stat. L., pp. 832, 833), as relates to the preparation, sale, barter, exchange, shipment, or importation of viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals is hereby repealed, effective on and after the 1st day of January, 1917.

"SEC. 17. That all moneys appropriated for carrying out the provisions of so much of said act approved March 4, 1913, as relates to the preparation, sale, barter, exchange, shipment, or importation of viruses, serums, toxins, or analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, which shall remain unexpended on the 1st day of January, 1917, are hereby made available for carrying out the provisions of this act.

"SEC. 18. That if any clause, sentence, paragraph, or part of this act shall, for any reason, be adjudged by any court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this act, but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph, or part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered."

Special attention is called to the following letter from Hon. David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture, in which the purposes of the proposed bill are set forth and reasons are given for its enactment at this time:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
*Washington, June 7, 1916.*

Hon. T. J. STEELE,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR MR. STEELE: Reference is made to the conference on June 7, 1916, between yourself and Hon. THOMAS L. RUBEY and officers of this department relative to the bill introduced by you May 23, 1916 (H. R. 15914), dealing with the licensing of establishments for and the regulation of the preparation of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals. Pursuant to your request, the department is glad to furnish you a statement of its views on the subject.

The purpose of the proposed legislation is to control, so far as Federal jurisdiction will permit, the preparation of, traffic in, and importations of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, so as to close the channels of commerce to, and, so far as possible, prevent the use of, such viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products, when worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful.

In order to accomplish this end, with respect to domestic articles, the bill provides, among other things, that it shall be unlawful to sell or ship in interstate commerce, or to prepare or sell in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, or any place under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, any worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful virus, serum, toxin, or analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals, or any such products which have not been prepared in an establishment licensed by the Secretary of Agriculture. The licensee is required to conduct his establishment, to permit its inspection and the examination and testing of its products, and to furnish all necessary facilities and materials for making such examinations and tests, in compliance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture. These requirements are especially designed to enable the Department of Agriculture effectively to control the preparation of the products, and to conduct the tests of the same within the establishments themselves.

The bill also limits importations of viruses, serums, toxins, and analogous products for use in the treatment of domestic animals to persons holding permits from the Secretary of Agriculture, provides for examinations, inspection, and test of all such articles when being imported or offered for importation, and requires exclusion of those ascertained to be worthless, contaminated, dangerous, or harmful.

It is further prescribed in substance that carriers shall not receive for transportation or transport in interstate commerce any virus, serum, toxin, or analogous product for use in the treatment of domestic animals unless accompanied by a certificate signed by the shipper or his agent showing certain facts which will identify the product and convey assurance that it has been properly prepared in this country or imported in accordance with the law.

Formerly the department was of opinion that much more elaborate and drastic restrictions than those contained in the present bill were essential in order to meet the needs of the situation. Now it is convinced that the bill is adequate and that it may be expected to afford sufficient safeguards against the evils at which it is aimed.

In the annual report of the Secretary of Agriculture for 1915, pages 22 to 26, the establishment and maintenance by the Government of test stations for testing hog-cholera serums was suggested. One of the prime objects of having the test stations was to prevent contaminated serums and viruses from being sold by plants doing business under the supervision of the department. It was also intended, through the instrumentality of the stations, to control the potency of the serum.

Since the issuance of that report certain researches, which for some time before had been under way in the Bureau of Animal Industry, have been completed. As a result there has been developed a method of treating hog-cholera serum which, it is believed, will insure its freedom from such infections as foot-and-mouth disease. In consequence, the testing of the serum at Government test stations for infections of foot-and-mouth disease, apparently, will be rendered unnecessary by putting into effect this new method.

In contemplation of the authorization of Government test stations as recommended in the report, the department made careful estimates of the cost of establishing and maintaining a sufficient number of them adequately to carry out the purposes intended to be effected. It was found that the expense would be very large. The initial appropriation needed, it was estimated, would be several hundred thousand dollars, which would have to be supplemented by a considerable annual appropriation.

In view of these circumstances, it is questionable whether the establishment of test stations at this time is advisable. Practically all that would be accomplished by having them, since the new method of treatment has been perfected, would be to insure the potency of the serums against hog cholera. The Bureau of Animal Industry is convinced that the potency of serums and viruses can be sufficiently, and almost equally well, assured by carrying out tests at the establishments of the producing companies themselves if the preparation of the articles by the companies be under strict Government control.

It is believed that the present bill, if enacted, would accomplish what the department believes to be the best and most practicable results so far as concerns both domestic production and importations. It invests the Secretary of Agriculture with sufficient authority to enable him to control the preparation of the output of licensed establishments and to require each establishment to furnish a separate building and necessary space, facilities, and supplies to enable the department to conduct and absolutely to control tests made in the establishments. By following this plan for testing serums for potency and by causing the same to be treated by the new method for the purpose of eliminating foot-and-mouth disease, it is thought that the object which the suggested establishment of Government test stations was intended to effect can be satisfactorily attained with much less expense to the Government. For the foregoing reasons the department withdraws its recommendations for the establishment of a Government test station and favors the plan offered in the bill in its present form. Obviously, it is legally impossible, as well as impracticable, to supervise the manufacture in foreign countries of such articles as are here dealt with. Importations of them are small in quantity. The authority granted to inspect such as are offered at our ports of entry and to exclude those found to be deficient seems to be ample.

Should you desire further report from this department relative to this bill, it will be gladly furnished upon request.

Very truly, yours,

D. F. HOUSTON, *Secretary.*

This Congress has enacted a rural-credits law by which I hope the farmers will be greatly benefited; but its real benefit will come years hence, not now. My bill would be of immediate benefit to the farmers, but of course there would not be much political noise in its passage, and for this reason, perhaps, it will not be reached this session. I have assurances from the Speaker, however, that if it should be crowded out this session it will be taken up and passed at the next session, and it is my intention to work for its early enactment into law, in order that the farmers may profit as soon as possible by the protection which it will afford them and the relief it will bring them.

## How to Secure Farm Loans—Explanation of Rural-Credits Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
OF WASHINGTON.
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, already I am beginning to receive requests from those who desire to make Federal farm loans under the provisions of the recently enacted rural-credits bill, in the preparation and passage of which I

had some part. Further, in the preliminary work which led to the enactment of this measure the State of Washington took a very active part, going so far as to send three commissioners abroad, State Senators Metcalf and Black and Mrs. H. W. Patton, for the purpose of studying rural-credit cooperation and agricultural organization in Europe. Their report is among the most valuable printed contributions to this great subject.

Inasmuch as the Federal Farm Loan Board has but recently been appointed and is not yet organized, I desire to present through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a brief digest and statement concerning the rural-credits act, as follows:

NEW RURAL-CREDITS LAW—EXPLANATION OF NEW MEASURES WHICH EVERY FARMER WANTS TO UNDERSTAND.

The primary purpose of this act is to promote agricultural prosperity by enabling farmers to borrow money on farm-mortgage security at a reasonable rate of interest and for relatively long periods of time. To attain this object two farm-mortgage systems are provided:

(1) *A system operating through regional land banks.*

(2) *A system operating through joint-stock land banks.*

To attract money to the farm-loan field the act provides a method whereby those who have money to lend can find safe investments in the form of debentures or bonds of small and large denominations, issued by the banks and based on the security of mortgages on farm lands.

These two systems are to be under the general supervision of a Federal Farm Loan Board in the Treasury Department, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, as chairman ex officio, and four members appointed by the President. This board has authority to appoint appraisers, examiners, and registrars, who will be public officials.

FEDERAL LAND-BANK SYSTEM.

Under the Federal land-bank system the act provides for Federal land banks which make loans for the first 12 months exclusively through local national farm-loan associations composed of borrowers. These associations shall be shareholders in the banks, and in that way the members, who are the borrowers, will share in the profits of the bank. The money for the loans is to come partly from the capital of the banks and partly from the sale by the banks of bonds secured by first mortgages on farm lands.

The United States shall be divided into 12 farm-loan districts, and a Federal land bank, with a subscribed capital stock of not less than $750,000, each share $5, shall be established in each district. Each Federal land bank may establish branches in its district.

Within 30 days after the capital stock is offered for sale it may be purchased at par by anyone. Thereafter the stock remaining unsold shall be bought by the Secretary of the Treasury for the United States. It is provided, however, that the Government shall not receive any dividends on its stock. Ultimately it is intended that all the stock in the banks shall be owned by the associations of borrowers, and provision therefor is made in the law for transferring the original stock at par to these associations

WHAT "NATIONAL FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATIONS" ARE.

The act provides for the creation of local "national farm-loan associations" through which it is contemplated that the Federal land banks shall make their loans. Ten or more persons who own and cultivate farm land qualified as security for mortgage loan under the act, or who are about to own and cultivate such land, may form such an association, provided the aggregate of the loans desired by the membership is not less than $20,000. Each member must take $5 stock in his association for each $100 he wishes to borrow, selling this stock when he pays his debt. The association in turn, when applying for money from the bank, must subscribe for stock in the bank to an amount equivalent to 5 per cent of the sum it wants to obtain for its members. If a prospective borrower has no money with which to pay for his association stock, he may borrow the price of that stock as part of the loan on his farm land.

In the event that a local loan association is not formed in any locality within a year, the Federal Farm Land Board may authorize a Federal land bank to make loans on farm land through approved agents.

HOW LANDOWNER MAY GET A LOAN.

A member of a "national farm-loan association," before obtaining a loan, must first fill out an application blank supplied to the loan association by the Federal Farm Loan Board. This application blank and other necessary papers will then be referred to a loan committee of the association which must appraise the property offered as security. Such application as is approved by the loan committee is then forwarded to the Federal land bank and must be investigated and reported on by a salaried appraiser of this Government bank before the loan is granted. This appraiser is required to investigate the solvency and character of the prospective borrower as well as the value of his land. When a loan is granted the amount is forwarded to the borrower through the loan association.

SHOULD HELP WASHINGTON'S LOGGED-OFF LAND AREAS.

Mr. Speaker, as the Farm Loan Board proceeds with its organization, and as the time approaches for the making of loans, I beg to say that I shall be pleased to assist all of those in my State who desire to borrow money under either one of the two plans in the bill. I am in great hopes that under the Federal loan system many tracts of rich logged-off land now lying useless in the State of Washington may be brought under the plow. I feel sure that the leading citizens of that great State will cooperate to the fullest extent to bring about this result. I hope that those interested will not hesitate to write to me for details further than outlined in this brief statement:

RULES FOR MAKING LOANS.

The act specifically defines the purpose for which loans may be obtained. These are—

(a) To provide for the purchase of land for agricultural use.

(b) To provide for the purchase of equipment, fertilizers, and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the mortgaged farm; the term "equipment" to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

(c) To provide buildings and for the improvement of farm lands: the term "improvement" to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

(d) To liquidate indebtedness of the owner of the land mortgaged existing at the time of the organization of the first national farm-loan association established in or for the county in which the land mortgaged is situated, or indebtedness subsequently incurred for one of the purposes mentioned in this section.

FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL FACTS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND.

1. Loans may be made on first mortgages on farm land.

2. Only those who own and cultivate farm land, or are about to own and cultivate such land, are entitled to borrow.

3. No one can borrow save for the purposes stated in the act, and those who after borrowing do not use the money for the purposes specified in the mortgage are liable to have their loans reduced or recalled. The secretary-treasurer of each association is required to report any diversion of borrowed money from the purposes stated in the mortgages.

4. No individual can borrow more than $10,000 nor less than $100.

5. No loan may be made for more than 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the permanent insured improvements upon it.

6. The loan must run for not less than 5 and not more than 40 years.

7. Every mortgage must provide for the repayment of the loan under an "amortization" plan by means of a fixed number of annual or semiannual installments sufficient to meet all interest and pay off the debt by the end of the term of the loan. The installments required will be those published in amortization tables, to be prepared by the Farm Loan Board.

INTEREST RATES CAN NOT BE OVER 6 PER CENT AND MAY BE LESS.

No Federal land bank is permitted to charge more than 6 per cent per annum on its farm mortgage loans and in no case shall the interest charged on farm mortgages exceed by more than 1 per cent the rate paid on the last issue of bonds.

For example, if the bank pays only 4 per cent on an issue of bonds, it can not charge more than 5 per cent for the next farm loans it makes.

## Flood Sufferers in West Virginia.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. EDWARD COOPER,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. COOPER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, after seeing the action of the House of Representatives here to-day in adopting the resolution introduced by my colleague, Mr. LITTLEPAGE, by a unanimous vote for the relief of the West Virginia flood sufferers, I realize more then ever before that in time of distress and suffering we forget politics and all join in attempting to promote the best interests of all the people of this Republic, and we feel that we truly live in a country where the voice of suffering humanity crying out for aid and assistance shall not cry in vain.

The voice of over 8,000 homeless, needy sufferers in the flood district of West Virginia, their condition made known to the National Government through their chosen Representatives, after the telegraphic instrument sent the message of distress signed by the governor of the State over 400 miles away from the seat of government of the people, has been responded to by the immediate and prompt adoption of the resolution which will mean instant relief to the people of that section of the State of West Virginia which was visited by the terrible floods of last week. It is indeed a privilege and an honor to be a citizen of such a country as ours.

Wednesday morning, August 9, the storm which caused death and destruction to so many on the waters of Cabin and Paint Creeks, in Kanawha County, and Coal River, in Boone County, visited that section of West Virginia. The mining towns situated along the banks of the creeks and rivers of Kanawha and Boone Counties were in the zone of what was perhaps the most destructive cloudburst that has ever visited the State. The storm, following a clap of thunder, seemed to open wide the floodgates of the heavens, the water fell with increasing violence on the hilltops and in the valleys and homes of the miners and merchants and others who inhabited the heretofore happy villages. Not in the memory of the oldest citizens of the afflicted district had any such storm ever visited the State.

The people feeling secure in their homes were loath to leave the shelter their roofs afforded and lingered on until death, which was on its way down the narrow mountain defiles, overtook them. The waters rushing down the steep hillsides, the mountains towering thousands of feet above the creek beds, increased in strength and volume as they rushed 50 or more feet in height on their mad dash to the open Kanawha River. Railroad tracks were torn from their foundations; railroad iron twisted in every conceivable form; railroad cars, in many cases loaded with coal

waiting on the sidetracks to be taken to the markets of the world, were washed by the force of the waters far down the streams; mining tipples, bridges, miners' homes, everything in the valleys only added food to the hungry waters. Beautiful valleys, dotted but a short time ago with the homes of the miners and merchants, to-day are swept clean of visible habitation. Homes, furniture, cattle, and human beings are piled high in an inconceivable mass miles below the scene of destruction.

The property destroyed can be replaced, but the lives lost are gone forever. Perhaps dozens will yet be found in the wreckage which is lodged against bridges and other obstructions; the sands of the creeks cover bodies the search for which will be in vain.

As is usual in such cases, the weak suffered the most. Seventy-five bodies already recovered reveal the fact that almost all lost were women and children. The little ones, unable to fight against the currents, were in many cases carried down the creeks and rivers for miles. Babes were snatched from the loving arms of their mothers, and it is reported that several bodies have been found even in the waters of the Ohio River, some as far distant as Cincinnati.

Those saved lost all—home, furniture, clothing, savings accumulated for years, the wages received for digging the black diamonds from the mountains of West Virginia—all gone forever, and with all gone, hope has almost vanished. Many of the miners who risked their lives daily to support their dear ones, and accumulated dollars for rainy days, little thought the rainy day would come so soon and come in such a way and with such force as to take away in an hour that which it had taken years to acquire.

The good people of West Virginia have responded liberally to the call for assistance issued by the governor of the State, Henry D. Hatfield, who immediately took the necessary steps to feed the hungry, take care of the injured and dying, and give such shelter as was possible to those who had found temporary habitation under the cliffs of the overhanging hills.

The business men of the city of Charleston, located but a few miles from the flooded district, called a meeting of the citizens and appealed for aid from the people of that country. Before the meeting adjourned several thousand dollars were pledged, and it is thought the whole State will respond liberally to the call for help.

But much remains to be done. Over 8,000 homeless, and many have lost their all, and many have only the clothes they were wearing at the time of the flood. Everything is lost and hope is at low ebb. The railroads being practically destroyed, it will be weeks, perhaps months, before the mines can again be operated and the miners again given the opportunity to earn an honest dollar by seeking employment in the mines, the only occupation they have. The mining tipples, homes, and mining equipment of all kinds will have to be replaced by the coal companies, all of which is a hardship and a burden upon the operating companies. It will take time and much money to again equip and put in working condition the splendid mining operations which these valleys boasted.

Let us hope that the spirit shown here to-day—a spirit of cooperation and aid, a disposition shown by the House of Representatives to send sympathy in substantial form to those needing aid in time of distress—will revive the spirit of hope in the hearts of the afflicted people and impress the Nation with the fact that while the National Government expects every man in time of danger to the Republic to respond to the call of his country, with his life if necessary, still in time of distress the Government will respond with the same spirit to aid and assist its citizens when some great calamity befalls them.

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**Benjamin P. Birdsall.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. BURTON E. SWEET,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. SWEET. Mr. Speaker, I crave the attention of the House but for a few minutes, for it is, indeed, fit and proper that we pause long enough in our deliberations to pay a passing tribute to the life, character, and services of Benjamin P. Birdsall, who at one time was a Member of this House and who is now deceased.

It is indeed appropriate at this time that we recount briefly his achievements and successes, that his family and friends may know and realize that we share with them in their sorrow and sympathize with them in their great bereavement.

He was born in the State of Wisconsin in 1858. He moved to Iowa with his parents in the spring of 1871 and settled at Alden, in Hardin County. At that time the Mississippi Valley was comparatively a new country and sparsely settled. His parents took part in that great westward movement on this continent, which is without a parallel in human history, as the mighty tide of emigration rolled westward toward the setting sun, and our Nation swept on to empire and to greatness. The Birdsall family witnessed and took part in that great transition.

He was educated in the public schools of Alden and the State University of Iowa. He was admitted to the bar in 1878. He formed a partnership for the practice of law with C. M. Nagle, of Clarion, Iowa, the firm name being Nagle & Birdsall. It was not long before it was known as one of the strongest law firms in northern Iowa. He was elected to the district bench. His temperament, learning, and training qualified him for that high position. He was a conscientious judge. His decisions were sound in law and logic. Attorneys and litigants submitted their cases to him with the utmost confidence. He resigned from the bench on account of ill health and again took up the practice of law.

When Col. David B. Henderson declined the nomination for Congress he was chosen by the Republicans of the third congressional district of Iowa as their standard bearer. He was triumphantly elected over ex-Gov. Boies, the Democratic nominee. He served in this House in the Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, and Sixtieth Congresses. While a Member of this House he served as a member of the Committees on the Judiciary, Elections, Merchant Marine, and Rivers and Harbors. He voluntarily retired from public life in 1909 and took up the practice of the law with his son. He died at Clarion, Iowa, May 16, 1916.

He was a devoted husband and father, a sincere friend, a painstaking attorney, an upright judge, an able Representative in Congress, a man who looked upon all public service as a public trust, a loyal American citizen, a man who loved his fellow men.

Every grave speaks to us in no uncertain language. It matters not whether it be in the potter's field covered by grass—nature's benediction—with no stone or inscription to mark the spot, or whether it be in the crowded thoroughfares of life, covered by black Egyptian marble, whereon is chiseled in letters of living light the name, the achievements, and the deeds of the departed, the same sentiments animate the breast, the same questions come to the lips that have baffled the sages and wise men of earth since the creation of the world.

From the hour of birth we are condemned to death. The same inexorable fate awaits us all. The decree of death has been enforced since creation's dawn. There is no escape. There is no new trial. We pass this way but once. There is no clemency shown, there is no parole, there is no law's delay. All the science and art and skill of the ages are as nothing in its mighty presence. Saint and sinner, sage and fool, high and low, rich and poor, outcast and king, all are on a common level. We all meet at the tomb. When death beckons us to depart we must go. All are swallowed up in the great ocean of eternity. The waters of oblivion roll over us, and the place thereof shall know it no more.

The earth is a vast cemetery wherein rests the dust of all the millions upon millions dead. It is a mighty sepulcher wherein will ultimately repose the ashes and bones of all the sons of men.

The mighty tomb of man is decorated by snow-capped mountain ranges old in story; by caverns deep; by canyons wild; by rocks and crags and sunlit peaks; by winding streams and billowed plains; by fields; by vine-clad hills; by sunny dales and mountain rills; by solemn forests; by shrub and tree and flower; by placid lakes; by storm-tossed seas; and girt round by old ocean, with its wild and sullen roar, whose billows break forever on the shores of the eternal.

The tomb of man is bathed in the sunlight of heaven, and shadowed by each passing cloud. The tomb of man is beautified by the seasons as they pass in endless review; by the resurrection we call spring; by summer with its luxuriant vegetation. It is burnished by the autumnal frosts; saddened by winter's snowy wastes and blinding storms.

It is held securely in the mighty grasp of unchanged and changeless law. There is no chance, as it sweeps on through the universe, amid the systems and shining worlds with which the Creator has studded the immensity of space.

In short, the tomb of man is created, decorated, beautified, and governed by the hand of the Infinite.

Can finite man ask for a more glorious ending? Can he ask for a grander resting place? Can he ask for a more splendid termination than with the consummation of all things earthly at the throne of God?

Dust thou art, to dust returnest, was not spoken of the soul.

There is consolation in the thought that the dead can not be disturbed. The elemental fires may rage within the bosom of mother earth; the volcanoes may pour forth their red-hot lava, and the gas and steam may stream up to heaven; the earthquake may rend the earth, and its shock may shake cities to their ruin, and cause the land to sink down to the level of the sea; the lightning may shatter the oak, and the deep-toned thunder may roll at a distance; the cyclone may leave devastation and destruction in its path; the hurricane may howl music, and the cataract may fill the air with its constant and solemn roar, but the dead sleep on. The living may be terrorized, but the dead are undisturbed. They have returned to the elements from which they sprang.

Judge Birdsall is at rest.

So live, that when thy summons comes to join
That innumerable caravan, which moves
To that mysterious realm, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

## Federal Aid in the Construction of Good Roads.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADDISON T. SMITH,
OF IDAHO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion there is no legislation which could be placed upon the statute books that would be more advantageous to the country or benefit a greater number of people than the measure now under consideration providing for Federal aid in the construction of good roads.

Much has been said in prophecy by those who have discussed this subject as to how such legislation will make farm life more comfortable and profitable and how it will result in a more rapid development of the agricultural resources of the country, all of which is true; but I desire to refer to a concrete example of the benefits derived because of good roads which have heretofore been constructed by the Federal Government.

The subject of national highways was a live question a hundred years ago. From 1801 to 1830 the subject of good roads engaged the attention of the statesmen of that period. Henry Clay, one of the greatest men of his time, was a most ardent advocate of the policy of the Government constructing roads. Finally a law was passed in 1825 providing for the construction of a national road from Cumberland, Md., to St. Louis, Mo., which cost over $7,000,000.

This road opened up the frontier country and was the main thoroughfare from the East to the West until the construction of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. This national road, which is one of the finest highways in the country, passes through the county in which I was born, and I have traveled over it many times in the old stage coaches, which mode of travel has long since been abandoned.

Upon this great highway are magnificent farm homes and barns and prosperous villages. The early settlers along this highway were fortunate in securing employment in the construction of the road, and in this way were able to lay the foundation for their later prosperous condition. In addition an immediate and profitable market was created for their hay and grain to supply the great number of horses used in construction work.

These pioneers were thus able to establish themselves more quickly by reason of living on such a splendid road and getting their products to market at much less expense than their neighbors in the back country, which naturally resulted in their greater prosperity.

There is no better way in which to more equitably distribute in the inland States the proportion of the Federal money to which the people are entitled, as they in common with citizens of every other section of the country contribute to the support of the Federal Government. The money which is to be apportioned among the different States will furnish employment to thousands of people and much of the labor will doubtless be performed by those living in the vicinity of the roads to be improved, so that while the farmer is being benefited by the improvement of the roads, by furnishing him with easier and cheaper access to the markets, he will also be benefited by securing work for his teams and the members of his family who may not be constantly occupied on the farm.

While I had hoped that a much larger amount would be appropriated than is contemplated in the proposed bill, I most heartily support the present measure, feeling confident that Congress will recognize the wisdom of entering upon a larger and more extensive plan of improving the roads of the country after the experimental stage has passed.

I hope that within the next few years there will be enacted a law based on the plan proposed in a bill which I have introduced, providing for the issuance of 3 per cent Government bonds, the money thus realized to be advanced to the States for road improvement in proportion to their area and population at 4 per cent interest, secured by bonds issued by the States, the difference of 1 per cent interest between the Federal and State bonds to be placed into a sinking fund, which will, in the course of less than 50 years, be sufficient to pay off the bonds, thus allowing the States to have the use of the money with which to improve their roads at 4 per cent interest. As the principal will be taken care of by the 1 per cent difference in the interest between the State and Government bonds, placed in a sinking fund, the interest only will have to be paid by the States.

There has been appropriated by the Federal Government in public lands, to aid the construction of railroads, $1,000,000,000; for rivers and harbors, $600,000,000; for public buildings, $200,000,000; and for the Panama Canal, $400,000,000.

There is every reason, therefore, why the people of this country should demand that the Government proceed toward the construction of good roads in every section of the Union for the benefit of the people of all the States.

The history regarding the construction of the old National Road, to which I made reference, is of special interest in this connection, and I submit herewith an article by Mr. Maurice O. Eldridge, of the Office of Public Roads, Department of Agriculture, which contains interesting and valuable information regarding this national highway, which should be preserved in the archives of the Government as a historical contribution to the literature on this important subject.

THE OLD CUMBERLAND ROAD.

[By Maurice O. Eldridge, assistant in road management, United States Department of Agriculture.].

"We hear no more the clanging hoof,
And the stagecoach rattling by,
For the steam king rules the traveled world,
And the old pike's left to die."

Not until 1894, when the Hon. T. B. Searight, of Uniontown, Pa., gave us a most interesting account of its construction, growth, and development, did we have any connected history of the old Cumberland Road. Mr. Searight was born and reared on the line of this road, and spent his whole life amid scenes connected with it. He saw it in the "zenith of its glory and with emotions of sadness witnessed its decline." He tells us it was "a highway at once grand and imposing, and an artery largely instrumental in promoting the early growth and development of our country's wonderful resources and most influential in strengthening the bonds of the American Union." We are told by another writer that "it is a monument of a past age, but, like all other monuments, it is interesting as well as venerable. It carried thousands of population and millions of wealth into the West; and more than any other material structure in the land served to harmonize and strengthen, if not save, the Union."

The Cumberland Road, called so because it began at Cumberland, Md., was at one time the most widely known and heavily traveled road in the United States. One evidence of this is shown by the fact that during the year 1838, $50,000 in tolls was collected in the State of Ohio alone, although the road had not at that time been completed west of Springfield. The year 1839, however, seems to have been the banner year for this great highway, as Ohio collected in that year $62,446.10 in tolls. The total amount collected in Ohio from 1831 to 1877 amounted to nearly a million and a quarter of dollars.

It is generally thought that Henry Clay originated the idea of building the Cumberland Road, but speeches delivered in Congress in 1829 gave the credit of its conception to Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1813, under the Jefferson and Madison administrations. While Mr. Clay may not have been the originator of the scheme for building the road, he was its ablest friend in Congress, leading most of the debates for its construction and preservation. To commemorate his services in behalf of the road a monument was erected near Wheeling, W. Va., * * * which is fast crumbling to decay, having been built out of a poor quality of sandstone. The friends of good roads in the United States ought to raise a fund with which to reproduce this monument in enduring granite, and should erect the same at some appropriate place along the line of the old pike.

Henry Clay was regarded with great admiration and esteem all along the line of the old road. This magnetic man not only made friends of the drivers, but of the tavern keepers and persons in other employments along the road. One Humes, of Claysville, Pa., was given to boasting of the familiarity with which he was greeted by Mr. Clay. On one occasion a coach in which Mr. Clay was traveling to Washington was upset in a pile of limestone in the main street of Uniontown.

Sam Sibley, the driver of the coach, had his nose broken, but Mr. Clay was unhurt, and upon being extricated from the overturned coach facetiously remarked, "This is mixing the Clay of Kentucky with the limestone of Pennsylvania."

Other illustrious statesmen of the early days of the Republic were frequent travelers over the road to and from Washington, among whom may be mentioned Jackson, Harrison, Polk, Houston, Taylor, John C. Crittenden, Breckenridge, John Marshall, and Davy Crockett. Mr. Searight mentions with pleasure having shaken hands with Gen. Jackson as he sat in his carriage in the wagon yard of an old tavern.

The road was greatly renowned for the number and excellence of its taverns. On the mountain division nearly every mile had its tavern. Some of these hostelries were perched on elevations near the roadside, while others were sheltered behind clumps of trees, with inviting seats for idlers and wayfarers, and all with cheerful fronts toward the wayworn traveler. The tavern signs were usually elevated on posts, giving promise of "Good cheer," while the dripping of the overflow water from the "horse troughs" on the growing mint beds below "lent a charm to the scene that was well-nigh enchanting." "Stagehouses," where travelers took their meals and stage horses were kept and exchanged, were located all along the route at intervals of about 12 miles. Most excellent meals were served at these wagon stands, and stagehouses for a "levy" and two drinks of whisky for a "fipponybit." The bill of a wagoner, with a six-horse team, for "putting up" over night did not exceed $1.75, and this included the feed for the horses, as well as meals for the driver, and "all the drinks he saw proper to take."

The taverns and stagehouses often entertained motly crowds—statesmen and teamsters, homeseekers and magicians, fortune hunters, actors and actresses, and others of greater or less prominence. Circuses and minstrels were constantly traveling over the road, giving performances at the principal towns, and roving bands of gypsies and fortune tellers pitched their tents and built their camp fires along the wayside. In fact, between the years 1820 and 1850 nearly everything, whether the necessaries or luxuries of life, or the things intended merely to amuse, found its way into the West by way of the old pike; and it is still common in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, when anything is especially novel, remarkable, or peculiar, to speak of it as having "come down the pike." It is for this reason that the officers of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Co decided to name "The Midway Plaisance" of the St. Louis Exposition, the place where all the freaks and "everything new under the sun" can be seen, "The Pike."

Mr. Searight says that the National Road was "not a turnpike in the literal sense of the word, which means a road upon which pikes were placed to turn travelers thereon through gates to prevent the evasion of toll rates," for tollgates were not needed on the National Road, as it was usually kept in good condition, and travelers paid their toll without complaint. Tollhouses were located about 15 miles apart, and were all supplied with strong iron gates swung to massive iron posts. These gates were placed on the road in 1835 to enforce the payment of tolls when necessary. The tollhouses were of uniform size, and were usually round or octagonal in shape. Only one instance is known of a traveler refusing to pay toll for using the National Road, and this grew out of a misconception of the act of Congress exempting coaches conveying the United States mail. Mr. Stockton, in charge of the National Road Stage Co., refused to pay toll on the ground of having a mail pouch in each coach, while Mr. Searight, the road commissioner, contended that the act of Congress was not made to cover so broad a plane, and notified Mr. Stockton that unless the tolls were paid the gates would be closed against his coaches, which was done. Mr. Searight's contention was sustained in the United States Supreme Court.

The Cumberland Road was built by the United States Government under the supervision of the War Department. It is the longest straight road ever built by any Government in the world, being nearly 800 miles in length. The total cost of its construction was wholly paid out of the United States Treasury, and amounted in all to about $7,000,000. It was planned to run from Cumberland, Md., to St. Louis, Mo., passing through the capitals of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. A small part of the western end, however, though graded, was never macadamized. The Cumberland Road was connected with Baltimore, Md., by a road which was built by the bankers of Baltimore, and with the tidewater of the Potomac at Washington by the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal.

The cost of the eastern division of the road was quite excessive, being about $9,745 per mile between Cumberland and Uniontown. The cost of the entire division east of the Ohio River was about $13,000 per mile. This, of course, included the heavy grading and the ponderous stone bridges. The average cost of the road in eastern Ohio was much less than in Maryland and Pennsylvania, being about $3,400 per mile, and this included macadamizing, masonry, bridges, and culverts. This road, projected and partially surveyed in 1806, was not thrown open to the public until 1818. During this year the first line of passenger coaches was put on, and was conducted by James Kinkead, who was a member of the firm which built most of the stone bridges along the road. About 1852 the railroads took from it the bulk of travel and traffic, as well as the mails between the East and the West, thus ushering in the period of its decline.

Mr. Searight fails to give us a definite idea as to the methods used in constructing the road, but we know that the total width of the cleared roadway was 66 feet, the width graded 32 feet, and the width macadamized 20 feet. The writer inspected the road at a number of different places in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia during the last few years, and was surprised to find so many varieties of material used and such a lack of uniformity in its construction. In places the road was built with a telford foundation and a macadam surface, and in many such places the top has worn entirely away, leaving the rough telford base exposed. In other places the foundation was built of large stone, varying from 4 to 10 inches in diameter, the surface being composed of small broken stone or gravel; while in other places the road seems to have been partly built out of small broken stone according to Macadam's original method.

From a letter written by Brig. Gen. C. Gratiot to Lieut. J. K. F. Mansfield, of the Corps of Engineers, who had charge of the road, we are able to secure definite information regarding the methods pursued in repairing the road subsequent to 1832. Repairs were made according to the macadam system. All loose stones were removed from the road, the foundation was raked smooth and made nearly flat. The ditches on each side were opened so that the water could not stand at a higher level than 18 inches below the lowest part of the surface. The culverts were so constructed as to allow the free passage of all water under the road. The roadbed having been prepared, the stone was reduced by hand to fragments not exceeding 4 ounces in weight, was spread on with shovels, and raked smooth. Only material of "sufficient hardness" was used, and the use of clay or sand as a binder was prohibited.

The material was placed on the road in 3-inch courses, the travel being admitted for a short interval on each layer for the purpose of consolidation. Obstructions were placed on the road in such a way as to insure an equal travel over every portion during the process of consolidation. Persons were kept in constant attendance raking the uneven surface caused by the action of the wheels of carriages. The materials consisted of limestone, flint, or granite of good quality.

The rivers and creeks were spanned by handsome stone bridges and culverts. Some illustrations of these bridges are reproduced herewith. Mr. Archer B. Hulbert published in 1901 an interesting account of the Old National Road, from which the following paragraph is quoted:

"Nothing is more striking than the ponderous stone bridges which carry the roadbed over the waterways. It is doubtful if there are on this continent such monumental relics of the old stone bridge builders' art. Not only such massive bridges as those at Big Crossings, Smithfield, Pa., will attract the traveler's attention, but many of the less pretentious bridges over brooks and rivulets will, upon examination, be found to be ponderous pieces of workmanship. A pregnant suggestion of the change which has come over the land can be read in certain of these smaller bridges and culverts. When the great road was built the land was covered with forests, and many drains were necessary. With the passing of the forests many large bridges, formerly of much importance, are now of a size out of all proportion to the demand for them, and hundreds of little bridges have fallen into disuse, some of them being quite above the general level of the surrounding fields. The ponderous bridge at Big Crossings was finished and dedicated with great eclat July 4, 1818."

Hundreds of contractors and thousands of laborers were required in building the old pike. They were paid well for their services, and in return did work which still stands as a lasting monument to their skill. Mr. Hulbert tells us that great enthusiasm was awakened among the laboring classes by the building of the great road, and that lively scenes were witnessed along the pike in those busy years. Successful contractors moved West as the work progressed, taking up a number of different contracts as they were offered by the Government. The contractors and the laborers were not alone in reaping a harvest from the construction of the road, for the farmers and their teams were often employed when not busy with the crops. Mr. Hulbert says:

"Thus not only in its heyday did the road prove a benefit to the country through which it passed, but at the very beginning it became such, and a little of the money spent upon it by the Government went into the very pockets from which it came by the sale of the land."

The building of the national road was a great undertaking, but keeping it in repair was greater, owing to the fact that the traffic over the road was exceedingly heavy. As many as 20 four-horse coaches had been counted in line at one time on the road. Large broad-wheeled wagons, covered with white canvas stretched over bows, laden with merchandise, and drawn by 6 powerful horses, were visible all day long, while caravans of horses, mules, cattle, hogs, and sheep could be seen at any time. In 1822 a single house in the town of Wheeling unloaded 1,081 wagons, averaging about 3,500 pounds each, and paid for freight on the same $90,000. At that time there were 5 other commission houses in Wheeling, and, estimating that each of them received two-thirds the amount of goods consigned to the one mentioned above, there must have been nearly 5,000 wagons unloaded and nearly $400,000 paid for transportation. It is further estimated that at least every tenth wagon passed through Wheeling into Ohio and Indiana, which would considerably swell the amount. On their return to the East these freighters carried various articles of the productions and manufactures of the West, including flour, whisky, hemp, tobacco, bacon, and wool. The price for freighting varied, but we are told that teamsters often received $1.25 per hundredweight from Brownsville, Pa., to Cumberland, Md., and $2.25 per hundredweight from Wheeling to Cumberland.

The first wagons used on the road were made with narrow-tired wheels, but the broad-tired wheels soon became popular, as by the use of such vehicles their owners were exempted from paying toll. There were two classes of wagoners, the "regulars" and the "sharpshooters." The former were constantly on the road, while the "sharpshooters" were for the most part farmers who were able to use their teams on the road when the prices for freighting were high and when they could not be employed in agricultural pursuits. The "regular" drove his team about 15 miles a day, but the "sharpshooters" often made 20 or more. Lines of teams were controlled by companies or associations, who arranged for relays of horses every 15 miles. The average load was 6,000 pounds, but loads weighing 10,000 pounds were frequently hauled. Small bells were often attached to a thin arch spring over the top of the teams and their tinkling attracted attention and admiration everywhere. These bells were used as a sort of trophy, and were only worn by the most beautiful and powerful horses; and it often happened that, if such a team became stalled, the team coming to the rescue captured and carried away the bells.

"The old wagoners, as a class, were robust, hardy, honest, and jovial," says the historian of the National Road, "and when at last the Conestoga horse yielded up the palm to the iron horse and it became manifest that the glory of the road was departing, never to return, the old wagoners, many of whom had spent their best days on the road, sang in chorus the following lament:

"Now all ye jolly wagoners who have got good wives,
Go home to your farms and there spend your lives.
When your corn is all cribbed and your small grain is good,
You'll have nothing to do but curse the railroad."

One of the most important functions of the National Road was to provide easy, quick, and safe means of transportation of the United States mail. Contracts were made by the Government with stage-coach companies for carrying the mails quite the same as contracts are made to-day with railway companies. The most important mails carried over the road were those between Washington and St. Louis, which were called the Great Eastern and Great Western mails. A large number of less important mail lines were operated, some of which carried through mail and others local mail and newspapers. The "express mail" lines corresponded with the "fast mail" of to-day. The time made by some of these "express mail" lines was marvelous; for instance, the Post Office Department required in its contract for carrying the Great Western express mail from Washington over the National Road to Columbus and St. Louis that the mail be delivered in Columbus in 54½ hours and in St. Louis in 94 hours. Ten miles an hour was an ordinary rate of speed, and it is said that the stage drivers were censured more quickly for making slow time than for being guilty of intoxication. Some of the mail coaches were allowed

to carry passengers, and the ordinary fare for such passengers was 4 cents a mile. These vehicles were handsomely finished, and some of them were painted tastily and upholstered with silk plush, and would accommodate as many as nine passengers. In fair weather an extra passenger was allowed to ride beside the driver. In addition to the "postillion," which consisted of driver with two horses stationed at the foot of many of the long hills, to assist the four-horse coaches in ascending, relays of fresh horses were placed about 12 miles apart, and these were changed "almost in the twinkling of an eye." As soon as the coach halted the driver threw down the lines and almost instantly the incoming team was unhitched and a fresh one attached, the reins thrown back to the driver, who kept his seat during the operation, the coach rattling off again at full speed.

It was believed by the "pike boys" that the stage line of the National Road had never been equaled for dash and spirit on any road in any age or country. An enthusiastic admirer of the old pike once said:

"The chariots of the Appian Way, drawn by the fastest horses of ancient Rome, were but a dismal cortege in comparison with the sprightly procession of stage coaches on the American highway. The grandeur of the mail coach is riveted forever in the memory of these pike boys. To see it ascending a long hill, increasing in speed when nearing the summit, then moving rapidly over the intervening level to the top of the next hill, and dashing down, the driver wielding the whip and handling the reins, revealed a scene that will never be forgotten."

Quoting again from Mr. Archer B. Hulbert, the author of the book entitled "The Old National Road":

It is impossible to leave the study of the National Road without gathering up into a single chapter a number of threads which have not been woven into the preceding record. And, first, the very appearance of the old road as seen by travelers who pass over it to-day. One can not go a single mile over it without becoming deeply impressed with the evidence of the age and the individuality of the old National Road. There is nothing like it in the United States. Leaping the Ohio at Wheeling, the National Road rolls itself across Ohio and Indiana, straight as an arrow, like an ancient elevated pathway of the gods, chopping hills in twain at a blow, traversing lowlands on high grades like a railroad bed, vaulting river and stream on massive bridges of unparalleled size. The farther one travels upon it the more impressed one must become, for there is in the long grades and stretches and ponderous bridges that "masterful suggestion of a serious purpose, speeding you along with a strange uplifting of the heart," of which Kenneth Grahame speaks: "And even in its shedding off of bank and hedgerow as it marched straight and full for the open down it seems to declare its contempt for adventitious trapping to catch the shallow-pated." For long distances this road "of the sterner sort" will be, so far as its immediate surface is concerned, what the tender mercies of the counties through which it passes will allow, but at certain points the traveler comes out unexpectedly upon the ancient roadbed, for in many places the old macadamized bed is still doing noble duty.

AMERICAN CRISIS BIOGRAPHIES—HENRY CLAY.

[By his grandson, Thomas Hart Clay; completed by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Ph. D.]

Few at this day can comprehend how valuable a boon the Cumberland Road was to the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys at the time it was built. Clay struggled year after year to extend and complete it. In 1820 a monument was placed upon this highway near Wheeling in commemoration of his efforts in its behalf. The front of the base bears this inscription:

"This monument was erected by Moses and Lydia Sheperd as a testimony of respect to Henry Clay, the eloquent defender of national rights and national independence."

On another side of the stone these words were inscribed:

"Time brings every amelioration and refinement most gratifying to rational man, and the humblest flower freely plucked under the tree of liberty is more to be desired than all the trappings of royalty.

"Anno Domini 1820."

Mr. Clay died June 29, 1852, 11.17 a. m.

## A Correction.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JAMES R. MANN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, no one in public life escapes more or less misrepresentation. As a general thing I pay no attention to misrepresentations of what I do or say. But a Mr. Boynton, who is a candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress against me, has published a lot of statements so utterly devoid of the truth that I am constrained to refer to at least one of them.

Mr. Boynton, in an advertisement in various papers, says that I made the following statement, putting it in quotation marks as coming from me:

The people are not competent to decide what laws shall be passed at Washington * * *. I am too busy to be burdened with appeals and requests and am compelled, owing to press of business, to assign the great majority of these appeals to the wastebasket.

Mr. Boynton's statement that I ever made this statement quoted above is a simple, pure falsehood.

Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary to say to those here who know my method of work that I read all suggestions concerning legislation which are made to me and read them carefully. The thousands of people who write to me from home know that I attend to their letters and requests with great care. I not only read, but I derive great benefit and much information from the many suggestions which are made to me by letter and otherwise in regard to legislation, though I make it a general rule not to express decided opinions in regard to proposed legislation until I have had an opportunity to hear both sides and get all the information possible; and I rarely express a definite opinion on a matter until it comes before the House for action.

The advertisements and statements of Mr. Boynton about me and my action on various public matters are filled with false statements concerning what I have said and done in the House and in regard to legislation. I shall not take the trouble to answer these false statements. I believe the people of the congressional district which I represent know that I have been faithful to their local interests as well as true to the general good and welfare of the country.

In view of the possibilities which may grow out of the European war, as well as danger from other sources, one of the most important things now is for this country to make proper preparation for its own defense. I have taken an active part in that movement in the House of Representatives. Mr. Boynton, the candidate against me, is opposed to national preparedness as shown by a letter from him, reading as follows:

["Lexy-Byte," summer camp of Melbourne P. Boynton, Shelby, Mich., R. F. D. No. 3.]

JULY 5, 1915.

DEAR SIRS: With all Europe covered by the dead and drenched in human blood it is madness of the most wicked sort to drive our own country into the same devilish business of so-called "preparedness."

I marvel that you can and do list such noted and honorable names on your committees. Did I not know how easy it is to secure such names, I would worry the more about it. In my judgment there is just as much sense in arming our State lines as in arming our coasts against the world. Quotations from Washington of over a hundred years ago are silly. Why don't you go back to the oxcarts, too?

Yours,

M. P. BOYNTON.

## An Interview with Admiral Dewey.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CHARLES O. LOBECK,

OF NEBRASKA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by printing in the RECORD an interview with Admiral Dewey published in the Baltimore Sun, August 20, 1916, in relation to the United States Navy—its personnel, its equipment, and its present condition—also taking into consideration the building program adopted by Congress. This statement is one of the clearest and most comprehensive that I have had the pleasure to read or hear, and I think the people of the United States and Members of Congress should have the benefit of Admiral Dewey's opinions, and therefore ask that this interview with Admiral Dewey, the hero of two great wars and beloved by all American people, may be inserted in the RECORD.

DEWEY UPHOLDS DANIELS AND SAYS NAVY IS IN FINE SHAPE.

[By George Creel.]

For two years and more the United States Navy has been the subject of discussion as bitter as it is confused. The disputes between pacifists and militarists, between Democrats and Republicans, have resulted in a Babel, and out of it all have come prejudices that do not care to bother with facts.

It is a situation packed with menace. Not only is it the case that national confidence and national self-respect are being undermined, but ignorance and hate make it impossible for wise decisions to be rendered. Nothing is more imperative than that such a situation be ended.

The people of the United States are entitled to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. What is slander and what is fact? Is the Navy as it stands to-day an asset or a liability? Is the Navy bill honest and adequate or a dose of "eye wash"? Has Secretary Daniels "demoralized"? Is he a faithful public servant, worthy of support, or a joke?

These questions may not be answered by any member of the Wilson administration or any Member of Congress, or by any officeseeker, or any "magazine experts" writing to suit editorial preconceptions. Not only is absolute and exact knowledge required, but he who speaks authoritatively must be free from the slightest suspicion of political bias or personal prejudice.

One man only measures up to these specifications. That man is Admiral Dewey. He has been in the Navy of the United States since 1854, serving through two wars. Since 1903 he has been head of the

General Board, passing upon naval defects, naval needs, and naval plans. No administration has power to hurt him. By law he is exempted from the usual retirement provisions, and if he does decide to retire it will be of his own volition and at full pay. No partisan quarrel has ever had power to drag him from his height.

Aside from these qualifications he is loved by the American people as few men have ever been loved. In a day when there is much talk of Americanism he stands as one who has risked his life for it and who has devoted that life to giving richer, finer meanings to the word.

I found him in Atlantic City in a great, wind-swept room that looked over the sea. His hair has whitened, but otherwise he is but little changed from the years that have passed since the wonderful day he returned from Manila to hear the shouts of a Nation. The same clear, steadfast eyes, the same tremendous simplicity, the same faith in America!

Speaking slowly, but never hesitantly, for three long hours he considered the United States Navy, past, present, and future; world war, world peace, national ideals, and national destiny. Only in his first answers, when an evident indignation gripped him, did he depart from the tone of one trying to pick his words in the interest of understanding.

"The attacks that have been made upon the Navy," he said, "are as false as many of them are shameful. It is not a junk heap. There is no demoralization. Both in material and personnel we are more efficient to-day than ever before. Our ships are as good as any, our officers are as good as any, and our enlisted men are the finest in the world.

"It is true that we have not enough ships or enough men. But navies are not built in a day. It was between 1906 and 1909 that Germany passed us and that we commenced to lose rank as a naval power. This is in no sense a criticism of administrations. Congress, after all, expresses public sentiment in large degree, and the reason we dropped was because the people wanted the drop. The recommendations of the general board went unheeded because they were not backed by public opinion. Until 1914 people were thinking in terms of world peace. It is different to-day, and it is to-day that should concern us."

He walked over to his desk and, taking up a copy of the Senate navy bill, spread it before him. For a moment, as if to measure his words, he tapped it with a big brown forefinger, and then he said:

"This is the best bill ever passed by either House of any Congress. It takes the five-year program of the General Board and changes it into a three-year program. It will restore us to second place and enable the United States to meet on equal terms any power in the world, save one.

"It is my hope," he said slowly, after another pause, "just as it ought to be the hope of every American, that this bill will be enacted into law without party division. I want to see America behind it! I want to see this vital question of the national defense lifted above the parties and partisanship."

I asked him then for a consideration of the bill, or, rather, some such analysis as would permit a civilian to do a little thinking for himself. Patiently enough he went over each item.

"Four battleships at once, and six more within three years." Now he was firmly on his own ground, his words came like bullets. "The great clash at the mouth of the Skagerrack gave a test of every theory. As a result, naval authorities are now agreed that the battleship is still the principal reliance of navies. As never before, it is proved that victory or defeat rests with the dreadnaught.

"Four battle cruisers at once, and two more within three years. This will remedy one of our chief weaknesses. Nothing is more necessary than an adequate information service to provide early and continuous intelligence of an enemy's movements. This is the function of the battle cruiser. Also, in addition to speed and endurance, she has great offensive power, so that, if called upon, she can fight for information and break through a hostile screen. Aside from offering security and information to the main body of battleships, the battle cruiser can be used to protect sea routes, both military and commercial, and can aid the battleships in general action by taking up a favorable torpedo position where her speed and heavy guns will be effective. The Skagerrack proves conclusively, however, that the battle cruiser can not give and take with dreadnaughts.

"Scout cruisers four, and six more to come. More eyes for the fleet. Absolutely necessary."

After placing a matter-of-fact "O. K." on the three fuel ships, the two ammunition ships, the hospital ship, a repair ship, and a transport, also the two gunboats and various tenders, he moved to the submarines.

"Like the battle cruiser," he said, "the submarine has been permitted to gain a very exaggerated value. It is, of course, a most useful auxiliary, whose importance will no doubt increase, but at present there is no evidence that it will become supreme. The bill provides for 9 fleet submarines, 3 coast submarines, 800 tons type, and 55 submarines, smaller type, provisions that are in line with the recommendations of the General Board.

"A feature of the Skagerrack engagement," he continued, "was the convincing demonstration of the usefulness of the destroyer. These tiny ships, primarily designed to serve the purpose of a screen, to be outriders for the big ships, have been regarded as incapable of attacking first-class ships in the daytime. Under cover of darkness or fog the destroyers were intended to creep in on the dreadnaughts, fire their torpedoes, and then dash for safety. The German destroyers descended upon the British fleet in broad daylight, and the destroyers of both fleets played an important part in the fighting. We feel that the bill's provision for 50 destroyers is amply justified. So!" He turned in the chair and clapped his hands together. "It is a bill that gives us strength, and best of all, a bill that gives us balance. A great navy and truly proportioned!"

"Granting all that," I said, "but what about the need of it?" As carefully and fairly as possible, I presented the feeling of many people in many Western and Middle West States—a feeling that this expenditure of millions on the Navy was a departure from American traditions, a hysterical surrender to the madness that has had hold of kings. His fine head nodded appreciation of every point, but at the end he spread wide his hands in a sweeping gesture of dissent.

"I know I am not a militarist," he said. "Those who have never seen war, or who have only played at war, may talk in terms of jingoism, but men who know what war is and what war does are the last in the world to approach it in any swashbuckling fashion. I hope the day will come when peace and justice rule the world, but that day is not yet here. Not all our idealism can brush away the facts. If we are to dwell in peace, we must be able to protect that peace."

He walked to the open window and pointed to the shining stretches of the sea. "Look at our coast line. From Maine to the canal; from the canal to Alaska. Russia has had to maintain two distinct fleets, one in the Baltic and one in the Black Sea. Our problem is much the same. We can not be said to have met our defensive needs until we are able to maintain a fleet in the Pacific Ocean as well as in the Atlantic. Our geography, the immensity of our coast line, join to make the Senate Navy bill a minimum requirement. No, no!" he exclaimed, "we must accept conditions as we find them, although this does not mean that we are to give up hope of changing the conditions.

"Given this increase," he declared, "given the ships and men that this bill provides, and the United States, as never before, will be a peaceful power, able at all times to protect and to advance its standards. Every cent appropriated by this bill is payment on an insurance policy."

"How about men?"

"We now have 55,000 and the bill authorizes 74,500."

"Can you get them?"

"I don't think there is a doubt of it. The Navy to-day offers as fine a chance for the American youth to fit himself for life as any other department of endeavor."

"Tell me, Admiral Dewey," and I braced myself for the momentous question, "has Secretary Daniels demoralized the Navy?"

"Bosh!" The exclamation was one of disgust and indignation. "Facts and figures tell their own story. The Navy was 5,000 short of the number of enlisted men allowed by law; over 6,000 have been added, although more rigid examinations have forced the rejection of five out of every six. Only 52 per cent of honorably discharged seamen were reenlisting. For more than a year about 90 per cent have reenlisted. Desertions have been cut in half and discipline has been improved to an extent that has permitted the restoration of a prison ship and a disciplinary barracks to normal uses. No, sir; the Navy is not demoralized, and those who make the charge are guilty of falsehood and misrepresentations."

"Did Secretary Daniels ever issue an order for officers and men to mess together, only withdrawing the order when informed that it might bring whites and blacks to the same table?"

"Slanderous. No such order was ever heard of."

It had been my purpose to take up with Admiral Dewey every one of the small things alleged against Secretary Daniels—every one of the petty charges that press and magazines have used to prejudice people against the Navy head. It proved impossible. It would have been like talking gutter gossip with St. Paul.

"How about officers?" I asked.

"Officers, like navies, are not made in a day." I could see his relief at getting away from mud. "When the present administration took charge it found that the law providing for the appointment of two midshipmen at Annapolis by each Member of Congress had been permitted to lapse. This law was extended, and the present Congress, upon the recommendation of the Secretary, has provided for three additional midshipmen to each Congressman. This makes 531 additional appointments immediately available. There is also the law that opens the Naval Academy to 15 enlisted men each year, provided, of course, they measure up to the mental, moral, and physical standards."

"Is that a good idea?"

"It is more than a good idea." For a second I saw Admiral Dewey as he must have looked on the bridge at Manila Bay. "It is democracy. Eighteen years ago, when this matter first came up, I took a stand that has never changed. I said then that the Navy could not afford to be the one department of American activity in which a boy could not rise from the bottom to the top. I say it now. This is the United States, not an Old World monarchy."

"The same thing goes for the ship schools," he continued emphatically. "Education is our solid rock. Not only do the schools make better citizens, but they make better sailors. We want our youngsters trained in intelligence as well as in hands, so that if officers go the ship can still be fought. No, sir," he exclaimed. "Opening the door of promotion to the enlisted man—giving him an elementary, technical, or industrial education, as may be deemed fittest—are American policies."

"What about the famous drinking order?"

"A good thing." His answer was instant. "There was some feeling about it at first, because the papers made fun of it; and there was also an attempt to make it appear that Secretary Daniels was charging officers with intemperance. I think that the feeling has disappeared completely. Every railroad, every great corporation, has long had an ironclad rule forbidding men to drink while on duty. Isn't a ship as important as a locomotive? Practically every European power has copied the order, by the way."

"And marksmanship? Is it true that our gunners can't hit the side of a barn?"

Before answering he pawed over some papers on his desk and pulled out a report of some kind.

"Here are some facts," he smiled. "From 1909 on we did go down, owing to the discontinuance of elementary practice. But we've pulled up. Admiral Fletcher, reporting on the 1915 target practice, says this: 'It is believed that the scores recorded are higher than ever before in the open sea.' The recent practices were held at ranges of 16,000, 17,000, and 18,000 yards, which are even longer than the longest ranges at which firing has occurred in the European war. About 10 out of 20 shots would have hit an enemy ship at 18,000 yards. Do you know," he said almost confidently, "I believe our boys are the best gunners in the world."

"Tell me, Admiral Dewey, what is all this clamor about the Navy needing a General Staff?"

He laughed.

"I don't know," he said. "I've tried to pin them down, but not one has ever been able to make clear just what it was that he wanted. Down in their hearts, I suppose, they want a small, select body to have entire charge of the Navy. Well, they'll never get it and they shouldn't get it."

"You believe, then, that the Secretary of the Navy should be a civilian?"

"Absolutely. He represents the people, and the closer he is to the people the better. Same thing with the powers of Congress. I can conceive of no greater madness than to put the Navy in the power of a naval group or the Army in the hands of soldiers alone. As a matter of course, we would look at things only from our own professional point of view. The whole democratic balance would be destroyed."

"How would you have the professionals figure?"

"Just as now—the General Board. It is made up of 12 picked men. Their duties are entirely advisory, but they have the widest possible sweep. We pass on Navy needs, recommend types and number of vessels, suggest increases in personnel—in a word, we are the expert advisers of the Secretary and Congress. The admiralty war staff of Great Britain, organized in 1912, is a copy of the American plan. So is the admirals' staff, sometimes called the general staff, of the German Navy. If anything, neither body has duties so comprehensive as our General Board.

"Here!" His eye caught a clipping tucked away under some papers on the desk. "This thing was in the back of my head all the time we were talking about the alleged demoralization of the Navy. Put that in."

What he handed me was an article by Hector Bywater, the famous English naval expert, written for a British journal after a careful study of the American Navy. I glanced it over and saw this paragraph marked:

"It need hardly be said that the political head of the United States Navy possesses infinitely more power than the civilian First Lord in Great Britain. And there is every indication that Mr. Daniels has been using his power to the utmost. His friends say he has accomplished wonders; his enemies, who are very many, declare that his personal fads and prejudices have undermined the morale of the naval personnel and made the service a laughingstock. But this charge is not borne out by the evidence. Those best qualified to speak assert that the last four years have witnessed a remarkable all-around improvement in the quality of the personnel. Thanks to the Secretary's drastic order shortly after he came into office, intemperance has disappeared from the Navy, and, although the drink prohibition excited ridicule and bitter opposition at the start, the majority of naval officers now agree that it has had a most beneficial effect on efficiency and discipline. The American bluejacket of the present day is a most admirable type and a positive revelation to anyone who knew the old-timer of 10 or 15 years ago. He is fed, berthed, and cared for in a way that astonishes those who are acquainted with the best European standards. Extraordinary pains are taken with his professional and general education. The amount of headwork he is called upon to get through may seem exaggerated and unnecessary to European critics, but the result certainly appears to justify the system."

"Do you stand for that?" I asked, looking up after reading the paragraph aloud.

"I would be dishonest if I didn't," he answered gravely. "As I told you, I have been in the Navy since 1854. Against the slanders that have been heaped upon the service that I love I want to say again that never in my knowledge has the matériel and personnel been so efficient. The last few years have been very wonderful years for the United States Navy."

For an hour he swept through a record of amazing achievements, rarely pausing to look at his notes, never letting down for a second. The invention and installation of antiaircraft guns, the utilization of the discarded navy yard at Pensacola as an aeronautic station and training school; the creation of a definite division of mining and mine sweeping; the reorganization of the radio service and the use of wireless telephony; the increase of the Navy's powder output from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds a year; the installation of electric propulsion; the three new battleships; radio equipment for submarines; the unprecedented increase in the Navy's stores of ammunition; the new emphasis put upon the War College, with its study of strategy; experiments with submarine and aircraft—so it went on until I gave up the attempt to follow.

"This is more than I have talked for years," he said at last, rising to his feet and holding out his hand. "But I want the people of the United States to know that it is all right with the Navy. There is no demoralization, no lack of discipline, no absence of enthusiasm. The Navy has never failed America. It will not fail."

As I went away I stepped more proudly than at any other time in my whole life. I had shaken the hand of Admiral George Dewey.

*Building program adopted by Congress.*

| | Senate. | |
|---|---|---|
| | First year. | Three years. |
| Battleships | 4 | 10 |
| Battle cruisers | 4 | 6 |
| Scout cruisers | 4 | 10 |
| Destroyers | 50 | 50 |
| Coast submarines | 27 | 58 |
| Fuel ships | 3 | 3 |
| Repair ship | 1 | 1 |
| Transport | 1 | 1 |
| Hospital ship | 1 | 1 |
| Destroyer tenders | 2 | 2 |
| Fleet submarines | 9 | 9 |
| Ammunition ships | 2 | 2 |
| Gunboats | 2 | 2 |

*Naval appropriations made or arranged for during past and present administrations since 1901.*

| | |
|---|---|
| McKinley-Roosevelt | $107,006,642 |
| Roosevelt (four years) | 93,192,938 |
| Taft (four years) | 127,747,133 |
| Wilson administration, including new three-year program | 655,289,906 |

## Democratic Legislation and Democratic Prosperity.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, the figures of present business in the United States are amazing. They tell a story of unparalleled prosperity, of prosperity in every direction, prosperity for the farmers, prosperity for the wage earners, prosperity for the manufacturers, prosperity for the transportation companies, prosperity for the coal, iron and copper mines, the tale is endless. The Republican spellbinders have howled calamity, and predicted panic until their voices are cracked and husky under the strain. But to no effect. Business refuses to be alarmed. The country continues to pursue the ways of pleasantness, and to tread the paths of peace. We are the one great, peaceful Nation, in the midst of a Bedlam, the one great country whose people can rest in quietness, undisturbed by the thunders and horrors of a world-shaking war. Peace and prosperity, plenty and content, these are great blessings, and the people will be slow to risk their loss in order to acquire the hypothetical blessings of a Republican administration. The dog in the fable was secure in the possession of a juicy piece of meat. Crossing a stream, he saw his reflection in the clear waters below. Excited by the hope of adding to his possessions, he dived for the reflected bacon, narrowly escaped drowning, and in the pursuit of the shadow lost the substance. The people of the United States know a good thing when they see it. The machinery of government is running smoothly. They do not care to take the engine to pieces to see what makes the wheels go round. They are unwilling to drop the pilot of the ship of state, or in more homely phrase, to swap horses when crossing a swollen stream. Let well enough alone is an every day maxim, but it embodies a good working principle. This country is in the very heyday of prosperity, and no fair-minded man can avoid the conclusion that in large measure that prosperity has been secured by wise legislation, and good administration.

If the legislation of the last four years had been vicious, inadequate, and destructive, if the administration of public affairs had been timid, weak, vacillating, and insincere, it is a clear proposition that our present condition would be one of unrest, disorder, discontent, apprehension, and industrial confusion. Capital would be timid, labor would be dissatisfied, profits would be uncertain, enterprise would be curtailed, markets would be disordered, and general business utterly demoralized. These would be the inevitable fruits of crude legislation, and incompetent administration. But if a tree is to be judged by its fruits, it is clear that the fruits of peace, prosperity, and content do not grow on the evil tree of vicious legislation, or of corrupt and inadequate execution. There is something at fault in the argument of our Republican critics who vehemently attack the Democratic Party, but can not explain the prosperity that is patent on every hand. Nor are these critics in a position to assail the great Democratic measures that are responsible in so large a degree for our abounding prosperity, with any sincerity of conviction, or plausibility of argument. Presumably the minority party is in Congress upon the theory that it will expose Democratic follies, and oppose the crudities of Democratic legislation. But how can the gentlemen composing this minority discharge this task with any degree of success, when in such large numbers they have voted for the bills which constitute enduring monuments to Democratic legislative capacity? If the Democratic bills are inadequate and destructive, the work of incapable and incompetent amateurs in legislation, our Republican critics at least are estopped from making this charge, for the record plainly shows that numerous Republican votes were cast for these measures.

Confronted with this record, it is vain for Republican spellbinders to attack the value, or deride the merit of these enactments. Simply stated, these bills were either good, or bad, adequate or inadequate, sufficient or insufficient. If they fell under the latter head, the duty of the minority was clear. One and all they should have voted in the negative. But if support of a measure by the party in opposition, affords any evidence of its merit, then the merits of the measures that I shall cite, are abundantly established. In order that the attesting evidence of Republican support to the merit of Democratic legislative achievement may be made so clear, that he who runs may read, I propose to set down in order the measures upon which the Democratic Party is willing to go to the country, and submit its case to the arbitrament of the voters:

1. The Underwood tariff law. This act revised the tariff so justly, so conservatively, and with such regard for the interests of all the people, that the business world adjusted itself to the new conditions without shock, or jar. Confronted with the present condition of universal prosperity, he would be a rash man indeed who would care to revise again the tariff, and expose business anew to the mischiefs that would attend an inequitable adjustment. This bill passed on September 30, 1913, three years ago. One hundred and three Republicans voted in the negative. It will soon be seen that this was the high-water mark of Republican opposition to Democratic legislation.

2. The income-tax law. When this measure was first passed in a Democratic House in 1912, 40 Republican votes were cast

in opposition, 75 voted aye. Later it was passed as a part of the Underwood tariff bill.

3. The election of Senators by direct vote of the people. Passed in a Democratic House in April, 1912. Fifteen Republicans voted no, 110 Republicans voted aye.

4. The Federal Trade Commission bill. Passed in 1914. No opposing votes.

5. The Philippine bill, guaranteeing ultimate independence to the Filipinos. Passed in 1916. No opposing votes.

6. The Clayton antitrust bill. Passed in 1914, 52 Republicans voting no, 35 voting aye.

7. The Rucker bill, to prevent corrupt practices in elections. Passed House in 1916. No opposing votes.

8. The Federal Trade Commission law. Passed in 1914. No opposing vote.

9. The Federal reserve law, reorganizing and rehabilitating our currency system, and eliminating the possibility of money panics. Passed in 1913, 53 Republicans voting aye, 58 Republicans voting no.

10. The revenue bill. Passed in 1916, 39 Republicans voting aye. Normal Democratic majority in the House about 24. Majority for the bill 100.

11. The good-roads bill, providing Federal aid for the construction of roads in the States. Passed in 1916, 128 Republicans voted aye, 68 voted no.

12. Bill for the safety of railway employees. Passed in 1916. No opposing votes.

13. Workman's compensation law. Passed in 1916, 140 Republicans voting aye, 1 Republican voting no.

14. The child-labor bill. Passed in 1916, two Republicans voted no.

15. Anti-injunction law, for the protection of labor against oppression. Passed Democratic House in 1912, 80 Republicans voted aye, 31 Republicans voted no.

16. Spanish War widows' pension bill. Passed in 1916. No opposing votes.

17. Rural credits bill. Passed in 1916, and denounced in the Republican platform, but on the vote in the House, 108 Republicans voted aye, and 10 Republicans voted no.

18. Four agricultural bills, of peculiar interest to the farmers.

First. The bill to prevent gambling in farm products.

Second. The warehouse bill.

Third. The bill for grading grain.

Fourth. The agricultural extension bill. These bills passed in 1916. No record vote in opposition to the first measure. On the second bill 125 Republicans voted aye, and 31 Republicans no. On the third bill there were no opposing votes. To the fourth bill there was no opposition.

Mr. Speaker this is a formidable aggregate of legislation. Certainly we do not appear to have erred in the matter of omission, for apparently we have provided for every subject matter calling for appropriate treatment. The interests of the farmers, the interests of labor, the interests of the children, the interests of the manufacturers confronted with unfair competition, the interests of the workingmen injured in dangerous employments, the interests of the small land buyer who wants easy money on long time, the interests of labor on the railroads, and in other occupations requiring safety appliances, the interests of general business which require a sound and elastic currency, these are all provided for in the measures I have cited. We wait in vain to be arraigned before the country by our Republican opponents on the demerits of this legislation. Even the doughty champion of that party for the Presidency, the Hon. Charles E. Hughes, declines to take issue on this imposing total of Democratic enactments, which must stand upon their merits, or fall upon their demerits. Surely the wit of our Republican opponents can contrive an indictment against a portion at least, of this legislation. The country expected that Mr. Hughes would find in this body of comprehensive statutes something upon which to make a real issue. But when called upon to define his attitude, he responded by announcing that he stood for undiluted Americanism.

Truly, a clear expression of a definite attitude, and a positive policy! He might as well have announced that the moon was made of green cheese, and rested his appeal to the voters upon that declaration. Failing to formulate any charge of inadequacy, or insufficiency against the legislation upon which the Democratic Party rests its claim for reelection, the Republicans by their silence, admit its merit and sufficiency.

Mr. Speaker, the measures that I have cited, and others that might be cited, constitute a proud record. The Democratic Party has made good, and to each specific promise announced in its platform, it has responded with appropriate legislation.

We promised legitimate business, protection against illegitimate business, and to redeem that promise have passed an antitrust law. The foundation of universal business, is universal opportunity, but universal opportunity did not exist in the trade world until a Democratic Congress passed a trade-commission bill to make all trade, fair trade, and protect the little fellows against the oppressions of overweening rivals.

Every American wants to be a landowner. For years the Republicans promised a rural-credit bill, but kept the word of promise to the ear only. It remained for a Democratic Congress to enact a real rural-credit bill, one that will afford long-time loans on easy terms to the men who hunger to own their own farms, but for lack of means, and high rates of interest, are unable to achieve their desire.

Our merchant marine has been the laughingstock of the world. We have utterly lacked for the past 50 years the ships with which to transport our own goods to foreign markets. The Republican Party promised, and promised, and promised, but took no steps to remove the encumbering and antiquated laws which effectually hindered the development of a privately owned American merchant marine. A Democratic Congress has passed a shipping law which will set that marine upon its feet, and cause American yards to work to their utmost capacity.

The expenditure of money in national elections, particularly in the presidential campaigns, has been a national scandal. The Rucker corrupt-practice act, another piece of Democratic legislation, will effectually curtail these expenditures, and remove this scandal.

The popular election of Senators was agitated for many years. It remained for a Democratic Congress to enact the amendment that provides for that election. This amendment has been ratified by the States.

The general condition of the wage earners has been improved by many laws relating to hours of labor, safety appliances, and relief against oppressive practices. Then of course there is the tariff bill to which I have briefly referred. The Republicans promised to revise the tariff, and offered the Payne-Aldrich bill as the redemption of their promise. On this bill they went to the country, and were utterly defeated.

The incoming Democratic Congress thereupon revised the tariff in the Underwood tariff bill, a measure just alike to the consumers, the manufacturers, and the producers. As a supplement to this measure, we have enacted the nonpartisan tariff commission bill, designed to take the tariff out of politics. Under the Underwood act the country has greatly prospered. Every manufacturing industry has readily adjusted itself to the new conditions, and earned new dividends for the stockholders. This measure is no longer in issue. Two years ago the issue was submitted in the congressional election of 1914, and the act was vindicated by the election of a Democratic Congress. The tariff is out of politics, and should remain out of politics.

A Democratic administration has given this country admittedly the best currency system that it has ever known. In the words of a colleague, "The old system was a rank panic breeder. When the prospect was brightest, and the hum of industry was heard through the land, two links in the chain would suddenly snap, tearing to shreds the whole business fabric, and carrying dismay to every community on the continent." We lived under the shadow of disaster all the time. At regular intervals the storm clouds gathered, the lightnings flashed, the thunder roared, and the storm burst. Disaster followed disaster in quick succession, until the whole country reeled with the shock. This happened in 1873, in 1896, and again in the Roosevelt money panic of 1907, when so many of the banks of the country resorted to the use of scrip, and we were saved from even greater disasters by the house of Morgan, and the powers of Wall Street. It is even now a mortifying reflection that this great country, with its infinite resources was unable to save itself, but in consequence of the miserable system then prevailing was compelled to call outsiders to its relief. But this situation will not recur. The country is no longer dependent for salvation upon the czars and kaisers, the princes and princelets of Wall Street.

"The first notable financial achievement of the present Democratic administration was to revolutionize this wretched currency system, the unhappy victims of which are without number, and the losses beyond human approximation. They affected not alone the financial institutions immediately involved, but the merchants whose credits were suspended, the industries whose shops were closed, the railroads whose cars were made idle, the farmers whose crops rotted in the fields, and the laborer who was deprived of his just wage. No business enterprise, or any individual, ever entirely escaped."

And so once again the Democrats when confronted with responsibility, proved themselves to be equal to the demands of the hour. Time after time the Republicans promised to reform the currency. The net result of their efforts in this direction was an expenditure of over $250,000, and the accumulation of a vast col-

lection of monetary essays, of little value for the solution of the practical questions involved.

But the crowning work, I might almost say, of a Democratic Congress, is the Shackleford bill, providing Federal aid for road construction in the States. This measure will reach into, and affect with its benefits every community, of every State in the Union. It marks the beginning of an era of universal road construction that will give the country a system of wagon roads that will be of vast and permanent utility to the farmers, and the urban dwellers alike.

This is the story of Democratic legislation. No wonder the opposition has not dared to make an attack in the open. No wonder that Mr. Candidate Hughes prefers such glittering generalities, as "undiluted Americanism," to the difficult, nay impossible task of making an issue over these measures of notable achievement. Like the darky preacher who argified with the sinners, and sputified over the Scriptures, but failed "to specify the wherein," Mr. Hughes and his followers have failed to specify wherein this legislation is defective, unwise, and undesirable, or to indicate what, if any of it, if opportunity is afforded, they will repeal.

No wonder the Republicans in Congress voted in such large numbers for these measures. They dared not do otherwise, and go before their constituents.

There are many other measures of intense local interest, and practical value, that I have not mentioned, measures for flood control in the Mississippi and Sacramento Valleys, measures for the development of Territorial Alaska, measures for forest conservation, measures for the development of our water power, and of our great arid areas. These measures are local, but the larger measures that I have cited are neither local, nor sectional in their character and application. They relate to, and affect the interests of all the people of the entire country, and constitute the magnificent redemption of every pledge made by the Democratic Party to enact the legislation imperatively required by public conditions.

No wonder that Bainbridge Colby, the man who nominated Roosevelt at Chicago, has been constrained within the last few days to pay the following tribute to the work of the Democrats in Congress:

The achievements of the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, in the field of progressive legislation, constitute much more than an appeal for support. The opposition to the President's reelection proceeds from an unregenerate Republicanism that has weathered the danger of reform, reabsorbed its most vociferous critic—

I presume he refers to Roosevelt—

and abandoned itself to rancid reaction. There they are, the Old Guard. See for yourself. Count for yourself.

Mr. Colby is a Republican. He ought to know the things whereof he speaks with so much fervor. As a witness against the Old Guard, and the rancid reactionaries who are running the Republican campaign, he is a brand plucked from the burning. The measures that I have grouped for special reference, constitute the seed that the Democrats have sowed in the field of legislation, the hardy trees that they have planted. What of the fruits? Are they good, or evil? To-day the United States is at the very highest pinnacle of wealth and happiness.

The real indices of domestic prosperity are railway earnings, production of pig iron, building operations, and bank clearances. The condition of the iron, and steel trade is regarded as the barometer of the business world. The reports of the earnings of the railway transportation lines exhibit one and all great gains. Up to March 31 of this year the net increases in the railway earnings were over $250,000,000 greater than for the year ending March 31, 1915. And mark you, this means more business, not the oppression of the shippers by the imposition of greater rates. The transportation charges of the railroad lines are now held to a reasonable level by the constraining authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission. No longer are these companies enabled to put more money into their pockets, by the simple device of making the shipper pay more for his transportation, until finally they load down the traffic with all that it will carry. Building is conspicuously active in every city, town, and hamlet in the United States. In the iron and steel trades, not only are all the establishments running on full time, but their products are sold months, and in some instances years ahead. The reports from the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury show new high records in the matter of the resources of the banks of the central reserve, and reserve cities, and of the deposits in these cities.

[Associated Press dispatch, May 28, 1916.]

Resources of nearly $8,000,000,000, a new high record were held by the national banks of the central reserve, and reserve cities of the country, on May 1, so Comptroller Williams announced last night. He issued this statement; The abstract of the condition of all national banks, in the central reserve, and reserve cities, as of May 1, 1916, shows that their resources have reached another high-water mark, total resources being reported as $7,976,000,000, an increase of $259,000,000 over the call of March 7. The deposits in these national banks were $6,593,000,000, an increase of $249,000,000, while loans and discounts increased from $4,164,000,000 to $4,212,000,000 on May 1.

Money is abundant, and available on easy terms for every form of legitimate enterprise.

The figures of the Geological Survey show that the production of iron ore during the year 1916 sets a new high record. To date the production has been 83 per cent greater than for the corresponding period of last year. The production of pig iron for the same period is 66 per cent greater than for last year, while the prices both for pig, and the manufactured products, are in the highest degree satisfactory for all parties concerned. The par value of the stocks of the Bethlehem Steel Co. a few years ago, was $16,534,000. The present value is $115,803,000. Appreciation in these stocks is $99,269,000, or over 500 per cent. A comparative statement of other industrial companies shows advances almost as great as appear in the case of Bethlehem Steel. I refer to companies that are not concerned in munition making, but which supply the industrial wants of this country, and of the world. The figures cited do not seem to presage panic under a Democratic administration, or the advent of hard times.

The figures of the coal output are extraordinary, as given in a report of the Geological Survey. According to this report, the production during the first half of this year was the greatest ever recorded in any half year period. The figures show an output of over 261,000,000 tons, a 35 per cent increase over the first six months of 1915. The estimates of the bureau indicate that over 500,000,000 tons will be mined during the year 1916, a new high record.

What this means in the way of increased traffic for the railroads, and prosperity for all the interests concerned, needs no comment. At no time in the history of our country has our export business been so great. The exports for May of this year were $61,000,000 greater than for the high record of the March last preceding, and total the sum of $472,000,000.

Our foreign trade for the last fiscal year amounts in round numbers to $6,300,000,000, or $2,000,000,000 more than our trade of two years ago. These figures show the amazing extent to which our commerce has increased with every quarter of the globe. For years London has been the center of world trade, but within the last 12 months New York has advanced to the primacy, and is now the world's biggest port. During the last 12 months New York's total of exports and imports amounted to over $2,125,000,000, exceeding the export and import business of London during that period by over $200,000,000. The cost of collection of our internal revenues affords the most remarkable evidence of Democratic capacity, and Democratic efficiency. The receipts from this source for the last fiscal year amounted to the sum total of $572,740,769. This vast sum was collected at a cost of only 1.4 per cent, a new high record of economy.

In connection with the truly extraordinary advance in other business, there has been a notable recent increase in the output of our shipyards, portending the reestablishment of an American merchant marine under the shipping bill passed at this session of Congress. The crying need of the hour is ships with which to transport the products of our farms, and factories to the countries which are clamorously demanding them. "Bursting granaries, teeming factories, overladen ships," that is the story, and the cry is ever for more ships, and more ships, and still more ships for the transportation of the goods piled high on the congested wharves at every port on our coast. The figures given out by the Bureau of Navigation of the Department of Commerce show that shipbuilding in American yards has practically been quadrupled:

On July 1, 1915, there were but 76 vessels of 310,089 gross tons building, or under contract in our yards, compared with 385 vessels of 1,225,784 tons, on July 1, 1916.

Every shipyard is working to capacity, building cargo vessels, bulk oil vessels, colliers, and combined passenger and cargo vessels. The fact that they are building only two purely passenger vessels shows that the business world is preparing for cargo traffic on an immense scale. As a result of these condition in the business world, the products of the farm, meat, corn, wheat, tobacco, and cotton have been rapidly advancing. The price of hogs, and cotton is the highest known. The following table of present prices on the Washington market is interesting reading:

Prices to-day in the markets of the city were about as follows:
Eggs: Hennery, 35 cents to 40 cents per dozen; gathered, 30 cents to 33 cents per dozen.
Poultry: Chickens, 28 cents to 35 cents per pound; broilers, 30 cents to 35 cents per pound; hens, 23 cents to 25 cents per pound; roosters, 16 cents to 18 cents per pound; turkeys, 30 cents to 35 cents per pound; ducks, 25 cents per pound.
Butter: Best creamery, 45 cents per pound; oleomargarine, 15 cents to 30 cents per pound; renovated, 32 cents per pound; medium grades, 35 cents to 45 cents per pound.

Meats: Lamb, 18 cents to 40 cents per pound; beef roast, 18 cents to 30 cents per pound; beefsteak, 25 cents to 35 cents per pound; beef, stewing, 15 cents to 18 cents per pound; veal, 18 cents to 35 cents per pound; bacon, piece, 22 cents to 25 cents per pound; bacon, sliced, 28 cents to 35 cents per pound; pork roast, 25 cents to 30 cents per pound; mutton, 25 cents to 35 cents per pound; pork chops, 25 cents to 30 cents per pound; pork hams, 20 cents to 22 cents per pound; pork shoulder, 18 cents to 20 cents per pound; smoked ham, 20 cents to 23 cents per pound; smoked shoulder, 16 cents to 20 cents per pound; corned ham, 20 cents to 22 cents per pound.

A few nonpartisan witnesses testifying to the conditions of business, and the fact of universal prosperity will be called. The testimony of these witnesses will make interesting reading.

The tide of business is rising at an accelerated pace, and an era of widespread activity is in prospect. Of late industrial expansion has been phenomenally rapid. Reports from nearly all the sections of the country, tell of the unchecked growth of new enterprises, which is everywhere stimulated by the exceptional strength of the fundamental situation. Current transactions, with few exceptions, are steadily enlarging, as is evidenced by the comparisons of bank clearings, railroad earnings, commodity prices, and other statistical barometers. (Dun's Review, October, 1915.)

Not only is there no step backward in general business, but each week the pendulum of progress swings over a wider area, and confidence is further strengthened. Few discordant notes mar the cheerful tone of reports from the leading centers, and trades. A change of spirit finds expression in the launching of many deferred undertakings, while more new enterprises are being started than for several years past. Instead of marked hesitation and caution, large projects are conceived and carried into effect, in a manner that attests the increased confidence prevailing in the commercial world. (Dun's Review, Oct. 30, 1915.)

Trade as well as industries still moves at a brisk pace; prices continue to advance, deliveries of raw, and finished material are complained of as slow, railway traffic is congested, supplies of money are plethoric, and collections are good. (Bradstreet, February, 1916.)

A tale now rather commonplace, is told by the week's reports. A prominent characteristic is unprecedented activity in all the larger lines, distributing, as well as manufacturing. There is a shortage of goods, a steady climbing of prices, and a widespread complaint of an inability to get supplies. (Bradstreet, March, 1916.)

There is no longer any complaint of deferred buying, but of difficulty in meeting the steadily expanding requirements. Exports continue in notably heavy volume, while internal trade is swelled as the holiday season approaches. Development of Christmas business, fulfills the most optimistic expectations. Weekly bank clearings, $3,831,001,525. (Dun's Review, December, 1915.)

The United States Steel Corporation began this month with unfilled orders amounting to 6,165,452 tons of steel. This is the largest amount for years, and is an increase of 847,834 tons over the figures of October 1. Most of the steel is for railroads, bridges, steel-frame building, and manufacturing. This seems to show a healthy state of general business. (Current Events, November, 1915.)

These citations might be multiplied indefinitely, but I will call only two additional witnesses to prosperity, this time from the opposition, and will insert a few brief citations from the editorial, and news columns of those stalwart Republican papers, the Washington Post, and the Washington Times.

[Extract from editorial of Washington Post of Jan. 16, 1916.]

BUSINESS STEADILY EXPANDING IN VOLUME AND INCREASING IN VALUES.

The pushing forward of extensions to industrial establishments, the increase of capacities to output in mines, mills, shops, and factories; the construction of new mills, new shops, new factories continue to be marked features of business in the United States.

The increase of wages of employees in important branches of employment of labor is an accompaniment of the expansion of outputting.

The fact that building operations noted in December, 1915, were of a value, take the country over, of more than 65 per cent increase as compared with the total of December, 1914, is most significant and speaks very encouragingly for building work during the present year.

The balance of trade in favor of the United States of rising $50,000,000 as the result of the first week of 1916 exports and imports indicates that the high tide of the last four months of 1915 is still running in full force.

The fact that exports of coal during the year 1915 were double those of 1914 tells the story of prosperity in the mining regions north, south, and west of the District of Columbia, as well as of the railways which transport the coal and the ports which are benefited by the greater commerce brings to their people.

[Extract from editorial of Washington Post, Apr. 2, 1916.]

ENORMOUS DEMANDS OF THE PUBLIC FOR MANUFACTURERS' PRODUCTS AND MERCHANTS' STOCK OF MERCHANDISE.

As all business men well know, for the first three months of 1916 labor in every branch, labor skilled and unskilled, was employed in greater numbers of persons and in a greater percentage of the available total than ever before in the history of the United States at that period of the year. The reports of State and National officials have also shown that during the last quarter of 1915 the average wage paid was higher than at any other period of our records.

The past three months have witnessed advances in wages of employees over those paid in 1915 to an extent that has increased the daily, weekly, and monthly earning power of more than 1,000,000 of our industrial workers.

Our mills, our furnaces, our factories, our shops, our manufacturing establishments, and our mines are not only crowded with employees earning good wages, but the unfilled orders upon the books of the companies, firms, or individuals controlling these are so large that they guarantee full capacity output for many months ahead, and this is in itself a guaranty of steady, constant, employment to the workers, heavy pay rolls, and enormous demands for materials.

Some of the great steel companies are already booking orders for hundreds of thousands of tons of their outputs for delivery to their customers in 1917.

[Extract from editorial of Washington Post of Mar. 25, 1916.]

There are no persons idle in this country now who are capable of work and desire employment. Farms, mines, shops, mills, factories, the trades—all offer employment to persons capable of doing the necessary work, and they offer steady jobs and at wages that have never been surpassed in amount.

There never were so many people in the United States as there is at this writing; there never was so large a percentage of the population employed as there is now, and never at such continuous work and such high average scale of pay as the present moment.

With the opening of the spring the calls for labor in this country will grow more urgent, and the business activities, already unparalleled in extent, will become still more extended.

With the opening of the spring the earning powers of our 100,000,000 of inhabitants will assume enormous proportions, and this earning power carries with it a purchasing power that will increase proportionately.

If our sales to foreign countries have exceeded all expectations and broken all records, so has the purchasing power of our own people, and the best records of the retail trade in the year 1915 will be far exceeded in the retail trade of this country during the months of the year 1916.

[From the Washington Post.]

UNPRECEDENTED BUSINESS ACTIVITY THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC.

There exist unprecedented activities in the industrial districts of the United States, and in many of the most important branches of manufacturing orders unfilled are constantly increasing, even with full capacity of output being maintained.

When the phrase or term "full capacity of output" is used it should be remembered that capacities of many industrial plants have been largely increased during the past 18 months and that now "full capacity" means vastly greater volumes and values than were possible in 1912, 1913, or 1914.

In very few lines of manufactured goods are there any surplus or reserve stocks, and this statement applies to homemade as well as imported articles and from the ultimate distributer, whether a small shopkeeper or an extensive mercantile establishment, to the mill, the shop, or factory of origin, it is a hand-to-hand business now, with all the agencies dependent and waiting upon the manufacturers for delivery of the needed articles.

Whether the articles desired be metals, woods, stone, brick, or fibers, it is wait, wait all along the line from manufacturer to ultimate consumer, and this condition of commodities being sold far ahead has not been equaled in the United States since the days of the Civil War, more than a half century ago.

The entire country is aware of the "sold-ahead" condition in the iron and steel trades, in the copper, zinc, and lead markets, in nearly every class of machinery output, in the locomotive works, the car factories, the automobile and motor-truck manufactories. Lack of sufficient numbers of skilled operatives in the cotton and woolen mills is causing the piling up of orders in these industries, and this is true of the silk mills as well.

Several of the largest carpet and rug dealers have recalled their salesmen from the road, as the mills turning out carpets and rugs have their outputs sold ahead as far as they care to go at this time.

The new wheat from Texas and Oklahoma has commenced to roll over the railway tracks of the Southwest bound for the markets of this country and those of the world, and from now on to next September the urgency of freight for transportation will tax the facilities of the transportation lines throughout the Union.

Active business, larger business, profitable business is booked for the business men of the United States during every succeeding month of the next fiscal year.

[From the Washington Post.]

BUSINESS IN GOOD FORM AND FINE FETTHER.

We direct attention of the readers of the Post to a few of the many encouraging items of business progress throughout the United States.

These items cover very different lines of affairs, but they all tell the story of amazing prosperity so strongly, so forcibly, so eloquently, that we feel that extended comment upon them is superfluous. Standard Oil Co. of Indiana sales in May showed an increase of 1,000,000 gallons over May, 1915.

Public Service Corporation of New Jersey directors have voted to recommend stockholders to increase the capital stock from $25,000,000 to $50,000,000.

Railway equipment orders placed in the last week included 1,116 cars, and the Habana Central Railway is reported to have placed two orders for steel freight cars this week, each order being for 500 cars.

Dominion Steel Corporation has sold its entire output for the current year.

The Northern Pacific's gross revenue for the first two weeks of June was $2,932,000, a revenue which has been exceeded for a similar period but once in the past seven years.

Southern cotton mills are doing the largest business in their history, and the majority of them have sold up their possible output to the close of the year.

At the single port of New York, from June 10 to June 20, inclusive, the exports amounted in value to $70,880,922; the imports were of a value of $44,001,767. Thus from the business of that one port there was an excess value of exports in the nine business days of the period of nearly $26,000,000.

A contract was closed this week by the Oriental Navigation Co., of Battery Place, New York, to ship 15,000 tons of steel billets to Paris, where they are to be converted into projectiles.

Coal and coke shipments on the Pennsylvania Railroad increased in May 874,077 tons.

A $6,000,000 order for electrical equipment was received by the General Electric Co.

[From Washington Times of July 2, 1916.]

TREASURY BALANCE LARGEST SINCE 1908—M'ADOO REPORTS UNCLE SAM HAS $174,965,231, AND ENDS 1916 WITH $78,737,810 SURPLUS.

Secretary McAdoo reported last night that the balance in the United States Treasury is $174,965,231.97, the largest since 1908. The surplus for 1916 was $78,737,810.11, as compared with 1915's $59,436,580.10 deficit.

Income-tax receipts mounted from $79,000,000 to $124,867,430.28; internal-revenue receipts increased phenomenally to $512,740,769.58.

Not only do we find immense present activity in every line of trade, but as a result of the confidence which our business men have in the future, the "extent to which commodities have been

sold ahead has not been equaled since the Civil War." All the agencies are now waiting and dependent upon the manufacturers for delivery. It has been noted that in "the iron and steel trades, in the cotton, wool and silk mills, orders are piling up every day. Several of the great carpet, and rug manufactories have called in their salesmen, having sold their products ahead as far as they care to go."

Our friends on the Republican side have reluctantly conceded prosperity. But they are unwilling to give credit, where credit belongs. They are strong on insinuating a doubt. Trouble they insist, is just ahead, and the only way that this trouble can be avoided is to call in the party which the country has repudiated for the last six years, and put them on the job. They are woefully afraid that the Democrats will be unable to meet the problems that they insist will confront this country at the conclusion of the European war. Hence their anxiety to sacrifice themselves upon the altar of their country's needs, and devote themselves to the solution of these problems. But this apprehension is confined exclusively to these self-sacrificing patriots. The country goes on its way unafraid. Even the Washington Post can not see a cloud the thickness of a man's hand upon the horizon. In a recent editorial it declared that—

There is not a cloud upon the business sky of the United States at this writing. The prospects are so brilliant, and the results seem to be assured, that they can not fail to be satisfactory to the business men, as well as to the masses of the people—

And why should they not be satisfactory?—

Most of the steel concerns have sold their entire output for the year. The southern cotton mills, in the aggregate, are doing the greatest business of their history. All of the railroads are sending in great orders for equipment.

Steel workers are getting surpassingly high wages, and new high marks are being established in every direction.

Another pretension put forward by the minority is that our prosperity is all war prosperity. Of course it would be foolish to deny that the war has stimulated prices, and exports in certain industries, but the reports of the Department of Commerce show that the purely war exports constitute but a small per cent of the immense volume of our foreign trade. The sufficient answer to this contention is found in another editorial from the much-cited Washington Post:

FORGING AHEAD.

When steel common made its recent high record of 95, it topped the previous peak of 1909 by an eighth of a point. The rise of the present year has been sensational. In February of 1915 the stock had dropped to 38. There had been a recovery of 57 points when the high record of 95 was reached. As against the net earnings for 1909, amounting to more than $131,000,000, the net earnings of 1916 are estimated at $312,000,000. There could be no better evidence of the firm foundation on which the prosperity of the country rests. The United States Steel Corporation is not engaged in manufacturing munitions of war. Its business responds to the demand for railway extensions, the construction of steel bridges, and the need for new buildings. The enormous prosperity of the country is an indication that the country is forging steadily ahead, with abundant prosperity in sight.

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic majority in Congress can point to its jewels with all the pride of a Roman mother. These jewels are, the constructive legislation of the past six years, the universal prosperity and happiness which that legislation has secured, and the blessings of peace, due to the fortitude, and strength of a Democratic Executive. Upon this record we are prepared to go forth, and do battle with our adversary.

## The Revenue Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, to my mind one of the most unpleasant duties that Congress has to perform is the enactment of legislation for the purpose of raising revenue. Yet, so long as governments are instituted, revenue will be required for the conduct of public business and money will be required to run the machinery of the Government.

The policy of the Democratic Party has always been to lay as light taxes upon the American people as possible. To that end it has at all times advocated economy in every branch of the Government service, but as the wealth and population of the country increases and our interstate and foreign commerce grows in volume the needs of the Government also increase, and this demand must be met. The ordinary expense incurred during times of peace has been augmented recently by the demand of the people for preparedness, following the lessons taught by the European war, and this also has been increased by the complications in Mexico.

Up to a few years ago nearly all of our revenue was raised by an internal tax on beverages, cigars, and tobacco, and by duties on imports. Therefore most of our revenue has been raised by indirect taxation. The Democratic Party, by the adoption of the income-tax provision of the so-called Underwood tariff bill and the corporation tax bill has raised nearly $100,000,000 by a direct tax which is imposed, not on the necessaries of life, but upon net incomes of over $3,000 in the case of unmarried, and $4,000 in the case of married citizens of the United States. To my mind it is the most just tax that could be levied, and inasmuch as revenues must be raised to maintain our Government, I do not know of a tax more equitable than the income tax, unless it is the inheritance tax. Neither the income tax nor the inheritance tax places any burden on the great masses of the people, but it is levied against the surplus funds of those people who can afford to pay.

I have for years urged the passage of a bill similar to this, and I will insert as a part of my remarks the bill which I introduced on the subject:

A bill (H. R. 1750) providing for a graduated tax upon all incomes over and above $3,000 annually.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the 1st day of January, 1914, there shall be assessed, levied, collected, and paid annually upon the gains, profits, and income received in the preceding calendar year by every citizen of the United States, whether residing at home or abroad, and every person residing therein, whether said gains, profits, or income be derived from any kind of property, rents, interest, dividends, or salaries, or from any profession, trade, employment, or vocation carried on in the United States or elsewhere, or from any other source whatever, a tax of 1 per cent on the amount so derived over and above $3,000 and below $5,000, 2 per cent on the amount so derived over and above $5,000 and below $10,000, 3 per cent on the amount so derived over and above $10,000 and below $25,000, 4 per cent on the amount so derived over and above $25,000 and below $50,000, 5 per cent on the amount so derived over and above $50,000 and below $100,000, and 6 per cent on the amount so derived over and above $100,000; and a like tax shall be levied, collected, and paid annually upon the gains, profits, and income from all property owned and of every business, trade, or profession carried on in the United States by persons residing without the United States. And the tax herein provided for shall be assessed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and collected and paid upon the gains, profits, and income for the year ending the 31st day of December next preceding the time for levying, collecting, and paying said tax.

SEC. 2. That in estimating the gains, profits, and income of any person there shall be included all income derived from interest upon notes, bonds, and other securities, except such bonds of the United States the principal and interest of which are, by the law of their issuance, exempt from all Federal taxation; profits realized within the year from sales of real estate purchased within two years previous to the close of the year for which income is estimated; interest received or accrued upon all notes, bonds, mortgages, or other forms of indebtedness bearing interest, whether paid or not, if good and collectible, less the interest which has become due from said person or which has been paid by him during the year; the amount of all premium on bonds, notes, or coupons; the amount of sales of live stock, sugar, cotton, wool, butter, cheese, pork, beef, mutton, or other meats, hay and grain, or other vegetable or other productions, being the growth or produce of the estate of such person, less the amount expended in the purchase or production of said stock or produce, and not including any part thereof consumed directly by the family; money and the value of all personal property acquired by gift or inheritance; all other gains, profits, and income derived from any source whatever except that portion of the salary, compensation, or pay received for services in the civil, military, naval, or other service of the United States, including Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress, from which the tax has been deducted, and except that portion of any salary upon which the employer is required by law to withhold, and does withhold, the tax and pays the same to the officer authorized to receive it. In computing incomes the necessary expenses actually incurred in carrying on any business, occupation, or profession shall be deducted, and also all interest due or paid within the year by such person on existing indebtedness. And all national, State, county, school, and municipal taxes, not including those assessed against local benefits, paid within the year shall be deducted from the gains, profits, or income of the person who has actually paid the same, whether such person be owner, tenant, or mortgagor; also losses actually sustained during the year, incurred in trade or arising from fires, storms, or shipwreck, and not compensated for by insurance or otherwise, and debts ascertained to be worthless, but excluding all estimated depreciation of values and losses within the year on sales of real estate purchased within two years previous to the year for which income is estimated: *Provided*, That no deduction shall be made for any amount paid out for new buildings, permanent improvements or betterments, made to increase the value of any property or estate: *Provided further*, That only one deduction of $3,000 shall be made from the aggregate income of all the members of any family, composed of one or both parents, and one or more minor children, or husband and wife; that guardians shall be allowed to make a deduction in favor of each and every ward, except that in case where two or more wards are comprised in one family, and have joint property interests, the aggregate deduction in their favor shall not exceed $3,000: *And provided further*, That in cases where the salary or other compensation paid to any person in the employment or service of the United States shall not exceed the rate of $3,000 per annum, or shall be by fees, or uncertain or irregular in the amount or in the time during which the same shall have accrued or been earned, such salary or other compensation shall be included in estimating the annual gains, profits, or income of the person to whom the same shall have been paid, and shall include that portion of any income or salary upon which a tax has not been paid by the employer, where the employer is required

by law to pay on the excess over $3,000: *Provided also*, That in computing the income of any person, corporation, company, or association there shall not be included the amount received from any corporation, company, or association as dividends upon the stock of such corporation, company, or association if the tax provided for in section 1 has been paid upon its net profits by said corporation, company, or association as required by this act.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of all persons of lawful age having an income of more than $3,000 for the taxable year, computed on the basis herein prescribed, to make and render a list of return, on or before the day provided by law, in such form and manner as may be directed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to the collector or a deputy collector of the district in which they reside, of the amount of their income, gains, and profits, as aforesaid; and all guardians and trustees, executors, administrators, agents, receivers, and all persons or corporations acting in any fiduciary capacity, shall make and render a list or return, as aforesaid, to the collector or a deputy collector of the district in which such person or corporation acting in a fiduciary capacity resides or does business, of the amount of income, gains, and profits of any minor or person for whom they act, but persons having less than $3,000 income are not required to make such report; and the collector or deputy collector shall require every list or return to be verified by the oath or affirmation of the party rendering it, and may increase the amount of any list or return if he has reason to believe that the same is understated; and in case any such person having a taxable income shall neglect or refuse to make and render such list and return, or shall render a willfully false or fraudulent list or return, it shall be the duty of the collector or deputy collector to make such list, according to the best information he can obtain, by the examination of such person, or any other evidence, and to add 50 per cent as a penalty to the amount of the tax due on such list in all cases of willful neglect or refusal to make and render a list or return; and in all cases of a willfully false or fraudulent list or return having been rendered to add 100 per cent as a penalty to the amount of tax ascertained to be due, the tax and the additions thereto as a penalty to be assessed and collected in the manner provided for in other cases of willful neglect or refusal to render a list or return, or of rendering a false or fraudulent return; and such willful neglect or refusal to render a list or return, or the rendering of a false or fraudulent return shall be a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, at the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That any person or corporation, in his, her, or its own behalf, or as such fiduciary, shall be permitted to declare, under oath or affirmation, the form and manner of which shall be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, that he, she, or his or her, or its ward or beneficiary, was not possessed of an income of $3,000, liable to be assessed according to the provisions of this act; or may declare that he, she, or it, or his, her, or its ward or beneficiary has been assessed and has paid an income tax elsewhere in the same year, under authority of the United States, upon all his, her, or its income, gains, or profits, and upon all the income, gains, or profits for which he, she, or it is liable as such fiduciary, as prescribed by law; and if the collector or deputy collector shall be satisfied of the truth of the declaration, such person or corporation shall thereupon be exempt from income tax in the said district for that year; or if the list or return of any person or corporation, company, or association shall have been increased by the collector or deputy collector, such person or corporation, company, or association may be permitted to prove the amount of income liable to be assessed; but such proof shall not be considered as conclusive of the facts, and no deductions claimed in such cases shall be made or allowed until approved by the collector or deputy collector. Any person or company, corporation, or association feeling aggrieved by the decision of the deputy collector, in such cases may appeal to the collector of the district, and his decision thereon, unless reversed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, shall be final. If dissatisfied with the decision of the collector, such person or corporation, company, or association may submit the case, with all the papers, to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for his decision, and may furnish the testimony of witnesses to prove any relevant facts, having served notice to that effect upon the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, as herein prescribed.

Such notice shall state the time and place at which, and the officer before whom, the testimony will be taken; the name, age, residence, and business of the proposed witness, with the questions to be propounded to the witness, or a brief statement of the substance of the testimony he is expected to give: *Provided*, That the Government may at the same time and place take testimony upon like notice to rebut the testimony of the witnesses examined by the person taxed.

The notice shall be delivered or mailed to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue a sufficient number of days previous to the day fixed for taking the testimony, to allow him, after its receipt, at least five days, exclusive of the period required for mail communication with the place at which the testimony is to be taken, in which to give, should he so desire, instructions as to the cross-examination of the proposed witness.

Whenever practicable, the affidavit or deposition shall be taken before a collector or deputy collector of internal revenue, in which case reasonable notice shall be given to the collector or deputy collector of the time fixed for taking the deposition or affidavit: *Provided further*, That no penalty shall be assessed upon any person or corporation, company, or association for such neglect or refusal or for making or rendering a willfully false or fraudulent return, except after reasonable notice of the time and place of hearing, to be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, so as to give the person charged an opportunity to be heard.

SEC. 4. That the taxes on incomes herein imposed shall be due and payable on or before the 1st day of July in each year; and to any sum or sums annually due and unpaid after the 1st day of July as aforesaid, and for 10 days after notice and demand thereof by the collector, there shall be levied, in addition thereto, the sum of 5 per cent on the amount of taxes unpaid, and interest at the rate of 1 per cent per month upon said tax from the time the same becomes due, as a penalty, except from the estates of deceased, insane, or insolvent persons.

SEC. 5. That any nonresident may receive the benefit of the exemptions hereinbefore provided for by filing with the deputy collector of any district a true list of all his property and sources of income in the United States and complying with the provisions of section 3 of this act as if a resident. In computing income he shall include all income from every source, but unless he be a citizen of the United States he shall only pay on that part of the income which is derived from any source in the United States. In case such nonresident fails to file such statement, the collector of each district shall collect the tax on the income derived from property situated in his district, subject to income tax, making no allowance for exemptions, and all property belonging to such nonresident shall be liable to distraint for tax: *Provided*, That nonresident corporations shall be subject to the same laws as to tax as resident corporations, and the collection of the tax shall be made in the same manner as provided for collections of taxes against nonresident persons.

SEC. 6. That there shall be assessed, levied, and collected, except as as herein otherwise provided, a tax as provided for in section 1 annually on the net profits or income above actual operating and business expenses, including expenses for materials purchased for manufacture or bought for resale, losses, and interest on bonded and other indebtedness of all banks, banking institutions, trust companies, saving institutions, fire, marine, life, and other insurance companies, railroad, canal, turnpike, canal navigation, slack water, telephone, telegraph, express, electric light, gas, water, street railway companies, and all other corporations, companies, or associations doing business for profit in the United States, no matter how created and organized, but not including partnerships.

That said tax shall be paid on or before the 1st day of July in each year; and if the president or other chief officer of any corporation, company, or association, or in the case of any foreign corporation, company, or association, the resident manager or agent shall neglect or refuse to file with the collector of the internal-revenue district in which said corporation, company, or association shall be located or be engaged in business, a statement verified by his oath or affirmation, in such form as shall be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, showing the amount of net profits or income received by said corporation, company, or association during the whole calendar year last preceding the date of filing said statement as hereinafter required, the corporation, company, or association making default shall forfeit as a penalty the sum of $1,000 and 2 per cent on the amount of taxes due, for each month until the same is paid, the payment of said penalty to be enforced as provided in other cases of neglect and refusal to make return of taxes under the internal-revenue laws.

The net profits or income of all corporations, companies, or associations shall include the amounts paid to shareholders, or carried to the account of any fund, or used for construction, enlargement of plant, or any other expenditure or investment paid from the net annual profits made or acquired by said corporations, companies, or associations.

That nothing herein contained shall apply to States, counties, or municipalities; nor to corporations, companies, or associations organized and conducted solely for charitable, religious, or educational purposes, including fraternal beneficiary societies, orders, or associations operating upon the lodge system and providing for the payment of life, sick, accident, and other benefits to the members of such societies, orders, or associations and dependents of such members; nor to the stocks, shares, funds, or securities held by any fiduciary or trustee for charitable, religious, or educational purposes; nor to building and loan associations or companies which make loans only to their shareholders; nor to such savings banks, savings institutions, or societies as shall, first, have no stockholders or members except depositors and no capital except deposits; secondly, shall not receive deposits to an aggregate amount, in any one year, of more than $1,000 from the same depositor; thirdly, shall not allow an accumulation or total of deposits, by any one depositor, exceeding $10,000; fourthly, shall actually divide and distribute to its depositors, ratably to deposits, all the earnings over the necessary and proper expenses of such bank, institution, or society, except such as shall be applied to surplus; fifthly, shall not possess, in any form, a surplus fund exceeding 10 per cent of its aggregate deposits; nor to such savings banks, savings institutions, or societies composed of members who do not participate in the profits thereof and which pay interest or dividends only to their depositors; nor to that part of the business of any savings bank, institution, or other similar association having a capital stock that is conducted on the mutual plan solely for the benefit of its depositors on such plan, and which shall keep its accounts of its business conducted on such mutual plan separate and apart from its other accounts.

Nor to any insurance company or association which conducts all its business solely upon the mutual plan, and only for the benefit of its policy holders or members, and having no capital stock and no stock or share holders, and holding all its property in trust and in reserve for its policy holders or members; nor to that part of the business of any insurance company having a capital stock and stock and share holders, which is conducted on the mutual plan, separate from its stock plan of insurance, and solely for the benefit of the policy holders and members insured on said mutual plan, and holding all the property belonging to and derived from said mutual part of its business in trust and reserve for the benefit of its policy holders and members insured on said mutual plan.

That all State, county, municipal, and town taxes paid by corporations, companies, or associations shall be included in the operating and business expenses of such corporations, companies, or associations.

SEC. 7. That there shall be levied, collected, and paid on all salaries of officers, or payments for services to persons in the civil, military, naval, or other employment or service of the United States, including Senators and Representatives and Delegates in Congress, when exceeding the rate of $3,000 per annum, a tax as is provided for in section 1 on the excess above the said $3,000; and it shall be the duty of all paymasters and all disbursing officers under the Government of the United States, or persons in the employ thereof, when making any payment to any officers or persons as aforesaid, whose compensation is determined by a fixed salary, or upon settling or adjusting the accounts of such officers or persons, to deduct and withhold the aforesaid tax as provided for in section 1; and the pay roll, receipt, or account of officers or persons paying such tax as aforesaid shall be made to exhibit the fact of such payment. And it shall be the duty of the accounting officers of the Treasury Department, when auditing the accounts of any paymaster or disbursing officer, or any officer withholding his salary from moneys received by him, or when settling or adjusting the accounts of any such officer, to require evidence that the taxes mentioned in this section have been deducted and paid over to the Treasurer of the United States, or other officer authorized to receive the same. Every corporation which pays to any employee a salary or compensation exceeding $3,000 per annum shall report the same to the collector or deputy collector of his district and said employee shall pay thereon, subject to the exemptions herein provided for, the tax as provided for in section 1 on the excess of his salary over $3,000: *Provided*, That salaries due to State, county, or municipal officers shall be exempt from the income tax herein levied.

SEC. 8. That sections 3167, 3172, 3173, and 3176 of the Revised Statutes of the United States as amended are hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 3167. That it shall be unlawful for any collector, deputy collector, agent, clerk, or other officer or employee of the United States to divulge or to make known in any manner whatever not provided by law to any person the operations, style of work, or apparatus of any manufacturer or producer visited by him in the discharge of his official duties, or the amount or source of income, profits, losses, expenditures, or any particular thereof, set forth or disclosed in any income return by any person or corporation, or to permit any income return or copy thereof or any book containing any abstract or particulars thereof to be seen or examined by any person except as provided by law; and it shall be unlawful for any person to print or publish in any manner whatever not provided by law any income return or any part thereof or the amount or source of income, profits, losses, or expenditures appearing in any income return; and any offense against the foregoing provision shall be a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, at the discretion of the court; and if the offender be an officer or employee of the United States he shall be dismissed from office and be incapable thereafter of holding any office under the Government.

"SEC. 3172. That every collector shall, from time to time, cause his deputies to proceed through every part of his district and inquire after and concerning all persons therein who are liable to pay any internal-revenue tax, and all persons owning or having the care and management of any objects liable to pay any tax, and to make a list of such persons and enumerate said objects.

"Sec. 3173. That it shall be the duty of any person, partnership, firm, association, or corporation made liable to any duty, special tax, or other tax imposed by law, when not otherwise provided for, in case of a special tax, on or before the 31st day of July in each year, in case of income tax on or before the first Monday of March in each year, and in other cases before the day on which the taxes accrue, to make a list or return, verified by oath or affirmation, to the collector or a deputy collector of the district where located, of the articles or objects, including the amount of annual income charged with a duty or tax, the quantity of goods, wares, and merchandise made or sold, and charged with a tax, the several rates and aggregate amount, according to the forms and regulations to be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, for which such person, partnership, firm, association, or corporation is liable: *Provided*, That if any person liable to pay any duty or tax, or owning, possessing, or having the care or management of property, goods, wares, and merchandise, articles, or objects liable to pay any duty, tax, or license, shall fail to make and exhibit a list or return required by law, but shall consent to disclose the particulars of any and all the property, goods, wares, and merchandise, articles, and objects liable to pay any duty or tax, or any business or occupation liable to pay any tax as aforesaid, then and in that case it shall be the duty of the collector or deputy collector to make such list or return, which, being distinctly read, consented to, and signed and verified by oath or affirmation by the person so owning, possessing, or having the care and management as aforesaid, may be received as the list of such person: *Provided further*, That in case no annual list or return has been rendered by such person to the collector or deputy collector as required by law, and the person shall be absent from his or her residence or place of business at the time the collector or a deputy collector shall call for the annual list or return, it shall be the duty of such collector or deputy collector to leave at such place of residence or business, with some one of suitable age and discretion, if such be present, otherwise to deposit in the nearest post office, a note or memorandum addressed to such person, requiring him or her to render to such collector or deputy collector the list or return required by law, within 10 days from the date of such note or memorandum, verified by oath or affirmation. And if any person on being notified or required as aforesaid shall refuse or neglect to render such list or return within the time required as aforesaid or whenever any person who is required to deliver a monthly or other return of objects subject to tax fails to do so at the time required, or delivers any return which, in the opinion of the collector, is false or fraudulent, or contains any undervaluation or understatement, it shall be lawful for the collector to summon such person, or any other person having possession, custody, or care of books of account containing entries relating to the business of such person, or any other person he may deem proper, to appear before him and produce such books, at a time and place named in the summons, and to give testimony or answer interrogatories, under oath, respecting any objects liable to tax, or the returns thereof. The collector may summon any person residing or found within the State in which his district lies; and when the person intended to be summoned does not reside and can not be found within such State, he may enter any collection district where such person may be found and there make the examination herein authorized. And to this end he may there exercise all the authority which he might lawfully exercise in the district for which he was commissioned.

"SEC. 3176. That when any person, corporation, company, or association refuses or neglects to render any return or list required by law, or renders a false or fraudulent return or list, the collector, or any deputy collector, shall make, according to the best information which he can obtain, including that derived from the evidence elicited by the examination of the collector, and on his own view and information, such list or return, according to the form prescribed, of the income, property, and objects liable to tax owned or possessed or under the care or management of such person, or corporation, company, or association, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall assess all taxes not paid by stamps, including the amount, if any, due for special tax, income, or other tax; and in case of any return of a false or fraudulent list or valuation, intentionally, he shall add 100 per cent to such tax; and in case of a refusal or neglect, except in cases of sickness or absence, to make a list or return, or to verify the same, as aforesaid, he shall add 50 per cent to such tax. In case of neglect occasioned by sickness or absence, as aforesaid, the collector may allow such further time for making and delivering such list or return as he may deem necessary, not exceeding 30 days. The amount so added to the tax shall be collected at the same time and in the same manner as the tax, unless the neglect or falsity is discovered after the tax has been paid, in which case the amount so added shall be collected in the same manner as the tax; and the list or return so made and subscribed by such collector or deputy collector shall be held prima facie good and sufficient for all legal purposes."

SEC. 9. That every corporation, company, or association doing business for profit shall make and render to the collector of its collection district, on or before the first Monday of March in every year, beginning with the year 1914, a full return, verified by oath or affirmation, in such form as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may prescribe, of all the following matters for the whole calendar year last preceding the date of such return:

First. The gross profits of such corporation, company, or association from all kinds of business of every name and nature.

Second. The expenses of such corporation, company, or association exclusive of interest, annuities, and dividends.

Third. The net profits of such corporation, company, or association, without allowance for interest, annuities, or dividends.

Fourth. The amount paid on account of interest, annuities, and dividends, stated separately.

Fifth. The amount paid in salaries of $3,000 or less to each person employed.

Sixth. The amount paid in salaries of more than $3,000 to each person employed and the name and address of each of such persons and the amount paid to each.

SEC. 10. That it shall be the duty of every corporation, company, or association doing business for profit to keep full, regular, and accurate books of account, upon which all its transactions shall be entered from day to day, in regular order, and whenever a collector or deputy collector of the district in which any corporation, company, or association is assessable shall believe that a true and correct return of the income of such corporation, company, or association has not been made, he shall make an affidavit of such belief and of the grounds on which it is founded, and file the same with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue; and if said commissioner shall, on examination thereof, and after full hearing upon notice given to all parties, conclude there is good ground for such belief he shall issue a request in writing to such corporation, company, or association to permit an inspection of the books of such corporation, company, or association to be made; and if such corporation, company, or association shall refuse to comply with such request, then the collector or deputy collector of the district shall make from such information as he can obtain an estimate of the amount of such income and then add 50 per cent thereto, which said assessment so made shall then be the lawful assessment of such income.

SEC. 11. That it shall be the duty of every collector of internal revenue, to whom any payment of any taxes other than the tax represented by an adhesive stamp or other engraved stamp is made under the provisions of this act, to give to the person making such payment a full written or printed receipt, expressing the amount paid and the particular account for which such payment was made; and whenever such payment is made such collector shall, if required, give a separate receipt for each tax paid by any debtor, on account of payments made to or to be made by him to separate creditors in such form that such debtor can conveniently produce the same separately to his several creditors in satisfaction of their respective demands to the amounts specified in such receipts; and such receipts shall be sufficient evidence in favor of such debtor to justify him in withholding the amount therein expressed from his next payment to his creditor; but such creditor may, upon giving to his debtor a full written receipt, acknowledging the payment to him of whatever sum may be actually paid, and accepting the amount of tax paid as aforesaid (specifying the same) as a further satisfaction of the debt to that amount, require the surrender to him of such collector's receipt.

Notwithstanding the fact that the bill which has been reported by the Ways and Means Committee does not embody in its entirety my inheritance-tax bill, still I am pleased and greatly appreciate the fact that the committee has adopted the principle for which I have so long contended. I admit that the bill does not go as far as I would like, and I would have preferred that they should have adopted my original plan, but I feel confident that after this act has been in force for a few years the people will see that my proposition was not excessive. In the course of the next few years I expect to see the percentage greatly increased and the act amended so as to come nearer the provisions of my bill.

I will include as a part of my remarks the bill which I introduced on this subject, but I will not take up the time of the gentlemen of the House at this time by reading its full text:

A bill (H. R. 8929) authorizing a tax on gifts, legacies, and inheritances.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That any person or persons having in charge or trust as administrators, executors, trustees, or otherwise any interests, legacies, or distributive shares arising from real, personal, or mixed property, passing, after the passage of this act, from any person possessed of such property, either by will or by the intestate laws of any State or Territory, or property or interest therein, transferred by deed, grant, bargain, sale, or gift, made or intended to take effect in contemplation of death or in possession or enjoyment after the death of the grantor or bargainer, to any person or persons, or to any body or bodies, politic or corporate, in trust or otherwise, shall be, and hereby are, made subject to a duty or tax to be paid to the United States as follows, this is to say: Where the whole amount of said property shall exceed in value $10,000 and shall not exceed in value the sum of $25,000 the tax shall be—

Where the person or persons entitled to any beneficial interests shall be the lineal issue or lineal ancestor, brother, or sister to the person who died possessed of such property or if they be the decendant of a brother or sister of the person who died possessed, or if any property or interest therein shall pass to husband or wife of the person who died possessed as aforesaid, at the rate of $1 for each and every $100 of the clear market value of such interest.

Where the person or persons entitled to any beneficial interests in such property shall be the brother or sister of the father or mother, or a descendant of a brother or sister of the father or mother, of the person who died possessed as aforesaid, the tax shall be at the rate of $2 for each and every $100 of the clear value of such interest.

Where the person or persons entitled to any beneficial interest in such property shall be the brother or sister of the grandfather or grandmother, or a descendant of a brother or sister of the grandfather or grandmother, of the person who died possessed as aforesaid, at the rate of $2.50 for each and every $100 of the clear value of such interest.

Where the person or persons entitled to any beneficial interest in such property shall be in any other degree of collateral consanguinity than is herebefore stated, or shall be a stranger in blood to the person who died possessed as aforesaid, or shall be a body politic or corporate,

at the rate of $3 for each and every $100 of the clear value of such interest.

Where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $25,000 but shall not exceed the sum or value of $50,000, the rates or duty or tax above set forth shall be multiplied by one and one-half; and where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $50,000 but shall not exceed the sum of $100,000, such rates of duty or tax shall be multiplied by two; where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $100,000 but shall not exceed the sum of $200,000, such rates of duty or tax shall be multiplied by two and one-half; where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $200,000 but shall not exceed the sum or value of $500,000, such rates of duty or tax shall be multiplied by three; where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $500,000 but shall not exceed the sum or value of $1,000,000, the rates of duty or tax shall be multiplied by four; where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $1,000,000 but shall not exceed the sum or value of $2,500,000, such rates of duty or tax shall be multiplied by five; where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum or value of $2,500,000 but shall not exceed the sum of $5,000,000, the rate of such duty or tax shall be multiplied by six; where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $5,000,000 but shall not exceed the sum or value of $10,000,000, the rate of such duty or tax shall be multiplied by seven; and where the amount or value of said property shall exceed the sum of $10,000,000, such rates of duty or tax shall be multiplied by eight.

SEC. 2. That the tax or duty aforesaid shall be a lien and charge upon the property of every person who may die, whether intestate or by will, and on all property subject to this tax for 20 years, or until the same shall within that period be fully paid to and discharged by the United States; and every executor, administrator, trustee, or other persons authorized to make such distributions before payment and distribution to the legatees or any parties entitled to beneficial interests therein shall pay, if tax has not been paid on such property, to the collector or deputy collector of the district of which the deceased person was a resident the amount of the duty or tax assessed upon such legacy or distributed share, and shall also make and render to the said collector or deputy collector a schedule, list, or statement, in duplicate, of the amount of such legacy or distributive share, together with the amount of duty which has accrued or shall accrue, thereon, verified by his oath or affirmation, to be administered and certified thereon, by a judge or officer having lawful power to administer such oaths, in such form and manner as may be prescribed by the commissioner of internal revenue, which schedule, list, or statement shall contain the names of each and every person entitled to any beneficial interest therein, together with the clear market value of such interest, the duplicate of which schedule, list, or statement shall be by him immediately delivered and a tax thereon paid to such collector; and upon such payment and delivery of such schedule, list, or statement said collector or deputy collector shall grant to such person paying such duty or tax a receipt or receipts for the same in duplicate, which shall be prepared as hereinafter provided. Such receipt or receipts, duly signed and delivered by such collector or deputy collector, shall be sufficient evidence to entitle such executor, administrator, trustee, or any other person charged with the care of the estate to be credited and allowed such payment by every tribunal which by the laws of any State or Territory, is or may be empowered to decide upon and settle the account. And in case such executor, administrator, trustee, or any such other person shall refuse or neglect to pay the aforesaid duty or tax to the collector or deputy collector, as aforesaid, within the time hereinbefore provided, or shall neglect or refuse to deliver to said collector or deputy collector the duplicate of the schedule, list, or statement of such legacy, property, or estate under oath as aforesaid, or shall neglect or refuse to deliver the schedule, list, or statement of such estate, legacies, and property under oath as aforesaid, or shall deliver to said collector or deputy collector a false schedule or statement of such legacies and property, or give the names and relationship of the persons entitled to beneficial interests therein untruly, or shall not truly and correctly set forth and state therein the clear value of such beneficial interests, or where no administration upon such property or estate shall have been granted or allowed under existing laws, the collector or deputy collector shall make out such lists and valuation as in other cases of neglect or refusal and shall assess the duty thereon; and the collector shall commence appropriate proceedings before any court of the United States in the name of the United States against such person or persons as may have the actual, constructive custody, or possession of such property, or any part thereof, and shall subject such property, or any portion of the same, to be sold upon the judgment or decree of such court, and from the proceeds of such sale the amount of such duty or tax, together with all costs and expenses of every description to be allowed by such court, shall be first paid, and the balance, if any, deposited according to the order of such court, to be paid under its direction to such person or persons as shall establish title to the same. The deed or deeds, of any proper conveyance of such property or any portion thereof so sold under such judgment or decree, executed by the officer lawfully charged with carrying the same into effect, shall vest in the purchaser thereof all the title of the delinquent to the property sold under and by virtue of such judgment or decree and shall release every other portion of such property from the lien or charge thereon created by this act. And every person or persons who shall have in his possession, charge, or custody any record, file, or paper containing, or supposed to contain, any information concerning such property as aforesaid, passing from any person who may die, as aforesaid, shall exhibit the same at the request of the collector or deputy collector of the district and to any law officer of the United States in the performance of his duty under this act, his deputy or agent, who may desire to examine the same. And if any such person, having in his possession, charge, or custody any such records, files, or papers, shall refuse or neglect to exhibit the same on request, as aforesaid, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of $500: *Provided*, That in all legal controversies where such deed or title shall be the subject of judicial investigation the recital in said deed shall be prima facie evidence of its truth and that the requirements of the law has been complied with by the officers of the Government.

SEC. 3. That the judge of the court in each respective district shall have the power to appoint appraisers of the estate in order that they may ascertain the value thereof. The appraiser shall be paid not more than $10 a day; and any appraiser who shall accept a fee from any relative or kin of the decedent shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be fined not less than $200 nor more than $5,000.

SEC. 4. That when the property is transferred or limited in trust or otherwise and the rights, interest, or estate of the transferee or beneficiaries are dependent upon contingencies or conditions whereby they may be wholly or in part created, defeated, extended, or abridged a tax shall be imposed upon said transfer at the highest rate which, at the happening of any of the said contingencies or conditions, would be possible under the provisions of this act, and such tax so imposed shall be due and payable forthwith by the executors, administrators, trustees, or other persons charged with the care of the estate out of the property transferred. The estates which can not readily be determined as to whether or not they are subject to this tax shall, upon determination, pay a compound interest: *Provided, however*, That no tax shall be levied on any estate which does not exceed the amount of $10,000 and that the first $10,000 in each and every estate shall be exempt from taxation, and further, that all debts, mortgages, or other encumbrances shall also be deducted: *Provided further*, That all charitable, religious, and educational institutions shall be exempt from the payment of this tax.

SEC. 5. That this tax shall be levied on the estate of the person dying possessed before any beneficial interests, income, or interest therein shall pass to any beneficiaries or heirs of the person dying possessed.

SEC. 6. That where the word property is used in this act it shall be construed and is to mean real, personal, and mixed property of every description.

SEC. 7. That all administrative, special, and general provisions of law, including the laws in relation to the assessment, remission, collection, and refund of internal-revenue taxes not heretofore specifically repealed and not inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby extended and made applicable to all the provisions of this act and to the tax herein imposed.

SEC. 8. That the provisions of this act shall extend to the District of Columbia, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands: *Provided*, That the administration of the law and the collection of the taxes imposed in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands shall be by the appropriate internal-revenue officers of those governments, and all revenues collected in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands thereunder shall accrue intact to the general governments thereof, respectively.

SEC. 9. That for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act and to pay the expenses of collecting the tax therein imposed, and to pay such sums as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may deem necessary for information, detection, and bringing to trial and punishment persons accused of violating the provisions of this section or conniving at the same; in cases where such expenses are not otherwise provided for by law there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, the sum of $100,000, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, is authorized to appoint and pay from this appropriation all necessary officers, agents, inspectors, deputy collectors, clerks, messengers, and janitors, and to rent such quarters, purchase such supplies, equipment, mechanical devices, and other articles as may be necessary for employment or use in the District of Columbia or any collection district in the United States or any of the Territories thereof: *Provided*, That no agent paid from this appropriation shall receive compensation at a rate higher than that now received by traveling agents on accounts in the Internal-Revenue Service, and no inspector shall receive a compensation higher than $5 a day and $3 additional in lieu of subsistence, and no deputy collector, clerk, messenger, or other employee shall be paid at a rate of compensation higher than the rate now being paid for the same or similar work in the Internal-Revenue Service.

SEC. 10. That in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue at Washington, D. C., there shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury one additional deputy commissioner, at a salary of $4,000 per annum; two heads of divisions whose compensation shall not exceed $2,500 per annum; and such other clerks, messengers, and employees, and to rent such quarters, and to purchase such supplies as may be necessary: *Provided*, That for a period of two years from and after the passage of this act the force of agents, deputy collectors, inspectors, and other employees, not including the clerical force below the grade of chief of division employed in the Bureau of Internal Revenue in the city of Washington, D. C., authorized by this act shall be appointed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, under such rules and regulations as may be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury to insure faithful and competent service, and with such compensation as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may fix, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, within the limitations herein prescribed.

It is expected that over $250,000,000 will be raised by the income, estate, and inheritance provisions of the present bills, which will in a measure meet the appropriations which we have made for the Army, the Navy, and our fortifications. The balance should be raised through a tax on the manufacture of munitions of war.

The Ways and Means Committee should be congratulated upon the good judgment displayed in the preparation of this bill and in reporting it to the House of Representatives. To my mind it is legislation in the right direction. For myself, I would not be fair if I did not admit that I am gratified beyond the power of expression with this measure. Not only does it provide for taxation in the right direction, placing the burden upon those who can more easily bear it, but it relieves to a great extent the tax upon the necessaries of life.

It provides, among other things, for a tariff commission, which proposition I have opposed for years. However, after a careful study of conditions in our country during the European war I came to the conclusion that it would be for the best interests of the country if a careful investigation be made by experts before changes, if any, be made in the present law. To that end I have introduced a bill providing for a tariff commission, which bill I will also include as a part of my remarks:

A bill (H. R. 287) to create a tariff commission.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That there is hereby created a body to be known as the tariff commission, which shall consist of seven commissioners, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and

consent of the Senate. No person shall be eligible to serve as a member of said commission while holding any other public office of either honor or profit, either by election or appointment, or who is a Senator or Representative elect of the United States. Not more than five of said commissioners shall be members of the same political party. The commissioners first appointed under this act shall continue in office for the terms of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 years, respectively, and from the 1st day of July, A. D. 1916, the term of each to be designated by the President, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of seven years, except that any person chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. Any commissioner may, after due hearing, be removed by the President upon proof of ineligibility or of any violation of any provision of this act, or for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. No vacancy in the commission shall impair the right of the remaining commissioners to exercise all the powers of the commission. Said commissioners shall not engage in any other business, vocation, or employment. Each commissioner shall receive a salary of $10,000 per year. The President shall designate a member of the commission to be chairman thereof during the term for which he is appointed. The commission shall appoint a secretary, who shall receive a salary of $7,500 per annum, and such other employees as it may find necessary to the proper performance of its duties, and shall fix the salary or compensation of each. Four commissioners shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business as a commission.

SEC. 2. That the principal office of the commission shall be in the city of Washington, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall furnish the commission with suitable offices and equipment thereof and with all necessary supplies. The commission shall in addition have full authority as a body by one or more of its members or through its employees, when so authorized by the commission, to conduct investigations at any other place or places, either in the United States or foreign countries, as the commission may determine. Said commission shall promulgate rules and regulations for the safekeeping of all papers, correspondence, tabulations, reports, explanations, and other information gathered by it. All of the expenses of the commission, including all necessary expenses for transportation incurred by the commissioners or by their employees under their orders, in making any investigation in any place other than in the city of Washington, shall be allowed and paid on the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the chairman of the commission.

SEC. 3. That the commission shall have authority and power, and it is hereby directed to ascertain and tabulate for purposes of comparison the difference in the cost of producing articles of the same or similar quality and kind in this country and in actually or potentially competing foreign countries. The commission shall ascertain and tabulate for purposes of comparison where such tabulation is practicable in connection with the several articles covered by its reports in the United States, and in such foreign countries the wages, hours of service, and efficiency of labor employed and the standards of living of such laborers. The commission shall likewise ascertain the cost and selling prices of raw material, the cost of labor, the fixed charges, the depreciation upon the true value of the capital invested, and all other items entering into and determining the true cost and selling price of the finished product. The commission shall ascertain the market conditions and the prices at which protected products of the United States are sold in foreign countries, as compared with the prices of such products sold in the United States. The commission shall investigate the effect of transportation rates upon the markets and prices of dutiable products, and so far as pertinent to the tariffs fixed upon articles on the dutiable list the control of such markets and absence or presence of free competition in the same, and shall, pursuant to the purposes of this act, in so far as practicable, investigate all questions and conditions relating to the agricultural, manufacturing, mining, commercial, and labor interests with reference to the tariff schedules and classifications of the United States and of foreign countries, and shall investigate the capitalization, industrial organization, and efficiency, and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress. The commission shall likewise investigate in general and in regard to particular articles the revenue-producing power of the tariff and its relation to the resources of government, and shall investigate the effect of tariffs both of the United States and of foreign countries on prices, on the wages paid for labor, and on the purchasing power of the consumer. The commission shall also make investigation of any particular subject whenever directed by either House of Congress or the President of the United States. The commission shall have the power to call upon any of the existing departments or bureaus of the Government for information on file in such departments or bureaus which it may require in connection with the work which it is authorized to do by this act, and it shall be the duty of every such department or bureau of the Government to furnish such information on request from the commission. It shall be the duty of said commission to hold hearings from time to time at such places as it may designate to determine industrial, commercial, and labor conditions in relation to costs of production and effects and operations of the tariff schedules and classifications in force in the United States and in foreign countries. Such hearings shall be public, except as otherwise herein provided. The commission shall, whenever practicable, give at least 10 days' public notice of any and all such hearings, and at any such hearing any person may appear before said commission, subject to such reasonable limitation upon the amount of and duplication of testimony and arguments as may be provided by the rules of said commission, and be heard or may be represented by attorney and may file any written statement or documentary evidence bearing upon any matter which the commission may have under investigation. The commission may from time to time make or amend such general rules or orders as may be requisite for the orderly regulation of proceedings before it, including form of notices and the service thereof. Every vote and official act of the commission and of each member thereof shall be entered of record.

SEC. 4. That to assist the President in securing information as to the effect of tariff rates, restrictions, exactions, or any regulations imposed at any time by the United States or any foreign country upon the importation into or sale in the United States or any foreign country of the products affected, and as to any export bounty paid or export duty imposed or prohibition made by any country upon the exportation of any article to the United States which discriminates against the United States or the products thereof, and to assist the President in the application of the maximum and minimum tariffs and other administrative provisions of the customs laws and in obtaining information concerning the economic results of said laws, the commission shall from time to time make report as the President shall direct, and upon direction by the President shall draft a plan for scientific classification of schedules in aid of administration of the provisions of the customs laws.

SEC. 5. That for the purposes of this act in the case of articles on the dutiable list, and such other articles as the commission may decide or may be directed to investigate, the said commission is authorized to require of any person, firm, copartnership, corporation, or association engaged in the production, importation, manufacture, or distribution of any such article or articles, the production of all books, papers, contracts, agreements, invoices, inventories, bills, and documents of any such person, firm, copartnership, corporation, or association, and make every inquiry necessary to a determination of the value of such property and necessary to accomplish the purposes for which said commission is created. In aid of its powers herein granted to secure information the commission shall have the power, whenever necessary for the purposes of its investigations, to prescribe and enforce uniform systems of accounting for protected industries and for manufacturers and producers of commodities protected by import duties. The commission is authorized to require, by notice, the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all books, papers, contracts, agreements, inventories, invoices, bills, and documents relating to any matters pertaining to such investigation. Such attendance of witnesses and the production of such documentary evidence may be required from any place in the United States at any designated place of hearing, and witnesses shall receive the same fees as are paid in the Federal courts. The members of the commission, its secretary, and all investigators designated by the commission shall have the power to administer oaths and affirmations.

SEC. 6. That the district courts of the United States, upon the application of the commission alleging a failure to comply with any order of the commission with relation to the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence, shall have jurisdiction to issue the necessary process of writs for the enforcement of the orders of the commission, and in case of disobedience to a subpœna the commission, or a member thereof, may invoke the aid of any one of the district courts of the United States in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents within the jurisdiction of such court within which an investigation or inquiry by the commission is being carried on. In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpœna issued to any person or corporation subject to the provisions of this act any of the district courts of the United States having jurisdiction as herein provided may issue an order requiring such person or corporation to appear before the commission and produce books, documents, and other papers, if so ordered, and give evidence concerning the matter under investigation by the commission, and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof. The commission may also order testimony to be taken by deposition in any investigation and at any stage of such investigation. Such deposition may be taken before any person authorized so to do by the commission and who has power to administer oaths. Any person may be compelled to appear and depose and produce documentary evidence in the same manner as witnesses may be compelled to appear and testify and produce documentary evidence before the commission as hereinbefore provided. Such testimony shall be reduced to writing. No person shall be excused from attending and testifying or from producing books, papers, documents, or other things before the commission or in obedience to the subpœna of the commission, whether such subpœna be signed or issued by on or more of the commissioners or the secretary of the commission or duly appointed investigator on the ground or for the reason that the testimony or evidence, documentary or otherwise, required of him may tend to criminate him or to subject him to a penalty or forfeiture. But no natural person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he may testify under oath or produce evidence, documentary or otherwise, before said commission in obedience to a subpœna issued by it: *Provided*, That no person so testifying shall be exempt from prosecution and punishment for perjury committted in so testifying.

SEC. 7. That in any investigation conducted by the commission as herein provided the testimony of any witness in regard to secret processes or trade secrets not contrary to public policy shall not be reduced to writing, nor shall any documents of like character be copied into the records of investigations or otherwise made a part thereof, and for the purpose of obtaining such testimony or of examining such documents, and for such purposes alone, the commission shall have the power to hold secret sessions and take evidence therent. All other testimony shall be reduced to writing, and, with all other documentary evidence received, incorporated in the records of the commission for the guidance of the commission and for the use of the President and Congress, as hereinafter provided: *Provided*, That no evidence or information secured for the confidential use of the commission shall be made public in such a manner as to be available for the use of any business competitor or rival of the firm, copartnership, corporation, or association from whom or concerening whom such evidence or information was obtained: *And provided further*, That in case in any investigation authorized by this act the commission shall obtain evidence or information for its confidential use, the commission shall not be required to divulge the names of persons furnishing such evidence or information.

SEC. 8. That the commission shall make annual reports to Congress of its investigations and conclusions and such special reports as the President or either House of Congress may direct.

SEC. 9. That there is hereby appropriated for the purpose of this act, for the fiscal year 1916, from moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $250,000.

I not only have no complaint with the committee because they did not adopt the commission provision for which I contended, but am free to admit that the creation of an evenly selected nonpartisan commission is an improvement upon my bill. The bill provides for an honest, nonpartisan commission, which, to my mind, it should be; as it gives the commission greater freedom and power than I contemplated.

Therefore, after my nine years of service in the House of Representatives, I am in the unusual position of endorsing a great revenue measure the three main provisions of which have been advocated by me during the many years of my service here.

Mr. Speaker, for years I have opposed and criticized the Republican means of raising revenue. I have opposed the raising of revenue for our Government by taxing the masses for the benefit

of the wealthy classes. Under the Underwood bill, as amended by this revenue act, the rich as well as the poor of our country will be obliged to contribute to the maintenance of our Government. If the four years of the operation of the Underwood bill have disclosed any mistakes that may have been made, we will within a short space of time be able to receive a report from this nonpartisan commission which is hereby provided for, and I feel confident that the Democratic Congress will gladly remedy them.

I feel confident that within a short space of time after this measure shall have been enacted into law, the American people will acknowledge the wisdom of this legislation just as they have admitted the wisdom of our great economy reform brought about by our currency legislation. I believe that the Republican politicians and the special interests of our country will never again be able to mislead the American people with their empty dinner pail and protective tariff hue and cry.

For years I have wondered how it was possible for the Republican Party by its protective tariff legislation to favor the special interests at the expense of honest competition and the American consumer and make the masses believe that it was protecting them and that the tariff tax was being paid by the foreign manufacturer. That this legislation will put an end to such foolish contentions is my wish. The calamity howlers will be obliged to find another vocation through which to impose on the American people.

Mr. Speaker, when I advocated the passage of the Underwood tariff bill I stated that it was a bill fairly drawn in the interests of the people, inasmuch as it has reduced the tax on the necessaries of life and has placed the increase upon the luxuries. In many instances it does give protection to American industries, but in each and every instance it protects the consumer from the large interests which have accumulated great wealth—due to the Republican legislation—at the expense of the consumer and the American people. It has been demonstrated that the Underwood bill is a fair and just bill; that it is what it was claimed to be—merely a revenue measure. It has provided a revenue large enough for the ordinary needs of our Government, and were it not for the unfortunate European war it would have provided sufficiently for the needs of our Government at the present time. Commerce has increased and the condition of the laboring man has improved.

To-day under a Democratic administration and under the laws of a Democratic Congress we find the country more prosperous than ever before in the history of our Nation. This must be admitted by even the most rabid Republican, and is admitted by all fair-minded people.

Frequently I have listened with regret to certain gentlemen on the other side of the House who in every way possible have tried to make themselves believe that the conditions of our country are not healthy and that surely we are shortly doomed to hard times and financial panic. This is all being done for political reasons, as they in their own hearts know that, due to our wise currency legislation, panics are impossible and the power of Wall Street over the commerce of our country is broken. Prosperity is ours and I hope that it shall continue to be ours forever.

How some of these gentlemen to whom I have referred can so frequently try to instill fear into the hearts of the people and thereby bring uncertainty to the commercial world I can not imagine. Whenever any Member of this House gives party victory preference over the welfare of his country he is not worthy of American citizenship. How he can justify his acts when reaching his district is beyond my comprehension.

Mr. Speaker, for more than 25 long years I have advocated the cause of Democracy and believe myself to be as good a Democrat as any other, but if I thought for one moment that a Democratic success or a Democratic administration meant financial panic and hard times for the people of the United States I would not hesitate a minute to cast my vote in the other direction. But I feel satisfied that our Democratic legislation has been in the right direction and that this bill is for the best interests of our country and that Democracy has the interests of the people of the Nation at heart.

Under this administration the country will continue to prosper, and I feel confident that the vast majority of the people will not be misled, but will show its appreciation to the party that has so well guided the country and protected its interests, and they will express their confidence in the Democratic Party next November. No party and no administration has ever deserved the approval of the American people as has our party and the present administration under our great President, Woodrow Wilson. [Applause.]

## The Underwood Bill Helps Canada.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, our commercial relations with Canada are always interesting in a study of the tariff question. We had reciprocity with Canada once and it worked beautifully for the upbuilding of Canada. After it had been in operation for a short time we learned that Canada was getting our money and we were building up Canada's industries by taking of her products. We protected ourselves under the McKinley and the Dingley and Payne laws so that we were able to hold our own business, keep our own money in circulation in our own country, and still not give up everything to Canada. When Mr. Wilson was elected President in 1912, however, all this was changed. By the passage of the Underwood tariff law, October 3, 1913, we put Canada back into her old position, not by a reciprocity act, so called, but by reducing tariff duties and enlarging the free list. The pretense upon which this was done was to secure for the American consumer a decreased cost of living. "Reduce the tariff rates, put cattle and potatoes, and so forth, on the free list, and the American consumer will get cheaper food," said the followers of Mr. Wilson and Mr. UNDERWOOD. That was the way the Democrats looked at it then. How the Canadian brother looked at it we are not told, but we know what the Canadian brother did. If he did not say "Thank you, Mr. Wilson, for keeping us out of war," he certainly ought to have said "Thank you, Mr. Wilson, for opening the American market to Canadian products," for that is exactly what Mr. Wilson did when he insisted upon the passage of the Underwood tariff law, which was to compel American manufacturers and producers "to whet their wits" against the wits of their foreign competitors.

The Canadian brother was on the job and never let go from the moment the Underwood bill was passed. Did he reduce the price of cattle to the American market when the duty was taken off cattle? He certainly did not? If the American brother was fool enough to take the duty off and make cattle free into the United States the Canadian brother was wise enough to put it on the price of his cattle which he sold into the United States. This is exactly what he did, so that while the United States Treasury was minus the duty and the American cattle raiser was minus the protection he had hitherto enjoyed the Canadian cattle dealer obtained a higher price for his cattle in the American market, and the dear consumer, for whom Mr. Wilson and Mr. Underwood had pleaded so earnestly, paid more for beef and got less of it for food than ever before.

It was substantially the same with potatoes, that great American staple, which in recent years has given the State of Maine an exceptional agricultural reputation. The Democrats took the duty off of potatoes, which the Republicans had sustained for the two-fold purpose of protecting the American potato grower and of keeping the Treasury in funds, and the Canadian potato grower, always on the job as usual, immediately flooded the American market. The potato growers of Maine, being right up against the border of Canada, were first to feel the shock and they certainly felt it until the Democratic administration through its ingenious Department of Agriculture, discovered "a wart" on the Canadian potato, which permitted of an embargo on Canadian potatoes, which operated as successfully in covering up the free-trade defects of the Underwood tariff law as the European war has served as a tariff wall to protect American industries generally, despite the administration at Washington and its free-trade heresies.

FIGURES THAT TELL THE CANADIAN STORY.

The Republican Publicity Association has compiled from the records some interesting statistics regarding Canadian trade as it existed under the Republican Payne law and as it now exists under the Wilson-Underwood tariff law. They show the inevitable result. Canada gets our money and we get Canada's products. Mr. Wilson may appreciate the service he is doing the Canadian brother and it may delight the cockles of the heart of the distinguished Senator from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], who was the author of the tariff-for-revenue measure which gives Canada the preference over the United States, but

I doubt if the American farmer or industrialist will see it in the same light.

The American producer should have the preference in the American market for his own products. These statistics, showing comparatively our relation with our Canadian competitor, indicate that the Canadian brother has decidedly the better of the bargain under the philanthropic influence of the present administration. The statistics to which I have referred are as follows:

*Imports of Canadian products competing with products of border States, fiscal year ending June 30.*

[Compiled by Republican Publicity Association; figures taken from Foreign Commerce and Navigation, 1915.]

| Articles. | Payne law, 1913. | Underwood law (9 months), 1914. | Underwood law, 1915. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agricultural implements | | $106,382 | $626,349 |
| Aluminum, manufactures | $38,269 | 54,429 | 124,837 |
| Animals: | | | |
| Cattle | 1,026,301 | 8,697,137 | 9,285,277 |
| Horses | 355,168 | 660,317 | 440,008 |
| Sheep | 72,476 | 106,827 | 279,931 |
| Other and fowls | 95,356 | 1,630,965 | 3,673,622 |
| Breadstuffs: | | | |
| Bread and biscuit | 3,342 | 7,114 | 8,296 |
| Corn | 3,222 | 13,552 | 115,246 |
| Macaroni, etc | 91 | 6,574 | 11,395 |
| Oats | 275,550 | 7,879,891 | 272,318 |
| Wheat | 530,905 | 1,682,654 | 420,372 |
| Other breadstuffs | 1,480,240 | 2,433,448 | 1,411,170 |
| Bronze manufactures | 239 | 533 | 4,003 |
| Carbons for electric lights | 1,656 | 2,140 | 3,984 |
| Carriages: Bicycles | 724 | 1,720 | 3,167 |
| Copper manufactures (not bar) | 303 | 578 | 5,095 |
| Cotton wearing apparel and manufactures not listed | 11,549 | 19,768 | 29,255 |
| Cotton waste | 43,861 | 45,923 | 92,752 |
| Eggs | | 83,042 | 108,714 |
| Eggs, frozen | | 2,809 | 517 |
| Fish of all kinds | 3,942,824 | 5,700,765 | 6,588,747 |
| Lobster | 490,630 | 554,698 | 606,157 |
| Fruits, preserved | 3,583 | 18,367 | 29,610 |
| Fruits, not listed | 146,495 | 171,716 | 173,554 |
| Glass and glassware | 71,573 | 97,515 | 98,036 |
| Glue | 55 | 4,584 | 13,299 |
| Grease and oils | 66,694 | 97,489 | 124,522 |
| Gold and silver manufactures | 3,775 | 7,504 | 6,992 |
| Jewelry | 13,036 | 11,204 | 15,072 |
| Hats, bonnets, and hoods | 7,345 | 5,637 | 17,758 |
| Hay | 1,509,641 | 1,616,859 | 220,084 |
| Honey | 873 | 1,838 | 472 |
| Beeswax | 589 | 1,332 | 150 |
| Hides, sheep, green | 106,036 | 395,404 | 499,009 |
| Iron and steel manufactures: | | | |
| Balls and bearings | 1,525 | 2,294 | 7,605 |
| Machinery and machine tools | 84,497 | 116,176 | 156,312 |
| Rails for railways | 11,010 | 222,600 | 1,503,000 |
| Manufactures of wire | 6,653 | 21,574 | 23,010 |
| Other manufactures not listed | 141,220 | 210,751 | 168,424 |
| Leather, manufactures of: | | | |
| Belting and sole | 100,112 | 1,381,481 | 1,519,075 |
| Dressed, upper and other, boots and shoes, gloves, other manufactures not listed | 48,960 | 940,626 | 1,936,047 |
| Fresh meats: Beef, mutton, and pork | | 1,920,474 | 3,642,893 |
| Bacon, ham, etc | 121,267 | 610,802 | 1,772,139 |
| Dairy products: | | | |
| Butter | 75,258 | 146,153 | 263,889 |
| Cheese | 16,384 | 144,603 | 27,979 |
| Cream and milk, fresh and condensed | 1,074,888 | 2,030,337 | 2,978,524 |
| Oils, vegetable | 20,752 | 117,392 | 60,527 |
| Paper: | | | |
| Printing | 5,646,289 | 10,634,926 | 12,742,743 |
| Manufactures and wrapping | 17,792 | 570,607 | 755,331 |
| Seeds: | | | |
| Flax | 7,187,547 | 10,561,662 | 8,843,489 |
| Clover and grass | 395,772 | 881,057 | 195,072 |
| Not listed | 25,817 | 63,981 | 95,793 |
| Stone, and manufactures of | 82,117 | 120,025 | 110,639 |
| Straw manufactures | 47,262 | 84,271 | 82,973 |
| Sugar, maple | | 147,462 | 112,621 |
| Vegetables: | | | |
| Beans | 7,643 | 28,956 | 28,252 |
| Onions | 901 | 1,982 | 3,893 |
| Dried peas | 149,827 | 284,267 | 446,710 |
| Potatoes | 42,696 | 459,782 | 27,857 |
| Other, preserved, etc | 211,866 | 421,764 | 518,132 |
| Wood manufactures: | | | |
| Logs and round timber | 1,355,907 | 1,564,572 | 1,150,319 |
| Lumber, boards, etc | 17,972,712 | 16,917,424 | 17,139,775 |
| Lath | 1,895,390 | 1,609,803 | 1,911,743 |
| Shingles | 1,399,751 | 2,190,049 | 3,104,162 |
| Furniture | 2,850 | 11,426 | 53,896 |
| Pulp, rough, rossed, etc | 6,954,939 | 7,245,466 | 6,572,839 |
| Pulp, mechanically ground | 4,973,061 | 5,908,517 | 7,563,081 |
| All other manufactures not listed | 77,214 | 94,283 | 126,860 |
| Wool, class 1 and 2 | 62,963 | 1,003,961 | 1,705,674 |
| Wool, wastes | | 91,831 | 165,796 |
| Wool, carpet | 223 | 4,963 | 17,911 |
| Wool, wearing apparel and manufactures not listed | 19,870 | 24,619 | 48,419 |
| Articles not enumerated | 59,429 | 96,348 | 442,667 |
| Total | 60,648,356 | 100,980,282 | 102,415,998 |

NOTE.—Of the $120,571,180 worth of imports from Canada in 1913, $64,006,573, or 53 per cent, came in free of duty. Of the $160,689,709 worth of imports in 1914 (nine months, Underwood law), $115,040,442, or 71.5 per cent, were admitted free. Of the $159,571,712 worth of imports in 1915 (Underwood law, war period), $136,784,408, or 86 per cent, were admitted free. In 1916 we imported from Canada $204,018,227 worth of products and at the rate the percentage of free goods was increasing it is safe to say that $185,000,000 worth of these goods paid no revenue whatever to the Government. In other words, our imports from Canada of duty-free goods during the fiscal year 1916 was over 50 per cent greater than the total value of our imports from Canada, both dutiable and free, during the fiscal year 1913 under the Republican law. Total exports of Canada to Great Britain for the Canadian fiscal year ending in March, 1916, were $452,000,000, compared with $187,000,000 the year before. With the establishment of peace, Canada can direct her enormously increased energy toward extending the market for her products in America.

*Imports from and exports to Canada.*

| | 1913 (Payne law). | 1914 (9 months Underwood law). | Underwood law. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1915 | 1916 |
| Imports | $120,571,180 | $160,689,709 | $159,571,712 | $204,018,227 |
| Exports | [1] 415,449,457 | 344,716,981 | 300,686,812 | [2] 466,884,415 |
| Trade balance | 294,878,277 | 184,027,172 | 141,115,100 | 262,866,188 |

[1] Peace products. [2] Large proportion, war products.

Forty million dollars increase in our imports from Canada, 1914 over 1913, and $71,000,000 loss in exports; $39,000,000 increase in imports, 1915 over 1913, and $115,000,000 loss in exports; $83,500,000 increase in imports, 1916 over 1913, exports $51,000,000 greater, large proportion of them being munitions of war. The fact that shipping was tied up by the war had relntively little, if any, effect on Canadian trade with us.

## Testimony of Thomas C. Spelling Before the Committee on Industrial Relations.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN A. STERLING,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. STERLING. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the testimony of Thomas C. Spelling before Committee on Industrial Relations hearing, May 15, at Washington, D. C., together with the commission's conclusion, as follows:

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS C. SPELLING BEFORE COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS—HEARING MAY 15, 1915, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.—TOGETHER WITH THE COMMISSION'S CONCLUSION.

Thomas C. Spelling, called as a witness, testified as follows:

Chairman WEINSTOCK. Will you please state your full name and residence to the stenographer?

Mr. SPELLING. Thomas C. Spelling; I reside in New York City, 115 Broadway.

Chairman WEINSTOCK. Your profession?

Mr. SPELLING. An attorney at law. I have some other business that I need not mention.

Chairman WEINSTOCK. Will you state for the commission whom you have generally represented in the matter that you have up to discuss before the commission?

Mr. SPELLING. The only party I ever represented was the American Federation of Labor two years, or a little more, in two cases in the courts, and on several occasions before congressional committees, especially and I believe solely in the advocacy of anti-injunction legislation.

Chairman WEINSTOCK. Will you please state in your own way for the information of the commission such matters as you think will be of interest in this connection?

Mr. SPELLING. I would like to ask Mr. Davenport a few questions. I couldn't do that when he was on the stand. I think I can throw more light on the subject in that way than to go ahead and say what I have to say.

Chairman WEINSTOCK. It has not been the practice of the commission.

Mr. SPELLING. I got the permission from the chairman this morning. It is a part of my own statement, if he is willing to answer.

Chairman WEINSTOCK. Are there any objections on the part of any members of the commission to allowing him to do that?

Commissioner LENNON. I have no objection; it is a question as to whether it is agreeable to Mr. Davenport.

Chairman WEINSTOCK. If it is agreeable to Mr. Davenport.

Mr. DAVENPORT. If they are questions I can answer.

Chairman WEINSTOCK. You may proceed if Mr. Davenport has no objection.

Mr. SPELLING. Mr. Davenport, I want to ask you—you can keep your seat. You said that the courts had uniformly and consistently held that labor unions were within the antitrust act. Now, did any court ever hold that a labor union as such was within the act?

Mr. DAVENPORT. No, sir.

Mr. SPELLING. Then we are not in conflict on that.

Mr. DAVENPORT. But that is expressly held by the Supreme Court that they are not.

Mr. SPELLING. Do they not simply hold that when members of unions conspire or combine together and violate the antitrust act they are held to accountability just like anybody else?

Mr. DAVENPORT. The same as the members of a church, I suppose.
Mr. SPELLING. And in that sense they were within the antitrust act prior to the Clayton bill?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes, sir.
Mr. SPELLING. And are within it yet, according to your view of it?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes, sir.
Mr. SPELLING. Now, you spoke of the case of Connor v. Connolly.
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes, sir.
Mr. SPELLING. What town was that?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Danbury.
Mr. SPELLING. That town has figured in the litigation that you have been connected with very prominently. However, that is no part of my question.
Mr. DAVENPORT. I was not in the Connor-Connolly case.
Mr. SPELLING. The court denied the union men the privilege of uniting and combining together to exclude the nonunion men; is that not about it?
Mr. DAVENPORT. It was an agreement between the union manufacturers of the town and the unions by which they would not employ anybody but a union man.
Mr. SPELLING. Yes, sir.
Mr. DAVENPORT. And Mr. Connor was a member of the union.
Mr. SPELLING. Yes, sir.
Mr. DAVENPORT. And they had a great strike on, and they were out for several months, with the result that the union owed him quite an amount of money for strike benefits. Then they called upon Mr. Connor for his dues, and before he could go to work again, and Mr. Connor said that he would not pay it; that he had this coming, and that was contrary to the rules of the union, and he was in bad order.
Mr. SPELLING. I beg your pardon—I didn't ask you——
Mr. DAVENPORT (interrupting). I want to come to this. Then Mr. Connolly, representing the union, in pursuance of the agreement that they had with the unionized hat manufacturers, went around and said, "This man is in bad order with the union and got his discharge." Well, he sued the union, and the officers of the union, and it was tried before a jury and he recovered a verdict of $1,100, and it went to the Supreme Court, and they sustained it. Now, the claim was that the agreement between the union manufacturers of Danbury and the union was a valid agreement, and the supreme court of the State held, relying upon decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, that that was a contract for a monopoly in violation of, or contrary to, public policy, and void.
Mr. SPELLING. Is there any statute in Connecticut that covers that case?
Mr. DAVENPORT. No, sir.
Mr. SPELLING. Suppose all of the men engaged in the jewelry trade in that town had formed a copartnership, or had gotten together, and had a monopoly, would there be any law covering that case?
Mr. DAVENPORT. I guess not.
Mr. SPELLING. We don't want to get into any argument; we want to hasten along and not prolong the discussion. Now, you know the courts have made a distinction between primary and secondary boycotts?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes, sir.
Mr. SPELLING. Do you think there is any legal distinction?
Mr. DAVENPORT. There is none; and it was expressly decided so in the Supreme Court of the United States on the Sherman Act in the Eastern Lumber Dealers' Association against the United States.
Mr. SPELLING. Now, in a boycott the clause says no court shall enjoin or restrain any person, single or in concert—hand me that, please—that little book. I guess it isn't there. "No court shall issue any restraining order or injunction restraining any persons, singly or in concert, from," and then we skip a few clauses and come to the boycott clause, "from ceasing to patronize, or peaceably persuading others from ceasing to patronize any party to such dispute." Now, what is the effect of the use of those words, "any such dispute," when you consider it in connection with the limitations of the first paragraph of section 20?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Have I not said all I can possibly say on that subject to the commission?
Mr. SPELLING. Does it not limit to the particular relations which are specified in the first paragraph?
Mr. DAVENPORT. I don't know but what you are right about that; I have not considered that. That would narrow it still more.
Mr. SPELLING. Did you ever hear of a boycott between employees?
Mr. DAVENPORT. No.
Mr. SPELLING. Did you ever hear of a boycott between employer and employees?
Mr. DAVENPORT. No; I don't know that, unless the I. W. Ws——
Mr. SPELLING. I don't think we care to get into that.
Mr. DAVENPORT. No; I never did.
Mr. SPELLING. Now, did you ever hear of a strike between persons seeking employment—I mean a boycott?
Mr. DAVENPORT. No.
Mr. SPELLING. Now, if that connection were broken, and in place of the words "Any party to such dispute" were inserted the words "Any persons whatever"—wipe out the first paragraph and read it that way—it would cover all kinds of boycotts?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes; sure.
Mr. SPELLING. The Clayton bill don't do that by a long sight?
Mr. DAVENPORT. I don't think it does. Now, you are punching holes in that bill; there are so many in it it is not worth while to talk about other additional ones. It is shot full of holes now.
Mr. SPELLING. I am not going to take up those things. The strike provision, however, you have very well explained, and I agree with you that the words "lawful and peaceable" clears the whole thing; and when you consider it in connection with the first paragraph, it is worse than no legislation, for this reason—I want to see if you agree with me on that: It confirms to the courts power to hold illegal all acts and all conducts by any party which—I mean jurisdiction to enjoin all conduct and acts which are not lawful?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes, sir. Anything that is not lawful can be enjoined.
Mr. SPELLING. If the parties to a strike should commit a misdemeanor and violate some town ordinance or some State statute which did not injure property heretofore, you would have trouble maintaining an injunction in a case like that, wouldn't you?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Well, I don't know; it depends on what you consider property. I regard property as any right of a pecuniary nature.
Mr. SPELLING. We will not debate the question of what is property. I said it did not injure any property, and you had trouble heretofore in maintaining an injunction against that conduct, though unlawful?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes, sir; in the Debs case the Supreme Court said it must be property or right of a pecuniary nature, but there have been injunctions issued to protect some personal rights.
Mr. SPELLING. Here is a clause which forbids a court from restraining lawful conduct. Does that not by essential implication give the court authority to restrain illegal conduct?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes, sir; sure.
Mr. SPELLING. You said something about this Kansas case.
Mr. DAVENPORT. About what?
Mr. SPELLING. About this Kansas case; Coppage v. Kansas.
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes.
Mr. SPELLING. The Supreme Court in effect held that an employer could refuse to employ a man or discharge him because he belonged to a union; was not that the gist of it?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Sure.
Mr. SPELLING. Couldn't he discharge him, or refuse to employ him, for any reason?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Sure; good or bad.
Mr. SPELLING. But, if those employers formed a combination, you do not think that is exempted by the Clayton Act, do you?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Surely not.
Mr. SPELLING. Anyone can cease to serve another; he can relinquish employment and persuade others to do so, and strike singly or in concert; what do you understand "singly or in concert" to mean?
Mr. DAVENPORT. I understand that to mean all.
Mr. SPELLING. You mean to act by common impulse?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Rather.
Mr. SPELLING. Suppose that some man went down the street in an automobile and ran over a child, or something, and a hundred people rushed at him, and beat him up, and tore up his automobile, wouldn't that be acting in concert?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes; in a sense it would.
Mr. SPELLING. Well, if they met and agreed to do that thing, it would be a combination, wouldn't it?
Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes.
Mr. SPELLING. Do any of the provisions of the act exempt a case of that kind from injunction?
Mr. DAVENPORT. I don't think it does at all, as I have explained.
Mr. SPELLING. So that people are only protected from the use of injunctions in cases where they act in concert, or by a common impulse, without any understanding to do that very thing?
Mr. DAVENPORT. According to my idea of the Clayton Act it is like a treaty of neutrality with Belgium—it is a worthless scrap of paper.
Mr. SPELLING. Now, you said in regard to section six, that it left the unions just as they are now, in their relation to the Sherman Antitrust Act. Now, then, is not the language the negative and prohibitive language which makes associated conduct and certain relations of men lawful—don't that sanction and confirm to the courts power to decide all other conduct to be violative of the Sherman Antitrust Act and place the stigma of illegality on it?
Mr. DAVENPORT. I think what was illegal before is illegal now, and I do not think that anything that was illegal before is legal by the act.
Mr. SPELLING. I wish to get something in the record of a formal, concise, and logical nature, as my own statement, in regard to the status of unions and the laws governing labor organizations; it will take only a few minutes, and then I will be ready to yield to the wishes of the commisison.
Commissioner AISHTON. I suggest that the witness proceed with his statement.
Mr. SPELLING. I am ready.
Chairman WEINSTOCK. The witness will proceed.
Mr. SPELLING. If labor, as organized, had immunity from legislation enacted by the courts, it could take care of itself and need only guard against discriminatory statutes. But rules and customs have grown up among business men, and especially among business corporations, which, while appearing to be merely salutary and protective, yet in reality place the public, and especially that part of the public dependent upon the employment of capital by others, at a great disadvantage. These rules and customs come at length to be acquiesced in by all, and become, for all practical purposes, new rules of jurisprudence.
Now, we find in the Clayton Act conclusive proof of a part of the general fact which I have just stated. Instead of its being a new chart of liberty for labor as has been claimed and extensively proclaimed, I see in the so-called labor sections nothing but admissions at the hands of Congress, in the form of concessions, of unjust and prejudicial limitations upon the individual and collective rights of labor.
Let us now examine one or two of the clauses of section 20 of the act. There is found here legislation on the subject of strikes. It says here "And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means so to do." Is it possible that any legislative sanction was needed to exclude the courts from interfering within so limited a domain? When Congress was requested to protect labor from unwarranted interference by the courts therein, it improved the opportunity to insert a qualifying term which by essential implication recognizes a jurisdiction heretofore always denied to the courts and contested. Congress says here, in what purports to be a codification of injunction law in labor cases, that the courts must not interfere by injunction process with strikers proceeding "peacefully," and the idea that they may interfere with strikes that are conducted by means not peaceful is included. I think this conclusion is warranted by the language of section 20 alone without reference to other parts of the act. The result is to confirm to courts exercising equitable jurisdiction powers similar in some respects to those exercised by the chief of police in a city, or more nearly resembling those of a military governor in a district wherein martial law has been declared. But the power which the judge can exercise is much more far-reaching than that of either. The policeman must proceed according to existing laws and the military commander according to established rules. But the judge initiates the repressive proceeding by making a law to suit himself, after which he proceeds to apply it to a case already before him, and consummates the procedure by executive action, because he measures the penalty for a violation and enforces it. I do not lose sight of the fact that courts are legitimately vested with all these powers in proper cases, but until this enactment, labor insisted with ample legal reason, that if in the initiation and conduct of a strike violence was resorted to or a state of disorder created a case arose to be dealt with only by the police authorities and the law courts.
But so vague and comprehensive a word as "peaceful" or "peacefully" ought never to be used in an act of legislation without specifications as to its meaning. And no one could describe the result of

even the most intelligent attempt to point its proper application of limitations. As this provision now stands, any strike so conducted as to disturb the equanimity or shock the nervous systems of any considerable number of persons is liable to be held to be outside the immunity attempted to be given by it. And under present industrial conditions, and owing to the magnitude of enterprises, a strike which does not cause considerable local inconvenience and disturbance is hardly worth winning; and there is some truth in the assertion, so often heard, that there is no such thing as a peaceful strike. Ample judicial precedent can be found for enjoining strikes by employees of public-service corporations on the sole ground of improper motives in instituting them, coupled with considerations of disturbance of social and business conditions.

But collateral to and yet outside the scope of this narrowly restricted limitation upon the jurisdiction—accepting now the theory that it restricts instead of enlarges jurisdiction—lies the vast, practically unlimited law of conspiracy. The Judiciary Committee of the House in reporting the bill, explicitly and truthfully stated that the bill if passed would leave the law of conspiracy untouched. When these provisions come before the courts, they will attend to the exact legal import of the words used. That is one important function of the courts. And they will hold that the words "in concert" are not synonymous with and have not the same legal import as acting pursuant to a preconcerted plan or common understanding. Persons oftener than otherwise act in concert from a common impulse, without an agreement or mutual understanding, as where they rush simultaneously to a place of safety in case of fire or flood or to the rescue of their fellows in distress. But let it not be forgotten that where laborers deliberate and agree among themselves to strike, the courts have in some cases held that that goes beyond merely acting concertedly for the promotion of a lawful object, and have asserted and exercised the power of inquisition as to the legality or illegality of their motives and purposes; and if they disapproved them the case fell within the legal meaning of conspiracy and might be enjoined as such. And it was this domain of jurisdiction which the Judiciary Committee meant to preserve intact, and which it did preserve, as conclusively shown in its report.

It is the wish of the commission that testimony be not loaded up with authorities. I will cite only one case illustrative of my last statement. In Payne Lumber Co. against Neal, a Federal court case, it was held that although a course of conduct by organized labor was termed a strike and had the form and all the characteristics of a strike, yet the court could inquire as to the inner motives of the strikers; and upon making such inquisition in that case the court held that though started and carried on as a strike it was, in fact, a boycott. I submit that such a ruling completely upsets the theory and nullifies the doctrine that the unions may strike for any reason satisfactory to themselves, or for a variety of reasons, and that, in all their deliberations on a question of striking or not striking, the judiciary may participate at the council board. And a judge having stamped the movement as in fact a conspiracy, to wit, a boycott, and not a strike, of course the clause I have quoted from this act does not apply and the movement would be tested by another provision which I now quote, with its context: "And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, * * * from ceasing to patronize * * * any party to such dispute or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by lawful and peaceful means so to do; * * *." I have omitted merely a few irrelevant words.

A comprehensive discussion of the boycott and of the bearing of this provision upon it would occupy considerable space. I must therefore content myself with a presentation of a few pertinent suggestions, ample at any rate to correct certain erroneous views which have been promulgated concerning its legal effect.

That the boycott is morally wrong no one with my mental attitude on the subject need deny. I had as soon deny that the spirit of the boycott is evil as to defend ingratitude. But does it follow that because a thing is morally wrong it should be enjoined by the courts? As a matter of mere expediency, I would treat the boycott as a sort of safety valve for human passion, safeguarding individuals and to some extent the whole community from greater evils and from manifestations of malignity more difficult to deal with or endure. In short, I would leave it severely alone. In fact, all but an infinitesimal fraction of the boycotts intertwined with every thread of the social fabric are let alone. An occasional tradesman or manufacturer may be ruined by a boycott, but many more are ruined in business by the neglect or aggressive competition or malignant conduct of others engaged in trade. In no such instance would any court of equity entertain a complaint for injunctive relief, notwithstanding that in many such cases the injury results from combinations of individuals. Every form of social hate or vindictiveness is, in effect, a boycott.

In view of the constitutional guaranty of free speech, a free press, and of the right of free assemblage I look upon the use by a Federal court of the injunctive process or other equitable remedy against a labor organization, not amounting to a conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce, as a denial of rights protected by the Federal Constitution and a stark usurpation of jurisdiction. I except the jurisdiction to enjoin boycotts of interstate commerce only because an injunctive remedy is given in the antitrust act without regard to general principles governing equitable jurisdiction. And, of course, I limit this denunciation to what enters into what is, properly speaking, the boycott itself. I do not deny liability for damages and to criminal prosecution where illegal acts are done in carrying on a boycott. But such liability would not justify an injunction. The boycott itself consists entirely of an interchange of information and opinion which, however erroneous, should not be interfered with by injunction, and the courts can not interfere with them in any other capacity than as high priests of morality. Of course, this contravenes the judicial and prevailing legal view. But should I concede its unsoundness, yet I would not know of any property or property right which, according to legal definition, could ever be injured or menaced by a boycott. On other occasions I have gone into this topic at length, and deem it unnecessary to reiterate the arguments.

Returning now to the above-quoted provision of section 20 of the Clayton Act, I premise that it is based on an understanding that injunctive jurisdiction in boycott cases is well established, and it has been widely and, I dare say, recklessly claimed that this provision lops off the jurisdiction and renders the boycott immune, especially the primary boycott. Various statements have been made to the effect that this provision "legalizes the primary, and probably also the secondary, boycott." Those who made them have never analyzed the language of the act nor compared its various provisions, nor is it usually necessary that this be done in order to reach the public through the press and to falsely impress and mislead a large number of credulous readers. The statement contains the erroneous absurdity first promulgated in the Phelan case that there is any such thing as a secondary boycott differing substantially from a primary boycott.

Bearing in mind that the illegality of all boycotts is grounded in the general law of conspiracy, which, as the Judiciary Committee correctly said, remains untouched, such statements need be given no further notice.

The question before us is as to what this legislation accomplishes, and the immediate question relates to the legal effect of this particular provision.

The first thing to notice is that this clause differs from the preceding in the respect that the right here exempted from injunctive process is unquestionably limited by the provisions of the first paragraph of the section, because the party against whom the effort to deprive of patronage is directed must be a "party to such dispute" and the term "dispute" is not used in any preceding part of this paragraph, though it is used in the first. Hence the exemption is inapplicable generally and is to exist only where a dispute has arisen; that is to say, "involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment." And no one can be recognized or given status as a party to such dispute unless he hold a relation to another party either of employer or employee or be at the same time seeking employment.

Let us notice the effect of the use in the boycott clause of the words "any party to such dispute," in connection with the use of the same words in the first paragraph. The right to boycott because of such connection is restricted and the exemption narrowed, not only to the cases in which a dispute has arisen, but to cases in which a dispute has arisen between persons holding the particular relations specified in the first paragraph. And parties holding such relations never boycott each other or strike against each other.

The exact and full effect of this limitation is not very clear; but, certainly, there remains not even the right of what is termed "the primary boycott," until a dispute has arisen, nor is any character of boycott exempted from injunctive process unless conducted by "peaceful and lawful means." The use of these qualifying words excludes from the exemption and sanctions and reserves to the courts unrestrained and arbitrary police powers previously mentioned under the strike provision, to be exercised and enforced injunctively.

The primary right to withhold patronage and to induce others to withhold it from a party against whom a boycott is immediately directed, and without waiting for a dispute to arise between him and his employees or between him and persons seeking to enter his employ, fancifully differentiated as a primary boycott, has been heretofore generally conceded by the courts. Only what were differentiated as secondary boycotts were under the ban. That right no longer exists. This clause takes it away. Suppose that deplorable or intolerable conditions exist between a manufacturer of stoves and his employees, but dissatisfaction has not gone so far as a strike or resolution or agreement to strike; in other words, we will suppose that no dispute, in legal sense, has been evolved. In that case and until such dispute arises, there can not be, in the presence of this legislation, inaugurated any kind of boycott against that employer.

But a pretense of making an exemption, and only exempting such acts as are done "by peaceful and lawful means," is so farcical and absurd as to insult the commonest intelligence, because an illegal act can not be done by lawful means. This provision, like the others, merely forbids the issuance of an injunction against lawful conduct, and no court ever held, nor any intelligent lawyer ever asserted that any lawful act could be enjoined.

There are other so-called exemptions in the same paragraph of section 20, to each of which all I have said about the two that I have discussed is equally applicable.

But those defending and seeking to capitalize for political purposes the so-called labor provisions of the Clayton Act have called attention to and emphasized two closing clauses of this second paragraph of section 20. One of them, when connected with its context, reads:

"And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from * * * doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto * * *." The most general statement that I can make about this clause is that it is totally abortive. I have given it much thought, turning it this way and that, and it still appears to me wholly meaningless and innocuous. I could not truly say this were it not for the presence here of that constantly recurring word "lawfully." That completely thwarts any such construction as would relieve laborers from the menace of injunction against them otherwise referable to that clause. Its use throws the question back to the domain of judicial decisions heretofore rendered, and it remains for the courts to determine what any person or persons may "lawfully" do "in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto."

I have likewise given considerable thought to the last clause, "nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States." This has been broadly claimed to contain preservative values, but no one has thought it worth while to specify what such values are. Even if it made any change in existing laws, the courts would be very reluctant to give effect to amendments attempted in a form so slovenly and inept. Under the Constitution, Congress can not, of course, tell the courts how they shall construe and apply existing laws to a given fact. But I may pass that by. What act "specified in this paragraph" is now violative of any law of the United States? Not one. There is not a line of Federal statutory law applicable to one of them per se. What law there is consists of precedents founded on general principles of jurisprudence analogous to the common law. Not one of these subjects is mentioned or comprehended in any "law of the United States." I might ask how any act which must be lawful and peaceable could be violative of any law. But the question furnishes its own answer.

Before dismissing section 20, I will give brief attention to its first paragraph, preliminary to comments on section 17. It provides in substance that in cases arising between persons holding certain relations, and which involve disputes concerning terms or conditions of employment, no injunction shall be granted by any Federal court or judge "unless to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to property right of the party making the application * * *."

This has been proclaimed by politicians as a substantial compliance with the demand by organized labor, persisted in for several years, for the enactment of the Pearre bill, having particular reference to the first section thereof. But only a little attention to the respective wordings of this act and that bill is required to see the fraudulent and makeshift character of this provision when viewed in that light. This provision is substantially a copy of section 1 of the Pearre bill

except that the word "or" is so omitted that the provision is rendered wholly abortive, or thereby completely "queered." The first section of the Pearre bill began thus: "That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and an employee, or between employers, or between employees, or between persons employed to labor and persons seeking employment as laborers, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment," etc. Now, the effect of the omission of the word "or" here found before the word "involving" is apparent at a glance. It eliminates an almost unlimited class of cases covered by the phrase "involving or growing out of," etc., and turns the phrase into words of limitation. In fact, nothing worth considering is left. A scrutiny of the language should be convincing to the effect that cases within the description could rarely, if ever, arise.

But still more important comment relates to the mutual bearing on each other of this provision of section 20 and one found in section 17 of the Clayton Act. Ignoring, however, for the moment section 17, Congress has here declared that in certain cases an injunctive process shall not issue unless to prevent irreparable injury to property or a property right. If a legislative body enacts that street cars must not stop until they have reached the far side of street crossings on which there is no other street car track, this obviously permits them to stop on either side, or on both sides, where there are such tracks. And so the natural import of such a prohibition as this part of section 20 is to authorize the issuance of injunctions in all cases not so exempted regardless of any question of property or property right. So it is in order here to ask what cases in which labor may be interested are thus safeguarded. Still bearing in mind the fact that the specific exemptions in the second paragraph are mere drivel or persiflage, as I have already explained, it is difficult to conceive of a case ever arising to which this first paragraph would apply. There is no strike while the relation of employer and employee exists, nor do those in another's employ ever institute a boycott against him. And permit me to inquire if anyone ever heard of employees or persons seeking employment boycotting or striking against each other? Yet, the fantastical legislative theory that there might arise some such case serves as a peg upon which to hang this prohibition, the only real effect of which is to charter not the liberty that is claimed for it but infinite mischief to labor's rights and interests.

If any confirmation of this view were needed, we have only to turn to section 17 to find it. This act is an entire body of legislation, and unquestionably, all the parts must be construed together.

All of section 17 which it seems necessary to quote is in these words:

"SEC. 17. That no preliminary injunction shall be issued without notice to the opposite party. No temporary restraining order shall be granted without notice to the opposite party unless it shall clearly appear from specific facts shown by affidavit or by verified bill that immediate and irreparable injury, loss, or damage will result to the applicant before notice can be served and a hearing had thereon."

The first sentence was inserted either because the constructor of the provision knew little of the subject of injunctions or because he intended to deceive. I prefer the latter construction because of the high degree of cunning displayed in the whole performance. In fact I think the man or men who controlled this situation knew exactly the effect which they wished to produce and how to produce it. This first sentence is completely nullified by what follows it, and is as completely functus officio as if the space it occupies had been left blank. While there is a technical distinction between a preliminary injunction and a restraining order, there is none in legal effect.

Either the part of section 20 which I have been discussing or the provision just quoted is alone sufficient to confirm to the court's jurisdiction so arbitrary, absolute and boundless that not even the most zealous employing interest ever dared insist upon it before a congressional committee, or elsewhere. But both together confirm such extraordinary powers beyond peradventure, with a total indifference to the fundamental restriction of injunctive process to the protection of property and property rights, and to the complete discomfiture of labor with respect to its persistent demands.

Section 17, as here quoted, has the form of a regulation in the matter of notice in injunction cases. But care is taken to preserve to the courts the power to restrain and enjoin without notice in every conceivable case where a court was heretofore authorized to issue an injunction or restraining order at all, and in an illimitable class of cases in addition. But this ripper act does not stop at this. There is the essential implication, as much a part of the law as the part that is expressed, which gives the courts the power to enjoin for any cause, or for the accomplishment of any object whatever, for the protection of any personal right or privilege that may be claimed, subject only to the condition that notice be given.

Having a rather intimate knowledge of the situation in and around Congress with reference to efforts to obtain for labor relief from judicial abuses, I dare say that no one was deeply concerned on the subject of notices in such cases. It has been usually conceded by organized labor that where a party was entitled to an injunction at all he was entitled to as speedy protection against the threatened wrong as could be extended by the courts. Labor's grievance concerned judicial transgression of constitutional limitations in entertaining and acting injunctively on complaints which properly should have been taken jurisdiction of only in civil and criminal courts of law. And this legislative pretense or bluff at regulating notices is but another peg upon which Congress has hung augmentations of judicial power.

As the Clayton bill went from the House to the Senate, it contained between the words "to" and "the" where they occur a second time in the part above quoted, the words, "property or a property right of." The provision, though containing these words, was almost as objectionable as after their elimination, because of its other parts. But the Senate pruned out these words and left the provision as above quoted.

This matter of limiting injunctive jurisdiction to the protection of property and property rights is somewhat technical, and it has ever seemed difficult for the lay mind to become interested in its discussion, or realize its importance. But if ever the organized-labor movement should fail, or should stop short of substantially improving conditions, it will be attributable to the power exercised by the courts, and thus confirmed by Congress, to check and restrain united and aggressive action. In the committee report on the injunction bill in the Sixty-second Congress, in May, 1912 it was said that the time had come when labor could be trusted with liberty. But it seems that the Sixty-third Congress, in September, 1914, by the Clayton Act, barred the way to liberty. The importance of the limitation to property and property rights, where judicial usurpation in labor cases is being considered, can not be overestimated.

However much I would like to further develop this line of thought, I must refrain, owing to limitations of time. But this provision has the same inclusive and exclusive aspect as have those provisions of section 20, already noticed. This provision forbids the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions without notice except where the facts are so-and-so, thereby leaving power in the hands of the judges to issue them without limit or restriction, where the facts are otherwise, provided that they cause notice to be given.

Another of these so-called labor provisions of the act to be noticed is section 6, which has been supposed to exempt labor organizations from the remedial provisions of the antitrust act. As a literary production, it is unique, and read as follows:

"SEC. 6. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof, nor shall such organizations, or members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the antitrust laws."

I want to say in regard to what Mr. Davenport said to the effect that unions could become incorporated and escape individual liability, that no labor union can incorporate as a capital-stock corporation unless it goes into business for profit. Take the laws of his own State; they authorize two classes of corporations, corporations for profit and corporations not for profit. The labor unions would come under the latter designation and can not be authorized with capital stock, consequently they can not limit their liability.

Also, as a consequence of going through the form of incorporation, it would give them merely perpetual existence and the right to carry on an organization in a corporate form; but it would have not the slightest effect upon the relations of the members to each other, nor upon their individual relations to the law, nor would it effect judicial remedies against them.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Well, Mr. Spelling, the compulsory incorporation of labor unions would be, to my mind, so utterly unconstitutional that all discussion on that subject is futile and a waste of words.

Chairman WALSH. Just a moment, Mr. Davenport.

Mr. SPELLING. I am perfectly willing——

Chairman WALSH. Just one moment. Just proceed, please, Mr. Spelling.

Mr. SPELLING. On no subject has there been deception, some of it no doubt deliberate. In other instance ignorance or lack of proper study of the matter was responsible for it. It is my individual belief that no legislation has ever been needed to exempt labor organizations from the provisions, civil or criminal, of the antitrust act, and that even if such legislation were needed this so-called exemption accomplishes no such purpose. As my view may not be immediately and universally accepted, I will briefly give my views on section 6 and my reasons for entertaining them.

In the first place, we observe that the declaratory or substantive part of the antitrust act, according to recent constructions, is merely an embodiment of common law, and except for the fact that there are no Federal common-law crimes creates no new legal liabilities. Then we come to the remedial part and observe that it is directed against personal conduct exclusively. It is not a statute affecting the ownership or title or corpus of property, notwithstanding that in its enforcement property rights and interests are often seriously affected.

Now I come to the statement of a proposition which might provoke conflict were it not so firmly founded on legal principle. No labor organization has ever violated or ever can, as such, violate the act, as such, and if any court ever held to the contrary, it was merely because of the neglect of counsel to call attention to the legal status of such organization, or the neglect of the court by which such legal status was overlooked. It legally is as impossible for a labor union, as such, and in the pursuit of the objects for which they are organized, to violate the antitrust act as it would be for this commission, under the act creating it to violate it. But, of course, it is conceivable that its members might conspire together to violate it, and might misuse or pervert the name of the commission in carrying out an illegal purpose. That would not, however, involve or in any way affect the legal status of the commission or render it liable to a proceeding against it in any form as a defendant. If it were dragged in by parties complaining of such violation it might be dismissed from the record on motion, or by the court of its own volition; or if no such action were taken and its name were continued in the record as a defendant, notwithstanding that the court should render a judgment against it, which is an unreasonable supposition, such judgment would be, so far as concerned the commission, simply null and void and have no legal effect upon it. But, of course, the proceeding would be legal and the judgment valid as against the individual members of the commission, as individuals, but not as commissioners, in the suppositious case.

Prosecutions and other proceedings against labor organizations and their officers are of the same legal aspect. Of course, a body of workingmen might frame a constitution or adopt by-laws embodying a scheme of illegality; but such scheme would stamp it as an illegal body, and not a labor union in any legal sense.

But if we concede that the fact that proceedings against unions by name have been in some instances ignorantly tolerated constitutes sufficient reason for demanding an exempting statute, our next inquiry is as to whether the demand has been responded to, substantially, or in any degree, by the enactment of this section.

The first sentence, declaring that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce," has no logical connection with or bearing upon what follows, or upon any other part of this or any other statute. It is a mere abstraction and truism. No one, after examining the definitions of the terms "commodity" and "article of commerce," can find where anybody ever claimed that the "labor of a human being" was within either definition. If the sentence had been so constructed as to exclude as property or a property right the right to do or continue business, and the incidental right, often made the basis of equitable protection by employers seeking injunctions, of going into the labor market and hiring labor, as in the Pearre bill, then there would be some basis for the claim that it accomplishes some desirable end. But as meeting any demand for relief that labor has presented to Congress it is utterly vain.

The balance of section 6 covers a topic which has been the subject of endless discussion, both in and outside of Congress. But to what I have already said with reference to the relation of labor organizations to the antitrust act I need add but a few words.

Congress here attempts to construe a prior act of Congress, which is clearly a function of the courts. But, waiving that defect, I may inquire as to the net result. I do not deem it necessary to do more than call attention to the effect of one or two words. The language is that the antitrust act shall not be construed "to forbid" the existence and operation of certain organizations, instituted so-and-so, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from "lawfully" carrying out the "legitimate" objects thereof. The concluding clause, "nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the antitrust laws," are merely surplusage. They add nothing to what precedes.

But an act of legislation which merely authorizes men or a body of men to "lawfully" carry out their "legitimate" purposes is a waste of words.

To what test or standard will the courts resort when, if ever, called upon to apply this language? Obviously they must look to their own prior decisions, and to these alone, in order to learn what purposes are "legitimate" and how such purposes can be "lawfully" attained.

There are in the act provisions on the subject of jury trials in contempt cases; but as they can not be properly designated as labor provisions I shall refrain from any lengthy criticism of them. I will remark, however, that in the vital provision which is contained in section 24 the whole scheme is thwarted by an exception exactly as wide as the right, rendering nugatory the whole scheme.

The section reads:

"SEC. 24. That nothing herein contained shall be construed to relate to contempts committed in the presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, nor to contempts committed in disobedience of any law, writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command entered in any suit or action brought or prosecuted in the name of, or on behalf of, the United States, but the same, and all other cases of contempt not specifically embraced within section 21 of this act may be punished in conformity to the usages at law and in equity now prevailing."

Without dwelling upon the exception of all cases to which the Government is a party, I call attention to the established law which extends the "presence" of the court to every point in the country which its process can reach. And an act of disobedience in Oregon of an order made in Maine is constructively committed so near the court as to obstruct the administration of justice. And thus an exception to the rule is made just exactly as broad as the rule itself.

Upon a full consideration of the act, and in anticipation of the consequences of its removal of all judicial limitations, I do not wonder at the sore discomfiture of those who have striven so long and earnestly for remedial legislation.

Chairman WALSH. Mr. Weinstock has some questions.

Commissioner WEINSTOCK. The situation is not altogether clear to me, Mr. Spelling. You have represented the American Federation of Labor in legislative matters?

Mr. SPELLING. Yes, sir.

Commissioner WEINSTOCK. They take the position that the Clayton Act is the Magna Charta of labor, and yet you seem to agree with Mr. Davenport that it brings no advantage, but, on the contrary, a disadvantage to labor?

Mr. SPELLING. I don't know about such representations; they may have been made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor; you will have to inquire as to their present state of mind, it may have changed very materially.

Commissioner WEINSTOCK. Then, from your point of view, labor has gained practically nothing by the Clayton Act, and labor is under a disadvantage greater than it labored under before?

Mr. SPELLING. I may exaggerate a little and put it too strongly, but I think they have received not merely a lemon but dynamite in this act.

Commissioner WEINSTOCK. You are in accord with Mr. Davenport?

Mr. SPELLING. In matters pertaining to this act we don't disagree in any particular, except in regard to a part of section 6. He seems to think it leaves the unions about as they were before. I think it prejudiced them because of the essential implications which attend parts of section 6 of the act in matters which, not being exempt and therefore not essentially in the language of the act, are illegalized by implication. I can not make it any plainer in a condensed expression. I think these lawyers know what I mean, and probably the members of the commission also.

Chairman WALSH. That is all, Mr. Spelling; thank you.

THIRD PARAGRAPH OF COMMISSION'S FINDINGS.

3. Important steps have been taken to deal with this situation by the enactment of the Clayton Act, applying to the Federal jurisdiction, and by the passage of laws in Massachusetts and New York which define the rights of parties engaged in industrial disputes. The actual effect of the Clayton Act can not be ascertained until it has been tested in the courts, but eminent legal authorities have expressed grave doubts that it will accomplish the desired results. At any rate, it does not seem to remove the root of the existing injustice, and, furthermore, in all the States except New York and Massachusetts the grave and uncertain situation already described exists. This situation must be corrected.

## The Naval Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. MOSES P. KINKAID,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. KINKAID. Mr. Speaker, I shall avail myself of the privilege of extending my remarks for the purpose of very briefly stating some of the reasons for my vote against Senate amendment No. 238, providing for naval construction. Let me ask why legislate for construction so far in advance of the performance of the work? Why provide now for construction not to be commenced until 1920? Why violate in this particular instance the long-established rule and practice of making authorizations annually and granting appropriations therefor?

I maintain our authorization for navy building should not reach beyond when it is expected that the world war will have been terminated. Reasons why this should not be done are obvious. Manifestly, when the European war is over, material for the building of capital ships and other equipment can be purchased at values much lower than at present, while the war is on. One well qualified to judge of the matter estimates that by providing the three-year program for construction it will cost the Government one hundred millions more than had it been authorized from year to year, assuming, of course, that the European war will have terminated in something like a year. But dependent upon the result of the European war, with the treaties and peace making effected, navy building may be suspended throughout the world.

At any rate, it would be palpably inconsistent for the United States, with the professions it has made by its proposals to other nations for the settlement of international disputes by peace means, and these professions emphasized now by the provisions contained in this very bill authorizing the President, not later than the close of the European war, to invite all the great nations to a conference for the purpose of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration and to consider the question of disarmament, to not pause in navy construction when the war shall have closed and confer with the hitherto belligerents as to their future policy of naval building. In fact, by the provisions contained in this very bill it will be incumbent upon the President at the close of the war to propose arbitration and disarmament.

I have not objected to the authorization for the construction of equipment, to be commenced as soon as practicable, and which comes within the next fiscal year. This increase will bring our Navy up to date and will round it out, assuming that it is now out of balance for want of fast battle cruisers and especially short in submarines.

I grant that as long as other nations maintain armies and navies it behooves our country to likewise fortify itself for defensive purposes; but with the existing prospects of an early termination of the European war, which may presage a long, if not a lasting, peace, together with our professions made in behalf of the settlement of international disputes by peace means, I regard it as remarkably inconsistent that we should at this juncture legislate a program for naval construction extending so far beyond the expected end of the conflict in Europe.

## Navalism and Militarism.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN N. TILLMAN,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I prefer to take the risks of war rather than burden the country with the taxes necessary to provide the naval and military equipment called for by the naval and Army bills, as agreed upon in conference, hence I shall vote against both measures. Our people will not quietly submit to the expenditures which these bills impose. The cost of armament necessary to satisfy these demands is prohibitive.

There is no such thing as being prepared for war. In support of their position, advocates of these bills assert that Belgium was not prepared to resist Germany, hence was overrun. Belgium, even if she had bankrupted herself, could not have been prepared to resist successfully this invasion.

Mark what stupendous sums we are asked to appropriate this session, to say nothing of future budgets—$267,000,000 for the Army and $315,000,000 for the Navy—more money than all the nations of the old world grouped together ever appropriated for these purposes in any one year prior to the beginning of the great war. These foreign nations are militaristic, and while disclaiming navalism and militarism we are leaping at one bound into the midst of navalism and militarism.

Last year Congress appropriated for the Navy $149,000,000 and for the Army $101,000,000, enough, it would seem, to satisfy the most rabid jingo. One battleship costs now $15,000,000, and its upkeep requires a million a year. If it escapes a mine

or a submarine, it is ready for the scrap heap in a few years. In the great sea battle of Jutland the *Queen Mary*, the new English cruiser, costing $15,000,000, was sunk with all on board in just six minutes. These ships are too expensive to fight with.

Before embarking on militarism and navalism we should wait till the close of the great world war now bleeding Europe white, and then the nations of the Old World will gladly join us in an agreement to limit armaments. Europe is already heartily tired of what the German Crown Prince characterizes as the most needless, senseless struggle of all the centuries. If the war continues much longer it is estimated that it will cost all the belligerents over $100,000,000,000, a staggering colossal debt that will bankrupt the eastern world.

The war between the States cost less than $8,000,000,000, and the Napoleonic wars, lasting over 20 years, cost only $15,000,000,000. Does not every thoughtful man believe that because of the great financial burdens Europe must henceforth bear because of this war that we will be in no danger of attack? Two years ago, when Europe was on her feet, was an armed camp, comparatively free of debt, we seemed to be in no danger of attack and heard no clamor for bigger Military and Naval Establishments. If we were in no danger then, how can we be in danger now, when Europe is on her back, has lost in killed 3,000,000 of her first-line troops, with captured, missing, sick, and wounded amounting to the startling total of 13,000,000, and burdened with a debt that will keep the faces of her people in the dust forever?

Oh, but we must have preparedness. Against whom? Will preparedness avert war? It did not in the case of Germany; on the contrary, it provoked war. In the early days in Arkansas, the man tactless enough to have a pistol in his hip pocket was usually the first man on the grounds to get into a difficulty.

Note the enormous sums appropriated now and about to be appropriated under the various preparedness measures, and distributed as follows:

Navy, $313,384,389.24.
Army, $267,596,530.10.
Fortifications, $25,747,550.
Military Academy, $1,225,043.57.
Nitrate plant, $20,000,000.
Army and Navy deficiency, $34,523,000.
The appropriations for defense last year were:
Navy, $149,661,864.88.
Army, $101,974,195.87.
Fortifications, $6,060,216.90.
Military Academy, $1,069,813.37.
The increase for preparedness over bills of last year is as follows:
Navy, $163,722,524.36.
Army, $165,622,334.23.
Fortifications, $19,687,333.10.
Military Academy, $155,230.20.

An astonishing total of $662,476,512.91 appropriated this session.

SIXTEEN CAPITAL SHIPS PROVIDED FOR IN NAVY'S NEW BUILDING PROGRAM.

The new building program for the Navy provides for the following new ships:

Ten first-class battleships, carrying as heavy armor and as powerful equipment as any vessels of their class, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action, four of these, at a cost of not exceeding $11,500,000 each, exclusive of armor and armament, to begin as soon as practicable.

Six battle cruisers, with as heavy armor and armament as any vessels of their class and with the highest practicable speed and greatest radius of action, four of which, costing not over $16,500,000 each, are to begin as soon as practicable.

Ten scout cruisers, armed suitable to their size and with the greatest desirable speed, four of which, exclusive of armor and armament, are to begin as soon as practicable, at a cost of not over $5,000,000 each.

Fifty torpedo boat destroyers, 20 to cost not exceeding $1,200,000 each, exclusive of armor and armament, to begin as soon as practicable. Not less than four of these are to be built on the Pacific coast.

Nine fleet submarines.

Fifty-eight coast submarines, of which number three are to have a surface displacement of about 800 tons each, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,200,000 each, and 27 not to exceed $700,000 each are to begin at once. Not less than 12 of the submarines are to be built on the Pacific coast.

One submarine equipped with the Neff system of propulsion, exclusive of armor and armament, $250,000.

Three fuel ships, one to begin at once, at a cost of $1,500,000.

One repair ship.

One transport.

One hospital ship, to begin at once, $2,350,000.

Two destroyer tenders.

One fleet submarine tender.

Two ammunition ships, one to begin at once, at a cost of $2,350,000, exclusive of armor and armament.

Two gunboats, one to begin at once, at a cost of $860,000, exclusive of armor and armament.

SIX THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOUR OFFICERS AND 175,000 MEN FOR ARMY ON A PEACE FOOTING.

Under the plan of reorganization for the Regular Army not exceeding 6,954 officers and 175,000 men are authorized for peace times. The number of men will not be less than 163,161. Heretofore there were 5,029 officers and 100,000 men authorized, or not less than 81,932 men, in time of peace. The President was authorized last spring to recruit the Army to its full peace strength by adding 20,000 men.

The peace strength heretofore was made up with the Philippine Scouts, enlisted men of the Signal Corps, and the unassigned recruits, who were included in the peace-strength limitation of 100,000 men. This year they are excluded from the peace limitation of 175,000 men. When added they make a total peace strength of 11,327 officers and 208,338 men.

BIG ARMY INCREASE.

When brought up to war strength the combatants in the Regular Army, exclusive of the three units, will be 6,954 officers and 226,649 men; and with the three units, 11,942 officers and 287,846 men in war. The full strength of the new Army may be available after five years.

When the National Guard is brought up to the increased size authorized, which will be within five years, it will have 17,000 officers and 440,000 men in peace. In war these would be increased about 37 per cent. This would give a total strength of enlisted men in the Guard of approximately 602,800.

Added to the Regular Army the total number of men thus available in war will be close to 900,000 men. As men from the Regular Army and National Guard go into the Reserves the number available will be constantly increasing.

The new Army bill provides for four classes of soldiers—the Regular Army, the National Guard, the enlisted Reserve Corps, and the Volunteer Army.

The Regular Army has been increased 34½ regiments of Infantry, and the Porto Rico regiment has been made available for use at Panama or elsewhere. Other increases are: Ten regiments of Cavalry, 15 regiments of Field Artillery, 93 companies of Coast Artillery, 5 regiments of Engineers, and two battalions of mounted Engineers. The Medical Department was increased by adding a new corps of verterinarians. This, with the Dental Corps, is given increased rank. Enlisted men in the Medical Department will be 5 per cent of the authorized strength of the Army, and officers will be 7 to every 1,000.

Hospitals under the American Red Cross for use in national emergencies and in war are authorized.

Thus by a leap and a bound we astonish the world by a military and a naval program exceeding by many millions the aggregate sums appropriated in any one year of all the countries of all the world combined prior to 1914.

Already Japan insists that this program means aggression upon our part toward her and the East.

What will our war-hating, peace-loving constituents think of these big-scale preparations?

A bond issue will be necessary, and a revenue bill taxing everybody is on its swift way to passage.

But the friends of this preparedness program say, "We do not want these big guns and these great ships to fight with; we want them to bluff with," and so we are asked to touch the reluctant taxpayer "with the Midas finger of the State" and bleed gold from him to pay for equipment, for gold-laced admirals, and saber-rattling generals to sport with and to bluff with.

I favor reasonable preparedness. These measures go beyond that. I made my campaign against navalism and militarism and am keeping faith with my people in voting against the naval and military bills on final passage. No question of party regularity is here involved. The President—and I am his loyal friend and supporter—distinctly states that the preparedness issue is entirely nonpartisan. The Republicans are for these measures almost to a man and have sought at every step attending their consideration to increase the size of these appropriations. I am voting against both the Army bill and the naval appropriation as increased by the Senate and stand with the Democratic leader, Mr. KITCHIN, and a respectable minority of my party in this opposition.

## Agriculture.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the permission recently granted me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the subject of agriculture, I desire to include as a part of my remarks an address delivered recently at the county fair at McKee, Jackson County, Ky., which is in the congressional district that I have the honor to represent. This address was delivered by Coleman Reynolds, who was at the time just 15 years of age. I heard him deliver it myself, and it was not only a rather remarkable production for a boy of that age, but it was delivered with an ease and grace of manner that would have done credit to any Member of this body. The only further comment that I desire to make upon this address is that the mountains of eastern Kentucky have plenty of boys like young Reynolds, who are not only possessed of talent and ambition,

but who are rapidly coming to the front as leaders among the great people who inhabit that region. Mr. Reynolds said:

THE FIRST PRIZE ORATION ON "AGRICULTURE."

[Delivered by Coleman Reynolds at the Jackson County Fair.]

Ladies and gentlemen, if you will give me your attention for only a very brief time, I will endeavor to say something to you about the greatest occupation known to mankind—the greatest that will ever be known. Possibly it will not be interesting to the officials and business men present here to-day, but, nevertheless, their successes are wholly dependent upon the agricultural pursuits of this country.

Ten years ago our Government did not realize the importance connected with agriculture. But since our population has increased so rapidly it has attracted the attention of our Government, and to-day they are catering to the needs of the farmer with outstretched arms holding budgets like the Smith-Lever bill, Federal-aid bill, and other appropriations for the benefit of the American farmer for which we are grateful to our Congressman, J. W. LANGLEY, for his support.

Agriculture is the oldest of all occupations. It was practiced in the olden times by the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, Babylonians, and Syrians. You can read about it in the Old Testament how Egypt was a corn country.

Europe, my friends, is the greatest agricultural country on the globe. They are 100 years ahead of America in scientific agriculture. Germany, France, and England are the leading agricultural countries of Europe. Are we going to remain in idleness, so far as scientific agriculture is concerned? No; I repeat it, no. Necessity is the mother of inventions. We are making progress, and have been since Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793; in fact, since cattle were first brought to New England in 1624. The Department of Agriculture was organized in 1862.

Our work is just now beginning. It must be taught in the schools of Kentucky as it is in 18 States of this Union. In 1897 it was not taught in the schools in a single State of this country of ours. But the recognition of this great work is being made. I can see in the future greater improvements. I can see agriculture in the schools of Jackson County. I can see the educators equipped with knowledge of the soil. Our annual production of corn for the last 10 years has been 2,500,000,000 bushels produced on 95,000,000 acres of ground, an average of 26 bushels per acre; and more than one-half the farmers average less than 26 bushels per acre; twice this quantity is a fair crop, three times this quantity is a good crop, and four times this quantity is often produced.

Along the lines of improvement that will most easily and quickly double the present condition per acre is—

1. Improvement in quality of seed.
2. Improvement in condition of soil.
3. Improvement in method of cultivation.

Soon may be the time when we can double our corn yield and all other crops grown; soon I hope will be the time when the school boys and girls of America can have training along practical lines that will fully equip them for life and that will safeguard this great country of ours.

Farmers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and all, you have a duty to perform, and you are expected to perform that duty. The whole world is watching you, and somebody is taking your measure.

As you toil from the dawn of morning 'till setting of the sun,
Do you see that your work is always well and carefully done?
It may seem that no one is watching,
But your details you well may slight.
Somebody is taking your measure.
Are you doing your work just right?

You may toil in a busy workroom,
In the midst of a busy throng,
And your task may seem all but endless,
And the hours weary and long,
But after your day's work is finished
You can feel you have played the man.
Somebody is taking your measure.
Are you doing the best you can?

You are thrown in the crowd.
Work above them;
Do more than your task; it will pay.
Somebody will see and remember the man
Who does the task of each day.
There is always a bigger job waiting
If you work with a willing grace.
Somebody is taking your measure.
Are you fit for a "larger place"?

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## Primary Election Expenses in Texas.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, we are told that the administration does not wish Congress to adjourn until it has passed another corrupt-practices act. The idea is that no candidate for President, including Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson, shall be permitted to spend, personally or through a committee, more than $50,000 to be elected. This is highly important in view of the recent publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the long list of contributors to the Wilson campaign fund of 1912, many of whom were rewarded by appointment to office and some of whom have done very well in financing the European war and making munitions for the allies. Since the contributions reported for the Wilson campaign of 1912 run up into the hundreds of thousands, and are likely, if the magnates and deserving and expectant Democrats appreciate their present and ultimate profits, to be larger in 1916, the insistence of the administration upon the passage of a corrupt-practices act limiting presidential expenses to $50,000 is indicative of an inclination to reform—if it is not downright bunk.

However, it is not my purpose to go into this question extensively at this time. I wanted to refer to the Texas primaries, which recently left bleaching upon the hot sands of the Lone Star State the bones of so many of the heroic trust busters who have recently been fighting for the "down-trodden" cotton grower in the halls of Congress.

The "pee-pul" are a mighty ungrateful lot down in Texas, or they fail to appreciate the sacrifices of those who bled and died in their behalf. Witness the fate of those who stood so gallantly for unlimited gobs of Government gold to valorize cotton at 12 cents a pound in its hour of peril. Poor Yorick! We loved him more in Congress halls than they did upon his native heath.

But it can not be that the "pee-pul" are willfully ungrateful to the champions who never flinch at the smirk of a corporation. There must have been some other reason down in Texas why they should have treated their Representatives so. Uncompromisingly Democratic, it must be confessed also that they broke a little from their great leader in the White House when at the recent primary election they gave a larger vote to the candidate who had denounced the Wilson administration as "the greatest failure in history" than they did to any other candidate. We are told that "we shall see what we shall see" when the finals are run off under the Texas system as between Colquitt, the antiadministrationist, and CULBERSON, who is still persona grata at the White House.

It is an interesting situation and provokes an inquiry as to why the administration is so anxious to have passed this session of Congress a corrupt-practices act, limiting campaign expenses to a ridiculous amount as to general elections, when the expensive contests in States like Texas and Mississippi, where committees select congressional candidates, are always waged at the primaries. It has come to our knowledge here in Congress in numerous contested-election cases that primary fights in the Gulf States are very costly. In such contests we hear a great deal about the influence of money, of "blind tigers," and other primary election instrumentalities, but we hear very little about corrupt-practices acts to correct these abuses.

The corrupt-practices acts thus far passed, including the bill now pending which the administration desires to have passed, are generally intended to hit the big cities and to limit the contributions where the primary elections are not so conclusive as they are in Texas. But the administration has taken its stand and wants more corrupt-practices legislation.

Far be it from me to suggest that the Colquitt antiadministration vote in Texas had anything to do with the desire to limit campaign expenses in that State. The results there speak for themselves. The people voted at their primaries and left many familiar faces outside the congressional breastworks.

It is said that much money was spent at the Texas primaries. It is said that some of the candidates were able to give advertisements to the newspapers and otherwise make expenditures aggregating many times the limit fixed by the Texas law, to say nothing of the laws of the United States. It is rare that we are able to present Democratic authority in support of a statement like this, but it is always refreshing, in view of the administration's desire to prevent campaign contributions for general-election purposes, when we are able to do so.

Witness the Philadelphia Record of August 22, an excellent Democratic authority, which introduces, under the title "High cost of primaries," an extract from the Dallas Evening Journal, another excellent authority in the State of Texas. No mean State is the Lone Star State when it comes to purifying the ballot box. Candidates even in that great borderland of ours can readily be found who will cheerfully spend three or four times the salaries they would receive in an entire term for the sacred privilege of serving their country in official stations. Other States where Democracy is not so thoroughly entrenched may have their election scandals, but heaven forbid that Texas in her primary elections should ever yield to so unholy an influence.

There may be buncombe in the demand of our Democratic brethren for a corrupt-practices act that will apply to Democratic States with equal force it applies to Republican States, but if the movement is earnest and the reform is to be instituted at once, we commend to the administration for investigation this delightful story which comes up through Democratic sources from the Dallas Evening Journal. If the administration is as

successful in cutting down "the high cost of primaries" in Democratic States as it has been in "reducing the high cost of living" in all the States, it will have conferred a lasting boon upon all the people of this great land of ours.

What the Dallas Evening Journal had to say about the "high cost of primaries" in Texas is as follows:

[From the Dallas Evening Journal.]

HIGH COST OF PRIMARIES.

Fresh proof that it is necessary for a comparatively unknown man to spend much money in order to get anywhere as a candidate in a Democratic primary election in Texas is furnished in the account filed by C. H. Morris, late candidate for governor. He spent $20,131.41, or two and one-half times the amount he would have received as salary had he been elected, and more than twice what he would have received as salary and grocery allowance had he been elected and had he accepted the grocery money.

It was understood early in the campaign that Mr. Morris intended to spend $40,000. The question, which, of course, is unanswerable, arises, "Would Mr. Morris have won had he spent all of the $40,000 instead of just a trifle over half?" In this connection it will be recalled that Gov. Ferguson's first campaign cost him a trifle over $30,000. He then was comparatively unknown. He won. And this suggests another question: "Is $30,000 the price an unknown man must pay for the governorship?"

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**An Editorial by William J. Bryan.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JOHN M. EVANS,
OF MONTANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial by William J. Bryan which recently appeared in the Commoner and entitled "Deserving Democrats."

The article is as follows:

"DESERVING DEMOCRATS."

"Now, that you have arrived and are acquainting yourself with the situation, can you let me know what positions you have at your disposal with which to reward deserving Democrats? I do not know to what extent the knowledge of the Spanish language is necessary for employees. Let me know what is requisite, together with the salary, and when appointments are likely to be made."

The above is the letter which I wrote to Mr. Vick, the receiver of customs at San Domingo. Read it carefully. Scan each sentence, examine each word, each syllable. Mr. Hughes, once governor of New York, afterwards justice of the Supreme Court, and now Republican candidate for President, thinks it important enough to quote in his campaign speeches. He is so indignant, so mortified, that he asks: "Should not every American hang his head in shame, that such a thing should occur in our highest department of Government?"

I alone am responsible for that letter, and I am not ashamed of it. Attention is called to it, that I may expose the desperation of the man who has sought to use it as a means of advancing himself politically. The letter was written to an appointive officer, whose office was not under the civil service, and the inquiry was made in regard to offices which were not under the civil service. There was nothing in the letter to indicate a desire or intention to select men who were incompetent. On the contrary, inquiry is made as to "what is requisite." By what logic does Mr. Hughes reach the conclusion that "every American should hang his head in shame," because a Democratic Secretary of State expressed an interest in the appointment of deserving Democrats to positions not under the civil service, for which such Democrats were competent? Mr. Hughes had appointments to make when he was governor. Did he give those appointments to deserving Republicans or to undeserving Republicans? If to deserving Republicans, did his action cause every citizen of New York to "hang his head in shame"? Or, is he so partisan that he regards it as entirely proper and patriotic to appoint deserving Republicans and only shameful to appoint deserving Democrats?

Mr. Hughes recognizes political obligations and has shown himself quite prompt in discharging such obligations. When he was a candidate for governor, he received the support of the railroads of New York and he generously paid the debt by vetoing the 2-cent passenger rate bill. He does not describe that as shameful. When a candidate for governer, he received the support of the New York tax dodgers, the owners of "swollen fortunes," and he paid his debt by sending a message to the legislature protesting against the income-tax amendment to the Federal Constitution. He does not describe that as shameful. He is now being supported by the railroads of the United States and he expects to pay them back by aiding them to escape State legislation, and find a haven of security in "exclusive Federal control" over the railroads; he is being supported by the Shipping Trust and expects to pay them back by helping them to prevent Government competition; he is supported by the tariff barons and expects to pay them back by enabling them to collect tribute from the consumers, through high tariff rates; he is supported by the trust magnates and expects to pay them back by shielding them from punishment for the extortion which they desire to practice; he is supported by Wall Street and expects to pay them back by turning over to them our financial system; he is supported by those who are exploiting Mexico and he expects to pay them back by spending American blood and squandering money raised by taxation, in order to guarantee profits on speculative investments. And yet, with the record which he has made in paying his political obligations at the expense of the public and with the pledges his speeches contain to those who are now aiding his ambitions, he has the impudence to hold up for criticism a legitimate effort to reward competent men for the service which they have rendered to the cause of reform.

For 20 years the people have been engaged in a life and death struggle to save the Nation from the big exploiters, the big "grafters," and the big "pork" hunters—from the plunderbund, to which Mr. Hughes is indebted for all the political honors he has enjoyed and which is now seeking to put him in a position to safeguard plutocracy from further attacks. Mr. Hughes is perfectly familiar with the contest, because he has been conspicuous among the champions of that plunderbund. In the campaign of 1908 he was put forth as the chief representative of the trusts, and his eloquent advocacy of their cause won him a place on the Supreme Bench, where he was quick to show his bias in their favor. But while he has been winning valuable rewards as a Republican, who is "deserving" from the standpoint of the predatory interests, the plain, common people have been waging a brave and continuous struggle for the rescue of their Government from the hands of Mr. Hughes's political friends and supporters, and they have won battle after battle.

They have secured, without Mr. Hughes's aid, the election of Senators by the people, thus putting the Senate in touch with the voters. They have won, in spite of Mr. Hughes's opposition, an income-tax amendment to the Constitution, which has made it possible to transfer a considerable part of the burden of taxation from consumption to incomes. They have secured a reduction of the tariff and a measure of relief from the exactions of the trusts. They have secured currency reform, a rural-credits law, a child-labor law, and other measures of justice to agriculture, labor, and commerce, and they have made their fight at great sacrifice to themselves, and in the face of intimidation, coercion, and ostracism. They have shown a moral courage and a devotion worthy of the great cause in which they have enlisted.

I received the support of nearly six millions and a half of these voters in three campaigns. I would be unworthy of the affection they have shown and the confidence they have manifested, as well as of the support they have given, if I were willing to admit that a Republican is necessarily superior to them either in patriotism or capacity. I would be unworthy of their loyal friendship if I did not welcome every opportunity to reward them by aiding them to secure any appointive offices, outside of the civil service, for which they were competent.

As an official, I enforced the civil-service law to the letter, and upon my resignation, received from the employees of the State Department, more than 90 per cent of whom were under the civil service, a watch which I prize as a priceless treasure. But, while I observed the civil-service law, wherever it was in force, I felt myself free to aid in rewarding deserving Democrats, wherever it could be done without detriment to the service. My regret is that I was able to reward so few of the multitude who are deserving, measured by their political service, by their capacity, and by their fitness for the work to be done.

In a Republic, where the Government is good only when the people are willing to undertake the labor necessary to make it good, political zeal and willingness to spend time and money in behalf of remedial legislation can never be a legitimate objection to political appointment. Those who can raise campaign funds by mortgaging the Government in advance to the beneficiaries of privilege may scorn the labors of the unselfish, the unpurchasable, and the unfrightened political workers, but those whose only appeal is to the conscience and patriotism of the masses will not hang their heads in shame at any legitimate effort that may be made to introduce into Government employment those who combine a heart interest with the service rendered by brain and hand. The "deserving Democrat" is not to be despised—he is as much entitled to recognition as a "deserving Republican"—and both Democrats and Republicans are deserving in proportion as they honestly endeavor to make our Government a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," and insure its administration, according to the maxim "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

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**Grain Grading.**

## SPEECH
OF
## HON. GEORGE M. YOUNG,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, April 29, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12717) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, containing part B, known as the United States grain-standards act.

NORTH DAKOTA PIONEERS IN GRAIN LEGISLATION.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, the wheat and flour testing plant at the Agricultural College, Fargo, N. Dak., was the first complete flour mill and laboratories ever installed by any Government for the benefit of wheat growers. While wheat has been a commercial commodity since the time of the Pharaohs, it is a most surprising thing that never until a poor crop in the Northwest a few years ago did anyone think of having his wheat tested. The farmers had been growing wheat for centuries without any accurate knowledge as to how much flour it would make and of what quality. This was particularly true in the years when wheat was damaged by frost, drought, or other cause. But the big line elevator companies had testing plants. The trade was carried on between producers who did not know what their wheat would yield, either in amount or quality, and purchasers who knew with accuracy the exact milling value of what they were buying. It is not surprising

then that the fellows who knew took advantage of the fellows who did not. The so-called grades established in Minnesota would probably go on forever if it were not for the installation of the testing plant at the Fargo Agricultural College. That came about in this way: During the fall of 1904 a friend of mine living near Leal, N. Dak., brought a sample of wheat in to me to ask my advice as to whether it should be sold then or held until the following year.

THE YOUNG ACT.

It was not very good-looking wheat and had been graded "rejected." I suggested that if it would make good flour that it would be wise for him to keep it until the following year, for the reason that some of the mills in order to secure an adequate supply during the short season would probably buy it upon sample and pay something like its real value. But neither he nor I knew how much flour it would make nor of what quality. After the legislature met in 1905 another farmer wrote me about the desirability of having a means supplied whereby the farmers could know the milling value of wheat. It was to meet this need that I introduced and secured the passage of the Young Act, which provided for the installing of a complete testing plant at the agricultural college, to make milling tests of wheat and chemical and baking tests of flour available to every farmer in the State. I have gone into the situation in our State with some particularity to show the great need for a definite, known measure of value, a standard of value by which both the seller and the buyer would know the intrinsic value of what was being sold.

A HALF LOAF BETTER THAN NO BREAD.

Mr. Chairman, the bill now before us empowers the Secretary of Agriculture to establish standards of value, which means to fix grades to properly describe the wheat and other grains offered for sale throughout the country. This will be of immense value. It will at least put an honest measure in the hands of the inspectors. Heretofore they have not only had crooked measures of value but handled them in many instances in a crooked way. The bill also requires that State inspectors shall secure licenses from the Secretary of Agriculture, and provides for a certain amount of national supervision. We have been fighting for actual inspection by United States officers, but this is the best bill the committee can agree upon. I am frank to say, with a few amendments which I think will be made, that the bill if enacted into law will do much good. It is not what our people have hoped for. The committee decided not to give us an inspection service by officers appointed by, paid by, and answerable to the United States. Instead we are to have the grades, sometimes called standards, defined by the United States, and the work of State grading officials is to be supervised.

Mr. Chairman, a half loaf is better than no bread, but I would like to feel sure in this case that we are getting at least half a loaf, so we must insist upon certain amendments.

A DISHONEST, CROOKED MEASURE.

I was quite interested in the story told by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. ANDERSON], in his usual forceful way, in respect to the Minnesota inspection system and the way it is managed. But there is one thing that was omitted, and that was the standard or measure that was used by the inspectors. He told you how the inspectors operated, but not what kind of a measure they had. Perhaps he was not informed as to that. Men who want to be crooked can use an honest measure in a dishonest way or they can use a dishonest measure. We claim in North Dakota that a dishonest measure has been used in Minnesota for many years, a dishonest, crooked measure, a measure that did not grade at all.

The Grand Forks Herald just received gives a quotation of No. 1 northern at $1.09, and the rejected grade at 85 cents. That is a difference of 24 cents between 1 northern and rejected. At our Fargo testing plant, at the United States experiment station, where there is in operation a small milling plant, they grind the wheat and give the flour a chemical test and a baking test. The result of the tests made by Dr. Ladd, reported in a bulletin issued over a year ago, showed that No. 1 northern and all other grades between, down to rejected, were of much the same value, and in fact that the entire products of 100 pounds of rejected grade brought $2.31 as against $2.28 for No. 1 northern.

Now, if the grades were honest measures, every grade when it is ground into flour and the product sold, the miller or whoever handled it, ought to get the same percentage of profit. But, as a matter of fact, it was shown by the experimental station at Fargo that the manufacturer got a profit of 33 cents on No. 1 northern and 56 cents on rejected.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. What becomes of the rejected grade?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. The rejected makes first class flour. It has more gluten in it than No. 1 northern. No. 3 northern is highest in gluten content. The gentleman was present at the pure flour hearing a month ago, and he will recall that every expert said that the main thing in wheat was to get the greatest amount of protein, another name for gluten. In the tests by Dr. Ladd it was shown that the rejected had more gluten than No. 1 northern.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. When the small farmer, if there are any in the gentleman's country, puts his grain on the way to the miller, or wherever it is to be shipped, does he receive his money in advance or does he stand to lose if the grain does not pass muster?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. If he sells to the elevator, the transaction is closed; but a large per cent of the grain is shipped in carload lots and only a part of it paid in advance.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. The small farmer then stands to lose something?

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Certainly.

THE GRAIN SHARKS MUST GO.

It might be well for a moment to consider what grades are for, why standards are necessary. North Dakota farmers can not deliver wheat at the doors of flour mills in Pennsylvania. For that reason the practice grew up of indicating the quality by having it examined and marked. Presumably, to begin with, the grades indicated to eastern and foreign buyers what they were actually buying without being on the ground to examine the wheat. But that is now a thing of the past. The eastern buyer is kicking, too. With honest grades it would be possible for the farmers to know what they were selling and the eastern and foreign buyers to know what they were buying. It is the duty of governments to establish conditions under which business can be conducted safely and honorably. Under present conditions that is next to an impossibility in the grain trade. The producers are defrauded and the eastern and foreign buyers are cheated. In the past no redress was obtainable excepting from the State of Minnesota, where the doors were locked. They seemed to think it was clever business to take a large slice from both ends. The farmers have suffered—not altogether in silence, but the time has come now when there is a rift in the sky. The end of the grain sharks is in sight. They must go. This bill, if passed, will empower the Secretary of Agriculture to clean up the present intolerable conditions, and I believe he will do so. If he does not, millions of farmers will ride his neck.

PRESIDENT LADD'S EXPERIMENTS.

In the bulletin issued by Dr. E. F. Ladd during the month of January, 1915, it was demonstrated that the different grades of wheat as graded during the fall of 1914 yielded products of substantially the same value, using as the basis of his computations the quotations for the different grades of wheat, flour, shorts, bran, and so forth, as contained in the Northwestern Miller. The items are given in great detail in the bulletin, but I quote only the totals, showing the receipts for all products from 100 pounds of each grade as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| No. 1 northern | $2.28 |
| No. 2 northern | 2.27 |
| No. 3 northern | 2.34 |
| No. 4 northern | 2.31 |
| Rejected | 2.31 |

From this it will be seen that 60 pounds of one grade of hard wheat is worth about the same as 60 pounds of any other grade. Then why does the Minnesota system employ eight different grades to describe the wheat, when two, or at most three, grades would serve to describe it so that the buyer living at a long distance would know what he was getting if purchased upon grade? The answer is obvious. It is a trick. By it arbitrary reductions in the prices paid to farmers for wheat are made easy. The farmers, and in fact the public generally, have been educated to believe that each grade describes a different variety of wheat of distinct or differing milling value. The gentlemen in the grain trade who have easy consciences, if they have any at all, discovered a number of years ago that grain growers were entirely in the dark about the subterfuges known as grades. Finding that the producers were easy and that the Minnesota grades were regarded seriously, they concluded that some more grades could be created which would still further mystify the producing public in order to facilitate the skinning process. That was back 10 years ago, at which time two new grades were established, known as No. 3 and No. 4 northern. The trade got along well enough without them before. Why the change? To let the eastern buyer know more accurately what he was buying? Not at all. The eastern buyers have been up against a bigger gamble as to the quality of the wheat purchased during the past

10 years than ever before. Grades signify very little after the wheat has left the farmers. When Uncle Sam establishes the grades, as will be the case under this bill, I will venture the prediction that the first thing done will be to reduce the number of grades. To get a concrete idea of what the multiplicity of grades means in pounding down the prices of the farmers, may I call your attention to quotations found in the copy of the Grand Forks Herald just received, and from which I quoted a few minutes ago:

*Grand Forks markets, Thursday, Apr. 27, 1916.*

| | |
|---|---|
| No. 1 hard | No quotations. |
| No. 1 northern | $1.09 |
| No. 2 northern | 1.05 |
| No. 3 northern | .99 |
| No. 4 northern | .92 |
| Rejected | .85 |
| No grade | .80 |

The weight of each measured bushel has much to do with determining the grades under the Minnesota system. Light wheat takes a low grade. It should be remembered, however, that when the farmers haul in the wheat it is not sold by the measured bushel but by weight, so that even when the wheat is "light" the purchaser gets the same number of pounds per bushel—60 pounds.

It should be remembered that the farmers as a rule have no quarrel with the local grain buyers so far as the grading is concerned. They must follow the rules respecting the grading of the grain which are now in force in Minnesota. It is quite probable that the local buyers would be very glad to have the system changed and made to honestly describe the wheat purchased. Doubtless many others connected with the system, either closely or remotely, would welcome a change who take no pride in being connected with a grading system which readily lends itself to crooked business.

EQUITY COOPERATIVE EXCHANGE.

Mr. Chairman, when this bill becomes a law the members of the great western organization known as the Equity Cooperative Exchange of St. Paul, headed by John M. Anderson, J. G. Crites, A. M. Baker, F. B. Wood, former Congressman James Manahan, and other well-known men of the Northwest, will welcome the passage of a law which will give the opportunity to have just standards established for the grading of grain, and in addition to that probably some improvement in the conduct of the inspection department of the State of Minnesota by reason of what we hope will be the watchful eye of supervising officials appointed by the United States. This excellent organization of farmers, which has done so much good for the grain shippers of the Northwest, has been greatly fettered by the crooked Minnesota inspection service.

When this bill becomes a law the honorable Secretary of Agriculture will find a very valuable fund of accurate, scientific information in the various bulletins issued by Dr. E. F. Ladd, of the North Dakota Agricultural College, who is one of the most noted chemists of our country. If I had time I would quote from the last bulletin received, which gives the combined results of experiments conducted over a period of eight years. I shall ask to have those portions of it printed in the RECORD which deal with the gluten content, which will more completely answer the question asked by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE]. The experts at the pure-flour hearing last winter said that 10 per cent of protein—another word for gluten—was sufficient for a high-grade patent flour. It will be noticed that all of the hard-wheat grades contain more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Dakota has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, I ask permission to print in the RECORD portions of Bulletin No. 114, showing the chemical and physical contents of wheat and mill products, which I hope everyone interested in this subject will read, and those who desire to examine the complete bulletin may call at my office, or write Dr. E. F. Ladd, Fargo, N. Dak., for copies.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request?

There was no objection.

[Portions of Bulletin 114.]

CHEMICAL AND PHYSICAL CONSTANTS OF WHEAT AND MILL PRODUCTS.

[By Dr. E. F. Ladd, Fargo, N. Dak.]

INTRODUCTION.

The State law enacted in 1905 makes it the duty of the experiment station "to conduct experiments and determine the comparative milling values of the different grades of wheat by making chemical analyses of the different grades of wheat and baking tests of the flours made therefrom. A record shall be kept and published of the different grades of wheat, by whom graded, and the person from whom received, with the address, the nature of the soil, previous cropping, etc." The enactment of this law was secured through the efforts of Congressman GEORGE M. YOUNG while he was State senator.

In accordance with this provision of the law experiments were undertaken, and from 1907, when the regular milling tests were first made, to 1914, inclusive, some 660 complete trials were carried out on North Dakota grown wheat to enable us to gather data both with regard to the several varieties of wheat generally grown in the State and as to the climatic and soil influences on the value of the wheat for milling and baking purposes. The real value of the product must ultimately be determined by the demands of the consumer, as expressed in his choice and his willingness to pay a reasonable price for the article. The great mass of data can not well be presented and, at best, we can only at this time present a compilation or summary; otherwise, the whole mass becomes confusing in any attempt at presentation of figures for each individual test.

In a general way we can present studies for the several varieties, especially for Fife, Bluestem, Velvet Chaff, and Durum. Marquis and Winter wheat can hardly be compared since our first studies with Marquis wheat began in 1913 and were continued through 1914 for 26 samples, so there can not be considered the wide range for seasonal changes, and the results therefore are only comparable for the two years.

* * * * * * *

PROTEIN IN WHEAT.

The amount of protein (N×6.25) in the several varieties of wheat for the eight years 1907 to 1914, inclusive, shows not a wide range for the several varieties in the same grade:

TABLE VI.—*Per cent of protein in wheat.*

| Variety. | Grade No. 1. | Grade No. 2. | Grade No. 3. | Grade No. 4. | Rejected. | Mean. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bluestem | 14.41 | 13.25 | 15.69 | 14.76 | 14.72 | 14.56 |
| Fife | 14.54 | 14.55 | 16.29 | 14.32 | 12.69 | 14.48 |
| Velvet Chaff | 14.21 | 12.56 | 14.59 | ..... | 14.84 | 14.05 |
| Durum | 14.39 | 16.27 | 16.16 | 14.52 | ..... | 15.33 |
| Average | 14.38 | 14.15 | 15.68 | 14.53 | 14.08 | 14.60 |

The average of protein for all the samples of wheat is 14.60 per cent, while the maximum was 16.29 per cent for grade No. 3 Fife wheat, and the minimum was 12.56 per cent for grade No. 2 Velvet Chaff.

PROTEIN IN FLOUR.

Determinations made of protein in some six hundred and odd samples of the several grades of wheat and the amount of protein when nitrogen was multiplied by 6.25 showed as follows:

TABLE VII.—*Per cent of protein in flour.*

| Variety. | Grade No. 1. | Grade No. 2. | Grade No. 3. | Grade No. 4. | Rejected. | Mean. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bluestem | 13.25 | 12.95 | 14.32 | 13.88 | 13.93 | 13.46 |
| Fife | 13.63 | 13.12 | 15.04 | 13.55 | 11.69 | 13.14 |
| Velvet Chaff | 12.77 | 11.56 | 13.32 | ..... | 12.44 | 14.45 |
| Durum | 14.52 | 14.89 | 15.32 | 13.82 | ..... | 13.76 |
| Mean of all | 13.12 | 13.19 | 14.45 | 13.78 | 13.06 | 13.70 |

The difference, therefore, in the per cent of protein found in the flour made from the several grades of wheat does not materially differ, and the average for all the grades and varieties was 12.78 per cent, while the per cent of protein in the wheat averaged for all varieties and grades 14.60, or, for the flour 1.82 per cent lower than the average for all the wheats from which the flour was produced.

Taken as a whole, Velvet Chaff showed a lower per cent of protein than either of the other varieties, while the Durum averaged somewhat higher.

TABLE VIII.—*Per cent of protein in wheat, by grades and years.*

BLUESTEM.

| Year. | Grade No. 1. | Grade No. 2. | Grade No. 3. | Grade No. 4. | Rejected. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1907 | 12.09 | 14.78 | 13.12 | 13.37 | ..... |
| 1908 | 12.82 | 11.39 | 16.56 | ..... | ..... |
| 1909 | 13.21 | 11.94 | 16.66 | ..... | ..... |
| 1910 | 13.89 | ..... | 13.31 | ..... | ..... |
| 1911 | 13.52 | 13.14 | 14.10 | 14.36 | 14.62 |
| 1912 | 14.06 | 14.09 | 14.79 | 14.78 | 14.09 |
| 1913 | 13.17 | 12.48 | 12.66 | ..... | ..... |
| 1914 | ..... | 12.84 | 15.50 | 13.02 | 13.18 |
| Average | 13.25 | 12.95 | 14.32 | 13.88 | 13.94 |

FIFE.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1907 | 12.59 | 12.50 | 15.50 | ..... | ..... |
| 1908 | 14.78 | 10.06 | 15.25 | ..... | ..... |
| 1909 | 14.45 | 12.67 | 15.25 | ..... | ..... |
| 1910 | 14.66 | 15.87 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1911 | 13.36 | ..... | 14.39 | 15.14 | ..... |
| 1912 | 12.69 | 13.81 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1913 | 12.81 | 13.81 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1914 | ..... | ..... | 14.81 | 11.97 | 11.69 |
| Average | 13.65 | 13.12 | 15.01 | 13.55 | 11.69 |

TABLE VIII.—*Per cent of protein in wheat, by grades and years.*—Contd.

VELVET CHAFF.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1907 | 11.81 | | | | |
| 1908 | 13.04 | 11.00 | | | |
| 1909 | 15.06 | | 12.31 | | |
| 1910 | 13.33 | 12.04 | | | |
| 1911 | | 10.75 | 13.09 | | 12.63 |
| 1912 | 13.50 | | 13.00 | | |
| 1913 | 12.05 | 12.44 | 12.81 | | 12.25 |
| 1914 | 10.63 | 11.57 | 15.38 | | |
| Average | 12.77 | 11.56 | 13.32 | | 12.44 |

DURUM.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1907 | 12.65 | 12.06 | | | |
| 1908 | 15.46 | 13.92 | | 11.13 | |
| 1909 | 15.24 | | 18.25 | | |
| 1910 | 16.45 | | 17.31 | 14.88 | |
| 1911 | 16.16 | 16.31 | | | |
| 1912 | 12.89 | 17.09 | 13.12 | | |
| 1913 | 14.24 | 13.10 | 13.75 | 15.44 | |
| 1914 | 13.13 | 16.31 | 14.19 | | |
| Average | 14.52 | 14.80 | 15.32 | 13.82 | |

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. THOMAS J. STEELE,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. STEELE of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the staggering excess of appropriations in the Senate amendments to the naval bill over the amount carried by the original House bill seem to me to be unwarranted, unjustified, and, if ours is not a militaristic Nation, un-American, and I can not conscientiously support the motion to accept these amendments.

The House bill for which I voted, as it went to the Senate, carried $269,996,254.74 appropriations. This bill was approved by the chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, by the Democratic membership on that committee, the Democratic membership of the House, the Secretary of the Navy, and the administration. While it seemed to me that the apparent demand from the people of the country for such a tremendous increase in our Navy as this bill carried was due to certain vague fears for our country's safety instilled into the minds of the people by the Navy League's preparedness parades, motion pictures, and other agencies of their selfish propaganda; while it seemed to me that the appropriations in this bill, which exceeded the appropriations of last year—the largest in our history—by $130,000,000, were a response to a certain hysteria, I nevertheless voted for the bill upon the assumption that it was still far within the lines of moderation as compared with the wild and staggering specifications set forth in the program proposed by the Navy board and the defense leagues, and as compared with the extravagant and reckless program advocated by the Republican minority. I voted against the extravagant increases in the bill proposed by the Republicans, which were denounced by the Democratic leadership of the House and by the administration.

It was slightly over two months ago that we voted the $270,000,000 program and rejected the tremendous increases proposed by the Republican minority, and this amount was $30,000,000 in excess of the amount originally agreed upon as the administration program. To-day we are asked to accept the Senate amendments, which increase the total appropriations to $315,000,000—$46,000,000 more than the original House bill and $76,000,000 more than the program originally agreed upon as the administration program and $166,000,000 more than the amount appropriated for the last fiscal year.

Is there any justification for placing this additional burden upon the taxpayers of the country? If the minority program, which was rejected by the Democrats of the House, and which provided for approximately the increases which these Senate amendments carry, was wrong, reckless, and extravagant two months ago, it is wrong, reckless, and extravagant now. Is it not time to protest against action which can only be construed by the world to be a sudden transformation of our country to a militaristic Nation, and which, if continued, as it is sure to be, will make the load upon the backs of our taxpayers unbearable? Is it not true that when once a standard of excessive naval appropriations is fixed it is almost impossible to lower it?

During the past year we have heard much from the jingoists and the selfish interests behind the preparedness propaganda about the weakness of our Navy as compared with the navies of the other nations of the world. In this connection I submit the following figures, showing the expenditures of the various naval powers of the world since the opening of the twentieth century:

*Total naval expenditures by principal naval powers.*

| Fiscal year— | Great Britain (Apr. 1 to Mar. 31). | United States (July 1 to June 30). | Germany (April to March). | France (January to December). |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1900-1901 | $145,792,850 | $61,721,695 | $37,173,074 | $72,683,180 |
| 1901-2 | 150,560,190 | 68,438,301 | 46,315,800 | 67,079,011 |
| 1902-3 | 150,679,328 | 82,977,641 | 48,818,700 | 59,217,558 |
| 1903-4 | 173,548,058 | 104,126,192 | 50,544,000 | 59,740,222 |
| 1904-5 | 179,138,049 | 116,655,826 | 49,110,300 | 60,178,623 |
| 1905-6 | 161,117,947 | 109,725,050 | 54,918,000 | 61,565,779 |
| 1906-7 | 152,954,342 | 98,392,144 | 58,344,300 | 59,514,296 |
| 1907-8 | 151,880,617 | 117,353,474 | 69,133,500 | 60,685,813 |
| 1908-9 | 136,401,161 | 120,421,579 | 80,737,026 | 62,194,916 |
| 1909-10 | 181,936,341 | 122,247,365 | 95,047,820 | 64,899,589 |
| 1910-11 | 202,056,258 | 111,791,980 | 103,302,773 | 74,102,439 |
| 1911-12 | 211,596,296 | 133,550,071 | 107,178,480 | 80,371,109 |
| 1912-13 | 224,443,296 | 129,787,233 | 109,989,096 | 81,692,832 |
| 1913-14 | 237,530,459 | 136,858,301 | 112,091,125 | 90,164,625 |
| 1914-15 | 260,714,275 | 141,872,786 | 113,993,329 | 123,828,872 |

| Fiscal year— | Russia (January to December). | Italy (July 1 to June 30). | Japan (April to March). | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1900-1901 | $42,101,212 | $23,829,206 | | |
| 1901-2 | 45,488,462 | 23,875,532 | $21,373,954 | $423,140,250 |
| 1902-3 | 50,789,465 | 23,522,400 | 17,654,528 | 433,639,620 |
| 1903-4 | 60,018,895 | 23,522,400 | 17,553,279 | 489,053,046 |
| 1904-5 | 58,076,543 | 24,300,000 | 10,018,024 | 497,477,365 |
| 1905-6 | 60,228,444 | 24,494,400 | 11,378,202 | 433,427,831 |
| 1906-7 | 60,703,557 | 25,865,068 | 30,072,061 | 485,846,368 |
| 1907-8 | 43,012,166 | 27,516,454 | 35,124,346 | 504,706,370 |
| 1908-9 | 49,682,482 | 30,453,697 | 39,347,332 | 539,238,793 |
| 1909-10 | 58,059,040 | 31,812,885 | 35,005,719 | 589,008,759 |
| 1910-11 | 46,520,465 | 40,595,204 | 36,889,158 | 615,258,277 |
| 1911-12 | 56,680,915 | 40,780,987 | 42,944,329 | 673,111,187 |
| 1912-13 | 82,019,633 | 41,803,420 | 46,510,216 | 716,335,726 |
| 1913-14 | 117,508,657 | 49,550,147 | 48,105,152 | 791,808,466 |
| 1914-15 | 128,954,733 | 56,920,440 | 69,111,653 | 895,396,088 |

These figures show that for the 10 years preceding the war we had expended on our Navy $317,000,000 more than Germany, $463,000,000 more than France, $518,000,000 more than Russia, $852,000,000 more than Italy, and $827,000,000 more than Japan had expended on its Navy.

For these 10 years Germany expended on its navy $904,332,000, France expended on its navy $759,014,000, Russia expended on its navy $703,365,000, Italy expended on its navy $360,876,000, Japan expended on its navy $394,485,000, but the United States expended on its Navy the huge sum of $1,222,000,000.

Again, I ask, What danger is imminent that justifies the stupendous appropriations in this bill? Since the beginning of the consideration of this bill in the House Committee on Naval Affairs it seemed that the object sought to be attained by the chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, by the membership of the same committee, by the war traffickers, through their various defense organizations, by the Navy League, and by the administration, was to put this Nation in the second place among the navies of the world. It has been proven by hearings before the committee and by the admission of the Secretary of the Navy himself that we are already in second place. What, then, can be the purpose of making the gigantic appropriations contained in this bill? And since the proof and admissions were made that we are in second place among the navies of the world, the nation whose navy was pressing us hardest for second place has lost 400,000 tonnage. There is absolutely no argument in favor of the enormity of these appropriations.

It is contended by the naval extremists that we require the vast appropriations in this bill to put the Nation in "a proper state of defense." Does it mean nothing to our Navy to have the best coast defenses in the world? The highest authority on this subject is Gen. Erasmus Weaver. He is a member of the General Staff, a member of the Board of Ordnance and Fortifications, and a member of the Joint Army and Navy Board. In his testimony given a few months ago before the House Committee on Military Affairs he said:

**We have the best coast defenses in the world. The guns now mounted and those contemplated will give us an entirely satisfactory defense.**

This is what Gen. Miles said in his testimony before the House Committee on Military Affairs on the condition of our coast defenses:

I am prepared to say that our coasts are as well defended as the coasts of any country and with the same class of high-power guns and heavy projectiles. They are better in some respects than the guns that are mounted at the Dardanelles, which have resisted the most powerful ships of war of the British and French Navies.

The results at Alexandria, Port Arthur, and at the Dardanelles furnish sufficient evidence that guns on board ships are no match for coast fortifications and submarine guns.

Admiral Frank H. Fletcher, chief of the Atlantic Fleet, ranking officer in our Navy and an authority of the highest rank on coast defenses, has testified as follows:

It has been recently forcibly demonstrated that ship attacks on forts are futile. This war has conclusively demonstrated what every military strategist knew before, that it is impossible for sea craft to successfully attack land fortifications.

Surely, with such strong coast defenses as these experts testify that we have, there is no valid excuse for making such a raid on the Treasury to build 150 additional fighting ships for "defensive purposes," as the three-year program contemplates. We are told also by naval experts that "the dangers of transporting a fleet across a great expanse of water and maintaining it are almost insuperable." When we consider that our great coast defenses protecting our great cities and harbors are impregnable, that our coasts can be effectively patroled by submarines, that powerful transportable long-range guns can be moved with expedition to any part of our open coasts, that our harbors can also be protected against the entrance of possible foreign foes by the laying of mines, it seems to me that the taxpayers of the country ought to be saved from the tremendous burdens which this mad rush toward militarism places upon them.

It is not patriotism alone that has prompted the Senate to add these enormous apropriations to the House bill. I agree with our majority leader, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. KITCHIN], that the people of the Nation will find out sooner or later that it is profit to the shipbuilders, to the munition makers, and to the war traffickers, not danger to the country, that has been one of the greatest incentives and inspirations to the size of this program, and because I feel that it is a wanton waste of the people's money and poor business I can not and will not subscribe to it.

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**Prohibition National Platform and Convention Addresses of W. G. Calderwood and Daniel A. Poling.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me by the House, I insert in the RECORD the platform adopted by the Prohibition national convention at St. Paul, Minn., July 21, 1916, and the convention addresses of W. G. Calderwood and Daniel A. Poling.

The matter referred to is as follows:

PROHIBITION NATIONAL PLATFORM.

The Prohibition Party, assembled in its twelfth national convention in the city of St. Paul, Minn., on this 21st day of July, 1916, thankful to Almighty God for the blessings of liberty, grateful for our institutions and the multiplying signs of early victory for the cause for which the party stands, in order that the people may know the source of its faith and the basis of its action should it be clothed with governmental power, challenges the attention of the Nation and asks the votes of the people on this declaration of principles.

PROHIBITION.

We denounce the traffic in intoxicating liquors. We believe in its abolition. It should be made a crime, not a business, and ought not to have governmental sanction.

We demand, and if given power we will effectuate the demand, that the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes shall be prohibited.

To the accomplishment of this end, we pledge the exercise of all governmental power, the enactment of statutes, and the amendment of constitutions, State and National. Only by a political party committed to this purpose can such a policy be made effective. We call upon all voters believing in the destruction of the drink traffic to place the Prohibition Party in power on this issue as a necessary step in the solution of the liquor problem.

SUFFRAGE.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendment to State and Federal Constitutions.

We condemn the Republican and Democratic Parties for their failure to submit to the States an equal-suffrage amendment to the National Constitution.

We remind the 4,000,000 women voters that in 1872 we declared for their political rights—the first so to do—and we invite their cooperation in electing the Prohibition Party to power.

PEACE AND PREPAREDNESS.

We are committed to the policy of peace and friendliness to all nations. We are opposed unalterably to the wasteful military program of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Militarism protects no worthy institution. It endangers them all and violates the high principles which have brought us as a Nation to the present hour. We are for a constructive program in preparedness for peace. We declare for and will promote a world court, to which national differences shall be submitted, so maintained as to give its decrees binding force.

We will support a compact among nations to dismantle navies and disband armies; but until such world court and compact are established we pledge ourselves to maintain an effective Army and Navy and to provide coast defenses entirely adequate for national protection.

We are opposed to universal military service and to participation in the rivalry which has brought Europe to the shambles and now imperils the civilization of the race.

Private profit, as far as constitutionally possible, should be taken out of the manufacture of war munitions and all war equipment.

In normal times we favor the employment of the Army in vast reclamation plans; in reforesting hills and mountains; in building State and National highways; in the construction of an inland waterway from Florida to Maine; in opening Alaska; and in unnumbered other projects, which will make our soldiers constructive builders of peace. For such service there should be paid an adequate, industrial wage.

Those units of our Navy which are capable of being converted into merchantmen and passenger vessels should be constructed with that purpose in view, and chiefly so utilized in times of peace.

We condemn the political parties which for more than 30 years have allowed munition and war-equipment manufacturers to plunder the people and to jeopardize the highest interests of the Nation by furnishing honey-combed armor plate and second-rate battleships, which the Navy League now declares are wholly inadequate.

We will not allow the country to forget that the first step toward physical, economic, moral, and political preparedness is the enactment of national prohibition.

MEXICO AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Mexico needs not a conqueror but a good Samaritan. We are opposed to the violation of the sovereignty of the Mexican people, and we will countenance no war of aggression against them. We pledge the help of this country in the suppression of lawless bands of marauders and murderers who have taken the lives of American citizens on both sides of the border as well as of Mexicans in their own country.

The lives and property of our citizens when about their lawful pursuits, either in the United States or Mexico, must and will be protected. In the event of a breakdown of government across the border we would use, in the interests of civilization, the force necessary for the establishment of law and order.

In this connection we affirm our faith in the Monroe doctrine, proclaimed in the early days of the Nation's life and unswervingly maintained for nearly a hundred years.

We can not claim the benefits of the doctrine, and refuse to assume or discharge the responsibilities and the duties which inhere therein and flow therefrom.

These duties have long been unmet in Mexico. We should meet them now, acting not for territory, not for conquest or for ourselves alone, but for and with all the nations of North and South America.

The Democratic Party has blundered, and four years ago the Republican Party evaded and passed on the problem it now seeks the opportunity to solve.

THE PHILIPPINES.

The abandonment of the Philippines at this time would be an injustice to them and a violation of our plain duty. As soon as they are prepared for self-government by education and training, they should be granted their independence on terms just to themselves and to us.

TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY.

The countries at war are preparing for a fierce industrial struggle to follow the cessation of hostilities. As a matter of commercial economy, international friendliness, business efficiency, and as a help to peace, we demand that reciprocal trade treaties be negotiated with all nations with which we have trade relations.

A commission of specialists free from the control of any party should be appointed, with power to gather full information on all phases of the questions of tariff and reciprocity and to recommend such legislation as it deems necessary for the welfare of American business and labor.

MERCHANT MARINE.

The necessity of legislation to enable American ship builders or owners to meet foreign competition on the most favorable terms is obvious.

Materials for construction should be admitted free of duty.

The purchase of ships abroad when low prices invite should be allowed, and when so purchased should be admitted to American registry.

Harbor rules and charges and navigation laws should not be onerous, but favorable to the highest degree.

Liberal payment should be made by the Government for carrying the mails and for transport services.

All shipping from the United States to any of our possessions should be reserved to ships of American registry.

The people should not overlook the fact that the effect of nationwide prohibition, on labor and industry generally, will be such as to lower the cost of shipbuilding per unit, and at the same time permit the payment of higher wages. The increased volume of trade and commerce which will result when the wastage of the liquor traffic is stopped will quicken our shipping on every sea and send our flag on peaceful missions into every port. This is urged as an incidental effect of wise action on the liquor question, but is none the less to be desired, and will aid in the solution of the problem of our merchant Marine.

CIVIL SERVICE.

In order that the public service may be of the highest standard, the Government should be a model employer in all respects. To enforce the civil-service law, in spirit as well as in letter, all promotions should be nonpolitical, based only upon proven fitness; all recommendations for demotions or removals from the service should be subjected to the review of a nonpartisan board or commission.

The merit system should be extended to cover all postmasters, collectors of revenue, marshals, and other such public officials whose duties are purely administrative.

We reaffirm our allegiance to the principle of secure tenure of office during good behavior and capable effort, as the means of obtaining expert service. We declare for the enactment of an adequate retirement law for disabled and superannuated employees, in return for faithful service rendered in order to maintain a high degree of efficiency in public office.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Differences between capital and labor should be settled through arbitration, by which the rights of the public are conserved, as well as those of the disputants. We declare for the prohibition of child labor in factories, mines, and workshops; an eight-hour maximum day, with one day of rest in seven; more rigid sanitary requirements and such working conditions as shall foster the physical and moral well-being of the unborn; the protection of all who toil, by the extension of employer's liability acts; the adoption of safety appliances for the protection of labor and for laws that will promote the just division of the wealth which labor and capital jointly produce. Provision should be made for those who suffer from industrial accidents and occupational diseases.

SOCIAL JUSTICE.

We stand for justice to humanity and for its rights, safety, and development; we believe in the equality of all before the law; in old-age pensions and insurance against unemployment, and in help for needy mothers, all of which could be provided from what is now wasted for drink.

AGRICULTURE.

While it is admitted that grain and cotton are fundamental factors in our national life, it can not be denied that proper assistance and protection are not given these commodities at terminal markets in the course of interstate commerce.

We favor and pledge our efforts to obtain public grain elevators at necessary terminal markets, such elevators to be owned and operated by the Federal Government; also to secure Federal grain inspection under a system of civil service, and to abolish any board of trade, chamber of commerce, or other place of gambling in grain or trading in "options" or "futures" or "short selling" or any other form of so-called speculation, wherein products are not received or delivered, but wherein so-called contracts are settled by the payment of "margins" or "differences" through clearing houses or otherwise.

This party stands committed to free and open markets, based upon legitimate supply and demand, absolutely free from questionable practices of market manipulation. We favor Government warehouses for cotton at proper terminals, where the interests of producers so require; and the absolute divorce of all railroad elevators or warehouses owned by railroad companies, whether for public or private use, from operation or control by private individuals in competition with the public in merchandising grain, cotton, and other farm products.

We furthermore indorse all proper cooperative methods which tend toward broader and better markets for producer and consumer.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Public utilities and other resources which are natural monopolies now are exploited for personal gain under a monopolistic system. We demand the ownership or control of such utilities by the people and the operation and administration in the interest of all.

FREE INSTITUTIONS.

We stand for the preservation and development of our free institutions and for absolute separation of church and state, with the guaranty of full religious and civil liberty.

DEPARTMENTAL DECISIONS.

Departmental decisions ought not to be final, but the rights of the people should be protected by provisions for court review.

CONSERVATION.

We reaffirm our declaration in favor of conservation of forests, water power, and other natural resources.

EFFICIENCY.

We pledge a businesslike administration of the Nation's affairs, the abolition of useless offices, bureaus, and commissions; economy in the expenditure of public funds, efficiency in governmental service, and the adoption of the budget system.

The President should have power to veto any single item or items of an appropriation bill.

We condemn, and agree when in power to remedy, that which is known as "pork-barrel" legislation, by which millions of dollars have been appropriated for rivers where there is no commerce, harbors where there are no ships, and public buildings where there is no need.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

We favor uniform marriage and divorce laws, the extermination of polygamy, and the complete suppression of the traffic in girls and women.

SINGLE PRESIDENTIAL TERM.

We are in favor of a single presidential term of six years.

RULE OF THE PEOPLE.

We favor the initiative, referendum, and recall.

AMERICANISM.

We stand for Americanism. We believe this country was created for a great mission among the nations of the earth. We rejoice in the fact that it has offered asylum to the oppressed of other lands and to those more fortunately situated who yet wished to improve their condition. It is the land of all peoples and belong not to any one; it is the heritage of all. It should come first in the affections of every citizen, and he who loves another land more than this is not fit for citizenship here; but he is a better citizen who, loving this country, has reverence for the land of his fathers and gains from its history and traditions that which inspires him to nobler service to the one in which he lives.

The Federal Government should interest itself in helping the newcomer into that vocation and locality where he shall most quickly become an American. Those fitted by experience and training for agricultural pursuits should be encouraged to develop the millions of acres of rich and idle land.

CONCLUSION.

This is the day of opportunity for the American people. The triumph of neither old political party is essential to our safety or progress. The defeat of either will be no public misfortune. They are one party. By age and wealth, by membership and

traditions, by platforms and the character of their candidates, they are the conservative party of the United States.

The Prohibition Party, as the promoter of every important measure of social justice presented to the American people in the last two generations and as the originator of nearly all such legislation, remains now the only great progressive party.

The patriotic voters who compose the Republican and Democratic Parties can by voting the Prohibition ticket this year elect the issue of national prohibition.

To those of whatever political faith who have the vision of a land redeemed from drink we extend a cordial invitation to join with us in carrying the banner of prohibition to Nation-wide victory.

The following resolution was passed by the Prohibition national convention:

MEDICAL FREEDOM.

We believe in medical freedom which will give the individual the privilege of choosing for himself the treatment he desires. This declaration shall not prejudice the power of the Government to provide against the spread of disease and to insure in all ways deemed necessary the physical safety of the whole people.

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SAVE AMERICA AND SERVE THE WORLD.

[Address of Daniel A. Poling, of Boston, Mass., temporary chairman of the Prohibition national convention, delivered to the convention at St. Paul, Minn., July 19, 1916.]

We are a political party; our concerns are the concerns of government. Conceived in the minds of men who saw a great truth clearly and who were in courage and statesmanship competent, this organization was providentially born to remove the liquor institution from the civilization of a great people.

The fathers of the Prohibition Party were fundamentally constructive. They sought the destruction of the rum traffic as a means toward an end, the end being the unshackling of the race from bondage chains more galling than any irons that ever held a subjected people in physical slavery.

They moved against a wrong, politically entrenched, that stood in the progress road of society as an insuperable barrier. Their weapons sought the very vitals of an evil thing that burrowed its foul way deep into the souls of the Nation's physical, moral, economic, and political greatness.

WHY A POLITICAL PARTY.

Because they understood the science of government and the philosophy that inheres in a democracy, they became, not a crusade, not a society, not a loosely joined confederation of individuals, but a political party.

By no accident were those men of 1869 brought together. In Good Templary they learned the magnitude of their problem, and in a thousand fiercely contested battles, fighting with the weapons then at hand, they had come to see clearly the essential political nature of that problem. The conclusion that political organizations committed to license and regulation could not be expected to establish prohibition was inevitable; and to those men the conclusion that the only way to accomplish in a government, controlled not by a monarch but by many sovereigns, a change in public policy, a complete reversal of governmental attitude, is by the method provided in the Constitution itself, in the twelfth amendment of that great instrument, was also inevitable.

Conceding, as they did, that the liquor problem was in the last analysis a political question, those brave souls of 47 years ago organized themselves in harmony with the political system of the Republic of which they were responsible citizens.

Thus from a heroic but useless struggle against the saloon, against the wrongs that went crying in the street, men, agreeing together as concerning the end to be accomplished, came together in a permanent political union and set themselves against the evils behind the saloon, the greater wrongs that in silence did their foul work, the political forces that created, protected, and enlarged the traffic itself.

In its first convention the Prohibition Party declared what it has never since failed to declare—that only by capturing the Government, the whole Government, can the power of the liquor institution be finally broken. Not until the three branches of our Government—judicial, legislative, and executive—are brought into harmony and are directed by one governmental voice will national prohibition become a fact.

GOVERNMENT BY POLITICAL PARTIES.

Only after long wilderness wandering have we come to see what the fathers knew and what led them as a beacon in a single day out of their political Egypt, namely, that both the legislative and judicial departments of the Government may provide fully for prohibition, and to worse than no avail. For have we not witnessed in a thousand cities and in a dozen States the law and the courts defied, defied by base public officials, who granted immunity to those who sold and to those who bought, and by the political parties of which these delinquent executives were but the hired minions, the directed hands of the directing bodies, political parties that in their platforms openly announced and from the stump brazenly declared that if elected to power they would nullify the statutes and make anarchy respectable.

Prohibition is nowhere accomplished until a Prohibition administration, a Prohibition executive department, is elected. A Prohibition administration is dependent upon Prohibition votes, and this is a Government of political parties. The party is the poltical instrument of the citizens that comprise it, and under our system there could be no stable government without political parties. Parties exist to make effective the voice of the people, and if the voice of the people is not heard a democracy dies.

There have been times when a particular party has fallen into evil ways, become the tool of unscrupulous hands. In such times men have been misled into condemning the system itself—a system which is fundamental in free government.

That those who recognize the liquor question as a political question will come inevitably to the conclusion that there must be a united political constituency to effect prohibition, we are convinced. And why a political constituency without political action, and how effect political action without a political party? There is no method known to this Republic by which the three branches of government can be harmonized, united in principle and action, other than the party method—call that method by some other or any other name, throw away the branding iron—the fact yet remains that until citizens having a common purpose of public policy get together, stay together, leaving entirely those other citizens who are of another mind as to the public questions at issue, they are as helpless as a hound baying at the moon.

UNITY OF ACTION.

And it is also an incontrovertible fact that just in proportion as the union of citizens of like thought and determination is orderly, correctly consummated, and enduring will it prove effective in accomplishing the program that called it into existence.

Such a union is a political party, and when such a union prevails the government becomes its expression—the law decrees, the courts confirm, and the whole administration executes.

As we survey the work of those patriots who nearly five decades ago in Farwell Hall declared:

"Inasmuch as the existing political parties either oppose or ignore this great, paramount question and absolutely refuse to do anything toward the suppression of the rum traffic * * * we are driven by an imperative sense of duty to sever our connection with these political parties and organize ourselves into the national Prohibition Party."

As we survey their work we are exalted. In them, as well as in their labors, we have a goodly heritage. In a time when to leave an established political organization was political treason, and when the political traitor was not distinguished from the man who insulted the flag, it required the finest courage to lift this new standard in the land.

To-day we are looking down the path wise men and brave opened—the path they were the first to tread—and our gaze is not obstructed, for there are no hazards and there are no turnings in the way; its course lies as straight as the pole line to the star.

SACRIFICE AND TOIL.

All words of tribute that in this hour of high circumstance we bring are small words, for their deeds were great and they were greatly good. When the last rum flag has been buried in the ruins of John Barleycorn's last battlement to crumble men will write a book of many pages, and there will be pages for all who have fought. The heartaches will be all forgotten and the differences will be unrecalled. Our children will read only of the long marches against the common foe, the night attacks, the charges at dawn, the reverses and the onward press that could not be denied—and, please God, they shall read of final triumph.

And we who stand here to-day are glad to believe that our sons and daughters will remember and be glad that we fought, too.

But, sir, more pages in that book, which will be a book of men's and God's remembrances, than are devoted to us or to all others will be given over to chronicling the consecrated activities, the sacrificial labors of those men and women of unfaltering faith and iron will, who lifted the flag of prohibition in the night when no star of hope shone anywhere, and through jackal howls of hate groped their way toward the dawn they could but faintly see.

There are gray-haired, bowed-shouldered men and women before me who have faced the brunt and met the shock of the revilement I have but dimly felt. To you, the fathers who yet abide—to you in memory of these brave souls gone to their coronation, we say, hail, hail, thrice hail!

But the breed has not been exhausted, and men and women live now who walk worthily the sacrificial road the fathers trod. In obscure places many labor, while others put into jeopardy high positions and the esteem of distinguished friends, but whether they go forward in seclusion or in prominence they are soldiers of a common cause, comrades of one vast brotherhood.

We can not repay the editors who in these latter days, when so many voices called, have held before us all the open book of sound political wisdom, who have capitalized poverty to make us rich in knowledge and in the faith that comes with understanding. And I would fail here if my voice did not speak the name of the quiet man, the far-eyed seer, the prophet of greater things, the strategist and general, who more than any other has made a political desert blossom as the rose.

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, the book of this reform will carry, in letters large, the name of Virgil G. Hinshaw.

THE PROHIBITION PARTY OMNIPOTENT.

During the life of the Prohibition Party, 21 national political organizations have come into existence and died. All of them had the support of worthy men. None of them championed prohibition, and some of them were frankly hostile to prohibition. While these parties have come and gone this party has remained, and slowly but surely it has grown in power and prestige. Without triumphs to cheer its adherents, and with no spoils of victory to divide, it has retained its original vitality and enlarged its sphere of influence. It has abandoned or altered no principle, and the philosophy that nourished its youth is the strong food of its maturity, which is now so full of promise.

The tumult and the shouting dies,
The captains and the kings depart—

but truth is eternal and some values never change. Out of a conviction for which 47 years of history is a sufficient warrant, we declare that the Prohibition Party is omnipotent until its work is done, until national prohibition has become the fixed policy of the Government.

We make no argument to-day for the principle of prohibition, for we are met, not to prove prohibition, but to plan for its triumph. The Prohibition Party will continue to lend itself with enthusiasm to the temperance educational campaign of the Nation. Its voice will not fail to speak out with the voices of its allies to arouse the people to the waste of alcohol; to the iniquitous thievery of the saloon; the moral blight of the dramshop. The campaign of education must be strengthened until we are prepared to say that the last man of every race and tongue found under the Stars and Stripes has heard the truth.

We must adapt the truth that we tell to the needs and prejudices of all classes, and we must make the truth attractive.

But to-day and here we deal with the policies of a Government, the policies of a Government in partnership with the liquor traffic, a Government in partnership with a traffic that science, economics, good citizenship, and religion unite to denounce as evil and only evil. The message of this convention must be a message of constructive statesmanship with which the servants of our will, the standard bearers of our party, shall go forth to unite in one political unit all citizens who are one in the high purpose that the partnership between the United States and the "United Societies" shall be dissolved.

TWO-THIRDS OF PROGRAM ACCEPTED.

Already we have seen all men who desire the solution of the liquor problem accept two-thirds of the program of this political party. All agree that the prohibition of the liquor traffic is the only solution for the liquor problem. All agree that there can be no ultimate prohibition anywhere until national prohibition has become the policy of the Government.

And even now the multitudes are turning to say with us there can be no national prohibition without a Prohibition Party supreme in Washington.

Long and honestly we have tried other programs that promised much. And time, which waits on truth, will not be uncharitable, for always the race has learned wisdom by practicing error and has snatched victory out of defeat. But we have suffered many defeats, that even our glorious triumphs do not obliterate, and we have made many mistakes Often we have clamored for the great crowding back the greater.

PARTY FIDELITY AGAINST PRINCIPLE.

But we have reached now the time when the developments of political expediency clearly demonstrate what sound principle has long since established.

There are unaccounted victims of party regularity sleeping in quiet political cemeteries throughout this Union, and for them there is no Memorial Day—they are forgotten. They dared champion an issue that their party associates, their party organization found no favor in; they lived their little day and passed. And let it not be forgotten that those who stayed loyally with these to their latest breath went promptly then into the camp of the political assassins. Indeed, they themselves being "dead" were later found ballasting the very vehicles of their destruction.

But to-day we are about to witness in the United States the conflict of loyalty to an unattached principle with party loyalty, and already the first gauge of battle has been thrown down.

Recently the press of the country carried the announcement of the congressional plans of the Democratic Party for 1916. Indiana, always regarded as a doubtful State, was listed as one of the centers of conflict. The statement appeared that a tremendous effort would be made to elect two Democratic United States Senators and a full delegation to the House. Among the names of the prominent Democratic statesmen who will campaign in Indiana this fall appeared those of four Congressmen and one United States Senator, who have with courage championed the Hobson amendment. The United States Senator named is the leader of the temperance forces in the Senate—MORRIS SHEPPARD, of Texas. And all these men are assigned to the fight to elect THOMAS TAGGART, of French Lick Springs, and his associates.

Great organizations of temperance men and women are openly committed against the election of Mr. TAGGART; are sworn to battle for his defeat and for the destruction of the political machine he manipulates. Perhaps Mr. SHEPPARD and these other gentlemen will eventually be assigned to another and a less compromising field; perhaps they will publicly refuse to enter Indiana.

But why should they refuse? Are they not Democrats? Surely, you say; but they are Americans first. Granted; and as Americans who are also Democrats are they not bound to feel that what this country needs, and needs supremely, is the continuation of the Democratic Party in power? And how can the Democratic Party be continued in power unless it elects its candidates—unless it elects a clear majority of all candidates? And can the Democratic Party in this or in any other election afford to assist in the defeat of any one of its duly selected representatives for the United States Senate, or can it afford to remain silent when such a candidate fights for his political life?

Prohibition is not a Democratic gage. THOMAS TAGGART is a Democrat, and if he is defeated the Democratic Party is defeated; and the Democrat who raises no voice of protest while such a slaughter takes place becomes in so far a partner to a high political crime. I would hang my head in shame, as a man who has greatly admired the gentleman from Texas, to see him enter the arena of public debate in the interest of Mr. TAGGART, but I would be bound to grant Mr. SHEPPARD the absolute logic of his position. He could say, "One man is an incident; the honor of the Republic at home and abroad is involved. I believe the defeat of my political party would be a vast disaster. This man is but a pawn on the chessboard of state; history will forget. Washington tolerated traitors when by doing so he could advance the cause to which he was giving his all. History will forget this man, but it will not forget me if because of my lack of support or because of my opposition the administration fails."

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, 10,000,000 citizens of this Republic whose votes are ours by every claim of high principle may not have seen the Indiana picture as yet. Yet, by the blood of the innocent for 10,000 years dripping from the fangs of this liquor Moloch, we pledge high heaven and the State that before November 7, 1916, they shall see it.

The Indiana picture will be copied before two years have passed in every State of the Union where the liquor traffic is a controverted issue. Men who desire to be politically honest, who have political convictions that are not purchasable by either gold or silence, will find themselves compelled to fight, as some are already fighting, for the committal of the parties to prohibition. In the meantime, comrades of the convention, our golden dawn is breaking, the clock of our opportunity strikes.

THE "LIBERAL PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES."

And we are ready. Not only are we secure in being established upon a rock of principle immovable and eternal, not only do we have the fervor of a moral idea unequaled in 50 years, not only are we in possession of the only issue quickly defined and easily presented to the people—these are ours, and all of these. But we have more. We are the only national progressive political organization constituted and promoted in harmony with the governmental plan of the Nation to-day existing in the United States.

Nor are we progressive because of any recent declaration or actions. Our progressive record is one long established. And

it could not have been otherwise, championing as we have for nearly half a century the cause of human liberty. The Prohibition Party has taken an advanced stand on every important reform of the past two generations. Some of these more important issues have been reluctantly adopted by the older parties, but others are still denied. And of all the political parties we were the first to declare for woman suffrage, for civil-service reform, for direct elections, for 2-cent letter postage, for international arbitration, against lotteries and gambling, for uniform marriage and divorce laws, for a nonpartisan tariff commission, for an income tax, against child labor, for the conservation of natural resources, against the white-slave traffic, and for national prohibition.

The record stands, and history will write it in letters large across the sky of the advancing social order.

And, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, we are more, vastly more, than this recital declares. As you speak today, so speaks to-morrow, by whatever name known, the Liberal Party of the United States. We cradle here the child of freedom's highest hopes.

To another the opportunity that is now ours came 39 days ago; it knocked, but though a few heard there were none to open. It turned away, and behind it was the empty room of a departed glory. To-day opportunity knocks again, and the doors are open wide, the child that it bears finds raiment and a welcome, and by the cradle stand the tried soldiers of truth that shall not be defied.

VICTORIES NOW BECKON.

We have in this hour encouragement and instruction from victories already achieved. First came legislative triumphs in many States, and notably in the State that entertains this epoch-making convention. Party Prohibitionists were elected to the house and then to the senate. Soon these successes were followed by startling gubernatorial campaigns and by campaigns that endangered old party strongholds in the great lawmaking body of the Nation. And finally, two years ago, surmounting difficulties that at all times seemed beyond our financial strength and political wisdom, CHARLES RANDALL was elected to Congress from California.

Coincident with these larger activities of the past four years, a concentration program was evolved, and a campaign fund of $250,000 was raised, the latter an accomplishment which, in view of all the circumstances surrounding it, stands without precedent in the history of this or any other reform ever attempted by political action.

To-day, sobered by a responsibility that no man of us may fully understand, though every man of us is conscious of it, we hear the tread of many feet, the gathering of the new recruits, and in the sky we see a banner, first lifted by the Christian Endeavorers of the continent, but to which all the fighting divisions of the temperance army have long since repaired, and on it we read, "A Saloonless Nation by 1920." Comrades of the convention, it is sunrise, and the rays of lifting light have faded that slogan away, and in its stead I read, "A Saloonless Nation Now!" And, by the grace of God and the votes of the people, it shall be done.

WE HAVE DISCOVERED WAR.

The Prohibition Party faces a changing world. Pessimism cries, "A dying world," but out of this death will come life. A new world is in progress of construction. What do we say, then, in an hour when America finds herself, if the vast forces set in motion in Europe are taken into consideration—finds herself the old and plodding, the unawakened, while the nations across the Atlantic are experiencing a new birth.

Let us take account of stock. Let us chart our surroundings, that we may speak, and, speaking, convince. God is teaching lessons to the children of men, lessons reserved to no people or tongue, lessons that many nations are copying in blood, and that we must arouse ourselves to learn if we would avoid their chastening.

We have discovered war. We thought him heroic; we know him now as thrusting boys against bayonets; we see him riding forth, not on a gaily caparisoned steed but on the back of womanhood; we thought him honorable; we find him snatching the savings of the poor, laying a mortgage on the possessions of the child still in the womb and tearing up treaties. We thought him chivalrous; we find him fouling the bed of virtue and prostituting motherhood to make young for his cannon. He has lost his clean coat in the trenches of Flanders, the honors we pinned upon his breast are buried beneath the ruins of Belgium, and he stands naked to-day on the shores of the lakes of East Prussia and on the plains of Poland. We painted him a connoisseur of art and as a respecter of the works of genius, but the smoke of Rheims and the dust of Louvain have ruined the picture. He is not English; he is not French; he is not German; he is not Russian—he is savage. He is not Christian, for Christ is not a barbarian. He is abysmal hate, a cataclysmic horror.

We have no heart to look upon the picture. Fields manured with young flesh, fences of whitening skulls from the Channel to Switzerland, from the Baltic Sea to Roumania, across the Alps and down the Dardanelles to Africa and China. And there are red bubbles on every ocean. And these were the flower of the world.

We take no account here of anguished breasts and the fatherless. We do not figure the moral toll of war. We say no word of those who pay the greater price of war, but God counts the toll, and He will not forget. His law of compensation is inexorable.

It is the strong and fit who are dying, the impetuous and heroic; the dreamers follow battle flags, the well-bodied and noble-souled. When cowards go to war, they go hanging back, and are not the first to die.

When nations burn out their best in the furnace of Moloch, the fires of civilization burn slowly, because the fuel is inferior. You can not eat your cake and keep it. You can not slay your young men and have them alive. War destroys the bravest we breed.

But in the human mortgage war places upon its unborn generations the world counts its greater losses. War limits the future rather than checks the present. Let these worshipers of Mars who point with satisfaction to the stupendous struggles of nature which do seem to overcome the handicap of war's residue of inferiors and weaklings remember that it is not so much what the race is as what it might have been. I see not the young men slain. I see the millions of potential fathers destroyed. I hear not the wails of the dying. I hear the cries of the never-to-be-born. I weep for those who were and are not, but mourn for those who might have been and who never can be.

Within the loins of those who fall, these millions of the strong,
The singers and the healers die, the prophets and the seers,
The architects of larger good, saviors of coming years,
Upon the ghastly battle plain, unnamed, without a prayer,
The sires of greater freedoms lie, and wombs that shall not bear.
Yes, this is war; and these no mortal eye will ever see;
These are the murdered builders of the world that was to be.

OUR GREATER FOES WITHIN.

Do you say that we run the risk of national destruction by remaining as we are, "hopelessly unprepared for war"? To make America an armed camp is to invite the disaster that inevitably descends upon those countries that have maintained themselves with drawn swords.

The foes of this Republic are not without; they are within. We must set our own house in order before we can hope to offer to others the assistance they will soon sorely need. This country will not die if war fleets must bring her destruction from lands beyond the sea. Let no mad obsession rob us of this confidence. Lincoln said, "If destruction ever comes we ourselves must be its author and finisher."

We will fall, if we fall, by the weakening of our national trunk through dry rot from within, by the drawing away of the rich elements that nourished the first tiny rootlets of our present greatness, and out of which were drawn the strength and uniqueness of our Government. There has never been a time when militarism had anything in common with our national ideals. Yet at no point of our existence as a Nation have we failed to successfully cope with the situations thrust upon us.

Of the present conflict I need not speak. When one nation prepares, her neighbors quickly follow suit, and the balance is maintained at the expense of international confidence. The United States, with a standing Army of a million men, which she could more easily maintain than any other country in the world, and with a Navy equal to that of Great Britain, would be frankly regarded as a menace by South America and Canada. The virus of militarism acts quickly. The Western Hemisphere would soon become as war burdened and as war mad as Europe. Eventually, prepared nations devour themselves when they are not devoured.

At the beginning of the new social order for the world God forbid that a coward fear should rob us of our birthright message of fundamental democracy, which is brotherhood.

But war is; and who among us is qualified to say that after the present conflict ceases war will not come again? We stand confronted by the fact of war against which a propaganda for peace finds itself compelled to search for new terms; compelled, if it is to be forthcoming, to bravely readjust itself. And let no hysterical fever rob us of our reason and persuade us to cease seeking after peace; the quest must become more serious, more

vigorous; it must be timed to catch the enthusiasms of the young, and above all it must be constructive.

The whole world is against war to-day, but where is the sufficient statesmanship to show those who grope in darkness with great lamentations, the way to peace?

MUST SHOW WAY TO PEACE.

We must add our judgment, our poor wisdom and our lives, if necessary, to the solution of a problem as old as the human race and as intricate as human nature itself. For the world listens to-day to hear the voice of America. One after another the great political parties have sounded their trumpets and the air is full of discordant noises. Who, then, will vocalize the spirit of the great Republic? Humanity, civilization, with riddled body, battered head, and broken heart waits for the one clear note that shall give the direction in this awful night. For us to fail is to embrace the greater disaster.

It has been with ill-becoming zeal that certain manufacturers and certain other professional preparedness agitators have ridiculed the men and women who, with unselfishness and a courage in the face of manifold misrepresentations that is sublime, have set themselves against the wild rush toward an unlimited war program. These discriminating leaders of public thought stand for preparedness for peace and against the preparedness for war that makes war inevitable. Their faithful speaking and clear visioning will not be shaken by a sudden storm. In the end the clear thinker will take the place of the loud shouter.

The recent words of Jane Addams, spoken to friends when reference was made to the venomous abuse poured upon her because of her peace activities, illuminate the vast distance in motive between the war trust and those citizens who are unselfishly struggling for an abiding peace. She said, "You do not care much for praise or blame except as it helps or hinders the cause." And history will write her name and the name of the man who piloted the *Oscar VI* in letters larger than the royal crests that led the nations into the war the evils of which they toil to assuage.

NOT PEACE AT ANY PRICE.

We do not seek peace at any price, for we are Americans, and we can never forget that those who love liberty will always be ready to throw their bodies into boiling caldrons of oppression to possess it, and that for freedom they will bear a thousand tortures. As to where and how life or its sacrifice will count for the most, every man must decide for himself; conscience must be the final arbiter until the Nation acts, and then personal choice is bound up with the decision of the State; the individual loses his identity in society.

There are some things for which we would all die. We do not proclaim here a gospel of nonresistance. Absolutely no. Some things must be resisted unto death. There are some things worse than war. Slavery was worse than war.

Injustice may be worse than war. Liberty is always worth fighting for, and freedom must never be sold for peace. I have no heart for the abstract theory Tolstoi so profoundly believed. I would fight for my child, and my religion binds me thereby to fight for yours, to fight with my bare hands to the bones of their fingers if no weapon is at hand. In her need I would fight for my country if I am not a coward, for America has a message for the world, and she must be preserved to deliver it. If the institutions her history has evolved are worth perpetuating they dare not be surrendered while one free man remains alive to put his body between them and their foes.

But militarism protects no institution. It endangers them all, and with us it violates the covenants that have brought us with distinction to this hour. And it is this preparedness advocated by selfish financial interests and those who have been deceived by them that we move against. We declare for preparedness for peace; we announce a constructive peace program to the Nation.

Agreeing that for some high considerations we would not hold our lives dear, we must so plan as to make our consecration not only unselfish but effective. There is consistency in the argument for absolute disarmament, however you may deny its reason, but there is neither consistency nor reason in sending soldiers into battle with ancient rifles and wet powder, in maintaining an antequated military equipment. There is room for argument—and this is the high time for it—against the ultra-preparedness that would inevitably stand as a threat against the nations of the world with which we are at peace, against the preparedness advocated by the munition manufacturers of the country and those honest gentlemen who have been deceived by the munition manufacturers. But there can be no sound argument offered against making the preparation that the sober judgment of a great democracy now decides to be necessary and adequate to protect its shores and to hold secure its position in the respect and in the councils of all the world. There can be no sound argument offered against making such preparations absolutely, effectively, and complete. We stand, then, facing the horror of the present war and surrounded by priceless institutions that the old world after its travail will supplicate us for, institutions for which others lived and died, and for which we are now responsible—we stand, then, for peace, the peace of righteousness, the peace of justice, the peace of brotherhood.

PREPARATION FOR PEACE.

And the preparation that we pledge our lives and sacred honor to quickly give this Nation if elected to power is the preparation for peace that, as distinguished from the preparation for war, which the dominant parties of the Republic jointly advocate, as different as right differs from wrong.

And, lest we fall into the easy generalities of our political opponents, let us specifically state what we as a political party conceive to be preparation for peace. Is it not first of all a clear differentiation of true Americanism from the spirit of the blustering bully who goes about armed to the teeth, shouting a shibboleth, and with a chip on his shoulder? He serves the world who saves America, and he is no friend of this Nation who fastens an armament program upon her that, aside from the fact that it levies a far too heavy burden upon the poor, is in the very nature of its equipment—far-cruising battle fleets designed for distant seas—an invitation for other nations to join us in a mad race that leads only to another Belgium.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Do you say that unless such fleets are built the Monroe doctrine must be abandoned? Do not forget that the greatest triumph of the Monroe doctrine was achieved in the Venezuela case, when our Navy was so small that it could not have hoped to land a single man on the coast of South America and when our Army was only a fraction of what it is to-day. We stand unequivocally for the Monroe doctrine and our strength as champions of this instrument, the perpetuity of which continues to be vital to unhampered liberty in the Western Hemisphere, north of the Panama Canal as well as south, has been in the past and will be in the future moral and financial.

No nation has dared to set a robber foot on any strip of land of North or South America since this country emerged as a world power, because no nation has dared incur the industrial and financial as well as the political enmity of the United States. When we argue for a naval and military preparedness adequate to assume the violent aggressive against any foreign power and to protect as well our own far-flung coast lines we argue for a program that in the light of our past expenditures will take every cent of the revenues of this Government and leave us still hopelessly unprepared.

Let our preparation be a preparation against a possible invasion of our own country, and then from our stronghold of peace let us say to every potential international bandit: "Strike at your peril; cast covetous eyes upon the territorial possessions of any neighbor; launch any attack on any country; turn a single prow on conquest bent where the fleet of Columbus parted the waves, and America, free and democratic America, fabulously wealthy America—America, whose peaceful purpose to all lands, great and small, is conclusively proved by her maintenance of a military establishment, the nature and extent of which is the crowning evidence of her purpose—this America will be your abiding and relentless foe. To you her ports will be closed and from her to you no produce-laden ships will travel. Her face will be turned against you in the markets and in the councils of the world. The lids of her coffers will close down upon your financial neck and strangle you into bankruptcy."

Do you say that we speak the talk of a madman? The financial position of the United States to-day is such that when this war closes no nation will be able to finance a new conflict without American gold. We are not dreamers. We announce here a program vastly more reasonable than any program calling for a battle fleet capable of taking the aggressive against the whole world—and this latter is the program of certain gentlemen whose stocks have jumped from 40 to 600 since the present war began and who recently declared a dividend of 200 per cent.

We are for peace and for the preparedness on land and sea that will to the limit of human wisdom and ability insure it to us, and through us secure peace for others and for all.

A WORLD COURT WITH POWER.

What, then, is the first step?

The very first step in America's preparedness for world peace should be an announcement to the nations by joint resolution of Congress of our purposes. This announcement should declare for a permanent world court to which all differences between the

nations should be submitted—a world court with power. The announcement should further declare our determination to support and promote a practical plan for disarmament, our readiness at any time to join with other nations in scrapping battle fleets, in disbanding armies, and our willingness to enter a compact to maintain an international police force on land and sea.

Such a resolution, coming now from the richest nation of the world, from the country admittedly more able than any other to establish and maintain an overwhelming war equipment, would live in history as a transcendent pronouncement of national unselfishness and as an instrument of supreme statesmanship.

Do you ask for a clear statement of how such a world court would function? By an international police force, as we have already stated—an international police force operating on land and sea.

COMMERCIAL RECIPROCITY.

But there is another weapon, and a weapon most powerful, ready for the hand of such a court. The conviction is gaining in the world that the flourishing bay tree of international conflict springs from the seed of jealousy that has its rich soil in international trade rivalries. Even now trade compacts are being negotiated between certain of the warring nations that, if consummated, will so discriminate against other nations that any peace that may be soon brought about in Europe will be little more than a truce—a truce ending in a renewal of the awful conflict. The United States should declare for more and vigorously champion more than freedom of the seas. The time has come—and it is a high time—when the United States should evolve a definite program for international reciprocity.

It is not by accident that the Prohibition Party to-day finds itself confronted by the opportunity that the world of trade presents in a time when all trade relations are either broken or in process of revolutionary change. We were the first to declare for what both Republican and Democratic Parties now indorse—a nonpartisan tariff commission—and this year it remains for us to present international reciprocity as a definite policy of government.

That reciprocity is not a faddist theory is evidenced by the fact that its first and greatest champion was Blaine, and its latest advocate was William McKinley himself, who in his last speech, which was interrupted by the assassin's bullet, declared:

> Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.
>
> By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlet for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued and healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor.

Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a great demand for home labor.

The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem.

If those words were true then, they are doubly true now. The system under which we operate to-day is not only archaic—it is wrong. In it is a most fruitful source of international controversy. In reciprocity we will find not only that absolutely essential readjustment of trade conditions but the economic basis for abiding world peace as well.

For times such as these the tariff declaration of the temporary chairman of the Republican convention and of the platforms of the Democratic and Republican Parties are altogether inadequate. Twenty years ago they would have aroused enthusiasm. To-day they are voices from the tomb.

WASTED MILLIONS.

The question is not, then, Shall we prepare for peace, but there is a question in its proportions vast and at times terrifying. It is this question, How shall we prepare, and who shall superintend the construction? Before letting this contract we must examine the records of the contractors submitting bids. And in examining records let us remember that the Republican and Democratic contractors have already expended in the last 30 years more for preparedness, with one exception, than has any other nation of the world.

At an outlay for war leading all nations in the world, save England alone, or for $250,000,000 a year, we have made multimillionaires, purchased disgrace, and accomplished an Army that we are told the world laughs at, a Navy that ranks fourth but is outclassed in speed and in gun range by five foreign powers.

Let the stewards of the Republic for these past 30 years make their accounting. Out of our $250,000,000 present annual expenditure for the Army and Navy at least $50,000,000 is excessive gain realized by the war manufacturers in addition to what is allowed as a very liberal profit.

What have we done with the more than $2,000,000,000 spent for war preparation since 1887—$2,000,000,000 taken largely from the common man, realized by customs duties on the things we eat and use and wear?

Perhaps some specific instances will suggest where the $2,000,000,000 has gone and why America stands to-day so poorly equipped, if the extreme preparedness orators are correct.

The War Department has paid the trust $17.50 for 3.8-inch common shrapnel, which it manufactures at Frankfort, Ky., for $7.94 at a saving of considerably more than 50 per cent. In the Government arsenal a 31-second combination fuse is manufactured for $2.92, for which the private concerns have been paid $7. On a contract given to the Frankfort Arsenal for ammunition valued at $1,908,640 the Government saved $979,840, or nearly $1,000,000 on a $2,000,000 order.

What has the administration done with officers who, jealously guarding the poor man's money, have paid $115,075 for supplies that could have been obtained for $58,246, as was demonstrated in a recent contract awarded a new firm for torpedo flasks? What have the administrations in power done with these men? Promoted them!

The Government has paid exorbitant prices for a gun carriage, invented by an Army officer while in the employ of the Government, and on which he received a royalty of from $1 to $23 on each carriage accepted. This particular Army officer was still a partner to the above contract when he was passed over 27 officers and three grades and made Chief of Ordnance. Thus we witnessed the spectacle of a buying agent of the Government realizing personally on each gun carriage of a certain pattern purchased, and at the same time profiting on the sale of his gun carriage to foreign powers, for the carriage was offered and sold in the open market of the world—a disappearing gun carriage, by the way, that experts now state loses 50 per cent of its range efficiency by its recoil.

No, we have not been skimp in our expenditures for the Army and Navy. In a year when the total revenues of the country, not including postal receipts, amounted, under a Republican administration, to $702,000,000, 76.88 per cent of the total spent to defray the entire expenses of the Government was invested, against the prospect of war, for munitions and equipment. In 1914, before the present war broke out, Germany was spending 55 per cent of the revenues on account of war; Japan, 45 per cent; Great Britain, 36 per cent; and France, 35 per cent. What shall we do, then, with the political parties that have wasted our money and made us only the jest of the world?

The four firms which enjoy a practical monopoly of the large Army and Navy contracts have secured orders amounting to $200,000,000 since 1887, and have realized in profits from 20 per cent to 60 per cent more than the prices at which their supplies could have been manufactured in governmental arsenals and navy yards.

THE MUNITIONS TRUST.

To the Powder Trust, that supplied under contract to a German firm exact data as to the amount of powder we had on hand from time to time, the Government has paid more than $25,000,000 since 1905 at from 53 to 80 cents per pound. And we were recently informed by high authority that there was not enough powder on hand to keep our forces engaged for 24 hours. Government plants are manufacturing the same powder at 39 cents per pound.

To-day we secure for every dollar spent for battleships and aeroplanes, munitions, and all war equipments about 65 per cent of fighting strength, and under such undesirable working conditions for labor that the American Federation of Labor in 1914 indorsed the Government manufacture of war materials.

While the abnormal war conditions have resulted in abnormal wage conditions in ordinary times, private munitions firms have been among the most bitter enemies of organized labor. The United States Bureau of Labor made a special inquiry into the munition class of industries in 1910, and in the Bethlehem Steel Co. especially found employees shamefully mistreated and greatly underpaid; 46 out of every 100 men were receiving less than $2 a day and 51 out of every 100 men were working 12

hours a day. The Bethlehem Steel Co. was at the time, and has been ever since, receiving contracts from the Government running into millions of dollars.

Whether men favor disarmament or vastly increased armament, in a nation-wide movement to take private profits out of war by manufacturing an increasing proportion of all war equipment in Government owned or controlled institutions all citizens earnestly desirous of patriotically serving the country may unite.

Let us not become possessed with the fear that unless we deal with extreme courtesy with our powder and munitions patriots we will be left without the supplies they alone at the present time are prepared to furnish. Let us remember that in the Spanish-American War, when every true American was bound to be unselfishly offering or willing to offer himself for the protection of the Nation and the furtherance of her policies and principles at home and abroad, the Armor Plate Trust like a highway robber, blocked the road our Armies trod, mined the seas our Navies plowed, with the cry, "Money, or your life! Give us a hundred dollars more a ton or we quit."

NO PRIVATE PROFIT IN WAR.

The Prohibition Party serves notice now that if in power in such a crisis private munitions plants will be immediately taken over, continued under Government control, with a just wage for labor, a just regard for the rights of all stockholders, and a fair return to them. And we here solemnly pledge, if the temporary chairman has read the minds of his comrades, if he knows their determination, to move with all possible rapidity to take private profits out of war. That it is to the interest of the few to leave the profits in war while it is to the imperative interest of all men to remove it, no man can honestly deny. That it is a thing monstrous beyond all words, whatever the high considerations that lead a nation into a conflict, that some men should tear themselves out of woman's arms, turn their backs upon the faces of their children, and sacrifice their lives in bloody trenches or lie disemboweled on shell-plowed fields, while other men of the same breed and time remain at home to become immensely rich, to live on in more voluptuous ease—no man whose fingers are not soiled with the red of sticky coin will deny.

All citizens should know what is conclusively established, that private manufacturers of war's necessities have no patriotism; that they are international pirates.

The present Secretary of War said recently:

> Even now the improvements in armor and designs worked out by the Navy Department have been embodied in a warship finished by the Bethlehem Steel Co. for another nation.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Japan has erected its own armor plant and surrounded it with an unbreakable cordon of secrecy.

FOR REVENUE ONLY.

Recently a Member of the present Congress charged unchallenged that when the War with Spain was imminent the three concerns which have a monopoly on the armor plate in this country issued an ultimatum to their Government stating that they would not manufacture a single piece of armor plate unless they were paid $100 a ton more than the price fixed by Congress. But the patriotism of these concerns did not interfere with their selling armor plate for which they asked this country $616 a ton to Russia for $249 a ton.

In 1897 the Du Pont Powder Co., another benign monopolist, entered into a world agreement which reads:

> Whenever the American factories receive an inquiry from any Government other than their own, either directly or indirectly, they are to communicate with the European factories through the chairman appointed, as hereinafter set forth, and by that means to ascertain the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed, and they shall be bound not to quote or sell at any lower figure than the price at which the European factories are quoting or have fixed. Should the European factories receive an inquiry from the Government of the United States of North America, or decide to quote for delivery for that Government, either directly or indirectly, they shall first in like manner ascertain the price quoted or fixed by the American factories, and shall be bound not to quote or sell below that figure.
>
> The American factories are to abstain from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly, in or for consumption in any of the European territory, and the Europeans are to abstain in like manner from manufacturing, selling, or quoting, directly or indirectly, in or for consumption in any of the countries of the American territory. With regard to the syndicated territory, neither party is to erect works there, except by mutual understanding, and the trade there is to be carried on for joint account in the manner hereinafter defined.

The Democrats have no monopoly on the principle "For revenue only"; the armor plate and powder plants have applied it rigorously to their patriotism.

There is no record of a member of the du Pont family having been tried for treason, but within 49 days I have heard votes cast for a member of this same family for the Republican presidential nomination.

Charles M. Schwab testified, when questioned concerning the plugging of blowholes in defective armor plates, that he "believed it was done," and Superintendent Corey testified directly, "Mr. Schwab knew about it in a general way." And the Government continues, "the servants of the Carnegie company, whether with or without the knowledge of the company, to increase its gains, deliberately continued for many months to commit acts whose natural and probable consequences would be the sacrifice of the lives of our seamen in time of war and with them, perhaps, the dearest interests of the Nation."

Philander C. Knox, general counsel for the Carnegie Steeel Co., who later became Attorney General of the United States and Secretary of State under a Republican administration, and who 39 days ago received votes for the Republican presidential nomination, vigorously protested against the assessment of any damages. And he was a most successful advocate, for the damages finally collected amounted to only $140,000.

A RECORD OF SHAME.

In 1882 the cost of our Navy was $14,803,559; in 1914, $140,718,434, an increase of $125,814,875, accomplished by five Republican and three Democratic administrations. And what do we have? In the classical words of the big-navy men who know, because they disbursed the funds—"scrap."

And what have we accomplished? Thank God, the story is not altogether infamous. Not every manufacturer was as false as those who sold rotten armor plate to their country. This history of these years has its story of the *Oregon*, and of Santiago, and its pages shine in the glory of Dewey at Manila Bay. The doughty tars who sail the seas for the honor of Columbia are the welded fighting metal of all races, and these, with their brothers of the land as fighting men, are unsurpassed in all the world.

God pity us, then, for the unnecessary risks we have subjected them to, that money mad and unscrupulous capitalists might snatch a larger profit! Listen to the record that shames the Nation: In the nine years preceding 1912, 147 men were killed and 102 maimed for life as the result of explosions on war vessels, due to faulty construction—more than were killed in action during the Spanish War—and a record that leads the world. The story of the submarine tragedy in Hawaii is too recent for any of us to have forgotten.

WORSE THAN THE HYPHEN.

Can we regard seriously the peace declaration of political parties that are absolutely dominated by the big-business interests that connive with each other and with like interests in foreign lands to enlarge their store by placing yet further burdens on the poor, who grew rich by trafficking in rotten armor while brave men die amidst bursting flues that are weakened by the hand of greed? What shall we say to those who have no voice to use against these blackest traitors to the flag, the hyphenate who openly prates about the country of his nativity, and the spy owing allegiance to a foreign ruler, who secretly poisons our social springs and seeks to make us vassals of a foreign court, must be driven to their own shores.

But they are Patrick Henry and Paul Revere when compared with the creatures of greed who speak without an accent their words of treachery; who, to make their infamy more lucrative and complete, organize to capture the very institutions that all political conventions pledged our sons to die for.

Temporary Chairman HARDING said, amid roars of appreciative laughter in the Coliseum, "A Federal nitrate plant to supply powder to the patriots and pap to the paternalists, and Federal fertilizer to farmers in competition with private enterprise." The political party that voices such a sentiment to-day in the light of known truth concerning private monopolies that have exploited the Nation's honor and risked her very life for gold, is not competent to rule, is not fit to live.

WHO PAYS?

And how does the Navy League, chief promoter of ultrapreparedness in the United States, plan to raise the proposed $500,000,000 for battleship construction? These gentlemen who, with palpitating hearts, view with unmeasured alarm our defenseless condition, a condition which they have labored long and under various administrations, for large financial returns, successfully to accomplish, would finance the cost of naval preparations by taxes on sugar, gasoline, and by other duties, taxes which the common man would pay; they would, of course, continue present indirect taxes which yield $620,000,000 a year. In other words, since they build the ships, they quite generously concede to the farmer and worker a share in the labor of national protection by allowing the workingmen to pay the cost of construction.

The scheme is mean and worthy of its promoters. Let the 2 per cent of the people who own 60 per cent of our national

wealth, rather than 65 per cent of the people who own only 5 per cent of our national wealth, pay the bill, for the 2 per cent enjoy the only gains of war. The 2 per cent are those who hold the war munitions stocks that in one year have increased in value nearly $900,000,000. Shall we tax the wage earner for a $500,000,000 bond issue for battleships while we refuse to levy a single cent on swollen inheritances and while we have scarcely opened the income mine? We declare here, let those who profit pay; and we publish our allegiance to the cause of those who, should the evil times of war come upon us, would fill the trenches and feed the cannon; those who fight the battles capitalists decree. For the common man we speak, rather than for others who profit in stocks enriched in human blood.

PROMOTERS OF MILITARISM.

And what of this Navy League so eager to spend the people's money for war preparation? If patriotism runs to copper and steel in the United States, and we are inclined to believe that it does run to s-t-e-a-l, the Navy League is composed almost exclusively of gentlemen in whose company Paul Revere would feel like a hired Hessian.

Is it only a coincidence that there are but three firms in the United States that manufacture armor plate, and each one of them is represented on the list of 19 men who were the founders of the Navy League? Of the remaining 19 nearly all were connected with firms that would directly profit from expenditures for a larger Navy.

There have been at all times officers, directors, and honorary vice presidents of the Navy League, whose unselfish patriotism is not questioned. But even former Presidents of the United States have been most unfortunate in their later business associations. It is interesting to note that the president of the Navy League is also, or was, president of the New York Metal Exchange, and chairman of the board of directors of the Nickel Trust. It is quite a coincidence that Sir Alfred Mond, vice president of the British Navy League, is chairman of the Mond Nickel Co., a large manipulator of the metal so indispensable to war preparations. These gentlemen might have been builders of brick cheese, or promoters of grapefruit groves in the Isle of Pines, but they are not.

And the plot thickens. The various navy leagues have enjoyed a most delightful international fraternity, and have always been most brotherly. Do not for an instant think that the fear so widely pounding in the unselfish patriots, that our abject helplessness will make us an easy prey to some foreign power, has deterred them from observing the fine amenities that govern the trade in war munitions and equipment.

The Navy League of the United States, through its official organ, the Navy League Journal, has enthusiastically lauded the spirit and results of the propaganda carried on by the British Navy League, the German Navy League, the French Navy League, the Italian Navy League, the Spanish Navy League, and so forth. With their round robins these war-promoting organizations clasp hands around the world. The spectacle is one to terrify all honest hearts, one to inspire only those who rejoice in unprincipled and greedy trade.

These journals write not to encourage each other to labor for a reduction of armament. They shout words of congratulations as machines increase by which millions die, but in the making of which there is rich reward for the few who, to quote the words of the temporary chairman of the recent Republican convention, "Sluice gold from rivers of blood."

None of that gold will pave the way of the Prohibition Party to power. None of those men sit in these councils to-day. We come to the people with clean hands.

Listen to the Navy Journal as it speaks in 1903:

> Without exaggeration it may be asserted that to the German Navy League more than to every other influence is due the fact and wholesome growth of the German Navy.

Two Secretaries of State were affiliated with steel and armor concerns, either before or after their service in the Cabinet. They were not Prohibitionists.

Many of our naval officers have been and are in the employ of industries that grow great by manufacturing war munitions. Educated and honored by a democracy, they wax rich in profits that are large just in proportion as the ideals of democracy grow small.

Fifteen steel companies in the United States, all of the greater ones; 8 copper companies, the great ones; 9 zinc, lead, and brass companies, and 10 nickel companies have their official leaders in the membership directory of the Navy League. Of the 19 founders of the Navy League, 14 were vitally connected with great institutions bound to profit enormously by war and the preparation for war.

We have witnessed the spectacle of at least one Army general on the pay roll of the Du Pont powder plant and the Government at the same time.

SKIPPERS OF HIGH FINANCE.

Shall we intrust the ship of state longer, or again, to political crews whose financial captains know but one sea, the sea of high finance? Shall we risk the vessel of human liberty, of which Washington was the first high admiral, and to which Lincoln gave a course through the tempestuous tides of slavery and disunion, into the safe harbor of liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable? Shall we risk that ship, freighted to-day with the governmental hopes of all the years, to parties that honor men who establish uniform powder prices with foreign capitalists, charge the Government that protects them $616 for armor sold to Russia for $249, plug blowholes in battleship plates, install defective boilers in torpedo boats, thus becoming accessories in moral fact to the death of brave men who served Old Glory under a political Government unwilling to break with the confessed grafters who so lightly held their lives? Shall we intrust that priceless ship to a political crew which seats in its forecastle the sellers of Government war secrets, those who barter the product of American laboratories and state engineering rooms with as little regard for morality and ethics as the Turk who sells a wife out of his harem?

If the confessed powder dealings of the American Du Ponts with the war manufacturers of Germany do not constitute treason, then the dictionaries have not correctly defined the word.

The paramount question in mechanical preparation for war to-day, agreeing as we all do that the obligation to police our possessions and properly safeguard the institutions for which civilization and God have made us responsible, is not a subject for debate, is not, Shall we thus prepare? The question is, Who shall superintend the work—Democratic builders, Republican builders, or sober builders? Shall the carpenters of the capitol at Harrisburg, the gold-brick layers of Albany, N. Y., the manipulators of French Lick Springs, the multiple home builders of Utah, the powder boys of Delaware? Not if wisdom comes with experience.

Let us give this contract to those master builders who, with singleness of purpose, undiscouraged by slow progress, unpersuaded by the promise of shorter hours, have for 44 years been fashioning a house upon the unyielding foundation of governmental truth, a political habitation of which the American people are now invited to take possession.

We have enumerated here blunders and crimes inexcusable and sickening, and in the last analysis they are the errors and sins of one political group still appealing to the American voters under two emblems and two names, for in spirit both parties are conservative, in policy both are reactionary, and in appalling maladministration they are equally guilty.

A RECORD OF WASTE.

From 1884 to 1916 the record has been one of inefficiency and waste. No political change has for a single hour shaken the control by criminal big business of the functioning power of the Government. The whole people has been exploited in the interests of the few who for gold were ready to betray and did betray their country. The demoralization proclaimed by the Republicans in this campaign is unmistakably from the tree of ruin, which is of their own planting and nurturing, and which the Democracy has never failed to water. If men gather figs from thistles and grapes from thorns, then may America expect to secure her relief by electing either the Democratic or Republican Party to power. But if men do not thus gather, then lay the ax to the root of the tree.

The Prohibition Party alone of all parties emphatically declares and clearly proves that so long as war and preparation for war—which levies a monumental tax burden upon the generation that fights, and lays an accumulative mortgage upon generations unborn, brings stupendous profits to a certain few—continues the peace of the world is in constant menace; the hope for a practical disarmamet of the nations and a league among responsible governments for the enforcing of world order rises and falls with the fluctuations of the market.

Watch closely those who would have us believe that the supreme business of this campaign is to return the Republican Party to power, that only thus can the honor of the Nation be restored, her integrity reestablished at home and abroad. Watch closely, for their voices are the voices of REED SMOOT, BOISE PENROSE, and William Barnes. This convention submits to the American people that the supreme business of the campaign now opening is the election to power of a political party with unsoiled hands, the only political party brave enough to declare itself upon the greatest issue now troubling the gov-

ernments of men, the only party competent to rule in a time when cowardice and selfishness will bring disaster, when to misrule means ruin. The supreme business of this campaign is the election to power of the only party of human liberty, the only party of the Lincoln spirit and vision, and to return the Republican Party to the political dead house of 1912, companioning with it the Democracy of 1916.

MEXICO.

But let us be specific again. Our Army and Navy can be enlarged without menace to our institutions until they are sufficient to police our boundaries and to help carry the white man's burden of responsibility for those people of our island possessions and in troubled States immediately at our doors, who by long years of exploitation at the hands of conquerors and greedy capitalists, and because of their slower development are not competent to rule themselves—peoples that may not be left to themselves without endangering civilization itself. It is true of nations as of individuals, that he who does not help others eventually loses the inclination and the ability to help himself.

In Mexico we are confronted by the inevitable, and the inevitable is not war, but a clean-up—a clean-up of civilization. Just as a city addresses itself to a plague spot that endangers the health and life of its people, so must we address ourselves to the Mexican plague spot that menaces the peace of the Western Hemisphere and slays civilization amoung 16,000,000 human souls. The Democratic administration has erred, erred in spite of the wise counsel of men fully conversant with the situation. And the Republican Party is as bad, for four years ago it evaded and passed on the problem it now so loudly shouts for a chance to solve.

We go to the Rio Grande, if we go, to reap a harvest of Republican sowing and Democratic tending, and we go, too, in the train of unscrupulous finance that corrupter a Mexican Government for gain and exploited Mexican ignorance for profit. But we go, and for humanity's sake and the honor of the flag we must not turn back until our work is well done, until order has been brought out of chaos, until the safety of the citizens of our border States is absolutely secured, and an adequate Government established in the Halls of Montezuma. The price to be paid is vast; and who shall direct its payment? No false modesty will seal our lips in this campaign.

A CONSTRUCTIVE ARMY.

Our perparedness for peace is indeed poorly begun if it does not place very early in its program the conservation of mines, forests, natural waterways, and unclaimed soil—the conservation of all natural resources. In such conservation lies an opportunity to employ our armies in times of peace so as to make them constructive builders of the Nation. Two hundred and fifty thousand men could be engaged for well-nigh unnumbered years in the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys, reclaiming the flood lands, the richest of the country, in strengthening the banks of these rivers from source to mouth, in building a system of reservoirs at the headwaters of all great rivers to eliminate disastrous inundations and so as to give an equal distribution of water throughout the dry season; in reforesting the hills and lesser mountains; in vast irrigating projects that will make out of the Great American Desert a waving wheat field and a garden; in building a system of National-State highways; in opening up Alaska; in completing an inland waterway from Florida to Maine that would make possible the prompt mobilization in perfect safety of vast forces to be used against a possible invader; and in building networks of railways paralleling both sea coasts to be in times of peace highways of commerce, and in time of conflict, should the necessity ever arise, the carriers of munitions and defenders.

Such armies would be a crown of glory to the Republic and one of the surest guaranties for world peace that America could provide.

The chief menace of the standing Army, idle and unoccupied minds, would be removed. Men of the uniform would be no longer trained to think destructively, but constructively; the direct, daily military instruction, while not neglected, would be an incident in their business as soldiers; the supreme task of their lives would be the building of the State, the creation of a greater America.

Such a program would enable us to pay the soldier and the sailor an industrial wage, a wage large enough to guarantee the enlistment of men desirable morally, physically, and mentally; and it would also assure the Nation that these men on retirement from Army service would be equipped for all the tasks that fall to the lot of the private citizen.

Adequate coast fortifications should be constructed without regard to cost, but the lessons of the present war must not be forgotten—a sand dune is more effective than a fort of masonry and steel. Great batteries should be constructed on armored trains that could be quickly shifted to any threatened point of the coast.

In our preparedness for peace we will not forget social preparedness, workingmen's compensation for in dustrial accidents, minimum-wage laws, the prohibition of child labor, and continued efforts to eliminate industrial abuses—abuses that have grown up under the criminal neglect and the mismanagement of the two dominant political parties who have heard the clink of the dollar before they have heard the call of the child. The hours of toil for women must be shortened. In the last two years the good citizenship of many States has forced breaches in the wall of political indifference large enough to crowd through some five hundred laws dealing with these social problems, but we have just begun the work.

INDUSTRIAL PREPARATION.

We must deal more specifically with the problem of the unemployed. While some other countries provide cheap transportation for labor so that it can be quickly shifted from places where it finds no market to the centers that may be at the same time suffering from a labor scarcity, the Hepburn Act prohibits this in the United States. The Hepburn Act should be promptly amended.

In all of our attempts to organize American industry and to relieve social conditions we have suffered the handicaps of political administrations fundamentally conservative. The comparatively few good laws passed have largely failed in their operation because intrusted to unsympathetic if not positively unfriendly administrations. Social justice in the United States needs a new approach. It looks to-day for a friend glad to champion its policies and programs. It turns away from those who gave little or nothing, and who, when they gave at all, did so under duress, reserving to themselves the privilege of emasculating any good laws passed in fulfillment of preelection promises.

Our industrial conservation should begin now a careful consideration of economic conditions throughout the country, for unless we guard ourselves closely a financial disaster will come upon us with the close of the war the like of which we have not witnessed since 1873. Present conditions are abnormal; they are not sound, and will not survive. Wages in the great manufacturing cities are unprecedented. The cost of living, which has shown for years a more steady upward trend than wages, and far less tendency to decline than wages, which are the most sensitive gauge of economic conditions, continues its wild flight. And the cost of living can not increase beyond a certain point without revolution. A well-fed people will suffer many indignities in silence, but a starving city is soon a howling mob.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

And here again the issue of prohibition crowds itself directly across the path of politics. We can go on manipulating the tariff, tinkering with its schedules, but the solution of the problem of the high cost of living will continue to wait on the solution of the liquor problem. So long as the American people countenance and protect the robber that filches two and a quarter billion dollars from them annually—an amount which approaches $100 for every family under the Stars and Stripes—the cost of living will not be greatly reduced.

How long will we continue to worse than throw away this vast amount? For it there is no good thing returned; it is wasted. The institution that manipulates the iniquitous transaction is a parasite on society, for the liquor traffic is not a business, but a crime. But the waste of the drink bill of the United States can not be computed in dollars. Hundreds of thousands of wage earners have their earning power impaired or cut off entirely because of their drinking habits, for industrial prohibition is now a fact in every State of the Union and in well-nigh every great industrial institution.

Release the drink bill of the United States, turn it into legitimate channels of trade, that it may buy necessities and comforts for the people, strengthen the hands of honest industry by increasing honest sales, and reward a larger number of laborers with an increased wage. Instead of allowing it to enlarge a concern whose success is achieved by the loss of business capacity and earning efficiency on the part of those who buy its product, set it to work in the places where men grow wiser and richer and better as the result of its investment. When we destroy John Barleycorn we will have destroyed the most heartless exploiter of the vital needs and legitimate comforts of the common people. Ours is a constructive program for prosperity, for prohibition is the impartial friend of honest labor and honest capital.

THE MELTING POT.

Such a peace program as we have outlined gives a new cast to the always embarrassing problem of foreign immigration. America must not fail to be the harbor in which the ships of every foreign country bearing those who seek liberty and will prize it shall find asylum. But the criminals of all countries must be barred. No literacy test is sufficient at this point, or at any other, for some of the most worthy who came to us in times past came illiterate, and through no fault of their own. They fled from lands that barred to them the doors of education. A son of one such is president of a great American university to-day. Others who read and write and speak many languages are haters of all law, defiers of all order, enemies of the moral standards that we cherish, and they should be turned back from our shores.

But let us not satisfy ourselves with the hurried examination at our Ellis Islands, which results generally in another shipload of strangers being sent haphazardly in the East Side of New York or the slums of San Francisco or Boston. There should be maintained in connection with our Agriculture Department, a bureau having in charge the transportation of foreigners who come from agricultural districts of Europe, to Goverment-laid-out, irrigated, and equipped farms in the West. And much of the millions of acres of waste land of New England could be eventually thus employed, for these people who come to us are in thousands of instances intensive farmers who have made a living on mere scraps of land, and to whom the richer fields of the States would be a paradise. Let these Governments give these farmers superintendents and instructors, to furnish them the training that our agricultural colleges are furnishing our own citizens in many States to-day. Let there be long-term credits with easy semiannual or annual payments. Such a plan, closely watched, under a businesslike management, would not only help solve the fuel problems for the melting pot, but it would decrease the foreign menace in our great cities, stimulate the movement back to the soil, and eventually pay into the National Treasury millions of dollars. The problem of conservation and foreign immigration can be and should be related so as to help solve each other.

PROHIBITION SPELLS PREPAREDNESS.

But the Prohibition Party, with full deference to all other considerations that enter into the constructive program of preparedness for peace, declares that in a most vital and comprehensive way, prohibition spells preparedness. And we further declare that any political orgainzation not wise enough to see, not brave enough to openly champion this truth, is not competent to rule.

What, then, shall the word of America be to political parties remaining silent on the liquor problem? A problem which Russia has settled by national prohibition, which Germany recognizes by sending orders into the trenches calling upon her soldiers to refrain from drinking intoxicating liquors, which France moves against by banishing absinthe, and of which Lloyd-George, of England, declares, "We are fighting Germany, Austria, and drink, and so far as I can see, the greatest of these three deadly foes is drink. I have a growing conviction, based on accumulating evidence, that nothing but root-and-branch methods will be of the slightest avail in dealing with the evil. I believe it is the general feeling that if we are to settle with German militarism, we must first of all settle with liquor."

What shall our word be to political parties remaining silent on this question? There is only one word, that word is defeat.

The challenge of the Prohibition Party to the citizens of the United States is the challenge of highest patriotism. Judged in all of its phases, industrially, physically, and economically, politically, and morally, the liquor problem constitutes the most vast and immediate issue before the American people. Here is an institution that directly takes, annually, out of the pocketbooks and tills of our citizens two and a quarter billions of dollars; for which it gives no return of value; for which it renders to the State wrecked and diseased bodies, minds, and souls; for which it impoverishes labor, interferes with the investments of honest capital, and disturbs the whole economic system. The indirect financial loss to society through the operations of the liquor traffic is quite $4,000,000,000.

In physical loss we pay a price no man is able to adequately estimate, for John Barleycorn drives his poison into the loins of potential fathers and into the wombs of potential mothers, to predoom the race with the eugenic taint of alcohol. To-day the Stars and Stripes float over recruiting stations that before the trouble with Mexico, were turning back 65 per cent of all applicants as physically unfit, and of these a distressing majority were the victims of diseases that the alcohol appetite, more than any other one thing, is responsible for, because it so quickly and completely breaks down the will that resists passion.

When we count our revenues, will we excuse political parties that call us to new and greater financial sacrifices but have no word for the criminal maker who fills our prisons, our almshouses, and asylums; who fastens upon us the burden of the physical and moral incompetent?

We demand justice for little children, and shall we be deceived by political parties that prate of social justice and at the same time by unanimous vote deny even an open discussion of the traffic that cuts off the earning power of the drinking parent, makes him a victim of industrial prohibition, and thus drives into cotton mills and deep mines a million thin-chested and blood-impoverished boys and girls, who must fight for bread and breath? To these the school doors quickly close, if they have ever been opened; for them there are no playgrounds, no green fields with singing birds and smiling flowers.

Shall we forgive a silence that condones an institution without which the white-slave traffic, as an organized vice, could not live for 10 days?

CONSERVATION OF HUMANITY.

We have a voice in this convention not for the conservation of forests and rivers and minerals; we speak here for the conservation of women and children and men, for the conservation of humanity. And, that the Government shall come into the hands of the friends of the people, we pledge, as did our fathers theirs, "our lives and sacred honor."

Let no man be deceived. More than possible foreign foes endanger us; an internal enemy menaces our freedom. I fear to-day the foul thing that burrows its way into the very vitals of our greatness, that breaks us down in our physical tissue and moral fiber. Give to America strong bodies and clear minds and clean hearts, and she will turn back the fleets that bring hostile armies to her shores; she will prove sufficient for her present and future problems, even as she has answered the grave questions that faced her past.

But America needs every man at his best. For the sake of all the world, America must not fail. And the liquor traffic will give to the armies of her progress trembling limbs, palsied arms, deafened ears, blinded eyes, poverty of purse and of soul, and hearts that are too frail to pump the blood of mighty deeds.

This chiefest enemy of America Democrats and Republicans feared to face. And remember, they were petitioned. Have no mercy now, grant no quarter. The spokesman of 20,000,000 men and women called upon them to take up the gauge of battle against the rum shop, and by silence they reaffirmed their committal to policies ranging from assurances of noninterference to promises of open friendship.

The Herman Raster "personal-liberty" resolution is still the liquor policy of the Republican Party, as no doubt the wholesale liquor dealer who represented the Indianapolis district in the Republican national convention of this year, with the Cincinnati delegation, would testify. And Democracy still stands loyally for its "antisumptuary" plank of 1876.

To the eloquent appeals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the 4,000,000 Christian Endeavorers, the 150,000 pledged petitioners of the Flying Squadron of America, and the Committee of Sixty, the latter assembled by Dr. Irving Fisher, of Yale, and representing the great educational, economic, and social-service organizations of the country, appeals which called for an unequivocal platform declaration in favor of national prohibition, the Democratic, Republican, and Progressive conventions answered "No."

The Progressive Party was brave enough to discuss the question on the floor of the convention, but it was not brave enough to leave off following a man to pursue a principle, and so, by way of Sagamore Hill, it journeyed to the political potter's field.

THE COVENANT OF 1912.

A great Progressive editor from Kansas well said that the platform was incomplete and eloquently plead for a rebaptism of the courage of 1912, but he plead in vain. It remained for the son of a martyred President to advance the amazing argument that the issue of prohibition is too big, that it would dwarf the platform if included, and in effect crowd out all other planks. To those who saw Ichabod written over the name Progressive that day the conviction was unavoidable that to be the sons of patriots is not enough, and that those who have for a long time been the beneficiaries of political power find it scarcely possible to follow any principle unrewarded for longer than four years. Civic piety does not build moral muscle on political pie.

For the men of the Progressive convention who fought a brave fight and gloriously lost, who lifted their voices in pro-

test against secret high chambers, who refused to sit quietly at the feet of political reactionaries, and who battled without compromise and who still battle for the reaffirmation of the principles that called the Progressive Party into existence we have only words of commendation. And as their blood brothers, their own house having been gutted by its master builder, we invite them to rest under our roof while we together raise a structure that shall shelter a hundred million people from the storms of private and public greed.

Our invitation to those betrayed citizens who in 1912 gave up all to follow a new flag of social justice and who took a vow to break the power of an invisible government is as open as it is sincere. The principles that called them out of old associations still survive, even as the corrupt manipulator of politics from whom they turned away and to whom they are now called to return still survive. No flood of words can wipe out the fact that every reason existing for the organization of the Progressive Party four years ago exists to-day for the continuation of the fight against the evils the Progressive Party was created to destroy.

If the gentleman who followed Theodore Roosevelt in the last campaign follow still the justice, the Americanism he then proclaimed, they can not follow Theodore Roosevelt now. The terms demanded in 1912 have not been granted; the conflict begun then has not been finished, and he is not a safe guide who makes a new vow in lieu of an old promise unkept.

THE FEMALE ULTIMATUM.

I have seen towering trees fall before the joint cuttings of two axemen, who, working together, with blow following blow, hewed to the heart of the monarch of the forest. I have seen a giant workman laying the bricks of a city pavement, with his left and right hands toiling in perfect unison and with almost incredible rapidity. In the crash of a great line drive on the gridiron I have felt the swaying of the human mass in deadlock, and then the impact of the reserve from the backfield that destroyed the balance and forced the ball over the line.

Just as the tree falls slowly before the attack of a single axeman, just as the paving waits on a "one-handed" layer of bricks, just as the gridiron struggle remains undecided until it has felt the drive of the reserve back, so society waits to-day on the fullness of the strength of womanhood. No resource of power available for the world program of peace, sobriety, and the economic freedom of the masses dare be overlooked. Hear the female ultimatum to the race—a lift or a drag, a plaything or a mate, a parasite or a partner.

And hearing the ultimatum the Democratic and Republican parties declared "We are for—but—".

And as regards the liquor traffic, which has been responsible for the slaughter of more human beings than all wars, with pestilence combined, the Democratic and Republican parties also agree for both by silence say, Let the murderer continue to prey upon the people. The Democratic Party and Republican Party are one party—by age and wealth and membership, by tradition, platform, and tickets they are one party—the Conservative Party of the United States.

By their fruits we know them. And if uniformly bad fruit for 30 years ever warranted the destruction of a tree the Democratic and Republican trees, in the year of grace 1916, are long overdue for the axe.

Return either of them to power and the evil influences that dominate both will continue to exploit the people.

ONE OLD PARTY.

The Republican and Democratic Parties are "one party." Save only where each indulged in personalities and where one affirmed what the other denied with regard to Mexico, their platforms substantially agree. A great newspaper critic has well said: "The two conventions were as alike as two 'P's'—in politics and preparedness." The Democratic and Republican platforms this year are both "We are for —— but" platforms. Both declare in generalities for "strict neutrality" and the protection of "human rights," for a vast and aggressive preparedness, for the conservation of natural resources, the cutting down of administration expenses; both announce their holy opposition to graft, urge an adequate tariff, and measurably indorse woman suffrage—the platforms of the two dominant political parties are in agreement.

THE PLANK OF COWARDICE.

The supreme cowardice of the leadership of the dominant political organizations came to a climax in their equal-suffrage declarations. Fearful of the righteous anger of the enfranchised womanhood of 12 States, goaded toward justice by their own liberal members, but chained fast by reactionary bosses to prejudice and time-worn tradition, they accomplished a pronouncement that sounds like a political address delivered by an inebriate in 1896, the burden of whose remarks was "Hurrah for William McKinley and free silver." We denounce their double-dealing and their cowardice. We reaffirm our unequivocal declaration for the enfranchisement of womanhood, her complete political emancipation. We declare that man, who wrote himself into the Constitution, shall write in woman, too. In every State campaign and in every effort to secure woman suffrage by the action of Congress we pledge the wholehearted and complete support of the Prohibition Party. This political organization, which was the first to speak for the ballot in the hands of the women, remains to-day the uncompromising political champion of her equal rights. The Prohibition Party will not swerve one hair's breadth from its course until to the provisions of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution, which gave liberty to the black man, is added the word "sex," which will also free the mothers of men.

WHO WILL STOP THIS MURDER AND SMASH THE PORK BARREL?

Will the party of Hughes or the party of Wilson stop the murder of a hundred thousand of our citizens annually by John Barleycorn? Will either of these parties stop the infamous trade in rum that debauches Africa? Will either of them lift a finger as political organizations to abate the drunkenness of our island wards, and will they smash the pork barrel?

Absolutely, no! They will continue to spend a billion dollars of the people's money annually at a waste of at least $80,000,000, and millions of that money will continue to go for criminal appropriations to rivers that can never have traffic and for Federal buildings that remain as the chief attractions of the cities that will never be; they will continue to buy armor plate from those who plugged blowholes, and they will continue the purchase of powder from the trust that betrayed its Government.

Will either of these parties eliminate the standing committees of Congress that exist merely to provide chairmanships and petty perquisites? Emphatically, no. There is the Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard, for instance, which keeps no records, has no work to do, and which has not held a meeting in 37 years. But it commands the services of three clerks—gentlemen in waiting to the politicians who load the committee. In January the overburdened chairman of this committee presented a resolution to the Senate asking for a fourth clerk—and these bills the people pay.

ODE TO PORK.

(Dedicated to one of a large number of deserving statesmen.)

"The alien stands without the gate,"
The statesman shouts and mops his pate;
"The need, compatriots, is great
For pork."

"Five hundred millions for big ships"—
The pluto statesman smacks his lips,
And then the program sadly slips
On pork.

"The Army needs a Gatling gun,"
And in a year he'll give it one,
And for the deed so bravely done
Take pork.

He buys an aeroplane or two,
A submarine that drowns her crew,
And then enjoys his favorite stew
Of pork.

He shouts for "freedom of the seas,"
And spouts of "Greece . . . and suppliant knees,"
And yells, "Ye gods, the forest trees,"
And pork.

To all the past he points with pride,
He drops a tear for those who died,
Then turns with anguish hollow eyed
To pork.

"A billion dollars for the flag,
Then not a stripe shall ever drag;"
But when his district hears him brag,
'Tis pork.

As generous as he can be,
A spender jovial and free;
This is the man who sends bum seeds to me—
My pork.

Then a patriot's lusty shout
When the assessors cry "shell out!"
For how could freedom live without
Its pork—

And build canals across the moon,
And seaports in New Mexico,
And dig a channel to the sea
From every town where cat-tails grow,
And at each crossroad of the land,
Lest patriotic ardor lag,
My faith, behold a city grand,
And rear a building with a flag?
And should a battle fleet arrive
And land an army on our coast,
Just send the admiral to the house
And feed him on a royal roast
Of pork.

The United States needs a business manager, a manager who will departmentize the Government and cut the red tape of political bureaus. And for such a position a wise firm never selects a proven incompetent or one who has been worse.

HUGHES AS A PROGRESSIVE.

The keynote speech of Senator HARDING declared for a ship subsidy and against Federal armor and powder plants, and the Republican platform directly or indirectly so declares, and Mr. Hughes, accepting the nomination, says:

I can fully indorse the platform you have adopted.

In opposing these progressive measures to relieve the Government from the exactions of the Powder and Armor Trusts, and to open new markets and mills, measures for which practically all Progressives stand, Mr. Hughes, whose high conviction no man questions, is no doubt animated by the same peculiar progressivism that caused him, as governor of New York, to veto the 2-cent passenger law passed by the legislature, and "full-crew" law, and to recommend to the same legislature that it vote against ratifying the Federal income-tax amendment.

It really requires more than the indorsement of the Hon. REED SMOOT, of Utah, and Senator BOISE PENROSE, of Pennsylvania, to convince the American people that a candidate for public office is a great liberal statesman.

And what of the Democratic convention and its candidate? With a word picture that brought the St. Louis convention to its feet in a frenzy, Temporary Chairman Glynn pictured the President of the United States wringing a surrender from the mightiest military nation of the world, a surrender that left no wife a widow and no mother without her son. But for the wives who have watched their husbands burning in the fires of the rum Moloch, the mothers without number who have followed their sons to drunkards' graves, and their daughters to the stake of man's alcohol-fed lust that convention had not a word.

"DEAD MAN'S HILL."

I have seen a picture inexpressibly sad, of Dead Man's Hill, in France, with its 300,000 graves and as many wooden crosses. Far as eye can reach are the figures of black-shrouded women. But they have their pitiful compensation—there are trinkets of the Legion of Honor, and the memories of heroism that will never die. Powder-blackened and disemboweled, their sons were dumped into long trenches, but the flag of the fatherland and the tricolor of France float proudly above them and they live forever. There is compensation.

But to-day I see another Dead Man's Hill, and this hill is infinitely sad. Women crowd it with their forms and cover it with their lamentations, and for them there is no compensation, no flag to drape above a picture, no cross of honor to press into a baby's hand, no memory but one of infamy and shame. They mourn their dead and through their tears no rainbow ever shines, for their dead have died in vain.

Who speaks for them? Does the distinguished jurist who turns back from the great court that in the minds of the fathers and for the safety of the whole Government was to be forever inviolate against partisanship, whose door until this hour has shut out the partisan, inclosed only the American, whose walls have never before failed to be politically sound proof, and whose bench has never before been a political ladder? No.

Does the great Democrat who desperately fought for the confirmation of a wet commissioner in the District of Columbia, and to whom the most eloquent tribute since Ingersoll plumed his knight was paid by a former governor of New York? No; not one word.

Who, then, speaks for the wife and mother of the drunkard, for the mourner who laments the unnumbered slain of alcohol? The Prohibition Party speaks for her.

Out of this hall rides forth her knight, and he will not turn back until her dead are avenged and her wrongs righted, until her tears have compensation, until her little children are no longer menaced by the despoiling of their father, until, by the grace of Almighty God and the votes of the American people, there has been consummated a saloonless nation.

ELECT PROHIBITION.

The whole strategy of the campaign for us from now on must be built about the proposition that until the Government is captured our principles are helpless, for we can do nothing. Our platform, our candidates, our party administration, our party papers and party speakers, our entire program, must be dedicated to the one monumental effort to win the three departments of the Government, to elect national prohibition.

In this fight, which is of vaster import than the election of a presidential candidate or the achieving of an immediate success, all Prohibitionists, all friends of peace and all promoters of social justice, all honest men of business who would labor for abiding prosperity and the economic comity of the nations, all toilers who have been exploited and all suffragists who have been deceived, we invite to join.

And specifically do we invite the millions of young people who have announced their determination to turn away from political parties, unmindful of the issue they have so gloriously championed; specifically do we invite the great Methodist Episcopal Church, which called upon the Democratic and Republican national conventions to declare for prohibition in their platforms; and specifically do we invite all Christians, for once again the voice of Methodism is the voice of the Kingdom.

And specifically do we invite the millions of honest toilers, men and women, whose prosperity and hope of peace are alike insecure so long as the Government remains in the hands of political parties that give robbers' profits to high finance and continue the crime of the liquor traffic.

And specially do we invite the Committee of Sixty, representing in its personnel the university, the board of health of the State and great city, organized labor, the newspaper, and great industries, specifically do we invite this committee, for, announcing that "Whenever politicians or political parties prefer the liquor traffic above public health, efficiency, and morals, such men must be set aside and such parties abandoned," it has faced the platform committees of the great political parties only to be decisively refused. We alone accept the challenge the Committee of Sixty presents. We alone of all the political parties do not prefer the liquor traffic above public health, efficiency, and morals.

And specifically do we invite the incomparable white-ribbon host, whose matchless leader, Frances Willard, in the name of national prohibition, was the first to face the derision and insult of a great political party's platform committee room.

All of these we invite, and with them we call the 150,000 pledged signers of the Flying Squadron of America, and every other man and woman who desires to cast a clean ballot against a foul saloon. The lists are open wide, the banner of political chastity, the flag of human liberty, is unfurled; join the fight, and join now.

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention, it is for us to write a platform that will grip the imagination of the country and capture its faith. It is for us to nominate a ticket that will thrill the hearts of the converging temperance forces of this Union as the nomination of John P. St. John thrilled the men who followed Finch in 1884. And, God helping us, we will so write and we will so nominate.

And we will raise out of our poverty and we will spend with the discernment of those who know the value of sacrificial coin a million dollars before the first vote is cast in November. We will shower the Nation with our literature. We will conduct platform meetings and meetings in shops and on the street in every city and town. We will put out our party papers into 2,000,000 homes and swing our standard across the continent and back again in special trains.

THE HIGH COVENANT.

And to the people of this Nation we pledge ourselves to begin immediately on election to power an authorized campaign to establish a world court, and we further pledge that we will move at once to secure reciprocal trade arrangements with the countries from whom we purchase and to whom we sell.

We will proclaim our constructive program to secure the practical brotherhood of the nations. And as we move to stop the slaughter of war, remembering the unnumbered dead, the unnumbered living, and the unnumbered unborn cursed by alcohol, we will immediately deprive the liquor traffic of the use of the mails, take from it the protection of interstate commerce, place upon it a prohibitive tax, move to accomplish a prohibition amendment to the Constitution, and thus we will stop the greater slaughter of peace.

We pledge ourselves to fortify the Nation, to make her a citadel impregnable, but to preserve her human and natural resources with every dollar that builds her Army and her fleet. We covenant with the people to take private profit out of war and to punish the traitors who placed rotten armor between our countrys' defenders and their foes. And we solemnly swear to make our preparation a preparation for peace, harmonized to every ideal of the democracy whose message must not fail, for it is the hope message of the world. And we will not forget that prohibition spells preparedness.

We go forth to champion the unrestricted political rights of womanhood and demanding an ample justice for little children. And in every effort made for social justice we will remember that the supreme tangible foe of motherhood, her most bitter

enemy when she asks for the ballot, and the Judas Iscariot of her sons and daughters, is king alcohol.

To accomplish these things we will give ourselves without reserve, give ourselves as the fathers of this party gave themselves, give ourselves as Lincoln gave himself, give ourselves to "the last full measure of devotion"—our money out of poverty, our influence though dear dreams be shattered, our minds until they fail, our hearts until they break, our vital forces until their inner fountains are dried up.

Comrades, the call of the hour is the challenge of a supreme opportunity to an unparalleled sacrifice. These are the words of triumph: Peace, prosperity, and prohibition. Elect prohibition. Write woman into the Constitution. Turn out the exploiters of the people. Take private profit from war. Stop the slaughter of peace. Save America and serve the world.

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE PROHIBITION NATIONAL CONVENTION, ST. PAUL, MINN., JULY 19, 1916, BY W. G. CALDERWOOD, OF MINNESOTA, CANDIDATE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR.

I am honored beyond my deserts in this opportunity of extending to you the official welcome of the North Star State. I welcome you as that group of Americans who, in politics, have kept alive that fundamental American truth, that this Nation was established among men to insure to them their God-given rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I greet you as the one political organization that has dared to face the great organized enemy of these fundamental purposes of government—the liquor traffic.

NEVER RECEIVED A WOUND IN THE BACK.

It has not been your lot to be alone in the apprehension of the vision that this evil is the destroyer of life, and lays in the grave the bodies of a hundred thousand of our kith and kin every year; nor was it yours alone to discover that the slavery of the liquor traffic is, as the great emancipator declared, "A viler slavery and a greater tyrant" than any other, and that in this land of liberty there are millions in a bondage more galling than fetters of brass and chains of steel. Nor were you alone in the discovery of the fact that that most sweet and tender purpose of government, the happiness of the people, was turned into ashes and gall and bitterness through this evil bearing the official sanction of government. But you have distinguished yourselves as brave and intelligent patriots in that you have dared to face that enemy when every other political party has turned craven, and for 44 long years you have faced in the political arena every form of man and beast that the broad empire of whisky-dominated politics could furnish, and never yet received a wound in the back. You are distinguished in that bravery, heroism, and patriotic fidelity to the foundation principles of our liberties, and for that reason I stand to extend to you on this auspicious hour the official hand of greeting for the Prohibitionists and for the people of the State of Minnesota.

A TRAIL BLAZER.

Your faith of heart and your sinew of purpose have led the ceaseless fight for motherhood, for childhood, for labor, for the home, for the flag, and for everything for which the flag stands. In its leadership for progressive reform, in its stand against special privilege and the plundering of the masses in the interest of the classes the Prohibition Party rings true to every purpose of the Declaration of Independence, and it alone has had the bravery and statescraft to translate that immortal document into modern phrase and apply it to modern problems. King George III is dead. But you alone seem to comprehend it, for you alone invoke the principles of the declaration against his tyranny to protect the life, liberty, and happiness of the people from tyrants and oppressors compared with which he was both puny and indulgent. The Prohibition Party has been the clear brained and fearless pioneer, blazing the way for nearly every one of the meager reforms that have been wrung from the old parties, and it introduced to the world every issue of their progressive wings. Thus has it been the political brains of the Nation and has done the sane and progressive thinking of the people for the past generation. Nor is this an idle boast. It is the verdict of history and the sentence of events. Let the record speak.

WE LED BRAVELY WHERE OTHERS TIMIDLY FOLLOWED.

The Prohibition Party led the demand for civil-service reform in 1872 when the Jacksonian doctrine, "To the victor belongs the spoils," was both law and prophets in every other political school.

In 1876, 24 years before any other party comprehended the need, it demanded the popular election of United States Senators—a reform esteemed by many to be the greatest since the emancipation.

It faced the taunt of paternalism and the charge of meddling with the sacred right of contract when, in 1872, it demanded the regulation of railroad, steamship, and telegraph rates. And the people lost millions of dollars waiting for the tardy action of the old parties.

It was the pioneer (1872) in the demand for 2-cent letter postage, and it has remained for a Prohibition Congressman in 1916 to evolve a practical, scientific measure to reduce letter postage to 1 cent without the impairment of the general postal service.

COOPERATION VS. INDUSTRIAL WAR.

Its first platform (1872) declared for reform labor legislation and laws prohibiting discrimination in favor of capital. Had it been given power it would, by laws that promote the just division of the wealth which labor and capital jointly produce, have produced a condition of friendliness and cooperation between those elements instead of the hostility that now constantly menaces the public weal by threatened or actual industrial war.

It was the first (1872) and for many years the only party to stand for equal suffrage, holding, under the Declaration of Independence, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and it has kept up the fight till the justice of the demand and the final triumph of the cause of political equality are almost universally conceded.

Its platform of 1876 demanded that Government lands should be granted to actual settlers only, a provision most tardily enacted by the Republican Party after millions of acres of the public domain had been grabbed by land sharks and speculators. As a people, we are still suffering an annual loss of millions of dollars because of this evil, while hundreds of thousands of people are congested in the cities, being denied cheap lands which they would develop into productive tracts but for the unstatesmanlike policy so long and so foolishly pursued.

It was the first (1876) to demand the suppression of lotteries and the denial of the mails to lottery business and advertisements. Its bills of a like nature against the liquor traffic, which are now pending in Congress, would put an end to that crime.

It championed the suppression of polygamy in 1876, and was the first party to propose the protection of the home through uniform marriage and divorce laws.

It was the pioneer in the demand for postal savings banks, providing safe and convenient banking privileges for the common people, under which savings deposits have enormously increased.

These are some of its reforms that have been achieved.

AND IT STILL LEADS ON.

It began its crusade against the unspeakable traffic in girls in 1876, a generation before the slow brains and money-engrossed hearts of the license parties awakened to the fact that virtue has value. Nor do they yet seem to know that it is more hideous for the Nation to condone the traffic in white girls' hearts than in black men's bodies.

In 1872 it demanded the abolition of the electoral college, and the popular election of the President and Vice President.

It was the first to propose the nonpartisan commission of tariff experts to handle the everlasting question upon which the old parties keep the people in ignorance and divided, while monopolies and trusts feed fat on excessive profits on American sales at the same time that they market their products at a reasonable profit to foreign consumers at prices far below those charged at home. This proves that our tariff, as at present administered, is a burden upon the American consumers and not upon foreign manufacturers.

GAMBLING IN FOOD PRODUCTS.

It was the first, and up to this hour, the only party to demand the abolition of gambling in grain and food products, which practice costs the Nation millions annually in artificially created high prices of the necessities of life, and through which vast fortunes are taken from the consumers by produce gamblers who create no values.

It is the only party to declare for terminal elevators and warehouses, which, when established, will save the farmer and the consumer the immense sums every year which now go to nonproducing market and grade manipulators.

It was years in advance of any other party in its demand for universal peace through an international court of justice, by which international differences should be settled by reason rather than by the bloody butchery and wanton waste of war.

And it now stands as the one party that would halt the mad rush toward militarism into which the Navy League, the munitions manufacturers, and the subsidized press would force us.

Before the European outbreak we were expending more money on account of war than Germany, which is military mad; or Russia, with double our territory and surrounded by jealous and unfriendly neighbors; or any other nation except England, which has four times our territory, scattered in every part of the globe. And we were expending a larger proportion of our total national outgo than any of them and nearly twice as large a proportion as some of them. Yet, though we paid dearly for preparedness, through mismanagement, favoritism, and graft we are, so we are told, criminally unprepared. After having paid the Du Ponts alone upward of $25,000,000 for powder in the past 10 years, during which we have not fought a battle, we are told that there are not sufficient powder reserves to keep our coast guns in action against a hostile fleet for 60 minutes. The Republican Party after 16 years of uninterrupted administration, during which they spent over 50 cents of every dollar for war purposes, past or present, and the Democratic Party at the end of three years in power will probably join in trebling our appropriations for preparation. And even this profligacy, which is to be paid by the common people in the high cost of the necessities and comforts of life, does not satisfy the patriots of the Navy League, the controlling members of which will make enormous profits through the sale of war materials.

THE NAVY LEAGUE.

What is the Navy League? Largely a war traffickers' club where gather together armor-plate patriots who shove up the price of armor plate $100 per ton when their beloved country gets into war, as was done during the Spanish-American War; who out of devotion to the Star Spangled Banner sell their Government armor plate at $616 per ton and the same to Russia at $249—less than half; who perjured themselves in order to swindle the Government, thereby imperiling our sailors and putting the safety of the Nation in jeopardy by palming off armor plate full of blowholes—the same companies and men are still awarded contracts for armor plate; powder companies who charged the Government over 50 per cent excessive profit, and at the same time entered into contract with the foreign powder manufacturers to keep them at all times advised as to sales to the United States Government, so that Harper's Weekly of May 9, 1914, contained the following paragraph in comment upon the astonishing condition:

Do you recall the friction in 1898 over the German squadron in Manila Bay? A German admiral brought on a condition that might have held momentous consequences, and Germany knew to a pound what our powder reserves were and what their qualities were.

And Senator HENRY A. DU PONT, of Delaware, who signed this treacherous if not treasonable contract, is now chairman of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the War Department. The publicity given to this contract has resulted in its abandonment.

A WOLF IN SHEEP'S BATHING SUIT.

What is the Navy League? The Navy League is the American(?) institution which, through its official organ, The Seven Seas, went squarely on record for war for conquest and national aggrandizement in the following very remarkable language in the issue of November, 1915, only nine months ago:

It is the absolute right of a nation to live to its full intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest, commerce, diplomacy.

Thus the Navy League, whose members are largely those who "get richer and richer" through war and preparation for war, put "armed conquest" as the first means by which a nation may exercise its "absolute right." The shocking abhorrence expressed for lovers of peace and humanity in the September number of the same official organ of the Navy League (The Seven Seas) breathes even a more un-American spirit. I quote:

The true militarist believes that pacifism is the masculine and humanitarianism is the feminine manifestation of national degeneracy. World empire is the only logical and natural aim of a nation.

This marks the Navy League as a wolf in sheep's clothing—but very thin. For it loudly protests its love of peace and its desire to prepare for war that we may have peace, and then in the official columns of its own press it propagates the doctrines of armed conquest and world empire, which doctrines are treason to the flag and to the genius and purposes of this Government and to the people. To what length may it not go in the privacy of its secret councils?

One of the founders of the Navy League is J. Pierpont Morgan, referred to by Lloyd-George in a speech in the British Parliament less than a month ago as the official agent of the British Government in America. He is a director and was the organizer of the United States Steel Corporation, which was on the carpet of governmental investigation for monopolistic irregularities. Senator Clark, of Montana, is also a director. The president is Robert M. Thompson, of the International Nickel Co., and also of the New York Metal Exchange. It was he who first proposed before a group of munition men that a propaganda be launched for the Government to appropriate $500,000,000 in this session of Congress for Navy expansion, and certainly the press and politicians like "the ox that knoweth his master's crib," have done valiant service for the plutocrats by playing alternately on the fear and patriotism of the people. A few of the other war traffickers who are represented in the Navy League by directors are the Carnegie Steel, Consolidated Copper, Utah Copper, Lackawanna Steel, Midvale Steel—but the list is long. If anyone wishes fuller particulars, write to me.

Oh, but Charles M. Schwab, the armor-plate swindler, who has been pleading with the people in advertisements that must have cost many hundreds of thousands of dollars, to use their influence to keep the Government from manufacturing its own armor plate, must not be forgotten. He was one of the founders of the Navy League. After he had been found guilty, as Carnegie's general superintendent, of selling the Government rotten armor plate, fraudulently concealing its worthlessness, the congressional investigating committee had this to say of his crime:

CRIMINALITY OF THE CARNEGIE CO. (CHARLES M. SCHWAB, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT).

If the criminality of a wrongful act is to be measured by the deliberation with which it is committed, the magnitude of the evils likely to result from its perpetration, and the want of provocation with which it is done, the frauds which your committee have found are worthy to be called crimes. The servants of the Carnegie Steel Co. (whether with or without the knowledge of the company) to increase their gains, deliberately continued for many months to commit acts whose natural and probable consequence would be the sacrifice of the lives of our seamen in time of war, and with them, perhaps, the dearest interests of the Nation.

The company were hired to make the best possible armor plate and paid an enormous price for so doing. They were hired to make an armor that would stand the shots of an enemy and upon which the Nation might rely in time of need. They were paid between $500 and $700 a ton and thousands of dollars a plate for so doing. Resting under these obligations the company or its servants have perpetrated manifold frauds, the natural tendency of which was to palm off upon the Government an inferior armor, whose inferiority might perchance appear only in the shock of battle and with incalculable damage to the country.

No fine or mere money compensation is an adequate atonement for such wrongs. The commission of such frauds is a moral crime of the gravest character. Your committee do not consider it as within their province to draft a criminal statute; but they do feel under obligation to call the attention of the House to the importance of protecting in the future the interests of the Treasury, the lives of our seamen, and the safety of the Nation by appropriate legislation, denouncing as crimes all such acts of fraud and deception practiced upon the Government in connection with armor plate and other material of war, and making such acts severally punishable in all persons who commit them or aid and abet their commission.

He stands bravely for naval expansion against all comers, and incidentally for the appropriation of more of the people's money to pay him increased profits for armor plate.

I welcome you as the only political convention that would cheer, or even tolerate a statement of these facts.

"FAITHFUL OVER A FEW THINGS—RULER OVER MANY THINGS."

And these companies which reap immense profits from war, and thereby heap intolerable burdens upon the common people, do not neglect the patriotic duty (?) of putting men in legislative and administrative office who will do their bidding. And they especially show themselves to be Scriptural in making the man who has been faithful over a few things ruler over many things. Philander C. Knox had been the faithful attorney for the Carnegie Steel Co., and, it is undisputedly stated, on Mr. Carnegie's recommendation, was made Attorney General of the United States. Afterwards he was sent to the Senate, which is a favorite place for attorneys and other servants of big business who have served well.

It is a good place for them to continue their service of big business while drawing their salary from the people. It will be interesting to recall that when the Government had assessed damages of $600,000 against Mr. Carnegie's company for one of the rotten armor-plate swindles perpetrated by this patriotic corporation against the flag—our flag—that Philander C. Knox got the damage reduced to $140,000, saving the "steal" company $460,000 that was rightfully due the Government. To rob your Government is to rob you. Benjamin F. Tracy, as Secretary of the Navy, also did a good turn for the Carnegie Steel—Charles M. Schwab, general superintendent—by awarding to it a large contract without competitive bids, and he was rewarded by being made general counsel for both the Carnegie and Harvey Steel Cos. Robert Bacon was a member of J. Pierpont Morgan Co., bankers and founders of the United States Steel, for 10 years before he was made Secretary of State; Herbert L. Satterlee, one of the founders of the Navy League, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, is general counsel for the United States Steel; and Beekman Winthrop, of the Lackawanna Steel, formerly held the same under secretaryship. And time would fail me to tell of the faithful servants of big business who have

been given seats of advantageous service in the United States Senate.

WAR TAX ON NECESSITIES.

Nor are they neglecting their opportunities hereabouts. Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, nominee for the United States Senate in this State, was counsel for the Steel Trust in Minnesota for years. He now makes the main drive of his campaign the military program of the Navy League which the war traffickers are promoting by an expensive and apparently subsidized propaganda. This is no charge against his honesty. It is rather a proof of it. His mature life has been in the world of big business, apart from the thought and atmosphere of the common people and sturdy, thoughtful yeomanry who bear almost the entire burden of war and preparation for war. He is for the big Navy. It is to the interests of his world. But it is destructive to every interest of the farmer, the laborer, the artisan, and the modest business and professional man. Under our present system of taxation the people would pay on what they eat, wear, and use $455,000,000 of that $500,000,000, and men with incomes of $4,000 per year or more would pay the remaining $45,000,000 on their incomes. But a man with a $4,000 income who pays a tax of $100 pays it without denying himself any necessity. The laboring man who pays a tax of $10 must deny himself or family some needed thing. But in the high cost of living the surtax of the man who supports a family runs into some hundreds of dollars per year. Sugar was 17 pounds for the dollar before the war, it is now 10 pounds. The retail price of butter is nearly a half greater. Shoes cost from $1 to $2 more per pair for the same grades.

AN EXORBITANT METHOD OF TAX GATHERING.

And much, if not most, of this goes to rich monopolies. Thus for every dollar of these high prices that goes to the Government for revenue several dollars go to the monopolies. An editorial writer recently estimated that the European war is now costing the people of the United States in added prices imposed by monopolies, with war as an excuse or cause, an aggregate of not less than $1,940,000,000 per year. It will later appear that on gasoline alone it is $2,460,000. These monopolies are waxing enormously rich at the expense of the consumer. Add further war burdens and the consumer, not the monopoly, will pay $10 out of every $11 of that burden. And the war traffickers are making the most profit of them all. When the war broke out Bethlehem Steel was quoted at under $40. In a year and a half it had mounted to $474. It is said that 2 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth and that 98 per cent of the people own but 40 per cent.

RICH ENRICHED FROM THE PENURY OF THE POOR.

Preparation for war means that those who are already rich will be made richer at the cost of those already poor. And should actual war eventuate from the preparation for it, those same poor are the men who would go into the trenches to bite the dust, writhe with poison, or smear the earth with their blood, and the same women and children who had been robbed of the necessities and comforts of life to prepare for war would be robbed of all that was left to them of life by the actuality, while those already made rich would live in safety, piling up added profit from poverty's Calvary.

DO YOU WANT WAR FOR CONQUEST?—THE NAVY LEAGUE DOES.

The Navy League advocates a war of conquest. It would mean profits for them. In pursuance of their purposes they urge huge appropriations and vast increase of the Navy and standing Army. The man who advocates their program, if he knows their program, knows that its adovcacy looks toward militarism and war for conquest. If he does not know, he is an unsafe representative of the people's interests in this critical period. Mr. Kellogg loudly champions the war program of the Navy League, the steel interests, and the Powder Trust.

AMERICA FIRST.

Another big interest that needs a big man to look after its big jobs is the Standard Oil.

America is the great producer of petroleum. For some years we have produced nearly half and some years more than half of the world's supply.

A congressional investigation brought about by CHARLES H. RANDALL, Prohibition Congressman, shows that:

American gasoline, pumped from American wells, drilled in American soil, refined by American refineries, sold at the American seaboard to American purchasers at 6 cents per gallon more than for export to Europe. That is to say that the peace-loving (?) big-business men charged peaceful America 42 per cent more for an American product at an American port than they charged warring Europe. The Standard Oil and its compatriots believe in "doing" America first. And the diabolism of it is that the same big-business men gave out to the public prints that the high price charged in America was caused by the European war. Before Mr. RANDALL turned on the light the oil interests sent out the prediction that if the war continued we would see gasoline up to 50 cents a gallon. In Canada it is now reported at 35 cents. Since the introduction of RANDALL's bill the price has ceased to rocket, and it is prophesied that it will decline to more nearly normal. The average export price, as reported by the United States Department of Commerce, December 18, 1915, was 14.6 cents. The average domestic price for eight leading Atlantic cities for the same date was 20.6 cents. It goes without saying that the oil companies were making some money on their export price. Suppose they were making 1 cent. Then, on American sales they were making 7 cents. That is as much on 1 gallon sold to America as on 7 sold to Europe. Doing America first—and worst. In 1915 we consumed 41,600,000 gallons of gasoline. If we consume a like amount in 1916 the 6 cents extra profit that Americans will pay to the American oil industry—more than they would pay if they were foreigners—will amount to the tidy little sum of $2,460,000.

OIL CONDITIONS BAD—OIL DIVIDENDS GOOD.

But it is stated by the oil industries that the oil conditions are bad. The Cushing field has fallen off from 300,000 barrels per day to 100,000, and the Rittman process has not given the promised relief. Yes. Conditions bad? But the stocks of 17 of the active Standard companies advanced an average of 87 points from March, 1915, to April, 1916. Bad conditions usually show in a slump, not a jump, in stocks. And dividends also are a fair index. One Standard company paid 40 per cent quarterly, or at the rate of 160 per cent annually. They ought to be able to wiggle along. Two others paid 24 per cent quarterly; four paid 20 per cent each, quarterly; two, 16 per cent each, quarterly; and seven, 12 per cent each, quarterly—all in 1916, under "bad" conditions, but under a 6-cent per gallon artificial profit charged to Americans—only.

A PROFITABLE LOSS.

Five years ago the Standard Oil Co. was dissolved into its several component or subsidiary companies. The reason was that the Standard had throttled competition, in which process it had strangled many competitors. It was dissolved under the Sherman antitrust law. While the old Standard Oil Co. was intact it could not, under the Clayton law, discriminate in prices—freight considered—between different places. It was through such discrimination that prior to the passage of the Clayton Act the Standard made much of its money through unfair manipulation.

JOINT OF COMMON OWNERSHIP.

Let it now be remembered that during the past few years the oil field has vastly broadened. Back in the seventies, when Rockefeller began his oil operations, the Appalachian field was the only oil field in the United States. Up to 1900, at which time the Standard absolutely dominated the field, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and West Virginia, all in the Appalachian field, produced 53,000,000 of the 64,000,000 barrels produced in the entire United States. But in 1911, the date of the dissolution, the production of the Appalachian field had fallen to 28,000,000 barrels, while California, Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, and other Western States had taken the lead and the production had jumped to nearly 210,000,000 barrels. Thus, the Appalachian field, which produced 83 per cent of the total as late of 1900, produced but 13 per cent in 1911; but the Standard Co., while existing as a single corporation, was prohibited under the Clayton law from discrimination. Its old, familiar, and profitable method of business was thus impossible. Yet with oil fields in all parts of the Nation, discrimination was more than ever necessary in its program. How could that difficulty be overcome? By dissolution. But dissolution was fatal unless it could be accomplished without disturbing the joint or common ownership of the component or subsidiary companies. If it could, the Standard would still have every power to fix and control prices which it possessed in its existing form, and would escape the Clayton law, thus giving it a free hand to discriminate, which would add immeasurably to its power and hence to its profits. But it would all depend upon the form of the decree of dissolution. Here was a big job for a big man.

THE IRON COUNTRY.

Let us now bring up a line of relevant history. The iron fields of Minnesota had been discovered by the Merritts, of Duluth. They were hardy frontiersmen and started out to develop the new industry as they had helped to develop the

timber and shipping industries. The panic of 1896 caught them. They were advised to ask John D. Rockefeller to help them out—and he did. He helped them clear out. After he had acquired title to the vast riches of the iron country, his holdings were, in whole or in part, transferred to J. Pierpont Morgan, who organized the United States Steel Corporation. Davis, Kellogg, and Severance were attorneys in the case, and appeared as such in the directories of the company as late as 1911, the date of the Standard Oil decree. In his testimony before a congressional commission, Mr. Kellogg said that he personally attended to much of this business. It is quite possible that Mr. Rockefeller recognized in Mr. Kellogg a big man for big business during these negotiations.

WON THE CASE BUT LOST THE COIN.

When suit was brought against the Standard Oil Co. to dissolve it, it made appropriate and vigorous defense of itself, and fought the case at every point; at least so it seemed. But the Government won and the Standard was dissolved. By court custom it is presumed that the winning counsel, in this case Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, wrote the decree. The decree did not disturb the joint or common ownership of the component or subsidiary companies into which the Standard was dissolved. Permit me to quote a few sentences from an address delivered by R. L. Welch, general counsel for the Western Oil Jobbers' Association, at St. Louis in March of this year:

The application of the Sherman law to the Standard Oil Co. has been a failure not only because it did not produce the results hoped for but because it has conferred a positive immunity upon the subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Co. It has given them a power of discrimination which could not have existed but for the remarkable decree.

No consideration of the legal aspect of the situation can be complete which does not embrace an analysis of the purposes and effects of that famous decree.

The Government's contention both as to the law and as to the facts was sustained, and yet the practical situation as to competition has not been changed except to confer upon the common owners of the Standard Oil Co.'s subsidiaries immunity from regulation as a whole.

The price is fixed by the Standard Oil Co. At this very moment there is not a jobber, there is not a refiner, there is not a producer who may not be caused enormous losses if the Standard Oil Co. reaches the conclusion, rightly or wrongly, that the supply of crude has become such that the price should be dropped.

And likewise there is not a consumer who can escape similar loss if the Standard Oil Co. reaches the conclusion, rightly or wrongly, that the price of crude should be boosted.

In no essential respect since the dissolution decree has this power (to fix prices) been changed. * * *

And here we find the jobber, by virtue of the dissolution decree, in such a situation that the provisions of the Clayton law against discrimination can not in any respect be applied to the Standard Oil Co. as a whole. * * * My point is that that decree was worse than nothing. A more futile, a more purposeless, a more absurd decree was never entered by a court. * * * It would have been far better for the people of the United States and for the independent oil industry if the Government had either made the dissolution effectual or had done nothing at all.

A BIG JOB FOR A BIG MAN.

That was a big job for big business. It made big prices for the people, big jumps in the stock market, and big dividends for the Standard Oil Co., and counsel for the people got a big fee—$59,000—from the Government. Sure, some big man!

Mr. RANDALL, in presenting his case at the hearing before the Committee on Mines and Mining, said in part:

WHY DO GASOLINE PRICES SOAR?

The most commonly accepted defense of the increase in the price of gasoline is given as the war in Europe and an alleged enormous export demand.

Before showing in detail the fallacy of this claim I want to call attention to some curious facts in relation to the decree dissolving the Standard Oil Co.

If export conditions do not sustain the claims made in that direction and if our suspicions that the dissolution decree makes of the Standard Oil Co. a more powerful combination than before then it can reasonably be argued that this corporation is responsible entirely for the alarming situation confronting 3,000,000 users of gasoline.

I exhibit here an official list of 1911 of the officers of the United States Steel Corporation and its 86 subsidiary companies. On page 10 I find listed in the legal department as attorneys of all these companies the firm of Davis, Kellogg & Severance, of St. Paul, Minn. In the hearings before House committees in 1911 the fact developed that Frank B. Kellogg was paid $59,000 by the United States as attorney's fees in the Standard Oil dissolution case.

Now, curious fact No. 1 is that John D. Rockefeller, jr., was a stockholder in the United States Steel Corporation, of which Mr. Kellogg's firm were attorneys at the very moment that Mr. Kellogg was prosecuting the Standard Oil Co. on behalf of the United States.

Curious fact No. 2 is that in the Standard Oil dissolution decree is found this language: "But the defendants are not prohibited by this decree from distributing ratably to the shareholders of the principal company the shares to which they were equitably entitled in the stocks of the different corporations that are parties to the combination."

This sort of a decree was well described by James J. Hill, who, at a banquet stated that the only effect of the dissolution decree in the Northern Securities case was to compel him to exchange one certificate of stock for two others of different colors. Standard Oil shares are now printed in many colors, but the same interests own them.

Coming to the claim of increased prices on account of export demands, from official sources it will be demonstrated that while in April, 1915, the average price of gasoline in eight Atlantic cities was only a fraction of 1 cent per gallon above the export price, whereas by December, 1915, the domestic price was 6 cents above the export price.

YOU SHOULD SAY "THANK YOU, SIR."

When a man buys gasoline he should say "Thank you, sir," to the counsel for the United States Government who secured—and probably wrote—the decree, for the extra 6 cents per gallon which he is privileged to pay. That item of 6 cents looks small, but in the aggregate it means $2,460,000 annually to the bank account of the oil magnates. And it was made possible by the dissolution decree. It was a big job all right.

IT IS OF RECORD.

All arguments aside, this much is of record. In 1911, when the decree was entered, the tank-wagon price of gasoline in the Indiana field, for example, was 11 cents per gallon. By March, 1912, it was 12 cents; in June it was 13 cents; in August it was 14 cents; in October, 15 cents; and by February, 1913, it was 16 cents, the highest price it had attained up to that date, since the earliest years of the petroleum industry. And in 1916 it surpassed all previous records, with export trade at a standstill and the American consumer soaked 6 cents per gallon for not having the patriotism to be a foreigner!

A CORRECT PRINCIPLE.

I welcome you, and I congratulate you that it is a Prohibition Congressman that has introduced the bill that has brought the Standard Oil to bay—a bill in harmony with the principles of the party—providing for the Government ownership or control of the oil fields and refineries. That bill has stopped the mad flight of prices, and if enacted into law will put the greatest monopoly in any article of general commerce where it can no longer enrich the opulent by an unfair surtax upon the people. And thus again our principles show in pleasing contrast with the faltering, puttering, tinkering policies of the old parties.

"IF WE STAND FIRM, WE SHALL NOT FAIL."

The history of our statecraft stands out upon the horizon of American politics as the Matterhorn shoulders the sky. During all these years, lit by no glint of immediate victory, you, the Prohibitionists of the Nation, have fought on in the gloom of what the world calls failure. And in the gray dawn of the morning after election day the blare of the lonely battle bugle of the loyal Prohibitionist sets the air athrob as his undaunted faith shouts "Victory!" and makes mockery of events that seem to spell defeat.

THIS YEAR OF VICTORY.

This has been a trench warfare. Steadily and irresistibly have we pressed forward, driving the enemy from his defenses of indifference, custom, law, and greed until on this happy hour I dare to stand and prophesy to you that the day is not far distant when we shall break through the last line and take the citadel at Washington. In the providence of God and by the heroic patriotism of the American electorate, strengthened as it now is by the battalions of women in 12 States, it is by no means unthinkable that with a statesmanlike platform and with candidates who will inspire the confidence of the American people, backed by the loyal support of the rank and file of the Prohibition Party—it is not unthinkable, I say, that we shall this year write the eternal doom of the liquor traffic by electing not only scattering officers but more; for, though we fail to elect our national candidates, we shall elect the national issues for which those candidates stand and for which this party has for more than a generation given its lofty and unswerving devotion.

THE GODDESS OF LIBERTY LIGHTING THE WORLD.

I welcome you not by my own lips but by the lips of the Prohibition forces of this State. I welcome you in the name of the unconquered and unconquerable army that marches on to that victory which, under God, is as certain as sunrise. I welcome you with the assurance that I make no vain prophecy when I state that when the next Congress shall assemble the State of Minnesota will be represented by one or more Prohibition Members. I welcome you with the certainty that never again will any Prohibition Congressman be as lonesome as CHARLES H. RANDALL, of California, has been. I welcome you in the confidence that with the growing loyal support of the patriotic voters of the United States the Prohibition Party shall press forward in its holy war until there shall not be a disfranchised woman or a legalized drunkery anywhere under the flag and that this land of our life, of our liberty, and our love shall be the "Goddess of Liberty" lighting the path of the world with the torch of Peace, Progress, and Prohibition.

**A Comparison of the Present Administration with Preceding Administrations in Legislation and Achievement for the Development of the Navy.**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. LEMUEL P. PADGETT,

OF TENNESSEE.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. PADGETT. Mr. Speaker, in view of the widespread interest throughout the country on the subject of preparedness, and especially the interest of the people in the Navy, and in view of the many unjust criticisms and untrue reports which have been published broadcast through the country, I deem it appropriate to call attention to the achievements and accomplishments of the present administration under the lead and guidance of President Wilson and the administration of the Navy Department under Secretary Daniels, and to submit comparisons with the achievements and accomplishments of preceding administrations. In so doing I have full confidence that the facts will bear testimony to the splendid achievements and accomplishments of the present administration and will refute the untrue charges and misstatements relating to the Navy which have been circulated broadcast throughout the country and will demonstrate to the people that the present administration and the present Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Josephus Daniels, are deserving of praise and commendation for the results accomplished.

I shall not attempt to deal in rhetoric or in flights of grandiloquent phrases, but shall content myself with a plain business-like statement of the facts and show what has been accomplished in building up the matériel of the Navy and in legislation for the reorganization and improvement of the personnel of the Navy, and to show that the administration and the Congress has kept faith with the people and has redeemed the pledges and fulfilled the assurances given to the country.

The Democratic platform of 1912 declared, with reference to the Navy, that—

> The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe doctrine and was sponsor for the new Navy will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well-proportioned Navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens, and uphold the honor and dignity of the Nation.

In pursuance of the declaration of the Democratic platform in 1912 President Wilson, in a message to Congress, announced the position of the administration with reference to the naval strength in these words:

> We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past, and there will be no thought of offense or provocation in that.

And in a later message to Congress the President states:

> We have always looked to the Navy of the country as our first and chief line of defense; we have always seen it to be our manifest course of prudence to be strong upon the seas.

In pursuance of the declarations of the Democratic platform and of President Wilson thorough investigations were made by the Navy Department and by the committees of Congress with a view of determining, first, the fighting efficiency of the existing Naval Establishment as regards its personnel and matériel; second, the means to be adopted to increase the efficiency of the existing personnel and matériel; and, third, the necessary legislation to provide additional personnel and matériel to render the Naval Establishment more nearly adequate to defend the interests of the United States and place our Navy, the first line of defense, in a great state of preparedness.

As to the first of these investigations, the Wilson administration found the Navy short of officers, short of men, short of fighting craft, short of aircraft, short of munitions, and with an organization in the Navy Department that did not effect proper efficiency. The Navy was not balanced and was not adequate, nor was there at any time a continuous policy to render the Navy well balanced or adequate. While it is true that the Navy General Board had a policy for 48 ships of the first line by 1919, no Secretary of the Navy had ever adopted the recommendations of the General Board in the annual estimates to Congress. The lack of a fixed and definite policy led Senator LODGE in a speech in the Senate on July 13 of the present year to state:

> I have already said, when I began to speak, that this bill went some distance in remedying the haphazard, ill-balanced, often stinted, and ill-proportioned recommendations of Congress made by committees and compromises, and all that, without any system.

Owing to this lack of a fixed policy or system, our Navy, under Republican administration, was allowed to drop prior to 1911 from second to third place.

In an attempt to prevent our Navy dropping still further in relative strength due to such haphazard policies, President Wilson, in his message to Congress in December, 1915, urged the adoption of a well-considered and well-proportioned continuing program for the construction of new vessels. Although the General Board since 1903 had constantly recommended a continuing program that would have given the United States 48 capital ships with other craft in proportion by 1919, it was not until the present year, under the administration of President Wilson, that the recommendation of the General Board for a well-proportioned continuing program was adopted and both Houses of Congress have approved such a policy. The action of the administration and Congress means that the new American Navy will be developed along the lines of a fixed, definite, and continuing policy, and that our first line of defense will not be built in a haphazard fashion, as heretofore.

The continuing program authorized in the Naval bill, which has just passed both Houses of Congress and been approved by the President will shortly assure the United States a well-proportioned and well-balanced Navy, second in strength in the navies of the world, and authorizes constructions in an amount that will tax the capacity of private shipbuilders as well as the shipbuilding facilities of the Government for the next three years.

The following table shows conclusively the haphazard policy which has been indulged in by previous administrations since 1903. The table shows the recommendations made by the General Board as regards new constructions, the recommendations made by the Secretary of the Navy, and the authorizations of Congress:

*Construction recommended and authorized since 1903.*

| Recommended by the General Board. | Recommended by the Secretary of the Navy. | Authorized by Congress. |
|---|---|---|
| 1903. | (Secretary Moody.) | (Act of 1904.) |
| 2 battleships | 2 hospital ships | |
| 1 armored cruiser | 1 battleship [1] | 1 battleship. |
| 3 protected cruisers | 1 armored cruiser [1] | 2 armored cruisers. |
| 4 scout cruisers | 3 protected cruisers [1] | |
| | 2 to 4 scout cruisers [1] | 3 scout cruisers. |
| 2 fuel ships | 2 submarines | 4 submarines. |
| 3 destroyers | 2 fuel ships [1] | 2 fuel ships. |
| 1904. | (Secretary Morton.) | (Act of 1905.) |
| 3 battleships | 3 battleships [2] | 2 battleships. |
| 6 destroyers | 6 destroyers (if practicable) [2] | |
| 5 scout cruisers | | |
| 6 torpedo boats | | |
| 2 fuel ships | | |
| 1 gunboat | | |
| 2 river gunboats | | |
| 2 Philippine gunboats | | |
| $850,000 for submarines | | |
| 1905. | (Secretary Bonaparte.) | (Act of 1906.) |
| 3 battleships | 2 battleships | 1 battleship. |
| 1 gunboat | 1 gunboat | |
| 2 river gunboats | 2 river gunboats | |
| 3 scout cruisers | 2 scout cruisers | |
| 4 destroyers | 4 destroyers | 3 destroyers. |
| 4 submarines | 2 submarines | 8 submarines. |
| 4 torpedo boats | | |
| 2 small gunboats | | |
| 1906. | (Secretary Bonaparte.) | (Act of 1907.) |
| 2 battleships | 1 battleship, and, with hesitation, 2. | 1 battleship. |
| 1 gunboat | 2 gunboats | |
| 2 river gunboats | 3 river gunboats | |
| 4 destroyers | 4 destroyers | 2 destroyers. |
| 2 fuel ships | 2 fuel ships | |
| 4 ships' torpedo boats | 4 ships' torpedo boats | |
| 2 scout cruisers | | |
| 2 small gunboats | | |
| 1 ammunition ship | | |
| 1907. | (Secretary Metcalf.) | (Act of 1908.) |
| 4 battleships | 4 battleships | 2 battleships. |
| 4 scout cruisers | 4 scout cruisers | |
| 10 destroyers | 10 destroyers | 10 destroyers. |
| 4 submarines | 4 submarines | 8 submarines. |
| 2 fuel ships | 4 fuel ships | 2 fuel ships. |
| 1 ammunition ship | 1 ammunition ship | |
| 1 repair ship | 1 repair ship | |
| 2 mine-laying ships (conversion of 2 cruisers now on list). | 2 mine-laying ships (conversion of 2 cruisers now on list). | |
| 4 ships' motor torpedo boats. | | Purchase of 3 new fast ships. |

[1] Recommended in his hearings before the House Naval Committee. Not in his annual report.

[2] Recommended in his hearings before the House Naval Committee. No specific recommendation in his annual report.

*Construction recommended and authorized since 1903*—Continued.

| Recommended by the General Board. | Recommended by the Secretary of the Navy. | Authorized by Congress. |
|---|---|---|
| 1908. | (Secretary Metcalf.) | (Act of 1909.) |
| 4 battleships | 4 battleships | 2 battleships. |
| 4 scout cruisers | 4 scout cruisers | |
| 10 destroyers | 10 destroyers | 5 destroyers. |
| 4 submarines | 4 submarines | 4 submarines. |
| 3 fuel ships | 3 fuel ships | 1 fuel ship. |
| 1 ammunition ship | 1 ammunition ship | |
| 1 repair ship | 1 repair ship | |
| 2 mine-laying ships (conversion of 2 cruisers now on list). | 2 mine-laying ships (conversion of 2 cruisers now on list). | |
| | | 1 destroyer whose vitals are located below the water line. |
| 1909. | (Secretary Meyer.) | (Act of 1910.) |
| 4 battleships | 2 battleships | 2 battleships. |
| 1 repair ship | 1 repair ship | |
| | | 2 fuel ships. |
| | | 4 submarines. |
| 10 destroyers | | 6 destroyers. |
| 4 scout cruisers | | |
| 1 ammunition ship | | |
| 1 fuel ship (oil tank) | | |
| 1910. | (Secretary Meyer.) | (Act of 1911.) |
| 4 battleships | 2 battleships | 2 battleships. |
| 1 gunboat | 1 gunboat | 1 gunboat. |
| 2 river gunboats | 1 river gunboat | 1 river gunboat. |
| | 2 submarines | 4 submarines. |
| 4 fuel ships | 1 fuel ship | 2 fuel ships. |
| 2 tugs | 2 tugs | 2 tugs. |
| 3 submarine tenders | 1 submarine tender | 1 submarine tender. |
| 16 destroyers | | 8 destroyers. |
| 1 repair ship | | |
| 4 scout cruisers | | |
| 2 destroyer tenders | | |
| 1 mine layer | | |
| 2 transports | | |
| 1 hospital ship | | |
| 1911. | (Secretary Meyer.) | (Act of 1912.) |
| 4 battleships | 2 battleships | 1 battleship. |
| 4 fuel ships | 2 fuel ships | 2 fuel ships. |
| 16 destroyers | | 6 destroyers. |
| 2 destroyer tenders | | 1 destroyer tender. |
| 5 submarines | | 8 submarines. |
| 2 submarine tenders | | 1 submarine tender. |
| 1 repair ship | | |
| 4 scout cruisers | | |
| 1 ammunition ship | | |
| 1 mine layer | | |
| 2 transports | | |
| 1912. | (Secretary Meyer.) | (Act of 1913.) |
| 4 battleships | 3 battleships | 1 battleship. |
| 2 battle cruisers | 2 battle cruisers | |
| 2 gunboats | 2 gunboats | |
| 16 destroyers | 16 destroyers | 6 destroyers. |
| 6 submarines | 6 submarines | 4 submarines. |
| | 1 fuel ship (conditionally) | |
| 1 ammunition ship | 1 ammunition ship | |
| 2 transports | 2 transports | 1 transport. |
| 2 tugs | 2 tugs | |
| 1 submarine tender | 1 submarine tender | |
| 1 destroyer tender | 1 destroyer tender | |
| 1 supply ship | 1 supply ship | 1 supply ship. |
| 1 submarine testing dock | 1 submarine testing dock | |
| 1913. | (Secretary Daniels.) | (Act of 1914.) |
| 4 battleships | 3 battleships | 3 battleships. |
| 16 destroyers | 8 destroyers | 6 destroyers. |
| 8 submarines | 3 submarines | 8 or more submarines. |
| 1 destroyer tender | | 1 submarine testing dock. |
| 1 submarine tender | | |
| 2 fuel ships (oilers) | | |
| 2 gunboats | | |
| 1 transport | | |
| 1 supply ship | | |
| 1 hospital ship | | |
| 1914. | (Secretary Daniels.) | (Act of 1915.) |
| 4 battleships | | 2 battleships. |
| 16 coast submarines | 2 battleships | |
| 16 destroyers | 6 destroyers | 6 destroyers. |
| 3 fleet submarines | 8 submarines or more, 1 to be of seagoing type and 7 or more of coast-defense type. | 2 seagoing submarines 16 coast-defense submarines. |
| 4 scouts | | |
| 4 gunboats | 1 gunboat | |
| 2 oil fuel ships | 1 oiler | 1 oil fuel ship. |
| 1 destroyer tender | | |
| 1 submarine tender | | |
| 1 Navy transport | | |
| 1 hospital ship | | |
| 1 supply ship | | |

The amounts appropriated for the Navy Establishment under the administrations of McKinley, McKinley and Roosevelt, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, by calendar years, are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| *McKinley administration.* | |
| 1898 | $144,566,940.77 |
| 1899 | 57,297,569.78 |
| 1900 | 66,949,286.62 |
| 1901 | 83,020,090.23 |
| *McKinley and Roosevelt administration.* | |
| 1902 | $85,347,345.29 |
| 1903 | 84,993,697.99 |
| 1904 | 103,852,179.91 |
| 1905 | 118,459,897.56 |
| *Roosevelt administration.* | |
| 1906 | $105,815,342.50 |
| 1907 | 100,893,431.98 |
| 1908 | 130,013,153.60 |
| 1909 | 140,042,655.85 |
| *Taft administration.* | |
| 1910 | $133,216,693.19 |
| 1911 | 127,818,681.48 |
| 1912 | 129,739,055.88 |
| 1913 | 142,744,167.27 |
| *Wilson administration.* | |
| 1914 | $148,254,332.41 |
| 1915 | 151,033,908.03 |
| 1916 | 313,384,212.84 |

The tonnage of the vessels authorized by Congress for the same calendar years are stated by the Chief Constructor of the Navy to be as follows, showing that during the 16 years of Republican rule the total tonnage authorized amounted to 1,116,018 tons, while during the three years of the Wilson administration the tonnage authorized amounted to 1,014,666 tons:

BUREAU OF CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR,
NAVY DEPARTMENT,
*Washington, August 24, 1916.*

I give below the tonnage of the vessels authorized by Congress each year from 1898 on. The first authorization under the first McKinley administration was in 1898. These tonnages include submarines. The displacement of submarines is not given in the data books, and hence these tonnages are slightly greater than would be obtained from a compilation of the displacements shown in the data books.

For the new program the tonnages, of course, are approximate, and are based upon the assumption that those of vessels to be constructed in future years are the same as for vessels to be undertaken this year:

| | Tonnage. |
|---|---|
| 1898 | 59,570 |
| 1899 | 105,084 |
| 1900 | 100,736 |
| 1901 | None. |
| 1902 | 63,630 |
| 1903 | 77,600 |
| 1904 | 83,605 |
| 1905 | 52,000 |
| 1906 | 23,924 |
| 1907 | 21,400 |
| 1908 | 126,120 |
| 1909 | 76,552 |
| 1910 | 98,020 |
| 1911 | 108,365 |
| 1912 | 81,681 |
| 1913 | 58,331 |
| 1914 | 106,134 |
| 1915 | 95,532 |
| 1916 | 813,000 |

Very sincerely,

D. W. TAYLOR,
*Chief Constructor, United States Navy.*

During the administration of McKinley and Roosevelt, from March 4, 1901, to March 4, 1905, the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to $107,006,642. During the Roosevelt administration, from March 4, 1905, to March 4, 1909, the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to $83,192,938. Under the Taft administration, from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1913, the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to $127,747,113. While during the Wilson administration, from March 4, 1913, to August 25, 1916, the total cost of vessels authorized amounted to $655,289,806. The above figures show that the total cost of vessels authorized in the Wilson administration to date is more than twice the cost of vessels authorized in the Republican administrations from March 4, 1901, to March 4, 1913, by over $19,000,000. The total authorized tonnage of the Republican administration from March 4, 1901, to March 4, 1913, amounts to 1,116,018 tons. The tonnage of vessels authorized during the Wilson administration to date amounts to 1,014,666 tons.

The naval bill which passed Congress during the present session authorizes the construction of the following vessels prior to July 1, 1919:

| | |
|---|---|
| Battleships | 10 |
| Battle cruisers | 6 |
| Scout cruisers | 10 |
| Torpedo-boat destroyers | 50 |
| Submarines | 67 |
| Submarine with Neff system (experimental) | 1 |
| Fuel ships | 3 |
| Repair ship | 1 |
| Transport | 1 |
| Hospital ship | 1 |
| Destroyer tenders | 2 |
| Submarine tender | 1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ammunition ships | 2 |
| Gunboats | 2 |
| Total | 157 |
| *Appropriated for this year.* | |
| Battleships | 4 |
| Battle cruisers | 4 |
| Scout cruisers | 4 |
| Torpedo-boat destroyers | 20 |
| Submarines | 30 |
| Submarine with Neff system (experimental) | 1 |
| Fuel ship | 1 |
| Hospital ship | 1 |
| Ammunition ship | 1 |
| Gunboat | 1 |
| Total | 67 |

The above vessels, as heretofore stated, restore the United States to second in naval strength among the powers of the world, which position we had lost under Republican administration. The vessels authorized are to be the most powerful of their class. The battleships are to carry the heaviest armor and the largest number of any vessels of their class, while the battle cruisers are to have an unprecedented speed of 35 knots and the unprecedented horsepower of 180,000, having a length of about 850 feet, carrying a battery of 14-inch guns, almost equal to that of the present battleship. The scout cruisers and torpedo boats are to be the best of their class, while the submarines and auxiliaries are to be of the most modern and most efficient type.

The following table shows the relative fighting strength and efficiency of ships of the Navy, taking the *Delaware* as a value of 100:

RELATIVE FIGHTING EFFICIENCY OF SHIPS OF THE NAVY.

According to the table prepared by the Office of Naval Intelligence, taking the *Delaware* value as 100, the comparative value of battleships of the Navy is as follows:

| Ship. | Comparative value when completed. | Comparative value corrected for age in 1914. |
|---|---|---|
| Indiana | 20.64 | 7.40 |
| Massachusetts | 20.64 | 7.40 |
| Oregon | 20.64 | 7.40 |
| Iowa | 20.96 | 10.09 |
| Kearsarge | 23.55 | 15.07 |
| Kentucky | 23.55 | 15.07 |
| Alabama | 21.41 | 14.72 |
| Illinois | 21.41 | 14.72 |
| Wisconsin | 21.41 | 14.72 |
| Maine | 28.84 | 22.20 |
| Missouri | 28.84 | 22.20 |
| Ohio | 28.84 | 22.20 |
| Georgia | 39.40 | 31.54 |
| Nebraska | 39.40 | 31.54 |
| Virginia | 39.40 | 31.54 |
| New Jersey | 39.40 | 33.10 |
| Rhode Island | 39.40 | 33.10 |
| Connecticut | 51.46 | 46.19 |
| Louisiana | 51.46 | 46.19 |
| Kansas | 49.98 | 46.06 |
| Minnesota | 49.98 | 46.06 |
| Vermont | 49.98 | 46.06 |
| New Hampshire | 49.98 | 47.10 |
| Michigan | 78.51 | 75.37 |
| South Carolina | 78.51 | 75.37 |
| Delaware | 100.00 | 97.44 |
| North Dakota | 100.00 | 98.56 |
| Florida | 100.28 | 99.64 |
| Utah | 100.28 | 99.64 |
| Arkansas | 135.64 | 135.42 |
| Wyoming | 135.64 | 135.42 |
| New York | 169.38 | 169.38 |
| Texas | 169.38 | 169.38 |
| Nevada | 190.31 | 190.31 |
| Oklahoma | 190.31 | 190.31 |
| Pennsylvania | 230.84 | 230.84 |
| Arizona | 230.84 | 230.84 |
| New Mexico | 267.83 | 267.83 |
| Mississippi | 267.83 | 267.83 |
| Idaho | 267.83 | 267.83 |
| 43, Tennessee | 273.00 | 273.00 |
| 44, California | 273.00 | 273.00 |

The 16 ships that made the cruise around the world in 1907–1909, and their comparative value as shown by the above table was 597.48. The comparative value of battleships added to the fleet by completion or authorization since the around-the-world cruise is 3,409.39. It must be understood, however, that the comparative value of battleships of other nations has increased in the same proportion.

The above table demonstrates how the fighting efficiency of vessels has increased with each authorization, so that the splendid program, as set out in the present naval bill, will tremendously increase the fighting efficiency of our first line of defense.

So much inaccurate and unjust criticisms from irresponsible sources have been made that the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives called before it the then commander in chief of the North Atlantic Fleet, Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, United States Navy, and interrogated him as to the condition of the matériel of the fleet. Admiral Fletcher states in substance that the battleships and destroyers with the fleet, which constitute its main fighting element, are in a very satisfactory condition with a few exceptions. The submarines are operating separately and devoting all of their time to getting the machinery in more efficient condition and training. The auxiliary service of the fleet is satisfactory. The division of mining has made satisfactory progress in its development. The cruiser squadron has been actively employed in foreign service in Haiti, Mexico, and Central America and rendered most efficient service. The powder and shell furnished our Navy is as good powder for naval service as that of any country in the world, if not better, and the fleet has absolute confidence in it. The projectiles of the Navy are of the highest standard, and the target-practice shells meet with the requirements of the fleet as to their behavior and reliability. The guns are as good as any, and the mines and torpedoes operate in a satisfactory way.

POWDER.

As to the supply of munitions on hand, the present administration has relieved the shortage of powder, so that the supply at present is very satisfactory both as regards the current and reserve supply. The Navy has on hand or ordered all of the powder and reserve powder for all of the battleships that are in commission or about to be in commission, and has the allowance of powder for all their guns in the service and nearly all in reserve. The present administration has increased the capacity of the Government powder factory at Indianhead, Md., from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds per annum, and is manufacturing the best smokeless powder at 34 cents per pound, including all overhead charges. During the last year, by reason of the efficiency of the Government powder factory, it has not been necessary to purchase powder from private contractors who charge 53 cents per pound. The present bill appropriates money sufficient to provide all the ammunition, both current and for reserve, for all the ships of the Navy, including the ships authorized to be constructed this year.

TORPEDOES.

The shortage in torpedoes has been remedied during the present administration, and for every 100 torpedoes the Navy had on hand in 1913 it now has 158 more. The enlargement of the torpedo factory has enabled the Government to construct torpedoes in its plant at Newport at a saving of over $1,000 on each torpedo. Not only are more torpedoes provided for less money, but the Navy Department has won its suit to prevent a private company selling its torpedoes to foreign Governments, thereby disclosing naval secrets. Judge Cox, in rendering the decision in this suit, said:

This suit illustrates the importance of the United States having a manufactory of its own for the manufacture of torpedoes and other implements of war, which are improved and changed from time to time by the addition of ingenious mechanism, which should clearly be kept secret unless our enemies are to profit equally with ourselves in every improvement which the ingenuity of our Army and Navy officers may suggest.

MINES.

When the Wilson administration came into power it was found that there was no mining division of the fleet, and that there was a totally inadequate supply of mines. A complete mining division has been organized, and the Navy Department has obtained the right to manufacture mines of a successful foreign type in this country and is doing so in its own plant, the mines being of a type used by European powers in the present war. The mines are being built at a cost of between $175 and $200 less than the price contracted for when purchased abroad. At the present time there are four times as many mines in the Navy as at the beginning of the Wilson administration, and the number is being multiplied daily. For the first time in the history of the American Navy its position in regard to mines and mining is satisfactory.

SHELLS.

A large shortage in armor-piercing shells which had been existing for years has been found upon investigation, and the present naval appropriation bill authorizes the expenditure of $13,720,000 for shells to supply a deficiency in reserve for the guns of the ships heretofore authorized, and also appropriate sufficient money to supply all shells needed for the new ships authorized constructed this year.

It is believed by the ordnance experts of the Navy Department that the Government can manufacture armor-piercing projectiles cheaper than it can purchase them, and the Chief of Ordnance reports that the department knows accurately the cost of the steel, the cost of labor, and the percentage of loss in the manufacture of projectiles. It is believed that a Government factory will create competition with private manufacturers and the best quality of projectiles will be obtained. The present naval appropriation bill provides for a Government projectile plant. The total capacity of all private plants which

have heretofore furnished the Government with armor-piercing shells meeting the Government specifications is only 22,000 14-inch shells per annum. The contemplated building program requires additional capacity, and it is necessary for the Government to supplement the private production of armor-piercing shells and at the same time will have a check on the cost and quality of the projectiles produced. It is known to be a fact that practically no ammunition was delivered from the United States to the belligerents for 10 months after the war began, although they had fabulous sums of money at their disposal to equip their plants. The Government projectile plant is absolutely necessary in the interest of real preparedness, and this administration is the only one ever to so recommend and legislate.

GUNS.

With two or three minor exceptions which are negligible the guns on hand and in process of manufacture meet all the requirements of the department as to guns and reserve guns. All of the 14-inch batteries and reserve guns for these batteries are built or building and the Navy Department has perfected a 16-inch gun which is to be placed on the new battleships. This gun will fire a projectile that will hit harder than any gun now in use in any foreign navy. The ordnance experts of the department have designed, completed, and placed on the latest dreadnaughts antiaircraft guns of the greatest known efficiency.

RESERVE ORDNANCE SUPPLIES.

The present administration has adopted a policy for the accumulation of a complete reserve of ammunition and other ordnance supplies in the interests of real preparedness, and the present naval bill carries an appropriation of $4,503,424 for this purpose. This is the first legislative provision for such purpose.

IMPROVEMENT IN TARGET PRACTICE.

The report of the commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet and the testimony of expert naval officers in the recent hearings before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives emphasized the fact that the Navy is recovering in target practice from the slump from 1909 to 1913. Admiral Fletcher, in his report dated October, 1915, stated:

It is believed that the scores reported are higher than ever before in the open sea.

Capt. W. S. Sims, United States Navy, stated to the House Committee on Naval Affairs that the last target practice "came up about 40 per cent," adding that the president director of target practice "is the best equipped man in the Navy to handle it." The officer in charge of gunnery, in speaking of the practice of the turret guns on battleships, stated:

The records of the fall of 1915 indicate that we are advancing by leaps and bounds.

Target practice to-day is held at longer ranges than ever before and at as long ranges as any firing in the present European war. Admiral Fletcher states:

It is probable that some 10 to 20 per cent of the shots fired could have been landed on a battleship at 18,000 yards.

Capt. J. S. McKean, United States Navy, speaking of the progress of the Navy as a whole, stated to the House Committee on Naval Affairs:

We have made more progress in the last two years than in any previous five years in my experience.

ARMOR PLANT.

It having been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Navy Department and the Committees on Naval Affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives that free and voluntary competition in the bidding for contracts to supply armor plate to the Navy no longer existed, the department recommended and the Congress authorized in the present naval appropriation bill the construction of a Government armor plant in order that the Government might be in a position to determine a fair and reasonable price to be paid for armor plate and thereby secure for itself a measure of protection.

AVIATION.

The total appropriation for aviation during the Wilson administration amounts to $5,217,278.57. During the Taft administration there was expended for aviation the sum of $61,888.06. In the appropriation bill of the present session of Congress the sum of $3,500,000 was appropriated for aviation purposes and $420,000 for the aviation station at Pensacola, Fla.

In the present naval appropriation bill a Naval Flying Corps is established as well as aeronautic schools are authorized. Provision is also made for 10 aviation stations along the coast of the United States to be under the supervision of the Coast Guard for the purpose of saving life, sighting derelicts, and for the national defense—something not heretofore attempted.

The present administration under authority of law created the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. The work of this committee is progressing along practical lines as well as scientific lines. It is the agent of the military and naval service of the country in the development and utilization of the things that are common to these services in the field of experimental and practical aviation, and it coordinates activities of the aviation work of the military and naval services with those bureaus of the Government whose work is essential to the development of practical aviation, such as the meteorological work of the Weather Bureau and the development of the properties of materials under the Bureau of Standards. Further it is stimulating the manufacturing interests of the country in the production of material, equipment, and accessories needed in aviation by placing before them proper specifications of the things required. The committee consists of members of the Army, Navy, Smithsonian Institution, Weather Bureau, Bureau of Standards, and not more than five additional persons acquainted with the needs of aeronautical science or skilled in aeronautical engineering or its allied sciences. This is a new naval activity.

MOBILIZATION IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

When it was learned how far behind some of the belligerent nations were in the manufacture of munitions of war, the Secretary of the Navy concluded that real preparedness required that an attempt should be made to mobilize the industries of the United States as well as to provide means for military and naval protection. This had never been attempted before. Mr. Daniels appointed a civilian Navy consulting board, of which he made Mr. Thomas A. Edison chairman, and the Government has obtained the invaluable services, rendered without compensation, of the Nation's foremost engineers and chemists. Their counsel, cooperation, and initiative are now made readily available to aid in the solution of the many complicated problems always before the Navy Department. A committee of this consulting board has already completed the first census ever made of the country's industrial resources for war. This information and the contemplated work of this committee in the new experimental laboratory to be erected in accordance with the provisions of the present Navy bill place the great facilities of American industry at the service of the country in the event of war. Industrial preparedness, never before contemplated in this country, is an accomplishment of the Wilson administration.

DRY DOCKS.

Since no battle cruisers were authorized during any administration previous to the Wilson administration—although every other large naval power in the world had in active commission such vessels—no provision was made in previous administrations for docking vessels of the size of the modern battle cruiser. It therefore became necessary for the present administration to authorize two stone dry docks, one in Norfolk Navy Yard and one in Philadelphia Navy Yard. Otherwise no docking facilities in the United States owned by the Government would be provided for the battle cruisers authorized in this year's building program.

NAVY-YARD SITUATION.

The consensus of expert naval opinion as expressed before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives seems to be that in case of a naval engagement between the United States and a foreign foe the most probable theater of war would be the Caribbean Sea. The present Congress deems it important that it should be advised as to whether or not the docking and repair facilities along the coasts south of Hatteras, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean Sea are sufficient to provide proper strategic and repair bases. A commission is directed to report as to the necessity, desirability, and advisability of establishing an additional navy yard or naval station in that territory, and also to report as to the facilities for the care and repair of our fleet on the Pacific coast. The commission is composed of five naval officers.

ECONOMIES EFFECTED DURING THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

By the appointment of industrial managers in the various navy yards to supervise the work in the shops the Navy Department has effected material savings in the cost of work in the various yards and stations. Heretofore, during the administration of Secretary Meyer, the shop management was largely in the hands of line officers. An officer of the line would be detailed to supervise the shop management in navy yards who perhaps previous to that time had never performed any such work. In consequence of this management, extravagance was most apparent in navy yards. The present administration is adopting the policy to detail as industrial managers officers who do not go to sea and who have done nothing but supervise the work in shops for years. The workingmen are more content in the shops and the work proceeds more expeditiously. This efficiency and economy has been produced notwithstanding

the fact that the average pay per day for employees in 1912 was $2.723, as compared with $2.997 in 1916, an increase of pay of $0.274 per day. The number of employees in navy yards is 7,485 more than when the Wilson administration came into power.

Continued and repeated insistence upon some form of competition among armor plate manufacturers saved the Government $1,110,084, and $600,000 of this sum was on one ship alone, the *Arizona*. The same policy of continued insistence for some form of competition among the projectile manufacturers has saved the Government $1,077,210. By increasing the capacity of the Government Powder Plant at Indianhead, Md., the capacity of output has been increased from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds annually and the cost of powder reduced to 34 cents per pound, effecting a saving on the additional powder, when the factory is worked to its full capacity, of $570,000 per annum. The cost of manufacturing torpedoes has been reduced from $4,202 each to $3,245 each, effecting an estimated saving in torpedoes of about $300,000 for the past year. Numerous other economies of various kinds effected a saving of about $2,000,000, of which $1,000,000 was reappropriated for aviation and $800,000 for additional submarines.

Experience had demonstrated that the battleships *Mississippi* and *Idaho* could not maintain the required speed of the fleet, and whenever they attempted to do so they met with accidents, sometimes breaking shafts. In addition to that, in a heavy seaway it was found that the turrets shipped water and interfered materially with the handling of the turret guns. The present administration therefore sold these misfit battleships after about six and a half years' service for $12,535,275.96, which was the original cost of both. This sum, with an additional two million dollar appropriation by Congress secured the modern dreadnaught known as the *Mississippi*, now building at Newport News.

By carefully watching the transportation of enlisted men between naval stations and ships a saving of $176,645.56 was effected. The Navy Department by care and vigilance in using naval colliers to bring from distant ports articles used in large quantities by the Navy, such as hemp for auxiliaries, sodium nitrate for powder, tin, shellac, and like material, and for the transportation of coal to west-coast stations and to the Philippines; by insisting on competition in the purchase of steaming coal; by remelting of scrap metal; and in the purchase of provisions, the department has effected economies amounting to $1,342,595. If these economies had not been effected the current working appropriations of the various bureaus would have been increased by the above additional amounts in order to meet the requirements of the naval service.

ENLISTED MEN.

The records of the Bureau of Navigation show that on March 3, 1913, there were less men in the Navy than on June 30, 1912, notwithstanding the fact that Congress on August 22, 1912, had increased the enlisted strength by 4,000 men. Recruiting had fallen to such a low ebb that at the end of 1912 the battleship fleet was short 1,648 men to effectively man the ships. It therefore appears that previous administrations were unable to obtain the men that Congress had authorized, and in consequence the active fleet was short of men and the reserve ships were compelled to lie idle at the docks and deteriorate for lack of men to keep them in good condition. On March 4, 1913, the present administration found the Navy short of its authorized enlisted force by 5,312 men. During the Roosevelt administration 7,500 enlisted men were added. This provided only enough to man the ships authorized during that administration, making no provision for a reserve or for relieving the then existing shortage. This shortage existed through the Taft administration, and although Congress during that administration authorized an increase of 7,000 men, only 3,000 were actually enlisted, leaving a deficiency in the authorized strength of the Navy in enlisted men of 5,312. An investigation was made, and after careful consideration means were adopted to increase recruiting in the Navy, as it appeared at the time the first need of the Navy was enlisted men. The present administration immediately took steps to open the avenues for promotion for enlisted men, and provided for their instruction on board ship in order that they might be educated to advance in rank in commissioned and warrant grades. Under new legislation during this administration, 25 enlisted men can now be appointed annually to the Naval Academy and may qualify to rise from apprentice seaman to admiral. Already 28 enlisted men have been appointed, and this new recognition has had a salutary effect throughout the entire Navy. Fifteen enlisted men have been appointed as assistant paymasters; 64 to the position of pay clerk. Thirteen enlisted men have been promoted to ensign from the ranks during three years of the present administration as compared with three appointments during the entire administration of Mr. Taft. In consequence of these reforms the shortage of the enlisted men was rapidly overcome and the only difficulty has been in keeping the enlistments down to the number authorized by law. The Wilson administration within three years added over 6,331 men to the enlisted strength of the Navy, a number sufficient to man six dreadnaughts of the latest and most modern type. There are 56 more vessels in commission now than when President Wilson was inaugurated.

The present administration found that highly trained and valuable men of long service were leaving the Navy in large numbers. From 1909 to 1912 the percentage of such men who left the Navy for other pursuits increased from 35 to 46 per cent. The percentage of such men leaving the Navy decreased to 15 per cent in 1915 and the Navy has to-day 6,000 more highly trained and experienced enlisted men than it had three years ago, as reenlistments have increased from 52 to 85 per cent. By proper administration of justice, punishments and discipline the naval desertions in the past three years decreased 31 per cent, and the number of prisoners have been reduced from 1,800 to 700 under improved penal systems. These results have been obtained notwithstanding the fact that the standards for acceptance of recruits and for retaining enlisted men in the Navy have been made much more rigid. The present administration recommended and Congress has authorized that the number of enlisted men in the Navy be established at 74,700 men, exclusive of the Hospital Corps of 3,151 men and the Flying Corps of 350 men, making a total of 78,200 men, and the President is further authorized in time of war or national emergency to increase this number to 87,000, exclusive of the Hospital and Flying Corps. The enlisted men in the Marine Corps in the present naval bill has been increased from 9,947 men to 14,981 men. The President is authorized to increase that number in national emergency or war to 17,400 men.

This number of enlisted men will enable the department to fully man every ship in the Navy and provide men for new ships to be completed within the year as well as for a number of merchant ships which would be taken over as auxiliaries in time of war.

All great naval powers have a policy of maintaining in active commission and fully manned a certain portion of their fleet. The most modern vessels are generally kept in commission while the older vessels are kept in reserve with reduced crews on board. In foreign countries a reserve organization of men is maintained in order to fill the ships' crews in reserve when it is desired to mobilize the entire fleet for maneuvers. The policy of England was to maintain one-half of her fleet in full commission, one-fourth in reserve, with 60 per cent of a full crew on board, and one-fourth in reserve with 12 per cent of a full crew. Germany has had a somewhat similar policy, but maintained in active commission a greater percentage of her ships than England.

Notwithstanding the fact that during the administration of Secretary Meyer there existed no naval reserve the practice of placing some ships in reserve was established having one-third of the engineer crew and one-fourth deck crews. The other vessels of the Navy were laid up in navy yards with only a few men on board to care for them. At present the policy of the department in this respect is as follows: All ships of less than 15 years from date of authorization, one-half the number of cruisers, all serviceable gunboats, all destroyers, and submarines less than 12 years from date of authorization, and the necessary number of auxiliaries to attend the fleet as well as men and officers shall be kept in full commission. All other vessels of the Navy are to be kept in reserve.

The present administration was the first to be successful in the enactment of law providing for an adequate reserve force. In February, 1914, Congress passed a bill reorganizing the Naval Militia of the several States, which placed the Naval Militia on the same basis regarding Federal control as did the Dick bill for the National Guard. During the present Congress the Naval Militia pay bill was passed in the naval appropriation bill, whereby the Naval Militia is placed on the same basis as regards duty and pay as is the National Guard under the terms of the bill for the reorganization of the Army. Likewise, for the first time, the present administration was successful in securing the enactment of a law creating a Naval Reserve in addition to the Naval Militia. The present naval appropriation bill provides for a Naval Reserve force consisting of six classes, composed only of citizens of the United States with experience at sea, who may be called into service by the President in time of war or national emergency. Therefore the present administration has not only improved the condition of the enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps but has greatly increased the number in active service, and has likewise provided for the first time an organized and Federal trained Naval Militia and an adequate Naval Reserve with men of experience afloat.

In addition to the reserve forces above enumerated the present Navy bill provides that in time of war the Coast Guard, at

present consisting of 255 commissioned officers and 3,886 warrant officers and enlisted men, specially skilled in duties afloat and duties of coast protection, together with the Lighthouse Service, are automatically transferred to the jurisdiction of the Navy Department. The Coast Guard Service is a very efficient body of officers and men and affords a splendid coast protection.

COMMISSIONED PERSONNEL.

The present administration took immediate steps to relieve the lack of officers of the United States Navy. The principal supply of officers for the line of the Navy is supplied by graduates of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md. In order that the Navy should have more officers it was necessary to increase the number of graduates, and during the present session it was provided that each Senator and each Representative in Congress be allowed three appointees to Annapolis instead of two, as had heretofore prevailed, and steps have already been taken at that institution to care for this increase.

President Wilson, in his annual message to Congress, called the attention of the country to the shortage of officers and the necessity for specialists in engineering in the following words:

It is also necessary that the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy at Annapolis should be increased by at least 300 in order that the force of officers should be more rapidly added to, and authority is asked to appoint, for engineering duty only, approved graduates of engineering colleges, and for service in the Aviation Corps a certain number of men taken from civil life.

The present naval appropriation bill carried out the recommendation of the President in this respect.

In the present naval appropriation bill the Hospital Corps of the Navy is also reorganized and increased to 3,151 men. The number of medical officers has been increased and the number of chaplains has been increased. Previous to 1914 the last increase in the chaplain corps took place in 1841 and although the Navy had increased from 12,000 men to 51,500, no increase was recommended by previous administrations. It is contemplated that before long there will be a chaplain on every large ship. The commissioned personnel of the Marine Corps has been thoroughly reorganized along efficient lines.

The present naval appropriation bill provides for promotion of officers of the line of the Navy by selection; that is, only the best fitted shall be promoted to the highest grades. At the present time promotion in the line of the Navy has been such that nearly every captain in the Navy has reached the rank of rear admiral and shortly thereafter retired on three-quarters pay of that rank without having sufficient time to become experienced in handling a squadron, division, or fleet. In consequence of this short service in the grade of rear admiral our fleet has not received such efficient handling, drilling, and maneuvering as it would receive from officers more experienced in the duties of that grade. The present naval bill therefore provides that no officer shall be promoted to the grade of rear admiral unless he shall have at least eight years to serve in that grade, thereby insuring the proper drilling and handling of the fleet. All other nations of the world select their officers for command and flag rank, and if the United States is to meet a foreign foe, its fleet should be handled by the best-trained and most experienced officers the Navy can produce. Promotion by selection of the best is recognized by experts as one of the great steps in advance by the present administration for the greater efficiency of a fighting navy.

WAR COLLEGE.

The sympathetic cooperation by the present Secretary of the Navy has greatly increased the activity of the War College and has greatly increased the efficiency of the Navy by requiring the higher education of our officers in the art of war and the science of naval strategy. Under previous Republican administrations the War College course for officers had been so neglected that in 1913 it had only about five student officers and nine instructors. In April, 1914, two courses at the Naval War College were established and now there are 32 officers taking the regular course, while the new correspondence course is being taken by 499 officers. This new course brings the instruction and study of the War College in close touch with the officers of the fleet. In February, 1916, the president of the War College, Rear Admiral Knight, stated to the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives that "The recent development of the War College, which has been rather striking, has been due in large measure to the interest which has been taken in it by our present Secretary of the Navy. The War College has been in existence since 1885 and during a large part of that time it has had to struggle for existence. Its ideals have always been high and its methods of work have always been admirable, but never until this present administration has it found any active, aggressive support from the Navy Department. Very early in his administration Mr. Daniels came to the War College. He saw at once what it was and what its possibilities were, and he said: 'I am a friend of the War College.' From that time on he has done everything possible to support the War College and strengthen it, and the work that we are doing there now is very largely due to him."

NAVY DEPARTMENT REORGANIZATION.

When the present administration came into power it found an organization at the Navy Department that proved to be unworkable for the best efficiency of the Navy afloat and ashore. Mr. Meyer had as his advisers four aids, which he called the Aid for Operations, the Aid for Personnel, the Aid for Matériel, and the Aid for Inspections.

In addition to these aids he had what he called director of navy yards. The duty of these aids and the director of navy yards was such that in effect five additional bureaus were established and the routine work, together with the duplication of work, was greatly increased in the Navy Department. There was little or no coordination between the aids, the General Board, the War College, and the various bureaus in the department. The industrial work in navy yards was supervised by line officers who were not educated in scientific shop management or industrial efficiency. Great extravagance resulted in the management of yards and greatly increased cost of productive work resulted. At the Navy Department the activities of the aids frequently conflicted with the work of the bureaus to such an extent as to create friction in the progress of work. The principal function of the aids seemed to be to decide for the Secretary all matters which would come before him of a technical nature where the jurisdiction of two or more bureaus were concerned. In other words, the four aids of Secretary Meyer seemed to spend their time in reconciling differences between the bureaus and between departments in the navy yards and naval stations instead of laying down and pursuing broad questions of naval policy for the management of a great organization for the first line of defense of the country. There was a total lack of initiative on the part of any officers or any organization in the Navy Department to pursue the higher questions of naval policy involved in the naval defense of the country. The present administration planning a better matériel and personnel determined that some officer or organization should be created whereby all branches of the naval service afloat and ashore should be coordinated and constructive policies pursued for the greater fighting efficiency of the Navy.

The present administration soon realized that one of the prime essentials of a proper organization to produce the maximum efficiency of a fleet is the assignment of officers to high command who possess rank commensurate with the importance of the duties placed upon them.

The Sixty-third Congress provided that the commanders in chief and the second in command of the fleets shall have the rank of admiral and vice admiral, respectively. A proper fleet organization requires that a division should be commanded by a rear admiral, a squadron by a vice admiral, and a fleet by an admiral. This is recognized by all foreign navies. The commander in chief of a fleet frequently has important and delicate problems calling for wise diplomacy as well as ability to command a fleet, and when fleets of other countries meet with the fleets of the United States it is most important that the United States fleet should have an officer of high rank, so that our Government might be properly represented in International conferences and in the event of combined operations.

The office of Chief of Naval Operations was also created in the naval appropriation act of 1915, and in the present appropriation act of 1916 the rank of the officer holding that position is increased to that of admiral, and he is made senior to all other officers of the Navy, except Admiral Dewey. To assist him in his work not less than 15 officers are detailed exclusively for this work, and it is believed that a better coordination of the various branches of the Naval Establishment will be effected and greater efficiency will result.

The Office of Naval Operations, through its various officers, will make a study and analysis of the past naval campaigns; a study of the inherent interests of all nations and the policies that will naturally follow; the study of the theaters of possible wars of every aspect and the sources and means of supply for naval forces; the study of tactics, particularly in relation to strategy, in order to insure that the tactics of the fleet may be kept constantly up to date and conform to the character of the ships and weapons that will be used; the study of the strategical and tactical plans involving the requirements as to supplies at the beginning of the war, during the war, and the organization of transportation and many other things incident to the auxiliary service, including the inspection of merchant vessels; the study and operation of plans for organization for war in order to secure the most efficient flow of authority, the best administrative and tactical grouping of forces, detail of personnel for command, and the orders necessary for the exe-

cution of the various plans; the study of the mobilization with a view to keeping always up-to-date plans for mobilizing for each of the various naval stations arising from or conflicting with possible enemies; the study of methods for the training of naval forces and the preparation of strategical problems and tactical exercises involving combined maneuvers of battleships, auxiliaries, submarines, aircraft, and mining vessels; and the study of plans devised for the execution of all work connected with preparation for war.

In the past two years marked progress has been made toward the work above described, and in another year or two a scientific and practical organization will be perfected whereby the Navy will be on a footing so efficient that at a moment's notice the various agencies of the Naval Establishment will be put in motion and well-conceived plans will be instantly carried into execution. In other words, in the interest of real preparedness the work done by the Chief of Naval Operations is of the highest importance. Up to the time of the present administration no such organization existed in the Navy Department, nor was such an organization ever recommended. This organization in no way does violence to the principle of civilian control of the Navy Department.

The Democratic administration, including the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses have so increased the efficiency of the men, ships, munitions, and the organizations necessary to handle them that the impartial student of naval affairs will readily see that the efficiency of the Navy, the first line of defense of the United States, has increased to a tremendous degree and gigantic strides in the interest of real preparedness have been made.

Mr. Speaker, to summarize in a graphic way the foregoing facts that the eye may readily see the splendid progress and wonderful development of the Navy made by the present administration and to confound those who slander and to silence those who criticize, I submit the following illustrated tables and invite and challenge comparison of the achievements of the present administration with its predecessors since 1898:

## INCREASE IN OFFICERS.

*Showing by comparison the number of midshipmen appointed at the Naval Academy under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 4 yrs., 978 |
| Taft | 4 " 945 |
| Wilson | 3 " 1,473 |

## INCREASE IN ENLISTED MEN.

*Showing the enlisted personnel of the Navy, as authorized by law:*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | Authorized 1905 | 37,000 |
| | " 1908 | 44,500 |
| Taft | " 1909 | 44,500 |
| | " 1912 | 51,500 |
| Wilson | " 1916 | 78,200 |

*Showing increase under each administration:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 7,500 |
| Taft | 7,000 |
| Wilson | 26,700 |

The act just passed permits the President, at his discretion, in an emergency, to increase the Navy to 87,000, which would be an increase of 35,500 over the Taft administration.

## NAVY YARD INCREASE.

### NUMBER OF MEN.

*Showing the total number of employees in the principal navy yards in the United States as of date June 1, 1913, and July 1, 1916:*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913 | 16,898 |
| 1916 | 24,383 |
| Increase | 7,485 |

### DAILY PAY.

*Showing the total daily pay of such employees in 1912 and in 1916:*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1912 | $46,027.35 |
| 1916 | 73,091.12 |
| Increase | 27,063.77 |

### COMPARISON OF PAY.

*Showing the average daily pay of such employees in 1912 and in 1916:*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1912 | $2,723.00 |
| 1916 | 2,997.00 |
| Increase | 274.00 |

## ENLISTED MEN PROMOTED.

*Showing the number of warrant officers of the Navy appointed ensigns under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 4 yrs., 10 |
| Taft | 4 " 3 |
| Wilson | 3⅓ " 17 |

*Showing the number of assistant paymasters appointed from among enlisted men under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 4 yrs., 1 |
| Taft | 4 " 3 |
| Wilson | 3⅓ " 15 |

Prior to the act of March 3, 1915, pay clerks were selected by individual paymasters from any source within or without the Navy. Under the new law, all pay clerks are appointed by the Navy Department from the enlisted personnel.

## INCREASE IN AERONAUTICS.

*Showing the expenditures for aeronautic purposes under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Roosevelt | | No expenditure. |
| Taft | Fiscal yr. 1912.. | $24,532.79 |
| Taft 8 mo. / Wilson 4 mo. | " 1913.. | 56,032.90 |
| Wilson | " 1914.. | 194,492.46 |
| Wilson | " 1915.. | 219,429.20 |
| Wilson | " 1916.. | 884,679.28 |
| Wilson | " 1917.. | 3,920,000.00* |

*{$3,500,000 for aviation. / $420,000 for aeronautic station, Pensacola, Fla.

*Showing the total expenditures under the Taft and Wilson administrations:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Taft | $61,888.06 |
| Wilson | 5,217,278.57 |

## RESERVE OF MUNITIONS.

*Showing the percentages of total orders placed during each administration:*

*Projectiles—*

| | |
|---|---|
| McKinley-Roosevelt | 5.1% |
| Roosevelt | 8.6% |
| Taft | 22.4% |
| Wilson | 63.9% |

*Torpedoes—*

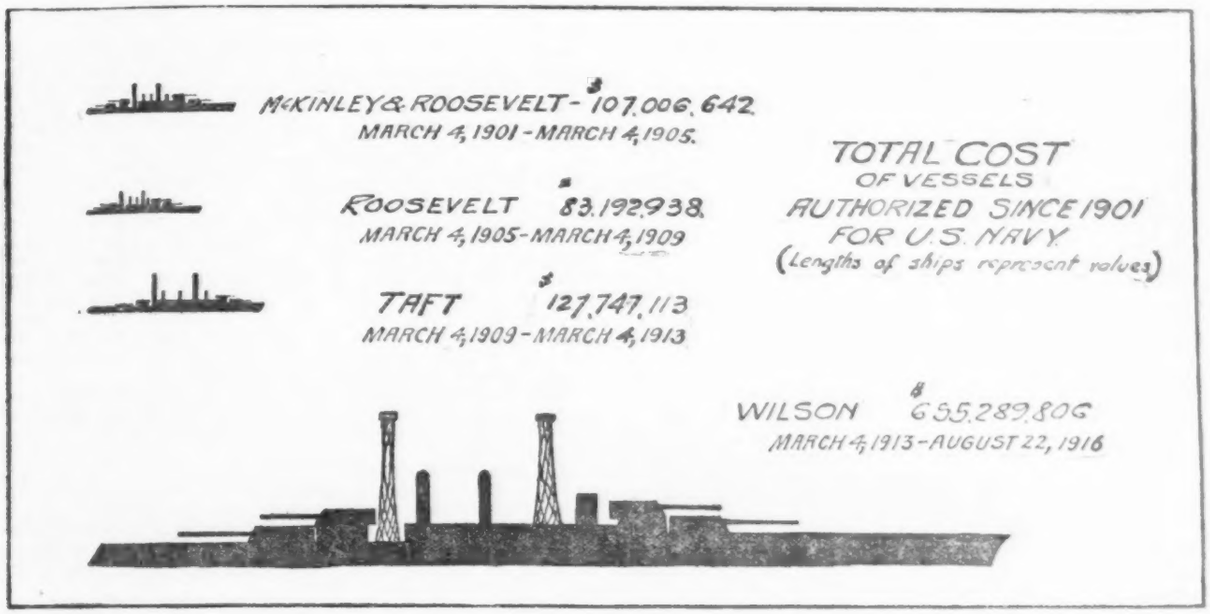
| | |
|---|---|
| McKinley-Roosevelt | .9% |
| Roosevelt | 9.4% |
| Taft | 18.2% |
| Wilson | 71.5% |

*Mines—*

| | |
|---|---|
| McKinley-Roosevelt-Roosevelt and Taft | 9.7% |
| Wilson | 90.3% |

*Smokeless Powder—*

| | |
|---|---|
| McKinley-Roosevelt | 17.1% |
| Roosevelt | 20.0% |
| Taft | 23.4% |
| Wilson | 39.5% |




**Revenue.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. EDWARD W. SAUNDERS,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. SAUNDERS. Mr. Speaker, to say of this bill that it is a meritorious measure, is to pay too mild a tribute to its excellence. If the merit of a bill to raise revenue may be fairly determined by the extent to which benefits received are considered in the apportionment of the burdens of taxation, and further by the equitable adjustment of these burdens so that they will not press too heavily upon the individuals, or the enterprises least able to support them, then this measure is entitled to our enthusiastic support, and fervid commendation. It is worthy of note that this bill has been so fairly and scientifically constructed, that it has compelled the support of a number of our political adversaries who would willingly have made capital out of opposition to a Democratic measure, if they could have done so without the sacrifice of self-respect, or the abandonment of principles of taxation which they, and their party, had heretofore maintained. This measure has been vehemently assailed by a number of speakers on the minority side, but its essential features have been sustained by some able men in that minority, notably the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. LONGWORTH, and the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. GOOD, both of whom gave evidence of the faith that was in them, by voting for the bill when it was first considered, and passed by the House.

Many of the attacks upon this measure have been manifestly unfair, as for instance the intimation, so often made by its Republican critics, that the necessity for its passage was due to Democratic maladministration, or reckless extravagance in administering the affairs of the Nation. Neither of these charges are true. But I shall not content myself with a bare denial. Later I shall call certain Republican witnesses, and out of the statements made by them upon the floor of this House, and reported in the official record of our proceedings, establish not only the essential merits of this bill, but the unusual conditions which created the necessity for its preparation, and passage. It may be conceded that even under natural conditions our appropriations for this fiscal year would have somewhat exceeded the appropriations for last year, but this increase would have been normal, and directly related to the growth and development of our country. It is inevitable that with the rapid increase in our population, and the steady expansion of Government activities, the expenditures of this country will naturally increase from year to year. But for two years past the times have been abnormal, and unusual. Confronted with the horrors of the war in Europe a large and influential class of our citizens, whether wisely, or unwisely, it is not needful to discuss in this connection, has insisted in season and out of season, upon a vast increase in our armed forces both land and naval, upon the plea that this increase was required to protect this country against the introduction into our midst of the misery and wretchedness that have afflicted the warring countries abroad. Under the pressure of this insistence considerable additions have been made to our Army, and Navy. These additions would have been far greater, but for the moderation and conservatism of the party in power. The Republican minority has denounced us for not providing even more extensive armaments, and authorizing more ships, more men, and more guns. Apparently these gentlemen have scorned to consider the problem of ways and means, or to give heed to the suggestions of prudence to the effect that great authorizations, require great appropriations, and that in the result the public must pay the piper. Sounding loudly the call to arms, our Republican critics have assailed the Democratic majority on the ground that it has failed to afford either an adequate Army, or an adequate Navy. The more reckless of these critics have proclaimed with vehement emphasis that all that has been done by this administration in the name of preparation, does not even make a noise like preparedness. Confronted with the problem of raising the revenue necessary to meet the increase in our expenditures occasioned both by unusual conditions, and the considerations of military defense, the Committee on Ways and Means have decided that the people from whom the largest measure of clamor for a military policy has proceeded, and the individuals and enterprises which have profited, and will profit in an exceptional degree by the development of a militaristic policy in the United States, should pay the largest proportion of the burdens which this outcry has occasioned.

This was a most just and equitable view to take, and the gentlemen who have favored an even greater measure of preparedness than has been provided, should assuredly be willing to pay for what has been done in that direction. This demand for preparedness having emanated chiefly from the representatives of great wealth, the possessors of that wealth should cheerfully support this bill, and welcome the taxes which it imposes. The great cities of the United States, particularly the cities situated on the Atlantic coast, have been vehement and imperious in their demands for a vast increase in the Army and Navy. The newspapers in these localities have been unsparing in their attacks upon the so-called little army, and little navy Members of Congress. Time and again have these papers carried lurid stories depicting possible dangers to our coastal cities, arising from our alleged unpreparedness. The danger to these cities

of bombardment and ransom was insisted upon as being very real, and very present. Even the aid of the moving pictures has been invoked as a part of this campaign. Thrillers were put upon the stage, presenting in frightful detail attacks upon New York, both from the air, and from the water, until the mind reeled in contemplation of the horrors presented. In view of their alleged defenselessness, their exposed position, and the vast extent of their riches, these cities have insisted that exceptional measures should be taken for their protection. But if the merit of their claim in this respect is conceded, certain things must follow from that contention. If it is necessary to impose an exceptional burden upon the country in order to afford an unusual degree of protection against the dangers presented in such startling terms, then the property interests which insist upon this excessive preparedness, and demand a policy which others do not favor, or in which others are not so acutely, or directly interested, should be willing to bear a liberal portion of the burden entailed by a policy of which they will be the peculiar beneficiaries.

It is one of the merits of this bill that it recognizes the principle of proportioning the burden to the benefit received. By the terms of this measure the revenues necessary to be raised, will be derived in large measure from sources indicated as appropriate by the highest considerations of equity, and sound policy. While I do not propose to make an elaborate review of all of the features of popular interest that this bill contains, I do desire to call attention to a few provisions of unusual interest. First and foremost, it repeals the vexatious stamp taxes. Second, it provides for a graduated increase in the income tax. Like the tax on real and personal property which is paid by the farmers, the income tax is a liability that can not be passed on by the man charged therewith, so as to escape ultimate liability. Most taxes, particularly the indirect taxes, are passed on to the ultimate consumer. A householder who enjoys an income of over $4,000 a year for the discharge of his domestic and family expenses, is a man in affluent circumstances. A tax imposed on the excess over $4,000 per annum, is not a burden in any real sense. Such a taxpayer will merely contribute out of his abundance to the necessities of the Government. But an income tax on the laborer, or the clerk, making a few hundreds, or even one, or two thousand dollars a year, would be vexatious and oppressive. The man of slender means is continually confronted with the necessity of retrenchment and economy. A small tax of even five, or ten dollars, taken from his income, often means the loss of some item essential to welfare and comfort in his household. Wisely the law does not impose an income tax upon such persons. They are already paying sufficient taxes in other directions. But it is far otherwise with the man who enjoys an income large enough to provide every luxury, and anticipate every want. From such a man the income tax takes nothing vital to his existence. It does not even reduce, to any material degree, his ability to surround himself with the things that delight the eye, and please the fancy. Another meritorious feature of the bill is that as the income increases, the tax rate increases. The larger the income, the greater the surplus for investment, or enjoyment. Hence the greater reason for a graduated increase of the rate on incomes, the greater incomes paying the greater tax. This tax is not a tax on poverty, or appetite, as has been aptly said of certain other taxes, but is a tax on ability.

A man with an income of a million should assuredly pay, not only a greater tax, but be subject to a greater rate of taxation, than the man whose income is a few thousands. In no cases however are the rates imposed, excessive or unjust. A head of a family enjoying an income of $5,000 a year will pay, in addition to his other taxes, an income tax of $20, leaving for subsistence the comfortable sum of $4,980 per annum.

A citizen in the possession of an income of $1,000,000 a year, will pay the Government $100,000, leaving the snug residue of $900,000, quite sufficient to keep the wolf from the door.

"The bill levies a tax on incomes from $4,000 to $20,000, of 2 per cent, and levies an additional income tax of 1 per cent per annum on the amount by which the total net income exceeds $20,000, and does not exceed $40,000, 2 per cent per annum on the amount by which it exceeds $40,000, but does not exceed $60,000, 3 per cent per annum on the amount by which it exceeds $60,000, but does not exceed $80,000, 4 per cent on the amount by which it exceeds $80,000, but does not exceed $100,000, 5 per cent on the amount by which such total net income exceeds $100,000, but does not exceed $150,000; 6 per cent on the amount by which it exceeds $150,000, but does not exceed $200,000, 7 per cent upon the amount by which it exceeds $200,000, but does not exceed $250,000, 8 per cent on the amount by which it exceeds $250,000, but does not exceed $300,000, 9 per cent on the amount by which such total net income exceeds $300,000, but does not exceed $500,000, and 10 per cent on the amount by which such total net income exceeds $500,000."

The only criticism that our Republican friends have directed against this Democratic tax, is the complaint that we have placed the exemption too high. Apparently our friends are so wedded to their favorite methods of taxing the little fellows, that they would reduce the limit of exemption in the bill so as to impose an income tax upon hundreds of thousands of small wage earners whom the Democrats propose to exempt. The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. LONGWORTH, thinks that the ideal income for taxation would be about $1,500. In other works, he would tax all incomes down to that amount. Citing the very words of Mr. LONGWORTH, we find that he "is opposed to an income tax, as he would be to any direct tax which is borne by less than one-half of 1 per cent, of all the American people." This attitude of the gentleman from Ohio may be taken as a typical Republican attitude. They would place the exemption at the "Minimum of existence," while the Democratic disposition is to impose the greater burden of this taxation on the maximum ability to meet the obligation without distress.

Many Republican critics insist upon an even greater reduction of the limit of exemption, than is favored by the gentleman from Ohio, but to this reduction, the Democrats are steadfastly opposed.

This Republican opposition to the principle of the income tax, and their efforts to make it unpopular by reducing the exemption, merely serve to show how hopelessly they are wedded to the old order of things, and with what difficulty they adjust themselves to progress and development. The income tax is with us for all time. It is recognized by every progressive State, and every progressive country in the world.

Democracy was never more thoroughly vindicated, nor the entrenchments of ancient privilege more decisively overthrown, than when the Federal Constitution was amended to authorize the Congress to impose this tax. Having in mind the expanding activities and increasing expenditures of this Government, the exercise of the right to derive revenue from this source has relieved many a small taxpayer from burdens that would otherwise have been imposed. Another very equitable tax included in this bill, and worthy to be associated with the income tax, is the inheritance tax. The accumulation of vast estates, and the dangers to the body politic from this accumulation, have furnished ground for much serious thought in the last three decades. Many plans have been advanced for dealing with and breaking up the present accumulations, and for preventing like accumulations in the future.

But pending the final solution of the problem, public sentiment seems to be generally agreed that the Governments which have made these accumulations possible, and provided for the safe passage to the beneficiaries, are justified in taxing the inheritance on a graduated scale before the distribution is made. The highest rates, as a matter of course, justly attach to the largest estates, for the same reason that the biggest incomes are required to pay the largest taxes. Most if not all of the States derive revenue from this source. In wealthy States like New York, the annual sums from the tax on inheritances form a prodigious aggregate.

Having in mind that a double inheritance tax, one National, and the other State, would operate a hardship in the case of small estates, this bill exempts from Federal tax all estates of $50,000, or less. The rates provided for inheritances that will be subject to this tax are moderate. For instance the tax on an estate of $100,000, that is the tax on the one-half that would be subject to taxation, would be $500. The tax on a $1,000,000 estate would be $50,000. The inheritance tax rates runs from 1 to 5 per cent according to the value of the estate. There is another tax included in this bill that will be even more favorably received than the taxes I have discussed, and that is the tax on the munition makers.

If there is any one element in our country which has contributed the very largest measure of clamor for increased armaments, it is the manufacturers of munitions. Their profits on pending contracts have been so enormous, that it is something peculiarly fitting and appropriate to require them to carry a liberal but not unreasonable proportion of the burdens which they have insisted that the country should assume. The earnings of many of these munition makers have been colossal and unparalleled. For instance the Du Pont Powder Co. earned in one year over 94 per cent on its common stock. The figures of many other stock companies are equally amazing. The value of shares in the Bethlehem Steel Co. advanced from something like $30 a share in 1914, to over $500 a share in 1915.

Such advances are almost unbelievable. They would be rejected as incredible, if they did not rest on a most solid basis of fact. Confronted with the relation of the munition companies

to our new burdens for preparedness, and the amazing story of their profits, the Committee on Ways and Means were not slow to select this business of munition making as one of the sources of new and legitimate revenue. But while the committee has justly selected these enterprises for taxation—and this selection will be approved by every right-thinking man—they have been neither oppressive nor unjust in dealing with the capital invested. The enterprises are legitimate—and the taxes should be neither unreasonable nor confiscatory.

The House bill provides that "all legitimate, honest capital invested in plants for the manufacture of munitions of war shall receive 10 per cent dividend—and unless the profits enable them to receive 10 per cent dividend, the tax levied by the bill shall not be collected." Think of it! These concerns which are so largely responsible for the propaganda which has affected the whole country with alarm over our alleged defenselessness, are not taxed to support the policy which they have advocated with such strenuous zeal, until all honest, legitimate capital invested in the manufacture of munitions of war shall have received 10 per cent dividend. Every right-thinking man will agree that if the committee has erred in respect of this tax, it has erred on the side of moderation.

Another feature of interest in this bill is the clause containing the antidumping provisions, designed to restrict undesirable foreign importations. The wisdom and capacity of a Democratic House to deal with the problems that will attend the conclusion of the European war, are clearly manifested by the stringent terms of this anticipatory legislation. This country is likely to be confronted with a flood of cheap foreign manufactured products on the restoration of peace. In the effort to take over the trade which the wise legislation of the past four years has enabled our manufacturers to secure in every portion of the globe, our competitors in Europe will be likely to resort to cut-throat competition under the urge of imperious necessity. Every ounce of energy in those countries is now directed toward keeping the machinery of war in motion, and all their business is related to the output of the munition factories. But when the wheels of these factories cease to turn, and the inevitable time of adjustment arrives, the foreign manufacturers of commercial wares must have business, profitable business if possible, but if not profitable, then business on any terms that will bring subsistence to the families of thousands of laborers who will turn from the forging of cannon, and the making of high explosives, to the conversion of swords and spears into the implements of prosaic toil.

For the time being neither the foreign manufacturer nor the laborers in foreign factories, will be concerned over the question of profits. Business, business anywhere—and on any terms, will be the slogan with which they will invade every country of the world. Of course we can not exclude these competitors from the markets of the present neutral countries. In those quarters we must meet their competition as best we can. But we cannot afford to allow this destructive flood of goods produced by labor that will be reduced to almost pauperism at the conclusion of hostilities, to pour unhindered and unchecked upon the domestic markets of the United States. Such a flood would disorder industry, interrupt established business, and introduce universal confusion.

Hence the wise provision to which I have referred, and which is pronounced by the gentleman from Ohio to be the most stringent antidumping provision within his knowledge. This is the answer of the Democratic Party to the charge that it is not equal to the task of governing this country. Having secured prosperity through legislation of the most comprehensive character, devised with a skill that has come from fullness of knowledge of the subject matter, and adapted with singular precision to existing conditions, we propose to hold that prosperity against unfair competition by means of legislation equally comprehensive, and equally efficient to secure the end designed. What are the terms of this antidumping legislation that has been drafted to protect our business, and maintain our domestic market? First, with a view to deterring an importer from importing large quantities of cheap goods with a view to unfair competition, and with intent to destroy and injure existing industries in the United States, provision is made for prosecuting such an importer in the criminal courts. Second, any person injured in his business by unfair competition arising from the forbidden use of foreign cheap goods, may secure punitive damages from his unfair competitors. Third, articles imported for a purpose, or under an agreement forbidden by the act, such for instance as that the importer or any other person shall not use, purchase, or deal in the articles of any other person, are charged with a special duty, equal to double the duty otherwise imposed.

Well might the gentleman from Ohio say that this was the most stringent antidumping law every devised. No Republican can challenge the wisdom of this antidumping provision by claiming it as a Republican principle. We are not concerned with this contention. The main inquiry is whether we have devised a sufficient remedy to meet a condition that will inevitably confront this country within the next few years. We maintain that we have done so, and our Republican opponents reluctantly, and with reservation of a claim to priority of discovery, admit our contention. There are other features of this bill to which I might refer, but time forbids.

I have had two things in view in the discussion of this measure, first to present the solid and distinctive merit of its salient provisions, second to acquit our party of the reckless and unfounded charge that the necessity for this legislation arises out of the inadequacy of Democratic administration. The facts acquit us of this charge. The country is well aware that the clamor for preparedness is responsible for the preparations that constitute preparedness. If the country desires preparedness, it must be willing to pay for it. It is the peculiar merit of this legislation that the burden of taxation needful to provide preparedness will fall upon the men who have made the outcry. This is just, and as it should be. But I have stated that I would call a witness or two to testify that the Republicans having insisted upon preparedness on a prodigious scale, are now estopped from protesting against the bill designed to provide the wherewithal to support this policy. The first witness that I shall adduce is that frank exponent of extreme Republicanism the Hon. JAMES W. GOOD, of Iowa. In his speech of July 10, 1916, he made the following statement:

> This bill ought not to be a partisan measure. This Congress will appropriate many millions more for preparedness than was ever appropriated for this purpose by any preceding Congress. The cooperation of Members of Congress, irrespective of political allegiance, in making these appropriations is without a parallel. There was no politics in contracting the bills for preparedness, there ought to be no politics in providing the money with which to pay these bills. Let us assume that this demand for preparedness had struck the country when the Republicans were in power, to what source would we have turned to secure additional revenue with which to pay for preparedness?
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> Where could we have obtained the money to pay for this increased cost of preparedness? Certainly we would not have increased the tariff duties. The defeat of the Republican House in 1910 was so universally charged to excessive duties in the Payne law, that in 1912 in our Republican platform, we said: "Some of our import duties are too high, and should be reduced." I for one do not propose by my vote to impair the Government's credit by refusing to make provision for the payment of bills which were so freely and patriotically contracted. If this bill was offered to raise money to pay for the useless and extravagant appropriations of this Congress, a different question would arise. *Where will we get the money, if we do not resort to the very subjects of taxation provided for in this bill?*

It is a pity that some of the carping critics of this measure who have aided by word and vote to create the liabilities for which this bill provides, do not imitate the frankness of the gentleman from Iowa.

This representative of stalwart Republicanism freely concedes that the country has been confronted with unusual conditions. Having supported the policy called for by these conditions, he now acquits the Democrats of extravagance in this direction, and joins hands with them in providing the revenue required to make the new policy effective. In other words he votes like he talks. He is not willing to talk preparedness, and vote preparedness, and then when pay day arrives, seek to escape his just proportion of liability. One more witness. The gentleman from Ohio Mr. LONGWORTH has been cited in another connection. He is a member of the Ways and Means Committee which reported this bill, and his Republicanism is undiluted with any leaning toward progressivism whether of the Democratic, or Republican brand. But like the gentleman from Iowa he is unwilling to oppose this measure on false pretenses.

In his speech of July 6, 1916, the gentleman from Ohio made the following declaration of his attitude:

> I am for preparedness. I am for a program decidedly more extensive than the Democratic Party offers us. I have voted a number of times for authorizations and appropriations for this purpose larger than those finally adopted. Can I then with any degree of consistency refuse to pay the bill when the time comes, even though I should disapprove many of the details of the only method offered which is possible of enactment? Fortunately no such unattractive alternative is now offered by this bill.

Contrary to the action of his Republican colleagues who have viciously attacked the new revenue bill as another illustration of Democratic bungling, Mr. LONGWORTH justifies his support of the measure on the ground that it is Democratic in name only. His language to this effect is as follows:

> The methods of revenue raising that this bill provides, instead of being contrary to Republican policies, in large part adopt them. Moreover it is proposed to enact into law a number of legislative and administrative policies for which the Republican Party has stood against Democratic opposition. It offers us an opportunity to have made into law policies for which we have fought for years. Is this an opportunity which we can afford to overlook?

I am not concerned with the gentleman's claim to Republican priority of discovery of the principles which find expression in this enactment. It is sufficient for present purposes that the gentleman from Ohio, like the gentleman from Iowa, sustains the necessity for this measure, and vindicates the justice and propriety of its essential features. Keeping this in mind, their contention that the bill represents a raid on Republican principles may be dismissed as irrelevant. The main point is that the bill is a good one, not only good enough for unanimous Democratic support, but good enough to secure a large following on the minority side. The normal Democratic majority in the present House is about 24, while the majority for this bill was 100, thereby revealing the extent of Republican support. This support affords a weighty testimonial to the skill and ability of the men who devised and reported this measure. It has been attacked, as a matter of course, attacked vehemently, viciously, with the heavy artillery of solid argument, and the light artillery of sarcasm, humor, and derision.

One critic has made the charge of sectionalism on the ground that the bulk of the income taxes will be paid by a small number of States in the North, and Middle West. But conceding this statement to be true, how does that fact establish the charge of sectionalism? An income tax, of necessity, must be paid by the taxpayers who receive the incomes. The tax is universal in its application, and the fact that there is a greater accumulation of wealth in one, or more States, than is found in the balance of the country, does not alter the just and universal character of the statute. The man who pays the tax is concerned to know that every other man enjoying a like income, pays the same tax. That is fundamental justice. But such a taxpayer has no just cause of complaint, or for that matter any cause of complaint, because there is more wealth, and more taxable incomes among his neighbors, than in some other section of the country. The cities always pay a greater aggregate of income taxes than the country, for the simple reason that there is always more accumulated wealth in the urban centers, than in the rural communities. So long as there is an income tax, the men who have the incomes will pay the tax. This is an unescapable feature of the system. But after all that has been said, this bill has passed unscathed through the fiery furnace of criticism, and will take its just place with the other great measures that have been enacted during the past four years by a Democratic Congress, measures that will remain as enduring monuments to the clear vision, the broad grasp, the profound statesmanship, and the constructive capacity of the men who have been concerned with their preparation, and enactment.

## Questions Put to Hughes.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM E. COX,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Baltimore Sun of August 2, 1916.

The article is as follows:

QUESTIONS PUT HUGHES—COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN WRITERS CALLS FOR DEFINITE STATEMENT OF POLICY—GENERALITIES OF NO VALUE—CANDIDATE CHALLENGED TO PUT HIMSELF ON RECORD AS TO WHAT COURSE HE WOULD FOLLOW.

NEW YORK, *August 1.*

On behalf of a committee of distinguished American writers, the executive group of which met to-day at the Hotel Biltmore, George Creel gave out the following open letter:

"To the Hon. CHARLES E. HUGHES:

"The professional writers who sign this letter have small interest in parties, but a very deep interest in democracy. It is our hope, through this voluntary association, to assist in the promotion of honest, educational discussion in order that fundamental issues may not be decided in prejudice and ignorance.

"Mr. Wilson's beliefs have been expressed in law and in declared policies. He has made an open record by which he may be judged. Wise choice is not possible unless you yourself make equally specific statement of purposes and convictions.

"Without intent to offend, we feel justified in charging that in no single public utterance have you filed a bona fide bill of particulars, nor have you offered a single constructive suggestion.

"Generalities are without value. Blanket criticism is worthless. What we desire to know, what it is fair that the electorate should know, are the exact details of your disagreement with President Wilson. What has he done that you would not have done, and what has he failed to do that you would have done or proposed to do? Honesty and patriotism demand that you put yourself upon record in such manner as to permit people to judge you as they are now able to judge President Wilson. For example:

"1. Would you have filed instant protest against the invasion of Belgium and backed up that protest with the United States Navy?

"2. It is arrant nonsense to talk about action that would have prevented the *Lusitania* tragedy. The vague advertisement did not appear until shortly before the hour of sailing. The occurrence was one of those things that civilization had made the world regard as incredible. The only honest question is this: Would you have made the disaster the subject of diplomatic negotiations or would you have broken relations with Germany at once?

"3. Would you have urged upon Congress an embargo upon the shipment of munitions to the allies?

"4. Would you urge universal compulsory military service?

"5. You are frank in stating that Huerta's morals were of no concern to America. Does this mean that you would have recognized Huerta?

"6. As matters stand to-day, would you be in favor of intervening in Mexico?

"7. Does your attack upon the Wilson shipping bill mean that you are in favor of ship subsidies?

"8. You speak enthusiastically of the rights of the worker. Does this imply that you indorse the Clayton antitrust law and the seamen's bill? Or will you urge their repeal?

"9. What are your specific complaints against the Federal reserve law?

"10. As governor of New York you opposed the income-tax amendment. Does this antagonism persist? Do you or do you not believe in paying for preparedness out of a tax on incomes, inheritances, and munitions?

"We agree with you that it is a 'critical period,' by far too critical, indeed for candidates to talk in terms of office seeking rather than in the simple, earnest language of definite Americanism.

"Samuel Hopkins Adams, Ray Stannard Baker, Ellis Parker Butler, L. Ames Brown, Dante Barton, Irvin Cobb, Wadsworth Camp, J. O'Hara Cosgrave, Stoughton Cooley, William L. Chenery, George Creel, James Forbes, Frederick C. Howe, Gilson Gardner, Frederick Stuart Greene, Oliver Herford, Prof. Louis Johnson, Richard Lloyd Jones, Peter D. Kyne, Percy Mackaye, A. J. McKelway, Basil Manley, Meredith Nicholson, Albert Jay Nock, Harvey J. O'Higgins, Charles Johnson Post, Eugene Manlove Rhodes, William McLeod Raine, Boardman Robinson, John Reed, Opie Reed, Edgar Selwyn, Wm. Leavitt Stoddart, Lincoln Steffens, Frank V. Rooman, Augustus Thomas, George West."

## Speech of Ex-Senator Gardner.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM A. CULLOP,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. CULLOP. Mr. Speaker, under the leave given me to extend my remarks I desire to insert in the RECORD an extract from a speech delivered by Ex-Senator Obadiah Gardner at Camden, Me., on the evening of August 17, 1916, which shows the many controversies, serious, aggravating, and far-reaching in their consequences, which this country has settled by diplomacy with foreign nations. President Wilson is following the precedent and is obtaining wholesome results. The result of such a course has demonstrated its wisdom. By diplomacy victories have been won without bloodshed, without the sacrifice of life, and without the expenditure of money, of greater benefit to the country, and in much less time than could have been won by a resort to arms. The speech of Ex-Senator Gardner reviews these important matters in our history and is as follows:

"The issue raised by our opponents of the vigor with which our neutrality has been enforced is a comparative issue which can be decided only by comparative results.

"And what are the comparative results? How stands the record of this administration compared with other administrations?

"When Grant was President, during the war between Spain and the Spanish West Indies, a Spanish gunboat seized the vessel *Virginius*, flying the American flag, and a Spanish commandant in cold blood shot the captain of the *Virginius*, 36 of the crew, and 16 of the passengers.

"But we didn't go to war. Grant settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

"When Benjamin Harrison was President the people of Chile conceived a violent dislike to the United States for our insistence upon neutrality during the Chilean revolution. When this feeling was at its height one junior officer from the United States warship *Baltimore* was killed outright in the streets of Valparaiso and 16 of our sailors wounded, of whom one afterwards died. In a message to Congress on January 25, 1892, supported by Secretary of State James G. Blaine, and on evidence submitted

by Fighting 'Bob' Evans and Winfield Scott Schley, President Harrison said this assault on our honor 'had its origin in the hostility to these men as sailors of the United States wearing the uniform of the Government and not in any individual act of personal animosity,' and that this Nation 'must take notice of the event as an infraction of its rights and dignity' and as an invasion of its 'international rights.'

"But we didn't go to war. Harrison settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

"When Lincoln was President this country's rights were violated on every side. England, Russia, France, and Spain were guilty of such flagrant violations that Secretary of State Seward advanced a plan to go to war with all of them at one and the same time.

"France used every possible influence short of open war to injure us. She not only permitted the building of Confederate vessels in private shipyards but she allowed at least two to be built in the national navy yard of France, and she supplied them with supplies from her Government arsenals.

"And England did more.

"Through his Secretary of State, Lincoln called England to account for the seizure of the U. S. S. *Chesapeake* on the high seas, bound from New York to Portland; for the burning of the U. S. S. *Roanake* off Bermuda; for the seizure on Lake Erie of the ship *Philo Parsons* and the scuttling of the *Island Queen*, the shooting of its engineer, and the wounding of its passengers; and he protested to England against the invasion of the territory of the United States by a band of Southern sympathizers from Canada, who rode across the border into Vermont, burned a portion of St. Albans, looted its homes, robbed its bank of $211,000, killed one of its citizens, and wounded several more. In stinging language he told England that she violated neutrality by permitting "the use of British ports and British borders as a base for felonious depredations against the citizens of the United States," and he wrote into history his diplomatic battle against England for letting loose the *Alabama* to prey upon our commerce, to destroy $100,000,000 worth of property, to capture 84 of our vessels, and drive our flag from off the seas. No nation ever inflicted upon another nation a more damnable or more maddening wrong than England inflicted upon the United States in the *Alabama* outrage.

"But we did not go to war. Lincoln settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

"When Van Buren was President a detachment of Canadian Militia, during the internal troubles in Canada, boarded the U. S. S. *Carolina* in the American waters of Niagara River, killed an American member of the crew, fired the ship, and sent her adrift over Niagara Falls.

"But we did not go to war. Van Buren settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

"When Jefferson was President, England seized hundreds of our ships and Napoleon hundreds more. From 1793 to 1807 historians say England and France together captured 1,600 American vessels and $60,000,000 worth of American property. England compelled over 2,000 American seamen to serve against their will in the English Navy, and Napoleon ordered the seizure and confiscation of American ships wherever found. Our shipping rotted at every French and British port; our crews were cast into prison and left to die of abuse and neglect. The British ship *Leopard* fired upon the American cruiser *Chesapeake* in American waters, killed and wounded several of our sailors, took three native-born American citizens off the *Chesapeake*, and hanged one of them in Halifax.

"But we did not go to war. Jefferson settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

"When Adams was President, France preyed upon our commerce. She extended her seizures, searches, and confiscations to the very waters of the United States themselves until she had piled up in our State Department charges of over 2,300 violations of neutrality's law. American ambassadors who sought to adjust these wrongs were refused recognition and openly insulted at the French court. President Adams called Washington out of retirement to head the Army, he created the Navy Department, and he built 12 battleships.

"But we did not go to war. Adams settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day.

"When Washington was President and "neutrality" first declared, war convulsed Europe, our ships dared not to put out to sea, commerce was paralyzed, and business depressed. American passengers and American crews were thrown into prison and deprived of legal rights. Genet, the minister of France, fitted out privateers in our harbors, flouted our officials, and tried to rally this country to the support of France in return for the help France gave us in the Revolutionary War. England and France seized 400 of our ships and confiscated millions of dollars' worth of our property, and up in Quebec Lord Dorchester promised Canadian Indians the pleasure of burning American homes and scalping American citizens.

"But we did not go to war. Washington settled our troubles by negotiation, just as the President of the United States is trying to do to-day. During President Cleveland's last administration a serious controversy arose with Great Britain over Venezuela, but President Cleveland did not resort to arms. He settled it by diplomacy and won a great victory for our Government in the upholding of American rights through the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine.

"In the face of this record, do Republicans realize that when they arraign the policy of the President of the United States to-day they arraign the policy of Harrison, of Blaine, of Lincoln, and of Grant? For the pleasure of criticizing a Democratic President, are they willing to read out of the Republican Party the greatest men the Republican Party ever had? Are they willing to say that the Republican Party of to-day condemns what Hamilton did in Revolutionary days, what Lincoln did in Civil War days, and what Grant and Blaine and Harrison did but yesterday?

"In his policy of peaceful negotiations to-day, the President of the United States follows the example set him by the greatest Presidents the Democratic Party and the greatest Presidents the Republican Party ever gave this Nation.

"Do the critics of the present administration believe that Lincoln should have risked national disaster by using the sword rather than the pen in pressing the Alabama claims? Are they willing to braud Grant as a coward because he kept us at peace with Spain?

"Yet no incident of the present war shows so gross a violation of our neutral rights as England's action in building a navy to prey upon our commerce; no submarine attack surpasses in horror the butchery of American citizens by that Spanish firing squad in Santiago when Grant was in the presidential chair.

"In this, as in all the other big questions of life, the more we understand the past the better we shall judge the present. Where it took 10 years to secure inadequate compensation for the *Alabama* claims the present administration has already secured in the case of a single claimant reparation greater than all the *Alabama* claims combined. Where, in other administrations during great foreign wars, the American flag was merely an invitation to plunder, to-day that flag is the best protection of all who desire to be safe upon the seas.

"We challenge our critics to deny a single fact in the record. We defy them to show a single point at which the helmsman who has safely piloted us through Europe's storm has departed from the course laid down by those who established America's foreign policy.

"For the first time in the history of our country the United States leads the world in exports. We are more prosperous than ever, and mills which have not turned a spindle for years are now busy. All the laborers of the United States are employed as never before. With the world war raging our country is the only neutral one that is not in distress and the only one that has not declared a moratorium. Every demand of the stress of war the Democratic Party has met quickly. We have freed business from the blackmail of the politician as we have emancipated it from the clutch of monopoly.

"It is a perfectly easy thing for the President of the United States to plunge his country into war if he is a politician before he is a patriot. He would seek his own reelection as he came upon horseback by the bloody highway of contending armies. Of course our Army could invade Mexico and march in triumph to its capital, but after the war was over other armies would march—an army of widows and orphans, an army of cripples and men broken in health, an army of pensioners, and an army of tax collectors gathering up the earnings of the people to pay the great war debt.

"The President has acted quickly when there was an invasion of American territory, and the punitive expedition now is doing all that this country can do with honor in Mexico.

"No President during the life of this Republic ever had to deal with so many delicate and dangerous problems as those which have confronted President Wilson. With more than half of the world in arms in Europe, with Mexico in revolution at our border, these difficult and complicating problems have confronted him almost daily, and he has handled them as becomes a patriot and a statesman. When the *Lusitania* was sunk, the

militant voice of Theodore Roosevelt cried out for war; and if he had been President of the United States at that time, to-day 500,000 brave American sons would be contending around the forts of Verdun in this mighty maelstrom of blood; thousands would have been buried in ditches. Our President, patient, patriotic, far-sighted—the real statesman—handled this question with the greatest ability, and won for America its greatest diplomatic victory. There are hapoily two kinds of courage—the courage of the man who is willing to undertake the dangers himself and the courage of the man that sends others to the conflict. Woodrow Wilson has both kinds of courage, the courage of conflict and the courage to act coolly and sensibly when he is dealing with the lives of others—the fate of a nation.

"Four years ago they sneeringly called Woodrow Wilson the school-teacher; to-day he is the world teacher. His subject is the protection of American life and American rights under international law. 'And without orphaning a single American child, without widowing a single American mother, without firing a single gun, he wrung from the most militant spirit that ever brooded above a battlefield an acknowledgment of American rights and an agreement to American demands.' He has elevated himself to that lofty but lowly eminence occupied by George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson, the three worst abused and best loved Americans the Republic ever grew."

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**Newspaper Comment on Philippine Bill.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CLARENCE B. MILLER,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, herewith I submit editorials from many of the leading papers of the country reflecting, as they undoubtedly do the opinion of the American people respecting our attitude toward the Philippines. The Democratic program adopted last January, with the active cooperation of the President, contemplated an early withdrawal of our sovereignty in the Philippines and an abandonment of our work for the Filipinos. This program received a prompt and emphatic rebuke from the press, both Democratic and Republican.

The New York Times, a strong Democratic and proadministration paper, published the following editorial on May 1, 1916, the day the bill was considered in the House:

A BILL TO BE KILLED.

The Philippine bill, which, according to the program, will be taken up in the House of Representatives to-day, is not an essential piece of legislation. It does not possess sufficient relative importance to be rushed through the House in a crowded session, when so many other matters of prime importance demand serious attention. Even without the objectionable Clarke amendment, which its advocates will try again to force through, it is a measure to dubious value.

It is associated in the public mind with a deliberate plan of scuttling. That, and not to provide an organic law for our Far Eastern colonies, was the uppermost thought in the minds of its projectors. The bill ought to be voted down. The people in the Philippines are making good progress toward self-government now. There is no real demand for new laws to govern them, they need no new privileges at present.

This same paper had already expressed its sentiments as follows, on April 28 and April 29, 1916:

KILL THE SCUTTLING BILL.

The 30 Democratic Members of the House of Representatives who stood out in Wednesday's caucus against the passage of the Philippines bill under gag rule have rendered a patriotic service to their country. Despite the President's support, the Philippines bill should not be passed. To repeat our promise to grant independence to the inhabitants of the archipelago as soon as they are capable of self-government is quite unnecessary. To promise to give them independence within four years, if the promise were kept, would be a gross betrayal of the trust we assumed when we took the control of the islands away from Spain. Both Brig. Gen. McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and Mr. W. Morgan Shuster have lately reported that good progress is making in the Philippines, the people are learning, they will be capable of self-government some day, but that day is in the distant future. If they were released from American rule now, all the good work that has been done would be undone. The pretense that peace and prosperity would be continued under a hastily acquired independence by a vast multitude of people of different religions and ideals, many of them still illiterate, is too shallow to deceive anybody.

The only excuse for getting out of the Philippines is that we want to get out. Revolution would follow our withdrawal, a new and worse Mexico would be created in the Far East. It is unnecessary to conjecture what the ultimate result would be. The national honor demands that we fulfill our obligations and devote our energies to the development of the islands in the arts and industries and educate their people. Freedom they already possess. They are not the subjects of a despotic or greedy Government exploiting them for its own purposes. Mr. Shuster's report shows that they are doing well and learning how to administer their own affairs.

The action of the 30 Democratic Members indicates that the obnoxious bill can not pass in its present objectionable form, if, indeed, it can pass after reasonable amendment. Republicans will vote against it for party reasons, but it ought not to be considered a party measure. Our responsibility in the Philippines is recognized by a large majority of our citizens irrespective of party. The Philippines bill should be discarded.

ABANDON THE BILL.

In regard to the proposed Philippines legislation the World believes that it ought to be possible to get rid of the obnoxious Clarke amendment without defeating the entire bill. But the Clarke amendment is really the essence of the bill, which was originally planned as a scuttling measure. Senator CLARKE managed to restore to the bill its original purpose, which was to commit this country to the abandonment of its obligation to develop the Philippines and make its people fit to govern themselves. The whole bill ought to be defeated, if it is brought to a vote. It was conceived in the wrong spirit. There is no evidence that it is a well-considered, constructive measure or that the administrative changes it provides for are needed. The World admits that "a specific promise [of independence] now is likely to raise false hopes, and its almost certain cancellation, as provided for, could hardly fail to involve us in serious complications." But this Clarke amendment, with the specific promise which we all feel would not be kept, is the essential part of the measure. The Filipinos need not be assured again that we intend to grant them independence when our trust is fulfilled. They know that. The congressional fight is for the Clarke amendment, which its advocates still hope to force through.

The whole measure should be discarded. Legislation for the Philippines should be postponed until there is time to spare to consider it seriously in the right spirit. The object of this bill is wholly political. It is designed to undo the good constructive work done in the islands under three Republican administrations. Brig. Gen. McIntyre and Mr. Shuster have shown us that the Filipinos are doing very well under present conditions, and the question of their future development should not be treated from a partisan point of view.

On the same day, May 1, 1916, the New York World, the strongest proadministration paper in America, contained the following editorial:

SETTING A NATION FREE.

The House of Representatives having decided to dispose of the Philippine Government bill to-day, there ought to be wisdom enough in that body to eliminate the Clarke amendment providing for independence in four years and pass the measure in other respects substantially as it came from the Senate.

To insist upon the independence of the islands in 1920 is to confer self-government upon a population alien and remote with much less preparation than was insisted upon in the case of many of our Territories at home. The pending bill goes to great lengths in making the Philippines a full-fledged Territory of the United States, like Alaska and Hawaii. This is the natural and orderly course to pursue. By doing more, Congress will presume to act in advance of events, without knowledge and with a recklessness never before exhibited in its dealings with a dependency.

The Clarke amendment contemplates more than statehood for the Philippines. It creates an independent nation. Making the islands a self-governing Territory for the first time since the Spanish conquest, it ignores the possibilities of failure and fixes only four years away the precise date of their sovereignty, subject, of course, to the bare chance of repeal by a later Congress. What domestic Territory, inhabited by kindred people and directly under the influence of our own political ideals, ever received such distinguished consideration at the hands of the legislative department?

Territorial self-government is richly merited by the Filipinos. That is the final stage for them as it was for many American Commonwealths in the business of preparation for independence, but it is not to be hurried or evaded altogether. In decency Congress can not do less than confer that great privilege upon them in the expectation that they will make the most of it. To go beyond that reasonable guaranty of liberty at this time, when most of the world is ablaze with war, and turn them adrift without experience or stability would be rampant folly.

In setting up free States a responsibility rests upon the liberator as well as the liberated. Until now we have always recognized the fact.

On the preceding day the same paper said:

NO RASHNESS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Democratic quarrel over the bill conferring self-government upon the Philippines is likely to be a test of American capacity for self-government. No serious objection is made to the measure except that it contains a vexatious clause fathered by Senator CLARKE, of Arkansas, providing for independence in not less than two or more than four years.

If a great piece of legislation, just to the Filipinos and creditable to ourselves, shall be lost, because Congress proves unable or unwilling to proceed wisely and safely in the matter of extinguishing American sovereignty in the islands, a lasting reproach will attach to all responsible for the failure. This bill in various forms has been under consideration for several years. It gives the Philippines a constitution, a bill of rights, and a form of government like that which our own continental Territories enjoyed. It is a fulfillment in all things except independence of every pledge we have made. Independence itself will come in due season.

Our Territorial system has been more widely commended and imitated than any other feature of American Government. As we were the first great Nation to lay the foundation for free States in the wilderness, it would be shameful, indeed, if Congress, confronted by an ill-considered attempt to do too much, should fall short of a glorious duty by doing nothing at all.

The New York Sun, under date of May 3, 1916, said editorially:

A REBUKE WHICH MR. WILSON HAS DESERVED.

Representative MILLER of Minnesota, who has visited the Philippines several times and is familiar with conditions in the islands, said, in the debate on the Clarke amendment to the Jones bill, that he was surprised at the "suddenness" with which the administration accepted the "scuttle" policy. It has been a surprise to everybody who remem-

bered the Philippine plank in the Democratic platform, a document that Mr. Wilson has invoked time and again as the Democratic gospel of committal and omission. What was in the platform he professed to regard as his sailing chart, and he has made a convenience of what was not in it. Also, Mr. Wilson's acceptance of the "scuttle" policy seemed strangely inconsistent with his preachment that America existed to serve humanity, either in peace or war, and thus be an example to less spiritual nations.

The Democratic Party in its platform in 1912 called for "an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established." But Mr. Wilson, in spite of this unequivocal statement of policy, accepted a proposal to give the Filipinos independence in two to four years, with this string attached to it, that if the President as the four years were expiring concluded that the natives were not ready to govern themselves he could refer the question of independence to Congress for further consideration.

To set a sliding time limit to the sovereignty of the United States would be to disregard the Democratic platform flagrantly; but, even worse than that, the purpose to fool the Filipino people would be transparent to any but the most simple of them. Altogether, the Clarke amendment was as evasive, dishonest, and stupid a device as was ever submitted to Congress in the form of a serious legislative proposal; and yet Woodrow Wilson, preacher of the humanities and keeper of the national conscience, not only jumped at the Clarke amendment but did all in his power to impose it upon Congress.

Thanks to the common sense and courage of some 30 Democrats under the splendid leadership of Representative FITZGERALD, of New York, the House has rejected the hypocritical and vicious Clarke amendment and definitely substituted the original House or Jones bill for the Senate measure. The Jones bill provides a form of government for the islands in which the Filipinos will have a larger representation and greater responsibility, and it follows the Democratic platform by promising independence "as soon as a stable government can be established." The Senate wisely shows a disposition to throw the Clarke amendment overboard and accept the House bill.

Mr. Wilson's leadership has suffered a palpable check, and the independent Democrats have administered a rebuke which it would be well for him to take to heart. They have set his feet once more in the straight path, the path of fidelity to party principles and the humanities, from which he strayed so unaccountably.

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"The honor and integrity of the United States," so eloquently championed by President Wilson in a speech on Monday afternoon, received the loyal support of 30 antiscuttle Democrats in the House on Monday evening.

On April 27, the Sun had expressed the following warning:

DON'T MEXICANIZE THE PHILIPPINES.

That shocking proposed display of political irresponsibility, the abandonment of the Philippine Islands, would outdo even the irreparable wrong done to Mexico in the hounding of Huerta, costly as that bit of canting presumption has been in suffering to the millions submerged in an era of Mexican butchery and banditry. Mexico should have taught Mr. Wilson not to play at ideals with other people's blood. It has not brought him to his senses. He is fatuously gambling with the destinies of 8,000,000 Filipinos, threatened with miseries exceeding those of Mexico, once they are cast out and marooned, left to their own mercies under a travesty of liberty.

No wonder that the first session of the Democratic caucus on Philippine affairs developed opposition to the administration plans. The reading of the President's letter to the caucus failed to still an opposition grounded on more honest, if less showy, views of the country's duty than those the President holds.

Against the urgency of Mr. Wilson rises the voice of a considerable number of the Philippine inhabitants themselves. The cry in the islands is not all for independence, however much that brilliant catchword may attract a part of the population.

Filipino property owners reputed to hold some $20,000,000 of the wealth of their islands have sent Representative MILLER a petition against the Jones bill to withdraw United States authority from the Archipelago. Their voice is heard at the time when the House bill for Filipino independence, with its Senate amendments, comes before a Democratic caucus. There is good ground for hope that the petition may help to drive the wicked folly of independence for the islands out of the heads of some of those now bent on that bit of idealistic double mischief to this country and the Filipinos themselves.

It becomes increasingly evident that 12 years of American rule have raised among the islanders themselves a great class who put their trust in the big American brother and depend upon the pledge, implied in his past beneficient control, that the control will continue; islanders not to mention American settlers, who have staked their labors, their property, and the prospects of their families on the expectation that the United States would not quit what it had begun.

Is it true that the Filipinos are fit to govern themselves according to American standards of government? They certainly do not themselves all believe so, or none would have signed the petition sent to Mr. MILLER. In the face of this new and added grave evidence of political self-distrust and of aversion to being deprived of American control, the caucus may well show some signs of doubt as to the wisdom of casting the islands off to fall back again into their old misery.

Other New York papers carried the following editorials:

[From the New York Tribune, Apr. 29, 1916.]

A SAVING REMNANT.

The 28 Democratic Representatives who revolted against the Senate Philippine bill have it in their power to save the people of this country from dishonor. They can prevent a brutal and despicable repudiation of the obligations which the United States Government assumed when it ratified the treaty of Paris.

Two months ago, when the House Committee on Insular Affairs reported the Senate Philippine bill without amendment, it looked as if the only hope of averting this betrayal lay in the President's veto. It was a frail hope at best, for the President, in dealing with the Philippine problem, had manifested the same indecision, the same uncertainty and frailty of purpose which had marked his attempts to deal with the problem of preparedness, with Mexico, and with the critical questions arising out of the European war.

The administration was at first committed to a continuance of American control over the Philippines until the Filipinos should demonstrate their capacity for self-government. Independence was to be promised them, but no definite date for the termination of American sovereignty was to be set. Secretary Garrison had strongly indorsed the Hitchcock Philippine bill, and it was universally understood that in doing so he spoke also for the President.

Senator CLARKE of Arkansas, the most feared of the Democratic leaders in the Senate, because the most outspoken and independent, was dissatisfied with what he considered the milk-and-water character of the Hitchcock measure and started an agitation for a ruthless compliance with the pledges of independence for the Filipinos given in various Democratic national platforms. He defied the administration on this issue, as he had previously defied it on the shipping bill. He took the Philippine measure out of Mr. HITCHCOCK's hands, amended it so as to turn the Philippines loose unconditionally four or five years hence and passed it without inquiring whether or not it harmonized with the President's ideas or wishes.

Mr. Wilson was undoubtedly annoyed at first by Mr. CLARKE's blunt repudiation of all concerned on our part for the future of the Philippines. What his attitude and professions in the past should have led him to say was well said to him (unfortunately not for him) by Secretary Garrison when the latter wrote: "I consider the principle embodied in the Clarke amendment an abandonment of the duty of this Nation, and a breach of trust with the Filipinos, and, so believing, I can not accept it or acquiesce in its acceptance."

But the President was unwilling to antagonize Congress on a small matter like scrapping the treaty of Paris. All he would say in response to Mr. Garrison's courageous words was this: "It is my judgment that the action embodied in the Clarke amendment to the bill extending self-government to the Philippines is unwise at this time, but it would clearly be most inadvisable for me to take the position that I must dissent from that action should both Houses of Congress concur in a bill embodying that amendment."

Mr. Wilson broke with Secretary Garrison on preparedness and accepted the leadership of Mr. HAY. On the Philippine question he broke with himself and accepted the leadership of Senator CLARKE and Mr. JONES of Virginia.

Far from preserving the attitude that he must yield unwillingly if both Houses should approve the Clarke amendment, he has been using all his influence to dragoon the House into accepting that amendment. By letter written for the purpose of being read in the recent Democratic House caucus he put himself squarely on record as favoring action in regard to the Philippines which he had only a little while before declared to be "unwise at this time."

The country will therefore owe nothing to Mr. Wilson if it escapes the dishonor of breaking its word, given to the Filipinos, to Spain, and to the world—of running away from a service to civilization which we undertook of our own accord and which we can not now, without shaming ourselves, abandon before it is finished. We shall owe it to the courage of a small number of Democrats in the House, more regardful of the country's good name than the President is, if our Government keeps its faith and continues to do its duty.

This little group of unintimidated Democrats, joining with the Republicans, can prevent the sullying of our good repute, the frivolous striking of our flag, the cession, without condition and without compensation, of territory of vast present and still vaster prospective value, and the relinquishment of a mission which we accepted as a part of that "service to humanity," on which Mr. Wilson lavishes so many gilded phrases, but of which his administration has so far failed to give the slightest practical illustration.

Call these seceders Tammany men, disaffected patronage seekers, imperfect Wilsonians, or anything else you will! The fact remains that they are performing a high patriotic duty. They are helping to frustrate an infamous attempt to deed away American territory, to lower our national prestige, and to turn the inhabitants of a now orderly and prosperous dependency over to a fate even worse than that of anarchy-ridden Mexico.

If it succeeds in staving off these things this Democratic remnant will hold the place of honor in the history—scanty enough in honor—of a Democratic administration under which the Americanism and statesmanship have become almost obsolete terms.

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[From the New York Herald, Apr. 29, 1916.]

WHEN "BOLTING" REPRESENTS AMERICANISM.

Is there no place for the honest, hard-working, peace-loving Filipino behind the ægis of humanity? Must this ward of the Nation stand alone and apart, a sacrifice upon the altar of American politics?

Democratic leadership at Washington has decreed that this is to be the Filipino fate, but not all Democrats of the House of Representatives will respond to the party lash. Some—apparently enough to prevent the writing of such a disgraceful chapter in American history as the Democratic Party under Cleveland attempted to write in regard to Hawaii—stand squarely against "scuttle."

No American possessing even primary knowledge of the Philippines believes it possible for the people of the islands to maintain and protect independence in the period of "from two to four years" provided by the Jones bill, nor does any Filipino of even primary intelligence believe this possible. Withdrawal of the wholly beneficent American protectorate at this time or within the period contemplated would be abandonment of the Filipino people to become prey of more militant orientals. Incidentally, this would mean placing the only Christian people of the Orient at the mercy of a puissant paganism.

Democratic Representatives who refuse to support the independence provision of the Jones bill are playing the better part by this Nation, by the Filipino people, by true humanity, and by the political party of their allegiance.

Nothing could be less wise than the effort of the Democratic leadership to make the Philippine question an issue of politics. It is an American question to be eventually solved according to the dictates of the American conscience, and has no place in any party caucus. "Bolting" such a caucus is a credit to the bolters.

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[From the New York Journal of Commerce, Apr. 29, 1916.]

THE PRESIDENT'S PHILIPPINE MISTAKE.

The action of the caucus of Democratic Representatives and the revolt of a relatively small minority of them in relation to the Philippine bill indicates that it is likely to be defeated on the final vote in the House. The resolution declaring approval of the bill as it stands and its passage without change was adopted by a vote of 140 to 35, and 28 of the 35 gave notice that they would not be bound by the caucus action. There is hardly a question that some of the 140 voted against

their conviction and from party motives and a desire to sustain the President, who has been using his influence to carry the measure through. The Republican vote will be nearly if not quite solid against its passage.

The fact is that this mistaken measure has owed its support and its chance of success mainly to the fact that it had the administration behind it, with the President desirous of having it passed at this session. It provides for giving the Philippine Islands over to self-government, for which they are very far from being prepared, in four years from the passage of the bill. There is a serious question whether any promise of independence for the islands should be made, and certainly provision for making it actual in such a short time is a wrong to their own people and in effect a violation of faith pledged in the treaty with Spain for taking them over as a possession of the United States.

A responsibility was then assumed, not only to the natives but more directly to those of Spanish descent, for the maintenance of their rights under authority of the American Government, which would be abandoned by this act. All that has been accomplished would be lost under a delusive idea that the people of the islands are capable of carrying on the work so successfully begun. There is a moral certainty of relapse instead of continued progress, and a serious liability of the loss of that independence which had been so prematurely and unwisely given to them.

If the bill is defeated, the President may be saved from the consequences of the mistake. If it is not, there is a chance that a different control of Congress and of the administration may undo the work before the provision for independence takes effect. Even so, serious trouble will have been caused, and the difficulty of carrying on the process that has been begun will be considerably enhanced. This mistake of the President is akin to that committed with regard to Mexico, but is morally and politically more serious because of the pledge of faith and the responsibility assumed in the treaty by which the islands were acquired.

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[New York Evening Journal, May 1, 1916.]

IS THIS A GOOD TIME TO GIVE UP THE PHILIPPINES?—WITH THE NATIVES UNFIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT—A MAJORITY OF THEM SAVAGE—AND WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A JAPANESE WAR THAT WOULD MAKE THE PHILIPPINES MOST CONVENIENT TO US.

At a cost of tens of millions this country has established itself in the Philippine Islands. We have more than paid for all that we got there.

We gave the unhappy people freedom from Spain's brutality and superstition.

We gave them thousands of public-school teachers and paid the teachers.

We even paid cash to Spain. And where religious organizations felt that they had suffered financially because the United States came in we paid cash, many millions, to religious organizations.

The United States is in the Philippines by every right—the right of conquest, which we put lowest in the scale; the right of good government, the right of good intention.

We have coaling stations in the Philippines—note that—and harbors for our warships, and when the war with Japan comes, as it will eventually, those coaling stations will be convenient.

In the face of these conditions it is proposed by "statesmen" that the United States should retire from the Philippines, abandon all we have done there, relinquish the work of civilization and our tens of millions of expenditure—turn the whole thing over to the natives, which would mean giving the Philippines to Japan.

What idiocy, what feeble-mindedness inspires this course?

Suppose the Japanese had spent millions upon millions in great possessions, honestly acquired, as close to us as the Philippines are close to Japan.

Suppose the Japanese had, within convenient reach of us, coaling stations, harbors, and forts. Can you imagine any Japanese sufficiently idiotic to advocate giving up those possessions if he knew that when the Japanese went out the Americans would go in?

How can any American be idiotic enough to suggest giving up the Philippines, giving up our whip hand in Asia, giving up the power of making possible reprisals on Japan should Japan attack us—how can any person in this country suggest giving up that power, that advantage, that duty, in the name of maudlin sentimentality?

There should be enough force in public opinion to prevent it.

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[From the New York Evening Post, May 2, 1916.]

Since the Philippine bill, fixing a definite time for declaring the independence of the islands, had been made an administration measure, its defeat in the House yesterday was a defeat for President Wilson. The bill has had unskillful parliamentary handling. The amendment fixing four years as the period after which the Philippines were to go their own way was written into the bill in a rather haphazard way in the Senate. At the time Mr. Wilson was supposed to be against it, but a letter from him indorsing it was read to the House Democratic caucus. Its rejection is thus another blow to his prestige with Congress. The House finally passed the original Jones bill, giving to the Filipinos a larger measure of home rule and reaffirming the purpose of the United States to grant them independence in due time. Whether the Senate will agree to this is as yet uncertain. One would say that administration and party pressure to get through some kind of Philippine legislation, looking to the keeping of Democratic pledges, would be strong. It will not have escaped notice that among the Democratic bolters in the House was a large proportion of gentlemen with Irish names. They would doubtless fight to the death for an Irish republic. A Philippine republic, however, seems to them a fearsome thing.

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[From the New York Evening Mail, May 2, 1916.]

STICKING TO THE PHILIPPINES.

Evidently no policy of scuttling from the Philippines can be adopted by this country with the consent of the House of Representatives. The lower branch of Congress is closer to the people than the Senate. In many instances in our national history, aside from the Philippine matter, it has proven more responsive to the real sentiments of the country.

Our people are not willing to set the Philippines adrift, and the House so records itself. It would be an unworthy course to follow at this time. The best thought among the Filipinos themselves is emphatically against so-called "independence" for their islands. They realize that independence would mean chaos, until some other Government stepped in and took the place the United States had abandoned.

The House vote of 213 to 165 yesterday is practically a defeat of the measure—for this Congress at least. It is an administration bill, and the large adverse vote is, therefore, significant, particularly in view of the fact that the Senate, yielding to White House pressure, had passed the bill.

The time will come when the Filipinos should have absolute independence. No lover of liberty would delay that day a single moment, and this Government, last of all in the world, should resist it. It would be a shame and disgrace to us, however, if we should now establish a Mexico on the Asiatic shore.

—

[From the New York Globe, Apr. 28, 1916.]

NO PHILIPPINE PLEDGE NOW.

The division developed in the House Democratic caucus over the Clarke amendment to the Philippine bill and the passage of a resolution that takes the amendment out of the party-measure class make it practically certain that no pledge of Philippine independence will be passed by the present Congress. President Wilson has steadily urged the making of the pledge, but his advice does not promise to be followed.

The country, as a whole, will be satisfied with this action. The feeling is common, even among those who believe that it is immoral and impolitic to govern the Filipinos against their will, that the time has not yet arrived to withdraw from the Philippines. It is not yet clear, looking at matters practically, that conditions are such as to warrant decisive action.

The Clarke amendment is objectionable in that it is merely an academic declaration. It is contingent. It provides, in the form it is proposed to press it, that in 10 years, if the Filipinos then want independence and Congress deems it wise to grant their request, for the setting up of a new nation under American protection. It would seem unwise to attempt to bind the future in this way. No one knows what conditions will exist in 1926.

In the 16 years that have elapsed since the acquisition of the Philippines great progress has been made. Slowly but steadily a non-representative military government has been converted into an autonomous and highly representative one. The Filipinos in most matters now govern themselves. As fast as it has been deemed safe to confide authority to them the grant has been made. No one can reproach this country with having sought to exploit the Filipinos and to repress their just aspirations. But this country is properly not willing to turn another Mexico loose on the world. There must be reasonable assurance that separation from this country shall not be marked by a reversion to anarchy. To avoid this danger it seems wise to go on as we have—that is, to enlarge autonomy from time to time as experience warrants it, leaving the separation, if it is to come, representing not an amputation but the natural dropping away of ripened fruit.

The following editorials appeared in the Brooklyn papers:

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Citizen, Apr. 28, 1916.]

THE PHILIPPINE BILL.

Twenty-eight Democrats who have refused to abide by the judgment of the party caucus on the Philippine bill are entirely within their rights as party men in the position they have taken. The bill as it stands is in no proper sense a party measure and can not be made one by any whipped-up majority. Nor is there any reason for questioning the claim of the minority that they are doing what their constituents desire. This is certainly true of the Members from Brooklyn. There is not the least ground for doubting that Mr. FITZGERALD and his colleagues are correct in saying that the bill as it stands is not and is not likely to be approved by the people to whom they owe their seats.

It would, in the light of all the information obtainable, be unwise for the administration to press the issue in its present form. What good political sense suggests is that some amendments be adopted which will obviate the objections raised by the intelligent and conscientious gentlemen in question. It is so distinctly contrary to good party policy to do the contrary that the President will, we feel confident, decline to sanction it.

When to considerations of sound party policy we add the thought of what the best interests of the islands call for, it is not too much to say that the minority and not the majority ought to prevail. The time may come, perhaps, when it will be practicable for the people of the Philippine Islands to assume the responsibilities of self-government. It may be that this degree of intellectual and moral development will be reached in the course of the next generation. That they are in no such position yet is what only the merest theorists, to whom facts are irrelevant considerations, will deny.

It would, in other words, be rather a crime against the natives of the islands than a benefit to thrust a responsibility upon them which could result only in reducing whatever is orderly to chaos. The hope of the Citizen is that our Brooklyn Democratic Members will stand firm and that the points for which they are contending will be yielded by the caucus leaders.

—

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Citizen, May 2, 1916.]

THE PHILIPPINE BILL.

The rejection by the House yesterday of the Philippine bill in its present form is gratifying to nearly every student of the condition of the islands. The 30 Democrats who stood firmly by their objections, despite the action of the caucus, are thus entitled to the thanks both of the country and the Democratic Party, for it is quite certain that neither the party nor the country desired any such measure as the caucus indorsed.

Whatever be thought of the future of the Philippines, it is agreed by all practical observers that they are not yet in a condition for the establishment of popular sovereignty, nor are they likely to be so for a generation to come. This is not the opinion of men who wish to retain them under American control. It is the opinion of men who would be glad to see them intrusted with the complete management of their own affairs, and who are convinced that it would be to the advantage of this country to be rid of them.

That they are a burden to the United States and will always remain so is as fully recognized by the opponents of the bill in question as by its supporters, but the further question of duty to the world as well as to the islanders can not be escaped from on any merely economic pretext. It was no doubt an error to annex them in the first place. This is not likely to be seriously denied to-day in any well-informed quarter; but, being annexed, we can not without injustice to the inhabitants turn them over to all the horrors that would overtake them if our troops were withdrawn. It is from this point of view that the proposal of the

bill to give them their so-called liberty, a word which they do not understand, within four years, excited the opposition of by far the greater part of thoughtful America, not to mention other parts of the world.

—

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Eagle, Apr. 27, 1916.]

PROJECTING THE PREMATURE.

There are honest differences of opinion as to what we should do with the Philippines. To these differences the two great political parties have given expression. At the national convention held in 1912 the Republicans characterized our duty toward the Filipinos as a national obligation, and declared that it should remain entirely free from partisan politics. At several of their national conventions the Democrats have waved the flag of freedom. In 1912 they were especially declamatory. They denounced what they described as an experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder and favored an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to "recognize the independence" of the islands.

This purpose was debated at a caucus held in Washington last night. It has the "unqualified indorsement" of the President, who has written a letter hoping that the pledge of the party will be redeemed without a dissenting voice, which hope will not be realized. More than 30 dissenting voices were raised, and the Democrats have only about that number to spare in the House of Representatives. Efforts to coerce the so-called traitors into submission will be made, but as not a few threaten to bolt, there is anything but smooth sailing ahead.

For the pledge the party is indebted to William Jennings Bryan. In one of his canvasses for the Presidency imperialism figured as his paramount issue, with the customary consequence. It shared the fate of 16 to 1, though the candidate warned his countrymen that imperialism in the Sea of China would result in despotism here. In the interval our form of government has not changed, and recent reports from the Archipelago are to the effect that conditions there are steadily improving, which reports come from officials who are Democrats. If they are contradicted at all, it will be by Republicans.

So much for the passing of one Bryan bugaboo. That the Filipinos are ready for self-government is affirmed and denied. The question thus raised will remain a question. There is, however, no question that in the matter of religion we have guaranteed freedom to the Filipinos in perpetuity, this being one of the obligations we contracted with Spain. How we are to fulfill it should we withdraw from the Archipelago has not been explained. Nor is it easy to understand why we should in one and the same breath grant freedom to the islanders and compel them to become prohibitionists. This looks like a plain case of drowning sovereignty in grape juice.

There are cases in which it may be more or less justifiable to crack the party whip. The fate of the Philippines is not one of them. It is one in which freedom of action should be reserved to every Member of the House of Representatives. It is not one in which pressure should be brought to bear from the White House or from any other base of operations. The proposition is now to commit the country to action which is to be taken from two to four years hence. Never was time less opportune for taking such a plunge in the dark. So may conditions change in the interval that what may now seem to be rational to plan may then be lunacy to execute. The time to cross a bridge is when it is reached.

—

[From the Brooklyn (N. Y.) Standard Union, Apr. 28, 1916.]

TAMMANY'S DEFIANCE OF THE PRESIDENT.

The bolt of 28 Democratic Congressmen from the caucus on the Philippine scuttle bill, apparently insuring the defeat of that measure in its present form, is a most gratifying evidence of sanity and independence in the House.

This action will be accepted as proof that the Representatives have paid close attention to the sentiment of the country on the proposition to give the Filipinos unconditional independence at the expiration of four years. They have learned that the plan meets with overwhelming disapproval, is considered premature, and fraught with the gravest danger to the islanders themselves.

Of almost equal importance to dealing a death blow to the independence feature of the bill is the political significance of the revolt. It means that White House domination is broken for the present, at least, and indicates that Democratic Representatives will no longer submit to outside dictation.

This bolt seems to be closely related to the refusal of Senator Wagner to accept the postmastership in Manhattan. Fourteen of the 28 bolters were Tammany men. It was a Murphy slap at the President, just as was the Wagner refusal a formal notice that Tammany is not willing to shake hands with Mr. Wilson and forget the past. The President is said to have written a letter urging the Democratic Congressmen to pass the Philippine bill, and the answer was given at last night's caucus.

How far-reaching will be the Tammany hostility, assuming it is to be persisted in, is a fair subject for speculation. It can not, of course, affect the decision at St. Louis in June, but it may cut quite a figure in Congress. If the smoldering resentment of Tammany has really broken out into a flame, as indicated by the caucus bolt, the President may be seriously embarrassed in carrying out his legislative program. It is a situation which will be watched with interest.

On May 3, 1916, the Philadelphia Public Ledger contained the following editorial:

NO SCUTTLING IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Various objections might still be raised to the Philippines bill as passed by the House, but the elimination of the Clarke amendment relieves it of its worst feature. By the action of 30 Democrats in joining with the Republicans the responsibility solemnly assumed by the United States will not be repudiated and the islands will not be cut adrift before their people are fit for self-government. Why the administration so urgently desired to ignore these particular obligations of the "humanity" to which it is constantly professing allegiance there is no need to inquire. It has passed the policy of scuttle upon the Democratic Party in the most persistent and eager fashion. This makes the revolt of so considerable a section of that party in Congress a serious affair. The President committed himself to the defeated amendment by exercising every kind of personal pressure, and for that reason his prestige suffers in proportion. But this is not the main point. A shameful sacrifice of national honor, a cowardly evasion of plain duty, has been averted by those Members of the House whom even the demands of party harmony could not intimidate.

On February 4, 1916, the Philadelphia Inquirer carried this editorial:

AN ACT OF CRUELTY TO THE FILIPINOS.

By the casting vote of Vice President Marshall the Clarke amendment to the Philippine bill has been adopted by the Senate. While this amendment is not absolutely explicit in its promises, since the next Congress may repeal its provision, there is no doubt that the Filipino agitators of Manila will consider that we have pledged ourselves to give them complete autonomy within four years. The bill is vicious and pernicious so far as the Filipinos themselves are concerned and is an abandonment of a sacred trust imposed upon the United States by the treaty of Paris.

There are about 8,000,000 of Filipinos in the archipelago, which would mean about 1,600,000 adult males. Not one-fifth of that number are permitted to vote under any circumstances. Such political power as is now exercised by Filipinos is almost exclusively confined to Visayans and a few others, while most tribes are not considered at all. When we recollect that about one-half of the people of the islands are either savages, semisavages, or wholly ignorant, it must be admitted that we are taking great chances in casting them adrift to shift for themselves.

Among the advocates of Filipino freedom are those who hold that the islands are a nuisance and an expense to the United States, if not a menace, and who want to get rid of them on any terms. Such persons strangle every thought of humanity and of duty.

There are others who seem actually to believe that any set of human beings are capable of self-government just because they are human beings. Such are to be pitied for their ignorance.

The Filipinos have never governed themselves. To set them up in business as an independent country before they are prepared for independence would be to hand them over to just such revolutions as have devastated Mexico and have made of Haiti a shambles. What is more, it would lay them open to invasion. Any day that Japan, for instance, felt like doing so, she could and would annex the Islands, and then what would become of the freedom which Congress is apparently about ready to grant them?

The bill is an act of cruelty to the Filipinos. The world is on fire, as President Wilson has said, and yet we are going to cast these Islanders into the flames. They need preparation for independence. They need to know how to govern themselves, and they need to be assured by the world powers that their independence will be respected. Such assurances at the present time and for some time to come would be utterly worthless. Treaties are scraps of paper and international law is a farce. Sanity has got to return to the world before we can expect anything but insanity.

By holding out the promise of independence to the Filipinos under existing conditions, Congress is but adding to the prevailing insanity.

May 3, 1916, the Pittsburgh Dispatch carried the following editorial:

THE PHILIPPINE BILL.

Things have undergone somewhat of a change in the administration direction of Congress since the passage of the Panama Canal act, when the Philippine bill, on which the White House had set its heart, is decisively defeated in the House. The final vote was 213 to 165 on the proposal to give the islands independence in four years; but the rebuke to the administration went further than defeat of this, the House rejecting every suggestion coming from the administration forces looking to independence within any definite period.

It was on the Philippine measure that Secretary of War Garrison split with the President, the difference finally leading to his retirement from the Cabinet. The Secretary had termed the Clarke amendment a cowardly abandonment of the islands, and pleaded with the President to oppose it. Instead, the Chief Executive indorsed it fully and continued his indorsement to the end. Despite the temper of the House he insisted that the measure should go through as it was submitted. In a letter presented to the Democratic caucus he declared his unqualified approval of the bill and urged it be passed without amendment.

The solid Republican vote of the House was augmented by the vote of 30 Democrats. The majority of the Democrats were under the direction of House Leader CLAUDE KITCHIN, whose leadership in this instance was on a par with his leadership since he got the place. Perhaps it is not without significance that the measure was rejected on the anniversary of the day on which Admiral Dewey gained the victory that brought the Philippines under the American flag. Much as some may not be inclined to believe it, there is a deal of sound sentiment throughout the country regarding the admiral and his exploit in Manila Bay, and the declaration of a majority of the House of Representatives on the anniversary of the raising of the flag in the Orient that it will not come down yet awhile, and certainly not under conditions like the present, will not be lost sight of by the possessors of that sentiment.

The administration obsession that the Philippines should be given their independence right away is another of those things that can be explained only on the theory that the White House works in a mysterious way its wonders to perform. The measure has been condemned by friends and opponents of the President alike. Some of the strongest administration supporters have termed the policy in this regard one of "scuttle." Adherents of the President as well as those not in accord with his policies have agreed that the interests of the islands demanded the deferring of final independence until such time as a stable government could be assured, and that time is not yet. It is hard to see where the administration can get any comfort from the action of the House or where conference developments are likely to make pleasanter reading for it. Perhaps it would do no harm to give idealism a respite for a while.

May 3, 1916, the Boston Post had the following to say:

OUR PHILIPPINES.

The problem of administration of our exterior possession acquired through the War with Spain surely demands time for its solution. This is secured by the action of the House of Representatives at Washington in refusing to consent to the so-called Clarke amendment fixing a period of four years for the continuance of our sovereignty. The measure now goes to the Senate for agreement as a substitute proposition.

What is the difference between the two legislative bodies? It is simply that of foresight as to the development of conditions of autonomy in these islands. The Philippines form an obligation forced upon us

through our conflict with Spain: there is no definite term of years in which they may acquire the capacity of self-government as we understand it. Their ultimate independence must depend upon the success of their experiment in free government as we have directed it.

How can we tell when this qualification will be reached? The bill, as it now stands, omits the declaration of any date when success in this endeavor shall be regarded as attained. In other words, it reiterates the promise of ultimate independence when the Filipinos shall demonstrate their capacity for self-government. We must be the judges of this.

What more can safely be pledged by the United States?

The Chicago Herald, May 3, 1916, gave the following as its opinion:

NOT ASHAMED OF 1898!

The defeat of the Jones-Clarke "buck-passing" Philippines bill on the anniversary of Dewey's victory may have been merely a coincidence. The motives of the Democratic caucus bolters who struck the blow may not have been those of high-souled patriotism. Nevertheless, some Americans will see in the result, regardless of the instruments, an insurrection of the American spirit against the craven theory that we ought somehow to be ashamed of 1898.

In that theory the Jones-Clarke bill was conceived. It is a belated birth of the Bryan antiimperialism campaign of 1900. We thought then we had voted that folly down. We knew we had no intent to oppress the Filipinos. We believed we could make them American, or, at least, deal so well with them that in time they would be as unwilling to cease to be under our flag as we would to see it give place to another in our own land.

However, the neurotics kept nagging on, and politicians under no delusions about the capacities for independent self-government of less developed races nearer home lost themselves in mazes of abstract theory about the Philippines. They have never been the home of a real "nation" and are merely a miniature India. As the withdrawal of the British overlordship from India would be followed by the domination of stronger castes and tribes and the subjugation of all the rest, so our withdrawal from the Philippines would result either in a selfish native oligarchy or in a foreign conquest.

With such a future so visible, two courses were logically open to us: One was to keep steadily on along the lines for which we apparently decided in 1900. The other was to regard that decision as wholly reversed in 1912 and frankly abandon the islands, confessing that we had been all wrong in the daring of our soldiers and the devotion of our teachers and the outpouring of blood and the years of toil through which we had brought peace and order and were starting the islanders up the long hill to liberty, safeguarded by law and all that we mean by an established civilization.

The Jones-Clarke bill took neither of these courses, both logical and both honest, however cowardly the latter must be regarded by all who hold that the more fortunate have a duty to help the less fortunate, nationally as well as individually. It was a miserable shuffle between them, granting what the common sense of the man in the street rightly termed "independence with a string." Moreover, it was based on the assumption that we ought to be ashamed of 1898.

The instincts of the American people seem to have rebelled against a confession so base and so false. Whatever our errors, and they have been many, though chiefly in lack of fixedness of purpose, we are not ashamed of 1898 and of what we did for peoples long oppressed in that glorious and memorable year.

The Chicago Daily News, May 3, 1916, contained this editorial:

WISE ACTION ON THE PHILIPPINES.

In refusing to give its approval to the Philippine bill with the amendment promising complete independence to the Philippine Islands within four years the National House of Representatives has acted wisely. Independence for the Philippine Islands is the goal toward which both the islanders and the United States should be working, but nothing is to be gained by setting a fixed date at which the United States will withdraw from the islands. On the contrary, much harm might result from enacting such a promise into law.

Powers of self-rule for the islanders should be enlarged from time to time so far as this can be done wisely. When the people of the Philippines shall actually manage their own affairs in a reasonably satisfactory way with only nominal direction from the Washington Government the time will be at hand for the formal recognition of the republic in the Pacific. To fix a time limit on American authority before the islanders have learned to walk alone would be unjust to the Islanders themselves and to all legitimate interests in the Philippines.

Cuba was given its freedom by the United States, but it was set adrift prematurely. Conditions in that island soon darkened into civil war. Interference by the United States was necessary in 1906. Again in 1912 United States marines were landed on the island and intervention was threatened. Since that time Cuba has so conducted itself that it has not required outside interference for its own good. The United States can not afford to set the Philippines adrift prematurely.

Congress should reiterate its intention of giving the Filipinos their independence ultimately and should assist in the work of preparing them to receive their independence as soon as that heavy and complex task can be completed.

February 7, 1916, the Detroit Free Press carried this editorial:

THE SENATE VOTES TO SCUTTLE.

The Senate of the United States, once a clear-seeing and patriotic body, has gone on record for a scuttling policy in the Philippines. It has passed a bill that ought to make the country first hide its head in shame and then rise in a storm of indignation.

The Senate has defied decency, and it has defied the plain and emphatic mandate of the voters as expressed in the national election of 1900, when Bryan anti-imperialism was snowed under. It has lent itself to a long-denied but now amply proven plot. The protestations of those who declared last session that there was no idea of deserting the Philippines now stand out in their true character. Those protestations were deceptions. This monstrosity which the Senate has fathered was the real plan all along.

Of all the outrageous schemes concocted for turning the Philippines adrift to shift for themselves, rudderless, guideless, and unprotected, the one just approved by the upper House is the most despicable.

If Congress finally takes the course now indicated, and as we are informed approved by the Chief Executive, this country will stand out among the nations as a shirk. It will be in the position of having callously repudiated a solemn obligation. After having taking the archipelago from a protector—for Spain was a protector, even if a poor one—it will be leaving it to become the victim of the first greedy, land-grabbing exploiter that happens along. For in the bill as it stands there is not even the pretense of a scheme to watch over the islands once they are cut loose. They are to be left as a public prey, their only heritage a lot of hypocritical moral admonitions.

Inevitably, all the good accomplished in the first years of the American occupation will be undone. Peoples just beginning to understand the meaning of justice, of freedom without license, and of enlightened civilization will be condemned to sink back into their age-long barbarism. And why?

We know the specious cry has been raised that the inhabitants of the Philippines ought to be given political separation because they have a right to rule their own land if they wish to. We know all about the dishonest assertion that the islanders are being held in wicked bondage. We know there is an element in the islands, composed mostly of persons greedy for power or position or money who are working tooth and nail to get rid of the wholesome restraints imposed by the United States. But the attempt to create an impression that the independence proposed for the Philippines is to be a real freedom, that it will be for the good of the peoples of those islands, that these peoples are capable of taking care of themselves, is an attempt to spread a lie. Every honest and unprejudiced person with first-hand knowledge of the conditions in our East Indian possessions testifies to this effect.

The real reason for the effort to pass the Philippine scuttling bill is cowardly fear. Those behind the plot are afraid they may be called upon to assert the American principles of which they love to orate in campaign times and of which they discourse in their political platforms, but which they carefully avoid practicing whenever there is danger practice may call for courage or self-sacrifice. Chiefly they dread Japan, and they want to give up the Philippines beause they cravenly fear that otherwise they may be forced to fight for the islands' protectection from Nipponese greed. They are afraid of their own inefficiency, and rather than try to repair it they insist that the Nation no longer bear what once was proudly called "the white man's burden."

The worst of it is they try to disguise their cowardice by calling it "faithfulness to principle." Well, we all know what are the principles of a man who, having agreed to protect and educate a child, tires of his bargain, turns the child out on the street on the plea that the child doesn't like restraint, and leaves it to become the prey of white slavers, thieves, and murderers.

The Washington Post of May 3, 1916, published the following letter of Mr. Hearst, which that day also appeared in the New York American:

PHILIPPINE BILL'S DEFEAT—LOYALTY TO FUTURE INTERESTS OF COUNTRY MORE IMPORTANT THAN PARTY TIES, SAYS FAMOUS EDITOR—CRIME TO ABANDON ISLANDS.

To the EDITOR OF THE WASHINGTON POST:

The 28 Democrats who bravely strove to save the Nation from the disgrace of abandoning its duties and from the mistake of sacrificing its opportunities in the Philippines are as much national heroes as the men who fought to save the country from the evils of conquest in the Revolution or of dismemberment in the rebellion.

The sacrifice of high purpose and high principle would hardly have been greater had we failed in the Revolution, the sacrifice of territory and essential integrity would hardly have been severer had we lost in the rebellion than the sacrifice the Nation would suffer to-day in prestige and possessions through a timid and stupid abandonment of its obligations and opportunities in the Philippines.

DESERVE GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE.

These 28 men, who refused to be bound by a party caucus to do a traitorous act of national danger and dishonor, were patriots before they were partisans, and deserve the grateful recognition and remembrance of patriotic citizens of whatever party.

They have rendered a great service to their country—a service for which they should receive their reward not only in the approval of their own conscience, but in the universal consideration and esteem of a grateful people.

Surely these broad-minded, far-seeing statesmen will be remembered and respected when the little spineless, spiritless followers of a timorous and traitorous administration are forever forgotten.

These courageous Democrats who saved both their country and their party from injury and ignominy will be denounced as disloyal by party bigots, but there is no disloyalty in refusing to follow disloyal leaders.

LOYALTY TO COUNTRY ALL IMPORTANT.

Benedict Arnold was an American general, but those would be pronounced traitors to-day who would have followed him into the camp of the enemy while those who refused to follow him are esteemed patriots.

Loyalty to the present and future interests of our beloved country is more important in the minds of sincere citizens than loyalty to any individual or to any party policy.

The abandonment of the Philippines would mean more than mere loss of wealth and territory and power and prestige to the United States.

It would mean the betrayal of this island empire to Japan and would make Japan that much more populous and powerful and bring her frowning forts and formidable fleets that much nearer to our defenseless shores.

PROTECTING THE PHILIPPINES.

What nonsense to say that we would protect the Philippines as our wards when the island fortifications would be left to the lazy neglect and childish incompetence of the Filipinos—our fleets withdrawn from their harbors, our soldiers recalled from their shores.

Is it not easier to defend the Philippines as our possessions, fully fortified with our ships and guns, than it would be to defend them as wards, without our armament and without authority?

Yet the same unwise and insincere demagogues who say we would protect the Philippines as our wards advocate the abandonment of the Philippines because we would be unable to protect them as our possessions.

WOULD BE COLOSSAL CRIME.

The abandonment of the Philippines would be the colossal crime of our history, the crowning folly of our career as a nation.

It would be an indictment of Democracy and impeachment of our republican form of government; a reflection upon the capacity and patriotism of our people; a slur and slight upon the intelligence and efficiency of our citizenship.

It would be a first and fatal step toward the relinquishment of American supremacy in the Pacific.

It would mean a final disaster to American trade in the Orient and a dull and despicable repudiation of America's duties and destinies.

The abandonment of the Philippines would be moral, political, and economic high treason.

The party which would commit such an act of moral obloquy, political treachery, and economic stupidity should be tried and convicted and forever expelled from the councils of the nations by the American people.

UNITED STATES AT A CRISIS.

The United States stands at the crisis of its career.

It has become the greatest of modern nations.

It has grown not merely through natural national development but through legitimate expansion and immigration.

It has increased through the extension of its territory and the absorption of other peoples into its population.

At first our Nation was but a line of liberated colonies strung along the Atlantic coast.

Then, after due and dogged opposition from the tories of the time, the Floridas were added.

Then, to our glory and Thomas Jefferson's immortal memory, the immense Louisiana Territory was acquired.

Then, in spite of the trepidation of the timid, our title to the far northwest was substantiated.

Then Texas was admitted and California, Arizona, and New Mexico were absorbed.

All of which the reactionaries resented and the petty Americans opposed.

One statesman went so far as to say that California would never be a fit habitation for anything but horned toads—California, which now could supply gold and grain and flowers and fruit and oil and soil and homes and harvests for the world.

Then Alaska was bought and pronounced worthless by the stupid and shortsighted until its hills were found to be sheathed with copper and its river beds paved with gold.

All the time those who lacked imagination to see the possibilities in new lands and larger developments dignified their dullness by the name of conservatism and stood stolid in the path of progress.

DESIRE OF TRUE AMERICANS.

Still our country grew.

It was our destiny.

Still the glowing star of our extending empire took its western way.

We fought the Spanish War and won the Philippines.

Of course, history repeats itself.

Of course, the reactionaries rise to-day to repudiate our opportunities and obligations there as they did in Florida, in Louisiana, in California, in Alaska.

Of course, the miniature Americans want the Nation to shrink to their small size, and the shortsighted politicians and pedagogues want the confines of our country's greatness to contract to the radius of their limited vision.

But the true Americans, the big Americans, the Americans with soul and sense, with intelligence and imagination, the Americans who have made the country the great country that it is, want the Nation to grow ever greater and fulfill to the full its duties and its destinies.

Greatness is a matter of soul, not census.

To be truly great our people must possess national pride and patriotic purpose—not merely population.

We must have the spirit of our fathers, the energy and ambition of our ancestors.

We must devote ourselves to our national development, our territorial enlargement, our moral and material improvement.

We must consecrate ourselves to the extension of our civilizing influence, of our beneficial and benign activities, of our uplifting and inspiring ideals.

CENTER OF THE WORLD'S ACTIVITIES.

The United States is located at the focus of the world's attention, at the center of the world's activities.

On the one side is the Atlantic Ocean, the great commercial highway connecting us with Europe.

On the other side is the Pacific Ocean, the great thoroughfare of trade uniting us with Asia.

On the south lie the rich and rising Republics of South America.

Such a commanding and controlling location should make our country as it made Venice in former times and under former conditions, the center of the world's commerce, the custodian of the world's wealth.

But something other than mere location, as well as something more than mere poulation, is needed for true greatness and glory.

We must have enterprise and imagination, courage and confidence, the ability to understand and the energy to exploit the advantages which surround us.

God's work of civilizing the world must be done and will not lag for lack of willing servants.

NATION MUST DO ITS FULL DUTY.

If we fail to do our full duty other nations will be found to supplement or supplant us.

We must not be dependent upon the past, content with the achievements of our ancestors.

We must work out our own salvation, perform our present-day obligation.

A professor of ancient history is not the best leader for a modern constituency.

He is likely to be so intent upon the incidents of the past that he is indifferent to the occurrences of the present and inaccessible to the opportunities of the future.

A nation is like an individual.

It lives and labors, it plans and performs, it conceives and achieves.

It passes through its successive ages of majority, of maturity, of seniority, of senility.

It grows and develops.

It declines and dies.

In all its course no nation stands still.

It either advances or recedes, progresses or retrogresses.

We have not yet reached the point where we must disintegrate and deteriorate.

PATRIOTIC OBLIGATIONS TO BE MET.

The red blood of enthusiasm is still warm in our veins, our minds are still alert to our labors, our hearts are still strong in our faith.

We have set our hand to the plow, let us not turn back until we have reached the end of the furrow.

We have enlisted for the fight, let us not desert or desist until the victory is won.

We have accepted the responsibility of the Philippines, the duty of their development.

Let us neither repent nor retract.

Let us perform our complete patriotic obligation and make the Philippines a progressive and potential part of our country and of our civilization, the foremost buttress of our safety, the furthermost bastion of our enlightenment and liberty.

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST.

January 22, 1916, the Washington Post spoke, editorially, as follows:

ARE THE PHILIPPINES TO BE ANOTHER MEXICO?

There is an evident determination on the part of Democratic leaders in the Senate to push through an amendment to the Philippine bill which will grant independence to the Islands and commit the United States to a guaranty of their independence. It is proposed that the President shall negotiate treaties with the powers that may be concerned, under which the "neutrality" of the Philippines shall be recognized and their independence guaranteed. If no such treaties can be concluded, then the United States alone is to guarantee the independence of the islands.

Thus it is proposed to relinquish authority over the Philippines, while retaining responsibility for them.

Of course, treaties guaranteeing the independence of the Philippines would not be worth the paper they were written upon. The ink is not yet dry upon Japan's formal declaration that Kiauchau would be turned over to China. The neutrality of Belgium, guaranteed by the great powers meant nothing. The independence of Serbia and Montenegro having been destroyed, Greece is in process of destruction. All sorts of treaties prohibit these acts of national extermination, but they have no effect.

If the United States were to turn the Philippines loose it would be compelled to extricate them later on from their difficulties. If insurrections and revolutions occurred, they would have to be put down. If a foreign power assailed the islands, it would have to be beaten off.

The people of the Philippines have no common language, and the tribes are deadly enemies. The moment the restraining hand of the United States is removed anarchy will begin. Even if no foreign power should then seize its opportunity to take the islands the United States would be compelled to do the work of 1898–1901 over again at great cost of life and money.

The cost of American government in the Philippines is used as an argument for withdrawal. Yet the cost of returning to them and again reducing the people to order is not regarded as a liability by some Senators.

If the United States were not in the Philippines no one would now advocate acquiring them. But we are in and that makes all the difference in the world.

Let the cost of acquiring and maintenance of the Philippines be compared with the cost of reoccupying and pacifying them anew, and also with the cost of a possible war with Japan in preventing that Empire from extinguishing the independence of the Philippines.

The Philippines are a liability and not an asset. But the question is, Shall the liability be made greater by taking away a stable government and leaving them to anarchy and foreign conquest?

In no way can the United States evade its responsibility toward the Philippines. If it could, then it would be well to relinquish authority also. But it would be a blunder, eventually culminating in a gigantic national crime, to relinquish authority and retain responsibility. That way lies bloodshed of Americans in defense of the unfounded belief that the Filipinos are capable of self-government.

Mexico is far more advanced than the Philippines and the people have a common language, yet that country is unable to extricate itself from anarchy without the help of the United States. This Nation must help Mexico to establish a government, and the sooner it does so the sooner Americans as well as Mexicans will be safe. The present administration hopes to be able to keep American forces out of Mexico. What hope could it have of keeping American forces out of the Philippines?

Cuba, a small, compact, homogenous island at our very doors, was unable to maintain self-government, and the United States used its forces to restore order and reestablish stable government. The cost of that operation was insignificant compared with what it would cost to reoccupy and pacify the Philippines; to get back, in other words, to where we are at present.

The Washington Times, May 3, 1916, carried the following editorial:

PHILIPPINE FOLLY ENDED.

The Senate, in passing the Philippine government bill, provided for the islands a larger measure of home rule, and then wrote into the measure a promise of independence, under certain conditions, at the end of four years. There is almost no doubt that had this become law, and had President Wilson been reelected next November, the islands would have been turned loose four years hence.

This is one platform pledge that ought not to be regarded as sacred, because of the revolutionary changes of conditions since it was made. The Filipino people look out to-day upon a mightily different world than that of June, 1912, when the independence pledge was made. The world of to-day is one of turmoil, uncertainty, and acute crisis. No minor nation dares feel itself secure in the rage for conquest that has taken possession of a great alliance of powerful nations. The Filipinos, given their liberty, could not have been assured against aggression. Indeed, the effort to give them this assurance might easily have involved both them and the United States in most unfortunate complications.

It is therefore entirely for the best interests of all concerned that the House of Representatives has killed the independence provision in the Senate bill and given its conferees very specific instructions that at this point they are not to yield anything to the Senate. The Republicans of the House voted solidly against independence, while a goodly group of independent Democrats broke away from the administration and stood against the untimely execution of a promise that in the circumstances might well have been regarded as canceled by the new conditions which have arisen.

## The Stop Watch and the Human Scrap Heap.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, the stop watch used to be a symbol of the race track, but at this date it is seriously proposed to make it the symbol of Government service. Its use on the race track is perfectly natural and proper to record the result of an unusual, overstimulated and noneconomic test of speed and endurance where everything must be sacrificed to the victory of the moment. It has no legitimate place, however, in industrial life, and especially in those pursuits where training, intelligence, and experience are the valuable elements. I am opposed to the stop-watch system and can not believe it will produce a permanently higher standard of efficiency.

As I understand it, it amounts to a speeding-up process, by which the youngest, quickest, and most active worker is to set the pace for all the rest. Those who exceed this pace, while securing some temporary and inadequate compensation therefor, are doing so at the cost of a nervous strain out of proportion to the benefit to the service, and certainly not justified by any permanent benefit to themselves. Those who fail to come up to the mark set by the pacemaker suffer humiliation and loss of earning power, which destroys their ambition and weakens their determination for useful and permanent service. The system will have a bad effect in overstimulating those who try to excel the record. It will certainly have a bad effect of shortening the industrial life of thousands of workers who have lost their first quickness and precision. One of the greatest blights on our civilization to-day is the shortening of the industrial life of human workmen. In some occupations and trades the period in which a man can earn the normal wage is pitifully short, and even in the skilled trades, where intelligence and experience ought to be the main factor, it is much shorter than it ought to be. Human beings go into the scrap heap too soon. Men are not made for commerce and industry, but commerce and industry are made for men. What we ought to study, from the standpoint of statesmanship, is some means of lengthening the industrial life and prolonging the maximum earning power of intelligent workers. This is especially true in those occupations like the postal service, in which study, experience, and careful preparation are necessary to enable the employee to reach the length of service entitling him to a living.

The stop watch, in my mind, savors entirely too much of turning men into machines. The great trouble about such a plan is that we can repair or renew machinery, but we can not restore the abused faculties of the human worker. I can not but believe that the experiments which are now being tried to adapt the stop-watch system to intellectual employments will show that such a plan is utterly inapplicable.

## The Real Issues and the Democratic Hurdy-Gurdy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANKLIN F. ELLSWORTH,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the United States is but little more than a century and a quarter old, and yet within the comparatively brief space of her history there have been more momentous political questions raised in the public forum than in any nation of Europe since the days when religious creeds were the underlying principles of governments—more than 200 years ago.

This was but the natural outcome in a great, compact expanse of territory so richly endowed with natural wealth, and with the consequent divergent interests of different peoples of different sections.

If all men were equally endowed, and each were ready to sacrifice unselfishly his own to the general good, the history of a republic might well be written in a few short pages; but in America, with our virile, concentrated, gigantic interests and institutions, where the very spirit of America breathes progress and incites ambition, these great political struggles are inevitable.

And in a Government of political parties, as this and every great Republic of the world must be, it is well that there come at a stated period an adjustment time, and that the people take into consideration their public affairs and delegate the powers of the Government to one or the other of the great political parties.

PATRIOTISM AND MOTIVES.

As we approach the contest the air is surcharged with an insidious and deep-seated feeling of suspicions of the motives of citizens and classes of citizens. Patriotic Americans are impatient of the expressed sympathies of adopted American citizens and children of adopted citizens who came from other lands whose hearts go out to their former kinsmen across the waters in their struggles. Some entertain a deep solicitude for this Government's acts as they may affect the struggle between the great nations of Europe, which is but natural. Before I condemn I want to place myself in the position of him whom I propose condemnation of. If we to-day, American citizens, were to take up our abode and later our citizenship in a new and adopted land beyond the seas and after our citizenship there had become complete were to be compelled to follow the fortunes of America struggling for her existence with a foreign power, I wonder would we look indifferently on or would we be solicitous of her fortunes. Would we be interested in the course of our then adopted country toward and affecting the belligerents? Would we hope and pray for the success of America? And if we did, and hoped for our adopted government's favor to America, would we be disloyal?

By this I do not undertake to excuse or palliate any real offense against our country. We have no room for any disloyal citizen here. America is big and broad enough for all Americans. It is too big to tolerate a single other one.

The other day I heard through my office window the martial strains of a band. As it approached I perceived the music to be a funeral dirge. Looking from my window, I saw a gun caisson draped in mourning, on which was mounted a casket containing the mortal remains of an American soldier, enlisted in the volunteer service as a member of his company of the National Guard. He was being borne to his last rest by the regimental band and the full membership of his company of Infantry, marching in close formation, with heads bowed. It was an inspiring sight—the band and company and comrades in khaki uniform of the United States Army. As the cortège passed a bystander inquired who the departed soldier was, and upon being told inquired of his military rank, and upon learning that he was a private in the ranks, remarked that he thought it was a pretty big fuss to make over a private. I was interested to learn who this bystander was, and, as I saw him frequently, inquired, and finally learned, to my great satisfaction, that he was not an American citizen, and I thanked God for it.

America is a nation of privates. There is no honor to the memory of an American citizen disproportionate to his station in life. There is no station above that of a true, loyal country-loving American citizen, and the gravest charge that can be laid at his door, graver than indictments of homicide or theft, are those which impugn his patriotism.

There is hope for the vagabond and the beggar that they may reform; there is hope for the thief that he may see the error of his ways; there is hope for the gossip and trouble maker that he may experience humiliation; there is hope for the murderer that he may yet repent; but there is but little hope when you find a man whose heartbeats do not quicken at the sound of the bugle which calls his countrymen to the defense of his country.

Some may feel that there is a danger to our free Government and institutions; some may feel that our national honor is not zealously enough guarded; some may feel that we must have larger armies and larger navies than all the world; but while American political parties fight it out at election time; while American Congresses wrangle over the construction of battleships and American candidates for President charge and countercharge on foreign policies, I feel that the country is safe.

I am willing to forego any comparisons of patriotic motives and grant at the outset that of our 100,000,000 people 99,999,900 are patriots, and this includes Charles Evans Hughes and the President of the United States.

CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT.

Before I go further I want to speak of a condition which has grown up and which has been accentuated by the present Chief

Executive. It is the interference with the legislative by the executive branch of the Government.

When our fathers formed this Government, knowing the lessons of too great a concentration of power, they very wisely provided for the three coordinate branches of the Government, the executive, legislative, and judicial. I need not detail to you their separate and distinctive powers and duties, but suffice it to say that should any of these departments encroach upon either of the others to the extent that such department is hampered and ceases to retain its original character, our representative Government is threatened. And especially is this true as to the legislative branch, which is the real safeguard of a truly representative Government. If this free and independent Government does not remain representative in fact and in truth as well as in form and in law, then surely the work of the framers of our Constitution was in vain, and those men who fought and bled and died upon our hundred battle fields won but fleeting victories.

The judiciary with profound regard for the makers of the Constitution, and with the dignified demeanor and exalted ideals which have marked its deliberations, from John Jay to Charles Evans Hughes, has preserved its ethical poise.

The Congress is content, and has always been, to maintain a strict adherence to its duties and responsibilities.

There is, however, a growing tendency to personalize and individualize political parties in the advocated declarations of their leaders, and parties in power are prone to heap credit and blame upon the President. The President serves as the residuary legatee of errors of local statesmen and politicians, and correlatively the shining mark of the adulation of the people who are pleased at beneficial legislation of the Congress. The President serves as the stationary party pillar, the weather vane of popular opinion, and the trumpeter of party slogans. This is the tendency. It is a dangerous omen to popular government.

A single act or word in encouragement of this tendency by the President goes further to break down representative government than numberless pernicious acts of Congress. A vicious law may be repealed, but once the Nation's viewpoint is perverted the injury is irreparable.

Party men, and especially of a party that has long hungered for power, hanker for a titular head upon which to fasten the veil of its mortal fabric to give a seeming stability to its shifting organism.

The people, busy with their work and play, have no quarrel with delegation of powers, and accept the visible signs of exercise of official acts as the constitutional prerogative of the actor.

The condition presents fallow ground. An Executive politically inclined and self-absorbed can easily encroach upon the legislative sphere.

President Wilson, from his acts, appears to have been no respecter of the prerogatives of the people's representatives.

He has not hesitated to dictate the raising of revenue to the House of Representatives, and has specified when and how much, and even that it should be raised in a specific way and upon specific amounts and specific articles. He has even gone so far as to suggest in his message to the Congress—December 7, 1915—that the exemption should be changed in the income tax; that gasoline should be taxed by the gallon and at the rate of 1 cent; that the horsepower of automobiles and internal-explosion engines should be taxed, and that the tax be 50 cents per horsepower; and that bank checks, pig iron, and fabricated iron and steel be taxed, and how much.

He has suggested, urged, planned, and proposed increases, changes, schemes, and complements for the Army and Navy, directly or indirectly, through administrative departments and public speeches, ranging from nothing, which "excited" and "nervous" people thought they wanted, to the "Navy second to none," which he thought once that he wanted, and kept Congress and the country in a turmoil.

He picked from its feathered bed in committee room in the House of Representatives a simple and harmless resolution, suggesting, but mildly, that American citizens refrain from traveling upon vessels which his Secretary of War, with his undoubted approval, in a note to belligerent powers, had declared were reasonably "auxiliary cruisers," and asked that the Congress lay aside its business, adopt a special rule, and table the troublesome resolution which Congress itself was almost a stranger to, and thereby raised the most monstrous and spurious cry of national disloyalty since the accusations against the Hartford convention.

It followed upon a signal speech by Elihu Root in New York. It marked a complete change of the administration's foreign policy. It was retroactive and settled gratuitously an academic question for England and France, which nations long had given up their contention and whose nationals had not touched an American port with an armed merchantman for months before. It left the *Lusitania* case in the metaphysical jargon of a hazy past of diplomatic negotiations, and the case of Belgium was fodder for the mental gyrations of future generations, but it would have been "a good enough Morgan until after election" if the election could have come before an astounded people had had time to open its eyes.

The result of it all has been that the people have been asking: Is the President going to declare war on Germany? And finally, after a long and tedious series of changes and interchanges, the slogan has been evolved that "the President has kept us out of war."

And the Democratic champions are crying up and down the land, "The President has kept us out of war," "The President has kept us out of war," when at no time since the sinking of the *Lusitania* has there been a time when any man in the Republic would say, "this day" Congress ought to declare war against any particular European nation.

Because, then, of the Democratic President's seeming determination to absorb the legislative sphere and take credit, if credit be due, the discussion of the issues necessarily involves a discussion of President Wilson's acts. The campaign is a campaign of Woodrow Wilson versus the Republican Party and the Republican Party versus Woodrow Wilson.

REVENUE RAISING AND FUTURE POLICIES.

As the time approaches for the people of the United States to choose between the two political parties, it is significant that there was never a presidential election year when, seemingly, the issues were less definitely marked.

But, as a matter of fact, it seems to me that there never was a time when the real issue was as outstanding as in the present campaign.

The administration's policies in foreign negotiations will receive their share in the discussions, and well they may, for in these we discover the inherent qualities which make for the success or lack of success of the leaders of the administration party; the Mexican situation will receive its attention, as it is still an unsettled case; administration of civil service, national defense, labor legislation, Government-service management, social-welfare laws, and economy and extravagance will come in for discussion, and many other questions; but the real outstanding question and the grave concern of the people of these United States ought to be to provide for the adoption of a policy now as a permanent future policy to meet the condition which we know will come when the European war is ended.

Our concern is not with an academic question or an abstract policy. It is of a condition which we know will actually exist and will come upon us even more suddenly than the now existing condition has come about. The present condition, the heaping of the wealth of a stricken continent of nations at our doors, has brought about a condition in which statesmanship has been as little needed to care for the economic welfare of the people and business management of the Government as a carrier pigeon needs a compass. The real question—regulation of our import and export trade—is in practical abeyance, for which Democracy can thank an all-wise Providence, and the skill required to raise revenue for the Government is tantamount to the business acumen employed by the boy who picks an apple from an orchard or the street faker who passes the hat. There was but one way to get it—to take it directly from the man who had it. It required no skill, knowledge, experience, or statesmanship. A college glee club could frame a revenue bill providing for men to contribute so many dollars out of every thousand above a certain number, and for dead men to pay a percentage of their abandoned estates, and munitions makers a part of their profits. I do not criticize the Democratic Party for raising money as they have done. I would, however, have changed many items in percentages or amounts of exemptions; but, in the main, I do not criticize. I only protest that the Democratic Party should take absolutely no undue credit. They had to have the money to run the Government. They went where it was to get it. They could not have done more. They could not have done less. The degree of skill exhibited in the application of their science bears the same relation to statecraft as the amputation of a leg to surgery or justice court pettifoggery to law. The mildest condemnation or the faintest praise would be too extreme. Outside of the petty larceny from the Republican Party of the Tariff Commission and the dyestuffs measure of protection, it was all just a plain, simple, commonplace, everyday act. It heralds no prophet, marks no historical incident, nor broods any imminent disaster. Neither does it furnish the first mile indicator of a thousand-

mile journey on the route over which that party, if it were chosen to pilot the American omnibus, would travel to reach its destination. It means little as to future course in the all-important questions to come. As to its containing the ingredients from which to analyze a prospective mixture, it is as indefinite as a drink of water. It has appealed to the Democratic sage in geometric progression. To a Republican protectionist its augury for the future approaches zero by infinitesimal increments. Let the Democratic Party hitch its chariot to a star and bask in the mazes of a metaphysical party unction. The Republican Party and the people are getting down to cold, hard business.

PLATFORMS NOT PROPHETS.

First, the platforms. What must the people expect? Not much. Not much because of platforms. In 1912 Mr. Wilson said, "Our pledges are made to be kept when in office * * *." He probably meant it when he said it. They have been and they have not been. Other platforms have been kept sometimes and sometimes not. Republican pledges have not always been kept.

And while platforms have not always been kept, they have their use. They are a necessary implement of political parties. Give political parties and politicians of both parties credit that while they make their platforms to get in on, and construct them along practical lines, with an eye to their attractiveness, in the main they are a fairly honest embodiment of the intended governmental policies to be applied if election brings success.

But keep in mind that platforms are not prophets, and no platform ever anticipated the future. The framers of the Constitution itself could not anticipate that before the first regular session of Congress was called it would be necessary to call an extra session to submit 10 amendments to the Constitution. When Washington was made President a contest over assumption by the Federal Government of States' debts was not anticipated. Reelected in 1792, the outstanding issues, ending in the proclamation of neutrality between England and France and Genet's recall, were not dreamed of. Adams did not anticipate the alien and sedition laws or the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. Jefferson at his second election could not foresee the embargo of 1807 or Napoleon's decrees of Berlin and Milan; Madison did not anticipate the declaration of war against Great Britain, or Monroe, elected 100 years ago, the acrimonious debate and the Missouri Compromise.

For the most part the questions which rise out of our dealings with other nations of the world involving national pride and patriotism are not anticipated in party platforms.

On the other hand, the questions which really distinguish between the parties are those which involve banking and finance, Government regulation and internal improvements, and tariff making.

These are the questions which are always present. When there are no spectacular questions to be discussed in the campaign they hold the center of the stage, but only then as a general proposition. The result therefore is that platforms and campaigns fought out on spectacular issues are settled without reference to financial questions which afterwards really demand the attention of the Government. And likewise campaigns fought out on business lines are sidetracked for new issues which arise.

The 1912 platform and campaign accentuated tariff legislation, cost of living, trust legislation, extravagance, and many things which were lost almost complete sight of in legislation which was in complete antithesis to all of them. Instead of cutting cost of living, it has gone up; instead of trust legislation, we are talking of the allowance of forming a trust to control world trade; instead of tariff legislation, there was none offered, except upon the schedules for dyestuffs, the one on which tariffs had not been before, and the very opposite—direct taxation—was put into effect, and instead of cutting down extravagance we have been the most extravagant of any time in the history of our own or of any other nation.

These things were crowded off the stage by a changed world condition which completely absorbed the attention of Congress and the country, and in the present campaign they are talking about Americanism, the European war, Mexico, and national defense.

THE PROBLEM WHEN WAR IS OVER.

And when the next administration settles down to business; when the Mexicans throw down their guns and turn to work, and the only evidences left of the European war is the canvassing agent ringing the doorbell with the big red volume, which some people buy and nobody reads; when war heroes, with lost limbs and relatives in Michigan and Indiana, "would like to come to America to find work," we will have the very prosaic but complicated task of preserving in America an industrial condition high above the level of the shambles of Europe. We will be confronted with the most serious question in our history. It is a problem which will require foresight, steadfastness, fortitude. It must be approached with a cool determination, an unalterable purpose, and a definite object. There can be no wavering and no vacillation. There is no halfway station. It will not be a business for men of a party whose leaders represent all shades of one side of the very fundamental principle involved, from the abolition of customs duties to "a question of adopting means to ends," but for a party whose very first principles are the foundation upon which the legislative superstructure must be builded.

If you want pledges as earnest, it is business for the party which has advocated the application of the remedy and put it in practice for half a century, not of a party which after 50 years of opposition to the principle mildly asserts that it "reaffirms" its old revenue doctrine and "unreservedly indorses the Underwood tariff" in exemplification of it.

It is not the business for a party whose platform maker and leader proposes for revenue taxes on gasoline, automobiles, bank checks, and steel, and whose leaders in the Congress tax almost anything other than gasoline, automobiles, bank checks, and steel.

It can not be expected that a party not able to agree in methods of application of principles consonant with their traditional party faith could for one minute abandon that ingrown party faith upon a great vital question and all of them, going over to the opposite view, agree harmoniously upon the exact shade of it to adopt.

Why, if the American people should choose the Democratic Party in the coming election, and they settle down to make a tariff after the war in Europe is over, I should expect to see the worst wrangle since the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The result would necessarily be worse than any tariff we have ever had. And if our standing with the other nations is impaired now by reason of a vacillating policy, the Lord only knows what the condition would be when in 1921 the Republican Party would be called upon to reverse a disaster to America and place it upon the shoulders of Europe by closing our doors to unrestricted trade.

I do not think the American people will make this mistake. They will not, unless they mistake the issue.

THE HURDY-GURDY MAN.

I have in my possession a little sketch about the hurdy-gurdy man. I am not at liberty to give the name of the author, but it seems to me to be a very good portrayal of the Democratic campaign this election.

As I know the sketch to be written in the most kindly spirit and without intent to reflect on either the Democratic campaigner or the hurdy-gurdy man himself I give it here.

The hurdy-gurdy man is coming. He is coming to play sweet music to the free and independent denizens of the cities and towns and valleys. He is tuning his hand organ with the finest strings and with a variegated repertoire to give excruciating ecstasy to the soul of the proletaire. His shillalah is in hand, the chimpanzee is tugging at the leash, and the autumnal chapeau is off the hook to garner capricious votes.

The Democratic hurdy-gurdy is tuned to the finest points. It is concert pitch. It has the chromatics, the upper and lower registers, the forte, the double forte, and the soft pedal for double "p." It is set with the low bass, the coloratura, the traps, double snares, the tambourine, the tinkling cymbal and sounding brass. It produces the bell sound, the vox humana, vox populi, and fluke and picayune. Its melodies are many and varied, and among others it produces, with delicate shade and accurate tempo, the Good Roads March, the Rural Credit Tango, the Child Labor Lullaby.

"She play de Merika Merika Tom Tom, de Revenue Avenue Ragga, de Hyphena Hugga Mugga, and de Huert Hoka Poka. Som time she play, buut note so muuch, 'De Intermezzl de Cavilleria Huert,' 'de Carranz Symphona de Fact,' 'de Pancho Veeya Francisk,' and som time she play dat grande overture 'de Storma de Vera Cru'; buut note so muuch.

"Buut de nica de t'ing ees, de hurdy-gurdy she knowa de hurdy-gurdy man anda de hurdy-gurdy man she knowa heem, anda wheena de hurdy-gurdy man he hoolda da hurdy-gurdy to de streekt accountabil, dea hurdy-gurdy he ees note too proud to play. An' the hurdaga man he can turna de organ botha way, and som time at once botha way togeth an aila de same way, too. An' dees hurdaga man he halafa nica tune for a differa stree, an' he play heem hees hurdaga een Mennesot and fur Nebrask and goa to Dakot and Menneap he play heem a differa tune, likka de tune to makka de road goo, to borra de farm de mon, to makka de keed stoppa work, anda dees leetl nica tune to takka de cara de workka man ven he ickka de toe. Ven heem play moosic een Chicago an' Philadelf heem play on de bom bom string and makka de noise likka de war; heem puuta de

soift peedel on de makka de road goo, de borra de farm de mon, alla de same likka he puut de bigga soift peedel on de bom bom streeng in Nebrask Menneapol.

"De hurdy-gurdy man he no likka som tunes. De hurdy-gurdy man no likka De Watcha Waita Walse and de Nerva Excita Polka; and he no likka de Meloda of Johnna Leen, de Persona Representa1 to Mixa Mex. In dees circumstansa de hurdy-gurdy man he no play some nica tune so much. And the hurdy-gurdy man takka some nica tune out from the hurdy-gurdy wot he no likka de hurdy gurdy to play. He takka out from the hurdy-gurdy de nica sweet tune 'De Republica Hurdy-Gurdy He no Play de New Tune for Thirty Year.' He no likka when he hear Republica hurdy-gurdy play 'Democratic Hurdy-Gurdy She Makka de New Tune Differa Evera Day.' De Democratic hurdy-gurdy man he takka out too from de hurdy-gurdy de Tarriff Protectsha Tune and he brakka de record up and smasha de piece and burna de dust and wink hes eye, and put in the hurdy-gurdy de tune of the Tariff Com-mish, and he say, 'We foola de workka man.' And de hurdy-gurdy man he takka out alla de leetle ping-ping notes to de Breetesh Man and the Duetch; he no likka de sound. He try tuna dem up to makka dem play 'Woodra Wilsa Keep Merica Out from War,' but de little ping-ping notes she come so queeck out of de hurdy-gurdy he sound likka De Uropa War He Keep Away froma Woodra Wilsa.

"And when close to 'lection day come de hurdy-gurdy man play alla de time de America Merica Tom Tom and for to borra the farmer de mon, to makka de good road, to makka the child no work, and de tune to takka de care of the workka man when he die.

"And the hurdy-gurdy man he play and play,
And he turna de organ botha way.
He can turna de same way alla way thro,
And som time, at once, botha way togeth
And alla the same way too."

PLAYING CUTTLEFISH ON TARIFF.

The Democratic Party is making desperate effort to obscure the real issues—the tariff and the future foreign policy of America.

They want to talk about "achievements" in good roads, rural credits, child labor, compensation, and like legislation upon which every citizen is agreed, and which but mark the natural course of a Congress yielding to the demands of a great progressive Republic of the twentieth century. The Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses would have passed such laws regardless of parties or party politics. In these things the Democratic Party has followed, not led; they have yielded, not urged; they have bungled, not builded. To adopt these measures—which the country demanded—they have ruthlessly abandoned the very time-honored fundamentals upon which their political texture rests—State rights and opposition to the centralization of power in the Federal Government—and have wrenched the distorted makeshifts through the lesions of their political hearts.

Now they hold them up to an admiring people and ask American citizens to judge from these "achievements" whether or not they as a party are best suited to solve the momentous problems to be met when the millions of men in Europe stop fighting and start working for employers who will reach out for world markets.

They ask the American people to choose them for the task of providing against the oncoming onslaught of Europe for trade; to say to them that in the face of the dire and absolute necessity of a real, effective, and genuine protective tariff, the people of these United States should choose the party of the gospel of tariff for revenue and free trade.

They are playing the cuttlefish on tariff and the hurdy-gurdy on roads.

UNDERWOOD BILL THEIR FAITH.

I believe that they are sincere in their belief that the tariff is not the real issue. I believe that they are sincere when they say that they believe that the Underwood bill is a good bill and that it has brought about prosperity. I have watched them in the House of Representatives when they have made speeches about the Underwood bill and wondered if I could discern from the glint of their eyes and the vehemence of their gestures whether or not they were sincere when they said that the Underwood bill has brought prosperity and was the best tariff bill ever framed, and the more I have watched them the more I have come to the conclusion that they are obsessed with the idea of the beneficence of that measure, and that it is their faith, their hobby, and the quintessence of their very political existence.

But American industries can not thrive upon Democratic sincerity or upon blind faith in the schedules of the Underwood bill. The conditions after the war will parallel those before the war, except that all Europe will enter into a keen strife for American markets.

The present industrial independence of France and the protective policies which Bismarck taught Germany will not be a circumstance, and without question Great Britain will have totally abandoned her former free-trade policies.

What were conditions before the war and during the Underwood tariff law? What will they be after the war? Those are the questions. The interim is not a criterion, as abnormal conditions prevail.

From October 4, 1913, to August 1, 1914, when the war broke out, with the Underwood law in partial operation, a period of 10 months, imports increased over the previous corresponding period by $101,977,779 and exports shrunk by $158,888,363, a loss of trade balance of nearly $57,000,000.

April, before the Underwood bill, found 67,498 railroad cars idle; the April after there were 212,869—three times as many. Steel rails used to be said to be the barometer of trade; idle freight cars are a better indication.

All this was before the beginning of the war. In the second year under the Underwood law millions were out of employment in the larger cities, a condition that became so aggravated that a department of the Government began to act as an employment agency.

Within two months after the war started—September 21, 1914—the Secretary of the Treasury appealed to Congress for the "war-revenue" act.

AMERICA STORM CENTER AFTER WAR.

With these conditions before the war, what now must we expect when the war is ended and all of the great nations of Europe, saddled down with billions of debts, turn to industrial channels to recoup their losses?

The industrial storm center of the world will be America, with its hundred-odd millions of people and its two hundred billions of wealth, its financial mart the most powerful, its territory compact and gigantic, its natural resources unlimited, its trade commandeering the seas of the hemispheres, an industrial system with a potential magnitude to defy human prophecy, and with a free citizenry enjoying the greatest benefactions ever bestowed upon a nation.

America's opportunity will be then—when the war is ended. Then will be established the governmental policy which must determine the real future of America.

Two ways lie open—two ways as diametrically opposed as the signs of the zodiac.

A FREE-TRADE HUGGER-MUGGER.

One is the regulation of foreign trade through customs duties calculated primarily to bring revenue to the Government by an adjustment based upon the theory that the tariff schedules should practically, or almost, equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad, but so shaved below the crucial point as to sharpen the wits of American business against the world, and allowing for a measure of the disparity in the standard of living, a new-fangled free-trade hugger-mugger, based upon a mistaken assumption that it will regulate and not destroy and that a direct benefit will accrue to the individual. It is an evolution of twentieth century political expediency, an abandonment of the form of free trade which preserves the spirit. It is the utmost that the American people could expect from the party whose progenitors were anti-Federal, for State rights, against centralized government, and strict constitutionalists.

The application of this plan would call for a perpetual and intermittent shifting of tariff schedules in the wake of a rising and falling industrial condition, and under it we would suffer sporadic spells of industrial activity. Business would be hampered, markets made unstable, steady employment uncertain, and the United States of America would struggle along for a place in the sun, performing a doubtful service for the other nations of the world.

GENUINE PROTECTION.

The other way which will lie open to America after the war in Europe is ended is the regulation of foreign trade by the imposition of customs duties for the straightforward and avowed purpose of regulation of imports to amply protect American industries, based upon a clear-cut fixing of the schedules to equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, allowing in the home cost the full differential for the American wage earner in recognition of the standard of living of a sovereign citizen of a free republic. This is exactly what the voters of the United States may expect and will get at the hands of a party of which this principle is the very foundation. It will be a thoroughgoing protective tariff without quibble, artifice, or hocus-pocus. There will be no embarrassments, no heartburnings, no necessity for conciliations, if, when the war in Europe is ended, the people have intrusted their lawmaking

to the Republican Party and the Congress settles down to make a tariff.

The application of this plan will insure for America the supremacy which her natural advantage demands. Instead of sharing our benefactions piecemeal with the people of Europe in Europe, we will build up our industries to a scale in keeping with the magnitude of our place in the sun, reenergizing our population as conditions warrant from the blood and brain of our sister nations.

This will give America its place in the world and make for the steady and permanent progress which becomes a free and independent people.

MIXING MEXICO.

In Mexico the President demanded the retirement of Huerta, who had been recognized by the leading nations of the world. He demanded that Huerta salute the flag, which Huerta did not do. To enforce the demand he sent an American army and war vessels to Vera Cruz. A battle was fought there, just as a battle was fought at Manila Bay in 1898, although war had not been declared. The President then withdrew after 19 were killed and many wounded, the flag sullied and unsaluted. Early in 1914 the President lifted the embargo on arms to Mexico and furnished Villa and Carranza with the implements of war. Early in 1915 he abandoned interference in Mexican affairs, and said that it was none of his business and none of the American people's business how the Mexicans settled their affairs. In June he changed his mind and warned Mexico that the United States would not stand indifferently by, and called upon the Mexican leaders to get together and save Mexico from revolution or the United States would do it. Our President then called the A B C council, who sent an invitation to Mexican leaders and generals with an R. S. V. P. in 10 days.

THE R. S. V. P.'S TO THE A B C'S.

The R. S. V. P.'s were forthcoming, Villa answering "Reserve seat, very pleased," and Carranza answering, "Refuse to sit in with vacillating politicians," and the A B C council "Read the sentiment of the vox populi," and "Reserved sleepers for various places."

About two months after this, on the 19th of October, 1915, the President extended recognition to Gen. Carranza. The turbulent state continued in Mexico, and March 9 Villa raided Columbus, United States of America. Then the President sent the expedition to Mexico to get Villa. The army penetrated Mexican soil 300 miles. Carranza demanded their retirement and made threats of attack if our columns moved other than north, and the President admonished him that carrying out such threats would lead to the "gravest consequences." Immediately following was the attack upon our American Cavalry by Carranza troops at Carrizal (June 21), where Capt. Boyd and several men were killed and 17 American soldiers taken prisoners. Carranza had made the attack which entailed the "gravest consequences." The consequences were a request by our President for the return of our prisoners. They were returned.

GOING TO MEXICO OR COMING HOME?

More American soldiers and citizens have been killed by Mexicans in the last few years than in the Spanish-American War. Embargoes have been placed and raised; battles have been fought; ultimatums have been issued; salutes ordered; withdrawals demanded; and to-day, with the militia preparing, going, and gone to the border, and the Regular Army backing gradually out of Mexico, the American people do not know whether we are going to Mexico or coming home.

The American people to-day do not know what the foreign policy of America is, so muddled have been the acts of the administration. Foreign nations do not know. One thing is certain: The United States has but few friendly nations in either the Eastern or Western Hemisphere. We have lost prestige from our dealings with the nations of the world, and we must pay the penalty. It takes a firm, stanch, straightforward leadership to redeem our lost prestige. Then America will take her allotted place in the sun.

PERTINENT OBSERVATIONS.

Wealth is but a comparative term. Money is an accepted medium for buying. Credit is fiscal fixation of faith, belief, esteem, honor, reputation. Debt, especially war debt, is a trespass upon credit; it is the advantage of the past crystallized into the disadvantage of the present.

When the world war is ended there will be no triumphant marches into conquered cities, and not a single nation will gain an acre or a lot on which to build a house or a factory or to raise a spear of grain where there were not more houses and more factories and more fields before the war.

Ten nations will have more debt, less money to pay debts with, more dependents, fewer to depend on, less men and less to do, and infinitely less for each man to do. Each nation will consume less, and where each sold to nine before the war, it will be generations before they will either buy from or sell to all of the others the things they raise and make or ought to make and sell if they are ever to pay their creditors.

It is a war for expansion with no place to expand to; for a new place in the sun with none under the sun; to conquer nations which can not be conquered.

Every man in every nation now at war will work for less when the war is over than he received before. For millions there will be no work to do. Buying will be less; selling will be less; making will be less.

America has grown richer, has greater credit, and comparatively less debt than ever before.

America's problem is to help herself and help Europe. There are two ways to help Europe; one way to help herself. One way is to help Europe in Europe; the other way is to help Europeans in America. One course is to open our markets and impoverish America to enrich Europe; the other course is to regulate our markets and open America and enrich the European in America. One course adopts the European standard for Americans in America; the other the American standard for all in America. One will make America a symposium with Europe; the other make an asylum for Europe. One will make America a Nation of 130,000,000 in 30 years; the other will make America a Nation of 300,000,000 in 30 years. It will lie within the power of America to reconstruct Europe in Europe or resuscitate Europeans in America.

The two methods are as opposed as night to day; they are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed.

One of the two methods will have to be chosen by America when the war is over.

It will have to be done by the Congress of the United States. It will be done by regulation of imports; by fixing customs duties. It can not be done in any other way.

It can not be done by the President of the United States. He has no such power.

It can not be done by a tariff commission. A tariff commission can procure data for Congress—facts, figures, and conditions. Congress will have to adopt one or the other of the two principles. A slight shade of difference in duties will establish one condition or the other. There is no halfway station. The schedules will be just below or just above the crucial point. When they are in force imports will flow in or they will not. If they do flow in we will start on the reconstruction of Europe. If they do not we will proceed with the construction of America. We will start to choose between manufacturing for the world or having the world manufacture for us.

The Ways and Means Committee of the Congress of the United States will have as much to do with construction in America after the war is over as the combined field staffs in Europe to-day have with the destruction of Europe.

There is not one chance in a million that a Democratic President and Congress which did not agree on a single article on which revenue was to be raised when foreign nations and Democratic principles were not involved could agree, when every nation of Europe and the very fundamental principles of their party are at stake.

The principle involved is the very fundamental principle upon which the Republican Party is founded, and the one vital principle upon which every Member of Congress, every voter, and every President who ever professed the faith of Republicanism is thoroughly in accord.

This is the one question before which our present diplomatic triumphs or mistakes, Army and Navy construction, extension of governmental spheres, and economy of domestic and internal affairs pale into a helpless insignificance.

It is the determination of the very future of American supremacy and stability and influence and independence.

It is the sine qua non of a great Republic.

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## National Guard in Camps—Why?

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 29, 1916.*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I desire to print in the RECORD a letter that I have just received from a member of one of the batteries of the Alabama National Guard, now mobilized at Montgomery, Ala.

This letter was written by an intelligent young lawyer. It is typical of many letters which Members of Congress are receiving from their constituents. I have received many such letters myself. The boys of the National Guard want to know why they are kept in camps, when the occasion for their having been called into service has evidently passed. These boys also want to know how long they are to be kept from home. They have duties at home, callings which they wish to pursue, jobs that they want to hold, and they are becoming impatient with the situation.

I wish I were in position to give the soldiers of the National Guard some satisfaction along these lines. I regret that I am unable to do so. The letter in question is as follows:

AUGUST 24, 1916.

Hon. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. HUDDLESTON: We have numbers of young lawyers and other professional and business men in our battery, who are suffering great sacrifices by being here. I am one of the number. We do not feel like staying here, when the only advantage we get is sleeping out in the open air and teaching our stomachs that we can live on fat sowbelly and peas. We get no military training here. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to get it. We have no horses and there is no prospect of getting any, and everybody knows a man can't learn and practice artillery without horses. Of course I have to be careful what I say, but I feel that I can say to you it is the greatest comedy of errors I have ever seen. Shakespeare would turn over in his grave in disgust if he could get a vision of it, and if he were here he would lower his head in chagrin and jealousy and order every volume of his famous Comedy of Errors burned up. You can't imagine the great hardship it is to the fellows. Several of them think it would help if you would make a speech in Congress before it adjourns, setting up facts above outlined and showing what a great injustice a supposedly democratic Government does to its young men, citizens who have spent years and money in college training for life by herding them up like cattle and training them in military science by having them pull the triggers of empty guns. We think we are men who can think and reason. None of us can see either the justice of it or the wisdom of it, either politically or economically. We certainly would appreciate your help.

On July 27, 1916, I introduced in the House the following resolution:

House Resolution 357.

Whereas many members of the National Guard who have been called into the service of the United States and who are now under arms have families and relatives requiring their attention and support and have business interests which are jeopardized by their absence so that the industrial, social, and business life of the Nation is being seriously interfered with, and the public welfare calls for their return to their homes; and

Whereas the emergency for which such persons were called into service is no longer urgent, and the necessity for those who may be needed at home remaining under arms no longer exists: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is hereby suggested to the President of the United States that furloughs for indefinite absences be granted to all members of the National Guard, including officers, who were called into service and are now under arms who may apply for same, such persons when furloughed to be returned to their homes at public expense and to receive no pay or allowances for the time during which they are absent.

I did not expect this resolution to be acted on or even considered by the Committee on Military Affairs. However, it seemed the most emphatic way in which I could express my opinion. I have been a civilian soldier myself and I know how anxious the members of the National Guard are to go home and take up their civilian pursuits. They are willing to serve in the field when there is occasion for service. They are willing to fight if there is fighting to be done, but they are unwilling to lie in camp indefinitely and march back and forth and uselessly twiddle their thumbs.

## The Eight-Hour Day.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the proceedings of a conference held between the representatives of the railroad employees of Illinois and a number of the Members from that State, on August 22, in the Labor Committee room, relative to the employees' demand for an eight-hour day:

INFORMAL CONFERENCE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS, ORDER OF RAILWAY CONDUCTORS, BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN, AND BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

The conference was held in the room of the House Committee on Labor, in the Capitol, at 11.30 a. m., and was arranged for by J. A. Cain, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

Present: Representatives CANNON, TAVENNER, BUCHANAN, WHEELER, and RODENBERG, of Illinois

Mr. A. F. Whitney, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Oak Park, Ill.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers: C. E. Filbert, Villa Grove, Ill.; W. B. Combs, Chicago, Ill.; F. J. Smatts, Chicago, Ill.; A. L. Reeves, Chicago, Ill.; A. O. Smith, Chicago, Ill.

Order of Railway Conductors: D. W. Marshall, Salem, Ill.; F. L. Howard, Kankakee, Ill.; George Lyons, Decatur, Ill.; O. L. Stacy, Bloomington, Ill.; E. Moales, Chicago, Ill.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen: S. A. Boone, Oak Park, Ill.; C. F. Thomas, Decatur, Ill.; S. R. Schaner, East Dubuque, Ill.; J. M. McQuaid, Chicago, Ill.; H. Dennis, Bloomington, Ill.; J. M. Banser, Chicago, Ill.; C. Dalbey, Villa Grove, Ill.; H. N. Hotchkiss, Chicago, Ill.; J. O'Toole, Chicago, Ill.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen: J. A. Cain, Chicago, Ill.; John Delano, Chicago, Ill.; J. W. Rickert, Chicago, Ill.; D. S. Coughlin, Chicago, Ill.; J. F. McCarty, Chicago, Ill.; S. T. Clark, Kankakee, Ill.; J. A. Clements, Springfield, Ill.; J. P. McFarland, Chicago, Ill.

STATEMENT OF MR. A. F. WHITNEY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN, OAK PARK, ILL.

Mr. WHITNEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, we have the honor to represent the engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, and yardmen in the State of Illinois, and will for a moment speak for them. Some of our boys came to the Capitol Building yesterday and got in touch with 15 or 16 Congressmen. We regret that there are not more of you here this morning, but from what we have learned business and other matters have precluded the possibility of a better attendance. We are here to explain to you the eight-hour day and time and a half for overtime propositions, which the enginemen and trainmen have demanded of the American railroads. We have made these demands in the interest of 400,000 of these employees, who represent approximately 2,000,000 people. The principle of an eight-hour day is fundamentally right. It is one that has been recognized by Congress and by many of the State legislatures. We have the eight-hour day in the District of Columbia for Government employees, and in many other parts of the country. It is now in effect on 23 per cent of the mileage of the railroads. It seems to us that a fundamental principle which is recognized by 100,000,000 people, or at least by all of the people whose minds are not prejudiced by reason of commercial affiliation, is not a proposition for arbitration. That is the reason that we, as representatives of these labor organizations, have declined to arbitrate the principle of the eight-hour day. The eight-hour day is in effect in the building trades and many other industries throughout the country, and as practical railroad men we can assure you gentlemen that it is practicable and can be operated on the American railroads. The railroad managers have said to us and to the people, through the press, that we are not sincere in our demand for an eight-hour day; that we are asking for an eight-hour basic day, which means more compensation. As a matter of fact, the exigencies of the railway business demand that certain crews should be on the road longer than eight hours. I mean by that that there are accidents over which no manager has control, and there are times when it is necessary for crews to remain on duty longer than eight hours in order to get their cargo into the terminal. But the principle that we seek is the eight-hour basic day.

We believe that a large percentage of the trains moved can be moved from terminal to terminal over divisions of ordinary length in eight or less than eight hours, and that the granting of an eight-hour day to our men will not materially increase the operating cost.

Mr. BUCHANAN. What is the average mileage of the freight divisions?

Mr. WHITNEY. The mileage of the freight divisions varies from 90 to 200. There are very few divisions that are 200 miles in length.

Mr. RODENBERG. What would be a fair average?

Mr. WHITNEY. One hundred and fifteen to 120 miles. Some of the people are under the impression that our proposition means that we shall tie up at the expiration of eight hours, or that the railroads must pay overtime after eight hours. I want to say to you that such is not the case. On a division 125 miles in length, under our proposition, overtime would not accrue until the crew had been on duty 10 hours. In other words, 100 miles and eight hours are synonymous. We measure the day by eight hours or by 100 miles. On a division 150 miles in length the crew must be on duty 12 hours before overtime accrues. So that a railroad that operates a division 150 miles in length is not penalized on account of the eight-hour day any more than the railroad that operates a division 100 miles in length. The principle is simply this: That the freight train, from the time it leaves the terminal until it arrives at the opposite terminal, must make an average speed of 12½ miles an hour. If it does that there will be no penalty attached; there will no overtime accrue. We believe that it is in the interest of the shipper, in the interest of the public, that the commerce of this country be moved at a speed of at least 12½ miles an hour, and when you take out the delays that are bound to accrue at terminals the average speed will actually be much less. We believe if the people understood that our demand for an eight-hour day merely meant a little closer supervision on the part of the operating officers of these railroads and that it meant more rest and greater efficiency, there would not be a voice against it. But those things we have been unable to get before the public, because of our limited means in the way of publicity. The railroads have the advantage in many respects of the use of the press. They have more money to spend for advertising than we have. We have been told that in this campaign they have spent several million dollars in advertising. We have not had the money to spend.

The very best we can do is to go before the business men at the various terminals where we live; we meet a few of the traveling public, and call upon representative gentlemen like you to tell our story. We feel that if the facts are known, the people of this country and the legislative bodies here in Washington will be with us and will not censure us for refusing to arbitrate the fundamental principle that has been recognized for a good many years in many classes of service.

Mr. CANNON. You touched a point about which I want to ask you a question. Would it interrupt you if I did?

Mr. WHITNEY. No; go ahead.

Mr. CANNON. Because I am not clear about it. Now, as I understand it, there are two factors. If you run 100 miles a day and run 12½ miles an hour, you would have the eight-hour day?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. There would be no extra pay?

Mr. WHITNEY. Correct.

Mr. CANNON. Now, then, the 100 miles is one factor. Suppose you run less than 100 miles; if you run at all, you get the day's pay?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. I have seen it so stated. I did not know whether it was true or not.

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. If you run six or seven hours you get that just the same?

Mr. WHITNEY. We get that now. The railroads demand the exclusive right to all the time of engine, train, and yardmen, regardless of whether they have work for them, and only pay them for days actually worked; it is reasonable and right, therefore, that when they utilize their services for less than eight hours they should compensate them for at least one day's pay. This principle has been recognized by the railroads for years and is not an issue at this time.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That is the condition now.

Mr. CANNON. That is the condition now?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. Well, that is the proposed condition, too?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. Then I want to ask you another question. Your demand is that if you run over eight hours, or over 100 miles, then you get time and a half for the extra run. That is to say, you would get paid for an hour extra plus a half hour?

Mr. WHITNEY. If we run—let me put it this way——

Mr. CANNON. All right.

Mr. WHITNEY. If we are more than eight hours running 100 miles or less, we demand that the excess time be paid for at the regular rate plus one-half of that rate.

Mr. CANNON. For the excess?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. I judge from what I see in the papers that the President's proposition is that you get prorata for the extra day?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I don't think it is made clear to you. I think there is a question that very many do not understand. For example, if they run 125 miles in 10 hours they do not get this time-and-a-half overtime, but they get paid for the extra mileage.

Mr. CANNON. That is prorated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. They get paid pro rata on the same rate of mileage. That is something that a great many do not understand. If they run 125 miles in 10 hours they do not ask for overtime. It is in the way of a piece system.

Mr. CANNON. If you run 125 miles you get the eight-hour pay plus 25 per cent more?

Mr. WHITNEY. No.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No; they get the same rate of mileage. If they run 135 miles in 8 hours they would be paid for 135 miles. We are on the mileage basis in most lines of the service.

Mr. CANNON. That is, if you run the 135 miles in 8 hours?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir. We will be paid the mileage. Now, bear in mind that we have two ways of figuring time.

Mr. CANNON. I want to get that clear in my mind.

Mr. WHITNEY. Under our proposals 100 miles is synonymous with 8 hours; 1 hour is synonymous with 12½ miles.

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. WHITNEY. Consequently when we run 100 miles in 8 hours we have simply earned a day's pay. But if we run 100 miles in 9 hours, then we have earned a day's pay and 1 hour overtime under our proposal.

Mr. RODENBERG. Exactly.

Mr. CANNON. Which you want time and a half for?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. You want time and a half for the extra hour?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. But if you run only 90 miles you still get the day's pay?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir. We have been getting that for years. That is a guaranty, a minimum guaranty.

Mr. CANNON. Then, if there was an acci²ent on the road and you were out 10 hours you would get paid a day and a quarter?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir; 1 day and 2 hours overtime.

Mr. CANNON. Yes; I wanted to get that clear.

Mr. WHITNEY. Now, there is another point, Uncle Joe, that we want you to understand, and that is that there will be no penalization upon the railroads who operate long divisions, because as the division is lengthened our day is lengthened, for the reason that 12½ miles and 1 hour are synonymous. In other words, on the 150-mile division we must work 12 hours before we earn overtime, because we will have to work on a speed basis of 12½ miles an hour.

Mr. CANNON. And you run 50 miles farther?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. Do you get a day and a half for that?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir; we get a day and a half for that, and we give the railroads four hours more of our time.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The same rate per mile.

Mr. CANNON. I see.

Mr. WHITNEY. Now, the railroad managers have tried to befog the mind of the public on this very issue. Our proposition is not a demand for an eight-hour day but for an eight-hour basic day. The reason we put it that way is because we realize that the emergency will arise when it will be necessary for crews to remain on duty more than eight hours. Now, the demand for time and a half pay is closely related to the eight-hour demand. In the first place, we believe tha⁴ eight hours is long enough for men to toil. We feel that it was ordained that man should have eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, and eight hours for relaxation. If we reach that ideal we must put a penalty upon extra time, because some of the operating officers think it is more economical to keep a crew in service 12 or 14 hours than to release it and call another one.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Don't you think they are mistaken about that?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I know I do.

Mr. WHITNEY. Because the men who are on duty long hours become tired and exhausted. They are not as alert.

Mr. RODENBERG. They are not as efficient.

Mr. WHITNEY. They are not as efficient. Consequently the railroads do not get the high class of efficiency that they get under other conditions. We want to say to you gentlemen—and we hope you will be with us in this—that we are absolutely opposed to what some may term compulsory-arbitration laws. Of course, the labor organizations take the position that a compulsory-arbitration law would not be constitutional. The railroad managers have a right to discharge these men, and we believe that we have a right to quit. We think those are principles that have been pretty well established, and we rely upon the strength of our organizations to keep our men employed, provided they do not violate the rules of the companies. We have had but very little difficulty in doing that. We are willing to take our chances with the railroads in that respect. We do not feel that Congress should interfere by enacting so-called arbitration laws. We think it would be very detrimental to the people, the working people representing more than 90 per cent of the population of this country. We want our freedom; we want our rights; we want to be able to go to the railroads and deal with them over the table; and when we can not do that to deal with them in the next best way.

The organizations that we have the honor to represent are conservative and have been so recognized by the public for many years. As a matter of fact, we have been so conservative that we are trailing along about the last car in the train. Many other organizations that have come up years since our organization came into existence have enjoyed the blessings of an eight-hour day and payment of time and a half for some time. But in the interest of harmony and in the interest of conservatism we have been put off from time to time on these questions. We think that the time has now arrived when we ought to have the eight-hour day, and we are very much in earnest. We are going to have it if it is possible for us to get it in any honorable way. We believe that it is in the interest of society and that society demands it.

Mr. CANNON. Now, let me ask you a question there. The passenger people—the train conductors, engineers, firemen, and so forth—get better pay than you do?

Mr. WHITNEY. Well, they have a better basis than we have; their hours are shorter. The passenger engineers and firemen are on duty approximately five hours and the conductors and brakemen approximately seven hours a day.

Mr. CANNON. But you are not representing them?

Mr. WHITNEY. We represent all of them, but this movement will not affect their basis of compensation.

Mr. CANNON. That is what I wanted to get at.

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. But all other employees except those who handle freight—that includes the switchmen?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir; this includes switchmen.

Mr. CANNON. All other employees except those who handle freight are not included in this movement?

Mr. WHITNEY. There are the switchmen, engineers, conductors, firemen, brakemen, flagmen, and hostlers. They are all included in this movement.

Mr. CANNON. That is about 400,000 out of 2,000,000?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. You see, what little I get about this matter I get from reading. Now, I read a telegram that was sent to the President, and what the President has given out—it is due to myself as a Member of Congress, and, I suppose, to all Members of Congress—and I have been somewhat guarded in what I have said pending these negotiations, not wanting to say anything that might embarrass the President, because he is trying to make peace——

Mr. WHITNEY. Exactly.

Mr. CANNON (continuing). Between the 400,000 on the one hand and the railroad managers on the other hand. Of course, with 100,000,000 people, peace is vital.

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. Now, take somebody in New York, for instance, I don't know who, but I read in yesterday morning's paper that he was challenged about arbitration, and the President said in substance that he stood for arbitration but that there was no machinery by which arbitration can be had now, and that this is an exceptional condition, with the intimation that he is going to apply to Congress for the proper machinery, looking to the future. Now, what he means by that we have only to guess. There are certain basic principles about the rights of an American citizen that I need not voice. I have been asking questions and listening because I wanted to get as near as I could to what your demands were and what the claims of the other people were. I think, Brother RODENBERG, under these circumstances, a Member of Congress ought to be tolerably careful, because it is not now up to him what Mr. President may desire for the future by way of legislation. He has demanded of these railroad people that they concede an 8-hour day with 10 hours' pay, and pro rata time for extra mileage or hours, or both. Then, there are probably 1,600,000 other railroad employees, counting telegraphers and everybody else, connected with railroads, station agents, etc., who are said to favor arbitration and that the President has got to do something. Well, he is the President, and you boys, representing the people that you do, are all naturally playing for public sentiment. The railroads are playing for public sentiment, and the President—I read in between the lines—is playing for public sentiment. I am not criticizing any of his views, or him, or anybody, but I will just be entirely candid, speaking for myself. It is an awkward time for a Member of Congress, Mr. BUCHANAN, to butt in, as Members of Congress have no power in the premises now.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, you can sometimes do some good by butting in. You know, if you had not butted in at some time or other you would never have been in Congress. I agree with you in the main, Uncle JOE.

Mr. CANNON. That is what I am getting at. I do not know what Mr. President will put up to Congress later after this dispute is settled, as I hope it will be.

Mr. WHITNEY. Well, we hope you will know when it comes to you and that you will handle it as those matters have been handled heretofore.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I want to say this before you get away from some of the things you have been asked about: Now, you represent here, in part, 400,000 men out of 2,000,000 men, which leaves a balance of 1,600,000. Do you know what part of the balance of those men are organized in trades-unions?

Mr. WHITNEY. I can not answer that. The machinists and boiler makers are organized. The trackmen are well organized on some lines. In connection with your statement, Uncle JOE, that some million other employees are petitioning the President to take steps toward the enactment of certain legislation in favor of compulsory arbitration, I want to say this: We deny that those who have petitioned the President to take steps toward the enactment of legislation in favor of compulsory arbitration represent the unorganized railway employees. When we meet that issue we will be prepared, if I am not mistaken, to show you gentlemen that a very large number of the employees who signed these petitions did so under duress; that they were compelled to do so with their jobs threatened; that we know of men in this city, who are on our committee, who have come in personal contact with a lot of the men who have signed these petitions, and some of our men have letters to the effect that the roadmasters, train masters, superintendents, and other officers have called employees into their various offices and have said to them: "You can sign the petition or go and look for a job elsewhere." Many of the employees who signed these petitions have been enjoying the benefits of the concessions for years.

Mr. CANNON. Now, there is one other matter I want to call to your attention. I do not believe in bulldozing anywhere. I believe in settling a dispute on a fair and equitable basis if it can be ascertained. You say you have heard somebody say: "You do so and so or you will lose your job." So much for that. Now, there are a hundred million people in the United States, and I am very glad of this opportunity to tell you what is running in my mind. The settlement of the question of the wages paid these 400,000 of the 2,000,000 men who operate the railroads may involve the question of increased freight and passenger tariffs. The Interstate Commerce Commission fixes the freight tariffs and the public pays, or should pay, enough for service to maintain the roads, including fair dividends to the owners and a fair wage to those who operate the roads. Any settlement that does not accomplish this can not be permanent. Now, whether the passenger and freight tariffs in the United States are too low, I do not know. If any reliance can be placed on the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the passenger and freight tariffs in the United States are about one-half what they are elsewhere in the world.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I do not believe you answered my question, Mr. Whitney, as to whether you knew what percentage of the men on the railroads outside of your brotherhood are organized.

Mr. WHITNEY. Oh, I could not give you the figures. I stated that the machinists and boiler makers are largely organized.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes, I know they are; and the painters and carpenters.

Mr. WHITNEY. And the trackmen.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I want to ask you further whether you have ever heard any protest on the part of the organized workers that are working for the railroad companies against this movement?

Mr. WHITNEY. No, sir; there has been no protest. I will venture this opinion: That from our information the protests have come from the railroads themselves.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Well, I have nothing definite or accurate on this end of it, but my information leads me to believe that 60 per cent of the workers in the railroad industry outside of your brotherhood are organized.

Mr. CANNON. Right on that line, I don't know how much you boys get, but I am sorry for the fellows who do not get enough. I am not saying that you are getting too much, because I do not know; you will have to calculate that yourselves; but I am at times sorry for the employee who is not getting enough.

Mr. WHITNEY. Gentlemen, the wages of our men are very low. A true index is the rate per hour. Let us compare the wages per hour of railway employees in the Chicago district with those of the building trades in Chicago. Any other city would do as well. Chicago comparisons are typical of them all.

The standard rates of wages per hour now paid in Chicago are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Building employees:** | |
| Bricklayers, portable and hoisting engineers, inside wiremen, plasterers, plumbers and gas fitters, steam fitters, stonemasons, and tile layers | $0.75 |
| Lathers and marble setters | .719 |
| Elevator constructors | .688 |
| Structural iron workers | .68 |
| Composition roofers | .65 |
| Laborers in tunnels, wells, and caissons | .575 |
| Laborers on windlass, trench, and scaffold work | .50 |
| Plaster laborers | .50 |
| Composition roofer's helpers | .45 |
| Elevator constructor's helpers and tile layer helpers | .438 |
| Marble setter helpers | .425 |
| Excavating laborers, hod carriers, and steam fitters' helpers | .40 |
| **Railway employees:** | |
| Locomotive engineers | .425 to .44 |
| Switching foremen | .38 to .40 |
| Switchmen | .35 to .37 |
| Locomotive firemen | .27 to .275 |

The hourly rates for conductors and brakemen in through-freight service on railroads operating under the 10-hour-day basis are:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Western territory:** | |
| Conductors | $0.418 |
| Brakemen | .278 |
| **Southern territory:** | |
| Conductors | .41 |
| Brakemen | .275 |
| **Eastern territory:** | |
| Conductors | .40 |
| Brakemen | .267 |

Mr. RODENBERG. There is a plain discrepancy between the statements of the railroad managers and the railroad employees as to the additional expense that will be entailed on the railroads by this proposal. I see the managers say it will cost $140,000,000 extra a year, and I have seen the statement made on behalf of the employees that it would not be more than $25,000,000 at the outside. Have you any figures on that?

Mr. WHITNEY. We have made up some figures as best we could. Of course, it is impossible to arrive at anything accurate. We assume that the railroads have based their figures on past operating conditions. We know that when the eight-hour day goes into effect there is going to be a closer supervision, from an operating standpoint, and that they are going to get these trains over the road on a speed basis of at least 12½ miles an hour. It is an easy thing to move a freight train over 100 miles in eight hours. Twenty years ago the freight trains of this country were moved over a freight division in four, five, and six hours. In 1895 and 1896 the railroads introduced what they were pleased to term the "tonnage system," and the average freight train haul has increased more than 200 per cent since that time. On account of the increase in tonnage the movement has become slower. If we secure the eight-hour day, we will go back to a system that is not as good as we had 20 years ago, but which will be an improvement upon present conditions. We did at one time have a speed basis. Now, in connection with the point raised by Uncle Joe, the railroad employees are not here to lay a stone in the way of the railroads securing an adjustment of freight or passenger rates.

Mr. RODENBERG. In fact, the railroads have always had your hearty cooperation on that line?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir; absolutely. But the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission indicate that they have passed through 10 months of unprecedented prosperity, and that their net earnings, if I am not mistaken, are something like $150,000,000 more in the past 12 months than in any preceding 12 months.

Mr. BUCHANAN. They have increased much more than that.

Mr. WHITNEY. Well, I am glad to hear it; but the $100,000,000 that they talk about, of course, has a tendency to invite the farmers and the other shippers over to the side of the railroads. One hundred million dollars, in our opinion and according to our estimate, is $75,000,000 more than it will cost the railroads to put our demands into effect. Now, I do not say this in any spirit of criticism of the people who represent the railroads and who have been dealing with us, but I want to say that, according to reports, a few bankers in Wall Street grabbed more than $100,000,000 from the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, and the road did not go into the hands of receivers, and the public has not been very much concerned. According to a statement made by Judge Priest, of St. Louis, Mr. B. F. Yoakum and some of his friends mulcted the Frisco out of something over $75,000,000. I want to tell you, gentlemen, that if the railroads are sincere on the question of operating cost as applied to our proposed eight-hour day they and the owners of these railroads will get into the game and undertake to have legislation brought about or undertake to have the present laws enforced so that a repetition of these apparent grafts will not be possible. It is not necessary for us to go into that feature of it. You gentlemen perhaps know something about the financial affairs of the Louisville & Nashville and the Chicago Great Western. In 1908 the president of the Louisville & Nashville undertook to reduce the wages of trainmen, enginemen, and yardmen, and when he was brought face to face with a governmental investigation he withdrew his order and said that the schedule then in effect should continue undisturbed. The same was true of the Chicago Great Western, which in 1908 was capitalized at $175,000 a mile. We are in sympathy with the people who own railroad stock. They are entitled to a fair return on their investment. But we are not in sympathy with any men or group of men who manipulate the American railroads to the advantage of the few and the detriment of the American people, including the 400,000 employees that we represent. Now, as a matter of fact, 23 per cent of the mileage of the railroads that have operated for years under the eight-hour-day basis are not operating under receiverships. There are fewer receiverships on those railroads than on railroads operating under the 10-hour-day basis. It is our opinion that there is not a railroad on this continent that will be forced to a receivership by the application of our demands, including time and a half; that this talk about receiverships, this talk about the railroads' inability to pay, and all that, is done for a purpose, and up to this time it has served that purpose well. I am sure that the Interstate Commerce Commission, having the power to fix rates, will make any reasonable adjustments that are fair and right, and that the railroads have nothing to fear in that connection. But, as a matter of principle, wages and conditions and the elements that go to uplift society come ahead of dividends, and we ought to recognize them as such.

Mr. BUCHANAN. As a matter of fact, don't you men know that after this eight-hour day is applied it will cost very little, if any, more, which will be made up by the increased efficiency; that even if there is a little more money laid out they will receive it back in increased efficiency?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You know that as practical men?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes; we know that to be the case.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That has been the case with about every change that has been made in the past.

Mr. CANNON. I am very glad you made that statement, because I am learning something. I have learned a great deal this morning.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I am seeking all the information I can.

Mr. CANNON. About $66,000 a mile is the average capitalization of the railroads of the United States, according to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. WHITNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANNON. I suppose that would apply to one-half of the railroads of the world—somebody said only one-third, but that does not make any difference. Of course if one-half is true about Yoakum and one-quarter is true about the people on the Rock Island and about the Alton it is very bad, but yet, taking the whole mileage, I apprehend that is not true as to most of the roads; the average capitalization being about $66,000 per mile. Now, a man is a great fool, as a Member of Congress or a member of a State legislature, if he does not try to represent justly the whole constituency.

Mr. WHITNEY. That is right.

Mr. CANNON. Because if he does not do so his time will be short and some other fellow will come along and take his place.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I suppose that each and every one of you gentlemen subscribe to the statement made by Mr. Whitney? Unless you make a statement to the contrary we will have to take it that you do so.

All concurred in Mr. Whitney's statement.

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## The Case Stated.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. S. D. FESS,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the two parties will soon go to the country for its decision upon the issues now dividing us. In reality the contest is on already. In every campaign since the war, save that of Cleveland in 1888 and the present one, the Republican Party went to the country and presented its claim upon its policy then in vogue, a distinctly protection policy.

In 1888 the Democrats took the lead, making their paramount issue tariff reform. Likewise to-day the same party stakes its position in defense of the administration as now in power, and especially the Underwood bill. The Republican Party holds to-

day, as it has held in every campaign when it was in power, and also in 1888, when out of power, the real issue is the integrity of American enterprise to promote the investment of capital and employment of labor. Its dominant note is to give to every man his best opportunity to make the most out of his talents, whether a producer or a consumer.

Industrially it means to make it possible for the man who has capital to invest it so as to employ labor at its best standards. What the laws should do is to create a market in which every man may exchange what he has for what he has not, but needs. If it is money he has, make it possible to find a market for its investment. If it is goods, it is a market he needs where he can exchange them for what he wants. If it is farm products he has, make a market for them. If it is labor he possesses, make it so the toiler may employ himself at good wages under steady employment and under the best conditions, so as to enable him to live the life of a desirable citizen. The real life of a nation depends upon the ability of its citizens to realize upon capital, whether it be producer or consumer. This is the realm of legislation to which government should respond. No nation of history has done more in this direction than the United States.

REPUBLICAN PROTECTION AGAINST DEMOCRATIC FREE TRADE IN HISTORY.

Mr. Speaker, the period of industrial greatness in our country marks the stretch from the close of the Civil War to the present. During that half century of wonderful progress the administration of the affairs of the Government has been intrusted to the Republican Party four-fifths of the time, or 40 years. Democracy has been in power but 10 years of that period. During this period of Republican administration we have witnessed a growth in every possible direction. Although the Nation is but slightly older than men now living, we are double the wealth of the next wealthiest country of the earth, and that country is 2,000 years old. We to-day possess double the population of any other English-speaking nation. We possess two-fifths of all the banking resources of the earth, including our own. We own two-thirds of all the telephone and telegraph lines of the globe. We have double the miles of railroads of the next two greatest countries of the earth. We are the world's richest agricultural country, our yearly crop amounting to the fabulous sum of $10,000,000,000. We produce 28 per cent of all the wheat produced in the world, 70 per cent of all the corn produced in the world, 60 per cent of all the cotton produced in the world, 40 per cent of all the coal, and 43 per cent of all the iron ore produced in the world. We here have the material to build, to clothe, to feed the world. This wonderful rank has been reached under an administrative policy which proceeds upon the basis that it is wise to make two blades of grass grow where before but one grew. This wealth is more generally distributed here than in any other country of the world. That has from the beginning been the dominant note of the productive system under the Republican Party. Prosperity of one is not inconsistent with prosperity of others.

TIN AS AN OBJECT LESSON.

When every pound of our tin used in this country was purchased abroad the Republican Party, and especially men like McKinley, protested against this dependence upon a foreign country and declared it a patriotic duty to enact such legislation as would enable our own people to produce it. We had the capital, the labor, and the raw material. To this claim the Democrats offered two kinds of contention—one was ridicule at the thought of making tin and the other was vitriolic disgust against what was called by the opponents special interest. With the country under the control of the Republicans, a duty was placed upon tin against the most persistent and determined opposition of the Democrats. What was the result? We inaugurated the industry. Soon we boasted of having the first, second, and third largest tin mills in the world. Our production went by leaps. Europe's product soon fell off. We soon reached the stage where we produced not only all the tin we consumed but we became an exporting Nation. This was Republican policy in action.

Instead of sending American money abroad to purchase an article made by European labor, in plants in which was invested European capital, we made it possible to invest American capital here and employ American labor here, and thus keep not only our own men employed, but at the very best standard of wages, and in addition produce a product of universal use among the American people. The opposition contended that such legislation is inimical to the consumer in an increased price. On the contrary, the consumer benefited in that he purchased the article cheaper than when dependent upon foreign importer. This was due to the highly developed industry. The same was true in the case of certain brands of carpets and certain fabrics of silk. The time was when we were wholly dependent on Europe for carpets and silks.

THE BEET-SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The same thing would be true in the case of beet sugar if we would but insure the American beet grower against the European grower. It is well remembered how McKinley urged protection of sugar, so as to begin its production here. The suggestion was ridiculed and bitterly opposed. He first urged the payment of a bounty. This was the signal for unbridled Democratic abuse. Then, finally, after a prolonged struggle, the sugar duty was levied upon a protection basis and the industry began. It takes at least a million dollars of capital to equip a well-equipped sugar mill. Capital naturally hesitated, knowing full well the animosity of Democratic policy and the uncertainty of American elections. But an uninterrupted period of Republican rule for 16 years produced confidence and the industry spread until the country could boast of 73 mills at the time of the election of Woodrow Wilson, a consummation reached by virtue of a split in the ranks of the friends of protection.

When the Underwood bill was under consideration the Democratic leaders did not intend to place sugar on the free list, but the President insisted upon both sugar and wool being placed on the free list, stating he wished to test and prove his theory with these two items. Obedient to this wish, which in this administration is equivalent to a command, the blow was struck.

The first response to this disastrous decree was the closing of 12 of the 73 mills. That meant one-sixth of the sugar-producing capacity closed down. That would mean not less than 100,000 tons of sugar less than the year before, since the annual production had been 600,000 tons. Naturally the reduction of the product with no falling off of the demand would in time increase the price to the consumer. This stage has been reached already. Former Secretary Wilson, of the Agricultural Department, asserts that we have in this country 278,000,000 acres of land that will grow the sugar beet. If we would but insure an uninterrupted period of protection, we would soon reach the stage where we would not only produce all the sugar we consume, but become an exporting country, as in the case of tin.

The only obstacle against this position is the Democratic Party, notwithstanding their suspension of the Underwood bill on the item of sugar, under the guise of needed revenue but really to appease an outraged people for the loss of an industry, as well as an attempt to correct the evils of a revenue law.

This policy of protection does not limit values to those employed in the mills. It benefits the beet raiser, the farmer, to the amount of millions of dollars. It not only enables him to utilize naturally the beet for sugar, but also certain by-products for forage, in addition to augmenting the fertility of his soil by the root crop, as shown in the beet production of Germany.

Sugar is but one item of scores of others that display the difference between the policies of the Republican and Democratic Parties. The situation of the dyestuffs emergency is a good example of the price we pay for Democratic theories.

"REVENUE-ONLY" POLICY ALWAYS A FAILURE.

The Democrats refuse to admit the soundness of the protection argument. They hold that all duties must be limited to revenue only. The weakness of this position in practice is proved by mere citation of Republican administration. The Democratic theory in practice is a failure. It does not, and never will, raise sufficient revenue to run the Government.

In 1895, under the Wilson "revenue-only" law, the Democrats were compelled to issue $262,000,000 bonds one year after the law took effect in order to raise the necessary revenue to run the Government. This is simply conclusive. No such emergency had arisen under Republican protection. Note the similar situation to-day. This present law increased alarmingly our imports but decreased our revenues. In the first seven months it amounted to $250,000,000 loss to us. The free list under Republican measures reaches less than 50 per cent. Under this present law it amounts to 70 per cent. Imports greatly increase, but revenues seriously decrease.

Compare July, 1914—the month before the war and the first year of the Underwood bill—with July, 1913, the last year under the Payne law:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Imports.* | |
| July, 1914 | $160,178,133 |
| July, 1913 | 139,061,770 |
| Imports gain, 15 per cent, or | 21,116,363 |
| *Customs receipts.* | |
| July, 1914 | 22,988,465 |
| July, 1913 | 27,806,654 |
| Loss of duty, 17 per cent, or | 4,818,189 |

The loss of duties in August was 37 per cent. This trend has kept up. Increase of imports, decrease of revenue. At the present time our imports are vastly greater than in 1913, but our custom duties are much less. I gave the figures on this subject on the 21st of July. Had the rates of the Payne law been in vogue to-day the customs duties would be vastly more, and the necessity for stamp taxes and an enormous bond issue would be avoided. Here is the failure of Democratic legislation.

DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS MEANS DIRECT TAXATION.

The Democratic Party destroys an industry at home by going to Europe for its product, which it allows to come into the country duty free or at a lower than protection rate. It thus displaces capital and labor here at home in order to purchase at a temporarily lower price abroad, but fails to secure the necessary revenue to run the Government, which makes necessary either a bond issue, a stamp tax, or both, as in the present case. This is now and has been the character and history of Democracy on this question.

Take the item of sugar. We had it on a protection basis. That insured profit here for the capital, the labor, and the farmer. The rate was sufficiently high to raise nearly $60,000,000 revenue to aid in the expenses of the Government. Under Democratic free sugar the industry is here crippled, capital closes out in part, labor is thus proportionally displaced, the farmer's market is lost, the Government loses $60,000,000 revenue, and the consumer is compelled in time to pay more for his table use, because by crippling the industry at home the home production is reduced and the price to the consumer is increased.

The same is true of wool. Free wool in 1913 induced American wool growers to at once dispose of their sheep. The experience under the Wilson bill in 1894–1897 was fresh in mind. Within a year the fleece decreased one-eighth and the flock one-ninth, and naturally with reduction of supply without similar reduction of demand the price to the consumer is not lessened, but increased; and, in addition, the Government loses $15,000,000 revenue.

The present law prior to the opening of the war is a comment upon Democratic legislation on the tariff question. It helps no one, but hurts every one. It fails to raise revenue enough and makes up the deficit by stamp taxes and an issue of bonds. It hurts domestic trade, lessens our export trade, increases our import trade, all at the expense of the American consumer as well as the producer.

PROTECTION NOT ONLY ENCOURAGES AMERICAN INDUSTRY, BUT AVOIDS THE NECESSITY OF DIRECT TAX OR BOND ISSUE.

On the other hand, the Republican theory of protection stands in sharp contrast with this Democratic policy. It does not only upbuild American enterprise by inviting capital to invest in American industries in the employment of American labor at an American standard, but it never fails to collect the necessary revenue to run the Government.

Under the Payne law, a law that protected our labor, we did not only raise enough revenue to run the Government but we paid out of the current expenses for the construction of the Panama Canal. Protection hurts no one, but helps every one. It stimulates business at home—business of field and factory, of mine and mill—and makes possible the highest paid labor and the highest standard of living of any country in the world. It not only makes possible the producer, but gives power to the consumer. It at the same time supplies the needed revenues for the Government without resorting to the hateful methods of direct tax, to which the Democrats are committed.

THE REAL ISSUE.

Whatever other issues may come before the country for its verdict our people will not lose sight of this one great issue of protection. In it the people of every State are more vitally interested than in any other that will call for a decision. The two parties stand in sharp conflict, notwithstanding the recent utterances on dyes, antidumping, and tariff commission by the administration.

"WATCHFUL WAITING'S" SHAMEFUL HUMILIATION.

The Mexican situation is far-reaching in its hurtfulness to American honor and dignity. The present policy of "watchful waiting" is, to say the least, most unfortunate, and can not be condoned from whatever angle viewed.

The President's choler against Huerta led him into diplomatic blunders hard to relieve. He declared in his address before Congress he had no contention against Mexico, but our cause was against Huerta. He persisted in his contention that Huerta must go. For that purpose he first laid an embargo and then lifted it. While thus contending not to interfere with Mexican affairs he forced out of Mexico the only man who had made any semblance of order, and even declared the people should not be allowed to vote for him for president in a future election.

From every standard of international conduct, if he destroyed the only government known in Mexico, he became responsible for what followed its destruction. The future historian will certainly hold this Nation responsible for the present state of anarchy in that unhappy country.

Note the orgy of blood since the going of Huerta. Shall we say no one shall interfere with this bloodletting? Why the act of war in landing our fleet in Vera Cruz, where 19 of our marines were killed and many others wounded and many fatalities among the Mexicans? Shall we call this the first war? If not against Mexico, can it be against one man?

Note the President's statement to Congress of his demand for a salute of our flag by a Mexican head which he refused to recognize as the head. Is there such a thing known to international law as a declaration of war against a man? Note the humiliating withdrawal of our fleet with every day bringing worse conditions to light. Had the fleet accomplished the purpose of its landing? The world will not answer until the purpose is made known. History will deal with results. Note the refusal of our authority to go to Tampico to rescue American citizens who were literally abandoned by our Government, and who had to take refuge under the German and British flags, under the flimsy pretext of our Government that to have offered protection might have inflamed the Mexican people.

DISGRACEFUL ABANDONMENT.

Think of the orders of Admiral Mayo as he withdrew the *Dolphin*, the *Des Moines*, and the *Chester* from Pennco River against the protest of Consul Miller, and at the very moment when the Americans were collected in the Southern Hotel, surrounded by a howling mob of Mexicans, which had choked the streets and which attempted to batter down the doors until the German commander of the *Dresden* declared if the American authority would not clear the streets he would act at once. He ordered the mob to disperse, when he conducted men, women, and children—American citizens—to the water front and the English commander of the *Hermione* conducted men to the English ship. Witness these American citizens taken out to sea under foreign flags to be transferred to other ships to be landed in Galveston destitute. Witness these Americans weep at the sight of the German and English flags as they came into the American harbor. Then ask the pertinent question, What is the value of American citizenship under this administration? Can any real American avoid the blush of shame in the presence of such national humiliation?

Note the shameful flirtation with the bandit murderer Villa and our assistance by lifting the embargo on arms that he might be supplied. We first laid it to cripple Huerta, and then lifted it to aid Villa, and so placed our fleet to make sure Huerta would not secure it and Villa would.

Note the massacre of Santa Ysobel, where 19 Americans were shot. Here they killed with bullets that bore our trade-mark! The next scene is the murderous raid at Columbus. Our own soil invaded, and our citizens shot down by Villistas. Then the never-to-be-understood punitive expedition into the mountains of Mexico to capture a man—the second war with Mexico. The inevitable clash at Carrizal followed, and the death of our soldiers wearing the uniform. Our National Guard hastened to the border to joint the Regulars, for what purpose?

Here is a succession of events all inevitable in a policy of "watchful waiting" that this country will demand corrected. It is not a question of what would you have done. It is a matter of what was not done. There was not a single step in the entire program that did not spell humiliation and consequent national sorrow, a consequence that should have been foreseen from the beginning.

American citizenship under such régime becomes a byword and a mockery. Such a policy insures attack, murder, and assassination, simply because it invites it. To avoid such a situation upon the border only requires a clear understanding that we will not tolerate it. That is all. It would cease immediately.

"HE KEPT US OUT OF WAR."

In the face of this chapter of national humiliation our people are constantly regaled by Democratic press and speaker with, "God bless Wilson; he has kept us out of war." If we have been kept out of war, why the landing at Vera Cruz and the death of a score of marines wearing the uniform—a greater fatality than was suffered by our Navy in the Spanish-American War? If that is not war, what is war? If he has kept us out of war, why the murders at Columbus and the crossing of the border by Gen. Pershing with an invading force? An armed force on a sovereign soil spells war. If he has kept us out of war, why the battle of Carrizal, where our soldiers in line were

mown down by machine guns and where a score more were taken prisoner. He has not kept the country out of war, but has simply abandoned American citizens to the murderous assaults of bandits, some of whom once enjoyed our Government's favor and invited humiliation which has been delivered at the hands of murderous leaders and which we have accepted with apologies to Mexico.

The chapter which details this most humiliating fawning, this most shameful vacillation, this most wicked abandonment of our own citizens, will smell to heaven when our people come to read it as it has been written in these days of shameful resignation to the "watchful waiting" fetish of the "too proud to fight" brand.

It will count for very little to our Democratic brethren to shout, "He has kept us out of war" at the very moment when our troops are on Mexican soil and no way open to return except by some proposed commission the President hopes may find a way for him to let loose. Does any American hope that any finding of any commission will be respected by any of the bandits now on the warpath?

"He has kept us out of war" may serve as a campaign slogan to quiet the people's aroused and enraged conscience, but it will never be a recompense to the mother whose son died in Vera Cruz as the price of a salute which was never given nor to the Nation whose defenders perished at Carrizal. It will not be a satisfaction to the friends of American citizens who were murdered in cold blood at Santa Ysobel, nor the friends of American women who were inhumanly assaulted by the pirates of the plains.

"He has kept us out of war" has an ominous sound at the moment when 100,000 of our National Guard are weltering on the hot sands of the Mexican border, while the administration is playing hide and seek with the bandits it once courted awaiting the decision of a commission not yet in session.

The country will most certainly demand and receive an accounting for this "watchful waiting" régime, whose price is (1) hatred in Mexico of the detested gringoes, as we are called, (2) sacrifice of prestige and dignity in every foreign country with which we have diplomatic relations, and (3) loss of security of life, liberty, and property of American citizens both at home and abroad for want of a real policy—a price too costly for the mere sake of winning an election.

THE KOTZA AND "VIRGINIUS" CASES.

The day was here when a Martin Kotza, a European refugee who had sought our shores and had taken steps to become an American citizen, but who had returned to the Mediterranean waters before the expiration of time to complete his citizenship, and was taken off the vessel by his former countrymen, when Capt. Wilkes, of the *San Jacinto*, flashed the order, "Deliver Kotza at once or I will fire upon your vessel." It is needless to say he was delivered. The majesty of American honor and power in those elder days backed the rights of a man foreign born and not yet a citizen of our country.

The day was when a Spanish captain was about to shoot American citizens taken off a vessel in Cuban waters against our protest as expressed by our consul when the majesty of American honor and power wrapped about the victim as he was draped with the flag of the country, and when the consul said "Shoot if you will, but take the inevitable consequences." The shot was not fired.

It is a far cry from the days of Fillmore protecting Kotza and Hayes defending the Nation's honor in Cuba to the days of "watchful waiting." Then it was honor and dignity readily recognized as the price of protection. It never failed and war was averted. To-day it is destruction of life and property, murder of men, women, and children, invasion of our border, assassination of helpless victims of treachery, death-dealing machine guns in action against our invading soldiers—all not only tolerated but invited, because of our timid fear that we might be regarded by the oversensitive bandits as militant, if, when we perform acts of war such as landing our marines and soldiers on a foreign shore, we should demand at once that order shall obtain or we will establish it. To say the least we should either refrain from steps of war or else make them effective in security of life and property which needs but to abandon the miserable "watchful waiting" régime to be assured.

THE REAL TEST OF AMERICANISM.

While the loss of national dignity is a high price to pay, the most critical item in this Mexican problem is the adjustment with Europe when the war closes. Then we shall be brought face to face with our policy written in the Monroe doctrine, which we have ignored, so far as the rights of citizens of these European countries have been concerned in Mexico. Will we care for them or abandon the Monroe doctrine and allow Europe to adjust it? We certainly will do one or the other. Most certainly the people of this country will not consent to continue the administration in power to make the adjustment, when that administration could have avoided in the onset the critical situation by a decisive policy, to which it was pledged in Baltimore in the following words:

The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government both for himself and his property.

These words, written in 1912 for the purpose of getting votes, have a strange significance in the light of what has taken place since that day. Did Democratic platforms mean anything as of yore this pledge would be significant.

MALIGNANT NEUTRALITY.

This vacillating policy is not confined to our relations with Mexico. It extends to our attitude toward belligerent Europe. The "correspondence school" which revealed such numerous diplomatic notes between us and Germany on the one hand and between us and England on the other not only endangered the Nation every step but left relations strained to a dangerous point. While the one country endangered American citizens by the death-dealing submarine, the other violated every right known to international law and practice. The violations are still going on, and will continue. Why not? But the adjustment must come in time. Where is the citizen who would feel safe in having that adjustment left to those now in power?

What the country demands in our relation to foreign countries is an American policy built upon a truly neutral basis, the foundation of which is a genuine Americanism. It can not be safely guided by impulses stirred by national prejudice.

Mr. Speaker, I am confident that the country will condemn this administration not only for its Underwood bill and its Mexican folly but for its inefficiency, its extravagance, and its bald partisan bias.

THE JACKSON SPOILS SYSTEM REVIVED.

The raids upon the civil service or merit system are simply astounding. There are no less than 10 specific legislative acts which expressly exclude from the operations of the merit system the appointees. These acts are among the star performances of the administration, such as the Federal reserve and interstate trade acts. The exclusion by Executive order has been notorious. This feature best reflects the real animus. The merit system, which had been constantly growing since Cleveland's days, has been assaulted upon every hand and under the party leadership of Woodrow Wilson, once the vice president of the United States Civil Service League, an association organized to further the cause of the merit system throughout State and Nation. The additional pay roll of this administration will be at least 30,000 employees, at an annual cost of at least $36,000,000.

The viciousness of this policy is worse felt in our Diplomatic Service, especially in South and Central America, where a trained and efficient corps of men was displaced to pay political debts of "deserving Democrats," whose chief merit was their support of Mr. Bryan in his many unsuccessful campaigns for preferment. It is not possible to estimate the national loss by this prostitution of efficient service on the spoils altar.

HYPOCRISY OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS.

Mr. Speaker, the insincerity and hypocrisy of Democratic leaders are shown in their claim that the present state of business activity is due to Democratic legislation. When the country was in distress, due wholly to Democratic legislation, they were insistent it was all due to the war. When through war orders, when all Europe called upon us to supply the needs of 30,000,000 soldiers in field and trench, and our exports increased in many cases over 1,000 per cent, then the demagogue asserted that the Democrats had brought great prosperity to the people of the country. These opportunists go upon the assumption that the American electorate is too ignorant to connect effect with cause. Apropos to this idiotic pretension is that other equally absurd claim that the Federal reserve act averted a world-wide financial crisis at the opening of the war. The idiocy of such a pretension is established by the mere citation of the historic fact that the war opened on July 31, 1914, and by August 5 all Europe was in arms, and the Federal reserve act was not put in operation until November 16, three and one-half months later. The crisis was averted by the administration's embrace of the Republican Aldrich-Vreeland Act of 1908, together with the closing of the New York exchange by the board of control, and a similar action

in Europe to avoid unloading American securities upon the market.

Not a single item here is any credit to the Democratic Party save their seizing the opportunity to employ in the face of impending crisis, a measure which they had pronounced as the sum of financial heresies when it was passed over their united opposition in 1908.

The Federal reserve act as is well known was framed upon the plan of the Aldrich bill. The only features of value in it were taken from a Republican proposal. It received some Republican support after Republican amendments such as that which preserved the gold standard were accepted.

The same may be said of the rural-credits bill, a bill which in operation will afford no assistance whatever save in certain sections which are of peculiar regard to this administration. It will not be overlooked that the Federal Loan Board is now in Maine—just three weeks before the election. Is this board to become another Government campaign agency like the Post Office Department to assist in the election of Wilson? Will the country overlook this bald campaign method of these modern uplifters?

This partisan bias is quite pronounced in the President who purposely ignored the Republicans in his appointments of commissioners under the law. This was true in the Federal reserve act, also in the interstate trade act, and of course will be true in the proposed tariff commission. When the reserve act was under discussion Chairman GLASS replied to my charge that it would be made partisan that such a thing was unthinkable, in any President; yet the first announcement contained all Democrats.

The baldest prostitution of appointing influence for partisan purposes ever called to the public attention is the summoning of the postmasters of the country to meet in Washington where they were addressed by the President as his own appointees, specifically so styled and openly so designated, and told by the Postmaster General in his public address as their head that "the best service they could render to the country was to go home and work from then until election day for the reelection of Woodrow Wilson." At first the announcement was doubted, but later inquiry confirmed the accuracy of the report.

Such official utterances were simply impossible until this administration came to power. It is well known that postal employees have lost their positions for partisan action when unfriendly to this administration. The American people have generally looked upon the appointments in the department of the post office as a political perquisite, but it was left to this administration to use the department as a partisan campaign organization to attempt to continue itself in power. This one case of prostitution of Government agencies condemns this administration if nothing else will. It stamps it as the most bitterly partisan since Jackson. It will throw a flood of light upon the recent efforts of the department to displace 43,000 rural carriers in the name of economy and efficiency to make room for the hungry horde of deserving Democrats, a raid only averted by Republican exposure and an organization led by Ohio Republicans who succeeded in a movement which aroused the country from one end to the other. The failure to accomplish the partisan reorganization makes the attempt no less heinous. The notorious attempt to prostitute a great service is the issue.

It may be asked, Did not the Democrats give the country an increased Army? Not until driven to do so by the Republican minority. Did not the Democrats give an enlarged Navy? Not until driven to adopt the Republican program. An examination of the RECORD, which records the debates and the votes, will show the source of national defense. The President declared to Congress that we were well defended and warned us against becoming nervous. Within a year he had changed front and declared we were not prepared, and demanded a Navy of first rank. He first declared to Congress for the continental Army; then, when the specter of the votes of the National Guard arose, against it, which induced Secretary Garrison to leave the Cabinet. He first declared the abandonment of the Philippines unwise, then within a month urged the adoption of the Clarke amendment of abandonment.

To-day, when a mighty contest is on, he summons the contestants to Washington and demands that one side of it surrender its position of arbitration, which we supposed was a fair method of adjustment. The influence and votes of 400,000 men are most desirable at the opening of a campaign. Should it appear later that there is a greater vote influence on the other side, will any man doubt that a change of front will be taken at once?

These are but items in this régime of the country's greatest example of the opportunist in action.

DEMOCRATIC EXTRAVAGANCE.

The extravagance of this administration is astounding, especially in the light of the charge of the Baltimore platform of "profligate extravagance" against the Republican administration. Yet in the very first session of the Sixty-third Congress, the first Democratic Congress when the country was under the full control of the Democrats, the appropriations were over $100,000,000 more than any prior session of any Republican Congress of our history. The fulfillment of their promise of economy in 1912 was added appropriations of over $100,000,000 in 1914.

This present session has lost all sense of proportion. Its excess will reach almost a half a billion dollars over any Republican Congress. The appropriations of the present session are over $1,500,000,000, a sum greater by one-half than Reed's famous billion dollar Congress, which included appropriations for both sessions instead of but one, as in this case. Much of this is not necessary.

When the revenue bill was under discussion it was pointed out that this extravagance was vicious. Upon that occasion, among other things, I said:

"You voted $50,000,000 on a ship-purchase bill that I opposed.

"You voted $45,000,000 to be dumped into the mouth of the Mississippi for flood control, that I opposed; $43,000,000 for rivers and harbors, that I opposed; $20,000,000 for a nitrate plant—a vicious proposition—that I opposed; $11,000,000 for a munition plant, at the very moment when you were offered its manufacture at the Government's own price, a measure that I opposed; $36,000,000 of an increased pay roll, that all Republicans opposed. You voted, with your eyes wide open to what you called emergency situations $205,000,000 of extravagant expenditures, not a dollar of which should have been authorized at this time, if at all, and you only ask to raise $197,000,000 here, eight millions less than you wasted. [Applause on the Republican side.] If you would save on your wasteful expenditure, you would not need to saddle upon the country this sort of a bill, and even if you did need it there is a better way to do it. Rewrite your broken-down, concededly mistaken, dismally disappointing revenue-producing tariff; rewrite it by the protective system, that always raises enough revenue and starts the business of the country in the employment of labor. [Applause on the Republican side.] This proposed scheme expresses not alone your desire to meet a condition of deficient revenue, but it is to fix a system of taxation that prompts this moving appeal of Democratic leaders to silence our opposition. It is the same old Democratic wail against an American system of protection on behalf of an English free-trade scheme. I will not vote for your measure. But after March 4 we will restore the protective system and these other Republican measures you offer as a sop will be cared for."

PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE.

These examples of abandonment of platform are not strange under the present leadership of Democracy. If there is one pledge not violated, I know it not. The motion-picture performance of the titular head of the party in his kaleidoscopic changes of position upon every issue save that of reelection is a sufficient justfication of his party playing leap frog with its pronouncements. Who could, if he would, "stand by the President"? Many a member of his party, without the agility to make the turn, experiences embarrassment. No man will deny the right of another to change his views. But neither will anyone seriously contend that the public should pretend to know to-day what a man will do to-morrow if there is no constancy of policy in his practices. To talk about standing by such leaders is asking one to become an animated registry machine.

Four years of such vacillation is quite sufficient. I do not believe that the country will hesitate long in coming to a decision. It will, in my judgment, indict the Wilson administration as destructive to American enterprise, humiliatingly weak in its foreign policy, shameful in its abandonment of our citizens in Mexico, inefficient in its administering of law, extravagant in its appropriations, inequitable and class discriminating in its legislation, bitterly partisan in its practices, notoriously sectional in its laws, and piteously vacillating in its every detail of public policy. Such an indictment will insure its repudiation and compel a return to Republican administration at the earliest moment. That event will not be deferred beyond November 7, when the leadership of Mr. Wilson, the schoolmaster, will give way to a different type of leadership, the leadership of the jurist, so well typified in the personality of Charles E. Hughes, who, I am confident, will insure the country a revival of a real Americanism, not only in our foreign but in our domestic policies.

**Remarks of Secretary McAdoo on the Occasion of the Induction Into Office of the Members of the Federal Farm Loan Board.**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. THADDEUS H. CARAWAY,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the remarks of Secretary McAdoo on the occasion of the induction into office of the members of the Federal Farm Loan Board, August 7, 1916. The remarks are as follows:

REMARKS OF SECRETARY M'ADOO ON THE OCCASION OF THE INDUCTION INTO OFFICE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN BOARD, AUGUST 7, 1916.

Gentlemen of the Federal Farm Loan Board, I congratulate you heartily upon the opportunity the President has given you to render a service of inestimable value to the farmers of this country by establishing the Federal land banks and the general system of rural credits provided for by the act of Congress approved July 17, 1916.

It is a statement of an old and recognized truth to say that the farming industry is the very basis of the life and prosperity of the Nation, and this statement is more particularly true of the United States, because of its agricultural development, which, although great, can be made vastly greater if our farmers are provided with the long-time credits at low rates of interest which are so essential to the further development of the farming industry. There is no inducement to greater farm development unless it can be made profitable, and it can not be made profitable unless the necessary capital is available always to farmers upon reasonable terms.

It is amazing that since the establishment of our Government until this time, a period of 127 years, absolutely nothing has been done by way of legislation to assure abundant farm credits on reasonable terms to our farmers. On the contrary, they have been the preferred sufferers from a scarcity of money for farm development and agricultural purposes, and have been, as a class, particularly oppressed by high, and oftentimes extortionate, rates of interest and shadowed constantly by the fear of mortgage foreclosures. The farm-loan act, or rural-credits bill, which it is your privilege to administer, will emancipate the farmer from the disadvantages he has so long endured. It will, when fully established, unquestionably provide an abundance of credits, available at all times, to farmers in all parts of the country upon long-term mortgages at low rates of interest, with a provision for repayment of the principal in easy annual installments. In fact, under the new system, the farmer ought to be able to pay the interest on his mortgage and the principal of his debt through annual installments which will be less than the straight interest charges he has been paying on his mortgage under the old system.

This is an act of long-delayed justice. We must see to it that those who are entitled to its benefits get them with the least possible delay. The establishment of this rural-credits system means not only more profitable farming, but a life of greater comfort and prosperity for the farmer; it means destruction of the nightmare of foreclosure and loss of property for the farmer; it means security and independence, thrift and self-respect for the farmer.

It will reattract to the farms vast numbers of our people who have been unable to engage in agriculture, because it has been impossible to secure money on farm obligations. It means for all the people of the country unlimited benefits, because they will prosper in direct proportion to the prosperity and strength of the farming industry of the country.

I am proud to be associated with you in this great piece of constructive work and assure you of my cordial cooperation in the inspiring tasks that lie ahead of us.

**Hughes Proving an Effective Campaigner.**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM S. GREENE,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I first desire to call the attention of the Members of the House and the country to the following article published in the New York Times of August 27, 1916 (and the New York Times may easily be classed as a supporter of the administration of Woodrow Wilson). This article was written by the New York Times correspondent who accompanied Mr. Hughes on his recent western trip. My purpose in presenting this is to show the views of Mr. Hughes by one who has an opportunity to meet him, and thereby to offset some of the prejudiced views of Mr. Hughes and his work on the stump expressed by Democratic Members of the House who absolutely know nothing of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Hon. Charles E. Hughes.

The article in the New York Times of the 27th instant had the following heading:

HUGHES PROVING AN EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGNER—HIS VOTE-GETTING METHODS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF WILSON AND ROOSEVELT BY ONE WHO HAS SEEN ALL THREE IN ACTION.

Those who saw the Republican nominee for President run along the uncertain platform of the railroad station at a ranch town in North Dakota recently to shake hands with a youthful cowboy mounted on a fiery little mustang found it difficult to conjure up the picture of a solemn-visaged Justice of the United States Supreme Court with the name "Charles E. Hughes" beneath it.

It was for Mr. Hughes himself to provide the key to the situation, to explain the mystery surrounding the change which had come over him since he left the bench to journey forth into the country and win a place among political orators and campaigners such as Roosevelt, Wilson, and Bryan.

"When I was a judge," he said, "I was 100 per cent judge. When I am a candidate for office I am 100 per cent candidate."

Certain it is that no candidate has developed with more rapidity into a 100 per cent campaigner than the Republican nominee. Men talked of him as an effective orator when he was sent into doubtful States of the Middle West in 1908 to turn the tide in the proper direction for William Howard Taft. Lately many have recalled the Hughes of 1908 in order to compare him with the Hughes of 1916. The Hughes of to-day has not suffered by that comparison. In fact, it is conceded pretty generally that, after two weeks among the people, he is running at top form.

The explanation for this is simple. It is not supplied by the nominee, although he may realize it. Mr. Hughes is playing in a bigger game than ever before in his career, and he has come into closer touch with the American people—closer, probably, than he believed he could come. He admits with the utmost frankness that he has found the sturdy and uninflated cheering of the people of the Middle West and West, when directed at himself, inspiring. Mixing with them—and Mr. Hughes has actually mixed—has done him a world of good.

Mr. Hughes has arrived at a happy medium between the methods employed by Col. Roosevelt and President Wilson when those skilled campaigners go out upon the stump. In other words, he is a bit more spectacular than Wilson and less spectacular than the Colonel. He nearly stole the Colonel's style soon after the opening of his western tour when he jumped upon the concrete roof of the players' bench at the baseball park in Detroit, after announcing, unprompted, that he wanted "to shake hands with the boys." All that was lacking to complete the picture was a certain vigor of action and vocal eruption on which the Colonel has a corner. The well-known "How are you?" spoken with a rising inflection on the last word, was the best Hughes could do.

The surprising thing about it to everybody who witnessed the picture was that Mr. Hughes could do it at all without appearing ridiculous. And he didn't; he just looked for all the world as if he were enjoying himself to the full for the first time in his life. Onlookers felt like shouting, "Hey, that stuff belongs to Teddy!" But after they watched Mr. Hughes for a time and saw him pose for a picture with Ty Cobb, the Georgia peach, who, by the way, was easily the more embarrassed of the two, the inclination to call out derisively passed by. Then everybody felt like saying, "Gee, look at Hughes!"

And so it has developed that in this campaign, unless the jovial Mr. Taft may be listed as an exception, Mr. Wilson is the only political orator of the first magnitude who is cleaving to the line of absolute decorum. According to the dope sheet, and working from the most spectacular in deeds, if not in words, down the scale, they ought to run about this way: Fortissimo, Roosevelt; forte, Hughes, piano, Taft; pianissimo, Wilson.

Mr. Hughes finds himself sorely handicapped in any effort to out-Roosevelt Roosevelt. To begin with he does not possess the colonel's tremendous physique and vitality, which send that doughty political warrior hurtling about the country like a runaway locomotive that has solved the secret of perpetual motion. Whiskers also count heavily against him, as they assume a certain measure of dignity in action. Then, too, the nominee's vocabulary, while comprehensive and capable of handling almost any situation that arises, lacks a certain explosive power that none except a Roosevelt could attain. Hughes can be vigorous in both word and action—this campaign has proved that much—but he never can be picturesque.

The mixture of Hughes and Roosevelt, which is to be put before the American public during the remainder of the campaign, ought to prove an effective one. Roosevelt proved himself the same vigorous campaigner as of yore in his recent fight in behalf of preparedness and Americanism—there wasn't a detail lacking—and Hughes has developed beyond the hope of his most ardent admirer. Where Roosevelt is needed to take the voters by the scruff of the neck and shake the ballots out of their systems into the Republican melting pot he has promised to go. The campaign as conducted by Hughes himself lacks little in vigorous utterance, biting sarcasm, and systematized attack upon Democratic policies and Democratic leaders from the President down to the Tammany leader—the nominee has been a surprise to himself in that regard. It will be Roosevelt's job to add the final touch in the Roosevelt sections where that touch is needed.

Anyone who thinks of Mr. Hughes as the quiet type of orator has drawn an entirely inaccurate picture. Hughes, in action as a political orator, is as far removed from Hughes the Supreme Court Justice as Bryan is from the Presidency, a simile employed because it relieves the mind of all doubt as to the nominee's present status.

Where the President seeks to get home his point by persuasive utterance and graceful gesture, the Republican nominee waves eloquent arms or smashes one open palm against another, ending with a vigorous body movement which gets head, shoulders, arms, and hands into the sentence along with his voice. All of the calmness of thought, all the restraint which the first glance at the man suggests, are put aside once he is under a full head of steam.

President Wilson, in his trip last January in behalf of his preparedness program, made extemporaneous speeches and was then at his best. Many who heard him expressed the belief that the enthusiasm of the crowds carried him away; that in some utterances he went further than he would have gone had he prepared his manuscript in advance. But he got nearer to the people then than ever before, and in watching them seemed to sense what they wanted to hear.

Mr. Hughes went into this campaign without a word prepared on paper except his address of acceptance. That address was a disappointment from the viewpoint of the finished orator, because he read it and stuck relentlessly to the text. The concentration of mind attendant upon such a delivery robbed the orator of much of his power.

Once out upon the stump, free to think as he went along, free to build his talks to the American people as the situation demanded, Hughes was a different man. The first volley of applause at Detroit awakened him to the full sense of the power of words to stir. He forgot all about the years spent upon the Supreme Court bench; he forgot restraint; he forgot that it was nearly seven years since he had raised his voice to win approbation—he let loose his faculties and powers.

There had been some talk of advance manuscripts for several of the speeches after that. It was dropped. In his mind he sometimes sketched briefly what he was going to say, and sometimes many of those thoughts were forgotten in the exhilaration of delivery. Mr. Hughes found his brain working rapidly as of old, his gift for the selection of words coming back with renewed power. After one brilliant bit of oratory in a western city he was asked how he came to frame the declaration.

"I don't know myself," he replied.

Perhaps Col. Roosevelt, of the three, is the most accomplished orator in that regard, although both Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson are close upon his heels. One of the best illustrations of Roosevelt's activity of mind was found in an address he made in a middle western city during his preparedness campaign in May.

He had read that President Wilson had said he was in favor of universal training which was not compulsory. In his address delivered, perhaps 15 minutes later, the colonel coined the expression 'weasel words," to describe the President's utterance.

"What made you think of that expression," he was asked later.

"It's hard to explain what made me think of it," he replied. "Thirty years ago I knew an old guide and he told me about the habits of the weasel. If you placed a weasel alongside of an egg, he told me, the weasel would bore a hole in it and suck out all the meat. That was exactly what President Wilson did. He favored universal training for military service, but not compulsory training. He used words in favor of a good thing but he sucked all the meat out of them by the words which followed his declaration. I don't know what made me think of it at the moment; it just popped into my mind."

Mr. Hughes presents a distinguished appearance on the platform. He dresses plainly and wears his clothes well. His physique, while by no means ponderous, is that of a sturdy American citizen. He stands erect, with shoulders well back. His smile is cordial.

While in action these qualities are at their best. He never forfeits dignity, but rather mixes it with vigor. His voice is full chested and far reaching. He puts everything into his voice when he is endeavoring to make a point tell with his audience. He jumps into a breach at full tilt and keeps hammering away until he snaps off his sentence and awaits the applause with a set to his head and shoulders which predicts another outburst.

Mr. Wilson more often begins his argument in persuasive tone, building it up skillfully until the moment for the final smash, and his style has proved effective in all addresses where the situation was one to his liking. He uses words with a cunning and nicety that mark him as a master at his trade and obtains unquestioned forcefulness of utterance by the style of oratory he has chosen.

There have been some unwarranted attacks on the labor record of Hon. Charles E. Hughes. I wish to call the particular attention of the House and the country to the following article published in the Boston Herald, of which paper Robert L. O'Brien, long the Washington correspondent of the Boston Evening Transcript, is editor, and I also wish to call the attention of our Democratic friends to the fact that Mr. O'Brien was private secretary to President Cleveland.

HUGHES'S LABOR RECORD.

When Mr. Gompers, remembering only that he is a Democrat and forgetting that he is a leader of organized labor, ventured to assert that Mr. Hughes is unfriendly to labor because he concurred in the unanimous decision in the Danbury hatters' case, he ventured on very thin ice. The Chicago Tribune promptly reminds him that an honest judge must apply the law as he thinks it is, not as he thinks it ought to be; and asks him to tell those who look to him for political advice something about the record of Mr. Hughes as governor. Read what the Legislative Labor News, the official organ of the New York Federation of Labor, said editorially when Mr. Hughes left the governor's chair at Albany for his place on the Supreme Court. Here it is:

"Now that Gov. Hughes has retired from politics and ascended to a place on the highest judicial tribunal in the world, the fact can be acknowledged without hurting anybody's political corns that he was the greatest friend of labor laws that ever occupied the governor's chair at Albany. During his two terms he has signed 56 labor laws, including among them the best labor laws ever enacted in this or any State.

"He also urged the enactment of labor laws in his messages to the legislature, even going so far as to place the demand for a labor law in one of his messages to an extra session of the legislature.

"Only 162 labor laws have been enacted in this State since its erection, in 1777—in 133 years. One-third of these, exceeding in quality all of the others, have been enacted and signed during Gov. Hughes's term of three years and nine months."

Let organized labor take to heart what the Chicago Tribune says on this point: "Mr. Hughes is no demagogue and no visionary. He is a man of courage and conscience, and if labor can not confide its cause to his rock-bottom Americanism there is something wrong with its cause."

The following is an article taken from the New York Sun:

WHERE MR. HUGHES IS.

"Where," asks our neighbor the World, sorrowfully repeating the question asked by our uptown friend, the Times, "is Hughes gone?"

To relieve the anxiety of our coworkers, we urge them to examine with care the editorial page of the World on which this interrogatory is printed. They will find that Mr. Hughes is in one editorial article a column and a quarter long, double leaded to advertise its importance, in six editorial paragraphs, in five letters to the editor, and in one extract from another newspaper.

On the same page three editorial articles, nine editorial paragraphs, four letters to the editor, and three extracts from other papers measure the World's interest in all subjects, discussion of which does not necessitate the use of Mr. Hughes's name; and some of these squint at that gentleman and his activities.

In whatever spot Mr. Hughes may not be, he certainly is in the World's editorial page.

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WILSON HIT LABOR IN 1909, SAYS BOURNE—EX-SENATOR DIGS UP ALLEGED SPEECH OF PRESIDENT AT PRINCETON.

The Republican Publicity Association, through its president, former Senator Bourne, to-day recalled in a statement that President Wilson in 1909, in an address to the students of Princeton, criticized trades-unions, and said the standard for the employee was "to give as little as he may for his wages."

These and other remarks of the President about labor at the time are recalled by Senator Bourne, who says labor will have its own "jury service" to perform as between the two candidates, Hughes and Wilson, in November.

Senator Bourne says:

HUGHES'S ATTITUDE.

"Justices of the United States Supreme Court are not charged with the duty of molding public opinion. According to press reports, President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, proposes to attack the record of Candidate Charles Evans Hughes toward labor, and to plead the case of President Woodrow Wilson in the coming campaign. President Gompers will offer as evidence in support of his attack the judicial attitude of Mr. Hughes in the Danbury hatters' case. For the passage of those statutes he was in no wise responsible. It was his sole function to determine their legal application to the cases at bar to the best of his ability. The attitude of Mr. Hughes while on the Federal bench, as of all members of that august tribunal, was and should be 'the cold neutrality of an impartial judge.'

"Any deviation from that position would subject the highest court in the land, and rightly so, to the suspicion of all classes and sections of the country. Failure on the part of our Supreme Court judges to interpret statutory legislation without fear or favor would render that bulwark of our constitutional liberties a hothouse for the propagation of class control and destroy our republican form of government. For this reason President Gompers's attack on Mr. Hughes for his holding in the Danbury hatters' case will make no appeal to the intelligent laboring men, union or nonunion.

WILSON'S 1909 SPEECH.

"On the other hand, we have, as a matter of record, the baccalaureate sermon of Woodrow Wilson, delivered to the students of Princeton University June 14, 1909:

"'You know what the usual standard of the employee is in our day. It is to give as little as he may for his wages. Labor is standardized by the trades-unions, and this is the standard to which it is made to conform. No one is suffered to do more than the average workman can do. In some trades and handicrafts no one is suffered to do more than the least skillful of his fellows can do within the hours allotted to a day's labor, and no one may work out of hours at all or volunteer anything beyond the minimum. I need not point out how economically disastrous such a regulation of labor is. It is so unprofitable to the employer that in some trades it will presently not be worth his while to attempt anything at all. He had better stop altogether than operate at an inevitable and invariable loss. The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable under its present regulation by those who have determined to reduce it to a minimum. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants.'

"Labor will have its own jury service to perform in considering the merits of the two candidates for the Presidency, and this is part of the evidence against Woodrow Wilson."

THE UNFORTUNATE SHIPPING BILL.

The following is from the New York Times:

FRANKLIN ASSAILS THE SHIPPING BILL—MERCANTILE MARINE RECEIVER SEES EVIL IN GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP FEATURE—SAYS IT WOULD CURB TRADE—BELIEVES FEAR OF FEDERAL COMPETITION WOULD KEEP CAPITAL OUT OF THE BUSINESS.

P. A. S. Franklin, receiver of the International Mercantile Marine Co., said yesterday in his office at No. 9 Broadway that the New York shipping men were not opposed to a bill that would encourage the upbuilding of an American mercantile marine.

The objection to the pending shipping bill, Mr. Franklin continued, was that its effect would be more of "a clubbing down" of shipping than a constructive help. "I do not think it will pass in that form," he added. "There never was a better opportunity than the present for Americans to enter the foreign trade, but if they know that they may have to compete with Government owned and operated vessels, it will be impossible to interest capital.

"The present war has shown the necessity for having a fleet of fast steamships under the American flag in the Atlantic trade for the conveyance of passengers and mails. The only regular weekly service maintained between the United States and Europe was performed by the American line.

READY TO BUILD FOUR SHIPS.

"The four ships which have done such good work during the last two years—the *St. Louis, St. Paul, New York,* and *Philadelphia*—are getting along toward the stage where they will have to be replaced by new steamships on the most modern lines.

"The International Mercantile Marine Co., I can say, is prepared to construct four passenger and mail liners, equipped with quadruple turbines, to make an average speed of 25 knots and to have from 32,000 to 35,000 gross tonnage to be operated in the American line service between New York and Liverpool or Southampton if the Government will give us some kind of a mail contract that will help toward the expenses, such as the Cunard Co. receives from the British Government.

"If a part of the appropriation of $50,000,000 was devoted to this purpose, it would be more practical than using it for the purchase of second-hand vessels, as the Government would have the first call on four first-class liners which would be kept up by the International Mercantile Marine Co.

"Two of these liners could be built in the United States and the other two at Belfast, which would equalize the cost of construction.

"At present the American line steamships are carrying mails, which, if paid for by poundage, would be far in excess of the annual mail contract. This is since the commencement of the war in Europe.

PUBLIC WOULD FOLLOW FLAG.

"There is a demand for fast liners by the traveling public, which was demonstrated by the success of the *Maurctania, Lusitania,* and *Olympic,* and I am confident that if these four liners are constructed for the Atlantic trade, the public have sufficient patriotism to follow the flag."

Referring to the shipping bill again, Mr. Franklin said he had outlined his objections to it in a letter to Senator GALLINGER, which was read before the committee in Washington.

"I have always considered," he continued, "that all that part of the bill which authorizes Government ownership and operation is exceedingly unwise, as it neither deals with the present emergency nor does it establish any sound principle for the upbuilding of the American merchant marine in the foreign trade. Therefore I think if passed it will be prejudicial to the best interests of the American merchant marine in the foreign trade.

"I have never been opposed to the shipping board, but that board should be one created with the object of helping to develop American shipping in foreign trade by carefully investigating the whole situation, and then making its recommendations to Congress as to what is necessary to be done in the way of relieving and assisting shipping.

"This board should have under its jurisdiction everything pertaining to administering the shipping laws of this country and the rules and regulations governing shipping similar to the Board of Trade of Great Britain.

"This board should consider that it is responsible for the upbuilding of the American merchant marine, through the encouragement of private owners and operation, which is the only proper, healthy, and lasting manner in which the American flag can expect to compete in foreign trades with foreign flags. This board should not be created as a club to be held over the heads of shipping before the country has any shipping of its own for foreign trade, but should be created with a view of fostering, encouraging, and assisting American individuals and corporations to invest their capital in steamships for foreign trade and commerce."

THE SHIPPING BILL.

The following article on the shipping bill is taken from the Marine Journal, of New York City, one of the oldest maritime papers published in the United States. When the returns from the presidential election are read on the "morning after" will not our Democratic friends wish they had given more attention to the suggestions of the men who had made the subject of our merchant marine a life study? The article referred to follows:

American maritime men have tenacious memories, and they will not soon forget that on the proposition in the new shipping bill to put foreign-built vessels, owned or operated by or purchased from the Government, in the coastwise trade of the United States, all of those Senators who voted in favor were Democrats and all who voted against it were Republicans.

This is making a party issue of the coastwise law exactly as for many years the protective tariff has been a party question. The Marine Journal has not been hitherto and does not desire to be a partisan newspaper, but in the interests of truth and accuracy it must set down a significant fact like this. Not only did the Democratic majority of the United States Senate vote solidly in favor of putting foreign-built ships owned, operated, or sold by the Government in the general coastwise trade, but Hon. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, of Alabama, late the Democratic leader in the House, declared that he would like to see foreign-built ships of foreign registry, as well as foreign-built ships of American registry, entirely free to engage in the coastwise carrying. Of course this would speedily mean the end of American shipowning as well as American ship construction.

Votes and words like these from the Democratic side of the Senate Chamber are a declaration of war on the American merchant marine and nothing else. All American shipowners, shipbuilders, officers, engineers, mechanics, and seamen will take due notice and govern themselves accordingly. Unless the Marine Journal misses its calculations, Democratic votes in the forthcoming election in all the maritime communities from Eastport to the Rio Grande will be fewer and further between than they have ever been in American history.

The administration shipping bill, as we said last week, is worse than worthless as an expedient to upbuild American shipping in the foreign trade. The attack upon the coastwise law in that same measure, which does not go so far as Senator UNDERWOOD and others would have it go if they dared, is an outrageous attack upon what shipbuilding and shipowning are still left to us. If this present national administration were inspired directly by wires pulled from London and Liverpool and Hamburg and Bremen and Havre and Yokohama its course could not well have been otherwise than it has been.

This is something that interests not only shipowners, shipbuilders, officers, engineers, mechanics, and seamen directly engaged in the building or repairing of American ships, but also the very great number of American citizens employed in the production of supplies, materials, and equipment. This present national administration in the White House, in the Senate, and in the House of Representatives has persistently and vindictively been doing all it can to strike the American flag off the seas and to deprive all American maritime men of a livelihood.

Our people are not worthy of the name of Americans and have no red blood running in their veins if they do not, every man of them, set themselves to work between now and the 1st of next November to muster and register all their relatives, all their friends, on our thousands of miles of seacoast, and particularly in every debatable congressional district and every doubtful State, to roll up a patriotic vote that will overwhelm the politicians who have betrayed their country.

More facts on the shipping bill. The following article from the New York Times is worth reading:

LEGAL DEFECTS OF THE SHIPPING BILL.

The shipping bill, having passed the Senate, now goes to conference. It is not the old bill; it may be harmless, because futile, but it is still open to a multitude of objections, some of which have been pointed out by Mr. Carman F. Randolph in a brief published by the National Marine League. He argues that the measure is as unsound legally as it is in its economic theory. He remarks that the regulation of common carriers by water, the declared object of the bill according to the title, is more baffling than the regulation of land carriers. It would be difficult enough to regulate liners, but impossible to regulate the tramps which roam the world looking for cargoes wherever they can be found. The bulk of the world's freights is carried in chartered ships or in "company ships," which carry for the industrial companies which own them. It would be impossible to command the services of such independent vessels on terms unacceptable to them. The Interstate Commerce Commission has trouble enough in regulating railways, which are subject to no such irresponsible and uncontrollable competition. It would be swamped with duties imposed upon a false analogy. The objection is so unanswerable that it exposes the entire bill to the objection made by the harbor craft on similar grounds. The clauses relating to the harbor craft were dropped, and it is difficult to see how the common-carrier regulation of independent ships can be retained and made to work.

By another false analogy the antitrust laws are applied to shipping. Our trusts are within our jurisdiction, but our trade is carried by shipping which is not within our control. We can to some extent regulate foreign shipping when it enters our ports, but we can not compel it to expose itself to prejudicial statutes. English sea laws are liberal, because England well knows that if they are not liberal English shipping will seek shelter under other flags. A great merchant marine is the proof of suitable legislation and the basis of an effective jurisdiction. When illiberal laws take effect upon a small marine, the situation is fatal to growth or to control of the seas. Not only would the bill be suffocating at home; it would expose our marine legislation abroad, which would be retaliatory in effect if not in form.

The governmental status of these ships would give them advantage only at the cost of entangling the Government itself. International law knows only public and private ships. For ships owned by a Government corporation, operated through an official board, there is no classification. In peace and in war their position is anomalous, if not dangerous, for reasons apart from economics. The duties of neutrality would exclude them from practically every port in the commercial world under conditions like the present. The contingency of a belligerent seizing either such a ship or its cargo, innocent or contraband, is disquieting. The alternative that our private shipping should enjoy its present prosperity grows more alluring as the comparison is extended. Respecting both trusts and shipping, we are seeking regulation and stimulation by methods unknown to any other country at any time, and upon false analogies, through ignorance of the conditions. The shipping bill was not drawn by legislators with experience of shipping. It was drawn by those with prejudices on the trust question, and is equally unsuitable for regulation of either the trusts or shipping.

The following article is taken from the editorial columns of the New York Times of August 26, 1916. This paper is one of the supporters of the present administration, but it speaks out in no uncertain tone upon this infamous shipping bill, which should be buried in oblivion:

MAINE VIEWS ON THE SHIPPING BILL.

Notwithstanding the uncontrollable demand of the country for the immediate passage of the Government shipping bill, the lack of a quorum prevents action. The interval is useful as affording an opportunity to remark the bearing of the bill upon the campaign. The overwhelming boom in the shipping industry makes the recently deserted New England shipyards resemble a stampede to a new diggings in the Klondike. The promoters of the bill would be happy, indeed, if they could claim proprietorship of the shipyard boom. They are so unfortunate as to be thought responsible for a threat to its continuance.

While they were not looking somebody slipped into their bill a clause enabling the ships bought with the Government funds to ply in the coastwise trade, hitherto sacrosanct against competition from foreign ships. A Government marine to compete with the merchant marine "going foreign" is bad enough, but Government competition with foreign ships, perhaps in the coastwise trade, is anathema. All alongshore, not alone in Maine, wherever ships and the sea are known, the Government shipping bill is thought of not as something useless for its purpose but as something surpassingly useful when used by Republicans as a club upon Democrats. Thus the Boston Transcript remarks that Government funds may supply the cash to purchase ships built with pauper labor and use them or enable their use to take the bread from the mouths of the American mechanics who build or the Yankee sailormen who use the product of the New England shipyards.

The threat is bad enough. The lack of a quorum prevents it being more than a threat. Next month the Democrats will know what the New England electorate thinks of their proposal. If they are wise in their day and time, they will take good care that no quorum is provided for the shipping bill's enactment until November.

The article entitled "Maine views of the shipping bill," together with several other references, show very distinctly that I was fully justified in raising the question of a quorum on the attempt to have the House accept the amendments made by the Senate to the shipping bill without any consideration by the House or the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

FINANCE, BANKING, AND POLITICS.

I commend the following letter to the earnest attention of the thick and thin supporters of the present administration. All bankers do not agree with the political backers of the Wilson administration:

SAYS COMPTROLLER KEEPS STATE BANKS FROM MONEY SYSTEM.

J. J. Earley, president of the Bank of Valley City, N. Dak., and former treasurer of the North Dakota Bankers' Association, has made public a letter written July 10 to John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency, of which the following is a copy:

"Your 12-page pamphlet, entitled 'Decision of the Comptroller of the Currency on the Application for a Renewal of the Charter of the Riggs National Bank,' bearing your official seal, printed at the Government Printing Office, distributed at public expense under your franking privilege, and addressed to the president and board of directors of this bank, has been carefully read and considered by the undersigned.

"As this bank is organized under North Dakota law, and is accordingly not under your jurisdiction or control, I assume that a copy has been mailed at Government expense to all the banks of the country,

State as well as National, and that therefore in mailing it to us, no special favor was intended. I assume, moreover, that your real intention in giving your labored explanation of what you call your 'decision' in such liberal dimensions, notwithstanding the scarcity and high cost of ink and paper, is in the nature of a stump speech, setting forth ex parte your side of the legal controversy between your office and the Riggs Bank, recently terminated in the bank's favor.

"I also understand that your so-called 'decision' to grant a renewal of the Riggs Bank charter was the direct result—in fact, the necessary sequel—to the more important decision of Mr. Justice McCoy in the legal controversy referred to. Although the decision last referred to must have been highly satisfactory to the officers and directors of the Riggs Bank, as it was to bankers generally throughout the country, I do not anticipate that they will deem it necessary to circularize the banks of the country, as you have done, even though you might offer them the free use of the Government printing press and the mails for the purpose of placing their side before the public. They are not in politics and you are

"They can assume that the bankers of the country and the people generally are sufficiently informed at present as to the respective merits of the controversy. If any lingering doubt remained of your personal and political animus in the matters in controversy between your office and the Riggs Bank, your pamphlet, distributed so widely at the expense of the taxpayers, would remove such doubt. Moreover, it furnishes final and conclusive proof that the decision of Mr. Justice McCoy was a full and clear reflection not only of the laws and the equities in the case but of public opinion as well.

"The bank of which I am president is one of the few State banks in North Dakota with sufficient capital to be eligible under the law for admission into the Federal Reserve System. In banking capital, less investments in real estate, it is in third place among the more than 650 banks now operating under our State law. The officers and directors of the Federal reserve bank of the ninth district have repeatedly invited and urged us to join and have frequently asked our objection to joining. We are fully conscious of the great benefits to trade, industry, and investments, as well as the business of banking specifically, that are possible as a result of the Federal Reserve System if administered wisely and kept free of personal and political influences, and we would gladly pay our pro rata share of the expense of maintaining the system, which is now being borne by the national banks exclusively.

"We are conscious, too, as all must be, including yourself, that the reserve-bank system will not reach its full measure of usefulness while more than three-fourths of the country's banks remain outside, and we look with misgivings, as you must, on the numerous conversions of national banks into State banks now taking place throughout the country, which must result in a further weakening of the Federal Reserve System. There must be good and sufficient reasons for these numerous conversions that are taking place, and there must also be reason why eligible State banks, except in a very few isolated cases, are not joining.

"The writer of this letter is a Democrat, his predecessor in the office of president was a Democrat, and four of our nine directors are Democrats, which is a larger proportion than is usual in this overwhelmingly Republican State. We give full credit to the present Democratic administration for placing the Federal reserve law on the statute books and for the honest and patriotic intention of President Wilson to make the system a success.

"But we have no present intention of joining the Federal Reserve System, nor of converting into a national bank, and our principal reason for deciding to remain outside and of continuing to operate as a State bank is John Skelton Williams, the present Comptroller of the Currency, from whose authority we are now happily and wholly free, and we intend to remain so."

THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER, MR. KITCHIN, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The Members of the House of Representatives who heard the Democratic leader tell the story of how there was an attempt by the Democratic administration to force him to change front on the naval appropriation bill, really enjoyed his vigorous protest. But when they were given the opportunity to read his revised remarks as published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, many days afterwards; after his indignation had been somewhat assuaged, the conclusion was that he was simply "bombastes furioso," like "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal," or "great cry, and little wool."

The following article taken from the New York Sun entitled "Criminal perfection of virtue," shows how the intelligent press of the country views the weakness of the position of the Democratic leader from North Carolina:

CRIMINAL PERFECTION OF VIRTUE.

The Hon. CLAUDE KITCHIN, whose smile is like the May day sun wooing the violets to bloom, can frown too, aye, and bite. He withheld from the RECORD for purposes of cooling his speech on the Senate amendments to the Navy appropriation bill, yet after several days he printed as part of that speech this hot stuff:

"I believe I said it was criminal for this House to vote upon a proposition that would take hundreds of millions of dollars needlessly out of the Treasury through the proposition presented by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER]. And yet in two short months the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Secretary of the Navy, and the President and most of my fellow Democrats want me to get up now on this floor and eat my words and say that the program of the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the Republicans, which they induced me then to denounce as criminal recklessness, is now the very perfection of virtue and patriotism."

Well, well! How much longer than two months does this hotspur from Scotland Neck expect the White House and the Navy Department to maintain that what was "criminal" had not yet become "the very perfection of virtue"?

THE TARIFF.

The tariff views of the President seem to have changed. But I have not determined that he is a sincere protectionist. But I am of the opinion that the President regards the Underwood tariff law as a failure as a revenue producer.

Believing that the views of the New York Sun upon a recent colloquy between Representative LONGWORTH and Representative KITCHIN, the Democratic leader, would be interesting, I append the same:

Representative KITCHIN, Democratic leader in the House, vainly resents Representative LONGWORTH'S assertion that Woodrow Wilson has become a protectionist. Why should Mr. KITCHIN doubt it? Was not Mr. Wilson elected on a tariff for revenue only platform? Does not this constitute for him a valid reason for espousing the principle of protection?

The Baltimore platform pledged Mr. Wilson to the principle of a single term. He is a candidate for a second term. The Baltimore platform indorsed the principle of discrimination in favor of American ships using the Panama Canal in the coastwise trade. Mr. Wilson made it his high duty to put American ships, in this respect, on a plane with all other ships. The Baltimore platform denounced extravagance in Government expenditures, and promised economy. Mr. Wilson has tolerated, encouraged, and fostered every extravagant proposal that has been made.

Mr. LONGWORTH is unquestionably right. Mr. Wilson has abandoned the Democratic faith on the tariff. By what other means could he demonstrate that very frank and very sincere nature he so fondly exhibits to his countrymen?

CANADIAN RECIPROCITY WHICH EVERYBODY THOUGHT WAS DEAD WAS GIVEN LIFE AND LIFE ABUNDANTLY BY THE UNDERWOOD TARIFF ACT.

I append herewith statements showing imports of Canadian products competing with products of American industries and American labor. This table is from official sources, and was taken from Foreign Commerce and Navigation for 1915, one of the recent compilations made by the officials of the Wilson administration. The Canadian Government rejected reciprocity as proposed by the United States. But the Underwood tariff law, with its free-trade provisions, gave to the Canadian Government a better opportunity to capture our markets than even the rejected reciprocity act proposed.

I call the attention of the Democratic Members of the House and the country to these very suggestive figures. Does the Underwood tariff act defend and protect American farmers and American interests? I answer emphatically, "No."

*Imports of Canadian products competing with products of American industries and American labor, fiscal year ending June 30.*

[Figures taken from "Foreign Commerce and Navigation," 1915.]

| Articles. | 1913 (Payne law). | 1914 (9 months Underwood law). | 1915 (Underwood law). |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agricultural implements | | $106,382 | $626,349 |
| Aluminum, manufactures | $38,369 | 54,429 | 124,837 |
| Animals: | | | |
| Cattle | 1,026,301 | 8,607,137 | 9,285,277 |
| Horses | 355,168 | 660,317 | 440,008 |
| Sheep | 72,476 | 106,827 | 279,931 |
| Other, and fowls | 95,556 | 1,630,965 | 2,673,622 |
| Breadstuffs: | | | |
| Bread and biscuit | 3,342 | 7,114 | 8,206 |
| Corn | 3,222 | 14,552 | 115,246 |
| Macaroni, etc | 91 | 6,574 | 11,295 |
| Oats | 275,550 | 7,879,801 | 272,318 |
| Wheat | 530,905 | 1,682,654 | 420,372 |
| Other breadstuffs | 1,480,240 | 2,433,448 | 1,411,170 |
| Bronze, manufactures | 239 | 533 | 4,003 |
| Carbons for electric lights | 1,656 | 2,140 | 3,984 |
| Carriages, bicycles | 724 | 1,720 | 3,167 |
| Copper, manufactures (not bar) | 303 | 578 | 5,095 |
| Cotton wearing apparel and manufactures not listed | 14,549 | 19,708 | 29,255 |
| Cotton waste | 43,661 | 45,923 | 92,752 |
| Eggs | | 83,042 | 158,714 |
| Eggs, frozen | | 2,809 | 547 |
| Fish of all kinds | 3,942,824 | 5,700,765 | 6,588,747 |
| Lobster | 490,650 | 554,698 | 699,157 |
| Fruits: | | | |
| Preserved | 3,583 | 18,367 | 29,610 |
| Not listed | 146,495 | 171,716 | 173,554 |
| Glass and glassware | 71,573 | 97,515 | 98,036 |
| Glue | 55 | 4,584 | 13,209 |
| Grease and oils | 66,694 | 97,489 | 124,522 |
| Gold and silver manufactures | 3,775 | 7,504 | 6,902 |
| Jewelry | 13,036 | 11,204 | 15,072 |
| Hats, bonnets, and hoods | 7,345 | 5,697 | 17,758 |
| Hay | 1,500,641 | 1,616,859 | 220,084 |
| Honey | 873 | 1,858 | 472 |
| Beeswax | 589 | 1,332 | 150 |
| Hides, sheep, green | 166,036 | 395,404 | 499,099 |
| Iron and steel manufactures: | | | |
| Balls and bearings | 1,525 | 2,294 | 7,695 |
| Machinery and machine tools | 84,497 | 116,176 | 156,312 |
| Rails for railways | 11,010 | 222,600 | 1,503,000 |
| Manufactures of wire | 6,653 | 21,874 | 23,010 |
| Other manufactures not listed | 141,220 | 210,751 | 168,421 |
| Leather, manufactures: | | | |
| Belting and sole | 100,112 | 1,381,481 | 1,519,075 |
| Dressed, upper and other boots and shoes, gloves, other manufactures not listed | 48,960 | 940,626 | 1,936,047 |
| Fresh meats: Beef, mutton, and pork | 121,267 | 1,920,474 | 3,642,893 |
| Bacon, ham, etc | | 610,802 | 1,772,139 |
| Dairy products: | | | |
| Butter | 75,258 | 146,153 | 263,889 |
| Cheese | 16,384 | 144,603 | 27,979 |
| Cream and milk, fresh and condensed | 1,074,888 | 2,050,337 | 2,978,524 |
| Oils, vegetable | 20,752 | 117,352 | 60,527 |
| Paper: | | | |
| Printing | 5,646,289 | 10,634,926 | 12,742,743 |
| Manufactures and wrapping | 17,792 | 570,607 | 755,331 |

*Imports of Canadian products competing with products of American industries and American labor, fiscal year ending June 30*—Continued.

| Articles. | 1913 (Payne law). | 1914 (9 months Underwood law). | 1915 (Underwood law). |
|---|---|---|---|
| Seeds: | | | |
| Flax | $7,187,547 | $10,561,662 | $8,843,489 |
| Clover and grass | 395,772 | 881,057 | 195,072 |
| Not listed | 25,817 | 63,981 | 95,793 |
| Stone, and manufactures of | 82,117 | 120,025 | 110,039 |
| Straw manufactures | 47,262 | 84,271 | 82,973 |
| Sugar, maple | | 147,462 | 112,521 |
| Vegetables: | | | |
| Beans | 7,643 | 28,956 | 28,252 |
| Onions | 901 | 1,982 | 3,883 |
| Dried peas | 149,827 | 234,267 | 446,710 |
| Potatoes | 42,696 | 459,782 | 27,857 |
| Other, preserved, etc | 211,866 | 421,764 | 518,132 |
| Wood manufactures: | | | |
| Logs and round timber | 1,355,507 | 1,564,572 | 1,150,319 |
| Lumber, boards, etc | 17,972,712 | 16,917,424 | 17,139,775 |
| Lath | 1,895,390 | 1,609,803 | 1,911,743 |
| Shingles | 1,399,751 | 2,190,049 | 3,104,162 |
| Furniture | 2,850 | 11,426 | 53,896 |
| Pulp, rough, rossed, etc | 6,954,939 | 7,245,466 | 6,572,839 |
| Pulp, mechanically ground | 4,973,061 | 5,908,517 | 7,583,081 |
| All other manufactures not listed | 77,214 | 94,283 | 126,860 |
| Wool: | | | |
| Classes 1 and 2 | 62,963 | 1,003,961 | 1,705,674 |
| Wastes | | 91,831 | 165,796 |
| Carpet | 223 | 4,963 | 17,911 |
| Wearing apparel and manufactures not listed | 19,870 | 24,619 | 48,419 |
| Articles not enumerated | 59,429 | 96,348 | 442,667 |
| Total | 60,648,356 | 100,980,282 | 102,415,998 |

NOTE.—Of the 120,571,180 worth of imports from Canada in 1913, $64,006,573, or 53 per cent, came in free of duty. Of the $160,689,709 worth of imports in 1914 (nine months Underwood law), $115,040,442, or 71.5 per cent, were admitted free. Of the $159,571,712 worth of imports in 1915 (Underwood law—war period), $135,784,408, or 86 per cent, were admitted free. In 1916 we imported from Canada $204,018,227 worth of products, and at the rate the percentage of free goods was increasing it is safe to say that $185,000,000 worth of these goods paid no revenue whatever to the Government. In other words, our imports from Canada of duty-free goods during the fiscal year 1916 was over 50 per cent greater than the total value of our imports from Canada, both dutiable and free, during the fiscal year 1913, under the Republican law. Total exports of Canada to Great Britain for the Canadian fiscal year ending in March, 1916, were $452,000,000, compared with $187,000,000 the year before. With the establishment of peace Canada can direct her enormously increased energy toward extending the market for her products in America.

*Imports from and exports to Canada.*

[Fiscal years.]

| | 1913 (Payne law). | 1914 (9 months Underwood law). | Underwood law. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1915. | 1916. |
| Imports | $120,571,180 | $160,689,709 | $159,571,712 | $204,018,227 |
| Exports | [1] 415,449,457 | 344,716,981 | 300,686,812 | [2] 466,884,415 |
| Trade balance | 294,878,277 | 184,027,172 | 141,115,100 | 262,866,188 |

[1] Peace products. [2] Large proportion, war products.

Forty millions dollars increase in our imports from Canada, 1914 over 1913, and $71,000,000 loss in exports; $39,000,000 increase in imports, 1915 over 1913, and $115,000,000 loss in exports; $83,500,000 increase in imports, 1916 over 1913; exports $51,000,000 greater; large proportion of them being munitions of war. The fact that shipping was tied up by the war had relatively little, if any, effect on Canadian trade with us.

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM S. VARE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. VARE. Mr. Speaker, I have been strongly in favor of the present naval bill and have worked for it and now vote for it because I believe it to be the longest step forward ever taken by any nation in the history of the world. In normal times perhaps it would not have been possible to bring about the almost unanimous support of a naval bill of such large proportions.

The present naval bill provides for the largest naval budget in the history of the United States Government, but I believe that history would condemn the judgment of the present Congress were anything less given in the way of naval preparedness. It has been said here that the present program for the construction of 16 capital ships within three years, including the construction of 4 dreadnaughts and 4 battle cruisers in the immediate future, will put the United States in second position among the naval powers of the world.

It is the belief of the naval experts that this Nation now is in fourth position. Certainly, there is not the slightest doubt that we were in fourth place on July 1, 1914, the last date on which accurate statistics were available. At that time the total tonnage of Great Britain, built and building, was 2,713,756; Germany, 1,304,640; France, 899,915; United States, 894,889.

As a result of the European war, no official information regarding the naval status of belligerents has been obtained since July 1, 1914. All the world knows the strength or weakness of the United States, but we to-day know little of the strength of the European belligerents on the seas. We know that, from the admission of Lloyd George, 1,000,000 men are now actually engaged in British naval construction work. We know that Germany has turned her vast energies toward the upbuilding of her navy as well as the upbuilding of all other war resources.

Japan's methods have been secret, and her announced program for the next two years means very little. It would still leave her far behind the United States if we take into consideration the present program which Congress will authorize. We know, however, that Japan is not relying solely upon the program which she publicly announces, for we have it from our own naval officers, appearing before the committees of Congress, that the plan always has been for the secret substitution of modern vessels for discarded vessels. These substitutions are made without announcement, and Japan's program probably will remain secret unless she becomes involved in war, when she would spring a surprise as great as the one sprung when she matched her strength against the strength of Russia.

UNITED STATES WILL BE NEXT TO ENGLAND.

The loss of ships in naval battles doubtless has partially balanced the abnormal efforts of Great Britain and Germany to add quickly to their naval strength. The best we can do is to take into account the losses of Germany and subtract from them her normal building program. The United States nevertheless will, with the enactment of this program, take its place next to Great Britain among the naval powers of the world. For this all patriotic Americans must rejoice.

The Navy is the first line of defense, and it is absolutely necessary for us to protect both our coasts. We have invested more than $400,000,000 in the Panama Canal, and I regard the present bill as national insurance, not merely for the canal but for the lives and property of American citizens. It will be an insurance against war, an object lesson to foreign nations that they can not encroach upon the rights of the United States without running the risk of a strong nation. It is an evidence of what the United States can do, and such a mobilization of strength should have a large moral effect upon the world and give additional security to the Monroe doctrine.

Without a firm foreign policy the moral influence of a great navy, such as we are now striving to obtain, would be minimized, but with a firm and definite foreign policy such a navy as we are now likely to have within the next three years will be a guaranty for national peace.

No one will question the moral influence and force of President Roosevelt's action in sending the American Navy on a friendly visit around the world at a time when foreign nations were casting jealous eyes toward America. If there had been any intention at that time of provoking a quarrel with the American people, the intention quickly was abandoned at the sight of the American fleet steaming into foreign harbors.

I believe with Washington and most of the early Presidents of the United States that the best assurance of peace is always to be prepared for war. There was a time when life insurance policies were actually considered an incentive to murder. The theory in that unenlightened period was that selfish persons seeking to obtain money might be led to the taking of human life. I believe that those who say that military and naval preparedness lead to war are making a similar argument.

The American Colonies were not prepared for a war with Great Britain. There were no preparations of any kind. Yet the Colonies fought for their freedom. The United States Government was not prepared for the Civil War, yet that war came. This country admittedly was not prepared even for the War with Spain, yet that war came. This has been the history of the world. Germany, with all her military preparation, remained out of war for 40 years, while Great Britain, without preparation except on the seas, had one war within that period. Right and justice and firmness at the right time alone can pre-

vent aggression. Without military preparedness a nation is a temptation to the selfishness of jealous enemies.

PHILADELPHIA BENEFITS.

The city which I have the honor to represent in Congress has been especially interested in this bill because of its possession of the navy yard at League Island, which has offered the Government its best opportunity for naval preparedness. As long ago as December 7, 1914, five months after the European war began, I urged that Congress immediately authorize the Secretary of the Navy to ascertain without delay the types of aeroplanes and hydroplanes, dirigible balloons, and submarines which had demonstrated their superiority in the naval warfare which had taken place at that time. In the bill which I introduced at that time it was suggested that there be an appropriation of $2,000,000 to defray the expenses and expenditures of the establishment of a real air fleet, and I have particularly welcomed the present naval bill because of its provision for an appropriation of $3,500,000 for aviation under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy.

At various times I have introduced measures whose provisions are now included in this naval bill, and I believe that these provisions can not fail to be of benefit to the Nation. There is no question of the fact that it was to the benefit of the Nation as a whole that there should be a large dry dock at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. It was with a view to bringing this about that a bill was introduced for a dry dock at League Island, and after a long wait provision is now being made for this most necessary facility.

Under the terms of the present bill there will be ample authority for the Secretary of the Navy to enlarge the shipways for the construction of battleships at Philadelphia. There could be no better preparedness for an emergency. The private shipyards of the country admittedly have more work, and in an emergency it is essential that the Government should be prepared to do much of its own work.

It was with no sectional motive that I proposed, in the bill introduced immediately after the Edison Board suggested the establishment of a scientific research laboratory, that this plant should be located at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. I advocated the location of the plant at Philadelphia because it seemed to me to be the best location from a national standpoint, fulfilling all the requirements of the recommendations of the board, which were to the effect that the plant be located near, but not at, a large city and on tidewater, where experiments could be made with submarines and other war devices. It was with the same motive that I advocated that the Government armor plant be located at the Philadelphia yard, as it seemed to me to be logical that the Government should plan to manufacture at a point where experience had taught there would be the greatest economy and efficiency.

LAND AT PHILADELPHIA A PLENTY.

It was no accident that led all three of the private armor-plate manufactories to locate in Pennsylvania. They went there because of favorable surroundings and conditions. Plentiful raw materials and the good labor market led them there. The same reasons, I believe, should enable the United States Government to establish both the armor-plate plant and the scientific research and experimental laboratory at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, where ample land is now available on the 900 acres which were turned over to the Government by the city.

It is a matter of pride to the city of Philadelphia to know that this bill, giving national insurance, will measurably increase the importance of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, not merely because this means additional employment for the working people of Philadelphia, but because they wish to contribute their share to national preparedness.

In the present naval bill there are provisions for an investigation of fuel oil and gasoline adapted to naval requirements and for the extension of a naval fuel oil and equipment plant at League Island, for which allowance of $60,000 is made. There is provision for the erection and equipment of a plant for the manufacture of projectiles on a site to be located by the President, for which $705,611 is made available.

There is to be an armor-plate plant for which an expenditure of $11,000,000 is to be made and the site of which is to be selected by the General Board of the Navy. There is a provision for the purchase of ground adjoining the quartermaster's depot at Philadelphia and for the erection thereon of an addition to the depot at a cost not to exceed $175,000. There are provisions for a ventilating system, dredging in the back channel at League Island, and a dry dock, the dry dock to cost not exceeding $3,500,000, and for the beginning of all these improvements there is made available immediately the sum of $583,000.

There is provision made for a research laboratory with a limit of cost fixed at $2,000,000, and of this sum $1,500,000 is to be immediately available. The site for this laboratory is to be selected by the President, and I submit that when such selections for this and other agencies of preparedness are made, the location and facilities of the Philadelphia Navy Yard should be given most careful official inquiry and consideration.

There is no question of the advantage that would accrue to the Navy from the construction of dreadnaughts at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. It has been frequently charged that the construction of ships at Government yards is more expensive than construction at private yards, but the Philadelphia Navy Yard recently kept well within the estimates submitted for the construction of a transport there, which has been launched. The enlargement of the shipways at League Island will enable the Government to make the necessary changes and provide the necessary equipment for battleship construction.

SHIPWAY ENLARGEMENT NATIONAL NECESSITY.

Inasmuch as the Navy Department is anxious to see one of the next dreadnaughts built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, I believe that the enlargement of the present shipways has become a national necessity. I do not think this proposition has anything to do with the general question of Government ownership. The Nation should be in a position, however, to build its own battleships and should have the necessary equipment for such a purpose. If the United States were plunged into war to-day, it would be difficult to get private yards to leave unfinished all the work now on their ways in order to construct new transports and warships. The Government should be fully equipped to do at least part of the work.

There is no longer any doubt that there will be need not merely for the proposed Government armor-plate plant but for all the existing private plants as well. The present naval program, calling for 157 ships, at a conservative estimate will require four times as much armor plate as has been needed in previous years. The Government plant will merely take care of the surplus. There will be such large requirements that I anticipate all the existing plants will be kept working at full capacity.

Pennsylvania is the home of the armor-plate industry. All of the present factories have found their present locations in that State good and profitable ones, due to the many natural advantages found in that section. A commission, composed of Chairman PADGETT, of the Naval Affairs Committee; Senator TILLMAN; and Admiral Joseph Strauss, of the United States Navy; in their report mentioned Philadelphia, and Philadelphia alone, as the logical site for the proposed plant.

I believe the Government plant, located at Philadelphia, under the same conditions as to labor market and nearness to the source of supplies, could establish a fair rate of comparison of cost price. There is ample room at the Philadelphia yard for this plant, necessitating no expenditure for a site.

The Bethlehem, Midvale, and Pennsylvania plants are located in Pennsylvania. These are the three plants making all the armor plate for the Government at the present time. There is no intention on my part to hurt this or any other industry, and the part of the supply which I would have the Government plant manufacture would be that in excess of the present output of the private corporations.

The present bill, I believe, provides adequate naval preparedness not only on the sea but at the naval stations on land. It will be of immeasurable importance in preserving the peace of the Nation, and I think that the price we are paying for this national insurance is insignificant in comparison with the wealth of the Nation and the honorable results that will be secured. [Applause.]

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**Revenue.**

## SPEECH

OF

## HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 6, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 16763) to increase the revenue, and for other purposes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, the pending measure is a product of the best labor and the best thought and judgment of the Committee on Ways and Means. I am happy to say that

we have been able to frame and present to-day a bill to raise revenue which is an absolutely nonpartisan bill. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

The necessity of this bill is recognized by every Member in the House, Democrat and Republican, Socialist and independent. I said it was nonpartisan, because there is not an item of revenue in the bill that has ever been made a partisan question or a partisan issue.

We tax incomes. That has never been a partisan question. While the Democratic Party is the author of income-tax legislation, yet there has never been an issue made on that question. When the income-tax provision of the Underwood bill was under consideration in the House, or, rather, in the Committee of the Whole, every Democrat and at least two-thirds of the Republicans favored it.

We have levied a tax upon the transfer of estates, commonly called an inheritance tax. An inheritance tax never has been an issue between the parties or a partisan question. Republican State platforms as well as Democratic State platforms have approved and indorsed inheritance taxes. Why, the first inheritance tax ever put upon the statute books of this country was put there by the solid vote in Congress of the Republican Party in 1898. To supplement custom duties, as he knew no tariff would be sufficient to produce the increasing needs of the Treasury, Mr. Taft in his inaugural address advocated a Federal graduated inheritance tax. The Payne bill as it was reported to and passed by the House contained an inheritance-tax provision. It was stricken out in the Senate. So, gentlemen, an inheritance tax is not, and ought not to be, a partisan question. You can make it so by your vote on the pending bill.

We levy a tax upon the manufacture of munitions of war, specifying what the munitions of war are. That is not and ought not to be a partisan question. But no doubt there will be some Republicans here who will vote against this bill on account of the munitions tax because they fear that some munition makers will protest or criticize them for helping to put a tax on the manufacture of their products.

The special taxes which we raise are taxes similar to those contained in two Republican statutes, one during the Civil War and one in the Spanish-American War tax act. So they ought not to be made a partisan question.

We have a tariff commission provision in this bill. Now, certainly no Republican can vote against a bill with a tariff commission in it. [Laughter and applause.] Two Republican platforms have demanded it, and when the Underwood bill was under consideration the Republicans of the House offered a motion to recommit with instructions that nothing be done with the tariff until a tariff commission had reported. So the Republican Party is committed to a tariff commission. I must confess that until about two or three months ago the Democratic Party, so far as my learning and information went, was opposed to it. [Laughter.]

Mr. HILL. Mr. Chairman, will not the gentleman kindly explain further and inform us what brought about the change?

Mr. KITCHIN. Why, the gentleman has not read the Democratic platform adopted in St. Louis. [Laughter and applause.]

The bill contains a dyestuffs proposition, really a protection to the dyestuffs industry of the United States, reported out by a Democratic committee [laughter]—a temporary protection that neither loses revenue to the Government nor affects the ultimate consumer, the two concerns of the Democratic theory of the tariff. Then there is an unfair competition provision in this bill which ought to be good Republicanism and good Democracy. The Republican Party, in all of its 50 years of tariff writing, never had the wisdom and the judgment and the patriotism to incorporate in any of its legislation an unfair competition proposition. We believe that the same unfair competition law which now applies to the domestic trader should apply to the foreign import trader.

No Republican can afford in good conscience to vote against this bill. He ought to indorse it. I mean every Republican except the old-time reactionaries like my friend from Connecticut [Mr. HILL], and my friend from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY], and my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE]. Outside of these three gentlemen, and just a few who gravitate to them, not a patriotic Republican on that side can afford to vote against this bill, and before this debate closes I am going to show you why. But I can see some reason why a good, old-fashioned tariff-reform Democrat like some of us can object to some features of the bill. In spots there is just a little too much Republicanism in it. [Laughter.] Seriously, now, gentlemen, it was the thought and the hope and the effort of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee to present a bill here that was nonpartisan and that would command the support of a majority in both parties on this floor, because we recognize the fact, which every intelligent man here recognizes, and which every honest man will acknowledge, that the necessity for this extra revenue legislation was created by the joint action of both Republicans and Democrats in advocating and voting for the huge increase of appropriation for "preparedness."

If we had not made the fabulous increases in the Army, Navy, and fortifications bills, for which Republicans and Democrats alike voted, we would not be compelled to raise an extra dollar by this or any other bill. The present revenue laws would have yielded every dollar necessary to take care of every appropriation passed by this Congress. [Applause.] If a majority of the Republican Members had had their way and the Congress had adopted the military and naval program for which a large majority of them voted, it would have required over $100,000,000 more than is provided for in this bill. If a majority of the Republicans in this House had had their way and the proposition which they submitted to the House and for which they voted was enacted into law, the Army and Navy appropriations alone for which we would have had to provide would have amounted to over $50,000,000 more than has ever been collected in any one year in the history of this Government from all sources of taxation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The total appropriations for all purposes now in sight, exclusive of what may hereafter be appropriated for any Mexican eventualities, amount, in round numbers, according to the Treasury Department's estimates, to $1,579,000,000. In that amount there is included, according to these estimates, $125,000,000 made necessary by the Mexican situation. To take care of this $125,000,000 included in the total amount which I have just mentioned, we propose to do what this Nation and all other nations have always done under similar circumstances—issue bonds. We could not provide in a revenue bill for any appropriation made necessary for hostilities or threatened hostilities with any country, for the reason that instead of the $125,000,000 included in the appropriation on account of the Mexican situation it may be unnecessary to expend one-third or one-fifth of that amount. If peace and the prospect of permanent peace are restored, we will not have to expend that. So, then, it would be unwise, unnecessary, and an unjust burden upon the taxpayers if we should levy and collect $125,000,000 of taxes by this or any other bill for that purpose, when if peace is fully restored and all complications are removed we may not have to expend more than $25,000,000 of that. In that case there would be $100,000,000 of unnecessary burden. On the other hand, if we should, unfortunately—I hope, as every other patriotic man in and out of this House hopes, that we will never have any real hostilities with Mexico or any other nation [applause]; but if we should, unfortunately, be brought to hostilities, then there is no possible way to provide for them in a revenue bill, because we will not know whether hostilities will last two months, six months, or years, and we will not know whether it will take $125,000,000, $250,000,000, or $1,000,000,000. Such contingencies could not be taken care of in a revenue bill.

We propose, therefore, as I said before, to finance any possible trouble with Mexico or any other nation as this nation and all other nations have always financed such emergencies—by the issue of bonds.

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman yield for a question? It is a very important question for the financial situation of the country and for the question of revenue. Am I trespassing if I ask the gentleman if he speaks authoritatively in regard to the bond-issue proposition?

Mr. KITCHIN. What does the gentleman mean by "authoritatively"?

Mr. HILL. I mean is it approved by the administration? I think it is a fair question, but if the gentleman does not wish to answer, of course he need not.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have never talked with the President about this matter. In fact, he does not talk with me much, anyway, nowadays; he is too busy with bigger things. [Laughter.] But I can say that I have talked with somebody that does talk with the President almost daily, and I can say that this is the position of the administration. It could not be otherwise, and it would be the position of a Republican administration or a Progressive administration. I feel justified in asserting that that is the purpose and position of the administration, and I would say of Congress, the Senate, and the House, the Republicans and Democrats.

The inquiry now is, How much additional revenue is required to be raised, and how does this bill raise it? In estimating the actual disbursements it is proper to deduct the sinking-fund requirement included in the permanent appropriations at $60,727,000 for the fiscal year 1917, and also the postal appropriations estimated at $324,723,000, payable from postal rev-

enues. It is also safe to deduct, as is the custom in making such estimates of expenditures from the total estimated appropriations remaining after these deductions, an amount equivalent to 5 per cent of such total, as experience shows that about 5 per cent of the appropriations calling for the payment of money is unexpended at the end of each fiscal year. It has been the custom in making estimates of amount of required revenue to make the sinking fund and the 5 per cent deductions, as explained. This was done by the committee that reported the Payne bill in making estimates under that bill.

We have prepared a statement showing these deductions, including the estimate of $125,000,000 to be met by bond issue, the estimated ordinary disbursements for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and the estimated receipts under existing laws, together with the estimated additional revenue required to meet the ordinary disbursements for the year, which I shall read:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total estimated appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917 | | $1,579,000,000 |
| Deduct amount, included in the estimate of total appropriation, because of the Mexican situation, to be financed by bonds | $125,000,000 | |
| Deduct sinking-fund requirement | 60,727,000 | |
| Deduct postal appropriations, payable from postal revenues | 324,723,000 | |
| | | 510,450,000 |
| Balance | | 1,068,550,000 |
| Deduct 5 per cent of the balance, the amount estimated to be unexpended | | 53,428,000 |
| Amount for which it is necessary to provide revenue | | 1,015,122,000 |
| Estimated revenue under present laws: | | |
| Customs | $230,000,000 | |
| Internal revenue— | | |
| Ordinary | 303,000,000 | |
| Income tax | 120,000,000 | |
| Emergency | 41,000,000 | |
| Miscellaneous | 54,200,000 | |
| | | 748,200,000 |
| Estimated excess of disbursements over receipts | | 266,922,000 |

We will need, therefore, to meet the fiscal year's appropriations $266,922,000 more than the present revenue laws will produce.

This bill raises first by the income tax, extra I mean, $107,000,000; by the inheritance or estate tax for the first year, $17,000,000; and after that it is estimated that it will raise $54,000,000 annually; from the tax on the manufacture of munitions of war it is estimated that we will raise $71,000,000; and from miscellaneous taxes, additional $2,000,000, which total $197,000,000, leaving $69,922,000 necessary to make good the $266,922,000 for which we are to provide.

Now, instead of levying a tax in this bill for this remaining $69,922,000, we propose to take that amount from the general balance fund, which was the largest on the 30th of June, 1916, of the last fiscal year by many million dollars than it has been on the 30th day of June of any year for the last eight years. [Applause on the Democratic side.] We can take this $69,922,000 from the general balance fund, and then leave in the disbursing offices to their credit, $60,000,000 as operating balances, and still have left over $100,000,000 in the general balance fund.

What makes necessary this large extra tax levy? Your votes, gentlemen on the Republican side, and your votes, gentlemen on the Democratic side. We have appropriated, or will appropriate, $274,000,000 extra for preparedness, taking the bills as the Senate has reported them—and it has been my observation during this session, and I am afraid it is going to be my observation during many more sessions, that when you holler "preparedness," when you begin to shout that deceptive euphenism, there is no prospect of reducing a single dollar of appropriation in a single bill that comes from the Naval Committee or the Military Affairs Committee or the Fortifications Committee, either in the House or the Senate. Now, these extra appropriations for which revenue will be raised by this bill are exclusive of the $125,000,000 appropriation that is carried in the Army bill, the urgent deficiency bill on account of the Mexican situation. The increase in the naval bill over that of last year, which was the largest appropriation ever made by Congress, is $165,000,000. Now, that is the increase in the naval bill as reported out of the Senate, and which will pass there and pass here, although it will pass over my vote. I shall not vote for such an enormous increase. [Applause.] The increase in the military bill over last year, even as it left the House, is $80,000,000, and inclusive of the Mexican trouble appropriation the Senate put on over $10,000,000, making it over $90,000,000.

The fortification bill as it passed both Houses increased the appropriation over last year $19,000,000 and some hundred thousand, the total amount being three times as large as that of last year, when our experts told us that we then had the best fortifications in the world. That makes $274,000,000 extra appropriations, exclusive of the Mexican situation appropriation. Now, think of it, gentlemen, here is $274,000,000, $88,000,000 more than the amount raised by this bill and the $69,922,000 to be taken from the general balance fund added. In sane moments this would seem alarmingly reckless. Four-fifths of all the Republicans voted not only for these increases, but for at least $150,000,000 more. Now, gentlemen of the Republican side, after you have voted for these enormous, these fabulous increases, for military, naval, and fortification purposes it seems to me unpatriotic and unmanly for you to refuse to help finance by a wise, equitable bill like this such appropriations. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Where would you gentlemen get the money if you were in power, and how would you raise the necessary cash? If the Republicans in this House know a better way and a wiser way and a more patriotic way to get this $274,000,000 extra appropriation for which they have voted, then it will be their duty, as it ought to be their pleasure, to make a motion to recommit with instructions to put their measure into the bill and let it go into the RECORD, so that all the people can know their method of levying and producing this extra amount of taxes. [Applause on the Democratic side.] If you gentlemen of the Republican side will offer an amendment or a motion to recommit, setting out a specific method as a substitute for the method of the pending bill, I pledge you no point of order will be made against it, and you shall have the right of going on record for it.

If you do not do that, but quibble and protest and complain and vote against this revenue bill, you exhibit a weakness and a want of manliness that are unworthy of the Republican Party in the House or in the country. Can you raise it by the tariff? Let us see. Let us assume for the sake of argument that the Payne-Aldrich Act, instead of the Underwood Act, were on the statute books and that this war had prevented not a dollar of importations less than came in the last year of the Payne Act—that is, that we had the same amount of importations. What would be the result? The amount of tariff customs the last year of the Payne Act was $318,000,000, the amount of corporation tax collected under the act was $35,000,000. Both together produced a total of $353,000,000. Under the Underwood Act we will raise from customs $210,000,000 for this fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, during the war, and $124,000,000 from the income tax, or a total of $334,000,000—only $19,000,000 less under the Underwood Act this fiscal year than was raised the last year of the Payne Act unhampered by war. Since this war our customs duties fell from $292,000,000 for year ending June 30, 1914, down to $210,000,000 for this fiscal year. The Payne Act, customs receipts, and corporation tax would have raised, even if it produced the same amount of revenue during the war as it did before, only $19,000,000 more than the Underwood Act did. Give the Payne Act, therefore, the benefit of the assumption that dutiable importations under it would not have been hampered to the extent of a penny by the war, then you would have to raise over $255,000,000 extra, and how could you raise it? Oh, yes; even in the face of these facts they say, "Let us get it by increasing the tariff." No Republican heretofore has ever desired to increase the tariff for the purpose of raising revenue, but for the purpose of keeping goods out of this country, so that they could not pay any revenue at all. [Applause on the Democratic side.] They have always claimed that with a low so-called "free-trade" tariff like the Underwood Act, our country would be flooded with foreign goods, and yet under the Underwood tariff during the war the dutiable imports have fallen off over $125,000,000 a year, decreasing thereby the customs revenue. They would have the country believe—they are not trying to fool us, they have too much sense for that, they do not even try to fool themselves, but they want to fool somebody else—they would have the people believe that if you increase the tariff and make importations more difficult and more costly more goods would come in, and therefore you would have more customs.

You would not collect a dollar more by any increase in the tariff such as has heretofore been enacted by the Republicans.

The imports this fiscal year will be about $400,000,000 more than the last year of the Payne Act.

The increase was in articles on the free list. The importation of dutiable articles largely decreased. I call attention to the fact, which my Republican friends always forget in speaking of the big increase of imports under the present tariff act in spite of the war, that the increase is owing largely to the advance in values on account of the war, rather than to an increase in quantities, and to the further fact that of this increase of imports $200,000,000 are of articles which were on the free list in the Payne Act and retained in the Underwood Act.

If the Payne Act had been on the statute books during this war and even if it had produced as much revenue annually as it

did in 1913, the last and best year, it would amount to $353,000,000, $318,000,000 from customs and $35,000,000 from the corporation tax. This is only $19,000,000 more than the Underwood Act, customs, and income tax will yield this year, ending June 30, 1916. You would then lack $250,000,000 of having enough to finance these extra appropriations, which you would have to raise from other sources than the tariff. How would you do it? The truth is, with your higher tariff rates we would have a much larger decrease in the dutiable articles, and therefore a much smaller amount of customs receipts.

As I some time ago on the floor demonstrated, the Payne Act, with its corporation tax, if on the books during the war, would have yielded forty millions less revenue a year than the Underwood Act, with its income tax, is now yielding.

We all know that my friend from Pennsylvania, Mr. MOORE, and my friend from Michigan, Mr. FORDNEY, make statements here that would go as far to sustain a high protective tariff as any two men on earth, and yet neither one of them would dare to point out how they could raise $50,000,000 or even $10,000,000 more to supply this $274,000,000 by any kind of tariff legislation written upon any theory of the Republican Party.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Would it not raise a little more revenue if about $3,000,000 a month in value of Japanese notions that come in duty free at the Puget Sound district were subject to customs duties?

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, Japanese notions! Does the gentleman know how much the difference is between the Underwood tariff and the Payne tariff on the great bulk of articles—at least 80 per cent—that are imported from Japan?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. What is the difference?

Mr. KITCHIN. Not a bit; not a bit. Practically all Japanese imports are on the free list in both acts. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Does the gentleman mean to say that there is no difference in the duty on shirts made in Japan and shipped in under the Underwood bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. Why, there has not been a shirt shipped in here from Japan.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Or caps?

Mr. KITCHIN. Nor caps. I have heard this Japanese import-flood question——

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I have one, purchased here.

Mr. KITCHIN. You have one? Well, why in the name of thunder did you ever have one brought in to the detriment of American industry? [Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will tell the gentleman what is a fact. If, like the gentleman from Washington, I was willing to sacrifice the interests of a hundred million Americans by a protective tariff, and make them pay a billion dollars extra to a few thousand favorites in the name of American industry, I would be blessed if I would be so close and stingy as to go and buy a little 10-cent Japanese cap and deprive our home industry of the sale and profit. [Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman yield for one more question?

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman gets me off my subject.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Does not the gentleman think it would be a good thing to shut off the importation of Chinese eggs?

Mr. KITCHIN. Do you buy Chinese eggs, too? [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No.

Mr. KITCHIN. Let me tell you where to buy your eggs. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Since the passage of the Underwood Act, we have endeavored to control the matter by State law.

Mr. KITCHIN. I know something about eggs. [Laughter.] I have studied the egg question. I used to call my friend from Iowa the "hen-egg statesman of the West," for he has studied the hen egg and the chicken business more than anybody in the House except myself. [Laughter.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. One thing. The bulk of the imports at the Puget Sound district are running along month after month 96 per cent free of duty and about 4 per cent paying duty, not enough to pay for sweeping out the customhouse.

Mr. KITCHIN. Is the gentleman talking about eggs?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. About every form of oriental imports.

Mr. KITCHIN. Chinese eggs?

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Not entirely eggs, but enough Chinese eggs were imported to make a big dent in the egg business of the western country.

Mr. KITCHIN. When the gentleman refers to the large percentage of free imports from Japan, let me again set him straight by reminding him that practically all articles coming in now under the Underwood Act free of duty came in under the Payne Act free of duty. The free lists of both acts contained them. At least two-thirds of all the imports from Japan for this fiscal year alone consisted of two articles—raw silk and tea—both of which have been on the free list in all tariff acts of both parties for the last quarter of a century.

I tried to show the gentleman from Washington several months ago that the State of Washington was more prosperous under a Democratic administration than ever before in the history of the country.

I really did not intend to get to a little subject like eggs, but the gentleman reminds me of it. I see the gentleman from Iowa here. When the Underwood bill was under consideration the gentleman from Iowa led the fight for a high tariff on eggs. Why, he said if we put eggs on the free list it would run out of Iowa all the hens, roosters, and chickens. [Laughter.] He said that they could not lay eggs in Iowa under the Underwood bill in competition with the Canadian hen; that the Canadian hen would be inspired by the hope of a monopoly, get a hip on her, and lay more eggs than ever before and flood this country with them, and the farmers in the egg business in Iowa, the greatest egg State in the Union, would just all go into bankruptcy. Well, you knew and I knew it was the same old Republican prophecy of disaster and ruin. Remembering this prophecy, I watched the statistics, and the year following the Underwood Act more eggs by nearly 20 per cent were laid by the American and Iowan hen than in all the history of egg production. [Applause.] Just like we Democrats said, if you put on a little competition to spur any industry, even in the hen-egg industry, you are going to have a success. [Applause on the Democratic side.] As soon as we put a little spur on the hen in Iowa and the other States she went to work, and the old Canadian hen, before the year was out, swore that the American hen had found a way to lay two eggs a day. [Laughter.] And my friend from Iowa [Mr. GOOD] has not had the audacity to mention hen eggs this whole Congress. [Laughter.] He put it off on the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON]. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I asked the gentleman something about imported Chinese eggs.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman says Chinese eggs——

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Why in the mischief do you Republicans eat old, stale Chinese eggs out there on the Pacific coast instead of the good, fresh Iowa eggs? Help the hens of Iowa, an American industry! [Applause on the Democratic side.] Do you know that no one in China or America can sell a Chinese egg in the State of Washington unless somebody in Washington wants to eat that Chinese egg and prefers to buy that Chinese egg rather than the Iowa egg or the Washington egg? You good protective-tariff Republicans in Washington can stop fostering the Chinese egg industry, if you wish, without any law by Congress.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Will the gentleman let me answer?

Mr. KITCHIN. I have answered it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. But let me answer it.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman takes up too much of my time. The gentleman is going to have some time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. No; I have none, and I think it is only fair.

Mr. HELVERING. Will the gentleman let me answer the question? There is no way the gentleman from Washington could receive his share of those eggs, because the importation is only two eggs to every five people——

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. That is two more than there should be.

Mr. HELVERING. And unless the housewife scrambled the eggs the gentleman would be cut out.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Just one other question——

Mr. KITCHIN. Go ahead.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Take another industry, that of butter. Does not the gentleman believe the people of the north Pacific coast should be protected from butter from New Zealand coming into their markets?

Mr. KITCHIN. Now, the gentleman wants a tariff on butter to enable the big butter interests, known as the Butter Trust, to send the price of butter up higher. Does not the gentleman think the price of butter is high enough now? Why in the world does the gentleman from Washington and other protective-tariff Republican gentlemen in his State persist in and insist on fostering the business of the foreigner and refuse to patronize and help build up and maintain American home industry? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

You buy Japanese caps, you buy Chinese eggs, and now you are buying New Zealand butter. [Laughter.] Do like a tariff-reform revenue Democrat—like me—buy American caps, American eggs, American butter. Patronize home industry, like I do. [Laughter.]

But I doubt if a pound of New Zealand butter has come into the United States this year. I do not understand how the gentleman got it into his head that New Zealand is flooding the Pacific coast people with butter. There is absolutely no truth in the idea.

I notice one thing, that since the gentleman and I had a little discussion two or three months ago on the lumber business in the State of Washington he has not mentioned lumber since. He jumped from lumber to eggs. [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. I will be glad to talk about lumber at any time.

Mr. KITCHIN. And now, gentlemen, back to the subject. You could not raise the necessary revenue by the tariff. You know that. How would you raise it? I know how it was raised in the Spanish-American War. You raised it by putting a stamp on mortgages, on notes, on deeds, on grants, on assignments, on gifts, on every possible method of transferring property, on contracts, on checks, on bills of lading, on telegrams, on telephones—stamps on every conceivable thing. If we were to re-enact that stamp act, we would collect over $60,000,000 of the needed revenues and relieve the munition makers and war traffickers of this country of that amount which this bill proposes to make them pay. Do you favor that?

Now, you will not dare to do it. If so, make a motion in Committee of the Whole to substitute the stamp tax of the old Republican act for the munition tax or the increase of income or the inheritance tax. All you could produce by it would be $60,000,000. You would then have over $200,000,000 more to raise. If you believe you could produce sufficient revenues in any other way just as well and wisely as the way we point out, it is your duty and as I said before it ought to be your pleasure to offer such an amendment or to make a motion to recommit with such instructions. But you dare not do it.

It has been suggested by some clever Republicans that Congress should put a tax on coffee and tea. Oh, well; we did not want to do it. It is not the right thing to do. Prices on these articles of food are high enough. But if any Republican wishes to do so, we will give him the privilege of offering an amendment to put a tax on coffee and tea, by which you can raise $30,000,000 of revenue.

How else can you provide this money other than by this bill? You can get it by the issue of bonds. There may be half a dozen Republicans here who will favor in a stand-up vote raising the money by bond issue. This will help Wall Street. This will entirely relieve the munition makers, income-tax payers, and big inheritances. If we issue bonds we will not have to tax them an extra penny. No doubt many of you would like to see somebody else do this, but there will not be more than half a dozen of you who will dare stand up here and go on record that we should raise this $274,000,000 by the issuance of bonds. If so, make your motion to recommit with instructions, or offer it as an amendment, and let the country know how you stand on it. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Were I a betting man, I would bet any amount—and give my winnings to an orphan asylum, or I will give them to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JOHNSON] to buy American home-laid eggs [laughter]—that there is not a Republican on that side that has the courage or audacity to offer an amendment to put a stamp tax in the bill and raise the $60,000,000 with it, or to put a tax on tea and coffee, or to get the needed amount by issuance of bonds.

Now, gentlemen, how would you raise it? You would not secure it by the method which you employed in the Spanish-American War Act. You can not do it by any Republican revision of the tariff, as I have shown. You would not do it by the issue of bonds. Every Republican here, except possibly half a dozen, knows it would be wrong to get it by bonds, and every Democrat in the House and every patriot in this land knows that it would be cowardly and unpatriotic for this generation to make future generations pay this burden, which is ours and not theirs. [Applause.] It would be a crime for us to put upon our children and our children's children the burden of paying the price for our hysteria. [Applause.] The future, with the help of the war traffickers and jingoes, will furnish oncoming generations plenty of occasions to bear the burdens of their own militarism. Each generation will have its own hysteria to finance. The shipbuilders and munition makers and their hired and interested press will see to this.

Mr. FESS. Will the gentleman yield? This is purely for information.

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. FESS. The program for the Military Establishment and the Naval Establishment is that it is to be continuous, that in the future years it will not be less; that is what I understood.

Mr. KITCHIN. It will not be less. I am sure it will be more each year, unless Congress will either permit its hysteria to subside or it will have the courage and nerve in the future to stand up against assaults of the crowd of munition makers outside of the Capitol that is beating us black and blue to make provision for them.

Mr. FESS. The question I wanted to ask is: There is a certain amount of this to be raised from munition makers. That would be a great deal more during the war in Europe than after the war closes. Have you made any estimate as to what would be the probable amount to be collected after the war closes?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is a very pertinent question. I think it will be comparatively little. We will, of course, lose a greater portion of it. I will say to the gentleman that two propositions, one in this bill, will more than take care of that loss. After the war ends, within a few years—it perhaps would take several years—normal importations will return, and therefore the customs receipts would increase. I think we would begin to have some increase of dutiable imports within a few months. Instead of receiving $17,000,000, as is estimated for the first year, from the inheritance or estate tax provided for in the bill, we will raise at least $54,000,000 annually thereafter. The return of customs receipts after the war, or the increase in the inheritance tax after the first year, would compensate for the decrease in the amount from the munitions tax. Let me say a word in this connection with reference to the expected yield of the munitions tax. The best experts in the Treasury Department say that we will raise $71,000,000 by it. While others differ with me, I have no idea it will be as much as that. I would say $40,000,000 or $45,000,000. I would say it would not exceed $45,000,000. I think it will be under that. But even if it fell below the estimate of the experts or my estimate, we will have $100,000,000 balance fund untouched to go upon to make it good for the first year. Should we lose all the munition tax after the first year, which we, of course, can not, the increase in the amount of inheritance-tax collection and the gradual increase in customs receipts would more than make good the loss.

Now, gentlemen, as I said, you could not raise the large amount required by any kind of a tariff. You would not raise it by stamp taxes. You would not raise it by bond issues. You would not raise any of it by a tax on tea and coffee. I believe that four-fifths of the intelligent people in the country, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, or of any other party, would approve the way we propose by this bill to raise it, by an increase of the income tax and by an inheritance tax and by a tax on munitions of war.

You may question, you may doubt, you may say that we have not a proper income tax; that it is too low in some instances, and too high in others; that the exemptions are too high. You may say that our inheritance tax is not just the kind of an inheritance tax you would have written or that somebody else would have written. You may say that the provisions of the munition tax is not framed exactly as you would have framed them or that somebody else would have framed them, but I believe that four-fifths of the rank and file of Republicans in this country would say that these extraordinary taxes to pay for this extraordinary, radical increase in the preparedness appropriations should come mainly from these three sources. If you think any changes should be made that would better or perfect any of the provisions relative to these taxes, we welcome your suggestions and your amendments.

What is the income-tax provision? The present income tax is 1 per cent on net incomes for the normal tax. We double that. We make it 2 per cent. We could not do without it. We had to do it. I did not want to make it anything. I did not want to put a dollar more on the income tax. I did not want to put in an inheritance tax or even a munition tax. Nor did I wish to reenact any of the special or miscellaneous taxes. I was opposed to these enormous appropriations making necessary these extra taxes. But after the administration and Congress, Republicans and Democrats, committed this Government to such appropriation, then it was my duty as a member of the

Committee on Ways and Means, and as a Member of this House, to do the best I could in presenting to this House what I believe to be a wise and just and patriotic measure to finance them. As said, we double the normal tax, which, as in the present law applies to individuals and corporations. The present law imposes a surtax, an additional tax, on the net incomes of individuals like this:

1 per cent additional on incomes over $20,000 and not exceeding $50,000.
2 per cent additional on incomes over $50,000 and not exceeding $75,000.
3 per cent additional on incomes over $75,000 and not exceeding $100,000.
4 per cent additional on incomes over $100,000 and not exceeding $250,000.
5 per cent additional on incomes over $250,000 and not exceeding $500,000.
6 per cent additional on incomes over $500,000.

We changed the rates of that surtax——

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. BURNETT. Does the gentleman mean that he has increased the corporation tax and the income tax, too?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; both corporation tax and individual tax. But the surtax does not apply to the corporations; only the normal tax of 2 per cent applies to them. We made no changes in the substance, no material changes in the present income tax law except in the rates. We increased them in order to get the necessary amount of revenue. I will now give the rate of the surtax or additional tax provided in the bill:

One per cent additional on incomes over $20,000 and not exceeding $40,000.
Two per cent additional on incomes over $40,000 and not exceeding $60,000.
Three per cent additional on incomes over $60,000 and not exceeding $80,000.
Four per cent additional on incomes over $80,000 and not exceeding $100,000.
Five per cent additional on incomes over $100,000 and not exceeding $150,000.
Six per cent additional on incomes over $150,000 and not exceeding $200,000.
Seven per cent additional on incomes over $200,000 and not exceeding $250,000.
Eight per cent additional on incomes over $250,000 and not exceeding $300,000.
Nine per cent additional on incomes over $300,000 and not exceeding $500,000.
Ten per cent additional on incomes over $500,000.

This bill leaves the income exemption at $3,000 for unmarried persons and $4,000 for married persons or heads of families. No return of incomes not exceeding $3,000 will be required, as provided in the present law.

We will raise by this increase of the income tax, normal, and surtax $107,000,000 additional. The inheritance or estate tax provided for in the bill is a new proposition so far as the Federal Government is concerned, but there are 42 States in the Union that have some kind of an inheritance tax. The total amount collected by the estates was only $28,217,000 last year, and I believe the year before $26,000,000. We tax the transfer of the estate. We propose to allow as deductions from the gross value of the estate all the debts and expenses of administration, and in addition an exemption of $50,000. No returns are to be made if the estate does not exceed $50,000 after the deduction for all valid claims and expenses is made. While I am giving the rate of this tax, keep in mind that net estate in the bill means the estate after deducting all valid claims and expenses, and also the $50,000 exemption. Here are the rates:

One per cent of the amount of the net estate not in excess of $50,000.
Two per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $50,000 and does not exceeed $150,000.
Three per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $150,000 and does not exceed $250,000.
Four per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $250,000 and does not exceed $450,000.
Five per cent of the amount by which the net estate exceeds $450,000.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Are not these rates abnormally low as compared with the rates in other countries?

Mr. KITCHIN. They are lower than the rates in some other countries.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Will the gentleman state why they are not made larger?

Mr. KITCHIN. Because most of the States, 42 in number, levy an inheritance tax, and that is one of the sources of the States' income, and we did not desire to go any higher. And another reason the rates would produce the amount that we thought would be necessary to collect by that tax, and we did not wish to burden estates more than was necessary.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. If the gentleman will permit me, I will say my recollection is that in England, France, and Germany, prior to the outbreak of the war in Europe, when I took occasion to study this question, I found the taxes increased as they got up in sums to as much as the gentleman just named as high as 15 or 20 or 25 per cent. That really met with my cordial and hearty approval. I wondered why the committee did not propose to increase the rates on the inheritance tax rather than increase them so high upon the income tax.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that while I do not now recall the exact rates, he is right in saying that the other countries levy a higher rate than is proposed by this bill. The British inheritance or "death duties" is considerably higher than this. For its fiscal year which ended March 31, 1914, Great Britain raised $132,000,000 from such taxes. With half the population and half the wealth that we have, she collected that amount of taxes, while we will raise only $54,000,000. That is all we needed. Perhaps in the future, when the gentleman's party or my party writes another revenue bill to finance further increased appropriations for preparedness, we will have to raise it higher and impose many additional taxes. But in Great Britain, of course, the subdivisions of Government do not raise any inheritance tax like the States in our own country.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. But they do in Germany.

Mr. KITCHIN. I think the gentleman is correct, but the general tax is smaller than in Great Britain.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. If you add together what we might call the State taxes in Germany and the imperial taxes, the two combined will make many times more than what we raise in this country in that way.

Mr. KITCHIN. I have seen it stated by a magazine writer that it ran up sometimes to 10, 11, 12, or 15 per cent. They change these laws every two or three years there, somewhat like our States do, as to their revenue acts.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. COX. Does the gentleman recall how his tax rates compare with the inheritance tax rates in the State of New York?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; I do not know. We levy an entirely different system of inheritance taxes. We levy the tax on the transfer of the flat or whole net estate. We do not follow the beneficiaries and see how much this one gets and that one gets, and what rate should be levied on lineal and what on collateral relations, but we simply levy on the net estate. This also prevents the Federal Government, through the Treasury Department, going into the courts contesting and construing wills and statutes of distribution.

Mr. COX. Of course, I agree entirely with the gentleman, but it looked to me as though those enormous estates might stand a little heavier rate of taxation.

Mr. KITCHIN. I remember distinctly that that was one objection to our last income tax. It was said by some we ought to raise more, but we felt that the time would come when we would need more, but we should await that time to make the extra levy. The time has come. Preparedness brought it. We levy by this on the transfer of estates what is now needed from that source. If our colleagues continue to make these increasing Army and Navy appropriations, you will have the opportunity, and so will my friend from Minnesota [Mr. MILLER] have the opportunity, to vote for a much larger inheritance tax and, perhaps, many other heretofore unheard of methods of taxation.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman state what, in his judgment, will be the total appropriations by this Congress, so far as he can tell now?

Mr. KITCHIN. Assuming that this House will agree to the full amount reported by the Senate Committee on the Army and Navy bill, and it will, the total estimated is $1,579,000,000.

Mr. DENISON. Is any part of that for permanent improvements to the Army and Navy that will be enjoyed by the next generation?

Mr. KITCHIN. Of course, the next generation will benefit by what we are doing here, whether we appropriate for Army or Navy or for the courts or for the expenses of Congress, because if we did not make any appropriations now there might not be any government for the next generation; but the expenditures for the Army and Navy are current expenditures, like those for any other necessary part of the Government. I am glad the gentleman called my attention to this. Whenever we add $100,000,000 extra for the Navy, it is certain that for the following years it will call for still further increased appropriations for construction and enlargement of the Naval Establishment, and so forth. Let me give you a little bit of

naval appropriation history since I have been a Member of Congress. I remember when the naval appropriation bill amounted to nearly $100,000,000 everybody on both sides of the Chamber—I believe my friend Foss, who was the excellent chairman of the Naval Committee when his party controlled the House, will bear me out—said, "It will never reach $100,000,000. Hereafter we are going to begin to cut it down, because we are spending too much on the Navy." But some of us did not believe that. Some of us contended that if you make an increased appropriation this year, that very increase will call for an increase next year, and that increase will call for another increase the following year, and so on. When the appropriations in the naval bill got up to $100,000,000 the House seemed amazed, but they said that it had reached the limit. Then it went up to $120,000,000, and then up to $130,000,000, and then $135,000,000, and then $140,000,000, and at each session as these appropriations increased they would tell us that the limit was reached and hereafter we would retrench. It continued to go up and up, so that during the last two or three years no man has been big enough fool to predict that it would ever go down any more. It went up to $150,000,000 last year, the largest in our history, and now it is up to $315,000,000, according to the Senate bill just reported out and which the House will finally accept, but against my vote, however. If we appropriate $315,000,000 this year for the Navy, it will be over $350,000,000 next year and $400,000,000 the following year, and unless there is a radical revolution in both parties you will find at the end of 5 years, or certainly at the end of 10 years, we will be expending on our Navy alone more than the total amount of taxes, from all sources, collected last year or in any year in the history of our Government. It never decreases.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman recognize any difference at all between appropriations for the Army and Navy that are for current expenses and those that might be called for the future good of the country—permanent improvements?

Mr. KITCHIN. What would the gentleman call permanent improvements for the Navy? We appropriate for the men to man the ships, and for building of ships, for guns, and for ammunition, and so forth. The ships, according to our experts, become obsolete in 20 years, and some in 10, and every time you put out a new ship it calls for sister ships. Every few years the naval experts say that the ships we are building are obsolete, that some other kind of a ship has been invented, and we have got to build another one to replace that, and another one and another to match the new kind some other country in Europe or Japan is building. Improvements for the Navy are of the most temporary character. I think I catch the bond-issue idea in the gentleman's question. Why does he want to issue bonds now to take care of appropriations made by us and for us and for our generation? Does the gentleman want to put it upon future generations, when they will have their burdens increased more by reason of these very appropriations and for which they must tax themselves? Are not these immense appropriations for the Army and Navy to take care of us and to protect us and defend our country? Why should we not pay for it? Why does the gentleman want to saddle it upon our children and grandchildren? It is to protect him and us now. It is going to protect him as long as he lives; and yet he wants to issue bonds, running for 40 or 50 years and more, so that he will pay nothing as long as he lives, and after he is dead his children and children's children will be paying them—paying for his protection. Let us protect ourselves and our families and our property and pay for it ourselves. This is the right, manly, patriotic thing to do. The gentleman should be manly enough to finance his own fright, and not put it off on his children.

Mr. DENISON. Of course, I have not said anything about a bond issue.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is the only inference from your question.

Mr. DENISON. Are there any expenditures for the Navy that could properly be said to be for permanent improvements, that will be enjoyed by the next generation?

Mr. KITCHIN. The Navy and Army, like the judiciary, executive, Congress, and other departments of the Government, are necessary to maintain and perpetuate the Government and transmit it to coming generations; but appropriations for the Navy or Army are not, and in the nature of things, can not, be for "permanent improvements" in the sense all of us except the gentleman understand by the terms "permanent improvements." For instance, the Panama Canal is a permanent improvement. It was built for us and future generations, and we have paid for it a part out of the current expenses and a part by a bond issue. It endures. We build it but once. We do not build it anew every year or every 5 or 10 years as we do ships. If we are going to build a nitrate plant or an armor-plate factory, I should say that those would be permanent improvements which generations afterwards can specifically enjoy. Congress has provided in another bill for a nitrate plant and that it should be paid for by bonds.

Mr. DENISON. The gentleman thinks that the $1,579,000,000 should be paid for out of current expenses?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; except the $125,000,000 for the Mexican trouble. Is the gentleman in favor of issuing bonds to pay for increased appropriations for the Navy and Army, exclusive of appropriations for the Mexican situation?

Mr. DENISON. If the gentleman can tell me what part of the total appropriations is for the benefit of the next generation, I will say that I am in favor of issuing bonds to pay for that.

Mr. KITCHIN. But I can not tell the gentleman. The gentleman can not know. Suppose he can not find out; is he going to take it in the dark and put the burden on posterity any way and escape all of it himself?

Mr. DENISON. I would go to somebody who could tell.

Mr. KITCHIN. Nobody can tell what part of such appropriation is for the benefit of the next generation any more than he can tell what part of the appropriations to maintain the executive, the judiciary, or the Congress, which we make annually, is for the benefit of the next generation. We have to have a judiciary, an Executive, a Congress to maintain and protect the Government and hand it down to the next generation. It is an indirect benefit to future generations. But they are for us also and when we transmit it we transmit it with the same burden of protecting and maintaining by them. The naval bill this year in character is the same as last year and other years, and why did not the gentleman want to issue bonds to pay the expenses of the naval appropriation a year or three years or five years ago?

Mr. DENISON. Let me ask the gentleman another question. Are there not abnormal increases in this naval bill and fortifications bill which are for the benefit of future generations?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; abnormal and fabulous and wild and reckless increases in the naval bill. They are all intended for the present and the future as are the appropriations for other functions of the Government as I have tried to explain. The nitrate plant and the armor-plate factory are in the nature of permanent improvements.

The gentleman has asked me many questions. Now, I wish to ask him some. Does he think there is any way to raise this increased amount of appropriations by a tariff? How would the gentleman raise the $274,000,000? Does he think he could increase the tariff so as to raise that amount?

Mr. DENISON. That question I have not made a study of——

Mr. KITCHIN. Is the gentleman in favor of putting a tariff on tea and coffee and, generally, on consumption in order to raise or help to raise it?

Mr. DENISON. I think an increase of tariff when the war closes——

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, we are talking about now and not about the future. We do not know when the war will close. Is the gentleman willing to put a tax on tea and coffee now? Is he willing to relieve the big estates of the inheritance tax and the war trafficker's business of the munitions tax and put the tax on tea and coffee, on the man's breakfast table—would he do it?

Mr. DENISON. As soon as the results of the next election are ascertained, and we can change the complexion of the Ways and Means Committee, we will show the gentleman how to do it. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, you will not have a right to vote at that time; the gentleman will be left at home. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] But the gentleman can vote now, and now is the time to take the responsibility, when he has the opportunity. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Well, now, here is a gentleman who would levy a tax on tea and coffee [cries of "No!" "No!"] to relieve the war traffickers of the munitions tax. Put a tax on the breakfast table of every man——

Mr. DENISON. The gentleman misunderstood me. I did not say a tariff on coffee and tea.

Mr. KITCHIN. But the gentleman refused to say he would not and evaded the direct question. I took it that he would. I ask the gentleman again the direct question would he tax tea and coffee?

Mr. DENISON. No; I would not.

Mr. KITCHIN. He would not do it. He knows it would be an outrage on the laboring man, the farmer, the merchant, and the people generally to tax his tea and coffee in order to relieve

the munitions makers. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Now let me ask the gentleman a further question. Would he put a stamp tax on checks, or notes, and so forth?

Mr. DENISON. Well, I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; answer my question. Would the gentleman put a stamp tax on checks, and notes, and so forth?

Mr. DENISON. Not in a time of peace. But let me ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. KITCHIN. Would you do it at this time?

Mr. DENISON. No.

Mr. KITCHIN. Well, the gentleman and I agree. I will make a good Democrat out of the gentleman soon. [Laughter.]

Mr. DENISON. When did the gentleman change his opinion about the stamp tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. Personally I think it an outrage, except in time of war or extraordinary emergencies. It would not have been put in the emergency act of October, 1914, if I had had my way.

Mr. DENISON. Then the gentleman admits that the Democratic Party committed an outrage?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; as you did in 1898.

Mr. DENISON. But that was during the Spanish War.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, does the gentleman call that a war, that little skirmish? Why, Mr. Roosevelt and two or three cowboys did all the fighting. Nobody else fought at all. Col. Roosevelt and six other cowboys, with Gen. Wood, licked the whole Spanish Army, and the gentleman talks about a war. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him one question more?

Mr. KITCHIN. Certainly.

Mr. DENISON. The President recommended a tax on gasoline; what does the gentleman say about that?

Mr. KITCHIN. I did not agree with the President; does the gentleman agree with me?

Mr. DENISON. I do; and the gentleman from North Carolina does not agree with his President?

Mr. KITCHIN. I do not agree to a tax on gasoline; there are a whole lot of recommendations with respect to taxation in that message that I did not agree with the President on, and not a man in the Ways and Means Committee agreed with the President. But the President only suggested the ways in which the revenue could be raised.

Mr. HILLIARD. And they are not in the bill?

Mr. KITCHIN. They are not in the bill. Does the gentleman not think we did right in repealing the stamp tax?

Mr. DENISON. Yes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then is the gentleman going to vote for this bill that repeals that, or is the gentleman going to vote against the bill and let the stamp tax of over $40,000,000 remain on the books? What is the gentleman going to do about that? [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Mr. DENISON. I will state very clearly that I have never been in favor of this iniquitous stamp tax enacted by the Democratic Congress.

Mr. KITCHIN. What is the gentleman going to do? Is the gentleman going to vote for those taxes by voting against this bill which repeals them?

Mr. DENISON. I have stated to the gentleman that just as soon as we get in control we will show you what we will do.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, but the gentleman will be very old before his party gets in control. [Laughter.] We need the money now and next year. He will be called on to vote now—not 2 years or 10 years hence. What is the gentleman talking about? Did anybody ever hear of a gentleman before who wants to put off his responsibility to a day when the people are not going to let him have any? [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] Are you going to vote against the income tax in this bill which will raise $107,000,000 from wealth, from ability to pay, to help finance these appropriations for which you voted—and you have tried by your vote to make them more? Now, honor bright, are you going to vote against that income tax? Are you? [Applause on Democratic side.]

Mr. DENISON. I do not know yet how I am going to vote on this bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. I am going to tell you how to vote. If you let me tell you instead of the minority leader, you will vote right. [Laughter.]

Mr. DENISON. I will reserve that question to myself. I will put my vote in the RECORD, and I will state my reason for it.

Mr. KITCHIN. Then, the gentleman is not decided. Do you mean to say that a man as intelligent as you look to be—and I know that you are intelligent—has not been convinced by my argument and by the facts which I have presented? [Laughter.] Why, it is a reflection on the gentleman's intelligence. [Laughter.]

Mr. DENISON. I have not been convinced.

Mr. KITCHIN. Will you vote against the inheritance tax or the munitions tax, the tax on the war traffickers?

Mr. DENISON. Does the gentleman want me to state all of my views now?

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman asked me a great many questions, and I want to ask him some. Will you vote against the munitions tax?

Mr. DENISON. If the gentleman wants to yield the floor to me and allow me make my remarks on the bill now, I will state how I stand.

Mr. KITCHIN. Why does the gentleman wish to make any remarks, when he has just admitted he does not know how to vote? But the gentleman started this thing first.

Mr. BURNETT. And he is willing to quit, too. [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. Now, I shall come back to the munition tax. We levy a tax on the manufacture of munitions, but measure the tax by the amount of gross receipts. We specify what munitions of war are. We aim at the instruments of human destruction. Of course wire fencing and mules and wagons and dozens of other kinds of articles are munitions of war in a sense, but we do not extend the tax to them. We extend the tax to guns, rifles, cannons, projectiles, torpedoes, shells, explosives, and so forth. Because of exceptional circumstances we deemed it wise and proper to put a special tax on the smelting of copper ore, refining and alloying copper. Excepting the business of manufacturing the munitions of war specifically mentioned in the bill, no business has derived so much benefit and profit directly from the war as the copper industry. A larger per cent of its product goes into instruments of war than that of any other large industry.

The rates of this tax are:

Gunpowder or other explosives, excepting blasting powder and dynamite: Five per cent of the amount of the gross receipts not in excess of $1,000,000 and 8 per cent of the amount of the gross receipts in excess of $1,000,000.

Cartridges, loaded or unloaded, and caps or primers; projectiles, shells, or torpedoes of any kind, including shrapnel, loaded or unloaded, or fuses; firearms of any kind, including small arms, cannons, machine guns, rifles, and bayonets, or any parts of any of the articles above mentioned: Two per cent of the amount of such receipts not in excess of $250,000; 3 per cent of the amount by which such receipts exceed $250,000 and do not exceed $500,000; 4 per cent of the amount by which such receipts exceed $500,000 and do not exceed $1,000,000; and 5 per cent of the amount by which such receipts exceed $1,000,000.

Copper ore, metallic copper, or copper alloys: One per cent of the amount by which such receipts exceed $25,000 and do not exceed $1,000,000; 2 per cent of the amount by which such receipts exceed $1,000,000 and do not exceed $10,000,000; and 3 per cent of the amount by which such receipts exceed $10,000,000.

It is provided, however, that if the net profit derived from the sale or disposition of the articles above mentioned is less than 10 per cent on the amount invested in the production of the articles no tax will be levied. If the payment of the tax would reduce the net profit below 10 per cent, the tax levied will be only the amount, if any, in excess of 10 per cent profit.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. JAMES. Does the bill provide for the payment of a tax on copper of a mining company that does not sell copper for purposes of the manufacture of munitions?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes. The gentleman will see that copper has gone up in price over 100 per cent, I would say. There is no injustice done in this bill, though the tax rate may seem high, for this reason. We have a proviso that the Government gets not a penny until the copper smelter or the copper refiner or the munition maker gets 10 per cent clear net profit both on the amount invested as capital stock and on the amount invested in the production of the product. That is, he gets 10 per cent upon the actual capital stock, the amount invested in the plant, and then 10 per cent on the further amount invested in the production of his output—invested for raw material, wages, salaries, and the whole current expenses in the turnout of the product.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Is there any exemption on munitions sold to the Federal Government?

Mr. KITCHIN. No.

Mr. MOORES of Indiana. Ought there not to be?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; and I will tell the gentleman why. This munition provision relates back to January 1, 1916. Comparatively little of such munitions have been sold to our Gov-

ernment so far. We are taxing the manufacture of munitions when sold to our Government as well as to others. Of course, the munition makers will get together and put the price to our Government up just plus the amount of the tax, and the Government in this event would be paying the amount of the tax it collected. But there is this saving feature about it. When the Government deals with these munition plants now there is no possible way, by statute or otherwise, by which it can find out how much such munitions cost, or whether the prices charged are exorbitant or not. Under this bill, in order to ascertain their net profits, they must show by their books and other satisfactory evidence the actual amount invested in the plant, exactly what their raw material costs, the amount of wages and salaries paid, and their overhead charges, their insurance and everything, and the Government therefore will have the right to ascertain and the means of ascertaining what the costs are, whether prices charged are excessive, and it can then be in a position to make fair and reasonable bargains and protect itself against excessive prices.

Mr. PLATT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. PLATT. Is it expected the inheritance tax can be collected through the regular collectors of internal revenue in the districts?

Mr. KITCHIN. I think so.

Mr. PLATT. In the State of New York we have the transfer-tax appraisers in every county to appraise estates.

Mr. KITCHIN. That will be of great service in ascertaining the value of the estate. This will be an easy tax to collect because all the States have administrators or collectors or trustees who must make returns to the State under oath. This will greatly aid the Government's collectors.

Mr. PLATT. If they cooperated with the State officials, it would do; but ought not there to be something in the bill to permit that to be done?

Mr. KITCHIN. They can do it. There is a general law authorizing the Treasury Department to make rules and regulations for the collection of these and other taxes. They collect them in the regular way and they can——

Mr. PLATT. It does not appear here in this bill.

Mr. KITCHIN. Under the general law the Treasury Department can make rules and regulations which would render easy such cooperation.

Mr. SLOAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. SLOAN. The gentleman has information, I assume, concerning the relative proportion of munition products in 1915 that were produced and sold to foreign Governments and our own Government, and the same for the portion of 1916 which has lapsed, produced for foreign sale and for use in this country?

Mr. KITCHIN. Is that a question or a statement? I did not get it.

Mr. SLOAN. Has the gentleman information as to what is the relative proportion of our munitions in this country produced for foreign Governments——

Mr. KITCHIN. Compared to our own? Oh, I would say much over 80 per cent.

Mr. SLOAN. That was in 1915.

Mr. KITCHIN. In 1915 we did not export anything like as much as we will in 1916; two or three times as much in 1916, I would say.

Mr. SLOAN. The fiscal year or the calendar year?

Mr. KITCHIN. I am talking about the calendar year.

Mr. SLOAN. The calendar year fixes the time for the taking of the tax, January 1——

Mr. KITCHIN. The increase for this calendar year will be, perhaps, 200 per cent, and of our total production our exports would be more than 90 per cent.

Mr. SLOAN. Ninety per cent foreign and 10 per cent home? How about the calendar year 1915?

Mr. KITCHIN. For the year 1915 I would say over 80 per cent. Our Government purchased practically nothing in comparison with the purchases by other Governments and their citizens who are manufacturing for their Governments.

To give the gentleman and the House some idea of the large increase in our exports of the direct munitions of war during this year over the calendar year of 1915, the statistics show that for the entire year of 1915 we exported $24,808,000 worth of cartridges, while for the five months of this year—from January 1 to June 1—we exported $20,486,000 worth. Of gunpowder and other explosives, for the calendar year 1915, we exported $155,247,000 worth, but for the first five months of this year we exported $233,258,000 worth.

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. I notice section 201 reads as follows:

That every person manufacturing gunpowder or other explosives shall pay for each taxable year an excise tax equivalent to the following percentages.

Beginning on page 61. What is meant by the words "taxable year" when it is taken?

Mr. KITCHIN. It means the calendar year. The bill specifies that the first taxable is the year beginning January 1, 1916, and ending December 31, 1916.

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. So far as this language is concerned it is retroactive?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; we catch them, as it were, going and coming.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. I see in the report that the taxes that are proposed to be raised under this bill are divided into four classes—income tax, inheritance tax, munition tax, and the fourth division by reenacting a certain law. What I wanted to ask is, Is there any tax under the fourth division that is not already imposed by the law?

Mr. KITCHIN. There is no tax under that on any new subject. We revise the wine tax by which we will collect about a million dollars more, although we reduced the tax on some classes of wine. It was claimed that it was so high on some wines that it prevented production. The wine production in 1915, after the passage of the emergency act, fell from 47,000,000 to about 27,000,000 gallons. I doubt, however—in fact, I do not believe that the tax caused this big reduction.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. So, practically, there is no new subject of taxation in the fourth division called "Miscellaneous taxes"?

Mr. KITCHIN. No. We changed the rate and method of taxation of tobacco—that is, the license tax—to equalize such tax; also the rate and method of the tax on theaters—motion-picture shows—for the purpose of equalizing the tax.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. Now, there is a part of that fourth division enacted two years ago that has been wiped out?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; much of it, and especially the stamp taxes. I am going to get to that in a moment, however.

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. I notice the gentleman spoke about raising necessary funds to conduct operations on the Mexican border and in Mexico by an issue of bonds upon the theory that they are not current but extraordinary expenditures. What does this bill contemplate in the way of raising revenue to build fortifications?

Mr. KITCHIN. Although fortifications might last for years appropriations for their construction are always considered a current expense, and we so treat it. They change with the change of guns on the ships or with the fancy or invention of our military experts.

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. These changes are supposed to be substantial and permanent.

Mr. KITCHIN. We are going to modify and change and improve our fortifications, although we have the best in the world, according to experts' testimony last session. But this war has convinced the experts that they will not do, but that we must make changes and improvements, and we will continue to take down and put up and add every year. Does the gentleman think the fortification bill is going to be less next year than this year?

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. I do not know, but fortifications ought to be of a substantial and permanent character.

Mr. KITCHIN. No more than any other defensive or offensive instrument of war——

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. I think fortifications would be a legitimate subject, to be provided for by the issuance of bonds.

Mr. KITCHIN. I regret to differ with the gentleman. Our committee—that is, the majority members—considered that, and they unanimously differed with him, and it was put up to the administration, and it took this view. If Congress should take the gentleman's view and consider all the fortifications permanent military improvements to be paid for by bonds by our children, it would take care of only $19,000,000 out of the $74,000,000, as the increase of appropriation for fortifications is $19,000,000.

Mr. CLINE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. I will.

Mr. CLINE. I want to call the gentleman's attention to section 201, the following language:

That every person manufacturing gunpowder or other explosives shall pay for each taxable year an excise tax equivalent to the following percentages of the gross receipts during such year from the sale or disposition of such explosives manufactured in the United States, except blastings, powder, and dynamite.

Is that section 201 taken and considered in connection with section 203, which refers to the net profit derived from the manufacture?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; and it shows how the net profits are to be ascertained.

Mr. CLINE. Otherwise I do not understand the language in reference to the gross receipts in section 201.

Mr. KITCHIN. The tax is an excise tax on the manufacture of the munitions specified, measured by the gross receipts, or, as is commonly said, a tax on the gross receipts. But before the Government gets a penny the manufacturer must get at least 10 per cent clear, or net, profit. If he fails to make over 10 per cent net profit the Government gets nothing. The bill sets out how this net profit is to be ascertained, by deducting running expenses, wages, salaries, costs of the materials, insurance, taxes, and other overhead charges, and so forth.

Mr. CLINE. The percentage they pay is based on the net receipts?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; upon the gross receipts; but the deduction of 10 per cent for the manufacturer is based on net profits.

Mr. CLINE. And that is to be deducted?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; 10 per cent net profit must first be deducted for the manufacturer. If by collection of the tax on gross receipts his net profits would be less than 10 per cent, the Government collects nothing. In other words, the Government can only collect its amount of taxes on gross receipts out of the excess profit over 10 per cent. If such excess is sufficient to pay the whole tax on gross receipts, the Government gets all of its tax. If such excess profit is not sufficient to pay the whole tax, the Government gets the profit in excess of the 10 per cent.

The profits may be, and in most cases will be, large enough for the Government to get its full tax on gross receipts and the manufacturer to receive much more than 10 per cent.

Mr. MANN. If it is 15 per cent profit the full tax would be levied and collected.

Mr. KITCHIN. That is about correct. The manufacturer would first get his 10 per cent. However, the remaining 5 per cent would not quite be sufficient to pay the full 5 per cent tax on gross receipts, which rate applies to the receipts of a manufacturer in excess of $1,000,000.

The bulk of the contracts are for amounts exceeding $1,000,000. The 15 per cent net profit would be enough to give the manufacturer his 10 per cent and to pay the Government its entire tax at the rate of 3 and 4 per cent, respectively, on gross receipts exceeding $250,000 and not exceeding $500,000, and on gross receipts exceeding $500,000 and not exceeding $1,000,000, as is provided in the bill.

If the manufacturer makes 25 per cent net profit, he will have enough out of his profits to pay the Government the full amount of the tax of 5 per cent on gross receipts and then have a little over 18 per cent clear profit.

Mr. OGLESBY. The levying of this tax might leave the manufacturer 40 or 20 or 11 per cent, but it must leave him 10 per cent.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman from New York states it correctly. Now, be it remembered that this 10 per cent net profit which the manufacturer must have before the Government gets a cent is not simply 10 per cent on the capital stock of the company or individual, sufficient to make 10 per cent dividend, but is 10 per cent on the capital stock invested (which is usually put into the plant), plus 10 per cent on the further amount invested for operation of the plant; for instance, money invested in purchase of supply of raw material, payment of wages, salaries, in supplying heat, light, power, and so forth.

The bill declares "such net profit shall be computed on the amount actually invested in the United States in the manufacture of such articles," and so forth.

Mr. SLOAN. Answering the inquiry of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS], the gentleman said that this proposition was considered in the committee, but I do not recollect all that proposition being considered in the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, yes. The gentleman is mistaken. That was considered for weeks, and we discussed that time and time again in the committee.

Mr. SLOAN. With the committee in session?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; a majority of the committee.

Mr. SLOAN. It was not in session.

Mr. KITCHIN. I will say to the gentleman that we gave the gentleman and the other minority members full opportunity to discuss and offer any amendment, if that is what the gentleman is getting at.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Some of the minority side of the House have asked for a minority report. Is it not a fact that the majority report was first handed to the committee in a confidential way yesterday, and it was first printed for the use of the House this morning?

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman is mistaken. The majority report was given or sent to every member of the Ways and Means Committee Monday.

The gentleman may not have been here at that time, but the other members of the committee who were here were told by me that morning, or the day before, that they could have the bill at 4 o'clock. The bill was sent to each minority member at 4 o'clock—just as soon as it was printed—and the ranking member on your side [Mr. FORDNEY] received his, and I think the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LONGWORTH] received his. I am sorry the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MOORE] did not receive his; and the report was sent to each minority member of the committee Monday. Members of the committee had from Saturday until to-day to study the details of the bill, and from Monday until to-day—Thursday—to go over the report.

Mr. FORDNEY. I received mine by special messenger at 10.30 Saturday night.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. May I say to the gentleman that I did not receive this report, or even see it, until it was handed in a confidential way to the Members yesterday, and I received the printed report, numbered, for the first time to-day. I want this to go into the RECORD. I apologize for putting it in the gentleman's speech, but I want it to go in, so that the minority Members will know why they did not receive a minority report. It has been impossible to prepare one since receiving the majority report.

Mr. KITCHIN. I believe the gentleman was out of the city on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I will answer the gentleman. They were all holidays except Saturday, but I had the situation covered. I arranged with one of the most careful attachés of the House to look for this bill and report until late Saturday night. My own secretary, in addition, was looking after it; but no copy of the bill came to me until Monday morning and no copy of the report until yesterday.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, if the gentleman had told me about his anxiety, I would have given him my copy, because the gentleman, by not getting a copy, missed on Sunday and the Fourth of July the best reading and the best argument he ever saw. [Laughter.] I am sorry the gentleman did not get it, because if he had he would probably have voted for this bill.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Holidays came along and some of the members of the minority did not receive the bill until Monday morning; the Fourth of July intervened, and then came the committee meeting yesterday—Wednesday—and the general debate to-day. The majority report did not reach some Members who were diligent in their search for it until yesterday, when the committee met.

Mr. KITCHIN. If so, it was their fault. Of course the gentleman may not have known the details, but the gentleman from Pennsylvania knew, in substance, everything that was going into that bill—income tax, munition tax, and inheritance tax, and special or miscellaneous taxes—30 days ago or more.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. I read it in the newspapers but, as the gentleman knows, that is an uncertain way to legislate. It is fair to say to the gentleman and his committee who had this bill under consideration many months that no man, no ordinary human, could thoroughly comprehend this bill and make comparisons with the existing law, due to the changes in this bill, covering 101 pages, in the time given to certain members of this committee.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. I understood the gentleman to say that he submitted the report of the committee to some minority Members some time Saturday?

Mr. KITCHIN. I told the Clerk to send one copy to each one just as soon as he got it.

Mr. FORDNEY. I got mine Monday night.

Mr. KITCHIN. No; Saturday night.

Mr. MANN. May I ask when this bill was first considered by the full membership of the Committee on Ways and Means?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yesterday morning, by both the majority and minority members.

Mr. MANN. And when was it reported to the House?

Mr. KITCHIN. It was reported yesterday afternoon.

Mr. MANN. So that the report of the committee was sent out several days before the committee met to act upon the bill? [Laughter.]

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; the majority of the committee, as has always in all Congresses been the custom, prepared the report in advance of the full meeting; but there was not a member of the committee who could not have had it on Monday, at least if he was at his office.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. It was not so in my case.

Mr. KITCHIN. If it was not so, it was because of the fault of the mails. Every minority Member was told that he could get the report Monday, and he could, had he desired or tried to get it.

Mr. MANN. I did not interrupt the gentleman. I would like to pursue my inquiry as to what chance there was for the minority to make any amendments to this bill in committee, considering the fact that the report on the bill had been prepared and sent out before the committee met? [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. HILL. I want to say that I got my bill at 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon.

Mr. KITCHIN. Saturday afternoon.

Mr. HILL. Yes; at 4 o'clock. On Monday I received the report with instructions——

Mr. KITCHIN. The report did not go out until Monday to the committee members.

Mr. HILL. With instructions that it was confidential and that it might not be the final report that might be submitted, because changes might be made in it. Consequently I treated it as confidential.

Mr. KITCHIN. The gentleman from Connecticut is correct. We gave the report to the minority Members in advance, so that they would have opportunity to study it before the committee met and make any suggestions they desired. And the committee at its full meeting could amend it, if it desired, before presenting it to the House.

Mr. SLOAN. The report on the bill was not sent out until Saturday.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman does not mean the report.

Mr. SLOAN. I meant the bill.

Mr. MANN. The report was sent out Monday, was it?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; to the committee members.

Mr. MANN. That was two days before the committee met. [Laughter.]

Mr. SLOAN. I will say my copy was delivered to me at my office in the course of mail this morning at 9 o'clock.

Mr. KITCHIN. Oh, well, if a man does not attend to his mail better than the gentleman from Nebraska, as appears by his statement, of course he would not get it earlier. [Laughter.] Now, is there any other Republican member of the Committee on Ways and Means or of the House who wants to ask me a question or make a complaint about this matter? If so, get it in now, as I want to answer all in a bunch at one time. [Laughter.]

Mr. DILLON. I want to call the gentleman's attention to the income feature of this bill. Did the committee consider the power of Congress to make this retroactive, to make this effective from January 1, 1916?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DILLON. In the face of the law now on the statute books?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. DILLON. The law on the statute book provides for 1 per cent on incomes, and that is the existing law. That is right, is it?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. DILLON. Now, you propose in this act to go back and make it 2 per cent, when there is an existing law on the statute book. Do you believe Congress can do that?

Mr. KITCHIN. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. DILLON. Upon what theory?

Mr. KITCHIN. Do you know we retroacted in the income tax of 1913? The act was passed October 3, 1913. It levied on incomes received from March 1, 1913, the date when the income-tax amendment to the Constitution was proclaimed.

Mr. DILLON. There was no existing law on the statute book at that time. Here is a law on the statute book, and has been for six months, affecting this year, that says 1 per cent.

Mr. KITCHIN. The tax the gentleman speaks of as 1 per cent is for the calendar year. I think the gentleman, upon reflection, will agree that we have the right to increase the income tax and make it applicable to incomes received this calendar year as well as for the years succeeding the passage of the bill.

Mr. JAMES. As to the munition tax, is it a permanent tax or only during the war in Europe?

Mr. KITCHIN. It is permanent; but when the world is restored to normal conditions we will collect comparatively little from it, and its repeal would not cause us to lose any considerable amount of revenue.

Mr. JAMES. Is there any tax on iron or steel?

Mr. KITCHIN. No. There are so many thousands of uses among the people generally, in their daily lives, of iron and steel that we did not impose a tax on them.

Now let me reply to the questions and insinuations of some of the minority Members of undue haste and unfairness on the part of the majority in introducing the bill, presenting the report, and taking the bill up for consideration in the House.

Gentlemen, such insinuations are pure political buncombe. What are the facts? Every man on the committee knew more than a month ago, from the papers and from talking with me, what was going to be done. I told them a month or two months ago—every Republican and Democrat, in the House as well as in the committee, that asked me—that we were going to levy taxes on munitions of war, increase the income tax, and provide an inheritance tax, retain the miscellaneous taxes that are in the bill, and repeal the stamp taxes. Every newspaper in the United States has stated that a dozen times in the last two or three months. I have given out interviews to this effect. I have talked with the minority members of the committee for the last month or two and told them what was going in the bill. They knew that the Rainey tariff-commission bill would be put in. This has been introduced in the House for over two months. They knew the dyestuffs provisions were going in. I spoke to the ranking Republican Member on the committee and told him that we would call a meeting of the committee on Monday or Tuesday, as would best suit his and his colleagues' convenience; but the gentleman said it was just before the Fourth of July, and that Members wished to be away, and that it would be all right to wait until Wednesday. I told him that the bill would be introduced Saturday; that I would have it printed that day and give copies to minority Members that afternoon, which was done. I told him, further, that the tentative report of the majority would be printed and given them Monday. This was done. He made no complaint of undue haste or unfairness on our part. He, I am glad to say, makes none now. He knew the custom that had existed heretofore. He knew what happened when the Payne-Aldrich bill was introduced—a bill that raised $350,000,000, covering nearly 200 pages and 4,000 items. The gentleman knew how that legislation was introduced and reported, and there is not a Republican here who, even if he believed we had ten times more of the sense of fairness than they had, would have expected us to have presented the report until yesterday.

Gentlemen, you talk about undue haste, and not giving the minority Members more time to consider in the committee this bill, what did you do with your Payne bill and report? Why, you introduced the bill on March 17, a bill raising $350,000,000, covering over 4,000 items and 200 pages. It was not printed until the following morning. Mr. Payne, by direction of the Republican members of the committee, on March 18 called the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee together and in 12 minutes by the watch rammed it down their throats. [Applause on the Democratic side.] He did not permit them to offer an amendment; did not permit them to make a suggestion; but just as soon as they got in the committee he said, "Gentlemen, we have met here to report out this bill. All in favor of a favorable report of the bill make it known by saying 'aye.' Those opposed 'no.'" All the Republicans answered "aye" and all the Democrats answered "no." Then they called the roll, and after the roll call they made a motion for immediate adjournment and adjourned. Not a Democrat had the opportunity or the privilege of reading a line of the bill or the report until after the committee had adjourned—until the next day. They did not even produce the report there. They took up the bill in the House for consideration the very next day. The Democrats had no time or opportunity to even see the report until it was presented on the floor of the House. Yet the stand-pat Republicans now begin to wrap around them the cloak of fairness and say, "You did not play us fair, because you broke the custom and gave us three or four days to consider the bill and report before taking it up in the committee and the House, while we gave you 12 minutes. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

We gave you from Saturday until Wednesday—before the full committee met—to read and study the details of the bill, and from Monday to Wednesday to go over the tentative report, three or four times longer than was ever before given to the minority in all the history of revenue and tariff legislation.

We were not responsible, if some Member did not open his mail, or if some Member left the city and depended upon some attaché of his to secure for him the bill and report.

As I said, I told the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY], the ranking minority member of the committee, that the committee would meet Monday and fully consider the bill and proposed report, if he and his colleagues desired, and he said it would be all right to meet Wednesday. We met Wednesday. We offered the minority the privilege which had never been given before in the whole history of the 50 years of Republican revenue and tariff legislation to offer any amendment to the bill from beginning to the end, and consider it in the committee as long as they wished.

We told them we would stay there till midnight to do it, but they said no. They only took three hours, while when the Payne bill was being considered in the committee the then majority gave the Democrats only 12 minutes to come in and get out. [Laughter.]

The minority did suggest some amendments to the pending bill which I shall ask the House to adopt. Gentlemen, it is not right to try to make anyone believe that we have acted with undue haste or unfairness in presenting to the House either the bill or the report.

Mr. RAINEY. May I call the attention of my colleague to the fact also that this bill contains 101 pages, and that only 24 pages of it are new matter?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RAINEY. The tariff-commission bill was introduced four months ago, and the only absolutely new matters are the dyestuffs items, containing 4 pages; unfair competition, containing 3 pages; the munitions item, containing 7 pages; and the tax on estates, containing 10 pages—24 pages in all.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; and, as I have said, the minority members of the committee, as well as Members of the House who have been interested in the revenue legislation, knew a month or more ago substantially everything which the bill would contain. Neither the protest of undue haste nor the plea of ignorance on the part of some gentlemen is fooling anybody.

Now, coming down to the special or miscellaneous taxes. We repeal all stamp taxes. [Applause.] The biggest change from the present law we make is that of the wine schedule, which change will raise a million dollars more revenue and be more easily collectible. It is not satisfactory to the wine makers and not satisfactory to many people, but we believe it is a fair, square measure that will not materially injure the wine makers and at the same time will produce more money for the Treasury. I do not believe it will prevent the making of an extra gallon of wine. We retain the bankers' tax, the stock brokers, the pawnbrokers, and the $1.50 on beer, ale, and so forth. We repeal the tobacco tax of $4.80 that every little tobacco dealer throughout the country had to pay. We repeal the merchandise brokers' tax. We changed the method of taxing theaters and moving-picture shows. Instead of making a flat tax according to the seating capacity, as under the present law, whereby a theater or motion-picture show taking in $200,000 a year pays no more than the little one taking in perhaps $5,000 a year.

We make it $10 for towns not exceeding 1,000; $15 in towns having a population in excess of 1,000 and not in excess of 2,000; $20 in towns or cities having a population in excess of 2,000 and not in excess of 3,000; and a tax of one-half of 1 per cent on the gross receipts from admissions in towns or cities having a population in excess of 3,000. I believe that is fair, and a just tax. It is not unreasonably high. Out of every $2 of receipts the Government gets a penny. The theater and moving picture show have been one of the efficient factors in creating a sentiment favoring appropriations for preparedness and consequently for high taxes—for the necessity of a new revenue bill. They have exploited the propaganda of the munition makers. Although the tax rate is small, it will produce about $1,000,000 more than the present method.

As to tobacco, cigar, and cigarette tax: This tax under the present law, of 1914, and in the pending bill, is in the nature of a license or privilege tax. We do not interfere with the general internal-revenue tax on these articles, which will yield for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916, on cigars, in round numbers, $22,800,000; on cigarettes, $26,400,000; on other manufactures of tobacco, such as plug and smoking tobacco, $33,400,000.

The privilege or license tax in the present law and in the pending bill is an additional tax. We, by this bill, change the method or rate of this tax from that in the 1914 act in order to equalize its distribution. The distribution of the present tax is most unequal and inequitable. By its operation the larger manufacturers pay the smallest rate and the small manufacturers the highest rate. We have equalized the rate, making a flat rate for all, except for the very small producer, giving him a little lower rate, through a specific tax.

For instance, under the operation of the present law the largest manufacturers of cigars paid a rate of only 2½ cents per thousand, while some of the smaller manufacturers paid from 5 to 10 cents per thousand. We provide a flat rate of 5 cents per thousand each, big or little, producing over 400,000 cigars a year.

Take cigarettes; under the present act the four big companies paid at the rate of from about one-half to one-third of a cent per each 10,000, while little fellows paid all the way from 12 cents to 40 cents. We put a flat rate of 2½ cents—I call attention to an error in the print of the bill. It is printed 25 cents; it should be 2.5 cents. We shall ask, however, for an amendment making a flat rate of 3 cents. By this change we will collect a few thousand dollars more than under the present act, but the four big manufacturers, by paying the same rate as the small manufacturers, as in this bill, pay most of the tax. The Lorrillards, Liggett & Myers, the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., and the American Tobacco Co., instead of paying each a tax of $2,496, or a total of $9,984, under the present law, will pay under the pending bill about $40,000. Liggett & Myers, instead of paying $2,496, will pay about $16,000.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman speaks of repealing all stamp taxes. The stamp tax act is in force and will be until this passes.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. CANNON. What do you do about the special tax upon cigars? Do you repeal it back to the 1st of January?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; it is in force up to December 31, or until the 1st of January, when this takes effect.

Mr. CANNON. You do not refund anything?

Mr. KITCHIN. No; except stamps unused and on hand. The present law remains in force until the passage of this bill, but the stamp provisions are repealed at once upon its passage.

Mr. CANNON. You do not pay anything back except refund of unused stamps?

Mr. KITCHIN. That is correct. It was stated by the department that it would take a thousand extra clerks to keep the accounts if we did. That is one of the virtues of the rule we have passed; we want to get it into the Senate as quickly as possible, so that you will not have to lick stamps any longer than you have to. As has been said, you do not want to lick a stamp any more than you have to, for it might cause some fellow to lick a Republican or a Democrat some time. [Laughter.]

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. If I understand the inheritance provision, there is $50,000 exempt.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. And all indebtedness.

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL of Missouri. If a man dies worth $100,000 and he owes $60,000, there would be no inheritance tax?

Mr. KITCHIN. No tax at all.

Mr. REILLY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. REILLY. What do you propose to raise on taxing amusement places?

Mr. KITCHIN. About $2,000,000.

Mr. REILLY. And on bowling alleys?

Mr. KITCHIN. We do not change that either. Between $700,000 and $1,000,000 a year is collected on those and billiard tables.

Mr. REILLY. Is that an increase over last year?

Mr. KITCHIN. Last fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, we collected from those $791,414. This was from October 22, 1914, date of the emergency act, to June 30, 1915. This fiscal year we will collect about $950,000.

The bill, as every Member knows, contains a provision creating a tariff commission, known as the Rainey tariff-commission bill. My Democratic colleagues of the committee and the House will pardon me for being perfectly candid. I do not favor such a commission. From every viewpoint of the Democratic theory of the tariff, for the maintenance and promotion of the principles of revenue legislation which Democracy has been preaching throughout the country for more than a half century, in my judgment, a tariff commission is neither necessary nor wise nor expedient.

Standing alone, as a separate and distinct measure, I would oppose it. Surrounded as it is by and connected with so much other needful and beneficent legislation in this bill, and in deference to the judgment of a majority of my colleagues on the committee and in the House, who do not share my fears as to the results of its creation and operation, I shall support it.

I believe that the Ways and Means Committee, made up of Democrats and Republicans, is a good enough tariff commission.

There is no sacrifice of principle involved in the adoption or rejection of such a commission. It is simply a question of

necessity or wisdom or expediency; though every Democrat must confess with some degree of humiliation that its advocacy now by the Democratic Party is a sudden and complete change of its position and crossing of its policy.

My fear is that such a commission will prove the most efficient device ever conceived by protectionism for the promotion of its cause.

The tariff-commission promoters and propagandists were the National Tariff Commission Association, an organiaztion headed and officered and controlled by lifelong Republican protectionists. Their sole object was to reinstate protectionism and make it permanently the fixed policy of the Government. They have been most potent in working up public sentiment in favor of such a commission. How much this sentiment prevails throughout the country or how strong it is I do not know. I do know, however, that within two short months the mind of the administration and the Democratic Congress has been changed from a most persistent opposition to a most insistent advocacy of a tariff commission.

I expect to hear in the next few years—yes, in the next few months—more protection sentiment from Democrats than I have heard in all my life heretofore.

I fear, too, after the organization of the tariff commission, the next tariff-reform fight the Democratic Party makes—if it ever makes another—will be against the combination of the Republican Party and the membership of the tariff commission. I have heard some Republicans of the House express the fear that the President will pack the commission in favor of a "free-trade" tariff. I know there is no ground for such a fear. My fear is that even if every member when first appointed should be a rank free trader, in a few years he will be a rank high protectionist. From the time he is appointed until his term ends he will be environed only by protection. He will be asked to do nothing except in the interest of protection. Every complainant and every petitioner that will come before him will be a protectionist. Every lawyer—Democratic lawyer under a Democratic administration, Republican lawyer under a Republican administration—or other representative of a client will argue to him for protection. Every witness called will be a protectionist. Every factory or plant investigated will be protected plants, and every owner a protectionist. He will see nothing but protection and breathe nothing but protection. From one year's end to the other he will hear nothing but protection, until, finally, he will know and speak only the language of protection. The clever and cunning authors of the tariff commission conception anticipate such operation and results.

There is no doubt a large sentiment in this country, cleverly created by protectionists, that believes that the present abnormal situation has so revolutionized the industrial and economic conditions throughout the world as to justify the establishment of a nonpartisan, disinterested tariff commission that will give Congress and the public disinterested, unbiased information and disclose facts regarding tariff legislation in this country and in other countries, and industrial conditions in this and other countries. There is also a reasonably large sentiment in the country, and was before the war, worked up by this association of lifelong Republican protectionists, among the merchants, the bankers, and other business men that if we had a tariff commission, a nonpartisan commission—and I do not believe much in this nonpartisan talk—it will take the tariff out of politics; that it will stop all tariff agitation, which, they say, hurts business. My friend from Illinois, Uncle Joe, and my friend from Michigan, Mr. FORDNEY, as well as I, certainly have sense enough to know that the tariff is never going to be taken out of politics as long as Members of Congress can vote on it, as long as the Constitution gives the House the sole power to initiate legislation raising revenues. Just as long as a large portion of the people, on the one side, believe and insist that tariff taxes are a blessing—the higher the taxes the larger the blessing—that the tariff should be levied on all the people for the especial benefit and enrichment of a few of the people, and a large part of the people on the other side believe and insist that tariff taxes, like other taxes, are a burden which the people must bear and pay, that the tariff should be levied, in the interest of all the people, for the benefit and support of the Government, just so long will the tariff be in politics, and just so long will there be agitation here and agitation on the stump and agitation through the press and elsewhere throughout the United States. And that condition is going to continue, because most of the people on each side are honest in their belief, and they believe that their particular theory is for the general welfare of the people.

Now, let us take up the dyestuffs proposition. If I were as good a Democrat as I used to be [laughter], I would be fighting the dyestuffs provision, but I am going to take this bill with that dyestuffs proposition and tariff commission in it like I used to take a bad pill when I was a boy. [Laughter.] I would take it down all at once. If I began to nibble around it, and pinch off one piece at a time, I could not get it down to save my life. [Laughter.] So, gentlemen, if this dyestuffs proposition—although I helped to fix it myself—were standing alone, and were not sugar-coated by such palatable legislation around it, I could not swallow it to save my life. But I am going to do it. [Laughter.] I have been instrumental in fixing up this dyestuffs proposition, which is a compromise between the Hill bill and no bill at all. I can see some grounds why a Democrat can support it. I can see no grounds why a Republican should oppose it, provided it is all he can get. [Laughter.] You know, we have always heard Republicans denounced, and some of us have participated in the denouncing, as belonging to the big interests, as always bestowing favors upon the big fellows and kicking around the little fellows. I used to think that that was largely politics. I used to think the Democrats overdid that. But I never had the real truth of such charges demonstrated until I began to look into this dyestuffs proposition. The Republicans have been in power practically for 50 years, and during that time they have written practically all our tariff laws, swearing at all times that they were protecting and building up every single American industry, big and little. But we find that, after this long lease of power and tariff making for protection of American industry, at the beginning of the European war the United States was producing less than 15 per cent of the domestic consumption of dyestuffs. Why? Because the big textile industries in this country, the paint manufacturers, the wall-paper manufacturers, and the varnish and leather industries, and other big dye-using industries, whose capital stock sounded in the hundreds of millions, forbade the Republican Party placing a high-tariff tax, even in the name of protection, on products which they must purchase, and demanded free and untaxed dyes for themselves. When these little dyestuffs fellows came down to a Republican Congress and a Republican committee, begging for a little help, a little protection from the self-assumed friends of American industry, the Republican Party in Congress kicked them out of the Capitol, and then with a rush threw their arms around the big dye-using interests and said, "Oh, we are not going to exact one single penny from you to protect this miserable, little, contemptible dyestuffs industry up here in Buffalo and Brooklyn," and in the State represented by my distinguished friend Mr. HILL. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, these same standpat Republicans come to us, a good old Democrat like me, stretch out their hands and say, "Please help remedy a wrong we have been committing upon these dyestuffs gentlemen for the last 50 years. We know we hugged to our bosoms these great big industries, like the silk industry, the woolen industry, the cotton textile industry, and pushed from up in contempt the little dyestuffs fellow. And we feel now we did them wrong. We feel that you Democrats will do the right thing, the fair thing." [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] Gentlemen, under the abnormal conditions and extraordinary circumstances we have done the fair thing, even from their standpoint, and we have made the bill so just and fair and efficient that three of the star witnesses who appeared before our committee in behalf of the Hill bill declared that this bill is all right, that while it does not give them as much as they wanted, it gives them all they needed. One of the biggest dyestuffs producers in the United States, Dr. Becker, president of the Becker's Aniline & Chemical Works, told me that with this bill on the statute books in five years he would make dyestuffs cheaper than Germany or any other country in the world. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, what do we do?

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANN. Does the gentleman think that Mr. Becker's statement is correct?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes; I believe they can do it. His statement was substantiated by Mr. Wigglesworth, another Hill witness. It was corroborated by Mr. Waters, another of Mr. HILL's witnesses.

We make three groups: The first group contains raw materials, which are made free. Brother HILL believes in that. The second group contains the intermediates. Upon intermediates we put 15 per cent ad valorem. That is practically what it is in the Underwood Act. Group 3 contains the finished dyes and colors. Upon these we put 30 per cent ad valorem. Upon most of these we have now 30 per cent in the Underwood Act. It is not materially changed so far from the Underwood Act.

Now, here is where the Republicanism comes in, which I do not like. [Laughter.] But I am going to take it under all the

circumstances, and I give you some reasons why I take it. In addition to the ad valorem of 15 per cent on the intermediates and 30 per cent on the finished we put a temporary specific duty. On the intermediates, group 2, we add 2½ cents per pound in addition to the 15 per cent ad valorem, and in group 3, the finished product, in addition to the 30 per cent ad valorem we add a specific duty of 5 cents per pound. Brother HILL's bill added 3½ cents in group 2 instead of 2½ cents and 7½ in group 3 instead of 5 cents. Brother HILL's bill gives it permanently. Our bill gives this addition of 2½ cents and the 5 cents per pound for five years certain.

Then, if the manufacturers at the expiration of five years are producing as much as 60 per cent of our domestic consumption of dyestuffs, the specific duty of 2½ cents per pound on the intermediate and 5 cents per pound on the finished dyes are to be reduced 20 per cent each year for the succeeding five years, when all the specific duty goes off and only the ad valorem duty remains substantially what it is now in the Underwood Act. But if the manufacturer is not producing 60 per cent of the domestic consumption at the end of the first five years, the specific duties go off at once. You see, we make the manufacturer do something. He must build up the industry.

Mr. BRITTEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. BRITTEN. What assurance did the gentleman's committee get that these businesses could be made effective in five years?

Mr. KITCHIN. No assurance, except that the biggest and wisest men in the business said they could and would.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KITCHIN. Yes.

Mr. MANN. I understood the gentleman, in reply to my colleague, to say that he believed that a protective tariff imposed on dyes for 10 years would establish that industry?

Mr. KITCHIN. I said they said in five years, and I believe they can.

Mr. MANN. I have been preaching that for many years. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. KITCHIN. In the present emergency I am advocating, or, rather, explaining or apologizing for this kind of protection temporarily. [Laughter.] I was and am against the stamp tax, but I voted for it as a temporary measure, an emergency. I am against the Government going into the marine-insurance business, but we all voted for it as an emergency. I am not in favor of issuing this "scrip" money, but in times of emergency I would vote for it. I am not in favor of the shipping bill, with its many objectionable features, but I voted for it as an emergency.

There are two objects the Democrat always has in mind in levying a tariff—one is the revenue and the other is the consumer. This bill does not affect the Democratic policy or principle of revenue or its interest in the consumer. We get no revenue at all now. It is all cut off, so that by this bill we do not lose any revenue.

Now, if conditions remain just as they are, we lose the revenues without the bill, because no revenues are coming in. Mr. HILL says this bill will not prevent a flood of imported dyestuffs when the war ends, but they will pour in upon us; if so, it will increase our revenue. The users of dyestuffs are not what we call the ultimate consumer, but they are the textile manufacturers, the leather manufacturers, the wall paper manufacturers. Dye is one of the little infinitesimal but necessary ingredients, which they must have, that goes into the manufacture of their products. Now, if a Republican had put this tax upon dyestuffs he would have gone to the textile schedules, the wall paper, paint, and leather schedules and put a higher tariff on the finished product to compensate the manufacturer of the finished product for the tax, and thus made the people—the ultimate consumer—pay the dye tariff. We do not raise the tariff a penny on the finished product that goes to the ultimate consumer. Who pays this tax? The textile manufacturer, the cotton, woolen, and silk manufacturers, the wall-paper manufacturer, the paint, varnish, and leather manufacturers pay it, and do not get one cent increased tariff on their finished product.

The consumers of these dyestuffs are the textile, wall paper, leather, and paint manufacturers; and these consumers come to us and say, "We do not want the Government to pay this for us; we do not want the Government to build this up for us; we do not want the ultimate consumers, the people to whom we sell, to pay this through an increase of the tariff on our finished product, but we ourselves are so anxious not to be caught again in war times with a dearth of dyestuffs, and be again so embarrassed in the manufacturing of our products, that we favor the dyestuffs provisions of the bill and are willing to be taxed and pay every dollar of the tariff increase it imposes."

So, gentlemen, have we violated any Democratic principle? We do not affect any revenue.

If Mr. HILL is correct, we will get more revenue. It will not raise the price of the finished products to the ultimate consumer a penny, because we do not increase the tariff on any finished product that he buys or consumes. For example, a suit of clothes like that worn by my friend here—on such a suit there is only about 2½ cents worth of dye used, so the tariff in this bill only adds to the cost of the suit about 1 cent. That tax or tariff must be absorbed and paid by the manufacturer before it gets to the consumer. The manufacturer tells us that he is willing to pay it. Even if he was not willing he would have to pay it, because we have refused to raise the tariff on the finished product into which the taxed dyes enter. So, gentlemen, after all we are not so far wrong even from an old-fashioned Democratic viewpoint.

In conclusion, we will have to-day and to-morrow for general debate and for general enlightenment. After that we are going to have two days under the five-minute rule to offer and consider amendments. Let us put our wits and our wisdom and our patriotism together, and if there is anything wrong about this bill from the real patriotic standpoint, let us correct it; let us perfect it. And then, following our good example a few months ago on the sugar tariff, let us Democrats and Republicans have one more genuine love feast of legislation, and all vote together for this bill, which affords you, my Republican friends, an opportunity, for the second time in your life, to cast a real respectable and patriotic vote. [Laughter and applause.]

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## Revision of Newspaper and Magazine Postal Rates Will Make 1-Cent Letter Postage Possible.

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES H. RANDALL,
OF CALIFORNIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, on May 31, 1916, I introduced the following bill in the House of Representatives:

"A bill (H. R. 16145) to establish rates of postage on second-class matter.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That all newspapers, magazines, and other publications regularly admitted to the mails as matter of the second class shall hereafter be subject to the following rates of postage, the zone system now applying to parcel-post matter to be adapted also to second-class matter:

"Local, first, second, and third zone (under 300 miles), 1 cent per pound.

"Fourth zone (300 to 600 miles), 2 cents per pound.

"Fifth zone (600 to 1,000 miles), 3 cents per pound.

"Sixth zone (1,000 to 1,400 miles), 4 cents per pound.

"Seventh zone (1,400 to 1,800 miles), 5 cents per pound.

"Eighth zone (over 1,800 miles), 6 cents per pound:

"*Provided*, That free-in-county circulation provided by law shall continue as at present: *And provided further*, That no discrimination in rates of postage on account of frequency of issue shall be permitted in the city or town where a publication is mailed or otherwise."

Mr. Speaker, this bill is designed to remove several serious evils or discriminations from which the American people suffer in the administration of the postal affairs of the country, namely:

1. An annual net loss of $80,000,000 in postal revenues is caused by the grossly inadequate postage rate of 1 cent per pound, which is charged for carriage in the mails of publications of the national and magazine class.

2. Universal 1-cent letter postage can not be enjoyed by the people until the losses on newspaper and magazine mail are recouped to the post office. The sale of 2-cent stamps and stamped envelopes in 1915 aggregated $150,000,000, while the second class or newspaper postage loss exceeded one-half that amount. One-half of the postage paid on every letter therefore went to subsidize the publishers of national magazines.

3. Publishers of local newspapers, daily and weekly, suffer enormous losses of advertising revenues by the discrimination in postal rates in favor of publications of national character located many hundred miles from the local field, but enjoying the same postal rate which the local papers pay in their restricted fields.

The time has come when the Postal Service must be put on a business basis. Discriminations against the man who buys the 2-cent stamp and against the publisher of the newspaper in the local field must cease. The postal rate of 1 cent per pound, which is granted as a practical subsidy to the national papers of the magazine class, has resulted in fabulous fortunes for private interests, and to which the Postal Department is giving a plain contribution of more than $80,000,000 annually.

To make this more definite in the mind of the public, let me give the startling illustration of the workings of this mail subsidy feature as applied to three magazines published by one company in Philadelphia. They are regarded as among the highest class publications in America. One of the three has a circulation of over 2,000,000 subscribers, receiving $5,000 and upward per page per issue for advertising which appears in its columns.

The company owning these periodicals pays the Government annually from $600,000 to $650,000 for mailing same, and which is based at 1 cent per pound. The cost for the above service, according to the testimony of the Second Assistant Postmaster General, Hon. Joseph Stewart, and given before the hearing of the House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, was over 8 cents per pound, thus showing that the cost of the distribution of the above was from $4,800,000 to $5,200,000 per annum, and that there was a loss of over $4,000,000 on the publications of this company alone.

This is the application of our mail subsidy to only one publication. The same abnormal policy is pursued with many like publications, until to-day, as has been said, the net loss to postal revenues is in excess of $80,000,000 annually.

ONE-CENT LETTER POSTAGE.

Mr. Speaker, I have to-day introduced a bill to establish immediately upon its passage the 1-cent rate on "drop" letters for local and rural delivery at every post office in the United States, with the object ultimately, though not far in the future, of securing universal 1-cent letter postage for the people.

If Congress will revise the second-class or newspaper postal rates, this great reform, for which millions have petitioned this body, can be secured.

With the permission of the House, I will incorporate in my remarks the following:

1. The letter of Frank E. Noyes, president of the Wisconsin Daily Newspaper League, indorsing the proposed zone system for newspaper postage.

2. The letter of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., stating that 64 per cent of the monthly customers' bills of electric lighting companies are delivered outside of the mails, because it can be done more economically than by paying the present 2-cent rate for drop letters, thereby depriving the Government of large revenues.

3. Table showing the number of pounds of second-class matter—newspapers and magazines—mailed during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915.

4. Editorial comment of the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Sun and the Redondo (Cal.) Reflex upon the proposed zone system for newspaper postage.

LETTER OF WISCONSIN DAILY NEWSPAPER LEAGUE.

JUNE 17, 1916.

Hon. CHARLES H. RANDALL,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: My attention has been called to the fact that you have introduced a bill in the House to change the postage rates paid by newspapers and magazines and which adapts the parcel-post zone to second-class mail matter. I am much interested in the subject and would be glad to have you send me several copies of the bill in question.

If I can do anything personally to aid a rational movement along this line, I will be glad to do so, and also offer assistance through the Wisconsin Daily League, of which I am president; and I am sure that the president and secretary of the Inland Daily Press Association, as well as the Wisconsin Press Association, will be glad to further the movement. Hoping to hear from you in the near future, I am,

Yours, very truly,

FRANK E. NOYES, *President.*

PUBLIC UTILITIES NOT USING MAILS.

THE CLEVELAND ELECTRIC ILLUMINATING CO.,
*Cleveland, June 10, 1916.*

Hon. CHARLES H. RANDALL,
*House of Representatives.*

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of inquiry dated June 8, we undoubtedly would mail our consumers' bills if we could do so at a 1-cent rate. This is not because we do not believe we can do the work cheaper, but because we would be glad to be relieved of the responsibility for making the deliveries.

In this connection it may interest you to know that most of the electric utilities are also delivering consumers' bills, and that the number is growing annually. The result of a canvass recently made shows that of 144 electric utilities, having from 5,000 to 300,000 consumers each, over 64 per cent were delivering all or a part of their bills. As most of the larger companies deliver bills, the per cent of bills delivered by these 144 companies, in my judgment, would considerably exceed 64 per cent of the total. All of these companies make bills at least once each month.

It may be of interest to you to know that our distributors, for which work we employ men between 50 and 60 years of age, at wages of $2.50 per day, have averaged this year 480 bills each per day, and that their instructions are to either hand the bill to a member of the household, place it in the mail box, or return it to the office. The figure 480 represents actual deliveries.

We will be pleased to give you any further information we can on this subject.

Very truly, yours, J. H. SCOBELL, *Auditor.*

*Number of pounds of second-class matter mailed during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916.*

| State. | Subscribers' copies at— Free-in-county rate. | Subscribers' copies at— Cent-a-pound rate. | Sample copies at cent-a-pound rate. | Total at cent-a-pound rate. | Total mailings at cent-a-pound and free-in-county rates. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 570,174 | 6,951,376 | 66,562 | 6,117,938 | 6,688,112 |
| Alaska | 24,738 | 20,930 | 6 | 20,936 | 45,674 |
| Arizona | 179,330 | 450,542 | 3,575 | 454,117 | 633,747 |
| Arkansas | 572,392 | 3,517,892 | 8,150 | 3,526,042 | 4,098,434 |
| California | 1,912,237 | 22,988,101 | 112,616 | 23,100,717 | 25,012,954 |
| Colorado | 787,059 | 9,609,243 | 50,327 | 9,719,570 | 10,102,629 |
| Connecticut | 436,346 | 2,713,821 | 11,038 | 2,724,859 | 3,161,205 |
| Delaware | 120,071 | 350,223 | 293 | 350,516 | 470,587 |
| District of Columbia | | 10,331,706 | 15,960 | 10,347,666 | 10,347,666 |
| Florida | 448,225 | 4,465,241 | 59,648 | 4,524,889 | 4,973,115 |
| Georgia | 556,780 | 16,365,058 | 167,875 | 16,532,933 | 17,089,713 |
| Hawaii | 76,907 | 336,804 | 75 | 336,879 | 413,786 |
| Idaho | 255,106 | 1,457,983 | 8,359 | 1,466,342 | 1,721,448 |
| Illinois | 5,208,207 | 124,267,480 | 1,656,732 | 125,923,812 | 131,132,109 |
| Indiana | 2,795,791 | 24,017,863 | 176,107 | 24,193,970 | 26,989,761 |
| Iowa | 4,355,317 | 35,678,630 | 833,057 | 36,511,687 | 40,867,004 |
| Kansas | 1,946,908 | 17,018,242 | 132,260 | 17,150,502 | 19,097,410 |
| Kentucky | 779,673 | 7,117,978 | 181,910 | 7,299,888 | 8,079,561 |
| Louisiana | 184,138 | 5,984,703 | 8,749 | 5,993,452 | 6,177,590 |
| Maine | 1,220,136 | 13,398,147 | 738,574 | 14,136,721 | 15,356,857 |
| Maryland | 625,278 | 7,385,222 | 33,255 | 7,416,477 | 8,041,755 |
| Massachusetts | 448,462 | 43,964,747 | 644,401 | 44,609,148 | 45,057,610 |
| Michigan | 3,891,145 | 23,505,968 | 169,094 | 23,673,062 | 27,564,197 |
| Minnesota | 2,017,024 | 39,460,374 | 375,829 | 39,836,203 | 41,853,226 |
| Mississippi | 326,257 | 1,033,245 | 6,583 | 1,039,828 | 1,366,085 |
| Missouri | 1,976,860 | 68,621,702 | 596,475 | 69,218,177 | 71,195,037 |
| Montana | 483,937 | 2,484,959 | 22,757 | 2,507,716 | 2,991,653 |
| Nebraska | 1,481,421 | 20,221,583 | 282,974 | 20,507,557 | 21,991,980 |
| Nevada | 42,409 | 331,049 | 2,919 | 333,968 | 376,377 |
| New Hampshire | 197,167 | 1,337,770 | 17,079 | 1,354,849 | 1,552,016 |
| New Jersey | 494,549 | 4,423,338 | 40,802 | 4,464,140 | 4,958,689 |
| New Mexico | 101,788 | 522,144 | 1,642 | 523,786 | 625,574 |
| New York | 5,866,398 | 233,301,299 | 2,263,438 | 235,564,737 | 241,431,135 |
| North Carolina | 820,429 | 5,620,256 | 40,686 | 5,660,942 | 6,481,371 |
| North Dakota | 636,977 | 2,169,353 | 20,259 | 2,189,612 | 2,846,589 |
| Ohio | 4,504,553 | 73,109,301 | 674,086 | 73,783,387 | 78,283,940 |
| Oklahoma | 987,178 | 6,500,277 | 62,293 | 6,562,570 | 7,549,748 |
| Oregon | 706,319 | 6,751,944 | 53,148 | 6,805,092 | 7,511,411 |
| Pennsylvania | 5,230,456 | 104,677,245 | 1,126,161 | 105,803,406 | 111,033,862 |
| Porto Rico | 159 | 529,388 | 75 | 529,463 | 529,622 |
| Rhode Island | 64,596 | 1,222,044 | 2,415 | 1,224,459 | 1,289,055 |
| South Carolina | 574,844 | 3,091,801 | 13,594 | 3,045,398 | 3,620,242 |
| South Dakota | 724,709 | 2,376,168 | 27,258 | 2,403,426 | 3,128,135 |
| Tennessee | 655,944 | 15,563,457 | 72,496 | 15,635,953 | 16,291,897 |
| Texas | 1,804,571 | 21,815,280 | 85,324 | 21,920,610 | 23,785,184 |
| Utah | 146,895 | 3,553,511 | 16,417 | 3,569,928 | 3,716,823 |
| Vermont | 506,989 | 1,540,508 | 14,905 | 1,545,413 | 2,052,402 |
| Virginia | 666,079 | 6,995,179 | 11,275 | 7,006,454 | 7,672,533 |
| Washington | 1,103,521 | 7,858,534 | 38,860 | 7,897,394 | 9,001,915 |
| West Virginia | 607,892 | 2,064,905 | 27,424 | 2,092,329 | 2,700,131 |
| Wisconsin | 2,210,618 | 17,213,152 | 297,632 | 17,510,784 | 19,721,402 |
| Wyoming | 131,570 | 425,058 | 2,999 | 428,057 | 559,627 |
| Shanghai, China | | 17,633 | | 17,633 | 17,633 |
| U. S. S. South Dakota | | 123 | | 123 | 123 |
| Vera Cruz, Mexico | | 8,467 | | 8,467 | 8,467 |
| Total | 62,141,511 | 1,035,867,846 | 11,276,428 | 1,047,144,274 | 1,109,285,785 |

According to the estimate of Hon. Joseph Stewart, former Second Assistant Postmaster General, the cost of handling the above mail was 8 cents per pound, entailing a net loss to the Post Office Department of 7 cents per pound, or $77,650,004.95 on the 1,109,285,785 pounds carried. No wonder we can not have 1-cent letter postage!

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Sun.]

ZONE SYSTEM POSTAGE.

Another revision of the postal rates is contemplated by some of the leading Members of Congress, who have been giving the subject of revenues from this branch of the Government careful study, as is evidenced by the bill recently introduced by Representative RANDALL, of California. The subject was revived recently by the agitation provoked by the Government's system of sending magazines by freight. The zone system, upon which individual transportation charges are based by common carriers, is being advocated.

It is contended that on second-class matter rates should be proportionate to the distance the bundle or package must be transmitted, just as it is with the parcel-post charges. As it is now, the users of first-class mail pay yearly a large sum to cover the deficit occasioned by the carriage of cheaper matter.

Second-class mail matter, it is held, does not pay a fair proportion of the expenses of the service. Last year, for example, 2-cent stamps and stamped envelopes to the value of $159,395,250 were sold, and yet, according to the estimates of the Post Office Department, the loss in carrying second-class mail was $80,000,000. In the bill introduced by Mr. RANDALL in the House this inequality is sought to be corrected by establishing zones for second-class matter, the first three up to 600 miles to be charged for at the present rate now in force of 1 cent a pound, and from that to 6 cents a pound for the longest distance.

This would naturally throw upon the magazines, with their nation-wide circulations, the necessity of paying their proportion of the cost of transporting and distributing their publications. The rate now charged is discriminating and unfair. The newspaper, with a comparatively local circulation, within the 300-mile radius, is compelled to pay just the same as is the magazine with a nation-wide circulation. It is figured by the department that it loses 7 cents for each pound of second-class matter carried.

That the bill will meet with vigorous opposition is a foregone conclusion, especially from those monthly publications that are now being carried from coast to coast at the same rate that a newspaper pays to be transported a few hundred miles. But the general tendency is to recognize the justice of the zone system, with increases that are reasonable. The short haul is objecting to paying more than a fair share of the cost of maintenance for the long haul.

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[From the Redondo (Cal.) Reflex.]

TO EVEN UP POSTAL RATES.

Congressman RANDALL at Washington is not forgetting the trials and troubles he had as a newspaper editor and has introduced a bill into Congress rearranging the schedules for the shipment of second-class mail matter, which includes newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals. Mr. RANDALL shows that whereas magazines are getting rich, small newspapers are barely making a living. And one reason is because magazines are carried by the Post Office Department at the second-class rate of 1 cent a pound all over the country, even though in many cases it costs the Post Office Department 8 cents a pound to transport them. And small newspapers have to pay the same rate, even though nearly all their papers are delivered at home, without any transportation. Mr. RANDALL advocates the establishment of a zone system for second-class mail under which all publications taking advantage of the system would pay graded rates for the different zones in which their publications are delivered, similar to the parcel-post zone system. In this way he believes that the deficit in the Post Office Department could be eliminated and country papers could get fairer treatment as compared with the large magazines.

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## The Catastrophe of Error.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. GEORGE S. GRAHAM,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 29, 1916.*

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House I insert in the RECORD the following able and timely editorial from the Albany Evening Journal of August 21, 1916, entitled "The catastrophe of error," which I hope will be read by everybody who heard or will read the President's address to Congress to-day:

THE CATASTROPHE OF ERROR.

The attitude of mind of the President of the United States, and of the people generally, toward the threatened railroad strike is added evidence of the confused condition of thought pervading this country, to which the Evening Journal has regretfully alluded on numerous occasions.

The will to avert a calamity frequently leads men into action worse than calamity. Thus it may be possible that the misfortune of the railroad strike may be averted, but a greater misfortune, though not so obvious, may be entailed.

The citizen who has no direct financial interest in the outcome, as employee or stockholder, but who has a vital financial interest as a traveler or shipper, jumps immediately to the conclusion that difficulties of this character ought forever to be made impossible by law. When the appalling effects of a general railroad strike are contemplated—the closing down of industry so that hundreds of thousands will become idle, and the impossibility of providing food for the people of the cities—it is natural that the mind should accept any solution of the problem, no matter what. The difficulty, however, is deep seated. It lies in the thought, which has been gaining currency the last few years, that any form of contractual relations in which one person pays another for service is in reality a form of human slavery. As a consequence of this doctrine those who believe it advocate, pending the destruction of the entire social system, that the one who is paid for service has the right to do anything he pleases to compel a greater stipend for such service, no matter what that service may be deemed to be worth in times past. His right not to work, if he does not desire to do so, is good democratic doctrine. His right to combine with others to prevent work being done is distinctly a combination in restraint of trade, which is violative both of the common and statute law. But if he is in sufficient numbers, together with those affiliated with him, to control the Government through the franchise, then the power to inflict upon him the penalty for violation of the principle involved in the common law becomes nugatory.

This impasse leads the careless thinker to separate public-service corporations, such as railroads, from other industries, and to argue that they should be governmentally owned in order to avoid the danger to the public involved in strikes. But what are known as public-service businesses are not fundamentally different from other industries, although they appear to be because of owning a franchise. The farmer who produces milk serves the public just as the New York Central Railroad does. This plea leads logically toward Government ownership of everything, which means a socialistic state administered by the will of the majority. Furthermore, the remedy is inadequate. Employees do not change their status because of a change in ownership. A few years ago the governmentally owned railroads of France were tied up by a strike, and it was only through ordering out the employees as a part of the militia that M. Briand, formerly a socialistic agitator, but at the time minister of the interior, was able to restore order. His expedient, however successful for the moment, no more touched the root of the difficulty than Mr. Wilson's absurd and inept operations in the present situation in this country.

Out of the hundred million people in the United States there are probably not a thousand who would declare a man had the right to take the life of another. His belief in the right to his own existence involves belief in the right of another to his existence. On the other hand, those who believe that the contractual relation for wage between one person and another is fit and proper, do not represent nearly such unanimous opinion. They doubtless represent to-day the majority of opinion, but no such large majority of opinion as would have been the case 25 years ago. The younger generation has not been taught that each person is master of himself, and is the molder of his own fortunes, as he was taught a generation or two ago. He is practically taught that the State owes him a living, that those who are successful are stealing what belongs to him, and that the fact of his existence involves an obligation on the part of some agency to provide him with the means of life. This thought is not confined to those who work for wage. In fact, it is not held by thousands of those who do live through wage. It is a familiar theme of all social reformers. It is the rock upon which the Germanic state is built at the present time. It is contrary to the American spirit, the American Constitution, and American teaching. But it is here.

Mr. Wilson in a recent speech made the statement that labor was not a commodity, a doctrine which involves, of course, the denial to a man of the right to sell his labor at such price as he can get. It involves acceptance of the doctrine of labor leaders who in effect deny to an individual the right to earn his livelihood unless he is a member of organized labor. It is an acceptance of the Germanic theory that a man exists for the State, and the State therefore must provide work for him when he is able, and a pension for him when he is disabled.

There is no solution of this problem, again brought to the fore by the controversy between the owners and the employees of the railroads, until one or the other theory of human life is accepted. Any other solution is a makeshift.

That a makeshift will be the answer is probably certain. The railroads, deprived of their liberty in the interest of the public, are still at the mercy of their employees. They can not place upon the consumer of their products any increase in their rates. Great industrial concerns which have shown large profits have voluntarily increased their wage scale, notably the United States Steel Corporation, and the Ford Automobile Co., but they are not regulated. The price of their product is controlled by natural law. Thus the plan of governmental rate making should lead to governmental wage making, but this is repugnant to the American theory of life, hence the confusion, the discord, the enigma.

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## Letters Requesting Information Relative to the Navy.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 29, 1916.*

Mr. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the Navy, asking information relative to the Navy, and the Secretary's reply.

The letters are as follows:

JULY 28, 1916.

Hon. JOSEPHUS DANIELS,
*Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am in receipt of numerous requests from friends and constituents asking for certain information with regard to the Navy. The writers wish to know its relative position among the navies of the world during recent years and how and when our Navy was relegated to a place inferior to that it formerly held among other nations, if such is the case. What was the condition of the Navy when this administration entered upon its duties and what has since been done to provide an adequate Navy in ships, men, officers, and munition? They are interested also in what has been done to better the organization of both the Navy Department and the fleet, and any economies that have been effected. During the Sixty-third Congress, as a member of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, I kept in close touch with all proceedings to better the condition of the Navy, but on becoming a member of the Judiciary Committee of the Sixty-fourth Congress my immediate relations with the

Navy ceased, and I have been unable to keep in as close touch with it as I desired. Will you not therefore favor me with a letter, giving me full information along the lines suggested, that I may fully and correctly advise my constituents with respect thereto? I will appreciate your favor and courtesy in this behalf.

Respectfully, WM. ELZA WILLIAMS.

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THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
*Washington, August 23, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: I am in receipt of your letter asking how it was and when it was that the American Navy was relegated to a place of inferiority to that it formerly held among other nations, what the Wilson administration has done to restore the Navy to its high place, and what economies have been effected in the naval administration. I have delayed answering your letter until the new naval appropriation act finally had passed both Houses, so as to give you the exact figures.

WHEN IT LOST SECOND PLACE.

The Navy of Great Britain has been surpassed in power only once in our history, and that was in the administration of President Pierce, when 18 steam vessels were added to the United States Navy, giving it the advantage for the nonce over the British Navy in actual sea power, as all of the ships of England at that time were wooden sailing vessels and the vulnerable side-wheel steamers. But that situation continued only for a short time. In answer to your question, when the United States lost second place, I quote the following statement made by the General Board of the Navy on May 2, 1916, in response to an inquiry by Representative BUTLER, ranking Republican member of the House Naval Affairs Committee:

"There is no known method of measuring accurately the relative power of two navies, as all elements must be considered, such as displacement, number and size of guns, muzzle energy of battery, thickness and distribution of armor, speed, and endurance. Displacement is a simple and convenient measure. Using displacement as the comparative measure of material and active personnel as the comparative measure of personnel, the following shows when the United States became second in size and strength and when the United States lost second position:

"(a) Considering displacement of ships built, the United States advanced from third to second place in 1907 and dropped to third place in 1911.

"(b) Considering displacement of ships built and building, the United States advanced from third to second place in 1909, held this place for a short time only, and dropped to third place again in the same year, 1909.

"(c) Considering active personnel, the United States advanced from third to second place in 1908, dropped to third place in 1911, and to fourth place in 1913. The United States advanced again to third place in the first part of 1914, and later that year dropped to sixth place, owing to the expansion of the naval personnel of belligerent nations."

The United States lost second place because Germany built ships rapidly, while the United States contented itself with a small program of naval construction. In 1903 the General Board urged the adoption of a program providing for the construction of two battleships a year. If that plan had been carried out, by 1919 we would have had 48 battleships and would have kept our place. But in 1905 the Secretary of the Navy (Mr. Bonaparte) asked for only one battleship, and in his message to Congress in the same year President Roosevelt said, in order to maintain and increase the then standard efficiency of the Navy, it did not "seem necessary, however, that the Navy should—at least, in the immediate future—be increased beyond the present number of units," and he advocated adding "a single battleship to our Navy each year." In his 1907 message President Roosevelt wrote to Congress: "I do not ask that we continue to increase our Navy. I merely ask that it be maintained at its present strength." At that time the General Board was insisting upon two to three new battleships each year, but their recommendation was carefully pigeonholed and not permitted to reach the public. Never until the Wilson administration was the recommendation of the General Board given to the public. "I never saw it," was the statement of the two ranking members of the Naval Affairs Committee of the House, when, in 1913, I printed the General Board's report as an appendix to my report. And yet, though successive Republican administrations had kept it as a sealed book, while I gave it circulation, certain critics declare I have suppressed reports. If former administrations had done as much for the increase of the Navy year by year as the Wilson administration did during its first two years, the American Navy would not have dropped from second to third place.

When Wilson was inaugurated the Navy was short of ships, short of men, short of officers, short of munitions, short of aircraft, and behind in target practice.

TARGET PRACTICE.

It was good up to 1900, at the short ranges then used, but had fallen off "between 1900 and 1913," to quote Capt. Sims, an expert in target practice. Admiral Fletcher says the recent practices were held at ranges of from 16,000 to 18,000 yards, which are the longest ranges at which firing has occurred in the present European war, and "it is believed that scores recorded are higher than ever before in the open sea." Capt. Sims says that the last target practice "came up about 40 per cent." Capt. Plunkett, director of target practice, says, "The records of the fall of 1915 indicate that we are advancing by leaps and bounds." Other experts in the Navy, including the commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, give like testimony, and the determination to make still greater improvement shows the splendid spirit that animates the Navy. I do not claim any credit for this except that I have sought the leadership of the best equipped experts and given them every opportunity and encouragement for practice and practice and still more practice.

FIGHTING CRAFT.

What has the Wilson administration done for this chief need? Three naval bills have passed. In the first two bills appropriations were made for five dreadnaughts, as against three in the last two years of Taft's administration. There were like increases in destroyers and submarines. The following is a comparative table showing the number of the various classes of vessels for which appropriations were made during the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:

| | Four years Roosevelt. | Four years Taft. | Three years Wilson. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dreadnaughts | 6 | 6 | 9 |
| Battle cruisers | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Scout cruisers | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Destroyers | 23 | 26 | 32 |
| Submarines | 20 | 20 | 57 |
| Auxiliaries | 6 | 11 | 14 |
| Gunboats | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 55 | 65 | 121 |

But this does not begin to tell the story of the big things the Wilson administration has done to increase the Navy. For the first time in the history of the Republic a Chief Magistrate went before Congress and advocated the new policy of a continuing constructive program instead of the authorization year by year. As a result of President Wilson's policy, approved by Congress, a wide departure has been made and, by the authorization of a three-year program, the Wilson administration has authorized, in addition to the 121 ships enumerated above, the construction of 90 more ships, including 6 dreadnaughts, 2 battle cruisers, 6 scout cruisers, 37 submarines, and 30 torpedo-boat destroyers.

PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM POPULAR.

No such program has ever before been suggested by a President, and it passed Congress by a majority so large as to show that in his resolve we "should be strong upon the sea" President Wilson had the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people of all parties. Indeed, the President's continuing program, a new innovation, was so popular that both the Democratic and Republican conventions specifically demanded its adoption by Congress. It was his appeal to the people and their monster human and written petitions of indorsement which secured the big naval building program.

A CONTRAST.

The total amount for the construction of new ships authorized by the Wilson administration is $655,289,806. The total in Roosevelt's four years was $83,192,938, and the total during Taft's administration was $127,747,113. That is to say, Wilson in a little over three years has secured authorizations more than three times as much to increase the Navy as did both Roosevelt and Taft in their eight years. If his two predecessors had shown half as much interest in strengthening the Navy as Wilson has shown, it would not be necessary now, in a period of high cost of construction, to make such large provision as the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses have been forced to authorize in order to make up for the lack under both Roosevelt

and Taft. There is not a defect in the Navy to-day that was not inherited from former administrations. I am glad to say that under the constructive leadership of Wilson most Republicans united with the Democrats in supporting the big Navy program, which will repair the deficiencies of former administrations.

Let us consider men. Not less important than fighting craft are men to man them. The Roosevelt administration added 7,500 men to the Navy. The Taft administration authorized 7,000 men, though Secretary Meyer asked for only 4,000; but only 3,000 were actually enlisted. In the first two years of Wilson's administration 5,824 men enlisted, and increase authorized is 27,500. In emergencies the President may make the enlistment 87,000, as against the 51,500 authorized when Wilson was inaugurated. This will be a sufficient number to man all ships, which has not been possible in this generation. The large increase at this time was made necessary because former administrations failed to enlist enough men to man the small number of ships they constructed. There was no organized Naval Militia, no provision for a reserve, and no civilian training when Wilson became President. Provision has been made for these, an indispensable adjunct to an efficient Navy.

PROOF OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE NAVY.

While the utmost care is exercised in accepting men for the Navy, causing the rejection of five out of every six applicants for physical, mental, or moral reasons, the fact that the Wilson administration has been able to fill and keep the quota of enlistments full, that reenlistments have increased from 52 per cent to 85 per cent, that desertions have fallen off from 216 to less than 90 per month, and that the number of prisoners has been reduced from 1,800 to 700 under improved penal systems, evidences the increased popularity and efficiency of the service.

SHORTAGE OF OFFICERS BEING REMEDIED.

The Navy was short of officers when Wilson came into office. Why? Because each Congressman was authorized to appoint only one midshipman to Annapolis. In May of 1913 Congress extended the law, which Republicans had let expire, giving two appointments to each Congressman. This year Congress has made an increase, so that each Senator and Representative has three appointments to Annapolis. This is an increase of over 831. If this had been done under Roosevelt and Taft, there would have been no shortage of officers.

PROMOTION OF ENLISTED MEN.

Doors heretofore closed are now open to bluejackets. Under new legislation 25 enlisted men can now be appointed annually to the Naval Academy and qualify to rise from apprentice seamen to admiral. Already 28 have been appointed, and this new recognition has had a salutary effect throughout the entire Navy and made it truly American in spirit. Fifteen enlisted men have been appointed as assistant paymasters and 64 to the position of pay clerk, which grade, numbering over 200, will henceforth be exclusively filled by appointments from the ranks instead of by the personal appointments of pay officers. Thirteen enlisted men have been promoted to ensign from the ranks during Wilson's three years, as compared with three in Taft's four years. Enlisted men are also eligible to the Aviation Corps, and new schools have been enlarged, giving opportunity for the best training to ambitious enlisted men who come into the Navy, with a chance to those of superior ability to earn promotion.

EXPANSION IN AIRCRAFT.

The present Congress has also appropriated $3,900,000 for aeronautics and the aviation station, continuing the wise policy of the Sixty-third Congress, which made the first specific appropriation—$1,000,000—for aeronautics. The appropriation by the Sixty-third Congress has permitted the development of naval aeronautics so that an aviation ship is now in the fleet, and the Aviation Corps has been increased to 18 machines and 160 officers and men, as compared with 4 machines and 4 officers in March, 1913. The larger appropriations by the Sixty-fourth Congress will insure a larger expansion. Under Taft $61,888.06 was provided for aviation. Under Wilson $5,217,278.57.

MINES INCREASE FOURFOLD.

When the Wilson administration undertook the regeneration of the Navy it was found that there were no mining division and that there were few mines. Contracts were made at once to purchase mines abroad—none could be had in this country—but the European war made it impossible for the contractors to fill the orders. Fortunately, the Navy Department had in its contract obtained the right to manufacture mines in this country, and it is doing so in its own plant. A mining division has been organized completely. Now, for the first time in the history of the American Navy its position with regard to mines and mining is satisfactory. Moreover, the mines manufactured in this country have been produced at a cost of between $175 and $200 less than the price contracted for their purchase abroad, and a large saving has been effected. For every 100 mines the Navy had when the Wilson administration came into office, there are now 400—that is, four times as many—and the number is being multiplied daily.

TORPEDOES INCREASED AND PLANT ENLARGED 433 PER CENT.

A like shortage in torpedoes has been remedied and for every hundred torpedoes we had on hand in 1913 we now have 158 more, and the Navy Department is constructing torpedoes in its own plant at a saving of over $1,000 on each torpedo. It has also increased the capacity of the torpedo works 433 per cent. Not only are more torpedoes provided for less money, but the Navy Department has won its suit to prevent a private company from selling its torpedoes to foreign nations, thereby disclosing Navy secrets. In rendering his decision, Judge Cox made the following wise declaration, which indorses the policy of the Navy Department under this administration: "This case illustrates the importance of the United States having a manufactory of its own for the manufacture of torpedoes and other implements of war, which are improved and changed from time to time by the addition of ingenious mechanism, which should clearly be kept secret unless our enemies are to profit equally with ourselves in every improvement which the ingenuity of our Army and Navy officers may suggest."

INCREASED PRODUCTION OF POWDER AT DECREASED COST.

As the Navy Department increased its production of powder the private manufacturer decreased the prices from 80 cents to 53 cents a pound, by direction of Congress, after an investigation into its cost. The Navy manufactures powder for 34 cents a pound, including all overhead charges, and this administration has increased the capacity of the powder factory from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds per annum, insuring an adequate supply at minimum cost.

ARMOR PLANT WILL MAKE ARMOR PLATE CHEAPER.

For years the manufacturers of armor plate had been charging the American people excessive prices for armor plate. All three companies manufacturing armor plate offered bids of identically the same price. Such bids were not accepted, and more than $1,100,000 were saved on three ships by insisting upon competition. But this large saving still left the price far above a reasonable sum. The Sixty-fourth Congress has appropriated $11,000,000 to build an armor-plate plant where armor plate can be manufactured at a price of $230 a ton, as against $454, the price which was being paid when the Wilson administration was inaugurated. In addition to cheapening the cost of production an additional advantage of a Government armor-plate plant would be to encourage and give opportunity to its experts to steadily improve the quality of the armor to be used on naval craft. No process is perfect, and study and experiment will produce superior armor. Secrets of production discovered by Government experts will belong exclusively to the American Navy.

TO MANUFACTURE PROJECTILES.

Congress has also appropriated $705,611 toward a projectile factory, to cost double that sum, insuring an adequate supply of superior ammunition, not now obtainable, at cost price. By obtaining competition $1,077,210 was saved on a single contract for projectiles. A Government factory guarantees competition with private manufacturers and the best quality of projectiles.

EVERY YARD EQUIPPED TO BUILD SHIPS.

The private shipbuilding yards have not the facilities to construct the large program authorized. It was the practice, before the Wilson administration, to build no ships in any except two navy yards, and their facilities were limited. The Wilson administration has equipped, or provision has been made by the Sixty-fourth Congress to equip, every navy yard to construct naval craft, and it will be possible in the future to secure more rapid construction of new ships for the Navy in both private and public yards. The fact that the Government can build in its own yards will, in normal times, insure competition in building and secure prices more reasonable than would be possible if it depended almost entirely upon private shipbuilding yards, as the Republicans did.

BEST AIRCRAFT GUNS.

The ordnance experts of the department have designed and completed and placed on the latest dreadnaughts the best anti-aircraft gun in the world.

BEST LARGE-CALIBER GUN IN THE WORLD.

They have also produced a large-caliber gun that will shoot straighter, shoot farther, and hit harder than any gun now in use in any foreign navy. Sixteen-inch guns are to be placed on the new dreadnaughts. A portion of guns of various calibers

are manufactured by the Navy. Based upon former and current prices, we have saved $682,555.21 upon guns we manufactured since Wilson's inauguration.

MOBILIZING AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

The invaluable services, given without compensation, of the Nation's foremost engineers and chemists have been obtained for the Government in the organization of the Naval Consulting Board, of which Mr. Thomas A. Edison is chairman. Their counsel and cooperation and initiative, not enlisted in the past, are now made readily available to aid in the solution of the many complicated problems always before the department. A committee of the consulting board has already completed the first census ever made of the country's industrial resources for war. This information and the contemplated work of this committee in the new laboratory to be erected under recent legislation places the unsurpassed facilities of American industry at the service of the country in the event of war.

For the first time, American industry has been mobilized. Industrial preparedness, never before attempted in this country, is not a promise of the Wilson administration, it is an accomplishment, needing only to be extended and more perfectly organized.

BEST NAVAL ORGANIZATION.

The unworkable organizations of both the Navy Department and the Atlantic Fleet, in which is centered the chief strength of the American Navy, have been supplanted by better ones. Without violating the American ideal of subordinating the military to the civil power, the fleet and the department are now so organized as to effect the most successful operation afloat and ashore. Writing of the naval organization as it exists to-day, Admiral Dewey, in a letter to Chairman PADGETT, of the House Naval Affairs Committee, recently said the United States Navy has "I think, the best General Staff in the world."

WAR COLLEGE NOW REACHES THE FLEET.

In no administration of the Navy Department has the training of officers or the preparation of the fleet for battle been cared for so jealously and efficiently. The Naval War College, where high-ranking officers are taught and practice problems in the science of strategy and tactics, had under Republican rule been permitted to degenerate until in 1913 it had a class of five students and nine instructors. Two courses at the college were established in April, 1914, and now 32 officers are taking the regular course, while the new correspondence course is being taken by 499 officers. This new course brings the instruction and study of the War College into close touch with the officers of the fleet. In his hearings before the House Naval Committee in February, 1916, Admiral Knight said: "The recent development of the War College, which has been rather striking, has been due in large measure to the interest which has been taken in it by our present Secretary of the Navy. The War College has been in existence since 1885, and during a large part of that time it has had to struggle for existence. Its ideals have always been high and its methods of work have always been admirable, but never until this present administration has it found any active aggressive support from the Navy Department. Very early in his administration Mr. Daniels came to the War College. He saw at once what it was and what its possibilities were, and he said, 'I am a friend of the War College.' From that time on he has done everything possible to support the War College and strengthen it, and the work that we are doing there now is very largely due to him."

GENERAL ECONOMIES EFFECTED.

Economy has been the watchword of this administration of the Navy, and its purpose has been to concentrate expenditures to the widest extent possible upon the Navy afloat, to which the country must look for protection in case of attack. Insistence upon competition among armor plate manufacturers saved $1,110,084, and $600,000 of this was on one ship alone, the *Arizona*. The same policy amongst the projectile manufacturers saved $1,077,210, and the Navy, by increasing the capacity of its powder-making plant at Indianhead, reduced the cost of powder from 53 to about 34 cents a pound, including overhead charges, while the capacity of the plant was raised from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds annually. The saving on this additional powder per year will be $570,000. The cost of manufacturing torpedoes was reduced from $4,202 apiece to $3,245, a reduction which has easily saved $300,000. In other words, five torpedoes can be manufactured for the $20,000 which must be paid for torpedoes purchased. The Navy makes all its own mines, at a saving of $145 on each. In smaller economies of various kinds $2,000,000 was saved, of which, in 1915, $1,000,000 was reappropriated by Congress for aeronautics and $800,000 for submarines. The old "misfit" battleships *Mississippi* and *Idaho* were sold, after about six and one-half years service, for $12,535,275.96, the original cost price of both together, and, with $2,000,000 additional appropriated by Congress, a modern new dreadnaught, the *Mississippi*, now building at Newport News, was added to the Navy. As the result of carefully watching the transportation expenses of the enlisted men between naval stations and ships, a saving of $176,643.56 was effected. Smaller savings have been effected elsewhere.

ECONOMIES AT SEA.

By care and vigilance in utilizing naval colliers to bring from distant ports articles used in large quantities by the Navy, such as hemp for auxiliaries, sodium nitrate for powder, tin, shellac, and the like, and for the transportation of coal to west coast stations and to the Philippines; by insisting on competition in the purchase of steaming coal; in the saving by remelting of scrap metal; and in the purchase of provisions, the department has effected economies at sea amounting to $1,342,595. The amount thus saved has been available for obtaining stocks of other supplies or making repairs to vessels of the Navy. In other words, were it not for these economies the current working appropriations would have suffered to the value above mentioned, or Congress would have had to appropriate the above additional sum to meet the needs of the naval service.

INCREASED WAGES AT NAVY YARDS.

The number of employees in the navy yards of the United States is 7,485 more than when the Wilson administration came into power. The increased amount of pay to navy-yard employees is $27,063.77 per day more than in 1912. The average pay per diem for employees in 1912 was $2.723, as compared with $2.997 in 1916, an average increase of pay of $0.274 per day. The increased pay of skilled workers is much larger.

EPOCH-MAKING YEARS.

These three years have been epoch-making years in the history of the Navy. In addition to what I have touched upon, it may interest you to recall that during the year, for the first time, the Secretary of the Navy, by the use of the wireless telephone, has given orders to a ship 75 miles at sea; radio stations that put us in touch with Hawaii and Manila are being constructed; new 16-inch guns have been devised for new dreadnaughts, marking a wide departure from the 14-inch guns; electrical propulsion, not used by any other navy, is being installed on new ships; the increase in the number of chaplains will provide a spiritual leader for every ship; opportunity to civilian aviators and engineers to come into the Navy has been offered; the most perfect organization (put into effect last year) known in any navy has received the approval of Congress and the naval service; the policy of promotion of officers by seniority, which was a reward for mediocrity, has been replaced by a wise system of selection where nothing but merit counts to secure high rank. These are some of the measures of improvement and progress, due to the President and Congress and the earnest spirit of the officers and men in the service, which justify the pride of Americans in their Navy. There is no single unit of the Navy, whether of material or personnel, which has not been improved under the Wilson administration, and provision has been made to overcome the defects and shortages which it inherited from 16 years of Republican administrations.

I congratulate you upon the important part you had in the early additions and improvements authorized during your service on the Naval Affairs Committee in the Sixty-third Congress, and also upon your interest and cooperation which, with that of other patriotic Members of Congress, made possible the passage of the biggest and best naval program ever authorized by any legislative body in the history of the world. It may interest you to know that whereas the naval act just passed carried an appropriation of $313,000,000, the largest appropriation ever made by Great Britain prior to the present war was $260,714,275, which was for the English fiscal year ending March 31, 1915.

There may be criticism by some of the large provision made for the Navy, but those who believe in a strong and well-proportioned Navy will rejoice that at this period in our history the country was blessed with the good fortune of having in the White House a man resolved to secure a powerful Navy, and with a Congress in sympathy with the demand of the American people for an adequate Navy, a Navy large enough to defend the coasts of this country and to uphold the policies and honor of the Republic.

Very truly, yours,

JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Hon. WM. ELZA WILLIAMS,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

## Statement of the Employees' Side in the Controversy Between the Railroads and Their Employees.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 29, 1916.*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks on the subject of the pending controversy between the railroads and their employees, I beg the privilege of submitting the following statement of the employees' side of the case, believing that it will be of interest to the American people, a proper recognition of a great body of workmen, and a valuable contribution to the literature of this momentous episode in the industrial life of the Republic:

THE THREATENED RAILROAD STRIKE.

REASON FOR STRIKE—RAILROADS HAVE PERSISTENTLY REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN—NO COUNTER PROPOSITION WAS RECEIVED.

The real and ultimate reason that the present railway strike will be declared was the refusal of the railroads to accept the plan of settlement proposed by the President of the United States. When it became evident that no adjustment could be reached through the Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation at New York President Wilson requested the employees' committee and the committee of managers to come to Washington, where it was his purpose to accomplish an agreement if possible. After conferences with representatives of both the railroads and their employees the President proposed the following basis of settlement:

"Concession of eight-hour day.

"Postponement of the other demand as to payment for overtime and the counter suggestions of the railway managers until experience actually discloses the consequences of the eight-hour day.

"In the meantime the constitution, by authority of Congress, of a commission or body of men appointed by the President to observe, investigate, and report upon these consequences without recommendation.

"Then such action upon the facts as the parties to the present controversy may think best."

The foregoing plan of settlement was submitted to the employees' committee on August 17 and was accepted by them the following day, and the President notified to that effect.

Notwithstanding the fact that the same proposition was submitted to the presidents and general managers of the railroads, they persistently declined to accept such proposition or to submit a counter proposition which could be considered by the employees' committee. This condition existed from August 17 until August 27, during which 10-day period the employees' committee anxiously awaited some counter proposition on which a settlement could be based. Realizing that the railway managers were simply utilizing the time to create a public opinion against President Wilson and against the railway employees by soliciting and paying for thousands of telegrams from farmers, merchants, and manufacturers, the employees' committee adopted the following resolution on August 27 and left for their respective homes:

"The resolution to quit work adopted by us in accordance with the vote of the members at our meeting in New York on the 13th day of August, 1916, and the authority then conferred upon our chief executives and the instruction to them to fix the day and hour and to transmit notice of the same to the chairmen and then to the members are hereby confirmed, approved, and reenacted to take effect unless prior to the day and hour so fixed notice shall have been received that the proposal of the President of the United States, accepted by us on the 18th day of August, 1916, has been accepted by the representatives of the railroad companies."

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SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.

A special privilege granted to railroad companies by the present Federal arbitration law, known as the Newlands Act, is that of administering any award reached in an arbitration. For instance, a railroad and its employees may submit to arbitration under the Federal law, a complicated wage dispute. The award may be intended to benefit the employees, but immediately, and almost invariably, the railroad officials on that road interpret the award to mean a wage reduction instead of a wage increase, and thus railway employees have been educated to look upon arbitration as a gross injustice.

So long as operating officers of the railways are permitted to interpret the language of an award to suit themselves, compelling the employees to accept such interpretation, with the full knowledge that the board of arbitration did not intend its language to be distorted, the employees are justified in refusing arbitration.

Can you imagine one of the parties to a suit at law being permitted to interpret the court's decision to the extent of compelling the other party to the suit to accept such interpretation?

Experience has taught the employees that it requires many months, and often years, to secure the enforcement of an award as intended by the arbitrators.

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MANUFACTURING PUBLIC OPINION.

While the presidents and the general managers of the railroads were trying to make President Wilson believe that they were sincerely endeavoring to agree among themselves on some basis of settlement of the present eight-hour movement, they were busily engaged in creating a "public opinion," at an enormous expenses to the railroads, as will be indicated in the following telegram, which was sent to all station agents by the officials of one of the most prominent western railroads:

"It is highly important to get trainmen question discussed by farmers, stock raisers, dairymen, and merchants. Please get as many of these classes as possible in your town and vicinity to send telegrams rush to President Wilson, at Washington, D. C., urgently requesting him to settle the controversy by arbitration. Telegrams should show business of the sender. These telegrams are to be paid for from station funds and statement sent me for voucher your credit. I want you to send copies these telegrams to me by wire soon as transmitted to the President, using our own wires for this. Might be well to have some of the most prominent signers send messages to their Congressmen and Senators in Washington in addition to those sent to President Wilson. This is very important and must be given preference over normal business to-day."

Information came from other roads that similar efforts to deceive the President and Members of Congress were being vigorously pressed by convincing farmers and merchants that if they would send telegrams of this character to the President and Members of Congress it would not only prevent a strike, but prevent an increase in freight rates.

Thus by the use of their surplus earnings railway companies "manufacture public opinion."

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FRENZIED FINANCE—THE DISSIPATION OF THE REVENUE GAINS OF THE RAILROADS HAS COST MORE THAN LABOR.

As a result of the methods of financing or selling securities through the banking institutions which control the railroads, enormous bonuses to stockholders have been granted. During the period 1900–1910 alone 18 representative railroads, traversing all sections of the country, gave away in bonuses to their stockholders the huge sum of $450,414,992. More than $250,000,000 was also distributed in this way during the same period by eight representative western railroads. Large underwriting and banking commissions have also been paid which have been without justification. By way of illustration, the recent investigation of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad by the Interstate Commerce Commission showed that discounts and commissions were paid to banks and syndicates which aggregated the enormous total of $32,152,602 during the period 1896–1913. These are typical instances. By the sale of securities at much less than their market value, the railroad companies have been deprived of cash resources which they should have had and at the same time they have issued fictitious capitalization which became a drain on operating revenues.

One banking house received a fee of $500,000 for reorganizing the Chicago Great Western in 1909, and in addition made a profit of $6,000,000 for the syndicate which it represented. In the reorganization of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1896 the same banking firm received a commission of one-fourth of 1 per cent upon the par value of all the securities deposited under the reorganization plan, the only reservation being a stipulation that the total fee to this firm should not be more than $1,000,000.

Syndicates of bankers and financiers made enormous profits in connection with the stock manipulation and transactions of the Chicago & Alton and the Union Pacific Railroads. The total amount of the funds or resources diverted from the treasury of the Chicago & Alton Railroad during the period 1899–1906 amounted to more than $24,000,000. The same syndicate made more than $21,000,000 in the sale of the stock of the Southern and Northern Pacific and the Chicago & Alton Railroads to the Union Pacific Railway, over the finances of which they had control. A banking firm which represented the syndicate received profits on these transactions also which were estimated to be more than $2,000,000. Large syndicate profits were also received in connection with the sale to the Rock Island Railroad of some of its subsidiaries.

As the result of this reorganization the Atchison stock issues were inflated without adding anything to the value of the property or to its earning capacity, to the amount of $166,093,095. More than $112,000,000 has already been paid in dividends upon these fictitious securities, which constitute a liability against the property but do not represent any contribution over made in any way to its earning capacity. The annual dividends now paid upon these stock issues amount to $9,167,456.

The New York Central & Hudson River Railroad was formed by consolidation, dated December 15, 1869. The total par value of the stock of the two companies entering into the consolidation was $44,815,800. This amount was arbitrarily increased without adding one cent to the value of the property by an increase in the capital stocks of the consolidating companies of $44,428,330; or, in other words, a stock dividend of practically 100 per cent was declared. Prior to this consolidation the capitalization of the two constituent companies had been increased at a conservative estimate $12,500,000 without any tangible increase in the properties. As a consequence, at the time of the consolidation in 1869, $56,928,330 of the constituent companies did not represent any value paid in. The cash dividends upon this watered stock for 45 years, 1870–1914, inclusive, aggregates 266 per cent. This is equivalent to an increase of $3,387,319 per year, or a total of $151,429,357 in dividends for the 45 years actually paid out by the company on stock which was issued prior to or at the time of the consolidation and which did not represent any addition to the physical property of the company.

By the terms of the consolidation of the Chicago & Alton in 1906, $39,000,000 of railroad company securities were given for $22,000,000 of railway securities; or, in other words, more than $17,000,000 of "water" was injected into the capitalization of the new company.

In the consolidation of the Missouri Pacific properties in 1909, $22,000,000 in fictitious securities, which represented the capitalization of the previous financial mismanagement of this railroad, were carried forward into the capitalization of the new company.

A further illustration of stock manipulation and improper financial practices is furnished by the financial history of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Co. since its organization in 1896. On this basis of a most conservative calculation at least $100,000,000 in unwarranted capital liabilities has been created by this railroad in the payment of discounts and commissions to banking interests and in the acquisition of subsidiaries and other properties. Out of a total outstanding stock of $50,000,000, $46,000,000 is estimated to be fictitious and to have already absorbed in dividend requirements $6,000,000 from the productive efficiency of capital and labor engaged in the operation of this railroad. As a result of a recent exhaustive investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, it was officially declared that the indefensible financial policy of the Frisco within recent years had resulted in the improper diversion of net revenue of the railroad to a sum "which approximates between $3,500,000 and $4,000,000 per annum."

Examples of the improper use and dissipation of railroad resources could be multiplied. The foregoing are typical and representative.

RAILROAD PROSPERITY.

During the past year the railroads have enjoyed great prosperity. According to statistics just issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission for the fiscal year 1916, 155 large roads, representing more than 90 per cent of the mileage of the country, showed gains in gross operating revenues over last year of $445,702,634. Net operating revenues in 1916 were $278,361,824 more than in the preceding year. The gain in net revenue in 1916 over 1915, according to operating districts, was in round numbers as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Eastern district | $139,000,000 |
| Southern district | 42,600,000 |
| Western district | 91,700,000 |

The extreme solicitude on the part of the railway presidents for the "80 per cent of unorganized employees" and their rights, when, in fact, it is a dischargeable offense for any of such employees to make an attempt to organize for the purpose of bettering their wages or working conditions, is amusing.

WHY NO ARBITRATION—RAILROADS KNOW WHO TO FIGHT AND WHO TO ARBITRATE.

It is true that the railroad employees engaged in engine and train service have declined to submit their 8-hour demand to arbitration—on any railroad or for any class of employees.

It is just as true that the railroads have refused to include in their proposed arbitration 75 of the smaller railroads where they believe a strike for the 8-hour day can be defeated.

The railroads also have refused to include the colored brakemen, firemen, and hostlers in their arbitration, because those railroads that employ negroes have never recognized that they had any rights in the matter.

And on 18 of the railroads on which they propose to arbitrate the 8-hour day the railroads have refused to include the white hostlers in their arbitration.

The railroads refuse to arbitrate wherever and whenever they feel strong enough to defeat a strike and only insist upon arbitration where they fear they can not defeat the strike.

By just such methods the railroads plan to deceive and cajole the public and at the same time defeat the demands of their employees.

PACKING THE JURY.

In courts of justice it has always been considered unfair to include on a jury persons who have been prejudiced, either by personal knowledge or by rumor, as to the merits of the case. The purpose of the railroads seems to have been, first, to prejudice the public mind against their employees and then force an arbitration influenced by this prejudice.

The railroads have conducted a publicity campaign at an enormous expense for the purpose of producing a public opinion (1) that the demands of the employees for an 8-hour day are unjust, (2) that the public will be penalized to the extent of $100,000,000 per year if the 8-hour day is granted, and (3) that no arbitration board should award the 8-hour day.

In this effort to create a public opinion against the demands of railroad employees for an 8-hour day, these railroads have enlisted in their publicity campaign nine great advertising agencies, who in turn have selected 14,000 weekly newspapers and between 2,500 and 3,000 daily newspapers with which to bias public opinion. In each of these newspapers a series of large display advertisements have been published at an enormous expense to the railroads. In connection with these efforts, hundreds if not thousands of editorials have been published in connection therewith, carrying the same thought as the advertisements. These editorials have been published in pamphlet form and thereby given greater publicity, thus demonstrating that so far as these 17,000 newspapers are concerned a public opinion already has been created.

With the belief that the public mind has been so prejudiced that a fair arbitration is impossible, these same railroads, in concert with other employers' associations, known as chambers of commerce, now demand that the 8-hour day be arbitrated.

QUESTION NOT ARBITRABLE—RELIGION, POLITICS, AND CLASS OPINIONS NOT ARBITRABLE.

The number of hours that an employee in any industry is required to perform labor within a 24-hour period is a class question. Concerning all class questions there are differences of opinion.

It requires no course of reasoning to convince any workingman that a reduction of hours of labor performed in any 24-hour period from 10 to 8 is economically correct.

A vast majority of the people who have invested their capital in an industry that requires the employment of other people in order that the industry may be profitable to the investor are fully convinced that the reduction of hours of employees from 10 to 8 is economically wrong.

In an engineers' arbitration they found the neutral arbitrator to be a retired railroad attorney—afflicted with old age, bad digestion, and acute prejudice to such an extent that he did not attempt to conceal his antipathy to the engineers. The railroads' representative in this arbitration was so much fairer than the neutral arbitrator that he conceded more than the so-called neutral arbitrator wanted to give.

In an arbitration of matters concerning conductors and trainmen ex-office holders, or "lame ducks," rendered a decision that made the victims say, as though they meant it, "Never again."

In the last arbitration of wages and working conditions of western engineers, firemen, and hostlers the board was dominated by a man who, as director or trustee, was directly concerned in the result of the award. Aside from any millions of dollars of other railroad holdings, much of which would be affected by the award, he was director of a trust company that owned one block of approximately $12,500,000 of first-mortgage bonds of one of the railroads, parties to the arbitration. When his railway financial connections were discovered and official protest made against his continuance on the board, the employees were officially advised that while it had not been known that he was thus connected, a "knowledge of that fact would have been favorable rather than otherwise to his appointment" and that "nothing has been brought to our knowledge since his appointment as an arbitrator which in our opinion disqualifies him as an arbitrator."

But, ignoring past experiences, let us presume that there was an arbitration of the eight-hour demand of railway employees and that in picking the jury every effort was made to appoint neutrals entirely free of prejudices. If the mental attitude of the men appointed is favorable to railway employees at the time of their appointment, it is a 2-to-1 chance that the employees will win. If the neutrals' past environment has been such that it would require much evidence to convince them of the justice of the men's demands, no eight-hour day would be awarded. If the president of the American Federation of Labor is selected as a neutral arbitrator, he will with perfect honesty and sincerity award railroad men the eight-hour day. If a president, director, or an attorney of some great employing corporation is appointed, with just as much honesty of purpose he will deny the eight-hour day.

GETTING THEIR WIRES CROSSED.

In their desperate effort to force a railroad strike in the present eight-hour movement those gentlemen upon whose strategy the railroads depend to secure $100,000,000 per annum in increased freight rates out of the strike have presumably convinced the public that the demands of the employees are unjust and exorbitant.

But when the individual general manager takes his own employees into his confidence, overlooking the strategy of those in charge of the movement, he does not hesitate to show his own men that the demands of the employees mean an actual reduction in their pay should their working time be limited to eight hours.

For instance, the Staten Island Railway, an auxiliary line to the Baltimore & Ohio, in fact, its New York City terminal, shows the following rule in their wage agreement with their firemen:

"Ten hours or less shall constitute a day in all yard service. The rate of pay shall be $2.60 per day, overtime pro rata."

The language in all the wage schedules is similar to the foregoing, and basing his statement on this rule, Mr. W. H. Averell, general manager of the Staten Island Railway Co., addressed a communication to his employees which had for its purpose the convincing of each employee that the demands now made upon the railroads would actually reduce their wages, and this is the language quoted from his communication:

"While the requests which have been made by the four organizations on the majority of the railroads in the United States may, if granted, result in freight train, engine, and yard men receiving each year the same or greater pay than at present received, because of the peculiar operating conditions on Staten Island, it is absolutely certain that by far the larger percentage of the men would, instead of receiving more money, actually receive less.

"For example, a yard engineer now working 11 hours at 41 cents an hour receives $4.51, or, assuming he works every day in the year, $1,645.15. On the basis proposed by you this engineer would receive 10 hours' pay at present rates, or $4.10, or $1,495.50. This means, therefore, that this engineer would receive practically $150 less per year than he is now getting; the equivalent of nearly a month and a quarter pay. The same thing would be true to a greater or lesser extent of the pay of firemen, conductors, and brakemen in yard and freight service."

Just how the general manager of the Staten Island Railway Co. figures out a loss of $150 per year for every engineer on that road by the application of the demands of employees, when the publicity managers of the railroads are demonstrating that it is necessary for increase in freight rates to compensate them for the increased wages of $100,000,000 per year, is only one of the many situations in which it is evident that some people are getting their wires crossed.

MEN MUST HAVE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

During the 1915 arbitration of wages of engineers, firemen, and hostlers, the railroads presented names of switch engineers, one of whom earned $172.90 in "26 days." A subsequent investigation demonstrated that this man worked an average of 14 hours and 18 minutes per day for 26 days, an equivalent of 46½ days of 8 hours each. This investigation demonstrated that in order to make the $172.90 he was not only paid for all of these hours that he actually worked, but $5.85 in addition thereto as 26 penalties for working this engineer 14 hours and 18 minutes on each of these 26 days without at any time permitting him to stop to eat.

The same investigation proved that to earn the sum of $116.74 in "28 days" a fireman worked an average of 14 hours and 11 minutes each and every one of these 28 days and with no stop to eat on any day. This switch engine fireman's 28 days were made up of 397 hours, or an equivalent of 49⅝ days of 8 hours each, an average of 99¼ hours per week.

At this rate for 12 months this switch engine fireman would work the equivalent of 595½ days of 8 hours each. An employee in the building trades in this same city of Chicago worked only 44 hours a week, or an equivalent of 286 days of 8 hours each during a year. Thus this switch engine fireman works as many hours in one year as an employee in the building industries works in two years and one month.

REDUCED LABOR COST—INCREASED WORK AND PRODUCTIVE EFFICIENCY OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEE—RAILROADS PROFIT GREATLY.

During the period of 1900 to 1915 the average freight-train load increased 67 per cent. As a result the railroads were enabled to move an increase of 104 per cent in freight traffic with an advance of only 23 per cent in freight-train miles

These developments have been marked by a twofold effect upon railroad transportation employees.

In the first place, their labors and responsibilities have greatly increased. The engineer has found it necessary to operate a larger and more complicated piece of mechanism, and along with conductors and trainmen has had his duties increased by the responsibility of looking after much longer and heavier trains. The locomotive fireman has had more arduous physical work to perform because of the necessity of handling more coal for each locomotive mile traveled.

In the second place, the productive efficiency, or the volume of traffic handled by engine and train employees, has been greatly augmented. Measured on the basis of each $1,000 of compensation paid, freight engineers on 24 representative western railroads in 1913 handled 92 per cent more ton-miles than in 1890, and freight firemen, for each $1,000 paid them, transported 83 per cent more freight traffic in the year 1913 than in 1890. In the year 1912 each freight fireman in eastern territory handled on an average 29 per cent more freight than in 1902. Information submitted in arbitration proceedings during 1913 also showed that train crews transported, according to roads, from 15 to 67 per cent more freight in 1912 than in 1902.

This increased productivity of transportation employees has been attended by a decrease in costs to the railroad companies in terms of wage payments for each unit of traffic handled. Each 1,000 tons handled by representative western railroads in 1913 cost the companies in wages to engineers and firemen 33.1 cents less than in 1890. Taking all the

railroads of the United States as one system, the total labor cost of operation per 1,000 ton-miles decreased from $2.98 in 1895 to $2.40 in 1914. The decrease in cost to the railroads for the different classes of employees for each 1,000 tons hauled 1 mile was, during the same period, as follows:

| | 1895 | 1914 | Decrease, 1914 over 1895. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Cents.* | *Cents.* | *Cents.* |
| Engineers | 0.272 | 0.193 | 0.079 |
| Firemen | .155 | .118 | .037 |
| Conductors | .163 | .130 | .033 |
| Other trainmen | .251 | .246 | .005 |

The reduction in costs on individual railroads has in many instances been much greater. The revenue gains made by 24 representative Western railroads because of increased labor and operating efficiency during the period 1890–1913 were sufficient to offset all added costs of operation, whether arising from wages or other items of operating expense, and still leave a net gain in operating revenue of 27 cents for each train mile operated.

Transportation employees have had to work harder through longer hours, have had their responsibilities increased, have produced more, have cost the railroads less, and should have further participation in the fruits of their labor in shorter hours or increased compensation.

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KIDDING THE PUBLIC—RAILROADS ARBITRATE WHERE EMPLOYEES ARE STRONG AND FIGHT WHERE WEAK—NOT SINCERE ADVOCATES OF ARBITRATION.

Presumably every man, woman, and child who has recently read the newspapers understands that the railroads honestly and earnestly advocate arbitration in all wage matters. The Washington Post, of Sunday, August 27, quotes one of the railroad presidents as saying:

"Arbitration for the settlement of the demands of about 350,000 men upon the railroads has been denied (by the employees' committee). The health, happiness, prosperity, and lives of the American people are in jeopardy because of this refusal to use the method of settlement found satisfactory in great international disputes."

And at the very same time that this railroad president was masquerading as a devout worshiper at the arbitration shrine the railroads collectively positively refused to arbitrate the eight-hour day on many railroads and for many employees, as is shown in the following statements:

Hostlers are excluded by the railroads from the proposed arbitration on the following railroads:

Eastern district: Buffalo & Susquehanna Railroad Corporation and Wellsville & Buffalo Railroad Corporation.

Western district: Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe (proper); Rio Grande, El Paso & Santa Fe Railroad; Pan Handle & Santa Fe Railway; Chicago & Alton Railroad; Chicago & Western Indiana Railroad; Belt Railway of Chicago; Chicago Great Western Railroad; Colorado & Southern Railway; El Paso & Southwestern System; Fort Worth Belt Railway; Kansas City Terminal Railway; Louisiana & Arkansas Railway; Minnesota & International Railway; New Orleans, Texas & Mexico Railroad; Beaumont, Sour Lake & Western Railway; Orange & Northwestern Railroad; Northern Pacific Terminal Railway; Northwestern Pacific Railway; Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Co.; St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad; Paris & Great Northern Railway; St. Louis & San Francisco of Texas; Fort Worth & Rio Grande Railroad; Southern Pacific (Pacific System); Union Stock Yards of Omaha; Wiggins Ferry Co.; East St. Louis Connecting Railway; St. Louis Transfer Railway Co.

Southeastern district: Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic Railroad; Atlantic Coast Line Railroad; Atlanta & West Point Railway; Western Railway of Alabama; Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio; Florida East Coast Railway; Louisville & Nashville Railroad; Mobile & Ohio Railroad; New Orleans & Northeastern Railroad; Alabama & Vicksburg Railway; Vicksburg, Shreveport & Pacific; New Orleans Terminal Co.; Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac; Washington Southern Railway; Seaboard Air Line Railway.

White firemen are excluded by the railroads from the proposed arbitration on the following railroads:

Eastern district: None.

Western district: Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railway.

Southeastern district: Atlanta, Birmingham & Atlantic Railway; Atlantic Coast Line Railroad; Atlanta & West Point Railway; Western Railway of Alabama; Central of Georgia Railway; Florida East Coast Railway; Louisville & Nashville Railroad; New Orleans & Northeastern Railroad; Alabama & Vicksburg Railway; Vicksburg, Shreveport & Pacific; and Seaboard Air Line Railway.

White brakemen are excluded by the railroads from the proposed arbitration on the following railroads:

Eastern district: None.

Western district: New Orleans, Texas & Mexico Railroad; Beaumont, Sour Lake & Northwestern Railway; Orange & Northwestern Railroad; and St. Louis, Brownsville & Mexico.

Southeastern district: Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

Exclusion of all colored railroad employees.

Because of the limitations placed upon employees represented by the national conference committee of the railways it is understood that in their proposed arbitration no colored railroad employees are to participate therein. For instance, should the railroad employees agree to arbitration in accordance with the proposal of the national conference commission of the railways, and through such arbitration the eight-hour day with present rate of pay be granted, the thousands of negro firemen, hostlers, brakemen, and yardmen now employed on the Southern railroads would be excluded from the arbitration award. This would result in the white firemen, hostlers, brakemen, and yardmen working 8 hours a day, while the colored firemen, hostlers, brakemen, and yardmen would work 10 hours a day on the same railroads. It is believed that with this difference in the working conditions and rates of wages the Southern railroads would soon eliminate all white firemen, hostlers, brakemen, and yardmen for purely economic reasons.

Names of railroads, most of which are owned by railroads proposing arbitration, but which railroads are excluded in the proposal of the national conference committee of the railways, for arbitration:

Eastern district: Akron & Barberton Belt Railroad (controlled jointly by B. & O., C. A. & C., N. O. & Erie); Baltimore, Chesapeake & Atlantic (affiliated in interest with Pennsylvania Railroad system through ownership of capital stock); Bath & Hammondsport Railroad (controlled by Erie, operated separately); Bridgton & Saco River Railroad (controlled by Maine Central); Chicago & Wabash Valley Railway (controlled by C. I. & L. Ry.); Cincinnati, Indianapolis & Western Railway (wholly—C. H. & D.); Cincinnati, Lebanon & Northern Railway (controlled by Pennsylvania Lines west of Pittsburgh); Cumberland Valley Railway (controlled by Pennsylvania Co., operated independently); Central Indiana Railway (controlled by Pennsylvania Co. and C., C. C. & St. L. Ry.); Detroit & Charlevoix and Chicago, Kalamazoo & Saginaw Railroads (controlled by Michigan Central); Detroit & Toledo Shore Line Railroad (controlled jointly by T., St. L. & W. and Grand Trunk Western); Greenwich & Johnsonville Co. (controlled by D. & H.); Lehigh & Hudson River Co. (independent property); Little Falls & Dolgeville Railroad (controlled by N. Y. C. east); Little Kanawha Railroad (operated by B. & O.); Louisville & Jeffersonville Bridge Co. (jointly C., C. C. & St. L. and C. & O.); Maryland, Delaware & Virginia Railroad (majority, Pennsylvania Co.); Montpelier & Wells River and Barre & Chelsea Railroads (controlled by Boston & Maine); Mount Washington Railway Co. and electric branches from Portsmouth, N. H., and Concord, N. H. (controlled by Boston & Maine); Napierville Junction Railway and Quebec, Montreal & Southern Railway (controlled by D. & H.); New Jersey & New York Railroad, including Wilkesbarre & Eastern Railway (controlled by Erie); New York, Susquehanna & Western Railroad (controlled by Erie); New York, Westchester & Boston Railway (controlled by N. Y., N. H. & H.); Ottawa & New York Railway (controlled by N. Y. C.); Ohio River & Western Railway (Pennsylvania west); Pere Marquette Railway (independent property); Prospect Park & Coney Island, Northport Traction Co., for all employees operating storage battery and electric-controlled cars who are affected by these propositions (Long Island controlled); St. Johnsbury & Lake Champlain Railway (controlled by Boston & Maine); Sandy River & Rangeley Lakes Railroad (controlled by Maine Central); Sandy Valley & Elkhorn Railway Co. (controlled by B. & O.); Sharpsville Railroad Co. (controlled by B. & O.); Schoharie Valley Railway (controlled by D. & H.); Staten Island Railway Co., Staten Island Rapid Transit Co., Baltimore & New York Railway Co. (controlled by B. & O.); Toledo, St. Louis & Western Railroad Co (independent property); Toledo Terminal Railroad Co. (controlled conjointly by Michigan Central, N. Y. C., Pennsylvania Co., Grand Trunk Western, T., St. L. & W., C., H. & D., Pere Marquette, Hocking Valley, and T. & O. C.); Washington Terminal Co. (controlled by P. R. R. and B. & O.); Waynesburg & Washington Co. (controlled by Pennsylvania west); and Wheeling Terminal Railway (controlled by Pennsylvania west).

Western district: Arizona Eastern Railroad (controlled by Southern Pacific); Arkansas Western Railway (controlled by Kansas City Southern); Chicago, Memphis & Gulf Railroad (controlled by Illinois Central); Chicago, Milwaukee & Gary Railway (independent property); Chicago, Peoria & St. Louis Railway (independent property); Davenport, Rock Island & Northwestern Railway (controlled by C., B. & Q. and C., M. & St. P.); Denver & Interurban Railroad (controlled by Colorado & Southern); Elgin, Joliet & Eastern Railway (independent property); Evansville & Indianapolis Railroad (recently reorganized); Galveston, Houston & Henderson Railroad Co. (independent property); Houston Belt & Terminal Railway Co. (controlled by T. & B. V., G. C. & S. F., B. S. L. & W., and St. L., B. & M.); Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield Railway Co. (independent property); Louisiana Southern Railway (operated under St. L. & S. F.); Morenci Southern Railway (controlled by E. P. & S. W.); Missouri & North Arkansas Railway (controlled by A., T. & S. F., K. C. S., and M. K. & T.); Peoria & Pekin Union Railway (controlled by Illinois Central, C., P. & St. L., T., P. & W., C. & N. W., C., C., C. & St. L., and L. E. & W.); Poteau Valley Railroad (controlled by Kansas City Southern); Quincy, Omaha & Kansas City Railroad (controlled by C. B. & Q); Rutland, Toluca & Northern Railroad (controlled by C. & A.); The Rio Grande Southern Railroad (controlled by D. & R. G.); St. Louis National Stock Yards Co. (industrial property); The St. Paul Union Depot Co. (controlled by N. P., C., M. & St. P., Great Northern, C., St. P., M. & O., C. G. W., C., B. & Q., M., St. P. & S. S. M., M. & St. L., and C., R. I. & P.); Southern Pacific Railroad of Mexico (controlled by Southern Pacific Co.); Toledo, Peoria & Western Railway (controlled by Pennsylvania Co. and C., B. & Q.); Weatherford, Mineral Wells & N. W. Railway (controlled by T. & P.); and Wabash Railroad (east of Detroit).

Southeastern district: Danville & Western Railway (controlled by Southern Railway); Knoxville & Augusta Railroad (controlled by Southern Railway); Knoxville & Bristol Railway (controlled by Southern Railway); New Orleans, Mobile & Chicago Railway (controlled by L. & N. and St. L. & S. F.); Louisville, Henderson & St. Louis Railway (controlled by L. & N.); Norfolk & Portsmouth Belt Line Railroad (controlled by N. & W., N. S., S. A. L., A. C. L., Southern, C. & O., and Virginian); Norfolk Southern Railroad (independent property); St. Johns River Terminal Railway (controlled by Southern Railway); Tallulah Falls Railroad (controlled by Southern Railway); and Tennessee & Carolina Southern Railway (controlled by Southern Railway).

RAILROADS PAY LOWEST WAGES.

A true wage index is the rate per hour. Let us compare the wages per hour of railway employees in Chicago switching districts with those of the building trades in Chicago. Any other city would do as well. Chicago comparisons are typical of them all. The standard rates of wages per hour now paid in Chicago are as follows:

*Building employees.*

| | Cents. |
|---|---|
| Bricklayers, portable and hoisting engineers, inside wiremen, plasterers, plumbers and gasfitters, steamfitters, stone masons, and tile layers | 75.0 |
| Lathers and marble setters | 71.9 |
| Carpenters, painters, and slate and tile roofers | 70.0 |
| Elevator constructors | 68.8 |
| Structural ironworkers | 68.0 |
| Composition roofers | 65.0 |
| Laborers in tunnels, wells, and caissons | 57.5 |
| Laborers on windlass, trench, and scaffold work | 50.0 |
| Plaster laborers | 50.0 |
| Composition roofers' helpers | 45.0 |
| Elevator constructors' helpers and tile layers' helpers | 43.8 |
| Marble setter helpers | 42.5 |
| Excavating laborers hodcarriers, and steamfitters' helpers | 40.0 |

*Railway employees.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Locomotive engineers in Chicago railroad yards | 42.5 to 44.0 |
| Switching foremen | 38.0 |
| Switchmen | 35.0 |
| Locomotive firemen in Chicago railroad yards | 27.0 to 27.5 |

**Amendment to the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill.**

# SPEECH

OF

# HON. JAMES P. BUCHANAN,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, March 9, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, and having reached the Department of Commerce, Mr. BUCHANAN of Texas offered the following amendment:

Amend, page 122, line 20, after the figures "512,000," by inserting the following:

"*And provided further*, That the Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce be, and is hereby, authorized under the direction of the Secretary of Commerce to collect for the census reports and publish from time to time statistics of the production and consumption of cotton and cotton goods in foreign countries, including the number of spindles in activity, number of cotton bales on hand, amount of cotton goods on hand, value of same, construction of new mills, closing down of mills, and demand for and probable purchasers of cotton and cotton goods, and methods of merchandising the same. That in order to carry into effect the above provision the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to appoint four expert agents to cover England, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, China, Japan, and India, and an additional sum of $25,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated to be expended in carrying into effect the provisions of this act, including clerical assistants in the District of Columbia or elsewhere or to secure by purchase or otherwise such reports, manuscripts, and publications as may be necessary to carry out in the most efficient manner the provisions of this act."

Mr. BUCHANAN of Texas. Mr. Chairman, the fundamental law creating the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce provides:

It shall be the province and duty of said bureau, under the direction of the Secretary, to foster, promote, and develop the various manufacturing industries of the United States, and markets for the same at home and abroad, domestic and foreign, by gathering, compiling, publishing, and supplying all available and useful information concerning such industries and such markets, and by such other methods and means as may be prescribed by the Secretary or provided by law.

In carrying out the interest and purposes of this act the Secretary of Commerce by this bill is given an office force of 95 employees in this bureau in Washington, at various salaries, aggregating $130,640. In addition to this the sum of $125,000 is appropriated to be used by the Secretary to further promote and develop the foreign and domestic commerce of the United States; to investigate the cost of production at home and abroad he is given $50,000; to promote and develop the commerce of the United States with South and Central America, $100,000; and for the employment of commercial attachés, duly accredited through the State Department, to investigate and report upon conditions in the manufacturing industries and trade of foreign countries as may be of interest to the United States he is given $100,000, making a great total to be expended under the bureau for promotions, development, and expansion of our markets, domestic and foreign, of $505,640. Closely related to and interwoven with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is the Bureau of the Census. The duties of these two bureaus in many respects are so blended that they suggest two parallel streams whose waters run harmoniously side by side to the sea.

Mr. Chairman, both of these bureaus are properly under the Secretary of Commerce. For securing information for the census reports, including office force, he is given an appropriation of $1,176,460, making a grand total of $1,682,100 that we are spending through these two bureaus for the primary purpose of furnishing information to the people of the United States and promoting, developing, and expanding our foreign and domestic commerce. That this is a commendable and laudable undertaking, and one that can only be efficiently performed by the National Government, no one can truthfully deny. Great and beneficial results have been accomplished under the administration of Secretary Redfield, which was abundantly established by the evidence produced before our subcommittee during the hearings on this bill. Through the efforts of his commercial attachés, who were sent out into the marts and trade centers of foreign countries, large and numerous orders were obtained for our exporting manufacturing industries and our exporting middle men, amounting to millions of dollars. Thus we are expanding our foreign commerce and placing our export trade firmly on the highway that leads to the greater expansion of a world-wide market. But it seems to me that Congress and the Secretary of Commerce have failed to heed the biblical injunction.

The formation of their magnificent foreign trade superstructure should have been founded on the solid rock of cooperation with the producer who tills the soil and who is naturally interested and justly entitled to our very first consideration.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment has two objects in view. One of them is to equalize the information furnished by the Census Office and to give the American producer of cotton, the American purchaser of cotton, and the American manufacturer of cotton goods the same information which our department gives to the purchaser and manufacturer of foreign countries.

Now, I want to call your attention especially to the current law as it now stands. It provides for semimonthly reports of cotton production in the United States, leaving off foreign countries. How can our manufacturers of cotton goods, our middlemen who purchase and deal in cotton, our cotton producers ascertain how much cotton is produced in foreign countries? Our Department of Commerce is absolutely silent, under the law, on that proposition. I think it is an outrage, in fact, for our own Department of Commerce to furnish England, Russia, Japan, and all foreign countries detailed information of our cotton production and the amount of baled cotton that we have on hand, and yet to furnish to American manufacturers of cotton, American producers of cotton, and American purchasers of cotton no information as to the amount of baled cotton on hand of the production of foreign countries.

The amendment has another object in view. Under the law as it has existed for some time, the Department of Commerce has made an index in which it keeps the names of all the exporters of the United States, listed with their names and addresses, and the foreign representatives of the American Government send probable and prospective purchasers to the Department of Commerce, and the Department of Commerce, in turn, notifies the American exporter, thereby extending American commerce and bringing the American exporter of this commerce into direct communication with the foreign purchaser.

I want the great Department of Commerce to do the same thing for cotton and cotton goods that it does in the case of the products of other industries. Let me illustrate for a moment. In the hearings before our committee it developed that through the Department of Commerce one order had been placed for 40,000 bales of cotton per year for five years, to be shipped to a Russian house. I asked with whom this order was placed. The answer was that it was placed with a cotton broker of New York, who, in turn, placed it with a cotton broker of Germany, and the cotton broker of Germany, in turn, placed it with a Russian cotton broker, and the Russian broker sold it to the spinner.

In the name of God, why can we not originate an agency there and establish it so that it will bring the Russian spinner and the German spinner and the Italian spinner and the Japanese spinner and the English spinner into direct communication with the producer of cotton in this country and save the enormous extra expense of all these middlemen?

Those are the two objects I am seeking. I ask for an appropriation of $25,000 for four special agents, to cover all European countries. I feel that it is a duty that we owe not only to the cotton producer but to the coal producer and the producer of every other commodity which affords a large export of goods.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield to his colleague?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Texas. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Does not the gentleman think that four special agents would be wholly inadequate for this work in all those countries?

Mr. BUCHANAN of Texas. Along this line I have the opinion of the Department of Commerce, an opinion in writing, to the effect that four special agents would serve the purpose, and the writer further thinks that now is the opportune time in the history of this country when we should have those agents abroad, because the commerce in foreign countries has been cut to pieces by the European war. At the conclusion of the war a great opportunity will come to America to regain her past position in foreign countries that she held up to the Civil War.

Let me read you this from the Department of Commerce:

We have made efforts to collect this information from the consuls, and instructions were sent out by the State Department in 1915 fully covering the information desired. It has been found, however, that the consuls are unprepared to gather the information and the result has been a complete failure. The statistics that we have collected are incorrect and inadequate. This is through no fault of the consuls, but simply because they have so much other work, and most of them are so unfamiliar with the cotton industry that it is impossible to expect them to get complete and accurate information.

We are not asking much, gentlemen, but so far as I am concerned I stand willing to help the producers of corn or coal, or any other productive enterprise in the United States, in or-

der that the producers and creators of wealth may be helped, rather than those who speculate on the toil of others. [Applause.]

The law in force and reenacted in this bill requires our Department of Commerce to make semimonthly reports of cotton production in the United States, periodical reports of stocks, of bales of cotton on hand in the United States, and of domestic and foreign consumption of cotton.

It would only require four agents of personality, common sense, and tact to show the foreign buyer the advantage of this simpler and quicker way of dealing directly with the American producer and to enable the producer to avoid the immense and wasteful cost of the useless chain of brokers that profit as middlemen on the cotton farmer only to sap the vitality of his toil.

And with this impetus thus given to all our products the stimulus to our seagoing freights would prove the wisdom of a merchant marine that could be so readily applied to the direct commerce we would enjoy in increasing bulk.

The Department of Commerce quotes our cotton production for 1914 at 15,438,000 bales, 62.3 per cent of the output of the world, as follows:

*Percentage of total production of cotton, by countries, 1914 crop (census).*

| Country. | Per cent. | Bales. |
|---|---|---|
| United States | 62.3 | 15,438,000 |
| India | 15.4 | 3,826,000 |
| Egypt | 5.6 | 1,384,000 |
| China | 7.1 | 1,750,000 |
| Russia | 4.6 | 1,126,000 |
| Brazil | 1.8 | 440,000 |
| All others | 3.2 | 800,000 |
| Total | 100.00 | 24,764,000 |

The following table shows the consumption pro rata of the various nationalities:

*World's mill consumption of cotton, 1914 (census).*

| | Bales. |
|---|---|
| United States | 5,398,000 |
| United Kingdom | 4,400,000 |
| Continental Europe | 7,100,000 |
| India | 1,750,000 |
| Japan | 1,600,000 |
| Other countries | 975,000 |
| Total | 21,223,000 |

This 5,398,000 bales of our American cotton consumed at home leaves approximately 10,000,000 bales to be shipped abroad. This gives an idea of the immense cargoes, when we take into account all of our agencies of production, which must have a dependable transportation service to the foreign markets.

To my mind, this is an unanswerable argument in favor of a merchant marine for our own service and subject to our own demand. And when we feel that such service would cooperate in establishing the direct trade between the foreign market and our farmers, saving the agricultural classes the margin of profit now going to the superfluous middlemen and the excess cost of freight charges that go to the Shipping Trust, the necessity of this amendment and the demand for our own merchant marine go hand in hand.

The planting interests are well posted as to the subsidy jobber alert to obtain, if possible, the gift that will enable him to ply his remorseless extortion of high-sea piracy while he laughs in his sleeves over his free compliment from the Government at the expense of the people. Certain it is that agricultural industries are wide-awake to the paramount issues of agricultural life, and, oh, how they pray for the merchant marine that will give them the benefit of the square deal, and they are thoroughly aroused to the only way to secure it. They hope for the cooperative aid of the Government, acting primarily to give itself the auxiliary shipping it must have for its Navy, but giving to our citizens the right to use by conditional purchase or lease the ships especially provided for such partnership for over-sea commerce, the freight charges on these as well as all others regulated by the Government. This they are assured is the only way to successfully inaugurate the service imperatively demanded for our commercial thrift, and the only way to successfully compete with the world-wide combination organized to resist and to destroy whatever stands in the way of their infamous design to throttle legitimate and reasonable traffic over the courses of the seas.

No wonder that farmer organizations everywhere are demanding an appropriate and well-ordered fleet to sail the commercial sea routes in the interest of the fruits of the soil. National and State granges and farmers' alliances and husbands of industry and many other similar bodies are speaking in unmistakable meaning to the legislative influences to correct the evils of the transportation service by which the farmers of America have been so mercilessly fleeced.

These representative farmer organizations of the United States are positively opposed to the ship subsidy, but they are just as positively in favor of Government cooperation to create an adequate public and private marine line of mercantile and transport accommodation.

They see, Mr. Chairman, a decided difference between an outright donation in dollars and cents to the shippers and an appropriation for joint and mutual use of the Government and whatever private American interest might engage to cooperate with each other through the secure and liberal advantages provided by the terms of the Alexander bill.

Whatever obstacles stand in the way of the merchant marine for the relief and accommodation of our Government and our commerce the United States Congress is expected to meet and overcome, for the enormous freights that are piling up in the hands of our producers and on the platforms and wharves of our depots and ports must be handled, and that with dispatch and safety.

Woe be to the representative of the people who so construes a question that he makes its technical importance superior to the public good and who stickles over a constitutional quibble to the benefit of a theory when the cause of humanity is the paramount issue in its struggle to escape the fatal dangers of mercenary greed.

It is difficult to understand, Mr. Chairman, how the conservative legislator can regard with any degree of patience or toleration the cold-blooded enterprise that deliberately schemes for the manipulation of the transportation rate to defraud the workman of the legitimate fruits of his toil.

We have the most abundant proof of the existence of the organized conspiracy that dominates the marine tonnage cost of the world, and its tentacles reach into the vitals of every seaport of the earth that presumes to control the facilities of a harbor. Our statistics have been gathered at great pains, and they are ample and reliable and at the convenient command of whoever desires to consult the disgraceful budget of shameful revelations. The report of the hearings of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the investigation of shipping combinations testified through hundreds of pages of evidence obtained by the most patient examination and cross-examination of competent witnesses to the facts.

There can be no doubt about it; there exists at the present time a world-wide organization of the combined individual and corporate shippers, pledged by all sorts of understandings and agreements to profit by their control of the freight rates of the deep-sea trade. At the word of this all-powerful collusion the rate of any article or kind of produce is dictated. And such arbitrary charges by the owners of all the lines of the world's shipping, of course, are regardless of the principles of fair dealing, and utterly indifferent to the welfare of any interest except their own selfish and malicious combinations. This universal marine trust has depredated on the business of the carrying trade of the ocean without let or hindrance for years, and has bent its ingenuities and its energies to perfecting its machinery, and has succeeded in creating an impregnable transportation machine so strong that no competition of private capital can oppose it with any degree of encouragement.

On page 639 of the committee report shippers were charged on an average of 8 per cent and 9 per cent to European markets in 1910. These charges increased by multiples of 12 by 1912.

Mr. R. L. Cummings, distinguished in the affairs of the grange work generally and a leader of national repute, tabulates the ocean rate, per hundred pounds, to foreign markets, February 10, 1910, as follows: Apples, 34¾ cents; flour, 7 cents; hay, 11 cents; wheat, 5 cents; and cotton, 10 cents.

By September 1, 1912, these rates had increased as follows: Apples, 42 cents; flour, 20 cents; hay, 38 cents; wheat, 28 cents; and cotton, 45 cents.

In 1914 the average rate was 70 cents per hundred pounds. At the present time they range at from $25 to $35 per ton.

Senator DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, of Florida, as quoted in the February number of the Farmers' Open Forum, declares:

Through lack of merchant vessels to carry its cotton abroad the South suffered a loss of over $200,000,000 last year.

These are not overdrawn figures, and our Texas farmers and producers do not relish the facts that show them to be the victims of the sea-robber barons to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

If any class should be favored especially in marketing its produce, the farming people, on whose shoulders rest the living of mankind, should be privileged; but because, in the nature of

things, the practical agriculturist is to a larger degree than the trading, mercantile class isolated and away from the competitive centers, and therefore not in the arena of commercial struggle, he has always been the victim more or less of designing and unscrupulous schemers. In every conceivable way the sharpers of commerce have preyed upon the tiller of the soil.

If it were necessary, statistics galore could be cited to prove the incalculable monstrosity of the Shipping Trust, that should be treated as the common enemy of mankind. The Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives deserves a special vote of thanks for its thorough investigation and complete report. It must prove the means of opening the eyes of the citizens of the world as to the enormity of the criminal spirit that has fortified itself to resist the mercantile rights of legitimate commerce, and to make plain the absolute and positive necessity of a merchant marine backed by the power of the Government.

There is no other agency that can overthrow the soulless and vicious monopoly of ocean navigation, because no other can withstand its immense financial strength and the infinite venom of its marauding spirit and skill. Nothing but the Government can fathom and compass its defeat.

Mr. Chairman, for many years this proposed merchant marine for the benefit of our industries and the Nation has been ably discussed by our best and wisest statesmen. No phase of it has been overlooked or ignored. Our political actuaries have figured it from every angle and for every development and result, and they indorse it unequivocally as justified, practicable, and advisable.

There is an emphatic demand by the American people that the United States shall build its own fleet, ample and strong, to insure our rights and privileges in all the marts of the world, and to provide a navy to cope with that of any maritime power that sails the ocean to satisfy our national pride and to guarantee respect wherever our flag is unfurled.

Mr. Chairman, it is plainly evident that we are in the vortex of a world-wide commotion, and that we must move with the changes of time and tide. Our cherished old fashions have been ruthlessly swept away; the sacred treasures of the old homestead have gone at the command of these iconoclastic times. Convenience and luxury make up the only elixir of life worth while, and all sorts of fad and fancy, born of some fantastic "new-thought" doctrine, hold the key of immortality.

The activities of this new dispensation have borne us upon its resistless current into the billows of an astonishing tide of advancing civilization, and suddenly we realize that adjustments, to meet the innovations that prevail, are compulsory.

Everything responds to the march of events, and our republican Government under the stress of its Revolutionary trials, is bound to see that "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." And, Mr. Chairman, the natural inference leads us to see that "there is a tide in the affairs of" a nation, which if not "taken at the flood, leads on to" humiliation and decay.

The supreme moment, Mr. Chairman, comes to every individual—comes to every organization and institution. And when that crucial moment is on, the intelligence to direct the destiny to be determined invokes the wisdom and discretion due the difficulties of the occasion.

Our habit of thought and language is replete with line upon line and precept upon precept of common sense. The "circumstances that after cases" have often served to justify the determination of a mighty event. "There are exceptions to all rules" is the proverb of all time to solve the problems before the most conscientious thinker as he sits in judgment on the most momentous questions.

There is no law, Mr. Chairman, that we may not appropriately amend or enact to meet the crisis of alarm when the public safety is menaced and in danger. Martial law suspends the orderly social regulation when extraordinary conditions call for the arbitrary exercise of the Executive power. A declaration of war deliberately revokes the civil authority when the ordinary forces are incompetent to control the situation, offensive and defensive, between alien peoples and governments.

And so, Mr. Chairman, in the crisis at hand, and others to be, we must establish an adequate merchant marine to insure our domestic tranquillity, to the end that our mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural industries shall prosper. Or if the dreadful signal of war shall call us to the colors, to avoid the accusation of criminal neglect and to be able to defend ourselves, we must be ready to respond promptly for the transport duties of the Navy, with the auxiliary equipment, indispensable to the war-vessel fleet. And these ships should be amply provided and equipped by the enactment of the legislation to make sure our defensive condition, due to the safety of every person, family, community, and the Nation.

And, Mr. Chairman, there is no excuse for neglect or delay, for this richest country of the globe abounds in building material of every kind; its labor is equal to any demand and its resources of cheap fuel oil and all needed materials are inexhaustible. We are far more favored for a great shipbuilding enterprise than any country of the earth, and we can build and supply and man and navigate all the ships of whatever kind we may desire. So that, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, if you will adopt my amendment it will be the first step toward establishing the direct sale of our cotton to the consumer of raw cotton in foreign countries and the elimination of the middlemen and cotton speculators, who have heretofore grown rich upon the toils of the cotton farmer. Add to this the creation of an ample merchant fleet to carry our export cotton to the foreign markets and marts of the world at a reasonable freight rate, which under pending legislation will be regulated through the agency of the Government, we will have performed a service that will prove a blessing to the present and future generations, and the lasting gratitude of a greatful people will be bestowed upon us.

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## The Minimum-Wage Bill for Unclassified Government Employees.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWARD E. DENISON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 30, 1916.*

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Speaker, it is now estimated that the total appropriations of the present Congress for all purposes amount to about $1,650,000,000. We have appropriated about $267,596,530 for the Army and about $313,300,095 for the Navy, and about $25,750,000 for fortifications. We have appropriated $50,000,000 for the Government to go into the shipping business, $11,000,000 to invest in an armor-plate plant, and $20,000,000 for a nitrate plant. We have provided for the expenditure of $85,000,000 for the construction of public roads, $43,000,000 for the improvement of our rivers and harbors, and over $50,000,000 for the prevention of floods in the Mississippi and Sacramento Valleys. We have provided for the construction of several battleships, each of which will cost between $15,000,000 and $20,000,000. The aggregate of these appropriations, when considered in connection with the appropriations made by Congress in former years, becomes staggering. Yet a large part of these appropriations will be expended in preparations for national defense and in the development and conservation of natural resources of the country; the remainder will be expended in the payment of the usual running expenses of the different departments of the Government.

So this Congress has been quite liberal in making appropriations to meet what has been considered the popular demand for better preparation for the future defense of the country, for the future development of the country, and for the future conservation of our resources. We can now well afford to show some liberality in making provision for a needed reform that will improve the social welfare of those who do the work for the Government.

In preparing for our future defense and the future development of our natural and industrial resources we should not overlook the social welfare of any part of our people upon whom the Government must depend for its defense and its development along those lines. The success of every government in time of war, as well as its prosperity in time of peace, depends ultimately upon its laboring men and women. If proof of this fact were needed, the experience of the countries now engaged in the war in Europe would furnish it. I am sure all of use have been impressed with the remarkable results that have been accomplished in those countries by the organization and mobilization of the working men and women for the production and manufacturing of munitions and materials necessary for the prosecution of the war. We have been equally impressed with the measures that have been adopted by the different Governments there to improve the conditions and better reward the efforts of the men and women of these countries who are doing the work at home.

I have, therefore, been led to the reflection that while we are liberally spending money to increase the military and naval

defense of the Government, we should not overlook any legislation that may be needed to improve the conditions of life and the social welfare of our own laboring men and women, upon whom the defense of the country must in the end depend.

The Committee on Labor has already favorably reported to the House seven or eight bills which it is thought will result in legislation that will be beneficial to our working men and women. We have reported a bill for the establishment of a bureau of labor safety which has already received the approval of the House. We have reported the child-labor bill, which has passed the House and Senate. We have reported out a convict-labor bill, a bill for the establishment of a bureau of labor employment, a bill for the establishment of a women's bureau in the Department of Labor, and the minimum-wage bill for Government employees, which I wish to discuss briefly at this time, as well as several other bills of importance. And, Mr. Speaker, I think this bill to fix by law a minimum wage for employees of the Government should receive the cordial approval and support of every Member of the House.

The Committee on Labor heard evidence of representatives of some twelve or more different labor organizations and organizations of employees of the different departments of the Government, as well as the testimony of a number of people working in the departments, all of which is reported in a volume of about 450 pages; and after very careful consideration of the subject has reported the bill with several amendments. As amended the bill contains but two short sections. Its language is clear and easily understood, but its effects will be far-reaching. It provides that the minimum compensation of any person employed by the Government shall not be less than $3 per day; if employed by the hour, not less than 37½ cents per hour; if employed by the month, not less than $90 per month; or, if employed by the year, not less than $1,080 per year. Persons employed in the military branches of the Government, and those holding appointments as postmasters, are excepted from the provisions of the bill. And the provisions of the bill apply only to those who have been continuously in the employment of the Government not less than two years and who are 21 years of age.

On the 1st of July, 1915, there were 488,711 civil employees of the Government and the District of Columbia, including the Postal Service. Of these 42,064 were located in the District of Columbia and 446,647 were located outside of the District of Columbia.

Of this number there are about 200,000 employees in the different classes of service that will be benefited by the provisions of this bill. Of these 200,000 employeer about 30,000 reside in the District of Columbia and 170,000 in other parts of the country.

Of the 30,000 employees working in the District of Columbia something over 42 per cent, or 12,840, will receive increases in their wages; of the 170,000 working elsewhere something over 62 per cent, or 106,590 employees, will receive increases in their wages; these increases will be from $80 per year to $360 per year for each employee, depending in each case on the amount of wages the employee is now earning.

It has been estimated by representatives of the Department of Labor that the aggregate increase in wages which the Government will have to pay to its employees in the District of Columbia will be $3,812,000; and that the aggregate increase in wages to the employees in other parts of the country will be about $21,467,000. In other words, the total additional expense to the Government in wages, if this bill becomes a law, will be about $24,542,000 per year.

At first thought this may seem quite a large increase in the permanent expenses of the Government; but when we reflect that it will be distributed among 160,000 people, most of whom are supporting families, and from all of whom the Government expects efficient services, the amount does not seem very large, especially when we are becoming accustomed to appropriations of from one and one-half to two billion dollars for other purposes.

Mr. Speaker, I am impressed with the far-reaching importance of this bill. So far as I am advised, it is the first time that minimum-wage legislation has ever been favorably reported to Congress. It means the inauguration of new legislation affecting labor. No State has yet passed a law fixing minimum wages for men. California and possibly some other States have enacted such legislation for women and children; and I understand that the city of New York and some other cities have, by ordinance, passed minimum-wage laws for municipal employees. But this is the first time that legislation of this character has come before Congress.

Personally I would not approve minimum-wage legislation, or any other kind of legislation that would attempt to fix the wages which private employers should pay their employees. The amount of wages which private employers should pay their employees is so essentially a matter of private contract that the right of the parties to freely enter into it or alter it should not be interfered with by the Government. The fixing of wages is a question so vital to the welfare of the employer and employees that the right to fix them or change them by agreement of the parties should be preserved.

But the conditions which surround the relation of employer and employee in private life do not obtain between the Government and its employees. There is not that same freedom of action between the Government and its employees that exists between private parties. Men engaged in private employment have the right to organize for better cooperation and improvement of their conditions; they have the right to unite in a common purpose to obtain relief from grievances and demand increases in their wages, even to the extent of striking or quitting their employment in order to influence their employers into yielding to their demands. There is not the same freedom of organization among employees of the Government, and the right of such employees to strike or to otherwise use coercive measures in order to obtain an increase in wages is not generally recognized or approved. Most of us at least would not approve such methods in the Government service, and should not encourage them by failing to recognize and remedy conditions which in private employment might justify them.

Moreover, the right to increase the wages of Government employees does not ordinarily rest in the hands of the heads of the departments; it has even sometimes been expressly forbidden in appropriation bills. The tendency of the men higher up in the Government service to make good showings for themselves by the economical management of their departments has generally resulted in keeping stationary, and even sometimes decreasing, the wages paid to laborers under them. At least that seems to have been the case in many of the departments of the Government, and it has resulted in a condition which should be considered with shame by all of us.

These differences, therefore, between the conditions which surround private employment and Government employment are such that a difference in the method of fixing the wages is fully justified. I think the legislative problem involved in this essential difference is solved by the classification of service, with the right of promotion under civil-service regulations for those employees of the Government to whom such regulations can be applied, and a minimum-wage law for those employees who do not come within or who come below the classified service.

Now, the 170,000 or more employees to whom the provisions of this bill will apply do not come within the classified service. They have no organization, as a rule. They have no privilege of promotion. They are mere laborers, with no political influence. Often they have no one to speak for them or present their grievances to the Government, and timidity or the fear of losing their employment generally prevents them from making demands. These things are not true of all those employees who have civil-service positions; they have the right to earn promotions which will bring increases in their salaries; they sometimes have influence which helps them, as we all know. But the men lower down, the mere laborers, have no such advantages. And I think the time has come when Congress should consider the condition of these underpaid employees and do something for their relief. That is the purpose of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, human labor is no longer considered a mere commodity. We have reached the time when wages can not be determined by supply and demand alone. This should especially be true in fixing the wages for Government employees. A great Government like ours, with the high ideals and purposes which we profess, ought not to determine the wages of its employees alone by the mere supply of labor that may happen to be available. The cost of living must be taken into consideration in fixing the compensation for labor. Questions of social improvement and welfare are to-day receiving consideration as well as industrial efficiency and competition, and in this movement the Government should take the lead. The Government should be a model employer, and by its example influence private employers in the adoption of such policies as will better promote social welfare among their employees and encourage closer cooperation between employer and employee.

The fundamental rule, Mr. Speaker, that the Government should now observe with its employees is that it should pay living wages to its humblest employees as well as to others. None should be asked or expected to work for a great Government like this for less than it actually costs to live.

If this is true, then the cost of living must be taken into consideration in determining the question of wages. The Government expects efficiency of all its employees. It can not get the greatest efficiency of its employees if their wages are such

that they can not decently or respectably support themselves and their families from them. I do not think it is practical for Congress to enter into the details of this subject and determine by legislation what wages should be paid to the different classes of employees. But we do have some knowledge of the cost of living in the District of Columbia and other cities where the men are employed by the Government; and we can see that all employees are at least given living compensation for their labor by passing a minimum-wage law.

I approve this bill, therefore, because I think the Government should pay living wages to all its employees; I approve it because I think the Government should be a model employer. And I approve it because I do not know of any other way by which all of the underpaid employees of the Government who do not come within the classified service can get relief from conditions which are intolerable.

Mr. Speaker, the hearings reported in this case give us some interesting information. It was shown that 60 per cent of the Government employees in the District of Columbia work a regular day of eight hours for the Government and then go elsewhere and work at night or early in the mornings in order to get enough money to live on.

It was shown that many employees can not support their families from the wages they receive, and their wives are compelled to contribute to the family support by washing or other labor; that often employees with families are unable to have the services of a physician when there is a birth or other illness in their families, because their wages will not permit them to do so; that a great many employees living here in Washington are dependent upon the charity of others for clothing for their families.

There are here in the District of Columbia about 7,700 Government employees who receive less than $720 per year and about 2,700 others who receive less than $840 per year. And there are in the country outside of the District of Columbia something less than 31,000 employees of the Government who receive less than $720 per year and something less than 21,000 who receive less than $840 per year.

It was shown in the committee hearings that from actual investigations the cost of living in the District of Columbia for a man with a wife and three children is $767.95, allowing but 5 cents for each person per meal, and omitting entirely any expenditures for street cars, tobacco, stimulants, school books and school supplies, church expense or contributions, newspapers, theaters, excursions, moving pictures, insurance, lodge or union dues, postage and stationery, medicine, cost of sickness, births or deaths, and accidents. Thus it will be seen that omitting many of those things which are ordinarily looked upon as necessities the thousands of Government employees having families of not more than three, who receive but $720 per year or less, can not maintain their families decently, much less comfortably, on their wages. They are driven to other employment at odd hours or to charity for some of the necessaries of life.

It is true the reasons that are urged for this legislation would not apply so forcibly with reference to unmarried employees who have none but themselves to support. But no general legislation can apply with absolutely equal justice to all persons who, though employed in the same line of employment, have different responsibilities and necessarily live according to different standards. We can only legislate with a view to the conditions of the average employee, and it is thought that for this purpose a man with a family consisting of a wife and three children would be the average. The provision in the bill excluding all employees who have not worked for the Government two years and who are not 21 years of age will prevent the benefits of the bill from going to very many employees who do not in fact need them. There are, of course, many Government employees who have larger families than the average I have just given and there are many thousand employees who receive but $600 per year; there are some who receive even less than that. And it was shown that the cost of living in New York was higher than the District of Columbia, and that in Chicago and many of the western cities the cost of living was nearly, if not quite, as high as in the District of Columbia.

In fact, the evidence has clearly shown that there are many thousands of Government employees whose wages are not sufficient to enable them to provide the actual necessities of life for their families. They are not receiving living wages, and this condition has prevailed in the Government service for a long number of years.

I think it is true that in private employment there has been a gradual increase in wages all over the country. This increase has become necessary by reason of the increase in the cost of living. A representative from the Bureau of Labor Statistics has furnished tables to the committee showing the increase in the cost of meat, lard, flour, eggs, butter, potatoes, sugar, and other articles of food which are ordinarily used by workingmen or families of moderate means during the past 26 years in 45 different cities of the different States of the Union. I find upon examining these statistics that there has been a gradual rise in price of all these articles of food, and the increase in price has been in about the same proportion in all different parts of the country. Possibly it has been a little greater in New York and Washington than in other parts of the country. But the records kept by the Labor Department of the Government and tabulated by one of its representatives for the committee shows that the price of beef has about doubled between 1890 and 1915; that the price of smoked ham has doubled; that the price of lard has increased about 75 per cent; eggs, flour, and butter have increased about 75 per cent; and that the prices of other articles of food have increased from 50 to 100 per cent within that time. Where the increase in price has been less than that it has been an exception.

This increase in the cost of living has, generally speaking, resulted in the readjustment of wages paid to laboring men in private employment, where the employees could organize and through their organizations present their reasons for their demands for increased wages. Personally I do not believe this increase in wages in private employment has been fairly proportionate to the increase in the cost of living; but in several departments of the Government service there has been no increase at all in wages for the past 40 or 50 years. Many employees of the Government here in Washington and elsewhere are drawing the same wages that were paid for the same work in 1856.

These facts may seem incredible, yet evidence was submitted to the committee which seemed to show that they are true. Many employees have been working for 15 or 20 years without a raise in wages. It is difficult for me to understand how these people could continue working for the Government year after year for the same wages and adjust themselves to the increase in the cost of living. Some of them came before the committee and related the conditions under which they are compelled to live, and their stories are tragedies which, it seems to me, should appeal to the sympathy and better judgment of all who know them. I think Congress ought to take some action to relieve them from such conditions.

Reasons can easily be found why there has been no increase in the wages paid to these classes of Government employees. They have no one to speak for them. I am told that the public hearings given by the committee on this bill was the first opportunity ever given to these employees to be heard. Many of them were afraid to come before the committee and testify. Others gave evidence, but did not want their names disclosed for fear of losing their employment. Though their positions are humble ones, their services are necessary to the conduct of the Government; they have had no one to speak for them, and no one to whom they could make complaint and ask for relief. The Appropriations Committee can not legislate, and the departments have no doubt felt that they have not had authority to increase the wages of the laborers.

It is this class of underpaid Government employees, for whom no one has seemed to care, that this minimum-wage bill is intended to benefit; and I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that the help that is due them, and that has now been too long delayed, can be given them only by an act of Congress fixing by law a minimum wage for all such unclassified employees.

Witnesses from the Department of Labor and from other organizations in the District of Columbia and other parts of the country, as well as many individuals, have testified that a man with a dependent family in the District of Columbia and in other large cities where there are any considerable number of Government employees can not support his family in any kind of respectable comfort on less than $3 per day, and I believe this is true.

If this bill becomes a law, it will result not only in the payment of living wages to all of the Government employees who are now underpaid and neglected, but will in time result in a needed readjustment of the wages of other employees who are not affected by the provisions of the bill. Not only that, but it will eliminate an obnoxious system now practiced of paying different wages to different employees who perform exactly the same or similar services. These discriminations have existed for years and are purely arbitrary, and outrage every consideration of justice.

As an illustration, the watchmen at the Bureau of Printing and Engraving are paid at the rate of $60 per month. They have positions of great responsibility. They have to preserve order, guard the building, see that the employees are kept in their proper divisions and do not leave the same without proper cause; they have to keep the time the employees enter and

leave the building, keep the rooms in order, inspect the locks, guard the plates from which the money is printed, watch the electric stove, guard the stamps left in the examining division; they are held responsible for the money before it is numbered and sealed, attend to locking the hundreds of windows, and attend to the lights; they are required to inspect all packages entering and leaving the building, see that no one leaves the building without proper cause, and that no visitors are permitted except at proper hours. These are some responsibilities to assume for the sum of $60 per month or $720 per year. Yet the watchmen in the Federal service in Boston receive $850; those at the Library of Congress receive $900; those at the National Geological Park and in the Forest Service receive $840, while the Capital policemen right in the same buildings receive $1,050 per year.

I am told that there are similar discriminations among other classes of employees who perform similar services. There seems to be no standard rate of wages for men who perform the same class of work. This unfair discrimination will, I think, be eliminated largely if this bill becomes a law.

There is another class of employees in whose behalf I want to say just a word before closing. Substitute mail carriers and clerks are necessary. The Government has to have them in order to carry on its business. These men are required to take the same examinations as are the regular carriers and clerks, and they are induced to do so by the promise of early admission into regular service. But, more often than otherwise, they are compelled to continue as substitutes for five or six years, and during that time are only allowed $30 per month. The Government asks for the very best young men and young women for this service. They are led to enter it by the promise of regular service, where they will have better wages and an opportunity for advancement. Yet they are compelled to continue in this service often five or six years, unless they abandon it before that time in order to support their families or give it up in disgust and despair. I think substitute carriers and clerks should be paid a living wage by the Government, and if this bill becomes a law they will be among those who very greatly need and will receive the benefit of it.

Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of important legislation before this Congress. We have appropriated money in almost fabulous amounts to build dreadnaughts and prepare for defense, and for internal improvements. But I think we may well pause long enough to consider the condition and the needs of these long neglected employees of the Government, and provide for paying them wages from which they can live and properly support their families. I think the Government should be a model employer, and should act toward its employees as we would like to see the private employers act toward those working for them.

It will be said that there are a great many employees of the Government who do not earn the wages they are already receiving, and that this bill will but have the effect of putting a greater premium on inefficiency. I have no doubt there are a great many employees of the Government whose services are not really needed, and that if greater efficiency were required a less number of employees would be necessary. Possibly the enactment of this legislation will have the effect of stimulating the heads of the departments to require greater efficiency and to drop from the pay rolls many of those whose services are not really needed. If it will accomplish this, we will be justified in passing the law. I believe that it will not only accomplish that result, but that it will give relief where relief is much needed, and will, moreover, have a salutary effect in the adjustment of wages paid in private employment throughout the country, and I hope this bill will become a law.

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**Memorial to John Ericsson.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. GUY T. HELVERING,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 1, 1916.*

Mr. HELVERING. Mr. Speaker, I desire to take this opportunity to express my hearty approval of the bill to erect a suitable memorial in honor of one of our most distinguished citizens, Capt. John Ericsson, a man who made himself famous during a critical period of the Civil War by constructing the first ironclad vessel, the *Monitor*.

There is not a schoolboy in this country who has not read of the wonderful inventions of John Ericsson and the battle of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* at Hampton Roads.

We have erected memorials to the memory of many of our great men, men who have contributed largely to the unparalleled history of America, and if we hope to serve as an inspiration for men in the future to offer their lives, their genius, and their service in order to do great things for their country, it is but fitting that we, at this particular time, honor the exalted memory and the race of Capt. John Ericsson. We can do this by erecting a monument that will measure up with the result of his service rendered, not in the light of 1861, but in the light of to-day. Can we afford to disregard our debt of gratitude to this great inventive genius? I would especially urge the erection of a monument to John Ericsson because of his loyalty, love, and esteem for the land of his adoption.

In this critical and epoch-making period of human history, with its utter disregard of the rights of neutrals or international law, we find this Republic of ours, standing united as a towering giant, upholding law, justice, and liberty to all, and for this reason I hope all of us will see fit to lend our united support in having a memorial erected to a man who, although a young man when he first landed in America, wrote to Lincoln during the crisis of the Civil War, "Not only do I offer the invention of a vessel which I believe will successfully cope with the *Merrimac*, but I am willing to offer my life as well." Ericsson will ever stand out as one who, though he cherished his mother country, became a public-spirited, enthusiastic citizen of the United States.

Those of our citizens who can boast of Sweden as their native land have proved themselves to be liberty-loving, peaceful, law-abiding, and progressive people and who readily adapt themselves to American customs and traditions. But, Mr. Speaker, I care not whether a man be born in the land of the midnight sun, on the Rhine, in sunny Italy, or the Emerald Isle, if he has become inspired by American customs and traditions and has sworn allegiance to the American flag he is entitled to the full benefits and mutual interests which blend us as a united people.

It may be said of John Ericsson that he was a man whose unrivaled success in the engineering world was due mainly to intense and persevering study, whose habits of sobriety and industry were formed in boyhood, and his life and achievements stand out as an inspiration to every young man.

I shall now call your attention for a few moments to the early life and career of the patriot whose memory we hope to exalt by the erection of a monument in our beautiful Capital.

Take a journey over the sea to the southern part of Sweden and you land in the romantic Province of Vermeland, with its rugged mountains and deep, dark caverns. In that little Province, before the railroad was built or a steamer plowed over the ocean, lived an honest God-fearing man named Ericsson engaged in mining. It was there amid beautiful mountain scenery that John Ericsson, of the *Monitor* fame, was born. Providence had given him a remarkable intellect and a future prominent place in the world's progress and a nation's deliverance from threatened ruin. While other children were playing with common toys he was watching the machinery of the mines and with pencil or penknife was marking or cutting his little copies of what he had seen. It is wonderful to note how the young student of large and small revolving wheels, engine strokes, and levers advanced in his career. At the age of 9 he was the builder of a mill finished in every detail.

When but a young boy his marvelous attainments had reached the ears of the great men of Sweden. Count Platten, the greatest engineer of his day and the builder of the Gothenburg Canal, sought an interview with the boy, examined his drawings and the tools he had made, and told him that if he continued as he had commenced he would some day produce something extraordinary. It was through the friendship and influence of Count Platten that young Ericsson was appointed a cadet in the corps of engineers; that is to say, he became attached to the engineering corps as a pupil to prepare for active public service. When in his thirteenth year he was ordered to lay out work on the national highway for 600 men. At the suggestion of Capt. Stockton, a capitalist, Ericsson decided to try his luck in the land of opportunity—America—and in 1839, at the age of 36, he landed in New York City. He worked with Capt. Stockton for many years and finally, in 1842, constructed a steamship of war for the American Navy. At that time we had no steam vessels in the Navy.

England had spent immense sums in trying to use the paddle wheels, but with no permanent success for the fiery work of battle. After two years of careful experimentation, Ericsson, with the help of Capt. Stockton, perfected the *Princeton*, the

first American war steamer, which awakened the greatest enthusiasm wherever it was sighted. A few years of comparative quiet in Capt. Ericsson's life followed the grand triumph of the *Princeton*. America to Ericsson became a land of enchantment, for success crowned his every effort; he became patriotically devoted to the land of his adoption, whose broad-minded, farsighted men and liberal Government gave him opportunity and assistance for his inventive genius. Shortly before the Civil War he planned and built the *Monitor* and offered it to Napoleon III, who rejected it. As the Civil War drew on and the North in particular felt its lack of adequate preparedness Ericsson was busy perfecting his ironclad vessel, the *Monitor*, which must be impregnable to shot and shell.

Most of us know as a matter of history that the capital of the Confederate States and that of the North were in close proximity and caused the inhabitants of each city to tremble in fear lest they should be attacked or their city bombarded. The *Virginia*, a reconstructed vessel, had been playing havoc with all the Union vessels at the mouth of the Potomac River and in Hampton Roads. For a time little hope was held out for the Capital. But at the very critical moment John Ericsson constructed the *Monitor*, offered it to President Lincoln, sent the vessel forth without any trial to ward off any of the enemy's ships at Hampton Roads, and successfully engaged the Southern vessel, the *Merrimac*. A new power and a new method of naval construction had arisen to check the breaking of the blockade; to check the invasion of the northern ports, and, in other words, helped save the Union. Mr. Speaker, we have not only Ericsson's *Monitor* as a contribution to the science of war, but every propeller that turns in the waters of America owes its origin to the boy of Vermeland, Sweden.

John Ericsson, after the Civil War, contributed much to the cause of science and engineering and enjoyed the distinction of being honored by many European countries in recognition of his valuable inventions. On the 8th day of March, 1889, he finished his interesting, useful career at the age of 86 years. Upon request of the Swedish Government his remains were taken to the land of his birth, and to-day we find a beautiful chapel erected over his last resting place at Filipstadt, in Vermland, and to this place we make pilgrimage whenever we visit Sweden; although his lifework was done in and for America, not for Sweden, yet you will find a beautiful statute in Stockholm telling of the great reverence his people have for the genius who did so much for the United States, the country of his adoption. Let this Republic recognize the lasting achievements of the greatest engineer of his day, who gave the best there was in him to this great, beloved country. By erecting this monument there will be established an incentive for others. Let us give recognition to those who have contributed a large share to the upbuilding of civilization and who have made it possible for us to enjoy the blessings and liberty of a rich, prosperous, and liberal nation.

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**Address of President Wilson at Columbus, Ohio, Before the Federal Council of Churches, December 10, 1915.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. CLEMENT BRUMBAUGH,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 30, 1916.*

Mr. BRUMBAUGH. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an address of President Wilson at Columbus, Ohio, before the Federal Council of Churches on December 10, 1915.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WILSON AT COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I feel an unaffected diffidence in coming into this conference without having participated in its deliberations. I wish that I might have been here to learn the many things that I am sure have been learned by those who have attended these conferences. I feel confident that nothing that I say about the rural church will be new to you. I am here simply because I wished to show my profound interest in the subject which you have been considering and not because I thought I had anything original to contribute to your thought.

I think that as we have witnessed the processes of our civilization in recent years we have more and more realized how our cities were tending to draw the vitality from the countryside, how much less our life centered upon country districts and how much more upon crowded cities. There was a time when America was characteristically rural, when practically all her strength was drawn from quiet countrysides, where life ran upon established lines and where men and women and children were familiar with each other in a long-established neighborliness; but our rural districts are not now just what they used to be and have partaken in recent years of something of the fluidity that has characterized our general life. So that we have again and again been called upon from one point of view or another to study the revitalization of the countryside. There was a time, no longer ago than the youth of my own father, for example, when pastors found some of their most vital work in the country churches. I remember my dear father used to ride from church to church in a thickly populated country region and minister to several churches with a sense of ministering to the most vital interests of the part of the country in which he lived.

After all, the most vitalizing thing in the world is Christianity. The world has advanced, advanced in what we regard as real civilization, not by material but by spiritual means, and one nation is distinguished from another nation by its ideals, not by its possessions; by what it believes in, by what it lives by, by what it intends, by the visions which its young men dream and the achievements which its mature men attempt. So that each nation when it writes its poetry or writes its memoirs, exalts the character of its people and of those who spring from the loins of its people.

There is an old antithesis upon which I do not care to dwell, because there is not a great deal to be got from dwelling on it, between life and doctrine. Here is no real antithesis. A man lives as he believes he ought to live or as he believes that it is to his advantage to live. He lives upon a doctrine, upon a principle, upon an idea—sometimes a very low principle, sometimes a very exalted principle. I used to be told when I was a youth that some of the old casuists reduced all sin to egotism, and I have thought as I watched the career of some individuals that the analysis had some vital point to it. An egotist is a man who has got the whole perspective of life wrong. He conceives of himself as the center of affairs. He conceives of himself as the center of affairs even as affects the providence of God. He has not related himself to the great forces which dominate him with the rest of us, and therefore has set up a little kingdom all his own in which he reigns with unhonored sovereignty. So there are some men who set up the principle of individual advantage as the principle, the doctrine, of their life, and live by that, and live generally a life that leads to all sorts of shipwreck. Whatever our doctrine be, our life is conformed to it.

But what I want to speak of is not the contrast between doctrine and life, but the translation of doctrine into life. After all, Christianity is not important to us because it is a valid body of conceptions regarding God and man, but because it is a vital body of conceptions which can be translated into life for us, life in this world and a life still greater in the next. Except as Christianity changes and inspires life, it has failed of its mission. That is what Christ came into the world for, to save our spirits, and you can not have your spirit altered without having your life altered.

When I think of the rural church, therefore, I wonder how far the rural church is vitalizing the lives of the communities in which it exists. We have had a great deal to say recently, and it has been very profitably said, about the school as a social center, by which is meant the schoolhouse as a social center; about making the house which in the daytime is used for the children a place which their parents may use in the evenings and at other disengaged times for the meetings of the community, where they will be privileged to come together and talk about anything that is of community interest and talk about it with the utmost freedom. Some people have been opposed to it because there are some things that they do not want talked about. Some boards of education have been opposed to it because they realized that it might not be well for the board of education to be talked about. Talk is a very dangerous thing, community comparisons of views are a very dangerous thing, to the men who are doing wrong, but I, for my part, believe in making the schoolhouse the social center, the place that the community can use for any kind of coordinating that it wants to do in its life. But I believe that where the school is inadequate, and even where it is adequate, the most vital social center should be the church itself, and that not by way of organizing the church for social service—that is not my topic to-night; that is another topic—but of making the community realize that that congregation, and particularly that pastor, is interested in everything that is important for that community, and

that the members of that church are ready to cooperate and the pastor ready to lend his time and his energy to the kind of organization which is necessary outside the church, as well as within it, for the benefit of the community.

It seems to me that the country pastor has an unparalleled opportunity to be a country leader, to make everybody realize that he, as the representative of Christ, believes himself related to everything human, to everything human that has as its object the uplift and instruction and inspiration of the community or the betterment of any of its conditions; and that if any pastor will make it felt throughout the community that that is his spirit, that his interest, and that he is ready to draw his elders or his deacons or his vestrymen along with him as active agents in the betterment of the community, the church will begin to have a dominating influence in the community such as it has lost for the time being and we must find it means to regain.

For example, in a farming community one of the things that the Department of Agriculture at Washington is trying to do is to show the farmers of the country the easiest and best methods of cooperation with regard to marketing their crops—helping in their effort to learn how to handle their crops in a cooperative fashion so that they can get the best service from the railroads; to learn how to find the prevailing market prices in the accessible market so as to know where it will be best and most profitable to send their farm products; and to draw them together into cooperative association with these objects in view. The church ought to lend its hand in that. The pastor ought to say, "If you want somebody to look after this for you, I will give part of my time and I will find other men in my congregation who will help you in the work and help you without charging you anything for it. We want you to realize that this church is interested in the lives of the people of this community and that it will lend itself to any legitimate project that advances the life and interest of this community."

Let the rural church find that road and then discover, as it will discover, that men begin to swing their thoughts to those deeper meanings of the church in which we wish to draw their attention; that this is a spiritual brotherhood; that the pastor and his associates are interested in them because they are interested in the souls of men and the prosperity of men as it lies deep in their hearts. There are a great many ways by which leadership can be exercised. The church has too much depended upon individual example. "So let your light shine before men" has been interpreted to mean, "Put your individual self on a candlestick and shine." Now, the trouble is that some people can not find a candlestick, but the greater trouble is that they are very poor candles and the light is very dim. It does not dispel much of the darkness for me individually to sit on top of a candlestick, but if I can lend such little contribution of spiritual force as I have to my neighbor and to my comrade and to my friend, and we can draw a circle of friends together and unite our spiritual forces, then we have something more than example: we have cooperation.

Cooperation, ladies and gentlemen, is the vital principle of social life; not organization merely. I think I know something about organization. I can make an organization, but it is one thing to have an organization and another thing to fill it with life. And then it is a very important matter what sort of life you fill it with. If the object of the organization is what the object of some business organizations is and the object of many political organizations is, to absorb the life of the community and run the community for its own benefit, then there is nothing beneficial in it. But if the object of the organization is to afford a mechanism by which the whole community can cooperatively use its life, then there is a great deal in it. An organization without the spirit of cooperation is dead and may be dangerous. The vital principle is cooperation, and organization is secondary. I have been a member of one or two churches that were admirably organized and they were accomplishing nothing. You know some people dearly love organization. They dearly love to sit in a chair and preside. They pride themselves upon their knowledge of parliamentary practice. They love to concoct and write minutes. They love to appoint committees. They boast of the number of committees that their organization has and they like the power and the social influence of distributing their friends among the committees, and then when the committees are formed there is nothing to commit to them.

This is a Nation which loves to go through the motions of public meeting whether there is anything particularly important to consider or not. It is an interesting thing to me how the American is born knowing how to conduct a public meeting. I remember that when I was a lad I belonged to an organization which at that time seemed to me very important, which was known as the Lightfoot Baseball Club. Our clubroom was a corner, an unoccupied corner, of the loft of my father's barn, the part that the hay had not encroached upon, and I distinctly remember how we used to conduct orderly meetings of the club in that corner of the loft. I had never seen a public meeting and I do not believe any of the other lads with whom I was associated had ever seen a public meeting, but we somehow knew how to conduct one. We knew how to make motions and second them; we knew that a motion could not have more than two amendments offered at the same time; and we knew the order in which the amendments had to be put, the second amendment before the first. How we knew it I do not know. We were born that way, I suppose. But nothing very important happened at those meetings, and I have been present at some church organization meetings at which nothing more important happened than happened with the Lightfoot Baseball Club. I remember distinctly that my delight and interest was in the meetings, not in what they were for; just the sense of belonging to an organization and doing something with the organization, it did not very much matter what. Some churches are organized that way. They are exceedingly active about nothing. Now, why not lend that organizing instinct, that acting instinct, to the real things that are happening in the community, whether they have anything to do with the church or not?

We look back to the time of the early settlements in this country and remember that in old New England the church and the school were the two sources of the life of the community. Everything centered in them. Everything emanated from them. The school fed the church and the church ran the community. It sometimes did not run it very liberally, and I for my part would not wish to see any church run any community, but I do wish to see every church assist the community in which it is established to run itself, to show that the spirit of Christianity is the spirit of assistance, of counsel, of vitalization, of intense interest in everything that affects the lives of men and women and children. So that I am hoping that the outcome of these conferences, of all that we say and do about this very important matter, may be to remind the church that it is put into this world not only to serve the individual soul but to serve society also. And it has got to go to work on society with a greater sense of the exigency of the thing than in the case of the individual, because you have got to save society in this world, not in the next. I hope that our society is not going to exist in the next. It needs amendment in several particulars, I venture to say, and I hope that the society in the next world will be amended in those particulars—I will not mention them. But we have nothing to do with society in the next world. We may have something to do with the individual soul in the next world by getting it started straight for the next world, but we have got nothing to do with the organization of society in the next world. We have got to save society, so far as it is saved by the instrumentality of Christianity, in this world. It is a job, therefore, that you have got to undertake immediately and work at all the time, and it is the business of the church.

Legislation can not save society. Legislation can not even rectify society. The law that will work is merely the summing up in legislative form of the moral judgment that the community has already reached. Law records how far society has got, and there have got to be instrumentalities preceding the law that get society up to that point where it will be ready to record. Try the experiment. Enact a law that is the moral judgment of a very small minority of the community, and it will not work. Most people will not understand it, and if they do understand they will resent it, and whether they understand it and resent it or not they will not obey it. Law is a record of achievement. It is not a process of regeneration. Our wills have to be regenerated, and our purposes rectified before we are in a position to enact laws that record those moral achievements. And that is the business, primarily, it seems to me, of the Christian.

There are a great many arguments about Christianity. There are a great many things which we spiritually assert which we can not prove in the ordinary, scientific sense of the word "prove"; but there are some things which we can show. The proof of Christianity is written in the biography of the saints, and by the saints I do not mean the technical saints, those whom the church or the world has picked out to label "saints," for they are not very numerous, but the people whose lives, whose individual lives, have been transformed by Christianity. It is the only force in the world that I have ever heard of that does actually transform the life, and the proof of that transformation is to be found all over the Christian world and is multiplied and repeated as Christianity gains fresh territory in the heathen world. Men begin suddenly to erect great spiritual standards over the little personal standards which they thereto-

fore professed and will walk smiling to the stake in order that their souls may be true to themselves. There is nothing else that does that. There is something that is analogous to it, and that is patriotism. Men will go into the fire of battle and freely give their lives for something greater than themselves, their duty to their country; and there is a pretty fine analogy between patriotism and Christianity. It is the devotion of the spirit to something greater and nobler than itself. These are the transforming influences. All the transforming influences in the world are unselfish. There is not a single selfish force in the world that is not touched with sinister power, and the church is the only embodiment of the things that are entirely unselfish, the principles of self-sacrifice and devotion. Surely this is the instrumentality by which rural communities may be transformed and led to the things that are great; and surely there is nothing in the rural community in which the rural church ought not to be the leader and of which it ought not to be the vital actual center.

That is the simple message that I came to utter to-night, and, as I began by saying, I dare say it is no message; I dare say it has been repeatedly said in this conference; I merely wanted to add my testimony to the validity and power of that conception. Because, ladies and gentlemen, we are in the world to do something more than look after ourselves.

The reason that I am proud to be an American is because America was given birth to by such conceptions as these; that its object in the world, its only reason for existence as a Government, was to show men the paths of liberty and of mutual serviceability, to lift the common man out of the paths, out of the sloughs of discouragement and even despair; set his feet upon firm ground; tell him, "Here is the high road upon which you are as much entitled to walk as we are, and we will see that there is a free field and no favor, and that as your moral qualities are and your physical powers so will your success be. We will not let any man make you afraid, and we will not let any man do you an injustice."

Those are the ideals of America. We have not always lived up to them. No community has always lived up to them, but we are dignified by the fact that those are the things we live for and sail by; America is great in the world, not as she is a successful Government merely, but as she is the successful embodiment of a great ideal of unselfish citizenship. That is what makes the world feel America draw it like a lodestone. That is the reason why the ships that cross the sea have so many hopeful eyes lifted from their humbler quarters toward the shores of the new world. That is the reason why men, after they have been for a little while in America and go back for a visit to the old country, have a new light in their faces—the light that has kindled there in the country where they have seen some of their objects fulfilled. That is the light that shines from America. God grant that it may always shine and that in many a humble hearth, in quiet country churches, the flames may be lighted by which this great light is kept alive.

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**What Wilson Thought on Various Subjects.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 30, 1916.*

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following:

(A) WHAT WILSON THOUGHT OF LABOR.

I. On the 13th day of June, 1909, in an address to the graduating class of Princeton College, Dr. Woodrow Wilson expressed his remarkable views on labor in the following words, which are taken from the Trenton (N. J.) True American of the succeeding day:

You know what the usual standard of the employee is in our day. It is to give as little as he may for his wages. Labor is standardized by the trades-unions, and this is the standard to which it is made to conform. No one is suffered to do more than the average workman can do; in some trades and handicrafts no one is suffered to do more than the least skillful of his fellows can do within the hours allotted to a day's labor, and no one may work out of hours at all, or volunteer anything beyond the minimum. I need not point out how economically disastrous such a regulation of labor is. It is so unprofitable to the employer that in some trades it will presently not be worth while to attempt anything at all. He had better stop altogether than operate at an inevitable and invariable loss.

II. The following is an extract from the New York American, Wednesday, March 13, 1912:

Woodrow Wilson, at a dinner in the Waldorf Hotel given March 18, 1907: "We speak too exclusively of the capitalistic class. There is another, as formidable an enemy to equality and freedom of opportunity as it is, and that is the class formed by the labor organizations and leaders of the country—the class representing only a small minority of the laboring men of the country, quite as monopolistic in spirit as the capitalist and quite as apt to corrupt and ruin our industries by their monopoly."

Woodrow Wilson in an address at the People's Forum, New Rochelle, N. Y., February 25, 1905: "The objections I have to labor unions is that they drag the highest man to the level of the lowest. I must demur with the labor unions when they say 'you must award the dull the same as you award those with special gifts.'"

III. The following are extracts from Volume V, pages 212 and 213 of Woodrow Wilson's History of the American People:

Now, there came multitudes of men of the lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland, men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence; and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population. The people of the Pacific coast had clamored these many years against the admission of immigrants out of China, and in May, 1892, got at last what they wanted—a Federal statute which practically excluded from the United States all Chinese who had not already acquired the right of residence; and yet the Chinese were more to be desired, as workmen if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports.

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They (the Chinese) had no doubt many an unsavory habit, bred unwholesome squalor in the crowded quarters where they most abounded in the western seaports, and seemed separated by their very nature from the people among whom they had come to live; but it was their skill, their intelligence, their hardy power of labor, their knack at succeeding and driving duller rivals out, rather than their alien habits, that made them feared and hated and led to their exclusion at the prayer of the men they were likely to displace should they multiply. The unlikely fellows who came in at the eastern ports were tolerated because they usurped no place but the very lowest in the scale of labor.

(B) WHAT WILSON THOUGHT OF THE RAILROADS AND OF BRYAN.

In April, 1907, Adrian H. Joline, president of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co., at Parsons, Kans., made a speech to his board of directors in which, among other things, he said:

But I venture to utter what is perhaps a feeble protest against the blind and foolish outcry against all railways. You and I know who are responsible for this socialistic, populistic, antiproperty crusade. It is the cry of the envious against the well to do—the old story. It is not new to this generation, only it is louder and more bitter than ever before in this country.

Mr. Joline sent a copy of this address to Dr. Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton College, who answered it as follows:

MY DEAR MR. JOLINE: Thank you very much for sending me your address at Parsons, Kans., before the board of directors of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co. I have read it with relish and entire agreement. Would that we could do something, at once dignified and effective, to knock Mr. Bryan once for all into a cocked hat.

(C) WHAT WILSON THOUGHT OF VARIOUS MATTERS.

Here is a letter from Hon. George Fred Williams, of Massachusetts, to Senator R. F. Pettigrew, of South Daktota:

BOSTON, MASS., *December 15, 1911.*

Senator R. F. PETTIGREW,
*Sioux Falls, S. Dak.*

DEAR SENATOR: Since we visited Gov. Wilson last summer, and carried away such pleasant impressions of his personality and conversation, I have had hopes that he might be the solution of our presidential problem.

This week I have been shocked at the reading of the fifth volume of his History of the American People, published in 1902.

It is toryism of the blackest type; it is not a history of the American people, but a history of Woodrow Wilson's admiration for everything which the radical democracy now seeks to change and a series of sneers and insults to every class of men who have sought to alleviate the injustice of capitalism. I think Senator Aldrich would have written with more charity and less bitterness. The worst is that there is no note of sympathy for any suffering and protesting class, but he seems to search for phrases to show his contempt for them. Read the volume and judge whether I exaggerate in this statement.

One thing is clear: The contents of this volume should be fully known and considered now and not developed in the headlines of the Republican press after a nomination based upon ignorance of a man's own history of himself.

The radicals of the country may overlook the past utterances, but they should be fully informed of them. Gov. Wilson has undoubtedly changed materially his old points of view, but this book proves that a revolutionary change of heart is also necessary.

I array the quotations according to the classes of men he treats and cite the pages.

First. The laboring classes.

He discovers during the first Cleveland administration that the air was filled with anarchy and "cities filling up with foreigners of the sort the Know-Nothings had feared 'who' came to speak treasons" (p. 186). "The air of the industrial regions—thickened with vapors of unwholesome opinion."

The Haymarket riot of 1886 proved "the strength and audacity of the anarchist leaders 'and' a concerted plan to practice defiance of law" (p. 187). "Men of American training began to take the taint of anarchistic sentiment." The Knights of Labor "were touched with it," "and in proportion as it became anarchistic the great order suffered disintegration and decay" (p. 187).

He describes the march of Coxey's army with sneers; how the villagers fed them "lest they should linger or grow ugly in temper." "Good natured sympathizers and men who wished to see the comedy played out subscribed funds for their most urgent needs; the painful farce was soon over" (p. 236).

"Other armies gathered in more sullen mood," bituminous coal miners and railway employees struck. "It began to seem as if there were no law and order in the land. Yet the President (Cleveland) moved in all matters with a vigor and initiative which made the years memorable" (p. 238).

He speaks of the "firmness and decision" of Cleveland in his use of the United States Army during the Pullman strike without any application from the State authorities or the courts. He states that the governor of Illinois had "not even called out the militia of the State to maintain order and protect property * * * and sympathized indeed with the strikers and resented interference" (p. 262).

[NOTE: This untrue statement shows that Mr. Wilson in writing such so-called history did not even take the pains to ascertain facts.]

Later he notes "the difficulties which Mr. Cleveland had been obliged to settle by the use of Federal troops" (p. 269).

He speaks of the railroad men and miners in 1877 as not only "idle but bent upon mischief" (p. 142); expresses his satisfaction with the violent methods used to suppress them by saying: "But they (the outbreaks) were at least gross, tangible, susceptible of being handled by counterforce and sheer authority" (p. 142).

He touches upon government by injunction by referring to the use of the boycott as a system of terrorizing those who would not yield to their demands and then says: "The courts were forced to execute, sometimes very harshly, the law against conspiracy, fitting formulas, originated in an age gone by," to new circumstances (p. 168).

I find in this history no mention of the Carnegie Homestead strike and carnage.

Speaking of industrial monopolies: "No wonder thoughtful men, as well as mere labor agitators, grew uneasy," etc. (p. 266).

Second. Immigration (in the nineties).

"Now there came multitudes of men of the lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population" (p. 212).

He thinks the Chinese which were excluded by law "were more to be desired as workmen, if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year." He claims that despite the unsavory habits of these Chinese, "it was their skill, their intelligence, their knack at succeeding and driving duller rivals out rather than their alien habits that made them feared and hated and led to their exclusion at the prayer of the men they would likely displace should they multiply. The unlikely fellows who came in at the eastern ports were tolerated because they usurped no place but the very lowest in the scale of labor" (p. 213).

History does not seem to require that the negro should be described as "the incubus of that ignorant and hostile vote" in the South (p. 136).

Of most important party significance is Mr. Wilson's attitude toward the humbler class of party workers who seek office. Of the period of 1880 he says: "The brazen, indecent clamor of the meaner sort of partisan for preferment seemed of a sudden to work with fatal violence upon affairs" (p. 156).

Third. Farmers' Alliance, Populists, Farmers.

He says of the Farmers' Alliance proposals: "These were vague purposes, and the means of reform proposed showed the thinking of crude and ignorant minds" (p. 127).

The farmers of the South after the war he describes as "men new in politics as new in political thinking and constructive purpose, as much bound within the narrow limits of their own experience as the men of the western farms. Anyone who noted how the tenets of the Farmers' Alliance and the new and radical heresies with regard to money took root there could see how the South had in fact become itself a new region" (p. 203).

"The country's knowledge of his (Cleveland's) conviction in that critical manner—silver coinage, 1892—had probably saved his party the discrediting suspicion which the fusion of Democrats with Populists upon the Pacific coast might have brought upon it. The country has never needed a man of his fiber more" (p. 220).

"The People's Party, which the newspapers of the country (1892) promptly dubbed 'Populist,' had put forth a platform which demanded that the Federal Government should itself acquire the ownership of all railways, telegraphs, and telephones," the free coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, and "all lands held by aliens, or by corporations in excess of their needs, reclaimed—a radical program, which jumped with the humor of hundreds of thousands of workingmen and farmers the country over" (p. 216).

"He (Cleveland in 1892) led a party in which silver advocates abounded, men who lived remote from the seats of trade and knew nothing of its law" (p. 224).

Fourth. Grover Cleveland.

Mr. Wilson treats him throughout as a somewhat God-like person and finds nothing to criticize in his entire political course. Mr. Cleveland is described as "compact of frankness, conviction, and force; no mere partisan, but a man of the people with the spirit of service strong upon him" (p. 194). The Democrats (1884) won because they nominated "an instrument of integrity and sensible rectification in public affairs" (p 170). "Courage, directness, good sense, public spirit" made him a man whom all the country marked" (p. 192).

"Mr. Cleveland was a man of the sort they (the Mugwumps of 1884) most desired, not touched with the older sophistication of politics, his face set forward, his gifts the gifts of right action" (p. 176). "His quality was as unmistakable as Gen. Jackson's, and yet he had none of Gen. Jackson's blind impetuosity or mere willfulness" (p. 180).

On pensions he says:

"Both Democratic House and Republican Senate (in 1885) were inclined to grant any man or class of men who had served in the Federal armies during the Civil War the right to be supported out of the National Treasury, and Mr. Cleveland set himself very resolutely to check their extravagance" (p. 180).

Fifth. The campaign of 1896.

Men "were easily persuaded that money would be more plentiful for the individual as for the Nation if scarce gold were abandoned as the exclusive standard of value and abundant silver substituted, so that there should be metal currency enough for all; and they were easily beguiled to dream what a blessed age should come when the thing should have been done. They were not studious of the laws of value" (p. 255).

"The Republicans had their chief strength in the Central and Eastern States of the Union, where trade and manufacture moved strongest and men were most apt to understand the wide foundations of their business; the Democrats drew their support, rather, from the South and West, where disturbing changes of opinion had long been in progress and where radical programs of relief were most apt to be looked upon with favor" (p. 256).

The platform of 1896, he says, "uttered radical doctrines of reform which sounded like sentences taken from the platforms of the People's Party" (p. 258).

Of the campaign of 1896, "The battle was to be won by argument, not by ridicule of terror or mere stubbornness of vested interests. It was won by argument" (p. 262).

(NOTE.—This was Mark Hanna's campaign of "argument.")

Sixth. Greenbacks and silver.

"Money (after the war) was more easy to get, the paper money of the Treasury, and could be used at its face value as well as gold itself to pay the mortgages off which the older time of stress had piled up. The 'greenbacks' of the Government became for the agricultural regions of the North and West a symbol of prosperity" (p. 143).

"Thoughtful public men saw, nevertheless, that the business interests of the country rendered it imperative that specie payments should be resumed by the Government, the redundant currency of the country contracted, and money transactions put once more upon foundations that would hold fast" (p. 144).

He then speaks approvingly of the demonetization of the silver dollar in 1873 and the act of 1875 for the resumption of specie payments by the country, and says:

"The real functions of money, the real laws of its value, the real standards of its serviceability, the real relations to trade and to industry have always been hidden from the minds of men, whose thought in such matters has not been trained in the actual experiences of the open markets of the world, in actual exchange, or in the actual direction of the financial operations of government" (p. 145).

Of the South in 1890 he says, "Errors of opinion began to prevail there, as in the new regions of the West ———; hopes that the credit of the Government itself might in some manner be placed at the disposal of the farmers in the handling and marketing of their crops, demands for a 'cheap' currency, of paper or of silver, which should be easier to get and easier to pay debts with than the gold which lay secure in the vaults of the banks and of the Federal Treasury. The communities from which such demands came lay remote from the centers of trade, where men could see in the transactions of every day what real laws of credit, of value, and of exchange must always be, whether legislatures would have them so or not" (p. 203).

Mr. Wilson questions the decision validating the legal-tender notes and says that from the immense issues of war times legislators "got a novel and misleading sense of power in the creation of values." He condemns the Sherman Act because "the law of supply and demand governed the value of the metal, as of all other things bought and sold, and the statutes of no single government could set the efficiency of that law aside." "Mr. Sherman and his colleagues were playing to the galleries" (pp. 205–208).

Of the financial situation in 1892, under the Sherman Act, "So soon as the Government ceased paying in gold, the artificial parity between gold and silver which the laws sought to maintain would be destroyed; every piece of property in the country, tangible and intangible, would lose half its value and credit would collapse" (p. 222).

"The real force of the sentiment came from the uneasy economic conditions of the country, '———' prices had fallen; money was not easy to get as it had happened to be when abundant issues of paper came pouring every month from the Government's Treasury."

"If the bankers set themselves against every proposition to provide an irredeemable paper currency again or even a fresh coinage of silver there was the more reason to believe that paper or silver was only real 'people's' money. The sentiment grew; reason had not established it and reason could not check or dislodge it" (p. 146).

I end the quotations with one which discloses Mr. Wilson's fundamental conception of money. Study this if you study no other; it is fearful and wonderful:

"The coincidence of high prices and eager markets with floods of paper, coupled with the indisputable fact that the return to slacker demand, lower prices, and a greater scarcity of money had been accompanied by a considerable contraction of the redundant currency and by laws which were soon to bring about a return to specie payments, a turning back from 'cheap' money to 'dear,' confused the thinking of some men who had long been in contact with public affairs, and those who could not go quite the length of the greenbacks turned to silver for relief."

"I venture in behalf of the crude and ignorant minds to give a paraphrase of this sentence, even though my attempt may seem to jump with the humor of hundreds of thousands of workingmen and farmers the country over." It is as follows:

"The coincidence of heavy rains and high rivers, as well as the indisputable fact that in time of drought the rivers were low, led many experienced men to the confused notion that the supply of rain had something to do with the height of streams."

I venture to say that a few millions of Democrats "live remote from the seats of trade and know nothing of its laws" and have a right to ask whether Mr. Wilson, as their President, would apply such conceptions of finance to Senator Aldrich's currency measure, which is becoming a political issue, if a half million dollar campaign fund can make it an issue.

I have repeatedly defended the sincerity of Mr. Wilson in recent change of his views. I do not doubt it at all. But it is clear that he has had profound contempt for the Farmers' Alliance, the Populists, Greenbackers' bimetallists, trades-unions, small office seekers, Italians, Poles, Hungarians, pensioners, strikers, armies of unemployed; to him these classes represented no economic wrongs; Cleveland has been his worshiped idol as a President; he has regarded the East and the bankers as the sole custodians of financial wisdom; the vital question is, "Has a year destroyed all these impressions and put mercy, charity, love, and nationality into a hardened heart?" I am eager to believe it, but I rely on faith for justification. Two arguments are against him. Jefferson taught us that the great menace to the Republic was the courts, but Mr. Wilson objects to the recall of judges; in other words, he is willing that one of the three great branches of government shall be beyond popular control, and he does not see what all real Democrats see clearly, that the courts are the final intrenchment of privilege.

I dislike to call in question Mr. Wilson's application for a Carnegie pension; but I can not understand how a real Democrat could touch such money; it is steeped in human blood of Carnegie's workers, shot down by his hired Pinkertons while struggling for a decent wage out of the hundreds of millions which their labor was rolling into the Carnegie coffers. The gigantic fortune, which furnishes the pension, was gained by unjust legal privilege, which it is our function to destroy. No man should ask a pension from such a millionaire without contemplating some service in return. We know what that service is, and Mr. Wilson ought to know.

It must not be forgotten that Mr. Wilson presents himself for the presidential nomination without any apology for his past, except concerning direct legislation; but this is popular and vote getting; he has done no penance and served no apprenticeship to real democracy; just espoused. High proof of his patriotic purpose would be to retire in the face of his unhappy record.

I yield to no one in charity for a man who has been wrong and has been converted, but charity must yield to the mighty importance of our presidential nomination to a hundred million people.

This record of Mr. Wilson has fixed some points in my mind beyond turning:

First. The radicals constitute nine-tenths of the Democracy and should nominate only one of their kind, a thoroughbred. We have a paddock full of them and should not waste time firing, blistering, and bandaging old nags with bad records.

Second. The men who can carry Republican States because they are sufficiently near Republicans are not fit presidential timber for us.

Third. We must understand the mathematical law that the capitalistic press abuses a man according to his loyalty to popular interests. The candidate whom this press asserts to be most feared by the Republicans is the man we should most fear.

Fourth. We are not selecting a candidate because he wants the place, but because he is the best man in the country for it. If he does not consent, we can draft to this place a leader, a strong, loyal, brave, self-sacrificing patriot.

Fifth. The people have decided to come to their own; they have ceased party worship. The Republicans are doomed unless we blunder. We can open up a future for our Republic such as mind has not conceived when once the people rule. But our leader must be a real one; a thoroughbred; our watchword, "No mongrels need apply."

Tell me what you think of all this.

Sincerely, yours, GEORGE FRED WILLIAMS.

## Comments on the Seamen's Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 30, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries in his closing remarks on the $50,000,000 ship-purchase bill spoke also of the seamen's act, which he included in the legislation coming from his committee, which he held to be beneficial to the country. We have been hearing a great deal on both sides of the question since the seamen's act was passed. The employers and the employees have certainly not agreed as to all the provisions of the seamen's law. It is said to have done much to drive the American flag from ships on the Pacific Ocean. On the east coast it has also been the subject of much complaint.

In view of the statement of the chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee upholding the seamen's law, the ship-purchase bill, the American registry of foreign ships and their admission to the coastwise trade, I insert a communication just received from one of the active concerns in my district which has to contend with some of those new administration laws. It illustrates difficulties that confront some of those who are trying to do business under the conditions that have been imposed.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *August 28, 1916.*

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
*Crozer Building, Philadelphia, Pa.*

DEAR SIR: We inclose clipping taken from the New York Journal of August 24, 1916.

The writer has been a resident in your congressional district for 40 years, and our firm has been here in the shipping business for 70 years in the old fifth ward of Philadelphia.

We have never seen shipping conditions worse than they are at the present time in regards to handling men and getting work done. This is not any more due to war conditions on the other side than to the operation of the so-called seamen's law, which has had a more or less demoralizing effect on all classes of men depending on the sea for a living. It used to be that we could depend on men reporting for work and continue at work, but under the operation of the present seamen's law men have no respect for agreement or promises of any kind, sometimes deserting within an hour or two after they have made an agreement to go, leaving the vessels in the lurch, causing a great deal of lost time, expense, and annoyance to all concerned, because "Jack Tar" has no longer a mind of his own. This we attribute to the direct working of the seamen's law

We have always hired men by the month, and they would give us notice if they intended to leave and take a better job, and we would try and fill the vacancy, but now we do not know what to look for. Wages are from 50 to 100 per cent higher than ever before, and they are being fed twice as well as they feed themselves at home. There is more or less conspiracy amongst men to compel members of crews who are not affiliated with organizations to force them to become members of labor bodies wherever they can do it, in whatever port the tug happens to be, at the expense of holding up the boat when she is ready to sail by refusing to work or leaving the boat, unless the captain or some other officer abroad the vessel accedes to their demands to become a member of such bodies. This has happened in a number of cases. The captains and engineers have lost all authority over the men. The discipline has been demoralized. There seems to be no head of authority on board ship, as there should be and used to be, for the successful operation of a vessel. As soon as one of our tugs touches a port, such as New York or Norfolk, the firemen quit unless the boat is held up 12 hours, and then go back to work in the morning. In the meanwhile we are put to additional expense trying to secure other men, and also losing time and frequently the job itself.

We have vessels which are equipped with day and night crews, and the men work six hours on and six hours off. They have good quarters, good working conditions, good wages, and all they can eat; and if any additional labor laws are put on the books by these hostile organizations the end of this business is in sight.

It is very hard to get capital to invest in this line of business any more, and out of 360 to 400 vessels that are being built on the Atlantic coast and Pacific coast there are only two tugboats being built, which is in itself an indication of the changed conditions of this trade.

Our operating expenses have more than doubled in the last five or six years and we are still trying to do work on the old basis; in fact, are often compelled to accept work sometimes for less than old prices.

The shipping interests of this port, represented by the Philadelphia Maritime Exchange, the Vessel Owners' and Captains' Association, and other bodies of a similar nature, all of which are located in your congressional district, are vitally interested in the operation of the present laws, and in the enactment of any future legislation, having a tendency to make conditions worse than they are, and after reading the inclosed clipping, we felt impelled to protest to you, as our Congressman, against these conditions. We have never written a letter of this kind to our Congressman before, and we would consider it a great favor to be allowed to talk to you more freely on this condition of affairs, than we could possibly cover in a letter, and we know of a great many others within a few hundred feet of us in the same lines of business, who would be very glad to give you the fullest information of the effect of the "Seamen's law" and other measures, coming from their experience in handling vessels.

We take great pleasure in noting that you have always championed the interests of shipping communities along the Atlantic coast in the position as Congressman for this district and hope that you will take a lively interest in the contents of this letter, as there will be more to follow, if more seamen's laws are to be passed.

The present administration has done more to unsettle conditions in the shipping trade than war times ever did.

Hoping that you may be able to give our shipping very much needed assistance in the near future, we remain,

Yours, truly,
A. S. HUGHES' SONS TOWING & TRANSPORTATION CO.,
PER JAMES E. HUGHES.

SEAMEN URGE NEW LAW PROTECTING WORK.

WASHINGTON, *August 31.*

Congressmen from the Great Lakes and coast districts are being bombarded with appeals from members of organized seamen's associations to enact laws which will make more stringent certain clauses of the seamen's law, which, it is claimed, are interpreted too liberally in favor of shipping companies.

The wide discretion vested by the law in Secretary of Commerce Redfield, it is said, has resulted in the waiving of numerous explicit provisions designed to protect the union seamen.

## Rural Credits—Land-Loan Banks Put Farmers on Even Keel with Business Men in a Financial Sense.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 11, 1916.*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, what the Democrats in the Sixty-third Congress did for commerce and industry by the passage of the Federal reserve act, emancipating credit and unhorsing the Money Trust, the Democrats of the Sixty-fourth Congress have done for the farmers in the adoption of the farm-loan act, perhaps one of the longest steps in advance in the interest of the agricultural class that have yet been taken in the United States.

NOT A CURE-ALL.

It is not my purpose to imply that the farm-loan act will prove a sovereign remedy for all the ills which the American farmers have experienced. It was not intended as a cure-all and it will not be applied as such. But it will undoubtedly facilitate farm development and aid the farmer in utilizing his credit to better advantage than ever before. For the first time in his history the American farmer, under this beneficial legislation, is on an even keel with the merchant and the manufacturer in a financial sense. He can as readily utilize his assets in securing funds for the prosecution of his enterprise, whether it be in the form of liquidating or refunding an old debt or in that of needed improvements.

Under the new law a system of agricultural credit has been worked out with the same painstaking care that marked the creation of the Federal reserve bank. And this system will be as advantageous to the farmer as the Federal reserve bank has proved to be to the business man. Perhaps there is not a mer-

chant nor a manufacturer in the United States to-day who would vote for the repeal of the Federal reserve act, and there is not likely to be a farmer in the United States a year or so hence who would vote for the repeal of the great measure which President Wilson signed July 17 last.

In some of its important aspects the farm-loan act resembles the Federal reserve act. The scheme of regional distribution of Federal reserve banks has been followed with reference to the farm-loan banks, these having a like distribution and a similar form of organization and management. In other words, the Federal reserve act has simply been adapted in the farm-loan act to the needs of the farmers of the country. And it is believed that the latter will vindicate itself as indisputably as the former has done.

TWO SYSTEMS PROVIDED.

Under the farm-loan act two farm-mortgage systems are provided, both under the general supervision of the Federal Farm Loan Board. Both systems have for their prime object the promotion of agricultural prosperity by putting it in the way of farmers to borrow money on farm-mortgage security for relatively long periods on reasonable terms. One is a system operating through 12 regional land banks, to which Federal aid is to be extended; the other is through joint-stock land banks, which may be privately organized. These may be indefinite in number. No Federal aid will be given them. But they will be, in a general way, under Federal jurisdiction and control.

While the primary object of the farm-loan act is to make it easy and cheap for the farmer to obtain money, there is another object scarcely less important, those who framed the law having had in mind the matter of making the farm-loan field attractive to those who have money to lend. This, indeed, may eventually prove one of the most beneficial features of the law. It will at once serve the borrower and the lender. By stabilizing farm credits it will attract money in the direction of the farm that would otherwise seek investment in manufactures or in business.

These investments will take the form of debentures or bonds issued by the land banks and secured by farm mortgages. The funds for the loans are to come in part from the capital of the banks and in part from the sale by the banks of bonds secured by first mortgages on farm lands. These bonds and the mortgages securing them are exempt from all taxation, Federal, State, and municipal, thus adding to their attractiveness to the investor. They are to be in denominations of $20, $50, $100, $500, and $1,000. Federal reserve banks and member banks of the Federal Reserve System are authorized to buy and sell these bonds.

One of the first duties of the Farm Loan Board will be that of dividing the country into 12 districts, in each of which is to be located a Federal land bank. These banks are authorized to lend on first mortgages on farm lands in amounts of $100 up to $10,000 for approved purposes. However, before loans are made to individuals 10 or more farmers in each district must have formed a national farm-loan association. These associations become stockholders in the land banks in proportion to the amount their members wish to borrow. That is, if they wish to borrow an aggregate of $100,000, they must subscribe for $100,000 worth of the stock of the land bank. In the long run all stock in the Federal land banks will be owned exclusively by these national farm-loan associations; in other words, by the farmers themselves. Each one of these regional land banks is to start with not less than $750,000 capital, making a total of $9,000,000, this amount being appropriated by the farm-loan act. Each bank is liable for the bonded indebtedness of every other bank in the system. This affords the practical advantages of a central bank, with the added advantage of distributed authority in administration. The particular needs of the several districts will naturally be better understood by these regional banks than it would be possible for a central bank to understand them.

WILL MAKE FOR UNIFORM INTEREST RATES.

It is believed that the system will make for uniform interest rates throughout the United States. In fact, the law prohibits the exaction of a higher rate than 6 per cent, and the fees charged will be subject to the control of the Farm Loan Board. The borrowers are thus very effectively protected against extortionate fees, as well as against high interest rates. Loans may be made for periods ranging from 5 to 40 years. Upon these loans a small annual or semiannual payment on the principal is a fundamental requirement, but there is nothing in the law prohibiting the borrower from liquidating his indebtedness whenever convenient. The farmer has never had an advantage of this sort before. The insuperable obstacle in his path has been the short-time requirements which he had to meet when he became a borrower. The mortgage on his farm has been the nightmare which rode him without ruth.

The money interests of the country have stood in the way of this beneficial legislation in the past. It is no new idea. It has, in fact, been advocated for many years. But there were always influences sufficiently powerful to restrain action on the part of Congress. It was left for the present administration to realize a dream which had long been cherished by the farmers of the United States.

In this connection it may be well to outline the practical workings of the measure; and for this purpose I shall draw upon a writer in the New York Evening Post, who has made a careful study of the act and has undertaken to show how it will apply in practice. His statement of the practical workings of the law follows:

PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF LAW.

"In practice the law works about as follows: A man wishes to borrow money to make improvements on his farm. If a national farm-loan association of 10 or more farmers has been formed in his community, he makes application to them. If one has not been organized, he applies to that in the nearest district or an agent of a Federal land bank. These associations are formed by the farmers themselves. Ten or more men who desire to borrow in the aggregate as much as $20,000 for the improvement of their land, or who desire to pay less interest on mortgages that they already hold, and not be burdened with expensive renewals or live in fear of not being able to renew, apply to a Federal land bank for the necessary blank forms and form an organization. In due course, unless there is some good reason to the contrary, a charter is granted authorizing them to do business and receive money from the land banks.

"Any member of the farm-loan association may apply for a loan of not less than $100 and not more than $1,000, but 5 per cent of the desired loan must be paid in at first as capital stock. The borrower really is compelled to become at the start also an investor. And on the 5 per cent of capital stock to which he subscribes he, of course, receives dividends. In requiring every borrower to set aside 5 per cent of his loan for capital stock, the system automatically increases the amount of the stock of the Federal land bank every time that a loan is made, so that in reality the total amount of increased stock contributed by borrowers can never be below 5 per cent of the mortgages or loans it makes.

"The act specifically defines the purposes for which loans may be obtained, as (a) for the purchase of land for agricultural use; (b) for the purchase of equipment, fertilizers, and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the mortgaged farm, the term equipment to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board; (c) to provide buildings and for the improvement of farm lands, the term 'improvement' to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board; (d) to liquidate indebtedness of the owner of the land mortgaged, existing at the time of organization of the first national farm-loan association established in or for the counties in which the land mortgaged is situated, or indebtedness subsequently incurred for one of the purposes mentioned.

THOSE ENTITLED TO BORROW.

"Only those who own and cultivate farm lands or are about to own and cultivate such farm lands are entitled to borrow, and no one can borrow save for the purpose stated in the act. Those who after borrowing do not use the money for the purposes specified in the mortgages are liable to have their loans reduced or recalled. The secretary-treasurer of each association is required to report any diversion of borrowed money from the purposes stated in the mortgages.

"No loan may be made for more than 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the permanently insured improvements upon it.

"Every mortgage must provide for the repayment of the loan under an amortization plan by means of a fixed number of annual or semiannual installments. The bank is given power to protect itself in case of default by recalling the loan in whole or in part or by taking other necessary action.

INTEREST CHARGES.

"While no Federal land bank is permitted to charge more than 6 per cent interest on its farm mortgages, it is provided that the interest charged also shall not exceed by more than 1 per cent the rate paid on the last issue of bonds. For example, if the bank pays only 4 per cent on an issue of bonds, it can not charge more than 5 per cent for the next farm loans it makes. Out of this margin of 1 per cent, together with such amounts as can be earned on paid-in capital, the bank must set aside certain reserves and meet all expenses, any balance or net profit being

distributed as dividends to the loan association or other stockholders.

"In addition to the system of 12 Federal land banks and the national farm-loan association, the act permits the establishment of joint-stock land banks. These are authorized to lend money on farm-mortgage security and to issue farm-loan bonds. These joint-stock banks must have a capital of not less than $250,000. Not receiving any Federal aid, these second kind of banks are free from many of the conditions imposed on the Federal land banks. They may make loans for purposes other than those specified in the case of the Federal land bank. But the joint-stock bank can not charge more than 6 per cent and is subject to the same 50 and 20 per cent value limitation and the limitation of territory. They must also provide an amortization system of repayment, and can not receive under any form or pretence any commission or charge not specifically authorized by the act or approved by the Farm Loan Board. Their capital stock, unlike that of the Federal land banks, is not exempt from taxation. The necessary machinery for frequent examination of these banks is also provided for by the new law."

MAY HAVE ONE ADVERSE EFFECT.

Mr. Speaker, let me say in conclusion that I am not here either to say that this measure is perfect in detail or that in its workings it will offer a solution for all the problems which confront the farmer. In former remarks of mine on the general subject of agriculture and the interest of the farmer I have sought to indicate the limitations of measures such as the one providing for farm-loan banks. One fear which has possessed me in connection with the act mobilizing the credit of the farmer is this, that it will tend in a marked degree to stimulate farm land values and thus to make it harder for the landless man to obtain a footing on the soil. My fear may not be warranted; and I earnestly hope that the event will prove it groundless. Yet I can not overlook the fact that every advance in civilization and the arts, every improvement in means of communication, every step in the progress of society, every facilitation of production and exchange has been marked by an increase in land values and by a tendency of ownership to concentrate in fewer hands, the independent farm owner giving way to the tenant farmer and the tenant farmer in turn giving way to the farm laborer. That the improvement which this measure is expected to bring in the facilitation of farm development can have a different effect or be attended by a different sort of manifestation it is not easy to believe.

But let us all hope that at least this may serve in some sort to clear the way for the more fundamental legislation which many of us look forward to with growing hopefulness, legislation which will tend to discourage land monopoly, to promote improvement, to check tendencies which to-day are so alarming and to bring about a new era in social development along normal lines, at once relieving the congestion of the centers and the isolation of those who have gone to the very margin in quest of free opportunity. It seems to me no greater cause than this challenges attention to-day. It is one that sooner or later must be dealt with seriously. And I have lent my support to the farm-loan act largely because I have considered it a step toward the greater issue which it is likely to force into view.

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**Record of Charles E. Hughes.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include "Record of Charles E. Hughes, governor of New York, 1906–1910—A call to national service."

The matter referred to is as follows:

RECORD OF CHARLES E. HUGHES, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, 1906–1910—A CALL TO NATIONAL SERVICE.

*I. Regulation of public-service corporations.*

Gov. Hughes advocated and secured direct State control over every public-service corporation, great or small, in the State of New York.

Adequate public-service regulation meant to the governor, on the one hand, "strict supervision to insure adequate service and due regard for the convenience and safety of the public," and, on the other hand, provision that corporations be "permitted to operate under conditions which will give a fair return for their service." The governor believed that legislative action which would secure a sound balance between these two objects must in every case be based upon legislative investigation into the facts.

His policy of public-service regulation is, therefore, expressed in part by his advocacy and approval of the public-utilities act and in part by his veto of two important public-service bills which were not based upon an investigation of the facts.

In his first message to the legislature in 1907 Gov. Hughes pointed out that the existing regulation of public-service corporations was inadequate because the powers of the present board of railway commissioners were not sufficiently well defined and because no suitable means was provided by which they could enforce their decisions. No penalties were provided in case of disobedience to the orders of the board, and the board was not authorized to institute and conduct legal proceedings to enforce its orders. The governor recommended that the board of railway commissioners and the commission of gas and electricity should be abolished and that a new commission be constituted with adequate powers of regulation and supervision over all public-service commissions.

PUBLIC-UTILITIES ACT.

After a vigorous legislative battle the public-utilities law which the governor recommended was passed in the legislature early in June. It placed under direct State control every public-service corporation, great or small, in the State of New York, with the single exception of telephone and telegraph companies. It applied to railroads, street railways and subway lines, express companies, and gas and electric light companies. The previously existing State railroad commission and commission of gas and electricity were abolished and a public-utilities commission, with two branches, one for New York City and the other for the remainder of the State, or, as it is sometimes stated, two commissions for the two districts of the State, was established in its stead.

These two commissions were given the power and the duty to compel all corporations to give safe and adequate service at just and reasonable rates; to prevent all rebates and discriminations in rates by the different classes of shippers or passengers in all kinds of traffic; to compel all common carriers to have sufficient cars and motive power to meet all requirements for the transportation of passengers and property which may be reasonably anticipated, and to see that every common carrier is held specifically liable for loss or damage due to delay in transit occasioned by negligence. The bill prohibited the issuance of free passes except in a few instances. It provided that no franchise should be capitalized in excess of the amount actually paid to the State as consideration of the grant of the franchise, and that the capital stock of a corporation formed by the merger or consolidation of two or more corporatins should not exceed the sum of the capital stock of the corporations so consolidated at their par value, or such sums and any additional sums actually paid in cash. It also forbade the capitalization in the stock of any corporation of any contract for consolidation or lease, and forbade any corporation to issue bonds against or as a lien upon any contract for consolidation or merger. It provided, moreover, that no corporation should purchase or hold stock in another such corporation or common carrier unless authorized to do so by the commission.

Several features of this bill met with vigorous opposition while it was before the legislature and the people of the State for discussion. The provision making the orders of the commission effective unless declared by a court of competent jurisdiction to be unauthorized or unconstitutional was opposed by lawyers representing the railroad companies, who asked that it be replaced by a provision calling for an elaborate court review for any order of the commission. This substitute provision was not adopted.

Veto by mayor and repassage: As this bill affected New York City, it went direct to Mayor McClellan, who vetoed it promptly. It was passed over his veto without delay, however, and became a part of the statute law of the State.

The governor, in his speech of acceptance (second nomination) the following year, outlined the powers of these commissions and indicated how in its administrative functions the act would protect the interests of both the public and the public-service corporations:

"A plan for the effective regulation of public-service corporations now covering railroad, gas, and electrical companies has been provided. It has been the subject of sharp attack because of its safeguards against predatory financiering and its provisions for the enforcement of public obligations. That there must be regulation of these corporations is obvious. Congress can not supervise commerce within the State any more than the State can regulate interstate commerce. The concerns of the State must be attended to by the State. These corporations receive public franchises because of expected public benefits. They receive these franchises upon clear conditions and they owe a duty to the State to furnish adequate service without unjust discriminations upon reasonable terms. This duty the State must enforce. It must be done either directly by the legislature or through some administrative body.

"But the questions which arise in connection with the enforcement of public rights are varied and intricate. They demand investigation and the consideration of a host of details. Special conditions must be considered, and to deal justly there must be flexibility of action. In view of the vast range of our commerce and the variety of questions presented, it is utterly impracticable for the legislature to attempt to regulate these concerns directly. It would have to resolve itself into an administrative board and sit continuously, and even then, by virtue of the very nature of its organization, it would inevitably fail.

"The natural tendency of legislation, in attempting direct regulation in detail, is toward arbitrary action, and nothing can be more injurious. Increased facilities, better stations, improved roadways, the elimination of grade crossings, additional rolling stock are imperatively required to meet the growing demands of commerce. The convenience of the public, the furnishing of adequate service, and the employment of thousands of men at fair wages are dependent upon earnings. Arbitrary reduction of rates without investigation and definite knowledge of results is the height of folly. We must insist upon just treatment of corporate enterprise while at the same time we demand strict enforcement of the obligations of the corporation to the public.

"These ends can be accomplished satisfactorily only through an administrative board, such as the public-service commission. This, I believe, must be recognized by all. But we do not wish a State commission with mere pretense of supervision, because of inadequate powers, but real regulation within constitutional limits.

"We had a board of railroad commissioners, a State gas commission, and a board of rapid transit commissioners. There was an illogical division of authority and the supervision of the State over railroads was hopelessly ineffective because of the inadequacy of the powers

conferred. There was no reason why the subway in New York should be under one jurisdiction and the elevated and surface lines under another. The powers of supervision were divided while the roads themselves were held under a common control.

"A comprehensive plan has been adopted, uniting in a single scheme the supervision and regulation of public-service corporations, and because of the onerous duties necessarily imposed, the State was divided into two districts. Thus we secure protection against dishonest or improper capitalization, and suitable means for the investigation of grievances, for securing the safety and convenience of employees and the public, and generally for compelling the performance of public duty * * *."

Extension of powers: In 1908 Gov Hughes recommended that the jurisdiction of the public-service commission be extended over telephone and telegraph companies which had been excluded from its control in the law creating it. This was done in 1910 and the control of the commission over all public-service corporations was made complete. Although the governor approved the bill, in his memorandum of approval he called the attention of the legislature to certain respects in which the bill was open to criticism; first, in hampering convenience of administration by failing to divide the jurisdiction of telephone corporations particularly between the commissions of the two districts; secondly, in failing to give a sufficiently wide control over the issue of securities. Upon these points the governor urged amendatory legislation.

Appointments to commissions: The commissions for the two districts were each to be composed of five members appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the senate. In making the appointments Gov. Hughes was actuated only by the best interests of the public and not by partisan cousiderations. To each commission he appointed two Democrats, and all the appointees were men who were distinguished for their ability and knowledge, without regard to previous political record.

VETO OF OTHER PUBLIC-SERVICE MEASURES.

In his comment, already quoted, upon the public-utilities act, Gov. Hughes expressed his general policy of public-service regulation: "We must insist upon just treatment of corporate enterprise while at the same time we demand strict enforcement of the obligations of the corporation to the public."

The governor recognized that "just treatment of corporate enterprise" required a full and accurate investigation of the facts. He vetoed the bill providing for a maximum 2-cents-a-mile railroad fare, and the bill providing for a 5-cent fare to Coney Island because neither bill had been preceded by careful legislative investigation, nor was either bill based upon reports or statistics officially collated. Both bills therefore came, in the governor's opinion, within the field of unsound and arbitrary legislation. His memorandum of veto, in the case of each bill, is quite as important a pronouncement on the theory of public-service regulation as are his memoranda and messages approving the public-utilities act.

Memorandum of veto of 2-cent fare bill: "This bill, with specified exceptions, provides for a maximum passenger fare of 2 cents per mile upon the railroads in this State. Steam railroads less than 150 miles in length which are not within the counties of New York and Kings (or within the limits of an incorporated city) are permitted a higher maximum charge of 3, 4, or 5 cents a mile, according to length of line, unless through consolidation, lease, or control they form a part of a system whose combined lines exceed 150 miles, in which case the provision for a maximum rate of 2 cents a mile is applicable.

"The passage of the bill was not preceded by legislative investigation or suitable inquiry under the authority of the State. Nor is the fixing of this rate predicated on reports or statistics officially collated which would permit a fair conclusion as to the justice of its operation with reference to the railroads within its purview. It plainly reflects dissatisfaction with existing conditions and an effort to provide a remedy through arbitrary action. It seems largely to have been the result of annoying requirements and discrimination in connection with the sale of mileage books on certain roads.

"The bill represents a policy seriously mistaken and pregnant with disaster. It is of the utmost importance that the management of our railroad corporations should be subject to strict supervision by the State, and that regulations compelling the observance of the law and proper and adequate service should be rigidly enforced. It is the duty of these corporations to provide transportation of passengers and goods at reasonable rates, and the State should compel the performance of this obligation.

"But injustice on the part of railroad corporations toward the public does not justify injustice on the part of the State toward the railroad corporations. The action of government should be fair and impartial, and upon this every citizen, whatever his interest, is entitled to insist. We shall make matters not better but worse if to cure one wrong we establish another. The fact that those in control of railroad corporations have been guilty of grossly improper financiering and of illegal and injurious discriminations in charges points clearly to the necessity of effective State action, but does not require or warrant arbitrary reprisals. In dealing with these questions democracy must demonstrate its capacity to act upon deliberation and to deal justly.

"It is of the greatest importance not only that railroad corporations should be compelled to respect their public obligations, but also that they should be permitted to operate under conditions which will give a fair return for their service. Upon this depends not simply the security of investors but the security of their employees and the protection of every form of industry and commerce through the maintenance and extension of necessary transportation facilities. Nothing could be more opposed to the interests of the community as a whole than to cripple transportation corporations by arbitrary reduction of earnings. It may be said that a 2-cent passenger rate is not so extreme as to have a very injurious result. But this is a debatable question. Large and prosperous suburban communities have been built up through the offer of commutation rates much less than the proposed maximum. Upon the maintenance of these rates many thousands of our citizens rely. Considerable differences exist between the railroad corporations with respect to the territory they serve and the cost of service, and it is manifest that what would be fair for one might be far from fair for another. An arbitrary dislocation of tariffs by the flat of the legislature without investigation is a matter of serious concern. The best that could be said for such legislation would be that it should be regarded as an isolated case and not as a precedent. For if flat freight rates, either for all commodities or for different kinds of commodities, were similarly to be fixed by the legislature without investigation or proper ascertainment of their justice, our railroad business and our industrial and commercial interests would be thrown into confusion.

"I do not mean to be understood as saying that a maximum 2-cent passenger rate would be unreasonably low. It might be high enough in many cases. Possibly it would be high enough in all cases. I fully appreciate the fact that those who have promoted this bill believe that such a rate would be fair. But I deem it most important that the policy of dealing with matters of this sort arbitrarily, by legislative rule of general application without reference to the demands of justice in particular cases, should be condemned. Every workingman, every tradesman, and every citizen believing himself to have aught at stake in the prosperity of the country should determinedly oppose it. For it not only threatens the stability of business enterprise which makes our prosperity possible, but it substitutes unreason for sound judgment, the ill-considered demands of resentment for the spirit of fair play, and makes impossible patient and honorable effort to correct abuses.

"There is a better way. It has already been pointed out in the legislation of this State. It is practically impossible in view of the nature of the problems and the many questions requiring consideration for the legislature to deal directly with railroad rates in a satisfactory manner. Where a matter requires investigation in order that a just result may be reached, the obvious course is to create a body which can investigate, with expert assistance, as summarily as possible, and which shall have adequate power to make appropriate orders. Such a body has been created in this State through the public-service commissions law recently enacted."

In Oswego, N. Y., on October 12, 1908, when interrupted by a question from the floor as to his reason for vetoing this bill, the governor said:

"I will tell you. Our railroads are our great highways of commerce. All business, all our activities, depend upon their efficiency. There are thousands and thousands of workingmen depending upon their efficiency. We want better service. We want a constant improvement in those facilities. We want more trains, more freight cars, better stations, the best equipment. We want goods moved, we want no losses from any failure of transportation facilities. We want the best passenger service that we can have. We want workingmen well paid. We want the whole business conducted with a high degree of efficiency and in accordance with public duty. We also want an absence of discrimination and we want reasonable rates. Now, we do not believe in arbitrary legislation in these matters. I do not believe in reducing the earnings of railroads without knowing what you are about. If it is fair and right, then do it. If it is not fair and right, do not do it. I want to know. These matters are matters for study, not for arbitrary action. It is no easy matter to deal justly in all these concerns, justly by the public, justly by those who are dependent on the service, justly by all those who are involved in the service. We have got to deal with these matters so that while we want to correct wrong we do not want to paralyze industry or affect in any spurious manner the necessities of commerce. No; my friends, there is a right and a wrong way about these things.

"It may seem easy to get votes by just getting a pair of shears and a red book and clip wherever you think it would be popular. I do not want to be governor on those terms. I am in this office, and I take pride in being in it only to the extent that I can satisfy my conscience and sense of duty. I won't sign any bill simply because it may be deemed popular. On the contrary, I will sign anything that I can think is in the interests of the people and veto anything I think is not in the interests of the people if I believe it to be right."

Veto of 5-cent fare bill to Coney Island: On May 23, 1908, Gov. Hughes vetoed the bill providing that no railway company, other than steam or trunk lines, etc., might charge over 5 cents for any continuous ride in a city or village unless the public service commission consented to a higher rate. The street cars running to Coney Island had been charging 10 cents each way, and the bill arbitrarily reduced this fare to 5 cents. The governor favored the lowest possible rate, but urged that the facts should first be ascertained to determine what that rate should be, as evidenced by his memorandum of veto:

"It is plainly intended to affect charges over existing lines. It establishes a maximum rate of 5 cents without regard to the length of the route or the reasonableness of such a fare. In other words, it is an arbitrary maximum imposed by legislative fiat. But it is clear that if the rate is not a reasonable one and if the requirement would operate as a confiscation of the company's property, the legislature can not impose it. The attempt to enforce such a rate under such circumstances would be abortive, as a successful appeal could be made to the courts. It is idle to suppose that the companies can be compelled to reduce their fares to 5 cents merely because the legislature says so.

"Whether a 5-cent fare is a fair one depends upon facts and not upon sentiment, desire, or prejudice. Whether the result be agreeable or disagreeable, it inevitably will be reached only after the facts have been ascertained and considered. Justice requires this, and under the Constitution the requirement will be enforced.

"The proper way to deal with these matters is to provide for investigation in which the whole subject can be considered, specious claims sifted out, and a result just, both to the corporations and to the public, arrived at.

"It may be said that the provision of this bill with regard to the public service commission has this effect. But this is not the case. The bill provides for a flat rate of 5 cents unless the commission consents to a higher fare. It does not provide that the commission shall ascertain or fix a just and reasonable rate, or that an increase shall be allowed because it is just and reasonable. Evidently the bill was drawn not to give the commission power to fix a just and reasonable rate, but to fix a rate by the statute with a provision for appeal from the legislature to the commission, and without any proper indication of the conditions under which the appeal is to be heard.

"This can only result in confusion, affording, as it would, opportunity for protracted litigation over the validity of such a statute and postponing the proper settlement of the real question involved.

"It is highly important that we should have transportation in our cities at the lowest fair rates. It is desirable that in New York City there should be low rates for the congested quarters to the breathing spots in the outlying districts and by the sea. The sure way, and the only way, to make real progress in this direction is through ascertainment of the essential facts and the making of reasonable rates in accordance with the facts. This bill is wrong in principle and is not adapted to secure the desired result. I can not approve it."

When told that his disapproval of such measures as the 2-cent fare and the Coney Island bill would mean a loss of votes, Gov. Hughes replied, in his address to the students of Columbia University on October 1, 1908:

"* * * It is proposed that we shall not deal with these important concerns of the State in an arbitrary fashion. There are those who, for the sake of making political capital, would indorse ill-considered measures deemed by the thoughtless to be of public importance.

If our education and our training mean anything, they mean that, while we are rigorous in insisting upon the performance of the public duty, we shall be equally rigorous in the demand for justice to all, and will not allow administration to be perverted, even to so-called popular ends, even at the risk of loss of votes, if, in fact, the proposal is unsound and unjust."

Gov. Hughes followed the same principle in a bill where an arbitrary rate might prove unjust to the public when he vetoed senate bill No. 1538, guaranteeing to corporations a net income of 10 per cent upon the capital actually expended and wrote the following memorandum on May 29, 1908:

"The criterion of rates and charges should be whether they are just and reasonable, and whenever any question arises as to this point opportunity should be afforded for a fair and impartial examination, as provided under the public-service commission's law. A rule that there should be no change in rates and charges unless it leaves the corporation a net income of 10 per cent upon the capital actually expended would in many cases be clearly unjust to the public. Frequently a large part of the capital expended is represented by bonds bearing a rate of interest under 6 per cent, and a rule that would give the company a net annual income of 10 per cent upon the capital expended might be found to provide 12 or 15 per cent for returns upon stock investment."

The principle expressed in the governor's approval of the public-utilities act and in the veto of these other public-service measures is the same—an insistence that all legislation regulating public-service corporations be based "upon the facts and not upon sentiment, desire, or prejudice"; and a further insistence that there be in the machinery of the State permanent facilities for ascertaining these facts.

*II. Banking reform.*

A thorough system of banking reform, comprised in 21 new State laws, was put into operation by Gov. Hughes. These laws secured three things: Added State supervision through extension of the powers of the State superintendent of banks; greater protection for investors; more expert and more responsible methods of bank administration.

In 1907 the large number of failures in bank and trust companies had called attention to the need for radical revisions in the State banking laws. The supervision of trust companies was inadequate, and a plan had been developed by certain financiers which made it possible for them to get control of a chain of banks, although they had only a moderate amount of capital to begin with. Their plan of cooperation was for a man or group of men with such schemes in view to get a controlling interest in a bank of moderate size, to put up this stock as collateral for loans in another bank, using the proceeds of such loans to buy stock in still other institutions, and then to go on repeating this operation, thus making it easy to "pack" the board of directors and to use the bank's funds for speculative purposes.

The governor asked six prominent bankers of New York City to serve as an unpaid commission to suggest the necessary reforms in the banking law. The supervision of trust companies and the question of the extraordinarily high cost of liquidating institutions that had failed were the most important aspects of the work to be done.

REGULATION OF GENERAL BANKING.

The new laws provided for a more adequate supervision over institutions under the jurisdiction of the banking department and for an expert administration of the affairs of institutions that had failed, enabling them to resume promptly when possible and reducing the expense of receiverships. The superintendent of banks was given power to approve or disapprove propositions to open branches of banks, trust companies, and safe-deposit banks.

These laws also defined the responsibilities of directors; provided, among other things, for the elimination of the "dummy" director; and required every director of a State bank or trust company upon being reelected to office to make oath that the stock necessary to qualify him as a director had not been hypothecated during the preceding term. Loans were safeguarded and restricted and underwritten loans prohibited, except under certain conditions, to check the tendency toward the use of corporate funds in untried and speculative enterprises. Banks and trust companies were also prohibited from becoming underwriters and from loaning on second mortgages if the total encumbrance was in excess of two-thirds of the value of the property and from loaning on such securities at all if the first mortgage exceeded 10 per cent of the capital and surplus of the bank or trust company making the loan. The aggregate of real-estate loans by banks in Manhattan was limited to 10 per cent of their total assets, in banks outside of Manhattan to 25 per cent.

The matter of deposits with other institutions and loans secured by the stock of moneyed corporations were also regulated to check the "chain-of-banks" evil. The cash reserve to be maintained by such banks was increased in Manhattan from 15 to 25 per cent of the deposits, 15 per cent to be carried in the vaults and 10 per cent as deposits with a reserve agent, and in Brooklyn 10 per cent cash in vaults and 10 per cent with a reserve agent. Elsewhere in the State the reserve requirements for State banks was increased from 5 to 6 per cent for cash in vaults and from 5 to 9 per cent with a reserve agent.

Trust-company reserves were also altered; in the Borough of Manhattan 15 per cent of the deposits, including certain deposits, was to be carried in cash in the vaults, as against the previous requirements of 5 per cent cash in vaults and 10 per cent with a depository. In other boroughs of Greater New York the reserve requirement was made 10 per cent cash in vaults and 5 per cent with a depository, while elsewhere in the State it was made 4 per cent cash in vaults.

REGULATION OF SAVINGS BANKS.

The new laws were designed to relieve savings banks from the irregularities of market fluctuations. All trustees of savings banks were required to take an oath of office. It was provided that such banks could not borrow money or pledge or hypothecate any of the securities except by a vote of the majority of the board of trustees and with the written approval of the superintendent of banks. The regulations regarding the valuation of securities held by savings banks were also altered. Provision was made for the amortization or gradual extinction of premiums or discounts on all securities owned by such banks, so as to bring them to par at maturity.

SUPERVISION OF IMMIGRANT PRIVATE BANKS.

Many immigrants in New York City had been defrauded by so-called "bankers" and steamship agents who received small savings to be transmitted abroad or to be applied to the purchase of steamship tickets for the depositor's relatives in Europe. Owing to the difficulties involved in proving that the money had not been sent abroad, it was virtually impossible to convict such "bankers."

Early in Gov. Hughes's administration, a law was passed which regulated the taking of such deposits and required such "bankers" to file a $15,000 bond with the State authorities for the protection of depositors.

As a result of the investigation of immigration conditions in the State by the commission of immigration (described under "Immigration"), Gov. Hughes recommended more adequate legislation for the regulation of private banks which were doing business with newly arrived and non-English-speaking aliens. Some 500 such banks were operating in the State, receiving deposits of money for safe-keeping or for transmission abroad, without supervision by any constituted authority, and millions of dollars had been lost by their depositors. Although considerable opposition developed, a law was finally enacted in 1910 bringing such bankers, with certain exceptions, under the supervision of the State authorities. The law was immediately attacked as unconstitutional, but under the governor's direction a legal fight was carried to the United States Supreme Court, where it was finally declared constitutional.

Some of the more important provisions of the law prohibited advertising or holding oneself out as a "banker" unless duly licensed, required the filing of bonds with the State comptroller, and created a commissioner of private banking with authority to inspect and supervise the activities of such "bankers."

CITIZENS' COMMISSION ON WALL STREET.

In the first year of his administration Gov. Hughes urged the legislature to appoint a committee to inquire into Wall Street methods relating to speculation in securities and commodities and to recommend legislation to prevent illegitimate transactions and protect investors. A bill embodying these recommendations was introduced, but failed of passage.

In December, 1908, he therefore appointed a citizens' committee to undertake this investigation without expense to the State. His letter of appointment clearly indicates what he had in mind:

"In this Commonwealth the vast commercial and financial transactions represent the activities of the entire country. It is of the utmost importance that legislation affecting business and exchange should be the result of deliberate study, and that we should neither threaten business stability by ill-considered measures, nor, on the other hand, invite agitation or impair confidence by ignoring abuses and by failing to provide suitable correction.

"It is with this view that I request you to act as a committee for the purpose of collecting facts, receiving suggestions, and making such recommendations as may seem to you fitting with regard to the following question:

"'What changes, if any, are advisable in the laws of the State, bearing upon speculation in securities and commodities, or relating to the protection of investors, or with regard to the instrumentalities and organizations used in dealings in securities and commodities which are the subject of speculation.'"

Report of commission: The commission, after examining many witnesses and investigating the experiences of foreign countries and the legislation of American States, and after overhauling all available sources of information, recommended (1) that all brokers discourage speculation upon small margins; (2) that the stock exchange use its influence and power to prevent members from soliciting and generally accepting business on a margin of less than 20 per cent; (3) that the stock exchange, to prevent losses incurred through swindling advertisements on circulars, in addition to prohibiting advertisements by its members of enterprises "other than of a strictly legitimate business character," should urge and enforce a similar rule upon the curb market—the fact that 85 per cent of the business done on the curb comes through members of the stock exchange making such a rule effective. Many other practices and remedies were considered, such as the advisability of requiring periodical examinations of the books of brokers, corresponding to the examination of national banks, with a view to preventing or minimizing failures, and the incorporation of the stock exchange to subject it more immediately to State control, etc.

The legislature took no action after the filing of this report, but the stock exchange, appreciating the value and importance of the recommendations suggested, hastened to adopt them in toto.

The effect of the banking laws secured by Gov. Hughes was to extend the principle of state regulation and to place upon banks the responsibilities and obligations of public institutions as opposed to those of merely private business bodies.

*III. Electoral reform.*

Gov. Hughes urged comprehensive electoral reforms, which included a simplified form of ballot, prevention of corrupt practices, and publicity for campaign contributions.

SIMPLIFIED BALLOT.

In his first message to the legislature in 1907 the governor urged the adoption of a simplified form of ballot, without the party column, in which the names of candidates were to appear grouped under the names of the offices. The object was to insure the absolute independence of the electorate:

"I believe that the best form of ballot is that in which the names of the candidates for the respective offices appear but once, grouped under the names of the offices. I recommend that such a ballot, with appropriate designation of party opposite the candidate's name, should be adopted. * * *

"The argument in favor of the party column is that the voter who wished to vote a straight ticket should have the opportunity of doing so with a minimum of inconvenience. But the straight voter has no inherent right to a preference, and his constitutional privilege is satisfied if he is allowed freely and secretly to vote by ballot for each candidate. * * * It is wholesome that the voter should be required to express his preference with reference to each office; and it is desirable that each party should be stimulated to additional care in its nominations, particularly for minor offices, because the candidates are to be submitted to this test. It is also important to make the count as simple and easy as possible. No question of party expediency is involved, as all parties are treated alike."

In his next annual message, the governor renewed his recommendation:

"Each voter should be required to express his choice for each office separately. All the parties will be placed upon the same footing and the effect will be to encourage the nomination of candidates who will not suffer by reason of separate consideration. The uncertainty which from time to time develops with regard to the proper method of voting split tickets should be removed, and the best way of accomplishing this result is to put the voters on the same basis. Experience in other States shows that partisan fears of the effect of a similar ballot are

unfounded. There should be no unwillingness to provide for the freest expression at the polls of the popular will, and public policy demands that the strength of party organization should be maintained by the quality of its acts and candidates, and the principles for which it stands, and that it should not be permitted to proceed along the line of least resistance by means of favoring arrangements of our election machinery."

The legislature passed a bill prohibiting the printing more than once, except for judicial office, of the name of any person nominated for office. It failed to meet the governor's recommendations, and on May 23, 1908, it was vetoed. The governor said:

"This bill provides that the name of a person nominated for any office except a judicial office shall not be printed upon the official general ballot for any election more than once under the title of such office.

"This measure is wholly indefensible. Undoubtedly one of the criticisms of the present form of ballot is that candidates' names frequently appear in several columns, but the remedy is to change the form of ballot and to abolish the party column. In other words, we should have a simplified ballot in which the names of the candidates for the respective offices should appear but once, grouped under the names of the offices.

"But as long as we retain the present form of ballot with its party column, it would be a grave injustice to prohibit a candidate's name from appearing in more than one column."

The governor, when renominated, again took occasion to make clear in his speech of acceptance his stand on this aspect of electoral reform:

"I have recommended the adoption of a simplified form of ballot, without the party column, in which the names of candidates for the respective offices shall appear but once, grouped under the names of the offices. I do not regard such a form of ballot as rendering it more difficult for the voter to exercise his constitutional privilege of designating upon the ballot the candidate whom he wishes to support. On the contrary, such a ballot would have the advantage not only of giving him this opportunity, but of encouraging the nomination of candidates who would not suffer by reason of separate consideration. Whatever may be the present state of sentiment in the State as to this, I believe that in the light of the experience of other States the argument in its favor will steadily gain ground."

Using the New York City 4-foot election ballot as his text, the governor, in his last message to the legislature, illustrated the urgent need of ballot reform:

"The defective form of the present ballot has lately had conspicuous illustration. It became such a monstrosity in the recent election in New York City as to receive a well-nigh universal condemnation. The ballot there presented to the voters was about 4 feet wide and had 19 columns for city candidates. The name of one candidate for mayor appeared 8 times in as many separate columns; another 4 times, while the names of 5 candidates for mayor appeared but once. The names of certain candidates for comptroller and for president of the board of aldermen occurred 7 times, and of others 5 times. The names of 3 candidates for justices of the supreme court occurred 4 times, and those of their principal competitors 3 times. The third party column upon the ballot contained no nominations for the general city ticket, while the name of the candidate for mayor associated in the public mind with the name and emblem of this party appeared in the eighth column. For example, in the tenth election district of the twentieth assembly district in the county of New York the ballot contained 184 names, although there were only 19 offices to be filled and only 84 separate candidates; in addition much space was wasted in blanks, and one party column contained no nominations whatever.

"The use under legal sanction of such an unwieldy ballot, with its absurd duplications, in the most important municipal election held in this country is such a serious reflection upon our capacity to devise suitable election methods that we should hasten, out of very shame, to make needed correction."

PUBLICITY FOR CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

Early in his first administration Gov. Hughes secured the enactment of amendments to the corrupt-practices act which provided for the widest publicity of contributions to and expenditure of campaign funds. Chapter 596 of the Laws of 1907 specifically included the candidate within its provisions, and required him to file a statement of any contributions made by him. The limitation making the law applicable only to agents of a political committee who pay money "to an aggregate amount exceeding $200" was omitted. Provision was made for petitioning a court of justice to compel the filing of such statements and for a prompt inquiry "into the facts and circumstances and into such violations of or failures" to comply with these provisions "without respect to any technical requirement" in such manner as the court may direct and to secure compliance with or punish for violation of the law.

In 1910 chapter 429 was passed, amending the election law in relation to the expenditure of money in connection with primary elections. "Political committees" were made to include a combination of three or more persons aiding or taking part in "the election or defeat of a candidate for nomination at a primary election or convention, including all proceedings prior to such primary election, or of a candidate for any office, whether public or not, to be voted for at a primary election; or to aid or defeat the nomination by petition of a candidate under the primary-election law."

All campaign payments not made through political committees, but given for the above-mentioned purposes, had to be accounted for in the manner provided for the filing of statements for regular elections. The other provisions of the law, as to personal expenses and accounting to the treasurer or candidate, were also made applicable to primary elections and nominations for office. The penal law was then amended by chapter 430, bringing "primary elections and conventions and proceedings for the nomination of candidates by petition" within the prohibitions of the election law.

The simplified ballot has grown steadily in favor all over the country. The principle of publicity for campaign contributions is now an accepted part of popular conviction and of election procedures. These facts sufficiently attest the validity of Gov. Hughes's campaign for both.

*IV. Primary reform.*

Throughout his administration Gov. Hughes advocated direct primaries. He believed that this was the reform most needed to insure both the rights of the individual voter and the strength and health of party organization.

The governor lost his fight for direct primaries. But his persistent advocacy of the principle resulted in a broad campaign of popular education which will eventually give to New York and other States sound direct-primary provisions.

He called an extraordinary session of the legislature to pass an apportionment act and to consider at the same time the question of amending the primary-election law.

As a result the legislature passed assembly bill No. 2401, "to amend the primary-election law generally," but the governor vetoed it on July 26, 1907, as it contained provisions which he could not approve:

"This bill, in its preferential provisions for nominations by district committees and for the use of an organization or 'district-committee' column on the ballot, distinctly favors those of any party who are in control. The enrolled voters are not put upon an equal footing. Instead of encouraging care and self-reliance in voting, the proposed form of ballot makes it easy to dispense with discriminations. It is open to the objections I have urged to our election ballot, and its adoption as a feature of a plan of primary reform I regard as a serious mistake. In making changes we should keep in view the end to be attained, and we should proceed in a consistent manner."

In his message to the legislature, 1908, the governor again urged the need for primary reform, and called attention to the wide difference between organization in the interest of the party and the misuse of such organization for purely selfish purposes.

"Within itself the party constitutes a democracy, and its members should be protected against despotic proceedings.

"There should be unrestricted opportunity for the expression of the wishes of the members of the party in the selection of candidates for office. Only in this way can healthy party activity be secured. And in order that the enrolled voter should be encouraged to take part in party proceedings, and that the will of the party in the choice of candidates may be expressed and not defeated by a perversion of party machinery, I am in favor of direct nominations. I renew the recommendation made at the last session that provision should be made for such nominations, at the primary, of candidates for office. In my judgment it is advisable that the provision should take the permissive form; that is, that a method of direct nominations should be defined which party organizations may adopt by suitable rule. I favor this course because I believe that in this manner legislation can be had which will secure a fair trial of the plan and pave the way for its general adoption in the light of persuasive experience."

Carries fight into second term: When renominated for office, the governor again dwelt on the need for primary election reform:

"I believe that the surest way of securing the expression of the will of the voters of a party with respect to candidates for office is by taking that expression directly. There has been a marked development of public opinion upon this subject. I thoroughly believe in party organization. Cooperation and loyalty, leadership and organized effort, are essential to party success.

"The best way to make the organization effective is to keep it in close touch with the voting strength of the party, to secure the largest participation of the enrolled voters in party affairs, and to stimulate interest and the feeling of responsibility for party action.

"This enlarges the just opportunities of leadership and dignifies its efforts. Whatever tends to separate the activities of party management from the voters upon whom it relies necessarily weakens the party and deprives it of its proper capacity for effective work. It may be impossible to devise any plan which will at all times secure that active interest in party affairs which it is the duty of every member of the party to take, but provisions for participation should be so arranged as to encourage it and not repel it. There should be the same freedom within the party in the choice of candidates for office as there is in the choice of officers by the direct vote of the electorate at large.

"The present method of choosing candidates is inadequate. The voter feels that he has little or no influence in determining the result. He feels that candidates are selected for him and that the selection is not even made by those whom he chooses to perform his duty. Against this system he is in revolt. He is willing to abide by the decision of the majority, but he wishes the majority to decide. The movement in favor of direct nomination is acquiring, I believe, an irresistible momentum. It is instinct with the spirit of democracy. It is not revolutionary, but consistent with our theories of government. Party government is likewise based upon the free choice of party candidates.

"For this I stand, and because I believe that they are essential to secure such choice I am in favor of direct nominations by every party. * * * I regard this as one of the most important issues in this campaign."

At the beginning of the governor's second term in 1909 he again pointed out the urgent need for freeing party conventions from domination against the interest of the people:

"All that is worst in our public life finds its readiest means of access to power through the control of the nominating machinery of parties. Party organization needs constantly to defend itself from these encroachments. * * *

"The time has come, I believe, when nominations by all parties for elective offices should be made directly by the enrolled voters of the parties respectively. This will provote true party representation. It will tend to strengthen and dignify party leadership by making it less susceptible to misuse and more in accord with general party sentiment. By increasing the direct influence of the party voters their participation in party affairs will be encouraged. It will make the elective officer more independent of those who would control his action for their selfish advantage and enable him to appeal more directly to his constituency upon the basis of faithful service. It can not fail in the main to prove a strong barrier against the efforts of those who seek, by determining the selection of candidates, to pervert administration to the service of privilege or to secure immunity for law breaking. It is a reform which is instinct with the spirit of our institutions, and it is difficult to see how any party man, however earnest in his partisanship, can oppose the right of voters of the party really to decide who shall represent them as candidates."

Departs from permissive idea: The governor then indicated his conviction that the policy should be binding upon all parties:

"I therefore recommend a system of direct nominations by all parties for all elective offices, other than those of presidential electors, filled at the November election or at special elections called to fill vacancies in such offices. Heretofore I have suggested that it be made permissive, because it was believed that such a provision would rapidly lead to its general extension. But the objections urged to this course and the strength which the movement for direct nominations has gathered have produced the conviction that we should decide upon a policy binding upon all parties. In this State the way has been prepared for

this course by the method of party enrollment now in use in portions of the State and by our familiarity with provisions designed to prevent corrupt practices and frauds at elections."

From now on the merits and demerits of direct primaries were debated in the legislature, on the stump, and in the press. A legislative committee was appointed to investigate the workings of the system in the States where it was in operation. This committee reported adversely to the introduction of the system in New York State.

In his fourth message to the legislature, in 1910, the governor, in summing up the situation at considerable length, again emphasized the need of direct choice by the party voters.

Defeat of bills: During this session a number of primary-election bills were introduced. Preeminent among them was the Hinman-Green direct-primaries bill favored by Gov. Hughes. This bill was defeated in both houses.

The Meade-Phillips bill, which was passed by the legislature, was promptly vetoed by Gov. Hughes on the ground that it was not a grant but a denial of needed primary reform.

A compromise measure called the Cobb bill was then introduced. It provided for the direct nomination of assemblymen, senators, and Congressmen, for the direct election of party officials, for State-wide enrollment, State safeguarded primaries, and a proper official primary ballot.

This bill passed the senate, but was defeated in the assembly. While it did not go far enough to achieve the needed reforms, those who supported this bill believed that the first men elected under it would be of a different caliber from those holding office and that they would have carried out the reform that the Cobb bill would have begun.

Special session called: The legislature was then summoned to meet in special session to consider the Cobb bill, advocated by the governor as experimental.

Ex-President Roosevelt indorsed the Cobb bill in a letter dated June 29, 1910, addressed to Lloyd C. Griscom, chairman of the New York County Republican committee, in the following terms:

"It seems to me that the Cobb bill, with the amendments proposed by you, meets the needs of the situation. I believe the people demand it. I most earnestly hope that it will be enacted into law."

It was indorsed by a Republican ex-President, was recommended by a Republican governor, and was favored by a majority of the Republican legislature. It was beaten in the assembly, however, by a vote of 80 to 63. The senate then rejected the Cobb bill by a vote of 25 to 19, 26 being necessary to pass it.

Gov. Hughes was urged by some persons to call a second special session, but he decided that all had been done that could be done at that time and that the next action must lie in the direction of educating the voters to demand direct primaries in the fall conventions.

A so-called direct primary law has since then been placed upon the statute books of New York State to satisfy the demand which Gov. Hughes's campaign created. It is not a law based on the principles of primary reform urged by Gov. Hughes. But New York and many other States of the country are now endeavoring to work out an adequate direct primary system. The principles which they are working slowly toward are the principles of Hughes's direct primary campaign.

*V. Public officials.*

Gov. Hughes believed that a large part of an executive's efficiency lay in the quality of his appointments.

Throughout his administration the governor demanded honesty and efficiency in public service. High standards of administrative efficiency on the part of the individuals charged with carrying into effect the responsibilities of government were urged by him in his first inaugural address:

"We are a government of laws and not of men. We subordinate individual caprice to defined duty. The essentials of our liberty are expressed in constitutional enactments removed from the risk of temporary agitation. But the security of our Government, despite its constitutional guaranties, is found in the intelligence and public spirit of its citizens and in its ability to call to the work of administration men of single-minded devotion to the public interests, who make unselfish service to the State a point of knightly honor.

"If in administration we make the standard efficiency and not partisan advantage, if in executing the laws we deal impartially, if in making the laws there is fair and intelligent action with reference to each exigency, we shall disarm reckless and selfish agitators and take from the enemies of our peace their vantage ground of attack.

"It is my intention to employ my constitutional powers to this end."

In his second inaugural address in 1909 he again laid emphasis on the careful selection of public officials:

"What is most influential in securing due recognition of the dignity of office is proper care in the selection of officers. So far as we may be able to raise the standards of administration we may make easier the task of drawing to the public service men of high capacity and unselfish motive. Conspicuous examples of administrative efficiency, and the appropriate tributes won from a grateful people, will do more to secure disinterested men of talent for public office and to maintain high standards than either protests against the abuse of criticism or increase of pecuniary rewards."

REMOVALS FROM OFFICE.

The governor stood out flatly in favor of giving the executive the power of removal. He believed that the governor, being responsible to the people for the efficient administration of public office in the State, must have the power to remove all heads of departments and members of commissions, not merely in the case of proved dishonesty or flagrant graft, but also when the head or the commissioner was incompetent or inefficient.

The standards of public office which he set are well exemplified by his statement at the time he tried to remove from office the State superintendent of insurance whom he held to be proved incompetent for his office. He said:

"The removal should not be limited to acts which constitute a crime or involve moral turpitude. We do not want our offices conducted by men who simply keep within the penal code and do not outrage the moral sentiment of the community. We want efficient administrators, men who are not only honest but capable men who have a high standard of administrative duty, who do not proceed along the line of least resistance, but are intent on giving the service to which the public is entitled."

The standards here defined by Mr. Hughes mark a definite step forward in the efficient development of public administration in America, and their enforcement in the most populous and influential State has had a marked influence throughout the country.

The question of the governor's right to remove public officers was brought to a severe test in the case of the borough president of Manhattan, who was proved at a public hearing to be both negligent and involved in dubious financial transactions. This was the first occasion on which a governor had removed an elective officer, and the counsel for the defense maintained that the governor had no jurisdiction in the matter. Gov. Hughes, however, would not allow this technicality to operate so as to retain in public office an official whose incompetency had been publicly proved.

SALARY CLASSIFICATION.

As a means to administrative efficiency a board of control to investigate the matter of the classification and fixing of salaries in prisons, in charitable institutions, and in hospitals for the insane in order to obtain uniformity of administration and better service to the State was advocated by the governor in his annual message in 1908.

A bill providing for a salary classification commission was duly introduced and passed, but it was vetoed by the governor, as it did not give the commission power to fix salaries:

"This would devolve upon the legislature the burden of fixing by statute the entire salary list in the various State institutions. This is clearly objectionable. The legislature, of course, must make the necessary appropriations to pay salaries, and any board having control of the matter under proper statutes would be compelled to fix salaries so as to bring them within the gross amounts allowed. But it is much better to commit the fixing of the salary schedule in detail and the making of the necessary adjustments to secure reasonable harmony to a board of officers fairly representative and intimately acquainted with the needs of the institution than to make it necessary for the salary schedules to be acted on directly by the legislature.

"The course outlined in this bill I believe to be a serious mistake in policy, and I therefore disapprove it."

CIVIL SERVICE.

The legislature passed a bill in June, 1910, which entitled persons occupying classified civil-service positions which had been abolished to go on a preferred list for three years for reappointment to any similar position. On the ground of administrative efficiency again the governor vetoed the measure and sent the following memorandum to the legislature:

"While such a measure may be desirable from the standpoint of those in the employ of the State, I believe it to be opposed to the interest of the State as a whole. The period is too long. There is in effect a preferred list for three years, not simply for the department from which the employees have been dropped but with regard to 'any corresponding or similar position.' The requirements of justice to the employees whose services are dispensed with can be met by a more limited period. * * *

"Undoubtedly there will be hard cases, but the system should be adjusted to the average results of experience. Save in exceptional circumstances, the probability is that the least efficient will be retired as places become unnecessary, and that while a reasonable opportunity shall be afforded for reinstatement, the long period of life for the suspended list, the obligatory feature to which I have referred, and the necessity of drawing upon the list in all departments with respect to the same class or grade of work would be injurious to the public service."

The problem of administration as it concerns appointments was thus practically met by Gov. Hughes: By direct and persistent supervision of officeholders on the part of the responsible executive; by the removal of proved incompetents; by the recommendation of laws designed to insure administrative efficiency in the servants of the State; by the recommendation of such changes, additions, and appropriations as were necessary; where the means furnished to a department failed to secure, or were inadequate to insure, efficient administration, and by the veto of laws which, with this general object of securing administrative efficiency, yet failed in soundness of application and of detail.

*VI. Conservation.*

The conservation of the material resources of the State was advocated by Gov. Hughes throughout his administration. He outlined a forward-looking policy for State administration and control of the sources of industrial energy and public pleasure and welfare.

PURCHASE OF FOREST LANDS.

In 1907 over 46,000 acres of forest land were purchased or contracted for by the land purchasing board, making a total of over one and one-half million acres held by the State. The governor said in his message of 1908:

"It would be difficult to name any matter of greater importance to the people than the conservation of our forests. To this end the State should largely extend its purchases and so far as possible avoid the increased cost which will be entailed by delay. Any effort on behalf of private interests to invade the common right in these lands and their maintenance for the public benefit should be defeated."

Not only the extension of the State holdings but also suitable replanting was urged by the governor.

In his message to the legislature in 1910 the delay in putting into effect a thoroughgoing conservation policy, due to the smallness of the appropriations, was sharply criticized by Gov. Hughes, who believed that New York State, with its great wealth, should not unnecessarily delay in securing control of forest tracts the preservation of which was of vital importance to the continued prosperity of the State. He urged the legislature to adopt the only businesslike method of making purchases of tracts that had been decided upon as rapidly as possible without waiting for values to increase or until further depredations had lowered the value of the land, and pointed out that, as the outlay needed to purchase this land would really be a capital investment for the benefit of the people for all time and not in any sense for the ordinary expenses of the government, it would be eminently proper to pay for the land by creating a State debt to be repaid by long-term bonds with annual contributions to a sinking fund.

CONSERVATION OF LANDS.

New forest lands: In his message to the legislature in 1909 the governor urged upon the legislature the importance of conserving new forest lands:

"The conservation of our forests is so essential to the maintenance of our water supply and to the health and industrial activities of the people that the police powers of the State should be used to secure the proper regulation of forests held in private ownership, as, for example, by preventing the cutting of trees under suitable dimensions."

Park grounds: The governor's interest in conserving park grounds for the public in the development of Fire Island was indicated in his address on "Conservation" at the conference of governors in 1908:

"During the present year another addition has been made to the State reservations by provision for the retention and development as a public park of the property of Fire Island, on the Long Island coast, which was acquired some years ago for the purpose of temporary quar-

antine. In view of the growth of metropolitan population, the holding of this strip of seaboard for park purposes can not fail to be of great public benefit."

Fire protection: The governor was conscious of the need for protection of forests from fire, and in 1909 signed a bill providing such facilities, despite the objectionable features on other grounds as outlined in his memorandum of approval:

"It is unfortunate that this bill, having for its main object the making of suitable provisions to protect the forests from fire, should have been made the vehicle of special amendments with regard to fish and game. It was hoped that the careful revision of last year would end the practice of annual amendments for the purpose of making special exceptions with regard to this or that locality.

"The bill is also objectionable in its provisions exempting men employed for fire protection from the civil-service law. All exemptions that are justified can readily be had, and should be had, under the provisions of the general law.

"There are other provisions which may justly be criticized. But in view of the peril to which our forest possessions are constantly exposed and the importance of establishing a proper system to prevent loss by fire, it is advisable on the whole that the bill should become a law."

WATER POWER.

The regulation and development of the enormous water power of the State was frequently urged by Gov. Hughes. He called the attention of the people of the State to the enormous value of the State's water power and pointed out the opportunities for industrial development which were inherent in this power:

"It has been estimated by the water-supply commission that, excluding Niagara and the St. Lawrence, the rivers of the State, with the proper storage of their flood waters, are capable of furnishing at least 1,000,000 horsepower for industrial purposes; and it is deemed clear that 550,000 horsepower of energy is annually allowed to run to waste because no well-devised and comprehensive plant for the general and systematic development of water powers has been undertaken by the State. And the incidental additions which would accrue from the regulation of our streams and the prevention of drought and flood are sufficiently obvious.

"We now have within our grasp an opportunity which for the sake of the industrial freedom and prosperity of the future we should not permit to be wasted. These great natural sources of power should not only be developed in a manner which the State alone can make possible, but should be held for the benefit of the people under conditions which will insure the protection of the common right and fair return for privileges granted."

State water-supply commission (1907): At the conference of governors on conservation in 1908 Gov. Hughes summarized the results accomplished during the first year of his administration, quoting his annual message to the legislature of 1907:

"After referring to the legislation which has created a water-supply commission, charged with duties with regard to potable waters and river improvement, I added: 'It remains to be considered whether it is not advisable to provide a more comprehensive plan, embracing in a clearly defined way the matter of water storage and the use of watercourses for purposes of power. The entire question of the relation of the State to the water demands more careful attention than it has hitherto received, in order that there may be an adequate scheme of just regulation for the public benefit.'

"Pursuant to this recommendation, the legislature of 1907 directed the State water-supply commission 'to collect information relating to the water powers of the State and devise plans for the development of such water powers,' and appropriated $35,000 for the purpose. The act contemplated a thorough investigation and the submission of accurate information and comprehensive plans.

"The commission entered zealously upon its work and procured competent expert assistance. In February last it made a valuable preliminary report."

Compensation for water-power privileges: The governor opposed the grant of water-power privileges without compensation and without restrictions which would protect the right of the public from whom those privileges are derived. In the same address he pointed out that the State in the previous year had established a precedent of requiring proper compensation for grants of power privileges in public waters:

"Water-power privileges have been granted in the past without any provision for a payment to the State in return for what the State gives. These grants have frequently been made without proper reservations or conditions and without anything constituting a suitable consideration. They have amounted simply to donations of public rights for private benefit. It does not fetter individual enterprise to insist upon protection of the common interest and due payment for what is obtained from the public. Last year, on the grant of a franchise to a development company which was to develop power from the St. Lawrence River, it was insisted that provision should be made for compensation for the privilege upon a sliding scale, according to the power developed. And thus it was established that hereafter in the State of New York public privileges, on terms of justice to the investors and the public alike, must be paid for."

Principles in water-power development: In his message to the legislature in 1910, the governor enumerated the provisions which a proper water-power bill should contain:

"(1) That the flow of water in our rivers should be regulated and our water powers developed to the fullest extent that may be practicable.

"This is essential to prevent unnecessary damage from floods and to insure our industrial progress and the future prosperity of our people.

"(2) That with respect to streams having their headwaters within the boundaries of the forest parks, all plans of regulation or power development should be executed only by the State, and all reservoirs and their appurtenances and the impounded waters should be the property of the State and under exclusive State control, and not be permitted to pass into private hands.

"Any such plan should embrace all necessary safeguards to insure the proper protection of the forests.

"(3) That with respect to any other streams flowing through any other public park or reservation of the State, such plans should likewise be executed by the State and it should retain exclusive ownership and control in order adequately to safeguard the State's interests.

"(4) That further, as it is of great public importance that the water powers of the State should be developed in a comprehensive manner and that these natural sources of industrial energy should not become the subject of an injurious private control, such development should be undertaken by the State whenever such action appears to be feasible and for the general interest.

"(5) That in any case of State development of water power, provision should be made for the granting of such rights as may be proper to use the power so developed upon equitable terms and conditions.

"(6) That the State should not undertake any plan of regulation or water-power development save upon a basis which would make its investment a fair and reasonable one from the public standpoint by virtue of practicable measures for insuring such a return upon the State's outlay as would be equitable in the particular circumstances.

"(7) That an amendment of the constitution at this time for the purpose of permitting any portion of the forest preserve to be used for any such purpose should, by its terms, or by appropriate reference, suitably define the property within the preserve which is to be used and the manner of its use. No amendment and no plan of development should meet with any favor which, after the most rigid scrutiny, does not afford absolute assurance that in no way will the public interest in the forests be parted with or jeopardized."

Vetoes measures to promote private profit: The governor met each legislative effort to promote private profit at the expense of the State by vetoing such bills passed by the legislature, as in the case of assembly bill 2382, June 25, 1910:

"It does not afford a suitable scheme for the protection of the State, and it should not become a law.

"It is to be regretted that a comprehensive measure for water-power development, with the necessary details for the execution of a proper plan, has not been provided."

The same attitude was shown in the governor's veto of an addition to the river improvement act (June 25, 1910), in which he said:

"It is apparent, for reasons which I have repeatedly stated in my messages to the legislature, that there is need for appropriate legislation to secure the advantages which would flow from water-power development, not limited to mere considerations of public health and safety. We should have a comprehensive scheme so that the sources of industrial power in this State may be properly availed of; and that we may have that extension of industry under conditions safeguarding the public interest which will greatly promote the common prosperity. * * *

"I have been very desirous that there should be a proper plan by which our water powers can be developed on a basis fair to all; but the details of such a plan need to be worked out carefully, and I do not believe this can be done by a mere addition to the river improvement act."

That the State alone should carry out any plan for the regulation of water power having its rise within the boundaries of the forest parks also was urged by Gov. Hughes. He believed that all reservoirs with their appurtenances should be the property of the State and under exclusive State control, and should not be permitted to pass into private hands, and that plans for the regulation or development of any other stream flowing through any public work or reservation of the State should also be exclusively under State control.

PRESERVATION OF SARATOGA SPRINGS.

Private interests and competitive measures having threatened the destruction of the mineral springs at Saratoga Springs, the legislature in 1909 passed a bill providing for the purchase of the springs by the State and the establishment of a State reservation. Gov. Hughes approved the bill.

Gov. Hughes's conservation policy shows an industrial outlook of unusual breadth. It defines the proper use of great natural resources for the greatest good to the State and its citizens. It guards against ruthless destroyers on the one hand and selfish interests on the other. It offers a practical administrative plan for one of the most difficult and least-regarded problems of American States.

*VII. Labor.*

One-third of the labor laws ever passed in the State of New York since its foundation—133 years—were passed during Gov. Hughes's administration, and at his instance. These cover the field of labor legislation from workmen's compensation to child labor.

The results accomplished during Gov. Hughes's first term were outlined briefly in his speech upon the occasion of his renomination:

"The labor department has been made more effective. Additional inspectors have been provided. The bureau of mercantile inspection has been created and inspection of the establishments subject thereto has been removed from the overburdened health officers of cities of the first class and placed with the State department. The head of the department, himself a labor man who won his promotion by his proved capacity, has made a commendable record in the enforcement of the law.

"The child-labor laws have been made more stringent.

"Improved provision has been made with regard to ventilation of factories and for suitable washrooms; protection has been provided for those employed in the construction of tunnels and for proper report of accidents.

"The limitation of the hours of labor of employees on street surface railroads has been extended to all cities of the second class. The employment of railroad employees, except in specified cases of casualties or unexpected delays of trains for more than 16 consecutive hours, has been prohibited and provision has been made to enforce periods of rest. An eight-hour day has been provided for railroad, telegraph, and telephone operators.

"It has been required that the employees of steam surface railways shall receive their wages semimonthly instead of monthly as heretofore, thus aiding thrift and protecting them from the exactions to which they have been exposed. And the law as to cash payment of wages has been amended so as to include companies engaged in harvesting and storing ice."

REORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

A law which went into effect June 15, 1907, completely reorganized the department of labor and provided for an enlarged staff to enforce the law. In the words of the commissioner of labor: "It was the most intelligent and generous treatment the department has received from the legislature for many years."

Gov. Hughes, in his first message to the legislature, set forth specifically his reasons for this law:

"The labor department should be put on a better footing. Prior to 1901 the bureaus or departments of labor statistics, factory inspection, and mediation and arbitration were separately organized. In that year they were consolidated into the present department of labor, but this was accomplished without a suitable revision of the law, and some confusion has resulted. Not only should the law be carefully revised, but provision should promptly be made to increase the efficiency of the department by thoroughly equipping it for its work. It serves no useful purpose to increase the duties of a department without supplying the means by which they may be discharged. And it is of vital importance to the interests of the wage earners throughout the

State that the provisions of the labor law should be strictly enforced.

"* * * Whatever increase is necessary to secure the enforcement of the important provisions of the statutes regulating the conditions of labor should be supplied without delay. To attain proper efficiency the work should be specialized and positions and salaries should be graded."

PROTECTION OF CHILD LABOR.

In his message to the legislature in 1907 Gov. Hughes urged definite and specific legislation for the protection of children:

"I recommend to your careful consideration the important subject of child labor. Laws for the protection of children, in securing to them their right to an elementary education and in surrounding them with appropriate safeguards, make a special appeal to humane sentiment, and nothing should be left undone to give them full effect.

"Children under 16 should have an eight-hour day. Such a provision will not only furnish protection from excessive strain, but will also aid the administrative officers in their enforcement of the law.

"I also recommend that in order to protect children from dangerous employments there should be a more precise prohibition specifying the occupations in which children under 16 shall not be employed. General prohibitions as to such matters are apt to be found inoperative. It is fair to all concerned and essential to the protection of children that the law be made as specific as possible."

Legislation: Two laws, as outlined by the governor, were later enacted, one reducing the number of hours per day when children may be employed in factories from 9 to 8 and the hours between which they may be employed from between 7 a. m. and 6 p. m. to 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., and one extending these provisions to apply to children employed "in connection with factories" and entirely reframing the law defining the hours of labor of females over 16. These were divided into two classes—minors under 21 and adults—in order to limit to the adults the effect of recent decisions of the courts holding the night-work prohibition of section 77 unconstitutional because it applied to adults. Gov. Hughes regarded these bills of such extreme importance to working women and children that he approved them, despite the retention of the unconstitutional provision.

Dangerous employments: As the governor's recommendation relating to the protection of children against dangerous employments contained in his first message to the legislature had not been carried out, he again urged, in 1909, the enactment of such legislation:

"I renew the recommendation made in my first message that in order to protect children against dangerous employments there should be a more precise prohibition specifying the occupations, to be selected with just discrimination, in which children under 16 years of age shall not be employed. It is believed that this will be an improvement upon the general terms of the present law.

"It is also desirable in the interests of justice, as well as to aid in the enforcement of the law, that where a minor under 16 sustains an injury in the course of an employment which the law forbids, the employer should be liable by reason of the violation of the law, without regard to contributory negligence or the employee's assumption of risk."

A bill was also passed specifying the different kinds of machines upon which children under 16 might not be employed. It prohibited, in addition, their employment in certain processes, including, in the case of girls, operations which required them to remain standing constantly. This second list of prohibited employments had in view not only danger of accidental injury, but also danger to health from harmful or poisonous substances.

HEALTH AND SAFETY OF EMPLOYEES IN MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS.

The power of inspection of mercantile establishments had heretofore been vested in local boards of health. The resulting inadequate enforcement of the labor law brought from the governor a recommendation that the responsibility of enforcement be transferred to the State department of labor.

A bill to this effect passed the assembly without much difficulty, but in the senate met with powerful opposition on the part of merchants who would be affected by the measure. Notwithstanding the efforts of the many friends of the bill, its opponents succeeded in preventing its passage.

"The supply bill passed at the regular session carries appropriations to enable the labor department to undertake this work, but the necessary amendments of the substantive law have not been made."

Gov. Hughes emphatically recommended the bill again to the legislature in extraordinary session. It was accordingly again introduced, and, although again vigorously opposed, was finally passed.

SEMIMONTHLY PAYMENT OF WAGES.

The first bill requiring railroads to pay wages semimonthly instead of monthly was introduced in 1901. Since then the measure had appeared perennially before the legislature. After eight years of activity by railroad employees, the bill became a law in 1908 under Gov. Hughes.

This act was one of the two preferred measures that year of the State Workingmen's Federation and was actively championed by the legislative agents of that organization and the railway brotherhoods, and on the other hand was vigorously opposed by the railroads. In approving the act, Gov. Hughes said:

"By the labor law it is provided that corporations and joint-stock associations shall pay their employees weekly. Steam surface railroads, however, were excepted from this provision and permitted to pay monthly. This mitigates this discrimination by providing for a semimonthly payment.

"It is urged that this change will cause the steam railroads some inconvenience and expense. But doubtless the present law occasions inconvenience and expense to other corporations who are not benefited by any exception. It is better that the present bill should become a law and suitable administrative arrangements be made to comply with it than that the existing discrimination, which can not be justified with due regard to the policy of the provision of the labor law, should be maintained."

Since adequate penalties for violation of this law had not been provided, the governor included in his message to the next legislature the following recommendation, which resulted in the necessary amendment:

"At the last session a law was passed providing for semimonthly payment of railroad employees. While a penalty for its violation is provided for by the labor law, it is not satisfactory, and the Penal Code should be amended so as to bring within its provisions the violation of the amendment of last year. There should be no question as to the adequacy of the penalty."

REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES.

Abuses in connection with employment agencies led to an entire recasting of the law regulating employment agencies. Chapter 780 of the laws of 1910 provided for the licensing, supervision, and regulation of employment agencies by local commissioners of licenses in the larger cities and by mayors in the smaller cities. The act included provisions for the protection of the unemployed person in search of work from exploitation by employment agents and provided for maximum fees, prohibited misrepresentation regarding the place and kind of work, etc.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Gov. Hughes initiated the movement that resulted in the enactment of the workmen's compensation act of 1910, which substituted a system of automatic compensation for the old common-law principle of employer's liability which threw practically the whole burden and loss of industrial accident upon the workman. In a speech delivered at the Exposition of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene immediately after his inauguration in 1907, he manifested a deep interest in the subject of industrial safety and the need of governmental action to establish proper working conditions. The governor said:

"We shudder at the thought of the carnage of war, but we give too little attention to the perils of our industrial army and to the useless sacrifice of life and productive efficiency which is the result of preventable accidents in industry. * * * It has been estimated that the so-called industrial accidents in the United States amount to over 500,000 in a year. * * *

"The common law reflects the view that the laborer is free in his choice of an occupation and voluntarily accepts its obvious risks. He is supposed to deal on a footing of equality with his employer and to be compensated by the agreed wages for the risks which he assumes. However convenient this may be as a matter of legal theory, we know that our industrial army is recruited from those who have no choice but to take the work nearest at hand and to accept, for the most part, whatever perils may attend it. The workman takes the risk because he must work or starve, and in getting work he can not afford to be too squeamish about the conditions under which he is employed. To be sure, humane motives and economic reasons have led to the adoption of varied safety appliances. Inventive skill has been directed to the protection of labor. Legislatures have intervened and have specifically required protection. But much remains to be accomplished, and from experience abroad the conclusion is forced upon us that a very large proportion of the injuries which annually occur are wholly useless. It is a shocking thought that the wage earners of the country, who, by their daily toil, make possible the industrial prestige of which we boast, should be subjected through ignorance or indifference to unnecessary peril. The interests of labor are the interests of all the people, and the protection of the wage earner in the security of his life and health by every practicable means is one of the most sacred trusts of society. It is of the first importance that this obligation should voluntarily be recognized and that every effort should be made to better the lot of industrial employees by making the conditions of their labor decent, wholesome, and safe."

In his message to the legislature in 1909, the governor said:

"I also recommend that provision be made for special and expert inquiry into the questions relating to employers' liability and compensation for workmen's injuries. Our present methods are wasteful and result in injustice. Numbers of negligence cases are prosecuted upon a basis which gives the attorneys a high percentage of recoveries. Only a small percentage of the premiums paid for insurance against liability is devoted to payment of losses. As a result the workmen do not receive proper compensation and employers pay large amounts that do not reach them. There are constitutional restrictions which stand in the way of some of the remedies which have been devised in other countries; but the subject should be thoroughly examined to the end that the present waste and injustice should be mitigated to the fullest extent that may be found to be at once practicable and consistent with the provisions of our fundamental law."

Wainwright Commission: In accordance with this suggestion the "Wainwright Commission" to investigate the subject of employers' liability and unemployment was appointed.

The work of the commission and its comprehensive report was referred to by Gov. Hughes as follows:

"Existing conditions with regard to employers' liability and compensation for workmen's injuries are so unjust that there should be remedial action as soon as it can be taken intelligently after competent investigation. The present methods are satisfactory neither to employer nor employed and the rules of law governing legal liability offend the common sense of fairness. Under the legislation of the last session a commission, broadly representative in character, was appointed and authorized to make full inquiry with respect to industrial accidents and their causes, also into the causes of unemployment and the means of securing a better distribution of labor. The work of this commission should be supported, and it is hoped that its labors and recommendations may lead to the adoption of comprehensive measures which will avoid the present waste and injustice, and promote contentment and prosperity by securing improved conditions for those engaged in industrial occupations."

Two acts were passed by the legislature after the filing of the commission's report. Chapter 352 greatly extended the legal liability of employers based on negligence and at the same time offered a plan of fixed compensation which employers and employees might by voluntary agreement substitute for their respective liabilities and rights under the liability law. Chapter 674 substituted outright for certain especially dangerous occupations in place of employers' liability based on negligence, compulsory compensation with a fixed scale for all employees accidentally injured when not guilty of serious or willful misconduct.

In signing these bills Gov. Hughes noted that in this new field of social legislation in America much would have to be learned by experiment, and the laws revised later accordingly:

"The proposals of the commission have been criticized by some on the ground that they do not go far enough and by others because they go too far. While avoiding extremes, the commission has sought to afford a scheme of compensation through the testing of which the State may find a basis for the establishment of its policy.

"With respect to the objections urged upon me as to the validity of certain features of the bill, I believe that the questions thus raised should be left to the determination of the courts. In this way only can there be an authoritative determination with respect to the measures that are within the limits of legislative power and a suitable shaping, in the light of judicial decisions, of the policy of the State with respect to compensation for industrial accidents."

Chapter 674 was the first State law in this country to adopt the principle of compulsory compensation. Both acts were notable as effecting a general change from the principle of liability to that of automatic compensation.

FULL CREW ON RAILROADS.

The legislature in 1907 passed a bill requiring the employment of an additional brakeman on freight trains composed of more than 20 cars, thus making a train crew consist of six instead of five persons. As in other similar legislation, the governor expressed full sympathy with efficient service, but opposed arbitrary requirements not adaptable to varying conditions. The governor vetoed the bill on the following grounds:

"According to present practice, freight trains are very generally operated with a crew of five persons, and the object of this bill is to compel the employment of an additional brakeman. The necessity for this is said to lie in the fact that without three brakemen the freight trains are insufficiently manned, and that firemen are compelled to leave their places in all kinds of weather to throw switches when the two brakemen are required respectively to go ahead of and behind the train.

"This bill, however, upon the facts developed before me upon the hearing and undisputed, is clearly unconstitutional. Such a measure should define the service required with suitable reference to circumstances and conditions, so that the law would apply in proper cases and not otherwise. The bill takes no account of the differences between the different roads and parts of roads, in trackage and switching facilities, and of the fact that what may be necessary in the case of some railroads may be wholly unnecessary in others. In the case of the New York Central Railroad it was shown that the trackage and switching facilities on its main lines were of such a character as to make unnecessary the employment of a third brakeman, in accordance with the provisions of the bill. This was frankly conceded by supporters of the bill.

"To require the expenditure of a very large amount of money (estimated at several hundred thousand dollars annually), without necessity for the outlay, is simply arbitrary exaction and a taking of property without due process of law. The bill does not refer its requirements to any proper standard of necessity or provide any criterion by which its proper application under varying conditions is to be determined. It contains an absolute requirement which, upon the facts conceded before me, can not be justified."

EQUAL PAY FOR TEACHERS.

In the last year of Gov. Hughes's administration the legislature passed an act to amend the Greater New York charter providing equal pay for equal work to both male and female members of the supervising and teaching staff of the public schools of the city of New York.

The bill was referred to the mayor of New York City, who disapproved it. The legislature, however, passed the bill over the mayor's disapproval, and it was then referred to the governor.

Gov. Hughes then vetoed the bill. He did not take a stand against equal pay, his attitude being clearly outlined in the following paragraph of his memorandum of veto:

"It is proposed by legislative enactment to establish the proposition that for the work of a given position women shall receive equal pay with men. It is for this principle that the supporters of the bill contend and not for mere increased pay. The gross inequalities which have been permitted by the board of education, and which clearly should not be continued, are pointed to for the purpose of emphasizing the principle in question."

He was against inequalities, whether they affected women teachers or any other group of public servants, but could not approve the selection for special relief of one group within a given community. He stood for principles broadly applied, after full investigation and discussion, rather than piecemeal legislation. He took the position that if the policy of "equal pay for equal work" was to be adopted, it was the duty of the State to apply that policy impartially in every city of the State and for other kinds of State work besides teaching:

"The board of education is (thus) directly subject to the control of the legislature, and whatever provisions may be found necessary or wise for the purpose of defining its powers or prescribing its policy must be prescribed by the legislature. No other authority is competent to make such provision.

"But while the legislature has power to deal with every phase of the matter, the course which experience approves is that certain general principles of action should be laid down and that within these principles freedom with reference to details of management should be left to the subordinate body acting with peculiar knowledge of local conditions. * * *

"The motive of the present bill is to compel equal pay for men and women holding the same positions under any particular schedule of salaries. The provision of the bill relating to classification, schedules, and the raising of additional funds by taxation turn upon this central requirement and are for the purpose of giving it effect. And inasmuch as the question is one of general principle it is claimed that it is a requirement properly to be established by the legislature in laying down the rules under which the board of education shall exercise its powers.

"Now, without taking up the alleged ambiguities of the bill, it clearly appears, with respect to this fundamental matter, to be open to serious objection.

"The proposition as it is put—'equal pay for equal work'—is an attractive one and set forth on behalf of the worthy public servants who are engaged in this important calling. It has elicited a large measure of support while at the same time it has provoked vigorous opposition from those who believe that the desired legislation would be unfortunate both for the schools and the women teachers.

"But it is manifest that the principle is one of general application, and it should not be adopted by the State unless the State is prepared to apply it generally. The question is necessarily one of State policy, and as such it should be presented and debated before action is taken.

"There is no reason why the principle should be applied to teachers in New York and not to those in Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, and elsewhere in the State. Nor is there any reason why it should be limited to school-teaching. If sound, it should be applied in our State hospital service, in our charitable and reformatory institutions, and generally through the civil-court service of the State. It is indefensible that a principle of grave importance to the State as a whole should be established in connection with a local measure inviting only the consideration which as such it receives. The consideration of such a matter should be under circumstances directing the attention of every member of the legislature to its importance with reference to his own constituency and to the State at large, and not upon the assumption that it is a question of purely local concern.

"What local authorities or subordinate boards may do within the limits of their discretion, while locally important, is a very different matter from the establishment by legislation of a principle of action which has an appropriate local limitation. By acting in such matters through local bills, the State finds itself committed to a course which as State policy has never received thorough consideration.

"For this reason I can not approve this bill. The matter should be left to the board of education to be dealt with locally as may seem best, unless the legislature is prepared to lay down the general principle for the entire State and the entire public service."

ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR UNIONS.

The governor frequently gave expression to his natural sympathy with the constructive work done by labor organizations. At the dedication of the tuberculosis pavilion erected by the Central Federation of Labor at Albany he said, in 1908:

"My friends, there are some who regard organized labor as a source of strife and menace of difficulty. I regard it as a fine opportunity for the amelioration of the condition of men working with no other purpose than to make the most of themselves and to achieve something for their families. I regard it as a fine opportunity for the realization of the highest benefits for those that every patriotic citizen feels most solicitous about to see that everything should be done for their continued progress.

"Under wise leadership, with statesmanlike guidance, with a sincere intention to promote the benefit of the community and to secure honorable progress, the mission of labor organizations is one of the finest that any association of men could guard. To-day we have a realization of what can be accomplished.

"We have entered into a campaign which requires the cooperation of all in the community to stamp out this great white plague. By the mitigation of improper conditions of labor, by the decrease of hours of labor, by securing better administration of health departments and wiser legislation with regard to the conditions of tenement houses, and with reference to many preventable nuisances much has been done to obtain better conditions for the workingman. But what is done each year only points out what is to be done the year following.

"There is a great movement in this country from one end to the other, a movement of progress that is not sensational, that is not intended for the benefit of this or that particular man, selfishly considered, that is not controlled by any set of men, but is for the improvement and the progress of humanity, because all our decent citizenship is determined that every abuse that can be corrected shall be corrected and that every man shall have a fair chance in this country."

Six-day week: The governor frequently held conferences with labor-union delegations during his incumbency. In 1908 an effort was made to open such work places as butcher and barber shops on Sunday, and a delegation of the Workingmen's Federation appeared before him to enlist his opposition to such measures. When a minister who accompanied them, representing the Sabbatarian Association, read a long address to the governor urging him to keep such places closed on Sunday, the latter immediately replied:

"I believe in a six-day working week. So do you. But do you know that the men who are making a six-day week a possibility and an eventual fixture are these men and their associates?" indicating the labor union members present. "I long ago came to the conclusion that the labor unions are going to solve the Sunday labor question to the best interest of the country. Join hands with them and you will double your results while halving your labor."

ORGANIZED LABOR COMMENT ON THE HUGHES ADMINISTRATION.

The Legislative Labor News, the recognized organ of the State Federation of Labor, published by John M. O'Hanlon, Troy, N. Y., indicated after the governor's resignation in 1910 how this interest had resulted in unusually favorable labor legislation by commenting, under the caption "He was a great governor," as follows:

"Now that Gov. Hughes has retired from politics and ascended to a place on the highest judicial tribunal in the world, the fact can be acknowledged without hurting anybody's political corns that he was the greatest friend of labor laws that ever occupied the governor's chair at Albany. During his two terms he has signed 56 labor laws, including among them the best labor laws ever enacted in this or any other State. He also urged the enactment of labor laws in his messages to the legislature, even going so far as to place the demand for a labor law in one of his messages to an extra session of the legislature.

"Only 162 labor laws have been enacted in this State since its erection in 1777—in 133 years. One-third of these, exceeding in quality all of the others, have been enacted and signed during Gov. Hughes's term of three years and nine months.

"With such a record of approval and suggestion of progressive legislation in the interest of humanity to his credit, it is easy to believe that human rights will have a steadfast and sympathetic upholder in the new justice of the Supreme Court of the United States."

The protection of children in industry, the recognition of the rights of injured and disabled workmen to compensation, thus distributing the burden of industrial accidents; the improvement of hours and conditions of labor for working men and women, these are among the significant achievements of Mr. Hughes's governorship. These same subjects are now engaging social and legislative interest and energy in many of our States. In all of them history shows Mr. Hughes to have been a pioneer. The workmen's compensation law was the first State-wide compensation law in the country, and, although declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, it served as a model for similar laws in a number of States in the following year. The work of the Wainwright Commission and the law of 1910 are landmarks in the history of compensation law. The stability of Mr. Hughes's social measures and their permanent place in our national records are due to their combination of social idealism with sound legislative detail.

*VIII. Immigration.*

Mr. Hughes, as governor, put through the first measures of practical Americanization ever adopted by any State in this country. The New York State Bureau of Industries and Immigration established by him exemplifies the domestic immigration policy, which in a national way has never yet been attained, and which New York State was the first to approach.

Soon after Gov. Hughes took office the question of investigating the condition and distribution of immigrants in New York State engaged his attention.

American citizenship and our foreign born: Gov. Hughes understood the various racial elements of which our citizenship is composed and frequently gave expression to his faith in the democracy which grew

out of the fusion of races in American life. In an address to a committee representing a society of foreign-born citizens on January 28, 1908, he said:

"One of the most encouraging things about conditions in this country is the fact that whatever stocks we may represent, we so rapidly become responsive to the American ideal, and the genuine love of our institutions is not confined to people of any race or of any stock, but is general to all the members of our citizenship. Were it otherwise we could not last. As it is, we can confront the future with unbounded confidence."

The same sentiment was expressed in an address in March of the same year before another group of naturalized citizens:

"My friends, we are all together here; we have got to do something for the newcomer; we have got to make him realize what our institutions mean; we have got to give him a helping and a brotherly hand. No American can afford to set himself aloof, and when we gather in our different societies and pay just tribute to our stocks and the great men who have ennobled the fame of our origin, let us not forget that the greatest source of pride is in the contribution we have made to the life of this country, and the test of our own right to exult in our ancestry is what we do to maintain what they have so richly provided."

The governor entered into a more detailed statement of his attitude toward the foreign-born citizen in an address at Cohoes, N. Y., on June 24, 1909:

"We are reminded here of the different elements that have been fused into American life, and of the varied sources of our power as a Nation. No true American begrudges anyone his pride of ancestry or the fondness with which he lingers over the glories of the land of his birth or the pride he takes in the talents of the race to which he belongs. We are proud of the fact that in this country we are not dependent upon any one influence or any one source of strength, but we have gathered together the best of all, and we represent in our American life the talents and the aptitudes of all humanity. * * *

"We sometimes hear people talking of 'the American' as though he belonged to one particular race; and sometimes we hear the distinction drawn between so-called 'Americans' and so-called 'foreigners.' I have no sympathy for any spirit of that sort. 'American' is a word of the spirit, and not a word of the flesh. 'American' means devotion to institutions, and not a particular origin; and those who have come here from any country or who represent here the different racial elements that appear commingled are either true or false Americans, not according to the length of their stay, the place of birth of their fathers, or the distinction of their ancestry in this country, but by reference exclusively to their honorable devotion to the principles of American government and their earnest desire that the institutions of this country shall be preserved in their integrity.

"There are American men landing from the ship at Ellis Island almost every day that are true Americans five years before they can take out their naturalization papers. They are true Americans the moment they land on American soil because of the patriotic ideas which brought them here, and their intense love of liberty and of popular government under a Constitution which safeguards the rewards of thrift and secures honorably acquired property."

COMMISSION OF IMMIGRATION.

In 1908 Gov. Hughes sent a message to the legislature recommending that a commission be appointed to make suitable inquiry into the condition of aliens in New York State, and to suggest practicable measures to remedy existing abuses and to promote Americanization:

"The condition of immigrants from foreign countries who in large numbers remain in this State requires careful study. We can not afford to ignore the situation, and our first effort should be properly to understand it and to take whatever measures may be necessary to protect these newcomers from the special forms of imposition of which they are the victims, and through a proper distribution to realize their economic value. The matter has many phases which may well form the subject of a special investigation.

"I recommend that provision be made for the appointment of a commission for this purpose. And as it is a field which has engaged the attention of many public-spirited citizens, I believe it would be possible to obtain a commission possessing the highest qualifications which would serve without compensation."

A commission was accordingly appointed, which investigated the condition of immigrants living in the State. It transmitted its report on April 5, 1909. The general social, industrial, and educational condition of aliens was studied and inquiry was made into such matters as exclusion of aliens; causes of immigration; the alien as a dependent, delinquent, and defective; economic and moral conditions; places of amusement for immigrants; and forces tending to promote assimilation of aliens into American life. Such general exploitation was discovered that detailed investigations were made of practices and methods of immigrant private banks and the losses incurred by immigrant depositors; activities of steamship ticket agencies and ticket peddlers; work of notaries public and preparation of illegal documents; relation of the alien to the administration of the civil and criminal law, and the work of shyster lawyers and professional bondsmen; congestion in the courts empowered to hold naturalization proceedings; conditions surrounding the transportation of immigrants from the time of their landing at the Battery and the exploitation practiced upon them on trains, docks, and steamboats; condition of immigrant homes; distribution of aliens through employment and contract-labor agencies; and living conditions in labor camps. Existing educational facilities for immigrants were also studied, including the provision for industrial training in public schools and in religious, philanthropic, and private schools, the lack of educational facilities in labor camps, and the lack of adequate standards for comprehensive instruction in civics.

BUREAU OF INDUSTRIES AND IMMIGRATION.

The commission recommended as a result of its inquiry that a bureau of industries and immigration should be established in the State, especially charged with the duty of securing for the State the economic advantages derivable from the intelligent utilization of the alien in industrial, agricultural, and other employments and at the same time of protecting the alien from exploitation, fraud, and misrepresentation and of promoting his welfare and thus facilitating his development into an intelligent and useful citizen.

The bureau of industries and immigration was clothed with the power of carrying out and developing a State domestic immigration policy by assuring to every alien a hearing and an impartial inquiry into his complaint or difficulty, by obtaining the enforcement of existing laws to prevent his exploitation, by undertaking investigations of living and labor conditions and submitting recommendations for improvements, and by publishing and distributing information to facilitate assimilation.

OTHER PROTECTIVE LAWS.

Specific laws passed under Gov. Hughes for the protection of aliens against the exploitation that resulted from the new immigrant's ignorance of our language and institutions included a law providing for the supervision of steamship ticket agencies, a law regulating private banks, and a law providing for the supervision of notaries public. A number of complaints alleging illegal acts on the part of notaries had been filed with the governor, and in March, 1910, he refused to reappoint 66 notaries public and also revoked the commissions of 10 others on charges after a hearing before a commissioner. Later a law was passed prohibiting any person to advertise, hold himself out, or convey the impression that he is a notary public, and made it a misdemeanor to practice any fraud or deceit while exercising his powers as a notary public.

The "removal of the hyphen" has long been the problem of this Nation, though it has had general recognition only during the past few years. A united citizenship and an undivided loyalty among citizens and residents of this country can be achieved only when the United States has a definite policy for distributing into industry and educating and preparing for citizenship the men and women it admits. Mr. Hughes instituted the first measures of Americanism ever established in any State. New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and California have since appointed commissions based upon the New York State policy.

*IX. Race-track gambling.*

When Gov. Hughes took office he found that the State constitution, the fundamental law of the State, was being openly and flagrantly violated with respect to pool selling and bookmaking at race tracks. The constitution plainly prohibited such gambling and the legislature by chapter 270 of the laws of 1895 had pretended to prohibit it and had made the penalty for its continuance liability to a civil suit for the money lost. This ineffective penalty actually protected such practices, and criminal proceedings for this plain evasion of the will of the people could not be brought.

The governor in his message to the legislature in 1908 called attention to these facts and asked the legislature to carry into effect the constitutional mandate. Acrimonious comments were made on the governor's attempts to alter the situation, and a resolution was passed asking for a letter which Gov. Hughes was said in a newspaper article to have received from a gambler stating that legislators had been influenced to vote against the bill. The governor refused to give them the letter with the following message:

"I give no credence to any report that the members of your honorable body would be deflected from their manifest duty by an attempt, if any such were made, on the part of those who have vast interests at stake in this matter to corrupt their judgment. On the contrary, I have implicit confidence that the legislature will carry into effect the constitutional mandate and will purge our State of this source of misery and vice which exists only because the will of the people, flatly declared in the fundamental law, has not been carried into effect.

"On the one side we have the plain provision of the constitution that pool selling and bookmaking shall not be allowed in this State, and that the legislature shall pass appropriate laws to prevent these offenses.

"On the other side stand those who would sacrifice the morals of our youth by extending the area of unnecessary temptation; who would inflict needless suffering upon the helpless women and children, depending upon the cultivation of thrift and industry; and who would imperil the welfare of thousands of our people simply because of their selfish desire to make money out of gambling privileges. They fatten upon wretchedness, and have the effrontery to demand that the laws of the State shall be adapted to their purposes. * * *."

The governor then pointed out that the pending legislation was not intended to destroy racing, but merely to make effective a constitutional prohibition.

"The bills are not aimed at racing or at race tracks or at property. They are aimed at public gambling, prohibited by the constitution, condemned by the moral sense of the people, irrespective of creed, conceded to be the prolific source of poverty and crime."

The assembly passed a bill correcting the situation, but the senate would not do so. On April 9 the governor sent a special message to the legislature urging it again to enact appropriate legislation to abolish the existing discriminations in favor of race-track gambling. He also called attention to the fact that under the constitution the legislature must make existing prohibitions effective and had no right to permit discriminations.

Summons extraordinary session: The legislature adjourned, however, without passing the race-track bills, and Gov. Hughes forthwith summoned the legislature to an extraordinary session to complete the work it had left undone. His special message read:

"I recommend to your consideration the enactment of suitable legislation for the prevention of race-track gambling.

"The issue has been clearly presented whether the interests of those who wish to maintain gambling privileges at race tracks shall be considered paramount to the constitution of the State. It is an issue which has been clearly defined and is fully appreciated by the people. It can not be obscured by a discussion of propensities of human nature. Race-track gambling exists not because it is hidden or elusive but as an organized business shielded by legislative discrimination. The law which professes to prohibit it, in fact, protects it.

"Nor can the question be finally disposed of save by indicating the honor of the State and by demonstrating that there is no power, however strong or unscrupulous, which can be permitted to override the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law."

The governor appealed to the people, and succeeded finally in obtaining the necessary legislation. His motive in insisting upon the enactment of this legislation was brought before the people time and time again, as in a speech in the Richmond County Fair, Staten Island, on September 10, 1908:

"It may be said that it is not a plank in the Republican platform upon which I was elected; but it was the foundation of all the planks in the Republican platform, without which they would not have held up very long. Of course, you do not have to have systematized public gambling, largely at the expense of the public that, even in the gambling game, as many of you know, do not have a fair show. Of course, it is not necessary in order to promote sport to defy the constitution or to engage in a general systematic plan of public gambling. The very essence of sport is that it is above mere considerations of pecuniary return, and, indeed, above any considerations of improper pecuniary return. I believe in racing and in sport, but whether it is this evil or that, whether it is in connection with railroads or in connection with race tracks, whether it has to do with this department or that matter,

when anybody says we can get the best of the constitution because we don't like it, then it is the time to step in and find out what the people of the State say.

"That is the security of our Government and the respect which the people have for law—for law in itself, not for a particular law. Everybody likes a law that helps him. Everybody likes a law which aids him, as he thinks, in his business. What really supports us as a free government is not respect for a particular law but respect for law because it is law; because we are all going together with the genuine belief in our institutions and a determination that we will do things in the right way; that if we don't like a law we will try to repeal it; that if the constitution is not right it shall be amended."

The governor showed in many ways his interest in racing as a sport and in improving the breed of horses, especially in what he did to develop the State fair.

The governor's fight against race-track gambling was a fight for the integrity of the fundamental law of the State. Far from having in view interference with the pleasure of the people, it aimed at and achieved the abolition of legislative discrimination in favor of a particular group.

Gov. Hughes in this respect, as in many other of his measures, insisted that in letter and in spirit the law should apply broadly to all citizens and all groups alike, and should be evaded or modified in the interest of none.

*X. Education.*

Several important educational policies were adopted by the State in Gov. Hughes's administration.

TRADE SCHOOLS.

The establishment of trade schools in connection with the public schools was provided for by chapter 263 of the laws of 1908. It permitted the establishment by local public school authorities of either general, industrial, or trade schools, and provided for their subsidy by the State. An important provision of the act designed to give employers and employees a voice in their management, required the public school authorities to appoint "an advisory board of five members representing the local trades and industries" to "counsel with and advise" the school authorities in such management.

The governor in his message to the legislature in 1909 dwelt on the lack of suitable vocational training:

"The lack of suitable vocational training is a matter of serious concern. Adequate opportunities for boys to become skilled workmen do not exist, and our efforts to supply industrial training have not fully met the difficulty.

"A serious aspect of it is that children who are not being trained for some definite vocation are not being trained for anything. It is said that more than one-half of all who enter the public elementary schools leave before completing the work of the schools. Obviously the curriculum of the elementary schools should make it to the interest of the children to remain to the end of the course. At least it should be of a character to impel rational parents to see that it is clearly to their ultimate interest to keep their children in school to the end of the elementary course, and to justify the State in so doing in case of inferior courts of criminal jurisdiction where parents are remiss."

COMPULSORY EVENING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

The education law was amended by chapter 409 of the laws of 1909 to provide for the compulsory evening school attendance in cities of the first and second class of children between the ages of 14 and 16 who had not graduated from the day schools and to provide for its enforcement.

IMMIGRANT CHILDREN.

The act creating the bureau of industries and immigration (see "Immigration"), upon the recommendation of Gov. Hughes's commission of immigration, gave that bureau power to secure and distribute to school superintendents the names and addresses of newly arrived alien children of school age to aid in the enforcement of the compulsory attendance provisions of the education law. The data for such children were then secured from the Federal immigration authorities, and in the first year of its existence the bureau distributed 8,369 names of such alien children. This experiment proved of such value that the Federal Government has since adopted the plan and is now distributing the names of all newly arrived children of school age to school superintendents throughout the country.

IMMIGRANT ADULTS.

The same bureau was also empowered to devise methods for the proper instruction of adult and minor aliens in the English language and in respect to the duties and rights of citizenship and the fundamental principles of the American system of government, and otherwise to further their education. A special study was made of labor camps, and it was found that they were wholly without educational facilities. The immigrant's need of learning the English language in order to prevent accidents, to enable him to understand his work better, and to adopt an American standard of living and of learning civics and the principles of the American form of government to promote better citizenship was pointed out by this bureau. The passage of an act was later secured establishing schools in temporary labor camps, the first of its kind in the country.

AGRICULTURAL.

In his address at the Wyoming County Fair, Warsaw, N. Y., on September 15, 1908, Gov. Hughes made clear his understanding of the need for agricultural education.

"Now, we want to make progress in all agricultural work; we want to have the State of New York go forward and far surpass all that has hitherto been accomplished by securing proper instruction, proper opportunities for agricultural education.

"That (farmer) boy that I spoke of a moment ago wants to have not a haphazard existence on the farm, just practicing what he may have learned with restricted opportunity; he wants to have the best of all experience brought right to his aid; he does not want mere theoretical instruction; but he does want to know what has been tried, what experience shows and others know; and there is no reason in the world why the boy that goes on the farm should not have as good a training as the boy that goes into the law or into medicine or into every daily vocation of an inheritance experience. The object of an education is to bring within the range of one what he, in the experience of a long life, could never acquire for himself; but he is taught what has been accomplished in the centuries past under varied conditions, so he may have, at once, that great capital to draw upon.

"So we have entered upon a course of agricultural education in this State of the most practical sort."

The educational policy which characterizes this legislation of the governor's dealing particularly with the working youth and handicapped aliens, shows that in education as in other fields Gov. Hughes believed that the State must extend its right to an education to all the people.

*XI. Courts and probation.*

In revising the methods of the lower courts in the interests of the unfortunate, and in greatly broadening and developing the system of probation throughout the State, Gov. Hughes advanced far in a new field of humane legislation in America.

CIVIL COURTS.

The city court of New York was at this time three years behind in its regular calendar, so that unless a case was of such a nature that it could be put upon the short-course calendar, it took three years for it to reach trial.

"It is doubtful whether any court in the county affects the welfare of more persons. It is the poor man's court, where justice should be speedy, but delays of this sort amount to a denial of justice and breed disrespect for the law and its administration. If we are to maintain law and order and conserve our institutions, evils of this sort must be remedied. While we are spending many millions of dollars on public works of great importance to the business interests of the State, we must not fail to make adequate provision to secure to the masses of the people the prompt enforcement of their rights and the swift redress of their grievances. No one who is acquainted with the conditions prevailing in those courts and the earnest efforts which are made by the justices who perform their duties under conditions of great embarrassment can fail to recognize the necessity of devising some means of relief."

CRIMINAL COURTS.

The governor early in 1908 also asked the legislature to authorize the naming of a commission to investigate "the methods and procedure of inferior courts of criminal jurisdiction where it would seem that our system of administering justice may be greatly improved," and a bill to this effect was introduced in the senate and a commission was appointed. The investigation resulted in the passage of an act in 1910, which the governor signed and with which he filed the following memorandum:

"This bill provides for important reforms in connection with the inferior courts of criminal jurisdiction in the city of New York. The wisdom of some of the proposals has been challenged, but they are the result of painstaking study, by the commission appointed for the purpose, of a most difficult subject, and the city of New York should not be denied the right to avail itself of the test and experience which the bill will permit."

PROBATION.

During the first year of Gov. Hughes's administration he called attention to the need of perfecting the probation system of the State, based on a careful and sympathetic study of the subject in order to devise a practicable statutory scheme. He secured the passage of chapter 430 in June of that year authorizing the appointment of a permanent State probation commission to collate information about this method of dealing with prisoners and to supervise the efforts of probation officers to reclaim the offenders placed in their charge. It also was given power to investigate the work of any probation officer.

The report of the probation commission in 1910 shows what progress was made in the State's probationary system:

"Prior to 1907 there were no statistics available as to the extent of the use of probation in New York State. In that year the probation system was reported as used in 16 cities, 1 village, and 11 county courts. The growth of the system during the next three years led to its use in 1910 in 37 cities, over 40 towns and villages, and 34 county courts, besides in the supreme court in a number of counties.

"The first appropriation for the salary of a probation officer was made in 1904. In 1907 the number of publicly salaried positions was 35; in 1910 the number had increased to 106. Not until 1908 was it permissible for counties to make appropriations for the probation service. In 1910, 16 counties had provisions for salaried probation officers.

"Since the commission came into existence the number of children placed on probation each year has been about 2,000, and the number of adults so dealt with has averaged between 6,000 and 7,000. The number of persons on probation at a time averages between 3,000 and 4,000.

"Marked improvements have been made in the operations of the probation system during the last three years. More care than ever before is exercised by judges in selecting defendants to be released on probation; offenders are kept on probation longer and under closer oversight; more is done to aid probationers to improve their habits; and the abuses which formerly characterized the use of the system are decreasing.

"The probation system to-day is stronger and is receiving more hearty support from officials and the general public than ever before."

The year following the appointment of the State probation commission the first salaried probation officers had been appointed, and boards of supervisors were authorized to appropriate money for them in county courts. In 1909 the first juvenile detention home was established in Buffalo and a national probation association was organized. In 1910 the new inferior courts act authorized the appointment of salaried civilian probation officers in place of police officers, and a domestic relations court was established in Buffalo upon the commission's recommendation—the first such court in the world presided over by a judge devoting his time exclusively to such cases.

No task of social reform has more gravely challenged the powers of social leaders and administrators than the sound revision of the methods of administering justice and of securing a plan of probation that shall be at once sympathetic, sound, and practical. In this Gov. Hughes's record as cited above shows him to have been again a pioneer.

*XII. Federal income-tax amendment.*

Gov. Hughes vetoed the Federal income-tax amendment not because he did not believe in a Federal income tax, for he did, but because the amendment implied, in his opinion, a Federal right to tax the securities of States and municipalities and was therefore a violation of the rights of the States.

A joint resolution submitted to the legislature in 1910 proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which had been adopted by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and which read:

"ART. XVI. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

The governor, commenting on the proposed amendment, pointed out that the words "from whatever source derived" conceded a new grant of power to Congress in giving it the right to tax income derived from State or municipal bonds—a right which might prove extremely dangerous to the States. He pointed out that Congress had previously exercised the power of taxing incomes without apportionment among the States upon the basis of population, and that if the proposed amendment was passed, a limitation would be placed on the borrowing power of the State and thus make the performance of State functions a matter of Federal grace. He therefore recommended that the proposed amendment should not be approved:

"I am in favor of conferring upon the Federal Government the power to lay and collect an income tax without the apportionment among the States according to population. I believe that this power should be held by the Federal Government so as properly to equip it with the means of meeting national exigencies.

"But the power to tax incomes should not be granted in such terms as to subject to Federal taxation the incomes derived from bonds issued by the State itself, or those issued by municipal governments organized under the State authority. To place the borrowing capacity of the State and of its governmental agencies at the mercy of the Federal taxing power would be an impairment of the essential rights of the State which, as its officers, we are bound to defend.

"You are called upon to deal with a specific proposal to amend the Constitution, and your action must necessarily be determined not by a general consideration of the propriety of a just Federal income tax, or of giving to the Federal Government the power to lay such a tax, but whether or not the particular proposal is of such a character as to warrant your assent.

"This proposal is that the Federal Government shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on incomes 'from whatever source derived.'

"It is to be borne in mind that this is not a mere statute to be construed in the light of constitutional restrictions, express or implied, but a proposed amendment to the Constitution itself, which, if ratified, will be in effect a grant to the Federal Government of the power which it defines. The comprehensive words 'from whatever source derived,' if taken in their natural sense, would include not only incomes from ordinary real or personal property, but also incomes derived from State and municipal securities.

"It may be urged that the amendment would be limited by construction. But there can be no satisfactory assurance of this. The words in terms are all inclusive. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States is the most important of political acts, and there should be no amendment expressed in such terms as to afford the opportunity for Federal action in violation of the fundamental conditions of State authority. I am not now referring to the advantage which the States might derive from the exclusive power to tax incomes from property, or to the argument that for this reason the power to tax such incomes should be withheld from the Federal Government. To that argument I do not assent.

"I am referring to a proposal to authorize a tax which might be laid, in fact, upon the instrumentalities of State government. In order that a market may be provided for State bonds and for municipal bonds, and that thus means may be afforded for State and local administration, such securities from time to time are excepted from taxation. In this way lower rates of interest are paid than otherwise would be possible. To permit such securities to be the subject of Federal taxation is to place such limitations upon the borrowing power of the State as to make the performance of the functions of local government a matter of Federal grace. * * *

"It is certainly significant that the words 'from whatever source derived' have been introduced into the proposed amendment as if it were the intention to make it impossible for the claim to be urged that the income from any property, even though it consists of the bonds of the State or of a municipality organized by it, will be removed from the taxing power of the Federal Government. The immunity from Federal taxation that the State and its instrumentalities of government now enjoy is derived, not from any express provision of the Federal Constitution, but from what has been deemed to be necessary implication. Who can say that any such implication with respect to the proposed tax will survive the adoption of this explicit and comprehensible amendment?

"We can not suppose that the Congress will not seek to tax incomes derived from securities issued by the State and its municipalities. It has repeatedly endeavored to lay such taxes, and its efforts have been defeated only by such implied constitutional restriction which this amendment threatens to destroy. While we may desire that the Federal Government may be equipped with all necessary national powers in order that it may perform its national functions, we must be equally solicitous to secure the essential bases of State government.

"I therefore deem it my duty, as governor of the State, to recommend that this proposed amendment should not be ratified."

In vetoing the Federal income-tax amendment, and thus vetoing an object which he believed desirable, Gov. Hughes contributed additional testimony to his persistent unwillingness to remedy one ill by causing another, and to evade fundamental considerations for the sake of desirable ends. In guarding the rights of the States from the encroachment of a dangerous implication, he showed his regard for that broad principle of conservation which is the life and health of government.

*XIII. Special privilege.*

Throughout the four years of his official life, Gov. Hughes's action in vetoing bills showed a rigid determination to oppose special privileges and to insist that if the existing general laws were not adequate to meet particular cases, the proper remedy was not to pass a special law applying to each special case, but rather to amend the general law so as to make it cover the class of case under consideration. He tried to keep the new laws as few as possible, and with this in view refused to sign many classes of bills, such as amendments to the forest, fish, and game law, escheat bills, claim bills, bills legalizing the acts of notaries public and commissioners of deeds, and the like. He insisted that general laws should be passed to relieve the legislature of such trifling matters. Time and again the same phrases recur in his vetoes.

If it was a question of letting the electors in Vernon, Oneida County, vote whether to make a charge of 15 per cent of the cost of road improvements a charge on the town instead of on the abutting owners, who under the law were obliged to pay, Gov. Hughes said that if these abutting owners in Vernon were to be let off, it should be done by a general law applicable to all towns in like case, but that there could be no special legislation.

If it was a question of a claim put in for repairing a fire-alarm system in the fifth ward of the Borough of Queens, Gov. Hughes said that special legislation was wholly unnecessary. It was properly a question for the board of estimate and apportionment. If for some reason this claim was not technically correct, the board should be given general power to deal with the equity of such claims, but that they should not be handled separately by special bills.

If a bill were put in petitioning for the release of lands that had escheated to the State, Gov. Hughes vetoed it and stated that it was necessary to use the method provided for in the general law in such cases.

The governor's insistence upon the exercise of extreme care in the enactment of remedial legislation and his opposition to the passage of special acts for special purposes where broad general laws apply is evidenced in his memorandum of veto to a bill amending the stock-corporation law relating to the conditions under which certain railroad corporations may be merged or consolidated:

"The bill is evidently intended to fit a special case, although it is not frankly special, and justifiable as such, but is an amendment to the general law with conditions which prevent it from being generally applicable.

"Thus the amendment applies only to corporations (1) whose routes are mainly on private right of way; (2) when such routes are less than 100 miles in length; (3) where the building of the roads has not been commenced or they are only in part constructed; and (4) when each corporation has a terminus within a city of more than 1,000,000 inhabitants.

"It would be difficult to suggest any ground of public policy which requires that an amendment to the general law should be hedged about in this manner, and the bill is an illustration of a vicious practice which has been altogether too prevalent."

One of the gravest dangers to legislation in America, whether State or National, is the danger of sectional or group interest, or special as opposed to general application. Not only in the above-mentioned cases but in the case of the equal-pay bill and others during his administration, Gov. Hughes testified to his unwillingness to commit the State to the confusion and instability of special legislation which overzealous reformers and selfish private interests could alike secure to the detriment of the State.

*XIV. Home rule.*

Insistence that local problems must be left for the local authorities to deal with and not be made the subject of special legislation constantly recurs. Bill after bill was put in creating a new position or providing for an increase of salary in various local offices. These were invariably vetoed on the ground that the local authorities must have adequate power to deal with such a questions as hiring another jailer or raising a copyist's salary.

"Local needs can best be determined by the boards which have been chosen to administer local affairs and the expenditures of the money raised by taxation for local purposes should be under their control."

He vetoed many bills on the ground that there were properly constituted authorities with jurisdiction over such matters. Sixteen bills in one year, for instance, relating to proposed amendments of the charter of New York City were vetoed on the ground that they were matters that should be taken up by the charter revision commission. Eight bills authorizing the cancellation or refund of taxes and three relating to the admission of particular attorneys and many other bills were vetoed because Gov. Hughes believed the matter should have been taken up with the proper authorities.

It is a part of the policy of conservation in government that constitutional powers be not lightly transferred, merged, or confused. The Hughes legislative record and the Hughes memoranda of approval and of veto show an unfailing regard for the proper exercise of Federal, State, and local powers.

*XV. Registration of land titles.*

The Torrens system of registration of land titles was made effective in the State on May 20, 1908, after a careful investigation by a commission, to avoid repeated examinations of title and an unnecessary multiplication of record. Gov. Hughes's memorandum of approval stated:

"A commission was appointed last year to examine the matter, and after the most careful consideration of the whole subject, including the experience of other States and of foreign countries, the majority of the commission recommended this legislation. Objections were presented in a careful minority report. After this thorough examination, and with the opposing views clearly presented, the legislature has adopted the recommendations of the commission.

"I believe that this measure represents an important movement in the direction of facilitating land transfers, and that it should become a law. The merits of the objection can be tested, and indeed can satisfactorily be tested only, by experience. If we are ever to escape the complications, delays, and expense incident to present methods, a beginning must be made, and the painstaking and intelligent efforts which have culminated in the passage of this bill should not be frustrated."

*XVI. Attachment of wages for debt.*

An amendment to the existing garnishee law was passed in 1908 (chap. 148) which slightly lowered the limit of wages exempted to $12 a week, but made the law apply to all debts for goods purchased instead of only to those for "necessaries." On the one hand, the limit of wages exempted from such attachment was lowered so that a wage of $12 a week or over could be attached, whereas before only a wage exceeding $12 could be garnished. On the other hand, the limit as to the kinds of debt for which wages may be attached was removed, whereas before only debts for "necessaries" bought or for wages due to a domestic servant or salary due to an employee could be made the basis of such an attachment. This enlargement of the law's application removed the question of what constituted a "necessary," and, still more important, removed a restriction which virtually tended to make the law apply especially to working people, as the latter's debts, more often than those of any others, are debts for necessaries. The purchaser of luxuries as well as the buyer of necessaries was brought under the law.

*XVII. Protection of life insurance of policyholders.*

Under Gov. Hughes's direction chapter 595 of the laws of 1909 was passed, which amended the insurance law with respect to the surrender value of lapsed or forfeited policies. Under the amendment a person who had been insured for at least three years and had then found it impossible to continue his premium payments was protected to a considerable degree. The amendment provided that the reserve on such a policy must be accepted by the insurance company as a single premium of life insurance either to continue the insurance of the policy in force at its full amount so long as such single premium would purchase temporary insurance for that amount or, in the discretion of the insured, to purchase a properly computed amount of paid-up insurance.

During the same year amendments to the standard provisions required that all life or endowment policies must contain a provision that the insured is entitled to have the policy reinstated at any time within three years from the date of default unless the cash value had been duly paid or the extension period had expired upon the production of evidence of insurability satisfactory to the company and the payment of all overdue premiums and other indebtedness with interest at 6 per cent per annum.

*XVIII. Regulation of loan associations.*

The hardships caused by loan associations preying upon the poor were corrected to a considerable extent by chapter 127 of the laws of 1910, amending the banking laws relative to personal associations. It provided that a corporation organized for the purpose of aiding persons in need of pecuniary assistance shall have paid in the whole of its capital stock, which must not be less than $10,000; that the superintendent of banks shall investigate the character, responsibility, and general fitness of the stockholders, and upon the filing of a bond shall license such corporations. The amendments required also the filing of reports and examination of books by the superintendent of banks at least once a year, provided for penalties and the revocation of the license for violations, and outlined the procedure for dissolution of the corporation. When acting as a pawnbroker such an association can not loan more than $200 to any one person, and can not charge more than 3 per cent interest a month, not to be charged or collected in advance.

Upon his record as governor of New York State the Republican Party asks the people of this country to elect Mr. Hughes as President. The qualities he showed as administrator of the State of New York are the qualities most needed in a national Executive for these United States.

## Urgent Need of Government Paper Mill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, September 2, 1916.*

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, on August 31, 1916, I introduced in the House the following bill (H. R. 17699) providing for a Government pulp and paper mill:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the Public Printer is hereby authorized and directed to provide, either by purchase or erection, or both, a pulp and paper mill or mills for the manufacture of print paper for the Government of the United States, said mill or mills to have a daily capacity of not less than 50 tons of paper; to be located at a place or places approved by the Joint Committee on Printing, with special reference to utilization of the forests, minerals, water power, and other resources on the public lands.

If the location or locations so selected are on the public lands, the President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered, in his judgment, to take from the lands of the United States such site or sites and the rights of way thereto as are necessary for the purpose of carrying out this act. And if the United States owns no suitable site or sites, authority is hereby given to acquire by purchase, condemnation, or gift such site or sites and the rights of way thereto as may be necessary.

The Public Printer is further authorized to construct, maintain, and operate, at or on any site or sites so designated, dams, locks, improvements to navigation, power houses, and other plants and equipment necessary or convenient for generation of power and for the production of pulp and other materials required in the manufacture of print paper for the Government.

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of manufacturing paper as provided herein the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture are hereby authorized and directed to sell to the Public Printer at a fair price such available wood, minerals, and other materials on the public lands under their respective jurisdictions as he may require; and the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Commerce are hereby authorized and directed to render such assistance to the Public Printer as he may request and they may deem necessary to carry out the purposes of this act in the construction and operation of a suitable plant for the manufacture of paper for the Government. If sufficient or suitable materials for the manufacture of paper can not be obtained from the public lands, the Public Printer is hereby authorized to purchase such materials in the open market at the lowest and best prices obtainable therefor after due advertisement; and he is hereby directed to give due consideration and encouragement by experiments or otherwise, in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture, to the manufacture of paper from corn and cotton stalks, cereal straws, grasses, and other fibrous plants. Paper manufactured under the supervision of the Public Printer shall conform to such standards and inspection as are provided for in the printing act approved January 12, 1895, and amendments thereof.

SEC. 3. That the products of such mill or mills shall be used by the Public Printer for the public printing and binding to the extent that he may deem necessary, and any surplus which he shall determine is not so required shall be sold and disposed of by him at not less than cost, under such regulations as he may prescribe, with the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing, first consideration being given in the sale of such surplus to the needs of other branches of the Government service, which shall procure from the Public Printer at cost all the paper for their respective requirements that he may be able to furnish them.

SEC. 4. That the Public Printer shall keep an accurate and itemized account of the cost per ton of the product of such mill or mills, and publish an annual statement of the same, together with a detailed report of the operations, receipts, and disbursements of said mill or mills, as soon after July 1 of each year as possible.

SEC. 5. That for the purposes of this act the sum of $1,000,000 is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated. The expenditures for drafting, technical, expert, and clerical assistance necessary shall be paid from said appropriation, and the Public Printer is hereby authorized and empowered to employ such assistance as in his discretion may be necessary to enable him to carry out the purposes herein specified.

It is proposed by this bill to construct a mill of sufficient size to produce 50 tons of paper a day, which is about double the present requirements of the Government Printing Office for print paper, and for this purpose an appropriation of $1,000,000 is authorized.

The bill requires that the mill shall be located with special reference to utilization of the forests, minerals, water power, and other resources of the public lands, and the President is authorized to set aside such site as may be selected on the public lands for that purpose. The bill further directs that the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Commerce shall assist the Public Printer in the construction and operation of the mill, which insures adequate expert and technical skill for the new enterprise, inasmuch as the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce have already done considerable work along the lines proposed by this measure.

My principal purposes in urging the Government manufacture of paper are as follows: First, to provide an adequate supply of print paper at all times and at a fair price, thus protecting the Government from the grasping combines that now refuse to furnish necessary paper for the operations of the Government except at exorbitant and noncompetitive prices. Second, to obtain for newspaper publishers and the printing trade in general definite information as to the cost of the manufacture of print paper so as to likewise protect them from excessive charges by unscrupulous manufacturers who seek, under abnormal conditions, to advance their own selfish interests, entirely regardless of the public service performed by newspaper and other publishers in the distribution of necessary information to the people. Third, to utilize the forests and water power on the public lands in the economical manufacture of paper for the benefit of the Government and to prevent further waste of these resources which the paper interests are seeking to have withheld from competition with their monopolistic ownership of wood pulp and power sites. Fourth, to furnish adequate and practical means for the development of the manufacture of paper from corn and cotton stalks and similar agricultural products, which would be of vast benefit to the farmers of this country in providing a profitable market for a large portion of their products which now go to waste. The use of new fibers, other than wood, would also be of inestimable value in the conservation of the forests of the United States, the destruction of which is largely chargeable to their extravagant use in the manufacture of paper.

The Government of the United States has long been at the mercy of paper combines and monopolies that undoubtedly have profited excessively in furnishing paper to the Government Printing Office, which is one of the largest consumers of paper in the world. This situation has become all the more intolerable during the past year, when the paper manufacturers have taken advantage of conditions alleged to be due to the war to demand still more exorbitant prices for their products. Some of the manufacturers are even attempting to repudiate their contracts with the Government, though these contracts provide in several instances for increases amounting to more than 50 per cent above the price paid for the same paper last year. These contractors, while refusing to furnish paper under their agreement for the year ending March 1, 1917, are demanding two and three times their contract price when the Government seeks to make open-market purchases of the paper necessary to continue operations of the Government Printing Office. Even at these outrageous prices the Public Printer is unable to obtain any real competition, practically only one bid being submitted in most instances, and that by the company which had refused to continue furnishing paper to the Government at its contract price. In other words, there appears to be a mutual understanding among the paper trade to refrain from competitive bidding for Government business. This conduct on the part of certain paper contractors has created a most serious situation. At times the Government has had the greatest difficulty to obtain sufficient paper to print the necessary records of the Government.

With all the resources at its command, owning, as it does, vast forests and great water-power sites adequate to produce many times the required quantity of paper, the Government ought never again to be reduced to the necessity of begging the paper monopoly to furnish paper to the Public Printer regardless of price.

The present acute situation only accentuates the condition that has long prevailed in the purchase of paper for the Gov-

ernment Printing Office. Though the Joint Committee on Printing, which awards the contracts for paper, has made every effort in its power to secure adequate competition and fair prices for paper for the Government Printing Office, the fact remains that there has been but little competition for the Government's business. It has been charged that the prospective bidders have sometimes held informal meetings before submitting their proposals to the Government and have allotted different items among themselves, putting in noncompetitive bids accordingly. Every effort has been made to break up this practice and to obtain sufficient evidence to prosecute the guilty parties, but, as in nearly all cases of collusion, it has been impossible to obtain evidence sufficiently conclusive for court proceedings. This question of collusion among paper manufacturers to advance prices or otherwise in restraint of trade was gone into very carefully by a select committee of the House which made a pulp and paper investigation in 1908. That committee in its report stated that "considerable evidence was presented which might excite suspicion that such combinations had been made and were in existence." It seems, therefore, that the only course left for the Government to pursue is to engage in the manufacture of paper for itself, and in this regard it is very fortunately situated, as has already been pointed out, in the ownership of practically everything necessary to carry out the enterprise successfully.

In addition to providing paper for the Government at cost price, it is proposed by the bill to aid newspaper and other publishers in securing paper for their use at a fair price. The cost of producing paper, particularly news print paper, has long been a mooted question. It was investigated at great length by a select committee in 1908 and again by the Tariff Board in 1911, but is still a subject of much controversy. The bill proposes, therefore, that the Public Printer shall keep an accurate and itemized account of the cost per ton of the product of the Government paper mill and report same to Congress annually. It is believed that this report as to cost will be of inestimable value in determining a fair price to be charged by paper manufacturers.

The bill also provides that if the Public Printer shall have any surplus on hand after supplying the needs of the Government, such surplus shall be sold by him at not less than cost. It is believed that this surplus product may have some effect in preventing exorbitant prices for paper in the future. That the Public Printer's price per ton may represent an adequate charge for the paper the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture are directed to sell to him the necessary raw materials obtained from the public lands "at a fair price," so that all elements of cost will enter into the report submitted by the Public Printer as to the operation of his plant.

Utilization of the forest reserves and water-power sites now owned by the Government is really one of the important features of the bill. It is a most wasteful policy to leave these Government-owned forests and water-power sites in idleness when they can be readily turned to such great advantage. This policy of the Government has been taken advantage of, undoubtedly, by the paper manufacturers to greatly increase the price of their own product, having no fear at present of competition from the materials that are locked up in the Government's vast storehouses. As a matter of fact, the Government has not even been able to dispose of its wood to the pulp mills of the United States, though it has large quantities on hand at present. Pulp and paper manufacturers have been declaring that high prices of paper are due to the scarcity and excessive cost of wood pulp, due principally to the difficulty of obtaining pulp from Canada and existing war conditions. The President, however, has just made public a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, under date of August 3, 1916, setting forth the fact that the Forest Service has offered for sale large quantities of timber favorable for pulp operation, but that up to the present time it has not been able to make such sales. This statement from the Secretary of Agriculture completely refutes the claim of the paper manufacturers that their present prices are due to the scarcity of pulp-making materials. The secretary of Agriculture says in this regard in his letter concerning the print-paper situation:

> The Forest Service has offered for sale at various times large amounts of timber on the national forests in logging chances favorable for pulp operations. These areas are located mainly in the Pacific northwest and in Alaska, and offer combinations of suitable and cheap timber with large quantities of easily developed water power. Up to the present time it has not been possible to make such sales. The chief difficulty has been that the western markets have been fully supplied, and, in fact, mill capacity probably has been in excess of market demands. Western mills with the advantage of cheap power and cheap timber seemed to be unable to enter eastern and middle western markets, and the only opportunity for successful enterprises seemed to be the more or less uncertain possibility of being able to develop foreign and chiefly oriental markets. These areas undoubtedly will be placed under contract as soon as economic conditions permit their development. They are offered under terms designed to encourage the development of the pulp and paper industry.

That the national forests contain enough timber to operate half a hundred mills of the size of the one proposed by this bill is easily apparent from the fact that the forest reserves owned by the public now contain 162,773,280 acres, and slightly more than 1,000,000,000 board feet of timber was sold from these reserves in 1915. This 1,000,000,000 feet constitutes ripe timber which was of no further advantage to the forest reserves, and consequently its cutting was in the interests of forest conservation. Reduced to cords this represents an annual supply of 650,000 cords. Compared with this vast supply, a 100-ton mill, or double the capacity of the mill proposed by the bill, would use only 37,500 cords of wood per year, according to the statement of foremost paper manufacturers.

David S. Cowles, president of the American Paper and Pulp Association, in his testimony before the select committee in 1908 (vol. 2, p. 893) stated that 7,500 acres per year would be sufficient to supply pulp wood for a 100-ton mill cutting 5 cords to the acre. By recutting this acreage once in 15 years, which is believed to be a sufficient time to allow a growth of suitable new timber, it would require a total of 112,500 acres to keep a 100-ton mill in operation. This, of course, is a mere bagatelle as compared with the 162,000,000 acres in the national forest reservation, a large part of which would be available for pulp wood for a Government plant.

There is no question, therefore, that the Government has an ample supply of timber for the operation of a paper mill, and that it has any number of water-power sites available in suitable localities for such a mill.

This view is confirmed by a statement which Acting Forester W. B. Greeley, of the United States Forest Service, has just submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing in regard to the volume of national forest timber suitable for pulp-making purposes. In this statement, Mr. Greeley says:

> The commercial feasibility of the establishment of a pulp plant hinges partly on the supply of timber and partly on the water power available; the national forests often combine these two factors admirably. The western country abounds in undeveloped water power; to utilize these streams in conjunction with a pulp plant is perfectly feasible in several locations of which examinations have already been made. As illustrative of the resources of the national forests which can be drawn upon, I would point out an area on the Yaak River in the Kootenai National Forest, Mont., where approximately 500,000,000 feet of Engelmann spruce and other woods adapted to pulp making are to be had, with an excellent undeveloped water-power site. On the South Fork and Middle Fork of the Flathead River in the Flathead National Forest, Mont., are areas estimated to contain 2,000,000,000 feet and 1,500,000,000 feet, respectively, of paper-making woods; in these two instances likewise there is an opportunity for cheap water-power development. Another pulp-wood area is found on the Middle Fork of the Clearwater River in the Selway National Forest, Idaho, which has a stand of more than a billion feet and excellent water powers; again, on the Plumas National Forest, Cal., an area has been examined which contains about 650,000 cords of wood suitable for pulp making and 3,500 horsepower awaiting development. On the Tongass and Chugach National Forests in Alaska is a stand of more than 70,000,000,000 feet of timber, a large percentage of which is Engelmann spruce and western hemlock, from which can be manufactured a good grade of pulp. Water power, too, is abundant, and the Alaska projects have the added advantage of being on tidewater. The physical conditions in southern Alaska resemble in many respects those of Norway and Sweden, which have been leading countries in the production of pulp and paper. There is no question that the Alaskan National Forests are capable of great service to the country in the future, with their enormous supply of good paper-making woods.

The Government has already done considerable experimenting with various materials other than wood pulp for the manufacture of paper. These experiments have been conducted largely by the Department of Agriculture. That suitable paper can be made from such material as cotton stalks, corn stalks, cereal straws, grasses, and various fibrous plants is no longer an experiment. It has been difficult, however, to induce paper manufacturers to take up the manufacture of paper from any of these materials. This attitude on the part of the manufacturers is believed to be due, in many instances, to their large holdings in wood-pulp mills and heavy investments in timber lands. It is quite probable that they fear that the successful manufacture of paper from material other than wood pulp would greatly depreciate the value of their investment and encourage new and undesirable competition in the paper industry.

Consequently it seems that the only way to obtain a practical test of these other materials for the manufacture of paper is for the Government itself to undertake such a test. That can only be done by the establishment of a mill of adequate size to manufacture paper in commercial quantities. The proposed mill could be used for such a purpose, as its 50-ton capacity would be more than sufficient to supply paper for the immediate needs of the Government. Germany has already commenced the manufacture of paper from cotton stalks, and paper experts have no doubt but that print paper made from cotton and corn

stalks will sooner or later be a commercial success. If the Government can advance that success, it will be of immense benefit to the farmers of the United States who now find little or no use for their corn and cotton stalks.

If the proposed mill were to be erected with no other object in view than that of making a commercial success of manufacturing paper from these waste materials of the farmer, it would more than justify the proposed expenditure.

The authorized expenditure of $1,000,000 for a paper plant of not less than 50 tons daily capacity is based upon expert figures submitted by the Tariff Board, through its report relative to the pulp and news print paper industry in 1911. (S. Doc. 31, 62d Cong.) This report indicates that the necessary capital investment per ton per day for a balanced plant, consisting of a ground-wood mill, sulphite mill, and paper mill, suitably equipped, ranges from $15,000 to $20,000 for a 100-ton plant. At the higher figure, which includes the cost of hydraulic development, a 50-ton plant, such as is proposed, would cost approximately $1,000,000, the authorized appropriation. In this regard I quote as follows from the Tariff Board report, pages 72–73:

> The lowest actual balanced mill which we have examined in this regard shows $15,000. The lowest calculations we have received (from a professional engineer) show an estimated range from $15,000 for a 25-ton mill, with $13,000 for a 50-ton mill, and $10,900 for a 100-ton mill to $9,700 for a 200-ton mill. These last figures do not include any part of the cost of hydraulic development, so that the totals would be increased by this amount, which, on the basis of 75 horsepower per ton, would be $2,250 if the cost per horsepower is $30, or $3,750 at a cost per horsepower of $50, or $7,500 at a cost per horsepower of $100.
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> It may be said in general terms that under normal conditions an investment for hydraulic power and fully equipped balanced plant of best construction and equipment, and a capacity of 100 tons per day, ought to be fully covered by $17,000 per ton per day. For a plant of smaller capacity the cost would be somewhat greater. This does not include either cost of water-storage facilities or provision for extra-grinding capacity to offset lack of such storage. If these were included, the total might be increased to $20,000. Either of these figures should be taken as a liberal estimate.

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## Speech of President Woodrow Wilson Accepting the Nomination for President by the Democratic Party.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. FRANK E. DOREMUS,

OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, September 2, 1916.*

Mr. DOREMUS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith insert the speech of President Woodrow Wilson, accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, delivered at Shadow Lawn, New Jersey, September 2, 1916.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, DELIVERED AT SHADOW LAWN, NEW JERSEY, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1916.

Senator JAMES, gentlemen of the notification committee, fellow citizens, I can not accept the leadership and responsibility which the national Democratic convention has again in such generous fashion asked me to accept without first expressing my profound gratitude to the party for the trust it reposes in me after four years of fiery trial in the midst of affairs of unprecedented difficulty, and the keen sense of added responsibility with which this honor fills—I had almost said burdens—me as I think of the great issues of national life and policy involved in the present and immediate future conduct of our Government. I shall seek, as I have always sought, to justify the extraordinary confidence thus reposed in me by striving to purge my heart and purpose of every personal and of every misleading party motive and devoting every energy I have to the service of the Nation as a whole, praying that I may continue to have the counsel and support of all forward-looking men at every turn of the difficult business.

For I do not doubt that the people of the United States will wish the Democratic Party to continue in control of the Government. They are not in the habit of rejecting those who have actually served them for those who are making doubtful and conjectural promises of service. Least of all are they likely to substitute those who promised to render them particular services and proved false to that promise for those who have actually rendered those very services.

Boasting is always an empty business, which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic Party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record.

What is that record? What were the Democrats called into power to do? What things had long waited to be done, and how did the Democrats do them? It is a record of extraordinary length and variety, rich in elements of many kinds, but consistent in principle throughout and susceptible of brief recital.

The Republican Party was put out of power because of failure, practical failure, and moral failure; because it had served special interests and not the country at large; because, under the leadership of its preferred and established guides, of those who still make its choices, it had lost touch with the thoughts and the needs of the Nation and was living in a past age and under a fixed illusion—the illusion of greatness. It had framed tariff laws based upon a fear of foreign trade, a fundamental doubt as to American skill, enterprise, and capacity, and a very tender regard for the profitable privileges of those who had gained control of domestic markets and domestic credits; and yet had enacted antitrust laws which hampered the very things they meant to foster, which were stiff and inelastic, and in part unintelligible. It had permitted the country throughout the long period of its control to stagger from one financial crisis to another under the operation of a national banking law of its own framing which made stringency and panic certain and the control of the larger business operations of the country by the bankers of a few reserve centers inevitable; had made as if it meant to reform the law but had faint-heartedly failed in the attempt, because it could not bring itself to do the one thing necessary to make the reform genuine and effectual, namely, break up the control of small groups of bankers. It had been oblivious, or indifferent, to the fact that the farmers, upon whom the country depends for its food and in the last analysis for its prosperity, were without standing in the matter of commercial credit, without the protection of standards in their market transactions, and without systematic knowledge of the markets themselves; that the laborers of the country, the great army of men who man the industries it was professing to father and promote, carried their labor as a mere commodity to market, were subject to restraint by novel and drastic process in the courts, were without assurance of compensation for industrial accidents, without Federal assistance in accommodating labor disputes, and without national aid or advice in finding the places and the industries in which their labor was most needed. The country had no national system of road construction and development. Little intelligent attention was paid to the Army and not enough to the Navy. The other Republics of America distrusted us, because they found that we thought first of the profits of American investors and only as an afterthought of impartial justice and helpful friendship. Its policy was provincial in all things; its purposes were out of harmony with the temper and purpose of the people and the timely development of the Nation's interests.

So things stood when the Democratic Party came into power. How do they stand now? Alike in the domestic field and in the wide field of the commerce of the world, American business and life and industry have been set free to move as they never moved before.

The tariff has been revised, not on the principle of repelling foreign trade, but upon the principle of encouraging it, upon something like a footing of equality with our own in respect of the terms of competition, and a Tariff Board has been created whose function it will be to keep the relations of American with foreign business and industry under constant observation, for the guidance alike of our business men and of our Congress. American energies are now directed toward the markets of the world.

The laws against trusts have been clarified by definition, with a view to making it plain that they were not directed against big business, but only against unfair business and the pretense of competition where there was none; and a Trade Commission has been created with powers of guidance and accommodation which have relieved business men of unfounded fears and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

By the Federal reserve act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic, taking its volume not from a fixed body of investment securities but from

the liquid assets of daily trade; and these assets are assessed and accepted, not by distant groups of bankers in control of unavailable reserves, but by bankers at the many centers of local exchange, who are in touch with local conditions everywhere.

Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have so long exercised over the opportunities, the routes, and the methods of our commerce with other countries.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is about to be reorganized to enable it to perform its great and important functions more promptly and more efficiently. We have created, extended, and improved the service of the parcel post.

So much we have done for business. What other party has understood the task so well or executed it so intelligently and energetically? What other party has attempted it at all? The Republican leaders, apparently, know of no means of assisting business but "protection." How to stimulate it and put it upon a new footing of energy and enterprise they have not suggested.

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit, by means of the Federal reserve act and the rural credits act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market. We have successfully regulated speculation in "futures" and established standards in the marketing of grains. By an intelligent warehouse act we have assisted to make the standard crops available as never before both for systematic marketing and as a security for loans from the banks. We have greatly added to the work of neighborhood demonstration on the farm itself of improved methods of cultivation, and, through the intelligent extension of the functions of the Department of Agriculture, have made it possible for the farmer to learn systematically where his best markets are and how to get at them.

The workingmen of America have been given a veritable emancipation, by the legal recognition of a man's labor as part of his life, and not a mere marketable commodity; by exempting labor organizations from processes of the courts which treated their members like fractional parts of mobs and not like accessible and responsible individuals; by releasing our seamen from involuntary servitude; by making adequate provision for compensation for industrial accidents; by providing suitable machinery for mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes; and by putting the Federal Department of Labor at the disposal of the workingman when in search of work.

We have effected the emancipation of the children of the country by releasing them from hurtful labor. We have instituted a system of national aid in the building of highroads such as the country has been feeling after for a century. We have sought to equalize taxation by means of an equitable income tax. We have taken the steps that ought to have been taken at the outset to open up the resources of Alaska. We have provided for national defense upon a scale never before seriously proposed upon the responsibility of an entire political party. We have driven the tariff lobby from cover and obliged it to substitute solid argument for private influence.

This extraordinary recital must sound like a platform, a list of sanguine promises; but it is not. It is a record of promises made four years ago and now actually redeemed in constructive legislation.

These things must profoundly disturb the thoughts and confound the plans of those who have made themselves believe that the Democratic Party neither understood nor was ready to assist the business of the country in the great enterprises which it is its evident and inevitable destiny to undertake and carry through. The breaking up of the lobby must especially disconcert them, for it was through the lobby that they sought and were sure they had found the heart of things. The game of privilege can be played successfully by no other means.

This record must equally astonish those who feared that the Democratic Party had not opened its heart to comprehend the demands of social justice. We have in four years come very near to carrying out the platform of the Progressive Party as well as our own, for we also are progressives.

There is one circumstance connected with this program which ought to be very plainly stated. It was resisted at every step by the interests which the Republican Party had catered to and fostered at the expense of the country, and these same interests are now earnestly praying for a reaction which will save their privileges—for the restoration of their sworn friends to power before it is too late to recover what they have lost. They fought with particular desperation and infinite resourcefulness the reform of the banking and currency system, knowing that to be the citadel of their control; and most anxiously are they hoping and planning for the amendment of the Federal reserve act by the concentration of control in a single bank which the old familiar group of bankers can keep under their eye and direction. But while the "big men" who used to write the tariffs and command the assistance of the Treasury have been hostile—all but a few with vision—the average business man knows that he has been delivered, and that the fear that was once every day in his heart, that the men who controlled credit and directed enterprise from the committee rooms of Congress would crush him, is there no more, and will not return—unless the party that consulted only the "big men" should return to power—the party of masterly inactivity and cunning resourcefulness in standing pat to resist change.

The Republican Party is just the party that can not meet the new conditions of a new age. It does not know the way and it does not wish new conditions. It tried to break away from the old leaders and could not. They still select its candidates and dictate its policy, still resist change, still hanker after the old conditions, still know no methods of encouraging business but the old methods. When it changes its leaders and its purposes and brings its ideas up to date it will have the right to ask the American people to give it power again, but not until then. A new age, an age of revolutionary change, needs new purposes and new ideas.

In foreign affairs we have been guided by principles clearly conceived and consistently lived up to. Perhaps they have not been fully comprehended because they have hitherto governed international affairs only in theory, not in practice. They are simple, obvious, easily stated, and fundamental to American ideals.

We have been neutral not only because it was the fixed and traditional policy of the United States to stand aloof from the politics of Europe and because we had had no part either of action or of policy in the influences which brought on the present war, but also because it was manifestly our duty to prevent, if it were possible, the indefinite extension of the fires of hate and desolation kindled by that terrible conflict and seek to serve mankind by reserving our strength and our resources for the anxious and difficult days of restoration and healing which must follow, when peace will have to build its house anew.

The rights of our own citizens, of course, became involved; that was inevitable. Where they did, this was our guiding principle: That property rights can be vindicated by claims for damages and no modern nation can decline to arbitrate such claims; but the fundamental rights of humanity can not be. The loss of life is irreparable. Neither can direct violations of a nation's sovereignty await vindication in suits for damages. The nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance. It at once makes the quarrel in part our own. These are plain principles, and we have never lost sight of them or departed from them, whatever the stress or the perplexity of circumstances or the provocation to hasty resentment. The record is clear and consistent throughout and stands distinct and definite for anyone to judge who wishes to know the truth about it.

The seas were not broad enough to keep the infection of the conflict out of our own politics. The passions and intrigues of certain active groups and combinations of men amongst us who were born under foreign flags injected the poison of disloyalty into our own most critical affairs, laid violent hands upon many of our industries, and subjected us to the shame of divisions of sentiment and purpose in which America was contemned and forgotten. It is part of the business of this year of reckoning and settlement to speak plainly and act with unmistakable purpose in rebuke of these things, in order that they may be forever hereafter impossible. I am the candidate of a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

While Europe was at war our own continent, one of our own neighbors, was shaken by revolution. In that matter, too, principle was plain, and it was imperative that we should live up to it if we were to deserve the trust of any real partisan of the right as free men see it. We have professed to believe, and we do believe, that the people of small and weak States have the right to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of big and powerful States would be. We have acted upon that principle in dealing with the people of Mexico.

Our recent pursuit of bandits into Mexican territory was no violation of that principle. We ventured to enter Mexican territory only because there were no military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single

act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself. It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty, which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them. We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

For it is their emancipation that they are seeking—blindly it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences; and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I shall do everything in my power to prevent anyone standing in their way. I know that this is hard for some persons to understand; but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand. It is hard doctrine only for those who wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico. There are men, and noble women, too, not a few, of our own people, thank God! whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision and assess its issues with true American feeling. The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning until this enslaved people has had its day of struggle toward the light. I have heard no one who was free from such influences propose interference by the United States with the internal affairs of Mexico. Certainly no friend of the Mexican people has proposed it.

The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and a noble pity in dealing with problems of this kind. As their spokesman and representative, I have tried to act in the spirit they would wish me to show. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—15,000,000 oppressed men, overburdened women, and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to anyone who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence. No permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title based upon intrigue and assassination. I declared that to be the policy of this administration within three weeks after I assumed the Presidency. I here again vow it. I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object.

More is involved than the immediate destinies of Mexico and the relations of the United States with a distressed and distracted people. All America looks on. Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbors. We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the Republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both economic and political and very intimately inwrought with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world. The Republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding, and cordial cooperation. Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another. It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

The future, the immediate future, will bring us squarely face to face with many great and exacting problems which will search us through and through whether we be able and ready to play the part in the world that we mean to play. It will not bring us into their presence slowly, gently, with ceremonious introduction, but suddenly and at once, the moment the war in Europe is over. They will be new problems, most of them; many will be old problems in a new setting and with new elements which we have never dealt with or reckoned the force and meaning of before. They will require for their solution new thinking, fresh courage and resourcefulness, and in some matters radical reconsiderations of policy. We must be ready to mobilize our resources alike of brains and of materials.

It is not a future to be afraid of. It is, rather, a future to stimulate and excite us to the display of the best powers that are in us. We may enter it with confidence when we are sure that we understand it—and we have provided ourselves already with the means of understanding it.

Look first at what it will be necessary that the nations of the world should do to make the days to come tolerable and fit to live and work in; and then look at our part in what is to follow and our own duty of preparation. For we must be prepared both in resources and in policy.

There must be a just and settled peace, and we here in America must contribute the full force of our enthusiasm and of our authority as a nation to the organization of that peace upon world-wide foundations that can not easily be shaken. No nation should be forced to take sides in any quarrel in which its own honor and integrity and the fortunes of its own people are not involved; but no nation can any longer remain neutral as against any willful disturbance of the peace of the world. The effects of war can no longer be confined to the areas of battle. No nation stands wholly apart in interest when the life and interests of all nations are thrown into confusion and peril. If hopeful and generous enterprise is to be renewed, if the healing and helpful arts of life are indeed to be revived when peace comes again, a new atmosphere of justice and friendship must be generated by means the world has never tried before. The nations of the world must unite in joint guaranties that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

These are the new foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction, generously and without too much thought of our separate interests. We must make ourselves ready to play it intelligently, vigorously, and well.

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing everywhere—the same justice, the same consideration for the essential rights of men.

Besides contributing our ungrudging moral and practical support to the establishment of peace throughout the world, we must actively and intelligently prepare ourselves to do our full service in the trade and industry which are to sustain and develop the life of the nations in the days to come.

We have already been provident in this great matter and supplied ourselves with the instrumentalities of prompt adjustment. We have created, in the Federal Trade Commission, a means of inquiry and of accommodation in the field of commerce which ought both to coordinate the enterprises of our traders and manufacturers and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding and of a too technical interpretation of the law. In the new Tariff Commission we have added another instrumentality of observation and adjustment which promises to be immediately serviceable. The Trade Commission substitutes counsel and accommodation for the harsher processes of legal restraint, and the Tariff Commission ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. Our exporters have for some time had the advantage of working in the new light thrown upon foreign markets and opportunities of trade by the intelligent inquiries and activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce which the Democratic Congress so wisely created in 1912. The Tariff

Commission completes the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open up our legislative policy to the facts as they develop.

We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; organize and initiate, not peep about, merely to see where we may get in.

We have already formulated and agreed upon a policy of law which will explicitly remove the ban now supposed to rest upon cooperation amongst our exporters in seeking and securing their proper place in the markets of the world. The field will be free, the instrumentalities at hand. It will only remain for the masters of enterprise amongst us to act in energetic concert and for the Government of the United States to insist upon the maintenance throughout the world of those conditions of fairness and of even-handed justice in the commercial dealings of the nations with one another upon which, after all, in the last analysis, the peace and ordered life of the world must ultimately depend.

At home also we must see to it that the men who plan and develop and direct our business enterprises shall enjoy definite and settled conditions of law, a policy accommodated to the freest progress. We have set the just and necessary limits. We have put all kinds of unfair competition under the ban and penalty of the law. We have barred monopoly. These fatal and ugly things being excluded, we must now quicken action and facilitate enterprise by every just means within our choice. There will be peace in the business world, and, with peace, revived confidence and life.

We ought both to husband and to develop our natural resources, our mines, our forests, our water power. I wish we could have made more progress than we have made in this vital matter; and I call once more, with the deepest earnestness and solicitude, upon the advocates of a careful and provident conservation, on the one hand, and the advocates of a free and inviting field for private capital, on the other, to get together in a spirit of genuine accommodation and agreement and set this great policy forward at once.

We must hearten and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labor throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the laborer, not only by paying a living wage but also by making all the conditions that surround labor what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in which they are threatened or imperiled. That is more than justice, and better, because it is humanity and economy.

We must coordinate the railway systems of the country for national use, and must facilitate and promote their development with a view to that coordination and to their better adaptation as a whole to the life and trade and defense of the Nation. The life and industry of the country can be free and unhampered only if these arteries are open, efficient, and complete.

Thus shall we stand ready to meet the future circumstance and international policy effect their unfolding, whether the changes come slowly or come fast and without preface.

I have not spoken explicitly, gentlemen, of the platform adopted at St. Louis, but it has been implicit in all that I have said. I have sought to interpret its spirit and meaning. The people of the United States do not need to be assured now that that platform is a definite pledge, a practical program. We have proved to them that our promises are made to be kept.

We hold very definite ideals. We believe that the energy and initiative of our people have been too narrowly coached and superintended; that they should be set free, as we have set them free, to disperse themselves throughout the Nation; that they should not be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful guides and guardians, as our opponents have again and again, in effect, if not in purpose, sought to concentrate them. We believe, moreover—who that looks about him now with comprehending eye can fail to believe—that the day of little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of "protection" and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen, are past and gone, and that a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world.

We hope to see the stimulus of that new day draw all America, the Republics of both continents, on to a new life and energy and initiative in the great affairs of peace. We are Americans for big America, and rejoice to look forward to the days in which America shall strive to stir the world without irritating it or drawing it on to new antagonisms; when the nations with which we deal shall at last come to see upon what deep foundations of humanity and justice our passion for peace rests, and when all mankind shall look upon our great people with a new sentiment of admiration, friendly rivalry and real affection, as upon a people who, though keen to succeed, seeks always to be at once generous and just and to whom humanity is dearer than profit or selfish power.

Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.

## The Railroad Situation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, August 31, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to print I submit the following communications received from two of the large commercial organizations in Philadelphia, the Manufacturers' Club and the Philadelphia Bourse, both relating to the pending railway strike situation:

AUGUST 28, 1916.

Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: At a special meeting of the board of directors of the Manufacturers' Club, of Philadelphia, held this day, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas the representatives of certain labor unions of railroad employees have demanded of their employers the unconditional grant of an 8-hour day with 10-hour pay, under penalty of the immediate paralysis of railroad traffic throughout the country by means of a strike; and

"Whereas the President of the United States, assuming the rôle of mediator, has advised the managements of the railroads to waive their request for a hearing before any board of arbitration the President may select; and

"Whereas there are involved in the controversy questions of such vital importance to the transportation interest and industries of the country that can be satisfactorily settled only by arbitration: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia appeal to the President and to the American public (1) to uphold the principle of arbitration as fundamental to justice and fair dealing, and (2) to insist that no class of citizens have special prerogatives, privileges, or immunities which do not belong equally to all American citizens, rich or poor, employer or employed; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to United States Senators from Pennsylvania, Members of Congress from Philadelphia, to the newspapers of Philadelphia, and to the national conference committee of the railways."

Yours, very truly,

[SEAL.] MANUFACTURERS' CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA,
N. J. FOLWELL, *President.*

Attest:

ELMER P. WEISEL, *Secretary.*

[Resolutions adopted by the Philadelphia Bourse, an organization composed of over 2,500 business men, firms, and corporations, having as one of its objects the improvement of the city, State, and Nation, acting through its committee on commercial affairs of its board of directors, at a meeting held Aug. 29, 1916.]

*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled.*

Whereas the transportation of passengers, mail, express matter, and freight is and has become generally recognized as a public service, and the corporations engaged in such public service are subject to control and regulation in the interest of the public service by the several States in which they operate and by the United States; and

Whereas such public-service corporations can not perform their functions or render service to the public except through the medium of numerous operating employees; and

Whereas men employed by such public-service corporations, especially in the operating departments, are public servants, and as such owe a duty to the public which can not be lightly disregarded; and

Whereas such men voluntarily enter the employ of such corporations and by so doing assume duties and obligations to the public which become paramount to any personal claims; and

Whereas the principal operating employees of the most important public-service transportation corporations of the country disregarding their obligations to the public have threatened and are threatening to stop the operation of such companies by refusing, as a body, to work, which threats if carried out will paralyze the commerce and industries of the whole country, bringing misery to millions of working people whose wages depend upon the commerce and industries which would come to a stop without railroad transportation; and

Whereas these operating employees have formulated certain demands upon the employing public-service corporations as the price of their continuance in the performance of their duties to the public, which demands the employing corporations contend are beyond reason and beyond their ability to meet, thus raising an issue that is clearly arbitrable; and

Whereas it should be impossible for such a situation to arise and it is manifest that legislation is requisite to prevent its recurrence: Therefore

*Resolved*, That the Philadelphia Bourse, speaking for several thousand business men, urges upon the Congress the immediate enactment of legislation which will declare operating employees of public-service corporations engaged in interstate commerce to be public servants, and as

such not free to conspire or combine to leave the service of the employer simultaneously or proximately so, or at any time except upon due and sufficient notice, and shall further declare that all disputes between bodies of employees of public-service corporations engaged in interstate commerce shall be submitted to arbitration, such arbitration to be compulsory and final, refusal to accept the award being punishable as contempt of court by a fine or imprisonment or both, in the discretion of the court, no decision to be reopened for arbitration under two years from its rendering.

PHILADELPHIA BOURSE,
ROBERT COMLY,
*Chairman of Committee on Commercial Affairs.*
GEORGE E. BARTOL, *President.*

True copy.
Attest:

EMIL P. ALBRECHT, *Secretary.*

## Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties, 1856–1916, Inclusive.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, September 2, 1916.*

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the platforms of the two great political parties from 1856 to 1916, inclusive, as compiled by South Trimble, Clerk of the House of Representatives, June, 1916.

The platforms are as follows:

[This volume contains the Democratic and Republican platforms from 1856, the date of the organization of the Republican Party, down to the present time.]

PLATFORMS OF THE TWO GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES, 1856–1916, INCLUSIVE.

The Democratic convention of 1856 was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, June 2–6.

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was nominated for President and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1856.

1. *Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. *Resolved, therefore*, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic Party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free and representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage:

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits can not secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statutes books; and

Whereas since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

*Resolved*, That the foundation of this Union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and preeminent example in free government built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholic and foreign born is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of tolerance and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

*Resolved*, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery and concerning the reserved rights of the States.

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress, and therefore the Democratic Party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the "compromise" measures, settled by the Congress of 1850, "the act of reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included, which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, can not, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic Party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic Party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That, claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—noninterference by Congress with slavery in State and Territory, or in the District of Columbia.

2. That was the basis of the compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig Parties in national conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

*Resolved*, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

*Resolved, finally*, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land), a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility upon the Democratic Party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby

the union of the States, and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstances, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States can not but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the interoceanic isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys and the Union at large.

*Resolved*, That the Democratic Party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads, through our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

*Resolved*, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to the great interests of the country. In the face of the most determined opposition it has maintained the laws, enforced economy, fostered progress, and infused integrity and vigor into every department of the Government at home. It has signally improved our treaty relations, extended the field of commercial enterprise, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad. It has asserted with eminent impartiality the just claims of every section, and has at all times been faithful to the Constitution. We therefore proclaim our unqualified approbation of its measures and its policy.

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The first Republican national convention was held in Philadelphia, Pa., on June 17, 1856.

John C. Fremont, of California, was nominated for President and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1856.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, do

*Resolved*, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must be preserved.

*Resolved*, That, with our republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, of any individual, or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

*Resolved*, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

*Resolved*, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present national administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

*Resolved*, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

*Resolved*, That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

*Resolved*, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and as an auxiliary thereto to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

*Resolved*, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

*Resolved*, That we invite the affiliation and cooperation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

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The Democratic convention of 1860 was held in Baltimore, Md., June 18–23.

Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was nominated for President and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1860.

1. *Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic convention at Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject matters; and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following: Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic Party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories—

2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States, and the Democratic Party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive-slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. *Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform that, during the existence of the Territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

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The Republican convention of 1860 was held at Chicago, Ill., May 16–18.

Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1860.

*Resolved*, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the Nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican Party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this Nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican Member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic Members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency as denying the vital principles of a free government and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the Public Treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma—that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States—is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, or of any individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age, and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes by their Federal governors of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery in those Territories we find a practical illustration of the boasted democratic principle of nonintervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free-homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any State legislation by which the rights of citizens hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the cooperation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

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The Democratic convention of 1864 was held at Chicago, Ill., August 29.

George B. McClellan, of New Jersey, was nominated for President and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1864.

*Resolved*, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

*Resolved*, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

*Resolved*, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

*Resolved*, That the aim and object of the Democratic Party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution—the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test-oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense—is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

*Resolved*, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow citizens who now are and long have been prisoners of war and in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

*Resolved*, That the sympathy of the Democratic Party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our Army and sailors of our Navy who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned.

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The Republican convention of 1864 was held at Baltimore, Md., June 7.

Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated for President and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1864.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies, the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor, to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a deathblow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the Nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the Nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the Nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

7. *Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to the Nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

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The Democratic convention of 1868 was held at New York, N. Y., July 4–11.

Horatio Seymour, of New York, was nominated for President and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1868.

The Democratic Party, in national convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war or the voluntary action of the Southern States in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or reagitated—do, with the return of peace, demand—

1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable: All moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the Government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system, and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened; the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State Militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the Administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the Government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights, and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the Radical Party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected 10 States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the habeas corpus, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal, on important constitutional questions, to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution; while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British Crown the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State, respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and if sanctioned by the people will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single, centralized, and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of coequal States.

And that we regard the reconstruction acts (so called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the preemption or homestead laws, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands and not the lands themselves should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic Party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform the Democratic Party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship and hail all such cooperating with us as friends and brethren.

*Resolved*, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

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The Republican convention of 1868 was held at Chicago, Ill., May 20–22.

Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, was nominated for President, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1868.

The National Republican Party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Chicago on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption in the majority of the States lately in rebellion of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard as the duty of the Government to sustain those constitutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

2. The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained, while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime, and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption, and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy, and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, the liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of 35 Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native born, and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by the law for these brave defenders of the Nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the Nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources and increase of power to this Republic—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly cooperate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people, and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

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The Democratic convention of 1872 was held at Baltimore, Md., July 9. Horace Greeley, of New York, was nominated for President and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, was nominated for Vice President.

The convention adopted the following resolution:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1872.

We, the Democratic electors of the United States, in convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government.

The principles referred to in the above resolution were incorporated in the Liberal Republican platform adopted at a convention held at Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 1, 1872.

The platform follows:

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority and freedom of persons under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the Nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for reelection.

6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full reward of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the Government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendships of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the cooperation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

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The Republican convention of 1872 was held at Philadelphia, Pa., June 5–6.

Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, was nominated for President and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1872.

The Republican Party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During 11 years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated 4,000,000 slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizens' rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite large annual reductions in the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during Gen. Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year; great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the Nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the Government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax on tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the Nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"Once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican Party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former Governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican Party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the Nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican Party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican Party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

17. It is the duty of the General Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

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The Democratic convention of 1876 was held at St. Louis, Mo., June 27–29.

Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, was nominated for President and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1876.

We, the delegates of the Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal Government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention and of the Democratic Party in each State a zealous effort and cooperation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice a so that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union 11 years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon 10 States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyrannies, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal Government itself with incapacity, waste and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these 11 years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the nonpayment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the Nation.

We denounce the improvidence which in 11 years of peace has taken from the people in Federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes and squandered four times their sum in useless expense, without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which 95 per cent of all business transactions are performed—a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence—would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufacturers, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust, and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly 4,000 articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretense. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all customhouse taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State, and municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from 60,000,000 gold, in 1860, to 450,000,000 currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from 154,000,000 gold, in 1860, to 730,000,000 currency, in 1870; or in one decade from less than $5 per head to more than $18 per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the Government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization, as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within Constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic Party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the Treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible Republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men nor the instrument of their ambition. Here again promises falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice President, judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust.

When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice President, a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer, three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as lawmakers, five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery, a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts, a late Attorney General misappropriating public funds, a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department, an ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation, the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue, a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes, the product of 16 years' ascendancy of the Republican Party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the Cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 officeholders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

*Resolved*, That this convention, representing the Democratic Party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government in cutting down salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities; and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic Members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

*Resolved*, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow citizens.

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The Republican convention of 1876 was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 14–16.

Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, was nominated for President and William A. Wheeler, of New York, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1876.

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican Party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories and with high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican Party has preserved these Governments to the hundredth anniversary of the Nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truth spoken at its cradle: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed or, if need be, vigorously enforced the work of the Republican Party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights are duties to which the Republican Party stands

sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors and solemnly pledged its faith "to make provisions at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickening conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public-school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessity for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European Governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born, and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect immigrants, in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican Party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

14. The pledge which the Nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic Party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the Nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic Party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the Nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagements and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendency in the lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice President of the United States two distinguished statesmen of eminent ability and character and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

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The Democratic convention of 1880 was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 22–24.

Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, was nominated for President and William H. English, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1880.

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare—

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic Party as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots and embodied in the platform of the last national convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralizationism and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws, separation of church and state for the good of each, common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money, the strict maintenance of the public faith, consisting of gold and silver and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national; and a tariff for revenue only.

4. The subordination of the military to the civil power and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

5. The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

6. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot boxes with troops and deputy marshals to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power insult the people and imperil their institutions.

7. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of the usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

8. The great fraud of 1876–77, by which upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic Party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue precedes and dwarfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of free men.

9. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican Party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

10. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. No discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

11. Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

12. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

13. The Democratic Party is the friend of labor and the laboring man and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.

14. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress which has reduced the public expenditures $40,000,000 a year, upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

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The Republican convention of 1880 was held at Chicago, Ill., June 2–8.

James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1880.

The Republican Party, in national convention assembled, at the end of 20 years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million men to subvert the national authority; it reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner stone; it transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens; it relieved Congress of the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold; it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country; it has lifted the credit of the Nation from the point of where 6 per cent bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade increased from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid $880,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly $150,000,000 to less than $89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican Party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican Party for the last 20 years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the Nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt, so much reduced, should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted; and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the Nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the State tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the Nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the Nation must be guided not by the genius of any one State but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the Nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that, slavery having perished in the State, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of 15 years since their final victory—to do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican Party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic Party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National Government and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of the suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certification of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected Members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills upon whose passage the very movement of the Government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the rebellion against the Nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality.

The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution are the first duties of the Nation.

The dangers of a "Solid South" can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the Nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the Nation makes the Nation must perform. A nation can not with safety relegate this duty to the States. The "Solid South" must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud.

And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican Party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible, and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

9. The Republican Party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the cooperation of the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

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The Democratic convention of 1884 was held at Chicago, Ill., July 8–11.

Grover Cleveland, of New York, was nominated for President and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1884.

The Democratic Party of the Union, through its representatives in national convention assembled, recognizes that, as the Nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States; and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise, abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded.

The Republican Party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican Party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or high office. The Republican Party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our Navy; it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a Navy that does not exist; it calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed; it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes a policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers; it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and nonresident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions; it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor; it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans; it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff; it created and has continued them. Its own tariff commission confessed the needs of more than 20 per cent reduction; its Congress gave a reduction of less than 4 per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures; it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries; it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture and industry, followed by half of our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law, attempting to fix a status of colored citizens; the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform"; its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican Party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic Party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the customhouse have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice; all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from the customhouse taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the

remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having already been provided, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the 15 sister Republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil-service reform and a compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries, the separation of church and state, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the right of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican Party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes, to be distributed among the States, or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic Party insists that it is the duty of the Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government and by all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well defined and executed foreign policy, save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as a result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory, by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking, and on the point of outstripping, that of Great Britain. Under 20 years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and the American flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican Party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry; under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy—despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climate, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in the Old World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, nonproducing standing armies; despite 20 years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican Party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American democracy, an American policy. Instead of the Republican Party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor, by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret, we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of Republics—acquiescence in the will of the majority—that he can not permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen—the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic Party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people, in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

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The Republican convention of 1884 was held at Chicago, Ill., June 3–6.

James G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated for President, and John A. Logan, of Illinois, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1884.

The Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration, by which the Republican Party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty, and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purpose of our citizens.

The Republican Party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united Nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation; and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration—a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic Party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

The Democratic Party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican Party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government; and the Republican Party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the Constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce.

The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general legislation by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican Party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of nonresidents or aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of noncompliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican Party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican Party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitations contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican Party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our Navy to its old-time strength and efficiency that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a Navy which takes no law from superior force.

*Resolved*, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation and not an American federacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of a voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic Party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

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The Democratic convention of 1888 was held at St. Louis, Mo., June 5. Grover Cleveland, of New York, was nominated for President, and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1888.

The Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives at the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic Representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

MAINTENANCE OF THE UNION.

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality, and establishing justice.

PLEDGES REDEEMED.

The Democratic Party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the selection of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States; but it challenges the most searching scrutiny concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs resulting from overtaxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured, it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican Party touching the public domain and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

PENSIONS FOR THE SOLDIERS.

While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

FOREIGN POLICY.

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations, while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own Government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended, every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of these benefits the Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the reelection of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able, and prudent. We invoke, in addition to that trust, the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

TAXATION.

The Republican Party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, denies to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed. The Democratic Party will continue, with all the power confined to it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemen of our land the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessaries of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which while unduly enriching the few that combine rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition.

NATIONAL SURPLUS.

Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury. The money now lying idle in the General Treasury resulting from superfluous taxation amounts to more than $125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than $60,000,000 annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican Party is to meet and exhaust, by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and to abolish unnecessary taxation.

TARIFF REFORM.

Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic Party should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessaries of life in the home of every workingman and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic Party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

REDUCTION OF REVENUE.

*Resolved*, That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

ADMITTANCE OF TERRITORIES.

*Resolved*, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New Mexico are, by virtue of population and development, entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican Party in refusing statehood and self-government to their people.

FOREIGN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

*Resolved*, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland.

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The Republican convention of 1888 was held at Chicago, Ill., June 19 to 25.

Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was nominated for President, and Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1888.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in national convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader, the immortal champion

of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln—and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders, who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall, with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican Party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

FREE SUFFRAGE.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican Government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

DUTIES ON WOOL.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic Party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

THE INTERNAL REVENUE.

The Republican Party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which can not be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behests of the Whisky Trust and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican Party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions, under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

HOME RULE IN TERRITORIES.

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to issue a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, the right to form for themselves consitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the bona fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve.

ADMITTANCE OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican Party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States—such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

MORMONISM.

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

BIMETALLISM.

The Republican Party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

REDUCTION OF LETTER POSTAGE.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to 1 cent per ounce.

FREE SCHOOLS.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free Nation; therefore the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

ARMY AND NAVY FORTIFICATIONS.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our Navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers: for the necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen, with idle complacency, the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and farther coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

PROTECTION OF OUR FISHERIES.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy. The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home and follow and protect him abroad, in whatever land he may be, on a lawful errand.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

The men who abandoned the Republican Party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic Party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all Executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing

reform legislation should be repealed to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

PENSIONS FOR THE SOLDIERS.

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union can not be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit of President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the cooperation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

RESOLUTION RELATING TO PROHIBITION.

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of their homes. The Republican Party cordially sympathize with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

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The Democratic convention of 1892 was held at Chicago, Ill., June 21. Grover Cleveland, of New York, was nominated for President and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1892.

SECTION 1. The representatives of the Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government, through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government, under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

FEDERAL CONTROL OF ELECTIONS.

SEC. 2. We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican Party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as at the South, and injures the colored citizens even more than the white. It means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with Federal power; returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority; the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States; the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power, and the reviving of race antagonisms now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all—a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of officeholders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved rights of the people to resist oppression; which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but, in contempt of that verdict, the Republican Party has defiantly declared, in its latest authoritative utterance, that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the force bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity, with the laws pursuant thereto, which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic Party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the force bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing Treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

TARIFF LEGISLATION.

SEC. 2. We denounce Republican protection as a fraud—a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principal of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic Party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been 10 reductions of the wages of the laboring men to 1 increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, to the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley Act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that, after 30 years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural-exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

RECIPROCITY.

SEC. 4. Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges, by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world, that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products, and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people

TRUSTS AND COMBINATIONS.

SEC. 5. We recognize in the trusts and combinations, which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade; but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

PUBLIC LAND.

SEC. 6. The Republican Party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and nonresident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic Administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican Party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

GOLD AND SILVER.

SEC. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and the laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

TAX ON STATE BANKS.

SEC. 8. We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent tax on State bank issues be repealed.

CIVIL SERVICE.

SEC. 9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal officeholders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic Party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

FOREIGN POLICY.

SEC. 10. The Democratic Party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American Continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster, which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

SYMPATHY FOR THE OPPRESSED.

SEC. 11. This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience' sake—and, in the spirit of the founders of our Government, we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights. We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

IMMIGRATION.

SEC. 12. We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration, or the importation of foreign labor and lessen its wages; but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

PENSIONS.

SEC. 13. This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation and we favor just and liberal pensions for all

disabled Union soldiers, their widows, and dependents; but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially, and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful, and dishonest.

WATERWAYS.

SEC. 14. The Federal Government shall care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tide water. When any waterway of the public is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the Government, such aid should be extended with a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

NICARAGUA CANAL.

SEC. 15. For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

WORLD'S FAIR.

SEC. 16. Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the General Government has invited the cooperation of all the powers of the world; and, appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

EDUCATION.

SEC. 17. Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic Party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

ADMISSION OF TERRITORIES.

SEC. 18. We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to statehood; and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic Party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

PROTECTION OF RAILROAD EMPLOYEES.

SEC. 18. We favor legislation by Congress and State legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican Party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

SWEATING SYSTEM.

SEC. 20. We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system; for abolishing contract convict labor; and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under 15 years of age.

SUMPTUARY LAWS.

SEC. 21. We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

CHANGES ASKED.

SEC. 22. Upon this statement of pprinciples and policies the Democratic Party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

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The Republican convention of 1892 was held at Minneapolis, Minn., June 7–10.

Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was nominated for President, and Whitelaw Reid, of New York, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1892.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican Party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the Nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by the victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTECTION.

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the last Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which can not be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws piecemeal, as manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead, and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

TRIUMPH OF RECIPROCITY.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic Party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

FREE AND SAFE COINAGE OF GOLD AND SILVER.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican Party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

FREEDOM OF THE BALLOT.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

OUTRAGES IN THE SOUTH.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

EXTENSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

EMPLOYEES OF RAILROADS.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in State commerce, in mining, and manufacturing.

CHAMPIONING THE OPPRESSED.

The Republican Party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among all men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and State.

TRUSTS CONDEMNED.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

FREE DELIVERY SERVICE.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the Free Delivery Service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to 1 cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post Office Department and the highest class of Postal Service.

SPIRIT OF CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican Party of the laws regulating the same.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable day, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States.

FEDERAL TERRITORIAL OFFICERS.

All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ARID LANDS.

We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the Nation.

SYMPATHY FOR TEMPERANCE.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

PLEDGES TO THE VETERANS.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and a just recognition of their claims upon a grateful people.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION COMMENDED.

We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guaranty of faithful performance in the future.

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The Democratic convention of 1896 was held at Chicago, Ill., July 7. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for President and Arthur Sewell, of Maine, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1896.

We, the Democrats of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of Constitutional limitations.

During all these years the Democratic Party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of Governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual system of Government established by the founders of this Republic of Republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the general Government to the exercise of the powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty. The Democratic party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it renews its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to these fundamental principles of the Constitution.

THE MONEY PLANK.

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution named silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver-dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people, has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

We are unalterably opposed to monometalism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometalism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

INTEREST-BEARING BONDS.

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

AGAINST NATIONAL BANKS.

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin.

TARIFF RESOLUTION.

We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country, and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government, honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for farther changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court, there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment, which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expense of the Government.

IMMIGRATION AND ARBITRATION.

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactories; and as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

TRUSTS AND POOLS.

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and such restriction and guaranties in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

DECLARE FOR ECONOMY.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high while the labor that pays them in unemployed and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

FEDERAL INTERFERENCE IN LOCAL AFFAIRS.

We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners, and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate and now pending in the House of Representatives relative to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

PACIFIC RAILROAD.

No discrimination should be indulged in by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad funding bill and denounce the effort of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

PENSIONS.

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily indorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll, and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

ADMISSION OF TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma into the Union as States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to statehood; and, while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic Party believes in home rule, and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

SYMPATHY FOR CUBA.

The Monroe doctrine, as originally declared and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States and must at all times be maintained.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

CIVIL-SERVICE LAWS.

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service, except as provided in the Constitution. We favor appointments based on merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil-service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

THIRD-TERM RESOLUTION.

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

IMPROVEMENT OF WATERWAYS.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the Government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

CONCLUSION.

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declaration of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

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The Republican convention of 1896 was held at St. Louis, Mo., June 16.

William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated for President and Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated for Vice-President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1896.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of the 30 years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for 30 years administered it with unequaled success and prosperity; and in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, the patriotism, and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

TARIFF.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial; equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which have come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question to be governed by the conditions of time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

RECIPROCITY.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be reestablished. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade, and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade, and finds an outlet for our surplus.

SUGAR.

We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican Party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than $100,000,000 annually.

WOOL AND WOOLENS.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields as well as to those of the shop and the factory; to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolens of the mills—we promise the most ample protection.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

FINANCE.

The Republican Party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

PENSIONS.

The veterans of the Union Army deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but these possessions must not on any pretext be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

CUBA.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

THE NAVY.

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the Navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The civil-service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican Party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced, and extended wherever practicable.

FREE BALLOT.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

LYNCHINGS.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice well known as lynching, or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

NATIONAL ARBITRATION.

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

HOMESTEADS.

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican Party and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure, such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers ap-

pointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ALASKA.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

TEMPERANCE.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

The Republican Party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their cooperation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican Party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican Party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

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The Democratic convention of 1900 was held at Kansas City, Mo., July 4–6.

William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for President and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1900.

We, the representatives of the Democratic Party of the United States, assembled in national convention, on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the Fathers of the Republic. We hold, with the United States Supreme Court, that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our Government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter.

THE ORIGIN AND POWERS OF GOVERNMENT.

We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any Government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny, and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the Constitution follows the flag and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their power from the Constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it or in violation of it.

We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

TAXATION OF PORTO RICO.

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rican law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the Nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding general of our Army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity.

In this, the first act of its imperialistic program, the Republican Party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy inconsistent with republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

PLEDGE TO CUBA.

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world, that the United States has no disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the island of Cuba except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpetbag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory, to the disgrace of the American people.

THE PHILIPPINES.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has involved the Republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false an un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos can not be citizens without endangering our civilization; they can not be subjects without imperiling our form of government; and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization nor to convert the Republic into an empire we favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to give the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and, third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the Republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay; but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

LEGITIMATE EXPANSION.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to seizing or purchasing distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is nowise diminished, and the Democratic Party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish War involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia convention, held in June, 1900, that the Republican Party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine" is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party, in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the Eastern Hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe doctrine in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

MILITARISM OPPOSED.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation and will be a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription.

THE NATIONAL GUARD.

In time of danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and coeval with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, undemocratic, and unrepublican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

TRUSTS.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and a small capital of their opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and, unless their insatiate greed is checked, all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the Republic destroyed.

The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican Party in State and National platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies, that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration for campaign subscriptions and political support.

We pledge the Democratic Party to an unceasing warfare in Nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted, providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside the State of their origin, that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted, and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any article of merchandise; and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts.

THE FREE LIST AS A REMEDY.

Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list, to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

REPUBLICAN INSINCERITY IN TRUST LEGISLATION.

The failure of the present Republican administration, with an absolute control over all the branches of the National Government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the antitrust laws already on the statute books, proves the insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

CORPORATE INTERFERENCE IN GOVERNMENT.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people, or to control the sovereignty which creates them, should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

THE DINGLEY TARIFF LAW.

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate-commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

THE SILVER DECLARATION.

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

THE CURRENCY BILL DENOUNCED.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the National Government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national-bank currency, secured by Government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is therefore a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt.

We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national-bank notes as fast as Government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

INJUNCTIONS, BLACKLIST, AND ARBITRATION.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist, and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

A DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

In the interest of American labor and the uplifting of the workingman, as the corner stone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a department of labor, in charge of a secretary with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased protection and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

LIBERAL PENSIONS.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896, that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

FOR THE NICARAGUAN CANAL.

We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaraguan Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican platform for an isthmian canal in the face of the failure of the Republican majority on this subject to pass such a bill in Congress.

HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests not to be tolerated by the American people.

NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES.

We denounce the failure of the Republican Party to carry out its pledges to grant statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. We promise the people of those Territories immediate statehood, and home rule during their condition as Territories, and we favor home rule and a Territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

ARID LANDS.

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for purposes of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law, and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

ALLIANCES OPPOSED.

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine, and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land grabbing of Asia. We especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the Nation's voice, while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS.

Believing in the principles of self-government, and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics. Speaking as we do for the entire American Nation, except its Republican officeholders, and for all freemen everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

REPUBLICAN EXTRAVAGANCE DENOUNCED.

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus, to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of prospering American shipbuilding, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in Governmental expenditures.

OUR INSTITUTIONS IMPERILED.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our Constitutional Republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether our children are to enjoy the blessed privileges of free government, which have made the United States great, prosperous, and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

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The Republican convention of 1900 was held at Philadelphia, Pa., June 19–21.

William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1900.

The Republicans of the United States through their chosen representatives met in national convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

EXPECTATIONS FULFILLED.

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic Party, intrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

PROMISE OF PROSPERITY REDEEMED.

The Republican Party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures: A protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican Party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed.

Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed, and labor everywhere is profitably occupied.

GROWTH OF EXPORT TRADE.

No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this, that while during the whole period of 107 years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,094.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted, and in victory concluded, a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

M'KINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION INDORSED.

We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American Nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY A MENACE TO PROSPERITY.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican Party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic Party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic Party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

MONETARY LEGISLATION.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER OPPOSED.

We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic Party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

TRUSTS.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest cooperation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade; but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

PROTECTION POLICY REAFFIRMED.

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified, and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates—higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government, and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world.

RECIPROCITY FAVORED.

We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION, AND OTHER LABOR LEGISLATION.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

SHIPPING.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying trade is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade-carrying fleets of the world.

DEBT TO SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The Nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded on this just sentiment, should be liberally administered, and preference should be given, wherever practicable, with respect to employment in the public service, to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

We commend the policy of the Republican Party in maintaining the efficiency of the civil service. The administration has acted wisely in its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined, as far as practicable, to their inhabitants.

THE RACE QUESTION.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned.

PUBLIC ROADS.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the legislatures of the several States.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

We favor the extension of the Rural Free-Delivery Service wherever its extension may be justified.

LAND LEGISLATION.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican Party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

NEW STATES PROPOSED.

We favor home rule for and the early admission to statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

REDUCTION OF WAR TAXES.

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly funded 2 per cent bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican Party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

ISTHMIAN CANAL AND NEW MARKETS.

We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the administration is to be warmly commended for its successful efforts to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries in the charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the Nation's increasing trade.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS.

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

SERVICES OF WOMEN.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the Volunteer Aid Association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the East and West Indies, and we appreciate their faithful cooperation in all works of education and industry.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—SAMOAN AND HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the southern Pacific every American interest has been safeguarded.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE—THE MONROE DOCTRINE—THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine. The provisions of The Hague convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President, and imposed upon us by The Hague treaty, of nonintervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

SOVEREIGNTY IN NEW POSSESSIONS.

In accepting by the treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish War, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain to provide for the maintenance of law and order and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations.

Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

INVOKES THE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

The Republican Party, upon its history and upon this declaration of its principles and policies, confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

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The Democratic convention of 1904 was held at St. Louis, Mo., July 6–9.

Alton B. Parker, of New York, was nominated for President and Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, 1904.

The Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, declares its devotion to the essential principles of the Democratic faith which bring us together in party communion.

Under them local self-government and national unity and prosperity were alike established. They underlay our independence, the structure of our free Republic, and every Democratic extension from Louisiana to California and Texas to Oregon which preserved faithfully in all the States the tie between taxation and representation. They yet inspire the masses of our people, guarding jealously their rights and liberties and cherishing their fraternity, peace, and orderly development. They remind us of our duties and responsibilities as citizens, and impress upon us, particularly at this time, the necessity of reform and the rescue of the administration of government from the headstrong, arbitrary, and spasmodic methods which distract business by uncertainty and pervade the public mind with dread, distrust, and perturbation.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The application of these fundamental principles to the living issues of the day is the first step toward the assured peace, safety, and progress of our Nation. Freedom of the press, of conscience, and of speech; equality before the law of all citizens; right of trial by jury; freedom of the person defended by the writ of habeas corpus; liberty of personal contract untrammeled by sumptuary laws; supremacy of the civil over military authority; a well-disciplined militia; the separation of church and state; economy in expenditures; low taxes, that labor may be lightly burdened; prompt and sacred fulfillment of public and private obligations; fidelity to treaties; peace and friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics—these are doctrines which Democracy has established as proverbs of the Nation, and they should be constantly invoked and enforced.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

We favor enactment and administration of laws giving labor and capital impartially their just rights. Capital and labor ought not to be enemies. Each is necessary to the other. Each has its rights, but the rights of labor are certainly no less "vested," no less "sacred," and no less "unalienable" than the rights of capital.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTIES.

Constitutional guaranties are violated whenever any citizen is denied the right to labor, acquire and enjoy property, or reside where interest or inclination may determine. Any denial thereof by individuals, organizations, or governments should be summarily rebuked and punished.

We deny the right of any Executive to disregard or suspend any constitutional privilege or limitation. Obedience to the laws and respect for their requirements are alike the supreme duty of the citizen and the official.

The military should be used only to support and maintain the law. We unqualifiedly condemn its employment for the summary banishment of citizens without trial or for the control of elections.

We approve the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

WATERWAYS.

We favor liberal appropriations for the care and improvement of the waterways of the country. When any waterway like the Mississippi River is of sufficient importance to demand special aid of the Government, such aid should be extended with a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

We oppose the Republican policy of starving home development in order to feed the greed for conquest and the appetite for national "prestige" and display of strength.

ECONOMY OF ADMINISTRATION.

Large reductions can easily be made in the annual expenditures of the Government without impairing the efficiency of any branch of the public service, and we shall insist upon the strictest economy and frugality compatible with vigorous and efficient civil, military, and naval administration as a right of the people too clear to be denied or withheld.

We favor the enforcement of honesty in the public service, and to that end a thorough legislative investigation of those executive departments of the Government already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of harboring corruption, and the punishment of ascertained corruptionists, without fear or favor or regard to persons. The persistent and deliberate refusal of both the Senate and the House of Representatives to permit such investigation to be made demonstrates that only by a change in the executive and in the legislative departments can complete exposure, punishment, and correction be obtained.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS WITH TRUSTS.

We condemn the action of the Republican Party in Congress in refusing to prohibit an executive department from entering into contracts with convicted trusts or unlawful combinations in restraint of interstate trade. We believe that one of the best methods of procuring economy and honesty in the public service is to have public officials, from the occupant of the White House down to the lowest of them, return as nearly as may be to Jeffersonian simplicity of living.

EXECUTIVE USURPATION.

We favor the nomination and election of a President imbued with the principles of the Constitution, who will set his face sternly against Executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of Executive construction of existing laws, or whether it take refuge in the tyrant's plea of necessity or superior wisdom.

IMPERIALISM.

We favor the preservation, so far as we can, of an open door for the world's commerce in the Orient, without an unnecessary entanglement in oriental and European affairs, and without arbitrary, unlimited, irresponsible, and absolute government anywhere within our jurisdiction.

We oppose, as fervently as did George Washington himself, an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary, and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom invoked or exercised. We believe, with Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, that no Government has a right to make one set of laws for those "at home" and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those "in the colonies." All men under the American flag are entitled to the protection of the institutions whose emblem the flag is. If they are inherently unfit for those institutions, then they are inherently unfit to be members of the American body politic. Wherever there may exist a people incapable of being governed under American laws, in consonance with the American Constitution, the territory of that people ought not to be part of the American domain.

FILIPINOS AND CUBANS.

We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now and, upon suitable guaranties of protection to citizens of our own and other countries resident there at the time of our withdrawal, set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent to work out their own destiny.

The endeavor of the Secretary of War, by pledging the Government's indorsement for "promoters" in the Philippine Islands, to make the United States a partner in speculative legislation of the archipelago, which was only temporarily held up by the opposition of the Democratic Senators in the last session, will, if successful, lead to entanglements from which it will be difficult to escape.

TARIFF LEGISLATION.

The Democratic Party has been and will continue to be the consistent opponent of that class of tariff legislation by which certain interests have been permitted, through congressional favor, to draw a heavy tribute from the American people. This monstrous prevention of those equal opportunities which our political institutions were established to secure has caused what may once have been infant industries to become the greatest combinations of capital that the world has ever known. These especial favorites of the Government have, through trust methods, been converted into monopolies, thus bringing to an end domestic competition, which was the only alleged check upon the extravagant profits made possible by the protective system. These industrial combinations, by the financial assistance they can give, now control the policy of the Republican Party.

We denounce protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few, and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the Government, economically administered, and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class, or section, to the end that the burdens of taxation shall be distributed as equally as possible.

We favor a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses and for the common weal, and not by the friends of its abuses, its extortions, and its discriminations, keeping in view the ultimate ends of "equality of burdens and equality of opportunities," and the constitutional purpose of raising a revenue by taxation, to wit, the support of the Federal Government in all its integrity and virility, but in simplicity.

TRUSTS AND UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS.

We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint products of capital and labor and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity. A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.

Individual equality of opportunity and free competition are essential to a healthy and permanent commercial prosperity, and any trust, combination, or monopoly tending to destroy these by controlling production, restricting competition, or fixing prices should be prohibited and punished by law. We especially denounce rebates and discrimination by transportation companies as the most potent agency in promoting and strengthening these unlawful conspiracies against trade.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

We demand an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to the end that the traveling public and shippers of this country may have prompt and adequate relief for the abuses to which they are subjected in the matter of transportation. We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations, and monopolies, and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary to effectually suppress them.

Any trust or unlawful combination engaged in interstate commerce which is monopolizing any branch of business or production should not be permitted to transact business outside of the State of its origin. Whenever it shall be established in any court of competent jurisdiction that such monopolization exists, such prohibition should be enforced through comprehensive laws to be enacted on the subject.

RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS.

We congratulate our western citizens upon the passage of the law known as the Newlands Irrigation Act for the irrigation and reclamation of the arid lands of the West, a measure framed by a Democrat, passed in the Senate by a nonpartisan vote, and passed in the House against the opposition of almost all the Republican leaders by a vote, the majority of which was Democratic. We call attention to this great Democratic measure, broad and comprehensive as it is, working automatically throughout all time, without further action of Congress, until the reclamation of all the lands in the arid West capable of reclamation is accomplished, reserving the lands reclaimed for home seekers in small tracts and rigidly guarding against land monopoly, as an evidence of the policy of domestic development contemplated by the Democratic Party should it be placed in power.

ISTHMIAN CANAL.

The Democracy, when intrusted with power, will construct the Panama Canal speedily, honestly, and economically, thereby giving to our people what Democrats have always contended for—a great interoceanic canal, furnishing shorter and cheaper lines of transportation and broader and less trammeled trade relations with the other peoples of the world.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper measures to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of laws and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under the covenants of our treaties of friendship and commerce; and if under existing treaties the right of travel and sojourn is denied the American citizen or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor the beginning of negotiations with the Governments of such countries to secure by treaties the removal of these unjust discriminations. We demand that all over the world a duly authenticated passport issued by the Government of the United States to an American citizen shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE.

We favor the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people.

STATEHOOD FOR TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the Territory of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. We also favor the immediate admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States, and a Territorial government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

We hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, as well as the District of Alaska, should be bona fide residents at the time of their appointment for the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed.

CONDEMNATION OF POLYGAMY.

We demand the extermination of polygamy within the jurisdiction of the United States and the complete separation of church and State in political affairs.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We denounce the ship-subsidy bill recently passed by the United States Senate as an iniquitous appropriation of public funds for private purposes and a wasteful, illogical, and useless attempt to overcome by subsidy the obstructions raised by Republican legislation to the growth and development of American commerce on the sea.

We favor the upbuilding of a merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the Public Treasury.

RECIPROCITY.

We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining, or commerce.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

We favor the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine in its full integrity.

ARMY.

We favor the reduction of the Army and of Army expenditures to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient.

PENSIONS.

The democracy would secure to the surviving soldiers and sailors and their dependents generous pensions, not by an arbitrary executive order, but by legislation which a grateful people stand ready to enact.

Our soldiers and sailors who defend with their lives the Constitution and the laws have a sacred interest in their just administration. They must, therefore, share with us the humiliation with which we have witnessed the exaltation of court favorites without distinguished service, over the scarred heroes of many battles; or aggrandized by executive appropriations out of the treasuries of a prostrate people, in violation of the act of Congress which fixed the compensation or allowances of the military officers.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The Democratic Party stands committed to the principles of civil-service reform, and we demand their honest, just, and impartial enforcement.

We denounce the Republican Party for its continuous and sinister encroachments upon the spirit and operation of civil-service rules, whereby it has arbitrarily dispensed with examination for office in the interests of favorites and employed all manner of devices to overreach and set aside the principles upon which the civil service was established.

SCHOOL AND RACE QUESTIONS.

The race question has brought countless woes to this country. The calm wisdom of the American people should see to it that it brings no more. To revive the dead and hateful race and sectional animosities in any part of our common country means confusion, distruction of business, and the reopening of wounds now happily healed. North and South, East and West have but recently stood together in line of battle from the walls of Peking to the hills of Santiago, and as sharers of a common glory and a common destiny we should share fraternally the common burdens. We therefore deprecate and condemn the bourbon-like, selfish, and narrow spirit of the recent Republican convention at Chicago, which sought to kindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people.

THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

The existing Republican administration has been spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular, and arbitrary. It has made itself a satire upon the Congress, the courts, and upon the settled practices and usages of national and international law.

It summoned the Congress into hasty and futile extra session, and virtually adjourned it, leaving behind in its flight from Washington uncalled calendars and unaccomplished tasks.

It made war, which is the sole power of Congress, without its authority, thereby usurping one of its fundamental prerogatives. It violated a plain statute of the United States as well as plain treaty obligations, international usages, and constitutional law; and has done so under pretense of executing a great public policy, which could have been more easily effected lawfully, constitutionally, and with honor.

It forced strained and unnatural constructions upon statutes, usurping judicial interpretation and substituting congressional enactment.

It withdrew from Congress their customary duties of investigation which have heretofore made the representatives of the people and the States the terror of evildoers.

It conducted a secretive investigation of its own and boasted of a few sample convictions, while it threw a broad coverlet over the bureaus which had been their chosen field of operative abuses, and kept in power the superior officers under whose administration the crimes had been committed.

It ordered assaults upon some monopolies; but, paralyzed by its first victory, it flung out the flag of truce and cried out that it would not "run amuck," leaving its future purposes beclouded by its vacillations.

APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY.

Conducting the campaign upon this declaration of our principles and purposes, we invoke for our candidates the support, not only of our great and time-honored organization, but also the active assistance of all of our fellow citizens who, disregarding past differences upon questions no longer in issue, desire the perpetuation of our Constitutional Government as framed and established by the fathers of the Republic.

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The Republican convention of 1904 was held in Chicago, Ill, on June 21–23.

Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was nominated for President, and Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1904.

Fifty years ago the Republican Party came into existence, dedicated, among other purposes, to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During 24 of the 44 years which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican Party has held complete control of the Government. For 18 more of the 44 years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the Government, while the Democratic Party during the same period has had complete control for only two years.

This long tenure of power by the Republican Party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican Party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equaled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

REPUBLICAN ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE 1897.

The Republican Party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added luster even to the traditions of the party which carried the Government through the storms of civil war.

We then found the country, after four years of Democratic rule, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune, and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, the standard of values was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint, and confidence was gone.

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively, and at once. We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free-trade principles and garnished with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff, and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets, and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed, wages have risen, and all industries have revived and prospered.

We firmly established the gold standard, which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

For deficient revenues supplemented by improvident issues of bonds we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish War had closed to remove over one hundred millions of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt, and lower the interest charges of the Government.

The public credit, which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent even in time of war.

We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years, and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt, and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order, and prosperity.

In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order, and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration, and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Peking and a decisive part in preventing the partition and preserving the integrity of China.

The possession of a route for an Isthmian Canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican Party.

We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

We have reorganized the Army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

We have pushed forward the building of the Navy, the defense and protection of our honor and our interest.

Our administration of the great departments of the Government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

Laws enacted by the Republican Party which the Democratic Party failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws, insuring reasonable publicity as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican Congress.

In this record of achievement during the past eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican Party have fulfilled. We promise to continue these policies, and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Protection which guards and develops our industries is a cardinal policy of the Republican Party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad.

We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work can not safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican Party. To intrust it to the Democratic Party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic Party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system.

However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity.

To a Republican Congress and a Republican President this great question can be solely intrusted. When the only free-trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection, the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American Agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

THE GOLD STANDARD MUST BE UPHELD.

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican Party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican Party, can not safely be committed to the Democratic Party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

ENCOURAGE THE MERCHANT MARINE.

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages, and heavy subsidies of foreign governments has not for many years received from the Government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the Merchant Marine Commission to investigate and report on this subject.

MAINTAIN THE NAVY.

A Navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe doctrine, and watch over our commerce is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a Navy is the fixed policy of the Republican Party.

EXCLUDE CHINESE LABOR.

We cordialy approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

ENFORCE THE CIVIL-SERVICE LAW.

The civil-service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican Party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

ADMINISTER PENSION LAWS LIBERALLY.

We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them and in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

ARBITRATION.

We favor the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration.

PROTECT AMERICAN CITIZENS ABROAD.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the Government to procure for all our citizens without distinction the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

OUR POLICY REGARDING CHINA.

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

ENFORCE THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS REGARDING ELECTIVE FRANCHISES.

We favor such congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and if such is the case we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral colleges shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

COMBINATIONS OF LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

M'KINLEY AND ROOSEVELT.

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was reelected by the Republican Party to the Presidency four years ago was assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire Nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, and earnest patriotism, and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican Party and to the policies which that party had declared, he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success.

SETTLEMENT OF THE COAL STRIKE.

The confidence of the people in his justice, inspired by his public career, enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of the winter in 1902.

ROOSEVELT'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but to the highest degree successful. The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe doctrine was signally vindicated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

PANAMA.

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secure to us the canal route, but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a very serious character.

IN THE ORIENT.

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that Empire, has never been so high.

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY.

He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people his protest has been made and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

DOMESTIC QUESTIONS.

Preeminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law; that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high-minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people.

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The Democratic convention of 1908 was held in Denver, Colo., on July 7-11.

William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for President and John W. Kern, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1908.

We, the representatives of the Democracy of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our belief in and pledge our loyalty to the principles of the party.

We rejoice at the increasing signs of an awakening throughout the country. The various investigations have traced graft and political corruption to the representatives of predatory wealth, and laid bare the unscrupulous methods by which they have debauched elections and preyed upon a defenseless public through the subservient officials whom they have raised to place and power.

The conscience of the Nation is now aroused and will free the Government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations. It must become again a people's Government, and be administered in all departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim, "Equal rights to all; special privileges to none."

"Shall the people rule?" is the overwhelming issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion.

INCREASE OF OFFICEHOLDERS.

Coincident with the enormous increase in expenditures is a like addition to the number of officeholders. During the past year 23,784 were added, costing $16,156,000, and in the past six years of Republican administration the total number of new offices created, aside from many commissions, has been 99,319, entailing an additional expenditure of nearly $70,000,000, as against only 10,279 new offices created under the Cleveland and McKinley administrations, which involved an expenditure of only $6,000,000. We denounce this great and growing increase in the number of officeholders as not only unnecessary and wasteful, but also as clearly indicating a deliberate purpose on the part of the administration to keep the Republican Party in power at public expense by thus increasing the number of its retainers and dependents. Such procedure we declare to be no less dangerous and corrupt than the open purchase of votes at the polls.

ECONOMY IN ADMINISTRATION.

The Republican Congress in the session just ended made appropriations amounting to $1,008,000,000, exceeding the total expenditures of the past fiscal year by $90,000,000, and leaving a deficit of more than $60,000,000 for the fiscal year just ended. We denounce the needless waste of the people's money, which has resulted in the appalling increase, as a shameful violation of all prudent considerations of government and as no less than a crime against the millions of working men and women, from whose earnings the great proportion of these colossal sums must be extorted through excessive tariff exactions and other indirect methods. It is not surprising that, in the face of this shocking record, the Republican platform contains no reference to economical administration or promise thereof in the future. We demand that a stop be put to this frightful extravagance, and insist upon the strictest economy in every department, compatible with frugal and efficient administration.

ARBITRARY POWER—THE SPEAKER.

The House of Representatives was designed by the fathers of the Constitution to be the popular branch of our Government, responsive of the public will.

The House of Representatives, as controlled in recent years by the Republican Party, has ceased to be a deliberative and legislative body, responsive to the will of the majority of its Members, but has come under the absolute domination of the Speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations and powers of legislation.

We have observed, with amazement, the popular branch of our Federal Government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its Members.

Legislative control becomes a failure when one Member in the person of the Speaker is more powerful than the entire body.

We demand that the House of Representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of the people's Representatives, and not by the Speaker; and we pledge ourselves to adopt such rules and regulations to govern the House of Representatives as will enable a majority of its Members to direct its deliberations and control legislation.

MISUSE OF PATRONAGE.

We condemn as a violation of the spirit of our institutions the action of the present Chief Executive in using the patronage of his high office to secure the nomination for the Presidency of one of his Cabinet officers. A forced succession in the Presidency is scarcely less repugnant to public sentiment than is life tenure in that office. No good intention on the part of the Executive, and no virtue in the one selected, can justify the establishment of a dynasty. The right of the people to freely select their officials is inalienable and can not be delegated.

PUBLICITY OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

We demand Federal legislation forever terminating the partnership which has existed between corporations of the country and the Republican Party under the expressed or implied agreement that in return for the contribution of great sums of money wherewith to purchase elections they should be allowed to continue substantially unmolested in their efforts to encroach upon the rights of the people.

Any reasonable doubt as to the existence of this relation has been dispelled by the sworn testimony of witnesses examined in the insurance investigation in New York, and the open admission of a single individual—unchallenged by the Republican national committee—that he himself, at the personal request of the then Republican candidate for the Presidency, raised over a quarter of a million of dollars to be used in a single State during the closing hours of the last campaign. In order that this practice shall be stopped for all time we demand the passage of a statute punishing by imprisonment any officer of a corporation who shall either contribute on behalf of, or consent to the contribution by, a corporation of any money or thing of value to be used in furthering the election of a President or Vice President of the United States or any Member of the Congress thereof.

We denounce the Republican Party, having complete control of the Federal Government, for its failure to pass the bill introduced in the last Congress to compel the publication of the names of contributors and the amounts contributed toward campaign funds, and point to the evidence of the sincerity of Republican leaders when they sought, by an absolutely irrelevant and impossible amendment, to defeat the passage of the bill. As a further evidence of their intention to conduct their campaign in the coming contest with vast sums of money wrested from favor-seeking corporations, we call attention to the fact that the recent Republican national convention at Chicago refused, when the issue was presented to it, to declare against such practices.

We pledge the Democratic Party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing any amount above a reasonable maximum, and providing for the publication, before election, of all such contributions above a reasonable maximum.

THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES.

Believing with Jefferson in "the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-Republican tendencies," and in "the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad," we are opposed to the centralization implied in the suggestion now frequently made that the powers of the General Government should be extended by judicial construction. There is no twilight zone between the Nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both; and it is as necessary that the Federal Government shall exercise the powers delegated to it, that it is that the State governments shall use the authority reserved to them; but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to, not substituted for, State remedies.

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and regard this reform as the gateway to other national reforms.

TARIFF.

We welcome the belated promise of tariff reform now offered by the Republican Party as a tardy recognition of the righteousness of the Democratic position on this question; but the people can not safely intrust the execution of this important work to a party which is so deeply obligated to the highly protected interests as is the Republican Party. We call attention to the significant fact that the promised relief is postponed until after the coming election—an election to succeed in which the Republican Party must have that same support from the beneficiaries of the high protective tariff as it has always heretofore received from them; and to the further fact that during years of uninterrupted power no action whatever has been taken by the Republican Congress as to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities.

We favor immediate revision of the tariff by the reduction of import duties. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products should be placed upon the free list; material reductions should be made in the tariff upon the necessaries of life, especially upon articles competing with such American manufactures as are sold abroad more cheaply than at home; and gradual reductions should be made in such other schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis.

Existing duties have given the manufacturers of paper a shelter behind which they have organized combinations to raise the price of pulp and of paper, thus imposing a tax upon the spread of knowledge. We demand the immediate repeal of the tariff on wood pulp, print paper, lumber, timber, and logs, and that those articles be placed upon the free list.

INCOME TAX.

We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect a tax upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the Federal Government.

TRUSTS.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States. Among the additional remedies we specify three: First, a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations; second, a license system which will, without abridging the right of each State to create corporations, or its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its limits, make it necessary for a manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce to take out a Federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as 25 per cent of the products in which it deals, the license to protect the public from watered stock and to prohibit the control by such corporation of more than 50 per cent of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States; and, third, a law compelling such licensed corporations to sell to all purchasers in all parts of the country on the same terms, after making the allowance for the cost of transportation.

RAILROAD LEGISLATION.

We assert the right of Congress to exercise complete control over interstate commerce and the right of each State to exercise like control over commerce within its borders.

We demand such enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission as may be necessary to enable it to compel railroads to perform their duties as common carriers and prevent discrimination and extortion.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of production, and any elements of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will prohibit the railroads from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers; also legislation preventing the overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, and legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

We heartily approve the laws prohibiting the pass and the rebate, and we favor any further necessary legislation to restrain, correct, and prevent such abuses.

We favor such legislation as will increase the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, giving to it the initiative with reference to rates and transportation charges put into effect by the railroad companies, and permitting the Interstate Commerce Commission on its own initiative to declare a rate illegal and as being more than should be charged for such service. The present law relating thereto is inadequate by reason of the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission is without power to fix or investigate a rate until complaint has been made to it by the shipper.

We further declare in favor of a law that all agreements of traffic or other associations of railway agents affecting interstate rates, service, or classification shall be unlawful, unless filed with and approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

We favor the enactment of a law giving to the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to inspect proposed railroad tariff rates or schedules before they shall take effect, and, if they be found to be unreasonable to initiate an adjustment thereof.

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

We pledge the Democratic Party to the enactment of a law to regulate, under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the rates and services of telegraph and telephone companies engaged in the transmission of messages between the States.

BANKING.

The panic of 1907, coming without any legitimate excuse, when the Republican Party had for a decade been in complete control of the Federal Government, furnishes additional proof that it is either unwilling or incompetent to protect the interests of the general public. It has so linked the country to Wall Street that the sins of the speculators are visited upon the whole people. While refusing to rescue the wealth producers from spoliation at the hands of the stock gamblers and speculators in farm products, it has deposited Treasury funds, without interest and without competition in favorite banks. It has used an emergency for which it is largely responsible to force through Congress a bill changing the basis of bank currency and inviting market manipulation, and has failed to give to the 15,000,000 depositors of the country protection in their savings.

We believe that in so far as the needs of commerce require an emergency currency, such currency should be issued and controlled by the Federal Government, and loaned on adequate security to national and State banks. We pledge ourselves to legislation under which the national banks shall be required to establish a guaranty fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent national bank, under an equitable system which should be available to all State banking institutions wishing to use it.

We favor a postal savings bank if the guaranteed bank can not be secured, and believe that it should be so constituted as to keep the deposited money in the communities where the depositors live. But we condemn the policy of the Republican Party in proposing postal savings banks under a plan of conduct by which they will aggregate the deposits of the rural communities and deposit the same while under Government charge in the banks of Wall Street, thus depleting the circulating medium of the producing regions and unjustly favoring the speculative markets.

LABOR AND INJUNCTIONS.

The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished justices, who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican Party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people create, and if the laws appear to work economic, social, or political injustice, it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty, and property. If judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

Experience has proven the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunctions, and we reiterate the pledge of our national platform of 1896 and 1904 in favor of the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We believe that the parties to all judicial proceedings shall be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgment of the right of wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

We favor the eight-hour day on all Government work.

We pledge the Democratic Party to the enactment of a law by Congress, as far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, for a general employers' liability act covering injury to body or loss of life or property.

We pledge the Democratic [illegible] to the enactment of a law creating a Department of Labor represented separately in the President's Cabinet, in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining.

THE PHILIPPINES.

We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandoning a fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guarantee the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

WATERWAYS.

Water furnishes the cheaper means of transportation, and the National Government, having the control of navigable waters, should improve them to their fullest capacity. We earnestly favor the immediate adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for improving every water course in the Union which is justified by the needs of commerce; and to secure that end we favor, when practicable, the connection of the Great Lakes with the navigable rivers and with the Gulf through the Mississippi River, and the navigable rivers with each other by artificial canals, with a view of perfecting a system of inland waterways to be navigated by vessels of standard draft.

We favor the coordination of the various services of the Government connected with waterways in one service, for the purpose of aiding in the completion of such a system of inland waterways; and we favor the creation of a fund ample for continuous work, which shall be conducted under the direction of a commission of experts to be authorized by law.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We believe in the upbuilding of the American merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

THE NAVY.

The constitutional provision that a navy shall be provided and maintained means an adequate navy, and we believe that the interests of this country would be best served by having a navy sufficient to defend the coasts of this country and protect American citizens wherever their rights may be in jeopardy.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.

We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper methods to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of the law and enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under our treaties; and if, under existing treaties, the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens, or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor prompt negotiations with the Governments of such countries to secure the removal of these unjust discriminations.

We demand that all over the world a duly authenticated passport issued by the Government of the United States to an American citizen shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

FOREIGN PATENTS.

We believe that where an American citizen holding a patent in a foreign country is compelled to manufacture under his patent within a certain time, similar restrictions should be applied in this country to the citizens or subjects of such a country.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced to the end that merit and ability shall be a standard of appointment and promotion, rather than services rendered to a political party.

PENSIONS.

We favor a generous pension policy, both as a matter of justice to the surviving veterans and their dependents, and because it tends to relieve the country of the necessity of maintaining a large standing army.

HEALTH BUREAU.

We advocate the organization of all existing national public health agencies into a national bureau of public health, with such power over sanitary conditions connected with factories, mines, tenements, child labor, and such other conditions connected within jurisdiction of Federal Government and do not interfere with the power of the States controlling public health agencies.

AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL EDUCATION.

The Democratic Party favors the extension of agricultural, mechanical, and industrial education. We therefore favor the establishment of district agricultural experiment stations and secondary agricultural and mechanical colleges in the several States.

OKLAHOMA.

We welcome Oklahoma to the sisterhood of States and heartily congratulate her upon the auspicious beginning of a great career.

ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.

The National Democratic Party has for the last 16 years labored for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States of the Union, and recognizing that each possesses every qualification successfully to maintain separate State governments, we favor the immediate admission of these Territories as separate States.

ALASKA AND PORTO RICO.

We demand for the people of Alaska and Porto Rico the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a Territorial form of government, and that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our Territories and the District of Columbia should be thoroughly qualified by previous bona fide residence.

HAWAII.

We favor the application of the principles of the land laws of the United States to our newly acquired Territory, Hawaii, to the end that the public lands of that Territory may be held and utilized for the benefit of bona fide homesteaders.

POST ROADS.

We favor Federal aid to State and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

NATURAL RESOURCES.

We repeat the demand for internal development and for the conservation of our natural resources contained in previous platforms, the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has vainly sought from a reluctant party; and to that end we insist upon the preservation, protection, and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain of homeseekers, the protection of the national resources in timber, coal, iron, and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways for navigation and every other useful purpose, including the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water power, and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force, from the control of monopoly; and to such end we urge the exercise of all powers, national, State, and municipal, both separately and in cooperation.

We insist upon a policy of administration of our forest reserves which shall relieve it of the abuses which have arisen thereunder, and which shall, as far as practicable, conform to the police regulations of the several States wherein the reserves are located, which shall enable homesteaders as of right to occupy and acquire title to all portions thereof which are especially adapted to agriculture and which shall furnish a system of timber sales available as well to the private citizen as to the large manufacturer and consumer.

GRAZING LANDS.

The establishment of rules and regulations, if any such are necessary, in relation to free grazing upon the public lands outside of forests or other reservations, until the same shall eventually be disposed of, should be left to the people of the States, respectively, in which such lands may be situated.

PAN AMERICAN RELATIONS.

The Democratic Party recognizes the importance and advantage of developing closer ties of Pan American friendship and commerce between the United States and her sister relations of Latin America, and favors the taking of such steps, consistent with Democratic policies, for better acquaintance, greater mutual confidence, and larger exchange of trade as will bring lasting benefit not only to the United States, but to this group of American Republics, having constitutions, forms of government, ambitions, and interests akin to our own.

PANAMA CANAL.

We believe that the Panama Canal will prove of great value to our country, and favor its speedy completion.

ASIATIC IMMIGRATION.

We favor full protection, by both National and State Governments within their respective spheres, of all foreigners residing in the United States under treaty, but we are opposed to the admission of Asiatic immigrants who can not be amalgamated with our population, or whose presence among us would raise a race issue and involve us in diplomatic controversies with oriental powers.

CONCLUSION.

The Democratic Party stands for democracy; the Republican Party has drawn to itself all that is aristocratic and plutocratic. The Democratic Party is the champion of equal rights and opportunities to all; the Republican Party is the party of privilege and private monopoly. The Democratic Party listens to the voice of the whole people and gauges progress by the prosperity and advancement of the average man; the Republican Party is subservient to the comparatively few who are the beneficiaries of governmental favoritism. We invite the cooperation of all, regardless of previous political affiliation or past differences, who desire to preserve a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and who favor such an administration of the Government as will insure, as far as human wisdom can, that each citizen shall draw from society a reward commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society.

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The Republican convention of 1908 was held in Chicago, Ill. on June 16–20.

William Howard Taft, of Ohio, was nominated for President and James S. Sherman, of New York, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1908.

TRIBUTE TO THE PARTY.

Once more the Republican Party in national convention assembled submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization that destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, restored credit, expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country, and gave to the Nation her seat of honor in the councils of the world now meets the new problems of the Government with the same spirit with which it solved the old. In this the greatest area of American advancement the Republican Party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administration is an epoch in American history. In no other period since the national sovereignty was won under Washington or preserved under Lincoln has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality, and fair dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and the worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted up to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Conscience and courage in public station and high standards of right and wrong in private life have been the cardinal principles of political life. Capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and interdependence and the abuse of wealth and the tyranny of power, and all evils and privileged favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple and manly virtues of justice and fair play.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

The greatest accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been first and foremost a brave and impartial enforcement of the law. The prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies, the exposure and punishment of evildoers in the public service, the more effective regulation of the rates and services of the great transportation lines, the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates, and discriminations, the arbitration of labor disputes, the amelioration of the conditions of wage earners everywhere, the conservation of the natural resources of the country, the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways, and always the earnest support and defense of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guaranties of life, liberty, and property—these are the elements that will make for Theodore Roosevelt his place in history, but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do.

We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated, and pledge their continuance under the Republican administration of the Government.

COUNTRY'S GREAT PROSPERITY.

Under the guidance of the Republican principles the American people have become the richest Nation in the world. Our wealth to-day exceeds that of England and all of her colonies and that of France and Germany combined. When the Republican Party was born the wealth of this country was $16,000,000,000. It has leaped to $110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but $60,000,000,000 in 500 years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all the modern manufactured products.

In the great necessities of civilization, such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the stable foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn, and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, American supremacy is undisputed. And yet her great national wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of 3,000,000 square miles literally bursting with latent treasure still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted to the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, embarrassed in its riches and treasures, and all the products of the field, the forest, and the factory. With gratitude to God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past, and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican Party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity to all.

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests are founded, and the necessity of promoting their continued welfare through the operation of the Republican policies as the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equaled the familiar Democratic panics of the past. We congratulate the people of the United States because of our American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce, and manufacturing.

Since the election of William McKinley in 1896 the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of trusting to the Republican Party, through decisive majorities, the control and direction of national affairs. The many wise and comprehensive measures adopted at recent sessions of Congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of the Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march to our better government.

RECORD OF LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS.

Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of the Democratic minority in the House of Representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the emergency currency bill, the appointment of a national monetary commission, the employers' Government liability law, the measures for the greater efficiency of the Army and the Navy, the widows' pension bill, the child-labor law for the District of Columbia, the new statute for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen, and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

TARIFF REVISION PROMISED.

The Republican Party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of the Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress, which are now investigating the operation and effect of these schedules. In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of a maximum and minimum rate to be administered by the President under limitations fixed by the law, the maximum to be available to meet the discrimination by foreign countries against American goods entering our markets, and the minimum representing the normal measure of protection at home, the aim and the purpose of Republican policy being not only to preserve without excessive duties the security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers, and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wageworkers of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system.

PHILIPPINE TARIFF.

Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

CURRENCY.

We approve the emergency measure adopted by the Government during the recent financial disturbance, and especially commend the passage by Congress of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such a stringency. The Republican Party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our greater needs, and the appointment of a national monetary commission by the present Congress which will impartially investigate all the proposed methods and insure the early realization of this purpose.

The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption, but an expanding commerce, a marvelous growth in wealth and population, multiplying the centers of distribution, increasing the demand for the movement of crops in the West and South, and entailing periodic changes in the monetary condition, disclose the need of a more elastic and adaptable system. Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants, and business men in general; must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in the interest rates, and all must be in harmony with the Republican doctrine which insists that every dollar shall be based upon and as good as gold.

POSTAL SAVINGS.

We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

TRUSTS.

The Republican Party passed the Sherman antitrust law over Democratic opposition, and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless administration; but experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better obtained by such amendment as will give the Federal Government greater supervision and control over and greater publicity in the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

RAILROADS.

We approve the enactment of the railroad-rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present administration of the statute against rebates and discrimination, as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the small shipper have substantially disappeared. And in this connection we commend an appropriation by the present Congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate and give publicity to the accounts of interstate railroads. We believe, however, that the interstate commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish traffic agreements subject to the approval of the commission, but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever.

We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the overissue of stocks and bonds in the future by interstate carriers.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY.

The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the employers' liability law, the passage and enforcement of the safety-appliance statute, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen, the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers, the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between the interests of railroads and their employees, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the Government, were the most commendable accomplishments of the present administration. But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican Party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for the safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

HELP TO WORKERS.

The wise policy which has induced the Republican Party to maintain protection to American labor, to establish the eight-hour day in the construction of all public work, to increase the list of employees who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy law, to adopt a child-labor statute for the District of Columbia, to direct the investigation into the condition of the working women and children, and later of the employees of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business, to appropriate $150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of loss of life in the mines, and to amend and strengthen the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor will be pursued in every legitimate direction in Federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and the advancement of all who toil.

The Republican Party recognizes the special needs of wage earners generally for their well-being and the well-being of all.

The Republican Party will uphold at all times the authority and the integrity of the courts, State and Federal, and will ever insist that their power to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty, and property shall be preserved inviolate.

We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the Federal courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunctions should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing should be granted thereafter.

THE FARMER.

Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wageworkers is the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly upon the prosperity of agriculture. The Republican Party during the last 12 years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the National Government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself but in increasing the conveniences of rural life. Free rural mail delivery has been established. It now reaches millions of our citizens, and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefit of the Postal Service. We recognize the social and economic advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense and less and less at the expense of the abutting property owner. In this work we commend the growing practice of State aid and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiment and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

NEGRO PROBLEM.

The Republican Party has been for more than 50 years the consistent friend of the American negro. It gave him freedom and assistance, wrote in the organic law the declaration which proclaimed his civil and political rights, and it believes to-day that his worthy progress in intelligence, industry, and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the Nation. We demand equal justice for all men without regard to race or color. We declare once more and without reservation for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, which were designed for the protection and advancement of the negro, and we condemn all devices which have for their real aim his disfranchisement, and that for reasons of color alone, as unfair, un-American, and repugnant to the supreme law of the land.

CONSERVATION OF FORESTS.

We indorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of the natural resources. We approve of measures to prevent the waste of timber. We commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity. In the line of this splendid undertaking is the future duty equally imperative to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan just to all persons of the country of the waterways, harbors, and Great Lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of benign Providence.

ARMY AND NAVY.

The Sixtieth Congress passed many commendable acts increasing the efficiency of the Army and Navy, making the militia of the States an integral part of the national establishment, authorizing joint maneuvers of Army and militia, fortifying new naval bases, and completing the construction of the coaling stations, instituting a female nurse corps for naval hospitals and ships, and added 2 new battleships, 10 torpedo-boat destroyers, 3 steam colliers, and 8 submarines to the strength of the Navy. Although at peace with all the world and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to the policy that will keep this Republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines and assure her a proper part in promoting tranquillity among the nations.

CITIZENS ABROAD.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon a just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the Government to procure for all our citizens without distinction right of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

NEIGHBORS TO THE SOUTH.

Under the administration of the Republican Party the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth, until its present annual valuation is approximately $3,000,000,000, and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which otherwise would be idle. It has inaugurated through the recent visit of the Secretary of State to South America and Mexico a new area of pan-American commerce and comity, which is bringing us into closer touch

with our 20 sister American Republics having a common historic heritage, a republican form of government, and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL.

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the cause of international peace so strongly advanced in The Hague conference are occasions for just pride and gratification. At the last session of the United States Senate 11 Hague conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals; plans were laid for the restrictions of submarine mines; limiting the use of force for the collection of international debts; governing the opening of hostilities; extending the application of the Geneva principle in many ways; lessening the evils of war, and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies. At the same session 12 arbitration conventions with great nations were affirmed and extradition principles were ratified. We indorse such achievement as the highest duty of people to perform, and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good will with all the nations of the world.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We adhere to the Republican doctrine of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will advance the merchant marine prestige of the country, so essential to the national defense, the enlargement of avenues of trade, and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

PENSIONS.

Another Republican policy which must be ever maintained is that of generous appreciation for those who have fought the country's battles and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pension made by the present Congress and declare for a liberal administration of all pension laws, to the end that the people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of the heoric sacrifices grow more sacred with the passing years.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We reaffirm our former declaration regarding the civil-service law.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

We commend the efforts made to secure greater efficiency in national public health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect its purpose.

MINING.

In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country we earnestly support the establishment of a bureau of mines and mining.

COLONIAL.

The American Government in Republican hands has freed Cuba, given peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag, and begun the construction of the Panama Canal. The present condition in Cuba vindicates the wisdom of maintaining between that Republic and this imperishable bonds of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land. In Porto Rico the Government of the United States has met with loyal and patriotic support. Order and prosperity prevail and the well-being of the people in every respect promoted and conserved. We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once made collectively citizens of the United States, and that all others properly qualified under existing law residing in said islands should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law established, and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policy of McKinley and Roosevelt is leading the inhabitants step by step to an ever-increasing home rule.

PANAMA CANAL.

Time has justified the selection of the Panama route for the great isthmian canal, and events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of the centuries is coming in view in the near future.

STATEHOOD.

We favor the immediate admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States in the Union.

LINCOLN CENTENARY.

February 12, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, that immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great Republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversay be celebrated throughout the confines of the Nation by all the people, and especially by the public schools as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY CONTRASTED.

We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the Republican Party could be inaugurated and none of the forward steps here proposed could be taken under a Democratic administration, nor under one in which the party responsibility is divided. The continuance of the present policies absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican Party and its chief opponent which makes one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust. In history the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stood for debased currency, the other for honest money; the one for free silver, the other for honest currency; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for expansion. One has been forced to abandon every position it has taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

In experience the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one means adversity, while the other means prosperity. One means low wages, the other means high wages. One means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

In principle the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose. One stands for obstruction, the other for construction. One promises, the other performs. One finds fault, the other finds work. The present tendencies of the two parties are more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican Party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth, Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take, Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of position which would soon leave no one anything to possess. Republicanism would give equality to each; it would assure to each his share of the constantly increasing sum of possession.

In line with this tendency the Democratic Party to-day believes in government ownership, while the Republican Party believes in government legislation. Ultimately Democracy would have the Nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the Nation.

Upon this platform of principles and purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore but of all our fellow citizens who, regardless of political differences, unite in a desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings, and make secure the achievements of a greater America.

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The Democratic convention of 1912 was held at Baltimore, Md., June 25–July 3.

Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, was nominated for President and Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1912.

We, the representatives of the Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of democratic government formulated by Thomas Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

TARIFF REFORM.

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government honestly and economically administered.

The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth. It is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. Under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers. It raises the cost of the necessaries of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages. The farmer sells largely in free markets and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries, such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretense on that subject, and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions and not by the tariff.

We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high and in many cases prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessaries of life. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list.

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

We denounce the action of President Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metal, and chemical schedules and the farmers' free-list bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts.

The Republican Party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interest; and having been faithless to its pledges of 1908, it should no longer enjoy the confidence of the Nation. We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican Party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject, and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican Party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people without import duties on the necessaries of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

ANTITRUST LAW.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trusts and trust officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

We favor the declaration by law of the conditions upon which corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate trade, including, among others, the prevention of holding companies, of interlocking directors, of stock watering, of discrimination in price, and the control by any one corporation of so large a proportion of any industry as to make it a menace to competitive conditions.

We condemn the action of the Republican administration in compromising with the Standard Oil Co. and the Tobacco Trust, and its failure to invoke criminal provisions of the antitrust law against the officers of those corporations after the court had declared that from the undisputed facts in the record they had violated the criminal provisions of the law.

We regret that the Sherman antitrust law has received a judicial construction depriving it of much of its efficacy, and we favor the enactment of legislation which will restore to the statute the strength of which it has been deprived by such interpretation.

RIGHTS OF THE STATES.

We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three coordinate branches of the Federal Government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—each keeping within its own bounds and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the States of their reserved sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them and to enlarge and magnify by indirection the powers of the Federal Government.

We insist upon the full exercise of all the powers of the Government, both State and National, to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the Government a private asset in business. There is no twilight zone between the Nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both. It is as necessary that the Federal Government shall exercise the powers reserved to them, but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to and not substituted for State remedies.

INCOME TAX AND POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the Federal Constitution authorizing an income tax and the amendment providing for the popular election of Senators, and we call upon the people of all the States to rally to the support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

We note with gratification the unanimous sentiment in favor of publicity before the election of campaign contributions—a measure demanded in our national platform of 1908 and at that time opposed by the Republican Party—and we commend the Democratic House of Representatives for extending the doctrine of publicity to recommendations, verbal and written, upon which presidential appointments are made, to the ownership and control of newspapers, and to the expenditures made by and in behalf of those who aspire to presidential nominations, and we point for additional justification for this legislation to the enormous expenditures of money in behalf of the President and his predecessor in the recent contest for the Republican nomination for President.

The movement toward more popular government should be promoted through legislation in each State which will permit the expression of the preference of the electors for national candidates at presidential primaries.

We direct that the national committee incorporate in the call for the next nominating convention a requirement that all expressions of preference for presidential candidates shall be given and the selection of delegates and alternates made through a primary election conducted by the party organization in each State where such expression and election are not provided for by State law. Committeemen who are hereafter to constitute the membership of the Democratic national committee, and whose election is not provided for by law, shall be chosen in each State at such primary elections, and the service and authority of the committeemen, however chosen, shall begin immediately upon the receipt of their credentials, respectively.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

We pledge the Democratic Party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing any amount above a reasonable maximum.

TERM OF PRESIDENT.

We favor a single presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for reelection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

At this time, when the Republican Party, after a generation of unlimited power in its control of the Federal Government, is rent into factions, it is opportune to point to the record of accomplishment of the Democratic House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress. We indorse its action, and we challenge comparison of its record with that of any Congress which has been controlled by our opponents.

We call the attention of the patriotic citizens of our country to its record of efficiency, economy, and constructive legislation.

It has, among other achievements, revised the rules of the House of Representatives so as to give to the representatives of the American people freedom of speech and of action in advocating, proposing, and perfecting remedial legislation.

It has passed bills for the relief of the people and the development of our country; it has endeavored to revise the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses, and thus to reduce the high cost of living.

It has proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people.

It has secured the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as two sovereign States.

It has required the publicity of campaign expenses both before and after election and fixed a limit upon the election expenses of United States Senators and Representatives.

It has also passed a bill to prevent the abuse of the writ of injunction.

It has passed a law establishing an eight-hour day for workmen on all national public work.

It has passed a resolution which forced the President to take immediate steps to abrogate the Russian treaty.

And it has passed the great supply bills which lessen waste and extravagance, and which reduce the annual expenses of the Government by many millions of dollars.

We approve the measure reported by the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives for the creation of a council of national defense, which will determine a definite naval program with a view to increased efficiency and economy. The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe doctrine, and was sponsor for the new Navy, will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well-proportioned Navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens, and uphold the honor and dignity of the Nation.

REPUBLICAN EXTRAVAGANCE.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

RAILROADS, EXPRESS COMPANIES, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction, and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will effectually prohibit the railroads, express, telegraph, and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers or patrons, also legislation preventing the overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines, and legislation which will assure such reductions in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

BANKING LEGISLATION.

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the establishment of a central bank; and we believe the people of the country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or dominion by what is known as the Money Trust.

Banks exist for the accommodation of the public, and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

We condemn the present methods of depositing Government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall Street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and State, without discrimination as to locality upon approved securities and subject to call by the Government.

RURAL CREDITS.

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore, we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real-estate security.

We recognize the value of vocational education, and urge Federal appropriations for such training and extension teaching in agriculture in cooperation with the several States.

WATERWAYS.

We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources and the development of our waterways. The present devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and the diversion, storage, and control of the flood waters above, and the utilization for the beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and the development of water power instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its water for the purpose of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of its channel, and the prevention of the overflow of the land and its consequent devastation, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the General Government.

To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year, and thereby encourage water transportation, is a consummation worthy of legislative attention, and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress, and the Democratic Party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

We favor the cooperation of the United States and the respective States in plans for the comprehensive treatment of all waterways with a cooperative plan for channel improvement, with plans for drainage of swamp and overflowed lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the Federal Government of sufficient funds to make surveys of such lands, to develop plans for drainage of the same, and to supervise the work of construction.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our inland waterways with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

POST ROADS.

We favor national aid to State and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

RIGHTS OF LABOR.

We repeat our declarations of the platform of 1908, as follows:

"The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished justices, who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican Party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

"It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people enact, and if the laws appear to work economic, social, or political injustice, it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty, and property. As judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

"Experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the law relating to injunction, and we reiterate the pledges of our platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of a measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896 relating to contempt in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We believe that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any case in which an injunction would not issue if no industrial disputes were involved.

"The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgement of the right of the wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

"We pledge the Democratic Party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor, represented separately in the President's Cabinet, in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining."

We pledge the Democratic Party, so far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, to an employees' compensation law providing adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life.

CONSERVATION.

We believe in the conservation and the development, for the use of all the people, of the natural resources of the country. Our forests, our sources of water supply, our arable and our mineral lands, our navigable streams, and all the other material resources with which our country has been so lavishly endowed constitute the foundation of our national wealth. Such additional legislation as may be necessary to prevent their being wasted or absorbed by special or privileged interests should be enacted, and the policy of their conservation should be rigidly adhered to.

The public domain should be administered and disposed of with due regard to the general welfare. Reservations should be limited to the purposes which they purport to serve and not extended to include land wholly unsuited therefor. The unnecessary withdrawal from sale and settlement of enormous tracts of public land upon which tree growth never existed and can not be promoted tends only to retard development, create discontent, and bring reproach upon the policy of conservation.

The public-land laws should be administered in a spirit of the broadest liberality toward the settler exhibiting a bona fide purpose to comply therewith, to the end that the invitation of this Government to the landless should be as attractive as possible; and the plain provisions of the forest-reserve act permitting homestead entries to be made within the national forest should not be nullified by administrative regulations which amount to a withdrawal of great areas of the same from settlement.

Immediate action should be taken by Congress to make available the vast and valuable coal deposits of Alaska under conditions that will be a perfect guaranty against their falling into the hands of monopolizing corporations, associations, or interests.

We rejoice in the inheritance of mineral resources unequaled in extent, variety, or value, and in the development of a mining industry unequaled in its magnitude and importance. We honor the men who, in their hazardous toil underground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mine, so essential to the industries, the commerce, and the comfort of the people of this country. And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the Bureau of Mines in every way appropriate for national legislation with a view of safeguarding the lives of miners, lessening the waste of essential resources, and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must in the future, even more than in the past, serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare, and our international commerce.

We believe in encouraging the development of a modern system of agriculture and a systematic effort to improve the conditions of trade in farm products so as to benefit both the consumers and producers. And as an efficient means to this end we favor the enactment by Congress of legislation that will suppress the pernicious practice of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges or others.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We believe in fostering, by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics of the south, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the Public Treasury.

We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea, and we favor the repeal of all laws and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations as provide for the arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desecration with violation of their contract of service. Such laws and treaties are un-American and violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States.

We favor the exemption from toll of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the canal.

We also favor legislation forbidding the use of the Panama Canal by ships owned or controlled by railroad carriers engaged in transportation competitive with the canal.

PURE FOOD AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

We reaffirm our previous declarations advocating the union and strengthening of the various governmental agencies relating to pure foods, quarantine, vital statistics, and human health. Thus united and administered without partiality to or discrimination against any school of medicine or system of healing, they would constitute a single health service not subordinated to any commercial or financial interests but devoted exclusively to the conservation of human life and efficiency. Moreover, this health service should cooperate with the health agencies of our various States and cities, without interference with their prerogatives, or with the freedom of individuals to employ such medical or hygienic aid as they may see fit.

CIVIL-SERVICE LAW.

The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service rendered to a political party, and we favor a reorganization of the civil service, with adequate compensation commensurate with the class of work performed, for all officers and employees; we also recommend the extension to all classes of civil-service employees of the benefits of the provisions of the employers' liability law; we also recognize the right of direct petition to Congress by employees for the redress of grievance.

LAW REFORM.

We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and we recommend the enactment of such legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the delays, expense, and uncertainties incident to the system as now administered.

THE PHILIPPINES.

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers.

In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.

We welcome Arizona and New Mexico to the sisterhood of States and heartily congratulate them upon their auspicious beginning of great and glorious careers.

ALASKA.

We demand for the people of Alaska the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a Territorial form of government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our Territories and the District of Columbia should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

THE RUSSIAN TREATY.

We commend the patriotism of the Democratic Members of the Senate and House of Representatives which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our Government which does not recognize that equality of all our citizens, irrespective of race or creed, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.

The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property.

PARCEL POST AND RURAL DELIVERY.

We favor the establishment of a parcel post or postal express and also the extension of the rural-delivery system as rapidly as practicable.

PANAMA CANAL EXPOSITION.

We hereby express our deep interest in the great Panama Canal Exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915, and favor such encouragement as can be properly given.

PROTECTION OF NATIONAL UNIFORM.

We commend to the several States the adoption of a law making it an offense for the proprietors of places of public amusement and entertainment to discriminate against the uniform of the United States, similar to the law passed by the Congress applicable to the District of Columbia and the Territories in 1911.

PENSIONS.

We renew the declaration of our last platform relating to a generous pension policy.

RULE OF THE PEOPLE.

We direct attention to the fact that the Democratic Party's demand for a return to the rule of the people expressed in the national platform four years ago has now become the accepted doctrine of a large majority of the electors. We again remind the country that only by a larger exercise of the reserved power of the people can they protect themselves from the misuse of delegated power and the usurpation of governmental instrumentality by special interests. For this reason the national convention insisted on the overthrow of Cannonism and the inauguration of a system by which United States Senators could be elected by direct vote. The Democratic Party offers itself to the country as an agency through which the complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud, and machine rule in American politics can be effected.

CONCLUSION.

Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office, as well as relied upon during the campaign, and we invite the cooperation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country.

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The Republican convention of 1912 was held in Chicago, Ill., on June 18–22.

William Howard Taft, of Ohio, was nominated for President and James S. Sherman, of New York, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1912.

The Republican Party, assembled by its representatives in national convention, declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican Party and our devotion to the cause of Republican institutions established by the fathers.

It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party he honored—Abraham Lincoln.

In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

PRIDE IN PARTY'S RECORD.

The Republican Party looks back upon its record with pride and satisfaction and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendency in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party of progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfillment of one great pledge to the fulfillment of another in response to the public need and to the popular will.

We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy, which is a government of laws, not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

The principles of constitutional government, which make provision for orderly and effective expressions of the popular will, for the protection of civil liberty and the rights of men, and for the interpretation of law by an untrammeled and independent judiciary, have proved themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces 100,000,000 people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory, but bound by common purpose, common ideals, and common affection to the Constitution of the United States.

HOW NATION HAS GROWN.

Under the Constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's confidence and a people's support, and managed by the people themselves, the Government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

The Republican Party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions which social, economic, and political development have brought into the forefront of the Nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the Nation but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health, to limit effectively the labor of women and children, to protect wage earners engaged in dangerous occupations, to enact comprehensive and generous workman's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employers' liability, and in all possible ways to satisfy the just demand of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of social welfare.

PROTECTION OF LIBERTY.

In dealing with these questions it is important that the rights of every individual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources and to the control of his own justly acquired property, as far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual, and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the National and State constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individual are the functions of independent courts of justice.

The Republican Party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty, and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that Government. Until these constitutional provisions are so altered or amended in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

WOULD HURRY LAWSUITS.

That the courts, both Federal and State, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion we favor legislation to prevent long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

Since the responsibility of the judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any judge who is found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican Party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth. It believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

MONOPOLY AND PRIVILEGE.

The Republican Party is opposed to special privilege and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute book the interstate commerce act of 1887 and the important amendments thereto, and the antitrust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of these laws. It will take no backward step to permit the reestablishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

Experience makes it plain that the business of the country can be carried on without fear and without disturbance and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. The Republican Party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing antitrust act which will define as criminal offenses those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and that those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished. The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterizes other provisions of commercial law, in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime, and that the right of every man to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessaries of life, in an open market, uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination, may be preserved.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

In the enforcement and administration of Federal laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein there is much that may be committed to a Federal trade commission, thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the laws and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

THE TARIFF POLICY.

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workingmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high, and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this, correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff Board has demonstrated.

TARIFF BOARD INDORSED.

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican Party has shown by its creation of a Tariff Board its recognition of this situation and its determination to be equal to it. We condemn the Democratic Party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vitally important subjects without careful investigation.

We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive of business enterprise.

COST OF LIVING.

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of national but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced.

The Republican Party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove such abuses as may be found to exist, in order that the cost of food, clothing, and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

The Republican Party has always stood for a sound currency and safe banking methods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payment and for the establishment of the gold standard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency system. Our banking arrangements to-day need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will prevent the recurrence of money panics and financial disturbances and which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the West and South. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade. In attaining these ends the independence of individual banks, whether organized under national or State charters, must be carefully protected, and our banking and currency system must be safeguarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial, or political interests.

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for another purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness, and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican Party stands committed to the maintenance, extension, and enforcement of the civil-service law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the President to extend competitive service so far as practicable. We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the civil service, in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We favor the amendment of the Federal employers' liability law so as to extend its provisions to all Government employees, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds, directly or indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the President, the Vice President, Senators, and Representatives in Congress.

We heartily approve the recent act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity in regard to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions, or elections.

CONSERVATION POLICY.

We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our national resources for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona fide homeseekers, prospectors, and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

PARCEL POST ASKED.

In the interest of the general public, and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, we favor legislation looking to the establishment under proper regulations, of a parcel post, the postal rates to be graduated under a zone system—in proportion to the length of carriage.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENSHIP.

We approve the action taken by the President and the Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation, and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born

or alien, and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

NEW BATTLESHIPS URGED.

We believe in the maintenance of an adequate Navy for the national defense, and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of battleships.

We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a merchant marine. There should be American ships and plenty of them, to make use of the great American interoceanic canal now nearing completion.

FOR FLOOD PROTECTION.

The Mississippi River is the Nation's drainage ditch. Its flood waters, gathered from 31 States and the Dominion of Canada, constitute an overpowering force, which breaks the levees and pours its torrents over many million acres of the richest land in the Union, stopping mails, impeding commerce, and causing great loss of life and property. These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The States, unaided, can not cope with this giant problem. Hence, we believe the Federal Government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control, so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

RECLAMATION OF LANDS.

We favor the continuance of the policy of the Government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands; and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands we favor an amendment to the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the landowners under it.

We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon expert information and after a careful comparison of cost and propective benefits.

LIBERAL ALASKAN POLICY.

We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska to promote the development of the great resources of that District, with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly.

We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the Navy and the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

PHILIPPINE ATTITUDE.

The Philippine policy of the Republican Party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

We ratify in all its particulars the platform of 1908 respecting citizenship for the people of Porto Rico.

We pledge the Republican Party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States.

SAFETY AT SEA.

We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, and that life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENT.

The approaching completion of the Panama Canal, the establishment of a Bureau of Mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the Republic and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs, all mark the successful progress of Republican administration and are additional evidence of its effectiveness.

We commend the earnest effort of the Republican administration to secure greater economy and increased efficiency in the conduct of Government business. Extravagant appropriations and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayer and a bad example to the citizen.

We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil from which the law affords no adequate protection, and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

We congratulate the people of Arizona and New Mexico upon the admission of those States, thus merging in the Union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

We challenge successful criticism of the 16 years of Republican administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the indorsement of President McKinley contained in the platform of 1900 and of 1904, and that of President Roosevelt contained in the platforms of 1904 and 1908.

We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the administration of William H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his Presidency. During the years in which he had the cooperation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of the people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record which any administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

We appeal to the American electorate upon the record of the Republican Party, and upon this declaration of its principles and purposes. We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be nominated our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican Party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its administration and its laws our Nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people, and that new glory will be added to the great Republic.

The Democratic convention of 1916 was held at St. Louis, Mo., June 14–16.

Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, was nominated for President and Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1916.

The Democratic Party, in national convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs.

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT.

We indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges and our constructive legislation, with those of any party of any time.

We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican Party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.

Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administrations,—long the refuge of the Money Trust,—has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve Act, a true democracy of credit under Government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry and making a currency panic impossible.

We have created a Federal Trade Commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the antitrust laws so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the workingman the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

We have advanced the parcels post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the Postal Savings System, added 10,000 rural-delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching 2,500,000 additional people, improved the Postal Service in every branch, and for the first time in our history, placed the post-office system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away special privilege, prevent unfair discrimination and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, as far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America, and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

TARIFF.

We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government economically administered and unreservedly indorse the Underwood tariff law as truly exemplifying that doctrine. We recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's production and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade.

Two years of a war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations, are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever before experienced. In order to ascertain just what those changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a nonpartisan tariff commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on. We cordially indorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

AMERICANISM.

The part which the United States will play in the new day of international relationships that is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic Party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the Nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men of whatever origin or creed who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America. This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test, America must show itself not a Nation of partisans but a Nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be welded into a mighty and splendid Nation

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country. We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this Nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every

group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the Nation and its free institutions. We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS.

Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which can not be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves and to the rôle of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play, that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an Army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety and of the protection of the Nation's rights; the fullest development of modern methods of seacoast defense and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a Navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which this Nation hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The Democratic administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and to the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve those principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

The present administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the Nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller States even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of such States for the United States by refusing to make a mere material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

PAN AMERICAN CONCORD.

We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and Republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other Republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and our neighbors to the south, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

We commend the action of the Democratic administration in holding the Pan American Financial Conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin American Republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere.

MEXICO.

The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the Independent Republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the most scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. We court their good will. We seek not to despoil them. The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly State. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last recourse. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it, is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican Congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Until the recent banking legislation, it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. We heartily indorse the purposes and policy of the pending shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be requisite to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

CONSERVATION.

For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people, we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, reaffirming the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject.

The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FARMER.

We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the Nation as well as of the States. With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration, far more than under any previous administration. In the Federal Reserve Act of the last Congress and the Rural Credits Act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, placing him at last upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises. Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established or are in the course of being established by law.

The long-needed Cotton Futures Act, passed by the Sixty-third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years. A Grain Grades Bill, long needed, and a Permissive Warehouse Bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress. Both Houses have passed a good-roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities. Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming. But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through cooperation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and the conditions requisite for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products created. We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance, for creating the Office of Markets and Rural Organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture, and for extending the cooperative machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstrations. We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

GOOD ROADS.

The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life, and the development of the city, are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We, therefore, favor national aid in the construction of post roads and roads for military purposes.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.

We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the Nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

1. A living wage for all employees.
2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.
3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.
4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.
5. The standards of the "Uniform Child Labor Law" wherever minors are employed.
6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.
7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the States with regard to labor within their borders and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the Nation should be conserved.

LABOR.

We declare our faith in the Seamen's Act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal Child Labor Law, and the regulation of the shipment of prison made goods in interstate commerce.

We favor the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means, already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the Union to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the Federal Government of the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its fine record in settling strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the Federal Government handles questions of public health to the end that human life may be conserved by the elimination of loathsome diseases, the improvement of sanitation, and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention.

We favor the establishment by the Federal Government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tubercular patients.

SENATE RULES.

We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the Nation's legislative business.

ECONOMY AND THE BUDGET.

We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the Government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step toward a budget system.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the Civil Service laws.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

We heartily indorse the provisions of the bill, recently passed by the House of Representatives, further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands as being in fulfillment of the policy declared by the Democratic Party in its last National platform, and we reiterate our indorsement of the purpose of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, expressed in the preamble of that measure.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS.

We again declare the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad, and that no treaty shall receive the sanction of our Government which does not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all of our citizens irrespective of race, creed or previous nationality, and which does not recognize the right of expatriation. The American Government should protect American citizens in their rights not only at home but abroad, and any country having a Government should be held to strict accountability for any wrongs done them, either to person or to property. At the earliest practicable opportunity our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell.

PRISON REFORM.

We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our Federal Penal System. We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles of the Federal Parole Law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the probation system, especially in the case of first offenders not convicted of serious crimes.

PENSIONS.

We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

WATERWAYS AND FLOOD CONTROL.

We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of our waterways. The recent devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley and several other sections by floods accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands, and development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue as heretofore agents of destruction. We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the National Government.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways with economy and efficiency so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

ALASKA.

It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic Party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

TERRITORIES.

We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico the traditional Territorial government accorded to all Territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of these several Territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

CANDIDATES.

We unreservedly indorse our President and Vice President, Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall of Indiana, who have performed the functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially, and with distinguished ability.

In particular we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our Government and its citizens, and kept us out of war.

Woodrow Wilson stands to-day the greatest American of his generation.

CONCLUSION.

This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the record above set forth, which shows great constructive achievement in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic administration, which has maintained the honor, the dignity and the interests of the United States, and at the same time, retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world; and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the enlargement of our national vision and the ennobling of our international relations, as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country.

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The Republican convention of 1916 was held at Chicago, Ill., June 7–10.

Charles E. Hughes, of New York, was nominated for President and Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1916.

In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government, and to the flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS.

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights which, in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, can not be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrase-making, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

MEXICO.

We deeply sympathize with the 15,000,000 people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered, and their women outraged by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who, when temporarily successful in any locality, have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the Government of that country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and, second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty, and property.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

LATIN AMERICA.

We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial, and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

PHILIPPINES.

We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress, and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their government and, if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future.

We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done would break our pledges, injure our prestige among nations, and imperil what has already been accomplished.

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican Members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

RIGHT OF EXPATRIATION.

We reiterate the unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion, or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

PROTECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defenses ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective Regular Army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

We must have a Navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or our eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic Party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

TARIFF.

The Republican Party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an antidumping provision as an adequate substitute.

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dyestuffs.

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

BUSINESS.

The Republican Party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the Government in business, which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer and in an inferior product.

The Republican Party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic Party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and belief choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican Party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

RURAL CREDITS.

We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

MERCHANT MARINE.

In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American merchant marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of national emergency.

We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels, as proposed by the Democratic Party, because Government-owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American merchant marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

RAILROADS.

Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public.

The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We therefore favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

ECONOMY AND A NATIONAL BUDGET.

The increasing cost of the National Government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for Government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the Treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple businesslike budget system, to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

CONSERVATION.

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the Nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use, without abuse.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

The civil-service law has always been sustained by the Republican Party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic Party has created since March 4, 1913, 30,000 offices outside of the civil-service law at an annual cost of $44,000,000 to the taxpayers of the country.

We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of sufficiency and economy.

TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS.

Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican Party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory should be bona fide residents of the Territory in which their duties are to be performed.

LABOR LAWS.

We pledge the Republican Party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child-labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workman's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all Government employees. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation, and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

SUFFRAGE.

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of the country, favors the extension of the suffrage to woman, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with perils. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and above all things, to keep the faith.

*Miscellaneous.*

The first presidential election occurred January 7, 1789. The first Wednesday of February following the electors made choice for President and Vice President, and their votes were counted April 6.

Three States out of the 13 did not vote, viz: New York, which had not passed an electoral law; and North Carolina and Rhode Island, which had not ratified the Constitution.

Jefferson and Burr received an equal number of electoral votes; there being no choice, the House of Representatives proceeded to choose a President in the manner prescribed at that time by the Constitution. (Art. II, sec. 2.) On the thirty-sixth ballot, the votes of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Vermont, and Maryland (10 States) were cast for Thomas Jefferson; the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island (4 States) for Aaron Burr; and South Carolina and Delaware (2 States) blank. Thomas Jefferson having received the votes of a majority of the States was thereby elected President and Aaron Burr Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, 1801.

Maine formed part of Massachusetts. On admission to the Union was declared (by act of Congress, Apr. 7, 1820) entitled to seven Representatives, to be taken from Massachusetts.

An elector (ex-Governor and ex-United States Senator William Plumer) of New Hampshire cast the only vote against James Monroe out of disapproval of his first term of service, and *not*, as generally accredited, to prevent him from sharing with Washington the honor of a unanimous election. He said: "There is not one act of my official life on which I reflect with more satisfaction than that of withholding from him (Monroe) my vote as an elector. In politics I am not bound by the shackles of party, nor in religion by the chains of sectarianism."

In this campaign there were no recognized parties; the presidential election became a personal contest. Jackson, Adams, Crawford, and Henry Clay were the candidates. On February 9, 1825, the two Houses assembled and proceeded to the counting of the votes for President and Vice President. It was found that John Cadwell Calhoun had received a majority of the whole number of votes for the Vice Presidency, and was therefore declared to have been elected Vice President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, 1825. No candidate for the

Presidency having received a majority, the Senators withdrew; the House of Representatives then proceeded to the choice of a President from the three highest. On the first ballot John Quincy Adams was chosen, receiving the votes of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana (13 States); Andrew Jackson received the votes of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Indiana (7 States); those for William Harrison Crawford were Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia (4 States). The Speaker declared Adams to have been elected President of the United States, and notice of the result was sent to the Senate.

Eleven seceding States, within the belligerent territory, did not vote. A joint resolution approved February 8, 1865, declared that they were not entitled to representation in the Electoral College.

Three seceding States were disfranchised because they had not complied with the conditions of Congress for readmission. A joint resolution approved July 20, 1868, excluded from the Electoral College votes of States which shall not have been reorganized.

All the States were represented in the Electoral College, May 23, 1872.

Seventeen votes rejected by Congress, viz, 6 from Arkansas because the seal of the State was not affixed; 8 from Louisiana on account of two returns having been received, and 3 from Georgia for Horace Greely, who died November 29, 1872, before the votes were cast.

A dispute having arisen over the electoral votes from Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina, they were by Congress referred to the "Electoral Commission" for decision as to their validity, which decided the votes to be Republican. The President of the Senate then declared that Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, having received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, is duly elected President and that William A. Wheeler, of New York, is duly elected Vice President of the United States for four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, 1877. This was the first count on the part of Congress, regulated by general law, in the history of the Government under the Constitution.

Absentees, and vacancies caused by death, in the Electoral College, viz, 1789, Maryland 2, Virginia 2; 1792, Maryland 2, Vermont 1; 1808, Kentucky 1; 1812, Ohio 1; 1816, Delaware 1, Maryland 3; 1820, 1 elector in each of the States of Mississippi, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee died between appointment and the meeting of the electors; 1832, Maryland 2; 1864, Nevada chose 3 electors, 1 died before the election.

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION.

Upon the death of the President, the Vice President succeeds to the office. (Constitution, Art. II, sec. 5.)

Record of succession: Harrison, by John Tyler, April 4, 1841; Taylor, by Millard Fillmore, July 9, 1850; Lincoln, by Andrew Johnson, April 15, 1865; Garfield, by Chester Alan Arthur, September 19, 1881; McKinley, by Theodore Roosevelt, September 14, 1901.

Succession: In case of removal, death, resignation, or inability both of the President and Vice President: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior. (Act of Jan. 19, 1886, 24 Stat., 1.)

The Department of Agriculture and Department of Commerce and Labor were organized after the passage of the presidential succession act.

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH HAVE ELECTED PRESIDENTS.

1. *Federal, 1787–1816.*—Formed from the Strong Government, or Constitutional Party.

2. *Democratic-Republican, 1792–1828.*—Formed from the Anti-Federal (1787–1793), the Republican, or Jefferson Party (1791–1793), and Democrats or sympathizers with the French Revolutionists (1791–1793).

3. *Coalition, 1825.*—Formed from a union of the supporters of Henry Clay with those of John Quincy Adams.

4. *Democratic, 1828.*—The Democratic-Republican Party divided into four parts in the campaign of 1824, and never reappeared again in a national contest. The Democratic and National-Republican Parties were constructed out of its ruins, and perfected organizations.

5. *Whig, 1834–1854.*—Formed from a union of the National-Republicans, the Nullifiers, extreme States' Rights men, Anti-Masons, and the personal opponents of President Jackson.

6. *Republican, 1854.*—Formed from the greater part of the Northern Whigs, Free-Soilers—both of Democratic and Whig antecedents—Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and anti-slavery men of the Democratic Party—on the issues of the slave question.

ORGANIZATION OF MINOR PARTIES WHICH HAVE CHOSEN ELECTORS.

7. *Opposition, 1820.*—One elector in New Hampshire voted against his party candidate.

8. *National-Republican, 1825–1834.*—Formed from a union of the Adams and Clay factions.

9. *Independent, 1832.*—South Carolina chose electors pledged to candidates of her own. In 1872, one "Liberal Republican" elector in Missouri voted for an Independent—David Davis.

10. *Anti-Masonic, 1826–1834.*—Formed from opponents of Freemasonry.

11. *American (Know-Nothing), 1852–1860.*—Formed from members of other parties dissatisfied with the influx and power of the foreign element.

12. *Breckinridge Democrats. 1860.*—Formed from southern Democrats. Their platform avowed a purpose to carry slavery into the Territories.

13. *Constitutional Union, 1860.*—Formed from the relics of the Whigs and Know-Nothings, and Democrats declaring their political principles to be "The Constitution of the country, the union of States, and enforcement of the laws."

19. *People's (Populist), 1891.*—The legitimate successor of the following parties: Greenback, 1874; became National Greenback, 1878; became Union Labor, 1887. These various elements uniting with the "Farmers' Alliance" formed the People's, or Populist, Party.

HOW THE ELECTORS ARE CHOSEN AND THE WAY CONGRESS COUNTS THE VOTES GIVEN FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The President and Vice President of the United States are chosen by officials (in each State) termed "electors," who are, under existing State laws, chosen by the qualified voters thereof by ballot on a general State ticket on the first Tuesday next succeeding the first Monday in November in every fourth year preceding the year in which the presidential term expires.

The *electors* equal the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress. (Constitution, Art. II, sec. 1.)

The governors of States are required to send a certificate as to the ascertainment of electors to the Secretary of State of the United States, who publishes in such newspaper as he shall designate such certificate in full; and at the first meeting of Congress thereafter he transmits to the two Houses of Congress copies of each and every such certificate received theretofore at the State Department. (Act of Congress, Feb. 3, 1887.)

The *electors of each State meet* on the second Monday in January next following their appointment, at such place as the State legislature may direct, and cast their votes.

The *electors sign two certificates* of all the votes given by them, each of which certificates must contain two distinct lists, one of the votes for President, the other for Vice President; lists to be sealed and sent forthwith to the President of the United States Senate, at the seat of Government, one by mail and one by messenger, accompanied by a certificate (triplicate) duly executed by the governor of the respective State, which shall set forth the names of the electors and the number and division of votes cast. (Constitutional Amendment XII, and act of Congress, Feb. 3, 1887; also Constitution, Art. II, sec. 3.)

*Congress shall be in session* on the second Wednesday in February succeeding every meeting of the electors. The Senate and House of Representatives shall meet in the Hall of the House at 1 o'clock p. m. on that day, and the President of the Senate shall be their presiding officer. That at such joint meeting of the two Houses seats shall be provided as follows: For the President of the Senate, the Speaker's chair; for the Speaker, immediately upon the left; the Senators, in the body of the Hall upon the right of the presiding officer; for the Representatives, in the body of the Hall not provided for the Senators; for the tellers, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives, at the Clerk's desk; for the other officers of the two Houses, in front of the Clerk's desk and upon each side of the Speaker's platform. Such joint meeting shall not be dissolved until the count of electoral votes shall be completed and the result declared. Two tellers shall be previously appointed on the part of the Senate and two on the part of the House, to whom shall be handed, as they are opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of the electoral votes, which certificates and papers shall be opened and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States; and said tellers, having then read the same in the presence of the two Houses, shall make a list of the votes as they shall appear from the said certificates; and the votes having been ascertained and counted, the result of the same shall be delivered to the President of the Senate, who shall thereupon announce the state of the vote, which announcement shall be deemed a sufficient declaration of the persons, if any, elected President and Vice President of the United States, and, together with a list of the votes, be entered on the journals of the two Houses; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if no person have a majority of votes for Vice President, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. (Act of Congress, Feb. 3, 1887, and Amendment XII, Constitution. For procedure on objections, incorrect returns, etc., see secs. 4 to 7, act of Feb. 3, 1887, and Constitutional Amendment XII.)

Before the twelfth amendment to the Constitution was declared in force (Sept. 25, 1804) each elector voted (under the original clause of the Constitution, Art. II, sec. 1, par. 3) for two candidates for President; the candidate having the greatest number of electoral votes (if a majority of the whole) became President and the one having the next greatest number Vice President.

The acts of Congress executory of the electoral system are as follows: The resolve of Congress September 13, 1788 (Journals of Congress, vol. 4, 1823 ed., 866), provided for appointing electors and fixed the day they should assemble in their respective States and vote for a President; act of March 1, 1792 (1 Stat., 239), provided for election of President and Vice President and temporary filling of vacancies; act of March 26, 1804 (2 Stat., 295), supplementary provision for election of President and Vice President and temporary filling of vacancies; act of January 23, 1845 (5 Stat., 721), established a uniform time for the electors to vote for President and Vice President; joint resolution of February 8, 1865 (13 Stat., 567), declaring certain States not entitled to representation in the Electoral College; joint resolution of July 20, 1868 (15 Stat., 257), excluding from the Electoral College votes of States lately in rebellion which shall not have been reorganized; act of May 23, 1872 (17 Stat., 157), fixes a uniform time for holding elections for electors of President and Vice President; act of January 29, 1877 (19 Stat., 227), created an electoral commission for counting the votes for President and Vice President for the term commencing March 4, 1877; act of February 3, 1887 (24 Stat., 373), fixes the day for the meeting of the electors, and provides for the counting of the votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon; supplementary act of October 19, 1888 (25 Stat., 613), provides for sending a special messenger for any certificate of electoral votes not duly received.

*Membership and ratio under each apportionment.*

| Apportionment. | Year. | Members. | Ratio. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constitution | 1789 | 65 | 30,000 |
| First Census | 1793 | 106 | 33,000 |
| Second Census | 1803 | 142 | 33,000 |
| Third Census | 1813 | 186 | 35,000 |
| Fourth Census | 1823 | 213 | 40,000 |
| Fifth Census | 1833 | 242 | 47,700 |
| Sixth Census | 1843 | 232 | 70,680 |
| Seventh Census | 1853 | 237 | 93,423 |
| Eighth Census | 1863 | 243 | 127,381 |
| Ninth Census | 1873 | 293 | 131,425 |
| Tenth Census | 1883 | 332 | 151,911 |
| Eleventh Census | 1893 | 357 | 173,901 |
| Twelfth Census | 1901 | 391 | 194,182 |
| Thirteenth Census | 1911 | 435 | 211,877 |

*Presidents of the United States.*

| No. | Name. | Born. | Inaugurated. | Term of office. | Died. | Native of— | Residence when elected. | Political party. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | George Washington | Feb. 22,1732 | Apr. 30,1789 | 8 years | Dec. 14,1799 | Virginia | Virginia | Federal. |
| 2 | John Adams | Oct. 31,1735 | Mar. 4,1797 | 4 years | July 4,1826 | Massachusetts | Massachusetts | Do. |
| 3 | Thomas Jefferson | Apr. 2,1743 | Mar. 4,1801 | 8 years | ....do | Virginia | Virginia | Republican. |
| 4 | James Madison | Mar. 16,1751 | Mar. 4,1809 | ....do | June 28,1836 | ....do | ....do | Do. |
| 5 | James Monroe | Apr. 28,1758 | Mar. 4,1817 | ....do | July 4,1831 | ....do | ....do | Do. |
| 6 | John Quincy Adams | July 11,1767 | Mar. 4,1825 | 4 years | Feb. 23,1848 | Massachusetts | Massachusetts | Coalition. |
| 7 | Andrew Jackson | Mar. 15,1767 | Mar. 4,1829 | 8 years | June 8,1845 | South Carolina | Tennessee | Democrat. |
| 8 | Martin Van Buren | Dec. 5,1782 | Mar. 4,1837 | 4 years | July 24,1862 | New York | New York | Do. |
| 9 | William H. Harrison | Feb. 9,1773 | Mar. 4,1841 | 1 month | Apr. 4,1841 | Virginia | Ohio | Whig. |
| 10 | John Tyler | Mar. 29,1790 | Apr. 6,1841 | 3 years 11 months | Jan. 18,1862 | ....do | Virginia | Do. |
| 11 | James K. Polk | Nov. 2,1795 | Mar. 4,1845 | 4 years | June 15,1849 | North Carolina | Tennessee | Democrat. |
| 12 | Zachary Taylor | Sept. 24,1784 | Mar. 4,1849 | 1 year 4 months | July 9,1850 | Virginia | Louisiana | Whig. |
| 13 | Millard Fillmore | Feb. 7,1800 | July 9,1850 | 2 years 8 months | Mar. 7,1874 | New York | New York | Do. |
| 14 | Franklin Pierce | Nov. 23,1804 | Mar. 4,1853 | 4 years | Oct. 8,1869 | New Hampshire | New Hampshire | Democrat. |
| 15 | James Buchanan | Apr. 23,1791 | Mar. 4,1857 | ....do | June 1,1868 | Pennsylvania | Pennsylvania | Do. |
| 16 | Abraham Lincoln | Feb. 12,1809 | Mar. 4,1861 | ..... | Apr. 15,1865 | Kentucky | Illinois | Republican. |
| 17 | Andrew Johnson | Dec. 29,1808 | Apr. 15,1865 | ..... | July 31,1875 | North Carolina | Tennessee | Do. |
| 18 | Ulysses S. Grant | Apr. 27,1822 | Mar. 4,1869 | 8 years | July 23,1885 | Ohio | Illinois | Do. |
| 19 | Rutherford B. Hayes | Oct. 4,1822 | Mar. 5,1877 | 4 years | Jan. 17,1893 | ....do | Ohio | Do. |
| 20 | James A. Garfield | Nov. 19,1831 | Mar. 4,1881 | 6½ months | Sept. 19,1881 | ....do | ....do | Do. |
| 21 | Chester A. Arthur | Oct. 5,1830 | Sept. 20,1881 | 3 years 5½ months | Nov. 18,1886 | Vermont | New York | Do. |
| 22 | Grover Cleveland | Mar. 18,1837 | Mar. 4,1885 | 4 years | June 24,1908 | New Jersey | ....do | Democrat. |
| 23 | Benjamin Harrison | Aug. 20,1833 | Mar. 4,1889 | ....do | Mar. 13,1901 | Ohio | Indiana | Republican. |
| 24 | Grover Cleveland | Mar. 18,1837 | Mar. 4,1893 | ....do | June 24,1908 | New Jersey | New York | Democrat. |
| 25 | William McKinley | Jan. 29,1843 | Mar. 4,1897 | 4 years 6 months 10 days. | Sept. 14,1901 | Ohio | Ohio | Republican. |
| 26 | Theodore Roosevelt | Oct. 27,1858 | Sept. 14,1901 | 7 years 5 months 20 days. | ..... | New York | New York | Do. |
| 27 | William H. Taft | Sept. 15,1857 | Mar. 4,1909 | 4 years | ..... | Ohio | Ohio | Do. |
| 28 | Woodrow Wilson | Dec. 28,1856 | Mar. 4,1913 | ..... | ..... | Virginia | New Jersey | Democrat. |

*Representatives in Congress under apportionments of 1901 and 1911 and Electoral College for 1912-1916.*

| States. | Admitted to the Union. | Representatives. | | Electoral College, 1912-1916. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Old apportionment. | New apportionment. | |
| Alabama | Dec. 14,1819 | 9 | 10 | 12 |
| Arizona | Feb. 14,1912 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Arkansas | June 15,1836 | 7 | 7 | 9 |
| California | Sept. 9,1850 | 8 | 11 | 13 |
| Colorado | Aug. 1,1876 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| Connecticut* | Jan. 9,1788 | 5 | 5 | 7 |
| Delaware* | Dec. 7,1787 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Florida | Mar. 3,1845 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| Georgia* | Jan. 2,1788 | 11 | 12 | 14 |
| Idaho | July 3,1890 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Illinois | Dec. 3,1818 | 25 | 27 | 29 |
| Indiana | Dec. 11,1816 | 13 | 13 | 15 |
| Iowa | Dec. 28,1846 | 11 | 11 | 13 |
| Kansas | Jan. 29,1861 | 8 | 8 | 10 |
| Kentucky | June 1,1792 | 11 | 11 | 13 |
| Louisiana | Apr. 30,1812 | 7 | 8 | 10 |
| Maine | Mar. 15,1820 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| Maryland* | Apr. 28,1788 | 6 | 6 | 8 |
| Massachusetts* | Feb. 6,1788 | 14 | 16 | 18 |
| Michigan | Jan. 26,1837 | 12 | 13 | 15 |
| Minnesota | May 11,1858 | 9 | 10 | 12 |
| Mississippi | Dec. 10,1817 | 8 | 8 | 10 |
| Missouri | Aug. 10,1821 | 16 | 16 | 18 |
| Montana | Nov. 8,1889 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Nebraska | Mar. 1,1867 | 6 | 6 | 8 |
| Nevada | Oct. 31,1864 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| New Hampshire* | June 21,1788 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| New Jersey* | Dec. 18,1787 | 10 | 12 | 14 |
| New Mexico | Jan. 6,1912 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| New York* | July 26,1788 | 37 | 43 | 45 |
| North Carolina* | Nov. 21,1789 | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| North Dakota | Nov. 2,1889 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Ohio | Nov. 29,1802 | 21 | 22 | 24 |
| Oklahoma | Nov. 16,1907 | 5 | 8 | 10 |
| Oregon | Feb. 14,1859 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Pennsylvania* | Dec. 12,1787 | 32 | 36 | 38 |
| Rhode Island* | May 29,1790 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| South Carolina* | May 23,1788 | 7 | 7 | 9 |
| South Dakota | Nov. 2,1889 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Tennessee | June 1,1796 | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| Texas | Dec. 29,1845 | 16 | 18 | 20 |
| Utah | Jan. 4,1896 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Vermont | Mar. 4,1791 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Virginia* | June 26,1788 | 10 | 10 | 12 |
| Washington | Nov. 11,1889 | 3 | 5 | 7 |
| West Virginia | June 19,1863 | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| Wisconsin | May 29,1848 | 11 | 11 | 13 |
| Wyoming | July 10,1890 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | | 394 | 435 | 531 |

* One of the thirteen original States.

## The Direct Vote.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FINLY H. GRAY,
OF INDIANA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, September 2, 1916.*

Mr. GRAY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, on August 11 I introduced a House joint resolution to vest greater power and control in the people by the direct vote over the Federal Constitution.

The Constitution now provides for the initiation and ratification of amendments by State legislature and conventions. This resolution, while leaving these provisions in force, would provide an additional mode for the initiation and ratification of amendments and would empower and authorize Congress to propose amendments for ratification by the direct vote of the people whenever applicable or called for by popular demand.

I here include the resolution as a part of my remarks:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 294) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

*Resolved, etc.*, That the substitution of the following in place of Article V is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States:

"ARTICLE V.

"The Congress shall propose amendments to this Constitution whenever two-thirds of both Houses deem it necessary, or whenever two-thirds of the several States make application therefor, such application being made in any State either by its legislature or by vote of a majority of the electors voting on the question, and shall call a convention for proposing amendments whenever the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States make application therefor. Amendments shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, or by the electors in three-fourths thereof, whichever mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress: *Provided*, That no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. A ratification of an amendment, if made in any State by vote of the electors thereof, shall be made at an election of representatives by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for representatives and voting on the question of ratification. In such case the taking of the vote shall, unless provided for by the State, be in the manner provided by the Congress."

Originally all power was vested in the people by natural right for their exercise by the direct vote. But in the organization of the Government, through the adoption of the Constitution, the people, for convenience and facility of action, surrendered and delegated a part of such power vested in them over to legislative bodies, courts, and administrative officials. The people

reserved to themselves what they believed was sufficient power and which was at that time sufficient power to retain their direction and control of public affairs. But since the organization of the Government and the adoption of the national Constitution new social, industrial, and economic conditions have arisen, among which are the combinations of capital, the concentration of wealth, and the organization of great special interests. The corporation has become a rival of the Government itself, an overshadowing power to influence and direct legislation and dictate the administration of public affairs. Great federations of financial, industrial, and commercial organizations have become dominant factors in the control of the fiscal policies of the Government.

Under these new and changed industrial conditions the power which the people had reserved to themselves as sufficient to direct and control the administration of their Government has been found insufficient and inadequate for that purpose. To meet this new and changed order of things, to resist the encroachment of corporations, the concentration of wealth and the combinations of capital, and to restore the power of the people to direct legislation and control public affairs, the necessity is fast coming to be realized, not only to preserve the direct power originally reserved to the people, but to recover to them a measure of the power so surrendered and delegated to legislative bodies, courts, and administrative officials for exercise by the people themselves, through the direct vote.

One of the powers originally vested in the people and surrendered to the State legislature on the adoption of the Constitution was the power of the election of United States Senators. The indirect power reserved by the people in the election of the members of State legislatures, who were empowered to elect Senators, was sufficient to hold the Senate responsive to popular will until the development of these new and changed industrial conditions, the combinations of capital, the concentration of wealth, and the organization of great special interests. Under these new and changed conditions the United States Senate was fast becoming an exclusive, aristocratic, and autocratic body, unresponsive to the will of the people. The proceedings of this branch of Congress were being characterized as "the treason of the Senate" and with other appellations signifying disloyalty and disregard for popular will. Then the necessity for the recovery by the people of power to themselves for exercise by the direct vote was finally and fully realized and the amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote was adopted.

That the people have not mistaken their remedy in resorting to the direct vote to meet these changed conditions and to recover to themselves the power to better direct legislation and control the administration of government is proven by the effect of the change from State legislatures to the direct vote in the election of United States Senators. Even before this amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people had become effective and in anticipation of such change alone, the United States Senate took on a new and changed policy and suddenly became more progressive than the House of Representatives.

This movement for the recovery of greater and more positive power to the people for their exercise by the direct vote, and upon their own initiative, embodies the basic and fundamental principles of what is commonly known to-day as progressive policies of government, the first and initial step of which has already been taken in the restoration of power to the people in the election of United States Senators. This step will be followed by others in the recovery of power by the people for exercise by the direct vote until these new conditions are met and legislative bodies and administrative officials have again become responsive to the will of the majority.

Another power no less vested in the people by natural right and surrendered by them to State legislatures and conventions, on the adoption of the Constitution, was the power to alter, change, and amend their constitution. While amendments to the Constitution are less frequent before the country for determination than the election of United States Senators and legislative officials, yet they are of more vital concern and of more serious import to the general welfare and ultimate public interest. The authorization of this additional mode of initiation and ratification of amendments to the Federal Constitution is imperative under these new and changed social, economic, and industrial conditions, and the discretionary power to be vested in Congress by the resolution is a step none too far advanced now to be taken.

But, other than new social, economic, and industrial conditions, there are changes in the policy of the Government itself which make the exercise of a greater measure of power by the direct vote of the people imperative. The power and jurisdiction to be exercised by the General Government, and which the framers of the Constitution originally intended to vest in the General Government, were limited to matters as between the different States, as between the citizens of different States, as between the different States and the Nation, as between the Nation and foreign States, and all matters relating to the general policy of the States acting as a whole and of such general effect and concern to the whole people as to preclude action by each or any State acting separately or independently of others, and as specifically conferred by the Constitution upon the General Government. Jurisdiction over other matters were intended to be reserved for exercise under State constitutions and the direct vote. The extent of the power and jurisdiction which the General Government has since assumed was never contemplated. It was never dreamed that such power and jurisdiction would be expanded and enlarged to embrace matters of local effect and concern in the everyday and business affairs of the people.

As the General Government was only intended to serve the people as States and bodies of men, and not to affect them as individual citizens in matters of local concern or in the everyday and business affairs of life, the necessity for the ratification of such amendments by the people, acting in their individual capacity and under the exercise of the direct vote, was not realized or considered. With the power and jurisdiction of the General Government expanding and reaching out to concern the people more directly, their direct power for control must be correspondingly enlarged to maintain a proper equation with the power to be exercised by the Government.

With the right of the direct vote in the States for the ratification of amendments to the State constitutions and the diminishing power of the States and the growing, enlarging, and ever-increasing jurisdiction of the Central Government, where no direct vote is provided for in the ratification of amendments to the Federal Constitution, the effect of submitting amendments to the Federal Constitution where the question can be determined by the people under their State constitution is to take that question away from the people and the direct vote and vest it in the control of the State legislature instead.

While this resolution which I have introduced seeks only to extend the direct vote for the initiation and ratification of amendments to the Federal Constitution and at the discretion of Congress proposing the same, I wish to refer to the necessity for enlarging the exercise of the direct vote in other matters of government, as illustrative of the change of conditions and Federal policy and the principle for which I contend.

Another power vested in the people and surrendered to be exercised as a part of the appointive power was the power of election of administrative officials. In addition to the reasons existing for the recovery to the people of the power of election of United States Senators by the direct vote, other and equally potent reasons exist for the direct election of many officials of the Government now appointed by the Executive. When the appointive power was vested in the President on the adoption of the Constitution, the growth and extent which the Federal jurisdiction has assumed was not contemplated or dreamed of. The enlarging functions to be performed, the multiplying appointments to be made, and the overshadowing power of the Executive office was never in any manner apprehended. Such a concentration of power and centralization of authority as now exists in the Executive by reason of the Constitution was never in any manner considered by the framers of that instrument, and would never have been authorized if even faintly realized by our forefathers.

Many of the activities of the General Government administered by officials appointive by the President as closely and intimately affect and concern the people as their own local governments administered by officials elected by the direct vote of the people themselves. This ever-growing and extending Federal jurisdiction and the increasing activities of the General Government in the everyday affairs of the people administered under Executive appointments make a readjustment and limitations of the appointive power of the President imperative to prevent the concentration and overshadowing power of that office, a necessity fast becoming realized. When the appointment of all postmasters was vested in the President the activities of the Postal Department and the close relations of the postmaster with the people and their everyday business affairs as realized to-day were not even faintly in the minds of the framers of the Constitution.

As the jurisdiction of the General Government broadens its power must be in the same ratio decentralized and brought closer to the people for their better and more effective direction and control. The people in time must recover to themselves the power to elect by their direct vote many officials, now appointive,

who direct the activity of the General Government in their local affairs. While no Executive has ever taken advantage of this power for abuse, the power exists to be abused. The test of a safe repository or distribution of power is not what good men will use it for, but what use bad men may make of it.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted by our forefathers, vesting in Congress the full power to declare war, defense—"to provide for the common defense"—was the only object for which war was contemplated. War for the vanity of world power, control of the seas, and the acquisition of foreign territory for exploitation; war to open markets and the enforcement of conscienceless contracts entered into with unsuspecting natives and their Governments; war for profits in preparedness, were not in the minds of the framers of the Constitution. They did not foresee the growth and developments of the country along social, industrial, and economic lines, nor the combinations of capital, the concentration of wealth, and the organization of great special interests, nor realize the influences which would be brought to bear for war and for policies which lead to war and call for war in their support. The time has come when the Government should be brought closer to the people for the exercise of more direct and positive power by them relative to war, when the Constitution should be amended, and the power to declare war, now vested in Congress, should be limited to war for the one purpose of common defense, as originally intended, and when the people who must pay the cost and do the fighting should recover to themselves for exercise by direct vote the power to declare war for other purposes.

I do not only believe in the fundamental principle and natural right of the people to exercise direct power in the control of their Constitution and the administration of public affairs, but I have full confidence in the wisdom of the multitude and the ability of the masses to exercise self-government. We hear it said in opposition to the direct vote that the people would be liable to act without full information and proper advisement. Grant this as true, the same objection could be urged with equal force against legislative bodies, as many Members vote not upon their own information or advisement but by following others who claim a superior knowledge of the facts. It is true that men may make mistakes, but it is also true that a man does not make as many mistakes against himself as others are liable to make against him, and it is also true that if he does make such mistakes he is more liable to correct them than others would be to correct them against him.

It is true that some men are wiser than other men, that some men are better informed than other men, that some men are more experienced and better trained than other men; but no man is so much wiser than another man or so much better informed than another man or so much more experienced or better trained than another man that he is entitled to be given the right to think or act for another man, nor the power to govern another man, nor to tell another man what is good for him, nor what that other man likes best, nor how he loves to live, nor how he should enjoy life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness.

While some men claim that only the special few know how to direct the Government and to conduct public affairs, yet whenever one of these special few passes away the world is found to move on without him, and men are found who are able to conduct public affairs in even a better way than those in whom it was claimed that all political wisdom rested. And while some men claim in justification of the right of the few to govern the many that the few do what is best for their fellow man and better than their fellow man could do for himself, this is a subterfuge as old as history. Every man who has enslaved another man has enslaved him under the claim that it was to better the condition of the enslaved. Every nation which has conquered and subjugated a defenseless people has conquered and subjugated them under the claim that it was to improve the condition of the subjugated.

You will hear the claim that the people themselves do not know enough to select good public officials and that popular election of such officials is a failure and that such selection of public servants can be better made by the representatives of the people than by the people themselves. Unfortunately for this argument, we have a practical example before us. The Federal Constitution provided for the election of United States Senators by the State legislatures; but after trial and experience it was found that under the election of United States Senators by legislatures the United States Senate had become filled with men who represented themselves and their business associates more efficiently than the people whom it was intended they should represent. By reason of this discovery the Federal Constitution was amended, taking the power away from State legislatures for the election of United States Senators and placing the same in the control of the direct vote of the people.

## "Catching the Labor Vote."

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, September 2, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, somebody close to the White House has been muddying the waters. The exigencies of the campaign have made it advisable for somebody to get busy in order that the public mind may be diverted from the failure of the low-tariff law and the necessity for increasing the direct taxes in order that the Government may thrive. The administration has created 30,000 new positions in various departments, commissions, and boards, but this, of course, has not reduced the expenses of the Government, nor wiped out the Republican charges of extravagance. The European war has been worked to death as a saving cause and "he kept us out of war" is beginning to pall on those who hear it. The Mexican situation has been unfortunate from start to finish and the great mass of voters, who are interested in the young men who were corralled through the National Guard for service on the frontier, are beginning to ask the War Department unpleasant questions. The vigorous campaign launched by the Republican candidate, Mr. Hughes, has also been distressing to the administration. Therefore, the time has arrived for a strike, not necessarily a railroad strike, but something in the nature of political "pep" to induce the public to forget what has been done to it by an administration that promised to relieve it of all the ills from which it suffered.

QUESTIONS FOR DESPAIRING DEMOCRATS.

"What shall we do to prove that we are not too proud to fight? What shall we do to satisfy the pacifists and to appease the hyphenates? What shall we do to throttle the whole Mexican business? But more than all, how in the world can we get rid of the 'Banquo's ghost' of incompetence and extravagance?" These are questions that might fairly have been considered by any Democratic conference interested in the reelection of the Democratic President. Let us suppose that such a conference was on, and that the distinguished chairman of the Democratic campaign committee, the Hon. Vance C. McCormick, of Pennsylvania, had said to the standard bearer of his party, "Give me the Director of the Mint (Mr. Woolley) and the First Assistant Postmaster (Mr. Roper) and we will start a publicity campaign that will induce the public to get over its grouch about taxes and talk of something else. There is the dispute now pending between the railroads and the brotherhoods—why not send in the Board of Mediation and Conciliation and scare the country into the notion that we are to have a strike? That will appeal to the shippers and the consumers, to the grocers and to the mothers who have to buy milk for their babies. When the Board of Mediation advances sufficiently to have the White House take the matter over, let us so arrange it that all the world can see that he who has been so adroit in 'keeping us out of war' can save us against the calamity of a Nation-wide strike. If we can pull off so clever a trick, think of the avalanche of high-minded citizens who will rush to the standard of the Democratic Party. Think of the effect upon union labor. If we can cinch this movement with the aid of our friend, Mr. Gompers, we are dead sure of 400,000 votes. And think what it means to win the plaudits of the multitude, who will continue to receive, even at the present high cost of living, the eggs, the potatoes, the cauliflower, and the baby's milk that would have been taken away from them if our standard bearer had not stepped into the breach."

WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID.

I do not know whether any such conference actually occurred, but I do know that the ardent supporters of the national chairman, Mr. McCormick, have been claiming laurels for the President for taking up the cause of union labor and establishing an eight-hour day by law. It is common knowledge, also, that whether the plan outlined as above was actually a matter of conference or not, the President came into the House of Representatives on August 29—about the time Mr. Hughes, the Republican candidate for President, was talking of Mexico and revenue deficiencies and things of that kind, in his tour of the West—and, despite all that has been said about "Democratic prosperity," told the assembled Senators and Representatives that he had conceded an eight-hour day to the railroad brotherhoods, but

that nevertheless a strike was impending. Listen to what the President said:

The 400,000 men from whom the demands proceeded had voted to strike if their demands were refused; the strike was imminent; it has since been set for the 4th of September next. It affects the men who man the freight trains on practically every railway in the country. The freight service throughout the United States must stand still until their places are filled, if, indeed, it should prove possible to fill them at all. Cities will be cut off from their food supplies; the whole commerce of the Nation will be paralyzed; men of every sort and occupation will be thrown out of employment; countless thousands will in all likelihood be brought, it may be, to the very point of starvation, and a tragical national calamity brought on, to be added to the other distresses of the time, because no basis of accommodation or settlement has been found.

SECURED A CHANGE OF SUBJECT.

Unfortunate as it might have been that an administration which brought so much "Democratic prosperity" to a Nation should be compelled to admit "a tragical national calamity" in addition to "the other distresses of the time," the message of the President was sufficient to raise a doubt in the minds of many as to whether, in coming to Congress after his failure as mediator, the standard bearer of the Democratic Party was as true a friend of union labor as his one-sided determination of the question in controversy might lead one to believe. But the incident, the rather spectacular incident, of the President's appearance in Congress was sufficient to attract the attention of the Nation and to fill the newspapers with columns of material which had no reference to the unfortunate Mexican situation or to the deplorable condition of the Treasury. It may not have been known, even to the President or to Mr. McCormick, although it must have been known to Mr. Gompers, who has aligned himself with the Democratic standard bearer in this campaign, that the American Federation of Labor, itself the strongest existing organization of the kind, with which the railroad brotherhoods are affiliated, has not been in favor of establishing an eight-hour day by law. I know that such a statement may be embarrassing to gentlemen who voted on the President's recommendation for an eight-hour day for the railroad brotherhoods, but the fact remains that organized labor to-day, while it approves the eight-hour principle, which most of us approve as a principle, is opposed to legislative interference in matters affecting hours and wages. Those who think they have curried favor with organized labor by voting for this eight-hour proposition, as recommended by the President, have been drawn into an error. Organized labor is on record as favoring eight hours for labor as a matter wholly within the judgment of the unions, and is not in favor of relinquishing that right to the legislature. Thus we are able to puncture the claims of the national Democratic chairman and of the White House if they lay up to the Democratic Party any particular glory for the passage of an eight-hour bill by the National Congress, which sooner or later will involve the very existence of the labor organizations of the United States.

JUMPING ON MR. HUGHES.

But, Mr. Speaker, these remarks which I am thus permitted to extend are made for the purpose of adding to the political history of the times a short chapter that will bear reading. The national chairman of the Democratic Party, Mr. McCormick, ignoring for the moment whatever advantage may have been attained through muddying the waters on the strike situation, has awakened sufficiently to take note of the sledge-hammer blows of the Republican candidate, now "somewhere in Colorado." A New York dispatch this morning brings us the following deliverance from the national chairman:

NEW YORK, *September 1.*

Chairman Vance McCormick, of the Democratic national committee, referred to the action of presidential candidate Charles E. Hughes in congratulating Gov. Johnson, of California, for his success at the primaries, in a caustic manner to-day. He said:

"Mr. Hughes's act in congratulating Gov. Johnson, the California Progressive leader, upon his nomination for United States Senator, is typical of the Republican candidate. When a word of recognition might have proved helpful to the Progressive candidate Mr. Hughes was silent. Mr. Hughes's belated recognition of Gov. Johnson smacks of his attitude toward woman suffrage."

It will be observed that Mr. McCormick, being now in the public eye and subject to fair criticism, accuses the Republican candidate of inconsistency. He thinks the Republican candidate may not mean what he says. Making allowances for the right of the Democratic candidate to be as inconsistent as he pleases, and to change the Democratic platform pledges at his own sweet will, what are we to say about the labor attitude of the distinguished chairman of the national campaign committee in view of the fine "Roman hand" that has just manipulated the railroad-strike situation to capture at one fell swoop the entire 400,000 votes of the members of the railway brotherhoods? If a presidential candidate can denounce organized labor as a college professor, and being a candidate for second term can so befuddle the political situation as to fool 400,000 intelligent railroad men that they must fall in for him like a flock of sheep, what are we to say of the premier of the campaign, who can take down the union label from his newspaper, and, as mayor, veto an ordinance advancing the pay of laborers 1¾ cents an hour, and then blossom forth as a champion of labor and the rights of the downtrodden in order that the Democratic Party may be saved? If the facts be as stated, it is fair political capital.

INTRODUCING THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN.

The Democratic national chairman is a Princeton man, just as the Democratic standard bearer is. In days gone by he had positive views upon the question of labor. When he ran for governor of Pennsylvania on the Wilson platform members of his own party—Democrats—took great pains to have their gubernatorial candidate expound his views upon labor. Some of them even tried to convince the President that the candidate for governor could not win, as he did not, because of his labor record. It may be recalled that his running mate for United States Senator, our former colleague, Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, a loyal supporter of the President, also did not win.

Whether the labor record of Mr. McCormick had all to do with this inglorious battle I do not know, but as Democrats made more use of the national chairman's labor record than the Republicans did I assume it had something to do with the result. What Mr. McCormick's own party men advanced against him as a candidate for governor was the purchase by him of the Harrisburg Patriot and the taking down, when he took charge, August 1, 1902, of the union label, which the former owner, D. A. Orr, had kept at the top of the editorial column until July 31, 1902. These Democratic critics of Mr. McCormick reproduced in facsimile the first editorial under the new management, bearing the signature of "Vance C. McCormick," in which he said:

In politics it [the Patriot] will be Democratic, representing the highest principles and best traditions of that party, but endlessly free from the control of any political faction or of any power, corporation, or individual which conflicts with the public good.

which high-sounding pledge was interpreted to mean that "labor unions must go" from the Patriot office.

A LABOR-ORDINANCE VETO.

Evidently the opponents of the gubernatorial candidate were not inclined to accept Mr. McCormick as a friend of labor. He had been elected mayor of the city of Harrisburg on the Democratic ticket. Like all other mayors, he ran up against the labor problem. The issue was as to whether the wages of the ordinary laborers working for the city should be kept at 15 cents per hour for nine hours a day or be advanced on a nine-hour basis to 16⅔ cents per hour, a total of $1.50 per day. An ordinance was passed by council making this advance of 1¾ cents per hour in the laborers' pay, but the mayor vetoed the bill. The veto message, which is taken from the campaign records of the period, is appended hereto:

CITY OF HARRISBURG, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
*January 25, 1905.*

To the PRESIDENTS AND MEMBERS OF SELECT AND COMMON COUNCILS.

GENTLEMEN: I herewith return without my executive approval an ordinance entitled "An ordinance amending section 1 of an ordinance entitled 'An ordinance fixing the wages of laborers employed by the different departments of the city.'"

The passage of this ordinance would effect an increase in the wages now paid ordinary laborers by the city and interfere with the proper work of the city departments, as the work is such that the heads of the departments should be free to regulate the hours of their employees as emergencies arise. These officials are held responsible for the proper performance of their duties, and they should not be restricted or interfered with unless the city's employees are not being fairly or justly treated, which is not now the case, as the present rate of 15 cents per hour is above the average rate of wages paid for ordinary labor in this locality, and it is not fair to the taxpayers of this city to increase that rate to 16⅔ cents per hour, as stated in the ordinance, which is considerably higher than the average wages paid by other employers; and considering the great number of applicants to the city departments for work, the wages now paid seem to be entirely satisfactory.

Respectfully, yours,

(Signed) VANCE C. MCCORMICK,
*Mayor.*

LABOR WILL NOT BE DECEIVED.

Political campaigns are curious things, in that they develop many phases of human character and understanding. The public is often stampeded by false moves merely because they are spectacular. Voters are sometimes deceived by false friends. The man in high place who has taken a positive stand on public questions is sometimes confronted with the necessity of convincing those whose support he courts that he did not mean what he said. The greatest play in politics is often made for "the labor vote." It is doubtful if "the labor vote" can be solidly controlled by any man or set of men.

The present campaign is no different from others in the desire of candidates to prove their friendship for labor, and

labor is no more likely to be deceived this year than it has been heretofore. The sudden appearance of the Democratic standard bearer as the voluntary mediator of a great strike when "other distresses" confronted him will be duly understood by the thinking men. Organized labor, if it is true to its own professions, will not misunderstand the legislative dodge that has just been "put over on it," and on election day will perform its full duty, as it usually does, each man according to his own convictions and with a full appreciation of the methods that are sometimes employed to deceive him.

## Imports, Exports, and Revenue Under Underwood Tariff Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent given me I desire to have printed in the RECORD remarks showing the imports, exports, and revenue under the Underwood tariff bill. The remarks are as follows:

GOLDEN HARVEST REAPED UNDER NEW TARIFF ACT—UNDERWOOD ACT ROOTS OUT PRIVILEGE AND MONOPOLY-BREEDING DUTIES—OPENS NEW MARKETS TO AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.

The Democratic tariff law has—

Increased American industrial and business efficiency by stimulating competition.

Enabled United States industry to import raw materials to be manufactured into finished products for export on a huge scale.

Assisted in making a new record for United States foreign trade, with a huge balance in our favor.

Lifted from the backs of the poor undue burdens of taxation.

Filled the workman's dinner pail from Maine to California.

Provided the largest customs revenue obtained from this source by any nation in the world.

Helped create, sustain, and distribute evenly the present unequaled prosperity of the country.

So will you now vote for a renewal of tariff agitation, which, as stated by Jacob H. Schiff, New York banker and lifelong Republican, is "the only thing that can stop the great prosperity we now have"?

The Democratic Party, led by Woodrow Wilson, has redeemed its pledge to revise the tariff on a sound basis in the interest of the consumer. The Underwood-Simmons Act is the most equitable tariff measure ever placed upon the statute books of the United States.

It remedies economic evil and injustice of long standing. It meets the Government's need as a revenue measure. And it has furnished definite and invaluable aid to the expansion of American over-seas commerce, which is now so important a factor in the present prosperity of the country.

Its companion measure, fortifying the Government to deal with any contingency growing out of the European war—the tariff-commission act—at this writing is about to become law.

In behalf of the masses of the American people and the prosperity of American business, the Underwood-Simmons Act has wiped out the discriminating and extortionate schedules of the iniquitous Payne-Aldrich law and placed the necessaries of life, raw materials, and unmanufactured articles on the free list or given them the advantages of the minimum rates of duty, while the maximum assessments have been levied upon the luxuries of life.

TAX BURDEN EQUALIZED.

The burden of taxation has been more nearly equalized, and for the first time in the history of the country wealth has been called upon to bear a fairer share of the cost of government.

Conceived and enacted free of all dictation by special interests and privileged classes, the law has liberated the people of the United States from the economic bondage in which they had so long been held by the tariff policy of the Republican Party—a policy having for its fundamental creed the encouragement of all the elements and evils of monopoly and oppression. To arm favored industries with the power to extort from the consuming American public $5 to $50 for every dollar collected as a protective duty at the customhouses has constituted the essence and chief effect of Republican tariffs.

Contrast the achievement of the Democratic Party in effectually reducing the tariff according to its platform pledge with the shameful and repudiated record of the Republican Party, which, in answer to the general and emphatic demand for a revision of the tariff downward, contemptuously gave the country in 1909 the abortive Payne-Aldrich Act—the rich man's tariff, written by and for selfish interests and privileged classes regardless of the great consuming masses of the United States. That tariff law and economic outrage flagrantly violated a solemn pledge to the Nation and was condemned by every fair-minded citizen, Democrat, Progressive, and Republican alike. It was the rock upon which the reactionaries and progressives of the Republican Party first split, culminating in the disruption of 1912.

A DEMOCRATIC DARE.

Would the Republican Party dare reenact the Payne-Aldrich law if given the opportunity?

Eliminating the abuses and injustices of the old high protective system, the Underwood-Simmons Act, by means of the income-tax section, has equalized taxation and lifted much of the burden from the shoulders of the poor and middle classes of our people and transferred it to the wealthy classes which have never paid their just share. Throughout its history the Republican Party has favored the tariff as the chief source of Government revenue because it afforded a means of "shoving the taxes along" to the ultimate consumer—putting them upon the overburdened backs of labor. The Democratic Party has always toiled in the interest of the ultimate consumer—the masses of the people of the United States—and by placing an income tax on wealth has been able to remove the duties from many articles of common necessity and to cause a material reduction of the rates on many articles of general use.

The income tax is constructive legislation that outweighs all the fiscal legislation of the 16 years of Republican rule. Would the Republican Party dare repeal it if given the opportunity?

A STIMULUS TO INDUSTRY.

Coupled with its benefit to the consuming public, the Underwood-Simmons Act has given a stimulus to our industries never before equaled in the history of the country. It has unfettered business and commerce, and permitted our industries, great and small, to compete with the world. In normal times it will not only be adequate as a producer of revenue, but it will increase the efficiency of American business, and will enable legitimate enterprise to prosper in the United States without the power to oppress the masses of the people with unreasonable and extortionate prices. While a friend of all legitimate business, the Democratic Party will never be willing to confer upon any industry the power to increase the cost of living out of all proportion to the economic conditions of supply and demand.

We are living in an extraordinary period. Much of the wealth of the world is being destroyed. This great waste, together with the very important fact that millions of men have been withdrawn from the fields of production and sent to the fields of death has diminished the supply of the world's goods and has greatly decreased the aggregate productive capacity of the belligerent nations of the earth. In these circumstances a high protective tariff unquestionably would have resulted in a most oppressive increase in the cost of living—a misfortune which has been checked by the reasonable and fair customs duties of the Democratic law.

No industry has been hurt and every industry has been benefited—for the tariff has played a most important part in swelling the unprecedented tide of prosperity that is sweeping every part of the country—the greatest in the history of any nation on the face of the earth. The removal of the prohibitive tariff barriers has enabled many neutral countries formerly dealing with belligerent nations of Europe to find in the United States a ready market for their raw and unmanufactured products which otherwise could not have come to us, and has given to our manufacturers the opportunity of exchanging for them our finished products and opening to them new and profitable markets which were never before accessible to them under the Republican high protective policy. We are importing from South America, Canada, Asia, Africa, and other countries needed crude materials, manufacturing them into finished products, and selling them to the Old World or back to the countries from which the raw material was purchased, and building up a foreign consumption of our surplus products which has helped to produce our present prosperity and upon which stable prosperity depends in the future.

The following table shows the imports and exports for the fiscal years 1910 to 1913 under the Payne-Aldrich Act as compared with the same statistics for the fiscal years 1914 to 1916 under the Underwood-Simmons law:

*Payne-Aldrich Act.*

| Year. | Imports. | Exports. | Total foreign trade. | Balance of trade in favor of the United States. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1910 | $1,556,947,430 | $1,744,981,720 | $3,301,932,150 | $188,037,290 |
| 1911 | 1,527,226,105 | 2,049,320,199 | 3,576,546,304 | 522,094,034 |
| 1912 | 1,653,264,934 | 2,204,322,409 | 3,857,587,343 | 551,057,475 |
| 1913 | 1,813,098,234 | 2,465,884,149 | 4,278,892,383 | 652,875,915 |

*Underwood-Simmons Act.*

| Year. | Imports. | Exports. | Total foreign trade. | Balance of trade in favor of the United States. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1914 | $1,803,925,657 | $2,384,579,148 | $4,258,504,805 | $470,653,491 |
| 1915 | 1,674,169,740 | 2,768,589,340 | 4,442,759,080 | 1,094,419,600 |
| 1916 | 2,197,984,842 | 4,333,698,604 | 6,531,683,446 | 2,135,713,762 |

Because of the general depression throughout the world during the fiscal year 1914—the year the Underwood-Simmons Act went into effect—our foreign trade fell off one-half of 1 per cent below 1913, but exceeded the record of all previous years by over $400,000,000. Despite the unbalanced economic conditions of 1914, due to the European war, the balance of trade in favor of the United States, as represented by the excess of exports over imports during that year, was $470,653,491, as compared with $188,037,290 for 1910, the fiscal year under the Payne-Aldrich law.

MARVELOUS GROWTH OF COMMERCE.

The growth of our foreign commerce under the Democratic tariff act since the outbreak of the European war; that is, for the fiscal years 1915 and 1916, has been so extraordinary in magnitude that it has broken all trade records of all countries in the whole history of the world. Our exports for 1915 were $2,768,589,340, exceeding all previous records by several hundred millions; our exports for 1916 reached the stupendous total of $4,333,698,604, or $1,565,000,000 greater than 1915 and almost double the high records of previous years.

The balance of trade in favor of the United States for the fiscal year 1915, was $1,094,419,600, breaking the record of all previous years; while the favorable balance of trade for the fiscal year 1916 was $2,135,713,762, or double that of 1915, and almost three and one-half times the highest record of previous years. These figures fairly stagger the imagination!

Our exports could never have grown in this degree if our industries had been hampered by a high protective tariff, which would have increased the cost of raw material to prohibitive figures or forced to other markets the raw materials and unmanufactured articles we have imported for the purpose of manufacture into finished products in order to supply the export trade. The increase in our imports during 1916 is represented almost entirely by the increase in the imports of such raw materials and unmanufactured articles required by our own manufacturers. For example, we imported for the fiscal year 1915 crude materials for use in manufacturing to the amount of $575,143,000; for the fiscal year 1916, these imports were $944,105,000—an increase of $369,000,000; for the fiscal year 1915 our imports of manufactures for further use of our own manufacturers amounted to $237,946,000, while for the fiscal year 1916, they were $359,442,000, an increase of $121,500,000. The increase in these two groups of imports alone aggregated $490,500,000. On the other hand, our total exports during the fiscal year 1916 of domestic manufactured products—exclusive of foodstuffs—ready for consumption exceeded such exports for 1915 by $1,187,733,090, breaking all previous records of the country's history, viz:

Exports of domestic manufactures (exclusive of foodstuffs) ready for consumption:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1915 | $808,634,402 |
| 1916 | 1,996,367,492 |
| Increase in 1 year, 1916 over 1915 | 1,187,733,090 |

Compare these figures with our imports of manufactures (exclusive of foodstuffs) ready for consumption, which were valued as follows:

| | Imports of manufactures ready for consumption (exclusive of foodstuffs). | Decrease as compared with 1913. |
|---|---|---|
| Fiscal year 1913 | $408,179,000 | |
| Fiscal year 1915 | 336,263,000 | $71,916,000 |
| Fiscal year 1916 | 315,884,000 | 92,295,000 |
| Total decrease | | 164,211,000 |

It is very difficult to follow the devious Republican mind on the tariff question. Republican leaders and spokesmen, with characteristic partisan inconsistency and purely for the purpose of misleading the country in their frantic efforts to drive the Democratic Party from power, contended until a few months ago that the European war had acted as a temporary tariff wall, preventing the flooding of the country with foreign imports; that this accounted for our prosperity and proved the theory of trade exclusion by high tariff protection to be correct. They now ignore that contention, make an "about face," and point to the large increase in the imports for 1916 as a threat to our prosperity and as a fruitful source of tariff taxation to meet the present revenue necessities for preparedness, and so forth.

As the increase in our imports has been due to increased imports of raw materials and the like for the use of our manufacturers in their export trade, it would simply be taxing, and consequently diminishing, our export trade if we increased the duties on crude materials, and therefore hurtful to our prosperity. The conclusive evidence that the Democratic tariff law has helped the country is the fact, viz, that while we bought from foreign countries in 1916 (our imports) $2,197,984,842, we sold to foreign countries in 1916 (our exports) more than twice as much as we bought, viz, $4,333,698,604, leaving a trade balance in our favor, for the fiscal year 1916, of $2,135,713,762. No wonder the United States is now the richest and most prosperous nation on earth. Democratic policies, Democratic administration, and Democratic government truly in the interest of the people have made it so.

DUMPING CHARGE A FABRICATION.

The charge, often repeated until recently, that the Democratic tariff has resulted in the dumping of European manufactures upon our markets to the detriment of American business is utterly fallacious and deliberately misleading.

During the first 10 months under the present tariff act, or the period from its adoption to the outbreak of the war—that is, during times of peace—our imports increased $101,977,779, or at the rate of only about $122,000,000 a year.

The following table shows the relative increase of imports under the Payne-Aldrich and the Underwood-Simmons Acts:

| Fiscal year. | Tariff law. | Increase of imports over preceding fiscal year. |
|---|---|---|
| 1910 | Payne-Aldrich | $245,000,000 |
| 1912 | do | 126,000,000 |
| 1913 | do | 160,000,000 |
| 1914 | Underwood-Simmons, at the rate of | 122,000,000 |

In other words, the above table shows that for the year ended June 30, 1910, nearly 11 months of which were under the Payne-Aldrich law, the first year in which that law was in effect, imports increased $245,000,000 over the preceding year, or more than double the rate of increase under the first 10 months of the Underwood-Simmons Act; for the fiscal year of 1912—the last full Republican year—also under the Payne-Aldrich law, they increased $126,000,000 over the previous year; for the fiscal year of 1913, likewise under the Payne-Aldrich Act, they increased $160,000,000, while the rate of increase under the Underwood-Simmons Act for the fiscal year of 1914 was only $122,000,000.

In spite of the increase of $101,977,779 in total imports for the 10 months ended July 31, 1914, the increase in foodstuffs and crude materials for use in manufacturing was over $105,000,000, leaving an actual decrease in the value of imports of all kinds of manufactures (excluding manufactures of foodstuffs) of over $3,000,000. In other words, instead of the alleged dumping of European-made goods on our markets, these figures show that there was really a decrease in the value of importations of manufactured articles for that period. Not only is this true as to manufactures as a whole, but an analysis of the figures from each of the larger branches of manufactures shows that they were not injured in any degree by the lower duties.

Imports of manufactures of cotton for that period were valued at about $60,000,000, as against $53,000,000 for the corresponding period of 1913 under the old tariff. But as our total domestic output of manufactures of cotton annually is at least $800,000,000, the increase could not have had any effect on our cotton manufactures.

An analysis of the increase in the imports of our principal manufactures for the 10 months ended July 31, 1914, under the Underwood-Simmons Act—that is, prior to the outbreak of the European war—as compared with the corresponding period of 1913, shows that wherever there was an increase in imports of

manufactured products there was a corresponding or greater increase in the imports of raw materials, out of which these goods are made.

DEMAND EXCEEDS SUPPLY.

This clearly indicates that the demand of the United States for these manufactured articles was in excess of the ability of our own manufacturers to supply them. The following table is illuminating in this respect:

*Imports.*

| | 10 months ended July 31, 1913. | 10 months ended July 31, 1914. | Increase. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wool: | | | |
| Manufactured goods | $13,000,000 | $33,000,000 | $20,000,000 |
| Raw wool | 26,000,000 | 53,000,000 | 27,000,000 |
| Vegetable fibers: | | | |
| Manufactured goods | 65,000,000 | 70,000,000 | 5,000,000 |
| Raw | 42,000,000 | 49,000,000 | 7,000,000 |
| Silk: | | | |
| Manufactured goods | 22,000,000 | 27,000,000 | 5,000,000 |
| Raw silk | 72,000,000 | 85,000,000 | 13,000,000 |
| Leather and tanned skins: | | | |
| Manufactured goods | 6,800,000 | 8,700,000 | 1,900,000 |
| Unmanufactured | 7,300,000 | 13,100,000 | 5,800,000 |
| Uncured hides and skins | 92,000,000 | 105,000,000 | 13,000,000 |

The above are the principal increases in the value of manufactured goods, while there are notable decreases in other kinds of manufactures.

The value of imports of manufactures of iron and steel entered for consumption for the period from October 4, 1913, when the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act went into effect, to June 30, 1914, shows a slight decrease from the value of the imports during the period October 1, 1912, to June 30, 1913, under the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Steel and iron articles entered free of duty increased from $447,347 to $5,933,658 during that period. Of this, however, the greater part consisted of pig iron, the free imports of which increased to the value of $3,193,333.

The domestic production of pig iron for the calendar year 1913, ending 3 months after the new tariff law went into effect, and 8 or 10 months after the new duties on iron were practically known, was 30,966,000 tons, valued at over $458,000,000. This was the record production for any year and for any country, the entire production for the world for that year being about 77,500,000 tons, the greatest production to that date.

MADE GOOD BEFORE THE WAR.

Bar iron decreased; steel ingots, billets, bars, and so forth, decreased; wire rods decreased and forgings decreased, while the value of imports of tin plates increased from $915,688 to $1,225,461. Wire and manufactures of wire increased from $830,303 to $1,076,557. Imports of cutlery increased from $1,380,765 to $2,532,911. These increases, however, were infinitely small in proportion to the total domestic production of these articles. The domestic production of tin and terneplate in 1909, for instance, was $47,969,645. The domestic production of wire and wirework was $126,210,278. The value of the domestic production of cutlery and tools was $53,206,163, while the total value of iron and steel products of blast furnaces was $391,306,675 and of iron and steel products of steel works and rolling mills was $985,628,297. These relatively infinitesimal increases could have had no adverse effect upon the iron and steel industries.

The above is an analysis of the situation before the outbreak of the European war, the only normal period during which the Simmons-Underwood Act has had an opportunity to operate. There has been a great decrease in our imports of manufactured goods since the war, but the Republican Party has been making strenuous efforts to mislead the country by the circulation of false statements of the wildest character to the effect that Europe is prepared to dump $2,000,000,000 worth of manufactured articles upon the United States as soon as peace is declared. The statement is absurd on its face. It is an absolute fabrication. There is absolutely no data upon which to base such statements. That they are utterly ridiculous becomes instantly clear when one considers the prostration of Europe and the fact that a great proportion of her producers and manufacturers have been withdrawn from the fields of commercial production and are forced to devote their entire energies and resources to the production of munitions and other materials to prosecute the war.

During the past two years our manufacturers have enormously increased their efficiency and the output of their plants, and our record-breaking exports are going to every corner of the globe, including markets which never before have been available to the United States. This has resulted in a great improvement in organization and in methods of manufacture and in a great increase of trained workmen, which will give the manufacturers of the United States for years to come a paramount advantage over all foreign competitors. In these circumstances there will be no chance for an increase in the importation of manufactured products, because, as clearly shown above, the increase in the imports of manufactured goods in the past under the Simmons-Underwood Act was due to an increased demand for such goods by the people of the United States and the inability of our manufacturers to supply them.

It is not only false, but dishonest, for the Republican Party to claim that the revenue needs of the Government could have been provided by a protective tariff. The highest protective tariff ever written would have yielded less revenue to the Government than the Underwood-Simmons Act. The articles which are not coming into this country now certainly would not come in under a higher protective tariff, and many of the articles that had never previously sought the United States, which are being imported now, would be prohibited from entering by protective rates of duty. Revenue can not be collected from goods that do not enter the country. While receipts from the tariff have necessarily been decreased by the war, the receipts from the income-tax section of the act have been a reliable, constant, and increasing source of revenue.

The Underwood-Simmons Act is a most successful revenue measure, and will continue to prove so upon the restoration of normal conditions in the world, as it was clearly demonstrated to be successful in normal times.

The customs provisions of the law will yield during normal times $100,000,000 in excess of the customs laws of any other nation. In view of that fact, would the people of the United States tolerate an increase in the tariff?

The following tables afford a comparison between the amount of revenue receipts yielded to the Government by the Payne-Aldrich Act and that produced by the Underwood-Simmons law:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Payne-Aldrich Act, fiscal year 1912.* | |
| Customs | $311,321,672 |
| Corporation tax | 28,583,304 |
| Total | 339,904,976 |
| *Payne-Aldrich Act, fiscal year 1913.* | |
| Customs | $318,891,396 |
| Corporation tax | 35,006,300 |
| Total | 353,897,696 |
| *Underwood-Simmons Act, fiscal year 1914.* | |
| Customs | $292,320,015 |
| Corporation income tax | 43,127,740 |
| Individual income tax | 28,253,535 |
| Total | 363,701,290 |

In other words, the receipts for 1912 under the Payne-Aldrich Act—the last full Republican year—were $23,796,314 less than the collections for 1914, chiefly under the Democratic tariff law, and the receipts for 1913, likewise under the Payne-Aldrich tariff, were $9,803,594 less than those for 1914, chiefly under the Democratic law.

NO MORE EXTREME TARIFFS.

The life of the modernized ultra high protective tariff system as heretofore developed in this and one or two other leading countries has reached its end. Apart from its essential injustice to the people, this system has become a positive menace to the peace of all trade countries. It is naturally utilized for purposes of rank discrimination, practical boycotting, undue preferences, retaliations, and other irritating practices. It also involves in its logical development subsidies, bounties, rebates, and the like. The trade practices growing out of the very spirit and operation of these so-called scientific high protective tariff systems have been a source of constant controversy and irritation among the leading commercial nations. It is a matter of common knowledge that the operation of the many unfair, injurious, and sharp trade practices and the strenuous trade conquests pursued under these systems largely contributed to the outbreak of the present European war.

Viewed from any standpoint, the citizen must be selfish, greedy, and shortsighted who would demand or seriously suggest tariff revision before normal conditions are reestablished in the world.

EUROPE HARD HIT.

At the close of the war Europe, commercially and industrially speaking, will be flat on her back. She will be burdened by a stupendous debt and most seriously handicapped by high prices, high wages, inflated currency, destroyed capital, scarcity of skilled labor, loss of export trade, high taxes, burdensome interest, extreme scarcity of all raw materials, and great depletion of her stock of manufactures, both for export and domestic purposes. The principal countries at war will be paying greater annual interest charges than the total amount of taxes annually levied by the United States Government. With these tremendous

handicaps, no intelligent person expects Europe to be able to rehabilitate herself commercially and industrially within any short period of time. Some of her best markets have already been lost to the United States.

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FOREIGN TRADE RECORD IS OVER SIX BILLIONS—CHANGE OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION WILL MENACE OVER-SEAS BUSINESS AND RISK LOSS OF PROSPERITY—FACTS AS TO MUNITIONS SALES.

From March 4, 1913, to date this country has enjoyed an increase of its foreign trade far in excess of former increases of this or any other nation during a similar period.

Our total foreign trade for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, was $3,857,587,343; in the fiscal year 1913 it increased to $4,278,892,383, but fell off slightly in 1914, when it amounted to $4,258,504,805. There was a slight increase during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, when the total trade was $4,442,759,080; but in the fiscal year 1916 it leaped to $6,530,000,000.

The European war created an opportunity to secure this enormous business, but practical legislation and efficient administrative action aided in securing it. Authorities agree that much of the business can be retained by the enterprise of our business men if the present cooperation by the Government is continued, and if radical changes of policy, such as would be involved in a Republican tariff revision, are not adopted.

This article tells the important story of the growth of our over-seas business, and demonstrates that a change of national administration at the flood tide of our foreign successes would menace not only export business but the prosperity of the country.

A STUPENDOUS PROPOSITION.

Six and one-half billion dollars' worth of foreign trade is a remarkable and stupendous thing, and has contributed to the present unbounded prosperity of the United States.

It was in 1872 that our foreign trade first exceeded $1,000,000,000; in 1900 it passed the $2,000,000,000 mark; in 1907 it crossed the $3,000,000,000 line; in 1913 it was slightly above $4,000,000,000. And now within three short years the level has extended to well over $6,000,000,000, an increase of over 50 per cent since the beginning of the Wilson administration.

Exports have shown the same tremendous upward tendency. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, our exports amounted to $2,204,322,409. They increased in the fiscal year 1913 to $2,465,884,149; fell off in 1914 to $2,364,579,148; increased again in 1915 to $2,768,589,340; and jumped in the fiscal year 1916 to $4,330,000,000. But even more important than the growth in the volume of our exports has been the change in their essential character.

Prior to March 4, 1913, our exports consisted largely of raw materials; in fact, 33 per cent of our exports were raw materials in unmanufactured state. For the last fiscal year the proportion of raw and crude products in our exports is only 13 per cent. Meanwhile the proportion of finished manufactured goods has increased from 31 to 47 per cent. In actual figures, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, we exported $672,268,163 of finished manufactured goods and $723,008,839 in crude materials. In 1916 we exported $2,000,000,000 of finished manufactured goods and $536,000,000 in raw materials.

Prof. Walter Troeltsch, of Marburg University, Germany, says in a technical periodical published in Essen:

> We shall have to face a long period of diminished purchasing power, combined with higher costs of production, owing to dearer raw materials, and also higher taxes and higher wages.

IMPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS.

No less remarkable is the great increase in our imports of raw materials. This was aided by the Underwood tariff, which placed raw materials on the free list. In 1912 22 per cent of our imports consisted of manufactured articles ready for consumption. During the last fiscal year our imports of manufactured goods ready for consumption amounted to 14 per cent of the total imports. On the other hand, in 1912 the imports of raw materials amounted to 34 per cent, while in 1916 they amounted to 43 per cent of the total. This means that instead of importing manufactured goods ready for consumption, we are now importing the raw materials from which those goods are manufactured; and instead of paying for foreign labor and for foreign profits, we are putting that money into the pockets of our own laboring men and are paying profits to our own people.

These changes in the three short years since the beginning of the present administration are of great significance in the economic history of this country; they mark the shifting of the balance of economic power in the world from Europe to the United States.

MUNITIONS TRADE EXAGGERATED.

It is sometimes stated that this increase in our trade is due entirely to munitions of war. But this statement is far from the actual facts. A large portion of our gain in foreign trade has been with countries outside the war zone.

We may divide all our exports into three groups:

(1) Exports of actual muntitions of war, including ammunition, cartridges, loaded projectiles, guns, rifles, etc.

(2) Exports of what might be called secondary army supplies, including horses and mules; automobile trucks and aeroplanes; horseshoes and barbed wire; men's shoes; harness and saddles; wearing apparel and manufactures of brass, copper, lead and zinc.

(3) Exports of other products that would be sold even in times of peace, including agricultural, electrical, and other machinery; grain and flour; chemicals; cloths, wearing apparel, and other manufactures of cotton; fish, fruits, and meats; bars, billets, rails, sheets, structural, and other iron and steel; leather; mineral and vegetable oils; paper; tobacco; lumber and other manufactures of wood, and the various other agricultural, mining, and manufacturing products which enter into our exports under normal conditions.

The largest percentage of increase in our exports of these three groups occurred in the actual munitions of war. A comparison, however, of our exports of this group since the war with a period prior to the war based solely on the percentage of increase is fallacious for the reason that the exports in normal times are insignificant.

It should be borne in mind, too, that the articles classed as secondary army supplies are exported in times of peace and that, in fact, a large portion of them would be exported, war or no war.

WONDERFUL TRADE BALANCE.

Another significant change has taken place. Heretofore the United States has never enjoyed a really favorable "balance of trade." True, exports have for a number of years exceeded imports by many millions of dollars.

Since 1900, for example, our excess of exports over imports has amounted to as much as $1,094,000,000 in 1915, and has declined to as low as $188,000,000 in 1910. But there are many factors in the real balance of trade between the United States and other foreign nations that have not been taken into account.

The United States has for years borrowed money from Europe, and at the beginning of the Wilson administration owed Europe not less than $6,500,000,000, on which we paid an annual interest of not less than $300,000,000. Our tourists traveling in foreign countries spent probably not less than $250,000,000 each year. Foreigners resident in the United States sent back to Europe probably not less than $150,000,000 annually. Shippers paid to foreign-owned steamship lines not less than $50,000,000 each year. The sum total of these expenditures was approximately $750,000,000 annually. At no time, therefore, since 1900, and certainly not before that until 1915, have we ever had a sufficient "balance of trade" to fully offset this great indebtedness and the large interest payments on it.

Conditions have changed under the Wilson administration. In three years we have taken up $1,500,000,000 of American securities held abroad, paid off $500,000,000 of floating debt, and loaned to foreign countries $1,250,000,000, thereby reducing our net debt to the world by the vast total of $3,250,000,000, which is without precedent in history. Not only has the debt been thus reduced, but our payments abroad have heavily shrunk. Even our foreign population, on account of the difficulties in sending money abroad, have cut off their remittances. Along with the decrease in our indebtedness to Europe has of course come a falling off in the interest charges. Our payments to Europe probably do not amount to more than half the amount paid each year prior to the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson.

On the other hand, instead of borrowing money from Europe, we have actually made loans to European nations and other nations on the American Continent.

Our loans to foreign countries now—August 1, 1916—aggregate approximately $1,250,000,000.

BUY HEAVILY ABROAD.

In addition, American investors have bought in foreign markets at favorable prices old Government issues to the extent of nearly $50,000,000.

Our position in the world's markets has therefore completely changed. We have assumed a position of commanding importance and our commerce exceeds that of any other country of the world. As a matter of fact, our commerce at present is as great as that of England and France combined. In the world of financial affairs we have also taken the leading rôle. We

have discharged a large share of our indebtedness to foreign countries and are now lending money instead of borrowing it.

Foreign trade is a stabilizer. It would be relatively impossible for the United States to withstand the ups and downs of trade if it did not have a large foreign trade with which to balance the wheel of business. If a concern in the United States manufacturing agricultural machinery does a purely domestic trade, its business rises and falls with the crop conditions in this country. If, however, it also sells in Canada, Argentina, Russia, India, and Australia, in all of which it is quite improbable for bad crops to occur at the same time, it has a good business in some countries to offset the slackness at home or in other foreign fields. What is true of the manufacturer is true of the dealer in raw materials, such as iron, steel, lumber, cement, and the great food products, such as corn, wheat, meat, and the staples, like cotton and tobacco. The wider the markets the greater the variation in conditions and the more stable the business of the country supplying these markets. If we are to have greater stability in business conditions in the United States, it is absolutely necessary that we have wider markets, which means a larger foreign trade.

The Democratic administration of Woodrow Wilson has recognized for the first time in the history of the United States the impossibility both of expecting to get foreign trade and of setting up a high tariff wall of the extreme type favored by a majority of Republicans. It is impossible for any man—business man, manufacturer, or farmer—to believe in high protection of the Republican brand and at the same time to believe in foreign trade. The man who believes in Republican high protection in effect indicates his willingness or his desire to do away with foreign trade, and the man who announces his intention to get foreign trade avows that he does not need protection.

OLD TARIFFS HINDERED BUSINESS.

Another phase of the tariff situation should not be overlooked by those who advocate a high protective tariff wall. In effect, the country that establishes a high tariff wall says to other countries, "This is the way we believe that the country should develop; if you are wise you will go and do likewise." Therefore it is not surprising that we find the countries of Central and South America following our own example and erecting the high tariff walls that are now the chief obstacle to our getting trade in South America.

One of the most important achievements of the present Democratic administration in its efforts to promote trade was the establishment and development of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. There had long been an appropriation for promoting commerce, but prior to the Wilson administration the amount was so small that it was impossible to do much effective or practical work. This appropriation is now nearly four times the amount used in 1909 and more than double the amount ever granted by a Republican administration.

TRADE "DIPLOMATS" NOW HELP.

Since the beginning of this administration the number of commercial agents, skilled technical investigators in foreign countries, has been greatly increased. Eight branches and six cooperative branch offices have been established in the United States for developing foreign trade. Ten commercial attachés have been sent to the important commercial foreign capitals of the world in London, Paris, The Hague, Petrograd, Melbourne, Peking, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Buenos Aires, and Santiago. This work of trade promotion has been increased tenfold over what it was during the previous administration. Its work has increased in extent, volume, and in practicability. It aims to give the manufacturer expert service and expert information with reference to foreign trade. It has succeeded in building up a wide and enviable reputation for its business-like methods and for the efficiency of its work.

Constructive legislation by the Wilson administration has greatly facilitated the development of our foreign trade. The first and most important legislation bearing on foreign trade was the Federal reserve act, which created adequate machinery for financing foreign business. Payments in international trade need no longer be made through London, for there has been established in New York an "acceptance" market which has proved of incalculable value in building up our trade and enabling our manufacturers to finance their foreign business. This legislation also permitted national banks to open branches in foreign countries, and through them to give our exporters a service that had never before been possible.

LAWS AND SHIPPING.

The shipbuilding industry and merchant shipping have been hampered in the past by restrictions imposed by Republican administrations. Some of these have been removed. Foreign-built vessels are permitted to register and fly the American flag, and our merchant marine has increased during the last 2 years more than in the preceding 50. The ship-purchase measure, urged by the administration and opposed by the Republican Members of Congress, provides legislation that will enable the United States to go still further in the development of a merchant marine. It aims to regulate ocean freight rates, to require foreign vessels to give as favorable rates to American as to European ships; in short, to regulate a business now wholly unregulated to the immense disadvantage of the United States.

Other legislation, designed to assist American exporters, includes the bill permitting American manufacturers to combine in their foreign trade work so that they may meet on equal terms their foreign competitors who have long been permitted to do this, and the proposed American trade-mark law, which will make it possible for American goods to carry a distinctive American mark that will distinguish them in all countries of the world and guarantee their American origin.

A vital question, and one that is agitating many business men at the present time, is whether or not we will be able to hold the increased trade we have obtained since the beginning of the European war, or whether we will lose it to our foreign competitors.

LIKELY TO HOLD NEW TRADE.

Barring a change from the present active and efficient cooperation of the Government in this field, there is every reason to believe that American exporters will hold the bulk of their new business in other than war munitions. Europe will be loaded with war debts, and these will mean heavy taxes on business and industry. Practically all of the elements entering into cost of production will be raised; the good will of their foreign business is already practically lost to many of the European belligerent nations, and the labor-supervising force in Europe will be considerably reduced and its efficiency will be considerably impaired.

The men who are fighting in the armies of Europe are not the unemployed or the unemployable; they are the very flower of the industrial and commercial enterprises. Many of these men will not return to their places in the factories or at the bench. Many of those who do return will be maimed and diseased, and most of them will have lost the work spirit that is so characteristic of and such a large asset to the European worker.

FOREIGN PRICES WILL BE HIGH.

During the war capital has been withdrawn from productive uses, all capital expenditures and capital investments have been reduced in efficiency, plants need renewals and repairs which have not been made, the demand for capital will be large at the end of the war, and the stock of it on hand will be small and expensive. The war is not yet over, and these effects will be cumulative as long as the war lasts. Interest rates will therefore be high.

The elements entering into cost of production will all be raised, and it is claimed that prices can not even for a short period be substantially lower than the cost of production. On these principles it is argued that prices will be high, higher than ever before in Europe, and will more nearly approximate the level of prices in the United States. European nations will not be able to export or to supply their own markets at prices as much below ours as they were before the war. We will be able therefore to hold a very large proportion of the new trade we have obtained during the progress of the war.

It is absurd to believe that European nations will be able to do more after the war than they did before the war. They will be weaker, not stronger. Domestic wants will have to be filled before the European nations can seriously undertake foreign trade. No matter how much they may want foreign trade, no matter how much they may need it, they will first have to set their own houses in order.

We can successfully compete with any other nation in the world in any market, but we can do so only when we bring our present industrial equipment and our distributing machinery to the highest point of efficiency. The war will be followed by a period of intense competition, and the most efficient producers and distributors will win. We can not waste with one hand and win with the other. We must use science and research in business as our rivals do. We can no longer afford a gospel of industrial fear in this country. We can compete if we will to compete, and shall be both stronger and safer for the effort. It is a principal part of the program of President Wilson to continue the development of the Government auxiliaries to foreign trade expansion so that America may keep the place in foreign trade that it now has. A change of administration inevitably would cut short and cripple the very practical work to this end now under way.

WONDERFUL EXPANSION—DEADLY PARALLEL PRESENTS THE CASE OF WILSON V. TAFT IN FOREIGN COMMERCE.

| ON MARCH 4, 1913. | ON AUGUST 4, 1916. |
|---|---|
| Annual foreign trade, $3,857,587,343 (fiscal year 1912). | Annual foreign trade, $9,530,000,000 (fiscal year 1916). |
| Exports, $2,204,322,409 (fiscal year 1912). | Exports, $4,330,000,000 (fiscal year 1916). |
| Our net foreign indebtedness, funded and floating, $6,500,000,000. | Our net foreign indebtedness reduced by half. |
| Our loans to foreign countries were practically nothing. | Our loans to foreign countries were one and one-fourth billion dollars. |
| Imports of manufactured goods amounted to $360,018,963 (fiscal year 1912), or 21.78 per cent of our total imports. | Our imports of manufactured goods amounted to $315,000,000 (fiscal year 1916), or 14.30 per cent of our total imports. |
| Exports of manufactured goods ready for consumption amounted to $672,268,163 (fiscal year 1912), or 30.98 per cent of all our domestic exports. | Our exports of manufactured goods ready for consumption amounted to $2,000,000,000 (fiscal year 1916), or 46.73 per cent of all our domestic exports. |
| Total amount of special appropriations for promotion of our foreign trade, $60,000 (fiscal year 1912). | Total amount of special appropriations for promotion of our foreign trade, $252,000 (fiscal year 1916). |
| Field staff engaged in promoting foreign trade numbered 11. | Field staff engaged in promoting foreign trade numbered 61. |
| No commercial attachés. | Ten commercial attachés. |
| No appropriation for commercial attachés. | An appropriation of $100,000 for commercial attachés. |
| No district or branch offices in the United States for promoting foreign trade. | Eight district offices and six cooperating branch offices for promoting American trade. |
| Only nine agents gathering information about foreign markets for American products. | Twenty agents gathering information about foreign markets for American products. |
| Only 2,145 trade opportunities issued for the benefit of American manufacturers. | There were 4,300 trade opportunities issued, each giving a specific chance to market American goods abroad. |

## The Revenue Bill.

# SPEECH

OF

# HON. MEYER LONDON,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 7, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 16763) to increase the revenue, and for other purposes.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, in order to meet the extraordinary expenditures of the so-called preparedness program it is proposed to provide the revenue by increasing the income tax, by a tax on munitions, and by a tax on inheritances. Tagged onto these purely revenue features of the bill are the antidumping provision, the provision for the appointment of a tariff commission, and the provision relating to protection on dyestuffs.

So far as the revenue-raising features of the bill are concerned, the Democrats are on the right track. If there is any criticism to be made, it is that the surtax on large incomes is not large enough.

The same thing is true of the inheritance tax. The power of transmitting large sums of wealth to distant relatives has assumed, under present industrial conditions, a character entirely different from that which it had centuries ago. To transfer by inheritance millions of dollars means to transfer the power of millions of dollars, which in the ultimate analysis means the power to control the lives of others.

It is difficult to see how, in a democracy, men will with indifference contemplate the inheritance, through the mere accident of consanguinity, of large estates, of tremendous power in the shape of capital. While we object to the power of making laws being transferred from father to son by inheritance, we do permit the acquisition by inheritance of a financial power which confers the right to legislate for industry, commerce, finance, and to shape the life of the country. As a matter of public policy, and not only as a source of revenue for the support of the Government, the tax on inheritance should be increased.

No one can with earnestness claim that the accumulation of millions of dollars is due primarily, or even in large part, to personal effort. None of our great inventors, none of our scholars, authors, artists, teachers, have left millions of dollars to their children. The millionaire is a product of conditions which enable the individual to utilize the services of thousands of men, or the increasing values of land or other natural resources, for personal aggrandizement.

Accumulated capital represents the efforts of thousands of men, the accumulated result of the labor and strivings of thousands of fellow men. It is in all respects the collective product of a collective effort. It is a community product, and community wealth.

And in no country of the world is the right or the duty to tax large inheritances so clear as in the United States. In a country with unlimited resources, big enough and fertile enough to support in comfort five times the present population, we have permitted with the free and easy-going way of a young democracy the concentration of the overwhelming power of capital in the hands of a small number of people.

Thus, 2 per cent of the people of the United States own 60 per cent of its wealth. It is not that inordinately large wealth gives its possessor a larger share in the joys of life that constitutes a danger to democracy. Democracy does not envy the rich their riches. Capital means the power to give work or to withhold work, to give an opportunity to live or to refuse it, and it should be against the public policy of a democracy to permit the transmission by inheritance of the power to control the lives of the people.

The tax on munitions is also rather insufficient. While the European war continues and while the fever of "preparedness" is permitted to interrupt the normal life of this country, the munition makers will glean a pretty substantial profit; and one of the benefits of the munitions tax will be to place at the disposal of the Government information as to the extent of the traffic and as to the size of the profit.

It has always been the contention of the Socialists that, so far as the great masses of the working people are concerned, there is no essential difference between the Republicans and Democrats. By the antidumping clause, the tariff commission clause, and the dyestuff provision, that supposed bone of contention between the two parties—the tariff—is eliminated as an issue. The Democrats have bodily stolen, swallowed, and assimilated the Republican tariff policy.

The truth is that the tariff has never been a real issue between the Republicans and the Democrats. The protectionist has no party, and for that matter no country. He is essentially a shopkeeper. He divides the world into two parts—the industry in which he is interested and the rest of the world. One of the speakers who preceded me, a Democrat, elected on the Democratic ticket, coming from a section where the boot and shoe industry is the dominant industry, expressed the hope that the tariff commission would find some way of giving adequate protection to the boot and shoe industry of his State. The rock-ribbed Democratic State of Louisiana all at once discovered that it was progressive, because the local sugar industry wanted protection. And the Democratic Party hastened to retrace its step in favor of free sugar—surely one of the necessaries of life—and continued the tariff on sugar.

Within the last few years we have been witnessing a realignment of political parties and a revaluation of political ideas. Thus we find the Democratic Party adopting the Republican tariff policy, and what is even more significant for the former party of State rights, we see a Democratic Congress federalizing the State militia, while the Republican Party refers the question of woman suffrage to the States.

Mr. DENISON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Has not the Democratic Party referred woman suffrage to the State?

Mr. LONDON. Yes; but they have always favored State rights, and they are consistent from a Democratic standpoint. The Republican Party, the party of a concentrated national policy, can not refer the question to the States except as a political exigency.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. What position does the Socialist Party take on the question of woman suffrage?

Mr. LONDON. No member of a civilized community should be denied a voice in the shaping of opinion and in crystallizing opinion into law, whether it be man or woman.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. The gentleman from New York is not objecting to the fact that the question has been referred to the States.

Mr. LONDON. The right of a woman to vote is as inalienable and as sacred as the right of a man to vote and to participate in the legislation of the country. However, that is a side issue. I mean that is beside the issue at the present moment, for we are discussing the revenue bill.

With the tariff removed as an issue; with the curse of the war lifted; with the nations of the world taking stock and asking themselves why all this bloodshed, sacrifice, and devastation; with the people of the United States taking second thought; with the brain of the American people disburdened of

the nightmare of "preparedness" born of the war; with the political field clear, there will be only one issue—the issue of the masses against the classes.

We will stop talking tariff. We will stop yelling "Preparedness!"

Conservation of human life, the restoration of the natural resources to the people, the taking hold by the people of the socially necessary means of production and distribution, the widening of the boundaries of human liberty—in short, industrial democracy against industrial oligarchy—will become the issue along which men and parties will have to divide.

I predict that within our lifetime and within our generation the platforms of all political parties will be compelled to deal with the social problem. Just as the numerous parties which preceded the Civil War had the abolition of chattel slavery and the preservation of the Union as the main issue, just so will the political forces of America divide on the issue whether the industrial oligarchy shall survive and democracy shall perish, or whether this Republic shall be rejuvenated, with wage slavery dead and gone forever.

The Socialist movement is the Abolitionist movement of the twentieth century.

## Naval Appropriation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BEN JOHNSON,

OF KENTUCKY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker: Whenever it becomes my duty to cast a vote as a member of this body I console myself, at least, not only with the belief but with the firm conviction that that vote is cast not only upon the moral side of the question, whatever it may be, but also upon that side of the question which carries with it the welfare of the great masses of the people.

When the bill carrying appropriations for the continuance and increase of the navy was before the House I cast my vote for it. The bill, after having passed the House, went to the Senate, where many millions of dollars were added to it, and 157 new ships were authorized to be built.

The question which is now before the House is: Shall Senate amendment No. 238 be accepted or rejected?

I will here quote the provision which was contained in the House bill, for which I voted, and then I shall quote the Senate amendment No. 238, which was inserted by the Senate in lieu of the House provision.

The House provision is as follows:

HOUSE BILL.

INCREASE OF THE NAVY.

For the purpose of further increasing the Naval Establishment of the United States the President of the United States is hereby authorized to have constructed five battle cruisers carrying suitable armor and as powerful armament as any other vessel of their class, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $15,000,000 each.

Four scout cruisers, carrying suitable protection and armament suited to their size and type, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $4,500,000 each.

Ten torpedo boat destroyers to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,000,000 each: *Provided*, That four of said torpedo boat destroyers herein authorized shall be built on the Pacific coast: *Provided further*, That the cost of construction on the Pacific coast does not exceed the cost of construction on the Atlantic coast plus the cost of transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Fifty submarines, of which number three shall be of a surface displacement of about eight hundred tons each, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,100,000 each, and the remaining 47 submarines shall be the best and most desirable and useful type of a submarine which can be procured at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $625,000 each, and the sum of $9,387,000 is hereby appropriated for said purposes, to be available until expended.

Fifteen of the submarines herein authorized shall be built on the Pacific coast: *Provided*, That the cost of construction on the Pacific coast does not exceed the cost of construction on the Atlantic plus the cost of transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

One fuel-oil ship, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,265,000.

One ammunition ship, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $2,600,000.

One hospital ship, to cost not to exceed $2,250,000.

The Secretary of the Navy shall build any of the vessels herein authorized in such navy yards as he may designate should it reasonably appear that the persons, firms, or corporations, or the agents thereof, bidding for the construction of any of said vessels have entered into any combination, agreement, or understanding the effect, object, or purpose of which is to deprive the Government of fair, open, and unrestricted competition in letting contracts for the construction of any of said vessels: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to build any of the vessels herein authorized in such navy yards as he may designate.

Construction and machinery: On account of hulls and outfits of vessels and machinery of vessels heretofore and herein authorized, to be available until expended, $47,366,860.

On account of submarine torpedo boats heretofore authorized, to be available until expended, $5,282,593.

Armor and armament: Toward the armor and armament for vessels heretofore and herein authorized, to be available until expended, $33,896,060.

Ammunition: For ammunition for the vessels herein authorized, to be available until expended, $11,329,925.

Total increase of the Navy heretofore and herein authorized, $107,262,438.

Senate amendment 238 inserted by the Senate is as follows:—

INCREASE OF THE NAVY.

For the purpose of further increasing the Naval Establishment of the United States, the President of the United States is hereby authorized to undertake prior to July 1, 1919, the construction of the vessels enumerated below:

Ten first-class battleships, carrying as heavy armor and as powerful armament as any vessels of their class, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; four of these at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $11,500,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Six battle cruisers, carrying suitable armor and as powerful armament as any vessels of their class, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; four of these to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $16,500,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Ten scout cruisers, carrying suitable protection and armament suited to their size and type, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; four to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $5,000,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Fifty torpedo-boat destroyers, to have the highest practicable speed and greatest desirable radius of action; 20 to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,200,000 each, to be begun as soon as practicable: *Provided*, That not less than four of these shall be built on the Pacific coast: *Provided further*, That the cost of construction on the Pacific coast does not exceed the cost of construction on the Atlantic coast, plus the cost of transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Nine fleet submarines.

Fifty-eight coast submarines, of which number three to have a surface displacement of about 800 tons each, to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $1,200,000 each, and 27, which shall be the best and most desirable and useful type of submarine which can be procured at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $700,000 each, shall be begun as soon as practicable; and the sum of $8,217,000 is hereby appropriated for the construction of said submarines, to be available until expended. Not less than 12 of the submarines herein authorized to be begun as soon as practicable shall be built on the Pacific coast: *Provided*, That the cost of construction on the Pacific coast does not exceed the cost of construction on the Atlantic coast, plus the cost of transportation from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

One submarine, equipped with the Neff system of submarine propulsion, exclusive of armor and armament, $250,000: *Provided*, That the owners of the Neff system of submarine propulsion will construct, in accordance with drawings, plans, and specifications provided by them, one coast-defense submarine of about 150 tons displacement when submerged, carrying armor and armament similar and equal to that of the "C" class of submarines, with fittings, equipment, machinery, devices, appliances, and appurtenances of every kind with latest improvements, complete in all respects, and suitable for naval purposes: *Provided further*, That the money appropriated for this purpose shall not be paid to the builders of said boat until the same has been completed, passed satisfactory service tests, and been accepted by the Secretary of the Navy; but upon such completion, tests, and acceptance by the Secretary of the Navy the sum appropriated shall be paid.

Three fuel ships, one at a cost not to exceed $1,500,000, to be begun as soon as practicable.

One repair ship.

One transport.

One hospital ship, at a cost not to exceed $2,350,000, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Two destroyer tenders.

One fleet submarine tender.

Two ammunition ships, one at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $2,350,000, to be begun as soon as practicable.

Two gunboats, one at a cost, exclusive of armor and armament, not to exceed $860,000, to be begun as soon as practicable: *Provided*, That the 66 vessels directed herein to be begun as soon as practicable shall be contracted for or shall be begun in navy yards with six months from the date of the approval of this act.

The Secretary of the Navy shall build any of the vessels herein authorized in such navy yards as he may designate should it reasonably appear that the persons, firms, or corporations, or the agents thereof, bidding for the construction of any of said vessels have entered into any combination, agreement, or understanding the effect, object, or purpose of which is to deprive the Government of fair, open, and unrestricted competition in letting contracts for the construction of any of said vessels: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to build any of the vessels herein authorized in such navy yards as he may designate.

Construction and machinery: On account of hulls and outfits of vessels and machinery of vessels heretofore and herein authorized, to be available until expended, $59,000,194.

Increase of the Navy, torpedo boats: On account of submarine torpedo boats heretofore authorized, to be available until expended, $5,282,593.

Increase of the Navy, armor and armament: Toward the armor and armament for vessels heretofore and herein authorized, to be available until expended, $47,110,000.

Increase of the Navy, ammunition: Toward ammunition for the vessels herein authorized, to be available until expended, $19,485,500.

Total increase of the Navy heretofore and herein authorized, $139,345,287.

It will be seen that the House provision called for 72 ships at the total cost of $103,502,000; whereas, the Senate amendment (238) calls for 157 ships at a total cost of $324,020,000, thus increasing the number of ships by 85 and also at the same time increasing the appropriation approximately $220,000,000.

It will also be seen from the Senate amendment No. 238 that not only the appropriation for the number of ships is increased and that the amount of money is also increased, but other large amounts are added for other and incidental purposes, so that Senate amendment 238 increases the total amount to be expended under the caption of "Increase of the Navy" many millions.

In my judgment the number of ships authorized by the House bill and the amount which they were to cost was ample, indeed. So, as just said, the question now arises: Shall the House abide by its former action, or shall it recede from its former action and accept Senate amendment 238 carrying the large, additional appropriations contained therein?

Two years ago when the war broke out between Germany and the Allies the best naval experts of the world conceded that the navy of Great Britain stood first, that of the United States second, and that of Germany third. Since that time the British navy has destroyed a great number of German vessels, the tonnage displacement of which amounts to the enormous figure of more than a hundred thousand tons. In the meantime the German navy has inflicted as great loss upon the navy of Great Britain. Nobody will dispute that notwithstanding the losses which the British navy has sustained that it still easily outranks the navy of any other nation of the world. If there was anyone two years ago who seriously contended that the German navy was greater and stronger than the navy of the United States he certainly will not make that contention since the great losses which have been inflicted upon the German navy during the last two years. The result is that the navy of Great Britain is still first, that of the United States is far more certainly second, and that of Germany is still third, but not as good a third as it was two years ago.

We are now asked to appropriate approximately $660,000,000 to further increase the strength of our navy. Let us now see what the effect will be after we have expended this $660,000,000 gathered from taxes levied upon the people throughout the length and breadth of this land. Nobody can be found who will contend that after we have spent this enormous sum of money our navy will be anything else except second to that of Great Britain. As our navy is now made up we could not meet the navy of Great Britain in battle; and just as certainly will no one insist that our navy would be able to stand any chance whatever of success in battle with the British fleet after this $660,000,000 has been spent. If that is true, and no one will dispute the correctness of that assertion, then, as compared with the navy of Great Britain, we will be no better off after spending the $660,000,000 than we now are.

The building program adopted by the House before the Senate put on its amendment (238) would have been far more than ample to have kept pace with any additions which Germany might have made to her navy. If our navy was better than Germany's before Germany sustained all of her recent losses the fact remains, as I have just said, that the navy of the United States is certainly far ahead of that of Germany since Germany has sustained so many losses.

During the two years that Germany has been sustaining her losses the United States has all of that time been increasing the size and strength of her navy.

All that could be accomplished by the additional expenditure provided in Senate amendment No. 238 would be to add to the strength of the navy of the United States only on account of Germany, when our navy is already concededly much stronger than that of Germany.

I not only can not see any good reason, but I can not see any reason at all why the House should concur in the Senate amendment and spend all of the additional millions therein provided for when that expenditure would still leave us behind Great Britain and would still leave us occupying the position which we now occupy toward the German navy.

If a man of large stature and giant strength can whip a man of small stature and little strength, I can not see the necessity of the big fellow, if he is courageous, for calling other people to his assistance in a difficulty between the two of them.

If the navy of the United States can not defeat the navy of Great Britain, and such is conceded by all men; and if the expenditure of the large amount of money provided for in Senate amendment 238 would still leave the navy of the United States far smaller than that of Great Britain, then why spend all this money upon Great Britain's account?

Again, if the navy of the United States, as now constituted, can easily defeat the navy of Germany, then why take from the people the money provided for in the same Senate amendment?

I wish to repeat that if the Senate amendment No. 238 should become law we will still be behind Great Britain and still ahead of Germany. In other words, the expenditure of the money will not change the relative position of our navy to that of either of these countries. Therefore, I ask, Why tax the people to raise this money?

The House bill, freed of the Senate amendment 238, not only provides for continued naval construction but it provides more in this direction than any Congress before has ever provided.

But, Mr. Speaker, that is not all. Senate amendment 238 not only makes provision for the building of ships which may be commenced at this time, but it authorizes the construction of ships of certain described classes to be commenced as late as the year 1919. This Congress is not all wise. It can not see into the future. It must determine the future by the past. The past has demonstrated that not only every year and every month but even every day brings to light new inventions which teach us that our practices of the past contained much that was both in efficiency and economy.

Several times during the present European war the question has arisen with the great naval constructors of the world as to which it was best to build, dreadnaughts, battle cruisers, or submarines. The question remains unsettled, and it will remain unsettled until the censorship has been lifted by both Germany and the Allies and we have ascertained the real truth concerning the several naval engagements between those two powers.

It seems beyond the range of possibility that that war can continue until 1919. I insist that we should neither authorize nor appropriate the people's money in any unusual amount for the construction of any particular kind of ship until we have come to know which we need worse in event the unexpected should happen and we should become involved in war.

Some may say that we can not afford to wait until that war is over before we go further with our naval program. With them I agree, but let me remind all such that two years ago Congress appropriated the money for the construction of two great dreadnaughts, and that the keel of neither of these vessels has yet been laid. A ship of this class can not be built in less than 33 months. It is not only possible, but it is absolutely certain, that before the two ships which were authorized two years ago are completed many changes will have to be made in their construction as the result of scientific advantages of which we do not now know. It has even been said that between the time one of these big ships is authorized and the time of its completion in many vital respects it becomes obsolete before it even floats upon the water.

By the Senate amendment we are asked to authorize the construction of 157 ships of certain size and description and approximate cost. The present Congress is neither more patriotic nor wiser than subsequent American Congresses will be. Between the present Congress and 1919 there will be five sessions of Congress. I can not understand why this Congress should endeavor to forestall and anticipate the wisdom to be gained by Congresses to sit between now and 1919. There is no Member of the present Congress who will not better know in 1919 what sort of navy we had best have than he now knows. In my judgment the present Congress should authorize such vessels and only such vessels as we can at least have under way before a new Congress takes charge of affairs.

I think the same argument holds good not only as to the present Congress but as to each subsequent Congress; and I can not but believe that it will be a serious blunder upon the part of the present Congress to bind future Congresses to a program of shipbuilding which, when the time comes, had best be changed. Some may answer that when that time comes the future Congress would have the power to change. I deny that for the reason that the future Congress which might desire to make changes would be bound by contracts already made with the shipbuilders under the provisions of Senate amendment 238.

In conclusion I wish to repeat as concisely as I can the two main reasons why I oppose the Senate amendment. Those two reasons are: First: The expenditure of this large amount of money would not put our navy ahead of that of Great Britain, and we are already ahead of Germany without the expenditure of the money. Second: The present Congress should not undertake to bind five succeeding sessions of Congress to any navy-building program when it is absolutely certain that before the ships are built shipbuilding will change in many vital respects.

It is agreed upon all hands that the work upon some of the ships provided for in the Senate amendment will not commence before 1920. If that be correct the building program provided for in the Senate amendment can not be completed before 1922. I can not resist the belief that that date is too far in the future

for us to undertake to say what character of ships should be built at that time.

I do not wish to be understood as not being in favor of ample "preparedness." I am very decidedly in favor of "preparedness." However, my belief as to the extent to which we should be prepared is not in accord with the ideas of "preparedness" entertained by the shipbuilders and the manufacturers of munitions of war. I believe that the "preparedness" provided for in the House bill is ample. We must be prepared against any invasion which might come, but it is not necessary for us to be prepared to invade any other nation for the purpose of conquest, because the policy of this Nation is and should be against conquest. I am not in favor of having that kind of "preparedness" which would tempt any American to seek an invasion of the homes of any other nation for the purpose of conquest.

For the reasons which I have given I shall cast my vote against the Senate amendment, believing that the provisions of the House were even more than ample. Neither can I refrain from expressing the opinion that the Senate amendment looks more to the financial welfare of the shipbuilding and armor-plate companies than it does to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people of the United States.

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## Prosperity.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, what is prosperity? Webster answers: "Advance or gain in anything good or desirable." To keep out of war is good. Wilson has upheld our national honor on every side and has kept us from war. American honor is undimmed, untarnished, and unstained; the flag flies gloriously and America has the respect of all the world. All this without war, without a Belgian atrocity, without the bloody sacrifice of the Nation's men, without the tears of a nation's widows, without the wails of orphans, without the destruction of property, without the misery and woe that follow the strides of hellish war.

Next to the peace, safety, and happiness of the Nation comes commercial prosperity. This, too, has come in plenty under this Democratic administration. Its presence in every section of this broad land and in all of her diversified industries is apparent even to a Republican.

This Nation has risen under this Democratic administration out of the commercial depression that lingered from the Roosevelt money panic as if by magic and has taken on new life and vigor.

Our Republican friends, who, during the first Democratic Congress of this administration, took up valuable space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD trying to convince a waiting world that Democratic rule meant soup houses and ruin—even they have ceased from their labors.

As some evidence of the prosperity that this country is now enjoying, I call attention to the fact that our gold reserve has increased over $1,000,000,000, and that we now have gold, including a redemption fund, of $2,400,000,000, and that on July 1, 1916, the money in circulation was $432,902,929 more than it was one year ago, or an increase from $35.59 per capita to $39.23. It is estimated that the gold importations to this country up to this time for 1916 must exceed the enormous total of $300,000,000. To this must be added the tremendous wealth that has been piled up in our national and State banks. Nothing more plainly indicates the general prosperity of this country than the splendid condition of our banks. The Comptroller of the Currency informs us that in March, 1916, the resources of the national banks amounted to $13,838,000,000, which exceeds by $370,000,000, the greatest resources ever shown in the history of the National Banking System, and is an increase since March, 1915, of $2,271,000,000. To the above astonishing figures must be added those for the State banks.

The balance of trade in favor of this country is far in excess of any previous year in our history, and is greater than any other commercial nation ever enjoyed in any year.

The total exports of this country for the 12 months ending June 30, 1916, amounted to the enormous sum of $4,345,000,000, which was a gain of $1,576,000,000 over the previous year.

In order to show the full commercial activities of this country we must add to this tremendous export trade the sum of $45,000,000,000, which represents the value of the commerce between the States of the Union in a single year.

We are told by office-seeking Republicans that the prosperity of this country is dependent upon our trade in war material. The fallacy of this contention becomes apparent when we examine the report from the Department of Commerce. For this same period it is estimated that of all our total exports, only $478,000,000 was for ammunition and firearms. This is only about 11 per cent of our exports, less than 1 per cent of our total commerce, and less than 0.01⅞ per cent of our total manufactures.

As showing the healthy condition of our trade, I call attention to the fact that we sold about $345,000,000 worth of commodities to Canada last year, which was $35,000,000 in excess of the amount sold there the year before. This was mainly a healthy domestic trade with western Canada, unaffected by the inflation of war orders.

The increased exports to the South American countries is another indication of the healthy growth of our commerce. The Department of Commerce shows in a statement issued July 3, 1916, that the exports from the United States to South American countries alone during the past fiscal year amounted to approximately $175,000,000, which is the greatest export trade we have ever enjoyed with these countries. The exports for the preceding year were $99,000,000, showing a gain of about $76,000,000. Our total exports to the West Indies, Central and South American countries is estimated, for the last fiscal year, at $450,000,000.

The Washington Post, which is independent Republican in politics, on June 14, 1916, in its leading editorial said:

> The Post has frequently of late called attention to the fact that the prosperity of this country is not dependent to any great degree upon what are known as war orders, and that after the war ceases huge demands from the belligerent countries for other commodities will come to an extent which will fully make up the decline in exports of war materials.

After setting out the statistics of exports to the various countries and our imports from these countries, the editorial sums up as follows:

> Review of these statistics is most convincing of the continued prosperity of this country after the close of the European war.

This same paper on March 20, 1916, in another leading editorial starts out by saying:

> He is, indeed, a business man difficult to please who is not gratified by the constantly increasing volumes and values of our foreign and domestic commerce.

Pulitzer's Review, a Republican magazine, after reviewing the facts gathered by the Federal Reserve Board and also independent reports from widely separated districts, sums up from this data as follows:

> The facts and figures here presented do not indicate in any sense a business spurt or any movement of a sporadic nature. They show, on calm consideration, a wonderful but healthy growth, not confined to any section of the country, but widely dispersed and covering all fundamental industries.

The tremendous wealth that we are piling up in our Treasury and our banks, and the record-breaking volume of domestic and foreign commerce that is constantly reaching higher levels are but indicative of the prosperity of our mills, mines, and farms. These are the agencies that produce the commodities of our commerce.

I venture the assertion that there is not a manufacturing plant in this broad land equipped to make any staple article of commerce that is closed down, or even running on short time, for the lack of orders at remunerative prices.

If there was such a one I am sure our Republican friends, who are staking their chances to return to political control of this Nation upon the issue of vicious Democratic legislation which they argue will drive this country on the rocks of commercial ruin, would have already brought it forward and given it an airing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Its absence there is proof that it does not exist.

It is a matter of common knowledge that our manufacturers are enjoying the greatest era of prosperity that has ever been known to exist. It is estimated that the total output of the manufactories of the United States for the year 1916 will equal $30,000,000,000, and there is no branch of this great industry that we hear of or read of that is not operating at a good margin of profits.

We have always heard that the iron and steel business was a good barometer of general business conditions. Mr. Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, which

does not manufacture any munitions of war, in a statement on July 3, 1916, said that—

The steel business of the United States for domestic use and for export is better than ever in its history. Production is larger, profits are greater, and workmen are receiving higher wages. Unfilled orders of subsidiary companies of the corporation amount to nearly 10,000,000 tons. The corporation is producing at the rate of 51,000 tons a day.

The Manufacturers' Record of June 22, 1916, says:

The value of the output of the steel works and rolling mills of the United States, which was $919,527,244 in 1914, will this year, by virtue of an increase of nearly 100 per cent in output in iron and steel products, and a very large increase in value, probably run to $2,500,000,000.

The same condition exists among the manufacturers of cotton goods. The South to-day is the greatest cotton manufacturing center in this Nation. I have in my district in North Carolina more cotton mills than there are in any other district in the South. During the Roosevelt and Taft administrations these mills had a hard time. Much of the time they were unable to show any profits, and many of them, at times, were forced to close down for want of orders.

To-day there is not a mill that is sufficiently equipped for operation that is not working on full time and making large profits. Every old spindle and every old loom that can be worked into shape to produce a marketable product is added to the chorus of spindles and looms that are singing, all over my district and the South, of Democratic prosperity. The only limit to the prosperity of the cotton manufacturer is his ability to fill orders within a reasonable time.

The report from the Geological Survey of June 30, 1916, is equally encouraging to those engaged in the mining business. This report shows that the output of American mines for the first six months of this year established a new high record for production. Manganese, copper, lead, and zinc are being mined in unprecedented quantities. Ore shipments from the Lake Superior region for the first five months of 1916 were 83 per cent greater than those of the corresponding period of 1915. The same is true of the production of other minerals.

The Cranberry Iron Mines, in my district, has taken on new life under the Democratic administration. Wages have been increased and the mines are being worked to their full capacity. The output of these mines is selling for from $8 to $10 per ton more than at normal times in the past. A highly reputable citizen of the neighborhood writes—

that all the old dumps that were counted waste under each succeeding Republican administration ever since the mines have been in operation have been and are now being worked and taken up under the present administration of Woodrow Wilson, and I am informed by the foremen of the mines, who are Republicans, that said wastage is now paying good dividends.

Mica miners in my district are reaping a harvest. This same gentleman, writing of mica, says:

As to the mica industry, it was never so prosperous in the memory of man—mining on the most extensive scale ever known in the history of this country, and the highest prices obtained for mica ever known.

An editorial in a leading weekly paper in my district says that mica has been bringing better prices for the last two years than has ever been known since it was found to be useful, and that more men are at work for it to-day than ever in the history of mica.

How has the farmer of this Nation fared under this Democratic administration? We are more dependent upon the prosperity of the American farmer for the Nation's growth and development than upon the prosperity of any other industry. His prosperity reaches out to the millions of homes and gives contentment, happiness, and comfort to those engaged in feeding the world and in furnishing the raw materials for clothing the world. Not only the advancement but also the stability and continued existence of this Government is bound up in a contented and prosperous rural population. We have read of governments being overthrown and dominant political parties being turned out of office because of discontent resulting from hard times and scant rewards for labor, but we have never heard or read of such calamities resulting from prosperity which produces contentment and happiness.

We have read with some amusement how the Republican candidate for President has on his recent speaking tour through the West prescribed for the western farmers. He has been telling them that they should vote for a party that would pass a protective-tariff law and thereby insure their continued prosperity. We note that he is not offering his remedy to produce prosperity, for he recognizes the fact that it exists to-day all over this country; but he is offering this remedy against some calamity that he prophesies will overtake this country at some indefinite future time if the country does not elect him and adopt Republican policies.

Is it not unreasonable to expect a grateful people to condemn the party in power under which it has been so prosperous? It is not usual to pour medicine into a healthy man or radically change the treatment when the patient is doing well. The sensible thing to do under such circumstances is to continue the treatment that had proven successful. The farmers of this Nation have enjoyed the most prosperous times they have ever known under this Democratic administration.

The following paragraph is taken from the New York World, under the caption "Off-color calamity":

We have had many calamity campaigns in this country, conducted first by one party and then by the other, but this is positively the first in which the calamity referred to is all out of sight, somewhere around the corner, away off in the dim future. It will be interesting to observe what effect this malicious animal magnetism has upon a great people, who never before were so prosperous.

During this administration our farms have yielded abundant crops, which have sold at unprecedented prices. According to the figures given out by the Manufacturers' Record the gain in the value of all farm crops in the United States for 1915 was in excess of those for 1914 by $526,070,000. Of this gain $317,209,000, or a little more than 60 per cent, was in the South.

Of all our industries the cotton farmer has suffered most from the European war. He has been completely cut off from the great manufacturing districts in central Europe. In spite of this great loss of markets, which has held back the price from what it would have been, cotton has maintained a higher price for the last three years than for any other three years since the close of the Civil War. It is now selling on the spot markets of the South at 15 cents per pound.

Wheat is not the product of any one section of this country. It is claimed for wheat that it is grown in every country and in every climate on the globe. No other cereal is so widely distributed over the face of the earth as is wheat. It is harvested every day of the year somewhere and the song of the reaper is perpetual. While the wheat grower of the Middle West is sitting by his January fire, his wheat fields blanketed in knee-deep snow, the South American wheat grower is sweltering in the harvest fields. This great world product and necessity of life is to-day selling on the market around $1.50 per bushel. The average price for wheat, too, has made a high record during the last three years.

It is unnecessary to attempt to enumerate the different products and show how each has sold for record-breaking prices. This could be done with corn, oats, hay, beef cattle, stock, and all the other products that come from the farm that go to sustain life.

I can not pass from the list of farm products without a special mention of wool. The effect of the Democratic tariff on sheep raisers caused so many prophecies of dire calamity by our Republican friends that I must take this opportunity to allay their apprehensions by reading from a statement on the "High price of wool" by the Department of Agriculture, given out on July 13, 1916, as follows:

Unusually high prices prevail for wool. The average price paid to producers of the United States for unwashed wool during June was 28.7 cents per pound, which compares with 23.7 cents, 18.4 cents, 15.6 cents, 18.7 cents, 15.5 cents, respectively, in June of the past six years. These estimates are based upon reports of crop correspondents of the Bureau of Crop Estimates.

With every branch of commercial industry strained to meet the unprecedented demand for commodities at ever-increasing profits it is needless to say that the wage earner has come in for his share of prosperity.

The Washington Times, a Republican newspaper in this city, which has never been accused of friendship for this administration, on April 29, 1916, gives a tabulated list of 33 leading industries in this country, showing the number of men employed and the increased monthly pay roll effective May 1. This list totals 706,500 men and shows the total increase in monthly pay roll of $5,368,872, or a yearly increase of $64,426,464. The New York correspondent of this paper has the following to say as to the situation:

May day will usher in an unprecedented labor situation in the United States.

The day formerly marked in Europe by labor disturbances will dawn in the United States with the American laboring man taking his dinner pail and hustling off to his work, knowing that from that time on he will draw down a daily increase of $204,616 in wages.

The increase in the wages paid to the men employed by these 33 companies is no exception. The wages paid the workingmen in all the other enterprises in this country have likewise been increased. Every department of industry is employing record-breaking numbers of operatives and caring for record-breaking amounts in pay rolls.

The present prosperity of the United States rests upon safe and sure foundations. Those Republican calamity howlers who predict that our great prosperity can not last, and that we will

meet an awful fate unless a Republican President and a Republican Congress is elected are taking counsel from their experiences under past Republican administrations and losing sight of the steadying influence of the wise and just laws which have been enacted by this Democratic administration, and of equally wise and just laws which, if they are continued in power, they will enact to meet the commercial needs of this country as each new emergency arises.

If we were still operating under the cramped and inflexible currency system which was given to us by the Republican Party, I admit there would be some danger of a collapse. These laws, which were more useful to crush than to build up the commerce of the country, have been shattered, and we have a new currency system, bearing a Democratic brand, safe enough to insure its stability and flexible enough to meet the needs of the country. Under it the country may grow without restriction to the full limit of healthful and legitimate expansion.

This wise Democratic legislation has won the approval of Republicans since its beneficial results have been seen. This feeling of confidence is shared by the business world, as shown by the stability of markets. There is nothing now on the commercial horizon to indicate disaster, and the Republican prophesy of calamity seems born out of a desire for office.

Mr. William B. Ridley, a former Republican Comptroller of the Currency, in an interview adds his testimony to the value of the Democratic currency law in the following language:

Of almost equal importance is the improvement in our financial system, due to the establishment of the Federal reserve bank, which gives us the machinery and organization for utilizing credits and such a mobilization of our reserve money as to make impossible any such sudden derangement of our financial matters as we have frequently seen in the past. It was extremely fortunate that this reform in our financial machinery was in operation soon enough to be of assistance during the crisis brought on by the war.

Another piece of constructive Democratic legislation which is especially for the benefit of the American farmer is the rural-credits law. The organization of the farm-loan banks will make him independent of the money centers and relieve him from the oppression of the loan sharks who have too often oppressed him in the past. This law, when it gets in active operation, is expected to do for our farmers what the reserve banks are now doing for the commercial world.

In spite of the great prosperity which they are now enjoying the owners of those industries that received unjust advantage under the high protective tariff laws enacted by the Republican Party are clamoring for the defeat of the Democratic candidates and for Republican victory in order that they may again have this unjust advantage. Any candidate that they support will be expected to give them this reward in return. The Democratic tariff law reduced the tariff in the interest of the great masses of our citizens, and by the income tax we are forcing the rich of the country to contribute out of their incomes toward the support of the Government, a burden that they have heretofore not borne their just share of.

With such a wonderful record of achievements and such wonderful prosperity all about us, thoughtful men of this Nation will ask themselves the question, "Why make a change?"

## Aviation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, September 2, 1916.*

Mr HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday of this present week the Harlem Board of Commerce in my congressional district gave a luncheon to celebrate the inauguration of the first flying yacht club in America, which was attended by more than 600 people, several of whom arrived from distant points in neighboring States in hydroplanes. It was impossible for me to attend and participate in this notable event because of the impending consideration of the railroad strike legislation; but it was particularly gratifying to find such animated appreciation of the importance of this movement among the people whom I represent, and I am sure I did not mistake their very evident interest in the subject of aviation when I introduced and advocated the $14,000,000 addition to the Army appropriation bill for aviation.

Now comes an announcement from the Postmaster General demonstrating the commercial and economic value of the aeroplane as a carrier of the mails.

Some time since the Post Office Department advertised for bids for providing a more frequent and efficient mail service in Alaska, and I herewith submit a statement issued by Assistant Postmaster General Praeger:

ALASKA, ROUTE NO. 678012.

From Seward by Knit, Susitna, McGrath, Tokotna, and Flat to Iditarod.

Frequency, twice a week all the year; weight limit, 1,000 pounds.

The only bid received May 12, 1916, in response to the aeroplane advertisement of February 12, 1916, was the following bid for route 678013, Seward to Iditarod:

Earl L. Byers, $49,500. No bond.

That bid is at the rate of 62.6 cents a mile and 23.5 cents a pound on the basis of the full weight limit being carried both ways every trip.

The rate for the present winter service (November 1 to April 30) on the Seward-Iditarod route is $22,865 for the period of each year, 82.1 cents a mile and 92.5 a pound. The length of the aeroplane route, however, is stated as 380 miles (air line), whereas the star route between the same points by trail is 526 miles.

Were the aeroplane route established, it is estimated that the present service could be changed as follows:

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|---|---|
| *Reductions.* | |
| Seward Iditarod route (discontinue) | $22,865 |
| Cordova to Fairbanks route (reduce) | 30,651 |
| Fairbanks to Tanana route (reduce) | 9,250 |
| Tanana to St. Michael route (discontinue) | 35,000 |
| Holy Cross to Iditarod route (discontinue) | 6,715 |
| Tanana to Unalakleet route (omit) | 1,200 |
| Susitna to Knit route (discontinue) | 465 |
| Ophir to McGrath route (discontinue) | 320 |
| Total saving | 106,466 |
| *Increases.* | |
| Seward to Iditarod (aeroplane) | $49,000 |
| Iditarod by Kaltag to Nulato | 12,880 |
| Kaltag by Unalakleet to St. Michael | 7,200 |
| Tanana to Ruby | 2,048 |
| Ruby to Yukokakat | 280 |
| Total increases | 71,908 |
| Reductions | 106,466 |
| Increases | 71,908 |
| Net saving to the department | 34,558 |

The time of transit of mail in winter from Cordova by Fairbanks to Nome is approximately 30 days.

The time from Seward by Iditarod (aeroplane) and Kaltag to Nome would be about 18 days.

## Statement of Thomas A. Edison, Announcing His Support of President Woodrow Wilson.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. EZEKIEL S. CANDLER,
OF MISSISSIPPI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. CANDLER of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me by the unanimous consent of the House of Representatives I publish in the RECORD the statement of Thomas A. Edison, the great inventor, although a lifelong Republican, announcing his support of President Woodrow Wilson and giving in a concise and pointed way his reasons therefor. This article was called to my attention by Mr. Migue Oliver, a laboring man, who, like many other laborers in the United States, is in his humble way supporting the President because of the great service he has rendered the country, and especially for the reason that he is the sincere friend of the laboring man. Mr. Oliver, like many others, appreciates the fact that while the President is the friend of labor and those who toil, and fair to them, he is also fair to every calling, avocation, trade, and business in the United States, whether it be great or small, and that the President is a great American, who treats everybody justly, and is the friend of humanity, rich and poor, and believes in equal and exact justice to one and all. Mr. Edison's statement, which is published in the New York Times, Monday, September 4, 1916, is as follows:

EDISON FOR WILSON—NOT AN UNTRIED MAN—SAYS PRESIDENT HAS GIVEN US PEACE WITH HONOR AND HAS EARNED TRUST—SHOWS OPENNESS OF MIND—SPEECHES PROVE HUGHES'S CAPACITY FOR HINDSIGHT IS HIGHLY DEVELOPED, INVENTOR DECLARES.

Thomas A. Edison, although a lifelong Republican and a supporter of Col. Roosevelt for the Republican presidential nomination, announced yesterday through the Democratic national campaign committee that he intends to vote and work for the reelection of President Wilson. Mr. Edison said:

"Not since 1860 has any campaign made such a direct call on simon-pure Americanism. The times are too serious to talk or think in terms of Republicanism or Democracy. Real Americans must drop parties and get down to big fundamental principles.

"More than any other President in my memory Wilson has been faced by a succession of tremendous problems, any one of which, decided the wrong way, would have had disastrous consequences. Wilson's decisions so far have not got us into any serious trouble, nor are they likely to.

"He has given us peace with honor. The talk about the United States being despised is nonsense. Neutrality is a mighty trying policy, but back of it are international law, the rights of humanity, and the future of civilization.

"With reference to Mexico, I think the President has acted wisely, justly, and courageously. It was right that the United States should not have recognized such a murderous personality as Huerta. I do not believe that we should have intervened, nor do I believe that we should intervene now. Mexico is a troublesome neighbor just now, but war and conquest are not going to make her a better one. Both against England and against human slavery the United States worked out its salvation through revolution, and it was a pretty slow, trying process.

"It has been said that Wilson at first was against preparedness. Perhaps he was, but when convinced that intelligent public opinion was overwhelmingly in favor of it, he changed. That is the proper thing for our President to do. A President defiant of public opinion would be a dangerous man in our system of government.

"His attitude on the tariff shows an equal openness of mind. A tariff commission will take the whole problem out of politics. It is my hope that experts will be named, and that the body will be continuing and vested almost with the dignity of the Supreme Court.

"They say he has blundered. Perhaps he has. But I notice that he usually blunders forward. You can't get 100 per cent efficiency in a democracy. I don't know that we ought to want it. We would be machines, and we would have to sacrifice too much of freedom.

"As I said at the start, it has been just one big thing after another with Wilson. I have never known so many dangerous questions brought up for decision to any one President. Now he has the general strike of the skilled railway men, which, if carried out, will throw the whole country into confusion, and prove a calamity that, in certain eventualities, will have results bound to extend over a long period of time. He is acting with his usual courage and sanity.

"In my opinion, Mr. Hughes, if President, would find it difficult to decide on the best course for the Government to take in this strike. His capacity for hindsight, as we learn from his speeches, is highly developed, but as to his foresight, we are not equally well informed.

"Mr. Wilson has now had about four years of experience, and he has earned faith and trust. I do not think it a logical or sensible thing to change to an unexperienced and untried man just for the sake of change, or without much better reasons being given for the change than I have noticed.

"Roosevelt was my choice. He has had experience, and is one of the best of Americans, but the machine-controlled Republican Party would not have him. Therefore I am for Woodrow Wilson."

Mr. Edison is on a camping trip with Henry Ford and John Burroughs, the naturalist, and he sent his statement from Saratoga.

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## John Ericsson.

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# SPEECH

OF

# HON. HALVOR STEENERSON,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, August 7, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5) for erecting a suitable memorial to John Ericsson.

Mr. STEENERSON. Mr. Speaker, I did not know until this moment that there would be an opportunity to speak in support of this bill. John Ericsson was not only great in his profession, but he was a pioneer in science. He blazed the way patiently and laboriously where no one had gone before. He was born in an obscure mountain district of Sweden in 1803 and died in New York in 1889. He emigrated at an early day to England, and after having made important inventions and discoveries there came to the United States in 1839.

While in England he competed with Stephenson as the inventor of the locomotive. He invented the first fire engine. He is known to fame especially because he was the inventor and builder of the *Monitor* and because of his connection with the first successful application of the screw propeller in navigation. The British Admiralty and naval engineers did not become interested in Ericsson's work, but his ideas were appreciated by the American consul at Liverpool—Mr. F. B. Ogden—and he placed at his disposal funds to construct a small ocean steamer, which was subsequently sent across the Atlantic. Mr. Ogden and Capt. Tobert Stockton, United States Navy, induced him to come to the United States, and he arrived in New York in 1839, and two years later was employed in constructing the U. S. S. *Princeton*, which was the first steam warship to have its machinery below the water line and to use the screw propeller. He soon became known for the great number and novelty of his inventions, such as artificial draft for steam boilers which does away with smokestacks and saves fuel, the caloric engine, the sliding telescope, machinery to check the recoil of naval guns, torpedo-boat destroyers, and apparatus for deep-sea sounding. In the later years of his life he perfected a solar engine, fuel heat for which is obtained from the sun, and made valuable studies of solar physics. After his death, at the request of the Swedish Government, his remains were sent on an American warship to be interred in Sweden.

The Secretary of the Navy on that occasion, among other things, said: "Of the innumerable applications of mechanical art that are the fruit of his genius, many so long ago passed into general use that they have ceased to be associated popularly with his name; but his achievements in the field of naval science will remain forever a monument to his memory. To the United States Navy he gave the first *Monitor*, and in her he gave to all the navies of the world the germ of the modern battleship." On the same occasion Mr. George H. Robinson said: "We send him back crowned with honor; proud of the life of 50 years he devoted to this Nation, and with gratitude for the gifts he gave to us. Was he a dreamer? Yes. He dreamed of the practical application of screw propulsion, and the commerce of the world was revolutionized. He dreamed of making naval warfare more terrible, and the *Monitor* was built. After one trial, at a most critical period of this Nation's history, where were the navies of the world? The London Times said: 'England has no navy.' Again he dreamed, and the *Destroyer*, with its submarine gun, was born. He dreamed of hot air, and behold 10,000 caloric engines. He dreamed of the sun's rays in sandy deserts, where water was hard to get, and the solar engine came; and so he dreamed and worked for 70 years. He bore the strain of unremitting toil, and at the end his last words were: 'This is rest.' Well earned, benefactor of the world!" Admiral Schley, in accepting the charge, said: "Ericsson's genius created a new instrument of war, and it is not too much to say the latest modern battleships are but modifications in one form or another of his original idea as perfected in the little *Monitor*." He was a strong sympathizer with the Union cause, and in designing the first *Monitor* he remarked: "The ironclad intruder will thus prove a severe monitor to those leaders (of the southern rebellion). On these and similar grounds I propose to name this new battery *Monitor*."

The *Monitor* was launched January 30, 1862, 100 days after the laying of the keel, and she fought the *Merrimac* on March 9, 1862. Before the end of 1864 Ericsson had designed and built of this type 12 additional ships.

Ericsson believed that the art of war was in its infancy, and that when perfected man would be forced to live in peace with man. "This glorious result has been the dream of my life, and will unquestionably be attained before the end of the century," he said. On another occasion he remarked that his motto was: "The liberty of the seas will be the happiness of the earth." He added, "My only object is that of seeing the sea declared by all nations as sacred, neutral ground. It is the highway of mankind." "His sympathies were always against the powers disposed to infringe upon the liberties of others, and his brains always at the service of those whose attitude was that of defense against them." (Church, vol. 2, p. 157.)

It may be said of Ericsson that he found the American Navy of wood, propelled by sail and paddle wheels, exposed to hostile shots; that he left it with machinery under the water line, moved by screw propellers, and ironclad. He found it vulnerable, and left it invincible.

It is characteristic of the people of Sweden to be independent, daring, and brave, and these qualities are requisite in the pioneer, whether in the paths of science or in other walks of life. There are a great many of the countrymen of John Ericsson in my district and in my State. They came there as pioneers, nearly all of them, with small means, and they have helped to lay the foundations of one of the greatest commonwealths of the Union. They have contributed their full share toward its civilization, and its upbuilding upon enlightened principles of freedom and liberty. I think this quality of mind and character that makes a successful pioneer is one of the most admirable qualities in a human soul. [Applause.] It is well, therefore, for the people of the United States to build this monument, not only because we owe a great debt of gratitude to John Ericsson as the inventor of the *Monitor*, which rendered such signal service to the cause of the Union in the Civil War, but as commemorating and holding up to admiration those characteristics of mind and soul which make the pioneer, to whom the young should look up with emulation.

Recognition of his genius and services to mankind is growing as the years roll by, and this monument will but symbolize the love the American people cherish for the memory of a great man. [Applause.]

## The Ownership of the Railroads.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WARREN WORTH BAILEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the irrepressible conflict between the rights and liberties of the people and the arrogance and greed of the railroad cormorants is reaching a critical stage. The recently averted strike has forcibly demonstrated the danger and folly of intrusting to individuals the control and management of enterprises that are completely monopolistic.

The idea, assiduously inculcated by the privileged classes, that railroads are the private property of the stockholders is as preposterous as it is pernicious.

Railroads are public and not private property; the fact that they are managed as if they were private property does not alter their character.

A railroad is a public highway and its managers are public agents or State officials. It is impossible to regard them in any other light or conceive any other relation. A railroad that is not managed by public agents is not a public highway. The State could not exercise its right of eminent domain if a railroad were private property. To take the property of one person and bestow it upon another, even with just compensation, would be such an arbitrary exercise of the sovereign power that no State constitution would tolerate it.

Mr. Speaker, Judge Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, one of the ablest jurists this country has produced, clearly defined the legal relations existing between the State and the persons whom she authorizes to manage her highways, in an opinion rendered in the case of the Erie & N. E. R. R. *v.* Casey (2 Casey, pp. 307-324). The opinion of this great judge and fundamental Democrat is here given in full:

JUDGE BLACK'S DECISION.

The authority given by the act of assembly of October, 1855, to the defendant to take possession of the railroad is asserted by the plaintiff's counsel to be an act of confiscation—a taking of private property for public use without compensation. If this be true, the injunction ought to be awarded, for no legislature can do such a thing under our Constitution. When a corporation is dissolved by a repeal of its charter, the legislature may appoint or authorize the governor to appoint a person to take charge of its assets for the benefit of its creditors and its stockholders; and this is not confiscation any more than it is confiscation to appoint an administrator to a dead man or a committee for a lunatic. But money or goods or lands which are or were the private property of a defunct corporation can not be arbitrarily seized for the use of the State without compensation paid or provided.

This act, however, takes nothing but the road. Is that private property? Certainly not. It is a public highway solemnly devoted by law to the public use. When the lands are taken to build it on they are taken for public use; otherwise they could not have been taken at all. It is true the plaintiffs had a right to take tolls from all who traveled or carried freight upon it, according to certain rates fixed in the charter, but that was a mere franchise, a privilege derived entirely from the charter; and it was gone when the charter was repealed.

The State may grant a corporation or an individual the franchise of taking tolls on any highway, open or to be opened, whether it be a railroad or river, canal or bridge, turnpike or common road. When the franchise ceases by its own limitation, by forfeiture or repeal, the highway is thrown back on the hands of the State and it becomes her duty as a sovereign guardian of the public interests to take care of it. She may renew the franchise, give it to some other person, exercise it herself, or declare the highway open and free to all the people. If the railway itself was the private property of the stockholders, then it remains theirs, and they may use it without a charter, as other people use their own—run it on their own account—charge what tolls they please—close or open it when they choose proper—disregard every interest except their own. The repeal of charters on such terms would be courted by every railroad company in the State, for it would have no effect but to emancipate them from the control of the law and convert their limited privileges into a broad unbounded license.

On this principle a corporation might be rewarded, but never punished for misconduct. Repeal of its charter instead of bringing it to a shameful end would put "length of days into its right hand, and in the left riches and honor." But it is not so. Railroads made by the authority of the Commonwealth upon the land taken by her right of eminent domain and established by her laws as thoroughfares for the commerce that passes through her borders are her highways. No corporation has any property in them, though corporations may have franchises annexed to and exercisable with them.

Such a franchise the plaintiffs had, but they have it no longer. The right to take tolls on a road is an incorporeal hereditament which may be granted to a corporation or to an individual, but the grantee has an estate in the franchise.

But what estate? The estate endures forever if the franchise is perpetual; for years if it be given for a limited period; and at will if it be repealable at the pleasure of the legislature. This corporation, after its privileges are abused, had an estate at will, and the Commonwealth chose to demand repossession. That terminated the estate as completely as an estate for years would be terminated after the expiration of the term. The grant was exhausted, the corporation had lived its time out. Its lease of life was expressly limited at the day of its creation to the period when the legislature should dissolve it for misconduct. When the legislative will had spoken the hour had come. Having no right to keep the franchise any longer, it would be absurd to claim compensation for taking it away. To say that the stockholders have a right to compensation for the franchises is to say the charter could not be repealed at all, with or without compensation. If they had no right to retain them, they have no claim to compensation.

A brief recapitulation of the main points in the case may serve to make the grounds of judgment somewhat plainer.

1. The charter was granted with a reservation of the right to repeal it if the franchise should be abused or misused.
2. We are satisfied that, in point of fact, those franchises were abused and misused.
3. After that event happened the general assembly was invested with the full power to repeal the charter, and the corporation held their franchises from the State merely as tenants at will, in the same manner as if there had been an unconditional reservation of the right to repeal.
4. After the interest of the corporation had been cut down by their own misconduct to an estate at will the legislature can only enlarge the charter, so as to give it a perpetual grant, or put the corporation on another term of probation.
5. The judicial proceedings against the corporation did not and could not disarm the legislature of its reserved right to repeal, or enlarge the estate of the corporation in its franchises, nor change the terms of the original grant, for these are things which the judiciary can not do, nor the executive, either.
6. The power of the legislature is not restricted by the rules of pleading and evidence which the courts have adopted; and therefore the State may act in the legislature upon a truth which she would have been estopped to show the court had not the legislature interfered.
7. The power to repeal for abuse of corporate privileges is a different right from that of demanding a judicial sentence of forfeiture.
8. The charter being constitutionally repealed, the franchises are as a necessary consequence resumed to the State; and the road remains where it always was—public property.
9. The corporators can not be entitled to compensation, for they had no property in the road; and after their default they held the corporate franchises at the will of the legislature, and the exertion of that will in the resumption of the franchises did them no injury but what they agreed to submit to.

The injunction which the plaintiffs have moved for is refused.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the doctrines above laid down by the distinguished Pennsylvanian have never yet been called into serious question. The railroads are public highways. Those who operate them merely possess a franchise under which they are permitted to exercise control and to charge for carrying passengers and goods. They have no property in the highways themselves, and if they shall forfeit the franchises they have been granted by misconduct or failure on any account to render the service they undertook to perform, it is within the province and it is the duty of the people to recover their own, and that without compensation to the holders of the franchises. It is obviously absurd to say that men should be compensated for a failure to perform a service which they bound themselves to render.

JUSTICE GAYNOR CONFIRMS JUSTICE BLACK.

The late Justice Gaynor when on the appellate bench of New York rendered a decision in the Brooklyn Rapid Transit case practically along the lines laid down by Justice Black in the case above cited. In issuing a writ enjoining the transit company Justice Gaynor laid down the principle that the corporation could be excused only by an act of God from the performance of the public service it had undertaken to render and for the doing of which it had obtained its charter and franchises. These it was plainly forfeiting when it failed to render public service by reason of a quarrel with its employees over working conditions and rates of pay. No such quarrel could absolve it from its obligations to the public. It was bound either to render the service required by its charter or it was to forfeit that charter and its franchises, these reverting to the public from which they were derived.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that these principles should be kept clearly in mind in connection with any effort on the part of the American people, through Congress or legislatures, to deal with the serious problem of the railroads. We were face to face only a few days ago with a great industrial war. There was and there still is a quarrel between the railroads and their men. For the moment only this quarrel has been composed by the adoption of an eight-hour law, but everyone clearly understands that this composition is only temporary. The real issue remains unsettled. At any instant the quarrel may break out afresh and the public may again be brought face to face with a danger which in some aspects is more terrible than that of foreign invasion.

How shall we go about dealing with this momentous issue? It should be remembered that the issue does not concern the railroads and their help alone. It concerns the great body of the people—farmers, mill workers, miners, merchants, professional men, manufacturers, the entire community. We are bound to think of the larger interest involved, and surely that larger interest rests with the masses who are neither owners of railway stocks and bonds nor engaged in railway work.

But railroad owners and railroad workers do not agree regarding conditions and terms of employment. They are widely at variance concerning their respective rights. They are threatening to suspend the performance of their duties while they fight out their differences, leaving the great public meanwhile to look on and suffer, as indeed it must.

Is it not easy to apply the principles laid down by Justice Black to a situation such as this? Are not the rights of the public paramount to those of the holders of railway stocks and bonds? Can they set these securities up against the claims of the public to service? Is it for a moment to be thought of that the public shall stand aside while the railroad owners and the railroad operatives engage in a bitter altercation which may plunge the whole Nation into desperate want and unthinkable turmoil and trouble?

THE FUTILITY OF FORCE.

The railroads are demanding compulsory arbitration; their employees are denouncing this as involuntary servitude. It is not my purpose to inquire into this. What I hope to do is to throw a little light on the real problem and I hope on the real solution. But one thing I want to say in passing. An army which cuts itself off from its base of supplies is a defeated army at the very start, and the industrial army which resorts to the cessation of work in an effort to enforce its demands does this very thing. Its base of supplies is its employment, its wages, its weekly or monthly pay. It may have a considerable reserve supply; its war chest may be well filled; but just the same it must of necessity grow weaker and more vulnerable every moment after it cuts itself off from its base. The very stars in their courses fight against an army so situated. And so, while always the friend and champion of labor, always concerned for its welfare, always devoted to causes which I have believed to be such as to promote labor's independence, it has never seemed to me prudent for labor to resort to force. It has been a rather doubtful reliance. I have felt that had labor employed a thousandth part of the energy and the resources to the work of liberation that it has devoted to the exercise of main strength in the settlement of industrial disputes, there would be little occasion at this moment for Congress or the country to be worrying about what the near future may bring forth as a result of frictions and misunderstandings between the railroads and their employees. Occasions for friction and misunderstanding would long since have been effectually forestalled.

PUBLIC RIGHTS ARE PARAMOUNT.

Justice Black lays it down as a fundamental principle that the railroad is a public highway. The rights of the public in it are paramount. It may grant for a period or at will the privilege to corporations or individuals of collecting tolls thereon, but it remains nevertheless a public highway, and the rights of the public therein may be asserted at any time when the public interest demands. Let us keep this thought clearly in view, and let us apply it fearlessly to the problem calling for solution.

Personally I do not look with entire favor on public ownership and operation of railroads. I think it far better than the system we now have. But a better system, as I conceive it, is one which would maintain the railroads much as the rivers and the common roads are now maintained. No one would think of turning over a river or a canal or a common road to an individual or a corporation for its exclusive use and enjoyment, yet we turn over the iron highway precisely so. We give to an individual or a corporation the exclusive right to the control of the shortest and best line between two given points—between New York and Chicago, between St. Paul and Portland, between St. Louis and Los Angeles, between Kansas City and Denver, between Washington and New Orleans.

In the case of a river, a canal, or a common road we throw it open to all comers on equal terms. Anyone may operate as a carrier upon, through, or over it merely by complying with the regulations prescribed by the public. It is thus retained at all times and under all circumstances as a public convenience; it never becomes the instrument of private greed or of corporate ambition.

We know this is not true of the iron highway. That is monopolized; it is under private control; it renders service to the public only when and how those controlling it choose. It may be turned at any moment into an instrument of extortion; into an engine of oppression; into a huge club to be held over the head of commerce and industry; into a cunning device for controlling the lives and fortunes of millions of men and women dependent upon it for daily bread.

Why should this sort of highway be treated differently from all other highways? Why should it be turned over to individuals or corporations? Why not put it on an even keel with the river, the canal, and the common road? Why not permit anyone who chooses to operate over it as freely as the individual or the corporation may now operate on, through, or over the river, the canal, and the common road?

BOTH PRACTICAL AND SIMPLE.

Is this impracticable? Not at all. It is not more so than the common use of the common road, the river, and the canal. Of course, proper regulation of traffic would have to be provided. But there would be no difficulty in that. Nothing could be simpler. There are many iron highways to-day over which more than one set of trains are operated without confusion. It should be as easy for the public to provide regulations for the joint use of the iron highway as it has been to provide regulations for the joint use of the river, the canal, and the common road.

And this, Mr. Speaker, seems to me the real solution of the problem which is to-day perhaps the gravest lying before the American people. The plan I suggest would make competition as free on the iron highway as it is at this moment on the river, the canal, and the common road. It would avoid the danger of a great body of public servants which has haunted the dreams of so many opponents of public ownership. And it would make transportation rather than stock jobbing the real business of the railroad man. He would cease watching the ticker and turn his attention to securing freight and passengers. He would become a public servant in the highest and best sense instead of a public taskmaster. He would take his rightful place in society as a contributor to its development and upbuilding rather than as a collector of tribute and, as too often happens, a conspirator against the public rights. And I very earnestly hope that the American people may have the wisdom to make this possible through the assertion of their rights to free and open highways of every character.

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**Is Congress a Coordinate Branch of the Government?—Republican Independence v. Democratic Subserviency.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JULIUS KAHN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, commentators on the Constitution of the United States have frequently called attention to its wonderful system of checks and balances. The framers of that immortal document devised a scheme of government embracing three coordinate branches—legislative, executive, and judicial.

It was intended that each should perform its special functions without interference from either of the other branches. It was hoped that each would be entirely independent of the others and, being independent, each would act according to its best judgment. Pressure was not to be brought by any one branch upon a coordinate branch.

But in very recent years under the present Democratic administration the Executive has entirely subordinated the legislative branch, and the latter has become the mere mouthpiece of the former. The Executive takes snuff and the legislators sneeze. The Executive expresses a wish and the legislators scurry to enact it into law. Individual opinion of the legislators in these days is made entirely subservient to the will of the Executive. Oh, what a change has come over the Congress in recent years.

Mr. Speaker, I have served as a Member of the House of Representatives practically eight terms. During six of these the Republicans controlled the Government in the executive and legislative branches. Somehow or other Congress was differently constituted in those days. I recall how President McKinley sent a message to Congress during my first term of service, in which he stated that it was our plain duty to grant free trade to the island of Porto Rico.

The Republican majority in the House was very small. As I now recall, the Republicans had but 6 votes to spare—and yet they had the courage to express their own views, which were in opposition to those of the Executive. They felt that for the time being free trade with Porto Rico might embarrass the tobacco and sugar industries of this country, and had the courage to vote against the desire of the President of the United States. Judging by more recent events, if the present Chief Executive had expressed such a desire the present Democratic

majority would have fallen over each other in their haste to obey the Executive's will.

During the administration of President Roosevelt the Executive had numerous tilts with Republican Congresses. The Members of the Senate and House on many occasions manifested their independence of the Executive, and convinced the country they were, in fact and in deed, a separate and coordinate branch of the Government. They had the courage of their convictions, and they did not fear to express those convictions even though they might incur the displeasure of the Executive by so doing.

In fact, in one of his annual messages, the President took occasion to scold Congress for having refused some special appropriations which he had requested. The House thereupon appointed a select committee which called upon the Executive to make good his charges against certain members of the Appropriations Committee. He failed to do so—and the House promptly struck the offending language from his annual message. Imagine our Democratic friends doing such a thing to the present Chief Executive.

Take the administration of Mr. Taft. He urged strongly the passage of a Canadian reciprocity bill. He used all the powerful influence of his great office to get the Republican Members of Congress to stand with him on this proposition. A majority, however, using their own judgment and acting as their consciences dictated, refused to sanction the legislation. They gave additional evidence to the country that a Republican Congress could still be independent of the Executive and maintain its entity as a coordinate branch of the Government.

None of these Republican Executives ever went so far as to go to the Capitol, send for Members, and bring personal pressure to bear upon them to induce them to vote for the Executive's recommendations. I do not recall a single instance in our country's past history when the Executive used such means to secure the passage of the legislation he advocated.

It is time for Congress to take note of these things. It is time for the country to take heed. The continuance of such a course by future Executives, and the continued subserviency of future Congresses to the Executive will, will undermine our institutions and destroy our Government.

## The Texas Situation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the country is still very much interested in the recent primary election in Texas. While Maine has attracted the orators of both political parties and is usually regarded as a weather vane showing the way the political wind blows, Texas looms up in the present campaign as a fair indicator. The pleasant little controversies some of us have had in the House on several occasions recently have contributed much to our general information on this subject. A year ago, for instance, no Republican would have dreamed of a vote of 102,000 for an anti-Wilson senatorial candidate in Texas, and yet former Gov. Colquitt, who claimed that President Wilson was not treating Texas fairly, notwithstanding that Attorney General Gregory and Postmaster General Burleson both hailed from that State, succeeded in polling that enormous vote. Gov. Colquitt, himself a Democrat, succeeding in polling that vote notwithstanding he had boldly and openly proclaimed the Wilson administration "the greatest failure in history."

IS WILSON LOSING TEXAS SUPPORT?

Some good Democrats from Texas, chagrined at the size of the Colquitt vote and perturbed over the defeat for renomination of many of the Wilson-Burleson Members of the House, have endeavored to explain the situation with a view of proving that Texas is not drifting from her Democratic moorings. They point to the recent combination of anti-Colquitt candidates in favor of CULBERSON, whose nomination was thus made sure, but even that does not clarify the situation. One of my Texas correspondents further adds to the mystery about the Texas upheaval. He thinks the Texas voter is not well pleased with the administration, and reasons thusly:

There are 700,000 qualified voters in Texas. CULBERSON received only 155,000 votes. This is Wilson's full strength in the State, and is 70,000 less than he received in 1912. All the professional politicians, the has-beens and the hopes-to-be, their kinsfolk and friends, are back of the CULBERSON vote. No consistent Texan can vote for Wilson's maladministration in Mexico.

Thus we are given a glimpse of one of the causes of dissatisfaction in Texas. The President's Mexican policy has made him enemies. The people of Texas are right along the border and, of course, they understand what they are talking about.

THE EIGHT-HOUR INTERFERENCE RESENTED.

Another source of trouble down there results from the President's eight-hour day propaganda. Eight hours on the farm or in the cotton field would be a difficult problem for the industrious people of Texas. Witness the statement of Col. H. N. Pope, president of the Texas Farmers' Union, issued from Fort Worth, Tex., yesterday. I commend it to those who have been studying the Texas attitude toward President Wilson's administration:

[From the Washington Herald.]

TEXAS FARMERS' UNION SCORES STRIKE ACTION—PICTURE CONGRESS AS IN FEAR AND TREMBLING BEFORE TRAINMEN.

FORT WORTH, TEX., *September 3.*

H. N. Pope, president of the Texas Farmers' Union, has given out the following statement commenting on the eight-hour law passed by Congress Saturday:

"The people of this Nation have during the past week passed through the most humiliating experience this Government has ever endured. A few labor-union leaders have stood at the portals of Congress demanding that Government give them a ransom or they would wreck society.

"This Nation, instead of meeting the situation bravely, has delivered the goods in fear and trembling. Our American Congress has stood within the shadow of the goddess of justice and voted an increase in wages to 400,000 trainmen, who are the highest paid laborers in the world, and never at any time mentioned the 350,000 trackmen, who are perhaps the poorest paid workmen in the world, and who must subsist almost wholly upon the crumbs that the trainmen leave upon the table.

"When cotton was selling for 6 cents per pound two years ago, and poverty stalked over the Southland, causing a greater financial loss to the southern plowmen than the freeing of the slaves, Congress confessed inability to cope with the situation and stepped aside, letting this awful burden fall upon the backs of the tillers of the soil. The organized plowmen plead with Congress for relief, but we were told that it would not be constitutional for the Government to undertake to fix the price of cotton or to advance money on cotton in storage, and that Congress was a slow-moving body and could not meet emergencies."

PROTECTION SENTIMENT GROWING IN TEXAS.

There is still another Texas viewpoint which merits consideration. Texas is looking ahead in an industrial and commercial sense. It is not a far cry to protection in Texas just now, and the more the effects of Mr. Wilson's free-trade notions are studied the less they seem to impress some of the forward-looking men of the State. Mr. M. A. Cooper, president of the Cooper Grocery Co., of Waco, Tex., is evidently one of these. From the American Economist I quote about Mr. Cooper that which is pertinent to this discussion:

HE'S A TEXAS DEMOCRAT—BUT ALL THE SAME HE WANTS HUGHES AND ANOTHER PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

A Texas Democrat may easily be a Texas protectionist if he happens to be a big business man with a grasp broad enough to take in conditions as they are, and is not blinded by politics so as to be able to see things clearly and intelligently. Mr. M. A. Cooper, president of the Cooper Grocery Co., of Waco, Tex., is that kind of a Texas Democrat. His company has large stores in Waco, Temple, and Hillsboro, Tex., and does a wholesale business of millions of dollars a year. Mr. Cooper buys goods from 40 different concerns in New York City, has traveled extensively in the United States, Mexico, and Europe, and has always taken a keen interest in business conditions everywhere he has gone. He is a railroad director and has large interests in many directions. Mr. Cooper while on business in New York was interviewed by a Herald man and is quoted as saying:

"I don't believe that the end of the war is going to hurt us much in Texas. We haven't made much money here directly out of the war, and its end won't make a great deal of difference to us, but the rest of the country will suffer unless there is a change in the tariff. Oh, yes; I'm a Democrat. Why, man, I come from Texas; of course I'm a Democrat. But I'm a Samuel J. Tilden-Grover Cleveland Democrat. I believe in a tariff to protect our manufacturers, and I believe in a tariff for revenue. I believe in business protection. That's where Germany got ahead. She built a tariff wall around herself and protected her industries. I haven't any patience with all this folderol of a stamp tax that they call a war tax. I'll tell you what it is, it's a deficiency revenue tax. We've got to have a tariff big enough to run the expenses of the Government and big enough to take care of our home industries, or we won't have home industries after a while.

"The Democrats have snipped off too much of the tariff; now it must be put back. If they don't put it back, if we continue to have a low tariff, I'll give the European countries a year's time after they stop fighting to flood this country with goods at such low prices that we can't compete with them. If they want to do any dumping, let them dump the raw material into this country, and dump their good people here, too, to become American citizens, help manufacture the raw material into goods for the market, and draw American wages for their work. We can take care of all the raw stuff and the good people they can send us, but we've got to protect our manufacturing interests or we won't have them. If we don't have a change in the tariff, and a quick change, too, we shall be at the mercy of the pauper labor of Europe, and our business will go to the dogs.

"You say you are a Democrat?

"Been one all my life.

"Well, which one of the presidential candidates do you think can better be trusted to bring about the necessary changes in the tariff?

"I have found that the big business men, the moneyed men, of the country place more faith in Mr. Hughes than in Mr. Wilson. They seem to think he is safer from a business outlook. We've had too many

side shows in the tax line in this administration. I find that most business men throughout the country believe that we are at the top of the high tide now, and they fear that there will be a slump after the war and we'll be left high and dry unless very decided action is taken, and taken soon, to give us real protection, so that we can hold on to what we have.

"We have quite a lot of manufacturing establishments and plenty of business and solid banks, and they are full of money. The factories are doing well, and their business is increasing fast. It will continue to increase if our Government wakes up in time and keeps foreign competitors from stealing it away. Only a real tariff will do that, as I said. The quicker they get busy at Washington on that proposition the better. We don't want to get up some fine morning and find we are too late, and that the tide has turned and left us floundering in the mud."

## The Eight-Hour Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. S. D. FESS,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, now that Congress has capitulated, the strike order revoked, the threatened cessation of all transportation with the possibilities of untold suffering by the innocent public averted, the Government temporarily abdicated and permanently humiliated, it is not out of place for the public, who must pay the bill, to calmly inquire of the issue of the immediate future in the light of the recent past.

We who were ordered to legislate in a panic under the threat that if it were not done by midnight Saturday, September 2, the strike order would take effect at 7 a. m. on Monday, September 4, did not all view the problem in the same light. There are Members of Congress who urge and would vote at once for Government ownership and operation of railroads. There are others who urge and would vote at once for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. These views touch the extremes. All of us must see that if mutual agreement upon contract, not only in the making but in the respecting of it can not be secured, then the other alternatives are Government ownership or compulsory arbitration.

Mr. Speaker, for many reasons I can not go with my Socialist friends on the first proposition. I do not care to enter upon the reason why I sincerely deplore it, this almost inevitable remedy. The present situation points strongly toward it. On the other hand, compulsory arbitration also has its objectionable features. I would dislike to vote to compel any worker to continue at work when he desires to discontinue for any reason. However, I might see my way clear to vote for such a law when it is placed as an alternative to insure against untold suffering such as might follow a total tie-up of all transportation lines. But it would be the last resort. Most of us will agree that neither of these remedies should be resorted to, especially under panic. Either one suggests the failure of legal procedure to adjust disputes. Here was a contest that had been before the public for months. It was a dispute of wages between the employers and the employees in which the innocent third party, the public, had no concern save to see equity done. The employees desired 10 hours' pay for 8 hours' work and time and a half for all overtime. The employers contended such increase, which would amount immediately to perhaps from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 annually, and ultimately it might reach $300,000,000, as it must finally extend to the other 80 per cent of the employees, could not be agreed to unless the guaranty was given that the Interstate Commerce Commission would permit an increase of rates. It will be noted the dispute was not fixing the day, but fixing a basis for pay.

There was no contention that men should not be required to work but 8 hours, but that their pay should be 10 hours for 8, and pay for overtime.

The mediation commission offered its services but were informed by the employees that the subject could not be mediated. The employers requested the dispute to be referred to an arbitration body, either to the Interstate Commerce Commission or a commission to be appointed by the President, or a board made up of one member chosen by each side to the contest and a third to be chosen by the two. All of these suggestions were disagreed to by the employees. Upon the refusal of the employers to concede the demands of the employees the latter submitted the matter of a strike to a vote of the members composing the brotherhoods. The strike was ordered by a vote of over 90 per cent of the employees.

The President then summoned the representatives of both sides to the Capital. The country applauded this step. He heard the employees' case first and then the employers. August 14 the press carried the following statement:

WHAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CONFEREES SAY OF THE PROSPECT OF A STRIKE SETTLEMENT.

After yesterday's meeting at the White House with railway union leaders and with railway managers President Wilson said:

"I have met both sides and have gone over the case with the utmost frankness. I shall not be able to judge until to-morrow whether we have found a feasible basis for settlement."

Judge Chambers, of the board of mediation, said:

"The ice seems to be melting a little. I am very optimistic that the President will be able to accomplish something."

One of the leaders of the four brotherhoods, after leaving the White House, characterized the conference with the President as "most encouraging," and added:

"The outlook for the prevention of a general strike is hopeful."

"As long as the matter is in President Wilson's hands we will have no statement to make," said A. B. Garretson, president of the Order of Railway Conductors and chairman of the Big Four Brotherhood.

No expression whatever was obtainable from the railroads' representatives.

On the 15th the President made his proposition for settlement—first, that the railways grant the men's contention for 10 hours' pay for 8 hours' work; secondly, that the men agree to arbitrate the question of time and a half pay for overtime.

This proposal was favorable to the men, as it conceded their first contention and left open to arbitration their second. The employers expressed surprise that the President required the concession of the increase of wages as a basis for arbitration of the overtime punitive pay. They insisted that the entire matter was so complicated and involved such possibilities to their stockholders, their bondholders, and the public at large, who, in the last analysis, must pay the bills, that it should be submitted in its entirety to an arbitral board. The heads of the four brotherhoods told the President that they could not consent until the committee of 600 would agree to it. The New York Times on the 17th carried the following items:

PRESIDENT READY WITH ULTIMATUM.

The President's plan of settlement would give the men the eight-hour day and about two-thirds of the increase in wages they would have gotten under their original demands. The workers would receive the regular rate of pay for overtime, instead of pay-and-a-half. It would give the engineer who now receives $4.80 for a 10 hours' run $6 for the same run, whereas, under the time-and-a-half arrangement, he would receive $6.60 for the 10 hours' run, which would mean two hours overtime.

BOTH SIDES UTTERLY SELFISH.

The railroads think this plan of settlement unfair. As one of the officials expressed it to-night: "The railroads are sweating blood. To-night we are determined not to give in. No one knows what to-morrow will bring." While the stand of the railroads is utterly selfish, they say it is no more so than that of the brotherhoods. They say the brotherhoods have deceived the President into believing they are really after the eight-hour day and better living conditions, while what they really want is more money.

What holds the railroads back from open defiance of the President is the effect it might have upon the public and Congress. They fear that if they defy him and the Democrats are returned to power in November, they will fare badly at the hands of Congressmen who "represent the people." They are sure they can beat the unions and would rather have the strike called and both sides leave Washington to-night to fight it out than to face the demand of the President to-morrow to accept a settlement bitter to them. It was the railroads who called in the board of mediation, the failure of which led to the summons to Washington. One of the managers said to-night: "It will be a hot day when we ask Washington to help us out again."

The 600 chairmen of the brotherhoods came to Washington on special trains late this afternoon and went down Pennsylvania Avenue to the labor headquarters at the National Hotel in street cars, waving hats and suitcases. The first thing they did was to hire a hall to meet in to-morrow and then to mark time until the President calls them to the White House to-morrow afternoon to submit his proposals to them.

There seems to be no doubt that the men will accept. The chairmen were brought here at the request of President Wilson after the four heads of the brotherhoods had told him they had no power to accept a basis of settlement which meant a modification of their demands.

One of the brotherhood presidents said to-night: "I guess we will take what the President offers, but I hope to goodness the railroads do refuse it. We will show them a stunt the devil never dreamed of. They have got a licking coming to them, and we are the boys to give it to them."

W. G. Lee, president of the trainmen, said:

"We don't see any politics in the situation and we don't care anything about politics. The President knows we are after the eight-hour day and he knows we are going to get it. He has acted accordingly, for he knows we are right."

A. B. Garretson, head of the conductors and leader of the workers, said:

"It is up to the railroads. If they want peace they know how to get it. If they want war they know how to get that."

WILL MEET MANAGERS FIRST.

The President conferred with neither side to-day, but spent much of the day preparing the appeal he will make to-morrow. The managers will go to the White House at 9 o'clock in the morning, and the President will see the workers' representatives at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Both sides will get time to decide upon their replies, and it is generally believed that the success or failure of the President's effort to avert the national railroad strike will be known on Friday.

Judge W. L. Chambers, of the Board of Mediation, carried messages from the White House to the managers several times. It was after the receipt of a message from Judge Chambers that the managers

held a conference at the New Willard Hotel to-night, but, after it was over, they said there had been no change in the situation, and that they had not agreed to any concession.

There was much concern over the situation among Democrats at the Capitol to-day. Some of the leaders dug up a bill introduced by Representative CULLOP last January and reported to the House on March 17, which provided for a Federal act guaranteeing to switchmen and telegraphers the eight-hour day, and proposed to include engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen in the same bill. But these efforts were dropped when the Congressmen learned from the White House that neither the railroads nor the brotherhoods wanted an eight-hour day by Federal enactment. It is not generally believed that Congress will take any action in the premises unless the President decides that a law is needed to create the Federal commission he will propose.

In connection with the Federal investigating commission idea, it is recalled that when he was a member of the Industrial Relations Commission Mr. Garretson signed a report which advocated the extension of the mediation provisions of the Newlands Act and the creation of much the same powers as the President would vest in his proposed Federal commission. Mr. Garretson believed, as the President does, that the commission should not have the power to enforce any decree.

While it has been discussed, it is not believed that the railroad situation will result in a compulsory-arbitration law. The railroads would agree to such an act, but it is opposed by organized labor on the ground that the Government of the United States has no power to say what a man shall work for or that he shall work when he does not want to. Eminent lawyers have said that such an act might be held to be unconstitutional.

There was considerable interest in Washington in a conference to-day among Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Garretson; and W. S. Stone, grand chief of the engineers. Neither of the three would tell what was said in their discussion of the railroad situation. The brotherhoods are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. However, several weeks ago Mr. Gompers made a public statement in which he said that the federation would give the brotherhoods its moral support. Mr. Gompers is a close friend, both personally and politically, of the President, and it is known that he is anxious that the President shall find a quick road out. He is anxious for all the representatives of labor to do what they can to aid the President. It was after the talk with Mr. Gompers that the labor leaders seemed especially favorably disposed toward the proposal the President will put before them to-morrow.

NONBROTHERHOOD MEN WANT PEACE.

In the meanwhile employees of the railroads not in the brotherhoods are sending petitions to the White House urging that there be arbitration or some settlement of the issues, to the end that they, who have nothing to gain, may not be thrown out of work by a strike. It was said to-night that petitions signed by more than 27,000 men, claiming to represent 80 per cent of the railroad employees of the country, have reached the White House. The leaders of the brotherhoods say that these petitions mean nothing and that the railroads are responsible for them.

All in all, the railroad managers are to-night the most worried men who have been in Washington in a long time. They don't know what to do. At midnight they had not decided what to tell the President to-morrow. While they have taken formal action not to grant his appeal, none of them would be quoted as saying they would not change their minds by 9 o'clock in the morning.

They have all along refused to believe that arbitration, that for which labor so long fought, would not be accepted if capital agreed to it. They proposed arbitration to the brotherhoods in June; they proposed arbitration to them again in August; they proposed arbitration to the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation; and they proposed arbitration to the President. They were willing to have arbitration by the Interstate Commerce Commission, they were willing to have arbitration by the Newlands commission, and finally they offered to arbitrate without the guaranty that there would be a railroad man on the board, leaving the President free to name all the arbitrators. And they still fight for arbitration, for principle's sake, they say, so that the industry of the country may not be thrown into chaos by unbridled strike threats.

The railroad managers, who contend that the Interstate Commerce Commission, the rate-making body, is the proper tribunal to consider what they regard as the correlated question of wages, were interested to-day in the argument of Chief Counsel Joseph W. Folk, of the commission, before Justice Stafford in the matter of the Louisville & Nashville rate case, when he contended that that commission had the broadest of powers and had the right to conduct the widest of investigations into all railroad matters, including wages.

Milton H. Smith, president of the road, had refused to answer certain questions as to the political activities of the Louisville & Nashville. Attorneys for the road said that the commission was investigating merely the regulating of commerce, and that the commission had no power to delve into the affairs of the road not directly related to the question at issue.

Mr. Folk declared that the Interstate Commerce Commission was "the agent of Congress to investigate all matters relating to the conduct of railroads." He said that the consideration of wages paid to employees was a proper province of the commission. Justice Stafford took the case under consideration.

The railway managers took under consideration the President's proposal, which they finally rejected upon the grounds that it would be unjust, discriminatory, and unworkable to a large extent. They also pointed out the alleged fact that the proposal did not establish an eight-hour day, but merely an increase of wages. They insisted upon their original position of arbitration. The President treated his proposal as an ultimatum and went over the heads of the managers and summoned the presidents of the roads to the Capital. The telegram follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington, August 17.*

Discussion of the matters involved in the threatened railroad strike has reached a point which makes it highly desirable that I should personally confer with you at the earliest possible moment, and with the presidents of any other railroads affected who may be immediately accessible. Hope you can make it convenient to come to Washington at once.

WOODROW WILSON.

On the 18th the New York Times carried the following:

UNIONS SPARRING FOR TIME—THEIR 600 CHAIRMEN LISTEN TO MR. WILSON FOR 50 MINUTES, BUT FAIL TO ACT AS HE ASKS—EXPECT ACCEPTANCE LATER.

The 600 brotherhood chairmen marched to the White House at 3 o'clock down Pennsylvania Avenue, four abreast, led by the presidents of the brotherhoods. They were received by the President in the east wing of the White House, where he outlined to them the settlement plan. Its terms were:

First. That the railroads grant the men the eight-hour day.

Second. That all collateral questions be submitted to a commission to be authorized by Congress.

The collateral questions include the men's demand for time and a half for overtime, and the railroads' counter proposal that no man be paid more than once for the same period of work.

Facing the 600 chairmen representing the 400,000 engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen, President Wilson spoke for 50 minutes. He told the men he had decided to ask the railroads to give the men the eight-hour day, not primarily to prevent a strike, but because he believed it was right for them to have it.

At the close of the meeting the following semlofficial statement was issued from the White House:

"The President's suggestion asks both sides to accept the eight-hour day on the present basis of pay.

"It also asks that the collateral questions shall be submitted to a commission to be authorized by Congress.

"Until the union leaders vote on the suggestion and the railway executives pass upon it, the White House can not discuss the existing situation."

UNIONS FAIL TO RATIFY.

The 600 union men then marched to the Bijou Theater to consider the President's plan. It was favored by the heads of the four brotherhoods, and it was expected that it would be ratified with a whoop. But to the surprise of all but a well-organized faction of the brotherhoods it was not ratified, and after an hour of debate the chairmen adjourned to meet again to-morrow morning.

On the same day the four railway brotherhoods accepted the President's plan. Thirty-one railway executives, whom the President had called to the White House, agreed to fully consider the plan. These men represented property values of $10,000,000,000. They represented one-half of the total mileage in the United States.

The table following shows the mileage and the capital stock of the lines involved.

| Official. | Road. | Mileage. | Capital stock. |
|---|---|---|---|
| R. H. Aishton, president | Chicago & North Western | 8,107 | $200,000,000 |
| W. W. Atterbury, vice president. | Pennsylvania | 4,511 | 600,000,000 |
| W. G. Bierd, president | Chicago & Alton | 1,052 | 40,000,000 |
| B. F. Bush, receiver | Missouri Pacific | 7,232 | 240,000,000 |
| M. J. Carpenter, president | Chicago, Terre Haute & Southeastern. | 374 | 4,300,000 |
| A. T. Dice, president | Reading | 2,217 | 140,000,000 |
| H. B. Earling, president | Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul | 10,075 | 282,898,300 |
| S. M. Felton, president | Chicago Great Western | 1,427 | 96,000,000 |
| W. J. Harahan, president | Seaboard Air Line | 3,123 | 100,000,000 |
| Fairfax Harrison, president | Southern | 7,022 | 350,000,000 |
| Hale Holden, president | Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. | 9,395 | 110,833,100 |
| J. H. Hustis, president | Boston & Maine | 2,334 | 42,655,190 |
| W. J. Jackson, receiver | Chicago & Eastern Illinois | 1,036 | 30,700,000 |
| L. E. Johnson, president | Norfolk & Western | 2,043 | 137,000,000 |
| Julius Kruttschnitt, chairman. | Southern Pacific | 10,587 | 394,451,800 |
| H. R. Kurrie, president | Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville. | 622 | 15,500,000 |
| J. L. Lancaster, vice president. | Texas & Pacific | 1,943 | 50,000,000 |
| L. F. Loree, president | Delaware & Hudson | 1,924 | 55,711,500 |
| R. S. Lovett, chairman | Union Pacific | 7,824 | 496,178,700 |
| C. H. Markham, president | Illinois Central | 4,773 | 123,552,000 |
| E. J. Pearson, vice president. | New York, New Haven & Hartford. | 2,004 | 176,400,787 |
| Ralph Peters, president | Long Island | 393 | 12,000,000 |
| E. P. Ripley, president | Santa Fe | 11,628 | 381,186,000 |
| T. M. Schumacher, vice president. | El Paso & Southwestern | 1,027 | 35,000,000 |
| A. H. Smith, president | New York Central | 5,969 | 400,000,000 |
| G. W. Stevens, president | Chesapeake & Ohio | 2,371 | 100,000,000 |
| W. H. Truesdale, president | Lackawanna | 985 | 42,277,000 |
| F. T. Underwood, president. | Erie | 4,606 | 217,000,000 |
| Henry Walters, chairman | Atlantic Coast Line | 4,697 | 36,000,000 |
| Daniel Willard, president | Baltimore & Ohio | 4,535 | 270,250,000 |
| J. H. Young, president | Norfolk Southern | 900 | 16,000,000 |
| Total | | 123,838 | 5,285,440,377 |

The managers gave out the following statement:

The issue squarely before the country is a result of the threat of the train-service brotherhoods to tie up the commerce of the country if their wage demands are not granted is whether the rights of employees and employers are to be determined by impartial public arbitration.

The railroads have earnestly urged these men to join with them in seeking a determination of the justice of their extraordinary demands through the orderly process of arbitration. They are ready and anxious to lay all matters in controversy before a tribunal to be chosen by the Government or by the President of the United States.

Arbitration in any form has been rejected by the representatives of the train-service brotherhoods.

CALLS IT MATTER OF PAY.

The theory upon which they have rejected arbitration is that the demand for the eight-hour day can not be arbitrated. Even though these employees were in truth demanding an eight-hour day, such a demand is one the justice of which surely should be determined by a public board.

But they were not asking for an eight-hour day. It is beyond dispute that the acceptance of these demands, whether under a threat of a national strike or by the award of a board of arbitration, would have no other result than a great increase in the wages of these employees, already highly paid and constituting less than one-fifth of the railroad workers. Absolutely no change would be made in the hours of service, and the employees would resent any effort of the managers to reduce their hours of service.

The railroads are standing firmly for the principle of arbitration in industrial disputes. If arbitration is to be rejected, what hope can there be for industrial peace in the future?

Arbitration—the right to hearing before an impartial jury—was fought for by the workers as a sacred right. But now that the workers are more powerful in collective bargaining than the employers, these workers declare they have nothing to arbitrate, and resort to a strike as the more powerful weapon.

The railway presidents, after consideration of the proposals made by the President and the answer of their managers, voted to indorse the position of the managers and insist upon arbitration. The statement of the railroad presidents is as follows:

The representatives of the railroads here present have given careful consideration to the proposals submitted by you for an adjustment of the critical conditions confronting us. May we again express the grave sense of responsibility upon our shoulders to discharge, as faithful trustees of the public interest, the duty to maintain and operate these properties as agencies, efficient at all times to serve the continuous public demand for transportation service; as faithful trustees also to protect, in so far as it is in our power, the interests of the owners of these properties committed to our charge?

In the previous stages of these negotiations the conference committee of managers has consistently adhered to the policy of arbitration as a fundamental principle. It is essentially the common right of every citizen, of whatever station in life, to be heard, to have his day in court. It is indeed a substitute for wasteful litigation recognized long since in the codes of all civilized countries.

A denial of the right to be heard does not exist under any form of government with which our race has ever been familiar, and the common acceptance in international affairs, in the adjustment of public and private rights under our Federal and State Governments, of the principle of arbitration as an approved method for the friendly settlement of the serious contentions of the parties, has put the right to claim arbitration as a method of settling such controversies beyond question. For these reasons we have supported our committee in their continuous demand, and in those important particulars upon which no agreement could be reached arbitration should be accorded upon any reasonable basis that might be adopted.

WOULD ARBITRATE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The eight-hour day—I shall not at this time stop to fully analyze or comment upon the importance of the difference between the eight-hour day as commonly understood in the building and manufacturing trades and the so-called eight-hour basic day demanded in this controversy—the eight-hour day is, in our mature judgment, when considered in connection with railroad-train service, a question upon which honest minds may differ, and is therefore necessarily a subject for arbitration. In that manner the contention of the parties may be considered and a fair answer given.

Social questions affecting the ordinary workday, in which for six days a week a regular daily routine is pursued, are those which determine how long during each of those periods the laborer should work; and, while in some States eight hours has been adopted as the desirable or compulsory maximum, this broad land is to-day teeming with the contented and efficient industry of millions of workers that are working more than eight hours a day. The precedent, therefore, exists—it exists in fact—and the right or wrong of it, as we feel, has not yet in this country passed beyond the realm of debate.

But these are not our problems. The railroad day is a different thing, as has been patiently and, I infer, many times explained. Railroad trains run throughout the 24-hour period; the public demands that they run on Sundays and holidays; they start at any hour that the necessities may demand; they can not stop until a terminal is reached, and many conditions, stated and accidental, render it impossible to restrict the hours of railroad labor to a fixed standard.

In a general movement of some years ago the present 10-hour basic day was negotiated and approved by the representatives of railroad labor throughout the country, and has continued with some exceptions to the present day. These exceptions have been worked out under local conditions, different often from the general conditions affecting the question.

In several important arbitrations of railroad rates of pay and conditions of service within recent years—the last within two years, involving 98 railroads, serving the entire territory between Chicago and the Pacific coast—the 10-hour basic day was incorporated in the demands of the organizations parties thereto and made the basis by them of the rates and rules awarded by the Federal board.

At the present time, in a controversy now pending over the identical questions involved here and in which numerous important railroads and a national organization of switchmen are parties, an arbitration through the friendly offices of the Federal Board of Mediation has been agreed to, wherein the question of an eight-hour basic day has been submitted as an arbitrable question.

CALLS ARBITRATION IDEAL.

We stand for the principle of arbitration for the settlement of industrial disputes. Arbitration is the ideal toward which public sentiment and legislation of this country have been steadily tending for the settlement of disputes between employers and employees, particularly in the case of public-service corporations, rather than the strike and the lockout, with attendant disturbances and paralysis of public business.

Arbitration has been provided by legislation, both State and national. So late as 1913 the Federal law was perfected or improved by amendments framed in conference with some of the railroad labor leaders now refusing to arbitrate, and includes in its scope all controversies in railroad service. We invoke that principle now and are willing for the Interstate Commerce Commission to arbitrate the whole question. More than that, we are willing for the President of the United States to appoint a commission of disinterested persons to arbitrate all matters in dispute if neither the Interstate Commerce Commission nor the machinery of the Newlands Act is satisfactory to the labor leaders.

But we have been met with a refusal to arbitrate in any manner, and are now asked to surrender the principle and to add an additional burden of many millions per annum to the cost of railroad transportation in this country for the benefit of a class who are among the most highly paid and favored workmen in the world. This is demanded under the guise of a plea for an eight-hour day. It is in reality only an indirect plea for an enormous increase in wages.

REFUSAL ADMISSION OF WEAKNESS.

The intricate and technical nature of the case and the complexity of the facts make the controversy preeminently one for arbitration by an impartial tribunal with authority to examine into every factor and reach a decision fair and just to the employees, the owners, and the public, which ultimately must bear the burden. To refuse to arbitrate is an admission of the unreasonableness of the demand. Moreover, the refusal is by those demanding a vital change in an existing status. For a party to demand a change of such a status and accompany the demand with a refusal to arbitrate is in conflict with right standards of conduct. In this instance for those demanding a change to refuse to submit their demands to arbitration is indefensible.

To say that such a demand as that now presented for a revolutionary change in the arrangements that have grown up in the development of the railroad business and involving so many complicated facts and relations and such vast additions to the cost of the country's transportation is not arbitrable is to destroy the principle of arbitration and if successful would, in our judgment, tend immediately to discard all of the legislation, State and national, which has been enacted in recent years and set the country back to the old days of strikes, lockouts, public disorder, and business anarchy for the settlement of questions inherent in the relation of employer and employee.

The view that so important an issue as this may not in conscience be honestly debated and, therefore, arbitrated, raises this question above and beyond the lesser contentions of hours of service or payment of wages—it raises it in gravity beyond the social or monetary questions affecting the parties before you, because it tends to force, by the great weight of your spoken word, the railroads to surrender a right to be heard, a right expressly recognized by the policy of the Federal legislation enacted for the purpose of adjusting these disputes, and under the ban of your disapproval, expressed before the bar of public opinion, to accept as indisputable conditions requiring, as we believe, an enormous sacrifice in efficiency of service and cost of operation of these properties. An adjustment in this manner will not stop with this controversy. It will be repeated in every industry wherein to-day industrial peace exists without controversy.

It will, by the force of this high precedent, place in peril all that has been accomplished in the peaceful adjustment of labor controversies by methods of arbitration, and, therefore, we present to you our respectful but earnest request that you do not lend the weight of your great influence against this right which we claim to be heard, but support the railroads in this crisis in the effort to maintain this great principle of arbitration.

In giving out the statement the railway presidents added this:

"Mr. Holden then explained that in accordance with past custom and the requirements of the situation, complete authority to conduct negotiations in behalf of the railroads in the present controversy had been conveyed to the conference committee of managers. He further explained that the executives present had authority only to speak for the properties each represents. It is understood that telegrams were sent from the White House to other railroad executives of the country, and the conference adjourned, pending their arrival."

The President then made this statement for the public:

I have recommended the concession of the 8-hour day—that is, the substitution of an 8-hour day for the present 10-hour day, in all the existing practices and agreements. I made this recommendation because I believed the concession right. The 8-hour day now undoubtedly has the sanction of the judgment of society in its favor, and should be adopted as a basis for wages, even where the actual work to be done can not be completed within eight hours.

Concerning the adjustments which should be made in justice to the railroads and their stockholders in the payments and privileges to which their men are now entitled, if such adjustments are necessary, there is a wide divergence of opinion.

The railroads which have already adopted the 8-hour day do not seem to be at any serious disadvantage in respect to their cost of operation as compared with the railroads that have retained the 10-hour day, and calculations as to the cost of the change must, if made now, be made without regard to any possible administrative economies or readjustments. Only experience can make it certain what rearrangements would be fair and equitable either on behalf of the men or on behalf of the railroads. That experience would be a definite guide to the Interstate Commerce Commission, for example, in determining whether, as a consequence of the change, it would be necessary and right to authorize an increase of rates for the handling and carriage of freight (for passenger service is not affected).

I therefore proposed that the demand for extra pay for overtime made by the men and the contingent proposals of the railroad authorities be postponed until facts shall have taken the place of calculation and forecast with regard to the effects of a change to the eight-hour day; that in the meantime while experience was developing the facts I should seek, and if need be, obtain authority from the Congress to appoint a small body of impartial men to observe and thoroughly acquaint themselves with the results, with a view to reporting to Congress at the earliest possible time the facts disclosed by their inquiries, but without recommendation of any kind; and that it should then be entirely open to either or both parties to the present controversy to give notice of a termination of the present agreements, with a view to instituting inquiry into suggested readjustments of pay or practice.

This seems to me a thoroughly practical and entirely fair program, and I think that the public has the right to expect its acceptance.

It will be observed that the President's plan required the employers to concede their contention of arbitration by granting the eight-hour day as a basis of pay as a condition for arbitration of the overtime punitive demands of the employees. This position precluded the eight-hour question as an open one. It foreclosed arbitration on that issue.

On the 21st the railway heads rejected the President's terms and urged that the demands go before a public tribunal for final decision.

STATEMENT OF RAILWAYS.

That the railroads should grant, under threat of a national strike, a $50,000,000 wage preferment to a small minority of their employees without a hearing before a public tribunal is inconceivable in a democracy like ours.

All questions at issue—wages, hours, costs, operating conditions—these are submerged by the greater issue: Shall arbitration be abandoned in the settlement of industrial disputes?

If we are to throw arbitration into the scrap heap, what hope can there be in America for industrial peace in the future?

A nation-wide strike is unthinkable when the railroads are urging that all the matters in dispute be placed before any tribunal constituted by public authority.

Arbitration is urged by Congress as a final method for settling controversies as to both hours and wages on the railroads. The Newlands law of 1913 was enacted by unanimous request of the four railroad brotherhoods and the representatives of the railroads, and yet the leaders who urged this law now take the position that a question of hours is beyond arbitration.

But wages, not hours, are involved in these demands. No proposal has been made to establish an eight-hour workday. The demand is for an eight-hour pay basis, and this is the interpretation given by the President in the proposal now before the railroads. The employees have emphatically made it known that they do not want eight hours' work for eight hours' pay—a real eight-hour day.

ILLUSTRATION SHOWS INCREASE.

A simple illustration will suffice to show how the eight-hour basis of pay would work out. Take, for example, a freight employee paid 5 cents a mile with a day's guarantee of $5 for 100 miles or 10 hours or less. It is proposed to make this guarantee the same for eight hours or less. On a freight run of, say, only 60 miles in 10 hours, he earns $5 for his time. It is now proposed that for this work he be paid $5 for the first eight hours and $1.25 for the other two hours, a total of $6.25, increasing his pay 25 per cent.

If, by reason of traffic delays, he is held idle on the sidetrack, so that he does not complete his trip until the end of 12 hours, he now is paid $6 for his time, no matter how little work he performs. The demand is to pay him $7.50 for his 12 hours' service.

Meanwhile, the employees would continue to have the same opportunities as now to make still larger pay on the mileage basis. For example, the man on a 5-cents-a-mile rate, making, say, 150 miles in only seven hours, earns $7.50 for his day's work. If after this he is called for a short period of emergency work, say only two hours, he gets another full day's guarantee of $5, making $12.50, in this example, for only nine hours' service.

Many other schedule provisions increase the wages of these well-paid men without increase in their hours of service. It is because of these opportunities to take pay under mileage or arbitrary rules that their yearly earnings are so far beyond those of other workers charged with no less responsible duties.

WOULD COST $50,000,000 YEARLY.

The proposal from the President now before the railroads is:

1. To adopt the eight-hour day "as a basis for wages, even where the actual work to be done can not be completed within eight hours," to quote the President's words.

2. To increase the hourly rate of pay 25 per cent.

The result of the acceptance of this proposal would be:

1. No change in the length of the train workday.

2. An increase in wages of more than $50,000,000 a year to about four-fifths of the train employees, or less than one-seventh of all railroad employees. In other words, an unfair wage preferment would be granted, without investigation and under threat of a national strike, to one man in seven in the railroad service.

If these wage demands are just, in whole or in part, then a public tribunal, appointed by the President, as we have urged, would speedily so determine.

The weight of public opinion must determine this issue. We can not believe that it is the calm judgment of the country that we should sacrifice the principle of arbitration in industrial disputes under a threat to tie up the commerce of the country.

The following telegram is but one of many indicating the interest the public was taking in the outcome of the contest:

The Merchants' Association of New York believes that the pending labor controversy between the railroads and their employees should be submitted to impartial arbitrators for complete development and analysis of all the facts; that the decision of such arbitrators should be binding; and that, pending such decision, the present status should be maintained. The concessions demanded by the employees involve an enormous increase in the cost of railroad operations. It is claimed by the railroad officials that such increased cost without corresponding increase in revenues will be disastrous to and cause the bankruptcy of many of the existing railroads, and seriously impair the power of all to provide efficient service for the public. We believe it vital to the well-being of the Nation that the principle of arbitration be established as a reasonable and just means of settlement in industrial disputes; that the present controversy is beyond question of the class that can and should be settled by arbitration; that no person confident of the justice of his cause should refuse to submit such an issue as the present to the judgment and decision of unbiased umpires; and we further believe that such refusal, coupled with a strike which will inflict unparalleled suffering and loss upon the entire Nation, will deserve and receive universal condemnation and alienate from those responsible all public sympathy.

We therefore respectfully but earnestly protest against the adoption of a so-called compromise which upon an ex parte showing will concede to the employees the major part of their demands, disregard the principle of arbitration upon which alone a just settlement can be based and which may ultimately inflict suffering and injury upon the public either by depriving it of sufficient railroad service or by forcing it to pay increased charges.

On the 22d the press carried the following statement:

[Special to the New York Times.]

WASHINGTON, *August 21.*

Senators are discussing among themselves legislation to prevent a recurrence of the situation now confronting the transportation systems of the country through the threatened strike of 400,000 trainmen.

Some Senators favor enacting a law fixing the eight-hour day for interstate railroads and empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate methods to enable the roads affected to meet the additional drain on their incomes. Another suggestion is the enactment of a statute providing for compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. The fact that President Wilson has been converted to the idea of compulsory arbitration is regarded as giving impetus to the idea.

Other Senators hold, however, that if there is to be compulsory arbitration the law must provide that the Federal Government shall furnish protection for the men employed to run trains in place of those who may refuse to work under an arbitral award.

That the Government may compel the railroads and their employees to accept Federal intervention and arbitration of their disputes is conceded by Senators, but the ability of the Government to enforce the awards of its arbitrators to the extent of compelling men to return to work under the terms fixed by the arbitrators is rejected as out of the question.

Senator WEEKS, of Massachusetts, called a meeting of the New England Senators to-day to discuss the railroad controversy with members of the trainmen's union. The conference will take place to-morrow morning. The trainmen desire to lay before Congress their views on compulsory arbitration. Delegations of trainmen from other regions called to-day on their Senators and Representatives and expressed their views as to what should be done to prevent the transportation systems of the country from being tied up.

On the same day the press carried the following:

It was generally believed in Washington to-night that a majority of the railroad presidents were almost ready to accept Mr. Wilson's proposal for the eight-hour day in principle, if they could be assured of three things:

1. That they, as well as the brotherhoods, should have a say as to what was meant by the eight-hour day, and that if there was a difference of opinion it should be arbitrated.

2. A reasonable guarantee that if they can prove that the eight-hour day places a new financial burden on the roads, the roads may increase their freight rates.

3. That they be protected by arbitration against the demands of other employees for the eight-hour day, asking that the proposed Federal commission be made a permanent body.

On the 26th Holden, the spokesman for the railroad presidents said: "The railway presidents' conference having concluded its discussions the committee of eight has asked for an appointment with the President and is waiting his pleasure."

Rival agreements on the 26th:

WHAT THE MEN WILL ACCEPT.

1. That the men receive the 8-hour day, with the present 10 hours' pay for the proposed 8 hours' work.

2. That overtime be paid for on a pro rata basis.

3. That all other issues between the railroads and the men, except these, be settled by a Federal commission.

These modifications by President Wilson were pronounced satisfactory by the men after they had demanded 10 hours' pay for 8 hours' work, with all overtime to be paid for at the rate of time and a half.

WHAT THE RAILWAYS WILL ACCEPT.

1. That the Interstate Commerce Commission authorize the railroads, starting at once, to keep two sets of maintenance books, one on the basis of the present rate of pay, and one on the basis of the men's original demands.

2. That the President name a board of arbitration to consider the whole of the issues between the railroads and the brotherhoods.

3. That the difference in amounts between what the two sets of books show be subject to the draft of the arbitrators to pay the men whatever increase in wages they may fix, the 8-hour day proposition being left to the arbitrators.

President Rea, of the Pennsylvania lines, gave out the following statement of the railway situation:

For the managements of the railways to yield to the demands and threats of the labor organizations, and to accept President Wilson's proposal, would be to destroy at one blow the principle of arbitration as the paramount and recognized method of settling labor disputes. The threatened strike would be postponed, it is true, but we would have no assurance that it would be permanently prevented. Except that the principle of eight-hour day would be considered, the issues of the very controversy now pending would be left unsettled, while the future of the railways would indeed be rendered dark and uncertain.

These, in brief, are the reasons why the heads of the railways, with a full appreciation of the solemn and weighty responsibility resting on them, as well as of their duty to the public and to their shareholders, have been forced to the conclusion that it is better to face the alternative of a strike than to surrender.

Let any man who questions the soundness of this conclusion consider, in the light of their history of the last 10 years, the position in which the carriers now find themselves.

The great labor movements culminating in the present one began a decade ago, almost simultaneously with the adoption of effective regulation. From that time the managements have been in a desperate struggle to prevent net revenue from being so impaired as to destroy the credit of the railways and completely stop their development. After the first large increases in wages, appeal was made to the Interstate Commerce Commission for advances in rates, which the commission in 1911 denied. Even in the face of this railway managers were undaunted and in good faith applied all their energy and ability to increasing efficiency. Never in the history of any industry was more hard, conscientious, able, and successful work done to increase efficiency than has been done on the railways of this country during the last 10 years.

"What has been the result? The labor movement has continued, and one arbitration board after another has awarded advances in wages. In spite of increased efficiency the companies could not stand the strain, and in 1914 again appealed to the Interstate Commerce Commission. This time the commission decided that their earnings were not adequate, and granted some advances in rates, but before this relief was accorded there were more miles of railway in the hands of receivers than ever before, and new construction had reached the lowest ebb since the Civil War.

"This period of profound depression has been followed by a year of comparative prosperity in the railway business, due almost entirely to an abnormal increase in traffic which it is recognized can not be permanent. And now, after this brief period of prosperity, it is proposed that the roads shall make sacrifice of principles and grant wages which would cause an increase in expenses that would wipe out all of the advances in rates that have been granted, and sweep away the economies that have been achieved by the exertions of 10 years.

"And who is to get the benefit of this? The public? No. All the employees of the railways? No. A single group of employees, constituting only a small percentage of the total number, is to get it all. And are these the poorest paid employees? They are very much the highest paid. Are they the most loyal? Not if the acts of the leaders of their organizations are to be accepted as having their approval, for they are the very group of employees who, through their legislative committees, have been engaged for years in lobbying at Washington and every State capital for full crew, train limit, and other legislation designed to reduce the efficiency of operation, and who at this moment are refusing to arbitrate and threatening to tie up every railway in the country and paralyze its commerce and industry.

"The railways have no assurance, if they grant the demand for a counterfeit 'eight-hour' day, that the added expense thus imposed will be offset by an adequate increase in rates. They have no assurance that they will secure arbitration of the other demands of these employees. They have no assurance that they will secure arbitration of their own proposals to the employees. Nor have they any assurance that they will be given protection by Congress from strikes in future.

"Let me emphasize the fact that history is but repeating itself in the present crisis, for two years ago there was equal menace of a strike on the western roads. In response to the appeal then made to their patriotism, the railway managers yielded. Nothing was done either by the President or Congress as the result of that experience to prevent the development of the like situation which now again faces the railway managers, but, on the other hand, they are confronted by practically the same ultimatum, and that they shall even sacrifice the one remaining principle of arbitration.

"The railways know that if they yield to the present demands of a comparatively small percentage of the total number of their employees they will receive like demands from the rest, and that these concessions to all employees will cost at least $200,000,000 and probably $300,000,000 a year. They know, too, that if they submit now to the proposition made to them by the President they will be denounced by the business interests of the country for having given up the principle of arbitration when every factor in the dispute points to the justice of their cause.

"Confronted by such conditions, and borne down by a solemn sense of their responsibility to their employees, to business interests of all kinds, to the 100,000,000 people of the United States, and to their stockholders, what could the heads of the railways do but refuse to yield, and then calmly but resolutely face the possibilities of the situation in full confidence that their action will receive the unqualified indorsement and support of the business interests of the country and the public at large, who have as yet been denied all opportunity to be heard."

On the 28th a secret strike order which had been issued was published to take effect September 4:

[Special to the New York Times.]

WASHINGTON, *August 28.*

Here is a copy of the secret strike order handed in sealed envelopes to the 640 brotherhood chairmen who left Washington to-day. In addition to this order, secret instructions were issued to the members for their guidance in the event of a strike. The strike order reads:

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS,
BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN,
ORDER OF RAILWAY CONDUCTORS,
BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY TRAINMEN,
*August 14, 1916.*

*To all local chairmen, members, and others employed in classes of service represented by the B. of L. E., B. of L. F. and E., O. R. C., and B. R. T.*

SIRS AND BROTHERS: This is to advise that a vote of the employees in train and engine service on the eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime proposition was overwhelmingly in favor of a strike.

Notwithstanding this, your representatives have been unable to effect a satisfactory settlement, and a strike under the laws of the respective organizations becomes effective September 4, 1916, at 7 a. m.

Impart this information so that those interested will understand that they are to promptly obey.

Fraternally, yours,

_____
*General Chairman.*
_____ *R. R.*

The instructions, which counsel obedience to the law in the event of a strike and define the duties of members and their local chairmen, follow:

*Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.*
*Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.*
*Order of Railway Conductors.*
*Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.*

SIRS AND BROTHERS: In connection with the strike you will observe the following instructions:

DUTIES OF MEMBERS.

1. No man in road service involved in the strike will perform any service after the hour set to strike, unless he has already begun his trip and has actually left the terminal. If the train has left the terminal, he will complete the trip and deliver the engine and train at the end of the run or tie-up point, if tied up under the law, after which he will perform no further service until the close of the strike. Men in other than road service will leave the service at the appointed time.

So far as your legal right to strike is concerned there is no difference between a mail train and a freight train. You have identically the same right to refuse to perform service on a mail train as you have to refuse to perform service on a freight train.

2. All men on strike will keep away from the companies' property, except such men as are designated certain duties to be performed by authority of the organization.

3. Every man should understand that the laws of the land must be obeyed. Acts of violence of any nature will not be tolerated by the organizations.

4. The local representatives will arrange for a hall for meeting purposes at all terminals, using one of their own lodge rooms, if available. Immediately after the strike becomes effective all men will assemble at the hall secured for meeting purposes. When thus assembled an organization will be perfected by the election of a chairman, vice chairman, and secretary. No person will be permitted to be present in the meeting hall other than those who are on strike except by permission of the assembly.

5. The secretary will arrange a roll call (alphabetically), with each organization on a separate sheet. Roll will be called twice daily, morning and afternoon. The names of the nonmembers will be kept separate on the roll from the names of those who are members of the organizations. All strikers will be required to answer the roll call and also to be in the halls, where halls are provided, during the day at all times unless excused by committee action or by chairman of the meeting. The secretary will also keep a record of the proceedings from day to day.

6. In the conduct of every strike there are numerous irresponsible persons, not members of the organizations, who take occasion to engage in acts of violence and disorderly conduct, and such actions are usually attributed to members of the organizations, and great care should be taken by every member of the organizations to avoid associating with such persons, and such conduct should be discouraged, so as not to cast reproach upon the cause.

7. Some railroad officials may endeavor to coerce or mislead the men by asserting that men at other points have not quit or that they have returned to work. Such information should be discounted, and all strikers should apply to their officers and committeemen for information, and be governed accordingly, and no member or nonunion man will return to work until the strike is officially declared off, when all will return to work at the same time, without prejudice and with all former rights.

DUTIES OF LOCAL CHAIRMEN.

1. The local chairmen of each organization on each division of railroad will jointly supervise the prosecution of the strike on the territory over which they have jurisdiction.

2. Local chairmen are expected to keep in close touch with the situation and use every honorable effort to further the cause, and will report daily, preferably by night letter, to their respective general chairmen as to the condition of affairs. Wherever it is possible for local chairmen to report to the four general chairmen jointly in one communication it should be done.

3. Expense incurred for telegrams will be borne jointly.

4. When deemed advisable the four local chairmen will agree upon assistant chairmen for their respective organizations to be located at outlying points, and said assistant chairmen will report to their respective local chairmen.

5. Clearly defined cases of disloyalty or inefficiency on the part of any representative of the organization should be reported to the other organizations, and necessary action either as to discipline or to safety measures taken at once.

DUTIES OF GENERAL CHAIRMEN.

1. The general chairmen of each railroad involved in the strike will supervise and be responsible for the conduct of the strike upon the line of railroad over which he has jurisdiction, and will make reports by night letter to the grand officer having general supervision over that line of road. Expense incurred by so doing will be paid in accordance with the laws of the respective organizations.

2. On roads where, because of the number of strikes involved, it becomes necessary for the general chairman to have assistants, he may designate other officers and members of the general committee or a joint board, as in his judgment may be necessary, to successfully carry on the strike.

3. In the absence of instruction from the grand officer in charge of the district, the general chairmen will agree among themselves as to the points at which they will be located during the strike, and they will immediately advise the officer in charge of the district and each of their local chairmen where they are located and proper address. The four general chairmen should keep each other advised as far as possible as to their location and movements.

DUTIES OF GRAND OFFICERS.

The grand officers of the four organizations will be assigned to certain districts, and each grand officer so assigned will have general supervision of the strike in his respective district and over all members on strike and others associated with them in that district.

Grand officers will keep the executives of the four organizations advised of the exact situation in their district.

ASSIGNMENTS OF OFFICERS.

Grand officers will be assigned to the following cities: Boston, Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Washington, Baltimore, Richmond, Kansas City, New Orleans, Atlanta, Houston, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Denver, Buffalo, Detroit, Los Angeles, St. Paul, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland.

Fraternally, yours,

A. B. GARRETSON,
*President Order Railway Conductors.*
W. S. STONE,
*Grand Chief Engineer Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.*
W. G. LEE,
*President Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.*
W. S. CARTER,
*President Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.*

UNION STRIKE ORDER CAN'T BE RESCINDED, LEADERS' ANSWER TO PRESIDENT'S APPEAL.

[Special to the New York Times.]

WASHINGTON, *August 28.*

President Wilson called the brotherhood heads to the White House to-night and asked them if they had issued a secret strike order, a copy of which he had obtained, calling a strike for 7 o'clock a. m. Labor Day. They acknowledged that the order had been issued. The President said he was shocked and surprised, and appealed to the brotherhood heads to have the order rescinded. They told him that the order was beyond recall and that the strike was inevitable.

The President took the foregoing action after he had conferred in the afternoon with a committee of railroad presidents, who told him of the secret action taken by the unions. Leaving the White House, the railroad presidents issued this statement:

"At a conference at the White House to-day at 2.30 p. m., between the President and the committee of eight of the railroad presidents, a suggestion was laid before the President in the nature of a proposition for progress toward a solution of the questions at issue, and this was left with him for his consideration.

"The committee expects to see the President in the near future, but before leaving the committee pointed out to him that if the reports that the date for declaring the strike had been fixed for September 4 were true, it would force an early conclusion of the negotiations and compel the presidents to return to their properties to prepare for the issue."

News that copies of the strike order were in the hands of the railway presidents occasioned no surprise among the brotherhoods. After it became known yesterday that they suspected three of their number of acting as spies for the railroad heads, they said frankly that 'they expected the strike order soon would be in their employers' hands.

"There was one traitor among the 12 Disciples," one of the brotherhood heads said, "and our average appears to be higher than that."

Every effort was made to keep the call of the union leaders at the White House secret. When they left they all declined to discus their conference.

On the 29th the President took the matter before Congress, where he proposed speedy legislation covering the following items:

First. Immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate, in order that the commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are with its present constitution and means of action practically impossible.

Second. The establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and wages in the employment of all railway employees who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

Third. The authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe the actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation, alike for the men and for the railroads; its effect in the matter of operating costs, in the application of the existing practices and agreements to the new conditions, and all other practical aspects, with the provision that the investigators shall report their conclusions to the Congress at the earliest possible date, but without recommendation as to legislative action, in order that the public may learn from an unprejudiced source just what actual developments have ensued.

Fourth. Explicit approval by the Congress of the considerations by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

Fifth. An amendment of the existing Federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that, in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

Sixth. The lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use, and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials that circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.

"There is one thing we should do," said the President, "if we are true champions of arbitration. We should make all arbitral awards judgments by a record of a court of law, in order that their interpretation and enforcement may lie not with one of the parties to the arbitration, but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal."

The proposed legislation did not please either side of the controversy. It displeased the railway heads; it abandoned the principles of arbitration by demanding that the main demand of the trainmen be conceded and then appoint a commission to report upon its workings. The employers asked that the investigation be made first and upon the findings of the commission make the changes warranted.

The men did not like it because it provided against a strike during the pendency of an investigation. They claimed that was equal to compulsory arbitration, to which unions are unalterably opposed.

Many third parties did not like it, because it provided for an increase of rates on the roads, which was a question for the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine without a direct command from Congress.

The consensus of the railway presidents may be summed up thus:

First proposal: That the Interstate Commerce Commission be increased. The railroads have all along asked for this measure and are heartily in favor of it.

Second proposal: Establishment of the eight-hour day by law. This is what the railroads refused to concede in the President's plan of settlement and the one proposal the adoption of which they will fight to the last ditch.

Third proposal: Creation of a commission to investigate the working of the eight-hour day. If they must accept the eight-hour day, the railroads would be glad to have this commission in power.

Fourth proposal: Approval by Congress of consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase in freight rates. The railroads are dubious about the benefit of this proposal, believing that the commission may regard it as an attempt to dictate a semijudicial decision.

Fifth proposal: Establishment of a commission to investigate labor disputes and prohibition of strikes while inquiry is on. This is one of the things the railroads asked for.

Sixth proposal: Giving the President power to operate trains for military purposes. The railroads are in favor of any measure that will keep more trains running in case of a strike.

* * * * * * *

Before the railway presidents parted they held a final meeting to-night, after which they issued a statement, in which they said:

"The situation created through the issuance of the strike order by the brotherhoods makes it necessary that the railroad executives return to their homes to protect their properties in the emergency impending; as a consequence they are planning for an early departure.

"In leaving Washington they are unanimous in their expression of satisfaction with the results of their conference, so far as the position of the railroads is concerned. Briefly summarized, the important points developed by their deliberations here are:

"First. A renewed insistence upon the principle of arbitration as the only proper method of settling labor disputes. The railroads have given the employees every possible consideration in this respect by offering to arbitrate their differences, either through the Interstate Commerce Commission, under the Newlands Act, or by a commission to be selected by the President of the United States.

"Second. An increased realization of the responsibility of the railroads toward their other employees, the shippers, the industrial, commercial, and general public, which they have been made to feel by thousands of telegrams insisting upon the maintenance of their position.

DENY RESPONSIBILITY FOR STRIKE.

"The railroad executives came to Washington upon the invitation of President Wilson and in good faith have worked continuously and earnestly in a sincere effort to solve the problem in justice to all the parties at interest. These efforts were still in progress when the issuance of the strike order showed them to be unavailing. Responsibility for the threatened strike does not rest with the executive.

"The counterproposition made at the request of the President last week and presented to him formally to-day represents the unanimous sentiment of the railroads and is the utmost concession to the demands of the men which in the interest of peace they feel able to make.

"Any other course would involve the surrender of a vital principle and impose undue burdens upon industry and commerce, impair railroad credit, and prevent railroad progress to meet the rapidly increasing commercial demands of the country.

"The strike, if it comes, will be forced upon the country by the best paid class of laborers in the world at a time when the country has the greatest need for transportation efficiency. The problem presented is not alone that of the railroad or business world, but one involving democracy itself, and sharply presents the question whether any group of citizens should be allowed to possess the power to imperil the life of the country by conspiring to block the arteries of commerce."

On the day the President appeared before Congress the committee of eight representing the railroads went to the White House and read to the President their final refusal of his terms. The statement in full follows:

We are unable after the most earnest consideration, to agree with the proposal of the President of the United States, which is that we accept without arbitration "the substitution of an eight-hour day for the present ten-hour day in all of the existing practices and agreements." This is the main point in controversy, and we can not surrender it without an opportunity to be heard in some form of fair arbitration.

We do not assent to the statement that "the eight-hour day now undoubtedly has the sanction of the judgment of society in its favor." We believe that society has not yet recorded its judgment upon this subject.

We are not in this controversy, however, dealing with the conditions relating to the eight-hour day in the industrial world. The difference between the eight-hour day in business and manufacturing interests and in the railroad train service day has been fully explained. The railroad day is a basis for computing pay and overtime, the length of daily service being controlled by variable conditions.

The demands involved in this controversy have not been presented, in our judgment, for the purpose of fixing a definite daily period of labor nor a reduction in the existing hours of labor or change in methods of operation, but for the real purpose of accomplishing an increase in wages of approximately $100,000,000 per annum, or 35 per cent for the men in railroad freight train and yard service represented by the labor organizations in this matter.

After careful examination of the facts, and patient and continuous consultation with the conference committee of managers and among ourselves, we have reached a clear understanding of the magnitude of the questions and of the serious consequences to the railroads and to the public involved in a decision of them.

As trustees for the public served by our lines and for the great mass of the less powerful employers (not less than 80 per cent of the whole number) interested in the railroad wage fund—as trustees also for the millions of people that have invested their savings and capital in the bonds and stocks of these properties, and who through the savings banks, the trust companies, and insurance companies are vitally interested to the extent of millions of dollars in the integrity and solvency of the railroads of the country—we can not in conscience surrender, without a hearing, the principle involved, nor undertake to transfer the enormous cost that will result to the transportation of the commerce of the country.

The eight-hour day, without punitive overtime, involves an annual increase approximating in the aggregate $60,000,000, and an increase of more than 20 per cent in the pay of men already the most highly paid in the transportation service. The ultimate cost to the railroads of an admission in this manner of the principle under contention can not now be estimated; the effect upon the efficiency of the transportation of the country now already under severe test under the tide of business now moving and at a time when more instead of less effort is required for the public welfare would be harmful beyond calculation.

The widespread effect upon the industries of the country as a whole is beyond measure or appraisement at this time, and we agree with the insistent and widespread public concern over the gravity of the situation and the consequences of a surrender by the railroads in this emergency.

In like manner we are deeply impressed with the sense of our responsibility to maintain and keep open the arteries of transportation, which carry the life blood of the commerce of the country and of the consequences that will flow from even a temporary interruption of service over the railroads, but the issues presented have been raised above and beyond the social and monetary questions involved and the responsibility for the consequences that may arise will rest upon those that provoke it.

The questions involved are, in our respectful judgment, eminently suitable for the calm investigation and decision by the public through the agency of fair arbitration, and can not be disposed of to the public satisfaction in any other manner. The decision of a commission or board of arbitration having the public confidence will be accepted by the public and the social and financial rearrangements made necessary thereby will be undertaken by the public, but in no less deliberate or orderly manner.

The railroads of the country can not under present conditions assume this enormous increase in their expenses. If imposed upon them it would involve many in early financial embarrassment and bankruptcy and imperil the power of all to maintain their credit and the integrity of their securities. The immediate increase in cost, followed by other increases that would be inevitable, would substantially appropriate the present purchasing power of the railroads and disable them from extending and improving their facilities and equipment, to keep abreast of the demands of the country for efficient transportation service.

For these reasons we are with deep regret unable to accept the suggestion made by the President of the United States.

We propose, however, as a basis of settlement, the following:

(A) The railroads will, effective September 1, 1916, keep the time of all men represented in this movement upon an eight-hour basis, and by separate account, monthly, with each man maintain a record of the differences between the money actually earned by him on the present basis and the amount that would have been earned upon an eight-hour basis—overtime on each basis to be computed pro rata. The amounts so shown will be subject to the decision of the commission provided for in paragraph C of this memorandum and payable in money, as may be directed by said commission in its findings and decisions.

(B) The Interstate Commerce Commission to supervise the keeping of these accounts and report the increased cost of the eight-hour basis, after such period of actual experience, as their judgment approves or the President may fix, not, however, less than three months.

(C) In view of the far-reaching consequences of the declaration made by the President accepting the eight-hour day not only upon the railroads and the classes of labor involved directly in this controversy, but to the public and upon all industry, it seems plain that before the existing conditions are changed the whole subject, in so far as it affects the railroads and their employees, should be investigated and determined by a commission to be appointed by the President, of such standing as to compel attention and respect to its findings. The judgment of such a commission would be a helpful basis for adjustments with labor and such legislation as intelligent public opinion, so informed, might demand.

The railroads will accept the findings of such a commission upon the issue of an eight-hour basis of pay as compared with the present basis, as well as upon any other matters now in controversy that may be submitted to it by either party.

The commission should consist of not less than five members, and should also be authorized to hear and determine all questions that may arise in the application of the findings of said commission or in the working out of such plan as it may propose.

The presidents of the railroads are prepared to continue negotiations on the subject with genuine anxiety, within the limits of their conviction above expressed, to find a solution of the situation.

On the 31st the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce gave hearings of six hours—three hours to each side of the controversy. These hearings occupy 157 printed pages. On the same day Chairman ADAMSON of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, acting upon the belief that unless legislation satisfactory to the brotherhood was enacted by midnight September 2 the strike would take place, introduced his measure, which omitted the features of the President's recommendation offensive to the brotherhood. The following statement, printed in the Washington Star of the 31st, indicates the panicky situation:

HOW HIGH OFFICIALS ARE STRIVING TO-DAY TO AVERT STRIKE OF RAILWAY TRAINMEN.

President Wilson goes to Capitol to consult leaders in both Houses regarding legislation.

Renewing his efforts to have strike postponed, the President summons the four brotherhood heads to the White House at 2 o'clock.

Should President's personal appeal to brotherhood chiefs prove in vain, he is prepared to issue a statement calling publicly on members of the brotherhoods to bring about recall of its strike order.

Labor leaders in Congress tell brotherhood chiefs they will do labor lasting injury and provoke public wrath by persisting in their determination to strike unless Congress passes proposed legislation before Saturday midnight.

Leaders in both Houses agree—and President assures brotherhood officials—that prospects are an eight-hour law and provision for a commission to investigate wages will be enacted by Congress before Sunday.

Railroad managers and presidents, brotherhood chiefs, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, Assistant Attorney General Todd, and members of the Interstate Commerce Commission attend hearing before Senate Interstate Commerce Committee.

Postmaster General Burleson confers with President and insists mails be carried on every train moved if strike comes. If employees offer to run mail trains, he will insist that railroad furnish equipment.

Embargoes by railroads against perishable food supplies prove spur on Congress to hurry strike legislation.

Recall of 15,000 militiamen from duty on Mexican border is believed to be precautionary measure in connection with impending strike, as these troops are from States that are important railroad centers.

House took strike legislation into its own hands. Chairman ADAMSON of the Interstate Commerce Committee, supported by Speaker CLARK and Majority Leader KITCHIN, introduced a bill for eight-hour day and investigating commission, proposing under special rule to rush it through House and to Senate by Saturday.

Conference of administration officials at Capitol considered law of 1862 as authority for President to operate trains, especially for carriage of mails. No authority has yet been found a repeal of this statute.

The press of the same day contained the following evidence of activity:

After the Senators departure Majority Leader KITCHIN, Representative ADAMSON, and Postmaster General Burleson went into conference with the President.

ADAMSON BILL HELD UP.

Postmaster General Burleson and Representatives KITCHIN, ADAMSON and HARRISON, the latter a member of the Rules Committee, had been closeted in the majority leader's office in the House going over the Adamson bill. They discussed the situation, and meantime Mr. ADAMSON, who had planned to introduce his bill immediately, held up that measure pending their conference with the President.

Representative ADAMSON, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, said:

"We will pass the eight-hour bill introduced to-day in the House to-morrow. That will include the provision for an investigation of the effect of the eight-hour day on the railroads. That, we believe, will prevent the strike."

Following the conference the President returned to the White House.

"I have just been keeping in touch with things to see that they keep moving, and they are moving," said the President as he left the conference with congressional leaders. The president's face beamed with a broad smile.

PRESIDENT'S EXPECTATIONS.

The President expects that the action of the railroads in issuing embargo orders against perishable freight, thus affecting food, will have some effect in quickening action by Congress.

Statements of brotherhood leaders that if the eight-hour law is passed by Saturday night the strike order will be rescinded led the President to redouble his efforts to have the measure rushed.

The panicky conditions of House leaders were displayed by their total subserviency to the wishes of the brotherhoods, as indicated by the following statement of the press:

The House leaders arranged at the conference for expedition of the bill through the House. The Rules Committee, anticipating a probable lack of quorum of the Interstate Commerce Committee, will report a special rule to discharge that committee from consideration of the bill, so that it may be taken up and passed by the House Saturday afternoon at the latest.

BROTHERHOOD CHIEFS TO SEE IT.

Majority Leader KITCHIN, immediately after the conference with the President, directed that the House eight-hour bill as drawn should be carefully revised and gone over and that it be submitted to the brotherhoods for approval and assurances before it is passed.

"We are not going to pass anything unless it will stop the strike," said KITCHIN. "Mr. Garretson told the Senate committee that they wanted a penalty provision put in the bill.

"All we propose is an eight-hour day and for an investigation of the effect, pending which there shall be no interference with present wages. We want to see if the brotherhoods will agree to that."

PRESIDENT IS ACQUIESCENT.

From some of the Democratic leaders it was learned that the President favors some other plan and more effective legislation, but that if he can not get it at once he would accept the House proposal if it is put through.

"The House ought and will take prompt action," said Representative HARRISON, of Mississippi, following the conference. "The indications are that the Senate may not be able to act before Monday.

"The matter is of such grave importance that it demands quick and drastic action by Congress, without parley and without delay. I favor reporting a rule to put the bill through the House, allowing a reasonable time for debate, but without unnecessary delay.

"The responsibility is on the House and on Congress. Congress will act as once."

Further evidence of this panic that overcame official Washington, from the President down to janitor, was the presence of the President throughout the morning of the 31st in his office in the Capitol, where he could keep in close touch with every movement. The constant fear of the leaders that they might not meet the requirements of the four brotherhoods was told in this dispatch, printed in all the Washington papers September 2:

While the House was at work the three brotherhood heads, at the invitation of Democratic Leader KITCHIN, occupied the Ways and Means Committee room near the entrance to the House floor, and were in constant consultation with the labor spokesmen in the House. They were insistent that the eight-hour day provision go through without any of the arbitration or wage-fixing amendments put forward during the debate. Representative CASEY, of Pennsylvania, was constantly on the go between them and Representative KITCHIN, and Representative KEATING, of Colorado, who conducted their fight on the floor. When the vote was taken they obviously were pleased. Their failure to make statements was attributed to fear that anything they might say would have an undesirable effect upon deliberations in the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, this measure was born in fright, fathered by fear, cradled in partisan politics, and carried through to final action under duress. It was brought into the House by special rule, ordered upon its passage by 4.30 of the same day, sent to the Senate, which was then in session awaiting action of the House, where it was debated until 10 o'clock that night when agreement was reached to take a final vote by 6 p. m. of the next day, which was Saturday, to enable the President to sign it before the time limit fixed by the brotherhoods beyond which the strike order would not be revoked. The Senate displaced their own plan or proposal in order to take up the House bill and to save time and possible disaster to leaders refused the slightest amendment, to avoid the necessity of going back to the House for concurrence. I do not believe the history of legislation furnishes a duplicate of such action. This in my judgment was the high-water mark of national humiliation if not degradation, as one Member put it, as well as the low-water mark of national honor and dignity. It is but a suggestion of what is before us, and what will happen if this element of fear is to dominate the legislative body in the future as in these days just prior to an election. I am not inveighing against

the representatives of the 400,000 men nor am I asserting that they have no just ground for their claim.

The increase of wages may be warranted. I do not know; neither did any of us know. Information is necessary before intelligent action can be taken. We have not that information, and while there is so little consideration given for the 99 per cent of our population I can not foreclose arbitration of the dispute to vote for the contention of less than 1 per cent in a panic. These representatives of labor are to be congratulated upon their personal achievement in frightening Congress to its knees. The time chosen was well planned. They found a Congress in session that they had reasons to believe would do their bidding. This is not to say that they desired to bring the matter to Congress at the onset. The President did that for them. The history of the last Congress, as well as this, is such that they would not risk much in coming to this body. This Congress is not different from the Sixty-third Congress, which took the first step of a series of which this panicky act is but the third step. The first was when Congress obeyed the demands of certain leaders to exempt labor unions from the operation of the Sherman antitrust law. That was in 1913. President Wilson, not yet obsessed with the second-term germ, signed the sundry civil bill with the exemption, but he denounced in specific terms the exemption. He gave his reasons for signing the bill that there were other funds with which to prosecute such violation, otherwise a veto would have been interposed. Then came the second step, the Clayton bill—not a rider of an appropriation bill, but a legislative act—which wrote into statute law the legal exemption of certain classes of citizens—to be specific, labor unions—from the operations of antitrust laws. The bill passed both Houses and the President signed it, so far as we know without batting an eye. Here by law we declare that certain classes are free to do acts which if done by others would be criminal. That was sowing to the wind, and we are now reaping the harvest. In a panic, in the face of a threat to stop all transportation unless certain conditions are met by a certain time, this Congress, the legislative body of 100,000,000 American freemen, legislates upon a doubtful constitutional question, offers a remedy to avert a threatened danger that may prove worse than the disease. This Congress proceeds to do a thing in fear, under duress, and proposes a perfectly foolish procedure of investigation of the thing done, after it is done, to see whether we were right or wrong in doing it. We do this upon the demand of and for a small fraction of our people against the protest of the employers, and place the additional burden upon the public without consulting the public or even knowing our grounds, save that we can not help ourselves. Both House and Senate, in the presence of crowded galleries, rang out throughout the day the notes of fear that unless we compel the employers to grant the concession the country will face untold suffering. They were but repeating the statement of the President, which virtually was a dictation to Congress to order the public to pay the bills whether right or wrong. Such abject abdication of Congress has no precedent. Instead of capitulating to either side of this controversy, we should have, on the part of the public, ordered the two sides to compose their differences through arbitration.

Mr. Speaker, it will appear to be criticism which at no time is pleasant to say that the President made a fatal plunder when he abandoned the principles of arbitration by ordering one side to surrender its contention without arbitration. If the future did not hold such tragic possibilities as the outcome of this action makes inevitable, I would withhold the criticism. The evils toward which we are rapidly going are manifold. This step of abandonment of arbitration when taken by the head of our Government in an official command to the Congress sets a precedent against the best possible method of settling labor disputes from which we will not recover soon. It opens the Pandora box. The action caused the President to cease to be a mediator and made him a partisan dictator. It involves humiliation to Congress and dire possibilities to the country.

A second error was his abandonment of his plan laid before Congress in his public address to govern future events. This abandonment clearly indicates that he was in a state of panic which made him unwilling to insist upon any item not agreed upon by the four brotherhoods. From start to end he played to the one side in this controversy as demonstrated by the events here depicted. Nothing was done to offend the brotherhoods and nothing was left undone to please them. Even his signature to the resolution was affixed by the use of four pens, one for each brotherhood—a great play.

In the light of these events it may well be asked why all this staging. Mr. Gompers in his ready-made statement may have furnished the answer in his call upon union labor to support Mr. Wilson. The same answer is vocal about the corridors of both Chambers of Congress and in the hotel lobbies, where are heard assurances from Democratic leaders that Wilson has "cinched" the labor vote. While it was perfectly apparent that this element was in the play thus staged it is not conclusive that it will have that result. The average union man does his own thinking, and the mere suggestion of a delivery of his vote to any man or party by any head or committee will not set well. On the other hand, favors granted to the 400,000 men directly affected will not appease the 1,600,000 others engaged in the same employment but not included in this resolution.

Then the 2,000,000 union labor membership is but a small fraction of the great body of labor which will be called upon to help make up the increase ordered by this resolution. Explanations may be demanded. The uncertain effect that such legislation will have directly upon the business of the country and indirectly upon the vast body of labor is another item that must be considered. This play has two viewpoints. The American public are the final judges of what is equitable burden, and must be reckoned with ultimately when it is put upon them without their consent. They pay the bills, and will have a right to demand some consideration.

Mr. Speaker, my vote against this resolution was cast without fear or favor, because of my desire to avert a worse situation that we must all face sooner or later, because of the inevitable outcome of such legislation. It closes up the safe method of arbitration in a contest that is not temporary, but must be cumulative and which is just beginning, between forces which ought to be friends in cooperation rather than enemies in battle array.

When we openly abandon this method to adjust these inevitable conflicts we abandon constructive for destructive plans. We openly refuse peaceful methods and resort to the test of physical force and endurance. This is the contest this Government will face in the very near future. I have always stood for what I thought was the rights of labor, not only in organization, but in employment. In the Ohio constitutional convention, of which I was vice president, we gave authority to the legislature to enact laws to secure the eight-hour day, workman compensation, insurance against occupational diseases, minimum wage, and other items, all of which I supported by voice and vote; but we also urged arbitration as the best method of settling labor disputes.

Under no circumstances would I have supported any measures to foreclose that method of adjustment. I have voted here in Congress for the shorter hours. If this resolution were an eight-hour day instead of a raise of wages under the guise of eight hours, I would not have hesitated to cast my vote for it, provided I was convinced that it could have been made workable. But that was not the issue. The determinant with me was whether we should foreclose arbitration in future disputes and invite open warfare between these mighty forces.

Mr. Speaker, at a former time, when the Congress was not in a panicky state of mind, I gave my views of the relation between capital and labor, which I still hold. I then said:

"Two views of labor have been held by the race—one looked upon it as an involuntary compulsion to be shunned as an evil; it was variously pronounced a task, a burden, a curse. The other view looked upon it as an opportunity, not necessarily an end in itself, but rather a means to an end—the end being the achievement. The former view was due largely to the stratification of society, which was built upon the basis that labor was of the many for the sake of the few. Even in the most cultured days of Greece the great mass of the population, fully nine-tenths, were mere slaves of the small proportion known as citizens. When the scholars of that country were gathered in the academic groves of Athens to be taught by Plato and Aristotle most of the teachers were consigned to a life of labor with no control over their time or talent.

"The same deduction in a sense could be made of feudal Europe down to the thirteenth century. In a smaller measure this stratification could be seen in modern Europe.

"Probably it is true that our own country, the home of the great middle-class population, offers the best concrete examples of a reversal of the rule so long observed. Here we can see the promised fruition of a principle that labor is not a curse but a blessing. There is one steady tendency to be observed—power and privilege gradually slipping from the few, and an equally noticeable growth of these among the many. The one is constantly lessening while the other is increasing.

"In our own country there is a constant growth of appreciation for the average man. The credentials of success of preferment are no longer birth, name, possessions, position, or accident. The poor of to-day may be the rich of to-morrow. The laborer of to-day may be the captain of industry to-morrow.

The weak of to-day may be the strong of to-morrow. The ruled of to-day may be the ruler of to-morrow. This possibility dates to the honor with which labor is held in the world. Whatever may have been its level in the past, it is one of honor in the future. The mere fact that the laborer of to-day may become the employer of to-morrow is an assurance that is destined to be held in proper regard. Long ago our country admitted that it was not the thing done, but the manner in which it was done that dictated its rank. Some labor with brain alone—the professions—others labor with hand alone—menial service—while still others labor with hand directed by trained brain—that is the skilled worker. It is the purpose of modern society to multiply this skilled class. This is the purpose of the vocational school which has taken such deep hold upon the country that Congress has now a bill before both bodies providing Federal aid for such training to the amount of $7,000,000 annually. It is the conviction not only of the vocational commission, but of most thinking people, that our future welfare as a Nation lies in our ability to insure a happy and successful worker. The vast mass of our people must live by the work of their hands. The problem is to guarantee not only the maximum of product, but also the acme of joy to the worker. As I said on the floor of the House—

"'The first and chief duty of any government republican in form, in which its character must depend upon the intelligence of the body politic, is education, the broadest possible educational training to service to the State and Nation.

"'The real function of government is to produce a high-grade citizenship. Indeed, that is the ground for government, with all the burdens entailed. This citizenship may and must be viewed from two angles—first, the State, and, second, the individual. The character of the citizen's activity is twofold; it is purely mental, which until recently expressed itself in professional occupations; or it may be physical largely, which is seen in manual labor. The latter represents the great bulk of any nation's people The educated product of a community is divided into three groups, viz, the college graduate, the high-school graduate, and those who leave school before the high school is reached. The college graduate represents less than 2 per cent, the high-school graduate numbers less than 6 per cent, while those below the high school are at least 93 per cent. Most obviously the 93 per cent must be the chief concern of the State.

"'With no systematic vocational program, our present system does not reach the great mass of the youth by giving that sort of education that will best fit them to adjust their lives to the work they must follow after leaving school. The maximum results of education stop short of the professional rank. It is not adapted to the most needed knowledge and training; it does not seek to produce the highest skill, and really is that unsettling process for failure rather than success.

"'The country's error with the great mass of our people is due to the wrong conception of the object of education, which is confined to simple culture, with little reference to the real work of the citizen.

"'Broad, general culture is the chief goal of the teacher—the altruistic leader. In this class are placed all great educational lights and leaders—Pestalozzi, Kant, Fichte, Arnold, Channing, Wayland, Horace Mann, and Emerson.

"'Most of these spiritual leaders regarded education its own reward. A boy or a girl should be educated primarily because he was a human soul which would be most sinful to allow to remain unopened. The chief measure of any system of education was the amount of soul power expressed by spiritual appreciation that could be realized.

"'While this conception should be kept before the Nation, it is perfectly apparent in this workaday world that this goal is not the lot of the vast mass of the human family. The Nation must face the problem as it is and not as it ought to be; however, the final goal should not be lost sight of. In the condition which confronts the Nation rather than a theory, over 90 per cent, or 9 pupils out of every 10, will be called on by the State to make a living by the employment of manual labor—work with their hands. A system of education that does not care for the nine-tenths is notoriously faulty. This great body of pupils are not necessarily what they are by choice, but by circumstances which they can not control, whether by lack of foresight and ability is not at issue. However, the State, by a proper system of education, can minimize the evil influences and multiply greatly the useful products of the talents awaiting development. The system should seek to enable the youth to command his environment. If he is on the farm and is to follow the plow, sow the crop, and reap the harvest he should be trained to do it, not as his father did, necessarily, but in the best way to compel the earth to yield its maximum product with a minimum expenditure of energy. His agriculture should be scientific. If he is in the city, then the work of his hand should not be after the methods of his ancestors for generations past, but should reflect knowledge of the subject, science, and skill in handling—art.

"'The interests of the farm call for agricultural training schools. The congested urban life calls for vocational schools, combining the science of the technical school and the art of skill of the industrial school.

"'What has been accomplished, and how, on the farm? What can and should be done among the urban peoples?

"'The real purpose of the State should be to keep open to every youth an equal opportunity to make the most of life. It should assist in clarifying purpose and presenting opportunity. The boy who is to till the soil should be led to it in the best possible way. The boy or girl who is to work in a shop should be educated for it. In other words, the State should assist in preparing every citizen for some vocation. This duty is twofold—first, its reflex upon the worker, and, second, its effect upon the State.'

"I see no better way to solve the problem of labor and capital, which becomes acute at periodic times, than a proper conception on the part of both of the rights and duties of each, which must be expressed by the word 'cooperation,' and which in turn demands efficiency on the part of labor and rational consideration on the part of capital. The sensitive feature of this problem is revealed continually by numerous items, such, for example, as the recent report of the Industrial Commission on Unemployment in the United States. All are agreed on the fact of unemployment. It is not psychological. But there is a wide difference as to the causes. The significant difference is displayed by the 183 witnesses affiliated with labor in contrast with the 181 affiliated with the employers of labor."

"A careful study of these divergences reveal the acute difference. One group assigns one line of causes; the other an entirely different line. If there is no agreement on the cause, there can be none on the remedy. This confusion may be due in part to a failure in comprehending the real situation, in part to prejudice, and in part to the work of propaganda. So long as the problem is viewed as a contest rather than as a cooperation extravagances must be expected.

"John Stuart Mill once said you must always demand more than is possible to grant in order to secure as much as possible. If this policy is pursued, and the demands become regnant, as is so often the case, these two great forces become armed camps of opposing forces instead of affiliated bodies for mutual helpfulness. A proper conception of this problem would avoid the unwisdom of the demand for legislation discriminating between citizens in a Republic, where every citizen is equal to every other citizen under the law. No thoughtful citizen can contemplate such legislation with equanimity. A law which declares an act unlawful if performed by one man and lawful if committed by another is more serious to this Republic than is at once discerned. It is based upon a misconception of the relation of capital and labor. This same serious situation is revealed in such statements as 'the business man holds the balance of power in Congress,' or 'labor has the balance of power.' Such propaganda proceeds upon the basis that the two are enemies.

"The solution of this problem lies in a better comprehension of the relation of capital and labor. This relation depends upon a recognition of the rights of both. Capital has rights that labor must respect; labor has rights that capital must respect. These rights are not antagonistic but cooperative. So long as the two are regarded as at enmity, the problem is serious and both must suffer. Capital, which assumes all the risk, must be conceded a profitable investment; its owner must be granted the right of contract, with the remedy for its violation. Labor, on the other hand, must be conceded fair wages, reasonable hours, steady employment, and the right of contract, with remedy for violation. It can also demand certain assurances, as against insanitary conditions and caution against injury, and so forth.

"Capital must depend upon a degree of cooperation and efficiency on the part of labor in order to insure labor's rights. On the other hand, labor must depend upon the willingness of capital to guarantee those rights not merely as rights of labor but as duty of capital.

"The profits of capital must look to the efficiency of labor, and the efficiency of labor must look to the profits of capital. The two must be in accord; each must see the other's advantage, else both must waste."

Mr. Speaker, instead of the Nation's Congress legislating in a panic, in a manner which all openly deplore and many expressly declare themselves helpless to do otherwise, it would be more in keeping with the public welfare and the dignity of legis-

lation to calmly and deliberately go forward to meet in an orderly, not a revolutionary, way the problem that is inevitable. Above all, we should not openly invite great complications by a craven surrender of principle in order to avert a possible period of suffering. Had the strike leaders refused to revoke the order—which I do not believe they would have done, in the face of public sentiment—it is quite apparent that it would have been very brief at best, if it would have more than interrupted traffic temporarily. It would have been better, in my judgment, to have kept free from taking sides until public interests would have demanded the Government's intercession, and then by a decree that if the adjustment can not be reached the Government would serve the public until it could be done. This strong hand will inevitably be called into requisition. The Government's function is not to decide between contestants, but to induce them to compose their differences. In the sight of recent events the future will be ominous.

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**"A Government Touches the Lowest Point of Ignominy When It Confesses its Inability to Protect the Lives and the Property of its Citizens."**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN R. FARR,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 1, 1916.*

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, with other preeminent attainments, ex-President Theodore Roosevelt is distinguished as a close student of history, and ready and forceful in the application of the lessons of history to the emergency of a particular occasion.

When he heard the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Charles E. Hughes, make his masterful arraignment of the administration of President Wilson in his speech of acceptance of the nomination in New York, July 31, 1916, Col. Roosevelt, in an interview given to the newspapers, said:

Just before coming in to listen to Mr. Hughes's just characterization of Mr. Wilson's failure to protect the lives and property of Americans in Mexico and on the high seas, I happened to look up John Fiske's Critical Period of American History, and was struck by the following two sentences:

"A government touches the lowest point of ignominy when it confesses its inability to protect the lives and the property of its citizens."

"A government which has come to this has failed in discharging the primary function of government and forthwith ceases to have any reason for existing."

Mr. Hughes has pointed out in his speech, with self-restraint but with emphasis, that it is precisely this primary function which Mr. Wilson's administration has failed to discharge, and that it is precisely this point of ignominy to which he has reduced the Nation over which he is President.

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**American Industries After the European War—History Constantly Repeats Itself.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JULIUS KAHN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, about twenty-three hundred years ago Thucydides, the Greek historian and philosopher, declared that history constantly repeats itself. The truth of that assertion has been demonstrated time and again during the brief existence of these United States. Our history has repeated itself constantly and will continue to do so, no doubt, during all the years of our national life. But the surprising thing about it is that we learn nothing from past experiences. The lessons of past history are entirely lost upon us. Let me give an illustration that is particularly apt at the present time.

During the War of 1812 and the period of the Napoleonic wars, by reason of British orders in council, Napoleon's decrees, nonintercourse acts, and embargoes, our foreign trade was practically wiped out. In consequence our home industries grew at a rapid rate. The attempt to shut off our foreign trade resulted in the upbuilding of American factories, mills, and workshops. Despite the damage to our shipping the country was exceedingly prosperous. Our tariff duties were not high, but the war prevented the mills and workshops of Europe from dumping their manufactured products on the markets of the United States. Napoleon, however, met his Waterloo on June 18, 1815. The armies of Europe were gradually disbanded and the soldiers returned to the farms, the mills, and the factories. The conclusion of peace immediately threw our ports open to foreign trade. It was not long before the producers of Europe were dumping their surplus productions into our markets. These soon became glutted. Shiploads of cottons and woolens and ironware came in a veritable flood to our shores. The agents of the producers offered them for sale on most liberal terms. They gave long credit. So steady and constant was the stream of goods, wares, and merchandise sent to the United States that they were finally put up at public auction and disposed of to the highest bidders.

Lord Brougham justified the speculative character of this trade on the ground that—

It was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation in order by the glut to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war had forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things.

No American interested in the upbuilding of the industries of his country should ever forget that statement. It has been the principle upon which all those foreign producers who would destroy American enterprise have constantly acted.

From 1815 to 1816 the importations doubled. American woolen mills were compelled to shut down, and many of the owners were ruined. The manufacturers of iron on the Atlantic seaboard shut down their furnaces and put out their fires. Congress was memorialized by the cotton manufacturers of New England and Pennsylvania for protection against the low-priced goods from England and India. The manufacturers of paper and the printers protested against the competition of Holland and France. The sugar planters of Louisiana, the manufacturers of cordage of Massachusetts, the hat makers of New York, the gunsmiths of Lancaster, Pa., and the owners of hemp factories in Lexington, Ky., all demanded protection against European competition.

As a result of these insistent demands, on February 12, 1816, Mr. Dallas, then Secretary of the Treasury, submitted a protective-tariff bill to Congress. Many increases in import duties were subsequently enacted by the Congress, but they were insufficient to keep out the flood of foreign importations. Up to this time the tariff had not been framed with the sole idea that American manufacturers were to be protected from the cheap labor of Europe and Asia. But ultimately the tariff act of 1824 was intended to afford such protection.

During the period between 1819 and 1824, by reason of the enormous importations of foreign goods, the factories in the United States languished and the country was in a state of panic. The tariff act of 1824 afforded considerable relief, but the duties were still found to be insufficient. Therefore in 1828 the tariff rates were still further increased. This law of 1828 was denounced by South Carolina and other Southern States, and finally led to the compromise tariff of 1833, which was said to give "a lease of nine years to protection." Under this latter act the duties were practically scaled down by one-tenth of the excess over 20 per cent each year, until in 1842 there would remain a horizontal rate of 20 per cent ad valorem on most all imported commodities. These latter tariff measures stopped the influx of foreign goods into our markets and resulted in the further upbuilding of American industries. However, about this time the tariff became a sectional issue. The cotton growers of the South demanded free trade. The manufacturers of New England and the Middle States demanded protection for their growing industries. And then in 1846 the so-called Walker tariff was enacted into law.

It was a tariff for revenue only. It was stated to be the lowest tariff this country had ever known. It was followed by great prosperity, and the Democrats have constantly endeavored to credit that prosperity to the Walker tariff of 1846. Republicans, on the other hand, assert that the tariff law had absolutely nothing to do with this prosperity. It was due to other causes, they maintain. In the same year that the Walker law was enacted we declared war against Mexico, and for two years we were engaged in a struggle with that country. During this period, with thousands of men taken from the industrial centers of the country to fight in the armies of the United States, thus reducing the supply of labor, the country was prosperous despite the low tariff.

In the same year, 1846, Elias Howe invented the sewing machine, which immediately came into use and materially re-

duced the cost of production of manufactured cotton and woolen goods. In the year 1848 gold was discovered in California. It added materially to the world's supply of the yellow metal. In 1851 this supply was again enhanced by the discovery of gold in Australia. Then came the Crimean War in Europe. There were great demands for the products of American farms and workshops, which added greatly to the prosperity of the United States. By reason of these events the Republicans insist that during that period any kind of a tariff law would not have interfered with the prosperity of the United States. That prosperity, they claim, resulted from all these collateral and fortunate circumstances I have narrated. Then, in 1857, by reason of the apparent prosperity of this country, Secretary Walker advised a still further reduction of import duties.

The tariff act passed in that year cut down all the rates in the various schedules considerably below those that had been in force since the passage of the law of 1846. And then came the panic of 1857. There is no doubt that the lowering of the tariff duties by the act of March 3, 1857, helped materially to bring about this crisis. Mr. Blaine in his "Twenty Years in Congress" expressed this view, as follows:

The protectionists therefore held that the boasted prosperity of the country under the tariff of 1846 was abnormal in origin and in character. It depended upon a series of events exceptional at home and even more exceptional abroad—events which by the doctrine of probabilities would not be repeated for centuries. When peace was restored in Europe, when foreign looms and forges were set going with renewed strength, when Russia resumed her export of wheat, and when at home the output of the gold mines suddenly decreased, the country was thrown into distress, followed by a panic and by long years of depression. The protectionists maintain that from 1846 to 1857 the United States would have enjoyed prosperity under any form of tariff, but that the moment the exceptional conditions in Europe and in America came to an end the country was plunged headlong into a disaster from which the conservative force of a protective tariff would in large part have saved it.

Thus our past history should teach us what to do to-day. Do we want a repetition of what we went through right after the Napoleonic wars and the Crimean War? Is not history repeating itself to-day in the Underwood tariff law of 1913? The Speaker of this House, Hon. CHAMP CLARK, in addressing the House when the Underwood tariff bill was passed, proclaimed it the lowest tariff law that had ever been enacted by the American Congress. He said it was even lower than the Walker tariff of 1846. Be that as it may, the customhouse records disclose the fact that during the few months it was in operation prior to the outbreak of the European war at the beginning of August, 1914, the manufactured imports from the factories of Europe, and especially in woolen and cotton goods, increased enormously.

Our own factories began to close down just as they did during the low-tariff period following the Napoleonic wars. Again the flood of manufactured goods which reached our shores was causing our own mills and workshops to shut down. History was repeating itself. Our workmen were thrown out of employment and hundreds of thousands of factory hands were idle. Soup houses were established in many communities in the industrial centers of our country.

However, the outbreak of the European war cut off the importations from the countries across the Atlantic. Soon after the beginning of the war the factories of this country began to manufacture munitions of war and all kinds of supplies to be used by the armies of the belligerent nations. As a result we have had prosperity in those sections of the country which are engaged in this manufacture. But what will be the aftermath? The mills and factories of England have not been destroyed. They will be ready to resume operations the moment peace is declared. Germany has not been invaded. Her factories, too, are intact. When peace shall be proclaimed her soldiers will return to the arts of peace. The factories of England and Germany will be running again, full blast. Both countries will be in need of ready money to replenish their empty treasuries, and again the products of their mills, their factories, and their workshops will be dumped on the American market under the low tariff duties of the Underwood law.

I hope the lessons of the past will not be lost upon my countrymen. I hope that realizing the dangers that confront American industries they will elect to the Senate and to the House enough Members pledged to the enactment of a protective tariff to insure the passage of such a law. If they will but take a page from their own history, the history of the first half of the nineteenth century, they will elect as President the Republican candidate who is pledged to the enactment of a protective tariff.

Why even Great Britain is beginning to seek remedial legislation to prevent the dumping of the goods of other nations into her ports at the close of the present war. She has always been considered a free-trade country. Her business men are among the shrewdest traders in the world. On July 13, 1915, a "subcommittee of the advisory committee of the board of trade on commercial intelligence, with respect to measures for securing the position after the war of certain branches of British industry," was appointed. This subcommittee investigated the conditions that will probably arise after the war in the following lines of enterprise: Paper manufacture, the printing trades, including color printing, the stationery trade, the jewelers and silversmiths' trade, cutlery, fancy leather goods, glassware, table glass, laboratory ware, and glass bottles, china and earthenware, electrical apparatus, brush, and so forth, trade, and hardware.

Among the remedies suggested and recommended in the report is that of tariff protection. The report was made on the 11th day of January, 1916. It states:

We are bound to say that so far as our particular inquiry has gone, though some amount of weight has been attached to the various proposals put forward, * * * they were all regarded as of secondary importance in comparison with one question, and that is the possibility or otherwise of tariff protection after the cessation of the war. Practically all of the representative firms and associations consulted by us asked for a measure of protection.

If that represents the attitude of the British manufacturers, how much more important is it that laws be enacted for the protection of American industries. With our high scale of wages, our better working conditions, how much greater is our need for protection. Let us prepare our country against the certain flood of manufactured goods from Europe that is bound to come under the existing Underwood tariff law. Let us not be deaf to the voice of the past. A protective tariff framed by a Republican Congress pledged to the principles of protection and signed by a Republican President will alone avert financial catastrophe when this cruel European war is over.

## Defense of Mr. Samuel Herrick.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ROYAL C. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article in an Oregon paper appears the following:

WASHINGTON, *August 7, 1916.*

Congressman SINNOTT, greatly pleased by the passage of his bill appropriating $94,000 for the relief of the settlers of Sherman County, Oreg., who were dispossessed by the Eastern Oregon Land Co., is strongly of the opinion that attorneys claiming fees for services in securing passage of the bill are entitled to nothing on that account.

Samuel Herrick, a Washington attorney, has contracts with a number of the claimants providing that he is to receive 20 per cent of the sum realized for presenting their case to Congress. The bill provides that not more than 5 per cent shall be paid on account of such claims, and Mr. SINNOTT says Herrick is not entitled to that.

HERRICK OF NO ASSISTANCE.

"Herrick was of no assistance at all in securing passage of this bill," says the Oregon Congressman. "He was rather a detriment than a help.

"When I came to Washington I went into this matter fully to determine why it was that this legislation had not made headway. I found that bills before Congress, which Herrick had prepared, failed to distinguish between good claimants and those who admittedly had no claim, although a report of Special Agent T. B. Neuhausen detailing the merits of the different claims was available.

"Many of the items in the bill thus presented could not be defended and the measure was consequently held up.

SINNOTT INTRODUCES BILL.

"In conversation with Herrick I learned that he had drafted the bill without reference to Neuhausen's comment on these claims. I then introduced the bill which has passed, in which I included meritorious claims that I felt could not be successfully attacked. This bill has passed through my efforts and the efforts of other members of the Oregon delegation. Herrick had nothing to do with it, and no one owes him anything for services, so far as I can see."

Mr. Herrick is a fellow citizen of mine, a resident and voter of South Dakota, and known to me to be an upright, conscientious, and able lawyer, particularly in his specialty of public land and mining law. Graduating from the Columbian Law School of this city at the very head of a class of 83, he has since made good and fulfilled the promise thus held out. When I was attorney general of the State of South Dakota I had occasion to learn of his capability and qualities in a land case against the State, in which he had been employed by my predecessor in office. Only last winter he was again employed by that State in some important litigation in the United States Supreme Court, involving the constitutionality of the State primary law, and was successful therein. He likewise appears for the State of Mississippi in all of its land grants, has one or more cases pending for the State of Florida, a large number

for the State of Louisiana, and represents many important interests before the Interior Department and the courts, though his services are usually to be found on the side of the lowly homesteader.

As an instance of the way in which Mr. Herrick is regarded by men in public life, I quote the following from a letter of introduction given August 20, 1908, to the then Secretary of Agriculture by Hon. Francis W. Cushman, long a member of this party from the State of Washington and known, loved, and revered here as "the Abraham Lincoln of the House." In this letter Mr. Cushman says:

I do wish to say that from a long and intimate acquaintance in Washington City with Mr. Herrick that I not only regard him as a lawyer of unusual attainments, but one of the most intelligent and conscientious men I have met in Washington City. I have had considerable business with him, and I have been impressed with his sincerity and uprightness.

The following might be quoted from a letter to Mr. Herrick, dated August 28, 1908, from Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST, then district attorney of Coconino County, Flagstaff, Ariz., and now United States Senator from that State:

I have received and carefully read the brief filed by you in support of the appeal of the H. E. of Victor La Londe. I congratulate you very heartily, for it is the best brief, the most complete, the most concise, and the strongest I have ever read in an H. E. contest, and I have had more than 60 cases before the department in which briefs were filed in my behalf by other attorneys.

If we lose this case, it will not be your fault; and if we win it the glory will all be yours.

The late Senator Kittredge, from my own State, wrote Mr. Herrick on August 26, 1907:

I again extend congratulations to you for the success with which you are meeting in the numerous South Dakota cases.

The following recommendation was given by the Hon. Jesse J. Dunn, of Oklahoma, who was chairman of the first constitutional convention of that State and subsequently chief justice of the supreme court of that State, a man described by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. FERRIS], in a letter dated March 17, 1908, as "one of the best and brainest men we have in Oklahoma. This statement does not only come from me, but would come from almost any citizen in the State." Mr. Dunn wrote a Wichita (Kans.) firm on January 17, 1907, thus:

We recommend Mr. Herrick of your city, who we regard as the very best land lawyer in the United States. He has done a great deal of business for us and has always done it in the best and most satisfactory manner and for the most reasonable fees.

The following is from a letter to him, of March 17, 1907, from the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. MCCUMBER]:

I fully appreciate your good work in this matter, as in all others you have had to do with, in which you have been interested.

The following is in a letter from the late Senator Kittredge, dated Sioux Falls, September 13, 1913, to Mr. Henry Heinz, of Elkton, in that State:

Mr. Herrick is an attorney in whom I am sure you can place the utmost confidence. He has done a great deal of work for South Dakota people on my recommendation, and has been very successful.

The late Senator Heyburn, on December 2, 1908, wrote Mr. W. M. Freeman, of Meadows, Idaho, a client of Mr. Herrick, as follows:

You can rest assured that you will get an impartial hearing in your contested land case. You have an excellent attorney, who will present your case in the most favorable light possible.

The Hon. Phanor Breazeale, formerly a Member of this body from Louisiana and later practicing attorney in Natchitoches, La., wrote on February 24, 1908, to Mr. Herrick, as follows:

We beg to assure you of our deep appreciation of your prompt and courteous attention to all matters sent you, and especially of the splendid way in which you handle all matters for us. We are proud of this success and take no credit to ourselves. We will continue to send all our business to you, and only wish we had more of it.

The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. KINKAID] wrote on August 18, 1908, as follows:

It has been my pleasure to know Mr. Herrick for the last three or four years, during which I have recommended constituents needing the services of an attorney in the Department of the Interior to employ Mr. Herrick, and through my recommendation he has been employed in several cases, and the services so rendered have proved satisfactory. I can only add that I regard Mr. Herrick as a reliable and worthy attorney and gentleman.

Similar letters might be quoted from former Congressmen Burke and Martin, of my State, both of whom recommended the retention of Mr. Herrick in land cases on many occasions, and both of whom I believe were never disappointed in him; also letters from other Members and former Members of both branches of Congress. But in view of the above, it seems hardly necessary.

As to this attorney's handling of matters before Congress, I will quote only one letter, namely, that written to him on March 4, 1907, by the Hon. Myron T. Herrick, then president of the Yak Mining, Milling & Tunnel Co., of Leadville, Colo., formerly governor of Ohio, and recently ambassador to France, a statesman of preeminent business qualifications and ability to judge men. He wrote as follows:

It seems to me that you have nearly broken the record. The passage of your bill has been marvelous.

After thorough investigation of the matter I am of the opinion that the criticisms of Mr. Herrick's services by the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. SINNOTT] were entirely uncalled for and unjust, and that, as a matter of fact, the passage of the measure in the form advocated by the gentleman from Oregon operated as an injustice to the settlers whose claims were eliminated.

The claims originated in 1900, when litigation over the title to certain lands in the overlapping limits of the Northern Pacific Railroad grant and The Dalles military wagon road grant resulted in a decision sustaining the latter grant and ousting the settlers who had been encouraged to go upon the lands by the Interior Department, most of whom had been allowed homestead entries thereon and many of whom had received patents.

In 1904 (33 Stat., 51) Congress directed an investigation of the claims of these settlers, and the Interior Department conducted a thorough investigation by Special Agent Neuhausen and two high officials in the Secretary's office, in the course of which nearly every tract of land was personally visited and a lengthy report to Congress was made. For several years nothing further transpired and the matter languished, but in August, 1908, one of the settlers and claimants, Uriah Serviss by name, came to Washington on behalf of himself and the others, and after consultation with a leading trust company of this city secured the services of Mr. Herrick. The matter was taken up vigorously with the then Oregon delegation, and bills were introduced in both the Senate and the House.

Upon reference to the Interior Department, report was made by Secretary Ballinger, neither approving nor condemning the measure, but suggesting that if any relief were given it be upon the basis of the Neuhausen report, as any further investigation would not be worth while. Accordingly, the Senate passed the bill not once, but twice or three times, the amount appropriated being $250,000, or so much thereof as might be necessary, and the amount going to each settler being the sum recommended by the special agent.

That Mr. Herrick was instrumental in presenting these claims to Congress and securing the active assistance of the Oregon delegation appears from a letter written him on November 15, 1909, by Senator Bourne, requesting him "to inform me regarding the nature of the claim and its status." Also by a letter addressed to him by Senator CHAMBERLAIN on December 9, 1909, reading thus:

I will be glad to confer with you in reference to this matter and to take such steps as may assist in having the Government do justice to these men. I can learn better the status of the matter by a talk with you than from the statements of the settlers.

The bills failed of passage in the House, but in the Sixty-second Congress favorable report was secured from the subcommittee of the Committee on Claims after presentation of the matter by Attorney Herrick, and favorable report was also made by the entire committee.

It was then that the gentleman from Oregon, Mr. SINNOTT, appeared on the scene, having been elected to Congress five years after the work was undertaken by the attorney mentioned, and after legislation had been passed twice by the Senate and had been favorably reported by the House Committee on Claims. Without reference to the opinion of others who had read the Neuhausen report, he rejected more than half of the claims as illegal or unworthy and prepared a bill appropriating some $96,000; also providing that no attorney should receive more than 5 per cent of any claim for his services. The attorney consulted with him, offered to cooperate with him fully, and to appear before the committee or subcommittee at any time.

The bill was passed, however, without any hearing given to said attorney, or anyone else, and went to the Senate. Mr. Herrick then appeared before the Senators from Oregon, Messrs. CHAMBERLAIN and LANE, urging that the elimination of more than one-half of the claims was unjust, and requesting a hearing in order that he might present their merits, and also argue as to the unconstitutionality of the provision in re attorneys' fees. Under date of July 7, 1916, the Senator from Oregon, Mr. LANE, wrote Mr. Herrick agreeing to give him the hearing, but several days later rendered a report from the committee recommending passage of the House bill without amendment. The bill then passed the Senate without discussion on July 31, and became a law on August 11, 1916 (Private, No. 93).

With regard to the provision as to attorneys' fees, it is evident from the above statement that there is a very serious

question as to its constitutionality. It was first inserted in a bill before Congress five years after Attorney Herrick entered upon the work, and after the bill was introduced in three different Congresses, was passed by the Senate twice, was favorably reported by the House committee once, also after he had rendered services before a committee of Congress wholly without compensation, but in reliance upon the contracts which he had received in the year 1908, and subsequent years. That Congress should, after eight years of such work, provide by statute that his compensation, fixed by contract, should be reduced 75 per cent, would seem to be clearly a violation of the fifth amendment to the Federal Constitution, declaring that no person shall be deprived of liberty or property without due process of law.

Precisely the same question came before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia a year ago in the case of Moyers & Consaul *v.* Fahey (at law, No. 57944). The provision in the omnibus claims act of March 4, 1915, fixing 20 per cent of the amount recovered as a maximum amount to be received by attorneys for services rendered in the prosecution of the claims appropriated for, was held by Justice Gould, in a carefully considered opinion, to be unconstitutional and void, and judgment was given the attorneys for the full amount of their claim, namely, 33⅓ per cent (Washington Law Reporter, vol. 43, pp. 691–694). No appeal was taken from this decision, and the question is therefore settled law in this District, so it would seem that Attorney Herrick will have no difficulty in winning out by proper proceedings in the courts. The inquiry naturally presents itself, however, as to the insistence of the gentleman from Oregon, Mr. SINNOTT, upon such a provision in an appropriation act when the courts of this District had only a few months before declared a similar provision (though not nearly so confiscatory a one as this) to be contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

Not only was this provision without the authority of law, but it was unsatisfactory and, in a measure, repudiated by some of the claimants themselves. Thus C. K. Mills, of Weiser, Idaho, wrote Mr. Herrick on March 11, 1915, as follows:

> I will say that I am pleased to hear from you and think that you should go ahead as you think best, as we people would have gotten nothing at all had it not been for your services. I personally will pay the 20 per cent as per contract.

Ella G. Marshall, widow of Warren D. Marshall, claimant No. 25, and who is included in the present act, also wrote on March 11, 1915:

> I am very sorry that you lost such a big part of your commission, but I certainly, for one, appreciate your efforts in our behalf.

R. H. Grosser, claimant No. 166, wrote his attorney on May 22, 1916, that:

> We did not think it was right that they should cut down the amount you received. We believe you did the best you could and hope you can get another bill through.

March 5, 1915, Mrs. Uriah Serviss, widow of the first abovementioned claimant, thus wrote:

> I know my husband would have paid you just what he agreed to, and I shall do so, and I know you have earned it. When the claim is paid you will receive your compensation. My husband had confidence in you, and I am willing to trust you to do what is best for me in this matter.

Again, on August 10, 1916, after the passage of the present bill providing for her claim, Mrs. Serviss again wrote Mr. Herricks as follows:

> I fully realize that you have worked long and efficiently in my behalf and interests, and therefore leave the matters of fees entirely with you. Whatever you decide on will be entirely satisfactory to me, and upon receipt of the warrant I will at once remit the amount of your charge to you.

So, on March 20, 1915, Harry Smith, of Oakland, Cal., thus addressed his lawyer:

> I suppose by the time another Congress meets that we will be forbidden to have an attorney to represent us, as I see that they have cut your commission down to almost nothing, but I admire a man that keeps staying with them. * * * It will do no good to pass this bill after we are dead and gone, as a great many are already.

C. W. Barzee, of Portland, Oreg., claimant No. 104, thus wrote Mr. Herrick on March 4, 1915:

> I note the provision that your percentage shall be changed to 5 per cent. This change should not affect the deal between you and your clients. You demanded nothing from us by way of expense to us; [it] is a clean gain, as the proposition was lost cause to us through the dilatory method of Congress. Rest assured that I shall deal fairly with you.

This same claimant, however, must have imbibed some of the ideas of the gentleman from Oregon during the following year, as on August 15, 1916, he thus wrote:

> I had previously been in correspondence with Representative SINNOTT regarding this matter, and have again taken it up with him. I will refrain from sending power of attorney until I hear from him thereabout. * * * I insist that this matter must be settled there and not individually among the clients. I shall await a reply from Mr. SINNOTT, and in the meantime you may confer with him regarding my claims in this letter.

Thus it seems that the activities of the gentleman from Oregon to reduce, or cut out entirely, attorneys' fees have not been confined to the introduction and passage of bills and to the giving of interviews to leading Oregon dailies, but have included epistolary communications to individual claimants.

With regard to the reduction in the number of claims from 203 to 67 and in the amount of the claims from $250,000 to $94,648.13, a consideration of the record should prove to any legal mind the injustice done to fully two-thirds of these claimants. Twenty-four of these were rejected in a body because they "made homestead claims to land in the overlapped area, but they since made homestead entry of other lands." The report admits they were probably entitled to some relief, but offers the excuse that "the report of Agent Neuhausen does not give sufficient data from which to make an intelligent estimate of the damage caused in each case." However, the Interior Department had repeatedly stated that uselessness of another investigation, and accordingly Congress should either have appropriated the full amount recommended by the special agent or else so much of such amount as the Interior Department should conclude to allow in each case.

Again, some 42 of the claims were rejected in a body, because "the applicants in these cases occupied the land in the first instance with the hope of obtaining title from the railway company, and the title of the railroad company failed." This reason was manifestly insufficient, because it makes no difference what the original idea of the settlers was so long as they claimed from the Government as homesteaders under the then ruling of the Interior Department, made improvements, and brought about cultivation under such claims, and later were ousted under the decision of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the title of the Wagon Road Co. In all our experience with Government claims I believe this to be the first instance where a valid claim against the Government has been rejected upon the ground that the claimant first had some erroneous idea irrespective of the real merits of the claim. Congress is going rather far to deny a right asserted under the United States laws and the departmental decisions, because the possessor of that right had some years previously an idea or intention of adopting a different course than the one he subsequently adopted and the one under which he sustained the loss for which the Government is responsible.

A large number of the other claims were rejected "because no entries were ever allowed by the Government." This likewise was no good ground for rejection, because, since the claimants lived on the land and suffered injury by reason of their ouster and loss of improvements, it is immaterial whether or not entry had been allowed. As a matter of fact, the Neuhausen report (No. 1442, 63d Cong., 3d sess.) showed that a large number of the homestead applications had been rejected because litigation was then pending in courts and that the Secretary of the Interior had thereupon reversed the local officers and directed allowance of the entries. The report of First Assistant Secretary Jones, dated September 4, 1914, found on page 19 of said report, stated that the department twice instructed the local officers by telegram, once in 1893 and once in 1897, to allow no entries on these lands. In view of the situation thus arising, with litigation pending in the courts and with proceedings before the Interior Department, the settlers without entries were just as well justified in proceeding with their improvements and cultivation as were those having entries of these lands.

With regard to some of these claims, we find a reduction in the amount without any reason assigned therefor.

Thus the two claims of Hiram E. Powell, deceased, were reduced from $3,108 to $2,000, while the two of Otis P. Messinger were cut from $3,040 to $2,000. The two of T. S. Hill, deceased, were changed from $3,520 to $2,000; those of Rufus H. King, from $3,920 to $2,000; that of Adolph Perrault, from $2,885 to $2,000; and, finally, that of Uriah Serviss, who had probably been more instrumental than any of the other individual claimants in ultimately securing a measure of relief, was reduced from $4,165, recommended by Special Agent Neuhausen, to a bare $2,000—and that in the face of the fact that after the ouster the Wagon Road Co. refused to sell him the land for less than $8,000, the letter of the secretary of the company to that effect being found on pages 142 and 143 of the Neuhausen report, supra. Possibly the fact that Uriah Serviss has for a number of years lived in the State of California and not in Oregon may account for the lack of interest in his claim and the allowance to him of a totally inadequate sum. Another feature of the report accompanying the bill introduced by the

gentleman from Oregon and recently enacted into law is the circumstance that several of the claims, namely, Nos. 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, and 133, have received no mention whatever, and were omitted without any reason being assigned therefor. This is rather strange in view of the statement in the report—No. 160, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session—that—

It is doubtful whether the report of Special Agent Neuhausen has ever been read by anyone representing the Government.

After thus indicting at least a considerable portion of two Senates of the United States, of the entire membership of the Committee on Claims of the Sixty-second Congress, not to mention Secretary Ballinger and other Secretaries of the Interior and their assistants, it would seem as though some slight mention should be given to seven of these claims, especially as all of the others are treated by number in regular order, and the slightest care would have demonstrated that seven of them were thus omitted.

That few Oregonians favored a reduction of the amount of these claims in the sum of more than three-fifths is evidenced by the fact that so late as December 10, 1915, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] introduced a bill (S. 1167) in the same form in which it had been introduced in previous Congresses by himself and Senator Bourne, and appropriating "the sum of $250,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary."

In this connection it is to be noted that none of the prior bills, and which have been so severely criticized, appropriated a lump sum for the payment of these claims, but only so much of such sum "as may be necessary," and then specified the sum as the amount recommended in the report of Special Agent Neuhausen. As to some of these claims Neuhausen recommended no relief to be extended, and consequently under the terms of these bills none would have been received by the claimants. Consequently the criticism above quoted, "that bills before Congress which Herrick had prepared failed to distinguished between good claimants and those who admittedly had no claims," falls of its own weight. Both the qualifying words after the mention of $250,000, the further provisions as to the maximum amount to be paid each settler, and the authority given the Secretary of the Interior to make the payments constituted ample safeguards against any excessive amount being paid to any claimant.

My object in discussing this case so fully is twofold: First, in my opinion an injustice was done Mr. Herrick by the publication of this article and, as a citizen of South Dakota, it is my duty to state the facts if he has been unfairly treated. Again, it appears that Members of Congress oftentimes indulge in much criticism of residents of Washington that is uncalled for, and criticism is made when it would not be made if the person attacked were given the right to vote and to take the same part in public life as that taken by residents of the several States. There is no redress for these attacks, and the publicity goes throughout the entire United States. No matter what course may be taken by others, I feel it to be my duty to defend any citizen of South Dakota when in my opinion he is unjustly attacked, and the statement of this case is made solely in the defense of Mr. Herrick, with no desire to criticize any other individual.

## Has President Wilson Kept Us Out of War?

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JULIUS KAHN,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, September 2, 1916.*

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Speaker, it has often been asserted that President Wilson has kept us out of war. I deny the assertion. We had war with Mexico for the second time in our history when we invaded her territory at Vera Cruz. We again had war with Mexico when we invaded her territory after the raid on Columbus, N. Mex. One might just as well say that Belgium is not engaged in war. Her territory, too, was invaded. Unlike the Mexicans, the Belgians fought back. The Mexicans only made sporadic attempts to fight back. In these attempts they killed and wounded American soldiers. If the Mexican people had been imbued with the spirit of the Belgians, we would not have escaped so easily.

If anyone doubts that we made war on Mexico when our marines and sailors landed at Vera Cruz, ask the mothers and fathers of the boys in blue who were killed on the streets of that Mexican seaport whether they believe we were at war with Mexico.

Ask the boys who were wounded on that occasion and for many weeks suffered intense pain as they lay groaning upon their cots in improvised hospitals whether the President kept us out of war.

Ask the wives and the mothers and the sisters of the Mexicans who were killed at Vera Cruz whether we were at war with Mexico.

Ask the wife of brave Capt. Boyd, who was killed at Carrizal, whether we were at war with Mexico.

Ask the mother of brave Lieut. Adair, who was also killed at Carrizal, whether we were at war with Mexico.

Ask the relatives of the United States soldiers who were treacherously slain at Carrizal whether we were at war with Mexico.

Ask the relatives of the 18 American civilians who were butchered at Santa Ysabel in Mexico whether we were at war with Mexico.

Ask the mothers and the sisters of those who were slaughtered in the raid on Columbus, N. Mex., whether we were at war with Mexico.

Ask the citizens of Brownsville, Red House Ferry, and Progreso post office and Los Peladas whether, in the attacks of Carranzista adherents, accompanied by looting, burning, and the killing of the peaceful inhabitants of those places, the President has kept us out of war.

Ask the women and children who were threatened with death at Tampico by an infuriated Mexican mob whether the President has kept us out of war.

Ask the thousands of American citizens who were called upon to abandon their property in Mexico and return forthwith to the United States whether the President has kept us out of war.

Ask the hundreds of those refugees who are in the United States to-day, practically penniless and in want, who were forced to leave their property and homes in Mexico because the Wilson administration refused to give them the protection to which they were justly entitled, whether the President has kept us out of war.

Ask the thousands of peaceful Mexicans who have suffered all the privations of hunger and famine during the period of "watchful waiting" whether the President has kept us out of war.

And, finally, ask the wives and the children, the dependent mothers and fathers and sisters of the 150,000 national guardsmen who have been called from their usual peaceful avocations and who will be encamped on the Mexican border for the Lord knows how long, whether the President has kept us out of war with Mexico.

In 1912 the Democratic platform proclaimed this high-sounding doctrine:

The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders, and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property.

In the campaign of 1912 the President was very insistent in saying that—

The Democratic platform means what it says. It is not molasses to catch flies.

Surely the way this plank has been executed by the present administration is proof positive that not a word of it was intended to be carried into effect but that it was only "molasses to catch flies."

How the lives and property of American citizens have been safeguarded on the border I will leave for Mr. Lansing, the Secretary of State of this administration, to describe. After several years of "watchful waiting" the Secretary of State sent a letter to the head of the de facto government in Mexico in which occurs this remarkable language:

The progress of the revolution in Mexico: Continuous bloodshed and disorders have marked its progress. For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered nonproductive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, and in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war.

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the past nine months in particular, the

frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized. American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed and their equipment and horses stolen; American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered. The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso post office, and Las Peladas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory, Carranzista adherents, and even Carranzista soldiers took part in the looting, burning, and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated.

Representations were made to Gen. Carranza, and he was emphatically requested to stop these reprehensible acts in a section which he has long claimed to be under the complete domination of his authority. Notwithstanding these representations and the promise of Gen. Nafarrete to prevent attacks along the international boundary, in the following month of October a passenger train was wrecked by bandits and several persons killed 7 miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made upon United States troops at the same place several days later. Since these attacks leaders of the bandits well known both to Mexican civil and military authorities as well as to American officers have been enjoying with impunity the liberty of the towns of northern Mexico. So far has the indifference of the de facto government to these atrocities gone that some of these leaders have received not only the protection of that government but encouragement and aid as well.

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous.

That is the indictment of the Wilson administration in Mexico by its own Secretary of State.

And yet our Democratic colleagues have the effrontery to tell the people of the United States that President Wilson has kept us out of war.

## The Eight-Hour Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JAMES T. McDERMOTT,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, the eight-hour law for railroad employees that was passed Friday gave none of the absent Members a chance to vote. We were notified to be here to-day and vote, and I am here; and had I been here Friday I would have voted for this law, as it is what the men who run the trains wanted; and eight hours is long enough for this hard, nerve-racking work. I am glad to be here to-day to help in the final passage of this great humanitarian law and proud of the Democratic Party, which looks after the interest of the American workman, and it is with pleasure that I am here to-night to see the Speaker of the House of Representatives sign this excellent bill on its final passage before being presented to the President for his signature.

## Improvements in the Postal Service.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ARTHUR B. ROUSE,
OF KENTUCKY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, the story of postal administration under the Wilson administration is a story of the administration for the first time of the largest governmental business enterprise in the world on a strictly business basis.

The net surplus of postal receipts and expenditures for the four fiscal years 1913–1916 under President Wilson is more than $1,800,000.

During the four fiscal years 1905–1908, during Roosevelt's second term and under Postmasters General Cortelyou and Meyer, the postal deficit amounted to $48,739,639.34.

During 1909–1912, during Taft's administration and under Postmaster General Hitchcock, this postal deficit aggregated $24,937,657.40.

And but for the abnormal conditions in the fiscal year 1915, when the European war caused the only postal deficit recorded under Wilson and Burleson, the surplus for the four years would have amounted to from fifteen to twenty millions of dollars. It may amount to from thirty to forty millions during the next four years if Democratic administration is continued.

In the year ending June 30, 1908, the number of miles of mail service rendered annually by the Postal Service, exclusive of that performed by city and rural carriers, was 538,438,722. In the year ending June 30, 1912, this figure was 578,165,266, and in the year ending June 30, 1916, this annual mileage of mail service had become 618,116,956.

Surpluses of $3,800,000 and of $3,500,000 were paid into the Treasury for the fiscal years 1913 and 1914, respectively, and the surplus for the last fiscal year ending June 30 is $5,742,445. After annually recurring deficits the Wilson administration has put the Postal Service upon a self-sustaining basis.

THE SQUARE DEAL.

To provide equal service for everybody, to give the very best service everywhere, to eliminate "pull," privilege, and waste all along the line—these have been the guiding rules of the Postal Establishment under Democratic control.

Private interests doing work for Uncle Sam have been required to give honest measure for honest pay.

Postal employees of all grades have been compelled to place efficiency of the service above all other considerations. There has been open, fair competition in the bidding upon all contracts for furnishing postal supplies, and contractors have been required to live up to their contracts.

Principal officers of the great corporation which handles all the huge mail-transfer service in Greater New York bribed postal clerks for paltry sums to alter the records so that the rich corporation could evade payment of penalties for failing to meet contract obligations.

The general manager of the company, one employee of the company, and one post-office employee were sent to the penitentiary. The company was purged of every officer and employee of the company to whom was attached the least suspicion. The company was fined $50,000, sufficient to cover the losses of the Government.

The results of Postmaster General Burleson's administration of the Postal Savings System have been phenomenal. Under his guidance the number of depositors has increased from 310,000 at the beginning of March, 1913, to 603,000 at the end of June, 1916, while the amount deposited has increased during the same period from $30,000,000 to $86,000,000. The gain of nearly 50 per cent in the per capita deposit is convincing evidence of the prosperity of the working people of this country, who are the principal patrons of the postal savings banks.

HUGE GROWTH OF POSTAL SAVINGS.

Postmaster General Burleson urged upon Congress the necessity of removing the hindering restrictions imposed by the original postal savings act of June 25, 1910, on the amount that may be accepted from a postal savings depositor. In response to his recommendation an act was passed and received the approval of President Wilson on May 18, 1916, which enables any person to deposit any number of dollars, and at any time, until the balance to his or her credit amounts to $1,000, exclusive of accumulated interest. By the terms of the original postal savings act no one could deposit more than $100 in any one calendar month, nor have a balance to his credit in excess of $500, exclusive of accumulated interest. As a result of these restrictions, it has been estimated that as much money was refused at the post offices as was accepted. The removal of the hindering restrictions has been followed by an immediate and pronounced increase in postal savings deposits, which will ultimate in restoring a large part of the hidden money of the country to the active channels of industry and commerce.

Rapid progress has been made to secure stronger and safer mail cars. This tends to protect from death or injury the 21,000 railway mail clerks who are directly engaged in the railway transportation of mails.

Since March 4, 1913, 847 all-steel and 203 steel-underframe full railway post-office cars, a total of 1,050, have been placed in service, and 223 wooden full railway post-office cars have been retired from service. Of a total of 1,411 full railway post-office cars, there are now but 361 full wooden cars up to the construction requirements of the department, of which 337 are steel reinforced.

Also, railway postal clerks are afforded the added protection granted by the new liability law, which provides leave with pay for injuries sustained while on duty and relief for their relatives and legal representatives in case of death.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

When the present Democratic administration came into office between 2,000 and 3,000 petitions from patrons living in the rural districts asking for the establishment of rural free-deliv-

ery service were pending before the Post Office Department. To-day there are but 20 such petitions pending. Up to the close of 1915 there were authorized by the Post Office Department under the Wilson administration a total of 8,942 new rural free-delivery routes and extensions. It is a record without parallel in the postal administration of the country. More than 430,000 families have been accommodated with new or improved rural service between March 4, 1913, and March 31, 1916. Some of the conspicuous instances of the extension of the service where badly needed and with the number of families served are: California, 17,608 families; Illinois, 12,860; Indiana, 11,675; Iowa, 11,605; Kansas, 9,021; Michigan, 12,727; Minnesota, 14,650; Missouri, 25,844; Ohio, 21,526; Pennsylvania, 28,127; West Virginia, 10,718, and so through the list of States in the same liberal proportion.

REAL CIVIL SERVICE.

Under the Taft administration 47,000 fourth-class postmasters, although all were political appointees, were covered into the classified civil service by Executive order. This order was annulled by and provision made under Mr. Burleson for filling all fourth-class offices paying $500 a year or more by competitive examination. A limit was placed at $500 because of the difficulty of obtaining an eligible list of at least three applicants in the very small towns. A genuine civil service has been introduced in lieu of a system which merely perpetuated a political régime.

Mail service to all of the belligerent nations of Europe has been maintained. Parcel-post exchange with Germany and Austria was continued until last November, when the only steamship lines available refused to handle the business.

Extensions have been made in the international parcel-post and money-order systems which greatly improve the facilities of exchange between the United States and the countries of South and Central America. Parcel-post and money-order conventions have recently been negotiated with Brazil and Argentina, the two largest of the South American Republics. Five other new parcel-post treaties have been put in operation.

Five treaties have been concluded establishing the 2-cent letter rate from the United States to the Bahamas, Barbados, British Honduras, Dutch West Indies, and the Leeward Islands.

POSTAGE TO PAN AMERICA.

The Postmaster General is vigorously pushing negotiations to obtain treaties applying the 2-cent letter rate throughout the Western Hemisphere. The improvements already made are materially assisting the development of commerce with the Latin-American nations.

A parcel-post treaty with China has just been negotiated and became effective August 1. This will do much to help American trade expansion in the practically limitless field open among the 400,000,000 people of the Chinese Empire.

The Post Office Department is assisting materially in purifying the advertising columns of magazines and newspapers. It has joined heartily in the movement which tends to prevent acceptance by publishers of advertisements of a fraudulent nature.

In contrast with the lax attitude of the Taft administration on the subject, the fraud-order statutes have been relentlessly enforced against all fraudulent enterprises which use the mails in the circulation of their advertising "literature." During the last fiscal year 57 fraud orders were issued. In the same year 1,900 lottery schemes were barred from the mails.

## The Political Situation.

# SPEECH

OF

# HON. MEYER LONDON,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, July 21, 1916.*

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I hesitate to participate in a purely political discussion. This sort of speechmaking, to the effect that under a Democratic administration every hen will be laying three eggs and under a Republican administration only two and one-half eggs, does not appeal to me at all. The truth is, you can not judge of the effect of the Underwood tariff because of the abnormal conditions which now confront the world, so that all this talk about the effect of the tariff and what would have happened if something had not been what it was is purely speculative. It is self-evident that tariffs must ultimately be decided by civilized nations on the principle of reciprocity, on the principle of mutual accommodation, and of mutual advantage.

The Republicans love to indulge in talk about the United States becoming a world power; about abandoning the policy of isolation; about expanding the export trade. If we are to increase our foreign commerce, we can not pursue a selfish, narrow policy which disregards the interests of other nations. If every nation is to build around itself a Chinese wall of protection and exclusion, how can the exchange of articles among nations be profitable to any nation?

It was under protection that the wealth of the country concentrated in the hands of a few. The farmer has been so thoroughly protected that 37 out of every 100 farmers are tenant farmers, farmers without farms. It was under protection that a majority of the industrial workers reached the stage of destitution. It was under protection that child labor assumed such alarming proportions that even the most hardened reactionaries had to yield to child-labor legislation.

The tariff is no longer an issue between the two parties. The Democrats have absorbed enough of protectionism to be hardly distinguishable from the Republicans in that regard.

So far as the industrial and the agricultural workers are concerned, the two parties look very much alike.

The Democratic Party is essentially a middle-class party. It is the champion of the small man who wants to become big at the expense of other small men and primarily at the expense of the propertyless worker who has nothing to sell but himself.

It has set out to incorporate in the law of the land a number of measures which it believes will check the course of economic centralization.

It has announced that it would smash all monopolies and limit the power of the trusts. It would promote competition. And a number of laws having for their object the propping up of the middle class have been enacted by the Democrats.

But the economic law has proven stronger than statutory law. Not a trust has been dissolved. Not a single article of necessity has become cheaper.

And while the Republican Party represents the industrial oligarchy, and while the Democratic Party takes under its protecting wing the despairing middle class, both parties appeal to all classes, and particularly to the worker, because, strangely enough, while he has nothing else, he has a vote.

Both of you promise higher prices to the farmer and a reduced cost of living to the consumer, bigger profits to the employer and higher wages to the worker, higher rates to the railroad companies and lower rates to the shipper. You promise everything to everybody at the same time. You seek to accommodate all groups and all interests of society, no matter how irreconcilably they conflict. Necessarily you must resort to imagination. Necessarily you must exhaust your capacity for running away from facts; necessarily you find yourselves enmeshed in discussions that are not based upon the foundation of reality. You talk prosperity. Now you are prosperous. Only heaven knows how little you are responsible for that prosperity.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. The gentleman charges our prosperity largely to the European war and the good crops——

Mr. LONDON. I do not want to say that. I simply say that this habit of political parties to attribute temporary prosperity or temporary economic adversity to the influence of the party then in power is superficial, is foolish, and is beneath the dignity of statesmen. That has been done by both parties.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. The gentleman admits that times are universally better than heretofore?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. LONDON. I do.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. The gentleman admits that times are universally better than they were?

Mr. LONDON. I believe that, judged by existing standards, there is considerable business and considerable activity to-day, but to what extent is that activity due to the war and to what extent is it due to what you have done? Let us assume that every bill you have passed is of the best. What have you done to increase that prosperity? I am not arguing for the Republicans, because I am opposed to that line of argument which attributes prosperity to the result of your action in Congress. I am a Member of the National Legislature and am very proud of it, but I do not believe in the cure-all power of legislation. I do not believe you can bring prosperity forthwith by an act of Congress.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. He admits that prosperity is here?

Mr. LONDON. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS of Texas. Then if there is no other way to account for it we can account for it by the fact that all things work together for good to them that love the Lord, and the Democrats love Him this time.

Mr. LONDON. Oh, if you are going to attribute things to the love of the Lord, the question is not how much you love the Lord, but how much the Lord loves you. That is the real question.

Is the rural credit bill claimed by the Democratic Party as the cause of prosperity? Do you claim that the Clayton Act has contributed to prosperity? Has the good roads act contributed to prosperity? You have increased the Army and the Navy and increased the appropriations by six or seven hundred million dollars. Has that contributed to prosperity? Analyze measure after measure and honestly tell me which of them has contributed to prosperity. Then, you claim that the Underwood tariff has contributed to prosperity. The Underwood Tariff Act has not had a chance. Before the effect of that tariff became known the impatient people turned out so many Democrats from the House that it almost destroyed your majority. The people did not give you a chance to test the Underwood Tariff Act before the war. So you can not honestly claim that prosperity is due to the Democratic Party or Democratic statesmanship. [Applause on the Republican side.] On the other hand, the Republicans in the intensity of their partisanship refuse to give you credit for the good things you have done.

The one great accomplishment of the President, an accomplishment which should ungrudgingly be conceded, is that he has kept the country out of war. [Applause.] This is a great deal in the present frenzied state of the world. And while I am on this subject I want to remind you of the fact that I was the only one to vote against the Villa expedition, an expedition which has brought this country pretty close to the verge of war.

We Socialists will keep up our work of educating the masses. We will maintain our stout opposition to war and to everything that leads to war. While you talk military preparedness we will teach the workers to prepare for industrial democracy. Using their economic and political power, they will learn that there is no relief for the propertyless man except in the collective ownership and democratic management of the Nation's resources.

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## Address of President Howard Edwards, of the Rhode Island State College.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. WALTER R. STINESS,

OF RHODE ISLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. STINESS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House I insert in the RECORD the baccalaureate address of President Howard Edwards, of the Rhode Island State College, entitled "The Legacy of the Fathers":

BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT HOWARD EDWARDS, OF THE RHODE ISLAND STATE COLLEGE, JUNE 13, 1915.

"And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was born free." Acts xxii: 28.

Thus spoke two men concerning the freedom of citizenship under the Roman Empire. The soldier, to indicate the value that he placed upon it, emphasizes the greatness of the sum that he paid for it; the apostle, prizing the privilege none the less, glories in the greater claim that his fathers were also free and that the precious boon came to him by inheritance. He was born free. Such is the attitude toward Roman citizenship of men at the two extremes of mental outlook and environment, the one by profession a soldier, the other an apostle of Christian righteousness. Now, the freedom which these two men so highly valued was that of the Roman Empire, such freedom from personal harm as might survive under the absolutism of an Augustus or Tiberius Cæsar, a Caligula, a Claudius, or a Nero, to whose cruelty and luxurious lust Paul later owed the loss of his life. There is no comparison between the freedom of even the noblest Roman of Paul's day and that of the humblest human being in this American Republic of ours. The question that for many months has been knocking upon the door of my mind and calling more and more insistently for a reply is, Do our young people, especially in our colleges, begin to realize the preciousness of American citizenship? Do they stand ready, if necessary, to guard it with their lives?

THE PRICE OF OUR FREEDOM.

For this freedom of ours did not come by chance, and will not be perpetuated by nerveless sentimentalism and careless short-sightedness. Our fathers bought this freedom with a great price. They bought it at Bunker Hill, at Valley Forge, at Bennington, and at Yorktown. They paid the price of four years of civil war that "this Nation, under God," might "have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people" might "not perish from the earth." They have transmitted this freedom so purchased to us, and we can proudly boast that we are born free. Shall we guard and maintain it? Shall our children also be born free? The answer is with you, young men, in the attitude you take toward national policies and national duties.

No sane man desires war; no wise man but would go very far to avoid its unspeakable horrors. We do not need to be told of them; they leap at us from the pages of every newspaper we take up. But likewise no sane man does not recognize that great powers of evil are still abroad in the world and that they are restrained and can be controlled only by physical force. Inside the Nation we call this control the police force of city or of state. Outside, between nations, there exists no police force, and every nation must guard its own existence and keep its own honor by preparedness of its own force, just as the man of earlier days, before efficient police control, taught first of all his own hands to protect his head. It is idle and worse not to face the facts of the world in which we live because we long for and labor for the conditions of an ideal world which does not exist, and the one ugly fact that we can not ignore is that righteousness can not afford to allow unrighteousness to control and exercise the physical forces of nature and of man.

THE JINGO DANGER—WHERE?

I find it, therefore, exceedingly disturbing and alarming to read from a leader of opinions, for instance, that "force never settled anything." Then our Revolutionary War, which settled the independent status of this Nation, and our Civil War, which settled the question of slavery and welded the confederation of States into a Union, were dreadful orgies of crime, accomplishing nothing.

Again I read, "In many of our universities large numbers of students have sent many letters and petitions to President Wilson urging the Government at Washington not to allow"—what? The inconceivable barbarities of Belgian invasion? The drowning of new hundreds of innocent women and children? No, no; alas! no. Their petition is simply "not to allow the country to be dragged into war."

I have received lengthy warnings about "militaristic jingoism" in this country. Men have written me to protest against the military drill required by law in our colleges, and rarely carried on voluntarily. No doubt you have seen, as I have, severe strictures upon the organization of the boy scouts. Really I am at a loss to know what it all means, except that I fear that it means disaster and shame to my country under present world conditions. Where is this dreaded jingo spirit? How does it express itself? The National Army uses every inducement, yet is not able to keep itself recruited up anywhere near its exceedingly modest legal limit; the Navy is largely undermanned and, in recent maneuvers, showed itself both lacking in necessary units and unable to prevent the landing of any respectable force upon our shores. There is not a State in the Union whose volunteer forces are equal in numbers or training to the demands that riot and insurrection have at times made upon them. Our powder works have until recently fairly gone into hysterics over "farming with dynamite" in order to furnish a market for their product. With 35 years' experience in military schools no one knows better than I how difficult it is to keep up any sort of interest and discipline in the military drill. Where does this dreaded jingo militarism have its local habitation? Really I can only explain the antimilitarism of some of our people by assuming that they are trying to exorcise militarism from Germany by disbanding the police force in Providence. They are subduing castles in Spain by tilting against windmills—in New England. They would cause their own children to take a bath every time they see a street gamin with a dirty face.

THE REAL DANGER.

If this were all, it might be passed over with a smile, but it is far from being all. The first duty which every nation owes its people is protection against outside attack, and for this protection the nation must rely upon the training, the valor, and the willingness to make necessary sacrifices that have been bred into its men. Our pacifists are weakening the very foundations of national safety by teaching our men to eschew and despise the means of defense. They call us to peace! peace! when there is no peace, when the whole earth is filled with tumult and violence. They talk of a million men, in case of a call for defense, rushing to arms in 24 hours. Where are the arms they would rush to? Where the ammunition? Where the trained leadership? Where the commissariat? Where the hospital corps? What they are really asking is that a mere mob futilely offer itself for sacrifice, and that an organized government should never be forgiven for asking.

Optimism is an excellent philosophy—the right and, indeed, the only proper kind of philosophy. But to refuse to face facts because they are unpleasant or undesired, to wave aside as phantoms things that are real and tangible is not optimism, but rather either folly or cowardice. I, too, am an optimist. I hope that my house will not burn; and, indeed, being a careful man, I really believe that it will not burn. Nevertheless, seeing that the houses of others equally careful have burned and do burn, I insure my house. So I hope that we may not be involved in war. I can not say at the present time that I do not believe we shall be so involved; but, be that as it may, I know that others equally undesirous of war and equally innocent of any offense have been visited with fire and sword and barbarities unutterable. I know that the one great nation of central Europe whose lands have not been ravaged, whose women and children have not been ravished and tortured, is the one and only nation that was thoroughly prepared for war. I know that at this very time this Nation of ours, conscientiously seeking to perform all its duties as a neutral to all the warring nations, has been deliberately attacked in the exercise of its primal rights; its property has been wantonly destroyed and the innocent live of more than a hundred of American men, women, and children have been taken. I know that from the very beginning of this war the doctrine of "frightfulness" has been deliberately adopted and utter disregard of all convention or law, human or divine, has been consistently shown. The fire is all around our house. Shall we not insure now, before it is too late?

THE NONARMAMENT PROPAGANDA.

Under the conditions now existing, it is difficult to speak of the propagandists of nonarmament, of restricted armament, or of disarmament with due moderation. With an armed and mutinous crew

in this world ship of ours, it is simply madness to insist that the officers throw their revolvers overboard. When insurrection is raging in a city and murderous mobs are burning its houses and pillaging its treasures we do not insist on disbanding the police; on the contrary, we call on the governor to send armed troops, and woe be unto us if he does not have them to send.

Among these apostles of peace and disarmament are some of the noblest people this country has produced. In the list I find the names of intimate friends, some of the finest characters I have ever known; yet in denouncing their propaganda at this time I am profoundly convinced that I am doing God and my country whatever service in me lies. The time may come, and I pray God it may come soon, when the civilized world can organize peace and control the earth with a federal police system; but that time is not now, and it can never come as long as a single powerful nation is animated by the doctrine of a Bismarck, a Moltke, and a Treitschke, and is dominated by the medieval brain of a Hohenzollern or a Hapsburg.

OUR DUTY UNDER A PEACE LEAGUE.

Meanwhile for any single nation to attempt disarmament or to refuse adequately to arm itself is to invite dishonor, disgrace, and disaster. Why not face the facts fairly and fully? With the present feeling in Germany, does any man doubt that the one thing standing between us and attack from Germany is not the rectitude of our intentions nor the unpreparedness of our Army and Navy, it is simply the navy of England and the army of the allies. I repeat it, if we do not have war with Germany it will be simply because the warring of the allies prevents Germany at this time from undertaking it. Does it not seem unmanly, un-American, despicable to hug to ourselves the delusion of superior virtue in not preparing to do for ourselves that which we, with no single word of gratitude, receive through the blood and agony of men whom we condemn for maintaining armaments? I will go much further. The advocates of disarmament recognize that the mere casting away of arms will not suffice to keep peace on the earth; that somewhere there must be a force at hand to quell disorder and prevent just what has happened in Belgium and Luxemburg; and their solution of the problem, indeed the only conceivable one, is that the other nations should combine to quell by their united force the aggression of any recalcitrant nation. Now, it must be clear that this plan or any plan like it demands two things—first, the clear determination of the fact of aggression; second, in every nation a sense of responsibility for the crushing of aggression and a readiness, in the fulfillment of that responsibility, to take up arms for suppressing and punishing aggression.

The case of Belgium is a case in every way adapted to test the sincerity and logic of the disarmament advocate. It is made to order, so to speak. Never can we hope for the clearer establishment of the fact of unprovoked aggression. Not only does the court of the world's opinion convict Germany of it, but she herself through her highest official admits it. What, then, about national sense of responsibility to suppress the aggression, and willingness to take up arms to meet the duty? Has the disarmament propagandist been urging us to take up the cause of Belgium? Has he been heard to insist that Navy and Army be modernized and strengthened so that we might do our fair share in suppressing this supremely wanton lawlessness? Does the ease or difficulty of the task in any way affect, in his eyes, the imperativeness of the duty? It is despicable in the sheriff to carry out the sentence of the law on a poor wretch without arms and without friends but to let the rich and powerful offender go free; and worse than that, such a course renders the law itself contemptible and the sheriff's office a farce. If the cry of Belgium did not awaken in the pacifist the sense of responsibility, it is idle to expect that any future similar contingency would call forth unselfish action in men and in nations, whether bound in a general compact or not.

ENGLAND'S ACTION.

But there was one nation that did hear the cry of Belgium and is now battling for her redemption. Whatever may be said of England in the past, and there is much in her past to condemn, to me she is glorified to-day by the purity of her cause, the clearness of her vision, the greatness of her sacrifices, the steadfastness of her purpose, and the loyalty of her heart. I do not mean for a moment to imply that England was entirely altruistic in going to war. But I do mean that none of the causes leading to her decision was unworthy or sordid, and that the one cause which united the nation and decisively turned the scale for war was Belgium's wrongs. I make no apology for this digression. It is simply the tribute due to a noble deed nobly done.

THE FATHER'S LEGACY.

Our fathers gave to us a legacy, not only of a united nationality, but also of a broad and teeming land, and a theory of organized government. Of these last two I do not deem the latter less valuable than the former.

It is a wonderful land—this broad belt of plain and prairie, of mountain and table-land, extending from Atlantic to Pacific, a land far surpassing the fabled wealth of Ormus and of Ind, a land of a hundred million of busy people, of great cities and smiling countryside, a glorious land of peace and plenty, of unity and concord, of liberty, opportunity, and intelligence. Yet beyond all this is a heritage of institutions, traditions, human ideals far more wonderful and precious. The best material things of life—the air, the sunshine, the rain, the blue sky, and the green earth—come to us so abundantly and so naturally that we scarcely think of them as blessings at all. Nay, we frequently grow irritated at their monotony of abundance, and restlessly seek for change even at the expense of comfort. So it seems to me that we frequently comport ourselves toward our institutions and traditions, taking them as a matter of course and failing to give thanks; and sometimes, alas! even doing our utmost, through indifference or greed, or lust of power, or fear and cowardice, to destroy them. Only recently I read from a responsible source, with much other material of the same kind, that it is far from being established that republican government is the ultimate form for insuring the welfare of society and preserving the covenant ark of civilization.

Now I do not know what is in the womb of time, but I do know that at present there are but two essential forms of government, the one autocratic, claiming its power from above or from conquest, and holding its will supreme, and the other popular, holding its power as delegated from the people, and pledged to hear and heed the mandates of public opinion. It matters not what names and disguises a government may take, the essential fact is the acknowledged origin and source of power. England, for instance, has a King, but under the transparent veil of royalty and aristocracy, the Government is that of the commons—representatives of the people duly chosen. In fact, theoretically and legally, the commons are the people and are all-powerful. On the other hand, Mexico, under the form of a republic when it had a Government, was really an autocracy pure and simple.

AUTOCRATIC GERMANY.

Germany is an autocracy. Its Emperor says so, and there is no word of denial from the German people. "We Hohenzollerns," said he, "take our crowns from God alone, and to God alone we are responsible in the fulfillment of duty." * * * "Only one is master of this country; that is I. Who oppose me I shall crush to pieces." Says Bismarck: "With us there is no sovereign will but that of the king. It is he alone who wills, because he alone has the right to do so." In a State so ruled it is obvious that a free press and a free tribunate can not exist, and so we find in the first 14 years of William the Second's reign 6,000 prosecutions for lese majeste, an offense the exact limits of which no one knows; we find a police force from whose arbitrary control there is for the people practically no appeal; we find an army whose sole head is the Emperor, and whose youngest lieutenant takes social precedence of the wisest philosopher or mere scientist; we find a revolution in the atmosphere of education, and among the university men there are now the "most loud-voiced jingoes, the blind admirers of unscrupulous success." Along that line to-day is the surest road to preferment. Where the whole pyramid of society thus stands on its apex, it is not surprising to find the sober and veracious Munsterburg telling us that "In the German view the State is not for the individuals, but the individuals for the State."

A GENUINE DEMOCRACY.

The United States, on the other hand, has the popular form of government. Our fathers gave it to us. They placed the pyramid upon its base. They taught us that power originates among the people governed, and that the governing officials appointed by the people are the servants of the people. They arranged a government of checks and balances so designed that no official might be able to usurp dangerous power unto himself. We have an untrammeled press, local self-government, an independent judiciary, and full and free opportunity for each citizen to develop his own individuality and initiative. With us the State exists for the people.

There are those among us who are inclined to smile at the resounding phrases of the Declaration of Independence, who look with suspicion upon the qualifications of the people to rule themselves and view with complacency the growing social stratification in our country. But, nevertheless, there is none among us who does not feel deep down in his soul that somewhere in these stately periods there lies a truth inestimably precious to mankind, the secret of humanity's progress, and the key to human destiny. It assures us of equality in delegating power to our servants in office, equality of privilege, responsibility and treatment before the law, equality of opportunity for self-development, equality of burdens and duties toward society, and equality of reward for whatever of success is achieved. The only inequality it permits is the inequality of that phrase of divine wisdom: "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant."

And in the main this attitude of service has been largely characteristic of our rulers; for the man who is daily compelled to recognize that his power is that of his office and not of himself, that it is delegated to him only for a certain time and for a definite purpose, can not and will not so far mistake the situation as to assume to dispense as benignant favors to his subjects the duties that he owes to his fellow citizens.

Here, then, are the two ideals of government. In one, the individual exists for the State, which is incarnated in the glory and power of a Hohenzollern dynasty; in the other the State exists for the welfare of the individual, which means for the highest development and happiness of all the people. Which is better, autocracy or democracy? Which is more effective for the welfare of mankind? My own conviction is that popular government with all its faults—its inefficiency, its lost motion, its costliness, its failures—is infinitely preferable to even the autocratic efficiency of Germany. For a century and a quarter we have tried this "mob government," as Bismarck called it, and I confidently maintain that, measured in terms of human happiness and advancement, no autocracy of either the past or the present can begin to show equal results through an equal period of time.

AUTOCRACY INCOMPETENT.

Autocracy requires an autocrat—a man, or a dynasty, or a coterie that somehow is assumed as peculiarly fitted to rule. Now the one uniform teaching of history is that there is no dynasty or arbitrarily limited or designated class of men that is preeminently fitted for the profession or trade of governing. No class of men ever existed wise enough and morally strong enough to be permanently trusted to legislate for other and different classes, however poor and degraded. History consists of a dreary succession of failures in government, and these failures are the failures of monarchism.

Why, look you, we have to-day the most gigantic collapse of civilization the world has ever seen. Somebody has failed and failed horribly in his function of governing. Who is it? Hapsburg Francis Joseph, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his reign in Austria-Hungary, seizes Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbian race bitterly resents this action. A plot is formed, and the crown prince, Hapsburg Francis Ferdinand, is assassinated. Meanwhile in Germany the pride and insolence of Hohenzollern William have grown until he measures himself only with God. For 40 years the whole nation has obediently passed its daily life under the discipline of martial law and the military camp, and has been made mad with preachments about the German superman, pan-Germanism, and Machtpolitik. The nation, the army, the navy, the airships, the submarines, all are ready for the glorious adventure of world dictatorship. The slogan had long before been announced in the Emperor's words, "Nothing must be done anywhere on the globe without the sanction of Germany's ruler." The assassination of one of the Lord's inchoate anointed is too opportune an occasion to be lost. Hohenzollern and Hapsburg put their heads together. Forthwith an impossible 48-hour ultimatum goes to Serbia—48 hours, when it took President Wilson's Cabinet 10 days merely to perfect the phrasing of a note simply reiterating what had been said in a previous communication! Nations stood aghast at the impending chaos. They pleaded for time even to think. But no; for absolutism "the day" had come, the hour of triumph had struck. Europe resounds with the tread of marching columns; the horrors of Belgian invasion are upon us. For the death of one princeling millions of innocent men must die, womanhood must be outraged, and childhood tortured, burned, shot, and drowned. The cause of civilization must be set back a hundred years, an unborn world must groan under the burden of a colossal debt; and, even so, the end is not yet.

This, young men, is not merely a gigantic failure of absolutist government; it is deliberate treason against the human race. Popular government or misgovernment has nothing parallel to offer. Anarchy itself can only feebly rival the horrors of this debacle.

And this, although the most stupendous, is far from being an isolated example of autocracy's crass incompetence to fulfill its metier of governing. Wars are symptomatic. They mean always inefficiency or folly or criminality in government somewhere. Take away from human history the dynastic wars and the wars of misguided ambition, and how many would be left? The whole history of the Hapsburgs is a history of dynastic wars, in which the interests of those governed are sacrificed to the fury of efforts to obtain and maintain crowns for the sprigs of a family exceedingly commonplace in character and attainments. The autocracy of George III cost England her American colonies. That of the Louises of France plunged her people into the excesses of the French Revolution. The autocracy of Napoleon deluged Europe in blood. The nascent autocracy of southern slaveholders forced on America her Civil War. And the record is the same everywhere; whenever and wherever a few have obtained firm and exclusive hold upon the reins of power, no matter under what disguise of form, there always we find disastrous failure in the functioning of government itself.

AUTOCRACY'S AMBITION.

German apologists for this war will tell us that the present German territory is not large enough for the enormous increase of its people in numbers, that it lies in central Europe, threatened on all sides by other nations, that all the earth is practically taken up, that the German race is a race of supermen whose kultur (efficiency) will be lost to the world unless the nation can find room to develop, that this war was sooner or later inevitable—in order, of course, to dispossess some other nation or nations and to allow this new-born giant among nations to take his "place in the sun."

So far as the "threatening ring of iron" is concerned, the state of unpreparedness in England and Russia, and to a considerable degree in France (well known, be it said, to the Germans), clearly disproves any existing danger to Germany. The threatening danger was evidently in the reversed direction, viz, from Germany to her neighbors. Again, as to the country being too small for the increase of its population, the contention ignores the fact that no single part of the earth is closed to the German man and woman. Asia, Africa, Australia, America, North and South, all are absolutely open to him, provided only he does not come as an armed band to dispossess those already here. Millions of them have been welcomed here and have found home, happiness, and fortune among us. Their welfare does not demand enlargement of Hohenzollern dominion. They are not pining for the efficiency of the German Army service, for the suppression of the right of free expression, for 300 trials per year for lese majeste. There is room here for millions more, and all that we shall ask in return for giving them the heartiest welcome and exactly equal privileges with ourselves is that they will leave the Kaiser and Kaiserism at home behind them.

When, therefore, we hear about compression and the consequent inevitability of a war for expansion, we ask, expansion of what? And the only logical answer is the expansion of an imperial government, of the glory of a dynasty, of the range of one man's ambition. "The people exist for the state and the state is I, William Hohenzollern."

THE IMMEDIATE DANGER.

It is this ruthless spirit of Machtpolitik, the right of might, that the allies are warring against to-day. It is this spirit that has unified against Germany the solid opinion of all farseeing Americans who value the heritage their fathers bought with unflinching courage on the battle field. Think of it! It is the spirit that laid waste the cathedrals of innocent Belgium and extorted heavy indemnities from her starving people, that in order to simply terrorize drowned the innocent children on a *Lusitania*—it is this spirit that Mr. Bryan would meet with a year of senile discussion and a powerless Hague convention at the end. It is this spirit that the pacifists are aiding and abetting with their nonarmament propaganda among our school children and our college boys. How the powers of hell must rejoice over the blindness of good and honest men.

Do we say to ourselves in the face of this spirit, "A thousand shall fall at our side and ten thousand at our right hand, but it shall not come nigh us?" Why? Is not England its greatest foe, and are not our fields and factories England's one source of supply? Has not Germany used every means short of physical attack to have us place an embargo on shipments of ammunition and supplies? Is it not openly complained that, by stopping supplies, we could end the war in three weeks? I can not for a moment believe that, at Germany's behest, we will cravenly break a fundamental requirement of neutrality, basely betray the allies into the hands of their enemies, and by closing our markets not merely end the war but decide it, and in favor of Germany. In the effort, therefore, to preserve our honor and good faith, we are incurring the bitter anger of Berlin, and haughty Berlin's anger means war, unless under the stress of present conditions on her battle lines she shall find her advantage in temporizing with us and speaking us fair.

There are not wanting other occasions for German antagonism. Our Monroe doctrine is one of the foremost. Bismarck called it "a species of arrogance peculiarly American and entirely inexcusable." There is no doubt in my mind that Germany will one day call upon us to repudiate it or to take measures, in concurrence with the South American nations, to defend it. Germany fiercely resented our taking the Philippines over. Dewey tells us that, 17 years ago in the blockade of Manila, the Germans assembled in the bay a stronger fleet than his own; that Von Diederich and his officers were discourteous and offensive to the last degree; and that finally a cruiser deliberately landed provisions. Then, just as Wilson is doing to-day, the American admiral submitted an ultimatum. He sent his flag lieutenant to Von Diederich with his compliments and the message that if he wanted a fight he could have it right now. The action of landing provisions was promptly disavowed and not repeated. Even then, however, in the final action to take Manila, Von Diederich moved his ships into a threatening position against Dewey. Then occurred a significant thing. The British senior captain, Chichester, ranged his British ships between those of Von Diederich and Dewey's fleet. There is more, but I have not time to tell it now. And yet the poseur Bryan talks about our "memories of an historic friendship with Germany!"

THE CONCLUSION.

What does it all mean? It means the same old story of autocratic inefficiency and unwisdom in government. It means the inevitable antagonism of Divine-right dynasties toward government from and of the people. It means the need of wise organization like that of the Swiss to meet an attack that will some day surely come. It means that the realities of life are stern and harsh, and that duty must be met, not by Utopian dreams of ease and happiness, but by courage and wisdom, steadiness of purpose, and sacrifice even unto death.

Other than the direct relation of humanity with the Divine, I know of nothing more sacred than true patriotism. And so, on this quiet Sunday afternoon, as I stand before you for the last time as instructor and guide, I have thought it best under the conditions that face us once again to discuss with you your country's needs. You have been trained as scientists and workers. You have also learned the privileges and duties of citizenship. You go out to-morrow from our halls into the service of the Republic. As you pass out with the stamp of approval from your college, let her last word to you be a clarion summons to wisdom, loyalty, and "the last full measure of devotion" to your country.

You whom the fathers made free and defended
Stain not the scroll that emblazons their fame;
You whose fair heritage spotless descended
Leave not your children a birthright of shame!

—Holmes.

## Democratic Efficiency Puts Through Constructive Program for National Defense.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CYRUS CLINE,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to discuss the subject of preparedness, showing Democratic efficiency in creating a thoroughly constructive program.

THANKS TO DEMOCRATS, AMERICA "PREPARES"—DEMOCRATIC EFFICIENCY PUTS THROUGH CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Preparation for national defense by land and sea, preparation adequate, sane, and democratic—this sums up in a phrase the efficient accomplishment of President Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party controlling the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Preparedness is no longer agitation. It is fact. It is written into the laws of the United States in response to the overwhelming popular demands of the people thereof.

The program thus embarked upon is neither militarism nor pacifism. It is the strong and reasonable program of a great nation whose servant is a great political party. It is a program untouched by partisanship and weakened neither by pork, favoritism, nor private interest.

In its essentials it is the program of the military and naval experts who in the past decade have been unable to secure performance from the Republicans. It recognizes for the first time the position of the United States as a world power, ready to meet aggression and ready to resent interference with the principles of real Americanism—not the Americanism of the privileged few, but the Americanism of the real Americans.

REGULAR ARMY 216,000.

Adequate preparedness and complete reorganization of the military and industrial resources of the Nation have been made by the Wilson administration in the Army reorganization bill and in the Army appropriation bill. (President Wilson's veto of the Army appropriation bill had solely to do with its revision of the Articles of War. Its repassage with all appropriations and other provisions probably will have taken place before the textbook is issued.) The completed program is the most comprehensive ever enacted by an American Congress. By the terms of it the peace strength of the Regular Army has been increased from a paper strength of 100,000 men to a peace strength of 216,000, capable of expansion in war times to 256,000. The National Guard has been federalized and raised to a peace strength of 467,000. A Regular Army reserve, a National Guard reserve, an officer reserve corps, and an enlisted reserve corps have been established. A reserve officer training corps has been created, and generous provisions for citizens' training camps have been enacted. A council of national defense, which will prepare the industries of the country for readiness in time of a grave emergency, has been brought into being—an achievement of the greatest importance which must be counted as a failure on the part of previous Republican administrations. The total appropriation in the Army bill was, in round figures, $267,600,000, or materially less than $3 per capita for each inhabitant of the United States.

THE PREPAREDNESS RECORD—ADEQUATE FUNDS.

Appropriations providing for the safety of the United States are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Army | $267,000,000 |
| Navy | 315,300,095 |
| Fortifications | 25,748,000 |
| Military Academy | 2,238,000 |
| Army and Navy deficiency | 27,558,000 |
| Total appropriations | 635,844,095 |

SPECIAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

Complete reorganization of industrial resources.

Regular Army increased from paper strength of 100,000 to peace strength of 216,000, capable of expansion in war times to 256,000.

National Guard federalized and raised to peace strength of 467,000.

A Regular Army reserve, a National Guard reserve, an officer reserve corps, an enlisted reserve corps.

Generous provision for citizens' training camps.

A council of national defense.

Four dreadnaughts and four battle cruisers (eight capital ships) the first year.

Twenty torpedo-boat destroyers and 30 coast submarines with auxiliaries to be begun at once.

Ten battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 50 torpedo-boat destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, 58 coast submarines and auxiliaries before July 1, 1919.

COMPLETE NAVAL REORGANIZATION.

Adequate preparedness and complete reorganization of the naval resources of the Nation have been made by the Wilson administration in the naval appropriation bill. By the terms of it the building program has been made permanent and consistent with the growing needs of the United States as a world sea power.

Four dreadnaughts and four battle cruisers, an all, eight capital ships, are to be built during the first year.

The enlisted strength of the Navy has been increased to 68,500 men, expansible during emergency to 87,000 men. Twenty torpedo-boat destroyers, 30 coast submarines, together with auxiliaries, will be begun at once. The continuing program calls for the construction before the 1st of July, 1919, for 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 50 torpedo-boat destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, 58 coast submarines, and auxiliaries.

The Naval Militia has been federalized. The Naval Flying Corps has been put on a permanent basis.

CRITICS ARE OVERWHELMED.

Provisions have been made for scientific research and for coordinating the Navy with the industrial life of the country. Naval training cruises have been for the first time established. The achievements of the naval appropriation bill are in the opinion of naval experts, without regard for political party, of the greatest importance, and established the Democratic administration's record for accomplishment so securely that Republican criticism has been reduced to the pettiest kind of carping.

The adequacy and efficiency with which the Democratic Party has met the military needs of the country are conclusively shown by the fact that, without exception, every national defense measure enacted by Congress during the last year received the practically unanimous support of Republican as well as Democratic Members of the House and Senate. The majority of these measures passed without a roll call. For example, there was no roll call in the House when, on June 26, it passed the Army appropriation bill. There was no roll call in the Senate on this bill. The Hay Army reorganization bill passed the House in March with two dissenting votes, one being cast by Representative FRED A. BRITTEN, of Illinois, a Republican, the other by MEYER LONDON, of New York, a Socialist. Otherwise, all the Republican Members of the House, including the loudest agitators for a large Army, agreed to the Democratic program.

There were no roll calls in either House or Senate on the fortification bill, appropriating for the coast and other permanent defenses.

When the Navy bill passed the House for the first time, on June 2, the roll call showed 360 yeas to 4 nays, 7 answering "present." Two of those who voted against the Navy bill, BROWNING, of New Jersey, and GRAHAM, of Pennsylvania, are Republicans. RANDALL, of California, the third who voted against the Navy bill, is a Prohibitionist, and LONDON, the fourth, is a Socialist. Among the seven who dodged by answering "present," Republican Minority Leader JIM MANN, of Illinois, was the most prominent. Four other Republicans joined MANN—COLEMAN, of Pennsylvania; MOORE, of Pennsylvania; NELSON, of Wisconsin; and ROGERS, of Massachusetts. Although the Democrats hold the majority in the House, but two Democrats—TAVENNER, of Illinois; and WEBB, of North Carolina—answered "Present."

On the final vote in the House on the conference report in the naval appropriation bill, the yeas were 283, the nays 51. The Democratic bill was passed with the vast majority of the Republican minority supporting it. Yet, among the 15 Republicans who voted against the bill were some of the Republican leaders in the House—CAMPBELL, of Kansas; LENROOT and NELSON, of Wisconsin; MONDELL, of Wyoming; and ANDERSON, of Minnesota. Any Republican criticism of the Democratic bill must take these facts into consideration.

REPUBLICANS OPPOSE KAHN'S AMENDMENT.

On March 23 there was a vote in the House on the so-called "Kahn" amendment to the Hay bill. This amendment proposed to increase the size of the Army from the original 140,000 to 220,000. A majority of Democrats and Republicans voted down this amendment. Among the prominent Republicans voting against it were RODENBERG, of Illinois; GREEN and WOODS, of Iowa; CAMPBELL, of Kansas; LA FOLLETTE, of Washington; ESCH, of Wisconsin; and MONDELL, of Wyoming. There was no partisanship in this roll call.

Upon the question of appropriating $11,000,000 to build or buy a factory for the manufacture of armor plate, there was a roll call March 21 in the Senate on what is known as the Tillman armor plate bill. To save money by breaking up the control of prices by the armor plate ring was the object. The opposition was led by Republican Senators, including Senator OLIVER, of Pennsylvania, who was charged on the floor of the Senate with being financially interested in the Steel Trust. The bill passed by 58 to 23, with 14 not voting. The 23 voting against the bill were all old-guard Republicans—GALLINGER, CURTIS, DU PONT, LIPPITT, LODGE, PENROSE, SMOOT, and WEEKS. Eight Republicans voted with the Democratic majority—BORAH, of Idaho; CLAPP, of Minnesota; CUMMINS, of Iowa; KENYON, of Iowa; NORRIS, of Nebraska; POINDEXTER, of Washington; and WORKS, of California. The Republican opposition was not, therefore, solid.

The progressive Republicans stood with the Democrats, and that simple fact tells its own story.

On July 21 the Senate passed the Navy bill by a vote of 71 to 8; 6 of the 8 voting against the bill were Republicans. Such vigorous critics of the Wilson administration as LODGE, of Massachusetts; GALLINGER, of New Hampshire; PENROSE, of Pennsylvania; SMOOT, of Utah; and WEEKS, of Massachusetts, voted for this keystone measure of the Democratic preparedness program. Criticism by the Republican Party of the Democratic naval program, indorsed by Republicans in both House and Senate, must take these facts into consideration.

DROPPED BACK UNDER TAFT.

Among the many offenses against the Navy with which the Democracy has been charged is the rather surprising one of responsibility for the loss of our superiority over the German Navy, and the responsibility also for our lack of battle cruisers, which are now to be supplied. Both charges were made by the Republican minority in the House, and they also maintained that it was the aim of the Republican administration to make us the second naval power in the world. It will be recalled that until December, 1911, the Democrats were in the minority in both the Senate and House, and for 16 years the President had been a Republican.

The General Board of the Navy was requested recently by Congressman BUTLER, of Pennsylvania, a Republican, to state how it was that the German Navy obtained its superiority over ours, and, taking displacement as a basis of comparison, the board said: "Considering displacement of ships built, the United States advanced from third to second place in 1907 and dropped to third in 1911."

It should be borne in mind that the Democratic House did not meet in regular session until December, 1911. On the basis of ships built, our position was, therefore, lost while the Republicans were in absolute control of the legislative and executive departments.

"Considering displacements of ships built and building," said the General Board, "the United States advanced from third place to second place in 1909, held this place for a short time only, and dropped to third place again in the same year, 1909."

The basis of ships built and building is a more accurate index to naval strength than the basis of ships built only, for, as the case at point illustrates, a nation can be superior to another, and by building little while that other nation builds much, lose its superiority in a very short time. And on the basis of ships built and building, we held second place "for

only a short time and dropped to third place again in the same year, 1909," two years before the Democratic House entered office and four years before the administration and Senate became Democratic.

During Mr. Roosevelt's four years, when the world began to build dreadnaughts, the United States authorized 6 capital ships, the German program authorized 13, including battle cruisers, leaving us a deficiency of 7. In Mr. Taft's first two years we authorized 4 capital ships, the German program authorized 7, leaving us a deficiency of 3. Taking the six years together, we authorized 10 capital ships to Germany's 20. There is not much evidence here of any determination on the part of the Republican administrations to build a navy superior to Germany's. In those six years the General Board had in mind the construction of a navy superior to Germany's, and it recommended the construction of 20 battleships, the same number the Germans authorized. We authorized 10. The General Board was certainly not the author of our program. Who was?

ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGES CONVICT HIM.

The answer is found in President Roosevelt's messages to Congress for 1905 and 1906. He recommended the following in his message of December 3, 1906:

"I do not ask that we continue to increase our Navy. I ask merely that it be maintained at its present strength. * * *

"This can be done by a well-settled program of providing for the building each year of at least one first-class battleship equal in size and speed to any that any nation is at the same time building; the armament presumably to consist of as large a number as possible of very heavy guns of one caliber, together with smaller guns to repel torpedo attack; while there should be heavy armor, turbine engines, and, in short, every modern device. Of course from time to time cruisers, colliers, torpedo-boat destroyers, and torpedo boats will have to be built also. All this, be it remembered, would not increase our Navy, but would merely keep it at its present strength."

December 5, 1905, President Roosevelt said in his annual message:

"It does not seem to me necessary, however, that the Navy should—at least in the immediate future—be increased beyond the present number of units. What is now clearly necessary is to substitute efficient for inefficient units as the latter become worn out or as it becomes apparent that they are useless. Probably the result would be attained by adding a single battleship to our Navy each year, the superseded or outworn vessels being laid up or broken up as they are thus replaced."

It was in accordance with these recommendations that the United States at the outset of a new era in battleship construction adopted the standpat policy by which we were foredoomed to lose our position as second naval power.

It was in accordance with President Roosevelt's suggestion that Congress in 1906, and again in 1907, authorized only one battleship, while in 1906 the General Board recommended three, and in 1907, two. It was in accordance with the policy enunciated by Secretary Meyer, under Taft, when, in his first report, he said: "Germany is now second among the principal naval powers in warship tonnage built and building. The United States is third," and recommended, "in order to keep the appropriation for the Navy Department within the economical limit set for the Government," only two battleships and one repair ship. Hence, no headway was made in the Taft administration toward retrieving the relative strength we had lost under Roosevelt.

In the last two years of the Taft administration when the Democrats had control of the House, it must be remembered, the Senate was Republican and the President was a Republican. In these two years Germany authorized five capital ships and we authorized two. On coming to the program of the Wilson administration, we find that for the first time in years we authorized a larger program than Germany. In our first two bills we provided for five capital ships to Germany's four, and are this year providing five capital ships against the three contemplated by the German program at the outbreak of the war. In three years, in other words, we are authorizing a total of 10 capital ships to the 7 which were contemplated by the German program. Is it the Republicans or the Democrats who have maintained our naval prestige?

As regards battle cruisers, the General Board of the Navy in its first two reports submitted under this administration did not recommend their construction. It recommends them this year, and they are being provided. It is true that the General Board did recommend two battle cruisers in their recommendations of 1912, but the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Meyer, did not provide for them in his estimates. Every battle cruiser in the British Navy at the outbreak of the war was authorized while the Republicans were in absolute control of this country, and Great Britain did not authorize or construct a single battle cruiser between March 4, 1913, and the outbreak of the war, while the Wilson administration was in power.

THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR SUBMARINES.

Our submarines have come in for pretty severe handling from the partisan critics of the Navy. It is possible to dispose of much argument by acknowledging, as Secretary Daniels has readily and frankly acknowledged for the last two years—that our submarines are not all that is desired.

But where does the responsibility lie? Every submarine in the Navy to-day was authorized, built, or contracted for under Republican administration. It was not until three years ago that submarine difficulties were treated seriously in the Navy Department.

We had, and have, an unsatisfactory motor, battery, and engine, and yet under the old régime only the youngest officers, lacking in theoretical and practical experience, were assigned to submarines and were expected to solve their problems. Only one officer was assigned to each of the 16 submarines in commission, and 14 of these officers were ensigns.

No reflection upon their industry or their ability is intended, but it is a most serious reflection upon those charged with the administration of the Navy that no experienced officers were assigned to this duty. Facts certainly warrant the belief that our submarine troubles to-day are due to no other cause than the indifference with which the problem was regarded in the past. It remained for this administration to take up the work in earnest, to solve the problems and to place the flotilla on its feet, and much success has already been achieved.

The flotilla has been detached from the destroyer flotilla and made an independent command, under an admiral. The number of officers assigned to submarines has been increased so that two instead of one are now assigned to each of the larger boats. Officers of experience have been selected. The cooperation of manufacturers has been sought, and before assuming his duties aboard ship an officer is now instructed at the works where the engines, batteries, and motors are manufactured, so that he knows his machinery.

SCHOOL FOR UNDER-SEA NAVIGATION.

In accordance with the recommendations of Admiral Grant a six months' course of instruction at the submarine base at New London is given every officer before he is assigned to duty on board submarines. He will then be appointed to a subordinate position, and receive command of a boat only after he has demonstrated his ability in theoretical study and actual practice. This submarine base and school at New London was opened by the Wilson administration.

The problem has also been seriously taken up in other quarters. It is being studied by the engineers of the Navy ashore and afloat, with a view to perfecting machinery and improving the craft generally. As a result of these studies larger submarines have been recommended and provided, and in every respect the situation is exceedingly well in hand. With half the labor, half the study, half the work, the submarine question has received under this administration the old régime could not have turned over to its successors this important branch of the service in such a pitiful condition.

The Navy is to-day better organized, better balanced, better officered, better manned, better armed, and better supplied with ammunition, and is more efficiently and economically administered than ever before in its history. Every branch of the service has been improved and the organization of both the Navy Department and the Atlantic and other fleets developed to the highest state of efficiency.

ARMING THE NATION.

We have been carried too close to the rocks of war during the past two years to believe that those rocks do not exist. And looking into the future we can perceive that if our sovereignty is not challenged, if our peace is not assailed, it will only be because the world knows that we are strong enough to defend ourselves from every foe.

For these reasons this administration has done more for our Army and our Navy than any administration in our history.

More than this, it has mobilized the resources of the Nation to meet the needs of war. It has placed the wealth of the country back of the strength of the country, the toiler back of the soldier and the sailor. (From Martin H. Glynn's keynote speech.)

PRIOR FIVE-YEAR RECORDS BEATEN.

"We have made more real progress in the last two years," said Capt. J. S. McKeen, "than any previous five-year period in any experience in the Navy. I do not think I have ever

known a time when everybody in the service from top to bottom was working as hard with their heads and hands to prepare the fleet for active service."

Admiral Benson, the Chief of Naval Operations, asserts that "Cooperation between the various bureaus and offices of the department with the office of the Chief of Naval Operations has been most cordial and complete, and the practical result has been all that could be desired." And he adds, "A thoughtful consideration of the work that has been accomplished will show that all is being done now that could reasonably be expected from a so-called 'General Staff.' In my opinion the organization that exists in the department and that is now in successful operation is accomplished in a purely American and businesslike manner all that could possibly be expected from the creation of a general staff, and is doing this in a much more satisfactory way."

Says Admiral Dewey: "Our own General Board is, I think, the best General Naval Staff in the world."

Rear Admiral Knight, president of the War College, where high officers of the Navy are instructed in strategy and tactics, testified that "Secretary Daniels has done more for the War College than any of his predecessors."

The existing shortage of enlisted men, like the shortage of officers, is attributable to conditions inherited by the administration. It was presented with a shortage of men too great to be overcome entirely in any three years of peace, and a prejudice to service in the ranks that had to be corrected before any gains could be made.

The Republican administrations made no claim to having enough enlisted men to man all vessels for war. The authorized strength of the Navy was far below the number that would have been required, and in the 16 years of Republican incumbency they made no provision for a reserve with which to fill the gap. The reason the authorized strength was not made sufficient to man properly all vessels was because Republican administrations could not fill the ranks to the limited strength authorized by Congress.

ENLISTED MEN PROMOTED.

Showing the number of warrant officers of the Navy appointed ensigns under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt, 4 years | 10 |
| Taft, 4 years | 5 |
| Wilson, 3½ years | 17 |

Showing the number of assistant paymasters appointed from among enlisted men under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt, 4 years | 1 |
| Taft, 4 years | 3 |
| Wilson, 3½ years | 15 |

Prior to the act of March 3, 1915, pay clerks were selected by individual paymasters from any source within or without the Navy. Under the new law all pay clerks are appointed by the Navy Department from the enlisted personnel.

INCREASE IN AERONAUTICS.

Showing the expenditures for aeronautic purposes under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt, fiscal year, no expenditure. | |
| Taft, fiscal year 1912 | $24,532.79 |
| Taft, eight months / Wilson, four months } fiscal year 1913 | 56,032.90 |
| Wilson, fiscal year 1914 | 194,492.46 |
| Wilson, fiscal year 1915 | 219,429.20 |
| Wilson, fiscal year 1916 | 884,679.28 |
| Wilson ($3,500,000 for aviation, $400,000 for aeronautic station, Pensacola, Fla.), fiscal year 1917 | 3,900,000.00 |

Showing the total expenditures under the Taft and Wilson administrations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Taft | $61,888.06 |
| Wilson | 5,217,278.57 |

At no time since the Spanish War has the Navy had enough men to man all vessels for war, and until recently we have not had enough to man properly all ships on a peace basis, with some in reserve. For years we built ships without authorizing the men to man them.

When Mr. Roosevelt began his second term, the authorized strength of the Navy was 34,500 men. It was inadequate, and 3,000 additional men were recommended during his first year. In all, during his second term, 7,500 additional men were authorized, a number just sufficient to man the new ships authorized during the same period, which required, under the old schedule, since found inadequate, 7,155 men. But it failed to provide a reserve or to cut down the previously existing shortage, which was given as a legacy to the Taft administration.

INHERITED SHORTAGE OF JACKIES.

The ships authorized in the Taft administration require, under the old schedule, 9,886 men, and George von L. Meyer, who was Secretary during all four years and who has criticized the present administration for its lack of men, recommended an increase of only 4,000 men and 1,000 apprentices, which was 4,888 short of the number required to man the ships authorized during his incumbency. Meyer, moreover, failed to provide a single man toward overcoming the accrued shortage of preceding years. Congress, however, authorized an increase of 6,000 men and 1,000 apprentices (4,000 were voted by the Democratic House), which was still over 2,000 short of the number needed for new ships, and made no provision toward reducing the previous shortages. That administration failed also to establish a reserve. The increase in men actually enlisted was about 3,200.

The Wilson administration became heir to the accumulated shortages of the Roosevelt administrations, augmented by the shortages of the Taft administration, and it is held responsible for their shortcomings by the very persons to whom they are due. It must be remembered that, though the authorized strength of the Navy was many thousands short of the number actually required, the Navy was turned over to the Democrats about 5,000 men short of the number allowed. There were actually fewer men in the Navy when President Taft and Secretary Meyer left office than there were eight months before, although Congress had in the meantime authorized an increase of 4,000 men and they had the best season of the year in which to recruit. Under Secretary Meyer there were 10,360 cases of desertion, and of the experienced men with good records, honorably discharged upon their completion of enlistment, only 52 per cent reenlisted.

This condition of affairs the Wilson administration was obliged to face when it entered office. It was as prompt in remedying it as it was in its effort to remedy the shortage of officers. Congress has this year provided for vocational training in the Army. Secretary Daniels three years ago established it in the Navy, and the innovation gradually filled the ranks. It was not possible at once to overcome the prejudices toward the service which the conditions just enumerated must certainly have caused, but enlistment, instead of declining, increased, and in three years 6,331 men have been added to the Navy, which is nearly double the increase made in four years under President Taft.

INCREASE IN OFFICERS.

Showing by comparison the number of midshipmen appointed at the Naval Academy under the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt, 4 years | 978 |
| Taft, 4 years | 945 |
| Wilson, 3 years | 1,473 |

INCREASE IN ENLISTED MEN.

Showing the enlisted personnel of the Navy, as authorized by law:

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt: | |
| Authorized, 1905 | 37,000 |
| Authorized, 1908 | 44,500 |
| Taft: | |
| Authorized, 1909 | 44,500 |
| Authorized, 1912 | 51,500 |
| Wilson, authorized, 1916 | 79,064 |

Showing increase under each administration:

| | |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt | 7,500 |
| Taft | 7,000 |
| Wilson | 27,564 |

The act of 1916 permits the President, at his discretion, in an emergency, to increase the Navy to 87,000, which would be an increase of 35,500 over the Taft administration.

NAVY YARD INCREASE.

Number of men: Showing the total number of employees in the principal navy yards in the United States as of date June 1, 1913, and July 1, 1916:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913 | 16,898 |
| 1916 | 24,383 |
| Increase | 7,485 |

Daily pay: Showing the total daily pay of such employees in 1912 and in 1916:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1912 | $46,027.35 |
| 1916 | 73,091.12 |
| Increase | 27,063.77 |

Comparison of pay: Showing the average daily pay of such employees in 1912 and in 1916:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1912 | $2.723 |
| 1916 | 2.997 |
| Increase | .274 |

ATTACK THEIR OWN INEFFICIENCY.

As critics of the Navy, the Republicans have had, perhaps, knowledge of what they did and what they did not do. For 16 years they administered the affairs of the Navy Department. They left it deficient, and they knew at first hand its faults, which exist for no other reason than that in their 16 years of control they have not corrected them; and, knowing where the Navy

was weak, they have, with poor grace, set about to belittle the efforts of the present administration to make the Navy a real efficient fighting organization and to overcome the shortcomings for which the Republicans alone are responsible.

The fact that the Navy is short of officers and that officers with little experience have been assigned to important duties has been made much of by Republican critics of the Navy. But responsibility for the present shortage can not be placed on Democratic shoulders. If the Republicans had been as solicitous for the welfare of the Navy while in power as they profess to have become in the last three years there would be no shortage to-day of which to complain.

The Navy is short of officers to-day because 6, 8, and 10 years ago the Republicans failed to appoint sufficient midshipmen to the Naval Academy. The United States depends upon graduates of the Naval Academy for its officers—the number commissioned from other sources is so insignificant as to be disregarded—and the first midshipmen to enter the academy under this administration will not graduate until June, 1917. Only time, with the aid of increased midshipmen, can remedy the condition. The Democrats have increased the midshipmen, and are providing engineers, aviators, and instructors to give some necessary immediate relief; but as it takes four years to graduate an ensign, the lack of officers can not be charged to this administration.

The administration could not remedy the shortage of officers immediately, but it at once set about to correct the conditions so that at the very earliest time possible the fault would be overcome. Within two months after entering office, and long before any suggestions from outside sources, Secretary Daniels recommended, and Congress authorized, an extension of law, allowed by the Republicans to lapse, providing for two midshipmen to each Member of Congress. This has permitted about 300 additional midshipmen to enter the academy in the last two years. The Democrats have this year provided that the number of midshipmen shall be in the ratio of three instead of two to each Member of Congress, making 531 additional appointments immediately available, or a total of over 800 additional midshipmen, which have been provided for in the first three years of Democratic administration. The Republicans failed to make increase in the number of midshipmen and actually allowed the law which provided for two midshipmen to lapse—and that is why we have not sufficient officers to-day.

DETAILS OF ADVANCEMENT.

Turning now to other details of constructive achievement in the Navy, what do we find?

For the first time a continuing policy has been adopted for the accumulation of reserve ammunition and for other necessary adjuncts for a Navy strong enough and ready to maintain the rights of the Republic.

The Sixty-fourth Congress also appropriated $3,900,000 for aeronautics and the aviation station, continuing the wise policy of the Sixty-third Congress, which made the first specific appropriation ($1,000,000) for aeronautics. The appropriation by the Sixty-third Congress has permitted the development of naval aeronautics so that an aviation ship is now in the fleet, and the Aviation Corps has been increased to 18 machines and 160 officers and men, as compared with 4 machines and 4 officers in March, 1913. The larger appropriations by the Sixty-fourth Congress will insure a larger expansion.

The construction of new craft has been prosecuted more rapidly under Wilson than in former years. For example, it took seven years to build the *Virginia*, which was launched in 1906. It took nearly five years to construct the *South Carolina*, which was launched in 1909. At a period when it was more difficult to secure material and labor than ever before in the history of the country, by virtue of the prosperity ushered in by the Wilson policies, the *Pennsylvania*, just completed, was finished in three years and three months, and the *Arizona*, which is nearing completion, in about the same time. Delays in construction of two ships authorized by the last Congress were necessitated by elaborate tests essential for securing underwater protection against torpedoes, and by the inability to secure bids from private contractors within the sum appropriated. Notwithstanding these difficulties, these two ships will be completed in less time than any ships were completed during either the Roosevelt or the Taft administrations. All new ships are now equipped with electrical propulsion, a forward step in which the United States leads the navies of the world.

When the Wilson administration undertook the regeneration of the Navy, it was found that there was no mining division and that there were few mines. Contracts were made at once to purchase mines abroad—none could be had in this country—but the European war made it impossible for the contractors to fill the orders. Fortunately, the Navy Department had in its contract obtained the right to manufacture mines in this country, and it is doing so in its own plant. A mining division has been organized complete. Now, for the first time in the history of the American Navy, its position with regard to mines and mining is satisfactory. Moreover, the mines built in this country have been built at a cost of between $175 and $200 less than the price contracted for their purchase abroad, and a large saving has been effected. For every 100 mines the Navy had when the Wilson administration came into office, there are now 400, i. e., four times as many, and the number is being multiplied daily.

A like shortage in torpedoes has been remedied, and for every hundred torpedoes we had on hand in 1913 we now have 158 more ordered or in process of construction, and the Navy Department is constructing torpedoes in its own plant at a saving of over $1,000 on each torpedo. It has also increased the capacity of torpedo works 433 per cent. Not only are more torpedoes provided for less money, but the Navy Department has won its suit to prevent a private company from selling its torpedoes to foreign nations, thereby disclosing Navy secrets. In rendering its decisions, Judge Cox made this wise declaration, which indorses the policy of the Navy Department under this administration:

> This case illustrates the importance of the United States having a manufactory of its own for the manufacture of torpedoes and other implements of war, which are improved and changed from time to time by the addition of ingenious mechanism, which should clearly be kept secret unless our enemies are to profit equally with ourselves in every improvement which the ingenuity of our Army and Navy officers may suggest.

RESERVE OF MUNITIONS.

Showing the percentages of total orders placed during each administration:

| | Per cent. |
|---|---|
| Projectiles: | |
| McKinley–Roosevelt | 5.1 |
| Roosevelt | 8.6 |
| Taft | 22.4 |
| Wilson | 63.9 |
| Torpedoes: | |
| McKinley–Roosevelt | .9 |
| Roosevelt | 9.4 |
| Taft | 18.2 |
| Wilson | 71.5 |
| Mines: | |
| McKinley–Roosevelt, Roosevelt, and Taft | 9.7 |
| Wilson | 90.3 |
| Smokeless powder: | |
| McKinley–Roosevelt | 17.1 |
| Roosevelt | 20.0 |
| Taft | 23.4 |
| Wilson | 39.5 |

ADEQUATE POWDER SUPPLY.

As the Navy increased its production of powder, the private manufacturer decreased the prices from 80 cents to 53 cents a pound, by direction of Congress after an investigation into its cost. The Navy manufactures powder for 34 cents a pound, including all overhead charges, and this administration has increased the capacity of the powder factory from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds per annum, insuring an adequate supply at minimum cost.

For years the manufacturers of armor plate had been charging the American people excessive prices for armor plate. All three companies manufacturing armor plate offered bids of identically the same price. Such bids were not accepted, and more than $1,100,000 was saved on three ships by insisting upon competition. But this large saving still left the price far above a reasonable sum. The Sixty-fourth Congress has appropriated $11,000,000 to build an armor-plate plant where armor plate can be manufactured at a price of $230 a ton, as against $454, the price which was being paid when the Wilson administration was inaugurated. In addition to cheapening the cost of production, an additional advantage of a Government armor-plate plant would be to encourage and give opportunity to its experts to steadily improve the quality of the armor to be used on naval craft. No process is perfect, and the study and experiment will produce superior armor. Secrets of production discovered by Government experts will belong exclusively to the American Navy.

It has also appropriated $705,611 toward a projectile factory, to cost double that sum, insuring an adequate supply of superior ammunition, not now obtainable, at cost price. By obtaining competition, $1,077,210 was saved on a single contract for projectiles. A Government factory guarantees competition with private manufacturers and the best quality of projectiles.

Private shipbuilding yards must increase their facilities to construct the large program authorized. It was the practice before the Wilson administration to build no ships in any except two navy yards, and their facilities were limited. The Wilson administration has equipped, or provision has been made by the Sixty-fourth Congress to equip, every navy yard to construct naval craft, and it will be possible in the future to secure more

rapid construction of new ships for the Navy in both private and public yards. The fact that the Government can build in its own yards will, in normal times, insure competition in building and secure prices more reasonable than would be possible if it depended almost entirely upon private shipbuilding yards as the Republicans did.

There has never been a time when so many men were employed at the navy yards as under the Wilson administration, and the large program this Congress has authorized will make it necessary to increase the number of skilled workmen in our 10 navy yards. The number of employees in July, 1916, was 24,383, as compared with 16,898 on June 1, 1913, before the new policy of building ships and making other material in navy yards was adopted. The total daily pay roll as of June 1, 1913, was $46,027.35, as against $73,091.12, the total daily pay roll as of July 1, 1916. The average daily wage prior to June, 1913, was $2.723, while the average daily wage of July, 1916, was $2.997, an average increase of wages of 27.4 cents per day.

The ordnance experts of the department have designed and completed and placed on latest dreadnaughts the best antiaircraft gun in the world.

WORLD'S BEST BIG GUN.

They have also produced a large-caliber gun that will shoot straighter, shoot farther, and hit harder than any gun now in use in any foreign navy. Sixteen-inch guns are to be placed on new dreadnaughts.

The unworkable organizations of both the Navy Department and the Atlantic Fleet, in which is centered the chief strength of the American Navy, have been supplanted by better ones. Without violating the American ideal of subordinating the military to the civil power, the fleet and the department are now so organized as to effect the most successful operation afloat and ashore.

THE ARMY'S RECONSTRUCTION.

High praise has come from conservative, nonpartisan experts for the Hay-Chamberlain law reorganizing and modernizing the land forces of the United States.

The statement can not be contradicted that it is the best and only comprehensive measure looking to military preparedness that has ever been passed by Congress—

Says Maj. William D. Connor, of the General Staff Corps.

In general terms—

Declares a curt War Department memorandum—

it may be said that this is the first comprehensive legislation for national defense. It provides, as far as can be foreseen, for the needs in men and material, and it has been pronounced by all who are competent to judge as the best military legislation that the country has ever had. Certain parts of it are more or less experimental, but without experiment no advance will be made, and if any part of the experiment does not work that part can be corrected by new legislation.

There will hereafter be four classes of soldiers in the United States: First, the Regular Army; second, the National Guard; third, the enlisted reserve corps, all of which shall exist in time of peace; and, fourth, the Volunteer Army, which will be raised only in time of war. The peace strength of the Regular Army is approximately 11,000 officers, not to exceed 175,000 combatant troops, and approximately 40,000 noncombatant troops, including the unassigned recruits. The National Guard will consist of about 17,000 officers and 440,000 men. The number of men who will join the enlisted reserve corps can not be foretold. They are practically enlisted specialists for the technical departments of the Army recruited in time of peace for use in time of war only, and are subject in time of peace to short periods of training yearly. Volunteers can be called in time of war when and in such numbers as Congress shall authorize.

The Army will be increased 34½ regiments of Infantry, 10 regiments of Cavalry, 15 regiments of Field Artillery, 93 companies of Coast Artillery, 5 regiments of Engineers, 2 battalions of Mounted Engineers, the necessary number of auxiliary troops in the Medical Department, Quartermaster Corps, Signal Corps, and the unassigned recruits, and in addition thereto the number of Philippine Scouts that may be determined upon by the President, not to exceed a maximum of 12,000.

The number of general officers of the Army has been increased from 7 major generals and 17 brigadier generals to 11 major generals and 36 brigadier generals. This will provide the necessary general officers to command the divisions and brigades and furnish the general officers for the General Staff.

GENERAL STAFF EXPANDED.

The General Staff Corps has been increased from 38 officers to 57 officers, and the duties of the General Staff remain the same as they were before the writing of the new bill. This important corps has been nearly doubled, and with its increased numbers the General Staff will be better able than heretofore to perform its important functions.

In order to provide for the Regular Army officers necessary for duty with the National Guard, duty at the various colleges where military instruction is given, for recruit duty, military attachés, etc., provision is made for a detached officers' list, which provides 1,022 officers in addition to those necessary with organizations. This supplies the officers necessary for the various duties prescribed by law without taking them away from their organizations. Up to the present time promotion has been more or less unequal at different times in the different branches of the service, and to a certain extent this detached officers' list will be utilized to equalize promotion in the different branches, and for the same purpose authorization is given to transfer officers from one branch of the line to another to fill the vacancies created by the new act.

STIMULATE ENLISTMENT.

The present enlistment contract provides for a seven-year enlistment, four of which shall be with the colors and three with the reserve. Under the new law these periods are reversed—that is, three years with the colors and four in the reserve, but an important addition is made, namely, that at the end of one year's service any enlisted man within the continental limits of the United States may be discharged if he has become proficient in that time. This is an important proviso and will, it is believed, increase the number of enlistments. In addition to that, provision is made for paying the enlisted men in the reserve $24 a year, and the President is authorized to utilize the personnel of any department of the Government, such as postmasters, mail carriers, etc., to keep track of reservists, and also to use the postmasters (except first class) to obtain recruits for the Army.

Enlisted men are prohibited from engaging in any civil occupations, whether for pay or otherwise, that would put them in competition with men in civil life.

OFFICERS' RESERVE CORPS.

An officers' reserve corps is provided which will authorize the commissioning of civilians up to and including the grade of major in the various branches of the Army. These men can be selected and trained in time of peace, and the officers so obtained will be far better prepared than any volunteers that could be raised hurriedly at the outbreak of war. In order to obtain these reserve officers, a reserve officers' training corps is authorized which will consist of units at the various colleges, academies, and universities throughout the country where military education and training will be given which, in connection with six weeks' field training each summer, will give a personnel for the officers' reserve corps that is far better equipped for the duties of an officer than any heretofore available.

In order to provide the enlisted men for the various technical staff corps and departments, an enlisted reserve corps has been authorized, which will consist of men whose daily occupation in civil life specially fits them for duty in the Engineer, Signal, and Quartermaster Corps and in the Ordnance and Medical Departments. This enlisted reserve corps will provide the railway operatives, bridge builders, chauffeurs, hospital attendants, nurses, telegraphers, etc., required for the departments and corps mentioned. It is impracticable to keep in the Regular Army the number of men of these classes that will be necessary in time of war, and the enlisted reserve corps will provide for the deficiency.

No provision is made for a volunteer force in time of peace, but in place thereof the ideas embodied in the business men's camps of 1915 have been provided for, and the new law provides that all expenses in connection with attendance at such camps shall be borne by the Federal Government.

NATIONAL GUARD FEDERALIZED.

The National Guard is, within the limits of the Constitution, federalized. The maximum number authorized is 800 for each Representative and Senator in Congress and such number from the Territories as the President shall prescribe. This will probably give a total of about 17,000 officers and 440,000 enlisted men. The organization of the National Guard will conform to that of the Regular Army, as will also its equipment and armament.

The President is authorized to organize the National Guard into brigades, divisions, and other tactical units and to prescribe the kind of organizations that shall be maintained in the various States to insure that these brigades and divisions will be complete in all respects. Certain qualifications are required of officers of the National Guard, and although these officers will still be commissioned by the governors, they will not be recognized by the Federal Government unless they fulfill the prescribed qualifications. Regular Army officers may

be commissioned in the National Guard if the governors so desire. Enlistments in the National Guard will be for six years, three years with the colors and three years with the reserves, but a man may serve out his enlistment, if he so desires, instead of going into the reserve. Hereafter the enlistment contract for the National Guard will contain an oath of allegiance both to the State and to the United States, and not only enlisted men but officers must subscribe to such an oath. The President is not only authorized to call out the National Guard for the constitutional purposes, but is also authorized to draft them into the service of the United States, whether they desire to come or not, and also to draft the additional men that may be needed to keep such National Guard units at war strength in case the National Guard reserve authorized by this act is not sufficient for that purpose. Ample provision is made for the protection of Federal property in the hands of the National Guard, and in case property is lost or destroyed through neglect or in any other way that could have been avoided the States must replace the property so lost.

Under the new law horses can be supplied to the mounted organizations of the National Guard, and provision is made for their care and maintenance.

BETTER TRAINING FOR MILITIA.

The National Guard will be required to have 48 periods of armory training each year and 15 days' field training, and in case the prescribed amount of training is not undergone the President may withhold the funds appropriated for the National Guard as he sees fit. In addition to that, the Secretary of War may require such additional study on the part of the officers as he may deem necessary. During periods of field training the National Guard will be paid at the same rate as the Regular Army, and for the armory training a generous rate of pay is authorized. National Guard officers and men may be sent to various service schools and will be paid during such periods. The National Guard will be subject to the laws and regulations governing the Army of the United States from the time that they are required to come into that service, and after that time there is no evading the Federal law. A uniform system of courts-martial for the National Guard is authorized, the limitations of which are fixed by law. This will tend to uniform procedure and practice in all the different States. When the National Guard is drafted into the service of the United States, they will be entitled to all the rights of the existing pension laws.

In order to encourage target practice, the Secretary of War is authorized to establish ranges and to supply rifles, ammunition, and instructors for rifle clubs in various parts of the country.

WILSON CONSISTENT THROUGHOUT.

President Wilson's attitude on the question of national defense has been consistent throughout. He has stood against turning America into a military camp and against universal compulsory service, but in his first communication to Congress in which he discussed this subject at length, he declared:

> We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps. We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn to value. It is right that we should provide it not only, but that we should make it as attractive as possible. * * * It is right, too, that the National Guard of the States should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our Government. And this, also, not because the time or occasion specially calls for such measures, but because it should be our constant policy to make these provisions for our national peace and safety.

This was the message of the President, delivered in person to Congress at the first opportunity after the outbreak of the European war in 1914. In this same message the President warned the country against nervousness and hysteria:

> We shall easily and sensibly—

He predicted—

> agree upon a policy of defense. * * * Our policy will not be for an occasion. It will be conceived as a permanent and settled thing, which we will pursue at all seasons, without haste and after a fashion perfectly consistent with the peace of the world, the abiding friendship of States, and the unhampered freedom with all whom we deal.

POLICY OUTLINED IN 1915.

One year later, on December 7, 1915, the President defined at greater length his policy of preparedness and outlined the program essentially as Congress subsequently enacted it. A democracy, he declared, is not belligerent and will not maintain a large standing army. "War," he said, "has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the Government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and it."

Industrial preparedness, the ability readily to mobilize the industries of the country, was also urged by President Wilson at this time. "I take it for granted," he said, "that I do not need your authority to call into systematic consultation with the directing officers of the Army and Navy men of recognized leadership and ability from among our citizens who are thoroughly familiar, for example, with the transportation facilities of the country and therefore competent to advise how they may be coordinated when the need arises, those who can suggest the best way in which to bring about prompt cooperation among the manufacturers of the country, should it be necessary, and those who could assist to bring the technical skill of the country to the aid of the Government in the solution of particular problems of defense."

The President has been frequently misquoted and misrepresented because in his message of December, 1915, he declared that the administration "had not been negligent of national defense. We are not unmindful," he said, "of the great responsibility resting upon us. We shall learn and profit by the lesson of every experience and every new circumstance; and what is needed will be adequately done." For their own partisan purposes this passage was misunderstood by Republican press and politicians, and the impression was sought to be conveyed that President Wilson had declared that the country, in his opinion, was adequately prepared and needed no new legislation, no increase in either Army or Navy, no modernization of its land and sea defenses. But the President's own words answer this charge and prove it to have been without basis and unfounded.

FIRST MOBILIZATION OF INDUSTRY.

Up till the Wilson administration no administration in the history of the United States had made any effort to cope with the problem of industrial preparedness. For decades before the outbreak of the European war the industries of Germany had been mobilized. Not only had the Imperial German Government tabulated the manufacturing plants, the railroads, and the mines of the nation with a view to securing prompt cooperation for the national defense, but the authorities had listed the names of every citizen so that in time of stress they might know whom to send to the trenches, whom to call upon for the manufacture of munitions, what shops to turn into the control of the quartermaster's department, and so on. In France, as in Austria and in Germany, every horse and wagon suitable for military service was listed and the records were kept by areas so that at any time the Governments could ascertain in any stated district what horses and wagons were available, their condition, and their readiness to respond.

The national-defense act, passed by the Democratic Congress and signed on June 3, 1916, by President Wilson, was the first treatment, comprehensive or otherwise, of the subject of the mobilization of the industries of the United States.

To this administration belongs the credit, then, of having prepared in times of peace the industries of the United States for effective use for national defense in time of war. For the first time in the history of the country an industrial inventory of the United States was prepared under the direction of the Government by the Committee on Industrial Preparedness of the United States Naval Consulting Board. This gigantic task, which was virtually completed before the 1st of August, 1916, reveals just what plants the country over can use their equipment to produce the thousands of things necessary for the Goverment's use in a national emergency. By the closest kind of cooperation between Congress, the Army and Navy Departments of the Federal Government, and the business interests of the country, a firm and enduring foundation for the Nation's defense has been raised.

ANNUAL REPORTS REQUIRED.

The national-defense act provides for the sending of annual educational orders to American manufacturers in order to teach them during peace how to turn out the military and naval supplies needed in an emergency. An industrial reserve will also be created so that in time of war the skilled mechanic may be kept at work where his services are most valuable instead of being sent to the firing line.

Both the inventory and the legislation growing out of it are the result of a remarkable three months' campaign made by a volunteer, unpaid organization of business men and engineers created by the Wilson administration. It marks a new era in

the relations of the engineer, the manufacturer, and the citizen generally in the safeguarding of the National Government, as well as a much closer coordination between various governmental agencies. In many States undeveloped resources have been classified and given publicity and new industries are promised as the result of information gathered.

Business men the country over received the investigators with the greatest courtesy and cooperation. In only a few cases did they refuse to give the desired information, and then usually under a misunderstanding of the committee's plans, which was quickly cleared up. More than 30,000 concerns, each doing an annual business of over $100,000, were classified, in addition to many smaller plants with equipment peculiarly suited to turn out material for the fighting line. At the time of the Mexican crisis Chairman Coffin sent out urgent telegrams to the chairmen of all State boards, subdivisions of the industrial mobilization committee, urging all possible haste in preparing to supply the needs of the Army, and Secretary Baker, of the War Department, detailed five Regular Army officers, two of them members of the General Staff, to the committee headquarters in New York.

Compliance with all orders given by the Government for products or materials is made obligatory and are to take precedence over all other orders and contracts. Operators of plants equipped for the manufacture of arms or ammunition are required to manufacture and furnish these supplies upon the order of the Government at a reasonable price.

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Important new legislation was enacted in the Army appropriation bill of 1916. The most important single item in this bill was that which created the Council of National Defense for the coordination of the industries and resources for national security and welfare. This council, the need for which has long been set forth by military experts, and which, incidentally, was never recognized by Republican administrations, consists of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, together with an advisory commission nominated by the President to serve patriotically without compensation. By the terms of the statute it is enacted that the duty of this Council of National Defense shall be:

To supervise and direct investigations and make recommendations to the President and the heads of executive departments as to the location of railroads with reference to the frontier of the United States so as to render possible expeditious concentration of troops and supplies to points of defense; the coordination of military, industrial, and commercial purposes in the location of extensive highways and branch lines of railroad; the utilization of waterways; the mobilization of military and naval resources for defense; the increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and of the people during the interruption of foreign commerce; the development of seagoing transportation; data as to amounts, location, method, and means of production, and availability of military supplies; the giving of information to producers and manufacturers as to the class of supplies needed by the military and other services of the Government, the requirements relating thereto, and the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the Nation.

SWISS IDEA ADOPTED.

Another section of the Army appropriation bill sets aside $300,000 for the establishment of indoor and outdoor rifle ranges. These ranges will be under the control of the War Department, in charge of a "director of civilian marksmanship," and will be utilized to encourage and train citizens in the art and science of rifle shooting. This is in line with the Swiss idea of universal military service, and paves the way for the accomplishment of President Wilson's hope that there should be in America "a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms."

## Threatened Railroad Strike.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. COURTNEY W. HAMLIN,
OF MISSOURI,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Speaker, I was quite anxious to have an opportunity to submit a few remarks on the bill H. R. 17700 while the same was being considered in the House, but inasmuch as everyone knew that if the threatened railroad strike which had been called for 7 o'clock a. m. Monday, the 4th, should be averted by the passage of that bill, there was no time to be lost in speech making; and being extremely anxious to avert that great calamity, I was very willing to forego my desire to speak and do everything I could to hurry the bill to a final vote.

General leave being granted to all Members to extend remarks on that bill, I am now availing myself of that opportunity, not primarily for the purpose of making any statement in relation to it myself, but to incorporate as a part of my remarks a statement furnished me by three distinguished trainmen of long experience and of high standing in their community and whose integrity can not be questioned.

I think a careful perusal of that statement of facts will give one a pretty clear insight into the reason or cause for the controversy between the railroads and the brotherhoods. The statement follows:

STATEMENT.

From 1888 to 1904 the rate of pay for train and engine men on the Frisco line, based on 100 miles or less, 10 hours or less, would constitute a minimum day; overtime to be computed on a 10-mile per hour basis in through freight service: Engineers, $4 per hundred miles or less; conductors, $3 per hundred miles or less; firemen, $2.28 per hundred miles or less; two brakemen, $4 per hundred miles or less; total, $13.28 per hundred miles or less for crew of five men.

During this period of years the roads were allowed to grant rebate to shippers, and light trains, rapid movement, prompt delivery of all shipments, all roads in competition with each other; each road striving to get the business resulting in such a rapid movement of through freight of all commodities that the engineers at $4 per 100 miles were able to earn on an average of $180 per month, and yet have all the rest and recreation needed, except at times when the volume of business was so great the company to move the business promptly would compel the men to work excess of hours, making excess of mileage that finally resulted in the passage of what is known as the "16-hour service period for trainmen" by the Federal Congress.

About the same time the antirebate bill was passed by Congress. Then the roads went from extreme fast-freight movement to extreme slow-freight movement, and the building of larger locomotives, and as the locomotives became larger, trains heavier, responsibility greater, and work harder, the rates of pay increased up to, and are at the present time, as follows: On the same basis of 100 miles or less, 10 hours or less, constitute a minimum day, all overtime computed on the 10-hour basis: Engineers, $5.45 per 100 miles or less; conductors, $4.18 per 100 miles or less; firemen, $3.75 per 100 miles or less; two brakemen, $5.56 per 100 miles or less; total, $18.94 per 100 miles or less for crew of five men. An increase cost to the roads of $5.66 for 100 miles of service of each train crew.

This on its face shows a very heavy increase in operating cost to the roads, and unless the service of each train crew brought in a greater revenue return in tonnage handled would leave a large deficit to the roads to meet.

Now, what are the true facts in the case? One train crew of five men to-day receive in wages $18.94 per 100 miles, and with one modern superheated locomotive haul five times the tonnage per train that one crew receiving $13.28 hauled prior to the increase in tractive power and weight of the modern locomotive. Let us look at the result from a revenue basis and operating cost to the road.

Were the railroads to-day using the old slide-valve, saturated steam-pressure, light-weight, and small power locomotive in use from 1888 to 1905, it would require five locomotives, manned by five crews of 25 men, whose pay per 100 miles of service would be $66.40, to move the tonnage one crew costing $18.94 moves at the present time—a saving in wages of $47.46 per 100 miles of service.

But this is not all the roads save by the modern superheated, increased tractive power locomotive of to-day, because the modern locomotive of to-day costs less than 60 per cent of the cost of the five locomotives of the old class that has been discarded, and less than 50 per cent of the cost in up-keep, maintenance, and fuel of the five old locomotives; or, in other words, if the railroads of to-day were moving the commerce of the United States with the same class of locomotives used from 1888 to 1905, they would require 350,000 locomotives as against 70,000 at present; 1,720,000 train and engine men, as against 350,000 at present, and at least three times the shop facilities, and three times the number of shop and other employees.

Yet, with this stupendous saving in number of locomotives, in shop facilities, and in number of men employed, with one crew of five men doing the work, and hauling more revenue tonnage per train than five crews of 25 men under old conditions could possibly do, with a saving of $47.46 per each 100 miles in wages saved—the general managers say they can not grant the eight-hour day, as it would bankrupt the roads to do so.

Let us see about this: Here is a true statement of one average train on the Frisco, moved from Monett, Mo., to St. Louis, Mo.: Train consisted of 35 loads, 1,700 gross tons, 975 net tons, and, as per the waybills, freight charges per 100 miles $819.80; from which deduct wages of train crew, $18.94; variable charges, oil, fuel, water, maintenance, $61.80; total cost per 100 miles, $80.74; balance, less cost, $738.06; company received $23.42 per car 100 train-miles; train crew received 57 cents per car per 100 train-miles, leaving balance to company, less wages, of $22.85 per car per 100 miles. This train consisted of oil and was handled 119 miles in eight hours. Now, if true, our eight-hour day would increase costs 33⅓ per cent; company would then have $22.74 per car per 100 train-miles to our 76 cents per car wages per 100 miles.

Let us explain further: Here is one train of 1,700 gross tons, 975 net tons, moved over one division of 119 miles, Springfield to Newburg, in eight hours.

Why this fast movement, and why not the same movement on all classes of freight moved over the road? Simply, this was an oil train. The oil company ship thousands of cars and get preference in the service. The same fast movement of packing-house products, the same fast movement with perishable freight or other commodities that the companies are by law held liable for damage through loss by slow movement. But the vast per cent of all shipments of the nonperishable class, unprotected by law or special privilege, is moved at the companies' own time and pleasure by tonnage drags, doubling hills, and health-destroying hours of service of the trainmen.

With this result to the enginemen: Although receiving $5.45 per 100 miles, as against $4, their average monthly wages have fallen from $180 to $145 per month, and their death and disability rate is constantly increasing.

The membership of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, as per our insurance reports, is about 70,000. Our laws require a man to have one year's experience as a locomotive engineer before he can become a member. The company requires a man to fire at least three years before they will promote him to be an engineer. The mortuary statements of the engineers' insurance department show the average life of the insured members to be over 11 and under 12 years. Thus the average life of a man in locomotive service on the railroads is less than 16 years. Our brotherhood pays out each year for death, disability, and personal injury to members over $2,000,000.

Now, remember, before the company will hire a fireman or promote him he must pass a first-class physical examination. With men so physically perfect when we take them in as members, why is the death and total disability ratio so high? We answer without fear of truthful contradiction—long hours of service, rain or shine, sleet or snow; exposure to all kinds of weather; hard-riding, filthy, insanitary locomotives; filthy, insanitary eating, drinking, and sleeping facilities when out on the road away from home. No provisions made by the company to provide sanitary eating and sleeping quarters when tied up by the 16-hour law, and for years and years and years forced to drink filthy water out of public ponds and engine water tanks, so that the average healthy man, physically perfect when promoted as an engineer, has his health destroyed and is relegated to the grave or scrap heap in less than 12 years.

While Wall Street manipulators are making their millions by our long hours, by our hard work, one crew of 5 men moving the tonnage that formerly took 5 crews of 25 men; while the presidents and general managers do their work in luxuriously furnished offices, steam-heated in winter, with electric fans and distilled ice water in summer and palatial private cars to travel in, so that their high salaries of from $18,000 to $100,000 a year can be paid.

If Congress and the public would go into this, they would soon learn the violation of the 16-hour law, some 78,000 cases now pending; they would soon learn the true cause of car shortage so detrimental to the producing and shipping classes of our country, and they would soon learn that a Federal law to compel all railroads to move every loaded or empty car billed out at least 100 miles every calendar day of 24 hours would reduce the car shortage 50 per cent, put the small shipper on equal terms with the big shipper and those of special privilege, and the roads could handle the present tonnage of freight and earn the revenue thereon in at least one-third less time than at present. Of course, this would upset the Wall Street manipulators, as they could not show such a large revenue per train-mile that now permits them to issue unlimited stocks and bonds, injecting volumes of water into the same and unloading them on the public, and putting the proceeds into their own profits.

The managers point to passenger engineers' wages of $211 to $225 per month. That is true, but the engineer must ride 4,800 to 5,100 miles every 30 days to earn that wage, or 57,600 to 61,200 miles a year, while the freight engineer would have to work 5,755 hours a year, or over 18 hours out of every 24—a thing impossible for a human being to do.

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## The Banking and Currency Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES H. SLOAN,
OF NEBRASKA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago, when the rural-credits bill was being considered, I listened to a number of the majority Members proclaim that the enactment of that legislation would do for the farmers what the Glass-Owen currency law had done for the business men. The claim was made so frequently that it seemed to be accepted.

Then the frequency of its statement grew monotonous and challenged an investigation. That investigation revealed the fact that if the rural-credits law promised no more to its beneficiaries than the Glass-Owen law produced it was little better than a vain thing.

An investigation of the workings of the Glass-Owen legislation will prompt the inquiry of what it has done to the business men rather than what it has done for them. I shall not criticize or discuss the Glass-Owen legislation or the banking and currency act from a partisan standpoint, because it was to some extent supported at different stages by members of both parties and individuals of various political tendencies. A reasonably careful following of the new banking system during its life, beginning November 16, 1914, up to July 1, 1916, causes some to marvel why the majority Members are claiming exclusive credit for this legislation, instead of charging joint responsibility against minority Members for aiding in any way its enactment into a law.

Congress, like any other body, gains respect for action when it deserves it. But it can not claim the respect of the business world by asserting merit when palpable failure obtains. The reiterated boast, made day after day during the last month, of special credit to the majority for the enactment of the banking and currency law if not contradicted by anyone would convince the public that the minority, as well as the majority, was ignorant of the actual workings of the new banking and currency act.

A brief statement of facts leading up to the enactment of the present law might be interesting. For nearly 20 years the present majority party found expression of itself on the money question in the "free coinage of silver." In the battle of the standards, the people of the United States supported the Republican Party. When the standard of business value was established, sound control of credits became the next consideration.

The Republican Party in Congress organized a monetary commission which pursued one of the greatest investigations ever undertaken and completed by man. Out of it was evolved the so-called Aldrich, or Aldrich-Vreeland plan of banking and currency. This plan had for its basis:

First. The gold standard of value.

Second. A system of banking and currency based upon three fundamental factors:

(a) Central control.

(b) Bank ownership.

(c) Asset currency.

The defeat of the Republican House in 1910 prevented the enactment of these principles into law because the Democrats of the Sixty-second Congress opposed the plan.

At Baltimore in 1912 the Democratic Party declared against the Aldrich plan of reform in our banking and currency. Although Democracy was successful at the polls, the country had become convinced that that plan was sound in principle, and if wisely planned and enacted into law it would be workable.

The Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives employed a verbal artist at an expense of $4,817 to draft a bill embodying the essential elements of the Aldrich-Vreeland plan, but so concealing the important features that prejudiced majority Members might be induced to support it. This being accomplished it was up to the majority Members to vote for the bill because they could not see the Aldrich features, or at least did not recognize their importance. It was also up to minority Members to consider favorably the proposed legislation because it included these provisions.

The bill was materially modified in the Senate, and upon its return from conference received new support; not that it was thought to be a workable measure, but that it was a basis for later amendment; because the basis of the bill was merely one step in the evolution of the banking and currency legislation, begun quite a number of years ago, and it remains to be perfected in years to come.

It has not been and is not a success. Supreme authority in the majority party claimed that it prevented panics in the early months of the European war. Sufficient answer to that is the fact that the Reserve System was put in operation three and one-half months after the European war began. Further, the Aldrich-Vreeland Emergency Currency Act, a Republican measure, was in force at the outbreak of the war, and served the purpose of preventing a panic. The system thus far, while furnishing a basis for success under amended terms and management, is not a success, and it is due to the American people to be so told by those in any wise responsible for its enactment.

The first test of success or failure of the system is, Has it paid? National banks were forced into the system under penalty of forfeiting their charters. As compensation for this compulsion they were assured of 6 per cent return upon their money invested. Some of the regional banks have not paid actual expenses, say nothing about declaring a dividend up to July 1, 1916. Others have had a slight excess of earnings over expenses, and others have been enabled to pay small dividends.

First test: The total earnings of all 12 banks from November 16, 1914, to July 1, 1916, was $4,078,811; total expenses, $2,597,565. Net earnings for same period, $1,481,246, or at the rate of $1\frac{6}{10}$ per cent per annum on the enforced capital investment.

Second test: If the system were not a profitable one to the enforced investors, still, if it has served the public well, that might palliate the first objection—

Has it served the public?

(a) Investments in the primary channels designed by the bill itself have only in a limited way been made.

In the primary function of the system rediscounting through member banks $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the resources of the system is now (May, 1916, average) engaged. Of the $596,316,000, mostly of liquid wealth taken from the channels of finance and commerce and placed in cold storage in these banks, only $20,183,000 is invested in the primary purpose for which the system was created. I speak of this as the primary purpose of the system, because in the act itself it is given that place in section 13, where there is an enumeration of the active business functions of these regional banks. Further, the report which was filed by the Banking and Currency Committee of the

House in support of the Glass bill, section 13 was discussed and rank given it as I have stated. On page 48 of that report will be found the following discussion:

In section 14 is set forth the fundamental business purpose of the bill in providing for rediscount operations. The Federal reserve banks are at the outset authorized to receive current deposits from their stockholders or from the Government or from other Federal reserve banks, in so far as the latter may need to keep funds with them for exchange purposes.

The fundamental requirement throughout all of the discount section of the proposed bill is that antecedent to the performance of a service by a Federal reserve bank for a member bank which applies therefor the member bank shall indorse or guarantee the obligations which it offers for discount. Subject to this requirement the proposed bill, first of all, provides that notes and bills having a maturity of not over 90 days and drawn for agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes or the proceeds of which have been used for such purposes shall be admitted to rediscount.

It will be noted that the foregoing discussion refers to section 14, but in the rearrangement of sections, section 14 of the Glass bill became section 13 of the completed act.

(b) Of the secondary or permissive investments authorized in section 14 of the act (15 of the Glass bill) there is 25 per cent of the total resources now engaged. In other words, the secondary or permissive investments are 7½ times as great as the fundamental investment for which the system was organized. A discussion of these secondary investments might be interesting, and is found on page 52 of that report, as follows:

It will have been observed that the transactions authorized in section 14 (14 of the bill, 13 of the act) were entirely of a nature originating with member banks and involving a rediscount operation. It is clearly necessary to extend the permitted transactions of the Federal reserve banks beyond this very narrow scope for two reasons:

1. The desirability of enabling Federal reserve banks to make their rate of discount effective in the general market at those times and under those conditions when rediscounts were slack and when, therefore, there might have been accumulation of funds in the reserve banks without any motive on the part of member banks to apply for rediscounts or perhaps with a strong motive on their part not to do so.

2. The desirability of opening an outlet through which the funds of Federal reserve banks might be profitably used at times when it was sought to facilitate transactions in foreign exchange or to regulate gold movements.

This leaves out of $596,916,000 resources only $168,537,000 earning assets.

(c) Of these secondary or permissive investments there are: United States bonds, $54,959,000; bills bought in open market, $51,155,000; and municipal warrants, $39,154,000. This leaves unengaged and unearning 71½ per cent of the total resources, or $428,379,000.

Of the $20,183,000 of member's bills, over $15,000,000 was taken from member banks by the Richmond, Atlanta, Dallas, and Kansas City reserve banks—the last named does little business in the northern half of the tenth district. Little more than $5,000,000 taken from member banks by the Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and San Francisco banks. Of the bills being bought in open market, being purely investment and not to facilitate banking movement, only $3,157,000 were taken by the said southern group, while $47,997,000 were invested by the northern group. Of the investment in Government paper, the southern group took $16,470,000, while the other group took $38,420,000. Of the municipal warrants, the southern group took $1,274,000, while the northern group took $40,965,092.

These facts demonstrate clearly that the reserve bank up to the present is not performing its function as designed by its supporters, except in a very limited area, and in that limited area to a very narrow extent. The total amount of the members' notes discounted would not exceed the bills payable in an ordinarily strong bank in one of the good-sized cities of the United States.

Of the investments, out of an average total of $596,916,000 resources only three-fifths of 1 per cent, or $3,669,000, is agricultural or cattle paper.

A large, general purpose of the act, so far as the public is concerned, was to enable business men and institutions to realize on their credits and prevent failures. The law has been in effect something less than three years, and has been in operation somewhat less than two years. Its effect in prospect and in operation is evidenced by the failure record of the country.

The amount of farm paper purchased and discounted amounted in the month of June to only $3,669,000. Of this, $2,654,000 was taken by the four southern banks, leaving only $1,015,000 of agricultural and cattle paper for the eight banks occupying the large agricultural and live-stock region of the North, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. These eight banks had only about one-sixth of 1 per cent of their resources so invested.

Perhaps the apparent discrimination against this agricultural and live-stock paper which appears in the discount rate accounts in part for this small investment. The following is a table of discount rates published by the Federal reserve banks, in effect June 22, 1916:

*Discount rates of each Federal reserve bank in effect June 22, 1916.*

| | Maturities of 10 days and less. | Maturities of over 10 to 30 days, inclusive. | Maturities of over 30 to 60 days, inclusive. | Maturities of over 60 to 90 days, inclusive. | Agricultural and live-stock paper over 90 days. | Trade acceptances. | | Commodity paper. | Paper bought in open market. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | To 60 days, inclusive. | Over 60 to 90 days, inclusive. | | |
| Boston | 3 | 3½ | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 3 | [1] 3½ | |
| New York | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3½ | 3½ | | |
| Philadelphia | 3½ | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4½ | 3 | 3 | [1] 3 | |
| Cleveland | 3½ | 4 | 4 | 4½ | 5 | 3 | 3½ | | |
| Richmond | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3½ | 3½ | [1] 3½ | |
| Atlanta | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3½ | 3½ | 3½ | [2] 3½–5½ |
| Atlanta (New Orleans branch) | | | | | | [3] 3½–4 | [3] 3½–4 | | |
| Chicago | 3½ | 4 | 4½ | 4½ | 5 | | | | |
| St. Louis | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | [4] 3 | [4] 3½ | 3 | |
| Minneapolis | | 4 | 4 | 4½ | 5 | 3½ | 3½ | 3½ | |
| Kansas City | 4½ | 4½ | 4½ | 4½ | 5 | 3½ | 3½ | 3 | |
| Dallas | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4½ | 3½ | 3½ | 3 | 3–5 |
| San Francisco | 3 | 3½ | 4 | 4½ | 5½ | 3 | 3½ | [5] | |

[1] Rate for commodity paper maturing within 90 days.
[2] Rate for bills of exchange in open market operations.
[3] Rate for trade acceptances bought in open market without member bank indorsement.
[4] A rate of 2 to 4 per cent for bills with or without member bank indorsement has been authorized.
[5] Rate for commodity paper maturing within 30 days, 3½ per cent; over 30 to 60 days, 4 per cent; over 60 to 90 days, 4½ per cent; over 90 days, 5 per cent.

It will be observed that agricultural and live-stock paper discount averages nearly 1½ per cent higher than the other classes of paper in which the system invests its money. As this paper is based upon values for which there is a ready market, and perhaps the steadiest market of all our American products, it would seem to be an absolutely unfair discrimination against the farmer.

The President of the United States, on the 2d day of September, 1916, while standing on the lawn of ever-deepening shadows, formally repudiating, so far as in him lay, the one-term plank of the Baltimore platform, said:

For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credits by means of the Federal reserve act and the rural credits act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market.

As the rural credits system has not been put in operation, of course, no one can tell much about its workings. So the "creation of farmers' commercial credit," such as it is, must be attributed to the reserve act. As the money charged on farmers' paper for the use of money, according to the rates fixed by the reserve system, amounts to about 30 per cent more than the cost to those issuing regular commercial paper, the real benefit to the farmer can only be discovered through a powerful administration lens.

Perhaps the best concrete evidence of the system's failure to perform its proper function is shown in the rapidly increasing number of failures throughout the country.

The following is a record of the failures in the country, beginning with 1913, in which the reserve act was considered and enacted by Congress.

| | Failures. |
|---|---|
| 1913 | 14,553 |
| 1914 | 16,759 |
| | Failures. |
| 1915 | 19,032 |
| 1916 (estimated by doubling the actual number in first half of year) | 18,990 |

The average annual number of failures for 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1912 was 13,567.

Average for 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916, 17,333.

Average for 1915 and 1916, years reserve act was in operation, 19,011.

Record for a recent week:

Bradstreet's reports business failures in the United States for the week ending August 24, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Week ending Aug. 24, 1916 | 300 |
| Weeks corresponding to this week: | |
| 1915 | 296 |
| 1914 | 297 |
| 1913 | 269 |
| 1912 | 228 |

It should perhaps be said, though as no excuse or palliation, that the volume of liabilities have not kept pace with the number of failures. The significance of that is the fact that the system is not rendering the aid to small or moderate business which ought to have the preferred call, if any there be, over big business, which can and does take advantage of war stimulated conditions.

It is to be hoped that a future Congress will by wise amendment and a prudent management and proper modification cause our banking system to become of use and service to the people and to commerce, but a proper respect for ourselves and the intelligent judgment of the country would forbid our boast when an apology for failure is due either from Congress or the system's management.

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**The So-Called Eight-Hour Law.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CLIFTON N. McARTHUR,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing in the so-called "eight-hour law" just passed by Congress that in any way limits a day's work to eight hours. The measure in question merely provides for extra wages for certain classes of railroad employees who may work more than eight hours per day. It is therefore not an eight-hour law, but a law for the regulation of wages. I am in sympathy with eight-hour legislation, as my record in the legislature of my own State shows, but I do not approve of the measure just passed nor of the manner of its passage. I do not believe it is the function of Congress to legislate as to the wages of employees other than those in the Government service. In the passage of this law Congress has invaded a new field and has invited all laborers whose products are shipped in interstate commerce to come here and demand that their wages be increased. We have let down the bars for the admission of all kinds of disputes between capital and labor. We have created a precedent that will bring trouble not only to ourselves but to future generations.

I hold to the belief that Congress in order to promote the general welfare has the right to legislate as to the length of hours that men may work in moving trains in interstate commerce, and I am ready and willing to consider such legislation upon its merits, but not as a subterfuge for something else. I question the authority of Congress to fix wage schedules, and venture the opinion that the country does not approve of the law just passed—even if it be the means of averting the threatened strike. Furthermore, I am not sure that the railroad employees themselves desire to have Congress fix the amounts of their compensation.

EIGHT-HOUR LEGISLATION UNSOUGHT.

The American Federation of Labor, at its Philadelphia convention in 1914, adopted the following:

> The American Federation of Labor, as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade-union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals, and employment by Federal, State, or municipal government.

In other words, the forces of organized labor do not propose to surrender the power to fix wage schedules, but intend that it remain within the jurisdiction of the several unions. This position was reiterated at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco last November, and was stoutly defended on the floor by Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of that organization. While the railway brotherhoods are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, it is highly probable that the rank and file of their members are of the same opinion. In permitting their chieftains to take this question into politics the brotherhoods have done the cause of labor incalculable harm, and in refusing to arbitrate their differences with the railroads they have struck down a principle which the Federal Government has been trying for years to establish and which society accepts as the most helpful and equitable method of settling disputes between capital and labor.

I know hundreds of members of the various brotherhoods, and many of them are among my warmest personal friends. I can not believe that the rank and file of these splendid organizations approve of the methods employed to pass this bill.

CLASS LEGISLATION ENACTED.

The bill which Congress has just passed is class legislation in that it recognizes less than 20 per cent of the railroad workers. The other 80 per cent—the switchmen, towermen, section hands, trackwalkers, shopworkers, agents, and laborers—do not come within the purview of the bill. Why this favoritism? If the trainmen are entitled to more pay, how about the great army of hard-working men in the section crews whose backs are bent "day in and day out" under the strain of the pick and crowbar? How about the poorly paid men in the switch towers, who share with the locomotive engineers the responsibility for the great loads of human freight? I am not an expert in transportation matters, but, according to my vision, we have enacted a rank piece of class legislation.

I do not pretend to say that the claims of the brotherhoods for an increased wage are unjust. I have no knowledge or information upon the subject nor do I believe that half a dozen Members of this body have more than a superficial knowledge as to the matter at issue. If the men are entitled to more pay, they should receive it; but the decision that grants the increase should be made only after a full examination as to all the facts. I wish to see every laborer in the country amply paid for his labor and services, but I object to seeing his wages fixed by legislation, particularly where there is no knowledge as to the justice of his claims.

BURDEN FALLS ON SHIPPER.

Railroad officials tell us that the increased cost of operation to American roads because of the recent act will approximate $60,000,000 per year. The brotherhood men admit that it will approximate $20,000,000. The general public will likely strike a balance between these figures, but in any event the increase will amount to many millions of dollars, which will come home to the American shipper—the farmer, merchant, stockman, lumberman, and manufacturer—in the shape of increased freight rates, which, in turn, will add to the already high cost of living. In controversies such as we have just witnessed the general public always bears the brunt of the burden and pays the bill.

CONGRESS ACTS UNDER THREAT.

The worst feature of the measure just passed was the manner of its enactment. The bill was rushed through both Houses of Congress without investigation or mature consideration, and practically without debate. It was rushed through under duress, under the threat of a great railroad strike. Congress had no opportunity to exercise its discretion or to say whether or not the demands of the brotherhoods are just. Congress cringed and crawled, debased itself, humiliated the country, disregarded the principle of arbitration, discredited organized labor, and made no permanent settlement of the great question at issue. Congress did, however, establish a precedent whereby any class of citizens—laboring, capitalistic, or other—may come here and, under threat of a strike or other situation involving the welfare of the country, demand hasty and improper legislation. In this respect Congress has surrendered its sovereign lawmaking power and has served notice on the country that government no longer rests upon the people's will, through their chosen representatives, but rather upon the demands of some class or group of citizens. It is a shameful spectacle to see Congress thus violating the established traditions of the country and the priceless ideals handed down by our fathers.

If government is to be a thing of worth, it must not depart from fundamental principles, even in the face of expediency. Had our fathers acted the part of cowards and weaklings instead of holding to their cherished ideals and convictions there would have been no Declaration of Independence and

no emancipation proclamation. In the hasty consideration and enactment of this bill there was more concern, both here and at the White House, over the result of the next elections than over the welfare of the next generation.

WILL LET VOTERS DECIDE.

With my convictions upon orderly constitutional government and the right of Congress to legislate without fear, duress, or undue influence, I voted against the bill just passed. If my political enemies desire to make a campaign issue out of my action, I shall take the question to the people of my district. If they sustain my position, I shall rejoice. If they do not, I shall accept their verdict manfully. There are some things that I prize higher than a seat in Congress. One of them is my self-respect—something that I could not retain had I yielded to the demands of expediency and voted for this bill.

In conclusion, I wish to quote the following editorial from to-day's issue of the New York Tribune:

FAITHFUL AMONG THE FAITHLESS.

Cowardice and demagogy trampled over principle and honor in the stampede at Washington to do the bidding of the four railroad labor unions. Congress consented to the sacrifice of self-respect, which was necessary in order to seal the President's shameful submission to the threat of a strike order.

But there was a remnant in each branch—larger relatively in the Senate than in the House of Representatives—which refused to bow to the dictatorship of the four brotherhood leaders. The 56 Republicans and 2 Democrats in the House and the 26 Republicans and 2 Democrats in the Senate who voted against a complete surrender of legislative power to a lobby sitting with stop watches in the gallery have written their names on an imperishable roll of honor.

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## Wilson's Demand for Mexico Is Justice.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. CLAUDIUS U. STONE,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. STONE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following:

WILSON'S DEMAND FOR MEXICO IS JUSTICE—STORY OF PRESIDENT'S COURAGEOUS REFUSAL TO FORCE ARMED INTERVENTION UPON A HELPLESS PEOPLE.

President Wilson's faith in democracy and the unselfishness of the United States in international dealings have been so strikingly expressed in his Mexican policy that it may be said to constitute the greatest contribution which the country has made in many years to the progressive thought of mankind.

While Europe suffered the throes of the most horrible war that ever has afflicted humanity, the United States, under President Wilson's guidance, maintained peace with her stricken neighbor, holding fast to the principle that a small nation's sovereignty is entitled to the same consideration as that of a great power.

Frowning upon two elements of our citizenship who sought to compel the Government to undertake armed intervention in Mexico—that section of the property holders who wanted intervention as a measure of protecting their wildcat investments, and the politicians of the opposition who were willing to work any injustice in order to advance their partisanship—the President has steadily refused to take any course not consistent with Mexico's right to solve her own internal problems.

Two considerations have animated the President in the formulation of his Mexican policy and have compelled his adherence in it throughout his administration, namely:

The firm conviction that all nations, both the weak and the powerful, have the inviolable right to control their internal affairs.

The belief, established upon the history of the world, that Mexico will never become a peaceful and law-abiding neighbor of the United States until she has been permitted to achieve a permanent and basic settlement of her troubles without outside interference.

In applying these principles the President has been animated by a generous spirit of forbearance, inspired by the possession of superior power and by a desire to aid rather than coerce a sister Republic. Thus he has not been as ready to turn to the effective last resort of physical force to assure the protection of the rights of American citizens and to compel compliance with the demands of this Government as he might have been had Mexico been better able to protect herself. Limitations to this forbearance were fixed in his mind, however, and on three occasions it became necessary for him to disclose them. The first demonstration of the iron firmness which lay back of the President's sympathy for Mexico came in 1914, in the attack on Vera Cruz, which drove Victoriano Huerta, the insolent and murderous despot at Mexico City, from power. It was demonstrated again when interventionist conspirators crossed the American border and killed American citizens at Columbus, and, finally, when American soldiers were attacked by Mexicans at Carrizal.

The Wilson Mexican policy is of a piece with the new statesmanship which will regulate the international affairs of the world when the lessons of the European war have been learned and applied. One of the safeguards which civilization is sure to set up against a recurrence of such a war as is now being waged is an instrumentality to protect the sovereign rights of weak nations. The world is moving inevitably toward a new era wherein nations will recognize and be held to the same moral code that is now recognized by individuals. Conscience, and not the possession of superior power, will dictate a Republic's policy toward a smaller sister Republic.

In advance of the formulation of these principles into an international code and while Europe was atoning for her failure to recognize them, President Wilson has applied them directly in his conduct of American relations with Mexico. At times Mexico has transgressed the custom and practice of nations which would be applied under the mandates of the most advanced international courts, and in the absence of such mandates the United States has of necessity done its own police work. Thus it will be seen that America once again, through the operation of this Mexican policy, has arisen to the pioneer service of mankind. Thus it will be seen that when mankind begins to apply the principles which will prevent future wars this American principle of the inviolability of the sovereignty of small nations will be placed first in the code.

ALL LATIN AMERICA INVOLVED.

Our relations with Mexico have been so closely interwoven with our relations with the other Republics of the Western Hemisphere that it was impossible for the President to conduct the one without regard to the other. All Latin America looked on intently as the United States dealt with Mexico. Suspicion, which had been engendered by the long years of misunderstanding and mistrust, preceding Mr. Wilson's administration, made the Mexican policy in the eyes of our neighbors a real test of the sincerity of the friendly protestations the United States was making to all the Governments of America. The more fortunate Republics of Central and South America clearly were of the conviction that they could expect no better treatment for themselves in less fortunate circumstances than the United States would mete out to Mexico.

A clear conception of the Mexican policy is possible only when one realizes that coincidentally with the handling of the Mexican situation the President has been engaged in formulating a cooperative policy for Pan America. This policy was designed not only to promote trade relations whereby the prosperity of the United States would be increased, but also to develop a sort of international brotherhood here in this hemisphere which will serve as a model for all mankind. The Mexican policy has accomplished a great deal in this respect. It has quieted the suspicions of Latin America. For the first time in our history the Latin American Governments are at heart friends of the United States. Friendships are the most valuable resources of nations as well as individuals; and in strengthening the bonds of good-will between the Republics of this hemisphere Mr. Wilson has rendered a patriotic service of highest order.

The sincerity of the unselfish friendship of the United States was put to the test in Mexico, and as a result of the manner in which that test was met and of its effects upon our relations with other Governments, we are better prepared for he uncertainties of a future which may be troublous. Indeed, it is a far cry from the attitude of suspicion general among Latin Americans at the time of Mr. Taft's withdrawal from the Presidency to a condition of international amity in this hemisphere wherein the following important statement from Señor Suarez, the Chilean ambasador to the United States, could escape comment from the newspapers of the country, supposedly because it had ceased to be news:

Side by side with the thinker stands the statesman, who has radically changed the relations among the people in this continent and has built an American international policy of mutual esteem and cooperation in these very moments praised and applauded by the whole continent.

It is not the first time that, from the very august chair to which he has been elevated by the love and respect of his fellow citizens, the President of the United States—now in our midst—appeals to the sentiments of the American countries in behalf of the welfare and progress of our Americas. The strengthening of constitutional government

throughout all nations in the continent, the vigor and purity of our democracies, and the mutual cooperation for the defense of our national rights and privileges have been the salient features of his continental policy, and when the moment came of showing with deeds the absolute sincerity of his fraternal principles, as was the case in the unfortunate circumstances which gave rise to the mediation conference at Niagara Falls, he has without any hesitation whatever placed his authority and his influence on the side of peace and love among the sister nations.

HISTORY'S CERTAIN VERDICT.

No American whose perceptions have not been clouded by selfishness or misleading propagandas can escape a feeling of pride when the principles on which the President's policy was based are fully comprehended. It is indeed a matter of deep and sober gratification to realize that when the great intellects of the future turn back the pages of history to study the origin of the movement designed to make an end of all ambitious and greedy wars, they must add another tribute to the list which mankind has awarded America for her unselfish services.

How intense and incapable of being altered by partisan assaults must be the pride which Mr. Wilson himself feels in the contribution he has enabled his country to make to the noble ideals of mankind. It can be understood best by recalling an incident in the early days of his administration, when Mr. Wilson expressed to an inconspicuous little woman with whom he was conversing in his White House office the hope that there would be no war during his administration. That was before the outbreak of the European war and before the interventionist hydra had reared its head in America. One had to turn to history for an appreciation of war's horrors and for a contrast with the tender mercies of our day of peace. Since that time Mexico has placed a severe restraint upon the President's efforts to maintain peace throughout his administration. There have been times when war seemed almost inevitable, but each test has been met by firmness and a consistent adherence to the ideals which Mr. Wilson recognized. And so the President stands to-day, attacked as bitterly as Lincoln ever was attacked.

There have been times when the counseling of selfishness, if listened to, might have withdrawn the President from the path he has followed. Criticism and malicious partisanship have made the path difficult at times, and always there has been the probability that his personal fortunes would be served best were he to adopt the easy course of sending the American Army into Mexico. The President has not sought anything in his own behalf, however.

I am willing—

said President Wilson in reference to his Mexican critics—

no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not my favor personally—what difference does that make—but my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great national convention.

It is impossible to grasp the vital significance of President Wilson's Mexican policy without a broad knowledge of conditions which had prevailed in Mexico before President Wilson was inaugurated. The Mexican problem in its present form had existed for the American Government ever since our frontier was extended to the Rio Grande. There had been peaceful periods, in which for the most part order had been maintained and international obligations fulfilled, but intermittently there had arisen provocative circumstances similar in character to those with which President Wilson has had to deal. The peace and order which was thus capable of being interrupted was a superimposed peace and order, and not a normal expression of the contentment of a self-regulated people. When the people maintained the peace it was because they were forced to do so, and not because justice reigned in the land. Thus it was that the history of Mexico, like the history of every aspiring people, pressed upon President Wilson's consideration the truth that no permanent good relations could exist between this great northern Republic and the one immediately to the south of us until she had been left free to put her house in order, however painful that process might be and whatever the demands it might make upon the forbearance of the United States. Let us summarize the historical conditions which had given rise to the Mexican trouble of the Wilson administration:

THE DIAZ TYRANNY.

Porfirio Diaz, surrounded by the old feudal lords of his feudal states—the great Spanish-Mexican landlords, mine owners, generals, and advocates—called for foreign capital in Mexico, and it came; American, French, English, German, Belgian; and it got what it came for. At first the concessions granted were reasonably fair. The privileged persons became powerful. They formed a ring called the "Friends of Diaz," and as he grew old he fell more and more under the influence of these men who controlled the natural resources of the country. They formed a political party, self-styled "Cientifico," because the program was to develop, according to modern, scientific methods, the resources of Mexico.

Railroads were built; telegraphs and telephones were installed; old mines were reopened; new mines discovered; oil was struck; lands in great tracts were cultivated and made productive; later, factories and new industries were established. Under the stress of competition for concessions the foreigners, Americans among them, bribed the "friends of Diaz" or took cientificos into business with them as partners or shareholders, and then, to hold what they had or to get more, they corrupted the little political bosses, the legislatures, and the Congress, and the courts. Mexico was more corrupt than any American State ever was, and for this reason: Not only American methods of corruption but all the corrupting arts of all countries represented by the foreign capitalists were mixed and perfected there.

Labor was cheap and good. Slow and unskilled, it was patient, willing, obedient, teachable. But principally it was cheap. A few cents, gold, a day was good pay. Thence came the trouble.

As Mexico grew rich the Mexicans grew poor.

The masters had Diaz reintroduce and extend the peonage system, under which a worker and his children were bound by debt to the land, mines, or factories. A peon who left a master could be brought back by the jefes politico (political bosses), who had all the machinery of law and the army at their call. There was no escape for the worker except when one master outbid another in bribes to the jefe politico. Sometimes, toward the end, the workers on the land or in a factory would strike, but Diaz sent his soldiers and ruthlessly cut them down. There never was a successful strike in Mexico in the days of Diaz; there were few of any sort.

The Mexican people had from the earliest times possessed land. Around each village was an ample circle of soil called "communal," which was open to any native of the community to use as he chose. And many a Mexican chose to work upon this communal land or his own little rancho rather than in the mines or on the large plantations. Some Indian tribes held in common great stretches of country and never did work for wages. It was really only the natural service of the individuals enslaved by debt who went out to work for the masters, and they had relatives and friends who, free at home, kept up the atmosphere and the hope of liberty in Mexico. Diaz took away from his people their communal lands.

His people resisted, and he had to use fraud and force. His troops had to kill off some tribes completely and break up others by shipping the most spirited of them into actual slavery in Yucatan and tropical Mexico, where they died like flies.

The grand, the underlying cause of the Mexican revolution was the will of the Mexican people to be free and independent. The dramatic setting of the first revolt shows that. The centennial of Mexico was opened in Mexico City in September, 1910. It was supposedly a celebration of the victory of Mexican independence from foreign control, but really it was a glorification of Diaz and his delivery of Mexico into foreign control. But the Mexicans understood, and on November 20, before the last of the foreign visitors was gone, the Mexican people had risen in arms, and the revolution, which has been going on all the five years since, was begun.

MADERO'S FAILURE.

A poor little rich man's son led it—Francisco I. Madero. One of a large, rich, and very powerful Mexican family, he had been educated in Europe and the United States, and, inspired with the "radical notions" of the cafés and the labor unions, he had been going about Mexico preaching to the peons and workers at the crossroads and street corners "land, liberty, and free elections, and no reelections to a constitutional government." Diaz and his friends, Madero's own family, regarded Pancho Madero as crazy, and they let him go on as harmless. But the people heard him gladly; they followed him; and by the beginning of 1911 Mexico was afire with a new hope. Madero had to flee to the United States, but on May 10 the revolutionists took Juarez. Madero entered the city, and on May 26, Diaz, who knew his people, resigned and departed from Mexico City in an armored train to Vera Cruz, whence he sailed away in a foreign battleship to Europe.

The tyrant was gone; the tyranny remained.

The "friends of Diaz," who did not know the people, the cientificos, stayed. They made De la Barra, one of themselves, provisional president, but Madero, at the head of his revolutionary troops, entered Mexico City and became the actual head of the Government. He was selected titular president on October 2. Meanwhile, however, the cientificos, the Madero family leading, surrounded Madero and possessed him. Venustiano Carranza, one of Madero's original leaders in the North, went to

Mexico City, saw what was happening, and he warned President Madero.

Just as some of them helped start Madero's revolution, so the foreigners in Mexico assisted at his downfall and caused the other revolutions. There were exceptions; some Americans favored Madero and his ideals, but generally the foreigners hated the revolution and all its works and words, and so they joined, both openly and privately, with Huerta and the little group of privileged cientificos in their plot for a "palace revolution" against the revolution of the people.

The plot was not to set up Huerta but a more "regular" government with a man like Felix Diaz as the dummy president. Diaz's name was used to gain foreign credit. But Huerta was in charge. A friend of Madero and his general in chief, he was also in command of the conspirators. He had the city thrown into disorder; started mock battles which, however, ran the streets with blood, for the fighters thought the battles were real, and they killed one another by the hundreds. Decane Tragica—the 10 tragic days of that pitched battle within the City of Mexico were indeed a reign of terror, and Huerta, in command of both sides, ordered Madero's loyal regiments to march up to the machine guns of the enemy until they were killed or mangled in the streets. When Huerta thought the city had enough of terror he stopped the bloody sham, and on February 18 arrested President Madero, Madero's cabinet, and his loyal brother, Gustavo. And he shot Gustavo that night. The next day, by the false pretense that it was for the good of Mexico, he obtained the resignations of President Madero and Vice President Suarez. He did not pass on the power as the plotters had planned, however, but he proclaimed himself dictator. Two days later, on February 22, Madero and Suarez were both treacherously shot "while trying to escape"—a fiction repeated so often in Mexico as to deceive no one.

Huerta made use of his control of the Federal army at Mexico City to establish himself in the seat of the murdered President Madero. Then he sent this message to President Taft:

I have overthrown the Government, and henceforth peace and order will reign.

TAFT WATCHED AND WAITED.

President Taft did not alter the policy he had evolved for dealing with Mexico. It was a policy of cautious waiting, the character of which was emphasized by Mr. Taft in March, 1912, when he threw the weight of his administration against an intervention resolution introduced in the Senate as a result of the killing of a number of American citizens by Mexicans at the Arizona border. Mr. Taft's views as to America's duty were not changed by the events occurring at Mexico City in the closing days of his administration, as was shown by his utterance at Washington February 26, when he said:

We must not in a case like Mexico—for it differs from the Central American Republics—take such action as shall give them to believe that we are moved by selfish purposes, or arouse them to opposition to us. We must avoid in every way that which is called intervention, and use all the patience possible, with the prayer that some power may arise there to bring about peace throughout that troubled country. * * * But I have no sympathy—none at all, and the charge of cowardice does not frighten me—with that which prompts us for purposes of exploitation and gain to invade another country and involve ourselves in a war, the extent of which we could not realize, and the sacrifice of thousands of lives and of millions of treasure.

A precedent still more important than the Taft policy existed for policy Mr. Wilson was to follow. It was the policy followed by President Lincoln in a similarly unsettled period of Mexico's history. That policy was enunciated by Mr. Lincoln through this communication from his Secretary of State:

For a few years past the condition of Mexico has been so unsettled as to raise the question on both sides of the Atlantic whether the time has not come when some foreign power ought, in the interest of society generally, to intervene—to establish a protectorate or some form of government in that country and guarantee its continuance there. You will not fail to assure the Government of Mexico that the President neither has, nor can ever have, any sympathy with such designs, in whatever quarter they may arise or whatever character they may take on. The President never for a moment doubts that the republican system is to pass safely through all ordeals and prove a permanent success in our own country, and so be recommended to adoption by all other nations. But he thinks also that the system everywhere has to make its way painfully through difficulties and embarrassments which result from the action of antagonistic elements which are a legacy of former times and very different institutions. The President is hopeful of the ultimate triumph of this system over all obstacles as well in regard to Mexico as in regard to every other American State; but he feels that those States are nevertheless justly entitled to a greater forbearance and more generous sympathies from the Government and people of the United States than they are likely to receive in any other quarter.

AN INHERENT PROBLEM.

Thus the stage was set for President Wilson. Thus developed one of the most burdensome legacies that one American President ever handed down to another. The first decision which the President was called upon to make was between the recognition and the nonrecognition of Huerta. The facts were clear and beyond partisan argumentation.

On the one hand, the President could recognize the dictator, thus throwing the tremendous moral support of the United States upon his side, and, so to speak, clamp his Government down upon the aspirations of the Mexican people. Some of the President's advisers, who believe that the United States should be guided only by consideration for its selfish interests, thought this the wise thing for him to do. They believed that the United States could well afford to sacrifice Mexican liberties in order to facilitate the establishment of an orderly period in which American lives and American property would be safe. Even that justification has been removed, however, by subsequent disclosures, for it is known now that Huerta would have had the greatest difficulty in maintaining his control of the government even if he had had the moral support of the United States. His hold upon the government was a slender one, and he was incapable of dominating the outlying States, particularly those of the north, where the radical thought of Mexico flourished.

On the other hand, the President could refuse the recognition and support of the United States. He could take the position that the United States was unwilling to interfere in Mexican affairs in behalf of him who proclaimed, "I have overthrown the Government." He was free, if he chose to do so, to await developments and to maintain an attitude of preparedness to serve the sister Republic when opportunity should offer itself.

It was a clear choice between right and wrong, a clear opportunity to avoid unpardonable commitments. The President did not hesitate. Only eight days elapsed after his inauguration before he was ready to announce to the world the decision he had made.

Cooperation is possible—

Said the President in a formal statement issued from the White House—

only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force. * * * We can not have sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of the Government to advance their own personal interests or ambitions. We are the friends of peace, but we know that there can be no lasting or stable peace in such circumstances. As friends, therefore, we shall prefer those who act in the interests of peace and honor, who protect private rights and respect the restraint of constitutional provisions.

It was the service of notice that the United States Government, under President Wilson's administration, would not recognize Huerta or any other ruler in Latin America whose accession to power was made possible through the treacherous murder of his constitutional predecessor.

ENTER CARRANZA.

In a little while the revolutionary movement was revived under the leadership of the governor of Coahuila, Venustiano Carranza. From the first it prospered. The Mexican people were prepared to rally around any leader who raised revolt against Huerta, whom they called "the foreign-chosen traitor" and in whom they saw tyranny restored to power.

In May, 1913, President Wilson sent John Lind as his special representative to tender the good offices of the United States to Mexico. He felt that as the friend of Mexico the United States ought not to hold back from offering its aid, and that our position as Mexico's nearest friend in the regard of the nations of the world made this duty encumbent upon us. Lind sought to persuade Huerta to agree to a free election, in which Carranza's followers and the Huertistas were to take part on a basis of equal suffrage; Huerta was to bind himself not to be a candidate. President Wilson pledged himself through Lind to recognize and to give all practicable assistance to the administration to be constituted by the proposed election and to facilitate a settlement in every way honorable and consistent with international right.

Huerta insolently rejected these proposals, and the President, while deploring his attitude, felt that the United States was not called upon to do more at that time. He declared in an address to Congress August 27, 1913, that but a little more time was needed in order that the situation might work itself out. Meanwhile, he thought it the duty of the United States to show "what true neutrality will do to enable the people of Mexico to set their affairs in order again."

The succeeding weeks established overwhelmingly that the dictator, proclaimed as the "iron handed," was incapable of maintaining peace and order in Mexico and of fulfilling the international obligations of a government. None realized this better than Huerta himself. He was too wise to believe that he could continue to rule unless he had foreign support or unless some abnormal condition arose which might unite all Mexico behind him. With the support of the United States denied

him, he set out to create the condition which he believed would make his control durable.

It was to stir the Mexican people by his insolence toward the United States and, if necessary, to provoke intervention.

DICTATOR'S REMOVAL ESSENTIAL.

Huerta's gradual weakening was reported to the Congress of the United States by President Wilson in his annual message delivered December 2, 1913. In that message the President reiterated his belief that there could be no certain prospect of peace until the dictator had surrendered his usurped authority. The President's information regarding the condition of affairs in Mexico justified his assertion that Huerta had forfeited the respect and the moral support even of those who at one time had been willing to see him succeed. "Little by little he has been completely isolated," said the President. "By a little every day his power and prestige are crumbling and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting, and then, when the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions."

Meanwhile, Huerta and his underlings omitted no opportunity to try the patience of the United States. A series of insulting incidents, which had included offenses against the sovereignty of the United States, culminated April 9, 1914, when a quartermaster and a boat's crew from the United States ship *Dolphin* were arrested at Tampico by officers of Gen. Huerta's army and paraded through the streets of the Mexican city. Two of the men were taken into custody while aboard the *Dolphin's* boat, which had the flag of the United States at her bow and at her stern. The American sailors were released quickly and the officers responsible for the arrest apologized. Gen. Huerta himself later expressed regret.

The arrest was regarded by Admiral Mayo, in command of the American naval vessel at Tampico, as an affront to the flag, and the admiral demanded a full salute in atonement for it.

President Wilson informed the Congress on April 20 that he had upheld Admiral Mayo's demand, and had felt it his duty to insist "that the flag of the United States should be saluted in such a way as to indicate a new spirit and attitude on the part of the Huertistas."

The President was moved to this conclusion by a consideration of the other offensive acts of the Huertista officials. These had included the arrest and temporary imprisonment of a mail orderly from the battleship *Minnesota* at Vera Cruz, and the withholding of an official dispatch from the State Department to the American Embassy at Mexico City by the authorities of the Mexican telegraph service.

SEIZURE OF VERA CRUZ.

The President felt that these affronts had been perpetrated by Huerta's representatives in retaliation for the failure of the United States to recognize the dictator. When Huerta ignored the American ultimatum demanding a salute to the flag, President Wilson ordered the seizure of the port of Vera Cruz by the American naval forces then in Mexican waters. The seizure occurred on April 21. It was accomplished after the death of 19 American sailors and marines, and approximately 100 Mexicans. The action was directed solely against Huerta and the forces he controlled. The President made it clear that the undertaking to which he applied the American forces was not war against Mexico, but a stroke against the individual and his followers who had perpetrated insults against the United States. Huerta's insolence had become intolerable. The President's forbearance and his kindly sympathy for the Mexican people could not justify him longer in permitting a continuance of Huerta's insolence. It should be remembered that always in the President's mind there had been reservations as to the extent of the sacrifices which the United States Government could make in order to avoid armed clashes with one of the offending Mexican factions. The purpose behind the Vera Cruz expedition was much the same as that in the President's mind later when he ordered Gen. Pershing to lead an expeditionary force into northern Mexico to break up the Villista faction, which was behind the Columbus raid. In both cases the President felt himself eminently justified in utilizing the power of the United States in crushing the faction of Mexicans who were deliberately and with sinister designs engaged in the commission of intolerable wrongs against the United States.

The American forces were not sent into Vera Cruz to compel a salute to the American flag. When Huerta refused the President's ultimatum, he created a need that more complete reparation be given for his offenses. That was the sort of reparation which the President was intent upon procuring. In a word, it was to break the waning power of the dictator and to bring his bloody reign to an end, since in no other way could normal international relations be restored. Estoppage of the delivery of a shipment of arms on board the German steamship *Yperanza*, consigned to Huerta, which was due at Vera Cruz the morning of the seizure, was but an incidental consideration in the order for the capture of that port. The fact that arms later reached the Mexicans through another port is irrelevant to the weighing of the Vera Cruz incident, for it did not alter the certainty that the President's main purpose would be realized.

Although the American naval and military forces were prepared for it, the President did not order a campaign into the interior of Mexico. The seizure of the principal port in Huerta's possession the President regarded as all that was needed at that time.

A. B. C. POWERS MEDIATE.

When the United States had been in comparatively peaceful possession of Vera Cruz nearly two weeks, the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile applied a sudden, sharp test to the sincerity of the friendship which Mr. Wilson had been expressing for the sister Republics of the Western Hemisphere. Possibly fearing that if the United States went further in its Mexican expedition their own sovereignty might become involved, the Latin-Americans proposed to mediate the differences between the United States and Huerta. President Wilson recognized the vital importance of the mediation proposal to our relations with the Latin-American Governments, and with a vision of the golden opportunity offered for winning the friendship and confidence of Latin-America he accepted. His acceptance did more than anything that had occurred in many decades to convince the Latin-Americans that the United States had no designs upon their territories.

Huerta, in view of the desperate straits in which he found himself, also accepted the mediation, but while the A. B. C. conference was being held at Niagara Falls his power crumbled completely away. July 7, 1914, he fled from the capital and sailed into exile, followed by the opprobrium of all his patriotic countrymen.

Venustiano Carranza had been the civil leader of the revolutionary movement which had come into control of the government at Mexico City upon Huerta's withdrawal. His chief military commander was Francisco Villa, who had made a brilliant record as a strategist and a leader of the Constitutionalist soldiers. They were jealous of one another, and Villa's recalcitrance was intensified by his belief that Carranza intended to relegate him to a subordinate position not in keeping with his achievements as a leader of the victorious army. Weeks passed, however, without an actual break between the two, and with Huerta gone, the United States had no reason to retain possession of Vera Cruz, so on November 23, 1914, the port was evacuated and turned over to the representatives of the new government at the Mexican capital.

The Constitutionalist movement did not fulfill the bright promises which it had held out for the future of Mexico. Dissension and discord broke out within its ranks. The jealousy and envy which Villa and Carranza entertained for one another came to a head in a convention at Aguascalientes, which had been called to choose a provisional President pending a general election. Defeated in this convention, Villa withdrew and went to northern Mexico to organize the soldiers in that region who were loyal to him. Open warfare between the two divisions of the Constitutionalists followed, although Carranza remained in control of the capital and gradually gained other advantages over his opponent.

CARRANZA'S RECOGNITION.

For a year the administration held aloof, playing no favorities in the matter of its control of shipments of arms into Mexico and hoping that the opposing factions would bring order out of chaos without any activities on the part of the United States. A year sufficed to disillusion the President and his advisers, however. Thereupon the administration consulted with the six ranking diplomatic representatives of the Latin-American countries as to the practicability of recognizing a government in Mexico. The Latin-American representatives and Secretary of State Lansing invited both Villa and Carranza to participate in a conference designed to adjust their differences. The manner in which this invitation was received decided the conferees of the United States and the Latin-American countries. Villa's followers accepted, apparently without reference to the wishes of one another or their chieftain. Carranza's followers deferred to his wishes in the matter and indicated that they represented a united front. To the United States and the six Catholic countries engaged in the peace conference the inference was plain that the side which gave evidence of such superior organization,

unity, and harmony held out the brightest promise for Mexico's salvation. As a result, Carranza was recognized as head of the de facto government of Mexico by the United States and the countries with which we were advising.

Thereafter Carranza's campaign against Villa was more successful. Gradually Villa's forces disintegrated into independent bands, and the territory he controlled diminished. He became little more than a leader of bandits, who skulked in the mountains and in the thinly populated areas of Northern Mexico, where they were able to elude the forces of the de facto government.

Villa, hopeless of making headway against Carranza as things stood, adopted Huerta's policy of attempting to provoke American intervention. He hoped by arousing their national pride to rally to his standard many of Carranza's soldiers and to present himself to the ignorant Mexican people in the guise of their would-be savior from a foreign invader. The bandit leader went about his work with deadly earnestness. January 12, 1916, he caused the murder of 17 American citizens near Piedras Negras, Mexico. March 9 he personally led a raiding band across the border and attacked the town of Columbus, N. Mex., which was guarded by a detachment of American Cavalry.

The conscience of the American people demanded that the perpetrators of this outrage be given swift punishment. Villa's conspiracy to provoke intervention had fallen short of its goal, but he had brought about a situation wherein it was evident that the United States could not rely upon Carranza's soldiers, who were few in number along the international boundary, to suppress the brigands of northern Mexico. The President dealt with this situation in the same firm manner in which he had dealt with Huerta's offenses against American sovereignty. He ordered an adequate armed force under Gen. Pershing to pursue Villa into Mexico and to crush or disperse his lawless bands. Pershing's instructions also were to get Villa, if possible, dead or alive.

PROMPT PUNISHMENT.

The Pershing column was ready in 10 days. It had to be a complete little army, equipped for any sort of emergency, for the danger existed that once on Mexican soil our forces might, through misconception of its purpose, be attacked from other quarters than by the followers of Villa.

President Wilson took all available means to convince the Mexican people that the Pershing expedition was directed solely against the persons responsible for the Columbus raid, and by careful handling he reduced to a minimum the possibilities of a rupture with the Carranza Government. Formal assurances were conveyed to Carranza that the sovereignty of Mexico was not to be trenched upon. So favorable was the impression made at Mexico City that the chief of the de facto government suggested the negotiation of a reciprocal agreement to provide for the pursuit of raiders across the border by either Government. In that tense period also the President reaped the harvest of the good seed which had been sown throughout Latin-America by his policy of cooperation. Carranza was encouraged to defer his efforts to procure the withdrawal of the Pershing expedition by the attitude of the Latin-American Governments and by the official utterances with which the President and the State Department followed up their first assurances to the Mexican Government. The propriety of the American policy was emphatically set forth in a statement made public by Secretary of State Lansing, March 13, in which it was said that "what is now being done is deliberately intended to preclude the possibility of intervention."

Meanwhile, the soldiers under Gen. Pershing engaged in a vigorous pursuit of Villa and his outlaws. Unassisted by the Carranza soldiers, the hard-riding American cavalry clashed frequently with bands of Villistas and drove them into the hills. Villa was wounded and sought refuge in some mountain retreat where he was enabled to avoid capture.

The pursuit had taken the American forces more than 300 miles into Mexican territory. As time passed without the capture of Villa, the Mexican populace became more and more restless, and it became evident that they regarded the expedition as an affront to their national pride. Events gradually assumed a more ominous aspect. The increasing suspicions and complaints of the Mexican people brought such pressure to bear upon Carranza that it looked as if his control of the executive authority would be lost unless he took steps to bring about Pershing's withdrawal. Carranza himself was forced to assume an attitude which seemed to indicate a total lack of appreciation of the patience and forbearance which the American Government had displayed in the past. He opened a series of interchanges which began with inquiries as to how long the American troops were to stay in Mexico, and culminated in a demand for their withdrawal. An attempt was made in May to work out an agreement for the joint patrol of the border through a series of conferences between Gen. Obregon and Gen. Scott, the Chief of Staff of the United States Army. Carranza repudiated the arrangement which these officers had agreed upon and returned to his note writing. In April word was conveyed by Gen. Trevino to the officers of the American forces that if they moved in any direction save toward the American border, their movement would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Pending some determinations of the questions which Carranza had raised, the American troops were warned to avoid clashes, if possible, and to keep in mind "the single purpose of the expedition." The President was wholly intent on avoiding any mischance which might subject the future of relations between Mexico and the United States to its full influence.

THE CARRIZAL EPISODE.

In March a body of American troopers had clashed with the inflamed inhabitants of Parral. The tension produced by this incident and by the attitude of the Mexican Government was increased to the breaking point on April 12, when an engagement occurred at Carrizal between a detachment of American Cavalry, under Capt. Boyd, and a considerable number of Carranzista soldiers. Capt. Boyd was in pursuit of bandits. The engagement followed efforts by the Carranzista commander to prevail upon Boyd to turn back. The Mexican soldiers have steadily charged that Boyd provoked the fight through disobedience to his instructions. The American Government has never conceded the justification of this charge.

It looked like war for a while. Impassioned by the reports of the death of American troopers at Carrizal, the American people were prepared to make short shrift of Carranza's explanations. To the public mind there appeared but one proper method of dealing with the situation; it was to hold the Mexican Government to strict account for the acts of its soldiers, if it assumed responsibility for these acts. It was the course the President decided upon.

Delaying only long enough to get official information as to what had occurred, the President sent an ultimatum to Carranza, demanding the release of the American soldiers captured at Carrizal and the return of all their equipment and the property of the United States taken with them. At the same time he ordered the National Guard to the Mexican border and prepared to enforce his demands unless Carranza assented to them voluntarily.

The crisis was robbed of its acuteness by Carranza's yielding to the American ultimatum. He did release the prisoners and returned them to American territory, thus turning back the relations between his Government and the United States to their former status.

The interventionists were not satisfied with what had been done. The old cry for a settlement of all our difficulties with Mexico upon a warlike basis was renewed. The surface aspects of the situation had been changed by the tension resulting from the Columbus and Carrizal incidents, but the President was capable of realizing that the fundamental issues were unchanged.

PRESSURE FOR WAR.

There was a powerful pressure for war—a terrible war—by a well-armed, powerful Nation against an unarmed, bankrupt people exhausted by five years of civil strife, but who still retained enough of patriotic feeling to unify them against an invader. It was the old, old question whether the United States should impose a peace on Mexico; whether, for the sake of the interests of a few of its citizens, it should permanently suppress Mexico's upreaching toward freedom and self-government. What killing irony it would have been, even in these trying circumstances, for this custodian of mankind's ideals—herself composite of all the peoples of the earth—to say to Mexico, "The germ of self-government in you is incapable of fructifying. Your revolutions lead only to new revolutions, and not freedom and peace as did the revolutions of France. You must submit to a dictator; you must be governed by an iron hand, and the United States will see to it that you are."

President Wilson and the Democratic administration, contemplating this prospect, said, "No; there will be no glory in such a war." The President thought of war in Europe, of the clear prospect for a Pan American understanding with all our neighbors, the Latin Americans, and of its message of peace to Europe through agreement not to intervene in and exploit the little nations of the world. The President defied those who were pressing him to intervene in an epoch-making speech delivered at New York in June. In that speech the President told of the prayers that were being conveyed to him from unknown men and humble women, "Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody." And he declared himself the spokesman of such

people. Then he epitomized his defiance of those who were threatening to make political misfortune the price of his failure to bring on a war in his declaration that, regardless of the imminence of the presidential election, he was resolved to play only for the verdict of mankind.

Mr. Wilson's speech was immediately registered in a changed attitude on the part of the Government at Mexico City. It paved the way for negotiations for a settlement of all existing differences by a joint commission to be composed of three Americans and three Mexicans, to whom might be referred the problem of protecting our border first, and, second, of clearing up and clearing away all the causes of misunderstanding between the United States and Mexico, to the end that has been the President's aim, always, everywhere—peace.

Thus the story of the Wilson-Mexican policy closes at it began, a story of peace—peace. War if necessary, but not for mere misunderstandings; not for lack of patience, and certainly not for exploitation.

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**The Star-Spangled Banner and the Germans in America.**

SPEECH

OF

# HON. WILLIAM P. BORLAND,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. BORLAND. Mr. Speaker, the 12th of this month marks the one hundred and second anniversary of a brilliant victory of American arms at one of the critical periods of our national history. The defense of Fort McHenry and the repulsion of the British attack upon Baltimore was one of the few bright spots in the dark years of our second war with Great Britain. This battle occurred September 12, 1814, just 102 years ago. The war up to that time had been a series of straggling battles in which the great military power of England had not been exerted with any strength of purpose, and in which the Americans had lacked a general plan of defense.

In the summer of 1814 an American raid into Canada, which was probably unauthorized by the American Government, was seized upon by the British as a pretext for retaliation. The British Government sent a well-organized fleet and a well-equipped land force to the Chesapeake Bay with the avowed purpose of laying waste cities and destroying private property in retaliation for the harmless raid into Canada. This expedition, under Gen. Ross, advanced upon Washington, and finding it unprotected, entered the city and destroyed its public buildings with a vandal hand. The combined land and naval forces of the enemy then descended upon Baltimore. The situation was critical. Baltimore was not only a rich commercial city, it was the seat of the principal maritime trade of the Nation. The real design of the British was to separate the Northern States of the Union from the Southern States.

The Northern States had shown so much hostility to the war that the British believed that a sudden blow separating them from the South would drive them into an alliance with Canada. The Southern States were loyal to the Federal Government and its policy, but they were without the equipment of men, money, and ships possessed by the commercial ports of the North. Their loyalty could not express itself in substantial support. If the British had succeeded in their plan the situation of our struggling country would have been extremely unfortunate. The citizens of Baltimore, upon the approach of danger, rallied with great gallantry and interposed a bold resistance to the enemy. In the assault by the land forces of the British their commander, Gen. Ross, was killed and with him went much of the spirit of the attack. Fort McHenry then became the key of the situation. The British Admiral Cockburn undertook to run past the fort for the purpose of attacking and destroying the city. The fort was defended by an invincible German-American, Maj. George Armistead. His resistance was so stubborn that it completely surprised the British commander. For more than 30 hours the British hurled shells, bombs, and torpedoes into the fort. Instead of reducing the fort into submission the American defender made a spirited reply whenever a British ship would venture within range. It is said that no grander spectacle has ever been witnessed in the annals of war than this prolonged bombardment of Fort McHenry. All through the night the booming of the guns, the roar and shriek of the shot, and the bursting of the shells resounded over the little fort. It was enveloped in a dense volume of smoke lighted by the lurid flashes of the cannon and the sudden burst of the shells. It was from this scene that the inspiration was drawn by Francis Scott Key for his song, "The Star-Spangled Banner," the national air of all America. Key was a young lawyer who was imprisoned on one of the British ships. He saw and heard the fateful preparations for the bombardment of the fort and the sacking of the city. His heart sank as he thought of the fate in store for his country. Through the long night of vigil he watched with anxious eyes the terrific assault upon the fort. When the first light of dawn began to penetrate the pall of smoke he strained his tired and fevered eyes to see whether the fort was still holding out. As the rising sun showed him the Stars and Stripes still waving over the little fortress he burst into the song which has become immortal.

> Oh, say, can you see by the dawn's early light
> What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?

This scene has been dwelt upon so often by lovers of American history that I need do no more than to recall it to your minds. What I wish to emphasize is one of the side lights upon this great historic event—the fact that the gallant defender of the fort, Maj. George Armistead, was a German-American. We have heard much of the part played by the Puritans of New England and by the cavaliers of Virginia in the development of our infant Nation, but we often overlook that strong, rich strain of German blood which, fitting in as it did in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland, in the very center of the Colonies, formed a sort of backbone of colonial life. Little has been said about the tremendous strength added by the Germans and the conspicuous part which they played both in making us a free people and in preserviag our national life. There never has been a time when the Germans were not a military people. From the days when Arminius, whom the Germans call Hermann, beat back the victorious legions of Cæsar from the right bank of the Rhine and put the first check to the proud sweep of Roman arms down to the time when Gen. Custer, the sturdy little German-American, went down, revolver in each hand, in the fateful battle which closed his brilliant career in winning the West for civilization, the Germans have had a long line of military heroes. The German immigration to the American Colonies began very early. October 6, 1683, Pastorius and his little band settled in Germantown, Pa. From then on an increasing tide of Germans entered the wilderness of the New World. In 1710 the horrible devastation of Germany caused by the Thirty Years' War sent thousands of Germans to this country. They endured without flinching the privations of leaving their ancestral home and crossing to a strange land under a foreign flag, surrounded by people of a different language and all the handicaps of pioneer life. They prospered in their new home by the qualities of thrift, industry, and perseverance. They seem to have established cordial relations with the Indians by friendliness and honest dealing. Among all the figures of colonial life there seem to have been but two who had the complete confidence and respect of the red men. One was William Penn, the Quaker, and the other was Conrad Weiser, the German colonist. Upon Weiser's tact and knowledge of Indian character and the respect which they had for his honesty of purpose the Colonies were compelled to rely. He protected the settlements from the secret attacks of the French, who inflamed the hostile savages.

In 1755, the year of Gen. Braddock's defeat, the German frontiersmen in Maryland and Pennsylvania organized a regiment which they called the Royal American Regiment, and which from then on was the chief protection of the frontier. The American Revolution was supported by the Germans with their lives and their property, although the revolution was begun and fostered by the English colonists. The hearty cooperation of the Germans in the cause of American freedom is very remarkable, considering the separate place to which their language and customs had assigned them among the English-speaking colonists. The revolution is brilliant with the names of German heroes. The fiery little Von Steuben, who swore at his soldiers and then put his arms around their necks; the calm, determined Baron De Kalb, with his wonderful grasp of military strategy; the preacher, Muhlenberg, who preached to his little congregation on freedom and then threw off his pastor's gown and appeared before them in a captain's uniform, placed himself at the head of 300 men and marched out of the church to join the Continental Army. We become so interested sometimes in hearing about our Pilgrim Fathers that we overlook the sacrifices of our German fathers.

Fortunately for our country, the Germans continued to come after our Nation had achieved its independence. The wars of Napoleon, who trampled human rights under foot in pursuit of his mad ambition, drove thousands of Germans to this new land to seek a home. When the second war with Great Britain came the Germans had made themselves a permanent part of our na-

tional life. Maj. Armistead was but one of the many heroes of that race who bore arms for their adopted country. The succeeding years of our national history has but strengthened this German element and established it the more firmly as a permanent part of American life. The troublous times in Germany in 1848 sent over a fresh immigration. These newcomers were in many respects the highest type of emigrants America has ever received. Most of them were scholars of more than usual ability. They were writers, speakers, editors, and statesmen. They came largely from the great student body of Germany. Germany was even then taking its place as the scientific and classical university of the world. To-day the American flag floats over 12,000,000 Germans and the imprint of their genius is seen upon every department of industrial, intellectual, social, and political effort.

One of the strongest traits of the Germans is their love of home. The German is always a home builder. Every German family is a distinct economic and social gain to the community. They establish themselves firmly and root themselves to the soil. They love to acquire land and to improve it to its highest productive capacity. The sweetest word in the German language to German ears is "home," a word which seems to be entirely absent from the Latin languages. The saddest word in their language is the one which signifies homesickness. The fragmentary literature which has been collected about the German colonists in America is filled with this pathetic idea of homesickness. With all the persecution of war and feudal misgovernment their thoughts still centered around their dear Germany. The name of their Fatherland was rarely spoken or written without the adjective "dear." The persecutions which would drive such a people from their ancestral home to the perils and hardships of the wilderness must have been extreme.

The Germans are great lovers of family life and all the little celebrations and holidays of the year that are based on family ties. Their literature is full of this delightful trait and in this they have added to and strengthened a similar trait in the English and American character. The German kindergarten and all the child life and literature which the Germans have created has found eager acceptance among their fellow Americans.

One of the strongest traits of the German character which made them such magnificent pioneers in reclaiming the wilderness and building up a new nation was their sturdy independence, thrift, and self-reliance. A German is always thrifty; he always makes the most of his opportunities; he always lives within his own resources, and he makes a specialty of attending to his own business before he undertakes to attend to anybody else's. These qualities of self-reliance have made the Germans a powerful force in this new country. The qualities of thrift have put into their keeping much of the industrial wealth of the Nation. Their willingness to keep within their own rights has kept them out of all squabbles and conflicts with other races and has clothed them with a dignity which commands respect from their neighbors. It has seldom happened that any difference of race, language, customs, or religion have brought the Germans into conflict with their neighbors, although these things have been a fruitful source of discord among other people. The qualities of German thrift have been a valuable asset to the American Nation. Recently I was looking over the report of a bank examiner of my own State of Missouri, and I found to my surprise that while the Germans number only about 10 per cent of the population of that State, more than 60 per cent of the bank directors bore unmistakable German names.

Of all the racial traits of the Germans the most powerful influence from a political and social standpoint is their love of human freedom. They believe in both religious and political liberty. Their first advent to this country was caused by political oppression and religious intolerance. The Germans never acquired slaves and in some cases they separated themselves from their neighbors more on this ground than on any other political principle. The first reported instance of the German colonists in America raising their voice on questions of public policy was their protest against the slave trade. Their Dutch cousins were not so conscientious on the subject, and neither were their English neighbors at that time. This sturdy love of freedom cropped out again in the earliest Declaration of Independence preceding the War of the Revolution. The first demand that the colonies should be free is known in our American history as the Mecklenberg Declaration. This was before the Continental Congress had met at Philadelphia to declare the colonies free and independent States.

The German love of personal and political liberty has strengthened greatly the American Nation. It has contributed much toward the success of our experiment of free government. I do not know that any historian has attempted to trace the influence of this sentiment upon American political life. Some German-American scholar ought to undertake this task. In my own judgment we owe much to our German cousins, not only for their part in developing our country but in establishing it upon a sound political basis. America owes to her German son the credit of having settled the wilderness, developed the country, and established civilization in all the pioneer days of our country. She owes him the credit of having defended her flag, established her freedom, and repelled her enemies. She owes him the credit of having created her wealth, built up her industries, and broadened her commerce. She owes him the credit of having endowed her with intellectual life, musical and artistic taste, and scientific research. She owes him credit for much of the literature, life and light of childhood and the home. But above all she owes him credit for his steadfast adherance to the cause of human liberty and political and religious freedom which has made the true greatness of the American Nation. May our 12,000,000 Germans increase and prosper. This is their country. They began with its earliest struggles and they have shared its hardships. They are entitled to the rewards of its success. It was over one of the victories of their heroes that we unite in singing "The Star-Spangled Banner, O long may she wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

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**Flood Sufferers.**

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# SPEECH

OF

# HON. JOHN L. BURNETT,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 2, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the Senate joint resolution (S. J. Res. 160) appropriating $540,000 for the relief of flood sufferers in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Speaker, the disastrous floods in Alabama, so far as the ones with which I am most familiar, occurred some four or five weeks ago. The rains were continuous for a week or 10 days, and the Alabama, the Tombigbee, the Coosa, and other rivers of that State became very much swollen and submerged all the adjacent low country. The members of the Alabama delegation realized that unless they secured an investigation and a report by the War Department they would not be able to make out their case, and we at once asked the Secretary of War to take the matter up with the officials of the War Department in Alabama, and engineers were sent into the various flooded districts and made investigation and report, and in that report they embrace that portion of Georgia that is contiguous to the Coosa River and its tributaries, which were in the same condition as the rivers of Alabama. The report to the Secretary of War on the flooded conditions in Alabama is printed in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the Senate proceedings. I will read that report:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
*Washington, July 29, 1916.*

Hon. JAMES HAY,
*Chairman Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives.*

SIR: I have the honor to bring to your attention facts concerning the effects of recent floods in the South, and to urge that appropriate action be taken by Congress looking to the temporary relief of persons that have been rendered destitute.

The areas affected include parts of the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The conditions in the various districts of these States, concerning which complaints of suffering and destitution have been made, were investigated by the Engineer Department, and the reports received are transmitted herewith. These reports show that in some sections there is extreme destitution now existing that calls for immediate relief, and, moreover, that in many sections the destruction of the crops has been so extensive that great suffering is liable to occur before the full crops of another year can be harvested, unless relief of some kind can be afforded in the meantime.

The people most affected are the small tenant farmers. These people usually cultivate the land on shares, or in some form by which practically all the crop is mortgaged or pledged before it is harvested, and sometimes even before it is planted, so that the credit of these small farmers is exhausted.

In some cases, as on the Alabama River, the situation is made more desperate by the fact that this loss was preceded by two years of unfavorable conditions which left not only these tenants but the landlords in much more straitened circumstances than usual. In some cases the landlords are still able and willing to give aid, but in many cases are unable to do so, as their own property is so heavily pledged that they can not obtain further credit. In some localities local agencies have been affording relief, but their means are about exhausted, and great suffering will result unless some outside assistance is given.

In general, the homes of the flood sufferers have not been affected, so that there is no need for the issuance of tents.

There are two measures of relief that appear to be called for. One is to supply seeds so that the devastated lands can be planted with quick-growing crops to provide food for the population and animals. It is stated, for instance, by the district officer at Montgomery, Ala.,

that turnips, rape, collards, peas, beans, and sorghum can still be grown in the flood district on the Alabama River, and he estimates that there are 4,955 families in that district that should be supplied with seeds, at a cost of about $13,000. Another method of relief is to supply the destitute with some form of employment at a moderate rate of pay, which will enable them to secure provisions and other necessaries until they become self-supporting, either through the growing of new crops or other private employment.

It appears advisable to issue some rations but only for the period necessary for the planting of seeds referred to above. After this, the women and children can care for the crops and the men should be offered work on the county roads, under the supervision of Federal officers and in cooperation with the local officials, at a rate of pay somewhat less than current wages. Under these conditions it is probable that only those in need who can not otherwise supply means of support would apply for employment, and the number to be aided in this manner would tend to diminish as the men secure more lucrative employment in other ways. In some cases it will be practicable to employ some of the destitute in clearing drift, overhanging trees, etc., from navigable streams, but the main reliance apparently should be placed upon road work as affording the quickest and the most generally useful form of relief work. Such emergency work on roads would not, of course, be as effective as if the improvements were carefully planned in advance, but some good results should be accomplished and the principal end would be achieved of requiring work in return for funds expended.

Two estimates have been made covering necessary relief work. One for the first period of 30 days to meet the most urgent and immediate needs, and one for such time thereafter as some form of relief work must be continued. These estimates are as follows:

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| For first 30 days | $240,000 |
| For subsequent time | 300,000 |

It is probable that some of the local communities affected can assist in the relief work outlined above, but there are doubtless some where the destruction of property has been so great that they will be unable to participate in the provision of the necessary funds.

Should Congress deem that Federal aid should be extended, it is recommended that an appropriation of $540,000 be made, and that its application along the lines indicated be authorized, contingent upon the consent and cooperation, as far as practicable, of local authorities. The necessary Federal supervision of relief work can be undertaken by this office, or such other Government bureau as may be selected by Congress for the purpose.

Very respectfully, NEWTON D. BAKER,
*Secretary of War.*

Mr. ADAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURNETT. Yes.

Mr. ADAMSON. I wish to say at that point that the Chattahoochee River has been dealt with in a separate report which the gentleman from Alabama has not deemed necessary to read. While the territory affected by the flood is not as extensive as that on the larger Alabama and Coosa Rivers, the suffering is just as intense and the damage inflicted has been just as severe on a smaller number of people, and I am glad to see that the resolution is so drawn as to cover all that affected territory and all the people who have suffered real loss in that State.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURNETT. Well, I was going further to answer the gentleman's question. In regard to what action has been taken I desire to call attention to a telegram from the governor of Alabama, in which he says—and, by the way, this is dated the 24th, and a subsequent investigation of the engineers shows greater damage than that spoken of by the governor. Gov. Henderson says in the telegram that great distress has been occasioned in almost every portion of Alabama by reason of the unprecedented floods in the State. He says that in Dallas County alone 2,300 families, mostly negroes, have been made homeless and destitute.

In another telegram which I have here he says that he has issued a proclamation calling on the people in the State to aid those in distress from the floods.

He further says that the State has no funds with which to relieve the sufferers.

In this connection I desire to say that if the legislature were to be called together, if I remember correctly, it would require some 30 days or more to assemble it, and the time that would intervene before the legislature could render aid would destroy to a very great extent the emergency conditions and render aid useless. Many people would suffer by the delay.

As stated by the War Department, only certain crops, mostly the hay crops, can be grown now. Not only that, Mr. Speaker, but our delegation, fearing that as a result of this flood typhoid fever would break out all over that country, took the precaution a few days ago to go to the Secretary of War and ask him in regard to sending antitoxin typhoid serum to that section. He referred us to the Surgeon General's Office, and it was there stated that they would be glad to supply a reasonable quantity of serum. We telegraphed the governor at once and asked him to take the matter up with his health officers in Alabama and have them make investigations, and day before yesterday we received a telegram that typhoid fever had broken out through this overflowed region, and asking for serum. The War Department at once dispatched such quantities as they could spare, and in his telegram the governor says that more will be needed. That is only one section of the country to which attention is called, but other sections, according to the report of the engineers, are almost as bad. The tenants in the southern part of the State are mostly colored people, and are in especially bad condition.

On the upper waters of the Coosa and its tributaries, where my district lies, the sufferers are mostly white tenants, and many of them are under mortgages. The low price of cotton two years ago almost bankrupted many people in our State. Then a great part of the southern section of the State was infested last year by the boll weevil, which almost finished everything. The landlords have suffered in those ways as well as the tenants. They have not only lost the rents by reason of the overflows, but they have lost the advances that they have made to their tenants to live on. So these landlords are in poor condition to relieve the distress.

The reports made in the Senate yesterday by Senator OVERMAN, of North Carolina, and reports made here by gentlemen from other sections of the South show that the conditions are exceedingly bad in other States as well as in Alabama.

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen who are not familiar with our rivers and with the condition of our people can have but little idea of the distress brought about by these floods. I will give you an extract from a letter of Mrs. Pattie Stone, a constituent of mine, a most excellent lady, and a writer of considerable note in our section.

She gives the following touching and pathetic incident, which is but one of many of similar nature:

FARILL, ALA., *July 28, 1916.*

DEAR MR. BURNETT: I am so glad to read from the papers that you know what the recent flood has done to the farmers of Coosa Valley and that you want Government to help the ones who are suffering from this flood, so please pardon me for making a suggestion in behalf of the ones who are entitled to Government's help. Ask Government to come to the aid of each individual who has planted and worked with his own hands crops of corn and cotton that has been under water and ruined by this 1916 July flood.

Take as an illustration our neighbor, Jim Candler, who is a renter on the Davis place. Mr. Candler has a wife and eight small children. In a sense, the four younger ones are babies. In the heat and frost year after year the four older children help their father make his crop, and this year he has lost it in the overflow of the Coosa. Talk about "Child life in the factory." It is a picnic compared to the life of the barefooted, pale-faced children who make the bulk of the cotton crop of the South.

Mr. BURNETT, these are the children who are crying to Government now. In their names make the appeal for help. Nothing has ever been done for these suffering children.

Yours, sincerely, (MRS.) PATTIE STONE.

It continues to rain, making it almost impossible to get in late crops, as we had expected.

A letter from Tatum & Clifton, of Cedar Bluff, Ala., says:

I will try to tell you something about our condition on Coosa and Chattanooga and Little Rivers. We have lost all of our bottom corn and part of the cotton. We would like to know if there is any possible chance of our Government to help us in some way, of money or provisions or for you to present our case before your honorable body and send a man here to investigate the damage done to our fair land on account of high water. We have numbers of farmers that haven't got a bushel of meal or corn. We merchants have already furnished men on all the rivers all they could possibly have paid if the water had not got the crops. So we are ruined already, and we can't see how we can possibly furnish these men until they can make another crop. Please see if you can get our Government to send a man here to see what can be done for us. There are several families who have left home, and have nothing to go back to when the water goes down. So we call on you to do all in your power as our Representative to help our country in some way.

Laster Bros., a firm of most excellent gentlemen of Cedar Bluff, Ala., write me a letter to the same effect. In fact, I have scores of letters from reputable citizens of Cherokee County, Ala. stating the deplorable conditions existing in the overflowed sections of that county.

Mr. Speaker, whenever the distress signal has been hung out by our brethren, whether from the North, East, or West, my colleagues in Congress from the South have always been ready to answer.

When the Macedonian cry was sent to us from the flood sufferers in Ohio we answered their cry. When the little city of Salem, Mass., was swept by the fire fiend we responded to their call. When San Francisco was wrecked by fire and earthquake we hurried to the relief of her stricken people. We did not wait to ask whether the sufferers were from north or south of Mason and Dixon's line, but our only query was, "Are they in distress? Do they need our help?"

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to state that without a single exception every Democrat and Republican Member of Congress from every State in this great Union is now ready to aid my stricken people. To the leader of the Republican minority I acknowledge our grateful appreciation of his splendid aid. One objection from him, or from any other Member of this House, would have prevented the consideration of this resolution; but no objection has been made. May the Spirit of Him who rides upon the storm and who holds the waters in the hollow of his hand reward you who have come to our relief. [Applause.]

**Operation of the Rural-Credit Law.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ADDISON T. SMITH,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, while I voted for the Federal farm-loan act, usually referred to as the rural-credit law, I regret that its provisions are not more liberal and I fear it will be a great disappointment to the majority of borrowers who desire to secure a loan on their farms at a lower rate of interest than they are now compelled to pay, regardless of the claims of administration leaders. In addition the requirements are such that in many communities it will be difficult to organize local farm-loan associations, in the absence of which the prospective borrowers would be very greatly handicapped in securing a loan. While numerous statements have appeared in the press regarding the operation of the law, none has come to my notice which is more explicit and succinct than the one which appeared in a recent issue of the journal, the Farming Business.

Those who desire to avail themselves of the advantages of the rural-credit law are making many inquiries in regard to its operations, and it is believed that the following statement will acquaint them with the provisions of the law and enable them to determine whether or not they desire to avail themselves of its provisions.

Only members of a local farm-loan association may borrow money under the provisions of this law. In order to become a member of such an association one must live upon and operate a farm owned by him, or he must be about to purchase such a farm home which he will occupy and operate. These specifications prevent the absentee landlord and the speculator in farm lands from borrowing money through these new channels.

A member of one of these associations must borrow through it not less than $100 and can not borrow more than $10,000. He shall not be charged more than 6 per cent a year on this loan, and may be charged less than that. The loan must be secured by first mortgage on the farm land owned, lived upon, and operated by him as a farm home; the mortgage must be for the full amount of the loan and must not exceed one-half the value of the land, plus 20 per cent of the value of the insured permanent improvements located upon the land. The loan may be made for a term of 40 years. Interest and principal of the loan shall be paid in a number of equal installments, the number of these annual installments to be equal to the number of years for which the loan is made. The accompanying table will illustrate how a loan of $1,000 would thus be paid off in 20 years.

The money secured by such a loan may be used for any of the following purposes, but may not be used for any other; in case it is used otherwise the local association through which the loan was secured may reduce the amount of the loan and force the borrower to pay in at once the amount of the reduction, or it may force the payment of the entire loan:

1. To pay for land for agricultural use.
2. To purchase equipment, fertilizer, and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the mortgaged farm.
3. To provide buildings and various improvements of the farm lands which are mortgaged.
4. To liquidate the indebtedness of the owner of the land which is mortgaged.

The essential features of procedure in the organization of a local farm-loan association for the purpose of borrowing money under the terms of this law are as follows:

1. Get together at least 10 persons living in your community who are eligible, according to the facts set forth in the earlier part of this discussion, to secure loans under this law. These persons must each intend to secure a loan of not less than $100 nor more than $10,000, and the total amount of loans desired by these persons must equal at least $20,000, but may amount to more than that.

2. Draw up articles of incorporation after a general plan which will be prepared in the near future by the newly appointed Federal Farm Loan Board. All the persons desiring to become members of this association must sign these articles of incorporation.

3. Elect a board of at least five directors from among those who have signed the articles of incorporation. These directors shall then elect a president and a vice president from among its members, a loan committee of three from among the members of the association, and shall also elect a secretary-treasurer, who may be, but need not be, a member of the association. The secretary-treasurer is the only officer who shall receive a salary, and the amount of that salary shall be determined by the board of directors.

4. The loan committee shall investigate all applications for loans to be made by the prospective members and the security which is offered for mortgage, no committeeman being permitted to pass upon a loan on land in which he has personal interest.

5. Each member shall pay to the secretary-treasurer an amount of money equal to 5 per cent of the loan which he wishes to secure, this amount to be applied to the purchase of stock in the loan association when finally and permanently formed, these shares of stock to have a par value of $5 and to be sold at par. These shares of stock shall be held by the association as additional security for the repayment of the loan to be received.

6. The board of directors shall then make affidavit to the effect that each of the subscribers to the articles of incorporation is the owner, or is about to become the owner, of farm land which is eligible as security for a loan under the provisions of the law; that the loan desired by each person is not less than $100 nor more than $10,000, and that the total amount of loans desired by the associates is not less than $20,000; that the affidavit is accompanied by an amount of cash equal to 5 per cent of the total amount of loans desired, this sum to be used in purchasing for the association capital stock in its Federal land bank; that a temporary organization of the association has been made by the election of a board of directors, a loan committee, and a secretary-treasurer who signs the affidavit. This affidavit and the required amount of cash, which has already been paid in by the members for the purpose of purchasing stock in their own associations, shall be forwarded to the Federal land bank controlling their territory.

7. The directors of the Federal land bank shall then send a representative to investigate the solvency and the character of the applicants and the value of the lands offered as security for their loans. If the report of this representative is satisfactory, they shall then forward the application with their formal recommendation to the Federal Farm Loan Board.

8. If the Federal Farm Loan Board shall approve the application, it will issue a charter to the local association and forward it to it through the Federal land bank through which the application was made. This charter will specify the territory in which this association may make loans. On receipt of this charter the association is authorized and empowered to receive from its Federal land bank the sums of money which are to be loaned to its members.

9. The local association shall then issue the money to its members on receipt from them of first mortgages on the lands which have been approved as security for the loans for which they have applied.

After such a local association has once been established it may make loans to other persons living in the territory specified in its charter. On receipt of an application for a loan from some person not a member, the loan committee will investigate the character and solvency of the person, determine that the money is to be used for the purposes specified in the act, inspect and approve the land offered as security and recommend the loan to the board of directors. The applicant must pay into the treasury of the association a sum equal to 5 per cent of the loan which he desires to secure, or this may be deducted from the total loan when the money is issued to him. This sum is to be used in payment for capital stock in the association, the applicant thus becoming a member. The board forwards the application, together with a sum equal to 5 per cent of the face value of the loan, to its Federal land bank. The bank sends out a salaried inspector to investigate the applicant and his land, and on receipt of his written approval the bank shall forward to the local association the sum desired. Then the association will issue him the money on receipt of a first mortgage on the property he offered as security for the loan. The officers of the association shall then indorse the mortgage, thus guaranteeing its payments as due, and forward to the bank which furnished the money for the loan.

Each member of such an association shall be liable for its debts and undertakings to the extent of twice the value of his capital stock in his association. The association must indorse and become liable for the payment of all mortgages taken from its shareholders by its Federal land bank.

Each association may accept deposits from individuals and pay interest on them at not to exceed 4 per cent a year. These deposits shall be used to purchase bonds of the Federal land

bank of its district, bearing not to exceed 5 per cent interest. This limited banking power of the association makes it possible for it to earn money with which to pay expenses not covered by fees which it is permitted to collect, and to earn dividends in addition to those received from its stock in its Federal land bank. Until such time as these sources of income are sufficient to meet its expenses, the association is empowered to make assessments upon its members pro rata according to their holdings of association stock.

After the act has been in operation one full year, and no loan association has been formed in his territory, one may secure loans from the Federal land bank of his district through local agents approved by the Federal Farm Loan Board. These agents are to be banks, trust companies, mortgage companies, and savings institutions chartered by the State in which they operate. As compensation for such services they may receive actual expenses incurred in making the loan, and each year for the life of the loan receive not to exceed one-half of 1 per cent of the unpaid portion of the principal of the loan, this latter sum being paid the agent by the Federal land bank from the payments on the loan collected by it. Thus the cost of the loan to the borrower is no greater when he gets it from the Federal land bank through his local bank than it would have been had there been a local association in his community. Remember, that for the first year loans can be had only through a local farm loan association, the purpose of this requirement being to stimulate the organization of such associations.

*Table of payments for $1,000 loan.*

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.00 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.56 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.35 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.46 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.33 | 3.83 | 76.50 | ..... |
| Total | 1,604.89 | 604.81 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

## The Legislative Record of the Wilson Administration.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DAN V. STEPHENS,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. STEPHENS of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the wonderful record of legislative performances of Wilson's administration is better understood by an examination of the following classification of the principal laws passed during the last four years. This record falls naturally into two divisions: First, the period of reformation or creation of the necessary machinery of government, namely, the reform of the rules of the House of Representatives and the election of Senators by direct vote of the people. Without these two great reforms in the legislative machinery reform legislation was impossible. The second division is a record of laws passed affecting the welfare of all the people. A glance at the outline tells the story quickly, and it is a wonderful story, too. Search the records from George Washington down to the date of the beginning of this reform, when "Cannonism" was overthrown by a Democratic House, with the aid of Progressive Republicans, and be convinced that these four years show for the first time in our history that the masses of the people are really in control of their Government.

Never before that good year of 1910 had the people's voices been loud enough to reach intrenched privilege snugly resting behind the breastworks of the rules of the House of Representatives, and behind State legislatures that chose their Senators. For a hundred and twenty years many good laws have been added to our statutes, but in the main the good results to the people leaked through the upper crust of the privileged class, and the benefits to the people were largely incidental. On the other hand, there were many laws specifically enacted for the benefit of special classes and interests and directly opposed to the interest of the country generally. But in the whole period there were practically no laws enacted specifically for the benefit, directly and only, of the great masses of the people. The line of demarcation was the year 1910. From that day to this the change in the character of legislation is nothing short of a revolution. The legislation enacted since 1910 for the common folks is beyond the dreams of the most optimistic reformers. All the reform legislation of the hundred and twenty-one years preceding does not compare even favorably with the legislation of this short period. If there are any who doubt it, I challenge them to make the comparison and be convinced.

Now look at this brief outline of the laws passed:

THE REFORMATION IN LEGISLATIVE MACHINERY.

(a) Reform of rules of House of Representatives in 1910 destroyed the last trenches of special privilege in that body, and the people took control.

(b) The constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people enabled the people to control the Senate for the first time in our history.

THE PERIOD OF PERFORMANCE THAT FOLLOWED.

(a) Legislation of national character.

1. New method of raising revenue through a tariff, income tax, inheritance tax, and tax on munitions of war, as contrasted with the method of raising all the revenues on the consumption of the people, forcing the poor man to pay the same as the rich man to the support of the National Government.
2. The establishment of a nonpartisan tariff commission, which will result in taking the tariff out of politics.
3. Antidumping legislation, designed to prevent wholesale dumping of pauper-made products on our shores at a price ruinous to our own producers.
4. A law empowering the President to refuse clearance to ships of belligerent nations from our ports when such nations discriminate against our commerce or tamper with our mails.
5. Legislation establishing a Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for studying foreign conditions of markets and showing our producers how to reach them with products of our farms and factories.
6. The Federal reserve bank act, protecting the country from money panics and securing to business an elastic currency, and a stability it had never known before in our history.
7. The Clayton antitrust law, that adapts the old, stiff Sherman law to new conditions and makes its enforcement practicable. It prevents interlocking directorates.
8. The Trade Commission law, that enables the Government to regulate business without destroying it. It is designed to correct abuses and aid business to obey the law, and by a system of reports prevents the growth of monopoly.
9. The creation of a merchant marine, by providing that the Government construct and buy ships and operate them if necessary in its efforts to establish service between our ports and the Central and South American Republics and other countries where adequate service does not exist in order that our surplus products may find a market.
10. Parcel-post legislation, that created a people's express between their homes and the market.
11. The legislation for national defense, that completely reorganizes the Army and provides for the second greatest Navy in the world. Cleveland's administration built the "White Squadron," our first fleet after the Civil War, and which Roosevelt sent around the world, and Wilson's administration has authorized the greatest ships ever built by man. The national defense is well provided for.
12. Legislation providing for a commission to cooperate with foreign countries looking toward disarmament after the European war is over, and to stop the useless competition of nations in naval building.

THE PERIOD OF PERFORMANCE THAT FOLLOWED—Continued.

(a) Legislation of national character—Continued.

13. Law providing for a mediation and conciliation commission to arbitrate disputes between capital and labor.
14. Laws providing for the conservation of water-power sites, forest and mineral lands, owned by the people, and for the construction of a Government railroad in Alaska, and the leasing of the lands by the Government and returning of the profits to the National Treasury.
15. A law preventing the sale of habit-forming drugs.
16. A law providing for Government war-risk insurance during the European war, in order that our products may move freely to foreign markets.
17. A law compelling the publication of campaign expenses both before and after election.

(b) Legislation for farmers.

1. Agricultural extension act, which brings the college to the farm, where Government experts demonstrate on the farm, with the whole family, including the farm hands, as students, just how scientific information can be turned into money.
2. The warehouse act, providing for Government supervision of warehouses, in order that certificates may be issued on imperishable products of the farm, to furnish a basis for credit at the banks, affording farmers the opportunity to hold grain for better market.
3. A law establishing a bureau of markets, to aid in an intelligent distribution of farm products.
4. A law providing for grading grain under Government supervision, thus assuring an impartial grade and affording an opportunity to sell by grade before shipping the grain.
5. A law providing for a hydroelectric nitrate plant, designed primarily to furnish nitrate for Government powder, but all surplus to be sold direct at cost to farmers for fertilizer, this being the most needed element in soil building.
6. A law appropriating a large sum for the eradication of hog cholera, the ravages of which costs this country nearly $100,000,000 a year.
7. A law creating 12 great land banks, designed to furnish credit to the farmers and finance all farm loans at a very low rate of interest, known as the rural-credit act.
8. A law providing for national aid to States for building good roads. In the next five years the Government will appropriate $85,000,000, which is to be duplicated by the States to stimulate road building.

(c) Legislation for labor.

1. A law was passed establishing a Department of Labor in the President's Cabinet, giving for the first time in our history to those who work with their hands a voice in the administration of our Government.
2. A law freeing our sailors from bondage as well as those of other countries who make our ports. Ever since men learned to sail ships, this class of labor has fared no better than slaves in actual bondage, and this law is their "break of day."
3. A law freeing children from labor in factories by preventing their products from entering interstate commerce. It will now be more profitable to employ men and let the children grow up.
4. A law providing for a just compensation to Government employees who are injured or killed in the line of duty.
5. A law providing for a Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor to investigate infant mortality, birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertions, dangerous occupations, accidents, and diseases of children.
6. A law providing for an industrial investigation looking to the conservation of our best resource, the citizen, by throwing light on abuses and recommendation of legislation.
7. A law preventing the manufacture of the white phosphorous match and other poisonous matches which produced the loathsome disease known as "phossy jaw."
8. A law preventing the abuse of courts in issuing injunctions in labor disputes without a proper showing justifying such action beyond question.

THE PERIOD OF PERFORMANCE THAT FOLLOWED—Continued.

(c) Legislation for labor—Continued.

9. A law establishing an eight-hour day on practically all work done for the Government of the United States.
10. A law establishing the eight-hour day on all railroads engaged in interstate commerce.
11. A law providing for a Bureau of Safety Appliances, designed to remove causes for railroad accidents.
12. A law preventing the importation of pauper-made goods.
13. A law extending the Public Health Service and looking to the eradication of infantile paralysis and other dread diseases.

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## "Americanism."

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### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*September 4, 1916.*

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, the American people believe in fair play. The person or the newspaper that practices deception will sooner or later be found out and repudiated. I had hoped I should not feel it necessary to say anything of this kind again this year to clear up misstatements, either of misinformed persons or of unreliable professional politicians and the ultrapartisan subsidized press.

*I have no controversy with the man or woman who honestly differs with me, but I would make sure his or her source of information is reliable, and not tainted by subsidized, hostile newspapers and professional politicians.*

In 1914 the tariff was the chief bone of contention and the subject of much misinformation, deception, and false publication.

This year, if I have been able to discover what it is that partisan leaders and biased newspapers are trying to make into an issue, I should say it is to induce the people to believe that the country is in a bad way, both at home and abroad, because of the so-called "incapacity" of the Government as run by this administration. Let us look into this manufactured issue a little.

First let us get straight on the condition of the Treasury. THERE IS NO DEFICIT. The surplus of receipts over expenditures for the last fiscal year, ended June 30, 1916, was $78,737,810.11, and the total net balance in the Treasury was $174,965,231.97, the largest since 1908.

I shall state some facts that bear on the "issue" and shall ask some very proper questions in return. I will not attempt to enumerate all or even the major number of things accomplished by a faithful, hard-working Congress and President, who have had more and larger matters to tackle and settle than have been surmounted in all the years since Abraham Lincoln and the Union Armies freed the slaves and preserved the Union.

The currency and banking laws have been made anew from stem to stern. The Government itself now controls the currency, and not the national banks. In the midst of a time when 14 nations of the earth are at war no money stringency is here. *Banks at this very moment are actually reducing the interest rate to the borrower, and interest on real estate loans is the lowest in the history of the country.* Was it "incapacity" that put this law on the statute books?

Times are good; prices paid our farmers for their products are good; wages are the highest ever known; any man who wants to work can have a job; working conditions are much better and are improving constantly. The war has added an abnormal demand for the products of our farms and factories, and *only 8 per cent of our huge exports are war munitions.*

May I ask what the professional partisan critics of the record of the administration would repeal, or not do, or what would they substitute? *Anybody can tear a watch to pieces, but a competent person is required to put one together.*

I can name some important things a certain former governor, Supreme Court justice, and now candidate for President has done that this administration would not have been likely to do.

I do not believe that this administration would have vetoed the 2-CENT FARE BILL, but Gov. Hughes did.

I do not believe that this administration would have vetoed the bill that placed MEN AND WOMEN SCHOOL-TEACHERS ON THE SAME SALARY BASIS where they did the same work, but Mr. Hughes as governor of New York vetoed it.

I do not believe that this administration would have concurred in the Supreme Court DECISION AGAINST THE DANBURY HATTERS, whose HOMES were subjected to levy and SHERIFF'S SALE to pay judgments rendered against these employees for damages claimed by their employers because the men struck and REFUSED TO WORK, but committed NO VIOLENCE; but Justice Hughes concurred in this decision.

This administration has made impossible any more such harsh interpretations by courts; the Clayton antitrust law expressly exempts labor unions and farmers' organizations from its provisions, announcing to all mankind that human labor is not a commodity for exploitation and speculation.

I know that this administration would not have defeated the ratification of the INCOME-TAX AMENDMENT; but Gov. Hughes defeated it temporarily when he sent his fateful message to the New York Legislature urging its defeat.

I do not believe this administration would have vetoed the "full crew" bill for railways, but Governor Hughes vetoed it.

Would they repeal the currency and banking law I have just mentioned, known as the Federal reserve act? This measure was a party pledge and passed by this administration; it received votes from all parties so satisfactory were its conditions.

FEDERAL RESERVE LAW.

H. R. 7837, Sixty-third Congress, first session. Conference report adopted in House December 22, 1913, by vote of 298 to 60; 245 Democrats voted yes; 2 Democrats voted no; 53 Republicans voted yes; 58 Republicans voted no. (See p. 1477, permanent RECORD.) Passed Senate December 19, 1913. Yeas 54, nays 34. (See p. 1230, permanent RECORD.) Signed by President Wilson December 23, 1913.

Would they repeal the Underwood tariff law with its income-tax feature in it?

UNDERWOOD TARIFF LAW.

H. R. 3231, Sixty-third Congress, first session. Conference report adopted in House September 30, 1913; 250 Democrats voted yes; 1 Democrat voted no; 5 Republicans voted yes; 103 Republicans voted no. (See p. 5818, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate September 9, 1913, and signed by President Wilson October 3, 1913.

This law may require some amendment, and the country will have the services of an expert nonpartisan Tariff Commission to guide it. This commission is provided for in the new revenue bill, which also *increases the tax on large incomes and taxes profits on war munitions and estates of $50,000 or over to defray preparedness expenses.*

REVENUE BILL.

H. R. 16763, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House July 10, 1916; 200 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 39 Republicans voted yes; 139 Republicans voted no. (See p. 12362, temporary RECORD.) Now pending in the Senate.

Amendments have been offered in the Senate that will give the President power to retaliate against any country that "blacklists" our business firms; to withhold clearance papers from any vessel that refuses a cargo at an American port bound for a neutral port or cargo of noncontraband if ship be not already loaded; to stop commerce with any nation that tampers with our mail. I believe these amendments in some form will become a part of the law.

Would the professional faultfinder repeal the Trade Commission law that is rendering such good service that the American National Live Stock Association and the Kansas State Live Stock Association, together with thousands of cattle feeders and meat consumers, have *asked that it undertake the regulation of the meat packers, and which task it is about to commence?*

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION LAW.

H. R. 15613, Sixty-third Congress, first session. Conference report adopted in House without roll call or division. (See p. 14943, permanent RECORD.) Passed Senate August 5, 1914. Yeas, 53; nays, 16. (See p. 13318, permanent RECORD.) Signed by President Wilson September 26, 1914.

Would the same prejudiced politicians and the subsidized press repeal the child-labor bill?

CHILD-LABOR BILL.

H. R. 8234, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House by a vote of 337 to 46, February 2, 1916; 169 Democrats voted yes; 44 Democrats voted no; 168 Republicans voted yes; 2 Republicans voted no. (See p. 2174, temporary RECORD.) Reported to Senate April 19, 1916. Passed Senate August 8, 1916. Signed by President Wilson September 1, 1916.

Or the

SAFETY OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

S. 3769, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House April 28, 1916, without roll call or division. (See p. 7947, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate April 20, 1916, without roll call. (See p. 7427, temporary RECORD.) Signed by President Wilson May 4, 1916.

Or the

BUREAU OF LABOR SAFETY.

H. R. 155. Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House January 19, 1916, without roll call or division. (See p. 1424, temporary RECORD.) Pending in Senate.

Or the

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW.

H. R. 15316, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House July 12, 1916, by a vote of 285 to 2; 145 Democrats voted yes; 1 Democrat voted no; 140 Republicans voted yes; 1 Republican voted no. (See p. 12577, temporary RECORD.) Now pending in Senate.

Would the hired critics repeal and put to naught the efforts to help the old soldiers, their widows and their children? Would they defeat our efforts to provide sustenance for dependent families of our soldiers who have been called to guard the Mexican border from marauding outlaws? *Would they push these men over the line into Mexico to wage war on that poor, weak, sick, and troubled country?*

COMPENSATION TO CERTAIN FAMILIES OF SOLDIERS.

H. R. 16734 (now contained in the Army appropriation bill), Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House July 1, 1916. The vote was 297 to 2. One Democrat and 1 Republican voted no. Passed Senate August 24, 1916. Signed by President August 29, 1916.

Or the

INDIAN WAR PENSION BILL.

H. R. 655, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House February 16, 1916, by a vote of 221 to 108. (See p. 3079, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate May 9, 1916, without roll call. (See p. 8677, temporary RECORD.) Now in conference.

Or the

SPANISH WAR WIDOWS' PENSION BILL.

H. R. 54, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House February 16, 1916, without roll call or division. (See p. 3061, temporary RECORD.) Pending on Senate calendar.

Would these carping professional politicians, who say the administration is without capacity to accomplish anything, repeal the farm-loan bill?

FARM-LOAN BILL.

S. 2986, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 15, 1916, by a vote of 295 to 10; 186 Democrats voted yes, no Democrat voted no; 108 Republicans voted yes, 10 Republicans voted no. (See p. 9037, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate May 4, 1916—yeas 57, nays 5. (See p. 8387, temporary RECORD.) Signed by President Wilson July 17, 1916.

Or the bill

TO PREVENT GAMBLING IN FARM PRODUCTS.

Amendment to H. R. 12717, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 2, 1916, as amendment to Agricultural appropriation bill. Vote on amendment was 107 to 21 on division. (See p. 8246, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate July 12, 1916. Signed by President Wilson August 11, 1916.

Or the

WAREHOUSE BILL.

Amendment to H. R. 12717, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 2, 1916, as amendment to Agricultural appropriation bill. The vote was 286 to 42; 163 Democrats voted yes; 11 Democrats voted no; 125 Republicans voted yes; 31 Republicans voted no. (See p. 8247, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate July 12, 1916. Signed by President Wilson August 11, 1916.

Or the

GRAIN-GRADES BILL.

H. R. 12717, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 2, 1916, as an amendment to Agricultural appropriation bill without roll call or division. (See p. 8246, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate July 12, 1916. Signed by President Wilson August 11, 1916.

Or the

LEVER AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION BILL.

H. R. 7951, Sixty-third Congress, second session. Conference report adopted in House May 2, 1914, without roll call or division. (See p. 7646, permanent RECORD.) Passed Senate Feb-

ruary 7, 1914, without roll call. (See p. 3130, permanent RECORD.) Signed by President Wilson May 8, 1914.

Or the

GOOD-ROADS BILL.

H. R. 7617, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Bill passed House January 25, 1916, by a vote of 282 to 81; 163 Democrats voted yes, 13 Democrats voted no, 128 Republicans voted yes, 68 Republicans voted no. (See p. 1688, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate May 8, 1916, without roll call. (See p. 8562, temporary RECORD.) Signed by President Wilson July 11, 1916.

*Would they tie up in port what few merchant ships we have, unable to get insurance on hull or cargo because of the high premium charged by private and foreign marine insurance companies?* We gave American ships Government insurance at reasonable cost.

WAR-RISK INSURANCE LAW.

S. 6357, Sixty-third Congress, second session. Passed House August 29, 1914, by a vote of 230 to 58. One hundred and ninety-one Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 39 Republicans voted yes; 56 Republicans voted no. (See p. 14449, permanent RECORD.) Passed Senate August 21, 1914, without roll call. (See p. 14086, permanent RECORD.) Signed by President Wilson September 2, 1914.

Would the corporate interests influence the narrow partisan leaders to play back into the greedy hands of foreign shipowners and private corporations by repealing the American merchant-marine law commonly known as the ship-purchase bill?

SHIP-PURCHASE BILL.

H. R. 15455, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session. Passed House May 20, 1916, by a vote of 211 to 161; 194 Democrats voted yes; no Democrat voted no; 16 Republicans voted yes; 161 Republicans voted no. (See p. 9488, temporary RECORD.) Passed Senate August 18, 1916.

And provision for "preparedness," concerning which many people are greatly interested, has been amply made. Let us hope we may never have to use it; but if we should, then the hope of my good friend, whose letter I shall read, shall have been fulfilled:

AMERICUS, KANS., R. F. D. 2,
*March 12, 1916.*

Hon. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I am for Wilson's brand of preparedness for five special reasons, and they are five sturdy boys who call me Daddy. Young jayhawkers, every one of them, but men by and by and with enough patriotic blood in their veins, I am sure, to spring to their country's call when needed. Give them a fighting chance with guns, ammunition, and equipment, so if they must lay down their lives the enemy will have paid the cost in advance. And, Friend DOOLITTLE, us hayseed farmers want your farm-loan bill. Keep boosting.

Yours, truly, STEVE BURCH.

*Would the paid disturbers of national peace have us at war with Mexico and with Germany or any other country?* Do the American people want war? Diplomacy has but two weapons—words and deeds; words mean negotiation, deeds mean war. Peace with honor is what the country wants, and, thank God, we have it.

To the membership of this House and to the people of our beloved Republic I put the candid, sober question, Has not the administration considered well and wisely the matters of domestic concern and skillfully guided the gigantic questions of foreign emergencies?

I ask as a final question, Would the professional, spy-glass critics whose business it is to hunt for "issues" and trouble prevent the greatest railroad strike in history, or would they subject the country to business paralysis, untold damage to shippers, enormous losses to railways and employees, and dire calamity to the public?

EIGHT-HOUR LAW FOR CERTAIN RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

Passed House September 1, 1916, by a vote of 239 to 56; 169 Democrats and 70 Republicans voted yes; 2 Democrats and 54 Republicans voted no. Passed Senate September 2, 1916, by a vote of 43 to 28; 42 Democrats and 1 Republican voted yes; 2 Democrats and 26 Republicans voted no. Signed by President Wilson September 3, 1916.

I favored the Clark amendment to include all railway employees in the eight-hour law—the telegraphers already had it. The question may be asked: Why was not all labor considered. The answer is, of course, that the legislation was an emergency measure enacted in great haste to prevent a national calamity—the strike, and that Congress has no authority over any concern that is not engaged in interstate business. Some railroad companies say they can not afford it—22 railroad companies already have the eight-hour day under State laws and are prospering, without bluffing the public on higher freight rates. The Interstate Commerce Commission handles all rate questions.

I have no fight with railway companies. They are wonderful institutions, and the very threat of their trains being stopped shows how vastly important they are to the country. They deserve and they receive fair treatment and are the only business under the sun that is *guaranteed fair profit by the Government.* Some of them are vastly overcapitalized and their stock is "watered." The Union Pacific, for example, is worth about $40,000 per mile, but it is capitalized for $150,000 per mile, and it earned 20 per cent the last year. The public "paid the freight" that made the dividends. The boards of directors of all railways skillfully plan to pay dividends on their capital, with scant thought of their own ample salaries or of squeezing out some "water." Money invested in legitimate railroad securities should be given the same fair consideration as capital invested in any other enterprise, *but if a railroad corporation can not pay its employees fair wages for an eight-hour day without reducing the dividends on "watered" or legitimate capital stock, then let dividends be reduced or water squeezed out, not freight rates increased.* THERE WILL BE NO INCREASE IN FREIGHT RATES.

Kansas, with 1,750,000 people, has the 2-cent passenger fare and the roads are doing well. New York, with 12,000,000 souls, wanted to try it, but Gov. Hughes vetoed the bill—the "New Haven" Railway, whose overcapitalization and watered stock later became a scandal, was one road that feared its dividends would be molested. The companies in Kansas feared it would break them, but they tried it and it succeeded. The eight-hour day law THAT PREVENTED THE STRIKE is an experiment and the act itself provides for a commission to learn its effects and report to Congress for further consideration.

The eight-hour workday is correct in principle and has succeeded to the *benefit of humanity and without violence to legitimate capital wherever tried.* Congress might have ignored the President's appeal and waited until after the commission had investigated and let the country suffer the consequences of the strike that was ordered to begin this very day. *The administration met the crisis. It is better to prevent a fire than to talk waterworks after the town is burned up!* Surely this is not the work of "incompetents."

AMERICANISM IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

*The whole world looks with hope, honor, and respect on the flag of the only first-class nation on earth that has not been drawn into the vortex of a mangling death of horror and destruction.*

In his farewell address George Washington said:

If we remain one people, under an efficient Government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance when we take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

As a Nation we are neutral.

War on all sides of us—half the world trying to kill each other—and we have so far escaped war and the entanglements of war and the unspeakable horrors that go with it; *men's wives and children's mothers are not watching and waiting with tear-stained eyes and broken hearts for the husband and father who will never return.*

Let me commence with my native State, Kansas, with which I am most familiar. Born at a time when the Nation faced a fearful crisis, which later was met, but through the necessity of men's blood and women's tears. A posterity of patriotic children live who glance with hallowed look upon the crutch, the empty sleeve, of the men who wore the blue. And there was factional border warfare on our soil between those exponents of a free State and those who would make it a harbor for slavery; it was the life blood of human beings, our ancestors, that christened Kansas and made appropriate our State motto, "Ad astra per aspera." Thus christened, this grand old State has ever since held her own, and more, with the sister States of the Republic; *the State that once bore the name of "bleeding Kansas" has justly and happily acquired the title of "smiling Kansas."*

Such are the results and the blessings of peace, Christianity, industry, and unity. The blazed trails and the cumbersome ox-drawn prairie schooner, filled with its precious load of human beings from other States—aye, note, from other countries—from France, Ireland, England, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, have ceased and unloaded and passed on. We live together beneath a shining sun, in a cosmopolitan, patriotic land, the protecting wings of whose Government stretch forth over former Frenchman, former Irishman, former Englishman, former German, former Belgian, former Swede, and the rest, alike, without

prejudice or favoritism, as we dwell in harmony and tranquillity under the security of one Constitution, a common God, a single flag. Many of our citizens came from the war-ridden countries; some came for one purpose and some for another reason, but they all came to better their financial, their social, or their religious conditions. We welcomed them then with open arms, and we welcome them now as loyal fellow citizens; the condition imposed upon them was one—renunciation of all foreign allegiance and the oath of loyalty to the Republic. *The people of the United States are not a collection of jealous races of alien or unpatriotic sympathies; we are a Nation.*

*It does not make any difference where a man was born; it does not make any difference what his name may be; it does not make any difference where his sympathies lie in this world war; but if he has declared his allegiance to the Government of the United States, he must talk and act like a straight-out American when the interests of this country are at stake.*

May we everlastingly forget our racial origins in the Old World in a new birth of a stronger, broader American freedom in this Republic. A "hyphenate," according to the dictionary, is any citizen who is not of native American extraction, and the appellation as used here casts no reflection on his loyalty and patriotism. *A hyphen in the name is nothing, but a hyphen in the heart is destructive of unity, home, and country.*

Thank God, the so-called "hyphenates" of my acquaintance are not hyphens in the heart. I cherish among my warmest friends former French, Germans, Swedes, and Irish, and I do not make friends with anybody who cares more for the interests of another country than for the interests of our own country.

The other day I was concerned to read Col. Roosevelt's assurances to the correspondent of a French newspaper, the Petit Parisien, that Mr. Hughes would be a more satisfactory President for the allies than Mr. Wilson, and I was equally concerned when I read that the German-American Alliance had told our German voters that Mr. Hughes would be a more satisfactory President for Germany than Mr. Wilson.

It is evident that somebody is mistaken, but one thing is sure: Whether Mr. Hughes would be a better President for the allies or Germany is not the question. If it should come to that issue, the claims made for Mr. Hughes will be entitled to respectful consideration. *But in this year of our Lord 1916 the United States is not undertaking to elect a President for the allies or for Germany; the American people are electing a President for themselves.*

Let me personify a few brilliant examples of so-called "hyphenated" patriotic courage, skill, and devotion, whose names to-day stand for the things they stood for, worked for, and fought for: The French general, La Fayette, not an American citizen, but a loyal supporter when brawn, brain, and money meant so much, perhaps success itself, to George Washington; the German, Carl Schurz, Senator and general, whose intellect and patriotic service to the Union won fame for him and thanksgiving from a grateful people of this, his adopted country; the Swede, Capt. John Ericsson, who invented the *Monitor* and saved the Union Navy and blockade from destruction by the Confederate *Merrimac;* the Irish commodore, John Barry, the father of the American Navy, whose services to America are memorialized forever by the beautiful statue unveiled by President Wilson two years ago in the very heart of the National Capital.

In the War of the Rebellion the Irish-Americans, the German-Americans, the Swedish-Americans, and our other loyal "hyphenates" in name laid down their lives at the Union's altar; these heroes are high on America's honor roll. In the War with Spain, the former blue lined up with the former gray, shoulder to shoulder in common cause, the Teuton with the Slav, the Latin with the Anglo-Saxon. As they fought then, so have they remained in peace, a solid unit.

May it ever be so. Storms may beat from without our land, may lash our shores and cloud the air, but we remain true to our citizenship, faithful to our flag, and serene within; no harm can overthrow us.

This flag will not fall, nor totter; we made it in 1776; in 1812 a slur came from without our country, in '61 it came from within; in '98 the flag went down with the *Maine* for a moment, and this year of 1916 we add to its ensign of freedom that touch which makes the whole world akin—humanity.

*The time must never come when the mantle of the American flag shall fail to protect the lives of the people whose forefathers gave up their lives that it should live and hold the complete respect of the civilized world.* Born in a cradle of liberty, watched over by a starry heaven, it bears the likeness of the azure skies, and holds them, stars and all, the reflection of a divine benediction.

We bid godspeed to the country of Washington, of Jefferson, of Lincoln. Again we pledge our loyalty, be this our native land or our foster land, this grand old Commonwealth whose past is sacred, whose present is sublime, and whose future is inspired. We reconsecrate ourselves to God and country, a noble, stanch, united people, living in peace and happiness. *We declare our abiding faith in the one, first, and only land we owe allegiance, the United States of America!*

Through the war clouds of other shores may the sheen of purity from our flag show forth as the guiding cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night to lead the sons of earth to the end of war, to the dawn of a lasting peace.

*Peace with honor is our country's demand;* it is the guiding spirit of the quiet, patient man at Washington. A fine pilot for perilous times, a good example for saner times. Sit tight, Woodrow Wilson.

*We may differ on home matters, politics, and partisanship, but the waters at our boundary coast line wash away and dissolve completely those differences in the common good, but some critics of this administration are coming perilously close, if not quite, to making the campaign an issue of war or peace.*

From the prostrate forms of war's tortured victims will rise the Phœnix of an eternal peace, and emblazoned upon its shining front at the most heavenward point I foresee the emblem of humane, intelligent, dispassionate statesmanship in bold relief triumphantly raised over the blackened, worn-out, bloody form of Mars, and behind it the red, white, and blue of Old Glory, held aloft by the hallowed hands of Christian mothers, from whose silent lips come forth the fulfilled prophecy: "The heart of America is the heart of the world."

Then, indeed, will be "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

May the compass star of our sincere faith and equity continue to be our guide, the foundation of our country's greatness. *May the home of religious freedom be an ally of Christ in His eternal efforts; we can not serve two masters. "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me." We can not serve two flags!*

If this be "incompetency" and "incapacity," Mr. Speaker, may *God deliver us from the blind partisanship of professional politicians and the turmoil of yellow journalism that would swerve us from this path.*

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**The Need of Forest Reserve Roads.**

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# SPEECH

OF

# HON. CLIFTON N. McARTHUR,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, June 28, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (H. R. 7617) to provide that in order to promote agriculture, afford better facilities for rural transportation and marketing farm products, and encourage the development of a general system of improved highways, the Secretary of Agriculture, on behalf of the United States, shall in certain cases aid the States in the construction, improvement, and maintenance of roads which may be used in the transportation of interstate commerce, military supplies, or postal matter.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, a glance at the map of the United States shows that large areas of many States are now included in national forests, formerly known as forest reserves. The people of the West are in sympathy with a national-forest program that will develop forest areas to the greatest possible usefulness and at the same time conserve a fair amount of their timber and other resources to posterity. I will say, however, that the whole national-forest scheme has in the past been unreservedly condemned by many people because of the tendency to bottle up reserve areas and to include therein large tracts of agricultural land, thereby preventing that development and home building so essential to a prosperous and self-respecting community. The present administration of the Forest Service, under the able and broad-gauged leadership of Chief Forester Henry S. Graves, has, however, adopted policies that are promoting a rational development, and many erstwhile enemies of the reserve idea are now friendly to it. One of the policies to which Mr. Graves and his able corps of assistants are committed is a comprehensive system of road and trail development through the forests, a plan that they will be able to carry out if this conference report is adopted.

By the provisions of the pending bill, as amended by the Senate and agreed upon in conference, there is hereby appropriated $1,000,000 per year for the period of 10 years for road construction in the national forests under a plan whereby the Federal Treasury will eventually be reimbursed out of the receipts of the national forests derived from the sale of timber and for grazing charges, etc. The bill provides that the State, county,

or Territory in which a particular road project is located shall enter into a cooperative agreement with the Forest Service for the survey, construction, and maintenance of such road. This guarantees the cooperation of the State and its subordinate divisions and means that the Federal Government will be met halfway in the financing and construction of many proposed roads. This plan will prove beneficial not only to the Forest Service but also to the communities in which the proposed roads are located.

The Forest Service is one of the most useful agencies of our Government, and is doing splendid work in the matter of fire protection and fire fighting, the benefits of which extend not only to Government-owned timberland, but also to countless homesteads and large bodies of privately owned timber adjacent to and in many instances actually within the boundaries of the reserves. Another important work successfully carried on by the Forest Service is the supervision of and charge for the grazing of sheep, cattle, and other live stock within the reserves. During the year 1915 approximately 7,280,000 sheep and 1,725,000 cattle, horses, and mules were pastured in the national forests. Local settlers and stockmen have the preference on these ranges, but the areas are allotted in a businesslike way and at a nominal cost. Under the regulation of the Forest Service the range is improved, instead of being overgrazed and denuded, as has been the case with many outside public lands. Incidentally there are no more range wars, with their bloodshed and property destruction, as there were in the old frontier days of the West.

The most important work of the Forest Service is its policy of reforestation. This work has been undertaken in many sections of the West, particularly on burned-over lands. Most of these lands are high on the mountain sides and unfitted for anything but tree culture. It will be years—in some instances centuries—before this new crop of trees will be ready to harvest, but we at least have the satisfaction of knowing that we are providing a timber supply for posterity. This work of reforestation should be encouraged by all patriotic citizens.

Another laudable work carried on by the Forest Service is the protection of watersheds, from which many cities and towns in the great western country secure their drinking water. The Forest Service regulations prevent pollution and diminution of the water supply of many cities and towns, and thereby greatly benefit the public health. The numerous national forests of the West contain large mineral wealth and undeveloped water power. Mineral deposits within the national forests are opened to development exactly as in unreserved public land, and there will eventually be much progress in this line. Our water-power laws are not yet sufficiently liberal to attract capital and insure development, but it is to be hoped that this Congress will give us some practicable water-power legislation, to the end that some of the great water-power properties in our forest reserves will be put to beneficial use.

Another great asset of our national forests is the magnificent scenery. In practically every State in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast sections the national forests contain scenic wonders that are incomparable. In my own State, one of the national forests embraces the world-famous Crater Lake and another contains the Josephine County Caves, or the "Marble Halls of Oregon," which, in the opinion of many, surpass the great Mammoth Cave of Kentucky. The people of the United States have not learned to capitalize their scenery, but let us hope that they will hereafter adhere more closely to the doctrine of "See America first." They can not, however, see all the great works of nature in the West unless these attractions are made more accessible by reason of good roads.

A well-defined policy of road construction in our national forests will not only increase the effectiveness of the Forest Service, enhance the value of the public domain, encourage water-power development, make the marketing of timber easier, facilitate the movement of live stock, lessen the fire risk, and attract sightseers, but will be of great convenience to settlers and homesteaders who reside on the scattered agricultural areas within the forests. Many of these settlers have in the past given up in despair because of lack of public roads and schools. The passage of this bill means roads, which in turn mean schools and other agencies to civilization. These advantages can be obtained for the settler without risk to the growing timber or other property in the forests.

I have said enough to show the large part that the national forests play in our western life. We do not object to a policy of conservation that develops without waste and conserves without stagnation. We are willing that these large areas shall be withheld from taxation, but we insist that land capable of agricultural development be thrown open to entry. We join hands with the Federal Government in the matter of fire patrols and are willing to meet the Forest Service halfway in every laudable undertaking. We do not want our magnificent national forests to pass into the hands of the few at the expense of the many, nor do we want them to stagnate for want of development. In brief, we stand for a rational policy without waste or monopoly and with a due regard for the welfare of future generations.

I regret to note the opposition to forest road construction from gentlemen in this body. They take a very narrow view of the situation. They are so wedded to the theory of conservation that they would bottle up our national forests and not permit any development whatever. Such a policy is not only harmful to the West but will eventually breed reaction against the whole national-forest plan, and will in due time overthrow it. Let us then consider the different phases of the conservation question in a broad and conciliatory spirit and adopt policies that will be beneficial to the great body of the people. The old idea of bottling up the forests was abandoned when the name "forest reserve" was changed to "national forest."

Nothing is more important to the people as a whole than good roads, and there is no more important feature of this bill than section 8, which relates to roads through national forests. In fact, it is altogether a most important section, for it is the only guaranty that the large forest areas of the West will ever receive recognition in the matter of road construction. The Federal Government has no business spending money on roads that run through thickly settled communities while the public domain is crying for development. If the entire amount provided in this bill were to be spent in the construction of roads across the public domain the bill would be of much greater value to the American people than it is in its present form. The bill recognizes the national forests, however, and for this reason I trust that section 8 will be adopted and the conference report agreed to. [Applause.]

## Mexican Situation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. AARON S. KREIDER,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. KREIDER. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago while making some observations on the floor of the House I said that the so-called Mexican question was one of our own making and that but for the attitude of Woodrow Wilson there would be no Mexican question to bother us to-day.

Mr. Speaker, in order to bring this matter clearly and fairly before the House I shall recite actual facts as they occurred and are on record. In other words, I shall recite a little history prior to and leading directly to the overthrow of Madero and the acquiring of the presidential office by Victoriana Huerta, whom President Wilson refused to recognize.

In the fall election of 1910 Francisco I. Madero was a candidate for the Presidency of Mexico in opposition to Porfirio Diaz.

In November of the same year, namely, 1910, Madero started a revolution which was successful, and on June 8, 1911, he made his triumphal entry into the City of Mexico, reaching the capitol a few hours after an earthquake had shaken the city and killed about 300 people. The Mexicans, always superstitious, acclaimed Madero as a savior of the nation and gave him a great reception.

President Diaz had resigned the Presidency on May 26, 1911, just 12 days prior to the arrival of Madero.

From that time until to-day there has been no peace in Mexico. The country has become thoroughly honeycombed with various revolutionary propagandas; not for a single day has the country been free from turmoil and strife. Madero had many enemies throughout Mexico, and they kept his armies busy. These revolts were led by such men as Cuidad Juarez, Emilio Gomez, Pascual Orozco, Bernardo Reyes, Felix Diaz, all these and a number of others of less prominence were leading revolts, each for himself, in central and northern Mexico, while Zapata was continuing his revolt in southern Mexico. Such, in brief, was the condition just prior to the overthrow of Madero.

Now, let us consider in a little more detail the actual occurrences just immediately preceding and resulting in the overthrow of Madero and his subsequent murder.

On October 13, 1912, Felix Diaz seized Vera Cruz. On October 23 Madero's forces entered Vera Cruz and captured Diaz, took him to Mexico City, and put him in jail there. At first Madero declared he would be put to death, together with Bernardo Reyes, who was captured while leading another revolution in northern Mexico. Many petitions were made to Madero to spare the lives of these two men, and he postponed action. In the meantime the secret agents of Diaz and Reyes were working against Madero in the army, and early on Sunday morning, February 9, 1913, the First Cavalry and part of the mounted police and other soldiers liberated Diaz from Belem prison, while cadets from a military school at Tialpam, a suburb of Mexico City, liberated Gen. Reyes from the penitentiary.

Reyes and Diaz with their liberators went to the national palace and attempted to take possession of it, but were repulsed by the Twenty-ninth Infantry, which formed the palace guard. There was a sharp fight. Gen. Reyes was killed at its beginning, and machine guns were turned loose on the roof of the palace, sweeping the crowded Zocalo or Main Street and Avenida de San Francisco—San Francisco Street—both of which were thronged with people going to church. Diaz and his men were driven off after many of the cavalrymen had been killed, and according to the official records of the police 910 noncombatants were killed on the plaza alone; men, women, and children were killed throughout the length of San Francisco Street as well as in other parts of the city. Diaz and his men stormed and captured the arsenal about a mile from the national palace, taking it after a fight lasting half an hour.

Here they found large stores of arms and ammunition and prepared for a siege. All day Sunday and Monday they remained quietly in this arsenal while Madero was gathering his forces to oust them. The battle began in the city on the morning of February 11 and continued until February 18, with a daily cannonading and machine-gun and rifle firing between the arsenal and the palace and many other places where batteries had been planted. During this time more than 1,000 persons, mostly noncombatants, were killed and about 18,000 wounded. On February 18 Gen. Huerta, who had been commanding the Madero forces, met Diaz and came to an agreement for the overthrow of Madero as the only means to stop the fighting and slaughter of citizens. It was agreed at that conference that Huerta should become the provisional president and that Diaz should have the naming of the new cabinet. Madero was arrested at the national palace and his brother, Gustavo Madero, was arrested in the Gambrinus Café, where he was entertaining friends at dinner. Madero and Pino Suarez were locked up in the palace and Gustavo Madero was taken to the cuidadela (arsenal). On the night of February 22 Madero and Pino Suarez were removed from the palace and taken from the penitentiary, but were murdered shortly after midnight close to the walls of the penitentiary. Gustavo Madero was murdered in the cuidadela the morning after his arrest under the excuse that he had attempted to escape.

Before Madero and Pino Suarez were removed from the palace they were forced to sign their resignations, thus making Pedro Lascurain, minister of foreign affairs, President according to the constitutional provisions of Mexico. Lascurain was President for exactly 26 minutes. He immediately appointed Victoriana Huerta as his minister of foreign affairs and then resigned, making Huerta the President.

These in brief are the actual occurrences as recorded by history. I do not deny, nor do I assert, that Gen. Huerta was guilty or even had guilty knowledge of the murder of Madero and Suarez. No evidence has ever been produced to show that he had such knowledge or that the killing occurred at his direction. He was guilty, however, in carrying out a conspiracy for the purpose of deposing Madero. Whether he was justified in entering into such a conspiracy for the purpose of avoiding the further killing of noncombatants in the City of Mexico and the destruction of the city itself, a city of over 400,000 inhabitants, each one can decide for himself.

On March 11, 1913, President Woodrow Wilson formally announced that the United States would not recognize assassination as a means of acquiring office, and would only recognize a government in Mexico which should be formed after a genuine and free election. It might be stated here that all of the leading Governments of the world, such as England, Germany, France, Russia, and Japan, had and did give such recognition, and the fact remains that whether he was recognized by the United States as such or not he was in deed and in fact the head of the only government that existed in Mexico at the time, and it is also an acknowledged fact and testified to by subsequent events that he made great progress in establishing law and order throughout Mexico. This no doubt was possible because the leading and most influential revolutionary factions had thus combined and he was in direct control of both armies, and it is an established fact that Huerta was the strongest and best qualified leader of all the contending factions.

Notwithstanding this fact President Wilson had made up his mind that Huerta must go. First, he tried persuasive methods, and sent John Lind to Mexico City as his personal representative with instructions that Huerta eliminate himself from the Mexican situation. Of course Huerta refused to do this.

Shortly before the overthrow and death of Madero, Venustiano Carranza, then governor of the State of Coahuila, started a revolution against Madero, but as soon as he heard Madero was dead and Huerta was President he directed his revolt against Huerta. Apparently it made no difference to him who was in control of affairs; he was "agin the Government."

At about the same time the noted outlaw and bandit, Francisco Villa, and his band of cutthroats became more bold in the States of Sonora and Chihuahua, robbing, plundering, and killing innocent, defenseless men, women, and children, looting banks, business houses, stealing cattle, slaughtering them, supplying the markets in Chihuahua, and driving large numbers of cattle across the border and selling them in this country. Villa was also anxious to start a revolution, but found he was seriously handicapped by the lack of rifles and ammunition. Carranza was also unable to make headway because he, too, was lacking in rifles, machine guns, and so forth. For it must be remembered that President Taft had placed an embargo on the exportation of guns, rifles, and munitions of war of any and every kind, so that only such quantities were available that could be smuggled into the country. It having become generally known not only in the United States but in Mexico as well that President Wilson was determined to drive Huerta from power, representations were made in behalf of these revolutionists and, notwithstanding the fact, that in August, 1913, in a mesage to Congress, President Wilson declared:

I shall follow the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms or munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico * * * We can not in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now distracts Mexico, or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them.

The President committed what many people consider a crime against both the Mexican and the American people for, on February 3, 1914, he lifted the embargo on arms and munitions of war. He violated his pledge to the people and to Congress. He did not, as he said he would—

forbid the exportation of arms and munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico—

but he did, by this act making it possible for Villa and Carranza to more effectively wage the kind of warfare they were carrying on, and he did by this action—

constitute himself the virtual umpire between the warring factions in Mexico.

At this time Villa was well supplied with money which he had stolen, and he bought ammunition in immense quantities.

From this time on this administration continued to give the revolutionary party every moral support possible. For it seems the President depended on Villa and Carranza to do by force what he failed to do by peaceful methods. The administration winked at the continued murder of our citizens and the destruction and confiscation of their property.

This Government never raised its voice or lifted a finger in their defense or in their behalf. It was only when a Mr. Benton, an English subject, was deliberately murdered by Villa or by his orders that the then Secretary of State told Mr. Villa to please not murder English subjects, and advised him that we had, in a way, made ourselves responsible for the safety of Englishmen in Mexico, and England was rather cranky and seriously objected to having her nationals ruthlessly killed and murdered. On the same day there was also an American engineer by the name of Gustave Bauch killed by Villa, but as he was only an American we have not learned that his killing resulted even in provoking "official correspondence" in regard to the matter; but as the reports of the murders of Americans became more and more frequent, and fearing public opinion, the President directed the Secretary of State to order all Americans out of Mexico and advised them to leave, and at his request the Congress of the United States, on September 16, appropriated money to bring—

destitute Americans away from Mexico.

Villa, in the meantime, being now fully equipped with arms and ammunition and having plenty of money at his command, continued to make satisfactory headway with the revolution, with Carranza posing as the "first chief."

On April 7, 1914, a boat's crew from the U. S. S. *Dolphin* was arrested by one of Huerta's officers at Tampico while the town was being defended from an attack by Villa forces. The immediate cause of arrest, it is said, was due to the fact that the boat's crew anchored at the point where the city of Tampico had laid its water mains, a place at which it was unlawful for any boat to anchor. However, when a superior officer learned of the arrest, and before any of the American sailors were put in jail, they were escorted back to their boat and due apology was made. This, however, seemingly did not satisfy Admiral Mayo, who was in command of the United States naval forces at Tampico. He demanded that an apology be made and the American flag be saluted because of the insult. Huerta apologized through Nelson O'Shaughnessy, the Mexican chargé d'affaires in Mexico City, but refused to order a salute to the flag until he had received a report on the occurrence and until he was satisfied that the salute would be returned. There was then considerable correspondence as to how many guns should be fired, Huerta contending that the *Dolphin* was only an auxiliary vessel, and that 6 guns only should be fired as a salute, but the President insisted it must be 21 guns, or he would take immediate action to bring it about. So, on April 21, without authority from the Congress of the United States, under instructions from President Wilson, Admiral Frank F. Fletcher landed marines and sailors from the American fleet in Vera Cruz Harbor and seized the customhouse. The Mexican soldiers fought as well as they could, but Admiral Fletcher took the city and the hills around it, losing 17 killed and a number of wounded; two of the wounded died later. Next, President Wilson invited Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to cooperate with the United States to restore order in Mexico, but nothing came of their conferenec.

The United States having now cut off one of the avenues through which Huerta was receiving his supplies from foreign countries, the case of Huerta became hopeless. It might be stated here that at the time Vera Cruz was taken one of the objects in taking it was to prevent a German vessel from landing its cargo of arms and ammunition for Huerta. These munitions of war were landed at another port.

From this time on Huerta found himself losing ground rapidly, and on July 15, 1914, he resigned as President of Mexico and went to Kingston, Jamaica, and then to Spain. Francis Carbajal succeeded Huerta and remained in office about a month. The constitutional army entered Mexico City August 15 and took peaceful possession; Carbajal left the country. Carranza established his headquarters in Mexico City. It was then we were told of the success of the "watchful waiting" policy, and expressions of approval and joy proceeded from the Democratic side of this House; but, alas, that peace was of but short duration. Villa and Carranza quarreled, as anyone familiar with the character of the men anticipated.

Villa, feeling that he was the "pet" of this administration and would surely receive its moral support, issued an ultimatum that Carranza must retire. Carranza refused to retire, and a convention of the revolutionary chiefs was called to decide upon the establishment of a government. That convention was in control of Villa and remained in session until November and then proclaimed Gen. Eulalio Gutierrez Provisional President of Mexico, and Villa immediately undertook to see that Gutierrez was installed in office and began his march to Mexico City, reaching there with little opposition from the Carranzistas. Carranza, having fled from the capital, went toward Vera Cruz. The Americans evacuated Vera Cruz on November 23, 1914, and shortly thereafter Carranza made the seaport his capital. Of course, it can not be denied that the American occupation of Vera Cruz was without results. Our Army cleaned up the city, made it sanitary, did some necessary plumbing work, and incidentally collected over $1,000,000 of revenue belonging to the Mexican Government.

About this time the people were becoming thoroughly disgusted with the conditions in Mexico and the attitude of the administration, so the President thought it was about time to "say something"; accordingly, on the 8th of January, 1915, at Indianapolis, apparently having become disgusted with his own policy of meddling and interfering, and had no doubt decided to abandon same, he made this statement:

> I want to say a word about Mexico, and not so much about Mexico as about our attitude toward Mexico. I hold it as a fundamental principle that every people has the right to determine its own form of Government. * * * It is none of my business, it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business, and it is none of yours, how they go about the business. * * * And so far as my influence goes, while I am President nobody shall interfere with them. * * * Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilled as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak?

How unfortunate it is that it took President Wilson from March 4, 1913, to January 8, 1915, to reach the conclusion that it was none of *his business* "how the Mexicans go about in establishing their Government," and that *as far as his influence goes*, while he is President, "nobody shall interfere with them."

Had he practiced at the beginning of his administration what he now preaches and "*restrained himself*" from "*interfering*," as he now purposes to restrain "*others*," there would be no "*Mexican question*" to-day. But instead of that he did "*interfere*," he did make it "*his business*" to see to it what was done and how it was done, even to the extent of dictating who should or should not be candidates for the Presidency at the forthcoming election.

Now, having seen the utter failure and the disastrous results of his impractical and uncalled-for interference, he proceeds to wash his hands of the whole affair, notwithstanding the fact that he was directly responsible for it. In doing so, he even calls attention to the fact that the European nations were spilling as much blood as they pleased, and "Shall we deny that to Mexico, because she is weak?"

This certainly was granting a blessed privilege to the Mexicans—a privilege "to spill as much blood as they pleased"—apparently regardless whether it was American or Mexican blood that was being spilled. This was the President's thought, no doubt, at that time, but it did not last long. By June he was convinced that the continuous fighting was having a disastrous effect upon "his policy." So, on June 2, he issued a warning to the leaders of the Mexican factions, which was telegraphed to the American consular offices in Mexico for circulation, in which he recited the disastrous effect his policy had wrought upon that country and declared that Mexico was starving and without a government. However, to his most solemn but unsought advice the factional leaders in Mexico—each in the field at the head of armed forces engaged in desperate conflict where death was the penalty of failure—naturally they paid no attention; they preferred to take his other advice and assurance that they were entitled and privileged to "spill as much blood as they pleased and as long as they pleased," and disregarded his advice, but confidently relied upon his declared intention that—

> So far as my influence goes, while I am President nobody shall interfere with them.

And also, no doubt, relied upon what he said at Columbus, Ohio. In this speech he used these words:

> The Mexicans may not know what to do with their Government, but that is none of our business. So long as I have the power to prevent it, nobody shall butt in to alter it for them.

There is no doubt that these speeches of the declared intention of the President had an effect in shaping the course and trend of events in Mexico.

Mr. Speaker, continuing the history of this unfortunate condition which we had created through our interference, we find that Guiterrez was forced out of the Presidency on January 16, 1915, and Roque Gonzales, another provisional President, was appointed by the revolutionary chiefs; but he, too, was forced to leave Mexico City, being President for two days. Carranza's army then took possession. Immediately after this occurrence Villa proclaimed himself in charge of the Mexican Presidency. Things were then moving fast. On February 16, 1915, Carranza's forces, under Gen. Obregon, were compelled to evacuate the capital and Emilio Zapata marched in and took possession of the city. This revolutionary leader had until the event of Villa been considered the most brutal, heartless, and unprincipled of all the rebel generals. He had been operating in southern Mexico, but when he left southern Mexico and took possession of Mexico City a new revolution in the south was started, headed by Ignacio de la Torre. Such, indeed, was the condition created by the administration.

The fighting between Villa and Carranza forces continued, and on April 7, 1915, Obregon defeated Villa in a terrific battle near Celaya.

From this time on the star of Villa seemed to become more and more beclouded, and apparently fate had decreed that, after all, Villa, after having received all the favors and support of the administration, would not be permitted by the Mexicans themselves to occupy the presidential chair, however much this might be desired by President Wilson or his administration.

In May the Carranza forces took Saltillo. On June 1, 1915, the Carranza forces captured San Luis Potosi, and four days later they defeated the Villa forces at Aleon.

In the first week of August Carranza again occupied Mexico City. In September Gen. Obregon took Chihuahua and Torreon for Carranza. Villa's power, it will be noticed, gradually diminished. About this time, regardless of the constant fighting and warfare and the inability of either faction to maintain order, President Wilson decided to recognize Carranza, which he did

on October 19, 1915, and caused his Secretary of State to issue the following communication:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
*Washington, D. C., October 19, 1915.*

MY DEAR ARREDONDO: It is my pleasure to inform you that the President of the United States takes this opportunty of extending recognition to the de facto government of Mexico, of which Venustiano Carranza is the chief executive. The Government of the United States will be pleased to receive formally in Washington a diplomatic representative of the de facto government as soon as it shall please Gen. Carranza to designate and appoint such representative, and, reciprocally, the Government of the United States will accredit to the de facto government a diplomatic representative as soon as the President has had opportunity to designate such representative.

I would appreciate it if you could find it possible to communicate this information to Gen. Carranza at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely, yours,

ROBERT LANSING.

The reasons for this selection of Carranza over Villa were never adequately put before the American people. It had not become apparent that Mr. Carranza had obtained such a commanding position in Mexican affairs as would justify this selection of him as an ally of the United States. Nevertheless, we all hoped that the President had adequate reasons for believing Mr. Carranza to be capable to restore order with the support of our Government. But in the light of succeeding events it would seem this was not the case. It appears that Villa was and is no more willing to eliminate himself from the Mexican situation than was Huerta. Perhaps if the President would send a special representative to Villa he might be induced, as a favor to the administration, to do so. Whether he would or not, he certainly should in view of the many favors and considerations shown him by the administration in the past. The fact that unrest, turmoil, murdering of innocent men, women, and children, depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction was going on immediately before as well as after the date of the recognition of Carranza is perhaps best illustrated by quoting from Secretary Lansing's note to Gen. Carranza under date of June 20. I read from the third paragraph:

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the past nine months in particular—

Notice this letter is written on June 20. Nine months previous is September 20, one month before Carranza was recognized—

the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized. American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed, and their equipment and horses stolen. American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered. The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso Post Office, and Las Paladas, all occurring during September last, are typical.

Now, remember this is not an assertion on my part; it is the language which the Secretary of State used in describing conditions that existed during the months preceding and since the recognition of Carranza by President Wilson. In October, the very month in which Gen. Carranza was recognized, a passenger train was wrecked by bandits, and several persons killed, seven miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made on United States troops at the same place several days later. It is said, and commonly reported, that the bandits who led these attacks and committed the murders and outrages are well known both to the civil and military authorities in Mexico, as well as to American officers, but they have been allowed by Carranza to enjoy with impunity the liberty of the towns of northern Mexico.

To show the trend of affairs, I shall again quote from Secretary Lansing's note, in the fourth paragraph of which he says:

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous. * * * For example, on January 3, troops were requested to punish the bands of outlaws which looted Cusi mining properties, 80 miles west of Chihuahua, but no effective results came from this request. During the following week the bandit Villa, with his band of about 200 men, was operating, without opposition, between Rubio and Santa Ysobel, a fact well known to Carranzista authorities. Meanwhile, a party of unfortunate Americans started by train from Chihuahua to visit the Cusi mines, after having received assurances from the Carranzista authorities in the State of Chihuahua that the country was safe and a guard on the train was not necessary. The Americans held passports of safe conduct issued by authorities of the de facto government. On January 10, the train was stopped by Villa bandits, and 18 of the American party were stripped of their clothing and shot in cold blood, in what is now known as the Santa Ysobel massacre. Gen. Carranza stated to the agent of the Department of State that he had issued orders for the immediate pursuit, capture, and punishment for this atrocious crime.

This is an official description of conditions that existed in Mexico since recognition has been granted.

Everyone remembers the raid on Columbus, N. Mex., on March 9, 1916. It was then that the President decided to "do something," fearing public opinion, so he starts what he calls a "punitive expedition" fully one week after the raid was committed, and lets it be known that the purpose of this expedition is to catch Villa and hang him to the nearest tree. Now, the truth is that no sane-man familiar with Mexican conditions was ever of the opinion that the punitive expedition would catch Villa. It was known that he was retreating into a country where he personally is regarded as a hero and has the good will of the entire population and where he was absolutely safe. Nevertheless, the punitive expedition started and invaded Mexican soil and territory without the consent of the Government which we had recognized and which we had publicly declared to the world, by such recognition, was able to maintain order and protect life and property. This punitive expedition passed between two lines of railroads, neither one of which we were allowed to use, until we had penetrated possibly 240 miles into the interior of Mexico. Of course, we did not catch Villa; we knew we would not when we started, but Wilson felt he had to "do something." This resulted in the Carizal affair, which occurred on the morning of June 21. The details of this unfortunate affair we are all familiar with, certain of our officers and men were killed and 17 taken prisoners, the balance escaping. After this occurrence, we sent a demand to Carranza for the immediate release of the prisoners. That demand was complied with in the following manner. The prisoners were brought to the border of the United States and turned over to the American authorities after having been robbed of their belongings, stripped of their uniforms and clothing, and after having suffered every indignity it was possible for the Carranza authorities to heap upon them.

After this success (?) of the administration the President grew bold again, apparently having remembered that the bodies of the dead soldiers should be brought to America; and, on June 29, eight days after their death, and after representation had been made by the President through Gen. Bell, our consul at El Paso was informed by Gen. Trevino that we could have the bodies of the dead soldiers if we wanted to go after them, but we were told we must pay all expenses. It must be borne in mind that Gen. Bell had made the request that the Mexican Government deliver the bodies for burial, but that request, of course, our ally, Mr. Carranza, would not grant. Furthermore, no request for the disavowal of this attack has been made, so far as the public has been informed. No demand for reparation has been made, and apparently the "grave consequences" with which Carranza was threatened by President Wilson have not materialized, except that when the Mexican commissioners meet ours, I am informed, they will demand damages for the Mexican soldiers killed and wounded by our men in that unfortunate affair.

The punitive expedition still remains in Mexico, although we have withdrawn partly and have moved Gen. Pershing to within about 120 miles of the border, which was done at the demand of Gen. Carranza. This, however, is as far as the President would withdraw this expedition. He tells us it is needed to guard the border. If any sane, living man can tell me how a small force of men located 120 miles away from the border in the interior of Mexico is going to protect the border, I am willing to acknowledge that the President is using good judgment in maintaining this force in Mexico. The truth is that if we really want to defend and protect our border, the troops should be somewhere near the border; or if it were necessary for the Mexican outlaws to pass by where Gen. Pershing is located in order to get to the border, there might be some sense in having Gen. Pershing remain where he is. We all know that such is not the case, and we all know that Gen. Pershing can not possibly serve any useful purpose to the United States where he is now located, but he is a constant menace to the peace of both countries, being obliged to maintain his line of communication, which is liable and subject to an attack at any moment. Instead of using these soldiers to protect the border, he has called the National Guard of the States to the border to perform this duty.

The latest action of the Government has been to appoint commissioners, who are now meeting with commissioners appointed by Gen. Carranza to "arbitrate" our differences. The question naturally arises, What are these men to arbitrate? We presume the things enumerated in Secretary Lansing's letter. Are they to arbitrate the murders of American citizens, the ravaging of American women, the destruction of American property, and the desecration of the American flag? These in brief are our grievances against Mexico, and I submit that they are not matters for arbitration. No, no; it is simply a continuation of the vacillating, un-American, and shameful course which the administration has followed from the beginning. At the very

outset of the Wilson administration the President made up his mind to depose Huerta. He has done so, but at a sacrifice of American honor and integrity. It took him two years and seven months to find some one to recognize instead of Huerta. It would be a pertinent question to ask why are the Mexicans so extremely bitter against all Americans. There is only one answer to it, and that is because of the spineless, vacillating, weak, and undignified policy pursued by the administration, by our actions always doing what we should not do, and failing to do what we should do, we have created universal contempt in Mexico for everything American. Even Carranza seems to have lost all respect for us, notwithstanding we gave him recognition at a time when we should not have done so. That this hatred exists is strikingly brought to light when we remember the answer given by Admiral Mayo when he withdrew the *Dolphin*, the *Des Moines*, and the *Chester* from Penuco River against the protest of Consul Miller and at the very moment when the Americans were collected in the Southern Hotel surrounded by a howling mob of Mexicans. It must be remembered that the Americans had assembled, complying with the instructions of the Secretary of State to leave Mexico, but Admiral Mayo states that he withdrew his ships without taking the Americans on board fearing that they—the Americans—would be murdered before they could board the ships should they attempt to do so. This truly is an unfortunate condition to find ourselves in, and it is needless to say had it not been for the German ship *Dresden* and the English ship *Hermione* no doubt additional murders would have been committed; but the German commander had no fear of the Mexican mob; he steamed right up to the city, cleared the streets, dispersed the mob, and made it possible for our citizens to board the ships, while our own ships were skulking out of the harbor like whipped dogs, afraid to save our own people from a howling mob. Can any real American avoid the blush of shame and a spirit of indignation in the presence of such national "humiliation"? Truly American honor, American prestige, and the dignity of the American flag has been sacrificed, and yet notwithstanding this record we hear exclamations from our Democratic friends, "God bless Wilson; he has kept us out of war."

Mr. Chairman, the truth is that President Wilson's position on the Mexican situation is now and has been dead wrong from the very beginning. It has created a situation which is costing this Government over $500,000 every day. We have already taken over $50,000,000 from the Treasury to pay the incidental expenses. The Democrats tell us they will sell $125,000,000 of bonds, every dollar of which will be needed to pay the expenses of the border patrol. This is not taking into account the many millions which must be paid later, and the money provided either by the sale of bonds or the levying of additional taxes. But this, Mr. Speaker, is as nothing when compared to the loss of hundreds upon hundreds of American lives. I know of no way of measuring human lives, human misery, and suffering—in gold.

Nor yet is this all. The national flag, that flag with the stars and stripes, representing the blood of our fathers and the tears of our mothers; that emblem of liberty, the pride of our Nation, has for the first time in our history been lowered and found trailing in the dust. Yes, more than this, it has been dishonored and been regarded as but a filthy rag, even to the extent that our nationals in foreign lands did not dare claim it as their own except at the risk of their lives.

Yes; "God bless Wilson; and may He forgive him for the humiliation and dishonor he has brought to the American people."

Mr. Speaker, it would be perhaps more easy to bear the burden thus cast upon us if some good somewhere had resulted from such a policy; but what are the conditions in Mexico to-day? Starvation, famine, want, robbery, plunder, rapine, assassination, and murders are the order of the day. Every crime and every cruelty that ignorance and hate can invent has been perpetrated, and still there is no end.

Mr. Speaker, whenever the question of Mexico is discussed some Democrat in his solemn majesty arises and, with a look of superior wisdom, inquires, "What would you do? What would you have done?"

Answering that question and speaking for myself, but believing that I voice the sentiment of the American people, I will enumerate at least some of the things that should have been done.

First, Huerta should have been recognized—

Because he was the legal and lawful President of Mexico, and was recognized as such throughout the entire civilized world;

Because he was the head in reality and in fact of the only government Mexico had and to which the Mexican people could look for the maintenance of order within and to which the nations of the world could look for the fulfillment of international obligations;

Because he was a thorough disciplinarian, firm, shrewd, resourceful, and experienced in military and civil affairs of the nation;

Because the Mexican people themselves looked for, and in him they hoped to find, the one man able to restore law and order throughout the land and fulfill international obligations;

Because at this time all the contending revolutionary forces had united all the armies under his direct command and control, and no revolution worthy of the name existed anywhere in Mexico; and

Because to do otherwise was sure to inflame in the hearts and minds of the ignorant masses the revolutionary spirit and honeycomb the entire country with a spirit of unrest and discontent; and, lastly,

Because recognition would have resulted in peace for Mexico and no Mexican problem for the United States.

Had the President not made this serious mistake, all the things that have happened since would not have happened, but he took exception, as he said in his message which I have quoted, and believed that Huerta was not entitled to recognition because of the manner in which he became president. Yet it was not shown when recognition was desired, in fact it never has been shown that Huerta was guilty or even had guilty knowledge of the impending murder of Madero. The truth is that all the evidence produced since that most unfortunate occurrence indicates that Huerta had no such knowledge.

Some of the things the President should not have done:

President Wilson should not have promised to retain an embargo placed by President Taft on arms and ammunition and then later, without notice, betray the people and the Congress of the United States by lifting the embargo.

President Wilson should not have given the moral support of this administration to Villa, the outlaw bandit, nor to Carranza, in their efforts to overthrow an existing Government in a border country.

President Wilson should not have provoked a quarrel with a man he refused to recognize as the head of the Government and, at the same time, demand from the man, the individual, a national salute of 21 guns for an imaginary insult for which ample apology had been made.

President Wilson should not have sent the entire American Navy to Mexican waters when there was only one antiquated old vessel in possession of the Mexican Government.

President Wilson should not have ordered Admiral Fletcher to take Vera Cruz and thereby sacrifice the lives of 19 American sailors—at least not without the authority of Congress.

President Wilson should not have allowed the contending factions in Mexico to murder American citizens, men, women, and children, and destroy and confiscate their property.

President Wilson should not, if he chose not to recognize Huerta, have meddled in Mexican factional affairs and given aid and comfort to one faction at the expense of the other, thereby creating contempt and hatred in the Mexican mind against all Americans.

President Wilson should not say one thing and do directly the opposite.—Witness Indianapolis speech.

President Wilson should not have sent the punitive expedition into Mexico after the Columbus raid, but should, before the raid, have given adequate protection, knowing the anti-American feeling and the probability of Villa making just such a raid.

President Wilson should not refuse to withdraw the punitive expedition, because it can do no possible good. Its only effect is to increase the danger of further international complications and, if such a thing is possible, to further increase the anti-American feeling in Mexico.

President Wilson should not have called the National Guard to the border at such tremendous expense to the Government and at such great inconvenience to the men. He has ample force to patrol the border by using the Regular Army of the United States; and if arrangements are made with the Mexican authorities to protect the Mexican side of the border, there is no need of the State militia being retained on the border.

President Wilson should under no circumstances have picked a quarrel and interfered with Mexican affairs if he is "too proud to fight" and defend the honor and dignity of American citizenship and the American flag.

President Wilson should have dealt fairly, openly, and honestly with the Mexicans. He should have practiced what he preached. He should have recognized that he is simply the representative of the American people, and that it is his duty as such to jealously guard their interests, their lives, and their property. Had he done these things and left the others undone, I repeat, there would be no Mexican question to-day.

## President Wilson's Administration of Foreign Affairs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. BENNET. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an article printed in the North American Review, by David Jayne Hill, on the subject of President Wilson's administration of foreign affairs.

The article is as follows:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

[By David Jayne Hill.]

Nothing is so important to the success of a nation in its intercourse with other nations as clearness, firmness, and continuity in the foreign policy of its Government. If foreign policy is to possess these qualities, it must not in any degree be affected by personal or partisan considerations. It must be based solely upon the national interests, with a due sense of the national responsibilities.

So long as a political administration adheres to this conception of its duty, it deserves the support of every citizen in whatever public action may be necessary. It would be an unworthy and unpatriotic act to weaken the Government in an emergency or to turn a national misfortune to political advantage. There are, however, circumstances that not only justify, but imperatively demand, a critical examination of the course pursued in the conduct of foreign affairs. These circumstances exist when there has been a radical departure from the established policies of the country. If, in addition, there has been a conspicuous failure to defend the rights of the Nation or its citizens and to provide for their protection, or to perform the obvious duties of a responsible Government, not merely criticism but public condemnation is demanded. When, however, such aberrations and failures are boldly defended as wise and commendable, and are boasted of as glorious achievements, they become unavoidable political issues, flung into the arena of debate in a manner that renders it impossible to ignore them.

We challenge comparison of our record—

Reads the Democratic platform of 1916—

with those of any party of any time. * * * Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. * * * Under our administration, under a leadership that has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom. * * * It has made the honor and the ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and in action.

Passing by the calumnious assertion that, prior to the present administration, "our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends"—which has for its obvious purpose simply to forestall argument by abuse—in a quite different spirit, and with close attention to demonstrable facts, we shall examine in the course of this review the "record" on which are based the boast of a "leadership that has never faltered," and the pretense that the "honor and the ideals of the United States" have been "the standard of this administration in negotiation and in action."

When we inquire in what specific negotiations and actions this standard has been applied, we receive the answer: "Well, the President has kept us out of war"; as if such a merely negative incident as being "kept out of war," when no nation has desired to declare war upon us, were a complete fulfillment of the demands made by the honor and ideals of the United States.

Peace, without doubt, is one of our most cherished ideals; but no one will contend that a peace that has not been disturbed by threats is anything to boast about. The fallacy now being thrust upon the country is that there is no middle ground between the course pursued by the administration and war. These, it is pretended, were the only alternatives, and between them a choice was necessary. Had it not been for the wisdom of the administration, we are assured, we should have had war. By whom, we ask, were these alternatives presented? By whom, and when, and how, were we forced to this happy choice?

But, unfortunately, the "record" shows that, upon two separate occasions, neither of which demanded warlike action, the administration has provoked a dangerous situation, and has committed every act characteristic of war, including the invasion of foreign territory and the destruction of innocent lives, and has subjected our soldiers and sailors to every danger and consequence that war involves. That this unavowed belligerency has been characterized by an extraordinary combination of intrusiveness and timidity, of deferred decision and untimely action, and has been so hesitating as to make it ineffectual and so fruitless as to render it inglorious, does not in the least degree redeem these vacillations from being in reality acts of war. And if it be a noble service to have kept us out of war, what shall be said of the blunders that have needlessly involved us in it without a benefit?

There is, therefore, no reason why the most considerate and loyal patriot, having always in mind the true interests of his country, should entertain the least scruple about subjecting the administration's conduct of foreign affairs to a dispassionate review. On the contrary, in consideration of the extreme delicacy of our relations to other Governments at a time like the present, when the whole future of this Republic may be compromised by an error, it is of supreme importance that every citizen should satisfy his mind whether or not the national safety, prestige, and honor have been properly maintained, and to consider whether the course pursued deserves a renewal of confidence by the electorate.

Before entering upon a statement of the specific acts of the present administration at Washington and of the conditions they were intended to meet, it is desirable to consider the attitude of mind and the preparation for wise and effective action upon international questions with which the President approached his task.

Having long been a student of political theories and conversant with the history of the United States, about which he had written ably, the President was exceptionally fitted to set a high value upon experience in diplomacy; a fact which might properly have led him to surround himself with men of experience in these matters. On the contrary, making a clean sweep of the higher diplomatic representatives of the United States soon after his inauguration and promptly filling their posts (with some notable exceptions) with political supporters, the President selected for the head of the Department of State a statesman whose eligibility for that office was generally recognized as consisting mainly in the fact that the President owed to him his nomination to that office.

As if to make amends for the lack of experience in the conduct of international business on the part of his Secretary of State, the President named as counselor of the department one of the most distinguished international jurists in the country. Had this highly competent authority been placed in responsible charge of the department and its decisions left to his judgment, there would no doubt have been continuity and consistency in the course pursued; but for reasons that will presently be stated the service of this experienced adviser was rendered practically nugatory, except in matters relatively inconsequential; and after a year of ineffectual effort to serve as a balance wheel to the erratic energies of his superior officer, this learned and experienced counsellor, finding his advice unacceptable, in despair resigned his office.

In a matter of such vital interest to the country as its foreign relations, it has been felt that the Nation should enjoy the benefit of having in its service its best expert talent, and of keeping merely partisan interests and influence remote from the actual work of the Department of State, which should represent the whole country, and not merely a part of it that has won the election. Like the Army and the Navy, the foreign office and the Diplomatic Service when once properly organized should be kept as free as possible from purely partisan influence. It is discouraging, therefore, to read in the learned history of America's Foreign Relations, by Prof. Willis Fletcher Johnson, an entirely nonpartisan work, that with the advent of the present administration a change, "lamentable in character and some of its results, was the restoration of the partisan spoils system in the Diplomatic and Consular Service. For a number of years," this writer continues, "the civil service merit system had been increasingly applied to those departments. Men were promoted from place to place in accordance with their deserts, and were retained in the service without regard to political affiliations. But under Wilson and Bryan all that was changed. Some of the most expert and valuable diplomats of ambassadorial and ministerial rank were curtly dismissed to make room for inexperienced men who had been politically useful to the incoming administration. In some minor yet highly important places, especially in Latin-America, this process was carried to a scandalous extreme. The Secretary of State actually sent out a request to be informed of places to which 'deserving' members of his own party might be appointed; 'deserving' having reference only to their partisan and factional labors in promoting his political interests. In at least one con-

spicuous case this process resulted in the appointment of a man so grossly unfit as to give rise to an international scandal."

There was, however, another radical change brought in by the new Secretary of State, which has received less comment but has even more vitally affected the interests of the Nation and its prestige as an international influence than the one already mentioned.

Secretary Bryan came to his office with the consciousness that much distinction had been already won, and was yet to be acquired, by the advocacy of universal peace. Twice the Nobel prize had been awarded to distinguished citizens of the United States for their efforts in this direction. Great and powerful organizations had been formed for the promotion of peace, and President Taft had received much commendation for his efforts to advance the cause of the judicial settlement of international disputes, but without compromising the dignity and prestige of the United States.

With a noble infatuation, the new Secretary resolved to outdo all his predecessors. They had advocated courts of justice. He would apply a scheme that would make war impossible. No matter what circumstances might arise, the United States should never meet them with armed resistance. He would create a new era in human history. He would demonstrate that all men belong to one great fraternity, in which brotherly love should dominate over all selfish passions. To accomplish this only one thing, he thought, was necessary, namely, that some one nation, great in area, wealth, and population, should announce to the world that it was not only perfectly harmless but was willing, temporarily at least, to endure injury, insult, humiliation, and even contempt if thereby it could convince the world that the total abandonment of armed resistance and foreign aggression was possible to a great and powerful nation. This conspicuous example once placed before the world, every civilized nation, in admiration of such noble conduct, would for very shame mend its morals and manners and thus produce a universal reign of peace.

By nature an intuitionist, the Secretary considered all this entirely practicable. No one, it appeared, had ever treated international affairs in a strictly generous and neighborly way. He would try it. The "people" everywhere, he believed, would like and approve it. It would be original, even revolutionary; but so much the better. The Secretary, who had been considered the oracle of his party, was in need of a new watchword. "Free silver" had been repudiated. "Imperialism" had not been taken seriously. "Public ownership of railroads" had received little sympathy from his own party. "Predatory wealth" had not carried him to the Presidency. But "Universal peace"—that was a sentiment to conjure with.

With little comprehension of the real aims, methods, and ambitions of foreign Governments, and utterly oblivious of the deep antagonisms that were at that very moment brewing the stupendous conflict that has since shaken the whole of civilization to its foundations, Secretary Bryan felt no need of explicit information, and most certainly derived none from the outposts of our foreign service, for a long time wholly absorbed in the details of seeking domiciles in foreign lands, into whose purposes of state they had not penetrated. With a feeling that most Governments were too plutocratic really to represent the "people," he placed his reliance upon the power and disposition of the masses of mankind to overrule mere absolute authority. Taking as his standard the intelligent, independent, and well-instructed masses of our American citizenship, he believed all "peoples" to be like them. Their Governments might, perhaps, be warlike, ambitious, and dangerous; but he intended to have the "peoples"—whom he regarded as just, generous, and really devoted to peace—clearly understand that it was with them and not their rulers that he desired to deal.

It was a noble aspiration and does credit to the Secretary's private feelings, but the error was to suppose that private feelings are the materials of which public policies may be made.

Consistently with his theory of the perversity of rulers and the virtue of the ruled, he felt a lofty scorn of all official rules and precedents, and resolved to sweep aside not only all impediments of form and cermony, but all conventional customs and legal precedents as well, and to deal with nations as he would with his kindly neighbors, believing that, like them, all foreign "peoples" were really good at heart and would be equally ready to make everything over on a new pattern to be prescribed by him.

Personally, the diplomats all liked Secretary Bryan, as everyone does who personally knows his kindly optimism; but no one at first took him quite seriously. Then it was perceived that by yielding to his one supreme wish to become the hero of universal peace all minor matters could be easily disposed of, and as no one stood in fear of aggression by the United States, there was on the part of other nations no obstacle to embracing an opportunity for exercising a free hand in any direction they chose, with the assurance that the American Government, committed to a policy of inaction and postponement, would in no way interfere with whatever plans and purposes they might have in mind.

It would be incredible, if the facts did not compel the admission of it, that the appointed guardian of the interests and honor of a great nation in its world relations should so far forget the fiduciary character of his position as to believe himself entitled to substitute for settled public policies his own fantasies regarding international relations, and to leave practically out of consideration the responsibility of the Nation for the maintenance of existing international law, the right of the Nation to equal treatment everywhere, and of all citizens to the protection of their legal rights. What, for example, would be thought of a policeman whose idea of his duty permitted him publicly to announce that on his beat no one would be arrested and no one sent to jail? But this was precisely what Secretary Bryan did. He informed his colleague, the Secretary of the Navy, it was reported, that there would be no need to increase the number of ships in the United States Navy, or ever to use those already in existence; for, while he remained in charge of foreign affairs, there would be no war with any nation.

As all his subsequent conduct shows, Secretary Bryan was most earnest and sincere in making this statement, and was, no doubt, proud to have his intention published at home and abroad.

He was promptly taken at his word, and with equal promptitude he proceeded to carry his theory into execution. The previously existing arbitration treaties, which contained a reservation of questions involving the "independence, vital interests, and honor" of the country, the Secretary found insufficient; for the defense of these might some time lead to armed conflict, to which he was totally opposed. He therefore at once began negotiations with more than 30 powers, great and small, binding the United States to complete passivity in all circumstances for one year, until a mixed commission had decided whether or not a violated right might be enforced, or a wrong prevented, thus giving to great foreign powers an opportunity to inflict upon us an irreparable injury, and to small ones a way to escape punishment by subsequent apology or change of Government, in abeyance of our right to take preventive measures at the proper time.

The result of these treaties was that the United States was solemnly pledged, upon its honor, not to resent actively any insult, injury, or humiliation that any one of the adherents to this agreement might for any reason offer, and to rest content with making only a verbal protest until an entire year had elapsed. These treaties made no provision with regard to alliances between the other signatories contemplating possible united action which might involve the interests of the United States. They offered to the United States no immunities or exemptions in case, as a neutral power, it should be exposed to injury resulting from their mutual quarrels; and the cosignatories made no such agreements with one another as the United States made with them. In effect, therefore, the Bryan treaties simply eliminated from the thoughts and plans of Governments, hitherto restrained by consideration of what action the United States might take, all concern regarding the views or purposes of the administration at Washington—which, they were assured, would do nothing. And this assurance was perfectly well founded. There was a complete commitment of the United States to a passive policy, regardless of conditions, leaving all the adherents to these treaties free to do to one another, or with one another, and against the interests of this country, whatever they pleased.

Even the moral and advisory influence of the United States was thus seriously impaired; for, with the certainty that immediate action by our Government was out of the question, the advice of the United States no longer possessed any international value. It could not, under the new treaties, employ its military resources, such as they were, even to defend its own rights or those of its citizens until a year of discussion had ended.

The mistake in urging these engagements, by which the United States ceased to be an active agent in international affairs, was not, of course, in the earnest aspiration for universal peace; but in proclaiming and pledging the passivity of this country at a time when nearly the whole world was about to be involved in war, and when the influence of a nation depended wholly upon a belief in its firm determination to defend its own interests and stand fearlessly for its own principles. It is incredible that any well-informed person could have imagined

that such a scheme as that put forth by the Secretary of State could be made universal; or that it would be adopted by any of the great powers, not in formal alliance, as between themselves; and the effect has been just what might have been foreseen. It was an act of self-effacement on the part of a great nation in the midst of a world conflict, in which there was no need that it should participate, but which a valiant and self-reliant nation of the magnitude and former prestige of the United States might have influenced in important ways, had it not previously and voluntarily exposed itself to the complete neglect of other nations. Such a power as the American Republic has in the past sometimes shown itself to be, might have made itself the effective guardian of neutral rights, which have been violated in every manner conceivable. But, knowing beforehand that the United States, whatever happened, would positively take no action, the merely formal protests of our Government have been treated with inattention, and sometimes with open and continued defiance.

One historian has presented this situation even more emphatically than this. "Amidst this unprecedented profusion of irenic efforts," he says, 'and probably in part because of them and as a counterblast against them, preparations for the world's greatest war were at first furtively and then openly pushed to completion." Certain it is that when this conflict began no trouble was taken to inquire what the position of the United States would be regarding it; and sometime before that several European powers that had uniformly waited for the action of the Government of the United States before making a decision openly and unitedly recognized a Mexican government which President Wilson peremptorily refused to recognize. Before the administration was a year old it was evident that the prestige of this Government, which previously had taken the initiative in great world crises, and had been able to promote peace between great powers, no longer existed. Ineffectual in its own sphere of influence, as it soon showed itself to be, it had already become in the Eastern Hemisphere a completely negligible quantity.

What, in these conditions, was to become of the traditional primacy of the United States—as the oldest, largest, and most powerful of the American Republics—in affairs primarily American?

In 1913 Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and, in 1914, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Peru, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Ecuador, in the order named, were cosignatories with the United States of the treaty providing that all disputes between each of them and the United States, "of every nature whatsoever," should be referred to an international commission in which these Republics had equal representation, and that no action in any case should be taken for one year.

In this engagement there was no condition named regarding a change of Government, the assumption being that national entity is always persistent and that the parties bound by this contract are the de facto Governments of these Republics, whatever they may be. Upon no other assumption could these treaties possess any value or lead to any consequences.

The effect of this agreement theoretically was, of course, to end the tradition of primacy on the part of the United States and to place all these American Republics absolutely on an equal footing, regardless of their form of political organization, their governmental changes, or their responsibility for their conduct. Practically, however, as an older and more responsible member in this family of States, the tradition of the primacy of the United States could not be wholly ignored, for Europe, debarred by the Monroe doctrine from meddling with American affairs, held the United States in some degree responsible for law and order in this hemisphere; and it was certain that as soon as the regulative influence of this Government was wholly withdrawn that of European nations would take its place.

This obvious fact did not, of course, escape the attention of the present administration, but its doctrine of passive endurance removed the possibility of effective action and left the field open for a merely pedagogical intervention, laying down the rules that good Republics were expected to obey, with an intimation that bad ones would be held in disrepute, but overlooking the fact that the Secretary of State had sequestered the rod behind the teacher's desk.

An occasion for the first lesson was the condition of Mexico. The Madero Government, established in 1911, had been confronted with revolt in 1912, and early in 1913 had been overthrown by a counter revolution. In February of that year Gen. Victoriano Huerta, one of the ablest of the Mexican generals, having possession of the City of Mexico, Vera Cruz, and a considerable portion of territory, was endeavoring to pacify the country, which contained 6,000,000 Indians, 6,000,000 half-breeds, and about 3,000,000 white men, of whom only about 1,500,000 could read and write, scattered over 2,000,000 square miles, with an average of less than 20 persons to the square mile.

This situation at the close of President Taft's administration had caused grave concern in the United States. Would Huerta, who had superseded Madero in authority in Mexico, be able to subdue the anarchy of the country or would it continue? And if it did continue, how would it be possible to prevent American soil from being used as a base of supplies for a chronic revolution? That was a problem that President Taft had been compelled to face, and he had solved it by asking Congress to give him power to suspend the exportation of arms and munitions to any American country that might be employing them for domestic violence. This power was accorded to him and exercised by him, the Huerta control was making rapid progress, and European countries, confident of his success, were supplying him with financial aid; when, on February 23, 1913, only nine days before the expiration of President Taft's term of office, Madero, who had already resigned the Presidency, was shot and killed while a prisoner of state in the City of Mexico.

That the entire Mexican situation was an inheritance from President Taft's administration, and that President Wilson merely followed his example in the treatment of it, has been repeatedly asserted, with the inference that all responsibility for trouble in Mexico must be attributed to the previous administration. It is true that President Taft had not recognized the Huerta government, but it is also true that he had not committed this country to a policy of absolute nonrecognition. Without embarrassing his successor in the closing days of his Presidency, he left the question to be decided in the light of Huerta's future attitude and behavior toward the United States, and his de facto power and disposition to perform the duties of a responsible government.

The new administration pursued an entirely different course. Assuming without conclusive evidence that Huerta was personally responsible for Madero's death—a conclusion which Huerta himself denounced as a malicious accusation, and of which the American ambassador to Mexico, the Hon. Henry Lane Wilson, who had spent many years of service in Spanish-American countries, expressed strong doubts—it not only resolved never, under any circumstances, to recognize a government of which Huerta was the head, even though he were elected to the Presidency by the Mexican people, but to overthrow and destroy his authority, and supersede it by the organization of a new government in harmony with Mr. Wilson's own conception of what a truly constitutional government should be. In this unprecedented course, the action was not only in strong contrast with that of President Taft, who refused in any way to meddle with the internal affairs of Mexico, but a complete innovation upon the traditional policy of the United States, which had uniformly been to leave every independent country free to form and accept such a government as it is able to sustain, and to hold that government responsible for the protection of American life and property within its borders, and liable to the payment of indemnity for a failure to protect them.

Whatever his private character may have been—and it is no concern of ours what it was—Gen. Huerta indisputably was, and was declared by competent authorities to be, the head of a de facto government having its seat in the City of Mexico. Not only so, but his was the only responsible authority to which an appeal for justice could be made in that Republic.

In laying down the novel and dangerous doctrine that he would not recognize any Government in Mexico unless it was de jure according to his own standard of constitutionality," the President made himself the arbiter of a people's destiny; and, instead of aiding them in the support of a Government such as they were able to possess, he decreed that they should be subject to continued anarchy until they could evolve out of social chaos a form of government which he could sanction, to be placed in the hands of men whose private characters he could personally approve.

To carry out such an unprecedented program unusual means must be adopted, for the ordinary machinery of diplomacy is ill adapted to such an enterprise. Determined to overthrow Huerta, who was protecting American lives and property, the President, preferring advice from less responsible sources, at first ignored and then recalled the American ambassador; and, although still maintaining diplomatic relations through a chargé d'affaires, began privately to inquire, through insurgent Mexicans, as to who in Mexico could best carry out his purpose to destroy Huerta's government and establish one to his own liking.

Selecting as his "personal spokesman and representative" in Mexico the Hon. John Lind, a statesman of Scandinavian origin unfamiliar with the laws, language, and people of that country, the President instructed him to inform Gen. Huerta that fighting in Mexico must cease; that he must promptly abdicate; that he must pledge himself not to be a candidate for the Presidency of Mexico; that a constitutional election must be held; and that a government thus constituted, and none other, would be recognized by the United States.

So far as Huerta was concerned, this mission was utterly futile; and Lind, finding his orders disregarded, soon retired to a cloistered retreat at Vera Cruz, where he could hold parley with discontented Mexicans, by whom he soon became convinced that there were influences at work in Mexico which, if fostered and encouraged by the United States, could make serious trouble for Huerta. In the meantime the latter's secretary of state for foreign affairs, Señor Gamboa, in a strictly diplomatic and highly dignified note, replied that President Wilson had entirely misconceived the situation; that Gen. Huerta's position as "provisional President" was strictly in accordance with the laws and constitution of Mexico; that of the 27 States, 3 Territories, and 1 Federal District composing the Republic, the Government had 18 States, the 3 Territories, and the Federal District under absolute control, with an army of 80,000 men in the field to pacify the other States; that it was practically impossible to stop hostilities in that country so long as rebels secretly obtained arms from the United States (as they were said then to be doing); that the opposition to Huerta was of a wholly unwarranted character; and that the question of the Presidency must be decided at the polls by the Mexican people at their next election. In reply Lind was instructed to repeat the demand for a constitutional election, at which Huerta must not be a candidate, adding that if these conditions were complied with a loan of money would be supplied by the United States. Gamboa indignantly spurned this type of "dollar diplomacy" as a virtual attempt at bribery; Lind remained at Vera Cruz to watch the effect of his deliverances; the chargé d'affaires continued to reenforce them at the City of Mexico, where he was most kindly treated by Huerta; and on August 27, 1913, President Wilson announced at Washington to an acquiescent but somewhat disquieted Congress his conviction that Huerta should be compelled to retire from authority in Mexico and some other person be selected for the Presidency of that country.

Perceiving that without the employment of armed force, directly or indirectly, his recommendations were nugatory, he then instituted a system of secret diplomacy unparalleled in history since Louis XV, sending his private agents, responsible to himself alone, into Mexico to ascertain which one of the several rebel leaders would be most effective in overpowering Huerta and most amenable to his purpose in constituting a new government for Mexico. In the meantime six great powers had recognized the Huerta government and their citizens were taking its securities.

Although the bandit Francisco Villa, at that time well known in Mexico as a professional brigand, and later furnishing the occasion for an invasion of Mexico by an army of the United States—in preference to Carranza, Zapata, and the others—was favored by the secret agents as the most auspicious candidate for the political regeneration of Mexico, no effort was made to discourage any of the other insurgent elements, on the principle that the first necessity was to destroy Huerta; yet at that time the only safe place for American residents in Mexico was within Huerta's jurisdiction, and wherever his authority was effective, as in the City of Mexico, their persons and their property were as safe as in New York.

As a result of the secret conferences of his agents in the insurgent camps the President, on December 2, 1913, officially announced to Congress his policy of "watchful waiting"; that is, of waiting to see which of the insurgent forces would succeed in destroying Huerta's government. On February 3, 1914, in order to facilitate this operation, he officially removed the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to Mexico, thus completely reversing the policy of President Taft; and any group of marauders was at liberty to equip itself for the successful looting of the country. Villa was enabled to gather to his standard a large and well-furnished army; and four months after "watchful waiting" was announced, on April 2, 1914, after 11 days of hard fighting, this bandit had captured from the Federal troops the important town of Torreon.

In the meantime evidence was pouring into the Department of State showing that in the zone of insurgent activity American citizens, unable to obey the department's injunction to escape from the country, were being robbed and killed and their women violated in their houses or on the way to the United States; that churches were being desecrated, priests assassinated, and nuns outraged. Upon protestation by a Catholic clergyman that these abominations were the work of the followers of Carranza and Villa our Secretary of State is said to have retorted, as if in extenuation, that he was informed that the followers of Huerta had committed similar outrages on two American women from Iowa; but he did not say what action had been taken by the department in that case.

Does the correspondence with the Huerta government show that indemnity for such outrages was ever demanded? There is no sign in the instructions to Lind that any American interests were to be protected. On the contrary, the instructions read that he is "to give every possible evidence that we act in the interest of Mexico alone, and not in the interest of any person or body of persons who may have personal or property claims in Mexico." There is no published complaint regarding the exposure of life or property within Huerta's jurisdiction.

Repeatedly the Senate has asked for the reports of outrages committed upon American citizens in Mexico and for the correspondence with the Huerta government, but these requests have been declined as "incompatible with the interests of the United States." Although the exchange of notes with European Governments has been followed by their prompt publication, only a few isolated communications between the United States and Mexico have been published in any form. The private correspondence of the secret agents has never been open, even to congressional inspection. From other sources, however, we know that Lind was obsessed with the idea that the crux of the Mexican problem was the Anglo-American relations, and that the way to solve it was by the removal of the embargo on arms, thus enabling the insurgents to destroy Huerta's government, and then to recognize the one that would best please the Government of the United States, Villa being at that time the most promising candidate for that distinction.

That there was united opposition to the President's course in Mexico on the part of the great powers there is no doubt. All were amazed at it, and to some extent resented it. It was not the nonrecognition of Huerta's government, but the attack upon him which they deplored. They knew that the overthrow of Huerta meant a long period of anarchy in Mexico unless the United States intervened with overwhelming force to prevent it. That ultimate American occupation was the real underlying purpose was suspected and, of course, not desired. Still if nothing was meant but the destruction of an existing government, with no intention of constructing another except by the slow, devastating process of Mexican insurgency, what was to become of foreign interests in Mexico?

Were there, then, actual combinations by the European powers to sustain Huerta and defeat the Government of the United States? Their archives will some day answer this question. We know that in November, 1913, the Multicolor, an illustrated newspaper published in the City of Mexico, brought out a cartoon in which England, Germany, and France were represented as painting the White House green, the expression "to paint green" being a Spanish idiom for insult and vituperation.

In January and February, 1914, there were other indications of strained relations. When, therefore, on March 5, 1914, just a year after he had entered actively upon his office, the President read to Congress, as out of the blue sky, an imperative message, couched in language so extraordinary and so mysterious as to arouse the curiosity of the whole country, it was felt that the Nation was facing a crisis, the more portentous because its true nature was in no way explained.

In this message the President demanded the immediate repeal of a clause in the Panama Canal act of August 24, 1912, providing for the exemption of tolls for our coastwise vessels, legislation which his own party platform had specifically approved, and which he himself had personally supported. It had been argued that in passing from New York to San Francisco an American coasting vessel was virtually merely skirting the shores of the United States, notwithstanding the fact that its course enveloped the whole of Mexico. But other powers had interests in Mexico. Was there a united protest filed in Washington regarding exclusive jurisdiction over the Panama Canal as an American possession? It is not intended here to discuss this subject. But we can not overlook the dramatic form of the President's urgency. "Without raising the question whether we were right or wrong," on the ground that foreign nations took a view of it different from our own, he declared, "I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure."

Who could deny to the President a request thus urged? Who could refuse, however much puzzled, to come to the rescue of the administration's foreign policy, so soon menaced with possible disaster? But what necessity made this rescue so imperative? The archives may some day answer. Perhaps the President was merely frightened. In any case, we are left to wonder what could be of "greater delicacy and nearer consequence" than the performance of an international duty if that were the sole cause for action unless it might be a national right, if that also was to be considered? And if it was merely a question of right or of duty, why not submit it to judicial determination, and thus forever dispose of it in a legal manner? But a crisis in foreign policy that required immediate retreat! Who exacted it? For what purpose was it exacted? What permission, otherwise to be withheld, was to be obtained for it? The country has not been informed. Perhaps the immediately subsequent action of the Government at Washington may throw some light upon it.

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**Eight-Hour Day.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, the controversy between the railways and their employees is not one of whether the trainmen receive as much in proportion to the value of their service as persons working in other places do, on or off the railways. It is not a dispute between the toilers. It is a claim by trainmen for an absolute right—not all of their rights, but for an eight-hour standard day. Other laborers, on the railways or elsewhere, are not barred from taking steps to secure their rights. Organized wealth can not hide behind the plea that trainmen should ask for nothing merely because they may have more pay than other toilers, even if that is so. It is not comparative wages, nor comparative income of the toilers in different fields of labor, that the railways want.

You can depend on it that the railways do not want the "comparative-pay" problem considered; for when that is done it can be done right only by considering the relations of capital and labor as a whole, not merely the workers on the railways, but the workers in all fields of enterprise, whether for wages or otherwise. That has never been done. When it shall be done it will provide the means by which all the toilers will get better pay than the best paid do now. Congress, legislatures, executives, courts, and commissions have all neglected the "comparative pay." The railway magnates have smiled with satisfaction because they did, and I wonder that so astute persons should have suggested a comparison, even in the limited way they did.

The authorities that have administered the Government laid down the rule that has given capital a so-called "reasonable profit," but in applying the rule the rights of toilers in all the fields of activity, whether working for wages or working on their own account, farming, manufacturing, in general business, or otherwise, their respective and relative rights with capital have not been weighed or taken into account in applying the rule of the so-called "reasonable profit" to capital. Therefore, the rule as applied is wrong. Capital has secured too much. Farmers, wage workers, and plain workers generally, as well as the smaller business enterprises, are entitled to more than they get. Capitalists are not entitled to the bulk of the wealth. Nevertheless they have it. Considering these facts, and knowing that the public officials are responsible for the failure, it has been a wonder to me that the voters did not long ago strike and select officials who would apply the rule equitably.

We are so accustomed to seeing business done for speculation primarily, rather than from necessity, that we allow many business absurdities to be practiced that destroy economy. The idea that many existing practices could be abandoned to the everlasting benefit of humanity seems not to have occurred to the masses.

The United States has greater and better resources than other countries. We need not go to them, or have them come to us, for our prosperity. We do not, however, make use of our resources for America first. What are those who call themselves the only "true Americans" doing with our resources? Take a peep at a couple of items of foreign commerce. That will be sufficient to tell the tale.

Petroleum, out of which we get gasoline and some other products, is an important commodity of great use to Americans. Petrol, before Europe took our export, cost the American consumers only 75 cents per barrel for Kansas-Oklahoma grade, and $1.54 for Pennsylvania grade. The export raised the price on one from 75 cents to $1.55 per barrel and on the other from $1.54 to $2.60 per barrel. The American consumption for 12 months in 1915 and 1916 was 211,933,000 barrels and the export was 55,466,086 barrels. The cost was increased 80 cents on the western product and $1.06 on the eastern per barrel. Allowing for an equal consumption of each, the increased cost of one was $84,000,000, and of the other $111,000,000—an additional burden to American consumers for petrol alone in a single year, of $195,000,000. The sum exceeds by a very large amount the total amount collected for the 55,466,086 barrels exported.

August 3, 1914, copper cost the American consumer 12¾ cents per pound. May 3, 1916, copper, because of export, had risen to 29½ to 30 cents per pound. The American consumption of copper is also vastly more than the export. Anyone can see what happens to the plain American consumers because of raising the price from 12¾ to 29½ and 30 cents. That is the kind of trade organized wealth wishes to force Americans to maintain a large Army and Navy to fight for. On copper alone for a single year American consumers were forced to pay an additional cost of approximately $120,000,000 over normal prices—all because of juggling in foreign trade for speculation. The supply of copper is forever less. Each generation of Americans will be forced to pay additional billions because of this sort of speculation.

On iron and steel the loss to American consumers was even greater than on the items named. Shoes would show another great loss to American consumers, and so I could run through the items of export and before I had them half tabulated it would prove that the export trade serves principally as an adroit device to jack up prices to American consumers, thereby forcing the American people to pay in excess of the price we would otherwise pay, a sum more than equal to the value of all exports.

The exports for 12 months in 1915 and 1916 were $4,334,000,000, offset by $2,198,000 imports only. The American press, largely under the wing of organized wealth, seeks to make us believe that we are getting rich by giving away more than we get in return. They seek to make us believe what organized wealth has, we too have. Instead, we are forced to pay interest, rents, and dividends on what it has. They say we are getting richer. The rich Americans are getting richer, and the rest of us are forced to work for them.

The figures I have given are for war times and, of course, larger than they are in times of peace. The same practice is followed all the time—the speculators handle the business, domestic and foreign, solely as a speculative scheme.

True, most American toilers are busy just now working, and wear and eat more than they did before we exported so much; just now busy, like the farmer's team during seeding time—but we have not the favorable status of the farmer's team which is always fed and sheltered, work or no work. Organized wealth, on the other hand, when the toilers protest because they do not secure their rights, threaten to stop the "feed." Now that trainmen demand an eight-hour day, organized wealth calls on its United States Chamber of Commerce, with its kindred civic and commerce aids in the cities, to bamboozle Congress by taking "referendum votes," votes secured by organized wealth for organized wealth. The misfortune of it is that the honest members in these associations are made to believe that there are no cards "stacked" for special privilege. On March 10, 1916, I extended remarks under the head, "A nation muzzled by false national honor." Facts are there presented sufficient to prove to any unprejudiced mind that the United States Chamber of Commerce and many affiliated associations were created for the express purpose of building up a machine in the interest of organized wealth, and to do its bidding in the manner that is very evident at different times here in Congress.

UNITED STATES IN THE WAR.

The railways just now are desperate, because the truth of the situation, though disguised by the subsidized press, is that Wall Street has forced us to take part in the European war. The American people do not generally realize it, but when certain European countries guaranteed to certain Wall Street speculators the privilege of scalping enormous profits from American purchases and contracts of various kinds, it implied that in the event these countries should finally need help in order to win Wall Street would have fanned up some blaze in our own country to bring it about. We have been party to the war as effectively

as if our Army and Navy was used. We have sent from our country in 12 months alone goods and materials amounting to $4,334,000,000, most of which were supplies to carry on the war, and in order to extort money from our people, the prices of gasoline, copper, and numerous other commodities were raised to make us pay additional sums more than equal to the value of the total exports. Fine condition, is it not, when Wall Street can force us into war at its option? The extraordinary "preparedness" propaganda is a part of that scheme. Wall Street passed through Congress the super Army and Navy bills. Wall Street wishes to be in shape to force and finally enter our Army and Navy into a war of foreign conquest, if that serves its interests best. It wants the Army and Navy to do with it as it pleases.

Senator LA FOLLETTE stated it truly in a speech in the Senate, on July 19 last. His speech plainly includes the facts that show that organized wealth can bring about war at its own sweet will, and may do so to satisfy its own greed, and therefore has paid a part of its profits from the wars to carry on the so-called "preparedness" campaign, in order to get a large Army and Navy to deal with for its own purposes.

July 5, 1916, with your consent, I extended some remarks, and I believe I stated some conditions that can not be successfully challenged. Among other things, I said:

"We have heard a great deal of late about the rights of Americans in foreign lands. I have not fooled myself by any false notions of these, nor do I hold the rights of Americans, wherever they are, as of light importance. On the contrary, I respect them as of the highest importance, but if any distinction in regard to their rights were to be made between Americans at home following their honest, peaceful pursuits in the United States and Americans abroad, I should resolve that distinction in favor of maintaining the rights of Americans at home. When that is done there will be no lack of vigor on the part of those at home to protect those abroad who may be acting within their proper province. We have over a hundred million at home all the time, while there are but a few thousand abroad at any time. I do not favor indifference to the rights of the hundred million at home pursuing their occupations in the United States and strict vigilance to maintain the privileges, at whatever cost, of the few abroad. I am for America first. When United States Americans secure their rights while in America there will be protection for those elsewhere, too."

Organized wealth frames everything, domestic and foreign, to crystallize its rule. It does now, has heretofore, and seeks in the future, to rule politics, government, and business, all three, in order to maintain the special privilege it already has and to get as much more as it believes it can fool the people to suffer, and is invading foreign fields at the expense of our people. It employs tricks which, if they become generally known, it is not conceivable that the plain people will be so supine as to permit to continue. I discussed the methods of organized wealth July 5, 1916, in the RECORD under the head of "Invisible government and the consequences of it." Organized wealth is at work against the trainmen also, as I will quote a few lines from my remarks of July 5, as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, I extend these remarks in the hope that they may be of interest to the country, for I know that the facts that I present are important and should be understood by everyone. No matter what individual professions and party claims may be to the contrary, it is apparent to anyone who has been more than four years a Member of Congress that the will of the people in regard to legislation is seldom consulted. The price of leadership here is exactly the opposite of carrying out in good faith the will of those whom we are elected to serve. Wholesale deception of the electorate has been and is now the means most successfully used to secure office and remain in public life. Committees that meet in secret and party caucuses held behind closed doors restrict legislation strictly to such measures as are desired by 'special privilege,' or to manipulate and emasculate legislation made to conform to popular demand in the title clause only. The bosses know how, and they use their knowledge, when all other means fail, to so manipulate a disagreement between this body and the Senate as to completely avoid in conference such a compliance with the popular will as would in any degree benefit those who send us here and pay our public salaries.

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"The plain truth is that neither of the great dominant political parties, as at present led and manipulated by 'invisible government,' is fit to manage the destinies of a great people, and this fact is well understood by all who have had the time, and have used it to investigate. So far as these parties are concerned the people may truly say, 'For here is no continuing city, but we seek one to come.'

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BIG BUSINESS ON THE JOB.

"Enormously important problems will arise as a result of the wars. The trusts are determined to control these problems in their own favor, and use every adroit method to parade the machine officeholders as the only 'true Americans' in office. The Senate, being the smaller body, and practically having a veto on many problems that are presented that are of foreign concern, it is the body most sought by 'big business.' The Senate has become the seat of the most vicious political practices that politics makes possible. It is not, however, so much to get new laws and further special privileges that big business now so desperately seeks to control the Senate for an additional period. Big business needs no more laws, but it wants to control in order to prevent any laws from being passed in the interest of the people which would destroy the special privileges it already has. It frequently spends hundreds of thousands of dollars to elect to the Senate men whom it can control. It is important to know how it is done.

"I think there was a conflict in my own State over the office of Senator between two of the candidates, either of which in the absence of the other's candidacy would have been acceptable to 'big business.' One of these had been governor for a long time, and the special interests knew by his record that he would do nothing to disturb big business even if it were gathering in most of the profits from the work of the toilers. He had certainly done nothing to disturb them while he was governor. The other of the candidates that would be satisfactory was a trained and special attorney for many of the trusts."

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The primaries immediately at hand, enormous sums of money supplied by the Money Trust, Steel Trust, and other big business, to be tapped, to make it go the way the trusts wished. The typewriters, telegraph, the telephone, and all the other agencies were put to work simultaneously, and no time was left for the people to learn other than from those who had become interested through the channels described. The leadership of each organization, including the church, had different purposes in supporting the same man, and each expected to be satisfied, but the rank and file of the people who are the members will find that by following blindly the leadership, they have again placed their necks in the yoke of the influences that have created a Government by and for the trusts instead of by and for the people.

Wall Street market reports discussed a recent slump in stocks. It was claimed that the President had pledged to make good to the railways their loss for an eight-hour day by giving them an increase in freight rates and make the public pay the bill. Stocks fell, because it was claimed Wilson might be defeated; but this was soon offset by a counterstatement, as follows:

It did not seem to occur to the traders that the Democrats can go out only to make place for the Republicans, and that such a new administration would be friendly to big business. * * *

That is it exactly. That results in the end from partisanship rule. The leaders in both of these parties have been ruled by organized wealth. Partisanship government is wrong in principle, but it took time to demonstrate that in practice. I say this without reflection upon the individual citizen or the public official who is partisan, for after all, when one finds a condition which is too big and too strongly rooted for any one single handed, or less than a majority, to uproot, we can not condemn him for being partisan. But I do not deceive myself, nor wish to deceive any one else with the idea that there is any prospect of having fairness out of any partisan system. Furthermore, if the real facts were placed before all men and women, so they might see how they are deprived of the best advantages, it is not conceivable that they would continue to follow a system which inevitably leads to special favors. The revilers of human rights now supply the literature that conceals actual facts and conditions, and pretend that certain conditions exist that do not exist. Since the people do not supply their own literature, they accept what comes to them with doubts, but the doubt is so vague that not many have the time or opportunity to sort out from the common mass of literature the true from the sham. It is not the voters in the dominant parties who are subservient to organized wealth, but "big business" has employed tricks to fool the rank and file of the voters; so instead of electing officials to represent the people in their own interests, the voters have unwittingly elected men whom "big business" rules. Yes, the Wall Street market reports deal with the facts frankly as shown by the quotation. Hundreds of other such reports are available, but I will not cumber the records with them.

If this Government was administered for the people instead of for party leaders and organized wealth there would be no strikes to deal with. Strikes have no justification, except in the fact that organized wealth has violated the most sacred laws of government and perverted government into a rule for itself.

Under those conditions strikes are not only excusable when orderly, but are sometimes necessary. With partisan control, however, we can not rid ourselves of the rule by organized wealth. Organized wealth furnishes the "dough" for the dominant political party campaign committees. It thereby retains a "stand in" with the party leaders. It pays the campaign expenses of the candidates that it can depend upon and pays the subsidized press for booming them and for excoriating their opponents. The voters are so often deceived by this method that they elect a majority of the officials, who wittingly or unwittingly are ruled by organized wealth. Therefore "big business" gets practically what it wants and prevents the people getting what they need most.

No one who understands American politics need be ignorant of the purposes of the President's message in regard to the strike. No assurance is given to the American people in the message, when practical politics are taken into consideration. It is good enough in its appearance upon paper. It is committed to the eight-hour day, which, measured with any longer period, is right; but we would have the eight-hour day anyway, and the main effect of the President's intervention is to secure, if possible, an increase of commissioners on the Interstate Commerce Commission to consider a raise of freight rates—exactly what the railways are fighting for. Right there is the trap. If in enlarging the commission politics are played, as they were in the creation of the Federal Reserve Board, the commission would be packed with new commissioners who would take the view of organized wealth in making the adjustment. It will all be covered up by the "fine hand" of "big business," like the perfidity of the Federal reserve act was.

Before the passage of the Federal reserve act "big business" made the people believe that it was opposed, but has now hired all the prominent writers who would swerve their language for money to praise it and publish the articles. Since the passage of that act organized wealth feels secure. It has "Uncle Sam" in its grasp and the credit of the Nation to back its schemes. It owns the large banks, and they rule the Federal reserve banks. "Uncle Sam" gives them all the credit they want practically free. With the use of that credit they exploit the world and charge the American people the "freight."

I challenge anyone to present an argument with a grain of truth in it denying that American credit has been extended to Europe and other countries and made the excuse to keep the interest rates high in America. The big banks are robbing the railways by high interest rates, and the railways come to the Interstate Commerce Commission to have it jack up the freight rates. The big railway magnates own these big banks, so they can rob the smaller stockholders in the railway and at the same time appeal to the people for sympathy. You can see the game. It is all to increase the income for the big banks, and incidentally the railway dividends may get a little by increasing freight rates.

If the Wall Street bunch had not ruled for the last 30 or more years and had not engaged to have America supply materials and back up the credit of Europe to carry on the war, interest rates would now be less in America. Over $1,000,000,000 credit has recently been given to foreign lands, out of which sharp financiers scalped a big profit. But their direct profit is a mere bagatelle compared with the profit they make by keeping the interest rates high to American consumers of credit. As there are near $100,000,000,000 debts and stocks which the American people pay interest on, the sharp financiers find it to their advantage to juggle domestic and foreign credit. By juggling of credits they are able to keep the rates of interest 2 or 3 per cent above what they otherwise would be. At even 2 per cent it costs the American people an excess of $2,000,000,000 annually. The injustice of it is that this credit is supported by the very people to whom it is charged. It could not be done except for the deposits the people place in the banks, coupled with the Government backing the same speculators with the Government credit.

Organized wealth knows full well that Europe will be bankrupt when the war ends—in fact, is now. Europeans are now living largely upon products from American toil, for which but small pay will ever come back. We produce for them instead of for ourselves. It is our "system," or rather the one forced upon us. Bonds and notes of foreign countries gotten by sharp financiers are sold to American small investors. When the crash comes, as it will in a few years, organized wealth will have unloaded. It has already scalped its profits, so what does it care except to keep things smooth as long as there are other schemes to play before the public will be permitted to know.

Even organized wealth may get a jolt from Europe. Europe is trading its gold for our valuable products. About 1908, on the floor of this House, when the Aldrich-Vreeland monetary forces were doing the groundwork for the Federal reserve act, I suggested that Europe might see before America would that gold is not indispensable as a money, and might before we realized that unload its gold on us in exchange for our valuable products, and then demonetize gold. When the war closes we may find all the gold of the world on our hands or have contracts for it. We will be the big creditor nation, and instead of having used our vast products for Americans first, that we might have plenty and be happy, we will have parted with much of our goods, thus forcing the American consumers to pay billions of dollars more than they otherwise would, and the plain people still not have enough, and in payment we may find ourselves in possession of what Europe can by simple decree destroy the value of. All the rest of the world may demonetize gold and make American greed look like 10 cents.

There is a remedy for all this, but that remedy would not suit organized wealth. The remedy is Government ownership of the principal instruments of production and distribution; that is, the public utilities, the transportation, financial exchanges, facilities for the transfer of information, and insurance. With public ownership and operation of these there would be no such monopolies as exist now, and no 2 per cent of the population would own 60 per cent of the wealth as it is now.

There would be a development of business for the people themselves, not as speculators nor as the victims of speculators, but development along the lines of production for the use of the people. Why can we not be busy producing for ourselves to secure greater conveniences instead of for foreigners? We can increase and conserve our products for America first. No sane, thinking person can believe that we need a foreign field in which to sell our goods. For whatever we need from abroad we can easily exchange of what we have that foreigners need. That is all the foreign commerce that is worth anything to the American people. I realize that it will be said that we were not busy before the war commenced, and that we have been since, and that that is proof that we need foreign commerce. I admit that if we let organized wealth rule, as we have been doing, that they will let us work and produce just when it suits their selfish purposes, but that is no reason why we should not know that if Government and business were run on a system suited to all our needs, we would find ourselves in possession of the instrumentalities to keep most profitably busy all the time.

I do not make this statement as one to fully cover the social problems, but merely to call attention to some of the inconsistencies in our work here in Congress. I have simply called attention to some things that the subsidized press have never dared to discuss with any degree of liberality. But, Mr. Speaker, to merely think of these things will lead to nothing. I appeal to you and to my colleagues, but more particularly to the American people, to consider these remarks and certain other remarks which I recently extended, on invisible government and the consequences of it, not because they are my remarks but because I have assembled some facts that seriously present problems for the people to solve. The people of our own country are paying billions of dollars annually that amounts to simple extortion. I call attention to the money, transportation, war, and other trusts, united as they are, forming the "power behind" the "political machines" that is forcing us to build a Navy and create an Army, with the intention to use that Navy and Army in wars of conquest, and not primarily intended as preparedness for a defense of our national rights. It is, on the contrary, for the selfish purpose of promoting the schemes of organized wealth. Anyone who reads the evidence and examines the records and sees the signs everywhere visible knows that the people will have to be more alert than they have been heretofore if they prevent its going through. The evidence on which the Navy and Army bills were based prove that conclusively to any unprejudiced person. Nothing but an inordinate fear for the safety of the country can justify those who believe in "America first" to stand for the program. But that does not prevent organized wealth putting it over the people and finally making them believe that it was wise, because if they force us into wars, they will say, "Why, here you see how wise we were when we advised the Nation to go into the extraordinary expenditures to start with, for here we are in the awful throes of war, and what if we had not been prepared?"

Mr. Speaker, colleagues, and Americans everywhere, in the inception the remedy lies with the people. As a people we can not afford to be partisan any longer. The evidence has accumulated, and the proof is conclusive, that government by party simply means government run by leaders who are ruled by organized wealth. There is one way only to have a government of, by, and for the people, and that is for the voters to strike against partisan rule—the rule which means the few against

the many. If the voters continue to elect men to Congress and other high places who are in sympathy, thought, or association, either a part of, or under the influence of, organized wealth, it can only result in further increase in the cost of living and creation of a still greater financial imperialism. No one who loves his country or honors the Star-Spangled Banner, the flag of the brave and true, should allow himself to be lashed into party prejudice to help foist upon the United States the forces that now rule. In the name of that flag and for the people let us obliterate party lines when these important measures are presented, for the American people will place the country above party and vote for the men who stand by the people's cause.

Organized wealth keeps its eye on politics. It makes that a part of its business. It contributes liberally to the leading politicians whom it can rule, and these politicians, say to the voters, "Don't mix politics and business." "Big business" sees to it that it has control of the politicians, because that enables big business to control legislation to suit its business. It mixes politics with business. Look at its United States Chamber of Commerce. Look at all the civil and commercial clubs and associations that it has organized. Look at numerous other ways, too many to mention, it has for controlling politics and influencing legislation. Whenever any one tells the plain people upon the farms, in the shops, in the stores, and elsewhere, that they should not mix business with politics, they are simply the mouthpieces of organized wealth. The running of government is a real business matter, the most important business, and connects with all other business, and vitally effects the results of the work of everyone.

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**Address of Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, at the Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, at New York, August 20, 1916.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. PETER F. TAGUE,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. TAGUE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I will insert the speech of Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, before the American Federation of Catholic Societies, at New York, August 20, 1916:

[From the Boston Post, Monday, Aug. 21, 1916.]

CHURCH AMERICA'S BEST DEFENDER—STANDS ALWAYS FOR LIBERTY UNDER LAW, SAYS CARDINAL O'CONNELL—DEMANDS REAL LIBERTY.

NEW YORK, *August 20.*

Cardinal O'Connell, archbishop of Boston, spoke on the topic "Our Country" at the opening to-night of the convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. His address follows:

"OUR COUNTRY."

"A land, broad and fair and free, its shores washed by two mighty oceans; its giant mountains guarding priceless treasures; its trackless forests yielding the hoarded wealth of centuries; its mighty rivers bearing the fortunes of untold millions; its endless myriads of resources still but scarcely touched and beneath their surface boundless realms of prosperity and abundance; that is our country—that is what in our admiring love for it we, the children of this great Nation, are wont, with good reason, to call God's own country, America. No empty rhetoric is this; not fancy, but fact furnishes the reason of our enthusiasm for such a birthright as every citizen of America can call his very own.

"Were this a gathering of financiers eager for still greater wealth, of merchant princes yearning for still bigger markets, of adventurers sighing for still richer fields, the story of this country's material resources, of mines still hidden, of rivers still wasted, of railroads still unplanned, in a word, the recounting of the money power of all these things still waiting to be energized, would be a theme to thrill such an audience, eager to learn more and more of all of America's future and America's promise to those who can wrest her secrets from her and lead the way to her boundless treasure house.

"And yet, when all that fascinating story has been exhausted, the true core of the hold America has upon our faithful love still remains unrevealed. And so to those who like you here present are dominated not by mere material aims and hopes and selfish purposes, but by nobler and higher impulses and instincts and ideals, the enumeration of the sources of wealth of our country, while interesting enough to hear, will still leave you not unimpressed but almost apathetic and cold. And the reason is not far to seek.

MILLIONS BORN ONLY TO TOIL.

"For well you know that out of the teeming millions of our population few indeed will ever be asked to sit at the banker's desk; few, very few, will ever occupy a chair at the board meeting whose sole business is to count its wealth and make it grow to even larger proportions. By far the great bulk of the people in America, as elsewhere, will ever bear the burden of the day and the heat, and the unknown millions here, as in every other land, must daily bend to the weight of toil and labor, a toil and labor which well we know grow at times into a burden almost intolerable. Surely to these millions the story of the wealth and resources of America must have but a small fascination, since they know full well that they will never either see them or touch them or hold them.

"There is but one thing in all this world that for these millions of toilers can lighten their burden and lessen the weight of their labor. It is that sacred light shining through the gloom of the workman's life which converts its heavy burden into a joyous hope. It is that sacred spark of heavenly fire which, amid all the benumbing pettiness of a sordid life, gives him the courage and the spirit of life, his eyes to the level of every man, however far above him, with a sure sense of fundamental equality.

FREEDOM HIS HAPPINESS.

"It is the knowledge that he is a man as any other man, whatever his station; that he is neither chattel nor thing nor possession, but an individual, a person, free in body, in mind, and heart; in a word, the one thing that constitutes his earthly happiness is his freedom. That is the wealth dear to the human heart beyond all the kingdoms of the world. And that, more than all the treasures of this country, is the very heart and core of the love we all bear for America.

"It is because America is the home of freemen and because over all alike waves her sacred banner of liberty that we love her with a love next only to that we owe to the kingdom of God. It is because every man living on her sacred soil can say those three little words, 'I am free,' whether he be rich or poor; that whatever his race or color or creed, he can tread the earth upright and freely measure the power of his brain and the strength of his sinews with all the other millions of men about him; it is because he has a Government which he helps to make and an opportunity which he helps to create; that he is hemmed in by no legal disadvantage; that he is neither bondsman nor serf nor slave; it is because of this, and this alone, that every citizen of this land loves her with an undying love and strives for her stability and perpetuity.

NO MAN LAW TO HIMSELF.

"Take away freedom from a nation and what is all the rest? The deep mines of gold and silver and copper, the endless wealth of industries, with the comforts and luxuries they purchase, what are all these without freedom? Nothing, nothing, less than nothing. It is as if you had blinded a man and then in mockery bade him gaze at the beauty of the heavens. Even in a gilded cage the prisoner beats upon the bars, tears them and rends them, or dies still crying the heart-rending cry of the human soul—liberty.

"And what is liberty? Since it means so much to all human life that nothing can take its place or supplant it, it is well to study just what it is and what depends upon it. One thing we know is certain—that upon our answer hangs not only our own individual happiness but the very existence of America itself. For if it is true that America has given us liberty, it is truer still that liberty alone can preserve America. This is no paradox, but the simplest truth. Let us see. If by liberty is meant that every American is a law unto himself, then let me say here frankly and fearlessly that neither America nor any other land ever had the right to grant such liberty. For America, good as she certainly is, never has intended to be so good as to destroy herself. And nothing is more certain than this, that any nation granting to each man the right to be a law unto himself, that moment signs her own death warrant.

FREEDOM UNDER LAW.

"There certainly can be no need to labor this argument. Is there anyone in the whole land who does not see that under such terms of liberty there can be neither crime nor criminal, neither court nor prison, neither law nor lawgiver, nor property, nor rights, nor State, nor Government? Such liberty of America would mean her suicide. That much must be clear to everyone. And since we see all about us courts and legislatures, the officers of government, and the prisons for criminals, the clear interpretation must be that even American liberty means freedom with restraint, a freedom according to standards fixed and settled by law. Indeed, liberty and law must always go hand in hand.

"Now let me ask, since restraint must ever accompany true liberty, in what is a free man truly free? The only answer to that question is he is free for good, not for evil. And here we are at once before another all-important question—What is good and what is evil? And since it is the purpose of civilized government to answer that question in every statute it frames, we pass immediately to the dilemma, between the horns of which every organized State must finally be driven, either the absolutism of tyranny formulating its own inflexible decrees of right or wrong, and maintaining itself by force alone, or the divine right of justice resting upon the eternal principles of God and inscribed upon the Nation's statute books as the highest guide to all her citizens.

NO LAW WITHOUT GOD.

"This means, if it means anything at all, that as there can be no liberty without law there can be no law without God. And so every human being in search of liberty must inevitably accept one or another of these three things—absolute anarchy, absolute State tyranny of the law founded upon the eternal principles of Divine justice, either the whim of a tyrant resting alone on force of arms or sacred law founded upon the principles of religion, or no law at all. Let him seek and seek forever, but from this inexorable logic he can never hope to escape.

"It follows very clearly from this that the State which throws off religion must by inevitable necessity accept either anarchy or tyranny, and both end in utter destruction. No one who knows anything at all of past history can help seeing that this is the positive teaching of facts. The whole story of Rome and Greece and Assyria and Egypt point clearly to this one only conclusion. Every single one of them was founded on a religious basis of law. And whatever of strength they gathered or gained they wrested from popular faith in those principles. As in time the falsity of their superstition became manifest their false divinities were thrown to the winds. Yet utterly false as they were they lent some fundamental ideas of a spiritual responsibility to a power outside and above themselves.

WARNING VOICE OF HISTORY.

"So long as that idea of responsibility lasted it gave strength to authority and power to the nation. When the people discovered the folly of their own incredulity all authority went with it and anarchy was at the door. And soon luxury, effeminacy, avarice, and the whole family of human vices weakened every shadow of law, and the greatness and power of all these nations utterly disappeared. For a short while the tyranny of absolutism was substituted for the restraint, in which even their superstitions served to hold them. But soon the

tyrants met the usual fate of all tyrants, the door was suddenly wrenched open, the eternal enemy, the barbarian, stood in the threshold, and a great empire had fallen.

"It is a far cry from America to ancient Assyria and Egypt, and yet from out the graves of fallen empires the warning voice of history speaks even to this youngest of all the nations, our own America. But nearer, much nearer, comes many another warning. Not once, but a hundred times, have even the modern Christian nations learned the awful cost of that lack of eternal vigilance which alone can safeguard liberty.

EUROPE REAPS HARVEST.

"And even to-day poor, blood-drenched Europe, though she strive to hide even from her own eyes the true cause of this suicidal war, is at last thoroughly convinced that the Voltaires and the Vivians, the Haeckels and the Nietsches, the Tolstois and the Huxleys, the Kants and all the rest of that monstrous brood, who for now many years have impoisoned the thought and embittered the heart of the student youth, are now reaping their terrible but abundant harvest.

"The children before whose eyes the crucifix, the sign of renunciation and restraint, was torn from the wall of the schoolroom, and from whose little books the very name of God was blotted out in infamy, the generation trained in the selfish principle whose chief dogma was 'Let us live to-day for to-morrow we die,' are dying by the millions. And unless an all-merciful God soon rescues Europe, only a small fragment will be left to tell the story, the bitter, heart-rending story of how much sorrow and suffering it takes to lead a nation out from the blindness of infidelity up again to its ancient vision of God, of the law of Christ, and of the happiness of a Christian state.

THIS NATION ON TRIAL.

"No, the lessons are not far to seek; but who, even now, takes the pains to read them? Even to-day when all Europe is expiating its crime against God and its desertion of His law on every square of our great cities an apostle of open infidelity is shouting his gospel, his appeal to the millions. Freedom, freedom, is their cry and their shibboleth. Free thought, free life, free love, that is their trinity and their whole gospel. We know there are thousands—yes, hundreds of thousands—who are rushing to meet that cry—men who want neither law nor restraint nor government of any kind. Their conventicles are wide open, their existence is no secret. But there are millions—yes, millions, and the number is growing yearly—who though not openly joining their ranks have accepted their principles. Anyone who knows anything at all of this country must know that this is the actual condition of things; and knowing that, can he for one moment doubt that this Government and this Nation are on trial for their very life in a thousand tribunals all over the land?

LAYING AX TO ROOT OF TREE.

"Do you think that people like these, who have cast aside God and law, are merely looking calmly on while a few, by fair means or foul, are gathering in such wealth as even emperors have never dreamed? And do you think that the child whose only catechism teaches him that God is a myth, that property rights are legal robbery, and that marital laws are sheer nonsense, is going to grow up to-morrow an inactive witness of the intolerable conditions all about him? Do you think that he is not waiting for the day when he will be big enough and strong enough to put into violent practice the solemn lessons so sedulously taught him? Why the very streets of the whole Nation are filled with the cries of every manner of doctrine against organized society and all that it stands for and everything upon which it rests. Here under our very eyes the ax is being laid to the root of the tree. We have only to look to realize that the very cornerstone of our Government is menaced from a hundred different angles.

"If ever America needed the whole-hearted love of her children, it is to-day. If ever she needed to prepare, not merely to guard against attack from without, but more, a thousand times more, against dangers which threaten her very existence, it is to-day—dangers all the more insidious that they don the cap of freedom and clothe themselves in the garb of guardians of liberty.

CAN DEPEND ON CATHOLICS.

"I know there are thousands, yes millions, of our best citizens who see these dangers and are alert to their malicious and corrupting influences. But of all that vast array of those who love America upon none may she so surely and reliably depend in every need and emergency as upon the 18,000,000 Catholics, who are proud to be at the same time subjects of the kingdom of God on earth and citizens of America.

"It is not we Catholics, but the leaders of all the non-Catholic bodies who openly declare that Protestantism has lost its hold upon the masses—that every year hundreds of their churches are closed and those still left open are half empty. It is not we, but the Protestant leaders themselves who say that the descendants of those who a century ago held a living faith in God, in Christ, and in the tenets of their belief have in our own day drifted into open infidelity and skepticism that has eaten out the whole fabric of their faith.

"And if they who best know avow these things, then undoubtedly they must be true. And if this is true, then it means just one thing—that the moral fiber and the moral principles upon which alone this Government depends for its strength is just so much the weaker; and it is equally true that American liberty has just so many less to defend it and to safeguard it.

"We are making no accusations here—we are merely repeating the very words of hundreds of those who are recognized as leaders and prophets among their own coreligionists.

GROWTH OF CATHOLICISM.

"But side by side with these admissions is the other fact which we know, and which they all know quite as well as we: One of the startling phenomena of the age is the tremendous growth of Catholicism in America—a growth so startling and so impressive and so urgent that each year it taxes to the utmost capacity the ever-increasing number and size of the churches and the tireless labor of bishops and priests whose care it is to minister to them.

"And it is well for the present and future of America that this is so, for here at least is a religious organization upon whose sterling and steadfast worth she can absolutely rely as the very corner stone of law and order, the prop and support of government, and a bulwark against corrupting forces of anarchy and decay, of irreligion and infidelity.

"Look out over the whole field of the Nation's activity and tell me what other organization in that whole field has her experience in dealing with the great masses of the people. What other organization has won as she has, and as she to-day right here in America possesses, the full confidence and loyalty and respect of the general population? Why are her churches forever overcrowded and her ministers forever overworked? Surely there must be an answer to this question.

NO GOVERNMENT OWNS CHURCH.

"Ask the ordinary man in the street and he will tell you it is because no government owns her, but all government needs her. It is because she will minister to the rich, but not one nor a thousand capitalists can purchase her or dominate her. It is because she holds the rich to a moral reckoning, and the richer and more powerful they are the less she flinches. It is because in a world which has gone mad for wealth she stands by the poor. It is because even from the poor she can still exact duty and virtue. It is because, though she loves all the outcasts and victims of the selfish world she can unflinchingly make them throw down the arms of vengeance and take up the cross.

"It is because she loves even the blackest sinner and sends to his knees the false-hearted pharisee. It is because before her altar all men are equal, not in words but in very truth. It is because not one of the 20,000,000 who in America call her by the tender name of mother, but knows that, though all the world forsake him, whether in shame or disgrace, in sorrow or in black despair, her arms are always open, through the whole day and through the darkest night, in love to his embrace, to strengthen him, to guide him, to comfort him. It is because of all the whole world he has found her alone always the same.

INFLUENCE OVER HEARTS OF MEN.

"These and a hundred other motives, if you care to listen, the man in the street will give you as the reason for the church's hold upon the people and the people's unwavering affection for the church. And this wonderful and universal influence over the hearts of men is the reason why no one who has the welfare of the whole people at heart can afford to ignore her.

"We are well aware of the suspicions with which she is regarded, the jealousy which her influence arouses. To the suspicious she answers, 'Here are my principles, read them; they are no secret, but the same for all alike.' And to those jealous of her influence she replies, 'Is thy eye evil because I am good?' Though her enemies and those who distrust her ask her brutally, 'What do you want, and what are you after here?' she answers frankly, honestly, and sincerely, 'Nothing but liberty. We want only what is our right, the right of every legitimate organization in this whole country; no more, no less.'

DEMANDS PERFECT LIBERTY.

"'We are strengthening your hand as a Nation by strengthening the moral fiber of the whole people. We teach them to love America even when often they can see small reason for unselfish affection. We teach them to obey your laws and respect your authorities; we care nothing for your mines, your wealth, or your riches. We are neither a trust nor a syndicate who seek to control your franchises or exploit your resources. We inculcate truest patriotism, founded upon divine law. We are here to help men to keep alive the light of their souls, the hope of heaven, the love of God. That and that alone is why we are working here. And for that we demand and insist upon our perfect liberty—a liberty which in the end brings far more help to you than you can summon from any other organization living under your flag.

"'We have not committed to this country the safeguarding of our lives, our fortunes, our property with any other understanding than that in return for our loyalty you guarantee us protection in what to us is the most essential of all human rights—religious liberty.

"'We ask no favor. Your protection of our liberty is no favor—it is a part of this dual contract between our country and ourselves. We pledge ourselves to keep our part—see to it that you keep yours as sacredly. We have a right, an unquestionable right, to legitimate representation in all the affairs of the country. If you discriminate against us you are not keeping your contract; we are not getting true liberty.

NOT TRUE LIBERTY.

"'If because a citizen is a Catholic a thousand plausible pretexts are set out to discard him and discredit him in your cabinets and your courts, you are not keeping your contract; this is not liberty. If you stand by inactive while under your very eyes—yes; through your very mails which we pay for—we are insulted, scurrilously maligned and openly villified, in filthy journals and nasty, indecent literature, unfit to be printed or read, spread broadcast that dupes and bigots may be poisoned against us, so that we may be robbed even of our public rights, then you are not keeping your contract; this is not liberty.

"'You are only wounding the hand, the strongest hand held out to help you; you are spurning the aid of those who again and again you have found in your hour of direst need the most willing to die for you.'

"Oh, yes; we know very well the whole litany of accusations against us. We give only a divided allegiance. We are scheming for government. These are all lies so patent that they need no answer. Indeed, those who fling them out will never listen to any answer. But I am going to answer them once and forever here to-night.

"As a cardinal I may be supposed to know what I am saying on this subject. And on my word as a gentleman of honor I am speaking the simple, absolute truth.

"I have known intimately, personally, and officially three sovereign pontiffs—three Popes of the Catholic Church. I am a priest now 32 years; I am a bishop 15 years, and a cardinal 5 years. I have had the closest relations with not only the Pope but the whole Roman cura. I know well every priest in my diocese and every bishop in this country. Yet never, never in all that experience have I ever heard spoken, lisped, or whispered, or even hinted, by any or all of these anything concerning America and American institutions but words of affection, of tender and kindliest solicitude for her welfare; never a syllable that could not be printed in the boldest type and distributed throughout the land; neither plot nor scheme nor plan; but only sentiments of admiration and love. If there is plotting I ought to know it. Yet absolutely and honestly of such things I have never heard even a whisper.

"This is my answer to all these insinuations. That I know the truth, I think, no one will deny; that after such a pledge I am still concealing the truth, that I must leave to those who, I repeat, will never listen to my answer.

ALLEGIANCE NOT DIVIDED.

"The Catholic civil allegiance divided? Why, look across the sea, to where all Europe is in arms. Every Catholic is fighting loyally, giving his very life for his own country. And though some of these countries have merited little gratitude from any Catholic, still the very priests are in the trenches, each a defender of his native land. Where, I ask of any honest witness of these facts under his very eyes, where is

this divided civil allegiance? And the Pope—is there one in this country who, after this war, will ever dare to accuse the Pope of interference in civil affairs or of weakening the loyalty of citizens?

"Behold him, the universal father of the faithful, looking out over all the world, and weeping and praying for the peace of all the nations, offering solace and counsel to all alike—a lonely, pathetic figure like Christ—begging the world to listen that he may heal all and help all. The world knows the truth to-day of the position of the Pope in relation to all the nations. Not another word is needed.

"Our country—the land which above all others we love most—God keep you free from such enemies, the worst of all that confronts you, whose hate would rob your most faithful sons of that for which they love you—liberty, true liberty, blessed holy liberty—the freedom to worship God.

"Beyond our lives we love our faith, and with these same lives we stand ready to defend the land which gives us liberty.

PURPOSE OF FEDERATION.

"These are the sentiments of every Catholic throughout the land, these the sentiments of every member of the Catholic Federation of America. It is that these sentiments may be better understood and more widely known that the federation exists and works and strives.

"This great metropolis may well be proud of this gathering here to-night; yes, and America may well thank God that the Catholic Church, heeding neither malice nor slander, goes peacefully along her glorious way, fortifying the souls of men with the hope of a blessed immortality, and building up the strength of the nations as she passes. For they who adore the King of Kings and recognize His dominion over all the world are always they who also learn to bow reverently to the just mandates of earthly authority.

"Such, America, is your good fortune—that while from a thousand sides your very existence is threatened by false and pernicious principles, the Catholic Church and this Catholic federation stand ever ready in your defense by safeguarding the sanctity of law and the sacred principles of government.

"The Catholic Church and all her children abiding here love America with a sacred and undying love for the liberty she has promised to secure for her. Let America also learn to love the Catholic Church and Catholic federation as the stanchest safeguard of American liberty."

## Speech of Theodore Roosevelt.

"I come to advocate the election of Charles E. Hughes as President of the United States, and the election of a Senate and House of Representatives to support him, and to give some of the reasons why in my judgment it would be a grave misfortune for the people of the United States to reelect Mr. Wilson."

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JOHN R. FARR,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House, I insert in the RECORD the speech of Theodore Roosevelt, made at Lewiston, Me., Thursday evening, August 31, 1916, as follows:

SPEECH OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

I come here to Maine to advocate the election of Charles E. Hughes as President of the United States, and the election of a Senate and House of Representatives to support him, and to give some of the reasons why in my judgment it would be a grave misfortune for the people of the United States to reelect Mr. Wilson.

I make no merely partisan appeal. I ask the support of all good citizens for our cause. I ask the support of all good Americans. And I not merely ask, but demand as a matter of right, that every citizen voting this year shall consider the question at issue from the standpoint of America, and not from the standpoint of any other nation.

The root idea of American citizenship, the necessary prerequisite for patriotic service at home and for service to mankind at large is that there shall be in our citizenship no dual allegiance. There must be no divided loyalty between this country and the country from which any of our citizens, or the ancestors of any of our citizens, have come. The policy of the United States must be shaped with a view to two conditions only: First, with a view to the honor and interest of the United States; and, second, with a view to its interest of the world as a whole. It is therefore our high and solemn duty both to prepare our own strength so as to guarantee our own safety and also to treat every foreign nation in any given crisis as its conduct in that crisis demands. The citizen who does not so act, and who endeavors to shape America's policy in the interest of the country from which he or his ancestors have sprung, is no true American, and has no moral right to citizenship in this country. Any attempt to organize American citizens along politico-racial lines is a foul and evil thing. Any organization of American citizens which acts in the interest of a foreign power is guilty of moral treason to the Republic. It is because of such action that I condemn those professional German-Americans who in our politics act as servants and allies of Germany, not as Americans interested solely in the honor and welfare of America; and I would condemn just as quickly English-Americans or French-Americans or Irish-Americans who acted in such manner.

Americanism is a matter of the spirit, of the soul, of the mind; not of birthplace or creed.

WE CARE NOTHING AS TO WHERE ANY MAN WAS BORN

or as to the land from which his forefathers came, so long as he is whole-heartedly and in good faith an American and nothing else. If the man is a good American, we care nothing as to his creed, whether he be Protestant, Catholic, or Jew; we care nothing whether his ancestors came over in the *Mayflower*, or whether he himself was born in England or Ireland, in France or Germany, in Scandinavia or Russia. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were men who were born abroad; and in every great period of American history the Americans who deserved best of their country have included men of different creeds, men whose ancestors had for generations lived on this soil, and other men who themselves, or whose parents, had come from some of the lands of the Old World. But all these men alike acted as Americans and nothing else, and with an undivided loyalty to this Nation, and not with a half loyalty to this Nation and a half loyalty to some Old World nation.

During the last two years we have seen an evil revival in this country of non-American and anti-American division along politico-racial lines; and we owe this primarily to the fact that President Wilson has lacked the courage and the vision to lead this Nation in the path of high duty, and by this lack of affirmative leadership has loosened the moral fiber of our people, has weakened our national spirit, and has encouraged the upgrowth within our own borders of separatism along the lines of racial origin. When our own Government so acted as to bring shame on all our people, it shook the spirit of loyalty among those to whom it was vital that loyalty should be taught. Full-hearted allegiance is shattered by the government that fails to uphold the honor and interest of the nation by immediate and effective action when the lives of its citizens are menaced or taken by foreign powers.

THE CAUSE OF PREPAREDNESS THE CAUSE OF AMERICANISM.

The cause of preparedness is inseparably connected with the cause of Americanism, of patriotism, of whole-hearted loyalty to this Nation, and to all for which all the great men of this Nation in the past have stood. The events of the last two years have made it evident that the dreams of the professional pacifists were not merely dreams, but nightmares, so far as the unfortunate nations who trusted them were concerned. Moreover, in practice these pacifists have shown not only utter futility, but moral baseness. They have not only been helpless to defend themselves, but they have been so anxious to save their own skins that they have not dared to say one word against triumphant wrong and in favor of the right that was crushed by the wrong. There are few things more revolting than such an attitude when taken by professional moralists.

As the world now is, our great free democracy must understand that unless it can protect itself by its own strength—and its strength is not strength at all unless it is carefully trained in advance—it will sooner or later suffer the fate that China is suffering before our eyes. Thanks to the fact that President Wilson has sometimes led us wrong, and sometimes not led us at all, and that at the best he has merely followed afar off when convinced that it was politically safe to do so, we are at this moment no more prepared to defend ourselves than we were two years ago when the world war broke out. At last we have begun the work of restoring our Navy to the position it formerly held;

BUT IT WILL TAKE YEARS TO UNDO THE HARM DONE

when in 1910 the Democratic Party gained control of the House and stopped upbuilding the Navy; and it is entirely impossible to make the Navy what it should be made as long as we have a President who appoints and retains at its head a public official of the type of Mr. Daniels. Our Regular Army should be increased to a quarter of a million men, with a short-service term of enlistment; this would give us a mobile army of 125,000 men, enough to patrol the Mexican border without help from the National Guard, when Mr. Wilson halts between feeble peace and feeble war. But this is not enough. The events of the past two years have shown that no people can permanently preserve its freedom unless that people is trained to arms. Above all, this is true of a democracy. The enjoyment of right must go hand in hand with the performance of duty. Universal suffrage

can not be justified unless it connotes the performance by every voter of full duty to the State both in peace and in war. The man who refuses to fit himself to fight in righteous war for his country is not fit to vote in that country. We should follow the examples of the free democracies of Switzerland and Australia. There should be in this country a system of universal obligatory military training in time of peace, and in time of war universal service in whatever capacity the man or woman shall be judged most fit to serve the Commonwealth.

The policies of Americanism and preparedness, taken together, mean applied patriotism. There should be correlation of policy and armament. Our first duty as citizens of the United States is owed to the United States. But if we are true to our principles we must also think of serving the interests of mankind at large. In addition to serving our own country, we must shape the policy of our country so as to secure the cause of international righteousness, fair play, and humanity. Our first duty is to protect our own rights; our second to stand up for the rights of others. President Wilson has signally failed to perform either duty.

THEY CAN BE PERFORMED ONLY BY DEED.

Words alone are useless. But, above all, fine words about abstract qualities which are contradicted by unworthy deeds in concrete cases are much worse than useless, because they teach us habits of hypocrisy, and because they cause other nations to regard us with utter contempt. President Wilson, in his Decoration Day speech, said:

We hold dear the principle that small and weak States have as much right to their sovereignty and independence as large and strong nations.

These were the fine words. They were spoken about the abstract. When it became his duty to reduce them to deeds in the concrete Mr. Wilson immediately flinched. The case of Belgium exactly met his definition. It was a small and weak State (and a highly civilized and well-behaved State). Its "right to sovereignty and independence" was trampled under foot by a neighboring "large and strong nation." But as soon as the need for deeds arose Mr. Wilson forgot all about "the principle he held dear." He promptly announced that we should be "neutral in fact as well as in name, in thought as well as in action," between the small, weak, unoffending nation and the large, strong nation which was robbing it of its sovereignty and independence. Such neutrality has been compared to the neutrality of Pontius Pilate. This is unjust to Pontius Pilate, who at least gently urged moderation on the wrongdoers. The President's fine words were used merely to cloak ignoble action and ignoble inaction. All Americans proud of their country should keenly resent the wrong he thereby did their country.

As an American with exceptional international knowledge has said:

* * * A single official expression by the Government of the United States, a single sentence denying assent and recording disapproval of what Germany did in Belgium, would have given to the people of America that leadership to which they were entitled in their earnest groping for the light. It would have ranged behind American leadership the conscience and morality of the neutral world. It would have brought to American diplomacy the respect and strength of loyalty to a great cause. But it was not to be. The American Government failed to rise to the demands of the great occasion. * * *

At this moment Mr. Wilson and Mr. Wilson's fuglemen advance as his greatest claim that "he has kept us out of war." This claim can be seriously made only by individuals who indorse President Wilson's belief that deeds are nothing and words everything. War means a clash between the armed forces of two countries. Nowadays—thanks quite as much to the professional pacifists as to the militarists—it means, furthermore, the destruction of the lives of civilians and the property of civilians, as well as the property of the Government. Under President McKinley we had a war with Spain. Under President Wilson we are assured that we have had "peace" with Mexico. These are the words. Now for the deeds. During the War with Spain fewer Americans were killed by the Spaniards than have been killed by Mexicans during the present "peace" with Mexico. Let me repeat this. A greater number of

AMERICANS HAVE BEEN KILLED BY MEXICANS

during these years, when we are officially informed that we have been at peace with them, than were killed by the Spaniards during our entire War with Spain. Moreover, when the War with Spain was through it was through. But peace still continues to rage as furiously as ever in Mexico. Nor is this all. The instant effect of the outcome of the War with Spain was to put a stop to the dreadful butchery and starvation in Cuba and the Philippines, and the entry of both Cuba and the Philippines on a career of 18 years of peace and prosperity such as they have never known before in all their checkered history. But during these three years of Mr. Wilson's "peace" the Mexicans themselves have been butchered by their own bandits steadily and without intermission; and Mexican women and children have died by thousands—probably by scores of thousands—of starvation and of the diseases incident to starvation. In other words,

MR. M'KINLEY'S WAR COST LESS BLOODSHED

than Mr. Wilson's peace; and it reflected high honor on the American people; whereas Mr. Wilson's peace has been one of shame and dishonor for the American people, and one of ruin and bloodshed for the Mexicans themselves.

Mr. Wilson says we have had peace with Mexico. He says he did not wage war with Mexico. If he takes any comfort out of this denial, let us not insist upon the proper terminology, and admit that he merely waged peace with Mexico. Well, as one incident of his waging peace, we took Vera Cruz. Some 75 men wearing the American uniform were killed and wounded, and three or four times that number of Mexicans. In Mr. McKinley's war we took Manila, and Dewey's fleet lost fewer men in the operation that resulted in the fall of Manila than were lost in the taking of Vera Cruz. Under these conditions, of what earthly consequence is it to assert that the taking of Vera Cruz was an act of peace and the taking of Manila an act of war? Only by a misuse of terminology, only by the use of an incorrect nomenclature can we distinguish one military operation from the other.

The real difference was that Mr. Wilson became frightened and abandoned Vera Cruz, whereas Mr. McKinley did not abandon Manila. Mr. Wilson's operations were war just as much as Mr. McKinley's. But Mr. Wilson was beaten in his war. It was a war which was entered into pointlessly and abandoned ignobly; it was a war which failed; a war which did damage both to the Mexicans, and ourselves and which in its outcome reflected infinite dishonor upon our Nation. But it was a war nevertheless.

Again, in March last, Villa made a raid into American territory. He was a bandit leader whose career of successful infamy had been greatly aided by Mr. Wilson's favor and backing. He was at the head of Mexican soldiers whose arms and ammunition had been supplied to them in consequence of

MR. WILSON'S REVERSING MR. TAFT'S POLICY

and lifting the embargo against arms and munitions into Mexico. They attacked Columbus, N. Mex., and killed a number of civilians and a number of United States troops. On the next day the President issued an announcement that adequate forces would be sent in pursuit of Villa "with the single object of capturing him." On April 8 the announcement was made from the White House that the troops would remain in Mexico until Villa was captured. It was furthermore announced in the press dispatches from Washington that he was to be taken "dead or alive." Fine words! Only—they meant nothing. He is not dead. He has not been taken alive.

On May 12 the pursuit of Villa was formally abandoned. On June 1 the official figures of the dead and wounded during this futile expedition were published and they showed that the killed and wounded included

116 UNITED STATES SOLDIERS

and 95 American civilians. Since then the Mexicans have killed many more. I notice, for example, in the press that at Decatur, Ala., there has just been buried Claude Bates, an American soldier, who died July 24 of wounds received two days previously in a fight with Mexican bandits. Every week I have seen press statements of the killing of American Regular soldiers or American civilians on the border. I do not know the total number of these killings since June 1, but they include the Carrizal massacre. However, even before June 1, in this futile expedition against Villa, more Americans had been killed and wounded than in all the fights by land and sea during the Spanish War, save only the Battle of Santiago itself. In other words, during this murderous "peace" of Messrs. Wilson and Carranza, in less than three months

MORE AMERICAN BLOOD WAS SHED

than in the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila, and than in the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Santiago, and than in the taking of Manila, and than in the fight at Guasimas; in short, in all the operations combined during the Spanish War, save only the actual Battle of Santiago itself. And yet there are persons who seemingly take comfort in speaking of one set of operations as being war, and who praise the other set as being part of our "policy of peace"—the blood-stained peace of Messrs. Wilson and Carranza.

You do not have to accept my statement of conditions in Mexico. Accept the official statement of President Wilson's

Secretary of State to Carranza on June 20 last, which runs as follows:

For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties accumulated by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered nonproductive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will throughout the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment, or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests have been taken, in some cases barbariously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war. It would be tedious to recount instance after instance,

OUTRAGE AFTER OUTRAGE, ATROCITY AFTER ATROCITY,

to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread condition of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the last nine months in particular the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of the frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized. American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed and their equipment and horses stolen, American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered.

The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso post office, and Las Palades, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory Carranzista adherents, and even Carranzista soldiers, took part in the looting, burning, and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated.

And this is Mr. Wilson's own official account of the "peace" he has secured in Mexico! In this official statement President Wilson gives the final result of his policy in Mexico for the past three years. I call your attention to the fact that he states that the attacks on the four enumerated American towns in September last were "typical," and says that—

In these attacks on American territory there were Carranzista adherents and Carranzista soldiers, who took part in the burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated.

President Wilson therefore explicitly shows that the Carranzistas, not once but repeatedly, made attacks on American towns and killed American citizens and mutilated them in September, 1915. Yet on October 19, 1915, less than a month later, this same President Wilson, through his same Secretary of State, formally announced to Carranza's agent that it was his "pleasure" to take the opportunity "of extending recognition to the de facto government of Mexico, of which Gen. Venustiano Carranza is the chief executive." President Wilson thus recognized the government which, his own Secretary of State declares, had been less than a month previously engaged in repeated assaults upon Americans and in the invasion of American soil, the Government at whose head was Gen. Carranza, who, less than two months previously, on August 2, 1915, had contemptuously refused to pay any heed to any representations of President Wilson on behalf of mediation, saying that "under no consideration would I permit interference in the internal affairs of Mexico." President Wilson did not merely kiss the hand that slapped him in the face; he kissed that hand when it was

RED WITH THE BLOOD OF AMERICAN MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN

who had been murdered and mutilated with, as President Wilson, through his Secretary of State, says, "ruthless brutality."

In all this shameful history of Mr. Wilson's dealings with Mexico during the past three years nothing has been more shameful than his conduct at Tampico.

At that time the particular bandit Mr. Wilson was favoring happened to be Villa. This, however, is of no consequence. Mr. Wilson has sometimes helped the different Mexican leaders of bandits against one another; now Villa against Huerta; now Carranza against Villa; but he has never stood up effectively for American rights against any of them. When he has ventured to take action against any of them, he has always hastily abandoned the attempt as soon as the resistance by the bandit involved became serious.

At Tampico there was a general movement of attack by the Mexicans on Americans and other foreigners. We had a squadron of American warships in the neighborhood. The Wilson administration declined to permit this squadron to be used to defend the lives of American men and the honor of American women, and the commanders of the German and English ships at Tampico had to step in and perform the task our representative had so basely abandoned. At the very time that the Mexican mob had surrounded the building in which the Americans had taken refuge and was howling for their blood the American fleet, in spite of the protests of the American naval commander and in accordance with wireless orders from Washington, was forced to steam out of the harbor and

LEAVE THE AMERICANS TO BE MASSACRED

by the Mexicans or rescued by the Germans or English. The case has been set forth in full and without successful contradiction by an expert in naval matters, Mr. Reuterdahl. I wish to say with all gravity and in all seriousness that in this case the offense of the murderous Mexican mob was not as serious as the offense of the American administration.

On August 27, 1913, President Wilson said with marked oratorical effect: "We shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who can not get away from Mexico." "Vigilant watching"—"watchful waiting"—the phrase matters nothing; for there never is any deed to back it up. Three years have passed since the date of this oration; three years of incessant elocution on the part of Mr. Wilson; three years of repeated invocations to humanity and peace by Mr. Wilson; and Mr. Wilson still continues to "vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who can not get away." There are not many of them left now. Hundreds have been killed, and Mr. Wilson has watched their fortunes as disinterestedly as if they had been rats pursued by terriers. This administration has displayed no more feeling of responsibility for the American women who have been raped, and for the American men, women, and children who have been killed in Mexico, than a farmer shows for the rats killed by his dogs when the hay is taken from a barn. And now the American people are asked to sanction this policy in the name of peace, righteousness, and humanity.

Throughout this time President Wilson, in pursuance of the policy he enunciated in his message to Congress in December, 1914,

HAS KEPT THIS COUNTRY UNPREPARED TO FIGHT

any foreign foe. But he has allowed all of the factions in Mexico to prepare themselves to kill American soldiers and American civilians. In his message above quoted he says that he will "follow the best practice of nations in matters of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms and munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico." This was on August 27, 1913. On February 2, 1914, he changed his mind—Mr. Wilson may have a single-track mind, but, as has been remarked, in that event he possesses unexampled switching facilities—and lifted the embargo on arms and munitions. On February 5 the papers published the news of the great rush of arms and ammunition across the border to the Mexican armies. A couple of hundred of American soldiers, sailors, and civilians were killed or wounded during the next two months. And on April 23, 1914,

MR. WILSON AGAIN CHANGED HIS MIND

and ordered that the embargo on arms be restored. But on May 15 he changed his mind again, and the embargo was lifted so far as shipments to Tampico and other Mexican ports were concerned. On May 27 the cargoes of arms which we had refused to allow to land at Vera Cruz were accordingly landed elsewhere and sent to Huerta, while on June 2 the Carranzistas got theirs through Tampico. On September 9 the embargo was lifted everywhere, and during the next few months military supplies of all kinds crossed the border for all of the Mexican factions.

On October 29, 1915, when all the factions had been amply supplied, Mr. Wilson again restored the embargo as to all factions excepting the Carranzistas. On October 29 last, therefore, Mr. Wilson specifically permitted arms to be sent the adherents of the very same Carranza, who according to his own Secretary of State, in the month of September, 30 days previous, on four specific occasions, invaded American territory and butchered American citizens, mutilating them before or after death. On the date when this embargo was thus raised the names of 276 Americans who had been murdered had been officially placed on file. How many others had been murdered can not at present be told.

President Wilson took Vera Cruz in 1914, as we were officially informed at the time, to get a salute for the flag, and to prevent the shipment of arms into Mexico. He did not get his salute. He did not prevent the shipment of arms,

BUT SEVERAL HUNDRED MEN WERE KILLED OR WOUNDED.

And then he brought the Army home without achieving either object. President Wilson sent an army into Mexico in 1916, as we were informed at the time, to get Villa "dead or alive." They did not get him dead. They did not get him alive. Again several hundred men were killed and wounded. Again President Wilson is bringing the Army home without achieving his object. Of course it is a mere play upon words to say that these were not "wars." They were wars and nothing else; ignoble, pointless, unsuccessful little wars; but wars. They cost

millions of dollars and hundreds of lives, squandered to no purpose; they accomplished nothing, but they were wars. And yet Mr. Wilson's defenders say that he "has kept us out of war." As a matter of fact, his policy in Mexico has combined all the evils of feeble peace with all the evils of feeble war. He has secured none of the benefits of war, but he has not avoided war.

HE HAS SACRIFICED THE HONOR AND THE INTEREST

of the country, but he has not received the 30 pieces of silver. In fact, when Mr. Wilson forgets himself he admits that we have been at war; for example, on May 11, 1914, in an address over the dead marines at the navy yard in Brooklyn—in which, by the way, he in effect claimed sympathy on the ground that his feelings had been as much lacerated by sneers as the bodies of the dead men by bullets—he said that the marines had been engaged in a "war of service." A war of service to whom or what? Certainly not to the United States nor to Mexico nor to humanity at large. Was it to Mr. Wilson?

As it is with "war" so it is with "intervention." President Wilson has again and again said he would not "intervene" in Mexico. As a matter of fact, he has intervened continuously. On January 8, 1915, he announced that the Mexicans had the right to "spill blood," to spill as much blood as they pleased, without interference. The fact that the blood they were spilling included the blood of American citizens, both soldiers and civilians—and among them women and children—evidently did not weigh with him. On December 10, 1915, he said that it was "None of our business what the Mexicans did with their government, and so long as I have the power to prevent it nobody shall butt in to alter it for them." Yet at that very time he had been "butting in" for two years, and he has been "butting in" ever since; and he has avowed that he wished to alter it for them in all kinds of ways, from land tenures up and down. But as he never followed any policy of either intervention or nonintervention with any resolution,

ALWAYS YIELDING AT THE CRITICAL MOMENT

to some bandit chief of whom he became fearful, both his spasms of intervention and his spasms of nonintervention have alike been entirely futile. In August, 1913, he sent a special envoy to Mexico to tell Huerta he would not recognize him. He announced this himself in a note in October, and on December 2 he announced he would not deal with the Huerta government. This was intervention and nothing else. It was such intervention as if, in 1877, some European Government had declined to recognize Hayes as President and insisted upon the seating of Tilden. Mr. Wilson intervened when he backed Villa against Huerta; he intervened when he turned against Villa and recognized Carranza.

At one time Mr. Wilson's policy of intervention produced such unhappy results that on June 2, 1915, he issued a formal warning to the Mexican factions, in which he said that "Mexico is apparently no nearer a solution of her tragical troubles than she was when the revolution was first kindled. She has been swept by civil war as if by fire. Her crops are destroyed, her cattle confiscated, her people flee to the mountains to escape being drawn into unavailing bloodshed, and no man seems to see or lead the way to peace and settled order. There is no proper protection either for her own citizens or for the citizens of other nations resident and at work within her territory. Mexico is starving and without a government." A delightful picture of the effects of Mr. Wilson's policy, by the way! He therefore tells Mexico that unless "within a very short time" the Mexican leaders get together for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country the United States "will be constrained to decide what means should be employed" to deal with the situation. But, as usual with Mr. Wilson, this solemn warning

MEANT PRECISELY AND EXACTLY NOTHING,

and the Carranzistas and Villistas and the rest knew that it meant precisely nothing. They knew that Mr. Wilson would either not back up his words by deeds at all or else that he would back them up so feebly that by a sufficient show of resistance he could be forced to abandon his purpose.

Some of the defenders of Mr. Wilson, in answer to Mr. Hughes's merciless indictment of Mr. Wilson's course, have sought to justify Mr. Wilson by attempting to turn the whole issue on the character of Huerta, who was the de facto President when Mr. Wilson became President of the United States. They ask Mr. Hughes, "Would you have recognized Huerta?" The answer is that any one of several courses could have been adopted, provided only that the course adopted had been followed with resolution and with full acceptance of the responsibility involved.

There was much to be said in favor of the policy of recognizing Huerta and avoiding intervention. There was also much to be said in favor of the policy of refusing to recognize Huerta, which was intervention, and then of fully accepting the responsibility implied in intervention. But there is nothing to be said in favor

OF WABBLING BETWEEN THE TWO POLICIES

and neither recognizing Huerta nor accepting the responsibility for the chaos caused by failure to recognize him. Yet this was the course Mr. Wilson followed.

There was no excuse for the recognition of Carranza, in view of Mr. Wilson's failure to recognize Huerta. All the objections to Huerta applied with greater force to Carranza. Mr. Wilson's apologists say that Huerta was the murderer of Mexicans. But Mr. Wilson himself, as quoted above, has shown that

CARRANZA WAS THE MURDERER OF AMERICANS.

Therefore Mr. Wilson treats the murder of Mexicans as a bar to recognition, but not the murder of both Americans and Mexicans. And now, having condoned the repeated murders of Americans by the Carranzistas, and having abased himself before Carranza, and having aided in placing Carranza in power, what is Mr. Wilson's reward, and who pays it? The reward is that Mr. Wilson has to place 150,000 troops on the border to partially prevent the raids and murders that his friend Mr. Carranza will not or can not prevent; and the payment is made by the soldiers who are slain and by the families of the guardsmen who go in want because their husbands and fathers have been called to the border to make good Mr. Wilson's refusal to let the Regular Army administer such punishment to the bandits as to inspire in them a healthy fear. Instead, Mr. Wilson's course has been such as to encourage them into a feeling of boastful impunity. Mr. Wilson's course has been precisely like that of a police commissioner who declined to permit his policemen to use their night sticks against burglars and instead insisted that the householders should sit up all night so as to scare the burglars away.

It should be a cardinal rule of conduct in international as in individual affairs never to hit if hitting can possibly be avoided, but never under any circumstances to hit soft. Mr. Wilson has been engaged in continual hitting, but he has always hit soft, and whenever his opponent has hit back he has promptly dropped his arms, stopped hitting, and taken refuge in platitudes about peace, nonintervention, and humanity. Where, however,

HIS OPPONENT WAS SUFFICIENTLY WEAK,

as in the case of Haiti, he has dropped these platitudes and has (with "blood spilling") intervened. Haiti did not behave as badly to us as Mexico behaved; but Mr. Wilson intervened, fought the Haitians, shedding their blood and the blood of our troops, took possession, and now has our armed forces in control of Haiti and directing its government. His course of action in Haiti can be defended only if his course of action in Mexico is unqualifiedly condemned, for such action was far more needed in Mexico than in Haiti. But there was a difference in the two cases, and to Mr. Wilson it was a vital difference. Haiti was weaker than Mexico. No one was afraid of Haiti.

It is not a pleasant task to point out these lamentable failures in our foreign policy during the last few years. If they were unimportant to the Nation, if they only affected Mr. Wilson personally, I would gladly keep silent about them. If they were isolated and exceptional, I would pass them by; but they are

TYPICAL OF THE POLICY OF DRIFT

to which this Nation has been committed during these great and terrible years when we have needed at the helm a firmer hand than at any other time since the Civil War. If the policy of drift is sanctioned by the Nation and is permitted for a sufficient length of time, we shall surely face national shipwreck.

We are told that the mass of the voters, the mass of the American people, will approve the policy of the administration, the policy of drift, the policy of spineless failure to do our duty to ourselves and to others because they believe in "safety first." Such being the case, it is worth while examining just what "safety" or "safety first" means, and how far a policy based only on considerations of safety is materially advantageous and morally justifiable.

To treat "safety" as an indispensable element of any continuous national policy is eminently proper. It is indispensable to wisdom that we shall shape our military policy so as to make ourselves—our home country, our Canal Zone, all our islands—absolutely safe against successful attack by any great European or Asiatic military power.

TO THIS EXTENT SAFETY COINCIDES WITH DUTY.

But this ultimate safety in the future is to be obtained not by shirking but by performing our duty in the present. When President Wilson two years ago assured the American Nation that there was no need for preparedness, no need for worry about our military shortcomings, no need for self-sacrifice and

effort in order to make good these shortcomings, he was sacrificing our future safety to considerations of momentary political popularity obtained by pandering to popular desire for the enjoyment of material ease and the avoidance of effort and of serious facing of duties. Mr. Wilson then put "safety first" as compared to duty; but he put it last as compared to momentary enjoyment of ease and material pleasures and lazy refusal to face facts. I hold that this was exactly the reverse of what he ought to have done. I hold that it is our clear duty to sacrifice some of our present ease and soft enjoyment of material things in order to

GUARANTEE OUR FUTURE NATIONAL SAFETY.

I hold that we should provide for the ample safeguarding of the heritage which our fathers left us and which our children should receive from us undiminished. I therefore believe, as I have before said, that not only should we provide a big and efficient Navy and a small and efficient Regular Army, but that we should also provide for a system of obligatory military training of our young men on the Swiss and Australian models. With all my heart I believe in insuring the safety that can only come through the full performance of duty, by the exercise of courage and forethought under the compulsion of a high sense of honor and patriotism.

But this is not in the least what Mr. Wilson's advocates mean when they ask us to support him, because he and they are for "safety first." They are for the unworthy safety that is merely obtained by the abandonment of duty. They are for the momentary safety which shortsighted men secure when they purchase escape from present risk and effort

AT THE COST OF FUTURE DISASTER.

They are for the "safety" of each man to spend his time in money making and in flabby ease at the cost of remaining untrained and unfit to render service to the Nation in the Nation's hour of need. They are for the mean safety which this Nation secured when it treated The Hague conventions, which it had signed, like scraps of paper and declined to make even a protest on behalf of tortured Belgium. They are for the safety this Nation temporarily secured by tame submission to the murder of its men, women, and children on land by Mexican bandits, and at sea in the *Lusitania* and similar cases by German submarines. This kind of "safety first" means duty last, honor last, courage last. I do not believe in it. I believe that it is obtained at the cost of moral degradation in the present and at the risk of national ruin in the future.

In Maine there are many seafaring folks. I can illustrate what I mean about the use and abuse of the word safety by the Life-Saving Service. This is a service especially designed to secure greater safety for ships' crews and generally for persons whose lives are imperiled on the water. It is a service to secure safety. But the safety is secured only because

SOME BRAVE MEN ARE WILLING TO RISK THEIR OWN LIVES

in order to save others' lives. They do not put "safety first" as far as they themselves are concerned. If they did, no lifeboat would ever be launched from a life-saving station. But the men on a sinking ship who crowd into the lifeboats ahead of the women and children do put "safety first." I will say this for them, however, when they get ashore they do not wear buttons to commemorate the feat—as some of our opponents in the present campaign do.

Life-saving medals are granted every year. Each medal means that a life has been saved, and each means also that in order to save it another life has been put in jeopardy. The "safety first" class does not get such medals. Every life-saving crew is composed of men who are tough, hardy, and well trained. They put safety first as far as self-indulgence and soft ease and mere money-getting are concerned; otherwise they would be helpless in a storm. But where duty and safety are concerned, they put duty first and safety last.

I wish to see this Nation act in similar fashion, both as regards its own safety and as regards the performance of international duty. I wish to see it by forethought, by effort, and hard training, and by the cultivation of a broad and intense feeling of

NATIONAL ENDEAVOR AND NATIONAL PATRIOTISM

to so develop its courage and its efficient strength as to be able to hold its own against any possible aggression; and then I wish to see it put duty first, not safety first, when any small, well-behaved people is treated as Belgium has been treated. I stand for the safety that is obtained by the performance of duty. I do not stand for the safety that is obtained by the sacrifice of duty.

I believe that when the American people realize that the issue is squarely before them they will put duty first and not safety first; and I believe that only by so doing will they secure real and ultimate safety. I believe that they will support a policy of national action demanding a spirit of national courage. The American people are at heart moral idealists and enthusiasts, and in the past they have again and again responded to some appeal for practical action, calling for idealism to perceive it and enthusiasm and self-devotion in order to achieve it.

The men who came across the ocean in the seventeenth century to found here a new nation

WERE MEN OF COURAGE AND ENERGY,

inspired by idealism and enthusiasm. Under that inspiration they attempted and accomplished the American Revolution and later entered on the experiment of self-government, founding a new nation, "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal." There were men of little faith among them, men of the "safety-first" type, of the professional pacifist type, but in the end our forefathers rejected the leadership of these men and followed the leadership of Washington.

Since then our population has been swollen by immigration, and our immigrants have generally been men of courage, energy, and enterprise; a large proportion have been

MEN OF MORAL ENTHUSIASM.

They dared to leave the Old World on the chance of starting a new life for themselves and their children under new conditions. On the whole, the men and women who were called to our shores were the picked men and women of their countries. A nation drawing its blood from such sources is fundamentally sound, and in the end it will support a plan which combines practical action with genuine idealism.

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY.

In 1860 the question whether the American people would allow the indefinite extension of slavery on the American Continent became acute. Conservatism said, Let well enough alone; timidity said, Let us have peace; business interests said, Safety first; the spirit of pacifism said, Let us compromise, for the evils of slavery are not to be compared with the evils of civil war and possible dissolution of the Union.

To these arguments, so plausible that apparently they carried the great majority of the Nation and had the support of multitudes of the best men, both in church and state, Abraham Lincoln answered in his Cooper Union speech: "Either slavery is right or wrong; if it is right, we ought to do all that the South asks of us; if it is wrong, we have no right to allow it in territory under our control." To this principle he adhered through the political campaign which elected him, through the dark and dangerous days of the interregnum after his election, and through all the tragedy of the Civil War. The American people responded to the appeal and sustained in practical fashion

THE GREAT MORAL PRINCIPLE LINCOLN SET FORTH

and embodied. They put duty first and safety second. I do not believe that we of this generation have sunk so far below our sires as to be incapable of responding in similar fashion to a smilar appeal.

In 1896 Mr. Bryan initiated the campaign for free silver. He was a popular speaker. The arguments for free silver were popular, and indeed plausible. They were: Our bonds are payable in coin; why substitute gold? If silver has depreciated, gold has appreciated; why sacrifice the debtor class to the gold-bugs? Recognized experts have declared in favor of bimetallism. Why abandon it? Why ask the consent of Europe to continue it? Why not go it alone? The simple answer was, It is not right for a nation to pay its debts to the world in anything less than the world's currency. As fairly representing the national conviction which led to the national action, I quote a statement at the time by a noted clergyman: "It is rarely morally wise to do to another what he thinks unjust. It is never morally right to enter on a course of action as to the justice of which the actor is himself in doubt. These principles are as applicable to nations as to individuals." It was right to show that free silver would bring material disaster to the Nation; but it was primarily the moral appeal to the conscience of the people which defeated Mr. Bryan in 1896.

In 1898 the conditions in Cuba had become unbearable to the American people. When full knowledge was obtained of what had been done in the island it raised in this country a storm of moral indignation which was irresistible. The argument of the pacifists at that time was the same as the argument of the pacifists of to-day. They varied between an

UNHEALTHY SENTIMENTALITY

and a still more unhealthy materialism. They said that we were not concerned with the injustice practiced by a foreign Government on a foreign people; that it was no business of ours; that the Cubans should be permitted to fight their own battles; and that the "blood spilling" in Cuba was not our affair. The answer then was the answer we ought to make now. We are our brother's keeper; injustice, whenever and wherever per-

petrated, does concern us; and whether we act or not, no considerations of self-interest should prevent our legitimate expression of that concern.

Then followed the question of the Philippines. The arguments of the so-called anti-imperialists were very much like the arguments of the pacifists of to-day. Again they varied between an unhealthy sentimentality and an even more unhealthy materialism. They said that the Philippines were on the other side of the globe, and would never repay what they cost us in money; that serving the Filipinos would not offset the sacrifice of the lives of American soldiers; and they alternately advocated letting the Germans or Japanese take the islands and letting the islanders take care of themselves and spill as much blood as they desired. The answer was in spirit identical with the answer of Abraham Lincoln to the pacifists of 1860. For we said that

WE OWED A DUTY TO THE PEOPLE WE HAD SET FREE

and would not abandon them to anarchy and chaos. Again we appealed primarily not to the pocket, but to the conscience; not to self-interest, but to the sense of honor, of the American people. Again the appeal was successful.

Since 1912 we have had four years of a policy which has been an opiate to the spirit of idealism. It has meant the relaxation of our moral fiber. Horror of war, combined with a sordid appeal to self-interest and to fear, has paralyzed the national conscience. We have been told that Americans, if they do not wish to be killed, should leave Mexico and should keep off the ocean; that to save a few American lives it is not worth while to hazard the lives of American soldiers; that Mexicans should be allowed to spill blood to their hearts' content; that the European war is no concern of ours; that even as between Belgium and Germany we should be neutral not only in act but in sympathy. Not once has President Wilson squarely placed before the American people the question which Abraham Lincoln put before the American people in 1860: What is our duty? Not once has he appealed to moral idealism, to the stern enthusiasm of strong men for the right. On the contrary, he has employed every elocutionary device

TO LULL TO SLEEP OUR SENSE OF DUTY,

to make us content with words instead of deeds, to make our moral idealism and enthusiasm evaporate in empty phrases instead of being reduced to concrete action. America as a Nation has been officially kept in a position of timid indifference and cold selfishness. America, which sprang to the succor of Cuba in 1898, has stood an idle spectator of the invasion of Belgium, of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, of the continued slaughter of our own citizens, and of the reign of anarchy, rapine, and murder in Mexico.

Nevertheless, I believe that the American people were ready for the same kind of appeal which was made to them by Abraham Lincoln in 1860, by the advocates of an honest currency in 1896, by the advocates of the Spanish War in 1898, by the advocates of nationalism in 1900. But the appeal was not made. On the contrary, Mr. Wilson invoked the spirit of timidity and selfishness. He made no effort to invoke the sense of duty. He put "safety first"—the immediate safety of the moment, to be obtained by shrinking from duty. He did not even put American rights first; still less did he put American duty first.

His task was not an especially difficult or dangerous task; but it needed a brave heart and a steady hand. Under his lead America could and should have put itself at the head of all the neutral nations, by its example if not by direct diplomatic agreements, in demanding that the war should be conducted in accordance with the usage of civilized nations; that international law should be observed; that the rights of neutrals and noncombatants should be respected. If this spirit had animated our administration, there would probably have been no invasion of Belgium, no fears of a like fate to terrorize other smaller nations, no torpedoing of merchant vessels, no bombarding of churches and hospitals, no massacring of women and children, no murder of Miss Cavell, no attempted extermination of the Armenians and Syrian Christians. We can not undo what has been done. But we can repudiate what has been done. We can regain our own self-respect and the respect of other nations for this country. We can put in power an administration which will throughout its term of power protect our own citizens and live up to our national obligations.

It is just that this Nation should concern itself with its rights; but it is even more necessary that it should concern itself with its duties. As between Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson, who can doubt which is the man who will with austere courage stand for the national duty? Mr. Wilson's words have contradicted one another, and all his words have been contradicted by his acts. Mr. Wilson's promise has not borne the slightest reference to his performance. We have against him in Mr. Hughes a man whose public life is a guaranty that whatever he says he will make good, and that all his words will be borne out by his deeds. Against Mr. Wilson's combination of grace in elocution with futility in action, against his record of words unbacked by deeds or betrayed by deeds, we set Mr. Hughes's rugged and uncompromising straightforwardness of character and action in every office he has held. We put the man who thinks and speaks directly, and whose words have always been made good, against the man whose adroit and facile elocution is used to conceal his plans or his want of plans. The next four years may well be years of tremendous national strain. Which of the two men do you, the American people, wish at the helm during these four years; the man who has been actually tried and found wanting or the man whose whole career in public office is a guaranty of his power and good faith? But one answer is possible, and it must be given by the American people through the election of Charles Evans Hughes as President of the United States.

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## The Appeal to Cæsar.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BENJAMIN G. HUMPHREYS,

OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. HUMPHREYS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial from the World of Monday, September 4, 1916.

The editorial is as follows:

THE APPEAL TO CÆSAR.

By the terms of the Adamson bill, the United States Government assumes control over railroad wages as well as over railroad rates.

Neither the unions nor the railroads seem to realize as yet that as a result of their eight-hour controversy Government regulation of interstate common carriers has entered into a new phase.

Both the union leaders and the railroad presidents assume that the Adamson bill arbitrarily establishes an eight-hour day for train crews. It does not. It establishes an experimental eight-hour day to enable Congress to obtain information upon which to take definite action.

By the terms of the act an eight-hour day is to go into effect January 1. The President is to appoint a commission to study the practical workings of this eight-hour day. The activities of the commission are to cover a period of not less than six months nor more than nine months. The eight-hour day is extended for 30 days after the report of the commission, the whole question having again become subject to the will and authority of Congress.

Out of this must necessarily come a new railroad code under which railroad labor, no less than railroad capital, will be subject to the control of the United States Government.

In the meantime the first duty of the Government is to ascertain the facts. That is what the Adamson Act provides for. That is what the President's settlement proposition provided for. There can be no just and intelligent judgment without a knowledge of the facts, and the facts are known to nobody. All that the President, Congress, and the public have had to guide them are two conflicting sets of assertions—one put out by the railroad press agents and one put out by the union press agents. Nobody knows which side is telling the truth or whether either side is telling the truth.

When the railroad presidents demanded arbitration of the eight-hour day they well knew that there could be no arbitration of an eight-hour day except after a practical experiment over a limited period, as the President suggested. All that an arbitration board could do in the absence of such a practical test would be to guess at the probable effect of an eight-hour schedule in the operation of freight trains. That is not arbitration. That is gambling. The railroad presidents might as consistently have asked the union leaders to shake dice for an eight-hour day or play poker for it, each side taking its chances on the dice being loaded or the deal crooked.

That is what the railroad proposition amounted to. The offense of the unions did not lie in the rejection of a false and fraudulent arbitration, but in their determination to throttle the American people in order to coerce the railroads.

What is coming as a result of the Adamson Act is true arbitration, based on definite information—the kind of information that a court of law demands in deciding such causes. It is arbitration by Congress, not merely by voluntary consent of labor and capital. The next logical step is to give the Interstate Commerce Commission the same power to regulate railroad wages and working conditions that it now has to regulate railroad rates. The two things necessarily go together, for there can be no just regulation of rates which ignores wages and working conditions.

The railroad unions can not complain of this, for they invited it. When they accepted the appeal to Cæsar, they accepted all the inevitable consequences of the appeal to Cæsar. 'Government regulation of wages is a two-edged sword, and the unions in the long run will find it no more satisfactory to them than the railroads have found Government regulation of rates. But the railroads were responsible for forcing the Government to regulate rates, and the unions are responsible for forcing the Government to regulate wages.

Much economic history has been made in the last week—far more than either the railroads or the unions or the general public seem to realize. Wage issues in railroad operation will never again be a personal matter between employer and employed. There will never again be another railroad strike or a serious threat of a railroad strike. The Government of the United States is no longer a neutral in such labor wars. It is the supreme power and its fiat is law, subject only to such restraints as the Constitution of the United States may impose.

## Conscription for American Citizens—How the Thing Was Done in the National Defense Act.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE HUDDLESTON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I want, before the close of this session, to call the attention of the House and of the country to that section of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, which abandons the volunteer principle upon which American defense has always proudly rested, and provides for the hateful continental system of "conscription," the last refuge of Old World tyranny, the stronghold of militarism itself.

We discussed it briefly in the House a fortnight ago. I raised the point extemporaneously, and did not have with me at the time the data necessary for a full discussion of it. Since that time I have been asked by several Members for details regarding my assertion that the national-defense act has a clause in it providing for the "conscription" of American citizens in time of war. Apparently my charge was news to most of the Members of the House. I am satisfied that it was, and I think a frank review of that particular piece of military legislation will be useful to the Members and to Congress and may help in bringing about at the short session of Congress next December the speedy repeal of that obnoxious and un-American clause.

The story is briefly this:

When the Hay bill, so called, providing for the reorganization of the Army, was reported out to the House by the Military Affairs Committee, it contained no provision whatever for compulsory military service. I know this to be the fact because I looked the bill over with some curiosity on this point, a curiosity bred of the newspaper talk about the necessity for our adopting some form of compulsory military service if we were not to be ignominiously whipped by some of the war cripples of Europe. But there was no provision in it for any form of draft, save, indeed, the, to me, objectionable provision for "drafting" the National Guard into the Federal service. But so far as the general principle of our national defense was concerned, the bill did not tamper with it. According to its terms we were committed to a larger standing army and to a greatly increased National Guard, but we still stuck to the volunteer principle. To that extent the Military Affairs Committee had resisted the militarist propaganda of the various so-called "defense leagues."

But on Wednesday, March 22, on next to the last day of debate on the bill, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee introduced a committee amendment providing for "reserve battalions for recruit training." It was an innocent amendment, and many of the Members were familiar with the general idea behind it. Those who, like myself, have seen military service and have studied, however slightly, the general problem of military organization, have been aware that the "reserve battalion" idea was one which America might well adopt.

This amendment provided that in time of war when various units of the National Guard are sent to the front there should be organized in the home towns "reserve battalions," which should recruit men, train them, and send them to the front as rapidly as they might be needed. The American practice has been that of herding the new recruits into new regiments instead of feeding them into the old regiments which are being decimated in active service. During the Civil War many regiments were reduced to two or three hundred men, or even less. It was the practice to consolidate several such regiments into one regiment. This always produced confusion in the regimental records and frequently jealousy and friction among the officers, if not among the men. All this confusion would be done away with by the committee amendment offered by the gentleman from Virginia. For the sake of the record, I will quote the amendment in full as it was read to the House:

Committee amendment: On page 57 insert as a new section, after section 43, the following:

"That when the National Guard and the enlisted reserve thereof of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia is in the service of the United States in time of war there shall be immediately organized in such State, Territory, or District one reserve battalion for each regiment of Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, or four companies of Coast Artillery ordered into the service of the United States, and such reserve battalion or Coast Artillery companies shall constitute the fourth battalion of any such regiment. Reserve battalions shall consist of four companies of such strength as may be prescribed by the President of the United States. When three or more regiments of the National Guard of any State, Territory, or District are in the service of the United States, the reserve battalions of such regiments may be organized into provisional regiments and higher units. If for any reason there are not enough voluntary enlistments to keep the reserve battalions at the prescribed strength, a sufficient number of the unorganized militia shall be called into the service of the United States to maintain each of such battalions at its proper strength. As vacancies occur in any National Guard organization in the service of the United States, from death or other causes, men shall be transferred from the reserve battalions to the organizations in the field, so that such organizations may be maintained at war strength. Officers for the reserve battalions or Coast Artillery companies provided for herein shall be assigned from the officers' reserve corps of the National Guard or Coast Artillery companies, such officers to be selected, if practicable, from the State in which the battalions are organized. Officers and noncommissioned officers returned to their home stations because of their inability to perform active field service may be assigned to the reserve battalion for duty, and all soldiers invalided home shall be assigned to and carried on the rolls of the reserve battalion until returned to duty or until discharged."

Down in the middle of that long section was the following sentence:

If for any reason there are not enough voluntary enlistments to keep the reserve battalions at the prescribed strength, a sufficient number of the unorganized militia shall be called into the service of the United States to maintain each of such battalions at its proper strength.

By "unorganized militia" is meant, under the terms of the national-defense act, all male American citizens between the ages of 18 and 45.

Somehow or other, the House entirely failed to grasp the significance of that clause. There was confusion and noise in the House and may have been inattention on the part of the Members. The chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee made a brief explanation of the amendment, omitting any reference to the "conscription" clause and practically confining himself to an explanation of the general idea of "reserve battalions." The minority leader, who makes it his business to scrutinize all the propositions upon which Members on that side of the Chamber will have to vote, made an effort to get at the gist of the amendment, but he got no more light than the rest of us. At any rate, his questions did not bring to light the "conscription" clause, even in its relatively innocent appearance.

Then the Speaker recognized the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], who was said to be the author of the amendment. He spoke for five minutes and with great enthusiasm. He drove home to the minds of all the conviction that the English scheme of "reserve battalions" was a sensible one and worthy of adoption. Some of us wondered, and we wonder yet, why the Army authorities, who go about the country openly bewailing their inability to get sound military legislation out of Congress, had never put that sensible proposition before us. They left it to a civilian to propose.

But the gentleman from Arizona, like the chairman of the committee, failed to call our attention to the "conscription" clause. I do not want to think that he purposely ignored it. I do not want to think that he intended to "put one over" on the House. I prefer to think that he lacked sufficient time to round out his discussion of the amendment as fully and as candidly as he would have liked. And yet knowing, as he must have known, the traditions of the American people and the temper and convictions of this House, it is difficult to understand how he could have permitted the House to vote "conscription" into our national-defence system when a word from him would have sufficed to have stricken the obnoxious clause from the amendment without sacrificing the value of the amendment in the least.

Of course, it may be argued, as the chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee did the other day, that the word "called" should have warned the House that "conscription" was meant. The fact remains that it did not. You can comb this House from end to end without finding a Member, save the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] and the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], who was aware at the time that the amendment embodied a "conscription" clause. And that is not strange. I consider the language thoroughly misleading. The word "called" does not suggest the idea of the "draft";

it suggests the idea of "volunteers." The President issues a "call for volunteers." The phrase is stereotyped.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] declared the other day, when I called the attention of the House to the way this thing had slipped through, that the word "called" meant the same as "drafted." You can find his language on page 13208 of the RECORD:

He [Mr. HUDDLESTON] bases his criticism on the fact that the word "call" was stricken out and the word "draft" substituted in conference. I do not now recollect whether that is true or not, but what is the difference between the President being authorized to call men out and to draft them? There is no difference, so far as the President is concerned.

That is remarkable language, in view of the contention previously made by the gentleman from Virginia on that very point. He now says that there is no difference between "called" and "drafted." But on March 23, when Members of this House did their best to force a change in the bill which would soften its language and provide for "calling out" the National Guard into the Federal service instead of "drafting" them, the chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee contended that the two words did not mean the same. Let me quote from the RECORD:

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, I have asked for five minutes of this time primarily that I might propound a question to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY]. We heard it stated on the floor yesterday that the word "draft" is obnoxious to the National Guard. I do not like the word myself. It seems to me that it is wholly unnecessary to whip a willing horse, and there is something a little obnoxious about the word "draft," because a draft has been resorted to historically only when patriotism was not sufficient to cause adequate enlistments. My inquiry is, if the word "order" could not be substituted for the word "draft" without impairing its legal effect?

Mr. HAY. The word "order" has not the same legal significance as the word "draft." Therefore the section would not, in the opinion of the lawyers who have looked into it, be constitutional if the word "order" was used. The word "draft" has a distinct meaning in all military bills and laws, and the word "order" does not mean the same thing. The word "order" presupposes that the force being ordered is already in the service of the United States; but as a matter of fact you can not, under the Constitution of the United States, order the militia into the service of the United States for the purpose of going beyond the boundaries of the United States. Therefore you have to draft them and divorce them from their status as militia in order that you may use them as Federal troops.

But the gentleman from Minnesota was not satisfied that a less objectionable synonym for "draft" could not be found. He persisted:

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Could we not substitute the words "call into the service of the United States"?

Mr. HAY. There would be the same trouble with that language.

Mr. CANNON. Why the same trouble? Why not amend it so that it would read: "He shall call by proclamation into the military service of the United States," instead of "He shall draft into the military service of the United States"?

Mr. HAY. The trouble about that is that it is the nature of the troops that we are dealing with. Now he can call volunteers into the service of the United States, but this language is necessary in order that they may cease to be militia.

Notice that language? He can "call volunteers into the service," but it would not be the same as "drafting" men into the service.

I think that ought to dispose of the contention that the House was sufficiently warned by the word "called" that conscription was intended. But the story does not end there. When the Hay bill, with this unknown provision in it, was adopted and sent to the Senate it collided with the Chamberlain bill, and with the latter was sent to conference. In conference the word "called" was changed to "drafted." When the compromise bill was reported back to the House the leader of the managers for the House, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee [Mr. HAY], contented himself with presenting to us the entire draft of the bill without enumerating, as is usually done, the significant changes in it. Members had to read the entire bill from beginning to end to learn of the changes. As has been said, only by the greatest luck or industry could a Member have kept track of the changes in the bill. Members had the right to assume that no important changes had been made in the House bill.

The bill with its preposterous and impudent "draft" clause hidden in section 79 was adopted by both Houses and sent to the President for his signature. I have heard it stated that the President signed the bill entirely unaware of the significance, if not of the very existence, of this clause. I am inclined to believe that that is so. I believe that he was imposed upon, as the rest of us were.

Of course, Congress has the power to authorize the President to "draft" men in time of war. But that is a power which Congress has always kept in jealous possession. You may search the pages of our history without finding a single instance where Congress has yielded up this power to the military authorities in advance of any emergency. It is a power which democracies are reluctant to place in the hands of bureaucrats; but that is exactly where this bill lodges it. In time of peace, without a real enemy in sight, this Congress has unwittingly surrendered to the military authorities the power to conscript men.

Suppose there is a war on. Men may be enlisting freely both in the populous centers and in the agricultural sections. There is no attempt, under this bill, to adjust the situation. No; as soon as recruiting slackens temporarily in a given district the military authorities may step in, without further action of Congress, and clap on the "draft." Men loathe the "draft," and rightly. This bill, thanks to this "joker," gives them no protection against its steady extension throughout the country in time of war.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] made the point the other day that this bill exempts Quakers and others whose religious beliefs are opposed to war. But he did not call the attention of the House to the significant and essentially militarist change in the status of Quakers under this bill. Section 59, after reciting the usual exemptions from militia duty, such as the Vice President of the United States, naval and military officers, and so forth, adds:

And all persons who because of religious belief shall claim exemption from military service, if the conscientious holding of such belief by such person shall be established under such regulations as the President shall prescribe, shall be exempted from militia service in a combatant capacity; but no person so exempted shall be exempt from militia service in any capacity that the President shall declare to be noncombatant.

This is something new, gentlemen. You do not find it in American legislation on the subject of militia and militia exemptions. It was borrowed from Europe, a product of the great war, invented—not by the civil authorities, but by the military authorities—to get a hold upon those elements in the community which object to war. Under that clause the military authorities can seize a Quaker and put him at whatever line of work an epauleted military chief has deemed "noncombatant." They do not consult his conscience on the matter. They consult only their own wills. So they take him and put him to carrying shells, entrenching, or at ambulance work, thus releasing other able-bodied men for service in the trenches, or they put him at mine sweeping and send him to jail if—as I am told has happened—he insists, as a conscientious Quaker, upon sweeping up the deadly mines of his own country as well as those of the enemy country. In short, from the standpoint of the Quaker, this bill withdraws the main protection which he has earned by his hundred or so years of war against war. It abolishes his right of private conscience and it drives him, by the power of the State, to contribute indirectly—if not directly—to the murder of other men.

You can not read this bill to a Quaker and fool him into thinking that you have left him the freedom he has fought for, the right to abstain from taking human life. He knows that you have made serious inroads upon that freedom, a serious invasion of that sacred right.

But I am not interested primarily in the Quakers, though I think I can understand and respect their point of view. What I am primarily concerned for is the average American and the tradition—the self-respecting patriotic tradition—under which he has always fought his country's battles. This conscription clause, adopted without debate, changed in conference committee, and never reported anywhere to either House or Senate until the American Union Against Militarism called the attention of the administration to its existence, that conscription clause, if it is not repealed next December, will be the forerunner of a campaign for militarism of the worst sort. Mark my words—next December will see a well-financed campaign launched by the so-called "defense leagues" to retain their conscription clause in our statutes as a precedent for more militarist legislation. These "defense leagues" talk about the Swiss system. Don't let that fool you, gentlemen! They are not after the chocolate soldier. What they intend to evolve in this country, if they can do it through the power of the press and of great wealth, is the docile, well-trained, thoroughly regimented, helpless European conscript. Sometimes I think that they must realize that their wars are going to be wars of conquest, of markets, of greed, and of lust, and that they believe that without compulsory military service they can never drive the American people into those wars. Sometimes I think that is what they are after.

You see it stated once in a while in the newspapers that the "volunteer" system has broken down, that England had to give it up and resort to conscription. Gentlemen, that is an infamous lie, and the newspapers which industriously circulate it, could readily ascertain that it was a lie if they investigated. What are the facts?

Why, the facts are, according to the English official report made last May, that England had raised 4,000,000 men by the

volunteer system and that there remained only 560,000 men of military age available in England, Scotland, and Wales to be conscripted. Does that look as though the volunteer system had broken down?

Why, then, it may be asked, did England finally pass a conscription act? The answer is simple enough and it should be peculiarly within the comprehension of the Members of this House. The answer is "politics!" The Asquith ministry was and is a coalition ministry, made up of representatives of all parties and especially of the Liberals and the Conservatives. In theory this should have made for unity and strength; actually it seems to have made for weakness and disunion.

It was the responsible Liberal party which recruited the 4,000,000 men, but it had to do so under a persistent galling fire from the conservative London Times and the London Daily Mail. Those journals, owned by Alfred Harmsworth, Lord Northcliffe, were reactionary to the core, and they pounded the Asquith ministry as only powerful newspapers know how to pound. Concession after concession was made to them, but the Harmsworth journals demanded "conscription" as the price of peace, and they finally got conscription.

Why did the Government yield to them? Not from conviction, that is certain. They yielded to them because it seemed the lesser of two evils, the other evil being the fear and unrest and discouragement which those unscrupulous journals were breeding in the English people. That is why England adopted conscription.

You can not shake the testimony of English military authorities in behalf of the volunteer. Sir Gen. Ian Hamilton, who handled some 30 different bodies of volunteers during the South African War, has testified before the royal commission on the behavior of the volunteers:

When I saw them [the City Imperial Volunteers, made up of clerks, profesional men, and other indoor workers], during the Zand River action, they did not show the dash and go and confidence which they developed later. About a fortnight later, in quite a serious action at Dornkop, at Johannesburg, Gen. Bruce Hamilton, owing perhaps to indistinct orders from me, extended too far to his left, leaving a gap in our center between my two infantry brigades.

The City Imperial Volunteers were on his left, and I had to ask him to draw them in under fire. This is a very high test, and the City Imperial Volunteers came through it excellently. Altogether that day they behaved exceedingly well. At Diamond Hill I had the good fortune to be associated with some very distinguished regiments, and I can only say that I do not wish to serve with any better regiments than the Imperial Volunteers were then.

When he was asked how long it took these volunteers to get the skill and esprit de corps which he had described he said:

The City Imperial Volunteers were embodied on January 4, 1900. One wing embarked for South Africa on January 13, the other on January 20. The dates of Zand River, Dornkop, and Diamond Hill are, respectively, May 10, 1900, May 29, and June 12. At the last-named action the City Imperial Volunteers were the equal in fighting efficiency of a regular battalion of the line.

But that is 16 years ago. How about the present war? Well, I can not find anybody prepared to contend that the English and colonial volunteers have not held their own against German conscripts. I do not find it seriously maintained that they have not, even in those newspapers which are loudest for compulsory military service. And I can not forget that striking phrase of Maximilian Harden, the German publicist. In words that were guarded, but significant, he paid the German tribute to the English volunteer system when, contrasting the two, he said:

As a spiritual achievement many will place higher [than Germany's achievement] the voluntary enlistment of 3,000,000 island and colonial Englishmen.

I think Harden is right. I think the American people, with the exception of a small panicky fraction, place England's achievement higher than Germany's. They know which they would rather emulate.

The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY], in defending the conscription clause, reminded the House that the North had resorted to the draft during the Civil War. Well, that is true, but it need cause no confusion. Gen. Upton's History of the Military Policy of the United States makes it perfectly plain that this was done not because of any breakdown in the volunteer system, but to remedy blunders which were made. Some of those blunders were by Congress—in enlisting men for short terms, as low as three months. When a man has served his term, when he has "done his bit," it is human nature for him to want to go home to see his family. He feels that it is "the other fellow's turn." The Northern armies melted away continually from that cause. Who can doubt that those same men, enlisted for three years or for "the period of the war," would have stayed in the ranks cheerfully to the end? Gen. Upton says they would have stayed to the bitter end.

But even with this absurd system of short enlistments the North would never have resorted to the "draft" but for an even more stupendous mistake, made not by Congress, but by the Secretary of War. It has been ascertained that there were in the North at that time available for military service 4,074,000 men, of whom, up to the spring of 1862, more than a million had enlisted and seen service. At that time there were 637,000 volunteers actually under arms—about 15 per cent of the total to be drawn upon—and the Secretary of War was so impressed by the number that he discontinued recruiting.

Realize the psychological effect of that. Think of the word going into every town and hamlet, into every home, that no more men were needed. Think, not only of the joy it created but think of the relief, of the let down. No more men were needed! That was the fact which "got home."

Well, that was in March, 1862, but by June, 1862, less than three months later, the Secretary of War had discovered his blunder and sought to repair it. He opened up recruiting offices. He called for volunteers. But he himself had put the North to sleep on the proposition of recruiting. No wonder there was apathy. In July the President made a call for 300,000 volunteers, but no one really credited the seriousness of the situation, and by August, driven by the necessity of advertising the real situation to the country, he announced that he would draft the State militia to make good whatever deficit there might be in the 300,000 volunteers. This was a good deal of a fiasco and seems to have prejudiced recruiting in general, so that Congress was appealed to. On March 3, 1863, Congress passed the "Act for enrollment and calling out the national forces," placing all able-bodied male citizens at the disposal of the President. It was a loose sort of conscription—not at all like the arbitrary conscription act which this Congress has adopted.

For example, that act allowed men to send substitutes, if they could get them, or to commute their personal service for a sum not exceeding $300. Those who paid the money were to be exempted from that particular draft and those who found the substitute were exempted altogether. Under that act there were four distinct enrollments or drafts. This is the way the totals run:

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|---|---|
| The total male population of military age in the North | 4,074,000 |
| The number of volunteers under arms early in 1862 were | 637,000 |
| The number raised under the act of March, 1863, was | 1,369,343 |

But of these—

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of volunteers was | 1,076,558 |
| The number of voluntary substitutes | 144,012 |
| The number that escaped service by paying exemption fee | 86,724 |
| The number compelled personnally to serve | 61,947 |

Now we get to the point. The number of men actually conscripted in the North during the Civil War was 61,947. They amounted to 2.3 per cent of the total forces raised by the President from the beginning of that war to the close of it. They were not more than 4.5 per cent of all the men raised in the North after the passage of that conscription act. Even if you add to that insignificant number the substitutes who, freely and of their own accord, enlisted at the urging of, or for the accommodation of, some other man whose name had been drawn and who could not go—even if you add the number of those substitutes and credit it to the draft system, even then, taking the most favorable possible view of the efficacy of the draft, even then you can credit to compulsion less than 11.9 per cent of the recruits raised by the North after the draft act came into existence.

Capt. George L. Kilmer, late of the United States Volunteers and a noted military expert, declares that, "Conscription as a military measure proved a failure in the Civil War":

The fact that Germany's military efficiency is grounded in compulsory training and service probably accounts for the advocacy in certain quarters of compulsion as a measure of preparedness in this country. Experience in the Civil War is also cited in support of the argument.

If efficiency on the firing line be the test, and it should be, the records of the Federal draft in 1863–64 do not bear out the contention. There were about 1,300,000 voluntary enlistments before a draft was ordered, and the most notable battles of the war as well as the most signal Federal victories came in that period.

Out of 2,859,132 Federal enrollments 214,221 might be credited to conscription, as follows:

Conscripts held to service, 52,068; conscripts sent substitutes, 75,429; conscripts paid commutation, 86,724; total, 214,221.

Men to the number of 42,581, who were liable to be drafted, but had not been drawn, sent substitutes.

In point of fact conscription added just 52,068 soldiers to the Army ranks. Desertions were frequent among them and the substitutes. Among Regulars the desertions were 24 per cent, among Volunteers 6 per cent.

Germany's conscription hits the peasants hardest. The upper and middle classes escape its rigors, even though they serve.

The democratic equality in conscription is a delusion. Men who won't volunteer escape the dragnet or if caught turn out worthless at the front. "You can chain a conscript to a cannon wheel, but you can't make him fight."

It has been said that the South resorted to compulsory service. That is true; but that is the theorist's way of looking at it. While the Confederacy passed conscription laws, she raised

ber men on the volunteer basis. Everybody volunteered. Dr. Randolph H. McKim, D. D., who served in Lee's army, first as a schoolboy volunteer and later as a staff officer, declares that the southern army was "a self-levy, en masse, of all the male population in all save certain mountain regions." In his own school, for example, the Virginia State University, he says that 515 boys out of the 530 who were registered from Southern States enlisted in the army of the Confederacy. That was typical of recruiting in the South.

But, of course, the South did have conscription laws, and, being saddled with them, had various spasmodic attacks of enforcing them. Once in a while she would draw loyal men from the firing line and send them out to bring in the conscripts; but it was a waste of good men. Capt. Kilmer says of the southern draft:

Regarding conscription in the Confederacy, no statistics are at hand to throw a clear light upon the matter. A wide reading of the war records on that side leads me to the conclusion that it may have furnished a moral stimulus to enlisting to a limited extent, the same as it did in the North, but was, on the whole, a political mistake. While it forced some thousands into the ranks, they would have served the cause better by staying at home and raising and forwarding food for the willing fighters in the field. * * * It [the draft] neutralized the service of good men in uniform who left the front to enforce the draft upon unwilling mountaineers, drove thousands from the territory altogether, and may have acted against rather than for fighting efficiency.

The attempt to conscript soldiers into the Confederate Army drove thousands of southerners who were loyal to the Union into the Federal Army. Over 30,000 Federal soldiers were raised in Tennessee alone. These southern Unionists constituted some of the best soldiers in the Union armies. The war would have been greatly prolonged had these men been permitted to remain peaceably at home. The attempt to enforce conscription laws broke the back of the Confederacy.

If you want, in addition, the views of a soldier who has not sunk his Americanism in this militarism which has now so conspicuously infected Army circles, you can get them in the printed hearings before the House Military Affairs Committee, in the testimony of Gen. Nelson A. Miles, a gallant soldier who despises the draft and is not afraid of the volunteer system.

Mr. GORDON. In your judgment, could the continental army be filled without compulsion?

Gen. MILES. I hope not with compulsion.

Mr. GORDON. You are opposed to compulsory service?

Gen. MILES. Absolutely.

Mr. GORDON. Do you believe that we can raise 133,000 men each year for three years for the continental army without compulsion?

Gen. MILES. With compulsion, I hope not. I think it would be a very dangerous step toward centralization. As far as conscription is concerned, that was tried out during the Civil War, and with unsatisfactory results. I think there were 54,000 men added to the Army—54,000 additional to the 2,000,000 men—by conscription, but I do know that just at the time of the crisis of the Gettysburg campaign thousands of the best troops, drilled and disciplined men, in the Army had to be taken out of the field and sent back to suppress the riots caused by that unpopular measure. Approximately 10,000 or 12,000 were ordered to New York, and I know that there was a brigade in Pennsylvania which was organized at Huntington and, instead of being sent to the field, where they were needed, they were sent to Philadelphia to maintain order. It was a very unpopular measure at that time in that great crisis of the Nation.

Gentlemen, I am sorry that this thing has been done. I think of it much as Capt. Kilmer does, "not as a joke nor as a scandal but as a dark spot on the escutcheon of republican government." I hope and believe that this Congress has gone as far in the direction of militarism as it intends to go, and that at the next session, which opens in December, there will be a general nonpartisan agreement to pass an act repealing this conscription clause.

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**John Ericsson.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. DUDLEY DOOLITTLE,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I use this means to express my approval of the bill we have passed providing for the erection of a suitable memorial in honor of Capt. John Ericsson. In this day of huge navies it is interesting to remember that it was John Ericsson who designed the "cheese box," known as the *Monitor*, which put to flight the Confederate *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads. The genius and skill of John Ericsson revolutionized naval construction. It is more than probable that had he not constructed the *Monitor* the Confederate ironclad *Merrimac* would have continued its work of destruction until every Union vessel had been put to flight or sunk. The result of the war might have been prolonged indefinitely to the dire calamity in both lives and property of both the North and South. During the Civil War young Ericsson—because he was a young man when he landed on American shores from his native land of Sweden—wrote to President Lincoln and offered his *Monitor*. He said:

Not only do I offer the invention of a vessel which, I believe, will successfully cope with the *Merrimac*, but I am willing to offer my life as well.

That was a valuable offer and a grand display of patriotism. The offer of his vessel was accepted with the successful results that history records. We are thankful to remember that his life was spared for further use and service to the country of his adoption.

He was an engineer of great ability. His life was industrious and sober, and the achievements of John Ericsson stand out as an inspiration to every man. He emigrated from Sweden in 1839, at the age of 36, and came to New York City. He first gained note as a constructor of a war vessel propelled by steam, which was the first one of the American Navy. His next effort was the planning and the building of the *Monitor*, which was offered to Napoleon III, who rejected it. The *Monitor* was further improved and offered to President Lincoln, who accepted it and sent the vessel forthwith to Hampton Roads, where the battle with the *Merrimac* soon followed. The Union blockade was held intact; the possible invasion of northern ports was prevented; and John Ericsson had contributed his full share toward the preservation of the Union.

It is a fitting honor that this memorial statue should be erected in the city of Washington to the memory of John Ericsson, of Bevmland, Sweden, who died March 8, 1889, at the ripe old age of 86 years. The Swedish Government requested that his remains be taken back to the land of his birth, and to-day a beautiful chapel is erected over his resting place. It is a fine thing in America, his adopted country, that it should now follow suit in thus honoring him.

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**Democratic Achievements.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. KENNETH D. McKELLAR,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Speaker, I wish to discuss as briefly as I may the record of this Democratic administration. That record is the principal issue in this campaign. If the Democratic Party has done well, it ought to be continued in power. If it has not done well, it ought to be defeated. I believe it has done well. There has been more remedial legislation, more progressive legislation, more legislation for the benefit of the whole people passed during this administration, and by the Democrats just prior to this administration, than under any similar period in the Nation's history. That it is good legislation is shown by the fact that the greater part of it has not only received the well-nigh unanimous support of the Democrats in Congress but the support of the Republicans as well.

We have provided for the election of United States Senators by the people.

We have passed an income-tax law by which wealth is made to bear its just proportions of the burdens of the Government.

We have established Federal reserve banks which, in my judgment, have done more to bring about the present prosperous condition of this country than perhaps all other factors combined.

We have passed the Clayton antitrust law, by which peace was brought to business. Before the passage of this law business men did not know what the law was, and sought to evade it. But now they know what the law is and obey it.

We have passed a law providing for a Federal Trade Commission to prevent unfair competition in business and unjust trade practices.

We have passed a rural credits law in order to lend farmers money on their farms at low rates of interest, so that they can better their condition.

We have enacted a good-roads measure providing for Federal aid to roads in the various States, so that our country may be built up.

We have passed an eight-hour law for the laboring men. We have passed more legislation for the betterment of labor conditions than any former administration.

We have passed the parcel-post law for the benefit of the people of the whole country.

We have extended the rural free delivery to all parts of the country.

We have federalized the National Guard and gave it its proper place as a defense of our country.

We have passed the reorganization of the Army bill, by which our Army is made efficient for the protection of the American people in the event of trouble. We have largely added to this Army and provided for a system of reserves which will give us ample protection should trouble arise, but which defense system will never lead to militarism.

We have enlarged our Navy, so that it is easily second among the navies of the world to-day, and we are going to make it first. It is our best means of defense. Conditions have arisen that require it, and we have authorized the expenditure of about $600,000,000 for the national defense this year.

We have established a system of vocational education and agricultural extension work throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the purpose of making young men and young women more efficient in the race of life.

We have passed a tariff law, by which the burdens of taxation have been reduced on the plain people, and under which tariff law the Government is receiving a larger income than ever before, and the people have prospered in a larger degree than ever before in the history of the Republic.

Though there has been a great world war going on for two years—and at first we had to enact special-taxation legislation because of this war—yet, under Democratic control, we have repealed those special stamp-tax laws, to the great convenience and benefit and saving of the whole country.

We have passed a tariff-commission bill to protect our trade relations at the close of the European war.

We have enacted a law to build up a merchant marine, so our people can sell their goods in all the markets of the world.

We have passed a child-labor bill prohibiting the working of young children in factories, and for the protection of the youth of our country.

These are some of the more important pieces of constructive legislation which a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President have together enacted into law. It is a splendid record. It is an unparalleled record, because not only have all these measures been enacted into law, but, with the exception of the tariff law, they have been approved not only by the Democrats, but by the Republicans as well—as shown by their votes on these measures. I am now going very briefly into several of the more important of these measures.

RURAL CREDITS.

In my judgment it is the most far-reaching, most progressive, and most efficient legislation that was ever passed by the American Congress in the interest of the American farmers. I need not tell you what large rates of interest ordinarily the farmers have to pay. When this new system is established three things will be certain—first, that any farmer who has the land can always raise money on it; second, that he can get it on long time; and, in the third place, he can always get it at a low rate of interest, not exceeding 6 per cent. When we consider the large quantity of lands not now improved, not now being cultivated, not now producing, and when we consider the high prices of all farm products, it is easy to see that this measure will be of incalculable benefit not only to the farmers of the country but to the entire people.

I have recently sent out a speech showing in detail just how the farmers of Tennessee can take advantage of this great measure, and I want to suggest that you all read it, as it tells exactly how you may receive the benefits of this act.

I am proud of the part I took in enacting this legislation.

GOOD-ROADS LAW.

Another of my hobbies in the matter of national legislation is the good-roads law. The first set speech I ever made in Congress was made on this subject. At that time anyone who spoke in favor of national aid to roads was dubbed contemptuously "a dirt-road statesman." For five years we fought to enact this law. In my late campaign I promised you that I would do all I could to have this legislation enacted, and I am again delighted to be able to say to you that we have won this fight.

Under the provisions of this law Tennessee will receive for her roads from the National Government in the next five years more than $1,700,000. And, again, the farmers and all the people will be vastly benefited by this act.

INCOME-TAX LAW.

For 20 years the Democratic Party has been fighting for an income tax. More than 20 years ago one was passed and declared unconstitutional, and since that time we have been fighting to have a constitutional amendment. It is a just and fair tax, and will never be repealed. The burdens of taxation are placed on those who are more able to bear them. No man who receives an income of $3,000 or more should object to paying the very small income tax assessed against him on his income. Incomes of less than that sum are not taxed at all. Everyone concedes the justice of this act.

CLAYTON ANTITRUST LAW.

Before the passage of the Clayton antitrust law, what is known as big business and the Government were constantly at loggerheads. In the Taft administration innumerable suits were brought against various corporations, alleging violations of the Sherman antitrust law. These suits greatly harassed business and made business men uncertain and fearful. Since the passage of the Clayton antitrust law these suits have ceased. Business men now know what the law is, and they do not seek to evade it. The result is that our big corporations are now conducting themselves within the law. In the passage of this law the Democratic Party has made good its pledge to bring peace to business.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

In like manner and in furtherance of the project in bringing peace to business and to require big business concerns to obey the law, the Federal Trade Commission was established. Its object is to do away with unfair and illegal trade practices. It has already accomplished great good and is destined to achieve greater results in the future.

CHILD LABOR.

Several years ago I traveled through New England in an automobile. One afternoon we drove up to the most beautiful country estate my eyes ever beheld. The House was a marble palace. The grounds were more beautiful than the words of man can portray. There were automobiles and carriages and horses; golf course and tennis court. There were lakes and boats. There were beautiful trees and lawns. There were flowers and fruits and grasses of every kind and description. It looked as if all the luxuries of heaven and earth had been poured down on this one estate. We drove through the grounds and ran across its owner, who showed us with great pride over his beautiful villa and grounds. It was about 4.30 in the afternoon when we left.

As we continued our journey we soon came to a little village where there were a number of factories, cotton and woolen, and as we neared the village the 5 o'clock whistle blew, and there poured forth apparently innumerable children, mostly girls. Their faces were pinched and haggard. Their bodies were poorly clothed, and for the most part they were the pictures of poverty, penury, and woe. I asked who owned the factory, and was told that the gentleman on the hill who owned the great estate also owned the factory. As I looked at these God-forsaken-looking children I made up my mind then and there that if I ever found an opportunity to vote and work in favor of a child-labor bill I would lose no opportunity in doing so. That fall I was elected to Congress, and from the time I went there until recently I left no stone unturned to get a law passed by the Federal Government which would undoubtedly be enforced, protecting these innocent little children from such service as that, and see to it that their innocent young lives are not snuffed out and dusted out in these great mills.

This Congress has passed a law forbidding goods made by children less than 14 years of age, and in some cases less than 16 years of age, to be transported in interstate commerce. Of course, this means that these children will not be employed in factories.

My fellow citizens, I wish to say that if I had done no other act in Congress than to vote for this humane bill I would feel, having voted and worked for it, that my life as a Congressman had not been in vain.

PREPAREDNESS.

The great European war, which began a little more than two years ago, set all prudent men to thinking about our own military and naval resources in the event we also should get into trouble. At that time we had a little mobile Army of about 35,000 men scattered all over the face of the earth; some in Panama; some in Hawaii; some in the Philippines; some in China; some in Alaska; and some in the continental United States. We had a National Guard, but the Government had no control of it, and it was practically an unorganized force. Though the Republican Party had been in power for 16 years

on a stretch, and more than 7 years of it was under our warrior friend Col. Roosevelt, still the Army had been decreased under Republican rule, and very largely decreased, about 50 per cent, during the administration of Col. Roosevelt. Though it was claimed that we were likely to get into war with Japan in 1904 and 1905, still no preparation had been made in a military way by the Republican Party. There had been a gradual increase in our Navy ever since the time that William C. Whitney, in the second Cleveland administration, started it on the upward grade. When President Wilson came in our Navy stood third, or, perhaps, fourth among the great navies of the world. This was the condition of our military and naval resources at the beginning of the European war.

Like the prudent, careful President that he is, as soon as these conditions were ascertained President Wilson at once began a campaign for proper military and naval preparedness. He made many speeches over the country in reference to this important matter. I can safely say that a Democratic Congress has done more for the cause of real preparedness in this country than all the other Congresses have done in the 20 years preceding.

OUR ARMY.

We have reorganized the Regular Army and increased its authorized strength from 100,000 to 220,000 men. We have already increased its actual strength to about 120,000 men, and in five years the actual strength of the Army will be increased to 175,000 men. This, we believe, will be entirely adequate and effective for all of our needs in so far as the Regular Military Establishment is concerned. We have reorganized and federalized the National Guard of the various States. We have made it a concrete and systematic organization under the control of the United States Government. It is armed, disciplined, drilled, and controlled by the Federal powers. No better illustration of its effectiveness can be given than the fact that more than 100,000 of the National Guard are now mobilized on the Texas border, and it is just as effective as the Regular Establishment.

I served on the Military Affairs Committee of the House, and took an active part in securing the reorganization and the federalization of the National Guard, and believe that the country was never in a better shape to defend itself than it is under the present organization.

We have authorized the expenditure of $167,500,000 on our Military Establishment this year.

OUR NAVY.

About our Navy I can only say that this Congress has done more for the Navy than was ever done by any other Congress in the history of the Government. It has authorized the expenditure of more money for the Navy this year than any Government on the face of the earth ever authorized in one year for a navy. Our program for this year authorizes the building of 157 new war vessels, which, when completed, will in itself be larger than the navy of any other nation except Great Britain, Germany, France, and Japan. Added to the Navy we already have, which include 317 ships already built and 56 authorized, it will give us in the neighborhood of 530 war vessels and make our Navy second only to that of Great Britain; and if Great Britain suffers many more casualties in naval warfare in this war it may put us quite up with her. This vast establishment will cost a stupendous sum, and it means the upbuilding of the greatest Navy in the world. We are the only great Nation in the world that will have the money after this war with which to build a great Navy or to maintain a great Navy, and it is just certain to come that our Navy within the next two decades will be the largest and most effective Navy on the seas.

I believe in a great Navy, but I see no necessity for a great Military Establishment. I believe that we ought to have a great Navy because we are building up a great merchant marine and we are going to go out for the world's trade and commerce, and in order to get this trade and commerce in the largest and best way we should have a great Navy to protect our interests, wherever they may be.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Under Democratic administration prior to the Civil War in the neighborhood of three-fourths of our foreign trade and commerce was done in American ships. After the Civil War, under Republican rule, our flag practically left the seas, and to-day only about 15 per cent of our trade and commerce is carried on in American bottoms, and until the Wilson administration less than 10 per cent was in American bottoms. For years the Democratic Party has declared itself in favor of building up a merchant marine, and at last, after many efforts, we have passed a law under which we believe eventually American trade and commerce will be conducted in American ships. It is one of the most progressive measures that this Congress has passed.

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

If there had been no other measure passed by this Democratic administration, President Wilson would be entitled to a reelection and the Democratic Party continued in power by virtue of this measure alone. It has been in operation less than two years, and in that time it has been demonstrated that it is the greatest financial legislation ever enacted by this or any other Government. It has given competition in money markets. It has taken away the control of New York as the sole money market. If a country bank—and I mean by that any bank outside of New York City—wants money it now has two ways of getting it: It can borrow it from New York, as heretofore, or it can go to the Federal reserve bank of its own district and rediscount its paper and secure the money from such reserve bank at a low rate of interest. It has given elasticity to our currency system. It has made it impossible for money panics to come. It has enabled all legitimate business to get such money as their business requires. It has done more to bring about the present condition of prosperity in our country than, perhaps, all other legislation combined.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE MANUFACTURER.

It was claimed by our Republican friends that the Democratic Party was opposed to the manufacturing interests of this country. Nothing is further from the truth. The manufacturing interests of the country were never in better condition than they are to-day, after three years and a half of Democratic rule.

The Federal reserve act has given the manufacturer the financial assistance necessary for the development of his business. It has given him less interest rates. It has given him honest competition. The Clayton antitrust law has told him what the law is, and he is not hampered by being constantly sued for violations of the antitrust laws. We have given to the manufacturer the merchant marine act, which will increase his business abroad and work to his great advantage. We have also enacted a modification of the Sherman and Clayton antitrust laws, in so far as these laws apply to our foreign trade. In this way he will be able to combine with his neighbors and obtain foreign trade that he could not obtain now. We have instituted the Tariff Commission, which will protect his interests after the European war is over.

Surely the manufacturer has no cause of complaint against the Democratic Party. Surely he will not vote against the administration that has brought him his present prosperity.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE BUSINESS MEN.

Business in this country has never been in a better condition. It has never been more prosperous. It has never been as large. Business conditions are not due to accidents. The present good conditions, in my judgment, are due to Democratic policies. We have given business men a flexible and elastic currency system. We have done away with bank panics. We have told business men what they may lawfully do and pointed out what they can not do, and we have seen to it that lawful business may go unhampered and unprosecuted. We have given business men less interest rates. We have given them greater ease in securing money with which to operate their legitimate business. We have given them honest competition under fair and just tariff laws. We have provided against unlawful trade practices under the Federal Trade Commission. We are arranging to secure for them great foreign markets by providing for our own merchant marine. We have provided for securing larger trade and commerce by permitting them to combine in securing foreign business.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND LABORING MEN.

The Democratic Party has stood loyally by the laboring men. It has passed more laws for the betterment of labor conditions in the last four years than has ever been passed under any administration before. It has established a Department of Labor, with its chief as a member of the President's Cabinet. It has passed a law providing for a national employment bureau to help those who want work to obtain employment. It has passed an eight-hour law for women working in the District of Columbia. It has passed a child-labor law, which has been heretofore referred to. It has passed the employees' compensation act for injuries received. It has passed a seaman's act which is to abolish slavery on merchant vessels.

In this connection it has been said of us that we have been coerced by the labor unions in passing this labor legislation. Nothing is further from the truth. We have passed this legislation because the Democratic Party places the man above the dollar. We have believed that this legislation was right, and any unbiased man who will examine into it is obliged to come to the same conclusion. We believe in the rights of property.

We believe that they ought to be upheld and protected, but at the same time we believe in the rights and dignity of labor, and we believe they ought to be upheld. We do not believe that labor is a commodity, a property that is measured, bought, and sold as any other piece of property. On the contrary, we have believed that honest labor is the highest form of human energy and is entitled to be treated upon the same terms of humanity that the individual man is treated.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE RAILROADS.

While the Democratic Party has dealt justly and fairly with labor it has not undertaken to injure legitimate business, large or small. It has dealt with absolute fairness with the railroad situation. Under Republican rule prosecutions of railroad combinations were of almost daily occurrence. Many railroads were in the hands of receivers. Other railroads were unable to pay dividends. Their rolling stock was in bad condition. Many of their engines and cars were idle. Under Democratic rule all of this is changed. Every engine and every car is at work. Railroads are no longer being prosecuted by the officials of the Department of Justice. Such as have already been in the hands of receivers are now being reorganized. Earnings have greatly increased. After suffering from Republican rule, or misrule, they applied to this Democratic administration for permission to increase their rates. A small increase was granted, and this increase was acquiesced in by the whole country as being right. The result is, the railroads have made remarkable progress under this administration.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE FARMERS.

The acts of this administration benefiting the farmers are almost innumerable. Just before the administration came in the Democrats of the House forced the passage of the parcel-post law for the benefit of the country people. It has been a great success. Likewise, this administration has extended the rural free delivery. It has provided for farm-extension work. It has contributed to agricultural schools. It has regulated dealing in cotton futures. It has regulated warehouses and the use of warehouse receipts. It has given to the farmers the benefits of the Federal reserve act. It has taken the high tariff duties off of all farming necessities. It has instituted the merchant marine, by which farmers will obtain better markets for their products. It has authorized the contribution of $25,000,000 for country roads, which will be of great benefit to the farmers. But, above all, it has established the rural-credits system, which will mean more to the farming interests of the country than all other laws passed for the benefit of the farmers combined.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

But, over all and above all, the two things which this Democratic administration has given the country have been prosperity to our own people and peace with all the rest of mankind. Republicans may talk about our prosperity being temporary. That is but the expression of a political hope. They know just as well as we do that our present national prosperity is not temporary, but that it is based on a sound domestic condition and a firm and peaceful foreign policy.

We are prosperous because we have been at peace, and we have been at peace because of Woodrow Wilson. That is the whole situation in a nutshell.

MY PART IN THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Speaker, I have been in Congress just five years. I have been there during the entire time when these great measures, of which I have heretofore spoken, have been considered. I have supported them loyally. I have fought for them as valiantly as I knew how. I have taken part in their consideration. I am proud of each and every one of these laws. I believe that they, together with the determined stand of our President, have produced our present prosperity. I believe that the whole country approves of them. Nine-tenths of these laws were passed not only by the Democrats of both Houses, but a majority of the Republicans also voted for them.

WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STANDS FOR.

As I stated before, this is a Democratic year. We are standing upon our record. We are standing upon our present condition of peace and happiness in this country. We are standing upon favorable business conditions in this country. We are standing upon the present prosperity in this country. Any independent gentleman who may feel like supporting the Republican Party or the Republican candidates, let me ask you, What is it you want to change? Would you repeal a single one of the laws I have referred to? Would you do away with the present currency system? Would you do away with the rural-credits act? Would you do away with the election of United States Senators by the people? Would you do away with the income-tax law? Would you do away with the merchant-marine law? Would you do away with the child-labor law? Would you do away with the preparedness law? If you would not—and I do not believe you would do away with any of these laws—then is it not your duty to hold the party in power that has passed these laws?

MR. HUGHES.

Mr. Hughes, the Republican candidate for President, has been to Tennessee. He is a most excellent gentleman, but what great issue does he stand for? What great principle of government does he stand for that would cause you to want to vote for him? What policy does he stand for? In my judgment, the candidacy of Mr. Hughes has been a lamentable failure. He has made no impression upon the country. He stands for no issues. He has simply been over the country complaining of matters so small that they ought not be noticed by a candidate for the great office of President. He complains that a Republican Chief of the Census Bureau was turned out and a Democrat from Georgia—and there is not a better Democrat or man in the world than W. J. Harris—put in his place. He complains that some insignificant civil-service man was changed when he ought not to have been. He complains that the President ought to have recognized the assassin Huerta. He complains that the President ought to have prevented the sinking of the *Lusitania*. He complains that the negroes in Santo Domingo are not being properly treated. He complains, forsooth, that certain gentlemen from the South have important positions in Washington. His only issue is the bloody shirt.

These are the insignificant peccadillos that the candidate of a great party is running for President on. Shades of the immortal Lincoln, what a spectacle!

You will notice, however, that he does not attack a single one of the great measures that I have spoken of. He does not criticize any of these great constructive pieces of legislation passed by the Democratic Party during these four years. He admits that the country is more prosperous than ever before, and all that he can say is, in his judgment, it is temporary. How does he know it is temporary? We are told that Moses, Elijah, and Ezekiel talked with God, but all those of whom we have any record as having talked with God were gathered to their fathers many thousand years before Judge Hughes was born.

WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS DONE FOR THE COUNTRY GENERALLY.

This is the fourth year of Democratic control of this Government. They have been years of peace and plenty. They have been years of growth and prosperity. They have been years of development and progress. We inherited bad business conditions from the Taft administration, and it took us some little time to get it straightened out; but we have done so, and all is now working well, notwithstanding we have been greatly handicapped by the world war. No financial panics have upset our country in these years. There have been no great upheavals to upset the laboring world. There have been no great panics to wreck capital. The laboring man has had his dinner pail full and has received the rewards of honest toil. The capitalists have received just returns upon their money and been made to bear their just proportions of the expense of the Government. The manufacturer, though no longer allowed to be the beneficiary of privilege and bounty as under Republican rule, has, under the just laws of competition and good business conditions, restored by the Democratic Party, relied upon energy and effort rather than upon bounty and privilege, and they, too, have prospered as has all the rest of the country.

The wheels of industry are no longer stopped as they were under Republican rule. Mills are no longer idle; but under a just tariff law every species of manufacturing industry has been quickened and the prosperity of the manufacturers is greater than ever before.

There never has been such good business in our country. Under the beneficent influence of the Federal reserve act, commonly known as the Democratic banking and currency system, business has grown and prospered in this country as never before. Business men have more money to operate on. They have larger business. They have more profitable business than ever before. Prosperity has not been confined to big business men, but the small business men have prospered as well. There has never been as much money on deposit in the banks. There has never been as much money deposited in savings banks as there is to-day. Nor has our business been confined to our own country. We have sold more of our products abroad than ever before. Our exports have reached the high-water mark. The banks of our country have prospered. The grocery merchants have prospered. The commission merchants have prospered. The dry goods merchants have prospered, and every species of trade and commerce has yielded greater profits than ever before to our people.

Under Republican rule our mines were closed down in large part. Many of our coal mines were shut down because so

many of our mills, which usually used their coal, were shut down. They could not use coal. Our iron mines and our copper mines were idle. Such of them that were running had labor strikes on their hands, and during the Taft administration Congress was largely engaged in investigating strike conditions; investigating the absorption of and shutting down of the little fellow by the big fellows; investigating the employment of children instead of men in factories and the like. Under beneficent Democratic rule the laboring men and their employers are making too much money to strike. The big fellows are not allowed to gobble up the little fellow; but each is allowed to work out his own prosperity under the just laws of competition. The result is that our mines are all open and running; our miners are employed, and the output of our mines and furnaces is greater than ever before.

Under Republican rule railroad building almost ceased. The Department of Justice was largely engaged in suing railroads or prosecuting their officers and agents. Whenever the department could get a little time from dissolving one of the trusts or breaking up a strike it would turn up the facts to put another railroad into the hands of a receiver. The result was the railroads were earning no dividends. They were discharging their employees; they did not have work for them to do. They were cutting off trains because the people did not have money enough to travel. They were parking their freight cars because they had no freight to haul. There were almost as many engines in the roundhouses as there were on the road. These were the conditions brought about by Republican misrule.

But what has been the result to the railroads under Democratic rule? Their rates were not sufficient to give them a just return on their money, and some of them were allowed to increase their rates very slightly. Business conditions under Democratic rule so improved that all the railroads have arisen out of the mire of distress and ruin in which they had been placed by the Republican Party, and to-day they are more prosperous than ever before. Every freight car is being used. Every passenger train is being run. Every engine is being utilized. Every railroad has its full quota of employees. Every employee is receiving a reasonable wage for his labor. Receiverships are becoming antiquated, and high financing in railroad stocks and bonds, due to Republican laws, has become a thing of the past, and the railroads to-day are giving the people better service and are more amenable to law than ever before in their history.

Even the Lord has been good to the Democrats in these four years of peace and plenty. Our crops have never been more bountiful. We have raised more cotton than ever before, and it has brought better prices. We have raised more corn than ever before, and it has brought better prices. We have raised more wheat than ever before, and it has brought better prices. We have raised more stock and cattle and hogs than ever before, and they have brought better prices. Of course the Democratic Party did not have anything to do with the sun and the rains which produced these crops and the cattle which brought forth their kind, but it did have all to do with the conditions under which they were produced, and therefore the Lord has bountifully blessed the Democratic Party.

PRESIDENT WILSON.

The Democratic Party has made a good fight in the last four years. It has carried out its platform pledges made at Baltimore. It has stood by the people. It has stood by the country. In President Wilson it has had the ablest political leader any party ever had. He has risen to every occasion. He has met every crisis. He has come out victorious every time. During nearly four years, with Congress in session nearly all the time, with the gravest questions that ever confronted an administration or a people, he has never lost a fight. He has kept us out of war. He has kept our country at peace, and through all we have been more prosperous than ever before in our history.

His enemies said that he was but a schoolmaster and unfit for the duties and responsibilities of the Presidency. His enemies said he could not get along with Congress. His enemies said he was obstinate and willful. His enemies said he was not a diplomat and would get us into war with Germany. His enemies said he would get us into war with Mexico. His enemies said he could not avert a railroad strike. His enemies said he was too proud to fight. Every conceivable calumny and abuse have been heaped upon him, but through all he has conducted himself in a dignified and praiseworthy way. Too proud to fight they said, and yet he has the largest army patrolling the border that has ever been in existence in America in times of peace. Too proud to fight, and yet he has the largest navy that ever existed in American waters. Unable to avert a railroad strike, and yet we have none, and the country's business is going on as peacefully and as prosperously as before. Not a diplomat, and yet we are at peace with all the world and America stands higher among the nations than she has ever stood in her history. Could not get along with Congress, and yet Congress has enacted his every wish into law. He is the greatest statesman since Jefferson. He is the greatest diplomat since Clay. He is the greatest politician and leader since Jackson. He is the greatest and most versatile President that we have ever had, and the strongest ruler among all the nations of the earth to-day. Against this wonderful man the pitiful candidacy of Mr. Hughes will melt away as the mist melts in the morning sunshine, and the 7th day of November will give us a victory in a larger and fuller measure than the Democratic Party has ever received at the hands of the American people.

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**The Late Representative Brown, of West Virginia.**

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# MEMORIAL ADDRESS

OF

# HON. CLAUDE KITCHIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Sunday, April 16, 1916.*

The House had under consideration House resolution 204, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. WILLIAM G. BROWN, Jr., late a Member of this House from the State of West Virginia.

"*Resolved*, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of these exercises shall stand adjourned.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, under the impression until a short time ago that these ceremonies were to take place next Sunday instead of to-day, I am here unprepared to do justice to the dead friend whose life and character we commemorate to-day. And yet so great was my admiration, so strong was my friendship, and so warm my attachment for our deceased colleague that if I did not utter some word of tribute upon this occasion, I should feel myself disloyal to a memory which I revere and honor.

I knew Mr. BROWN well. Perhaps I was one of the first of the older Members whom he met after his election to Congress. I shall always recall with much interest and a great deal of pleasure our first meeting. It was one morning in the short session of the Sixty-first Congress, just after he had been elected to the House at the preceding November election. I was sitting alone on a davenport looking down the lobby aisle behind the Speaker's desk, when I saw a Capitol guide and a gentleman coming along, the guide telling the history of this Speaker and that Speaker, as he pointed to their portraits on the wall. I watched this stranger gentleman. His manner and demeanor were so polite, so courteous, so genteel, and the lines of his face were marked with such strength of character and mind, and his countenance so full of affability and geniality that I said to myself, "That is more than an ordinary man." I sat there until the guide came along to the portrait of the Speaker above my seat, where they stopped. I looked carefully at this man, then a stranger to me, and I was convinced then that he was more than or ordinary man. After the guide had finished telling him about the life and character of the Speaker above me I struck up a little conversation. About that time the doorkeeper announced that the lobbies should be cleared. The guide said, "We must leave now." I then said, "My friend, where are you from?" He answered, "I am from West Virginia." I then asked his name. He replied "BROWN is my name." I said, "You are not this Democratic BROWN that carried a rock-ribbed Republican district over here in West Virginia in the last election?" "Yes; I am the man," said he. I said, "You do not need this guide." I then told the guide to turn Mr. BROWN over to me; that I would be his pilot awhile. I explained to him that he was entitled to the floor and escorted him into the House cloakroom, where I introduced him to dozens of Members, some of whom I see around me now. From that day until his death BROWN and myself were close, intimate friends. He attracted me at once. There was that indescribable something about him which, for lack of a better name, we call personal magnetism. He possessed it in a preeminent degree. I never knew a person, man or woman, who ever met Mr. BROWN that was not attracted by him. He won

you to him. You could not help admiring him; you could not help being attached to him.

BROWN was one of the most unassuming, unintruding men I ever saw. You will remember that in the Sixty-second Congress, to which he was first elected, the system of appointing committees had been changed; the power to appoint had been taken out of the Speaker's hands and given directly to the House, through the recommendation of the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee in the first instance, to the majority caucus so far as concerned the Democratic Members, and then by the caucus recommending to the House for election. Practically all the new Democratic Members had applied to the Ways and Means Committee for committee assignments. In looking over the applications for the committee assignments I found that BROWN had made no application. We majority members of the Ways and Means Committee had an understanding that we would make no promises to any Member as to assignments. One day while with BROWN I was tempted to break the rule a little, and I said, "BROWN, you have not made application for a committee assignment." He said, "No; I just leave it to you gentlemen; I am willing to serve anywhere you put me." I said, "I can not promise you anything, but tell me to which committee you had rather be assigned; on what committee do you think you could give better service?" He then replied, "Since you ask me, I would prefer the Banking and Currency Committee."

I recall, too, that when we reached the Banking and Currency Committee for its make-up I presented his name. He was unanimously nominated by the committee and afterwards unanimously elected by the House. We made no mistake. He measured up to every requirement of an able, wise, diligent member of that great and important committee.

One day BROWN was in my office, when a friend from North Carolina came in. In introducing BROWN to him, I said, "Here is one of God's noblemen." I had said it before, and I say it now, BROWN was really one of God's noblemen, and, as the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CULLOP] said to-day, he was a real prince among men. He was a wise counselor. He did not take that active part in debates on the floor as some do, but when you talked with him in the committee room or in his office or in the cloakroom about any matter, you would get as good and wise judgment and conclusion from him as you would from any man. He had a balanced judgment; he had one of the most genial, lovable, and affable temperaments I ever saw, and it never betrayed him. He was a well rounded, perfect gentleman. That was the impression he made upon me when I first caught a glimpse of him in the corridor. He reminded me of what we call in our country an "old-time southern gentleman." He was not an old man, but in his courteous, genteel, and gracious manner and appearance he seemed to typify our conception of the "southern gentleman." I have served with few men in this House for whom I had a warmer affection. I suppose, outside of his committee colleagues in the Capitol, I was with him while in the Capitol as much as any man in the House. I was always charmed when I was with him. I left him with a delight and a sprightliness and cheerfulness of mind and temper that I did not have before. He could shake hands and look a man in the eye with more genuine sincerity and geniality than any other man I have met in Congress. My friends, as poor as has been my offering, I felt I could not miss this opportunity to pay a tribute to his memory and give my estimate of this fine and splendid gentleman, and wise and patriotic legislator, which his district, State, and Nation, as well as the House, have lost in his death.

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**Guarding the Nation's Gateway—Humanizing Ellis Island.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWARD KEATING,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

**Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, at my suggestion, Hon. Frederic C. Howe, commissioner of immigration at the port of New York, prepared the following statement in answer to the charges of immorality, laxity of administration, and neglect of duty made by Congressman WILLIAM S. BENNET, of New York, in speeches in the House of Representatives on July 18 and August 5, 1916.**

It is unnecessary for me to comment on Mr. Howe's statement. It speaks for itself; and I submit it with confidence to the candid judgment of my colleagues.

The statement follows:

THE NATION'S GATEWAY—A DETENTION CAMP.

My appointment as commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island coincided with the outbreak of the European war. Depressing as is the duty of separating the good from the bad in peace time, it became far more heartrending when Ellis Island was converted into a place of detention for hundreds of men, women, and children whose only offense was that they had been lured to a land of promise only to find it as well as the possibility of return to their native land closed against them. Even in ordinary times to be turned back at Ellis Island is a tragedy like that of the man and woman who have struggled for years to obtain a home; who have labored through the hot summers and the dreary winters; who have saved and sacrificed for something to hand on to their children; and who, on some bleak and desolate night, see it destroyed by flames. Such is a suggestion of the tragedy of those who come to America in search of a new home and who find its doors closed upon them. They have gazed across the seas for years. They have saved of their centimes for the passage. They have sold their small possessions, and, finally, with a hope such as none of us ever experienced, they make their way to the point of embarkation. Day by day they dream of America. The Statue of Liberty is the blessedest sight that ever greeted their eyes. They have but one fear, a fear that haunts them like a man under sentence of execution. They fear that they will be found wanting before the inspector who stands at our gates.

I doubt if we know of any apprehensions comparable to those which haunt the incoming alien from the moment his ties are broken in the land of his fathers to the moment he appears before the inspector. The husband may be chosen, the wife rejected. Fortune may favor the parents and frown upon the children. The family may be divided at the portal of a new life, for such is the mandate of the law.

The immigrant is poor. Otherwise he would not come. He does not know our language. He is frequently illiterate. Except for such concern as the Government gives him he is defenseless before all sorts of people who would exploit him.

Such is the condition of the alien in peace times. But the war closed the doors of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Poland to those who were rejected. They could neither go forward nor back. Hundreds were caught midway between two worlds. They were propertyless; for the most part without money, clothes, or friends. They were dumped on Ellis Island for no graver offense than that committed by the ancestors of every one of us—the offense of loving the freedom which America offered better than the tyrannies of the Old World.

ELLIS ISLAND A DETENTION CAMP.

I found these hundreds filled the detention rooms at Ellis Island on my appointment. They spoke many tongues. An official was some one to be feared. There was a babble of pleadings, but the eyes of all spoke the same language. It was the language of hopelessness, of beseeching, of pleading. The new land could be seen from the gratings at Ellis Island, but it could not be touched.

Month followed month. The only resource that the immigrant knew was work, but work was denied them, for there was nothing to do in the grim detention rooms at Ellis Island. The immigrants rose with the dawn and waited through the long, long day in the hope that they might hear their name called by an official, a call which might mean freedom—it might mean despair.

The worst punishment that can be inflicted upon even hardened criminals is idleness. They go insane. They commit all kinds of offenses. Yet the 600 aliens at Ellis Island had nothing to do. One day was the same as another. Husbands were separated from their wives and families. They stayed in different rooms. They slept in different dormitories. They learned of one another's sorrows only when hunger drove them to the table. Their clothes wore out. They had no money. They had no recreation. They were not permitted to leave the building. They saw occasional friends. Some of them knew no language but their own and lived solitary and alone.

Prisons have long since been more humane than then. Yet these poor people had committed no offense, save the offense of preferring our country to their own. They were marooned in New York Harbor in a building erected for the speedy clearance of thousands of persons a day. It was not erected as a prison. It was not designed for the comfort of persons detained for any length of time. This was the condition which I found on my appointment.

HUMANIZING ELLIS ISLAND.

I have been criticized by Congressman BENNET in the House of Representatives in a speech which I could not answer, and which has gone all over the country, and which by direct statement or inuendo charged me with encouraging immoral conditions at Ellis Island. He stated that I permitted families to be together; that immoral cases were permitted to mingle with the other aliens, and that as a result of this mingling great harm was done and immorality resulted.

That I permitted husbands to be with their wives and children I admit. That I took them all from the hard benches of the dreary detention rooms and permitted them to go upon the lawns, where the tears streamed down their cheeks in sheer happiness to be close to the soil again, I also admit. I admit that I opened school rooms for the children. I induced societies to come to Ellis Island and conduct sewing classes, in which the women could clothe themselves and their children. I opened rest rooms, where women and sick children could go in the daytime. I opened a library and sewing room. I provided a play room and induced all sorts of organizations in New York to come to Ellis Island and cooperate in relieving the tedium. A great porch was opened to all of them. It was provided with swings and playthings. I filled the station with flowers and lighted its walls with pictures. For two years on each Sunday there have been great concerts given in the main inspection room by immigrant societies from New York. These concerts were the red-letter day of the week. Motion-picture plays have been given in the evening by benevolent-minded persons. Games have been provided for the men. They, too, were organized for a while into mat-making classes. I permitted the men and women to walk together upon the lawns, to be together upon the great porch, and to meet with one another, as they had done all their lives before, as they had done upon the boat coming over. But there were matrons about all the time. There were watchmen there. The representatives of the religious societies were coming and going all the time. The sun beat upon them on the lawns, and the electric lights in the detention rooms.

The immoral cases were kept by themselves. They stayed in one section of the lawn—quite naturally, for the other aliens stayed away from them. They were barred from mingling with the others on the great porch—300 feet long and 150 feet wide—but they did not mingle. In the first place they did not seek to mingle, and in the second they were not permitted to mingle. It was and is my opinion that the surest way to prevent immorality was to have everyone out in the open under the watchful eye of officials, rather than in a dozen different rooms which could not be adequately supervised, and it is a fact that the alleged immorality was not committed in the playground and porch; that was as impossible as in a public street. The only alleged immorality was when the aliens were being kept in their rooms separated and segregated from the others, and even then has never risen above the case of a prostitute and procurer who had been detained at the station for months.

RUNNING A PRISON IN AN IMMIGRATION STATION.

Warrant men and women arrested for some offense were being brought to the station from inland cities. These still further increased the congestion, for these immoral cases had to be segregated. They had to be watched. Their offenses were sometimes trivial and sometimes serious. And despite this mixture of races, despite the fact that 300,000 people have slept on Ellis Island during the last two years, no complaint was ever registered by anyone about conditions up to a few weeks ago, and no suggestion has ever been made by anyone that any improper act occurred among the ordinarily detained alien. There are 70 representatives of various organizations at Ellis Island. They represent almost every church, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, as well as many philanthropic foreign organizations. Hundreds of visitors come to Ellis Island each day to see their friends. There are 600 employees at the station. Complaint boxes are scattered about the walls. The office of the commissioner is open at all times. Yet despite this problem, for which Ellis Island was not prepared, there was no suggestion of immorality or of irregularity at this station up to within the last few weeks, and the suggestion referred to by Congressman BENNET came from prostitutes and procurers, and related to their own actions rather than to the actions of the ordinary immigrants detained here.

An investigation was immediately made of each of the cases referred to by Mr. BENNET. Sworn statements were taken. Watchmen, matrons, ministers, and representatives of religious societies were called in. The testimony was all to the same effect. There was no confirmation from any source of the statements of the prostitutes and procurers, one of whom offered to make a disclosure on condition that the Government would pay his transportation to South America, while the other made her statement after an altercation with the guards which had resulted in rather rough usage.

Anyone familiar with prisons, anyone familiar with this class, knows that one of their ambitions is to outwit the guards, and that "frame ups" are of constant occurrence. Yet the most exhaustive investigation failed to produce any evidence that would lead to an indictment of any employee, much less to his conviction.

RELIEVING THE CONGESTION—A SYSTEM OF PAROLE.

The war had turned Ellis Island into a detention camp. It was not built for that purpose. It consists of a series of widely scattered dormitories, two large women's and a men's day detention room, all located in the main administration building. In addition there is a narrow corridor with 10 small rooms, containing 8 or 10 beds each, which is used for two purposes: First, as a dormitory for first and second cabin aliens who could not be immediately landed for some reason or other, and, second, as detention quarters for immoral cases, such as prostitutes and criminals. The rooms are close together. Despite repeated appeals to Congress, no appropriation has ever been made for adequate and proper dormitories for first and second cabin aliens. As time went on, warrant cases were brought to the station for immediate deportation, otherwise to be held until the end of the war. They accumulated. Hundreds of other aliens were detained because of the ruling of the Department of Labor. What to do with these accumulations became a problem. They could not be sent back to Europe and they had been denied admission to the United States. The Department of Labor finally sent representatives to Ellis Island to reinvestigate all of these cases. Prolonged hearings were held. The life histories were gone into.

The Young Men's Christian Association and religious and philanthropic organizations of the island were invited to cooperate. Jobs were found for men. Homes were found for women. The department admitted them on parole subject to rearrest in case it became necessary. They reported to the station. They are inspected by our officials. They are under surveillance of the religious societies. By these means several hundred persons were temporarily landed. Among these were a number of men and women who were held as immoral cases. Of this total number, not more than half a dozen have gone back to their old life. The others have made good. They have learned their lesson. Many of them have made substantial savings. This is true of the women as well as of the men. These persons were treated just like offenders on parole or probation by the courts. Trusted by the Government, they have recognized that trust and acted accordingly.

It has been charged by Mr. BENNET that I admitted, or recommended for admission, a large number of immoral aliens. As a matter of fact, investigation of the records show that of this total number only nine were personally recommended for admission by me. Among this number was Juliette, an Italian woman. She had been arrested as a prostitute. Her husband, or alleged husband, was arrested and sent to Atlanta prison. Juliette had been at that station for nearly one year. She was spoken of most highly by the matrons. She had a little boy in Italy to whom she wanted to send money. The St. Rafael Society of Italian immigrants applied for her parole. I had indorsed the appeal which the department granted. The woman was given employment by one of the physicians in the public health service. She worked at this place for months. Her employer speaks in the highest terms of her. She then secured a second position, and her second employer spoke of her as exemplary. During the last week a thorough investigation has been made by a Federal inspector, who reports that there is no cause of complaint against Juliette whatever. This is one instance of many unfortunate women whom kindness, consideration, and help has reclaimed from their former life.

PROTECTING THE IMMIGRANT FROM "FRAUD AND LOSS."

Under the immigration law immigrant officials are charged with the duty of protecting the alien from "fraud and loss." I took this obligation seriously. That brought me into conflict with many powerful interests which for years have operated in and about Ellis Island. It included steamship companies, railroad companies, hotels, lodging house keepers, and a private contractor at Ellis Island.

Mr. BENNET says I have neglected my duty. Rather I have been too busy performing my duty. This complaint would never have arisen had it not been for too great activity on my part. That is the real trouble. Under the law the responsibility of protecting the immigrant from "fraud and loss" falls upon me. Under that provision I consider this to be one of my primary duties, and "fraud and loss" involves any kind of needless exaction or extortion to which the hundreds of thousands—in normal times nearly a million—of immigrants that enter this port annually are subjected. The rules require that the immigrant have a small sum of money, usually $25. And immediately upon admission the Government turns him loose to be preyed on by anyone who can get to him before he can get away from New York. What these agencies take they take legally, it is true; but it is none the less a dead loss to the immigrant. Immediately upon my appointment I started in to protect the immigrant from these interests.

In the first place, as soon as the immigrant is admitted he has to run a gantlet of a series of private agencies which have offices at the station. He runs the gantlet, first, of the money changers, who transfer European money into American money. Then he runs by the telegraph offices, who want him to send telegrams. Next he faces the railroad and steamship offices, who exchange orders or sell him transportation. Finally he passes by the food concessionaire, who sells boxes of food at 50 cents and $1 to the immigrant in transit. Every one of these agencies wants to make as much money as possible. Every one of them has employees whose jobs depend upon their success in promoting business. They urge the immigrant to buy food. I protested against these conditions, especially against having the feeding privilege in private hands. The Department of Labor, with the approval of the Department of Justice, approved of the taking over of the contract by the Government. We planned to take the element of profit out and at the same time insure that the immigrant could get wholesome food at cost. We also would free him from private agencies urging him to buy more than he needed. This precipitated a controversy.

Closely related to this form of exploitation were a number of others. I found that second-cabin aliens, who differ very little from steerage aliens, were examined on shipboard and dumped into Hoboken, New York, and Brooklyn. Hotels, saloons, lodging houses, expressmen—all kinds of persons—lived off the alien before he could get out of the city. Many of the aliens were compelled to stay overnight needlessly. They had to cart all their bundles, baggage, and possessions across the river, then down Manhattan, then across to Ellis Island—all at great cost to themselves. I urged that these aliens be inspected at Ellis Island, so that they could go immediately West without all this waste, which, according to those protesting against the change proposed by me, amounted to colossal sums, it being said that Hoboken alone would lose $700,000 a year by the change. The immigrants were poor. They were ignorant. They were dumped into a great city without anyone to protect them, and the privileges which all these agencies enjoy run and ramify into others.

The steamship companies pay the hospital charges for detained immigrants. They amount to a very large sum. I had an investigation made and found that we were losing $120,000 a year, which was a free gift of the Government to the steamship companies. I brought about an increase in their rates of from 200 to 300 per cent. It put the hospitals on a self-supporting basis.

I also attacked the in-transit privileges, and aimed to bring about a reform by which the $4 head tax collected by the steamship companies would be paid back to the immigrants who left the country.

These are but typical of the hostilities aroused, the groups incensed, and the interests disturbed. In normal times the food contractor does a business of probably $500,000 a year. A three-year contract may amount to $1,500,000. The actual investment in cooking utensils, labor, and supplies is probably under $20,000. The best offer we have been able to get to run this contract for the future has been on the basis of 10 per cent profit. On this basis the contract is worth $50,000 a year. It has been worth much more in the past.

THE FINDING OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

In commenting on the statement of Congressman BENNET that I neglected my official duties, the Department of Labor made the following statement to the Committee on Immigration of the House, which was adopted by the committee and reported to the House:

"As bearing upon the above intimation of neglect, I beg to say, however, that the following substantial achievements in the efficient administration of the station have been effected by Commissioner Howe:

"(1) A thorough investigation with experts was made of the cost of the hospitals, which were alleged to be self-sustaining. The commissioner found that the hospitals were losing over $100,000 a year, which loss was being paid by the Government for the benefit of the steamship companies. He secured an increase in hospital charges to steamship companies which has increased the earnings of the hospitals by approximately $100,000.

"(2) He reinvestigated requests for money for permanent appropriations and after investigation reduced such request, in 1915, by $300,000.

"(3) He reduced, in response to war conditions, the operating salary costs of the Ellis Island station by approximately $100,000 a year.

"(4) He investigated the many immigration lodging houses and homes in New York and brought about a clean-up in a number of them.

"(5) He secured the cooperation of the commissioner of police to clean up the conditions which surrounded the barge office, and by so doing protected the incoming immigrants at New York from the individuals who had previously preyed upon them.

"(6) He investigated and brought about many reforms in the protection of the aliens en route from Ellis Island, both at Jersey City and along the route.

"(7) He organized all of the employees at the station into an association for making the wants of the employees known and for securing the cooperation of all the employees in the administration of the station.

"(8) He brought about a reorganization of the purchasing of supplies for the hospitals at a great saving and improvement in the service.

"(9) He made an investigation of the conditions under which landing of first and second cabin aliens were made at the various piers around New York, and ended many abuses and losses to which the aliens were exposed.

"(10) He brought about a change in the inspection of first and second cabin aliens on shipboard which greatly improved the service.

"(11) He made a number of studies at the request of the department as to means for increasing the efficiency and the rating of the employees.

"(12) He greatly increased the output of the Division of Statistics and brought about a complete change in the filing system.

"(13) He worked in cooperation with the board of education in New York for the opening of night schools for the education of adult aliens.

"(14) He organized a number of agencies looking to the protection of aliens in New York.

"(15) He organized a movement in 1916 for Americanization day celebrations throughout the country, and over 100 cities held citizenship celebrations as a result of the commissioner's efforts.

"(16) During the past two years Ellis Island has been almost free from the constant criticism on the part of foreign organizations and of the foreign press, which prior to his administration was continuous. It was directed at the alleged lack of kindness and consideration to incoming aliens. The nonforeign press of New York has been almost unanimous in its approval of his administration and the many changes and improvements which he has brought about.

"I remain, very respectfully, yours,

"W. B. WILSON, *Secretary of Labor.*

"Hon. JOHN L. BURNETT,
*"Chairman Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,*
*"House of Representatives, Washington, D. C."*

In the speech in the House September 5, Congressman BENNET further stated that I was so much occupied with outside activities that I could not attend to the duties as commissioner. He stated I was director of the People's Institute. This is not true. I have not been actively connected with the People's Institute since my appointment. He states I was chairman of the national board of censorship of the motion pictures. I resigned from office shortly after my appointment. He stated I wrote three books since my appointment. As a matter of fact I have written but one book, although three have been published.

Mr. BENNET says I have been absent from the station. Mr. BENNET is thoroughly familiar with immigration. He knows that 90 per cent of the immigration of this country passes through Ellis Island. We have thousands of appeals each year. There are over 600 employees here. I am called to Washington probably twice a month in connection with the immense volume of work passing through this station. I was sent to California by the department for one month, and later to South Carolina. We have been developing the Employment Division, which has called for many conferences, not only in Washington but elsewhere.

CONCLUSION.

Two years at Ellis Island, even with the rejected of Europe and the rejected of America as well, has done more to strengthen my belief in humanity than to weaken it. It has satisfied me that there is so much good in bad people that even from the point of view of control it is better and safer to appeal to the good than to awaken the bad. The alleged irregularities did not occur during the 22 months of trust and confidence when the immoral cases were on their honor. They occurred, rather, under the régime of punishment, close confinement, and distrust. I am more satisfied than ever I was that bad people can be trusted and that they respond to trust and kindness just as they respond to intrigue and outbursts when treated with harshness. And I am further convinced that most of the vice and the crime of the world are traceable to economic conditions; to involuntary poverty. For as soon as even arrested aliens, who were down in the bottom, were given a job, were encouraged by help and kindness, they have reacted to the new conditions and willingly abandoned their former professions and conditions. Of the hundreds of aliens admitted on parole only an insignificant number have gone back to their old pursuits or failed to vindicate the trust reposed in them. Human nature is much the same in every country and in every clime; and human nature gives back what it receives, whether that be kindness or punishment.

Two years' experience at the Nation's portals has further convinced me that our immigration laws fall far short of completion in dumping the alien at the port of entry and leaving him to his own devices, to be imposed upon and otherwise exploited by the many agencies that fasten upon him. He should be protected from private interests within the immigration station through the Government operation of the private concessions that now exist. Arrangements should be made to insure proper and cheap transportation to his destination. Cities, States, and Federal authorities should protect the alien at his destination, and arrangements be effected with the school authorities, health authorities, and other agencies for bringing him into immediate contact with American life. The average alien is willing to work; he is quite willing to identify himself with the best in America; and there is a terrible waste involved in permitting him to shift for himself, unaided, unprotected, and uninspired by the country toward which he has looked for years and for membership into which he has sacrificed everything that he possessed.

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### Eight-Hour Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HENRY W. TEMPLE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. TEMPLE. Mr. Speaker, the so-called eight-hour law which passed the House last Friday and the Senate on Saturday was the subject of much discussion at the many celebrations of Labor Day on the following Monday, the first Monday of September.

Members of labor organizations and all other residents of this country have a very real interest in the satisfactory solution of labor problems, and therefore they are interested in this bill, so far as it may be believed to affect the solution of these problems.

There was a time when the right of laboring men to organize for the advancement of their own welfare was seriously challenged, but if there are any now who deny this right they express themselves very cautiously.

The changed conditions of modern industry have, of course, not modified the fundamental rights of men, but they have brought men into somewhat new relations with one another, and have, therefore, made some changes in the methods which men make use of to secure a recognition of their rights. Not many years ago a cabinetmaker, for example, owned his own tools, worked in his own shop, making pieces of furniture ordered from him by his customers. He owned the tools; he owned the shop; he owned the product of his own labor until he had sold it to a customer. For him there was no question of wages, of sanitation of the factory, of hours of labor; these things were in his own hands, under his own control. In such conditions a strike was not known. Not many years ago every little village, as well as every larger town, had its own small shoe shop, in which the owner employed perhaps a half dozen men, each of whom owned the bench on which he sat and worked, each owned his own set of tools, and each looked forward to the time when he would be the owner of such a shop. With the development of the large factory this state of affairs was changed. Labor-saving machinery multiplied the productive power of labor. The large factory could produce at less cost, and in many cases could produce a much better article than that made by hand. The small shop disappeared, and the man who worked with his hands no longer looked forward to the time when he would be the owner of a shop. The great multitude of men who make things with their hands expect to be wage earners throughout the working years of their lives.

The same number of men working with labor-saving machinery produce a much larger output. In almost every trade the application of steam and electricity to machinery has enabled the same number of men to produce a much larger quantity of goods than could have been produced under the old system. The same amount of labor produces more of that which satisfies the wants of men. The world is richer. No longer do men have to work 15 or 16 hours a day to produce that which will satisfy the bare necessities of mankind. Comforts, and even some luxuries, seem to have been brought within the reach of all. The world has advanced and the men who work with their hands have advanced with it, but the question may be seriously asked whether the men who work with their hands have had their full share of the world's progress. The laboring men of to-day have more of the comforts of life than the laboring men of three or four generations ago, but that is not a complete answer to the question whether they have had their full share of the world's advancement in wealth.

When each man worked for himself in his own little shop there was, as I have said, no question of wages, no question of the conditions under which he labored or of the length of the working-day that he could not settle for himself. He was his own employer. With the development of the factory system in which many men must work under uniform conditions, no one man of them can fix those conditions. They must either accept the conditions made for them by their employer and the wages offered to them by their employer, or they must in their own interest make a combined effort to secure for themselves such wages, such hours of labor, and such conditions about the factory as the nature of the business itself and the interests of the employer and the employee may justify.

It is not too much to say that labor organizations are the result of the factory system which grew up with the invention and development of labor-saving machinery. Labor organizations are intended then to secure for the laborer his just share of the world's progress. They are intended to secure just wages and proper conditions of labor, such as safety appliances, factory sanitation, proper compensation for injuries, child-labor laws, and the many adjustments which have been spoken of collectively as a program of social and industrial justice.

Along with the adjustment of wages and proper conditions of labor come also the adjustment of the length of the working-day. So long as labor organizations advocate their own interests in ways that are approved by public sentiment, so long as they seek to obtain a fair share—even their full share—of the progress which the world has made, they will be supported by public sympathy and approval.

There is a limit below which wages can not go. No man can be expected to work for less than will support him and his family decently, for less than will enable him to maintain a fair standard of living. On the other hand, there is also an upper limit above which wages can not go. No employer can afford to pay more than the amount by which the laborer's service increases the output of the plant. Only fair bargaining based upon prac-

tical experience can determine where the wages ought to be, but in every employment they must be found somewhere between these two limits.

A like principle applies to the length of the working-day. It must be fixed as the result of practical experience. In many trades an actual working day of eight hours has been determined by the customs of the trade. The Government of the United States has accepted the eight-hour day, and public opinion in general supports this as the standard. With this opinion I am myself in full sympathy and accord. I believe in the eight-hour day and hope for its adoption in all trades and for all laborers just as fast as the conditions of industry can be made to adapt themselves to this standard.

I believe in the eight-hour day because of its benefits to the worker. It benefits his health. It permits him to spend some leisure time in the advancement of his intelligence and in recreation and amusements. His leisure time may be used not only in the advancement of his own welfare, but it gives him an opportunity to have a better and more wholesome family life. If a workman leaves his home before daylight and works until night he has no opportunity to become acquainted with his own children or to meet his responsibilities in bringing them up. His family life can not be what it ought to be, and not only the members of his own family but also the community in which he lives will suffer the penalty. A shorter day gives the laborer time to do his duty by his family and time also for the performance of his duties as a member of the community by cultivating and manifesting a proper interest in the common welfare. Whether he will use his leisure wisely depends, of course, on the man, but the shorter day gives him at least a chance to be a healthier man, a better man, a better husband and father, and a better citizen. I believe in the eight-hour day.

The bill that passed the House last Friday and the Senate last Saturday is entitled—

An act to establish an eight-hour day for employees of carriers engaged in interstate and foreign commerce, and for other purposes.

This title is deceptive. The bill does not establish an eight-hour working day, even for the very limited number of railroad employees to whom it applies, and it applies to less than one-fifth of the railroad employees of the country. The Democratic majority voted against an amendment that would have given the bill a wider application. That amendment was as follows:

Add to section 1 the following: "*Provided further*, That this section shall also include and apply to station agents, train dispatchers, trackmen, office employees, workers in railway shops, and all other employees of a railroad carrier engaged in interstate carriage of passengers and freight."

There were 81 votes for this amendment and 120 against it, almost all of the 120 being Democrats. Whatever the bill may do it does not establish an eight-hour working-day, even for railway trainmen. To other workers it does not apply at all. When this law goes into effect the limit of the working-day for railway trainmen will be precisely what it was before this bill was passed. I understand that the general legislation covering this matter provides that men engaged in the operation of trains may not work longer than 16 hours, after which they are entitled to 8 hours off duty before they can be called for another period of 16 hours. Under the new law that condition remains unchanged.

The new law does provide that eight hours shall be the—

measure or standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation—

of certain employees, but it applies only to those employees who are actually engaged in the operation of trains. It does not even apply to all men actually engaged in this work, but only to those who are operating trains which carry persons or goods in interstate commerce. The bill specifically provides that the trains to which this bill applies must be used for the transportation of persons or property—

from any State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia to any other State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia or from one place in a Territory to another place in the same Territory.

It does not say from one place in a State to another place in the same State, for that would not be interstate commerce, and this bill is supposed to be dependent upon the interstate-commerce clause of the Constitution. To what extent this limitation may interfere with the general application of the law can be determined only by those who are practically familiar with railroad business. To what extent the present practice of the railroads may be modified to meet the limitations of this bill I do not know, but it is plain enough that the bill applies within limits which are somewhat narrow and probably not very well defined.

I do not know whether it will apply to trains going, for example, from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, or from any place in Pennsylvania to another place in Pennsylvania, especially if the destination is a division terminal, where the train is broken up and scattered, some cars going to one railroad and some to another. Is such a train, as a train, engaged in interstate commerce? This is a question that must be answered by men who have experience in practical railroading or by men who have special knowledge of the laws governing railroads.

There is another limitation. The bill, in making eight hours the standard of measurement for wages, does, of course, give one material advantage to the limited number of men to whom it applies. So long as that provision of the law is in force, these men will receive for eight hours the wages they now receive for 10 hours.

It must be remembered, however, that the pay for overtime will be at no higher rate. If the original demands of the brotherhoods had been met, the men would have been paid at the rate of time and a half for overtime. This would have had a tendency to induce the management to give the men eight hours employment, and then, wherever at all practicable, to furnish a fresh crew, rather than work the tired crew for longer time at wages 50 per cent higher.

The public has certainly an interest in demanding that trains shall not be operated by exhausted men. I do not wish to risk my life as a passenger on a train drawn by an engine whose engineer has been 16 hours or longer at the throttle, or on a train that may collide with a freight train whose engineer has been exhausted by the strain of labor continued too long. The public has as vital an interest in a short-time working day for trainmen as the trainmen have themselves, but this law does not give the short-time day. Sixteen hours remain as the lawful limit. The eight-hour day is merely made the standard of measurement for the purpose of compensation.

I began a moment ago to speak of another limitation in this bill. Section 3 reads as follows:

That, pending the report of the commission herein provided for, and for a period of 30 days thereafter, the compensation of railway employees subject to this act for a standard eight-hour workday shall not be reduced below the present standard day's wage, and for all necessary time in excess of eight hours such employees shall be paid at the rate not less than the pro rata rate for such standard eight-hour workday.

The commission referred to in section 3 is to investigate during a period of not less than six months and not more than nine months, and the above section provides that the railroad shall not reduce the pay until 30 days after the report of the commission has been made. There is nothing whatever in this law or in any law now on the statute books that will prevent the railroads after that time from making such a reduction in the pay as will put the trainmen on precisely the present basis. Therefore, it seems to me that the sole beneficial effect of this bill will be to postpone until a few months after the November election the conflict, if, indeed, a conflict was impending, between the railroad management and the employees. If the men believe that they have received more than this, then it is my belief that someone has handed them a gold brick.

I was told that I ought to vote for this bill because I could never make laboring men understand the real nature of the legislation. Men who told me that I was right about the bill, that the bill ought not to pass, nevertheless advised me to vote for it because of this supposed difficulty in getting laboring men to understand the facts.

I put a higher estimate upon the intelligence of the average man. I believe that the average man can understand what I can understand, if the facts are placed fairly before him.

There are many other reasons also for refusing to support this bill. It was introduced in the House Thursday and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed. On Friday at 11 o'clock, when the House met, the printed copies were ready for distribution; and not until that time did the Members of the House have an opportunity to begin to study the bill. An exception to this statement should be made. The members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce had had an opportunity to consider the bill in committee on Thursday afternoon, but the membership of the House had not seen it until Friday.

A special rule was passed providing that the bill should be voted upon at half past 4 on Friday afternoon. When a bill is read for amendment, the rules and customs of the House require that it be read by paragraphs, and that at the end of any paragraph amendments to that paragraph may be offered.

The first paragraph of the bill was read; many Members offered amendments, and these amendments to the first paragraph were still being discussed when the hour fixed for the vote came. The remaining paragraphs of the bill were not read. This measure was passed under lash and spur. It received no

proper consideration, because there was no time for consideration.

Let me be distinctly understood. It was not the railroad employees that brought this matter to Congress. It was not the railroad employees that demanded of Congress to pass this bill through both Houses by Saturday night. Neither the railroad trainmen nor the railroad managers brought anything to Congress. They were proceeding with their own discussion in their own way when the President of the United States went to them with a proffer of his services in mediating between them. His proposals were not acceptable to the parties to the dispute and the President of the United States brought the matter to Congress, insisting that it be disposed of before the date set for the strike.

The bill which passed was only a part, and a very limited part, of the legislation demanded by the President of the United States. I will quote an extract from the address made by him on Tuesday, August 29, setting forth the whole program of which this bill which passed the House three days later is only a part.

I wish to call your attention also to the fact that while this bill was urged by Members of Congress as an emergency measure intended to avert the threatened strike, it was not so presented to the House by the President. Two days before the bill was introduced and three days before it passed the President said:

> These things I urge upon you not in haste or merely as a means of meeting a present emergency, but as permanent and necessary additions to the law of the land. * * * The time and the occasion only give emphasis to their importance. We need them now and we shall continue to need them.

The whole program, as outlined by the President in his address of August 29, is as follows:

> Having failed to bring the parties to this critical controversy to an accommodation, therefore, I turn to you, deeming it clearly our duty as public servants to leave nothing undone that we can do to safeguard the life and interests of the Nation. In the spirit of such a purpose, I earnestly recommend the following legislation:
>
> First. Immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate, in order that the commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are with its present constitution and means of action practically impossible.
>
> Second. The establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and of wages in the employment of all railway employees who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.
>
> Third. The authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe the actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads, its effects in the matter of operating costs in the application of the existing practices and agreements to the new conditions, and in all other practical aspects with the provision that the investigators shall report their conclusions to the Congress at the earliest possible date, but without recommendation as to legislative action, in order that the public may learn from an unprejudiced source just what actual developments have ensued.
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> Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.
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> Fifth, an amendment of the existing Federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.
>
> And, sixth, the lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.
>
> This last suggestion I make because we can not in any circumstances suffer the Nation to be hampered in the essential matter of national defense. At the present moment circumstances render this duty particularly obvious. Almost the entire military force of the Nation is stationed upon the Mexican border to guard our territory against hostile raids. It must be supplied, and steadily supplied, with whatever it needs for its maintenance and efficiency. If it should be necessary for purposes of national defense to transfer any portion of it upon short notice to some other part of the country, for reasons now unforeseen, ample means of transportation must be available, and available without delay. The power conferred in this matter should be carefully and explicitly limited to cases of military necessity, but in all such cases it should be clear and ample.
>
> There is one other thing we should do if we are true champions of arbitration. We should make all arbitral awards judgments by record of a court of law in order that their interpretation and enforcement may lie, not with one of the parties to the arbitration but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal.
>
> These things I urge upon you, not in haste or merely as a means of meeting a present emergency, but as permanent and necessary additions to the law of the land, suggested, indeed, by circumstances we had hoped never to see, but imperative as well as just, if such emergencies are to be prevented in the future. I feel that no extended argument is needed to commend them to your favorable consideration. They demonstrate themselves. The time and the occasion only give emphasis to their importance. We need them now and we shall continue to need them.

This program, you will observe, provides, in the first place, for the enlargement of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and in the fourth of the proposed measures for an explicit approval by Congress of an increase of freight rates by authority of the commission in case the higher rate of wages makes that necessary. This leads one to inquire whether there is an understanding that the additional members of the Interstate Commerce Commission would be chosen from among those men who are known to be in favor of the increased freight rates. In other words, one may inquire whether this is a proposal to pack the Interstate Commerce Commission for the purpose of insuring a certain decision.

The bill which passed on Friday was perhaps intended to cover the second and third of the proposals of the President.

The fifth proposal asks for the adoption of a law similar to that known as the Canadian disputes act, which labor organizations in the United States have studied carefully, and to which they are opposed with practical unanimity. This plan makes strikes and lockouts alike unlawful until after a Government investigation of the dispute. One of the chief objections to this plan is that the investigation may sometimes be indefinitely prolonged by obstructive tactics employed by one or the other of the parties to the dispute so that the proposed strike or lockout may be rendered unlawful for an indefinite period of time, and a favorable opportunity may thus be lost.

The sixth proposal asks that the President be given power, in case of military necessity, to take possession of the railroads and draft the train crews and administrative officials into the military service of the United States, the President himself to be, in all probability, the sole judge of the military necessity of the case. This provision would place enormous power in the hands of one man, and if at some future time an accident of politics should place an unscrupulous man in the presidential chair the abuse of this enormous power would work incalculable disaster.

There is also in the program which I have quoted a seventh proposal, you will observe, which the President does not number as he does the first six. It reads as follows:

> There is one other thing we should do if we are the champions of arbitration. We should make all arbitral awards judgments by record of a court of law in order that their interpretation and enforcement may lie not with one of the parties to the arbitration but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal.

Compulsory arbitration with the award of the arbitrators enforced by an authoritative tribunal is a very extreme measure. The arbitrators might make an award which the employers would say would force them into bankruptcy. Nevertheless the award would be enforced by an authoritative tribunal. Or the arbitrators might make an award which the employees would deem unjust. Nevertheless the award would be enforced by an authoritative tribunal. Does that mean that the men would be forced to discontinue their strike and to go to work on the terms fixed by the arbitrators? The Constitution of the United States provides that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in the United States except as a punishment for crime. This plan would be dangerously near to involuntary servitude.

The bill that passed last Friday is a part of this program. When the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON], chairman of the committee which reported the bill, was asked when the rest of the program was to be put through, he replied:

> We have been doing some things, but not all things, and in the language of the dying saint I want to assure the gentlemen that "We hope to meet again" in Congress to finish the work.

We have, therefore, the assurance of the President of the United States that this bill was not emergency legislation, but merely a part of the program of "necessary and permanent additions to the law of the land." We have the statement of the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON], that Congress will meet again and finish the work.

The whole program is so radical and so far reaching, so weighted with the possibilities of oppression and of incalculable disaster both to employer and employee, that it ought not to be driven through Congress with this stimulus of lash and spur. The least dangerous parts of it require very careful study and deliberation and some parts of it are so dangerous, so destructive of liberty, that all parts of it, because they are parts of a coherent program, should be looked upon with suspicion. I can not support any part of it if my support is to be construed as an implied promise to support the rest.

## The Eight-Hour Day.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CARL C. VAN DYKE,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. VAN DYKE. Mr. Speaker, we are legislating to meet a condition; we are faced by one of the most serious industrial crises in the history of our country. It is a condition which, as the President has told us, has been gradually developing for a year past. One of the railway presidents, a member of the committee of railway managers, represented in the attempted railway settlement, tells us that the country has been seriously threatened with a strike for eight months. The developments of the past 10 days have brought that crisis to a focus.

Let us briefly consider the industrial conditions that have led to the present emergency. Beginning with October last, through the tremendous increase in the country's industrial development, the earnings of American railroads began to show a volume of increase unparalleled. The net earnings by months of the railway companies from October, 1915, to July, 1916, ranged from 40 per cent up to 70 per cent above the net earnings for the corresponding period the year before. Naturally, the trainmen who performed the work and were largely instrumental in producing these earnings expected a pro rata share in the volume of prosperity.

Moreover, the increase in the cost of living, due to the general rise of prices resulting from the European war, appeared to justify increased remuneration, if only on the ground that the income of the workmen and their families should hold its own. The United States Department of Labor reported in May last that the average cost of food in the United States had increased 12½ per cent in the year. If we consult the index figures of such authorities as the Annalist, Bradstreet's, Dun's, and the Wall Street Journal, of recent date, we find that the increased cost of leading food staples has increased, on the average, approximately 25 per cent as compared with 18 months ago.

On the ground, therefore, both of largely increased railroad earnings and of increased cost of living, the railway trainmen of this country were entitled in all equity to a readjustment of their compensation to the existing industrial conditions.

Over eight months ago, as stated by the railway officials, the brotherhoods sought to secure a readjustment from the companies. The latter were opposed to any changes. In June last a committee of trainmen met a committee representing the railroad owners in New York for further consideration of the issues involved. At that meeting the trainmen laid before the companies their conditions of work. They showed that they were required to work 10, 12, and sometimes even 16 to 20 hours a day for the wages they received, and called attention to the fact that there had been no reduction in hours or increase of pay since the boom in earnings which began about a year ago. They showed that although in the past 20 years there had been some increase in pay; that, on the other hand, there had been an absolute decrease in the unit cost of operation to the roads. The cost of labor for moving 1,000 tons of freight 1 mile had dropped from 2.979 cents in 1895 to 2.396 in 1915. On some of the leading roads the decreased labor cost per thousand tons moved reached from 20 to 50 per cent.

On the other hand, since 1900 the tractive power of locomotives has increased 33 per cent, capacity of freight cars 30 per cent, and tons carried by the average freight train 47 per cent. Moreover, railroad revenues per freight train per mile have increased from $1.65 in 1890 to $3.31 in 1914, as shown by the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. One crew is now doing the work formerly done by three or four crews 20 years ago.

The companies enlisted the services of the press and held that they could not afford to make any material changes in compensation or hours of day labor. They flatly refused to install the eight-hour day as the basis of compensation. They claimed at that time that the eight-hour day would cost them $100,000,000 per annum.

Thereupon the railway brotherhoods submitted the case to a vote of their members. Indeed, the vote on the eight-hour day was taken not only by the members but by nonmembers of the brotherhoods. The vote of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen showed 98,557 in favor of the eight-hour day and only 3,256 against. The vote of the nonmembers of this union stood 29,481 for and only 1,060 against. In other words, 96.73 per cent were in favor of the eight-hour day. Outside of the four brotherhoods, the telegraphers, machinists, bridgemen, carpenters, and blacksmiths are also organized and in harmony with the proposition to secure the eight-hour day.

When the attitude of the railway men was made public the Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation attempted to bring the opposing parties together and failed. President Wilson then stepped into the breach to stop a national crisis. As outlined in his message before Congress, he submitted a basis of settlement to the trainmen and to the officials. The men accepted his proposition; the companies refused.

Thereupon the 640 chiefs of the railway brotherhoods ordered a strike, to be effective at 7 a. m. September 4. The President appealed again to both the railway officials and to the brotherhoods. The railway officials refused to make any concession unless it should be coupled with a bargain for an increase of railroad rates. The President could not accept this condition.

The matter was then placed before Congress for final settlement. In conversation with some of the brotherhood chiefs, I suggested a meeting with the labor group in Congress with the view of settlement, if possible, in an amicable manner, the threatened disaster. This meeting was held in the Labor Committee room with the following men in attendance: Messrs. Garretson and Clark, of the Order of Railway Conductors; Stone and Wills, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Lee and Fitzpatrick, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Carter and McNamara; and Congressmen LEWIS, of Maryland, chairman of the Labor Committee; KEATING, of Colorado; BUCHANAN, of Illinois; CASEY, of Pennsylvania; and myself. It was decided there that although neither the brotherhoods nor the American Federation of Labor were asking for legislation on the eight-hour day, still certain bills could, if passed, avert the impending strike. This matter is now before us, and will, if enacted into law, save this country from one of the most horrible experiences made possible by industrial warfare.

It has been charged by those opposed to the passage of this bill that the railway brotherhoods of this country have come here to hold up Congress. Nothing is further from the fact. The 640 railway brotherhood chiefs came to Washington only when summoned by the President of the United States. The trainmen have not appeared before Congress except when summoned by the committees thereof. They have drafted and presented no measure; they have made no demands of any kind whatsoever upon Congress. Summoned to Washington by the President, and summoned to a hearing by the Commerce Committees of the House and Senate, they have presented the case as commanded by the officials of the United States Government. They have recited the facts that after eight months of delay, without redress and without chance of settlement with the officials of the railway companies, they finally, as the last resort, employed the only expedient at their command and ordered a strike.

If there is one party to this threatened industrial war which plainly has attempted to hold up the country, it is the railroad companies, who for over a year past have conducted an active and widespread campaign to compel the Government to grant an increase of rates. Every step in the history of the railway situation during the past eight months indicates from first to last a deliberate design to employ the threat of industrial war as a club to force increase of railroad rates. They have used the space—as admitted by one of the railroad journals—of 17,000 American newspapers, 3,000 dailies and 14,000 weeklies, and paid liberal advertising rates in pushing their propaganda.

As final evidence of their intent and purpose, their last proposition before they adjourned and left Washington was that they would grant the eight-hour day if guaranteed an increase in railroad rates. They have stated, on the other hand, that unless they obtained this rate increase they would rather force upon the country a strike than grant an eight-hour day. If, therefore, Members of the opposition in this body are looking for the party which for months has attempted a hold-up of this country, in order to force compliance with its selfish demands, let them look upon the organization of railroad managers who, in the face of the greatest increase in railroad earnings in this country's history, demand upon top of that an increase in railroad rates.

#### EIGHT-HOUR LEGISLATION.

Members opposed to this bill appear suffering under the delusion that there is something radical and unprecedented in the enactment of an eight-hour law. Certainly they can not be

very careful students of the industrial legislation and conditions of recent years. As a matter of fact, 40 of the 48 States of our Union have adopted eight-hour laws governing various occupations and lines of work. Likewise, the Territories of Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Porto Rico have eight-hour laws with which Members of Congress are supposed to be familiar. Moreover, Congress itself and the executive departments of the Government have installed eight-hour provisions as follows:

1. The eight-hour law extending the operation of the eight-hour day to work done for the Government by contractors and subcontractors, as well as work done by the Government.

2. The law providing an eight-hour day for all female employees in the District of Columbia, a jurisdiction over which Congress has complete power to act. This law is now in actual operation in the city of Washington without any of those grave business disturbances which overfearful persons had been led to expect.

3. The dredge workers' eight-hour law, to remedy a decision of the Supreme Court in regard to men engaged in dredging out rivers and harbors.

4. An eight-hour provision relating to civilians engaged in the manufacture of ordnance and powder production.

5. An eight-hour provision relating to post-office clerks and letter carriers.

6. An eight-hour provision relating to workmen employed under the naval appropriation.

7. A requirement that all coal purchased for the use of the Navy shall be mined in an eight-hour workday.

In nearly every State in the Union, as well as in our island possessions, an eight-hour day governs work on the public roads and also all public construction, whether by the Government or by contract.

In all the mining States of the country an eight-hour law governs the operation of the mines, smelters, and the hoisting machinery for the conveyance of both mining products and workingmen.

In a large number of States train dispatchers may be employed only for an eight-hour day, and in 10 States there is an eight-hour provision governing employment on street railway and electric trains. In the building trades of nearly every State in the Union eight hours, and in some cases less, represent the working day. Where the occupation is at all hazardous or involves human life it has been the custom of State legislators throughout the country to limit the hours and make the eight-hour day standard. It is demanded for the safety of human life. But on the basis of human life involved railway transportation stands far and away in importance above all other lines of industrial activity. American railways carried last year over 1,000,000,000 passengers; railways employ over 2,000,000 men, and they kill over 10,000 men, women, and children and injure about 200,000 per annum. Moreover, it is admitted that one of the most fruitful causes of this loss of life and limb due to accidents is the excessive hours of labor which the men are compelled to work.

The records of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen alone show that they have paid out over $18,000,000 for the deaths and disabilities of their members. Last year the engineers contributed $2,270,000 to the widows and orphans of their killed. The trainmen paid $2,421,000 and the conductors $1,761,000 for the relief of their human wreckage. There is, therefore, on every ground ample justification for the President's declaration that ultimately, "backed by the favorable judgment of society," the railway men of America will secure the eight-hour day.

COST OF THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

For six months railway organs have proclaimed that the cost of installing the eight-hour day would be $100,000,000. This seems to have been a favorite figure in the railway propaganda business. When the air-brake law was pending it was likewise predicted that it would cost $100,000,000 to put into effect. When the safety coupler was proposed railway officials opposed it on the ground it would cost them $100,000,000 to install. Again, when electric headlights were demanded railway officials said it would cost them $100,000,000; and so for eight months past, until recently when they reached Washington, the eight-hour day would cost them just $100,000,000. Showing how easily they devise their offhand estimates, they now state that the eight-hour day will cost them just $60,000,000 to install. The railway brotherhoods, on the other hand, produce a detailed estimate showing that even if no change is made in train schedules, the cost of installing the eight-hour day for the men representing the brotherhoods will be only $27,000,000; whereas, if the companies will consent to a freight-train schedule of 12½ miles per hour instead of the present 10 miles per hour, there need be no additional cost to the companies in applying the eight-hour basis to the pay of the trainmen.

If there is any body of men in this country who are experienced and practical judges of train working and train costs of operation, it is the skilled men who compose the railroad brotherhoods. They state unequivocally that the railroad companies can just as well operate on the basis of a 100-mile freight day of 8 hours as on the 100-mile day of 10 hours, as at present. Furthermore, they point out that not only will the men benefit by saving two hours of labor per day, but that the shippers will be large gainers by more rapid shipment of the country's freight, and that the companies themselves will benefit through the more prompt handling of freight and through the greater skill and efficiency of the crews.

The charge made by nearly every Member of this House opposed to the pending bill that an eight-hour day automatically increases the pay of the trainmen 25 per cent is therefore purely gratuitous and utterly without foundation. In fact, no one knows what the difference in cost to the companies will be until the eight-hour day has been installed and can be carefully tested by experience. The history of the hours and the wages of labor in this and other countries demonstrates that as a rule reduction of hours and even increase of pay have not been followed by an increase in the unit cost of operation and production. This shows plainly in the railway history of this country. It is claimed by the roads that there has been a 30 per cent increase in the average pay of the men since 1890. But, as we have seen, the railroad revenues per freight train per mile have increased from $1.65 in 1890 to $3.31 in 1914, an increase of 100 per cent. Therefore there has been a decrease in the labor cost of operation to the companies along with the increase in pay and decrease in hours. The cost of engineer's service per 1,000 ton-miles since 1890 has been reduced from 65 cents to 35 cents. As Vice President Parks, of the Illinois Central, testifies, "The locomotive engineer is now hauling nearly 400 net tons per locomotive as against 200 tons 10 years ago, an increase of 100 per cent in efficiency."

In another industry we have a most notable example, in the case of the Ford automobile works. Since Mr. Ford declared $5 a day as the minimum wage in his factories his annual production has more than doubled and his earnings for the fiscal year just closed are reported at $59,000,000, one of the greatest miracles of modern industry. Personally, I believe that the installation of the eight-hour day in railway transportation in this country will do more for efficiency and economy and more for volume of business and of earnings than any other invention which has been installed by American railways.

WHO WILL PAY THE COST?

For the sake of argument, however, assume that to install the eight-hour day would cost the full $60,000,000 estimated by the railway officials. Members on the other side of this House say this is the amount which the public must pay. It is even held that the passage of this bill automatically and logically compels the American public to pay $60,000,000 in increased railroad rates. Let me at this point call the attention of those who are anxious for such a tax upon the people to be laid, that they have overlooked a certain large and important fact.

For the year ending June 30, 1916, as reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission, 155 railroads, or less than one-third of the total, reported net earnings, after deducting all operating expenses, amounting to $1,019,632,711.

For the preceding fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, the net earnings were $741,369,887.

The net gain of these 155 roads in net earnings for the fiscal year just closed, therefore, is $278,262,824. The increase is 37.5 per cent.

If, therefore, the railroad companies find that the eight-hour day is to cost them $60,000,000, or less than 25 per cent of the net earnings of these 155 roads, what logic is there in the assumption of Members on the other side of this House that railroad rates must be increased in order to install the eight-hour day?

The current issue of the well-known New York financial magazine, the Annalist, states that the 90 principal roads for the first half of 1916 show an increase of 45.2 per cent in their net earnings as compared with the year before. These 90 roads, less than one-fourth of the total, show a net-earnings gain of $122,000,000 for the six months' period.

The New York Commercial and Financial Chronicle shows that the gross earnings of 492 railroads for the first half of 1916 are larger than for the first half of the year before by $324,000,000. For a full year of 12 months the increase of 1916 over 1915 would undoubtedly exceed $600,000,000, or ten times the amount which even the railroad companies claim it will cost them to install the eight-hour day.

Why, then, should this Congress or the American people entertain a particle of fear that this bill will be a tax upon the public by forcing an increase of rates? Moreover, no such increase can be made except by the consent of the Government and of Congress, and, as we have seen by the reports of the railway companies as made to the Interstate Commerce Commission, no such increase is likely to be seriously considered either by Congress or the American people. The railroad companies are playing a desperate game for delay; they realize only too well that the demands of justice and of humanity are with the men. They know that it is only a matter of time that they must grant the eight-hour day. But Congress can not humor their selfish designs. The time to do justice is now, when the emergency of the Nation, as the requirements of humanity, demand this bill establishing the eight-hour day.

## Gandy Makes Report of His Work.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. HARRY L. GANDY,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. GANDY. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting, indeed, as this session of Congress is drawing to a close that a Representative should review legislation and departmental affairs affecting the district he has the honor to represent. I therefore take this opportunity, under leave regularly granted me by the House, to call attention to many matters in which western South Dakota folks are interested.

RURAL CREDITS.

The present Congress placed on the statute books the first Federal farm-loan law this Nation ever had. While the bill was under consideration it received the praise of Members of Congress without regard to party affiliation, and out of 435 Members but 10 votes were cast against it. Under this law 12 farm-loan banks will be established, and the Federal Farm Loan Board is at this time engaged in conducting hearings at various places in the country to determine the proper locations for these loan banks.

Short-time loans and high rates of interest have seriously crippled the agricultural interests of this Nation and prevented the proper development thereof. I am confident that long-time loans with low rates of interest and the opportunity for payment on the amortization plan will be of great benefit to the country generally and western South Dakota in particular.

GOOD ROADS.

The good-roads bill enacted by Congress and approved by the President provides for the cooperative assistance of the Federal Government in the construction and maintenance of roads over which the mails are carried and an appropriation of $75,000,000 for five years' work—$5,000,000 the first year, $10,000,000 the second, $15,000,000 the third, $20,000,000 the fourth, and $25,000,000 the fifth year. The money appropriated will be apportioned among the States according to three factors: One-third in the ratio which the area of the State bears to the total area of all the States, one-third according to population, and one-third according to the mileage of rural delivery and star routes. South Dakota has of the total 2.58 per cent of the area, 0.638 per cent of the population, and 1.807 per cent of the rural and star routes. By consolidating those three factors we find that our State will be entitled to 1.675 per cent of the money appropriated. This will give us $83,750 the first year, $167,500 the second, $251,250 the third, $335,000 the fourth, and $418,750 the fifth, or a total of $1,256,250.

The bill also provides for an appropriation of $1,000,000 a year for 10 years for the construction of roads in forest reserves. This is entirely proper, for in these forest reserves the Government owns practically all of the land and the timber, and because of the Government ownership neither the land nor the timber is taxable. While a million dollars a year looks like a big sum of money, yet when it is realized that we have 151,281,066 acres in forest reserves that sum, in addition to the money which the States now receive from the sale of timber, seems small enough to start new highway work with. South Dakota has 1,129,208 acres of forest reserves, or 0.0072 per cent of the total area of the Nation. It has been decided by the honorable Secretary of Agriculture to apportion the million dollars each year on a combined basis of area and valuation of the forests, and on that reckoning there will be expended in the forest reserves in South Dakota each year for 10 years the sum of $8,115, or a total of $81,150.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

There are pending in this Congress two bills which I introduced to pay damages to Government employees in western South Dakota who were injured while at work. States have made provision for proper compensation in the case of private employment, but very little provision had been made for employees of the Government. Some few lines of work were provided for in a compensation act, but this Congress passed a bill making provision for all of the employees of the Government. Thus, if one of the employees in the Indian Service, or the Reclamation Service, or the Forestry Service, or the public land service, or any one of the many other lines of Government work in western South Dakota, should suffer injury while engaged in line of duty, it will not again be necessary to introduce a special bill to pay a reasonable sum of damages for the injury.

THE CHAMBERLAIN-OACOMA BRIDGE.

On April 28, 1916, there was approved the law compelling the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. to build a permanent bridge across the Missouri River between Chamberlain and Oacoma, S. Dak. Two years from that date are given for the railroad company to commence work and the structure must be completed within four years.

The necessity for action of this sort has been apparent for many years, for at best the pile and pontoon bridge constructed by the Milwaukee road when the extension of its line west of the Missouri River was undertaken is but a makeshift and many times each year the flood waters of the Missouri or drifting ice put it out of commission. In 1915 for a total of 35 days not a train crossed the bridge, and the record for 1916 is even worse than that. Constant agitation in South Dakota, protests by commercial clubs, action by the State board of railroad commissioners and resolutions by the State legislature availed nothing. It occurred to me that inasmuch as Congress alone has the power to grant permission to build a bridge across a navigable stream, Congress would have the power to remedy a situation which without question has retarded the development of the towns and of the country along the Milwaukee road between the Missouri River and Rapid City.

On January 24, 1916, I introduced House bill 8909 to repeal the act which permitted the building of the pontoon and pile bridge now in use and to grant permission for the building of a permanent bridge. That bill has become a law and, Mr. Speaker, undoubtedly before this time next year the construction of the bridge provided for will have been commenced. When that bridge will have been built a hope of years will have been realized and a long step will have been taken for the settlement, growth, and development of a large portion of western South Dakota that depends upon this line for railroad transportation.

LIVE STOCK DEMONSTRATION WORK.

Two Federal experimental farms are conducted in western South Dakota by the Department of Agriculture, the one at Newell, on the Bellefourche irrigation project, being an irrigated farm, and the one at Ardmore, in Fall River County, being a dry-land station. The Department of Agriculture has several other experimental farms in what is known as the semiarid region of the West, and every one of those farms has been operated solely on the theory of production. Practical experience in the West has taught us that to make farming successful we must not only have worked out the theory of production, but must also put into practical operation the theory of utilization of the crops and feeds that are raised. Outside of the horses that are kept for work, there is no live stock on these farms. Some years ago the Secretary of Agriculture became convinced that the equipment of these farms with live stock would do two things: First, the increase of the stock and the dairy products would tend to reduce the operating expenses; and, second, a careful, watchful feeding of the stock and notation of the results would furnish us with definite information as to the relative feeding values of the forage feeds that we are able to raise on the high prairies of the West.

Twice the Secretary of Agriculture included in his estimates an item of $87,500 "to conduct investigations and experiments in problems connected with the establishment of dairy and meat production enterprises on the semiarid and irrigated lands of the western United States, including the purchase of live stock and the erection of barns and other necessary buildings and the employment of necessary persons," but neither last year nor this year did the Committee on Agriculture include that item in the Agricultural appropriation bill as re-

ported to the House. During the consideration of that appropriation bill, on April 29, 1916, I offered an amendment to appropriate $40,000 for the work which I have just mentioned. After considerable opposition, as reference to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will disclose, that amendment was agreed to and was included in the bill as it was finally passed and approved by the President. I have every reason to believe that although the amount of money appropriated is not as great as was desired by the Agricultural Department, the Federal farms at Ardmore and Newell will be equipped with live stock during the present fiscal year.

FOREST RESERVE HOMESTEADS.

When the general forest-reserve homestead act was passed on January 11, 1906, one exception was made in the Nation, and that exception provided that agricultural lands within the forest reserve in Lawrence and Pennington Counties, S. Dak., could only be homesteaded by persons who occupied the lands prior to January 1, 1906. That exception practically closed a large number of agricultural tracts in the forests in those two counties. In 1907 and in 1912 acts of Congress were passed exempting certain townships from the provisions of that restriction, and on February 2, 1916, I introduced House bill 10668, repealing the restriction entirely. That bill passed Congress and was approved by the President on July 3, 1916, and under its provisions several hundred people will be enabled to obtain homes on agricultural tracts in the forests in those two counties.

MISSOURI RIVER POWER SITES.

Always watchful for an opportunity to advance the interests of South Dakota, I sought and obtained an appointment for an interview with the President in order to call to his attention the possibilities for power development on the Missouri River in connection with the location of the Government nitrate plant. After securing this appointment I invited the other Members of the South Dakota delegation in Congress to accompany me to the White House. That the President was interested in what we had to offer was apparent from the fact that he requested permission to keep the blue prints, profiles, and data which I had with relation to power possibilities at what are known as the Little Bend and the Big Bend sites. Since that time I have forwarded to the Board of Army Engineers of the War Department blue prints and information relative to power possibilities in the vicinity of Mobridge. I have received personal assurance, both from the President and from the Secretary of War, that South Dakota power sites will receive serious consideration and investigation before the location for the Government nitrate plant is decided.

The experts who testified before the committees of Congress with relation to the nitrate plant stated that for the most economical operation 30,000 horsepower of electrical energy should be provided, and it is indeed interesting to note that the report of the engineering firm of Church, Westinghouse, Kerr & Co., made after a survey and reconnoissance in 1911, places the minimum horsepower development at the Little Bend site, which is located about 50 miles north and west of Pierre, at 41,000 horsepower, based on the lowest flow of water that we have any record of in the Missouri River. The mean annual horsepower was placed at 120,000 and the maximum at considerable in excess of 200,000. Power sites undeveloped of that size are few and far between in the United States. The sites in South Dakota have the advantage of being far inland, where in time of war there would be no possibility of the plant falling into the hands of an invading enemy and thus cutting off the supply of nitrate for explosives; the distance is not great to the central farming States where fertilizer is needed, the Missouri River is navigable both above and below any of the power sites, and a plant could be so constructed that during the flood-water season of June, July, and August the surplus power could be utilized for irrigation purposes. I have every assurance that the location of the nitrate plant will be decided by a board of competent engineers, solely on the relative merits of the various sites put forth, and on the merits of the power sites on the Missouri River in South Dakota I am content to rest our case.

The building of a Government nitrate plant is a part of a general plan to have the Government manufacture a sufficient amount of its munitions of war to control prices, so that great corporations dealing in war supplies can not make undue profits out of the effort that is being made at present to place this Nation on a basis of reasonable preparedness. Early in this session of Congress, under the rules of the Democratic caucus, 53 Members of the House signed a caucus call and thus forced consideration of the issue of Government manufacture of munitions. At that caucus a resolution was adopted instructing the majority members of the Rules Committee to bring in a special rule making in order amendments to the appropriation bills having for their purpose the Government manufacture of munitions. I was one of the 53 who signed that call, and as a result of the caucus held a long step has been taken in providing for the increase of the manufacturing facilities of the Government. Provisions have been made for the nitrate plant, an armor-plate plant, and the increasing of the manufacturing capacity of Government arsenals and gun factories.

SECTION-GRAZING HOMESTEADS.

At the time the section-grazing homestead bill was under consideration in the House I offered an amendment to provide for a noncontiguous additional homestead under that act and called attention to the fact that persons who have made homestead entries for land of the kind proposed to be disposed of thereunder are entitled to such an amount of similar land as, when added to the land embraced in their former entries, will not exceed 640 acres, whether the additional adjoins the original or not. My amendment was amended by adding a proviso limiting the right of noncontiguous additional entries to 20 miles from the original entry and, with that addition, was agreed to. The section bill passed the House in January and the Senate on the last night of the session. It did not pass the Senate in time to have the Senate amendments agreed to by the House before adjournment, so final action will not be had until the December session.

NONCONTIGUOUS ADDITIONAL HOMESTEADS.

Under the half-section homestead bill, additional entries were limited to contiguous lands, and thus many persons, because of the fact that no vacant land adjoined their original entries, were deprived of the benefits of that act. The Public Lands Committee of the House, of which I am a member, reported favorably a bill introduced by Congressman TIMBERLAKE, of Colorado, providing for a noncontiguous additional entry under the enlarged act, but requiring full compliance with the homestead laws on the additional. That bill followed closely the recommendations of the Interior Department, and inasmuch as residence was required on the additional, it was limited to those who had offered proof on their original entries. Interior Department officials have all along opposed a noncontiguous additional with credit for residence on the original, and permitting a homesteader to have two noncontiguous unpatented entries at the same time. Inasmuch as the condition of the House Calendar made it necessary to pass this bill by unanimous consent it was thought best by western Members not to attempt to amend it there. The bill was amended in the Senate by adding a proviso excusing claimants from residence on the noncontiguous additional where the additional is within 20 miles of the original, and thus the bill was returned to the House. In order to keep down objections in the House, where the Senate amendment had to be agreed to by unanimous consent, there was added a limitation that the residence requirement would be excused only where the claimant is residing on his former entry.

Inasmuch as the bill had now been changed to provide for a noncontiguous additional with credit for residence on the original, the restriction of the benefits of the bill to those who have made proof on their original entries should have been waived, but after a conference of western Members it was felt that it would be unwise to attempt to amend the bill again for fear of losing it entirely. One objection would have been sufficient to have stopped its consideration at any stage of the unanimous-consent proceedings. It was thought that the benefits which would be received under the bill were too great to run the risk of losing it by again subjecting it to unanimous consent. While those who have not made proof are not provided for in this bill, yet they have the opportunity to make proof on their original entries and then take advantage of the new law. Fully appreciating the benefits that settlers in western South Dakota will derive from this noncontiguous homestead bill, I am indeed pleased that I had an opportunity both in the Public Lands Committee and in the conferences which were held concerning it to assist in its passage.

PROPOSED ANGOSTURA IRRIGATION PROJECT.

Two things have barred the way to the starting of any new reclamation projects at this time: First, the reclamation fund is already considerably short of having money sufficient to complete projects heretofore started; and, second, the demand for funds for preparedness and other national propositions has been so great that western Members of Congress have been unable to secure any further advances to the reclamation fund.

When the general reclamation act was passed on June 17, 1902, section 9 provided that the major portion of the funds arising from the sale of public lands within each State should be expended for reclamation in the State where the money originated. It was provided that the Secretary of the In-

terior might temporarily use funds from one State in another State, but that the expenditures should be equalized according to the money paid in each 10-year period. If that law still existed it would be apparent that South Dakota has not received her share of the reclamation funds, for the Belle Fourche project cost something over $3,000,000, and between eight and nine millions have been turned into the reclamation fund by the sale of public lands in the State. Section 6 of the act approved June 25, 1910, repealed section 9 above referred to, and there is now no requirement, limitation, or restriction with relation to any particular State, so far as the reclamation fund is concerned.

In the general appropriation bill providing for the Reclamation Service there is an item of $50,000 for the survey of new projects on a cooperative basis. In 1913 and 1914 the State of South Dakota, through its State engineer, spent quite a sum of money in surveying reclamation propositions in the Cheyenne River watershed and in making a report on the proposed Angostura project. I personally appeared before the Secretary of the Interior and the Reclamation Commission in an endeavor to have the expenditures heretofore made by South Dakota accepted as the State's cooperative share and thus permit the Reclamation Commission to go ahead with a complete investigation as to the merits of the Angostura project. Up to this time no decision has been reached on the question. Judge Will R. King, chief counsel for the Reclamation Service and member of the Reclamation Commission, is now in the West visiting various reclamation projects, and I am in hopes that in the near future he will visit the Belle Fourche irrigation project and also the proposed Angostura project.

An investigation of this project by the Federal Reclamation Service is very much to be desired, for unless a governmental report on the practicability and approximate cost of this project is available, we would stand no chance of having it included among the new projects to be constructed when a further advance of money to the reclamation fund is authorized.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE FOR NATIONAL GUARDSMEN.

After the National Guard had been called out for patrol duty on the Mexican border attention was called to the fact that there was no provision of law whereby homesteaders who were members of the guard would be relieved of residence requirements during the period of their service. All the law on the subject contemplated service by a homesteader in time of war, whereas in the present situation the guardsmen were called away from their homes, although a state of war did not then and does not now exist. Many bills were introduced on the subject by the various Members of Congress, and after due consideration I was authorized by the Public Lands Committee to report one of the bills. I later called the bill up for consideration in the House, where it was passed without objection. It has since passed the Senate and received the approval of the President.

TOWN SITE OF NEWELL.

The Government town site at Newell, on the Belle Fourche irrigation project, consisted of 640 acres of land, of which 40 acres were withdrawn for administrative purposes. Prior to the town lot sale in 1909, certain advertising literature was put out, wherein it was stated that out of the proceeds of the sale the Government would construct public improvements on the town site, such as water and sewerage systems, and so forth. At the time that statement was made there were pending in Congress certain bills under which public improvements could have been made on Government town sites, but that legislation failed to pass and not a dollar of money received from the sale of lots was ever expended at Newell. Twice in previous Congresses efforts were made to in a measure make good the word of officials of the Reclamation Service with reference to this town site, but those efforts failed.

After consultation with citizens of Newell and, realizing that it is perhaps impossible to secure any return of the money which has already been paid into the United States Treasury for lots at Newell, I introduced House bill 12889 authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the municipal authorities of the town site of Newell the unsold and unreserved portion of the town site and provide regulations under which the said authorities should sell the land and with the proceeds construct municipal improvements. The bill was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and by that committee I was authorized to report it favorably, with an amendment instructing the Secretary of the Interior to sell the land and apply the proceeds to the construction of public improvements. The bill was amended on the floor of the House to provide that of the proceeds of the land sale not to exceed $15,000 should be used for public improvements, and as so amended it passed and received the approval of the President. Undoubtedly, under the representations that were made prior to the first lot sale the town of Newell is entitled to a greater return than $15,000, for the Government has already received approximately $60,000 from the sale of lots. However, a certainty is better than an uncertainty and under this bill Newell will receive the benefit of $15,000 from the sale of approximately 500 acres and thereafter will receive material benefit by this land having passed into private ownership and thus have been placed upon the tax list.

LEMMON RESERVOIR SITE.

The city of Lemmon, S. Dak., some years ago constructed a reservoir on 80 acres of land embraced in a homestead entry a few miles north of that city, across the line in North Dakota. It was thought that when the homesteader obtained title to the land the city would purchase it from him, but the homesteader never did perfect his title, so it turned out that the city had approximately $20,000 worth of improvements on Government land, with no law under which it could acquire title thereto.

A bill was introduced in and passed by the Senate under which, upon payment of $1.25 per acre, a revocable title was to be given to the city of Lemmon. Information reached me from the municipal authorities that the city desired to obtain a fee title to this land, so when the bill reached the Public Lands Committee of the House I secured an amendment to it providing for the appraisal of the land, exclusive of improvements, on the same basis that isolated tract land is appraised, and for the absolute sale to the city of Lemmon upon payment of the appraised price. As so amended the bill passed the House, the Senate concurred in the amendment, and the President signed it.

DEADWOOD ASSAY OFFICE.

For some time there has been a tendency in Congress to build up the big assay offices of the Nation at the expense of the smaller ones. In fact, an effort has been made to discontinue a number of the smaller offices. Notwithstanding the fact that the assay office at Deadwood ranks well in comparison with other offices in the West, it has been crippled by an expense allowance so small as to make it impossible to handle there the bullion which is mined in the Black Hills. But $500 was allowed last year for the contingent expenses of this office, and with chemicals, fluxing materials, crucibles, and so forth, rising in price the office was seriously handicapped. I made certain that provision for this office was made in the House in the appropriation bill and then personally went before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate in an effort to have the contingent-expense item raised. That effort was successful, and while the increase is not large, yet instead of $500 for contingent expenses the Deadwood assay office this year has $1,500, which will enable it to handle the Black Hills bullion, which of right ought to be credited to that office.

THE YELLOWSTONE TRAIL.

Indian lands in eastern Corson County were a stumblingblock to the Yellowstone Trail Association, which has worked hard for a good road from the east to the Yellowstone National Park and the coast. A year or two ago an offer was made to the honorable Secretary of the Interior to the effect that if one-third of the cost of the highway across these Indian lands would be paid for out of Indian funds the county of Corson and the trail association would jointly provide for the other two-thirds of the construction. On that basis Secretary Lane recommended an appropriation in the last Congress, but it failed. During the hearings on the Indian appropriation bill before the Indian Committee of the House, of which I am a member, an amendment was offered to the bill appropriating $5,000 for the work. At that time I assisted in securing the adoption of the amendment by the committee, and later assisted in securing its retention in the bill on the floor of the House. Under that appropriation work has already been commenced under the supervision of the superintendent of the Standing Rock Reservation. The completed highway will not only be a benefit to tourists and to white settlers of Corson County, but also to the Indians, for it will assist in providing a good road east and west across this big county, which is peopled by both Indians and whites.

DEPOSITING OF INDIAN FUNDS.

Of Indian funds there are two classes—individual Indian money and tribal Indian money. The Indians of the several reservations in western South Dakota have many hundreds of thousands of dollars of individual Indian funds, and by law that money is deposited in banks, the Indians receiving the interest which the bank pays thereon. When I became a Member of Congress I found quite a large percentage of the individual Indian funds on deposit outside the district. Believing that the depositing of this money in local banks in and adjacent to the reservation counties would assist in the development of

what we term the Indian country, I have persistently insisted, both before reservation officials and officials in the Indian Office here, that local banks be given the preference. In this effort I have in a measure been successful, and more than a score of banks in western South Dakota have been designated as depositories for individual Indian funds since my term began. These banks and others which had been designated before have on deposit approximately the maximum permitted by the Indian Office regulations. Local banks have been disposed to offer a higher rate of interest for these funds than big banks in other States, and thus the Indians have been benefited and are receiving larger returns on their funds.

Tribal Indian money is kept in the Treasury of the United States, and the Indians of South Dakota have nearly $6,000,000 here in Washington. On February 12, 1916, I introduced House bill 11419, empowering the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw tribal funds from the Treasury of the United States and make deposits in banks in the States in which the Indians reside. I have been unable as yet to secure action on that bill, but I shall continue to press it in the hope of securing its passage. The depositing of nearly $6,000,000 in the banks of South Dakota would work wonders in the development of the State, and at the same time, for the most part, the banks would be willing to pay more interest than the Government pays the Indians. Thus the Indians and the people of the State would both be benefited and the Federal Government would be relieved of the payment of interest on this sum.

BLACK HILLS CLAIM.

For many years the Sioux Indians have pressed their claim that they were not dealt with fairly in the matter of the cession of the Black Hills from their reservation by the agreement of September 26, 1876, which was ratified by Congress on February 28, 1877. The Fort Laramie treaty of April 29, 1868, restricted the Sioux Indians to South Dakota west of the Missouri River and the existing reservations on the east bank of the river, the Crow Creek, and the Yankton. That treaty was formally ratified by the Senate of the United States on February 16, 1869, and was proclaimed by the President on February 24, 1869. It guaranteed the inviolability of the restricted Sioux Indian Reservations against all encroachments by whites.

The story of the discovery of gold in the Black Hills and the subsequent rush of prospectors, together with the trouble with the Indians, although 40 years ago, is well known to South Dakota folks.

Notwithstanding the fact that the treaty of 1868 pledged the Government of the United States to the care and support of the Indians and the inviolability of their reservations, in view of the cession of territory which the Government then received, on August 15, 1876, a provision was written into the Indian appropriation bill by Congress saying that thereafter no appropriations should be made for the subsistence of the said Indians unless they should first agree to relinquish the Black Hills country. That threat had the desired effect, and on September 26, 1876, the Indians ceded to the Government 8,317,440 acres of land, included in which were the Black Hills. The Indians insist that in that agreement the Government did not pay them any consideration and did not undertake to do anything for them which it had not already pledged itself to do in the treaty of 1868. Thus they say that they practically gave away the Black Hills country.

The claims of many tribes of Indians against the Government have been tried before and adjudicated by the United States Court of Claims in Washington, and on February 3, 1916, I introduced House bill 10774 to permit the Sioux Indians to bring suit on their claim before the Court of Claims and thus secure a final determination of the matter. The bill was referred to a subcommittee of the Indian Committee, and after extended consideration was reported to the whole committee and a favorable report made to the House on June 23, 1916. The press of important national legislation and some objections in the House have prevented me from securing consideration of the bill. It now appears probable that no action will be had thereon before the December session, but inasmuch as it is well up on the calendar the House will undoubtedly dispose of it during the month of December before the consideration of annual appropriation bills begins, and I am very hopeful for its passage.

NEW SCHOOL BUILDING, RAPID CITY INDIAN SCHOOL.

The Rapid City Indian School has outgrown its present school building and the necessity for providing a new building has been apparent for some time. I secured the adoption by the Indian Committee of an amendment to the Indian appropriation bill authorizing the construction of a new school building to cost not exceeding $30,000, and that item remained in the bill as it was finally approved. It is my thought that when the new school building is completed the building now used for school purposes can be remodeled into a kitchen and dining room and the space now used for kitchen and dining room in the boys' dormitory can be given over to dormitory purposes and thus the capacity of the school will be materially increased.

TUITION OF INDIAN CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Heretofore the Indian appropriation bill has carried an item of $20,000 for the payment of tuition in public schools for children whose parents are wards of the Government and nontaxpayers. That item was so small that when spread over the West no practical benefit was received from it. The Indian Committee, of which I am a member, put in the Indian appropriation bill which was finally passed a few weeks ago an item of $200,000 for tuition purposes. After a conference with Indian Office officials I wrote the county superintendent of each of the Indian reservation counties in western South Dakota that the department is now prepared and willing to pay the tuition of Indian children in public schools, where public schools are available. This will help the school districts, it will help the children, it will save money for the Government, and will help solve the school problem among the Sioux.

The Sioux school item in the Indian appropriation bill has been a "touchy" subject for some years on account of the fact that three mission schools are operated on Sioux reservations, the cost thereof being borne by the pro rata shares of the Indians whose children attend these schools. Including the capacity of those three mission schools the Government is still away short of having provided adequate school facilities for the Sioux children, notwithstanding the fact that by treaties and agreements it guaranteed adequate school facilities for all. Some people wanted to arbitrarily close the mission schools, without any regard for the lack of other school facilities for the children now enrolled there, while others wanted to have the Government immediately build school plants sufficient to take care of the children. My idea is that if the tuition is promptly paid quite a large number of these children can and will be taken care of in public schools. I assisted in securing before the conferees of the House and the Senate on the Indian appropriation bill a provision which was later adopted by both Houses, providing for a complete investigation and report on schools, school conditions, and the cost on various Sioux Indian reservations. That report must be made by the first Monday in January next, so that Congress next winter for the first time will have full and complete information available and can thus intelligently act on the Sioux school problem.

INDIAN FUNDS MUST BE APPROPRIATED.

In acquainting myself with governmental affairs in western South Dakota, both prior to and after my election to Congress, I was surprised to learn that heretofore the Indian Office had the right to expend the tribal funds of the Indians without the consent either of the Indians or of Congress. The Federal Government stands in the position of guardian to the Indians, and knowing that the money of the Federal Government can not be expended without appropriation by Congress, it occurred to me as passing strange that the money of the ward was not held as sacred as that of the guardian. On January 17, 1916, I introduced House joint resolution 105, providing that hereafter the funds of Indians should not be expended except upon appropriation by Congress. The idea embodied in that resolution was made a part of the Indian appropriation bill, and provision was made that except for per capita payments to the Indians themselves and money expended for educational purposes, no funds of the Indians shall hereafter be expended without Congress shall have first passed upon the appropriation.

MAIL SERVICE IMPROVED.

I have found time to work with the citizens of western South Dakota for various improvements in the mail service.

During my term of office new rural delivery routes have been secured for Bonesteel, Lucas, Buffalo Gap, Hot Springs, Rapid City, Nemo, Whitewood, Vale, Newell, and Timber Lake.

A new star route has been installed between Lead, S. Dak., and Buckhorn, Wyo., which not only furnishes Lead and Deadwood with direct mail communication with a large territory in Wyoming, but supplies mail to nearly 100 families en route. Several other star routes have been established, among which may be mentioned Cody to Wood, Bison to Strool, and Graham to Vetal. Bids are being considered for a star route between Hamill and Reliance, and if that route is established not only will the two post offices be benefited by the new service, but about 80 families will be supplied with mail en route.

An order has recently been signed by the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General for free delivery of mail in the city of Winner, and the new service there will become effective October 1, 1916.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The bill to provide for the pensioning of veterans of Indian wars, which passed the House a few months ago and is now pending in the Senate, provided that no pension should be paid unless the term of service was at least 90 days. The last Indian trouble in South Dakota occurred late in 1890 and early in 1891, but was not of 90 days' duration. In order that those who participated in this campaign might not be deprived of a pension, if pensions for Indian campaigns are to be paid by the Government, I secured in the House an amendment providing that the restriction as to 90 days should not apply where the term of active service was for the full period of the campaign, even if the campaign was not of 90 days' duration.

From the Public Lands Committee I reported a bill to renew the lease to the Phillips estate to certain public lands which are inclosed in the buffalo pasture near Fort Pierre. That bill passed the House and doubtless will pass the Senate before the close of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

In the legislative, judicial, and executive appropriation bill no provision was made for the office of the surveyor general of South Dakota, and if that bill had passed as it came to the House that office would have been closed. We still have some unsurveyed public lands in South Dakota, and in addition thereto mineral claims and forest-reserve homesteads are by metes and bounds surveys, which makes it necessary to continue the office of surveyor general for some time. I assisted in amending that appropriation bill to make provision for the South Dakota surveyor general's office on the same basis as last year.

I have not forgotten the veterans of the Nation's service, and I am pleased to report that several private pension bills introduced by me have been finally passed, and there is every prospect that more will be at the December session. I voted for the bills pensioning widows and orphans of veterans of the War with Spain and also for the bill raising to $20 per month the maximum amount of pension for widows of Civil War veterans, which is now $12 per month, which latter bill became a law.

IN CONCLUSION.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, it seems to me that I may be permitted to say with pardonable pride that the record of accomplishment speaks for itself. I have faithfully attended the sessions of Congress and carefully taken care of the departmental business of western South Dakota folks. Indian affairs, public lands, reclamation, forest reserve, and numerous other governmental propositions make the departmental as well as the legislative work heavy. The record is an open one, and it is submitted in order to more fully acquaint my constituents with the work of their Representative in Congress.

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## The Eight-Hour Law.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, on Friday last this House passed House bill 17700. At that time I was anxious to submit a few remarks on the same, but, owing to the great emergency then existing, many Members of this House were willing to forego the opportunity to express their views, that the bill might become a law before the time set for a strike and thus avert a national calamity, a calamity probably fraught with more disaster to the American people than any that has befallen this country in the last quarter of a century. Three days after the passage and approval of that bill the House has graciously permitted me to express my views. I approved that bill and voted for it; and while I felt at the time the measure should have had more consideration and deliberation, I recognized the great emergency confronting the Congress and the people, and therefore willingly gave my vote for the measure.

That act has now been a law for three days, and we are now getting the opinion of the country on our work, and my observation leads me to believe our action will meet with the approval of the people. I regret, Mr. Speaker, to find a number of men in this House, taking their cue from the candidate of the Republican Party, now criticizing the measure. Yet the record shows a number of the gentlemen voted for the bill. I am not ashamed of my vote; I am proud of it, and my vote aided in averting a great national disaster.

We are advised, Mr. Speaker, that this legislation is to be made the principal issue in the coming campaign. If so, the Democratic Party welcomes the issue. The whole spirit of the times recognizes the justice of shorter hours for labor. Half of the Republican membership of the House voted for it. Every man on the other side of the House with Progressive tendencies voted for it, only the standpatters and leaders and bosses voted against it. It is true, I am sorry to say, that when the measure was voted on in the Senate every Republican, with one notable exception, aligned himself with the bosses of the House and voted against the measure. The one exception was the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], and he voted for practically every Democratic measure that has passed that body during the present administration, and the people of his State have just shown their approval of his course by overwhelmingly renominating him.

Mr. Speaker, the question of an eight-hour day is no longer a debatable question. Society everywhere recognizes and approves the justice of it. It was not the real question at issue in the legislation passed. The real overshadowing question was, Should steps be taken to prevent a strike and avert a great calamity? The Democratic Party took the position that the strike should be averted. The Republican Party, in the language of some of its eminent leaders, wanted action. "Action" meant loss, suffering, bloodshed, if not civil war. The Democratic administration believed that an ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure, and undertook to prevent rather than cure.

The difference between the two great parties in their dealing with great questions like this is well illustrated by an editorial in the New York World of recent date which, with your permission, I quote. It is as follows:

1907—1916.

Most of the criticism of the President and Congress for preventing a railroad strike by the only means available is either so maliciously partisan or so foolishly short-sighted that it hardly merits serious consideration.

This is not the first time that extraordinary conditions have necessitated a resort to extraordinary measures, and that it has been necessary for the Government to serve private interest in order to protect the public interest.

In the year 1907 the United States experienced one of the most disastrous panics of its history. Years were required to liquidate it.

In the midst of this panic President Roosevelt placed the resources of the United States Treasury at the disposition of J. Pierpont Morgan and a coterie of New York bankers.

Some of these men were immediately responsible for the panic, in the sense that it began in their determination to crush Morse. They did not intend to have a panic, but they loosed forces that they were unable to control.

When the panic became a fact, however, there was no time to waste in fixing responsibility. The thing to do was to stop it. The quickest way to stop it was to turn the Treasury over to Mr. Morgan and his associates and let them reestablish the market. This was done.

In theory there could be no act of government more reprehensible morally, legally, and politically than to put a group of Wall Street bankers into physical possession of the United States Treasury. No sane man would think of defending it as an established policy of government. Nevertheless there was no other method immediately available of meeting the crisis. The United States had an antiquated banking and currency law which encouraged panics, and the situation had to be met without an hour's delay.

The panic was stopped. Mr. Morgan and his associates are said to have made fortunes out of their operations, and probably they did. It could not have been otherwise; but their gains were small in comparison with the losses the country would have sustained if the panic had continued even a week.

Out of this situation, however, came the public sentiment that finally enabled President Wilson to obtain the enactment of the banking and currency law which has made the United States panic proof.

The country confronted a similar situation of disaster in the threatened railroad strike. The President and Congress took the swift and sure way to avert it. In itself this legislation is not defensible, but as an emergency measure it was the only common-sense course to take.

Out of it must come a code of labor legislation analogous to the banking and currency act. That code will not be adopted in a week or in a month, but it will be adopted. The machinery has finally been set in motion.

The main difference between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt in these two crises is that Mr. Wilson took decisive measures before the damage had been done, and Mr. Roosevelt waited until after the damage had been done.

The President and Congress saved the country from a civil war and gave it time for calm, dispassionate action to prevent a similar crisis in the future. What would be the state of affairs in the United States to-day if less prompt and effective measures had been adopted by the Government? That is the complete reply to all this irresponsible criticism.

Was it not better, Mr. Speaker, that this strike should be averted than that it should be allowed to paralyze the country for weeks or months?

A great hue and cry is being made by our opponents that the administration and the party has surrendered the principle of arbitration. It is known to all men that the President tried to arbitrate this matter; that he worked as no President ever worked to bring these contending parties together on some

basis for arbitration, but the parties to the contest would not arbitrate.

There is no law compelling arbitration. To stand for arbitration and yet get no arbitration was but a vain and futile thing. As the President said in his message to the Congress:

> To stand firm for the principle of arbitration and yet not get arbitration seemed to me futile, and something more than futile, because it involved incalculable distress to the country and consequences in some respects worse than those of war, and that in the midst of peace.
>
> I yield to no man in firm adherence, alike of conviction and of purpose, to the principle of arbitration in industrial disputes; but matters have come to a sudden crisis in this particular dispute and the country had been caught unprovided with any practicable means of enforcing that conviction in practice (by whose fault we will not now stop to inquire). A situation had to be met whose elements and fixed conditions were indisputable. The practical and patriotic course to pursue, as it seemed to me, was to secure immediate peace by conceding the one thing in the demands of the men which society itself and any arbitrators who represented public sentiment were most likely to approve, and immediately lay the foundations for securing arbitration with regard to everything else involved. The event has confirmed that judgment.
>
> I was seeking to compose the present in order to safeguard the future; for I wished an atmosphere of peace and friendly cooperation in which to take counsel with the representatives of the Nation with regard to the best means for providing, so far as it might prove possible to provide, against the recurrence of such unhappy situations in the future—the best and most practicable means of securing calm and fair arbitration of all industrial disputes in the days to come.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time the parties to a great industrial dispute failed to arbitrate. I recall that after months of a coal strike in the State of Colorado this House sent a committee there to investigate the matter in the hopes of adjusting it; I had the honor to be a member of that committee. The strike had been on for six months when your Representatives reached the scene; untold hardships had been endured by men, women, and children. The State was paralyzed, crime was rampant, and during all those terrible months the striking miners had offered to arbitrate, but the operators said "we have nothing to arbitrate." They would not even meet in conference with the representatives of labor. Your committee tried to bring about arbitration but without success. The President of the United States begged the operators to submit the questions in dispute to arbitration, only to be told as we had been told by the mine owners that "We have nothing to arbitrate." Where are the men who are now condemning the President because he could not bring about arbitration in this railroad controversy? Were they then eager for arbitration; did any of them lift his voice in this House, asking for that principle, then; did any of the carping critics, through the press, then lend their support; did any of the men who have recently carried on a propaganda through chambers of commerce and other organizations, demand of the mine owners that the principle of arbitration was sacred and should not be violated? No, Mr. Speaker; it did not concern them then. When gunmen were shooting and burning women and children in Ludlow, it did not concern these critics that the principle of arbitration had been thrown to the wind, or that these helpless victims were being sent to their graves by as cruel and heartless a combination of capital as ever disgraced and ravaged a State.

Mr. Speaker, I am for the eight-hour law as passed this House. It may not be perfect, but it affords a measure of justice to hundreds of thousands of honest, industrious men who merit and deserve it and the principle of an eight-hour day is now a fundamental part of the law of the land. It has come to stay and, like the principle of arbitration, it will grow. And in addition to that it has averted the greatest calamity that has threatened the country in years.

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## The Facts With Reference to the Legislative Record of Wilson's Administration.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM R. GREEN,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. GREEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, Chairman McCormick, of the Democratic national committee, evidently considers that the present political situation makes it necessary for him to claim everything for his party, in the hope that the truth, which is usually somewhat belated, will not be known until after the campaign is over. He has recently issued a statement with reference to a number of Federal legislative acts which he says constitute the record of the present administration, and on this record makes an appeal to the progressive and independent voter. An examination of the facts with reference to these measures shows that if it was intended to make the statement utterly incorrect and misleading, its author has achieved a great success. So far as these acts have any merit in them, they originated with Republicans, and most of them were passed by a Republican administration. The absurdity of his claims will appear from a brief review of the facts with relation to these laws, which are listed below:

#### RURAL CREDITS.

The rural-credits legislation was initiated by President Taft, who had a preliminary investigation made of the European system. During his administration an appropriation was made for a special commission to study the subject, and the bill which was subsequently passed was framed on this report. The Republican Party was first to declare in its platform in favor of rural-credits legislation at its convention in June, 1912. Later the Democratic Party also had a plank in its platform favoring an investigation into the subject. The bill was nonpartisan, as there were only 10 votes against it in the House and 5 in the Senate.

It appears that the initiative in this subject was taken by the Republican Party, which was first to declare in favor of national legislation on the subject, first to cause an investigation, and first to legislate with reference to the matter.

#### INCOME TAX.

The income tax and inheritance tax were both used by the Republican Party as far back as the Civil War. The income tax having been held to be unconstitutional, Senators CUMMINS and BORAH, Republicans, with the approval of President Taft, each introduced an amendment to the Constitution authorizing the Government to levy income taxes. In a modified form the amendment passed Congress in a Republican administration and was ratified by a sufficient number of States so that it went into force February 25, 1913, in the administration of President Taft.

#### FEDERAL RESERVE BANK ACT.

The Federal reserve act includes another important principle originated by the Republicans and subsequently adopted by the Democrats. It is often stated that this statute prevented the occurrence of a panic when the European war broke out. As a matter of fact, it was the Vreeland-Aldrich bill, passed by the Republicans in 1908, which the Democrats voted against but subsequently reenacted, under which the emergency currency was issued to prevent a panic in the early months of the war. While the Federal reserve act became a law in December, 1913, the organization had not been completed when the war broke out. The Republican platform of 1908 approved the Vreeland-Aldrich bill, declared in favor of a monetary commission to investigate and prepare a permanent currency system, which commission made its report in 1912. The Federal reserve act was not prepared in accordance with the report of the commission and has been enormously expensive, without any corresponding benefit. The reserve banks pay no interest on their capital, which is furnished by the national banks, or on the deposits made by the Government, all of which could be easily made to bring in large returns. With about $525,000,000 of resources, this last report showed only about $20,000,000 loaned on commercial paper. In an effort to get some returns the reserve banks have bought about $40,000,000 of municipal warrants, a somewhat precarious investment, and there is still over $350,000,000 of their resources which is earning nothing. The country banks have not been able to obtain the kind of paper which the law requires for discount with reserve banks, and the scheme is of no value to them. As planned and managed the reserve banks are a failure and the act creating the system should be completely revised.

#### GOOD-ROADS LAW.

This is a nonpartisan measure, passed in 1916. The movement for Federal aid to roads originated under the Taft administration, under which a joint commission of House and Senate was appointed to propose legislation for Federal aid. MR. SLEMP, a Republican Member of the House, first suggested the selection of a committee on roads, and every Republican voted for it in the House. The bill for Federal aid was reported from the Committee on Roads by unanimous vote—every Republican voting for it—and the Republicans of both House and Senate generally voted for the final bill. Like so many other measures for which the Democrats claim credit this legislation originated under a Republican administration and was supported by Republicans in both House and Senate.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

The law which established the Trade Commission was an outgrowth of the statute which created the Bureau of Corporations, passed in 1908 by a Republican House and Senate and which provided for an investigation of violations of the antitrust law. It was thought best to expand the powers of this bureau somewhat, make it independent, and to have it managed by a commission instead of one man. This idea was advocated by President Roosevelt, and the Republican platform of 1912 favored the creation of a Trade Commission. The only controversy about it was as to the form of the bill. It differs from the Bureau of Corporations merely in having more officers and the right to make certain investigations independent of directions given by the President or Congress.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

The first eight-hour law was passed by the Republicans June 25, 1868, providing that eight hours should constitute a day for laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Government. By the act of May 24, 1888, its provisions were extended to letter carriers, with extra pay for overtime. August 1, 1892—Harrison's administration—it was further provided that eight hours should constitute a day for laborers employed by contractors or subcontractors on United States public works, with a penalty. The further provision for additional penalties upon contracts and a consolidation of the former statutes was made under the act of June 19, 1912, and a further amendment was enacted March 3, 1913, which was passed for the purpose of excepting emergency work on river and harbor improvements.

The letter carriers were limited to 48 hours of the week under the act of June 2, 1900, and it was provided that their eight hours must be within 10 consecutive hours by the act of August 24, 1912. All the Federal eight-hour laws of any importance were passed during Republican administrations. The bill providing for an eight-hour law for certain female workers in the District of Columbia was introduced by Senator LA FOLLETTE, a Republican, and passed the House without a dissenting vote.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The Children's Bureau was created during President Taft's administration, April 19, 1912, the bill having been favorably reported to both Senate and House in the Sixty-first Congress—1911. Seventeen votes were cast against it in the House—all Democratic.

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

The Industrial Commission was also established under President Taft's administration on August 23, 1912.

PHOSPHOROUS-MATCH LAW.

The bill which was passed to prevent the manufacturing of phosphorous matches was originally introduced by Mr. ESCH, of Wisconsin—Republican—and specially advocated by him. It was signed by President Taft April 9, 1912. There were 31 votes against it in the House, of which all but one was Democratic.

CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT.

The Clayton Antitrust Act is a Democratic measure which has weakened our antitrust laws and made them more difficult to enforce. That part which regulates the issuance of injunctions was given its most valuable feature by an amendment introduced by Senator CUMMINS, a Republican, which declared that labor was not a commodity.

Of this law Senator REED, a Democrat, said:

It is a sort of legislative apology to the trusts, delivered hat in hand, and accompanied by an assurance that no discourtesy is intended.

It has been on the statute books two years and not a single order has been made to enforce any of its provisions, although the Trade Commission was specially charged with its enforcement.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

The statute creating the Department of Labor was passed during the administration of President Taft and went into force March 4, 1913.

SMITH-LEVER AGRICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL BILL.

This is merely a bill granting additional funds to agricultural colleges on condition that the State where the college is located appropriate an equal sum for instruction in education and home economics. It continues the work begun by previous Republican Congresses, which had heretofore appropriated large sums in aid of the agricultural colleges.

CORRUPT-PRACTICES ACT.

The first act of this kind was passed January 26, 1907. This act was amended June 25, 1910, and further amended by the act of August 19, 1911, which extended its provisions to primaries. This last provision was strongly opposed by the Democratic Members of the House, and was inserted by way of amendment by a Republican Senate. A further amendment was made by the act of August 23, 1912. The principle of regulation of Federal elections and primaries originated with the Republican Party, and all the laws on the subject were passed during a Republican administration.

PHYSICAL VALUATION OF RAILROADS.

Authorized by act of March 1, 1913, and approved by President Taft.

SHERWOOD PENSION BILL.

This was introduced by Representative SHERWOOD, a Democrat, as the Pension Committee was then Democratic. At the time the Democrats had a majority of 69 Members in the House, and only 97 Democrats out of 225 voted for the bill, while 130 Republicans voted for it. Of the 93 votes against the bill, 90 were Democrats. In the Senate 40 Republicans voted for it and 11 Democrats. All of the votes cast against the bill—16—were by Democrats. It will thus be seen that the bill was really a Republican measure and passed by Republicans. It was approved by President Taft May 11, 1912.

PARCEL-POST LAW.

The parcel-post law was enacted August 24, 1912, being attached as a "rider" to the Post Office appropriation bill. An amendment for that purpose was introduced by Mr. ANDERSON (Republican) in the House and was defeated by Democratic votes. In a Republican Senate, what is substantially the present act was incorporated as an amendment and subsequently approved by the House.

CHILD LABOR.

President Wilson expresses himself in opposition to a Federal child-labor law in his work on Constitutional Government of the United States (1911, pp. 178–179). The bill which recently passed the House had 337 votes in its favor and 46 against. Of the 46 against, only 2 were Republicans. The first Federal child-labor bill was introduced by Senator Beveridge, a Republican, and the first one to be passed was introduced by Senator GALLINGER, a Republican, prohibiting child labor in the District of Columbia. The Republican platform in 1912 also declared in favor of a Federal child-labor law.

It will thus be seen that out of some 20 measures for which Chairman McCormick claims the credit as a basis for his appeal to the Progressive and independent voter, that only 1, the Clayton antitrust act—a failure—is properly credited to the Democrats. Many Republicans voted against the Federal reserve act because of its form, and their objections have been abundantly justified by the manner in which the bill has operated. The other acts referred to were brought forward as nonpolitical and almost unanimously supported by the Republican Members of Congress, because they were in fact Republican measures. In asking the support of the Progressives, Chairman McCormick overlooked one exclusively Democratic measure, the Underwood tariff bill, with reference to which the Republicans will cheerfully accord to the Democratic Party all the credit which anyone can find has resulted from it.

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## Nebraska—Its Semicentennial as a State.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. CHARLES O. LOBECK,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the Members of the House in Congress for the privilege of extending my remarks about my beloved State of Nebraska, of which I have the honor and privilege, in part, to represent in this Congress of the United States.

Thirty-six years ago I became a citizen of Nebraska, and as a commercial traveler I became familiar with the State; I visited every portion within its confines, became personally acquainted with many of the pioneer homesteaders, the pioneer merchants, knew of the experiences of these pioneer settlers

west of the Missouri River, and from my personal observation know of the marvelous growth of the State.

The United States acquired the territory of Nebraska through the Louisiana Purchase—1803. It was a part of Louisiana Territory in 1805 and of Missouri in 1812 and the Indian Territory in 1834, and organized as Nebraska Territory in 1852, and became a State in 1867.

The Nebraska territory has been claimed by three great nations of the earth—Spain, France, and England—and it is said the flags of these nations have in turn waved over some of its soil, but on September 29, 1806, Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike held a grand council with the Pawnee Indians, and then and there an old Indian took down the Spanish flag and laid it at his feet. He then took the American flag and raised it on a staff where the Spanish flag had floated, and to this day the Stars and Stripes have been the glorious emblem of the State, and the people of Nebraska have ever held it unsullied, and no State has had braver defenders of the flag and for what it stands than the people of Nebraska.

The stories of the early visits of the Spaniards, who came from Mexico under the leadership of Francisco Vasquez Coronado and his soldiers, who were the first white men to visit Nebraska plains, are very interesting. The early history of Nebraska abounds with stories of trappers and trading posts.

The Lewis and Clark expedition wintered, in 1804, in Nebraska, and the farthest western military post at the time in the United States was established by Gen. Atkinson and named in his honor in 1819, and abandoned in 1827. This fort was built adjoining the present city of Fort Calhoun, in my district, and this little city claims the first apple orchard in the State, the first county courthouse, and the first church parsonage in the State.

The history of Nebraska in 1827, down to the time when it was organized as a Territory in 1852, is the story of hardy pioneers, traders, and Indian troubles. The first free homestead in the United States was taken by Daniel Freeman in Gage County, Nebr., under the free homestead act which was passed May 20, 1862, and signed by President Lincoln. And this splendid act of Congress has done more to open up and develop western country than any other measure, for it encouraged men and women to come and secure free homes. They cultivated the soil, railroads were constructed, farms and cities built, and became permanent homes for millions of people.

And so it would be very interesting to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the many incidents that are told of the history of Nebraska, but space forbids. Probably some of the most interesting stories told in book form of the history of Nebraska are by Mr. Addison Erwin Sheldon, of the University of Nebraska, and Mr. W. H. Woods, of Fort Calhoun, who have collected an interesting fund of information in regard to the early history of the State, and to both these gentlemen the people of Nebraska are indebted to for much valuable knowledge.

A half century ago Nebraska was admitted into the Union of the States. Its advent was tragic, for it presaged the War between the States. It was carved out of the wonderful territory which the genius and farsightedness of Thomas Jefferson made possible.

For a quarter of a century Nebraska, after its admission, suffered as most new States of the West. It had many conditions to overcome. But the people of Nebraska come from hardy stock. They came from the affluent sections of the East, the sturdy yeomanry of the Middle West. They came from countries of Europe to assist in the work of building a mighty State. And Nebraska, celebrating its fiftieth anniversary next month, belongs to the wonder States of our great confederation. The country of Quivera is to-day the bread basket of the Nation. Its people represent law and order. Its soil is the best the generous sun shines on.

Nebraska is the home of a million and a half of the finest citizenship in all the world.

On this occasion I take the opportunity to concretely tell something of the present prosperity of my State that is very dear to me, and I tell it in the language of others versed in such matters.

I quote from the Omaha-World Herald of September 2, 1916:

NEBRASKA'S PROSPERITY AN AMAZING SPECTACLE—SYNOPSIS OF ANSWERS TO INQUIRIES REVEALS WEALTH AND OPPORTUNITIES NOT DREAMED OF—FIGURES COMPILED SHOW STATE A LAND OF FULFILLED PROMISE AND BOUNTIFUL RESOURCE.

Ten thousand people, scattered throughout every State in the Union and every Province in Canada, wrote the immigration bureau of the Burlington Railroad last spring, asking for information about Nebraska and stating that they wanted to come to this State to live. Many more applied to the Union Pacific Railroad for similar information, and with a similar purpose in mind, to come to Nebraska to live. Other railroads operating in this State received numerous requests from prospective citizens and the commercial clubs of practically every city and town tell the same story.

There is a big trend toward Nebraska and thousands have their eyes turned this way.

Roughly speaking, the same answer was returned to every seeker after information. The answer was expressed in various words, but in the main here are the reasons given each prospective citizen as to why he should come to Nebraska to live and grow rich. The figures were prepared by the Nebraska State department of labor and their correctness is vouched for by that bureau.

FACTS ABOUT THE STATE OF NEBRASKA.

Third largest wheat producer in the United States.
Third largest oats producer in the United States.
Fourth largest corn producer in the United States.
Second largest alfalfa producer in the United States.
Third largest stock market in the United States.
Largest single creamery in the entire world.
Largest butter market in the entire world.
Fifth largest butter-producing State in the United States.
Second largest smelter of fine ores in the world.

Spends more money per capita for education than any State in the entire Union and has a larger per capita permanent school fund than any State in the entire United States.

The value of the eggs laid by Nebraska hens in 1914 was greater than the output of all the gold and silver mines in Colorado and California combined.

Last year the Nebraska small-grain crop was worth more than all the tobacco raised and copper mined in all the world.

A freight train 12,000 miles long was required to haul last year's Nebraska crops to market.

Five counties in Nebraska raise more apples than the combined output of the States of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.

Nebraska butter produced last year, if packed into 1-pound cartons and piled end-on-end, would make a stack 2,300 miles high.

Nebraska's agricultural and live-stock production for 1915 is worth more than all the coal mined in the entire United States the same year.

Nebraska's manufacturing plants turned out products worth $161,922,974.38 in 1914.

Nebraska's grand total of production in 1914—agricultural, live stock, dairy, fruit, and manufactured products combined—totaled, approximately, $700,000,000.

These are some of the reasons, in tabloid form, given to the thousands who last year asked why they should come to Nebraska to live.

Did any of these people come to Nebraska to live? They did. Next week in this space will be given the details of the present "trek" to this State.

But, really, the trend to Nebraska is nothing new. It has been under way for a number of years—10 at least.

Ten years ago 20 per cent or more of all Nebraska was Government land, subject to homestead entry. Only a few years ago there were 3,000,000 acres of free land in Nebraska. To-day there are less than 50,000 acres that can be homesteaded; not a single tract containing 80 acres is open for homestead; the free land is entirely gone.

Farmers and settlers now coming to this State must purchase their land farms; the Government has no more to give them.

The population on these millions and millions of acres that have been homesteaded in the last 10 years has changed the map of western and northern Nebraska, and has caused the land in other sections of the State to double and treble and quadruple in value. Small trading points have grown up at regular intervals throughout the territory. Good schools have been established. Churches have emerged from the sod buildings and are now housed in frame and brick structures. No longer do large herds of long-horned, wild-eyed Texas steers have the exclusive use of these lands. The range steer has moved out, the beef steer and the milch cow have moved in. Instead of the yip yipping cowboy, there is the put put of the automobile. The State is not blooming like a rose; it is blooming like a giant grain field.

Western Nebraska has arrived.

Among the thousands and thousands of letters received asking for information about Nebraska there were many unique ones, and the answers were fitted to the questions.

"I never raised anything but tobacco," wrote a farmer down in Kentucky. "Does Nebraska produce tobacco?"

And the answer read something like this: "Come on out. You can't make much raising tobacco out here, but our corn crop last year was worth more than all the tobacco raised in all the world. Raise corn instead."

"I've got the gold fever," wrote an Ohio man. "I want to go to Colorado or California and get a gold mine, but I haven't got enough money. Any gold in Nebraska?"

"Not in paying quantities," was answered him. "But come out here and get a little bunch of hens together. Nebraska hens last year scratched out eggs of greater value than all the gold and silver produced by all the gold mines of both Colorado and California."

"What is the railroad rate to Washington?" an Indiana fellow wrote one of the Omaha railroads. "I want to go out there and raise apples. I've been reading glowing accounts of that country as an apple producer. Would you advise Washington, Oregon, or Idaho? I understand all three are fine for apples."

"Better come to Nebraska instead," the railroad wrote him. "Five counties in Nebraska—Richardson, Otoe, Cass, Johnson, and Nemaha—produce more apples every year than do all the orchards of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho combined. Nebraska's horn has not been tooted like the horns of the Northwestern States."

"My wife is a good butter maker," wrote a Wisconsin farmer. "We want to move to Elgin, Ill., and start a butter-making dairy, but we thought we would write you first."

"Dear sir," was the reply, "Elgin don't manufacture a pound of butter, but Omaha makes about 20,000,000 pounds every year; it is the greatest butter manufacturing city in the entire world. Nebraska is the fifth greatest butter-making State in the Union. Come out here and start your dairy and get rich. The land is cheap."

In 1915 Nebraska raised 228,000,000 bushels of corn, worth $114,000,000; 67,000,000 bushels of winter wheat, worth $54,000,000; 4,000,000 bushels of spring wheat, worth $3,000,000; 75,000,000 bushels of oats, worth $20,000,000; 3,000,000 bushels of rye, worth $2,500,000; 4,000,000 tons of alfalfa, worth $24,500,000; 3,000,000 tons of wild hay, worth $19,000,000; 11,000,000 bushels of potatoes, worth $4,250,000; $34,000,000 worth of horses and mules; $40,000,000 worth of cattle; $33,000,000 worth of hogs; $42,000,000 worth of poultry and

eggs; $38,000,000 worth of dairy products; $10,000,000 worth of seeds; $10,000,000 worth of apples and berries; $20,000,000 worth of sugar beets and canning products; $23,500,000 worth of forage, ensilage, and minor crops. The manufactured products for the year were worth more than $150,000,000.

In the matter of schools Nebraska stands right up at the head, the percentage of illiteracy being only 1.9 per cent of the population. Iowa alone stands higher than Nebraska in literacy, the percentage in that State being only 1.7 per cent. Nebraska spends more money per capita for educational purposes than any State in the Union and has a larger permanent school fund per capita than any other State. The State owns many thousands of acres of the finest agricultural lands, which are leased, the proceeds going to the school fund.

Not only has Nebraska no public debt for which its citizens must pay interest every year, but the State has $10,000,000 in its treasury—loaned out at good rates of interest. Sixty counties have no bonded indebtedness and the remaining 35 counties are bonded for only $3,800,000.

Everybody's prosperous in Nebraska. The last census report gives Nebraska but 551 paupers in almshouses. In the matter of per capita wealth Nebraska stands fifth. The bank deposits for the State show $240,280,000, an average of $201 for every man, woman, and child in the State. The Federal Government report for 1915 places the share of each man, woman, and child in Nebraska in live stock and four leading crops of the State at $573.

Is a share in the prosperity of Nebraska worth having? Look at any other State; compare the schools, the churches, the modern conveniences, the pauper rolls, the prison rolls, the divorce rolls, the bank accounts, the big crops. Where is Nebraska's superior? Where is Nebraska's equal?

And now the question is asked, "Is the country all settled up? Are there any chances yet to get good land cheap?" The answer is:

"Western Nebraska to-day offers the same opportunity that eastern Nebraska offered to the fathers of the present generation." In eastern Nebraska land which 30 years ago could be bought for $10 an acre is now worth $150 per acre. In western Nebraska land may be bought to-day at from $10 to $25 per acre that will produce a crop whose cash value is considerably more than were the crops of eastern Nebraska land 30 years ago.

"Why are these lands not bought up by speculators and capitalists?"

The answer is this: "The farmer who reduces the raw prairie to a state of cultivation is the man who secures the reward. These lands, if left in their present unproductive condition, will not increase in value to any great extent, except in isolated cases. Put the land to the plow and such crops will be reaped as will give the property a ready value immediately—a far greater value than it has as raw land. And the crops produced on these cheap lands will be just as valuable as the crops raised on the high-priced lands of eastern Nebraska and Iowa.

There are all sorts of opportunties in Nebraska; there are all sorts of prosperity in Nebraska. Come out and get your share.

I also take pleasure in inserting a letter received from the Commercial Club of Omaha relative to a subject in which the people of Omaha are much interested.

This letter contains valuable statistics in relation to the agricultural production of the seven States adjoining and located in the far-famed Missouri Valley:

OMAHA, NEBR., *August 18, 1916.*

Hon. C. O. LOBECK, M. C.,
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. LOBECK: As some of the reasons why Omaha is the logical location for and should be selected as the city in which to locate one of the 12 Federal land banks provided for in the Federal farm-loan act recently passed by Congress, I beg to submit to you the following statements and statistics:

Omaha occupies a position in almost the geographical center of four States, with an area of 282,895 square miles, or 181,052,800 acres, embracing probably the richest and most productive agricultural area in the world.

Within this territory there were (according to the last United States census) 515,646 farms occupied by their owners, and therefore eligible as borrowers under the Federal farm-loan act, of which 236,619 were mortgaged. If any considerable portion of these mortgages are to be refunded under the new law, it can be readily seen that a bank located at Omaha would not want for business.

As tending to show the agricultural character of this territory, Government statistics show that there was produced within it during the year 1915, 897,500,000 bushels of corn, valued at $461,772,000; 228,357,000 bushels of wheat, valued at $202,389,000; 119,481,000 bushels of oats, valued at $119,481,000; 10,323,000 bushels of barley, valued at $10,323,000; 4,342,000 bushels of rye, valued at $4,342,000; 23,386,000 bushels of potatoes, valued at $23,386,000; 9,564,000 tons of hay, valued at $135,546,000; 38,697,000 bushels of apples, valued at $26,276,000; 6,048,000 bushels of peaches, valued at $5,822,000.

There were on the farms within this territory on January 1, 1916, 4,805,000 horses, valued at $468,085,000; 730,000 mules, valued at $75,198,000; 3,640,000 cows, valued at $212,084,000; 8,474,000 other cattle, valued at $337,021,000; 20,715,000 hogs, valued at $182,044,000; 3,404,000 sheep, valued at $20,169,000.

As showing that this territory is naturally tributary to and that Omaha is the market town and clearing house for these products, there was handled at the Omaha stock yards during the year 1915, 1,218,342 head of cattle, 2,642,973 hogs, 3,268,279 sheep, and 41,679 horses and mules.

There was handled through the Omaha Grain Exchange during the year 1915 as follows:

| | Receipts. | Shipments. |
|---|---|---|
| | *Bushels.* | *Bushels.* |
| Wheat | 16,587,600 | 11,408,400 |
| Corn | 24,295,200 | 25,342,100 |
| Oats | 11,042,000 | 11,560,000 |
| Rye | 1,076,000 | 816,000 |
| Barley | 555,000 | 96,000 |
| Total | 53,555,800 | 49,223,000 |

As this grain is all received from the country tributary to Omaha and not as reshipments from other markets, it makes Omaha one of the largest primary grain markets in the country.

Omaha's bank clearings for the year ending July 31, 1916, were $1,109,194,759.83, making her the sixteenth city in the United States in volume of business.

Omaha is the largest butter market in the world. She is the third largest meat packing center, the second largest live-stock market, and the largest range-horse market in the United States.

She has 17 lines of railroads, of which six extend to the eastward, three to the northward, three to the southward, three to the Pacific coast, and two to the northwestward, thus affording the mail facilities which would enable a bank located here to handle its business expeditiously.

I am inclosing herewith some statistics, showing crop production for Nebraska as well as for six surrounding and adjoining States.

Trusting that the inclosed figures may be of value to you in your presentation of our case, I am,

Yours, truly, ROBT. H. MANLEY, *Commissioner.*

*Table showing acreage, production, and value of principal farm products in seven States tributary to Omaha.*

GOVERNMENT STATISTICS, 1915.

| | Acreage. | Production. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| CORN. | | | |
| | | *Bushels.* | |
| Total for United States | 108,321,000 | 3,054,535,000 | $1,755,859,000 |
| Nebraska | 7,100,000 | 213,000,000 | 100,110,000 |
| Kansas | 55,550,000 | 172,050,000 | 87,746,000 |
| Iowa | 10,100,000 | 303,000,000 | 154,530,000 |
| Missouri | 7,100,000 | 209,450,000 | 119,366,000 |
| Colorado | 470,000 | 11,280,000 | 6,204,000 |
| Wyoming | 25,000 | 625,000 | 419,000 |
| South Dakota | 3,250,000 | 91,250,000 | 46,182,000 |
| WHEAT. | | | |
| Total for United States | 59,808,000 | 1,011,505,000 | 930,302,000 |
| Nebraska | 3,947,000 | 72,154,000 | 60,609,000 |
| Kansas | 8,525,000 | 106,538,000 | 94,819,000 |
| Iowa | 785,000 | 15,557,000 | 13,535,000 |
| Missouri | 2,773,000 | 34,108,000 | 33,426,000 |
| South Dakota | 3,725,000 | 63,762,000 | 54,835,000 |
| Colorado | 560,000 | 13,310,000 | 10,648,000 |
| Wyoming | 125,000 | 3,315,000 | 2,588,000 |
| OATS. | | | |
| Total for United States | 40,780,000 | 1,540,362,000 | 99,431,000 |
| Nebraska | 2,200,000 | 70,400,000 | 27,840,000 |
| Kansas | 1,650,000 | 43,725,000 | 16,178,000 |
| Iowa | 4,950,000 | 198,000,000 | 63,360,000 |
| Missouri | 1,225,000 | 31,850,000 | 12,103,000 |
| South Dakota | 1,725,000 | 72,450,000 | 20,286,000 |
| Colorado | 300,000 | 11,700,000 | 4,797,000 |
| Wyoming | 227,000 | 9,534,000 | 4,100,000 |
| BARLEY. | | | |
| Total for United States | 7,395,000 | 237,009,000 | 122,490,000 |
| Nebraska | 105,000 | 3,255,000 | 1,367,000 |
| Kansas | 270,000 | 8,370,000 | 3,515,000 |
| Iowa | 353,000 | 10,943,000 | 5,362,000 |
| Missouri | 5,000 | 125,000 | 79,000 |
| South Dakota | 750,000 | 24,000,000 | 11,040,000 |
| Colorado | 130,000 | 4,680,000 | 2,246,000 |
| Wyoming | 17,000 | 112,000 | 337,000 |
| RYE. | | | |
| Total for United States | 2,856,000 | 49,190,000 | 41,205,000 |
| Nebraska | 200,000 | 3,500,000 | 2,555,000 |
| Kansas | 50,000 | 800,000 | 608,000 |
| Iowa | 60,000 | 1,110,000 | 888,000 |
| Missouri | 25,000 | 338,000 | 291,000 |
| South Dakota | 90,000 | 1,755,000 | 1,334,000 |
| Colorado | 30,000 | 525,000 | 368,000 |
| Wyoming | 9,000 | 180,000 | 162,000 |
| POTATOES. | | | |
| Total for United States | 3,761,000 | 359,103,000 | 221,104,000 |
| Nebraska | 110,000 | 11,550,000 | 4,851,000 |
| Kansas | 71,000 | 5,893,000 | 4,851,000 |
| Iowa | 148,000 | 15,540,000 | 8,392,000 |
| Missouri | 90,000 | 8,820,000 | 5,292,000 |
| South Dakota | 68,000 | 7,820,000 | 2,737,000 |
| Colorado | 53,000 | 7,155,000 | 3,935,000 |
| Wyoming | 16,000 | 2,400,000 | 1,440,000 |
| HAY. | | | |
| Total for United States | 50,872,000 | 85,225,000 | 912,320,000 |
| Nebraska | 1,650,000 | 4,290,000 | 24,882,000 |
| Kansas | 1,766,000 | 4,062,000 | 22,747,000 |
| Iowa | 3,098,000 | 5,576,000 | 48,511,000 |
| Missouri | 3,950,000 | 4,636,000 | 39,406,000 |
| South Dakota | 610,000 | 1,220,000 | 6,466,000 |
| Colorado | 970,000 | 2,134,000 | 16,218,000 |
| Wyoming | 550,000 | 1,210,000 | 9,438,000 |

## The Daniels-Gardner Debate.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with a leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, granted me on September 2, 1916, I submit the following:

I. A list of questions publicly propounded by me to Secretary Daniels on August 24, 1916.

II. Secretary Daniels's answer of August 25, 1916.

III. My rejoinder of August 29, 1916.

If Secretary Daniels has replied to my rejoinder, I have not heard of that fact.

I. QUESTIONS FOR SECRETARY DANIELS, PROPOUNDED BY CONGRESSMAN A. P. GARDNER AT WEST SULLIVAN, ME., AUGUST 24, 1916.

"SIR: In your annual report submitted to Congress December 1, 1914, you entitled one of the subdivisions "Proof of preparedness of the Navy." You said: "The Navy is always ready; it lives in a state of preparedness." And further you said, "As far as the submarines themselves are concerned, it is believed that ours are on a par with any in the world."

"At the very time when you submitted that report were not the following facts in the possession of the Navy Department?

"Question 1. Was it not known to the department that every battleship then in commission was equipped entirely with torpedoes which Admiral Strauss, Chief of Ordnance, had six weeks previously declared to be obsolete?

"Question 2. Had not the senior naval adviser to the Secretary of the Navy, Admiral Fiske, three weeks previously, on November 9, 1914, submitted to you an official letter with the subject title "The Navy's Unpreparedness for War"?

"Question 3. Were not the scores of the target practice of the Atlantic battleship fleet for 1914 in the possession of the Navy Department at the time of your report, and did not they show that our naval gunnery had degenerated to an efficiency almost incredible? Did not those scores show that out of 21 battleships the proficiency attained in elementary target practice, on the Mayo scale, was as follows: Excellent, 2 battleships; good, 1 battleship; fair, 2 battleships; poor, 4 battleships; unsatisfactory (lowest rating of all), 12 battleships?

"Question 4. Is it not a fact that three weeks before your report to Congress alleging the preparedness of the Navy you wrote to Admiral F. F. Fletcher, commander in chief of the Atlantic Fleet, as follows:

"Information is desired as to the reasons for the unpreparedness of the submarine flotilla for active service. Your recommendation is desired as to the course to be pursued in the future to prevent such unpreparedness.

"Does all that sound like preparedness?

"I have noticed in some of your speeches a comparison of the number of vessels of the Navy in commission when you became Secretary and the number in commission at the present time.

"Question 5. Is it not true that of all 44 naval vessels authorized prior to this year by Congress during President Wilson's administration, only one has yet been put in commission?

"Question 6. Is it not true that on August 1, 1916, not one single stroke of work had yet been done on the dreadnaughts *Tennessee* and *California*, the destroyer *Caldwell*, and the submarines *O-1* and *O-2*, although Congress voted to build these vessels over 17 months ago on March 3, 1915?

"Question 7. Is it not true that you have on your hands 32 uncompleted submarines of which 1 was authorized by Congress in 1908, 1 in 1909, 4 in 1912, 2 in 1913, 8 in 1914, and 16 in 1915?

"Question 8. Is it not true that you have made a contract with the Electric Boat Co., allowing that concern three years in which to complete the building of the sea-going submarine *Schley*?

"Question 9. Is it not true that the superdreadnaughts *Nevada* and *Oklahoma*, which for the first time you put in commission this spring, were authorized over five years previously by Congress?

"Question 10. Is it not a fact that eight years ago 16 American battleships were mobilized for a trip around the world, whereas late last winter only 15 American battleships—not including the old *Kentucky*—could be mustered for Admiral Fletcher's maneuvers?

"Question 11. The official Navy List of August 1, 1916, shows that there are 19 battleships at present in full commission. Is it not true that three of them are operating with reduced complements of officers and men? Is it not also true that the destroyer flotillas are likewise operating with reduced complements of officers and crew?

"Question 12. Is it not a fact that on December 1, 1914, with a European war raging, you advised Congress to cut in two the Navy building program recommended by the General Board of the Navy? And is it not also true that you entirely cut out the General Board's recommendation of $5,000,000 for airships?

"Question 13. Is it not true that on July 30, 1915, the General Board of the Navy recommended to you that the Navy building program for this year should include 4 battleships, 4 armored cruisers, 6 scout cruisers, 28 destroyers, and 37 submarines? And is it not also true that you recommended to Congress to cut this program down to 2 battleships, 2 battle cruisers, 3 scout cruisers, 15 destroyers, and 30 submarines?"

NOTE.—An advance copy of the above questions was sent to Secretary Daniels on August 19, 1916.

II. Secretary Daniels's reply at Milbridge, Me., August 25, 1916:

[From the Waterville Morning Sentinel.]

REPLIES TO CONGRESSMAN GARDNER—SECRETARY DANIELS ANSWERS CRITICISMS ABOUT THE NAVY—MILBRIDGE'S GREATEST EVER—GOV. CURTIS AND ALSO SECRETARY BUNKER AMONG SPEAKERS.

MILBRIDGE, *August 25.*

This town and every other town within a radius of 30 miles turned out to-night to hear Secretary of the Navy Daniels, Gov. Oakley C. Curtis, and Secretary of State of Maine John E. Bunker, candidate for Congress. The large hall was packed to overflowing, many leaving after a vain endeavor to hear the noted speaker of the evening. It was by far the greatest and best rally that this part of Washington County has ever known, and a grand, glorious tribute to a famous member of President Wilson's Cabinet.

GOV. CURTIS.

Gov. Curtis again to-night defended himself from the attacks of Carl E. Milliken, Republican candidate for governor, especially alluding to the representations made at Island Park in Kennebec County in a recent speech.

Secretary of State Bunker discussed the various candidates and their qualifications.

The party to-morrow will travel up through Jonesport, and in the evening address a rally at Machias.

Answering the 12 questions propounded by Congressman A. P. GARDNER in his speech at West Sullivan, Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, in his speech here to-night, read an extract from a reply to the questions regarding target practice given the Secretary by Capt. C. P. Plunkett, director of gunnery exercises, in which Capt. Plunkett expressed his opinion that Mr. GARDNER'S criticisms of target practice "had been of the greatest use to every enemy of the Government." In replying to the 12 questions, Secretary Daniels said in part:

MANY ANSWERS.

"There are doubtless people who are able to ask more questions than Mr. GARDNER, but I doubt if anyone has ever asked the same questions so many times without paying the slightest attention to the answers. I have, directly and indirectly, answered these questions in statements to the newspapers, in information furnished Congress, in letters beyond number addressed to Mr. GARDNER himself, and in every other conceivable way I have talked them and written them and done everything but sing them to him, and, indeed, while Goodness knows I am no singer, if I thought that by so doing I could get him to stop asking questions long enough to listen to the answers, I would gladly set them to music and sing them to him. Not only have I answered these questions myself, but they have been answered by naval authorities far more competent to speak than any civilian could be, perhaps the most succinct and convincing answer of all having been made by Admiral Dewey in a published interview last Sunday, when he summed up the entire series of interrogation points in the single word 'bosh.'

"Mr. GARDNER, according to the Congressional Directory, has been in Congress since 1902. He has had the right and, since he has been so vigorously hunting for Democratic deficiencies during the last year, he has himself admitted that it is not only his right but his sacred duty, by speech and vote, to safeguard this country from a degenerating and inefficient Navy, to see, by constant and reiterated warning, that the Navy is kept on its toes, as it were, and, by sharp criticism and inquiry, to drag every weakness from its hiding place and expose it to the public.

NAVY IN 1905.

"During this period, therefore, that he has been in Congress, if Mr. GARDNER is sincere, if Mr. GARDNER is asking these questions from a desire to improve the Navy, if he really thinks he has been appointed by the people to safeguard their interests in this matter, if he is not merely playing petty politics and, by misrepresentation and twisting of figures, trying to get his party back into power without any regard for the Navy itself, he has, of course, during all of this time, never failed to protest loudly and vociferously whenever our Naval Establishment showed signs of disintegration. For instance, in 1905 that great recent convert to preparedness, Theodore Roosevelt, then President, in his message to Congress made this statement: 'It does not seem to be necessary, however, that the Navy should, at least in the immediate future, be increased beyond the present number of units.'

"Mr. GARDNER, if he is the real naval expert which he would have us believe he is, knew the building programs of the other nations that year and that his policy carried out would inevitably throw us back to third or even fourth place. Therefore, we have only to turn to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to find Mr. GARDNER addressing questions to the President, speaking on every occasion on the floor, warning the people of his district of the peril to our country, demanding the recommendations of the General Board and in other ways arousing the slumbering Nation to its danger. I have searched the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that year through with some care, and I find that Mr.

GARDNER failed to say anything about the Navy at all. He was apparently in total ignorance of the fact that there was a Navy—in fact, had been oblivious to the fact during all the four years previous that he had served in Congress, for, in all of that time not one word pertaining to the Navy appears, so far as I can find, credited to the Hon. AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER.

"Again, President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress in December, 1907, continuing the fatuous policy which eventually brought us to the time that required heroic action by the Democrats to rescue our Navy from sinking to the very bottom of the list, said: 'I do not ask that we continue to increase our Navy. I ask merely that it be maintained at its present strength.'

"Did the Hon. AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER arouse himself by this time? Had not the inevitable downward drift for two years caught his attention? Apparently not. Not one word about the Navy did Mr. GARDNER speak that year or the next.

SUCH IS THE RECORD.

"Such is the record, and we have not, then, a man devotedly interested in the Navy, caring deeply whether or not we are in first, second, or ninth place, but one interested in nothing pertaining to military subjects of any kind, until somebody suggests that it would be good politics to attack the Democratic administration. Let us quote Mr. GARDNER'S own statement of his course in Congress, from the first real speech about the Navy that he made. On October 16, 1914, Mr. GARDNER says:

"'For a dozen years I have sat here like a coward and I have listened to men say that in time of war we could depend for our defense upon our National Guard and our Naval Militia, and I have known all the time that it was not so.'

"So Mr. GARDNER, by his own words, was not even to be excused from ignorance for his own silence. He knew better, and the reason he saw things going from bad to worse and said nothing was because he was a 'coward.' Now, there is a certain amount of credit to be given to a man who honestly and publicly regrets that he has been a coward, but let us see whether that is an honest confession or not. I want to ask Mr. GARDNER one question in return: Were you a 'coward' in not exposing the gradual deterioration of the Navy under Republican administration because you dared not expose your own party's deficiencies for fear of your own political future, and is your present bravery due to the fact that you are attacking a Democratic administration and gaining prestige in your own party in consequence, or, if that is not what made you a coward for so many years, what, Mr. GARDNER, was it? Who or what were you afraid of?

"I have said, and I hope I have proved, that the insincerity of the questions requires no further answer, but I am going to answer them just the same. Mr. GARDNER has asked them with the fatuous idea that he may obtain Republican votes by so doing. I am going to answer them, because I know I will get Democratic votes when the truth is known.

"Mr. GARDNER first plaintively inquires whether I knew, at the time of submitting my annual report in 1914, that every battleship then in commission was equipped entirely with torpedoes which Admiral Strauss, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, had six weeks previously declared to be obsolete.

"If Mr. GARDNER would only read some of the reports of the naval officers he would find many of the questions answered, and this is the present case, for with my annual report went the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, which said not only that we knew it, but that we had already obtained appropriations and were actually manufacturing long-range torpedoes to take their places. I am also glad to inform him that since then all of the dreadnaughts in commission have been equipped with these torpedoes. I am not quite sure whether Mr GARDNER really knows what a torpedo is or not. His ignorance of things nautical is at times amazing. But it may interest the public generally to learn that the increasing range of naval guns was yearly increasing the distance apart of fighting battleships, and the time had come when the range at which the ships would fight exceeded the distance which the old torpedo could be made to go. This was not a condition peculiar to our Navy. It was true of every navy battleship.

"Question No. 2 shows a lamentable failure upon Mr. GARDNER'S part to read the newspapers. At this late day he inquires anxiously whether or not Admiral Fiske had submitted to me three weeks previous to November 9, 1914, an official letter with the subject title 'The Navy's unpreparedness for war.' To answer this momentous question at length would be to assume that my audience was equally indifferent to the public press. It is sufficient to say that it was claimed that Admiral Fiske had presented such a letter; that I had said that Admiral Fiske had presented so many memorandums on naval subjects as part of his official duties that it was difficult to remember exactly the one referred to, but that I could not find it in my files. That Admiral Fiske himself then announced that he was quite sure he had sent the letter, to which I replied that if Admiral Fiske made such a statement I did not for a moment doubt that it was true.

"Mr. GARDNER also wishes to know whether or not, three weeks before I made this report to Congress, I had written to Admiral Fletcher commenting on some breakdowns of our submarines and asking what he recommended to prevent them occurring in the future? Mr. GARDNER apparently finds it very difficult to reconcile this letter, which I undoubtedly wrote, with my statement in my report that 'So far as the submarines themselves are concerned, it is believed that ours are on a par with any in the world.' Apparently Mr. GARDNER has fallen into the error of assuming that the statement that our submarines were as good, so far as we know, as the other fellows', meant that they were therefore perfect and without flaw. As a matter of fact, submarines were and still are in a state of development and are subject to as unexpected and sudden breakdowns as the automobile of 10 years ago. Saying that they were on a par with any in the world at that time did not mean that they were perfect or anything like it.

"Now comes questions 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, all bearing on the number of vessels this administration has under construction or constructed and the time required for their completion. I am giving to the press a full and detailed reply to these questions prepared by the Bureau of Construction and Repair, as it makes several pages and goes into technicalities which are rather out of place to read here; but it is enough to say in general that the record of this administration for the number of vessels completed from the time of its going into office exceeds that of any other administration in the history of the Navy since modern ships replaced the old quickly constructed wooden vessels; that, specifically in reference to question 6, which asks, Is it not true that not one single stroke of work has yet been done on the *Tennessee*, *California*, *Caldwell*, and two submarines? I can reply it is not true. If Mr. GARDNER had only a rudimentary knowledge of naval construction, he would know that before the keel is laid there must first be done much work in the shops. Certain parts of a boat are made inside the shops before the actual erection on the ways is begun. This work has been and is going on in spite of the great difficulty of obtaining labor in these prosperous times.

"Mr. GARDNER asks, in question No. 10, if it is not a fact that eight years ago 16 American battleships were mobilized for a trip around the world, whereas last winter only 15 battleships, not counting the *Kentucky*, could be mustered for Admiral Fletcher's maneuvers. It is a fact that 16 battleships took the trip around the world eight years ago, although to do it not only every ship left behind but the navy yards and shore stations as well were stripped of men to afford them personnel sufficient to make the trip. It is not true that only 15 could be mustered for Admiral Fletcher's maneuvers. Only 15 were used, which is a different thing. If Mr. GARDNER will read his morning paper he will find in fact that there are 25 battleships at this moment engaged in maneuvers off our shores.

"In question No. 11 Mr. GARDNER wants to know about reduced complements on some battleships and destroyers. Our reserve battleships and destroyers have and always have had reduced complements. The question of personnel and the need for increased personnel has been brought up with all the earnestness in his power by the Secretary of the Navy, and Congress under a Democratic administration has responded for the first time by increasing the number of men which we may enlist under the law to a figure which will make it possible to adequately man our fleet.

"Question No. 133, and the last, is rather an unlucky number for Mr. GARDNER. He wants to know if it is not true that in 1915 I reduced the number of ships I asked of Congress from that recommended by the General Board. It is an unlucky question, because it allows me to point out how much nearer I have come to the recommendations of the General Board than Republican Secretaries in the past. It is the Secretary's duty to take the General Board's recommendation, which represents what might be called the ideal number that we need, and, by careful canvass of Congress, find out how many he can actually get and to be careful not to ask for so much more than he can possibly get as to imperil the entire program In 1915 the country was not yet awakened to the necessity of largely increasing its naval establishment. When that time came, this year's appropriation bill shows that your Secretary of the Navy did not fail to recommend a program so extensive, so satisfying in its numbers and the character of its ships as to silence even the most carping critic.

"Mr. GARDNER, in question No. 3, seeks to make out 'that our naval gunnery had degenerated to an inefficiency almost incredible.' Mr. GARDNER and, thanks to his propaganda, all the world knows that, owing to Secretary Meyer's parsimony and lack of conception of the Navy, the elementary target practice was discontinued and that our gunnery practice was discontinued and that our gunnery practice did fall off lamentably. Mr. GARDNER should know it, if he is serious in his investigations, that it has improved immensely since I restored the elementary practice. He must also know that is a question which, from his wording, is an assertion that the American battleship to-day need not be taken seriously by a foreign power, because it is not able to hit an enemy, and that it is not true, but is the absolute reverse of the facts, and that in making such a statement he deliberately invites some nation in the future, weighing the profitableness of war or of peace in its mind, to plunge our country into war through misapprehension of the conditions of our fleet."

III. GARDNER'S REJOINDER, HALLOWELL, ME., AUGUST 29, 1916.

Congressman GARDNER'S speech was as follows:

"It is not much good voting to build a big Navy if you are going to have a Secretary of the Navy who has not the executive ability to push the shipbuilding program to completion. You can not expect our Navy to be properly run if you have a Secretary who elbows out the trained organization of his predecessor to make room for his own coterie of favorite officers. No one knows better than I that many of the naval officers in the department at Washington are splendidly equipped for their positions and admirable officials in every way.

"In Waterville the other night Secretary Daniels publicly asked me a question, to which he is quite welcome to an answer. He asked me why I was a coward for a dozen years in not exposing the weakness of our national defense. He commented on the fact that I admitted that I knew for years of the inefficiency of the National Guard and the National Militia. 'Who or what were you afraid of?' asked the Secretary. I guess it was the loss of votes I was afraid of, Mr. Secretary. Would you not be a little bit scared yourself if you represented a district chock-a-block with national guardsmen and national militiamen?

DANIELS CONFESSES.

"The first four questions which I addressed to Mr. Daniels at West Sullivan were designed for the purpose of proving that at the very time when he reported to Congress in December, 1914, that the Navy was in a state of preparedness and superb efficiency, as a matter of fact, at that very time there was in the department substantial evidence of the incorrectness of his report. You may remember that it was largely Secretary Daniels's report of the preparedness of the Navy which furnished the basis of the arguments in consequence of which all proposals looking toward adequate national defense were rejected by President Wilson and by Congress in the session of 1915. Secretary Daniels now admits that at the very time when he penned the subdivision of his report which was entitled 'Proof of preparedness of the Navy,' he was entirely aware of the fact that the battleship fleet was entirely equipped with obsolete torpedoes, and, furthermore, that he knew that our submarine flotilla was not in condition for actual service. He admits that at that very time he had in his possession the scathing report on our Navy's unpreparedness which had been

presented to him three weeks previously, on November 9, 1914, by his senior naval advisor, Admiral Bradley A. Fiske. He does not deny my statement that the ratings of more than half the battleship fleet in the target practice held in the fall of 1914 were of the lowest grade known to the Navy Department classification and that he knew it when he sent his report to Congress. In lieu of denying my facts, he publishes a rebuke to me for exposing our gunnery figures. This rebuke is written by Capt. C. P. Plunkett, whom Secretary Daniels has put at the head of the Target Practice Bureau. Inasmuch as Secretary Daniels has now announced his intention to abandon this fall the practice of concealment of target-practice scores, I can not understand Capt. Plunkett's position, especially as it is in direct opposition to the views of Capt. W. S. Sims, former chief of the target practice of the Navy, now in command of the superdreadnaught *Nevada*. Capt. Sims, by the way, is the officer whom Secretary Daniels described as 'one of our ablest officers, and probably our best authority on target practice.' On March 10, 1916, Capt. Sims testified strongly in favor of the publication of all target-practice scores. He pointed out that the scores were known to the officers and men of the Navy, and that it was impossible to keep them secret from foreign Governments. He declared that publicity in the matter would be a direct incentive for improvement.

"Here is a quotation from his evidence:

"Speaking of the naval representatives of foreign Governments, Capt. Sims said: 'When those people want information about our target practice, they get it, and there is only one class of people who are really ignorant about these subjects, and that is the American people. We want the truth about it. The Navy is perfectly willing to have the truth published, and take its licking from the press, and let the people know where it stands.' Again, Capt. Sims says at the same hearing, 'Now, as a matter of fact, the target practice of last fall, although 40 per cent better than the fall before, is still unsatisfactory to a very considerable degree. It ought to be doubled.'

DANIELS PLEADS NOLO CONTENDERE.

"Secretary Daniels does not deny that out of 44 vessels authorized during President Wilson's administration he has succeeded in pushing but one to completion. He does not deny that he has 32 unfinished submarines on his hands, of which 6 were authorized by Congress in 1912 or earlier. He does not deny that he has made a three-year contract for the completion of the sengoing submarine *Schley* with the Electric Boat Co., which is the very company that in five months completed for the British Government 10 submarines which actually crossed the Atlantic on their own bottoms. He does not deny that five years were expended in the completion of the superdreadnaughts *Nevada* and *Oklahoma*, which he put into commission for the first time this spring.

"My question No. 6 reads as follows: 'Is it not true that on August 1, 1916, not one single stroke of work had been done on the dreadnaughts *Tennessee* and *California*, the destroyer *Caldwell*, and the submarines *O-1* and *O-2*, although Congress voted to build these vessels over 17 months ago, on March 3, 1915?' To this the Secretary replied, 'It is not true.' He claims that certain shopwork has been done on these vessels which must necessarily be completed before their keels are laid. I based my statement on the official bulletin of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, published August 10, 1916. This bulletin shows the percentage of completion of every vessel authorized for the Navy. Against the names of the *Tennessee*, the *California*, the *Caldwell*, and the submarines *O-1* and *O-2* appears a zero. I have been unofficially told that when the shopwork on a vessel has been finished and assembled that the Bureau of Construction and Repair considers that the vessel is 2 or 3 per cent completed. But there is no use splitting hairs on the matter. I will admit that the bulletin of the Bureau of Construction and Repair may be inexact; but at all events the fact remains that over 17 months have elapsed and the keels of those five vessels are not yet laid.

"As to the machinery which is being constructed for these five ships, I find, by consulting the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Steam Engineering of the Navy Department, that on August 1, 1916, the percentage of machinery completion was as follows: Dreadnaught *Tennessee*, 0 per cent; dreadnaught *California*, 0 per cent; destroyer *Caldwell*, 3 per cent; submarine *O-1*, 1 per cent; submarine *O-2*, 1 per cent.

"I hardly think that anyone would characterize as a marvel of frankness the Secretary's reply to my question about these five vessels.

"The Secretary does not deny that in both of the last two years in the middle of the European war he has actually recommended to Congress that we should cut in two the building program recommended by the General Board of the Navy. He defends his conduct by the claim that in times of profound peace Republican Secretaries of the Navy have done the same or worse than he. That fact I deny. Even if it were true, nevertheless, when the whole world is ablaze it is no defense of the Daniels policy of 'dawdle, dawdle, dawdle,' to say that Republican Secretaries of the Navy were equally remiss when the whole world was at peace and likely to remain so.

"In answer to my charge contained in question No. 10 to the effect that Secretary Daniels was only able to mobilize 15 American battleships for Admiral Fletcher's maneuvers last winter, whereas President Roosevelt mobilized 16 battleships for the trip around the world nine years ago, the Secretary replies:

It is not true that only 15 could be mustered for Admiral Fletcher's maneuvers. Only 15 were used, which is a different thing.

"This will be news for Admiral Fletcher, as it directly contradicts his testimony before the Committee on Naval Affairs March 3, 1916. In answer to certain questions by Congressman KELLEY of Michigan, Admiral Fletcher testified:

There are 19 (battleships) in active commission assigned to the fleet, but 4 of them have short complements, so that leaves only 15 actually operating in the fleet.

"Later on the admiral says:

The shortage of officers and men prevents any more battleships being placed in commission.

"Further answering my questions, the Secretary reiterates the claim which he has made in so many speeches lately that 25 battleships are engaged in maneuvers off our shores. Technically this may be the case; but the newspapers tell us that no less than 12 of these battleships carry only 40 per cent of a full crew of regular officers and men. The fact is that 12 of these battleships instead of being actually mobilized are nothing in the world but training-school ships for the Annapolis midshipmen and the 2,000 civilian rookies about whom we have been reading. This may all be very useful training; but it is fantastic to compare such a primary-school mobilization with the trip of the 16 battleships of the American Navy around the world. The following telegram from Admiral Benson lets the cat out of the bag:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 27, 1916.*

Hon. A. P. GARDNER,
*Augusta House, Augusta, Me.:*

In recent maneuvers there were engaged 28 battleships, including flagship of chief umpire. Of these, 12 were operating with reduced complements. Of these 12, 3 had on board midshipmen from Naval Academy and 9 had on board civilians of volunteer-training cruise.
BENSON.

FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

"I shall now take leave to disregard Secretary Daniels's rebuke concerning my exposure of target-practice scores. I assert that in the recent division target practice the battleship *Nebraska* fired 83 shots and the battleship *Michigan* fired 42 shots without either vessel hitting the screen target a single time. If Secretary Daniels can deny that statement, I will cheerfully give $500 to any charity which he may name.

"Here is the actual score of shots and hits made by the Atlantic battleship fleet in division practice in the spring of 1916:

*Division practice, spring, 1916.*

| Vessels. | Number of shots. | Number of hits. |
|---|---|---|
| Arkansas | 76 | 6 |
| Delaware | 70 | 5 |
| Florida | 70 | 3 |
| Kansas | 76 | 2 |
| Louisiana | 77 | 1 |
| Michigan | 42 | 0 |
| Nebraska | 83 | 0 |
| New Jersey | 79 | 3 |
| New York | 70 | 4 |
| Rhode Island | 84 | 4 |
| South Carolina | 56 | 3 |
| Texas | 70 | 10 |
| Utah | 70 | 7 |
| Wyoming | 84 | 5 |
| | 1,007 | 53 |

"The above figures are compiled from a letter written by Secretary Daniels to the President of the United States Senate on August 18, 1916.

"I notice that the Secretary states that he intends to give the widest publicity to the large practice scores made this fall. The Secretary is a very adroit gentleman. Until this morning there has been no publicity of the target-practice scores made this spring. Let me tell you 'the nigger in the woodpile.' Spring target practice takes place at battle ranges, at from 7 to 9 miles, sometimes a little more, sometimes a little less. Fall target practice, on the other hand, is for the purpose of giving

elementary training, and is held at a range of about 1 mile. It is currently reported that under these easy conditions the big guns of our battleships last fall made about 70 per cent of hits. I have no exact figures, however. The average man, of course, does not realize the difference between elementary practice and battle practice. I do not in the least accuse Mr. Daniels of politics in the matter; but I can readily understand that there would be no loss of votes if just before election he were to publish scores showing that the big guns of the American battleship fleet had made a record of 75 per cent hits, especially if he failed to point out that in the previous spring in actual battle practice these same ships had made only 5 per cent hits.

"I have read an alleged interview with dear old Admiral Dewey at some watering place or other. As a contrast to his present alleged views, I can not refrain from quoting the report which he himself signed as president of the General Board of the Navy as recently as November, 1913. It runs as follows: 'The absence of any definite naval policy on our part, except in the General Board, and the failure of the people, the Congress, and the executive government to recognize the necessity for such a policy has already placed us in a position of inferiority which may lead to war; and this inferiority is progressive and will continue to increase until the necessity for a definite policy is recognized and that policy put into operation.'

"The fact is that the Admiral is a gallant old sailor of some 79 years, and can not be expected always to agree with younger officers like Admiral Winslow, Rear Admiral Fiske, Capt. W. S. Sims, and Commanders Yarnell and Stirling."

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## The Naval Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to find that the House conferees have secured some very important changes in the naval bill passed by the Senate.

I consider these changes not only wise but they will result in a large saving to the Public Treasury. The appropriations made by the Senate for the development of certain navy yards which were not included in the House bill have been eliminated. The matter of developing existing yards or establishing new yards has been wisely postponed until after the commission authorized by the House bill makes its report.

A large part of the personnel legislation has been rewritten and some dangerous provisions omitted. It is especially gratifying that the naval regulations were not made a part of the permanent law, as proposed by the Senate bill. While I recognize that these regulations at present are well and wisely drawn and efficiently administered, yet it would be a serious mistake to deprive the Secretary of the Navy of the power to make changes from time to time in these regulations when suggested by constantly recurring changed conditions. To write these regulations into the permanent law would eventually so narrow the scope of the Secretary's power as to make him a mere figurehead in the control and direction of our Navy.

Personally I opposed the provision of the House bill conferring on the Chief of Naval Operations the rank of admiral, and requiring the Secretary to appoint a minimum number of line officers to serve as aids to the Chief of Naval Operations. The conferring of this exalted rank will tend to largely subordinate the different bureau heads, and my fear is that it may disturb, in the course of time, that perfect harmony and cooperation that is now found between the different bureaus.

The number of officers detailed for this service could be safely left to the wise discretion of the Secretary of the Navy. Many members of the House Naval Committee were opposed to this feature of the bill, and if sufficient time could have been secured to properly present it to the House I question its adoption as now written.

These same matters have had the serious consideration not only of former House Naval Committees but also of Congress since 1903, and the verdict always has been adverse to the provisions referred to. I mention this in order that it may serve to make Congress watchful of any evil results or tendencies, so that the same can be speedily checked and corrected. It will be noted in this connection that a very stringent provision was inserted in the Army bill by this Congress to prevent unwarranted interference by the General Staff of the Army with bureau chiefs.

The Senate bill provides for a three-year building program, carrying an appropriation for 8 capital ships the first year and an authorization for 10 additional capital ships during the next succeeding two years.

I recognize that the people of this country are in thorough sympathy with the building of a strong and efficient Navy, and the 16 battleships during the next three years is not an unreasonable building program.

It has been my belief, however, that it would be far better to order at this time the building of only five battle cruisers, as provided for in the original House bill. The imperative need of this type of ship to make efficient the fleet that we now have was recognized by every naval officer who appeared before the House Naval Affairs Committee.

Congress will reconvene in about three months, and further authorizations could be made at that time. This delay will enable us not only to appropriate much useful information that is constantly being learned from the present European conflict, but at the same time might enable us to realize large savings in the construction of these great ships of war.

Shipyards are now crowded with business, labor and materials are difficult to procure at any price, and the profits demanded are abnormally high. The larger the building program, the more independent become the shipbuilders and the more likely are they to insist upon unreasonable profits.

Economy and efficiency, in my judgment, can best be served by pursuing a reasonable building program, at short intervals, in the almost continuous sessions of Congress, as now held, and this can be accomplished without danger to the public welfare. These are my own individual views, but I recognize that the large majority of the Members of the House are of the opinion that it will be impossible to have the Senate recede from the continuous building program proposed, and that the recommendation of the conferees should now be adopted.

Civilization is to-day in the midst of the most terrible crisis of modern history. Two-thirds of the world is at war. Nearly 10,000,000 men have already been killed or wounded. It has required the utmost skill on the part of the President to keep the United States from being drawn into this welter of blood. But for him American boys would be dying daily by the thousand in the trenches of Europe. He, as the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, now strongly urges the immediate passage of the bill recommended by the conference committee, and my faith in his counsel and judgment is so strong that I am willing to yield my individual views and vote in favor of the bill as reported, recognizing that the material difference between us is in the plan and method of increasing the strength and efficiency of the Navy.

While the bill carries heavy expenditures, yet this Democratic Congress has largely provided the additional revenue to meet such expenses by a tax on munitions of war and by an inheritance and increased income tax. Wealth is thus compelled to bear its just part of the burden.

It is fortunate that the large appropriations now carried will be expended under the careful supervision of the present efficient Secretary of the Navy, whose insistence on competitive bids for armor plate will save to the Federal Treasury in this one item alone the enormous sum of at least three and a half millions of dollars in the building of the ships authorized by this bill.

The personal interest shown by the present Secretary in the welfare of the enlisted man by providing vocational training and other educational advantages and by creating many opportunities for promotion has made it comparatively easy to secure enlistments, and I do not anticipate that serious trouble will be encountered in readily providing for the large increase in personnel carried by the present bill.

I desire to make this observation in reference to the ships authorized in this bill, the building of which will be postponed until necessary appropriations are hereafter made by Congress. The small type of coast submarines should be abandoned, and only the larger type recommended by Admiral Grant and by other naval officers should be appropriated for. If the best expert information of our naval officers is to be followed, we will likewise provide that of the 8 capital ships to be hereafter built at least 6 should be of the battle-cruiser type. This would give to our navy 10 battle cruisers when the present program of 16 capital ships is complete and would materially add to the balance and efficiency of our fleet.

The absolute necessity for this type of ship has been clearly demonstrated in the recent naval maneuvers off the Atlantic

coast. Such type of ship can and must be relied on to supply first and timely information of the approaching foe and are absolutely indispensable in providing effective plans for meeting an enemy fleet on advantageous terms. Some have expressed doubt as to the value and efficiency of the battle cruiser on account of the loss of a number of this type in the recent naval engagement off Jutland Bank. I will append at the conclusion of my remarks copies of letters from Capt. William S. Sims, of our Navy, in reference to this engagement, and in which he clearly discusses and emphasizes the importance of building this type of ship for our Navy, and disposes satisfactorily of the apprehension that some have felt because of the Jutland engagement. It is needless for me to state that Capt. Sims is universally recognized as one of the most capable officers of our Navy.

In concluding I desire to say that the present Navy bill is a peace as well as a war measure.

The peace provisions authorize the President at the close of the war in Europe to invite all the important Governments of the world to send representatives to an international peace conference to consider the establishment of an international court on some practical and acceptable basis that will insure peace and seek to put an end to war. A large appropriation is made to carry out this plan.

This bill makes us the unquestioned second naval power in the world, and we can appropriately propose a limitation in armament and prove our good faith by suspending all further expenditures as authorized in this bill when assured of the success of the plan proposed.

This is rational pacifism, which considers the national safety and world welfare at the same time. Let us hope that it is indeed a measure looking to permanent peace.

The letters from Capt. Sims referred to previously are here set out:

U. S. S. "NEVADA," *At Sea, July 12, 1916.*

MY DEAR MR. OLIVER: Your letter of July 8 just received. The delay was due to the fleet being at sea engaged in maneuvers.

The Secretary's telegram, asking whether the incidents of the battle of Jutland Bank had changed my opinion as to the necessity for battle cruisers to strengthen our Navy, reached me on the 8th, and I sent my reply on the same day. I inclose a copy herewith. I hope you will find it sufficiently full and complete for your purpose.

You will see that I agree with you that the popular arguments in favor of battleships and against battle cruisers that have arisen since the North Sea fight are not justified; and I am naturally gratified that these arguments have not been able to shake your faith in the statements made upon this subject before the House Naval Committee by various officers.

In my letter to the Secretary I might have invited attention to the peculiar quality of battle cruisers to which I referred in my hearing, namely, their ability in chasing commerce from the seas wherever they are more powerful in the aggregate than the enemy's vessels of a similar type.

This may be made clear by the following illustrations:

Great Britain's control of the sea is due to the possession of certain types (and numbers) of vessels which enable her to accomplish two functions which are wholly essential to her success in this war. These are:

1. Prevention of invasion by means of a battleship force so superior to that of the battleship force of her enemy that the latter can not attempt to convoy an army of invasion with any reasonable chance of success.

2. Protection of commerce by means of a battle cruiser force so superior to that of the battle cruiser force of her enemy that the latter can not take the sea for the destruction of British commerce with any reasonable chance of escaping destruction by the superior similar British force. Of course they could do considerable damage before they were caught, but they would soon be destroyed.

The point is that her superior force of battleships prevents invasion and her superior force of battle cruisers prevents the destruction of her commerce—the cutting off of her essential supplies.

It follows also, as a natural consequence, that the possession of a fleet of this character enables Great Britain to deprive her enemy of the use of the sea, to blockade her coasts, to transport great armies to distant points, etc.

To put the extreme case, suppose Great Britain had built no battle cruisers but had spent their cost in extra battleships. Neither this great force, nor a force of battleships twice as great, could have prevented the German battle cruisers taking the sea and interrupting the enemy's commerce, simply because Great Britain would have had no types (and numbers) of vessels fast enough to overtake them and at the same time powerful enough to destroy them.

Similarly, also putting the extreme case, suppose that Great Britain had built all battle cruisers and no battleships. The result would have been that the relatively more powerful German battleships, even though inferior in numbers, would have had control of the sea, at least in so far as concerned Germany's ability to send her battle fleet where she pleased and convoy her troops. The British fleet, being composed of nothing more powerful (in offensive and defensive qualities) than battle cruisers, could not successfully oppose her. On the other hand, Germany would not have the freedom of the seas for her commerce, because she would have nothing fast enough to catch the British battle cruisers.

The object is only one illustration of the fact that different types of vessels are designed to accomplish different objects. The nation that has not the requisite types in sufficient numbers can not expect to accomplish these objects.

In my hearing I tried to make clear the other objects for which battle cruisers are designed, such as scouting, screening, supporting torpedo attacks, enfilading the battle column as a "fast wing," etc., all of which require the peculiar qualities of these vessels; that is, greater gun power and protection than any other vessels except battleships, and speed enough to avoid battleships or fight them at a range of their own choosing.

Similar illustrations could be given to show the necessity for certain other types of war craft, such as scout cruisers, destroyers, mine layers, submarines, sweepers, etc.

Surely the opinions of the class of men who would have to handle a nation's naval forces in battle should be conclusive as to the types and relative numbers of each that are necessary to maintain that nation's policies against its probable enemies.

But I hope that never again will the committees of Congress try to reach a decision upon such a very complicated technical question by calling before it individually a large number of officers of different corps, specialties, ages, nautical experience, and professional information, but that instead they will cause to be convened a conference composed of experienced men who adequately represent each one of the specialties that must be given due weight in reaching a sound conclusion.

Very sincerely, yours,

WM. S. SIMS,
*Captain, United States Navy.*

Hon. WM. B. OLIVER,
*Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D. C.*

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U. S. S. "NEVADA."
*Newport, R. I., July 8, 1916.*

From: Capt. William S. Sims, U. S. Navy.
To: Secretary of the Navy.
Subject: Supplementary statement concerning battle off Jutland Bank.

1. Receipt is acknowledged of the department's telegram of this date, as follows:

"U. S. S. 'NEVADA,' FOR CAPT. SIMS:

"In view result of battle off Jutland Bank and Jellico report, House Naval Committee desires additional written statement immediately your testimony already given before it, modifying or confirming.

"DANIELS."

2. I do not desire to modify my statement in any respect in regard to types of vessels recommended in my hearing as most needed at the present time to strengthen our fleet.

3. I have read carefully the American press accounts of the action; also a considerable number of clippings received from England, which give a much fuller account. The latter includes two comprehensive articles published in Land and Water, by Pollen, the well-known naval critic.

4. I consider all these accounts distinctly on the defensive—as attempts to justify the attack of a superior force (German battleships) by a greatly inferior force (British battle cruisers). As Mr. Pollen indicates, the accounts are published under control of the censor. For example, the admiralty permitted Mr. Pollen to make certain purely negative statements concerning the causes of the sinking of the battle cruisers, but declines for the present to publish the real cause. This is a common procedure while war is in progress. For the same reason—that is, to avoid the loss of prestige—even radical mistakes in tactics may be defended.

5. For the above reasons it may be quite possible that certain essential features of this battle are being suppressed, these reasons being both military and political.

6. In view of this possible, and even probable, condition any opinions regarding the action should be considered only with extreme reservation.

7. This reservation being clearly understood, the following comments are submitted, based only upon the known essential facts:

(a) Referring to Mr. Pollen's article, and particularly to the diagram illustrating the relative positions of the British main body and battle cruisers and the German main body and their battle cruisers at the time sight contact was first made between the battle cruisers of the two sides, it will be noted that the situation was typical of that considered most probable, in our war games on the sea and on the game board, in the opening phases of a sea battle between large forces.

(b) Assuming the above forces in the relative positions indicated, and considering the marked superiority of the British in numbers of all the different types, and assuming the British force to have executed the, under the circumstances, very simple maneuvers necessary to concentrate their forces and strike with all of their power, there can be no possible doubt as to what the result would have been. Considering the great superiority of the British both in numbers and in power, one of two things must have happened:

(1) Either the German main fleet would have been decisively defeated or

(2) It would have declined decisive action by retreating behind its defenses; and even the latter would have inflicted upon the Germans a humiliation impossible to conceal, much less to claim as a victory for the encouragement of their people. The latter, forcing the German fleet to retreat before a concentrated superior force, could have been accomplished with little or no material loss; and if the Germans had elected to fight a decisive action, there could be no doubt that both their proportionate and actual losses would have been vastly greater than those of the British. Also, in either case, the various types of vessels, including battle cruisers, would have been employed to the best advantage in the legitiamte rôles for which they were designed.

(c) The contention of British writers that the sacrifice of the battle-cruiser squadron in fighting a delaying action against battleships late in the afternoon was justified in the hope of bringing on a general action between the main fleets is not believed to be sound, and this for the simple reason that the military situation did not require the British fleet to fight a decisive action or any action at all, because they already had practically as complete control of the sea as would have resulted from the defeat of the enemy fleet. Control of the sea is accomplished when the enemy's fleet is defeated or "contained"; and the German fleet has been contained since the beginning of the war, is now contained, and doubtless will remain so.

(d) There is no reason to believe that the Germans have ever intended to risk their fleet in a decisive action against the greatly superior British fleet. They are not in the habit of pitting any military force against twice its numbers of at least equally powerful units. There is, on the contrary, every reason to believe that the Germans knew exactly what they intended to do during this last sortie of the grand fleet, and it is a reasonable presumption that they accomplished what they intended, namely, the trapping and pounding of the British battle cruisers before they could be supported by the British main body.

(e) The surprise to naval critics, and doubtless to the Germans, was the extraordinary resistance battle cruisers can sustain and the extraordinary amount of damage they can inflict, even against battleships. This indicates a greatly enhanced value when they are employed in their proper rôle in a general naval engagement; that is, with their enfilading fire as fast wings, their driving power on the scouting line, their support of destroyer attacks, etc.

(f) That the British attacked battleships with battle cruisers and armored cruisers is their own affair. They doubtless had what they considered sufficient reasons for doing so, but we may rest assured that this was done with full knowledge of the probable nature of the sacrifice, and not with the idea that these vessels are a match for battleships; and if the conditions as to visibility had been better, the sacrifice might well have been justified by success in engaging with the German main fleet. At all events, battle cruisers have proved that in case of necessity they can fight a delaying action against battleships with reasonable chances of success.

(g) There is nothing, however, in the incidents of the fight to justify any argument against the necessity for battle cruisers. When for any reason they are deliberately put against battleships, they must expect to suffer in proportion to the relatively small number of their guns and the relative lightness of their armor. It is the same with all other types of vessels. If in this battle it had been considered necessary to launch flotillas of unsupported destroyers against the enemy's battleships in daylight, and half of them had been destroyed, there would doubtless have been some arguments in opposition to building any more destroyers—and these arguments would have been precisely as sound as the popular arguments now current as a result of the sinking of three British battle cruisers.

(h) Beyond the demonstration of the unexpected resistance of battle cruisers, the incidents of the action in question have no bearing upon the arguments advanced in my hearing as to the immediate necessity of the addition of battle cruisers to the United States Navy in its present condition. That the battleship must constitute the main strength of a naval force admits of no doubt; but, as I attempted to show by my testimony, an adequate force of battle cruisers is necessary in order that the battleships may be used against an enemy with their maximum power. This is particularly true of the situation that would confront us in case of the necessity of repelling the attack of an enemy fleet against our coast.

WM. S. SIMS.

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## Invalid Pensions.

# SPEECH

OF

# HON. MICHAEL K. REILLY,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, June 17, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15775) making appropriations for the payment of invalid pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. REILLY. Mr. Chairman, it pleased me very much to hear the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RAGSDALE] who has just addressed the House, and who represents on this floor a southern constituency—a constituency that lost in that great contest between the States—make the statement that, in his judgment, the men who went out to fight for the Union should receive just compensation for their services and that he was willing that in their old age these soldiers of the Republic should receive adequate pensions.

The sentiment expressed by the gentleman from South Carolina is typical, I believe, of the sentiment that prevails throughout the Southland to-day. While the South lost in that great struggle, the overwhelming mass of the sons and daughters of the Dixie land to-day are glad that the South did lose and that the Union was preserved.

The pending bill carries $158,000,000 for pensions, about $9,000,000 less than was carried in the bill passed last year.

This decrease in the amount appropriated for pensions does not mean that the Government is getting less liberal with the old soldiers, but it unfortunately does mean that there is an increasing number of veterans of our wars who are yearly answering their last roll call and joining the army of the unnumbered dead.

June 30, 1915, there were 748,147 names on the United States war-pension roll, and of this number survivors of the Civil War numbered 347,081. At the same date there were 54,131 Civil War widows, 28,912 Spanish War pensioners, 134 pensioners of the War of 1812, and 19,730 Regular Army pensioners.

In 1902 the war-pension roll of the United States reached the high-water mark when it carried 999,436 names. In that year there was paid out in pensions $141,335,000. In 1913 the high point for pension appropriations was reached when the sum of $176,714,000 was paid for pensions and the expenses of operating the Pension Bureau.

The records show that the number of pensioners are decreasing at the rate of about 35,000 a year. The Civil War veterans are passing away at the rate of about 25,000 a year and the widows of Civil War veterans at the rate of about 3,000 a year.

It will undoubtedly be a matter of surprise to many to learn that 50 years after the close of the great Civil War there are still left about 350,000 of the men who participated in that great contest. The fact of the matter is the Civil War was fought by young men, more than one-half of whom were below 20 years of age.

The fact that 350,000 of the men who participated in the great strife between the States still survive, many of them in vigorous health, engaged in various lines of activity, is a wonderful tribute to the physical stamina of the men who made up the victorious Army of the Blue.

This House recently passed a bill granting pensions to widows of Spanish War veterans, at the rate of $12 a month and $2 a month for each child under 16 years of age.

As the law now stands the widows of Spanish War veterans can not secure pensions unless they are able to prove that the death of their husbands was the result of disease and disability contracted in the service. This is a discrimination against widows of Spanish War soldiers and sailors, because, under the existing laws, widows of Civil War soldiers and sailors can secure pensions regardless of the cause of the death of their husbands. It is right and proper that both Civil War and Spanish War widows should be put on the same footing as regard pensions.

There is now on the calendar of this House a bill known as the Civil War widows' pension bill. This measure comes to the House with the unanimous report of the committee, and I understand it will be shortly taken up for consideration. This bill has much merit and should be passed by the House without a dissenting vote.

Under the present law, a widow of a Civil War veteran is entitled to a pension of only $12 a month, providing she married the soldier prior to June 27, 1890.

Widows of Civil War veterans did not receive any pension until 1890, 25 years after the close of the war, and then the pension granted was only $8 a month, which was increased to $12 in 1908. The proposed widows' pension law will grant pensions of $20 a month to Civil War widows who have reached or may hereafter reach the age of 70 years, and who are already on the pension roll or who may hereafter be placed on. This bill also raises the marriage limit 15 years from June 27, 1890, to June 27, 1905, so any widow who married a soldier prior to 1905 will be entitled to a pension of $12 a month. Heretofore such widows would not be entitled to any pension.

All pensions granted by this bill are to date from the filing of the application, no back pensions will be allowed.

This bill restores to the pension roll all widows of Civil War veterans who were dropped from the pension roll by reason of their remarriage, or who have been divorced upon their own application.

This provision is manifestly just because there can be no reason why the widow of a soldier who remarries should lose her pensionable status upon the death of her second husband. By remarrying, she relieves the Government of liability for her pension, thereby showing a disposition to place herself in the position where she would not need the support of the Government during the period of her second marriage, and the Government is thereby the gainer. It is certainly just and equitable that when the remarried widow of a soldier is deprived of the support of her second husband through death, that the Government should step in again and take up its responsibility.

The Government of the United States has been liberal in its treatment of its soldiers. Almost $5,000,000,000 has been spent since the birth of the Republic in pensions to soldiers and their dependent ones. No other country in ancient or modern times has done so much for the men who in the hour of need went forth to do and to die for their country.

While it is true that during the present administration many millions more have been appropriated for pensions than in any previous administration, I do not believe that the people begrudge money expended in this way. The belief is general that the men who served their country in time of peril are deserving of generous treatment at the hands of the Government served.

It has always been a pleasure for me during my short service in this House to give my vote and support to legislation designed to make more happy and comfortable the declining years of the men who have fought the battles of our country. I have always felt it a privilege to do all I could in the way of helping the veterans and their dependent ones to secure the full benefit of all pension legislation.

While I believe the General Government has been reasonably liberal, in recent years, at least, in its treatment of our soldiers and their widows and dependent ones, I do not believe that Congress has gone any further along the lines of pension legis-

lation than a decent appreciation of the sacrifices made by these men would justify. The men who at the call of country severed the fondest ties of life, willingly giving up all worth living for, in order to go forth to fight and die, if necessary, in defense of their country and their country's flag are worthy of most generous treatment at the hands of the country that they so patriotically served in the hour of need.

## "Strike of the National Guard."

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is now generally admitted by all parties that the President of the United States is very clever in politics. He has rather justified the hitherto rejected theory that "a man may rise above his party," for we have it, in numerous speeches from the Democratic side of the House, that Mr. Wilson is another Thomas Jefferson, who has all of the characteristics of Andrew Jackson, combined with the fine patriotic instincts and homely attributes of Abraham Lincoln. It is not contended that Mr. Wilson is another Grover Cleveland, although Grover Cleveland has usually held high place in Democratic councils; and it is flatly denied that James Buchanan, who was the first Democratic President to issue Government bonds (Grover Cleveland being second), has anything in common with Mr. Wilson, except that in due course Mr. Wilson will be called upon to issue Government bonds to make up for the financial delinquencies of his administration. We have it also from the newspapers this morning that Mr. Wilson's speech of acceptance at Shadow Lawn in favor of a second term for President—despite the Democratic platform of 1912 in favor of one term—will be sent out to the tune of 2,000,000 to convince the voters of the country that what Mr. Wilson said at Shadow Lawn—that platform pledges were made to be kept—was not intended to apply to the one-term proposition. As our Socialistic Member from New York [Mr. LONDON] frankly stated in his defense of the Wilson administration on the strike question on Tuesday last, "the President has such a powerful grip upon his party that whenever he sneezes the Democrats wipe their noses," although it does not so appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

WILSON BIGGER THAN HIS PARTY.

When "a man rises above his party" he can do many things which humiliate his party, since, if his party is a "sneezing party" it must follow "the man above" whether it is humiliated or not. The Democratic Party thus far has given ample proof of its capacity to "sneeze" when the President takes snuff. It almost sneezed its head off at the copious doses of snuff he administered in the matter of the Baltimore platform. It sneezed on the Panama Canal tolls question. It sneezed on extravagance and went the Republican Party one better on its ability to create offices for "deserving Democrats"; it sneezed on the high cost of living promise since the cost of living has gone higher ever since Mr. Wilson came into power. It not only sneezed but it gagged on the tariff commission question, which it had traditionally repudiated. It gagged on the recognition of Carranza and lost 102,000 votes to an anti-Wilson candidate for Senator in Texas on that account. It took snuff, sneezed and gagged again on the armed merchantmen controversy, being first for the McLemore resolution and then against it. It swallowed the eight-hour antiarbitration gag of the President in the recent strike controversy, notwithstanding that an accounting must be made to the farmers of the country and, above all, to the cotton planters of the Southern States, where an eight-hour proposition, such as is now demanded for industrial establishments, would defeat any candidate who advocated it. But, as heretofore observed, the President "has risen above his party," and the only thing left for that party to do is to change its attitude on public questions as rapidly as does "the man higher up." It is humiliating to many of the old-line Democrats who have an appreciation of the word "consistency," but "old-line Democrats" are not given much of a chance to keep their poise, or their consciences, while these spectacular and kaleidoscopic political gyrations are disturbing the body politic.

MEXICO WILL NOT DOWN.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the President is as clever a politician as we have seen in our time. Those who would satisfy their estimate of his ability by classifying him as "schoolmaster," "rhetorician," or "literateur" would do well to revise their estimates before this campaign is over. The cards have not all been laid on the table. The passage of the so-called eight-hour law, with all its sensational trimmings, was not the last act in the political drama of 1916. There are many other problems confronting the Democratic Party which must be met before the campaign is over. Do not forget that the National Guard is still down along the Mexican border blistering upon the hot sands of Texas. Members of Congress are in constant receipt of letters from the front asking why the guard is still kept there with nothing to do. Rumors of discontent because of this state of inactivity are percolating throughout the households of the United States, for every city and hamlet is more or less interested in knowing why these volunteers, who wanted to do their country a service, are being kept at the front at great inconvenience to themselves and at considerable public expense. The wonderment has not ceased since an agreement was reached between the President and Carranza to establish a joint commission to bring about a lasting peace, much of which, we are told, will depend upon the amount of money we shall pay for the damage "done to Mexican dignity" by our "assault upon Carrizal."

The whole Mexican situation is still a nightmare to the President and his party, as was evinced by his reference to it in his Shadow Lawn acceptance, the weakest and most involved explanation of a trying situation that has yet eminated from this distinguished writer.

If, then, the National Guard is to be an issue, how is that issue to be met? Folks are clamoring for the return of the soldier boys because their stay upon the border seems to be useless. That the administration is alive to this situation may be accepted as a fact, since "the return of Villa" to destroy the United States is now momentarily expected along the frontier. We had been informed from time to time, through Funston and Pershing and also from sources close to Carranza, that the war was over and that Villa had been destroyed. Possibly these rumors came along too soon, for now, when the National Guard is restive and the people are wondering why it is not returned to the States, the active press agents of the administration reproduce the Villa scare, and thus cover, temporarily at least, that end of a trying situation.

SOLDIERS BEING EXCUSED.

I am induced to make these remarks this morning because of the apparent juggling of the National Guard, the seeming use of this great military organization for purposes not yet disclosed by the administration or the War Department. Is the National Guard growing tired and inquisitive? Here is an article from the Sunday Star, Washington, August 27 last, which throws some light upon this situation. I commend it to those who are trying to understand, as I believe the War Department also is trying to understand, why the National Guard situation is as it is:

TIRED OF BORDER SERVICE—BOTH OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN SEEK RELEASE FROM DUTY.

That service on the Mexican border under existing conditions is becoming irksome is indicated by the large number of applications received at the War Department from officers and enlisted men of the Organized Militia for relief from further service. Most of these applications are based on representations that the men are tired of the routine of military life on a peace basis and can not afford the financial sacrifice involved in the neglect of private business. Applications come not only from enlisted men receiving small pay, but from large numbers of commissioned officers.

Some of the applications have been granted, as is shown by the fact that the President to-day accepted the resignations of 20 militia officers, to take effect at once.

MEN ON THE GROUND WONDER.

But, Mr. Speaker, we do not have to depend wholly upon newspaper reports in Washington for our information about the guard. We are all receiving plenty of information direct. Listen for a moment to what one of the men upon the ground has to say about it:

We are wondering why the administration is charging the country with the expense of transporting some thousands of additional troops from their mobilization camps to the border, when the troops now along the line seem abundant for any sudden emergency that could arise before the present forces on the frontier could be augmented. Moreover, the probable early withdrawal of Pershing's expedition will itself constitute a considerable increase of troops in this locality. The cost of maintaining the troops in their mobilization camps is heavy, but that may be necessary for some reasons of state about which we have no knowledge. But transportation of troops for upwards of 2,000 miles is very expensive, and the urgent immediate necessity is not apparent.

RELEASING COLLEGE BOYS; HOLDING OTHERS.

If that is not sufficient, listen to what sounds like a matter of favoritism in the release of one class of soldiers and the retention of others with greater home responsibilities:

Another matter of administration policy that is incomprehensible is the order for the discharge of students of schools and colleges. There is probably no group of men now in service whose retention would involve less personal loss, sacrifice, or even inconvenience. It seems absurd to encourage applications for discharge from young men who have no family, business, or professional obligations, while many other enlisted men are retained in service at serious loss to themselves, their families, and business associates. The latter, with remarkable unanimity, are serving willingly, without complaint, and will remain in service cheerfully if any necessity exists. But the prospective release of a large number of students advertises the fact that there is no longer serious need for troops here, and great discontent arises because students (who, at the worst, will only be delayed in the completion of their courses for a short period) are regarded as a preferred class.

BUSINESS MEN AND WORKERS AT DISADVANTAGE.

I would not want to stop with this statement, but feel that it may help us to understand a little better by continuing further this quotation:

It is a common opinion that the educational institutions are not offering to do their full duty in the matter of national preparedness. Instead of urging the return of their students, they should hasten to give public assurance that none of the latter would suffer any disadvantage in collegiate standing, or financially for tuition or other fees, by reason of this absence. At whatever inconvenience to the instructor or the normal routine these students should be enabled to complete their courses by only so much additional attendance as would equal the period of their absence on military duty.

Many of our leading college presidents have been active in the propaganda for national preparedness; now is the time for them to do their share, just as most of the railroads and the large industrial, commercial, and financial institutions are doing theirs.

IS THE GUARD STILL NEEDED?

Whether the National Guard is still needed along the Mexican border is certainly now a debatable question. The colleges are beginning to open, and if the college boys are to come back because they are not needed on the frontier, it might be well for others to come back for the maintenance of whose families left in distress numerous communities are now paying liberally. As to this phase of the subject I quote from another writer of the guard, who is wondering:

It should be remembered that if the policy of universal military service should be adopted, as advocated by many educators, very many more students would be called to the colors in a general mobilization such as the present one than are now on duty.

Briefly, if there is any need of our presence here, students, instructors, schools, and colleges should participate at least equally with all other classes and institutions in providing an effective force. If the need does not exist, all should be returned to duties and obligations for which they are needed, and the Government saved a continuance of the vast expense.

HOW TO AVOID THE GUARD ISSUE.

The Democratic leader in this campaign has been so adroit in other matters that it must not be taken for granted that the National Guard as an issue will be overlooked. Soldiers themselves may inveigh against the power at Washington that keeps them chafing in the Texas heat, and the folks at home may carp and criticize as they please, the keen political mind that conceived "the eight-hour makeshift" to save the country from the calamity of a national strike that would deprive even "the babies of their milk" will not be found wanting when the new crisis comes. Why is the National Guard being kept along the border? Well, for one thing, Villa is again "menacing" the United States and we are in very great danger of capture (?). Of course, we must protect ourselves against Villa if every arm of the Government must be brought into the service.

Who are the National Guardsmen, anyway? Do they come within the purview of the eight-hour law? Do they bear any relation to this "involuntary servitude" we have been hearing so much about? Are they not subject to contractual relations, and must they not "stand where put" in all kinds of weather and on any kind of food, so long as the administration desires? Is it not true that these men "swore in" for the Federal service, and that they are not subject to that "freedom" of obligation which holds in the industrial world? These are matters to be considered as "point No. 1."

WHEN THE GUARD COMES MARCHING BACK.

But "point No. 2"! Is it not possible that instead of being an incubus in this campaign the guard may prove a political asset? Think that over for a while. The President spoke of the "humanitarian" side of the railway-strike problem and abhorred the "involuntary servitude" side of it. Suppose the President goes to Texas, as it is reported he intends to do, and preaches "the new freedom" and "humanitarianism" to the National Guard; will not they appreciate it? Suppose the Stars and Stripes are unfurled and the heroes of the frontier march in review before the man "who is bigger than his party." What will the effect be? Speeches on Abraham Lincoln, speeches to the dissenting woman suffragists, speeches to the railway magnates on the necessity for higher freight rates and to the railway employees for higher wages will pale into insignificance when the band strikes up "America" under these happy auspices. Does the picture jar you? Is the great Democratic leadership incapable of such a coup d'état? Why, Mr. Speaker, me thinks I can hear the cheers and see the flags wave, even at this great distance, as the cry goes echoing throughout the land, "Hurrah, hurrah! The boys are coming home!"

And as these sturdy veterans, tired, homesick, and weary of "watchful waiting" on the frontier, come trooping along Pennsylvania Avenue to be reviewed by the President—just before election—Mr. Speaker, we can hear the 30,000 new officeholders of the Wilson administration and the tens of thousands of hopeful holdovers, with one mighty voice, exclaim: "Some politics that, boys; some politics."

## World Peace.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit a few thoughts on universal peace. Permanent peace in the world, safeguarded by the common interests of mankind and international organizations strong enough to enforce universal justice on the one hand, or resultant world-wide chaos and war's desolation on the other, must soon follow the close of the European conflict, now plainly approaching a crisis.

Exhaustion, starvation, or the superior force of one or the other group of belligerents must soon cause a cessation of the strife.

The end draws near, and with it comes the certainty that America will be looked to as leader in the upbuilding processes of civilization, and it should be prepared for tremendous eventualities.

Preparation therefore for peace is more essential to American interests than excessive Army and Navy preparations for war. Economic and humanitarian problems in a world of exhausted and wrecked commonwealths must inevitably rise superior to thoughts either of war or commercial rivalries. Isolation is no longer possible with any nation. America, world-renowned for the justness of its conceptions, has outgrown any fear of foreign entanglements. The simplicity and ideals of the Washington era are impossible in the twentieth century; the world must be recognized as a friendly field of common endeavor for all nations, all creeds, and all conditions of mankind. A better day dawns, notwithstanding the horrors and tragedies of the present. Even the longed-for universal brotherhood of man may rise out of the gloom and savagery of despair now settling down on half the world. Truth crushed to earth is said by the poet to rise again.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, my thought is to call attention to the propaganda now under way by what is known as the League to Enforce Peace, officered by such men as ex-President Taft, Alton B. Parker, and others of much prominence in the public life of both continents.

These officials have furnished me with a copy of the league's four foundation proposals and excerpts from the expressed views of its most distinguished members, which I am glad here to incorporate as part of my remarks.

They are words of wisdom, and, like the shots fired at Lexington and Concord, destined to be heard around the world:

WHAT PUBLIC MEN SAY ABOUT THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE.

PUBLIC RIGHT TAKES PRECEDENCE.

[By President Wilson.]

Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. * * * Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression. * * * The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other it is imperative that they should agree to cooperate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle

of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice. * * * I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

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COOPERATION TO LIMIT ARMAMENTS.

[By Charles E. Hughes.]

If the conflict of national interests is not to be brought to the final test of force, there must be a development of international organization in order to provide international justice and to safeguard so far as practicable the peace of the world.

Arbitration treaties are useful within their proper sphere, but it is worse than folly to ignore the limitations of this remedy or to regard such treaties as an adequate means of preventing war. There should be an international tribunal to decide controversies susceptible of judicial determination * * * We need conferences of the nations to formulate international rules, to establish principles, to modify and extend international law so as to adapt it to new conditions, to remove causes of international differences. We need to develop the instrumentalities of conciliation. And behind this international organization, if it is to be effective, must be the cooperation of the nations to prevent resort to hostilities before the appropriate agencies of peaceful settlement have been utilized. If the peace of the world is to be maintained, it must be through the preventive power of a common purpose. * * * And it is only through international cooperation giving a reasonable assurance of peace that we may hope for the limitation of armaments. We, in this country, can, and should, maintain our fortunate freedom from entanglements with interests and policies which do not concern us. But there is no national isolation in the world of the twentieth century.

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BUSINESS FAVORS THE LEAGUE.

[By R. G. Rhett, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.]

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has in its membership 350,000 business men, firms, and corporations, in which every State in the Union is represented. When they speak with the two-thirds majority required by the constitution of the chamber, there can be no doubt that they voice the sentiments of the business men of the country. * * * In November, 1915, the board of directors of the national chamber sent out a referendum on the subject of the proposals of the League to Enforce Peace. In response to that referendum over 96 per cent of the vote was in favor of the proposition that the United States take the initiative in securing conferences for the purpose of establishing rules for the better protection of life and property at sea; to be followed by successive conferences for the adoption of amendments to meet changed conditions. By practically the same majority the membership voted to approve of the proposition that this country take the initiative in forming a league of nations, which shall agree to submit justiciable questions arising between any of its members to an international court, and nonjusticiable questions to a council of conciliation for their respective decision or recommendation, before resorting to war. * * * Whatever business men can contribute toward the success of the purposes which the league has in mind I feel sure that they will be willing to contribute cheerfully and generously.

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AMERICA MAY AVERT DISASTER.

[By W. H. Taft, president of the League to Enforce Peace.]

Contrast our present world relations with those which we had in Washington's time. It would seem clear that the conditions have so changed as to justify a seeming departure from advice directed to such a different state of things. One may reasonably question whether the United States by uniting with the other great powers to prevent the recurrence of a future world war may not risk less in assuming the obligations of a member of the league than by refusing to become such a member in view of her world-wide interests. But even if the risk of war to the United States would be greater by entering the league than by staying out of it, does not the United States have a duty as a member of the family of nations to do its part and run its necessary risk to make less probable the coming of such another war and such another disaster to the American race?

We are the richest Nation in the world, and in the sense of what we could do were we to make reasonable preparation, we are the most powerful Nation in the world. We have been showered with good fortune. Our people have enjoyed a happiness known to no other people. Does not this impose upon us a sacred duty to join the other nations of the world in a fraternal spirit and with a willingness to make sacrifice if we can promote the general welfare of men?

At the close of this war the governments and the people of the belligerent countries, under the enormous burdens and suffering from the great losses of the war, will be in a condition of mind to accept and promote such a plan for the enforcement of future peace.

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PEACE MUST BE BACKED WITH FORCE.

[By HENRY CABOT LODGE, United States Senator from Massachusetts.]

The United States has led the world in the matter of arbitration. From the day of the Jay treaty of 1794 and the Pinckney treaty of 1795 down to 1912, 84 arbitration treaties had been negotiated by the Executive of the United States, 83 had been ratified by the Senate, and only 1, the treaty of 1897 with England, rejected. I think that is a remarkable record. We have carried the principle of voluntary arbitration to its limit, and it is well to recognize that it has a limit, because when we undertake to put into treaties for voluntary arbitration questions which no nation, when the stress comes, will submit to arbitration, we do not advance the cause of peace, and we do vast mischief by making treaties which we know in our hearts we are not prepared to carry out when the time comes. * * * If we have reached the limit of voluntary arbitration, what is the next step? I think the next step is that which this league proposes, and that is to put behind international peace, behind an international league or agreement, or tribunal, for peace—force.

INTERNATIONAL LAW MUST BE ENFORCED.

[By Elihu Root, former Secretary of State and United States Senator.]

I heartily agree with the purpose and general principle of the League to Enforce Peace. It seems clear to me that if we are ever to get away from the necessity for great armaments and special alliances, with continually recurring wars, growing more and more destructive, it must be by a more systematic treatment of international disputes brought about by common agreement among civilized nations. It seems to me that any such system must include the better formulation of international law, the establishment of an international court to apply the law, and a general agreement to enforce submission to the jurisdiction of the court. I also think the court of conciliation for dealing with questions which are not justiciable is very desirable.

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ONLY A LEAGUE CAN MAKE PEACE SURE.

[By A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University.]

A breach of the world's peace, like a breach of domestic peace, is an offense against public order which the public ought to have some right to prevent. Nations that go to war break the peace of the world, and the world has at least a right to insist on knowing the reason for the war. It has a right to go further and demand that peace shall not be broken until an opportunity has been given to ascertain where justice lies; to try mediation and arbitration; and to consider calmly whether or not the matter at issue requires the sacrifice of war. In saying that the world has a right to insist upon this, we mean that it is justified in compelling nations to go to arbitration and state their case before they take up arms. But in order that the compulsion may be effective, the method of enforcement must be certain and sufficient for the purpose. In the terrible face of war there is no use in shaking the rattle of an unarmed watchman or in convening councils that talk and will not act. * * *

No single country can enforce a Pax Romana on the modern world; to attempt it would be to make itself a Don Quixote in search of perilous adventures to suffer defeat and become a laughingstock. It can be undertaken only by a league of nations strong enough and trustworthy enough to overawe any single State or combination of States that might venture to disregard its law of peace and war. Whether such a league can be formed or not we do not know. The question bristles with difficulties for statesmen and international lawyers, which there is no use in attempting to minimize, and which requires learning, skill, patience, and good will to solve. But one thing we do know—that such a league is not possible unless our country is willing to join it; nay, more, unless we take a prominent part in its formation. * * * We are faced by the alternatives of standing aloof from the rest of the world if we can, defending ourselves and working out our destinies by the strength of our own arm if we must, a stranger and perchance an Ishmaelite among the nations; or of taking our part, if we may, in shaping with others the progress of mankind and helping with them to bring order and peace over the earth as the waters cover the sea.

[By Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California.]

If anything can be done to abate the chances of war, it must be done in the general field of the program sketched out for this league.

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STRONG HAND TO PUT DOWN WAR.

[By Gen. Leonard Wood.]

In Europe to-day there are perhaps six to eight millions of laboring men facing each other for their mutual destruction at the behest of those who may be described as autocratic leaders. * * * I know those men. My daily life has brought me into contact with them day after day, year after year. They have a better possible destiny than to become food for powder. Their families have a better possible future than starvation amid the ruin of their homes. That better destiny, that better future, can only be secured to them by a joint preparedness on the part of the nations of the earth to put down with the strong hand of a united league of nations those who would substitute at any time war and its horrors in place of a decent peaceful solution of their international difficulties just as their private difficulties have been found to be adjustable without levying private war. We must be prepared to take our place and do our share as a Nation in the league of nations and as a great and powerful Nation our share will not be a small one.

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METHODS THAT HAVE FAILED.

[By Oscar S. Straus, chairman New York Public Service Commission.]

Any future plan to be lasting must take into consideration the two antagonistic schools regarding the application of moral principles to international affairs, and in so doing reconstruct international relationship, not as heretofore exclusively on the basis of war but dominantly on the basis of peace. This can not be done by the dominance of a single power. That method has been tried and failed. It can not be done by a division of power. That, also, has proved a failure. It must be done by a unity of power; by placing the might of the united nations as guardians of the rights of each nation, on the same principle as we constitute the joint power of the 48 States of our Union as the guardian of the right of each State.

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INTEREST OF LABOR IS IN PEACE.

[By Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor.]

The interests of men and women of labor are identified with those of peace. * * * In the general reorganization that will follow the present war the workers will insist upon having voice and influence. * * * Peace is the fundamental necessity of government and of all progress. * * * In any program looking toward the establishment of more permanent peace among nations labor will insist upon the rescue of military forces from the dictation of arbitrary autocracy and secret diplomacy; upon a program that will make it impossible for a few strong nations to dictate the policies and development of the world; upon greater influence for the masses in those decisions that plunge nations into war; upon international machinery that will afford a medium through which all classes of society can voice their judgment and register their demands.

INTERNATIONAL LAW CAN BE DEVELOPED.

[By John Bates Clark, professor of political economy at Columbia University and director of the department of economics and history of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.]

The world demands a league of some kind for preserving peace, and, for the first time, much of the world expects to get it. * * * There is a highway in sight, along which unfriendly nations can walk, if they will, toward and finally to the realm of fraternal union. They must make treaties of peace and can make treaties of arbitration. In due time they can cooperate in putting life into the institutions at The Hague. * * * They can develop and codify international law. They must resume their economic activities, and can so direct them that causes of friction shall gradually be reduced and common interests shall be magnified. They can hold conferences at intervals and let them become, as decade after decade shall pass, more frequent and influential. In the end let us profoundly hope a single, strong, and binding league of nations can be created with every institution foreshadowed by the program of our own organization, and others besides, all buttressed by common interests and vitalized by community of feeling.

MORAL FORCE NOT ENOUGH.

[By Franklin H. Giddings, professor of sociology and history of civilization, Columbia University.]

If war is to cease, there must be forecasting in a larger way than would suffice to prepare one nation only for defense. There must be agreeing action by many nations collectively strong enough to restrain any power that would break the peace—as the single State is strong enough to restrain the criminal individual, or the forces of local insurrection. The strength of the restraining group must be more than moral; it must be the strength of physical force. A league to pass resolutions and to offer advice will not avail; it must be a league to enforce peace. The preamble and the platform which the League to Enforce Peace has adopted state the simple, obvious conclusions of experience. In one way only has the area of peace been widened as the centuries have passed. The lawbreaker and the war maker have been restrained by authority armed and employing force. History offers us no suggestion of any other possibility.

NOW TIME TO JOIN AN ALLIANCE.

From the Democratic platform:

"The circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation could have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world; and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe * * * that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve those principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations."

From the Republican platform:

"We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose."

Proposals of the league:

We believe it to be desirable for the United States to join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following:

First. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

Second. All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

Third. The signatory powers shall jointly use, forthwith, their economic forces against any of their number that refuses to submit any question which arises to an international judicial tribunal or council of conciliation before issuing an ultimatum or threatening war. They shall follow this by the joint use of their military forces against that nation if it actually proceeds to make war or invades another's territory.

Fourth. Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the judicial tribunal mentioned in article 1.

## A Good Record.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JOHN R. CONNELLY,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. CONNELLY. Mr. Speaker, as we come to the time when we shall adjourn this session of Congress and return to our districts, many of us asking to have our commissions renewed for two more years, it appears to me proper that we should review the work of this administration and submit it to the people whose votes we are soon to ask, and allow them to judge whether we are justified in asking again to be intrusted with the high honor and great responsibility of continuing to represent them here at Washington.

Four years ago the fortunes of politics sent to Washington a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress in both branches. The people have a right to know what the record of this administration has been, and it is for the purpose of placing that record before them that I submit the few remarks that I now make. I believe that if the individual voters of this country can fully understand the effort that this administration has made to serve them honestly and fairly and to meet the emergencies that have arisen and the response to the needs of the country in every respect, they will not rebuke those who have rendered faithful service during the last four years. I shall not expect the people to defeat Woodrow Wilson and those who have assisted him in giving to the country a record of achievements that has never been surpassed in its history; and if they should by any chance do so I shall believe that it has been because they do not fully appreciate the work that has been done, for I believe the great body of men and women are honest and want the best to prevail in all things pertaining to government.

THE TARIFF LAW.

In the campaign of 1912 there were 10,000,000 voters who supported platforms declaring for a downward revision of the tariff. The Democratic Party solemnly declared for it and the Progressive platform sincerely demanded it. The Democratic Party would indeed have been unmindful of the pledges it had made to the people of the country had they not set about honestly to give such revision of the tariff as this great body of voters had indicated that they desired. The Underwood tariff law was enacted on October 3, 1913, and I believe that it is the best law of the kind that has graced the statutes of the country for half a century. The law was so well balanced that the business of the country felt no shock, as is the usual case with the passage of tariff laws, and it, with the income-tax law, which was part of the law, brought more money into the Treasury of the country than any other law of the kind had in a like period in former years. Those who now criticize it seldom compare it with other like laws in other periods, because in so doing they would always find the Underwood tariff law coming out best in the comparison. Let us examine some of the criticisms made of this law and see if they will stand the light of analysis. Those who criticize it say that under its working $80,000,000 more goods came into the country the first year it was in effect than came in the last year of the old law. They say that if these goods had been made here instead of being shipped into the country more people would have been employed and better results obtained. If that is true and this law was a failure because it allowed an increase of $80,000,000 in imports of 1914 over what they were in 1913, then what must they say about the Payne-Aldrich tariff law that allowed $160,000,000 more imports to come in during the year 1913 than came in under the same law in 1912? They say that the law did not produce revenue, and yet it brought into the Treasury $10,000,000 more for the year ending August 1, 1914, than the Payne-Aldrich bill had brought in during the corresponding year ending August 1, 1913. The critics say that it is unfair to the farmer and places too little protection on what he has to sell.

In answer to this I have but to call to your mind the fact that the Republican Party came into power in this Nation on March 4, 1861, and they placed every line of tariff legislation on the statute books until the 24th day of August, 1894, or for more than a third of a century, and at the end of that period, I want to remind you, the products of the farm have seldom brought as little money as they did then and for the last 10 years of that period. The Democratic Party has contended that a tariff on farm products had little if any effect on the price so long as we were forced to sell our surplus products out in the free-trade markets of the world. In this opinion we find that some very prominent Republicans have at times concurred. When the Payne-Aldrich tariff law was being discussed in the United States Senate, Senator CUMMINS, a Republican Senator from the State of Iowa, said that in his opinion not a dollar was added to the $700,000,000 worth of farm products annually raised and marketed from the farms of the great State of Iowa by a tariff on farm products. In the famous speech made by President Taft, at Winona, Minn., while he was President, he said, among other things, "Certainly no one will contend that a tariff increases the price of foodstuffs when we are the greatest exporters of foodstuffs of any nation in the world." The best answer to the critics of the tariff law and its effect on the price of farm products is to be found in the prices that these farm products brought after the enactment of the law and before the breaking out of the European war. In a speech that I made in August, 1914, on the floor of this House, I printed a table compiled by the Price Current, in which I showed that the price of the 10 leading farm products sold for a higher average price on March 1, 1914, than they had any March 1 in the past 10 years. The average farmer is entirely too bright to be misled by these tariff critics.

Mr. Speaker, I have dwelt longer on the tariff than I intended. I find that the Republican orators dwell upon the tariff bill for two reasons: First, it is one of the easiest subjects in the world to mislead people, by publishing long lines of figures and dealing in certain tables of percentages; and, second, this is about the only law passed by this Congress that they care to attempt to criticize and the only one that their platform declares that they will repeal if intrusted with power.

THE MEXICAN SITUATION.

The Mexican situation is one that is not and should not be made a partisan matter. It is a matter that should receive the best thought of the best minds of the country, and these minds should not be clouded with any partisan rancor. The average citizen is interested in such a solution of the Mexican situation as will best serve the people of our own country and do no injustice to the weak and troubled country of Mexico. There are but two things that we can do in Mexico. We can go in, make war on the country and conquer it at the cost of much money and the loss of lives to our own soldiers, or we can stay out of Mexico and try as best we can to help them become a self-governing and independent Republic. It will be a long and troublesome road, no matter which of them we choose to travel. It has been the purpose of President Wilson to stay out of Mexico, and I am inclined to believe that is the best solution of that very vexed question. It is very possible that some mistakes have been made at times in our dealing with Mexico. We will doubtless make more mistakes regardless of which party is successful at the polls at the coming election. I am one of those who believe that criticism in a Republic is not a bad thing, but I do not believe that bitter partisan criticism is useful or helpful in solving those questions of dealing with other nations than our own.

THE FOREIGN WAR.

There are now 14 nations at war in Europe, and it is estimated that 30,000,000 soldiers are pitted against each other in the most gigantic conflict that any civilization has ever witnessed. This country has suffered much as a natural consequence of this war. Nearly all of the nations have not been as careful of the rights of neutrals as they should, but in nearly every instance it is my opinion that these foreign nations have harmed us only because of their zeal to win, which they all believe to be a dire necessity, and not that they want to intentionally do us harm. There are but two roads to travel in our efforts to be neutral with these warring nations. One is to protest when we are wronged and insist upon our rights being respected, and the other is to jump into the conflict and spill our blood and spend our treasures in the cataclysm of a world war. President Wilson has chosen the path of peace and protest. He has been criticized for not going to war, but I am convinced that time will vindicate his judgment and show that he has chosen the wiser course.

FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

There has been a general demand among the business men, the farmer, the laborer, the banker, for a more satisfactory financial system than the old national banking law. It had failed many times to meet the stress of emergencies and permitted financial panics to come to the country. In such times the farmer sold his products for less than the actual cost of production, the laborer could not find employment, the merchant found it difficult to meet his obligations, and the banker was oftentimes driven to failure even when he had plenty of assets and was solvent in every sense of the word. This administration set to work to revise the old banking and currency laws, and the result is the regional reserve banking and currency law, which has met the demands of increased business and has kept and will continue to keep the country free from financial panics.

RURAL-CREDIT LAW.

The farm-loan bill was designed to be helpful to the farmer and to furnish him money on long-time payments and at a low rate of interest. The business man usually wants to hire money for months, and he can be accommodated by the provisions of the regional reserve act. The farmer wants to hire money, oftentimes for years, and the farm loan is destined to collect from the investor money that is for loan at a low rate of interest and place it at the disposal of the farmer who desires to borrow on long time and at a low rate. This bill is among the first bills ever passed by the National Congress to be especially helpful to the farmer, and I believe that it will save to the farmers who are to-day hiring money on the farms in the sixth district of Kansas many hundred thousands of dollars in interest charges that have heretofore been paid in excess interest on farm loans.

OTHER LAWS FOR THE FARMER.

The welfare of the farmer has been well looked after in the last two Congresses, which have been mindful of his interests and of the importance of his success in a Nation that desires to be happy and prosperous. The following laws show that the farmer has not been neglected:

1. The agricultural-extension act, which helps the farmer to study seeds and soils and brings to his assistance the best thought developed at the leading colleges of the country.

2. The warehouse act, which permits the storing of agricultural products and issuing warehouse receipts upon them which can be used as collateral and thus permit the farmer to hold his crop until he can secure the best returns for the same.

3. The act establishing a Bureau of Markets, designed to help in marketing the products of the farm.

4. The grain-grading act, which insures the farmer just and proper grades on the grains that he ships to market and prevents his being wronged in this respect.

5. A law appropriating a large sum of money to eradicate hog cholera, the ravages of which has cost the farmers $100,000,000 per annum.

6. The good-roads law, which in the next five years will permit the spending of $85,000,000 by the General Government on the roads of the various States and compels the States to spend a like sum, all guarded about by such provisions as will result in greatly improving the roads of the country.

LAWS FOR THE LABORER.

1. The Secretary of Labor in the President's Cabinet, giving the people who work with their hands representation in the highest councils of the country.

2. The seaman's act, which abolishes slavery on the ships that fly the American flag and also from other ships that make our ports.

3. A law freeing child labor from the factories of the country by refusing to permit goods manufactured by child labor to enter into interstate commerce.

4. A law granting a just compensation to Government employees who are killed or injured in line of duty.

5. A law providing for a Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, to investigate infant mortality, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertions, dangerous occupations, and diseases.

6. A law preventing the abuses of courts in issuing injunctions in labor disputes without a proper showing of evidence justifying such an action.

7. A law establishing an eight-hour day for all work done by and for the United States.

8. A law establishing an eight-hour day for trainmen on railroads doing an interstate business.

9. A law providing for a Bureau of Safety Appliances, designed to prevent accidents upon railroads.

10. A law preventing the importation of pauper-made goods.

Mr. Speaker, it is a good record that this administration has made in the last four years. I appreciate that partisan papers will try to show to the people that they should make a change. Much money will be spent to persuade the people to turn their backs upon an administration, a President, and a Congress that have been faithful to the trusts reposed in them; but I feel that it will be of no avail, and that the people of this country will, by their verdict in November, refuse to rebuke a President or a Congress that has been responsible for this vast amount of good legislation in behalf of the best interest of the whole country.

## The Eight-Hour Law.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM C. ADAMSON,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Speaker, so many erroneous statements are circulating about the eight-hour law recently enacted that a few remarks from me may be pardoned if not justified.

In the first place it is not true that the act fixes wages. That statement is gratuitous and inconsiderate. The law fixes an 8-hour day. We had previously a 16-hour day and a 9-hour day. We now have an 8-hour day. The only reference to wages is in the language used to hold in statu quo until the workings of the eight-hour law could be observed and all other

features of the service adjusted to the eight-hour law. The language means and means only that there shall be no changes in the relations of the parties in any effort of the railroads to recoup what they assert to be an increase of wages. They might have, under the claim of increased expenses, reduced wages pending investigation, which we did not intend to permit The assertion that adopting the eight-hour day will increase expenses is largely speculative, grossly exaggerated, and intended to deceive and mislead.

The present threat of some railroad officials to resist the law and refuse to put it into effect until forced to do so by the courts is strangely inconsistent with the known position of the railroad officials, often stated by them and made in their replies to the President, that they have no objection to an increase of wages if they are permitted to recoup for that by increased charges on the public. They would no doubt welcome with avidity an increase of wages and expenses and evidently favor it, because they think that they could secure an increase of rate largely out of proportion to the increased expense.

Those gentlemen who see proper to resist the law until compelled by the courts will probably find the first expression from the court in the shape of a criminal warrant for failure to comply with the law. It is in keeping with the traditional habit of that class of men. All railroad officials are not that way. Many of them are rational and patriotic, but some of them resisted all regulation from the beginning, and still resist. They claimed that everything proposed by the Federal Government was unconstitutional, and it was asserted that State governments had sole jurisdiction. When the State governments undertook to regulate them, their jurisdiction was then denied and sole jurisdiction ascribed to the Federal Government. These gentlemen pretend that the eight-hour law is unconstitutional. The Constitution charges Congress with the duty and invests it with the power to regulate interstate commerce. Part of that regulation should and does relate to the safety of passengers and property. This act, like the 16 and 9 hour laws, is based on the idea of public safety. If it is warranted by the Constitution, it is not unconstitutional. If it is a regulation of commerce it is constitutional. No genuine lawyer will deny that prescribing hours of labor for persons operating trains, prescribed in the interest of public safety, is a regulation of commerce. If any alleged lawyer gives any such erroneous advice and any railroad official, acting on that advice, goes to jail, he should have "benefit of counsel" far enough to insure the incarceration with him of that unfaithful lawyer, and both of them would look well in stripes, and probably will be thus adorned if they persist in their announced course.

The disgruntled Republican leaders evidently disagree with the assertions of these railroad officials, as they are proposing to make a campaign against the administration because we yielded and the brotherhoods frightened Congress into passing hasty legislation, not unconstitutional but without consideration and without providing for arbitration. That position is as ridiculous as the other. The President did not force anything; the four brotherhoods did not force anything; Congress did not pass anything half-baked or ill considered.

The strike has been fomenting for four or five months. One Republican leader on the floor, versatile but sensational, has three or four times referred to the fact that I was considering that strike four months ago, and one or two newspapers have seen proper to take up his wonderful deliverance as evidence of political design in the matter. It is true that four months ago my attention was called to the impending strike by the Republican leader, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN], who foresaw serious trouble and desired that I should give attention to the situation and threatening possibilities with a view of averting them. I saw Mr. ESCH, the ranking minority member of the committee of which I am chairman, and he concurred with Mr. MANN that if anything could be done it ought to be done. Together Mr. ESCH and I conferred with the Interstate Commerce Commission without result. I went and talked to the President about it, but the President could think of nothing that was proper for him to do at that time. I then talked to the representatives of the four brotherhoods. They assured me that there was no immediate danger of a strike, and very little danger of one at any time. They believed that no legislation was necessary at all, and insisted that none should be had, claiming that an amicable settlement would be made of the differences between them and the managers. I reported that to Mr. MANN and Mr. ESCH and relied on it. If there was any political frame up in that, there were with me in it two very able and distinguished Republicans, as able and patriotic, in my judgment, as any of those, from Candidate Hughes down, who are spouting vitriol against the best administration the country ever had.

When a crisis came and it was rumored that a strike had been ordered for the 20th or 23d of August, the President summoned both parties to the controversy, not as President but as an American citizen of sufficient standing and popular respect, to suggest that he might be a proper one to intervene in a friendly way. He did not see one party and take a message proposing terms to the other, but he studied the situation and having formulated a plan saw both, each separately of course, and stated to both exactly the same proposition and terms. Together with other Members of Congress, we suggested then to both sides that they ought to accept his proposition. It was that 8 hours be substituted for 10 hours wherever it occurs in their system, and that all other circumstances and conditions should remain as they are until they could be adjusted either by agreement or arbitration to be aided by an investigation. That was so fair and proper that we thought both sides ought to accept it. The railroads were unpatriotic enough to refuse. As they were nearly all Republicans, subsequent events suggest, as well as other parts of their conduct, that they were not at all averse to a strike. As usual they forgot their relations to the public. Some of them have never been able to realize their quasi public function that they are really officers of the United States, and their assumption of independence of the people and resistance to regulation have inoculated their employees so that they have come to be sometimes unmindful of their obligations to the public. They were reasonable enough, however, to accept the President's proposition and immensely elevated themselves in popular esteem. Unfortunately, however, there were limits on their wisdom and patriotism and they largely and rashly compromised and endangered their prestige and position of vantage by ordering a strike just when their wise and patriotic conduct had placed them on the flood tide of popularity.

They did not even then ask for legislation, but there were others of us who did realize what a calamity it would mean to have a strike. All our social and business life is built up around and dependent on our system of transportation. Stoppage of that transportation would mean paralysis to social and business life. The President washed his hands of the affair, delivered a message to Congress stating the case fairly and squarely, proposing various remedies—some emergent and some which could be deferred as we thought. The charge that he or Congress abandoned the plan of arbitration is unfounded and made to deceive. It was impossible to agree on but two of his propositions. We did not have time to agree that at present they were all wise and appropriate or that all were necessary to be enacted now. The part that we did enact was not half-baked nor ill considered.

The eight-hour law will be supported by the American people. It has been discussed for years; it would pass both Houses of Congress by an overwhelming majority at any time for train operatives; in fact, Congress has already enacted the eight-hour law for all Government work and the vote on the Clark resolution for all employees on railroads showed the strength of the sentiment in favor of an eight-hour law for everybody, but we did not insist on it for anybody but train operatives; we could agree on that; we understood it; everybody knows what it means; and we then provided for the investigation as to the effect of the eight-hour law on the operation of a railroad. Then we will enact whatever else is necessary.

I do not at all concede that it necessarily increases wages. If the railroads will abolish the collusion which they have been practicing with the men regardless of the rights of the public the increase will be much less than apprehended. The railroads do not hesitate to say they will increase anything the men want, and then tax the public for increased rates. The public is not going to stand for that and Congress refused to suggest in advance any increase in rates. The two propositions are entirely separate and distinct.

It is a falsehood with which Republicans would as well cease to try to fool the people to state that this establishment of an eight-hour law necessarily and permanently increases wages.

When we have time to agree, and I do not see how it is possible to agree to any of the propositions offered in the Senate or in the House, but when we do agree, if the obstinacy of the parties further forces legislation, and legislate, we will equitably adjust all the relations between the roads and the men. The eight-hour day will be an eight-hour day, with prescribed exceptions and tolerances for necessary overtime. We will establish conditions under which wages will be adjusted according to what is right and proper. If the men are being paid too much or too little, their wages will have to be increased or diminished. On the other hand, the railroads will be taken care of. They are our servants; we absolutely depend on them; we are compelled to support and maintain them. The managers

are very presumptious and reflect on Congress and the people to assert any fear that we will allow them to bankrupt or become inefficient. If when these proposed adjustments are made, either by legislation or agreement of the parties, it is found that the railroad rates are too low to be remunerative they will be increased under existing law, which makes it the duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission to increase them. If they are too high they will be reduced in the same way. But there are a great many reforms and economies, as pointed out by Justice Harlan for the commission in the 5 per cent eastern rate case, and probably others, that the railroad managers ought to study instead of denying the authority of law, resisting regulation, and defying public opinion.

While the managers and the men must learn that they are acting for the public as officers, they should also have patriotic faith in Congress and in the people, who are their ultimate masters and guardians, that both will be justly and properly taken care of. I believe they are learning that.

I believe that while Republican politicians are blindly blundering about in their discomfiture over the settlement of this trouble that the railroad managers and the employees have discovered the truth of what we told them when they were before the President that they would better settle their own differences and keep the matter out of Congress. I think they will all amicably adjust the matter before Congress has an opportunity to legislate any further, but if they do not they may rest assured that Congress will do the right thing for both sides and for the people.

The foolish charge that the President and the Democratic majority acted from political motives or were coerced into anything by threats of a strike are pusillanimous and contemptible. The President, as a great patriot, tried to avert a strike. The majority of Congress, aided by a large majority of patriotic Republicans in the House, rose to the demands of the occasion and passed just as much law as was necessary, well understood, wise, and well adapted to the purpose, and averted the strike. The first note of partisanship comes from disgruntled Republicans rushing recklessly around, physically and mentally, like a blind bull in a china shop, seeking something on which to attack the administration for political purposes. It looks like they are sorry the strike was averted. It seems that they are disappointed in their expected campaign wish of crying calamity in the midst of a universal horror coming during a Democratic administration. They are frantic over their disappointment. All Republicans are not that way; there are some good men in spite of their political heresies and party affiliations, but some of them wanted a calamity during the Democratic administration and were sorely afraid the President would deserve and receive credit for averting the trouble. They were worse than Nero, who fiddled when Rome burned, because Nero built a better and a handsomer city. They would have shouted for joy during a calamity, in hope that it would restore their opportunity to plunder the people already blighted by that calamity.

I shall conclude this speech by the insertion of a personal letter received from a friend who is an observer of events, a student of politics; and he makes some statements so clear and pointed that I think they make a fine peroration for this speech.

I want to congratulate you heartily on the splendid work you did in putting through the eight-hour bill and preventing the threatened railroad strike. It is a fine tribute to your intelligence, patriotism, and ability, and every clean-minded and patriotic American citizen who has intelligence enough to think straight must appreciate the work of the President and the Democratic Congress in saving the country from a catastrophe of such appalling proportions that no one can realize what it would have meant unless it had actually occurred. It seems to me that the railroad executives showed an amazing lack of judgment, to say the least of it, when they refused to make the settlement outlined by the President and accepted by the unions. I don't want to be unfair about it, but it does seem to me that they were deliberately trying to precipitate a strike and that there were political motives of the first magnitude back of their efforts. This strikes one with great force when one recalls that Mr. Hughes delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Minnesota rate cases, extending to a greater degree than ever before national control over rate regulation, etc., and diminishing very largely the powers of the States over interstate traffic; that he was subsequently nominated for President by the Republican Party, and that, for the first time in our history, a railroad plank is put in the Republican platform, which is undoubtedly designed to destroy all the State railroad commissions and put control and regulation wholly within the national authority. I am not, at the moment, expressing an opinion upon the merits of this proposition—I am only speaking of the significance of the situation; that these people have been foiled is a godsend to the masses of the country. Congress will now have time to take up these questions in the light of settled conditions and orderly processes and secure legislation of a permanent character that will enable the people of this country in the future successfully to meet and deal with these grave economic problems.

I notice, by the way, that Mr. Hughes is mighty silent on the strike proposition. On this as on other vital questions, he apparently has no opinion; or, if he has, he is afraid to express it. I notice the mighty and courageous Teddy also expresses no opinion on the strike question. I wonder if either of these men is for the eight-hour day. If they are not, what absolute hypocrites they are in pretending to be for social justice. I wish somebody could make them answer two questions: First, do you favor the eight-hour day as applied to interstate railroads; second, do you approve the prevention of the strike by the legislation just enacted by the Congress?

The fact that the Republican Party in the Senate voted solidly against the strike settlement indicates where Mr. Hughes's and Mr. Roosevelt's sympathies are. I wish you would make these points clear in a speech in the House before the Congress adjourns.

Mr. Speaker, if we are to be criticized and punished for averting the strike, what will become of the 70 honest and patriotic Republicans, including Uncle JOE CANNON, the nestor of his party, the best and ablest of them all? These 70 voted with us to spare the country the calamity of the strike, and they deserve the thanks of the people. They were not deterred by the unworthy fear actuating other Republicans, that if the President and Congress succeeded in averting the strike, the people would gratefully accord to the present administration credit therefor.

Mr. Candidate Hughes is making a wonderful performance, promising to do things which President Wilson has already done and making unjust charges and criticisms. He and his followers are making similar misrepresentations about the eight-hour bill and the incidents which led up to it and the effects of it. Their performance and reckless statements bring to mind the prophecy of the Savior as to false prophets arising to deceive the very elect themselves, and the great Prophet Isaiah must have foreseen something like the Hughes campaign when he gave utterance to the following two verses:

Isaiah 5:20—

Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!

9:16—

For the leaders of this people cause them to err; and they that are led of them are destroyed.

Let the people beware.

## President Wilson's Mexican Policy—Address of Former Congressman James M. Graham at the Annual Catholic Picnic at Franklin, Ill.

I doubt if the people will ever fully realize the magnificent resistance which President Wilson has made to the efforts put forth by these powerful combinations of wealth. He has stood like a wall of adamant between the inordinate greed of these selfish men and the rights as well as lives of the very cream of the young men who are to-day the pride of their mothers and sisters and sweethearts.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CLAUDIUS U. STONE,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. STONE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit as a part of them an address delivered by Hon. James M. Graham, of Springfield, Ill., a former Member of this House, at the annual Catholic picnic at Franklin, Ill., Thursday, August 17, 1916. It deals with President Wilson's Mexican policy, and I give it as it was printed in the Jacksonville (Ill.) Courier.

GRAHAM DEFENDS WILSON'S MEXICAN POLICY—BLAMES CAPITALISTS FOR DISTURBANCES IN TALK AT FRANKLIN CATHOLIC PICNIC.

Speaking before thousands of people gathered at the annual Catholic picnic at Franklin Thursday afternoon, former Congressman James M. Graham, of Springfield, made a ringing defense of President Wilson's Mexican policy. In it he charged that the border and internal disturbances which have made the Mexican situation a menace for years were due to the agitations of American capitalists who wish to see the United States control Mexico in order to boost the value of their property in Mexico.

He showed that Americans own more than 40 per cent of the property in the southern Republic, much of which has been greatly reduced in value since the Diaz régime passed, and which would be increased many-fold by United States protection. But, he declared, these conscienceless capitalists would willingly sacrifice tens of thousands of the young men of the country to enlarge their dividends. He declared one could scarcely realize the "magnificent resistance" which the President has made against these combinations of wealth.

Mr. Graham opened his powerful address by a brief running description of the political and geographic conditions of Mexico; the size; the population, of which a very large per cent is full Indian, another very large per cent mixed with Indian, the Indian blood predominant, with only 2,000,000 whites in a population of 14,000,000. The country is largely gifted by nature, abounding in opportunities, and especially in mineral wealth.

DIAZ CATERED TO CAPITALISTS.

"During the 35-year rule of Diaz," he said, "he governed the country by force, but he offered great opportunities to foreign capital, and foreign capital seized these opportunities with avidity. Most of the

natural opportunities there, such as gold, silver, copper, petroleum, and rubber, as well as many of the industries, such as railroads, the insurance, and manufacturing, are now owned by outsiders, and mostly by Americans. Senator LA FOLLETTE, of Wisconsin, has published a statement in his weekly paper giving the natural wealth of Mexico and telling how it is owned. He said that Americans own $1,057,000,000 worth of the wealth of Mexico, whereas Mexicans themselves own only $793,000,000. The English own $321,000,000, French $143,000,000, and other nations $118,000,000.

UNITED STATES OWNS 43 PER CENT OF NATURAL WEALTH.

"Reduced to per cent, that would mean the United States capitalists own over 43 per cent of the natural wealth of Mexico, and the Mexicans own only about 30 per cent of the wealth in their own country. Much of this wealth is in the form of railroads, mines, and other industrial enterprises, which in present disturbed conditions in Mexico yield little or no profit. That condition, of course, is very unsatisfactory to owners, and it is extremely important to them that peace and good order should prevail there. Under peaceful and orderly conditions they are in a position to absorb much, if not most, of the wealth which Mexican labor would produce. These influences are extremely powerful in the United States. They not only own a large part of the wealth of Mexico, but they own a large part of the wealth of the United States. And it would be very difficult to estimate the extent of the power which they wield here. To a very great extent they either own or control the great metropolitan press of this country and many of the magazines. Through these mediums they can exert a force and power in the formation of public opinion, which is enormous. It is quite safe to say they do not hesitate to exert every influence and put forth every ounce of power which they can in order to make those in authority in this country conform to their views.

CARE LITTLE FOR RIGHTS OF MEN.

"It requires no explanation or elaboration to make clear the importance to them of government in Mexico, which would make their property rights secure. I fear the capitalists care but little about the rights of men. I am induced to think they place a much higher value on property rights than on human rights. And they are quite wise enough and quite farsighted enough to see that if the United States intervenes in Mexico, or, in other words, declares war on Mexico and sends an army down there to conquer the Mexicans and take possession of their country and then keep the army there for years, if necessary, to do police duty and compel the Mexicans to respect the property rights, it would be of immense financial value to the capitalists of this country. I think it is hardly exaggeration to say that if the President of the United States declared in favor of intervention to-day the property there which is American owned would be worth ten times as much to-morrow as it was yesterday. They have been urging intervention by every means within their power. They have tried to create a public sentiment in this country in favor of it, and Senator LA FOLLETTE adopts the view that these American financiers have conspired to bring about Mexican raids into the United States in order to provoke American public opinion and force the President to intervene. The fact that tens of thousands of American boys would lose their lives and that tens of thousands of other American boys would be crippled and disabled the remainder of their days from wounds and exposure in that dreadful climate is of no consequence to them. Nor does it in the slightest deter them in their efforts to send our boys on this ruthless and unjustifiable invasion under the guise of patriotism when the plain truth and plain fact is that they simply want to increase their wealth and enlarge their dividends.

PRESIDENT RESISTING PRESSURE.

"I doubt if people will ever fully realize the magnificent resistance which President Wilson has made to the efforts put forth by these powerful combinations of wealth. He has stood like a wall of adamant between the inordinate greed of these selfish men and the rights as well as the lives of the very cream of the young men who are to-day the pride of their mothers and sisters and sweethearts, the strength and hope of this great Republic. Every American who loves his country and values its honor should bless God that the Nation is favored by having Woodrow Wilson in the White House at Washington."

## Senate Amendment to Naval Bill.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. DAVID A. HOLLINGSWORTH,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the leading Democratic newspaper of my district, published by a corporation whose president is postmaster in its principal city, recently attacked my vote against the Senate amendment to the House naval bill, which, according to the statements of this paper, provided for the construction of 157 new American war vessels, suggesting further that the President, who not long ago said we already have an efficient Navy, had his heart in the measure and used his influence to bring about its passage, adding with usual partisan zeal that I would be "called to explain" my vote, and that I "would have to step aside and let a younger man take my place," indicating that such younger man was to be my present Democratic opponent, who, in fact, although this was not mentioned in the paper, had as a former Member of Congress voted on two occasions to reduce proposals for the construction of two battleships to only one and on another occasion to reduce our small Army by abolishing five Cavalry regiments.

Believing it the right, in fact duty, of every good citizen, whether friendly or otherwise, in or out of the Government service, to call upon his Congressman for explanation of any of his votes, if desired, I promptly acted on the suggestion and sent to the paper my explanation expecting naturally it would be given the same publicity as the attack on my vote, although in this expectation I was disappointed.

It follows, substantially:

"Whether or not the President is in favor of this colossal increase in naval expenditures, greater in amount than ever before proposed in any Government on earth in war or peace, is not and can not be known until the bill reaches him for Executive action.

"The Army bill, just vetoed, was in like manner put forward by his friends in the House as one of his pet measures without any thought of a veto. Democratic leaders seemed to speak for him with authority, and, being a conservative measure, it met with little opposition on either side of the Chamber, or elsewhere until the Senate largely increased it, followed by a presidential veto.

"In matters of highest importance, however, the President's changing attitude is sometimes compared by Democratic leaders to a weather vane in a brisk gale. Personally, I have the highest regard for the man as well as his position, and have voted with him on all war measures involving any proper purpose of defense for our country, its flag, or its honor, including his most unfortunate "in again and out again" policy in Mexico. I have tried to be conservative and nonpartisan when the interest and honor of our country have been, or seemed to be, at stake, but like the real leaders of thought in the President's own party, I have been compelled to stop short in the approval of the present startling and colossal expenditure of the people's money proposed in the Senate amendment intended as it is, not for the present year, as is usual in such legislation, but for a continuing program of onward and increasing expenditure from year to year without any additional legislative authority, the inevitable result of which, in my judgment, will be a total change in the basic form of our Government from Lincoln's ideal of one by the people to a Prussianized militarism of the most pronounced type.

"Anyone reading the details of this bill, with the added Senate amendments, must realize that by it a new and distinct un-American class, independent of the people, is formed in this country with a provision for its continuance years after the hoped-for change of administration shall take place by the inauguration of President Hughes in March of next year.

"A shade of doubt is also cast upon the sincerity of the President, if he really does favor this great and increasing naval expenditure, by the fact that the keels of a number of warships, long ago authorized by Congress, have not been laid or begun by this administration, and the certainty that this program can not be completed until 1920. Facing this condition, and with this knowledge, with signs of peace on every hand, as stated by the President, how should I have voted? Of course, I could have dodged or not voted as did other Members according to the RECORD, some doubtless for fear of just such newspaper attacks as have been made upon me. But I never dodged a duty in my life and am too old to begin. I admit mistakes, but no fair-minded man or woman ever charged me with evasion. The only choice, therefore, left to me was to follow my own convictions and vote as I did with the minority, including Mr. KITCHIN, majority leader, and such sturdy Republican leaders as CAMPBELL, of Kansas, and LENROOT, of Wisconsin, instead of with the majority, certain as it was of success, and exultant under the leadership of the Democratic chairman of the Naval Committee and the Republican minority leader. I am on record as a conservative and in favor of honest neutrality, but have supported every war measure asked for by the President without a thought of partisan advantage accruing to him, except the present proposition, if he be in fact in favor of it. In my recent canvass for renomination, I wrote an open letter to my Republican constituents, not being able to visit them in person on account of official duties at Washington, in which my position was plainly stated as follows:

"Knowing something of the real horrors of war, I have stood for peace and, in every possible way short of national dishonor, have favored keeping this country out of war. At times dark clouds have appeared, but the conservatism and good sense of sincere men of both parties have ruled, and the country is to be congratulated.

"Over 7,000 voters joined in my renomination on this platform, and not one of them has yet called upon me, as suggested in this Democratic newspaper, to explain my vote.

"I make no boast, nor do I undertake to reply to the Democratic suggestion that HOLLINGSWORTH will have to step aside and let a younger man take his place, but I believe in the fair-

ness and good judgment of the American people, and am willing to further test before them this assertion.

"In closing, permit me, in answer to this newspaper's call, to add, for the enlightenment of Democratic readers, numbers of whom have written me encouraging words, the following quotation from the speech of the majority leader of the House, the Democratic chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who refused utterly to be a party to the proposed naval extravagance:

"Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Speaker, I shall not support this motion to adopt the naval program contained in the Senate amendments. I do not hesitate to confess embarrassment as a Member of the House, and especially as a Democrat, to-day. I remember two months ago the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Democratic membership of that committee, the Democratic membership of the House, and, as I understood it, the Secretary of the Navy, in behalf of his department, and the administration persuaded and insisted upon the Democrats in the House to vigorously oppose and vote against what was then considered an extravagant, wild, and reckless program presented by the Republicans. Under such persuasion and insistence I got up in this House and, amid the applause of my fellow Democrats, led by the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and denounced the Republican program presented by minority report as criminal extravagance and recklessness.

"I declared, and I was authorized by the report of the minority and the chairman's speech to make the declaration, that such a program was not requested by the needs of the Navy or the Government. I believe I said it was criminal for this House to vote upon a proposition that would take hundreds of millions of dollars needlessly out of the Treasury through the proposition presented by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER, a Republican]. And yet in two short months the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, the Secretary of the Navy, and the President, and most of my fellow Democrats want me to get up now on the floor and eat my words and say that the program of the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the Republicans, which they induced me then to denounce as criminal recklessness, is now the very perfection of virtue and patriotism.

"I was given to understand—I was expressly told—that if we could get the Democratic members of the Naval Committee and the Democrats in the House together on a one-year $240,000,000 program the Secretary of the Navy and the administration would get behind it and make it the administration program. Though this was many millions larger than many of us favored, I went to work to get my colleagues together. All got together and the one-year $240,000,000 program was reported out by the Democratic solid vote on the committee. The chairman stated on the floor of the House that the Navy Department and the Secretary of the Navy approved it enthusiastically. But this program is gone, and here comes the Butler program to take its place. The first year of the program is enough like the one-year program of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER] and his colleagues to be twins. The three-year program—and Mr. BUTLER and his colleagues demanded in the committee a three-year program—out-Republicans the Republican program by over $75,000,000. I denounced, with the approval of the Navy Department and Chairman PADGETT and my colleagues, the program of the Republicans as criminal extravagance and waste, and now, gentlemen, upon my honor as a man and Member of this House, I can not see more virtue in it because, forsooth, within two months, to-day it has Democratic sanction—from the President down. If such a program was wrong and reckless and extravagant then, it is wrong and reckless and extravagant now, and more so because since then two great naval powers of Europe have lost 100,000 tonnage each of warships, and to-day the navy of Germany and of all other nations except Great Britain is far below the strength of the United States Navy, considering ships built, building, and authorized, and we stand to-day far in the front as the second naval power of the world.

"That is the rank which the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, which the Republicans in their report, which the administration, and which the war traffickers through their patriotic organization, the Navy League, asked us to put this Nation in.

"Regretting to learn from the article in question that my distinguished opponent is opposed to the patriotic and nonpartisan position I have taken on this subject, a matter of vital importance, as I see it, to the very form of our Government itself, I am,

"Very truly, yours,

"D. A. HOLLINGSWORTH."

## Delay School Opening in the District of Columbia.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,

OF WYOMING,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call the attention of Members for a moment from the weighty affairs of state which are engrossing their attention to the consideration of a matter which warrants our consideration as members of the town council of the city of Washington. I refer to the very extraordinary action, in view of the circumstances, taken by the board of education yesterday afternoon in postponing the opening of the schools in this city for two weeks, or from September 18 to October 2. I quote from the Washington Post of this morning in regard to this matter as follows:

DELAY SCHOOL OPENING—BOARD OF EDUCATION MAKES DATE OCTOBER 2 INSTEAD OF SEPTEMBER 18—BOW TO PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

The opening of the District public schools has been postponed from Monday, September 18, to Monday, October 2, by vote of the board of education at its first meeting this season at the Franklin School yesterday afternoon. It was also voted to appoint a committee to confer on the advisability of making October 2 the permanent opening date, instead of the middle part of September as heretofore.

The measure was not adopted without prolonged debate, as it was stated in the president's report that "there is no serious reason for postponing the date of opening." The report stated that conferences on the subject had been held with the principal officers of the health department, and that these officers had given it as their opinion that delay was unnecessary.

NUMEROUS LETTERS RECEIVED.

It was pointed out, however, that the numerous letters received, including one from the Secretary of the Treasury, indicated that public sentiment is against opening the schools at present, because of a fear that infantile-paralysis plague may appear. The report stated that the president of the board had the utmost confidence in the opinion of the health officers, but that while there was no apparent danger, the president wished to do as the public itself desired.

The resolution of postponement provided that the teachers should be subject to call at the regular time. It was found that the question of teachers' pay was not affected by the postponement.

There was a strong sentiment evinced by members of the board for making the date a permanent one, and the committee was to consider this question, with a view to bringing its observations to the board later.

From this article it would appear that the Board of Education, in voting for this postponement, is following what it understands to be the public sentiment on the question. They have letters, it is said, requesting postponement, including, let it be noted, one from the Secretary of the Treasury. My opinion is that there are not 5 per cent of the parents of this city who desire to have the opening of school postponed, and I base that opinion on the fact that most people desire to have their children educated, and therefore do not desire to have terms of school unreasonably shortened when there is no good reason for it, as there is not in this case.

Primarily the postponement is charged to the prevalence of infantile paralysis, although infantile paralysis is not and has not been prevalent in Washington, there having been very few cases and most of them very mild. But, it is said, paralysis may be brought in by the children coming from their summer vacations. It is notorious that there has been no infantile paralysis in the summer and vacation resorts. And yet out of these two perfectly favorable factors the Board of Education deduces an unfavorable conclusion. The Post article closes with the observation that there was a strong sentiment evinced by members of the board for making the date October 2 a permanent one, and it is stated a committee was appointed to consider the question. We have here, in my opinion, the real milk in the coconut. The infantile paralysis argument is merely toted in as an excuse.

With all due deference to the honorable Board of Education, my opinion is that it will be a long time before the Washington school year is further shortened. It is already quite short enough, and with the numerous holidays and half holidays which are declared and provided for on all sorts and kinds of trivial and trifling excuses some people have begun to wonder whether the schools of Washington are conducted for the purpose of giving the children of the District an education or for the benefit of the teachers and the entertainment of the Board of Education. It will be noted, in connection with this postponement, that the board was careful to investigate as to whether the teachers' salaries would be affected and only agreed to the postponement when assured that the teachers would not lose anything, however much the schools might suffer.

The action of the Board of Education is the more extraordinary in view of the fact that the health officer of the District and the superintendent of schools, the two men of all others best qualified to advise, advised against it. I am told that the present school year was made short compared with that of many other cities because of the alleged summer heat of Washington. While, of course, no one wants the regular public schools open during midsummer, the fact is that there are very few cities in the Union where the question of summer heat is less of a factor to be reckoned with in the matter of the school year than right here in Washington, and it is about time that the people here got over the habit of using Washington summer climate as an excuse for the shortening of school terms, and particularly for the closing of playgrounds at a time when they are most needed. Most cities of the Union would consider themselves very fortunate if their people suffered no more from heat in the summer than do the people of Washington.

**The Rural-Credit Law Is a Full Redemption of the Democratic Platform Promise to the Farmers.**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. RALPH W. MOSS,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, in the campaign of 1912 each of the great political parties pledged its membership to the enactment of a rural-credit law. The Democratic Party declared in its platform that rural credits was of equal importance with the question of currency reform, thereby placing the interest of the farmer side by side with that of the merchant and business man. The national-bank law, which was enacted by the Republican Party, grossly discriminated against the farmer. This law remained upon the statute books during 50 years of Republican rule and actually made it a crime for any national bank to loan a dollar to a farmer and accept a mortgage on his farm as security. The result naturally was that farmers during this long period were driven to loan agents, trust companies, and foreign corporations to secure mortgage loans. No farmer ever borrowed a dollar on real estate mortgage security from any bank chartered by the Federal Government under a law passed by the Republican Party.

One of the first acts of President Wilson's administration was the appointment of a commission to go abroad and study the rural-credit systems in the leading nations of Europe and make a report to Congress. I felt myself highly honored in being named a member of that commission. In company with my colleagues, I spent the summer of 1913 in Europe; we visited every country whose rural-credit societies were well organized, and made a report to Congress which embodied the latest information on this subject to be obtained in any country in the world. The commission also drafted a tentative bill on this subject as a further assistance to Congress. This bill was at once revised by the Banking and Currency Committees of the Senate and House. No time was wasted or delay permitted to retard the progress of this legislation which had been promised in good faith by the Democratic Party. In order to hasten progress, Congress created a special joint committee, composed of Senators and Representatives, to sit during vacation, with instructions to report a bill not later than January 1, 1916. I also had the honor to be a member of this special joint committee and know the fidelity with which every member discharged his duty. The result was the framing of the bill which is happily now a law. Every Democrat in both House and Senate remembered the pledge of his party to enact this legislation, and not a single Democratic vote was cast against it. Five votes in the Senate and ten in the House were cast against it by stand-pat Republicans. No other great measure in a generation has passed Congress with so nearly a unanimous vote. This vote is not only a high compliment to the various committees which framed this law but is emphatic proof that the Democratic Party has given the farmers of the Nation an effective rural-credit law.

The purpose of this law is to give credit for productive purposes to farmers at low interest rates, for long periods of time, and on easy installments in repayment. The real problem before Congress was how to secure money so as to be able to loan it to farmers on these favorable terms. It is well known that the National Government can borrow money in larger amounts and at lower interest rates than any person or corporation. This is true because the National Government can issue a bond which is more attractive to investors than any other credit instrument. A Government bond is known to be absolutely safe and nontaxable. For these reasons the Government can to-day borrow money on its own terms at 3 per cent interest.

The framers of the rural-credit law took the Government bond as a model for the new credit instrument. The Federal farm-loan bond will possess every advantage which a Government bond now carries. It is exempt from all taxation; it is a legal investment for all trust funds under Federal law. The system is closely associated with the Federal Treasury, and the Secretary of the Treasury is a member of the Farm Loan Board. The land is to be appraised by a Government official, and the mortgage will be held in trust by the Government to secure the payment of the bond which is issued against it. Every detail will be under strict Government supervision. Graft, mismanagement, or speculation is made impossible, and the borrower can not be held up for commission and exorbitant fees. Finally, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to deposit Government funds in Federal land banks to meet any threatened default in payment of interest or principal on Federal farm-loan bonds. With all these exceptional advantages these bonds will sell in close competition with Government issues. It is practically certain that they will sell at a lower rate of interest than State, county, or municipal bonds. This means a 3½ per cent bond just as soon as the public becomes educated to their exceptional value and may give as low a rate as 3¼, under conditions as favorable in the financial world as obtains to-day. I confidently predict that the first issue of farm-loan bonds will sell readily at 4 per cent. I will go further and predict that when the Federal farm-land banks become well established and the integrity of their bond issues fully proven, farm-loan bonds will sell at par, bearing a rate of interest within one-quarter per cent of the current rate on Government bonds. This prediction is fully borne out in the world's history and will be verified here as well as in Germany, France, and other European Governments where rural-credit banking has long been organized.

Now, what does this mean to the actual borrower? Well, it means money at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent, with no commissions or renewal fees. The cost of operating the system will soon drop to three-fourths per cent as the operating cost will tend to decrease as the volume of business increases. The interest rate on the mortgage can never be higher than 1 per cent above the interest rate in the farm-loan bond, as the law fixes 1 per cent as the widest margin which can be charged as operating expenses. If that margin is charged and the expenses and reserves do not consume it all, the balance must be prorated as dividends to the borrowers. The loans must always be given at actual cost. The law sets no limit to the amount of bonds which may be issued except that loans must be made to farmers in an amount equal to the issue of bonds.

The method of securing loans is very simple. The farmer applies to the land bank through his local association for a loan and gives his note with a mortgage as security. The bank files the mortgage with the Government and sells a bond on the market. The capitalist buys the bond and the farmer gets the money. These operations will continue as long as any farmer desires to secure a loan. Every dollar invested in farm-loan bonds must be loaned to some farmer to improve his farm, to operate it, or to purchase land to farm. No person can borrow a dollar from a Federal land bank except he personally operates or shortly intends to operate the mortgaged farm. No speculator can get a dollar under any conditions. No man can borrow more than $10,000 at any one time. Thus the benefits of the law will go wholly to those who own or who may purchase farms and operate them personally and who desire only a moderate-sized loan; and the law makes ample provision to supply every farmer in the United States who may come within these limits and who may desire to avail himself of its benefits. It plays no favorites.

Any loan may be made for a period not less than 5 years nor more than 40 years, and may be repaid, in whole or in part, any time after the loan has run five years. No man need fear a foreclosure if he makes his annual or semiannual payment, and he will never have any renewal fees to pay. I shall only point out one further feature of large advantage to the borrower in this law, and that is the installment plan of repayment, commonly called amortization. I can best illustrate this by taking the State of Indiana as an example. The farm-mortgage indebtedness of Indiana is about $132,000,000 and the average rate of interest is 6.2 per cent. This means that the farmers in Indiana are paying an average of $62 interest every year on every thousand dollars of their mortgage debt without reducing the principal at all.

The land banks under the rural-credit law will make loans which are to be repaid in annual or semiannual installments. I will assume that the first loans will be made in our land district at 5 per cent. The annual interest charge on $1,000 at 5 per cent is $50. If a farmer who is now in debt were to borrow money from a rural-credit bank at 5 per cent and would agree to pay an annual installment of $60.43, which is less than the average amount he now pays in our State for interest alone, and would make this payment for 36 years, he would discharge his debt in full. He will thus have repaid a debt of $1,000 with $375.48. This is what the new law will actually offer to Indiana farmers. It means such a reduction in interest rates that a farmer can actually pay principal and interest of his debt with less money than he is now paying for interest alone.

It is the first banking law to be enacted by the Congress of the United States dedicated exclusively to the interest of farm borrowers. It makes farmers a preferred class of borrowers and will give them money for productive purposes at a lower

rate of interest than any other class of borrowers can secure it. Thus the Democratic Party has redeemed its promise to enact a rural-credit law which will place a farmer's credit on a par with that of the merchant and the business man. Speaker CLARK has said publicly that the rural-credits law is one of the three greatest laws passed during this administration.

I am proud of this record; I am proud of the part I have been permitted to take in the enactment of this law; and I am proud of my party, because it has fought a good fight and has kept faith with the farmers of the Nation.

## British Workmen Want Protection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, making speeches in Maine for President Wilson, who stands for the Underwood tariff law, it is interesting to note the attitude of the labor unions of Great Britain in opposition to the free-trade system that has so long prevailed there. Several years ago, after an extensive tour of Europe, Mr. Gompers published a book in which he depicted the deplorable condition in European industrial districts, but notwithstanding the misery, degradation, low wages, and poor living conditions which he then described, the chieftain of the American Federation of Labor has been a sturdy champion of the Democratic Party at least since the time of President Roosevelt. He opposed the Republican nominee in 1906 and in 1912 and is now openly in the field and on the stump for the Democratic candidate.

GOMPERS STUMPS FOR WILSON.

Indeed, if Mr. Gompers's speech at Lewiston, Me., September 3, is accurately reported in the Washington Herald of the next day, Mr. Gompers is much closer to the White House than most people have hitherto believed. Not only does Mr. Gompers laud the President in that speech, but he also takes occasion to denounce the Republican candidate, Mr. Hughes. After explaining his reasons for supporting Mr. Wilson, Mr. Gompers is quoted upon the Mexican situation and throws a side light upon the recognition of Carranza, which is highly important. Here is that reference:

"When the most critical situation had been reached and it seemed that every hope had been exhausted, representatives of the organized labor movement in Mexico came to the president of the American Federation of Labor and asked him to use his influence to secure recognition of the Carranza government by the administration of President Wilson," Gompers said.

A letter from the president of the American Federation of Labor to President Wilson requested that he have patience with the people of Mexico and give them time to work out their problems without the intervention of an outside power. Intervention did not take place.

At the September, 1915, meeting of the executive council the president of the American Federation of Labor was instructed to write to President Wilson asking that he recognize the Carranza government. It was about a month after that letter was sent that Secretary of State Lansing notified the Mexican representative in this country that the administration formally recognized the existing government, so there was assured to the people of Mexico additional opportunity to work out their problems in accord with their own ideas and their understanding of their best interests.

LEGISLATION REGARDLESS OF FREE TRADE.

It will be observed that Mr. Gompers's intimacy with the President had to do with other than labor problems and that his support of the President in this campaign is regardless of whatever has been said in the past about the miserable labor conditions in Great Britain and other countries, with which the United States had had to compete. It has made no difference whether the most serious piece of Democratic legislation, the Underwood low-tariff law, has remained on the statute books or not. Labor in the mills and workshops and upon the farm may be allowed to suffer just the same after the European war, so far as the present attitude of the president of the American Federation of Labor is concerned. President Wilson must be elected and the free-trade tariff law for the workers in the mills of America must be maintained at all costs. Note the difference with the trade-unionists of Great Britain. They have tasted the bitter cup of free trade and they want no more of it. Years ago they began to realize that free trade was a dream and that it operated to the advantage of other nations. When the late Joseph Chamberlain began to talk protection for Great Britain the British workmen, who had been competing with European labor, began to applaud. They held meetings in Hyde Park and about Trafalgar Square and in their union meeting places. They began to realize that the American plan was a good plan and wanted to adopt it. Anyone who has traveled through Great Britain knows of this growing disposition of the statesman and the workingman of that country to resort to the protective system, and yet the president of the American Federation of Labor argues for the reelection of the President, notwithstanding his responsibility for the existing tariff law, which was passed, as the President said, to make American industrialists "whet their wits against the wits of the world."

I do not dispute with Mr. Gompers as a labor leader, because he is able and successful, but I do argue with him as a politician who stands for the destruction of the protective-tariff system in the United States. He commands respect as a labor chieftain and must be reckoned with, but as a politician, resisting a great economic principle which threatens the wage earners of the United States, he is subject to the criticism that attaches to any misdirected effort.

BRITISH LABOR WANTS PROTECTION.

In contrast with Mr. Gompers's political teachings, I present the action of the organized workers of Great Britain, as reported from Birmingham, England, September 6. The report, which is appended, comes from the Philadelphia Record, a forceful Democratic newspaper, which is itself opposed to the doctrine of protection:

BRITISH UNION LABOR TURNS TO HIGH TARIFF—WORKMEN'S CONGRESS VOTES FOR RESTRICTION OF FOREIGN COMPETITION AFTER WAR—RESTORATION OF RULES—WILL INSIST ON ALLEGED RIGHTS, NOW WAIVED TO INCREASE WAR PRODUCTION.

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND, *September 6.*

The trades-union congress, representing nearly 2,500,000 organized workers of Great Britain, took an important and unexpected step to-day by adopting, with a majority of more than 1,000,000 votes, a resolution virtually indorsing the principle of protection.

The resolution asks for "the adoption of methods for restricting or preventing the importation of cheap manufactured goods produced at lower rates of wages and under worse labor conditions than prevail in this country." Although these words themselves do not accept the principle of a protective-tariff wall, the protectionists among the labor delegates and in other circles are inclined to regard the workmen as having been won over to a complete change from free trade. One of the labor members of the House of Commons said the meaning of the resolution was merely that measures should be taken to investigate the origin of goods and conditions under which they are produced with a view to preventing the unloading of cheap goods in this country after the war, which is much feared.

The congress considered other resolutions regarded as of importance for labor after the war, including one dealing with restoration of trades-union rights which have been suspended in order to increase the output of munitions. Undue delays in granting pensions to those incapacitated in the war by wounds or disease were denounced and demands were advanced for the abolition of what was characterized as "antediluvian old-fogyism" of the pensions commission.

## Charles E. Hughes Known by His Words and Deeds.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. ISAAC SIEGEL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the thinking men of this country are asking the question as to whether the judicial opinions of Gov. Charles E. Hughes show him to be a man near and close to the people. With that in view, I shall present extracts of his decisions when on the Supreme Court Bench from 1910 to 1916, and in each case it will be found that Gov. Hughes represented the advanced thought of the Nation. One of the most important cases that ever came before the Supreme Court was that of Leo M. Frank. In an opinion written by Mr. Justice Holmes, with whom Mr. Justice Hughes concurred, in No. 237 United States, page 345, the former said:

The trial began on July 28, 1913, at Atlanta and was carried on in a court packed with spectators and surrounded by a crowd outside, all strongly hostile to the petitioner. On Saturday, August 23, this hostility was sufficient to lead the judge to confer, in the presence of the jury, with the chief of police of Atlanta and the colonel of the Fifth Georgia Regiment stationed in that city, both of whom were known to the jury. On the same day, the evidence seemingly having been closed, the public press, apprehending danger, united in a request to the court that the proceedings should not continue on that evening. Thereupon the court adjourned until Monday morning. * * * Mob law does not become due process of law by securing the assent of a terrorized jury.

The single question in our minds is whether a petition alleging that a trial took place in the midst of a mob savagely and manifestly intent on a single result is shown on its face unwarranted by the specifications, which may be presumed to set forth the strongest indications of the fact at the petitioners' command. This is not a matter for polite

presumptions; we must look facts in the face. Any judge who has sat with juries knows that in spite of forms they are extremely likely to be impregnated by the environing atmosphere. And when we find the judgment of the expert on the spot, of the judge whose business it was to preserve not only form, but substance, to have been that if one juryman yielded to the reasonable doubt that he himself later expressed in court as the result of most anxious deliberation, neither prisoner or counsel would be safe from the rage of a crowd, we think the presumption overwhelming that the jury responded to the passions of the mob. Of course we are speaking only of a case made by the petition and whether it ought to be heard. Upon allegations of this gravity, in our opinion, it ought to be heard, whatever the decision the State court may have been, and it did not mean to set forth contradictory evidence or matter of rebuttal or to explain why the motions for a new trial and to set aside the verdict were overruled by the State court. There is no reason to fear an impairment of the authority of a State to punish the guilty. We do not think it impracticable in any part of this country to have trials free from outside control. But to maintain this immunity it may be necessary that the supremacy of the law and of the Federal Constitution should be vindicated in a case like this. It may be that on a hearing a different complexion would be given to the judge's alleged request and expression of fear. But supposing the alleged facts to be true, we are of the opinion that if they were before the Supreme Court it sanctioned a situation upon which the courts of the United States should act, and if for any reason they were not before the Supreme Court it is our duty to act upon them now and to declare lynch law as little valid when practiced by a regularly drawn jury as when administered by one elected by a mob intent on death.

In Miller *v.* Wilson (236 U. S. Repts., p. 373), Mr. Justice Hughes held constitutional a limitation of women's workday to 8 hours and their work week to 48 hours. In Coppage *v.* Kansas (236 U. S., p. 27) Justice Hughes was unable to indorse the views of the majority of the court to the effect that a Kansas statute declaring the Kansas statute making it a misdemeanor for an employer to require an employee to agree not to become or remain a member of any labor organization during the time of employment was unconstitutional. Justice Hughes felt that inasmuch as men had the right to choose freely whether they would join trades-unions and inasmuch as the law looks with favor upon membership therein for common industrial betterment, the Legislature of Kansas had the right to forbid attempts to coerce an unwilling employee to agree to forego the exercise of his wholesome legal right of membership, even to the point of refusing him employment at all unless he was willing thus to agree not to do what he lawfully and desirably might do, the exercise of his rights which he deemed to be his, not only legally but morally.

In Truax *v.* Riach (239 U. S. Repts., p. 23) Justice Hughes held unconstitutional an Arizona statute requiring every employer of more than five persons to employ not less thn 80 per cent qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States. He thus showed that there was no room in this country for laws that would in any way attempt to discriminate between native born and foreign born trying earnestly to earn a livelihood. In the recent Coca Cola case he demonstrated that he had no use for those food manufacturers who were attempting to deceive buyers as to the ingredients contained in the food products which they were selling. No justice of the Supreme Court has ever taken a stronger and more firm stand against the sale of adulterated food. This case is that of the United States *v.* Coca Cola Co. (241 U. S., p. 265).

In conclusion let me quote from an address delivered by Gov. Hughes on October 19, 1907, at the dedication of a statue erected in memory of distinguished citizen of foreign birth:

Fortunate also is it that we are becoming more and more free from racial and provincial prejudices, and are able to make a truer estimate of the many sources from which we have derived our national strength and the virtues of our citizenship. It is a pleasant thought, which frequently has been expressed, that the ancestors of most of those who settled the country in colonial days once lived in the German forests; we witness here, on a large scale, and after centuries of varied experience, what is virtually a reuniting of the descendents of a common stock. But however pleasing this may be to the historical imagination our unity and fact is not racial and does not depend upon blood relationship, whether near or remote. It is the unity of a common national idea; it is the unity of a common conception of the dignity of manhood; it is the unity of a common recognition of equal civil rights; it is unity in devotion to liberty, expressed in institutions designed to give every man a fair opportunity for the exercise of his talents, and to make the activities of each subordinate for the welfare of all. To the maintenance of this ideal, and to the fulfillment of the purposes of our national organization each race has made contribution, and we are not truly Americans if we do not greatly rejoice in the fact that here is more than the work of any one people, and more than the product of any one experience; that to the making and to the prosperity of this Commonwealth humanity has given of its best; and that its vigor and unprecedented strength are due in no small degree to the fusion of its diverse elements. * * * This is our common country. Whatever the abode of our ancestors, this is our home and will be the home of our children, and in our love for our institutions, and in our desire to maintain the standards of civic conduct, which are essential to their perpetuity, we recognize no difference in race or creed—we stand united, a contented people rejoicing in the privileges and determined to meet the responsibilities of American citizenship.

Mr. Speaker, Charles E. Hughes is typical of the American citizen who comes of foreign-born parents, but who loves our flag and country, and cherishes its institutions in a manner that indicates that he is for America at all times.

## Two Patriotic Services Which Should Elect Wilson.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. ALFRED G. ALLEN,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial from the Cincinnati Post on September 6, 1916.

The editorial is as follows:

TWO PATRIOTIC SERVICES WHICH SHOULD ELECT WILSON.

It would be difficult to overestimate the service which President Wilson has rendered to the Nation by preventing the strike of railroad employees.

That the President is entitled to the bulk of the credit even his most captious critics must admit.

Candidate Hughes has not been heard from on the subject, and, judging by his performances during the past month, he probably will not be. The ex-justice, in his campaign for President, seems to be acting on the theory that the people are not interested in vital issues.

It would be ridiculous to say that by forcing Congress to act with unprecedented promptness on the eight-hour law President Wilson permanently settled all the differences between the railroads and the 400,000 members of the four brotherhoods.

But it is within the facts to say that but for the enactment of this law this country would to-day be in the throes of an industrial revolution, the far-reaching consequences of which no man could forecast.

When President Wilson stepped in it seemed to those who had knowledge of the inside facts of the situation that even the tremendous power and prestige of the presidential office could not avert the calamity of a general railroad strike.

President Wilson brought to the crisis not only the power and prestige of his office, but that indomitable will to succeed, which is perhaps the most marked characteristic of a personality richer in sterling elements than that of any President since Lincoln.

It was this same will to succeed, backed by moral courage of a high order, that enabled President Wilson to vindicate international law and establish the rights of neutral nations, in the submarine controversy with Germany, without going to war.

If the arguments for President Wilson's reelection began with his settlement of the submarine controversy and ended with his action which averted the railroad strike, with nothing in between, he ought to be assured of the support of every voter who puts patriotism above partisanship.

And yet those who know the President best know that his action in neither of these crises was in the slightest degree based upon political expediency.

In one case he incurred the aggressive hostility of many German-Americans who mistakenly allow love for their fatherland to kill their sense of justice.

In the other case he has antagonized the powerful financial interests who own the railroads and who mistakenly allow their selfish interests to kill their sense of justice.

That man is a fool who underrates the political influence of these two groups, who, in their blindness of prejudice and greed, are determined to "get even" with Wilson.

The question to be decided at the November election is whether such influences are powerful enough to defeat a President who has had the temerity to enforce the rights of America against Germany and the rights of labor against capital.

We believe that Wilson is justified in awaiting the decision with calmness and confidence.

## Review of President Wilson's Administration.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of the privilege granted by the House to extend my remarks by inserting a letter from Hon. Hannis Taylor to the National Business Men's Republican Committee, of New York City, entitled "A Review of President Wilson's Administration." Mr. Taylor is a lifelong Democrat; served this country with credit and distinction under the Cleveland administration as minister to Spain; is an authority on diplomacy, and the author of a number of textbooks on international law:

A REVIEW OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

WASHINGTON, *D. C., September 5, 1916.*

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letters in which you say: "May we have your name, indorsement, and moral support on committee for the election of Charles E. Hughes for President? * * * We should be very glad indeed to have you make your statement through this committee at the right time." Knowing Mr. Hughes to be a wise and progressive statesman, an exceptionally able jurist, a man of affairs, a fearless patriot with the courage of his convictions, I can not doubt

his ability to deal successfully with the mighty problems with which the world in general and our country in particular are now confronted. At this critical moment in our history, with the war drums beating in every quarter, certainly it will be a blessing to the country for the administration of a drifting and irresolute opportunist to be succeeded by that of a resolute statesman with positive convictions, whose firmness and moral dignity will be the best security for peace. But, admitting all that to be true, have I, a lifelong Democrat who never voted a Republican ticket nor supported a Republican candidate, the right to support Mr. Hughes?

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SUPERSEDED BY A POLITICAL DICTATORSHIP.

I was invited to preside and did preside over a great political meeting held at Washington to ratify the first nomination of Mr. Wilson; I subscribed to his campaign fund; I gave him my cordial support in every way. In the only personal letter I ever addressed to him I told him I had nothing whatever to ask of him, a promise to which I have faithfully adhered. Living as I do at the seat of government, with a large personal acquaintance with the leaders of both political parties, I have had exceptional opportunities to study at close range every act of Mr. Wilson's administration, foreign and domestic. I have watched all the currents and countercurrents that have influenced that incoherent mass of inconsistent acts which he is pleased to call his policy. Thus, against my will and political associations, I have been forced to conclude that no man who ever filled the Presidential office was so opposed to the basic principles for which the Democratic Party stands as Mr. Wilson; that he is at heart a typical and extreme Federalist, intent upon the abnormal exaltation of the powers of the Executive and the humiliation of Congress. To use an epithet he once employed in stigmatizing Jefferson, Mr. Wilson is "a philosophical radical," intent upon transforming the Presidency of the United States into a political dictatorship with himself as its head.

THE NEW TYRANNY.

I have seen Mr. Wilson trample under foot, apparently without remorse, the party platform upon which he was elected and which he pledged his sacred honor to the people faithfully to carry out. I was near at hand when he drafted a second party platform, which he sent to St. Louis from the White House by one of his agents with an imperious demand that it be accepted by the convention as its act and deed. If he should be reelected, he will claim, of course, the right to repudiate, in whole or in part, that second party platform, which is, in a very peculiar sense, the work of his own hands. Thus the old Democratic Party, to which I have belonged all my life and which has heretofore expressed its corporate will through representatives chosen from its ranks, has been for the moment abolished, or at least superseded by a political dictatorship, created by an arrogant usurper, who has demonstrated his utter inability to play the pretentious rôle he has prepared for himself. I can not, without a sacrifice of my self-respect, consent to support this new and preeminently undemocratic system of political tyranny, which would be a real menace to the country and the Constitution were it not for the feebleness and inefficiency of its creator. The only thing that has ever justified dictatorships in the past has been the preeminent ability and authority, in moments of supreme peril, of the dictator himself, qualities whose conspicuous absence has rendered Mr. Wilson's unprecedented performances really grotesque. If our democratic system of government is to be overthrown, let it be done by a masterful man, not by one so timid, so silly, as to compromise us in the eyes of the whole world by the false and ridiculous assertion that we are "too proud to fight."

MR. WILSON'S CONFESSION OF POLITICAL FAITH, IN WHICH HE CALLS THE PRESIDENCY "THE REAL THRONE OF ADMINISTRATION."

Mr. Wilson's bitterest enemy will not dare to assert that, in his efforts to exalt abnormally the powers of the Presidency and to humiliate Congress, he is at all inconsistent or unfaithful to the political creed which he proclaimed at the beginning of his career as a public man. In his well-known work entitled "Congressional Government," fifth edition, his thesis is that the Presidency was in an ideal state under the Federalist Party, when Congress was opened with the spectacle of a cavalcade and presidential oration ("a King's speech" of which he is so fond), followed by legislative responses and processions in imitation of the ancient pageantry of the British Crown conducted by the gentleman usher of the Black Rod at Westminster. In those good old days Mr. Wilson says: "He [the President] was constituted one of the three great coordinate branches of the Government; his functions were made of the highest dignity; his privileges many and substantial * * * and there can be little doubt that, had the presidential chair always been filled by men of commanding character, of acknowledged ability, and of thorough political training it would have continued to be a seat of the highest authority and consideration, the true center of the federal structure, the real throne of administration, and the frequent source of politics" (p. 41). But, according to Mr. Wilson's view, the evil days came with the development and assertion of the power of the people as vested in Congress—to use his own words, the "prestige" of the Presidency was "belittled by growth of congressional power" (p. 341). Again to use his own words: "That high office [the Presidency] has fallen from its first estate of dignity because its power has waned, and its power has waned because the power of Congress has become predominant" (p. 43). Mr Wilson's persistent and sincere purpose since he was clothed by Democratic votes with the executive power, has been to put in force his Federalist theory of government as expounded in his first book, with "the King's speech" in the center of the stage, and with Congress prostrate at the feet of the presidential office. Some faithful artist should give to the American people a graphic picture of our so called Democratic President as he appears when, wrapped in the solitude of his monarchial tendencies, he delivers his "King's speech," from "the real throne of administration," to an awe-stricken Congress. It is this new condition of things which Mr. Wilson is now asking the American people to make permanent.

MR. WILSON'S LIBEL ON THE CHARACTER OF JEFFERSON.

As all the world knows, Jefferson assumed the Presidency firmly resolved to abolish, at once and forever, "the King's speech" to Congress, with all the other monarchical flummery which Mr. Wilson so adores. Jefferson's now obsolete theory was that "the real throne of administration" should be not in the White House but in Congress, where the voice of the people could be heard. He therefore informed both Houses in writing, on December 8, 1801, that "the King's speech" would henceforth be superseded by the presidential message, which continued as a purely American institution for more than a century, until abolished by Mr. Wilson in favor of the monarchical usage of Federalist times. When his habitual bitterness toward all who oppose him or differ with him is taken into account can we wonder at the cynical and contemptuous spirit in which he claims that Jefferson was merely a poseur, a deliberately insincere demagogue, an aristocrat masquerading in the garb of a leader of the common people? In his History of the American People, Volume IV, pages 3 and 4, Mr. Wilson says: "Mr. Jefferson, an aristocrat and yet a philosophical radical, deliberately practiced the arts of the politician, and exhibited oftentimes the sort of insincerity which subtle natures yield to without loss of essential integrity. Gen. Jackson was incapable of arts or deceptions of any kind. He was, in fact, what his partisans loved to call him, a man of the people, of the common people. Mr. Jefferson was only a patron of the people, appealed to the rank and file, believed in them, but shared neither their tastes nor their passions." There is a crystal lake in the high Sierras so fathomless that it reflects only the image of the traveler who looks into its depths. And so, when the autocrat, with monarchical tendencies, who now misrepresents the party Jefferson founded, looks into that fathomless mind he can not comprehend, he sees only his own image, which he has unconsciously painted. What Mr. Wilson has said so viciously and so unnecessarily of the dead Jefferson, whose shoes he is now attempting to fill, is simply a precious bit of self revelation. The "aristocrat," the "philosophical radical," who "deliberately practices the arts of the politician," is now the President of the United States, seeking reelection in defiance of his solemn pledge not to be a candidate to succeed himself.

MR. WILSON'S REVIVAL OF "THE KING'S SPEECH" AND HIS MARKED AVERSION TO PERSONAL CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE.

If specific proof is demanded of that assertion it is to be found in Mr. Wilson's sudden and arbitrary abolition of the inaugural ball and of the New Year's receptions, which since the foundation of the Government have been the sacramental ties binding the Presidency to the rank and file of the people. Even the cold and exclusive Adamses were willing to mingle with the people at inaugural balls and New Year's receptions. But Mr. Wilson can not go that far. He has become so proud, so pretentious, so monarchical in his habits of life that he considers it necessary, even in the summer season, to set up "the real throne of administration" in the great palace of Shadow Lawn, the vulgar and ostentatious creation of a multimillionaire.

Since Mr. Wilson's abrupt and ruthless abolition of the inaugural ball and New Year's receptions—institutions as old as the Government itself—the uninvited masses of the people have been deprived of the privilege of approaching, on such occasions, "the real throne of administration." Those who enter the White House when entertainments are given, must be specially invited by a gilded and embossed card, delivered, not through the mails, but by presidential messengers. And even when the President delivers "the King's speech" in the Hall of the House of Representatives, the general public is severely excluded. No one can go even to the galleries without a special card of admission. We may confidently expect that after the inauguration of the new President on the 4th of March next, he will announce at once, as Jefferson did, the abolition of "the King's speech," with all the monarchical flummery attending it; and the revival of the inaugural ball and New Year's receptions, which had become cherished parts of our national life.

"COURT FAVORITES" INTRODUCED BY MR. WILSON INTO AMERICAN POLITICS.

After the abolition of the two Democratic institutions just mentioned, Mr. Wilson resolved to fill the vacuum not only by the revival of the "King's speech" but by the introduction into American politics of "court favorites," an insititution imported into England from Scotland by James I, a monarch often spoken of as the intellectual and political progenitor of the dictator under whom we now live. Following in the path of his great progenitor, Mr. Wilson drove from his cabinet, at a time when they were most needed by the country, the two dominating minds that refused to bow to his insolent and self-seeking dictatorship. Thus the way was cleared for the completion of that system of political absolutism under which our Government is now carried on by a group of obscure and inefficient individuals—Mr. Wilson's personal creations, "dependent ministers," who are "mere agents of the King's will."

At the head of the "court favorites" thus introduced by Mr. Wilson into American politics stands his Duke of Buckingham, Col. Edward Makepeace House, connected only through his middle name with the august office of ambassador of ambassadors, with which he could not possibly have been associated through even the remotest knowledge of diplomacy or international law. We know that Carr and Villiers were elevated to supreme power by James I by reason of their personal beauty, but, as Col. House does not seem to possess that quality, the source of the unbounded influence of this obscure and untrained person over the President of the United States is a sealed mystery which it seems must remain forever unbroken. At a critical time in our diplomatic history, when an unselfish, patriotic, and unfettered President would have summoned Mr. Olney, Mr. Choate, Mr. John Bassett Moore, Senator O'GORMAN, or Senator HOKE SMITH, Mr. Wilson turned to an obscure personal favorite, unknown to the people and never trusted by them, who is about as well adapted to the delicate functions of high diplomacy as a cobbler to the work of a mathematical astronomer. No great office is ever filled in the Cabinet, on the bench, or elsewhere, without loud suggestions of the dominating influence of Col. House; and when the office of Secretary of State was made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Bryan, the newspapers heralded the fact, never denied from the White House, that it was entirely at the colonel's disposal if he would deign to accept it. Mr. Wilson is so obsessed by the "court favorite" idea, that he does not seem to understand that the great offices of state are not his personal perquisites to be bestowed upon obscure and incompetent individuals, entirely unconnected with our public life, simply because it suits his personal interest and convenience so to bestow them, but the property of the people held only in trust by him for their benefit.

Mr. Hughes has done well in denouncing in his campaign speeches the indefensible selfishness which has prompted Mr. Wilson to fill very many of the highest offices in the Government, at home and abroad, with fameless and incompetent persons, to many of whom he is obligated by reason of political services of a journalistic character.

All the world knows that, at the most critical moment in our diplomatic history, our Diplomatic Service has been weighted down, with a few exceptions, by such inexperienced and obscure persons as were never before accredited to the great posts. If anyone is skeptical on that subject, let him but turn his eyes to the capitals of France and the British Empire, where the most critical diplomatic work is now being carried on. Mr. Wilson, who has thus dragged our

Diplomatic Service down to a point never reached before, refused at the beginning of his administration to give either aid or comfort to a bill carefully devised for its improvement, and introduced in the House by Mr. HENRY, of Texas, chairman of the Committee on Rules, and in the Senate by Senator Bacon, of Georgia, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. But Mr. Wilson's capital offense in the rewarding of personal retainers who served him in the public press is represented by his grossly unlawful elevation to the headship of the government of the District of Columbia of a journalist with no possible connection with the District in the way of residence or property, in open defiance of a statute declaring that only an actual and bona fide resident of the District, a home man, shall be eligible to that office. The question of Mr. Newman's eligibility has been tried by the courts and juries of the District, which have exclusive jurisdiction over it, and it has been solemnly adjudged by those tribunals that he be ousted from his office on account of his lack of legal capacity to hold it. And yet, in open defiance of such judgments and verdict, Mr. Newman has been kept in office by Mr. Wilson; and the people of the District of Columbia have been thus deprived by his act, aided by a technical flaw in legal procedure, of the only scrap of local self-government they possessed, simply because the President of the United States owed a political debt to a political retainer. Surely the new President will not be slow in redressing this outrage, whose author seems to be devoid of all sense of legality.

MR. WILSON'S FLAGRANT BREACH OF HIS SOLEMN COVENANT NOT TO BE A CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED HIMSELF.

Mr. Wilson enjoys the very unenviable distinction of being the first President ever accused, so far as I know, of breaking the solemn "promises and covenants" made with the people in the party platform upon which he sought and obtained their votes. Under our rigid and complex Constitution the honor system, under which the people give their suffrages in exchange for the "promises and covenants" given by nominees in party platforms, is at once vital and fundamental. Senator NORRIS hit the nail on the head when he said in a speech delivered at Washington a few months ago: "The greatest evil in American politics to-day is the dishonest nominee." The question of questions involved in the approaching election is this: Is Mr. Wilson a dishonest nominee? Despite the labored and sophistical efforts made by his partisans and apologists to obscure the real facts involved, they are too plain to be misunderstood. Unless it is legitimate to argue, as De Quincy did, that "murder is a fine art," it is unnecessary to say that when a nomination is accepted under our American honor system the nominee pledges his sacred honor to observe every part and clause of the party platform as completely as if he took an oath to that effect in a court of justice. Such has always been the distinct understanding of the American people since our honor system began. The plain facts in Mr. Wilson's case are these: The Democratic platform of 1912, to every clause of which he solemnly pledged himself, provided: "We favor a single presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for reelection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle."

If ever a man had the right to speak for another, Mr. Bryan, the political creator of Mr. Wilson, who took the nomination away from the Hon. CHAMP CLARK in order to give it to him, had the right not only to speak for Mr. Wilson but to bind him by his words. As his accredited representative and spokesman, Mr. Bryan canvassed the country in his interest, making many speeches, in all of which he declared to the people what his—Mr. Wilson's—understanding was as to his candidacy for a second term. At a great meeting held at Indianapolis on October 17, 1912, Mr. Bryan said: "We present him—Mr. Wilson—not only qualified in every way, but we present him pledged to a single term, that he may be your President and spend no time dividing patronage in order to secure delegates; that he need spend no time in planning for reelection; that he may give you all his thought and all his heart and all his energy. I believe that when a man is lifted by his countrymen to this pinnacle of power he ought to tear from his heart every thought of ambition and on his bended knees consecrate his term to his country's service. That is our ideal President, and we present to you a man who measures up to that ideal." I was in Indianapolis at the time and heard those words as they were spoken by Mr. Bryan to at least 7,000 people assembled in front of the State House. When that part of Mr. Bryan's speech pledging Mr. Wilson to a single term was republished in Collier's for November 6, 1915, I called his attention to it, and he said that he had seen it. So far from questioning the accuracy of the publication, he added that he had said the same thing in all his speeches everywhere. Will any honest man undertake to say that after Mr. Wilson permitted Mr. Bryan, as his accredited representative and spokesman, to canvas the country and pledge him to a single term, as his—Mr. Wilson's—construction of the Baltimore platform, he was not as completely bound in honor as if he had made that pledge to the people in his own words? If that is not so then the political morality of Machiavelli governs here; then the American honor system is at an end; then all such pledges as Mr. Bryan gave to the people as Mr. Wilson's representative are absolutely worthless. Nobody has ever claimed that Mr. Wilson protested at the time that Mr. Bryan was not authorized to pledge him to a single term as his—Mr. Wilson's—construction of the Baltimore platform.

Painful and humiliating as the fact must be to every high-minded Democrat, it can not be denied that, despite the solemn pledges made to the people by Mr. Bryan in his name, Mr. Wilson, while President-elect, set himself to work to find some loophole through which to escape from the double obligations by which he was bound hand and foot. A sensitive mind, fully conscious of the obligations of "promises and covenants," would have been appalled by the difficulties then in the way of such an undertaking. On June 4, 1912, Mr. CLAYTON, of Alabama, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, had offered an amendment to the Constitution making the President ineligible for a second term. It was that pending amendment to which the Baltimore convention that met on June 25 directly referred. Mr. Wilson was therefore bound by every principle of honor and of duty to insist that the then pending amendment, to which he was pledged, not only by the platform but by the solemn promises given to the people by Mr. Bryan in his name, should be made at once a part of the fundamental law. Under such circumstances what did he actually do? Did he strive to secure the adoption of the amendment or did he deliberately and actively intrigue to defeat it? Let the answer to that question come from his able and experienced advocate and apologist, Mr. George Harvey, who, in attempting to make a case for him in the North American Review for February, 1916, made instead admissions that render all future attempts to defend him hopeless.

Mr. Harvey said: "But after the election of Mr. Wilson upon a platform pledging the candidate to 'the principle' avowed, the proposition was revived in the Senate, and on February 1, 1913, it was adopted by that body, 17 anti-Roosevelt Republicans voting affirmatively and only 1 Democrat, Mr. Shively of Indiana, voting in the negative. The sentiment of the House was overwhelmingly in favor of the resolution, but the Democratic leaders, feeling that their newly elected President was entitled to consultation upon a matter of so much importance and having no late information respecting his attitude, deferred action until his views could be ascertained. * * * Meanwhile the President-elect intervened in the letter to Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, dated February 13, which was duly exhibited to Chairman Clayton and other prominent Representatives, who promptly bowed to the wish of their new leader and buried the resolution."

Thus, in by far the most studied and formal effort ever made to apologize for Mr. Wilson's wanton conduct in this regard, his advocate admits that the amendment, to whose adoption he was so solemnly bound by a double pledge, after its adoption by the Senate, was defeated in the House, where the sentiment "was overwhelmingly in favor" of it, by the active personal solicitation of Mr. Wilson, intriguing through a letter directed to Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, not as an individual, but as chairman of the Democratic caucus. In describing that letter, Collier's for November 6, 1915, said: "Mr. Wilson dictated a long reply, about 1,500 words in length, and sent it to Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, then chairman of the Democratic caucus." Thus even Mr. Wilson's advocates and apologists are forced to admit that the machinery of the Democratic Party was actively employed by him to defeat its and his solemn pledge to the people to limit the presidency to a single term.

MR. WILSON'S UNFAITHFUL CONDUCT A WARNING TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO LIMIT THE PRESIDENT TO A SINGLE TERM.

Mr. Wilson has demonstrated by his conscienceless conduct, as described above, the lengths to which an abnormally ambitious and selfish man, lustful of power and office, may go in chasing the phanton of a second term. He trampled upon those things which most men hold most dear by actively intriguing to destroy the single-term plank of the Baltimore platform, through the use of Democratic Party machinery, even before his first term began. How pathetic and humiliating it all is when we recall Mr. Bryan's golden words: "We present him [Mr. Wilson] not only qualified in every way, but we present him pledged to a single term, that he may be your President and spend no time dividing patronage in order to secure delegates; that he need spend no time in planning for reelection; that he may give you all his thought and all his heart and all his energy. That is our ideal President, and we present to you a man who measures up to that ideal." Honest and noble-minded as he is, how sore at heart Mr. Bryan must be when he looks down on his fallen idol who has done all the things he said he would not do. The best work Mr. Bryan has ever done has been embodied in his efforts to protect his country against the terrible and growing evils of a second term. In the Indianapolis speech, in which he pledged Mr. Wilson to a single term, he said: "Eighteen years ago, when I was a young man, a Member of Congress, I introduced a resolution submitting an amendment limiting the President to a single term in office.

"Three times when I was a candidate for office I announced immediately after my nomination that if I were elected I would not be a candidate for a second term." Mr. Wilson has manifested his ingratitude for all Mr. Bryan has done for him not only by forcing him out of his Cabinet and becoming a candidate for a second term, but by wrecking the cause for which Mr. Bryan has battled so long and so unselfishly. In Mr. Wilson's so-called St. Louis platform there is not a word about a second term. Those who understand Mr. Bryan's character know perfectly well that he has a courage that can, when aroused, rise to the height of any occasion. The great moral and patriotic duty of his life is upon him now. He knows, as no other man knows, how wretched and faithless Mr. Wilson's conduct has been in violating his solemn pledge not to seek a second term. He therefore owes it to himself, to his reputation for consistency, to stand by the gospel he has preached so long and so forcefully. He owes it to the American people, he owes it to truth and justice, to rise in his high place in this Nation and, sinking partisanship in patriotism, denounce Mr. Wilson's candidacy because he knows he is a "dishonest nominee." In the presence of Mr. Wilson's broken vows to the people, for whose performances he solemnly pledged himself as guarantor, how can Mr. Bryan support him for a second term? M. Clemenceau certainly had Mr. Wilson in mind when, in defining a symbol, he said: "A man about whom the people still believe what was never true."

Is it possible that such a man as Mr. Wilson, who, to promote his inordinate and selfish ambition, has deliberately violated the solemn "promises and covenants" for whose performance he plighted his sacred honor to the American people, can, for a second time, be elevated by their votes to the chief magistracy of this Nation? That is now the question of questions, the issue of issues, which, as it involves the moral dignity of the people of the United States, can neither be concealed nor ignored. Mr. Wilson's partisans within the Democratic Party, who have been recreant in their duty to the ancient and historic organization which Jefferson founded, may shout as they will, but—

"Nor florid prose nor honeyed lines of rhyme,
Can blazon evil deeds, or consecrate a crime."

No matter whether Mr. Bryan does his duty or not, the American people must and will do theirs. For more than 30 years I have made a special study of our complex American Constitution; for the last 14 years I have lived at Washington, where I have watched its practical workings day by day, just as a machinist might watch the movements of a Corliss engine. In the light of that study and experience I do not hesitate to say that, in my humble judgment, the gravest defect in our National Constitution, that brings more evils to the people than all others combined, is represented by the lack of that amendment prohibiting a second term which Mr. Wilson's selfish ambition has for the moment defeated. His almost insane desire to succeed himself has deprived him of the power to be really useful at a critical moment in our history. His ceaseless pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp called a second term has led him into all kinds of bogs and morasses; it has entangled him in hopeless inconsistencies; it has put him on both sides of nearly every public question; it has forced him to do things no other public man would have dared to do. The typical illustration of course is his sudden and violent change of front as to the exemption of American vessels from tolls

in a canal built by American brains and American money through American territory. Representative MEEKER, of Missouri, says Mr. Wilson is "the greatest President Great Britain ever had." I have not a word to say now as to the merits of the tolls question, as to which good and wise men have disagreed.

It is not necessary to go further than the statement that honesty and decency forbade Mr. Wilson's departure from the positive mandate on that subject of the Baltimore platform, which he specially and earnestly advocated before the people in order to catch their votes. Then, when the wind shifted and it appeared as if more votes were to be had by facing the other way, he turned about with a ruthless cynicism that would have put Machiavelli to the blush, entirely ignoring that part of the Baltimore platform, repeated in speeches by him, which declares that "Our pledges are made to be kept while in office as well as to be relied upon during the campaign." He thus demonstrated that, like King John, he is also "a king whom no oaths can bind"; that he is a man whom "even treachery can not trust." At one time Mr. Wilson gave us brilliant and conclusive reasons why the sending of arms and munitions into Mexico, which may be used against ourselves, was a wrong not to be tolerated. Then, when the wind shifted, he demonstrated in the same brilliant and conclusive way that such reasons have no real value at all. I wonder if he ever remembers, when engaged in these perilous acrobatic performances, which only a sublime and fatalistic vanity could inspire, the terms in which he denounced Jefferson, "an aristocrat and yet a philosophical radical," who, he says, "deliberately practiced the arts of the politician, and yet exhibited oftentimes the sort of insincerity which subtle natures yield to without the loss of essential integrity." Can the American people so stretch its mantle of Christian charity as to bring the "subtle" Mr. Wilson within his own saving clause? Can they force themselves to believe that he has been able to commit his graver offenses "without the loss of essential integrity"?

MR. WILSON'S UTTER FAILURE TO UPHOLD OUR DIGNITY AS THE GREATEST OF THE NEUTRAL NATIONS.

Instead of offending all true Democrats by assailing the "essential integrity of Jefferson"; instead of abusing that genius and patriot as "an aristocrat," as a "philosophical radical," as "a patron of the people," Mr. Wilson should have devoted himself more carefully to the study of the great Virginian's mighty work in laying the foundations of the modern law of neutrality, of which he seems to have only a hazy notion. When the European nations were, then as now, tearing each other to pieces on land and sea Jefferson was wise and thrifty enough to perceive that the American clipper ships then decorating our Atlantic seaboard could do a great business, as they did, if an enforceable law of neutrality could be created. Really the greatest of Jefferson's achievements, from a practical point of view, is represented by his part in the creation of the modern law of neutrality, by which the world has been governed from his time down to its recent abolition by the British and German Empires. And yet Jefferson's work, intellectual as it was, would have been a failure had it not been for the stern moral dignity of Washington, who understood that the very essence of neutrality depends upon an unswerving impartiality that refuses to favor one belligerent as against the other. When Jefferson, full of love and partisan feeling for France, showed signs of sympathy for Genet's design to make our shores bases for French expeditions against Great Britain, Washington planted his great foot on the earth and said, "No!" He refused to play favorites; he refused to make fish of one and flesh of another.

If Mr. Wilson had only been wise enough and honest enough to learn that great yet simple lesson from the master character, how much higher in the respect of the world should we stand to-day! I sympathize with him in his partiality for the allies. I also have British blood in my veins, but not so much as he has—one-half. Mr. Wilson constantly forgets, when he expresses distrust of people with foreign blood in their veins, what a typical hyphenated citizen he himself really is.

If I were in power I know I would be tempted, just as Jefferson was, to do very unlawful things for great and glorious France, never so splendid, so heroic, as now. But all such weakness is unworthy when the duty of neutrality is involved. Mr. Wilson should have refused, as Washington did, to play favorites; he has had no right, legal or moral, to be the secret ally of the allies, while claiming to be neutral. If I were to yield to my personal feelings I would favor France and Great Britain as against Germany; but I would not favor either at the expense of the neutral commerce of the United States, which Mr. Wilson has shamefully failed to defend. We have been outraged and trampled upon on the high seas by both the German and British Empires without any real satisfaction from either. The mangled bodies of American men, women, and children, one of them of my own family connection, have floated away unavenged from the wreck of the *Lusitania;* the cotton of the South, the food products of the Middle West, the mineral products of the far West have been unlawfully seized by the British Navy as contraband; the mails have been violated, without any substantial redress. Mr. Wilson does not seem to understand that the primary purpose of our diplomatic system is to obtain actual redress for wrongs done to our citizens, and not to put into circulation rhetorical diplomatic literature whose force would be double if its volume were reduced by more than one-half. We have had notes, notes, notes, like Amos Cottle's poem, with "lines 40,000, cantos 25"; but we have had no actual redress of any practical kind. To the intolerable wrongs inflicted on the persons and property of our neutral and unoffending citizens by the British and German Empires, we have only responded with paper bullets bearing the pathetic inscription, "Too proud to fight!"

From the foundation of the Government it has been considered the high duty of the President to appoint to the office of Secretary of State the foremost statesman and diplomatist of the country. Washington was not too proud to lean upon Jefferson; Jefferson upon Madison; Taylor upon Webster; Pierce upon Marcy; Lincoln upon Seward; Grant upon Hamilton Fish; Hayes upon Evarts; Cleveland upon Olney; McKinley upon John Hay; Roosevelt upon Elihu Root. But at the most critical moment in our diplomatic history Mr. Wilson feels that he is omnipotent enough to get along with Mr. Robert Lansing and Col. Edward Makepeace House! Who can wonder that Mr. Hughes, in arraigning Mr. Wilson, should say: "If we are to have a Secretary of State, we want a man who will stand before the world as a man of learning, of skill, of experience, of power." Mr. Wilson's greatest weakness is his sublime and flamboyant egotism, which deludes him with the fancy that he is strong enough to clear the executive stage of all possible rivals so that he may star alone. He thinks that as the maker of "the king's speech" he should be "the whole show"; he does not believe there is glory enough for all; he thinks that all power and importance should be vested in himself, no matter how much the country may suffer thereby. Thus he presents the pathetic image of a vain and vacillating opportunist struggling in a bog, and refusing to be aided by stronger and more experienced men, because he is unwilling that anybody should share with him the glory of doing things. What would happen if Mr. Wilson should suffer a genuine spasm of patriotic unselfishness, free from all self-seeking, self-glorification of any kind?

THE MEXICAN HORROR.

No American can look upon the Mexican horror without a sense of pain; no Democrat can look upon it without a sense of humiliation, because the grave condition of things existing when President Wilson entered into office has been converted into a prolonged drama of death and destruction by his unprecedented and offensive intermeddling with the internal government of a friendly State, in open defiance of the most elementary principle of international law. As Mr. Wilson took into his own hands the management of this business by the appointment of his special and confidential agent, Mr. John Lind (the President's "personal spokesman and representative" in the regulation of the internal politics of Mexico), he made himself directly and personally responsible for all that has happened since that time. He opened Pandora's box when he dared to trample upon that elementary principle of the law of nations, which sternly forbids one State to intermeddle in the internal politics of another, by applying that grossly unlawful pressure that resulted in the deposition of the de facto President, Huerta, the only man capable of maintaining order, who had been actually recognized by Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, and Japan. It is almost incredible that an American President, claiming to be an upholder of the law of nations, should have dared to intermeddle with the internal politics of Mexico, not only by attempting to destroy its de facto ruler, recognized as de jure by many of the world powers, but by declaring that such ruler would not be permitted to be a candidate for the office of President at the election which Mr. Wilson demanded. As there is no precedent for such flagrant and insulting intermeddling in the internal politics of a friendly State, can we wonder at the Mexican hatred of Americans, which Mr. Wilson's unlawful conduct has so intensified?

After deposing Huerta, President Wilson recognized, in his place and stead, Gen. Carranza, who seems to revel in the destruction of American lives and property and in the pitiless persecution of the Catholic Church. I have had from the lips of one of the sufferers, a religious born in the South, a description of the conditions that have driven from their convents many nuns who were compelled to put on secular dress and to seek shelter in Catholic homes from outrages, too terrible for words, inflicted upon their associates. I have talked with an exiled Mexican bishop forced under the Carranza regime into hiding for months in humble abodes in order to save his life. Will Mr. Wilson's blindest partisan contend that any good thing has so far resulted from his unlawful and offensive intermeddling with the internal affairs of this friendly State? When our citizens have appealed to him for protection they have been told to fly for their lives; when they have asked him to obtain indemnity for their losses they have been comforted only by a vague and icy smile.

When the future historian undertakes to reduce to some kind of order Mr. Wilson's bewildering and fantastic performances in Mexico, he will be forced to confess that in one particular at least he has been brilliantly consistent—that whenever he has professed to do one thing he has invariably done the opposite. After a correct and ostentatious declaration that the Mexican people have the right to fight it out among themselves; that we have no right to intervene in their internal affairs, he set on foot two armed interventions, both of which have ended in pitifully lame and impotent conclusions. After the publication of a sound state paper setting forth the best of reasons why we should not sell arms and munitions to neighbors, actively engaged in disturbing our peace by cutting their own throats, he reversed himself by expressly authorizing what he had sternly condemned.

On July 10, 1915, a great American newspaper stated the case fairly when it said: "The only Mexican since Diaz able to keep order in Mexico City was Huerta. President Wilson declared a sort of personal war on him, with the armed forces of the United States. Mr. Wilson drove Señor Huerta out of Mexico and is now keeping him out, while permitting the other Mexican revolutionary leaders and plunderers to come and go freely. The export of ammunition to Mexico is permitted, then forbidden, then repermitted in spasmodic fits and starts." That "spasmodic fits and starts" policy represents the only contribution actually made by a nervous, fidgety, and irresolute opportunist, who has aggravated a difficult situation, first, by a wanton disregard of an elementary principle of international law; second, by the lack of that kind of consistency and force which a commanding President would have supplied.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND PRESIDENT WILSON CONTRASTED.

In the famous Venezuelan case, President Cleveland, backed by his great Secretary of State, Mr. Olney, demonstrated what a President of real moral dignity and authority could accomplish through unbending resolution, even against the greatest of the world powers, at a time when our military and naval unpreparedness was at its height. Diplomacy draws its strength not so much from the man behind the gun as from the man behind the pen, when that man, speaking not as a timid rhetorician but as the real mouthpiece of a great compelling Nation like our own, is known to be one who means what he says. Great Britain bowed at the critical time in question to our primacy in the New World, because Lord Salisbury knew that when President Cleveland put that high and inevitable construction on the Monroe doctrine, which Mr. Wilson is industriously striving to undermine, he was ready to maintain it even at the cost of our last dollar and our last man. President Cleveland never said once: "We are too proud to fight."

Since Mr. Wilson has forced an unwilling Congress to crown 95,000,000 of American citizens with a bitter national humiliation through the abject surrender of their sacred rights to the imperious demands of a mere handful, it is impossible not to recall the splendid courage of President Cleveland who, in 1894, with the great Richard Olney at his side as Attorney General, appealed under like circumstances to the courts, whose final judgment was recorded in the Debs case, in which the Supreme Court of the United States said: "The strong arm of the National Government may be put forth to brush away all obstructions to the freedom of interstate commerce or the transportation of the mails. If the emergency arises, the Army of the Nation and all its militia are at the service of the Nation to compel obedience to its laws." With the entire force and authority of the American people at his command, Mr. Wilson preferred to display upon his banner the now familiar device—"Surrender." Thus on Sunday morning last occurred the most abject moment in the life of this Republic when the chiefs of the four railroad brotherhoods, who had frightened and coerced the President of the

United States by a threat, put into his hand the four pens (their trophies of victory) with which he signed, as his act and deed, the fatal admission that the Government of this Nation, while in his keeping, had lost the right to think and act as a free agent!

"One hour of Grover Cleveland or Theodore Roosevelt would have settled the question," said Representative GILLETT, of Massachusetts, "but President Wilson listened to the voice of expediency and failed in his duty."

MR. CLEVELAND'S ESTIMATE OF MR. WILSON.

What a blessing it would be if we could have Mr. Cleveland now! But as we can not, we must be content to profit by his estimate, very carefully made, of the only Democrat who has occupied the White House since that time. For some years Mr. Cleveland lived at Princeton while Mr. Wilson was at the head of that institution, participating with him in its management. Thus he was able to study the president of Princeton at close range and to see him from every angle. In the light of such intimate knowledge the great ex-President made a very careful estimate of Mr. Wilson, which he deliberately expressed at Princeton in no vague or uncertain terms. I therefore appeal to every Cleveland Democrat to ascertain what that estimate was and to weigh it well before he consents to vote for the reelection of a man who solemnly pledged himself neither to seek nor accept a second term. By his bad faith in breaking the solemn "promises and covenants" contained in the platform upon which the people elected him; by his cold-blooded selfishness in building up a personal and political dictatorship upon the rules of the party that trusted him, Mr. Wilson has fully confirmed all that Mr. Cleveland said of him. It would be a sad commentary on human nature if such an unprecedented line of presidential conduct had not aroused in the minds of the real leaders of the Democratic Party, many of whom refused to attend "the cut-and-dried" St. Louis convention (the ripe fruit of Mr. Wilson's political dictatorship), a sense of indignation and revolt, which is only kept down by a noble spirit of loyalty and self-abnegation that impels them to believe that the future of the party might be injured by the dethroning at this critical moment of a leader whom they despise personally and distrust politically.

THE THINGS MR. WILSON STANDS FOR.

As Mr. Wilson was careful to define beforehand in books most of the political theories and vagaries he has put into practice since his elevation to the Presidency, it is very easy to epitomize precisely the things he now stands for. In the first place, he stands for the new and revolting political gospel which teaches that bad faith should be made the basis of American politics by dispensing the President of the United States from the performance of the solemn "promises and covenants" made by him to the people in party platforms; in the second, for the contention that the Presidency is "the true center of the Federal structure, the real throne of administration, and the frequent source of policies"; in the third, for the contention that "that high office [the Presidency] has fallen from its first estate of dignity because its power has waned, and its power has waned because the power of Congress has become predominant"; in the fourth, for the contention that the old condition of things should be restored by making the Congress a subordinate and dependent body, subject to the direction and control of the Executive; in the fifth, for the contention that "the King's speech" should be reestablished in the place of the presidential message, which the "aristocrat," the "philosophical radical," the "patron of the people," Jefferson, inaugurated; in the sixth, for the contention that the President should not mingle with the uninvited masses of the people at inaugural balls and New Year's Day receptions; in the seventh, for the contention that a Democratic President should be, ex officio, the political dictator of his party; in the eighth, for a timid and vacillating foreign policy based on the false and humiliating assumption that we are 'too proud to fight"; in the ninth, for the most stupendous annual appropriations ever made in the history of the American people.

The words of the Baltimore platform are these: "We denounce the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic Government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people." To that burning denunciation the Republican national committee has just made this laconic and crushing reply: "The total 'appropriations' of the last Republican Congress (two sessions) amounted to $2,054,000,000. The appropriations of this Congress (two sessions) will total at least $3,400,000,000. The increase in the appropriations due to preparedness is $390,000,000, which leaves an increase of $200,000,000 of actual appropriations over last session." Is it strange that in the presence of such a humiliation Mr. Wilson should have cried out in his speech of acceptance, just delivered in the summer palace at Shadow Lawn: "Boasting is always an empty business which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic Party has accomplished." Mr. Wilson has nothing to boast of but failures which surround us on every side, both at home and abroad, so far as his performances are concerned.

Is there any partisan of Mr. Wilson so blind or so uncandid as to deny that he has formally and solemnly committed himself to each of the nine propositions set forth above, either by his printed declarations or by his solemn public acts? If he is reelected, he will attempt, of course, to make such deadly and undemocratic theories the permanent bases of our national life. What kind of a Democrat, what kind of an American, who believes in government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," can conscientiously support a presidential candidate standing upon a platform composed of those nine propositions, which completely overthrow the famous trilogy which Mr. Lincoln proclaimed as the true basis of our national life? Under such conditions I deem it the duty of every patriotic American, no matter what his past political affiliations may have been, to give his earnest support to the candidacy of the Hon. Charles E. Hughes, a wise and patriotic statesman, whose life has been an open book and whose character for courage, candor, and faithfulness has never been impugned. At this particular juncture I believe that his views on the tariff should be as attractive to thoughtful Democrats as to Republicans, because the soundest of our economists and financiers believe that after the end of the present world war only the enforcement of such views can save us from a catastrophe. My personal admiration for and confidence in Mr. Hughes as a man add to my pleasure in assuring you that I deem it my duty to give him my humble and cordial support. Use my name as you may see fit in behalf of the candidacy of Mr. Hughes.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

**Issue of the Coming Campaign.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. CHARLES B. TIMBERLAKE,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress—the first session also in which I have been privileged to take part in the deliberations of this greatest of all popular legislative bodies—is rapidly drawing to a close. Each of us will go to give his constituents an account of his stewardship and will do his best to justify not only his individual acts, but also those of the party to which he bears allegiance. As to the discharge of the first of these responsibilities I will make incidental reference in the course of my remarks, but in the main it is my purpose to apply myself to a consideration of what the party in power has done, or has failed to do, so far as the interests of the Government and the people are concerned.

It is not easy to see how the Democratic spellbinders will justify the course of their party during the past three years. Its control of the Government since the 4th day of March, 1913, is marked by profligate extravagance in expenditures, by disregard of existing law, by flagrant indifference to party obligations as assumed in the Baltimore platform, by failure in fulfilling solemn promises to the people of the United States. It has sinned so greatly that its offenses are too numerous for the index.

When the Democratic Party came into power it found in the Treasury a rich surplus, which it converted into a deficit. It found a fiscal machinery producing a more than sufficient income for all the needs of the Government and immediately proceeded to upset it and substitute an abortive something that has reduced the revenues from imports to the lowest notch.

In my arraignment of the Democratic Party at the bar of public opinion I make this the first count, because I believe the tariff to be the overshadowing issue in the impending election campaign. It certainly is that in the State of Colorado, for the people of the district which I have the honor to represent here, and the people of the entire State have not forgotten the sugar-tariff legislation in the Underwood law. There are in my district 9 beet-sugar factories, and 17 all told in the State. The 25 cents reduction which went into effect in 1914 caused some of them to shut down, and all would have closed if sugar had gone on the free list in May of this year, as provided in the tariff act of October 3, 1913.

The sugar-beet farmers and the beet-sugar manufacturers of my State, as of Michigan and other States, can thank the war in Europe—that bloodiest of all slaughters in the history of the world—that they are not all commercially and financially ruined. If the beet-sugar exports from Germany had not been suspended because of the compulsory inactivity of the German merchant marine, the imports of sugar from that country would have made competition by American manufacturers impossible.

The Democratic Party has always been most vociferous in its protestations of affection for the farmers, but the very first thing it did was to put the big products of our farms on the free list. The cattle and corn of Argentina were brought into free competition with the cattle and corn of the Western and Southwestern States, and wheat from Canada and wheat flour from anywhere and everywhere were cordially invited by the Democratic tariff tinkers to enter the American market against the domestic products. Timber and lumber had proper protection in Republican tariffs, but the Democrats could not bear to see that American industry prosper, and so they put these, too, on the free list. I may be allowed to paraphrase a famous apostrophe thus: "Oh, tariff for revenue only, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

In my district—the best agricultural district in Colorado—there are large areas of irrigated land and a large semiarid territory especially adapted to dry farming, dairying, and stock raising, and where these interests are quite extensive. In so far as the Agricultural appropriation bill passed at this session fostered those interests I gave it my hearty support by speech and vote, and was really glad that there was one piece of Democratic legislation to which I could give unqualified assent. But, Mr. Speaker, the injury done by the Underwood tariff to the stock raisers of Colorado has not been condoned and will be remembered at the ides of November.

Colorado is rich in minerals. Copper, zinc, lead, and tungsten abound there. The largest tungsten deposits in this country are in Boulder County, in my district. Under the Payne-Aldrich law all these minerals had proper protection, but in the Underwood law the rates have all been cut and thereby the importation of the foreign article has been encouraged. Under the tariff of 1909 tungsten paid a duty of 25 per cent ad valorem. The Democrats cut the rate to 15 per cent. That it needs protection is apparent from the fact that nowithstanding the enormous demands by the warring nations for this metal more than 1,000,000 pounds per month is imported into the United States. Surely the people of Colorado are not to be blamed if they again range themselves under the banner of the party which has always given the right sort of consideration to their material interests.

However, I shall not dwell any longer on the wrongs which my State and district have suffered through Democratic legislation, but survey the larger field of national woes. In 1912 the Democrats went from one end of the land to the other and raised their favorite cry that the high cost of living was due to protective-tariff duties. They asserted—and unfortunately enough of the people believed what they said—that Democratic tariff legislation would be sure to bring down prices. The land would flow with milk and honey if only those pesky Republicans could be turned out. And it was done. Whereupon the Democrats constructed the tariff schedules with which the country is now burdened. Did prices come down? Not so that you could notice it. On the contrary, quite the reverse. Prices have kept on climbing up and up, until to-day the cost of living is higher than ever. I do not blame the Democrats for this condition, but what I do blame them for is for humbugging the people into false beliefs and getting into power under false pretenses.

There is one result, however, of these Democratic tariff vagaries, shown by the irrefutable evidence of official statistics, and that is that the revenues of the Government drawn from customs duties have steadily fallen off ever since the Underwood tariff law went into effect. The Sixty-third Congress took so much of the imports out of the dutiable list and put them into the free list that the imports of the latter have increased year after year. I am not going to indulge in any elaborate statistical exhibits, but just to illustrate my statement I will say that during the last three fiscal years of the Payne-Aldrich tariff—1911, 1912, and 1913—the free imports aggregated, in round numbers, $2,646,167,000, while in the last three fiscal years of the Underwood tariff—1914, 1915, and 1916—they footed up $3,653,693,000, or over a billion dollars more. In the same relative periods the dutiable imports under the Underwood tariff were $235,000,000 less than under the Payne-Aldrich tariff.

There is a sample of your vaunted Democratic tariff legislation. What would be thought of a merchant who would buy every year more of the goods on which he would lose money and less of the goods that would yield him a profit? Well, that is just what the Democrats did, and that is the reason why a Treasury deficit even in the first year of the Wilson administration was inevitable. But worse than that happened. Factories closed down; business failures increased; thousands of men were thrown out of employment; and the old Democratic trade-mark—soup house and bread line—was once more in evidence.

In the face of all this the Democratic administration—the President and all his Cabinet officers, at that end of the Avenue, and the Democratic Senators and Representatives at this end—have the "gall" to proclaim that prosperity reigns in the land. They point to the greatly augmented exports of the last two fiscal years and to the great trade balance in favor of the United States caused by this increase. I am going to puncture that prosperity bladder with just a pin prick of truth. I will show that this prosperity is of the hothouse variety; that it will not last beyond the duration of its one and only great cause—the war in Europe.

The Underwood tariff was a blight upon the country even before it had become a law. It did not create a single new industry, but it crippled many an existing one and gave the deathblow to others. The coming event did cast its shadow before. Months before the law went into effect capital was withdrawn from the market of enterprise; manufacturers curtailed their output; some concerns closed down altogether before the threatened flood of the cheap-labor products of Europe and the Far East. The opening of the year 1914—the first year in which the effects of the Wilson administration's activity were felt—was black with business depression everywhere.

Then, like a stroke of lightning from a clear sky, broke the awful war in which now 14 nations are arrayed against each other. The exporting power of Germany and her allies was laid low by the overpowering might of the British Navy, and the countries that had consumed her products had to look elsewhere.

Naturally all turned to the one great country whose producing power was not crippled. The United States was called upon to supply everything the belligerents needed in food, in clothing, but especially in arms, ammunition, and the articles that went into the manufacture of them. Exports of these things increased with leaps and bounds. To meet the extraordinary demand and reap the unusually large profits that went with it, existing factories in those specialties increased their plants, while others forsook their accustomed lines of manufacture and joined in the general scramble for foreign munition contracts. Labor found employment and at wages far beyond the ordinary. Naturally exports increased, and the balance of trade grew proportionately.

The Department of Commerce recently sent out a bulletin stating that the trade balance for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1916, was two thousand two hundred and seventy-three million dollars as against one thousand two hundred and twenty-five millions in 1915 and only four hundred and forty-three millions in 1914. It appears, however, from a careful analysis of the export statistics for 1916 that of the articles exported those directly required by the excessive needs of the European nations, belligerents as well as neutrals, represented an export value of two thousand one hundred and fifty million dollars. The excess of this over 1914, therefore, was one thousand seven hundred and seven millions. Deduct this from the one thousand eight hundred and thirty millions excess over 1914 shown by the figures of the department and there remain but one hundred and twenty-three millions increase during a period not to be compared with any other in the world's history.

It can be seen, then, at a glance that this prosperity will last, perhaps, as long as the war; no longer. No American in whom the love of mankind is alive will be sorry to see the end of a prosperity that is built up out of the ruin and misery of other nations, upon a holocaust such as now brings mourning into millions of families. Indeed, I can see it waning even now, for England and France have managed to bring their capacity for manufacturing arms and ammunition to the highest possible point of efficiency; Russia is rapidly doing the same; and Japan is aiding them all with large supplies of war material. I am not a prophet, but I will risk the prediction that the end of the current fiscal year will show a very considerable decrease in our trade balance.

After the war, then what? If the Democrats remain in control of the Government we will still be saddled with the Underwood tariff, although the present revenue bill, passed under the stress of expenditures greatly in excess of revenues, has established some sort of duty on dyestuffs, after the duty on sugar had been restored by former legislation. All the belligerent nations, England and her allies on the one hand, and Germany and her allies on the other, have entered into agreements which aim at nothing less than partitioning the markets of the world among themselves and flooding those markets with their goods made, as before, with much cheaper labor than can be had here or is wanted here.

Can the United States stand up under a competition such as that without a tariff strong enough to protect its industries? Can American wages be kept up and the American standard of living be maintained under such conditions? Will the American people by their votes perpetuate a tariff policy which robs every merchant of his customers and every farmer of the slender profits on his products? If they want real prosperity again to bless the land, if they would raise up effectual bars against the deluge of cheap labor products which will beat against our shores when Europe is again at peace, if they would have the country ready for the ruthless commercial war in which she must take part, then there is but one way to do it—send Mr. Wilson back to the classic shades of Princeton and the Democratic Party to the obscurity which it graces better than anything else that I can think of.

There is, however, another side to the picture. The Democratic platform of 1912 fairly reeked with declamations against alleged Republican extravagance, and all the Democratic spellbinders that went into the highways and byways howled the refrain. Likewise it was promised that with Democratic rule there should come genuine economy in all the affairs of the Government. Let us see how that promise has worked out. The Democratic textbook of 1910 had a comparison of the appropriations during the Cleveland administration from 1894 to 1897 with those of the four years (1907 to 1910) of the Roosevelt administration. For the former it gave $1,866,440,200; for the latter, $3,842,307,577.

In the Sixty-third Congress—1913 to 1915—the Democrats, as stated by Mr. FITZGERALD, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, on this floor on March 4, 1915, ran up a bill of $2,231,-239,546, the largest amount ever appropriated in two years. The appropriations for the first session of the present Congress will come close to $1,700,000,000. That makes nearly $4,000,-000,000 appropriated in three years, or about sixteen millions more than was appropriated during the four Roosevelt years. Add to this the probable appropriations during the next session of this Congress, beginning December, and there appears the unheard-of sum of something like five and one-half billion dollars.

This, mark you, is what Democrats understand to be economy. Republicans would call it shameful extravagance, even though an allowance be made to the extent of some $500,000,000 for the unusual expenditures necessitated on account of a larger Army establishment and a greater Navy. In this case, too, history has repeated itself, for the Democrats of 1916 have had recourse to a bond issue to meet current expenses, just as under the Cleveland administration there was a bond issue of $200,000,000 for the same purpose.

Some of these appropriations I supported by my vote, because they commended themselves to my judgment as being required for the proper development of the varied interests of the country; others I opposed. Thus I gave hearty concurrence to the Agricultural appropriation bill, because every dollar that promotes the farming interest is well spent. I voted for the preparedness measures, because I know the people of Colorado want to see their country ready for any emergency that may arise. While I supported the Lenroot amendment to the river and harbor bill, appropriating $20,000,000 for the proper care of improvements already begun, I voted against the bill as a misuse of the public money after the Lenroot amendment failed, because I do not believe in the "pork barrel." Rather reluctantly I gave my vote to the flood-control bill, because I believed that it does not deal with the problem in a way to accomplish the best results. In my opinion, flood control should begin at the upper reaches of a river and that the waters should be impounded and used in reclamation projects.

The shipping bill met my earnest opposition. I conceive that ownership of public utilities is utterly foreign to our scheme of Government. Not only do I believe that individual private enterprise can deal far better with subjects of this character, but I also know that the amount of $50,000,000 is entirely insufficient to make any impression in our favor in the world's ocean carrying trade. Instead of encouraging private enterprise this law will deter capital, for private capital will not enter upon the unequal contest of competition with the Government or Government-aided projects. For similar reasons I opposed the appropriation of $20,000,000 for a nitrate plant, as I considered the scheme to have been conceived in the interest of a private corporation.

The revenue bill did not get my vote. True, I favor an income tax properly levied, and I could vote conscientiously for a tax on the excess profits of war munitions manufacturers. In a general way, however, the bill violates my convictions as to how revenue for the Government should be raised. Also, while I am heartily in favor of a tariff commission, I do not want one created with a view to the perpetuation of Democratic tariff policies.

I now retrace my steps, Mr. Speaker, from more or less personal considerations to the contemplation of larger issues. And this contemplation is not a cheerful one, for it concerns what has been mistakenly, perhaps ironically, designated as the foreign policy of the Wilson administration. The domestic policies of the Democratic Party are in all conscience bad enough, but the foreign policy of which we have been witnesses for the last three years is something simply unspeakable. In the forefront stands poor Mexico. There has never been such a spectacle since we became a nation. In considering the Mexican situation it ought to be remembered that our neighbor Republic has always depended more or less upon the moral influence of the United States. It was that which caused Napoleon III to recall Bazaine and his 50,000 troops and leave poor, deluded Maximilian to his tragic fate. It was that which sustained Porfirio Diaz through the more than 30 years of his rule. It was that which virtually made and unmade Madero, and finally it was President Wilson's refusal to recognize Huerta which compelled the latter to quit.

This was the initial false step of President Wilson in regard to Mexico, for Huerta was the only strong man Mexico had at the time. Then followed a succession of disgraceful happenings, all the outgrowth of Mr. Wilson's miserable policy of "watchful waiting." When our flag was insulted at Vera Cruz we sent our warships there in a hurry to demand satisfaction by a salute from the Mexican Government to the Stars and Stripes. The salute did not materialize, and, though the guns of Admiral Fletcher's ships were trained upon the citadel, no shot was fired. We were "too proud to fight," even though 17 American lives had been sacrificed.

Mr. Wilson knew that he was dealing with a people four-fifths of whom were illiterates and little better than savages. If he had been animated by the altruism which he professes on every occasion he would have taken some steps to restore affairs in Mexico to an orderly basis. Instead of that he first dickered with Villa and then with Carranza, meanwhile permitting shipments of arms and ammunition and dynamite to go across the border to be used most effectively against American soldiers some months later.

Then came the latest flare-up. Villa, moved to contempt of the American Government, raided Columbus, killed some of the inhabitants, got a lot of loot, and escaped across the border. Troops were rushed to the Rio Grande from all parts of the country; a so-called punitive expedition was sent into Mexico—which, by the way, is now being withdrawn, although nobody has been punished—the National Guard was called out and sent down there, and then "the mountain labored and brought forth the ridiculous mouse" in the form of a mixed commission which is going to bring about a modus vivendi, or something equally as good. Can anybody conceive that such a muddle could have been brought about under a Republican President?

No less unfruitful has been the alleged foreign policy as applied in the dealings with the belligerent nations of Europe. Outrage upon American citizens and property succeeded outrage, first by one of the combatants and then by another, and they were met by the State Department, under the direction of President Wilson, with diplomatic notes, the majority of which made little or no impression upon the offenders. The fact is—and it may just as well be realized by our people now as later on—that the foreign policy, always so called, of this administration has caused the United States to be cordially disliked by almost every foreign nation. If our ambassadors, ministers, and consuls were permitted to say what they know they would tell the American people that the United States has not a friend among the nations of Europe.

Nothing could be further from my thoughts than to make a sectional issue, at least so far as that term used to be understood. But I can not forbear to call attention to the fact that in nearly all legislative enactments in which different sections of the country had contending interests the Southern States have almost invariably had the better of it. The cause of this discrimination may be discovered in the circumstance that of 58 committees of this House 40 are presided over by men from the South or politically affiliated with that section, and the same is true, though in a somewhat less degree, of the Senate, where 31 out of 75 committees have southern Senators as their chairmen.

The Democratic platform of 1912 had something in it about the civil service. It said:

> The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rightly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service rendered to a political party.

Some time ago the slogan was "Public office is a public trust," but evidently under the present administration this has been changed into "Public office is a private graft," for never since civil-service reform laws were first put upon the statute books has there been such persistently mischievous paltering in the application of them. By direction as well as by indirection has the civil service of the Government been debauched by appointments the beneficiaries of which were not required to undergo the examinations required by law.

It is a notorious fact that in the face of protests entered by the Civil Service Commission the rules governing appointments were suspended in hundreds, if not thousands, of cases by Executive order, and men and women were placed in positions which were subsequently covered into the classified service so as to make the appointees safe against arbitrary removal. But the disregard of the civil-service principle was carried even further and shown more flagrantly in the acts of the Democratic Congress. I will cite just a few of the more glaring of these transgressions.

On June 23, 1913, technical services in the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department—the office in which all the plans for public buildings throughout the country are prepared—were exempted from the classified service. On October 3, 1913, agents, deputy collectors of internal revenue, inspectors, and other employees in connection with the income tax were exempted from the civil-service rules. Employees under the Federal reserve act were not included in the civil-service regulations. Commercial attachés, appointees under the

Department of Commerce, were exempted from the regulations of the merit system. The act creating the Federal Trade Commission exempted a long list of employees from these regulations. The same is true in a large measure as to appointments under the rural-credit act. And here is another nut to crack. Representative Good, of Iowa, a member of the Committee on Appropriations, is authority for the statement that the Democrats have created at least 30,000 new positions at an annual cost to the country of over $36,000,000.

Not the least reprehensible feature of this business is that in a number of instances the legislation was rushed through as "riders" on appropriation bills. This vicious method of legislating has been resorted to by the Democrats whenever they had some pet scheme which they did not want to subject to the rigid scrutiny of the opposition, and of the passage of which, by ordinary and orderly procedure, they had serious doubts. No censure of these methods can be too severe. They are against public policy and mischievous in the extreme.

Last, but not least, in my schedule of indictments is this one against the President, that he has assumed the rôle of dictator in his dealings with the Congress. He has been the boss of bosses. There used to be a good deal of talk of Roosevelt's "big stick." Why, my friends, compared with the Wilson schoolmaster's rod that stick was as feeble as a straw. A noteworthy fact in this connection is this: That the psychological processes of the presidential mind were subject to such sudden changes that the things which on one day the Congress had been ordered to do, it was commanded to undo the next. And the worst of it all is that the Democratic Congress has been pitifully, weakly subservient to its master. I make the assertion—and I challenge contradiction—that there has never from the days of Washington until now been any such arrogant dictation on the part of the Executive toward the lawmaking body of the Nation.

It is impossible to believe that a party which has so betrayed its trust is going to be allowed by the people to remain in control of the Government. The differences which for a while caused dissensions in the Republican Party have been transmuted into cordial harmony. With the utmost confidence do I look forward to the 4th day of March, 1917, when Charles Evans Hughes will take the oath of office as President of the United States, and with him there will come a Republican Senate and a Republican House of Representatives.

## National Legislation and Work of Congress.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CHARLES O. LOBECK,
OF NEBRASKA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. LOBECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks by inserting a speech of the Hon. John A. Maguire, Member from Nebraska in the Sixty-first, Sixty-second, and Sixty-third Congresses, in relation to the work in Congress and his experience here. I thank the Speaker and the Members of Congress for the privilege of inserting this speech in the RECORD, for it covers in a very complete manner the work of Congress, telling how the fathers of the Nation provided for a Congress consisting of two branches, the Senate and the House, time and place where Congress meets, how the records are kept, the rules of the House, when bills are brought up for discussion—in fact, take it all in all, it is one of the best speeches that I have had the pleasure to read relative to the work of Congress, the duties of Congressmen, and the manner by which the people of the Nation are brought into close contact with the work of the Government.

Mr. Maguire, with whom I had the pleasure to serve in the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses, was one of the most industrious and popular Members of the House while here, and a man who served his constituents constantly and faithfully, and it affords me pleasure to have this excellent address which contains so much valuable information printed in the RECORD.

The address is as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN A. MAGUIRE.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND CONGRESS—A COURSE IN CIVICS FOR STUDENTS OF THE LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL.

Under the Federal Constitution the legislative power of the National Government is vested in Congress. In the Government which preceded our constitutional period the legislative power was vested in the Continental Congress, which consisted of one body. The great men who drew up our present Constitution wisely provided that Congress should consist of the Senate and the House of Representatives, with powers both concurrent and exclusive. As the Federal Government itself is one of limited and delegated powers, so the legislative branch, or the Congress, has limited and specific jurisdiction over certain matters and general and absolute jurisdiction over other matters, as provided in the Constitution of the United States. Although the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government are independent of each other, still they are coordinate, and each, acting within its own sphere, may check or develop the constitutional functions of government.

SENATE AND HOUSE.

In the Capitol Building, at Washington, Congress meets in annual session on the first Monday in December and in extraordinary session when called by the Executive. The Senate occupies the north wing and the House of Representatives the south wing of the Capitol.

In the Senate there are 96 Members, elected by direct vote of the people in the various States, and each State is entitled to two Senators. Before the adoption of the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution, the State legislatures elected the Senators. The Senate is a continuous body, and each Senator is elected for a term of six years.

In the House of Representatives there are 435 Members, elected by the people for a term of two years. The States are divided into congressional districts, each district elects one representative, and if the population of the State justifies more, they may be elected at large—e. g., Illinois has 25 and 2 at large. The Territories of Alaska and Hawaii have one Delegate each, Philippine Islands has two Resident Commissioners, and Porto Rico one Resident Commissioner.

It may be said in connection with the election of both Senators and Representatives that there is a Federal law limiting campaign contributions and expenditures, and in most of the States corrupt-practices acts supplement the Federal law.

RULES—RECORD.

Each House adopts its own rules of procedure and parliamentary practice, which may be changed or amended at the pleasure of the respective bodies. In recent years a very radical change was made in the House rules, the effect of which, briefly, was to take away the power of appointing all the standing committees of the House from the Speaker and place it in the hands of the Ways and Means Committee, which is the ranking committee, and is itself appointed by the House. The rules of the Senate have become more permanent and have resisted successfully nearly every attempt at change.

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, printed and published daily, contains the verbatim account of all debates and votes in both Senate and House. Each body also keeps a Journal of its proceedings.

HOUSE POPULAR BRANCH.

The House of Representatives is the popular branch, and its membership and control may change every two years. As the business of the country has grown, the work of Congress has steadily increased, and the time will soon come, if not now at hand, when Congress will find it necessary to sit in continuous session to attend to the great volume of public business.

The theory of our Government recognizes the right of the majority to rule, and therefore we have a system of party government. The two Houses of Congress have frequently been in control of different political parties—e. g., in the Sixty-second Congress the House was in control of the Democrats and the Senate in control of the Republicans and the administration was Republican. This condition results in divided responsibility, and often important measures or policies fail because of partisan strife.

In essential features of a legislative body, the two Houses of Congress are not different from the State legislature of any of our States. At the beginning of each new Congress the House elects a Speaker and other officers. Under present rules the Speaker, although a Member and can debate and vote on any and all questions, is otherwise merely a presiding officer. Until recently the Speaker represented and used as its leader the power of the party majority.

MAJORITY, MINORITY, AND COMMITTEES.

The majority and minority leaders are chosen by their respective parties by caucus. The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House becomes majority leader, according to precedent. All the standing committees of the House, under present rules, are nominated by the Ways and Means Committee and formally appointed by the House. In selecting

the members of committees, however, the chairmanship and a majority of the membership are given to the majority party in control. The rights of the minority are recognized under the rules of the House and respected on the floor.

BILLS, RESOLUTIONS—COMMITTEES.

All legislation is initiated by the introduction of bills, which are referred to one of the several committees for consideration and such action as they choose to take. If favorable action is taken by the committee, the bill is reported back to the House, usually accompanied by a written report, and the bill is placed upon its proper calendar and waits its turn to be called up for consideration. The printed daily calendar guides the House as to all bills pending as having been acted upon by some committee. In order to facilitate the business of the House certain days of the week are devoted to special groups of bills. The alternate Mondays are known as unanimous-consent days, and bills on the Unanimous Consent Calendar may be called up on Monday, but upon objection by any Member the bill can not be considered that day. The other Mondays are known as District of Columbia days, when legislation pertaining to the District of Columbia is considered. Fridays are given to pensions and private bills, and Wednesdays are Calendar Wednesdays, when the committees are called in order for any bills ready for consideration. Other days are given to appropriation bills and administration measures or other general bills. When appropriation bills are up the House resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole and general debate is agreed upon, and then the bill is read by sections and paragraphs for amendments and further debate under the five-minute rule. In this way dry speeches are made and much useless debate, which goes into the overburdened RECORD. When the bill is perfected in the Committee of the Whole it is reported back to the House, and a vote taken, either viva voce or by yea-and-nay vote. Only yea-and-nay votes appear in the RECORD.

CAUCUS—FILIBUSTER—LOBBY.

In connection with legislative bodies, and especially Congress, there are three familiar phrases which might properly be given some attention here. These are the caucus, the filibuster, and the lobby.

Both the caucus and the filibuster concern directly the Members, while the lobby is an outside influence. The caucus is a product of party government and may or may not serve a useful and proper purpose. If public servants go into secret caucus and there bind their own actions and consciences, even against the interests of the public and of their constituents, then the caucus is a vicious thing. But if, on the other hand, a caucus or conference is held to determine how a party by united action can best carry out its pledges made to the people, and such caucus does not attempt to bind public servants against their own sense of duty, then the caucus may serve a proper and useful end. Take, for example, the demand for rural-credits legislation. No two Members of Congress agree upon just what sort of bill is best. There are nearly as many different bills on rural credits as there are Members of the House. Now, without some surrender of individual views and compromise rural-credits legislation will fail. If the party charged with the responsibility for passing such legislation can meet and reach a substantial agreement in caucus on the best possible measure, then by united action the rural-credits legislation will be passed, pledges redeemed, and the interests of the people served.

The filibuster is resorted to in legislative bodies by those who oppose or want to obstruct certain legislation. Rarely does the filibuster serve any useful purpose. Its common method is by Members getting the floor and keeping it by long and irrelevant speeches or by roll calls and parliamentary tactics to delay and obstruct the regular order of procedure. The House, by its rules, makes filibuster practically impossible, but the Senate is the stronghold of the practice and seems helpless to prevent it because of the long-standing custom of unlimited debate in the Senate.

The lobby is a creature of selfishness and special privilege which persistently seeks its own as against the public welfare in securing or preventing legislation. The insidious lobby uses any means from bribery to blackmail and libel to browbeat or cajole public men. The milder and more seductive method of the lobby is to establish a press bureau to control or influence public opinion or direct local sentiment or to stir up a propaganda of letter writing and telegrams, urging this or protesting against that. Still more effective has been the method to win over the particular committee which has their special legislation under consideration. Nothing is too good for such a committee—big dinners and banquets, free junketing trips, contributions to their campaigns for reelection, and so forth.

There is, of course, a wide distinction between the professional, paid lobbyist and the citizen who writes to his Congressman giving his own views on any public question, or the individual who goes to Washington to appear before a committee to testify at a public hearing on any bill or resolution in which he or his people are interested.

LAWS—PRIVATE AND PUBLIC.

It may be said that all legislation in Congress falls into one of three groups, viz, that which is national or public in its nature and effect, that which is local and private in effect, and that which is applicable to the District of Columbia. Examples of the legislation which is of national importance are the tariff laws, currency laws, all of the so-called administration measures, affecting agriculture, rural credits, conservation, homesteads, water power, merchant marine, the judiciary, the Army, the Navy, and a great many other matters of more or less national importance. All these questions occupy by far the greater part of the time of the committees and of Congress. Public legislation of a local nature covers the authorization for construction of bridges over navigable streams, purchase of sites and construction of post-office and other public buildings, erection of monuments, and so forth. Legislation of a private nature includes granting by special bills pensions and increase in pensions, relief bills for injuries received in Government service, correcting military records, claims against the Government, claims for stolen Government property, such as postage stamps, and so forth; claims for taxes and duties collected through error or without authority of law, and so forth. And finally legislation affecting primarily the District of Columbia comes within the power and duty of Congress. All of the governmental functions for the city of Washington and the District of Columbia must be based on direct action of Congress or by general congressional authority given the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. Not even a street extension can be made without an act of Congress.

All legislation, whether public or private, originates in the form of a bill or resolution introduced in either the House or Senate. In the House the bills are designated as "H. R." and are numbered consecutively from 1 on during the entire Congress of two years. In the Senate the bills are designated as "S." and numbered in similar manner. Then there are simple House and Senate resolutions, designated by "H. Res." and "S. Res." Also, concurrent resolutions, designated "H. Con. Res." and "S. Con. Res."; and finally joint resolutions, designated "H. J. Res." and "S. J. Res.," numbered by Congresses during two years. All bills except bills for raising revenue, which must originate in the House of Representatives, as provided in the Constitution, may originate in either House of Congress, and before becoming law must pass both Houses and receive the approval of the President, or pass over his veto by a two-thirds vote of each House. Appropriation bills, through custom, originate like revenue bills in the House.

Simple resolutions, to be effective, require only agreement of the House, if a House resolution, and of the Senate, if a Senate resolution. The concurrent resolutions, when agreed to in both Houses, become effective, but in case of simple resolutions they do not become statutory in the sense that bills and joint resolutions do. Joint resolutions require the approval of the President and become public resolutions and are found in the statutes. The one exception among the joint resolutions is one proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which does not require approval by the President, and which becomes effective upon passage in each House by two-thirds vote. The total number of bills and resolutions introduced last Congress was as follows:

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| House bills in the Sixty-third Congress | 21,616 |
| House resolutions in the Sixty-third Congress | 753 |
| House concurrent resolutions in the Sixty-third Congress | 61 |
| House joint resolutions in the Sixty-third Congress | 441 |
| Senate bills in the Sixty-third Congress | 7,751 |
| Senate resolutions in the Sixty-third Congress | 574 |
| Senate concurrent resolutions in the Sixty-third Congress | 38 |
| Senate joint resolutions in the Sixty-third Congress | 245 |
| Total bills and resolutions | 31,479 |
| Total public laws and public resolutions | 417 |
| Total private laws and private resolutions | 283 |
| Total | 700 |

DUTIES OF CONGRESSMAN.

Space will not permit of further discussion on the general work of Congress, but it seems to me pertinent that something should be said touching the relation of a Representative or Senator in Congress to his district and to his constituents. A very able and prominent American has said that a public man must not only strive to become a statesman, but he must also keep

sufficiently in touch with his constituents that his opportunities may continue. A public servant who tries to be of the greatest service to his country and his constituents will find that he is a very busy man. It is a great honor to be in Congress, but that honor carries with it very many and arduous duties.

The daily sessions of the House or Senate begin at noon and often earlier and continue until 5 or 6 or even late into the night. Contrary to public opinion, oratory plays very little substantial part in the practical work of legislation. Constant, industrious efforts are called into play and accurate knowledge and experience and personal influence of the Members contribute far more than smooth speech to the perfecting of intricate matters of legislation. A vote for or against the scores of amendments that may be offered to a bill may be just as important as a vote on the passage of the bill itself.

One of the greatest burdens, as well as a most important part of congressional service, is work upon the several committees. Each member is expected to serve on one or more of these committees according to his assignments. The work is looked upon by many as drudgery and requires long tedious hours for days and weeks of careful painstaking scrutiny of all bills before the committees for action. Especially the great appropriation bills involve weeks of hearings and a mass of testimony in the preparation of the supply bills for our great Government. The importance of committee work is apparent when it is known that the very best, first-hand information is available to the committees and the actual legislation is made or unmade when the committee reports its bill to the House or Senate. In passing upon the work of the committees, the House or Senate rarely departs in the main from the bill as drafted in committee. The committees of Congress, when they do their work fearlessly, conscientiously, and thoroughly, form a great bulwark between the interests of all the people and the legislative body proper, which might otherwise act hastily or without full information.

Another great and important part of a Congressman's service comes through his opportunity to keep in close touch with all the Government departments and seek to bring the results and benefits of their research, scientific, and experimental work directly to his people in the various States.

BRINGING THE GOVERNMENT NEAR THE PEOPLE.

Our Government is a great business concern, with departments and bureaus to meet the growing needs of a great Nation. Every State and every district can and should participate in the work of the Central Government for the greatest prosperity and welfare of our people. From my own experience I might mention a number of lines of activity in which the Federal Government aids directly or cooperates with the States.

In Lincoln we have a post-office building and a new addition now nearing completion. The agricultural college and experiment station bring to the attention of the farming industry in a practical way much of the work of the Department of Agriculture, and the distribution of Farmers' Bulletins brings into the homes free a library of valuable information. Not only the Post Office and Railway Mail Service but the local land office, Weather Bureau, Public Health Service, are all Federal agencies benefiting directly the people of each community.

The Government also cooperates with the States and counties through the Bureau of Animal Industry, corn investigations, soil surveys, topographic surveys, drainage, reclamation, hog-cholera eradication, and good roads. Nor does the Government neglect to help the business interests of the country. Government publications are sent free on cotton production and distribution, commerce reports, tide tables, trade directory, export trade to South America, labor statistics, weekly news letter of Department of Agriculture, radio service, weather and crop service, postal savings banks, and recently the Federal Reserve Bank System.

A Congressman's troubles are not all over when he has attended to his legislative and departmental duties. His office is always a busy workshop, and the vast amount of correspondence to which he must devote his personal attention grows into very large proportions and increases with his service in public life. A very large amount of office work is in the nature of individual requests and must receive careful attention, whether they be of great importance or not.

Hearing from home and trying to determine the sentiment of the constituents on the matters of special interest offers one of the difficulties for a Representative in Congress. In his effort to reflect the predominant sentiment at home a public man must beware of artificial sentiment manufactured by propaganda. The spontaneous views of unbiased people with knowledge of all the facts might well serve a wholesome purpose in determining the course a public man ought to pursue when he is in doubt as to his duty.

## Forecasting the Election of Woodrow Wilson in the Coming Elections.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include an editorial from to-day's Washington Post, the leading—politically independent—paper published in this city, whose editorial writer never strains his conscience to write anything in praise of a Democratic administration.

The editorial is as follows, namely:

A MEMORABLE SESSION.

From December 6, 1915, to September 8, 1916, the period covered by the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, events moved rapidly at home and abroad. These seven months are crowded with historical developments, some of them the outcome of impulses begun years ago and others serving as impulses that will profoundly affect the future. Congress has been both radical and conservative, gratifying and disappointing. It has transacted an enormous amount of work, with no more lost motion or looseness of tongue than other Congresses. Its attitude toward world affairs has been extremely conservative. It has kept its temper and its peace in the face of great provocation, and doubtless few Members now regret that foreign relations were left in the hands of the President.

If Congress had done nothing else than enact the national-defense bills, it would have earned public approval. In this legislation Congress measured up to the great national assemblies of the past, faithfully reflecting the true spirit of American independence and determination to guard American liberty. Courage and clear vision were displayed by both bodies in providing for a strong, modern Navy and a satisfactory Army, with accompanying facilities and means for securing effectiveness.

The catalogue of legislation enacted during the session is long. Some of the laws are good, and others are better. For better or worse, the session goes into history, and the two political parties line up for or against the record in a battle royal for control of the Government. The people will pass upon the individuals and the parties.

The Post extends its congratulations to Senators and Representatives for the work performed. It wishes them a pleasant vacation and good fortune in November, and will cordially welcome them next winter, whether they have won or lost.

The same paper, in an adjoining column to that just quoted, editorially approves the action of the Democratic conferees in their report on the revenue bill which passed both Houses of Congress last night, and says:

THE PHELAN AMENDMENT.

The conferees on the revenue bill evidently had no regard for public sentiment when they struck out Senator PHELAN'S amendment denying the use of the mail, telegraph, express, wireless, and cable facilities to the citizens of countries which deny or abridge similar facilities to American citizens. The passage of this amendment by the Senate was instantly approved by the public, which has waited long and patiently for some relief from the unwarranted interference with oceanic mails, the abuse of military censorship, cable espionage, etc.

It is said that the conferees based their action upon the fear that American citizens abroad would be subjected to still greater injury if a policy of retaliation should be authorized. But this argument, if it is valid at all, applies with still greater force to the other retaliatory provisions which the conferees suffered to remain in the bill. If injury to American citizens is feared there should be no retaliation of any kind or nature against any offending nation, for all of them are capable of further acts of injustice to American interests. This country for more than two years has tried the policy of nonresistance and mild expostulation, with ever-increasing encroachment upon American rights as the only visible result. Protests mean nothing whatever, unless supported by the power to retaliate in some manner that will make it unprofitable for foreign nations to violate American rights.

The mere power to retaliate, accompanied by notice that it would be exercised if necessary, would be sufficient to bring relief. The belligerents will go as far as they can in trampling upon neutrals' rights. They will stop when they find it is unwise to go further. Having found that the United States was powerless to retaliate, the belligerents have not hesitated to commit acts which in normal times would be classed as grossly unfriendly, if not deliberate incitements to war. Now, if Congress makes known the fact that it fears to authorize retaliation, the aggressions of belligerents will be redoubled.

President Wilson may be safely entrusted with the power of retaliation against any kind of interference with American interests and rights. He would not use this power in all its rigor any more than the belligerents go to extreme limits of aggression. The knowledge that he had been provided with a powerful defensive weapon would be sufficient to make his protests effective.

Mr. Speaker, it is well known that the great body of silent independent voters in this country decide all elections, and if we are to judge in advance the result of the coming fall election—from the above editorials of that great paper—Woodrow Wilson will be chosen to succeed himself as President of these United States.

**The 640-Acre Stock-Raising Homestead Bill—Why Final Action Failed to be Taken Upon the Bill Before Adjournment of the Session.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

# HON. PATRICK D. NORTON,
OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a few words to make clear why final action was not taken before the adjournment of this session this morning on House bill 407, being the bill entitled "An act to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes." During the past three years I have been deeply interested in having enacted into law legislation such as proposed in this bill. Since the beginning of this Congress my closest attention has been given to this bill and my best efforts have been employed to secure favorable and final consideration of the bill before the close of the session. The legislation provided for in this bill will, when placed upon our statute books, result in placing new settlers and desirable farm home builders upon practically all the unappropriated Government lands in western North Dakota and in western South Dakota and upon large areas of Government lands in other western States.

The bill was passed by the House on the 16th day of last January, and on the 20th of January was referred in the Senate to the Senate Committee on Public Lands.

Much opposition to the bill was encountered in the Senate, and for a long time the friends of the measure despaired of getting favorable action upon it at the other end of the Capitol.

This morning the friends of the bill in the Senate were finally able to have it called up and considered and passed with the amendments recommended by the Senate Committee on Public Lands. The bill, with the Senate amendments, was returned to the House at 10 minutes after 9 o'clock, less than an hour before the time set for the final adjournment of the Senate. At the moment the bill reached the House from the Senate this morning myself and other friends of the bill in the House immediately considered the possibilities of having the amendments of the Senate agreed to in the House and the bill enrolled and signed by the President before 10 o'clock, the time set for adjournment. Our investigations and inquiries disclosed that it would be physically impossible for the enrolling clerks to enroll the bill as amended by the Senate and prepare it for the President's signature before the hour for adjournment. Accordingly it has been necessary for the House to let the bill go over for consideration until the next session of the Congress in December. I wish to say in conclusion that I am hopeful that at an early day in the next session of the Congress favorable and final action will be taken upon this meritorious measure in the House and that it will be then sent to the President for his approval. The following is the bill as passed by the Senate. New provisions added to the bill by the Senate are shown in italics. Matter in brackets are those portions of the House bill that were stricken out by Senate amendments.

An act (H. R. 407) to provide for stock-raising homesteads, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act it shall be lawful for any person qualified to make entry under the homestead laws of the United States to make a stock-raising homestead entry for not exceeding 640 acres of unappropriated unreserved public land in reasonably compact form: *Provided, however*, That the land so entered shall theretofore have been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as "stock-raising lands."

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, on application or otherwise, to designate as stock-raising lands subject to entry under this act lands the surface of which is, in his opinion, chiefly valuable for grazing and raising forage crops, do not contain merchantable timber, are not susceptible of irrigation from any known source of water supply, and are of such character that 640 acres are reasonably required for the support of a family: *Provided*, That where any person qualified to make original or additional entry under the provisions of this act shall make application to enter any unappropriated public land which has not been designated as subject to entry (provided said application is accompanied and supported by properly corroborated affidavit of the applicant, in duplicate, showing prima facie that the land applied for is of the character contemplated by this act), such application, together with the regular fees and commissions, shall be received by the register and receiver of the land district in which said land is located and suspended until it shall have been determined by the Secretary of the Interior whether said land is actually of that character. That during such suspension the land described in the application shall not be disposed of; and if the said land shall be designated under this act, then such application shall be allowed; otherwise it shall be rejected, subject to appeal.

SEC. 3. That any qualified homestead entryman may make entry under the homestead laws of lands so designated by the Secretary of the Interior, according to legal subdivisions, in areas not exceeding 640 acres, and in compact form so far as may be subject to the provisions of this act, and secure title thereto by compliance with the terms of the homestead laws: *Provided*, That a former homestead entry of land of the character described in section 2 hereof shall not be a bar to the entry of a tract within a radius of 20 miles from such former entry under the provisions of this act [subject to the requirements of law as to residence and improvements], which, together with the former entry, shall not exceed 640 acres: *Provided further, That the entryman shall be required to enter all contiguous areas open to entry prior to the entry of any noncontiguous land: Provided further*, That instead of *residence and* cultivation as required by the homestead laws the entryman shall be required to make permanent improvements upon the *additional* land entered before final proof is submitted tending to increase the value of the same for stock-raising purposes, of the value of not less than $1.25 per acre, and at least one-half of such improvements shall be placed upon the land within three years after the date of entry thereof.

SEC. 4. That any homestead entryman [of lands of the character herein described,] who has not submitted final proof upon his existing entry, shall have the right to enter, subject to the provisions of this act, such amount of contiguous lands designated for entry under the provisions of this act as shall not, together with the amount embraced in his original entry, exceed 640 acres, and residence upon the original entry shall be credited on both entries, but improvements must be made on the additional entry equal to $1.25 for each acre thereof.

SEC. 5. That persons who have submitted final proof upon, or received patent for, lands [of the character herein described] under the homestead laws, and who own and reside upon the land so acquired, may, subject to the provisions of this act, make additional entry for and obtain patent to contiguous lands designated for entry under the provisions of this act, which, together with the area theretofore acquired under the homestead law, shall not exceed 640 acres, on proof of the expenditure required by this act on account of permanent improvements upon the additional entry.

SEC. 6. That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of 21 years and is a citizen of the United States, who has entered or acquired under the homestead laws, prior to the passage [hereof] *of this act*, lands of the character described in this act, the area of which is less than 640 acres, and who is unable to exercise the right of additional entry herein conferred because no lands subject to entry under this act adjoin the tract so entered or acquired or lie within the 20-mile limit provided for in this act, may, upon submitting proof that he resides upon and has not sold the land so entered or acquired and against which land there are no encumbrances, relinquish or reconvey to the United States the land so occupied, entered, or acquired, and in lieu thereof, within the same land-office district, may enter and acquire title to 640 acres of the land subject to entry under this act, but must show compliance with all the provisions of this act respecting the new entry and with all the provisions of existing homestead laws except as modified herein [:*Provided*, That the lands so relinquished or reconveyed as herein provided shall thereafter be subject to disposition only on such terms and under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe].

SEC. 7. That the commutation provisions of the homestead laws shall not apply to any entries made under this act.

SEC. 8. That any homestead entrymen or patentees who shall be entitled to additional entry under this act shall have, for 90 days after the designation of lands subject to entry under the provisions of this act and contiguous to those entered or owned and occupied by him, the preferential right to make additional entry as provided in this act: *Provided*, That where such lands contiguous to the lands of two or more entrymen or patentees entitled to additional entries under this section are not sufficient in area to enable such entrymen to secure by additional entry the maximum amounts to which they are entitled, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to make an equitable division of the lands among the several entrymen or patentees, applying to exercise preferential rights, such division to be in tracts of not less than 40 acres, or other legal subdivision, and so made as to equalize as nearly as possible the area which such entrymen and patentees will acquire by adding the tracts embraced in additional entries to the lands originally held or owned by them: *Provided further*, That where but one such tract of vacant land may adjoin the lands of two or more entrymen or patentees entitled to exercise preferential right hereunder, the tract in question may be entered by the person who first submits to the local land office his application to exercise said preferential right.

SEC. 9. That any person who has heretofore acquired title to land [of the character designated in this act] under any of the homestead laws of the United States and who is the owner and occupant of the land so acquired may purchase from the United States not exceeding 320 acres of stock-raising lands, as designated by this act, or unappropriated and unreserved lands valuable only for grazing contiguous to his said homestead, upon paying to the United States the sum of $1.25 per acre for such lands, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, which said land, together with the area theretofore acquired under the homestead laws, shall not exceed 640 acres.

SEC. 10. That all entries made and patents issued under the provisions of this act shall be subject to and contain a reservation to the United States of all the coal and other minerals in the lands so entered and patented, together with the right to prospect for, mine, and remove the same. The coal and other mineral deposits in such lands shall be subject to disposal by the United States in accordance with the provisions of the coal and mineral land laws in force at the time of such disposal. Any person qualified to locate and enter the coal or other mineral deposits, or having the right to mine and remove the same under the laws of the United States, shall have the right at all times to enter upon the lands entered or patented, as provided by this act, for the purpose of prospecting for coal or other mineral therein, provided he shall not injure, damage, or destroy the permanent improvements of the entryman or patentee, and shall be liable to and shall compensate the entryman or patentee for all damages to the crops on such lands by reason of such prospecting. Any person who has acquired from the United States the coal or other mineral deposits in any such land, or the right to mine and remove the same, may reenter and occupy so much of the surface thereof as may be required for all purposes reasonably incident to the mining or removal of the coal or other minerals, first, upon securing the written consent or waiver of the homestead entryman or patentee; second, upon payment of the damages to crops or other tangible improvements to the

owner thereof, where agreement may be had as to the amount thereof; or, third, in lieu of either of the foregoing provisions, upon the execution of a good and sufficient bond or undertaking to the United States for the use and benefit of the entryman or owner of the land, to secure the payment of such damages to the crops or tangible improvements of the entryman or owner, as may be determined and fixed in an action brought upon the bond or undertaking in a court of competent jurisdiction against the principal and sureties thereon, such bond or undertaking to be in form and in accordance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and to be filed with and approved by the register and receiver of the local land office of the district wherein the land is situate, subject to appeal to the Commissioner of the General Land Office: *Provided*, That all patents issued for the coal or other mineral deposits herein reserved shall contain appropriate notations declaring them to be subject to the provisions of this act with reference to the disposition, occupancy, and use of the land as permitted to an entryman under this act.

SEC. 11. That lands containing water holes or other bodies of water needed or used by the public for watering purposes shall not be designated under this act but may be reserved under the provisions of the act of June 25, 1910, and such lands heretofore or hereafter reserved shall, *while so reserved*, be kept and held open to the public use for such purposes under such general rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *Provided*, That the Secretary may, in his discretion, [designate as stock driveways and withhold from entry under this act lands not over one-fourth mile in width needed for use in movement of stock to summer and winter ranges or to shipping points] *also withdraw from entry lands necessary to insure access by the public to watering places reserved hereunder and needed for use in the movement of stock to summer and winter ranges, or to shipping points, and may prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the proper administration and use of such lands.*

SEC. 12. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to make all necessary rules and regulations in harmony with the provisions and purposes of this act for the purpose of carrying the same into effect.

## The So-Called Eight-Hour Law for the Railroads.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, I was one of those who voted on Friday against the so-called eight-hour law for the railroads. As a matter of fact, it is not an eight-hour law at all. This law does not curtail the trainmen's workday by a single minute. If an engineer has been receiving $5 for working 10 hours a day, the passage of this bill will raise his pay to $6.25; but it will not shorten his workday even the tenth part of a second. This is no more like the true eight-hour principle than chalk is like cheese.

The reason why people call this an eight-hour law is because it says that in the case of railroad trainmen they shall get their day's pay for the first eight hours' work, and all the rest is to be considered overtime.

I am glad to see the growth of the eight-hour day in this country. I mean the real eight-hour day, the eight-hour workday. I voted for the law which provides an eight-hour day for everyone who works on a Government contract. I spoke and voted in behalf of an eight-hour day for every woman employed in the city of Washington. But those were real eight-hour workdays for which I spoke and voted. Those eight-hour laws permit no overtime. They provide for an eight-hour day and not a minute more, except in the case of real emergency.

Perhaps the trainmen are underpaid. If so, they ought to have submitted their whole demand to impartial arbitration. They would not do it. They said—and President Wilson backed them up—"No; you must begin by granting us two-thirds of our demand, and then we'll arbitrate the rest." Now, that does not seem to me to be a square deal for the railroads and the traveling public and the farmers, who have their grain and produce to ship. I am not sure that it is a square deal for the rest of the railroad employees, either. This law does not affect section hands nor trackwalkers nor shopworkers nor laborers nor the bridge and building forces, nor any other employees of a railroad not immediately connected with the train service. They will not get any shorter hours or any more pay under this law, and yet they contribute over two-thirds of the railroads' working force, and, as a rule, they get the poorest pay, too. Do you think the public will be in the mood to pay the bill for an increase in pay for these folks after they begin to feel the effects of this new law?

Anyway, I do not think that this House ought to legislate under compulsion. The trainmen served notice that we had to legislate the way they told us, and do it mighty quick, or we should see the whole country paralyzed.

I, for one, will not knuckle under to that kind of talk. Do not tell me that this strike could not have been called off or postponed if President Wilson had shown that he meant business. I do not for one minute believe that these four brotherhood leaders started the blaze going without knowing how to put it out. One of them admitted that he could put it out, so far as his own brotherhood was concerned, but that his followers would think that he had gone back on them if he were to do so.

I am mighty sorry to vote against this bill. Of course, I know that it will hurt on election day, and I am under obligations to the brotherhoods for helping me out of a tight place politically a few years ago. Nevertheless every now and then a Congressman is face to face with the question as to whether he is going to be a man or a mouse. Just for once I made up my mind to be a man and take the consequences.

## Speeches of President Wilson and Others Delivered at Hodgenville, Ky., at the Acceptance by the Government of the Lincoln Homestead.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BEN JOHNSON,
OF KENTUCKY,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of the privilege granted by the House to extend my remarks by inserting the speeches made by President Wilson and others at Hodgenville, Ky., on September 4, 1916, at the acceptance by the Government of the Lincoln homestead.

PRAYER OFFERED BY WILLIAM ARTHUR GARFIELD OPENING CEREMONIES AT LINCOLN FARM, HODGENVILLE, KY., SEPTEMBER 4, 1916.

Almighty God, our Father, we assemble here this hour in Thy name. We voice to Thee the profound gratitude of a thankful Nation. We thank Thee for the kindly providence that has been over us and has brought us to this hour; we thank Thee for this beautiful day, and for the many tender and precious memories which shall ever cluster about this time and place; we thank Thee for a great Nation, and we are sincerely grateful that we live and abide in peace.

Oh Lord, thou ruler of nations and of men, grant, we beseech Thee, that we may ever remain at peace with the other peoples of the earth and that we may dwell together in unity and peace within the State.

We thank Thee for the great men who have lived and guided the course of our people; above all are we to-day thoughtful and grateful for the life which we memoralize at this sacred hour.

We are grateful for clear minds and memories whereby we cherish the lives and deeds of men of other days, and gain inspiration for nobler living and better service.

We voice to-day the gratitude of the American people for the life and leadership and ministry of Thy servant, the President of these United States. We invoke Thy gracious favor and blessings to rest richly upon him. Grant unto him wisdom for every task, strength for every burden, and grace for every trial. Counsel him by Thine own unerring counsel and enable him to direct the course of the State aright.

We invoke Thy gracious benediction to be upon all this great company, upon the people of our land everywhere, in their homes and about their firesides, in the shop and place of toil.

Do thou lead and direct us always along the pathway of duty and of service, of pleasure, and of peace.

Let ours be the life of service and of blessing, let Thine ever be the glory. Amen.

BRIEF TALK BY GEN. JOHN B. CASTLEMAN—CONFEDERATE ARMY VETERAN INTRODUCES FORMER GOV. FOLK AT LINCOLN FARM CEREMONIES.

Gen. John B. Castleman, in introducing former Gov. Folk, said:

"Our President, our countrymen:

"Believing in life eternal we come by the goodness of Almighty God, animated by patriotic reverence for the man of humble birth whose achievements furnish to all mankind everlasting inspiration.

"It is significant that the distinguished citizen who is chairman of our reception committee is the son of a Confederate soldier; that at Hodgenville the statue erected to the memory of

the immortal President was dedicated by a Confederate soldier; that at the capital of his native State the statue of Abraham Lincoln was presented in behalf of a United States war veteran, by a Confederate States war veteran.

"Our fellow citizens, we testify here the world's obligation to Robert J. Collier, who led, and to those who with him followed, in preservation of the farm and perpetual care of the cabin home where was born the child who became the godlike man.

"To me has been assigned the privilege of formally presenting to you, the executive head of the Lincoln Farm Association, a southern boy, born in the southern State of Tennessee, once governor of the southern State of Missouri, legal adviser of a great tribunal, designed to afford to the people safeguards instilled by Abraham Lincoln. I have the honor to introduce Joseph W. Folk, of the United States."

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ADDRESS OF FORMER GOV. JOSEPH W. FOLK, PRESIDENT OF THE LINCOLN FARM ASSOCIATION, ON OCCASION OF FORMAL TURNING OVER OF THE LINCOLN FARM TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, HODGENVILLE, KY., SEPTEMBER 4, 1916.

This country has produced many men whose names have emblazoned the pages of history, but no name is dearer to the hearts of Americans than that of the simple and sublime Lincoln, who literally sprang from this soil to become the mightiest of the mighty. His birthplace was as lowly as that of the Man of Galilee, whom he resembled so much in the sorrows he knew, the burdens he bore, and the love of humanity he manifested. This crude cabin preserved in this magnificent marble mausoleum is consecrated by the life of the man who here came into the world. No poet's fancy, no dream of fiction, can equal the emerging from this humble hut of extreme poverty of one whose steps were destined to shake the world and whose mission was to rededicate a united nation to the cause of freedom.

As a people we are indeed rich in the achievements of the foremost of our American public men. Washington fought to give us this Nation, guaranteeing rights to the individual never obtained or exercised by any other people; Lincoln struggled to keep it a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. Jefferson taught the civic truths so necessary to the happiness of a free people; Lincoln, with patient understanding, applied these truths to the troubles of his time. Jackson thundered against and overcame the evils of his day; Lincoln, with a heart for any fate, breathed a new force into the doctrines of Jackson and steered the ship of state into a peaceful harbor.

The spirit of Lincoln is more alive to-day than when he walked in the flesh. His ideals live and pulsate through millions of American freemen. He founded an Americanism that is not a matter of creed or national descent, but an ideal of the soul and of the mind; an Americanism that is not merely a union of political entities but of a common aspiration and a common destiny; an Americanism so virile that there need be no nation so strong we should fear it, or so powerful we must cower at its feet; an Americanism so just that the golden rule may be the supreme law guiding us in our diplomatic relations with other nations; an Americanism ready to defend against the aggression of all nations, but intentionally offending none in upholding the principle of the rights of man throughout the world; an Americanism that gives inspiration to those who love liberty everywhere and encouragement to those who would hasten the coming of the day when each man's good shall be all men's aim; an Americanism that means hope to those who would preserve the sacred fire of brotherhood now in danger of being extinguished in the sanguinary floods across the sea; an Americanism based upon service for the common good and equality of opportunity for all.

Until recently this place, which should be an object lesson to coming generations and revered by every American, was unnoticed and abandoned. Inspired by the idea that a due regard for the apostle of human liberty, whose life began on this spot, demanded the preservation of his birthplace, a few patriotic men, headed by Robert J. Collier and Richard Lloyd Jones, organized the Lincoln Farm Association, to purchase the property and to erect upon it a suitable memorial to the life that typifies above all others the wonderful possibilities in the American Republic. The movement met with a ready support from every section of the Nation. Most of the contributions came from the plain people, whom Lincoln loved so well. The South, as well as the North, responded generously. In honoring the memory of Lincoln there is neither North, nor South, nor East, nor West; there is one heart in all, and that the heart of loyal America.

This majestic memorial we to-day formally turn over to the United States Government is, therefore, not only a memory of Lincoln but it is testimony given in blocks of marble that the fires of fraternal hatred kindled by the fierce conflict of half a century ago are dead, and from the ashes have arisen a pure patriotism for a common country and a sincere devotion to a common flag. In dedicating this memorial as the property of the American people, let us likewise consecrate ourselves in our day and generation to maintain the Americanism of Lincoln inviolate and from this occasion and these surroundings take increased devotion for all that Americanism means. The Americanism of Lincoln represents a patriotism that abides not alone amid the roar of cannon and the din and clash of arms but in the simple duties of life as well—a patriotism that would uplift mankind, not through the bayonet or bullet but by inculcating into the minds of men those ideals that translate the heartbeats of humanity into action. When men shall learn to serve as faithfully in peace as in war, when men shall be as willing to sacrifice a little for the common good in everyday life as they are to give the last full measure of devotion on the battle field, then the ideals of Lincoln will be realized and there will be peace on earth and good will in the hearts of the children of men.

So we give to the American people, those living to-day and the Americans that are yet to be, this hallowed ground where Lincoln was born, and this mausoleum, which enshrines as a priceless heritage the cabin in which Lincoln first saw the light. With these gifts may there go also to Americans throughout the flight of time down the centuries the lessons of Lincoln's life and the ideals which he taught to make men happy, to make men free, and to ennoble all mankind.

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EXCERPTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION BY THE LINCOLN FARM ASSOCIATION OF THE LINCOLN FARM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, HODGENVILLE, KY., SEPTEMBER 4, 1916.

LINCOLN NOT FIRST AMERICAN, BUT PROBABLY GREATEST, SAYS WILLIAMS.

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen, the presentation and acceptance of this generous gift, which is really made to the Nation and its people of the United States, whose servants we all are—the President being chief only—is fraught not only with memories but with meanings too many and too various for one man's expression.

Abraham Lincoln was born in yonder little log cabin. He was not the first nor the only one of our great men to be thus humbly born. He sprang from that poorer class of southern white people whence sprang also Patrick Henry, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and so many others whose names illustrate on the pages of our history the fact that those of humblest origin in a free democracy of equal opportunities can, and often do, reach the very highest station.

Lincoln was not "the first American," as has been said of him. There were preceding him, even in the presidential chair, others who were not colonials of any European people, but thoroughly and altogether American—typical Americans, each in his own way.

He was more than "the first American," however. He was one of the greatest Americans. The tide of time, which has buried animosities and prejudices, has left every reflecting and just mind free and yet compelled to draw that conclusion. He was great, not in the way that Alexander of Macedon or Napoleon of Corsica was, but in a better way. His was not the greatness of genius, nearly always selfish. His was the greatness of common sense and tenderness. It consisted fundamentally in intellectual and moral humility and in intellectual and moral integrity, which salient characteristics enabled him to furnish to the world a spectacle scarcely, if ever, excelled, of self-subordination to the interests, the welfare, the unity of the Republic, and, more characteristically perhaps, yet of self-surrender to an enlightened public opinion, the growth of which he shared and studied, the tendency of which he cautiously and wisely guided, and the consummation of which into deed he, at the right moment, effected. He never went so fast that the common sense and the common conscience of the common people could not keep measurably apace, nor did he ever go so slowly that these left him stranded on the shore, while they passed beyond him under other and quicker and abler navigators.

LINCOLN GREAT HUMAN INSTRUMENT.

In other words, he was like all the great human instrumentalities of Providence—a part and parcel of the growing form and texture of the time—unconsciously following and consciously directing American public sentiment, as this came naturally or was forced by inevitable circumstance into existence. This enlightened public opinion, for which he had "a decent regard," constituted then, as always, the only real controlling force and sovereign power in a country whose people are free and self-governing.

Horace Greeley once accused him of being an opportunist. So are, and must be, all real statesmen in free countries. They

weigh opportunity and measure its strength, but they also help to create it and then seize the opportunity to effect the desired result. This is sagacity as contradistinguished from "smartness." They are opportunists, but they are more.

Lincoln was in this and some other respects singularly like that other great American, Thomas Jefferson. Both of them were idealists in the closet and statesmen in office. There was no limit to the visions which either had of what Jefferson called "the indefinite perfectibility of human nature," nor to their confidence in the progress and enlightenment of man under rightly constituted popular government founded on an enlightened and educated public opinion. Both were Democrats and both believed in the aristocracy of intelligence as the only aristocracy recognizable by freemen. Many dreams which either had have come true. Many more are yet in the womb of fate, certain later to come forth. Yet neither in office ever attempted to force upon the country any result for which a considerable and probably prevailing public opinion was not ready. They attempted to pluck, when in charge of the orchard, no fruit until the fruit was either ripe or ripening; and, above all, their purpose was not to kill or even harm the tree. Hence both are accused by men of little minds of "inconsistency." It is to be noted, however, that neither ever really "deserted a principle or a friend," as Jefferson's daughter proudly said of her father.

No two men who have figured conspicuously in molding the destinies of the English-speaking race ever equaled these two in their abiding, patient, and loving reliance upon the rectitude of the purposes of the people and in unswerving faith in the wisdom of their ultimate decision. Lincoln never tired of professing himself a disciple of Jefferson. He went so far at one time as to say that the vital spirit—that is, the birth principle—of American institutions was to be found in the Declaration of Independence, and not in the Constitution of the United States. On no fundamentally great question did they ever materially differ—not even about slavery—not even about the relations which should exist between the two races in the event of negro emancipation. Between the two the chief difference was one of personal temperament; Lincoln, of the two, lived very much more within himself. He was, spiritually speaking, a lonesome man—sadly so—but throwing about himself a veil of anecdote and humor—sometimes rough humor—which served as a shield to ward off intrusion. Hidden behind this veil was not only serious but pathetic, and nearly always solitary, thought. Hence that indescribable mixture of humor and pathos which we find in him, as in Shakespeare and Cervantes.

Mr. Jefferson, on the contrary, was frequently witty, but had no sense of humor at all, and seemed to take a sort of delight in letting all the world see every process of his thought as though through a window glass.

MAN IS DIFFERENT.

It is trite now to say that every man in this world is the product of two things—his heredity and his environment. Unlike plants and irrational creatures, however, man is not altogether the product of either or of both. While his environment makes him, he helps to make his environment—can even somewhat change it by conscious purpose. Moreover, while he can not repress nor reverse, he may influence the tendencies of his heredity even.

Lincoln's family we all know about. There was very little stimulating in its influence. It furnished rather a platform to rise from than a standard to live up to.

Likewise his early environment was, to say the least, discouraging; there was little in it to evoke ambition or to encourage, "hoping through hope to reach the stars."

But he rose from the platform; he reached the stars.

Within almost modern big-gun shot distance from where we now stand Jefferson Davis was born.

Both of these men were "border State" men—Kentuckians. Both of them came from pioneer ancestry who had fought for American freedom and had braved the dangers and endured the isolation of the wilderness. It is a curious reflection, though there be not time to indulge in it here and now, as to how far each of these men's future—his political philosophy, the sectional patriotism of each, his leaning to nationality on the one side or to State rights on the other—might have been altered, mayhap reversed, had Jefferson Davis's family moved him into Indiana and then into Illinois and had Abraham Lincoln's family moved him first into Louisiana and then into Mississippi. However interesting that inquiry may be, the reverse occurred. Davis became a very extreme Southerner. Lincoln never became a very extreme Northerner. The men were very much alike, and yet both were alike in possessing the cardinal human virtues—truthfulness, moral and intellectual honesty, courage, loyalty to ideals. There was, too, somewhat of inflexibility about both, though in one case the inflexibility, while knightly, was stern, logical, unyielding, unhumorous, and even proud; while in the other case it was modified by humility and a rich sense of humor, from which flowed that wonderful capacity for "making allowances," that broad knowledge of an opposite's way of looking at things, that sympathetic appreciation of the moods and ways of thinking and the ways of feeling of the untaught and unenriched masses of mankind.

With Davis there were no laughter-inciting "sidelights on himself and others and their relations to one another" to relieve even temporarily the tension of a fixed and absorbing purpose. Lincoln was never without them. By being never without them he made lesser men like Stanton, for example, "very impatient." Davis became the very type of the best plantation life of the extreme South. As a part and parcel of that life he consecrated himself to his section, whose very civilization and social order he thought to be menaced. Lincoln consecrated himself to the Nation. Both endured nobly to the very end, each steadfastly "keeping the faith."

LINCOLN A BORDER MAN.

Lincoln remained all his life a borderer. In his temperament he came very much nearer that of the Southerner than that of the New Englander, or the New Yorker, or Pennsylvanian. No theory of any sort would ever have led him into that gross violation of common sense and common justice which after the war brought about the grotesque though cruel saturnalia of the southern reconstruction governments; nor could any theory, or any war experience, however bitter, have brought him to a hatred for the southern white people, even of the slaveholding class. He lived with none; he died without any.

He was a great nationalist not only in political vision but in this: That he knew and loved the people of both sections. He was perhaps the most thoroughly nationalistic and the least sectionalistic of all our Presidents, not even excepting George Washington, who never forgot that he was "a Virginian and a gentleman." Hence it is peculiarly appropriate that the legal title to Mr. Lincoln's birthplace should rest in the Nation itself.

It may be sadly recorded that while he understood the men of both sections, it is doubtful if any very large percentage of those of either ever understood him until long after he was dead. Jefferson Davis understood him partially; understood fully his utter lack of malice. Witness the superb reply of the chief of the fallen Confederacy when his attention having been called to President Johnson's proclamation containing the insinuation that he (Davis) had been complicite to the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, he replied: "There is one man in the United States, at any rate, who knows that to be a falsehood!—that is the man who wrote it. He knows that I would infinitely rather have Lincoln than to have him in the White House." Davis afterwards said: "Next to the loss of the cause itself, the death of Mr. Lincoln was the greatest calamity that ever befell the South."

Shakespeare, whose writings Mr. Lincoln read and loved so much, helped to mold his thought. The broad and sympathetic charity with which he viewed, and sometimes laughed at, all men and women—the wise and the foolish, the just and the unjust, the learned and the ignorant, the sinners whom Christ came to save and the righteous, who "needed not a physician"—was almost Shakespearean—leaving anger against those who might or might not deserve it to God, who knew—repeating sincerely, as he did in one of his inaugural addresses, "But let us not judge lest we be judged." I think he absorbed from Shakespeare the characteristic breadth in expressing thought which led to this: That so many utterances of his are not confined in their applicability to the time or the place where they were made, but expand in appositeness to many places and many times. Even when arguing a concrete institution like slavery his language was universal rather than particular. His English was terse, forcible, Saxon. His Gettysburg speech is the most eloquent illustration of these qualities—verily multum in parvo. It is by all odds the greatest short speech in the English, or, for aught I know, in any language. To illustrate the breadth of applicability of that wonderful dedication speech, one might paraphrase it with slight omission and no material addition, so as to make Mr. Lincoln himself, who was a great orator—because he was a man of eloquent thought—dedicate to the Nation that he loved so well the home in which he was born so humbly.

DIFFICULT TO DEDICATE.

Would there, for example, be anything inapposite for the purpose of this occasion in the use of these words: Seven score "years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition

that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in * * * testing whether that Nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. * * * We have come to dedicate" to the Nation the birthplace of him who "gave" his life "that that Nation might live."

"But in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow, this ground." The brave and patient man who was born here, by his life and death has "consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget" * * * what he did. "It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from" the memory of this "honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which" he "gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that" he "shall not have" lived nor "died in vain; that this Nation under God shall have" (daily) "a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Suppose that in analyzing the character and results to the two sections of the late war between the States I, the son of a Confederate soldier, were to use this language which is to be found in Mr. Lincoln's second inaugural address, would it not be a fitting comment for this day and place? "Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and prayed to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other. * * * The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty had His own purposes."

Again, what a fine exhortation to renewed love between the reunited sections of these once disunited States would not this language be even now. "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives" each "to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in" (and having already bound up the Nation's wounds) "do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

My fellow citizens! We call one another fellow citizens now from Maine to Florida, and even "where Oregon rolls." We are fellow citizens now, and this "indissoluble Union of indestructible States" which all of us so intensely love has been reestablished only because, as Lincoln said, "God had purposes of His own." "The stars in their courses fought" against the South as they fought of old "against Sisera."

Yet again, pursuing my illustration, all realize the present applicability, with slight verbal alterations, of what Mr. Lincoln said in his first inaugural address: "Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our separate sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this."

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land," once more "swell the chorus of the Union," as they forever shall "when * * * touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

"The mystic chords of memory!" What a world of potency there is in a phrase! These "mystic chords of memory" are the richest heritage and possession of any great people. The music which is made upon them is sad, but it is embracing; it "holds the heart up higher." It is music in memoriam of "the generous and patriotic spirits" of a country; of "its buried warlike and its wise." It is always well, then, by monument and memorial, to keep all worthy memories fresh in the minds of the people, thus inducing each generation to rethink, refeel, and relive that which was noblest and worthiest in the generations preceding it. Thus we shall have the Nation make of its foregone generations "stepping-stones of its dead self" wherefrom to rise "to higher things."

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THE LINCOLN FARM BECOMES THE PROPERTY OF THE NATION—AN ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LINCOLN FARM ASSOCIATION.

Mr. President and honored guests, on behalf of the association whose privilege it has been during the past 12 years to prepare the way for this ceremony, it is my duty to say a few words in relinquishing to the custody of the United States this farm and this cabin, whose preservation has been our especial care.

To-day, for the men who from all walks of life banded themselves into the Lincoln Farm Association to preserve this birthplace, there is a fitting end to their 12 years' labor of love. To-day the Lincoln farm becomes the property of the Nation.

The honor falls to me as chairman of the executive committee, on the occasion of the transfer to the Secretary of War of the deed of gift of the Lincoln farm and the Lincoln cabin and the memorial in which that cabin is to be housed in perpetuity, and of the $50,000 trust fund for its maintenance, to express my thanks to the President of the United States for setting his great affairs aside to lend us the inspiration of his presence here.

I am under particular obligation to the president of the association, the Hon. Joseph W. Folk, who has presided with distinction over the laying of the corner stone by President Roosevelt in 1909, the dedication of the memorial by President Taft in 1911, and the acceptance for the United States by President Wilson to-day.

To Richard Lloyd Jones, who was not only secretary of the association but with whom originated the movement to preserve Lincoln's birthplace, and to Clarence H. Mackay, our indefatigable treasurer; to the late Augustus St. Gaudens, the late Samuel L. Clemens, the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, and other fellow directors, the executive committee is deeply indebted, and to Thomas Hastings, Guy Lowell, Jules Guerin, Maxfield Parrish, and especially to the architect, John Russell Pope, who all contributed to make more beautiful this birthplace shrine that Mark Twain so well described as "the little model farm that raised a man."

Simple as this ceremony itself may be, it marks this town of Hodgenville to-day, and the few acres of this little homestead, as the spot in all Kentucky richest in memories, and for one proud moment the Capitol of the United States.

On this rocky farm, a little over a hundred years ago, when Kentucky was the home of the woodsman and the pioneer, when the scant soil yielded reluctant harvest to the settler, Thomas Lincoln, one-time supervisor of county roads, and his wife, Nancy Hanks, came from Elizabethtown and built out of rough logs a cabin. In that cabin, on the 12th day of February, 1809, was born their son, Abraham Lincoln.

No surroundings more humble, no winter landscape more austere, with one high exception, ever marked the coming among men of a figure which was so profoundly to affect the destinies and awaken the imagination of a people. It was as if fate had selected this place for a trial of democracy, or as if God had ordained this little cabin to be the birthplace of the man who was to save for His great purposes the Nation soon to be tried by fire. And that shambling, tragic figure, product of this soil, that rail splitter, who was destined to guide his country through her hours of darkness, and when his worn spirit seemed about to reap the reward of a Nation's gratitude, was called at the very end to pay his country "the last full tribute of devotion," Abraham Lincoln leaves here to our keeping the record alike of his homely beginnings and his enduring fame.

His own words, spoken at Gettysburg, better than any other, fit this memorial within which is enshrined the log cabin that gave him birth: "But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow, this ground. * * * It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

I count it a happy augury for our country at this time, when the world is riven asunder by a conflict even more terrible, that the pilot of our ship of state, the President of the United States, who is a Virginian and a Democrat, should come here to-day to do reverence to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. Nor can we fail to recognize the high motive which actuated the President when the calls of party were so urgent to set them all aside for the fulfillment of this nonpartisan mission.

Lincoln, we may be sure, had seen enough of the seamy side of the splendid tapestry called war to look behind its glamour. He had heard from the White House in 1861 the fife, the drum, the trumpet, and the tramp of the young men as they went singing out to war; but he saw these same young men in the hospitals of 1864, shattered, wounded, dying. His tender heart was bruised by suffering, but his iron will went forward to his country's goal.

The same stern resolution drove Lincoln forward from Bull Run to Gettysburg that carried Washington forward from Valley Forge to Yorktown, and not all the counsels of expediency or weakness warped the common sense of those two great Americans to whom we owe our independence and our union.

May this memorial serve none but noble purposes, purposes that place pride of section, or pride of party, below love of

country. May it teach us Americans of a later generation that this Nation, built by a free people, owns no barriers of race or creed or section to divide it from itself; that on this soil is planted the seed of a self-reliant patriotism that can endure hardships, practice self-denial, and answer "Here" to the roll call of our forefathers.

May this memorial preserve—and not in marble only—the words of the man whose memory it cherishes: "With malice toward none, with charity for all." May it also, lest we in our day of ease forget them, preserve those sterner words spoken on the battle field of Gettysburg and graven deep into the soul of Abraham Lincoln: "That we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

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ADDRESS OF HON. NEWTON D. BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR, AT HODGENVILLE KY., SEPTEMBER 4, 1916.

In the office of the Secretary of War there is a bronze bust of Edwin M. Stanton. The figure is a little softened by the drapery which the artist has put over the shoulders in lieu of the angular coat which the Secretary used to wear. But its face is as hard and unrelenting as was that of the original; and when I am called upon to say, "No," under peculiarly distressing and unpleasant circumstances, I glance at that bust and find that I have but to reflect its expression. Indeed, in moments of perplexity, I have sometimes been startled to find that stern face all but asking, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" and withholding its approval from any state of mind on my part which does not follow with relentless certainty the central thought of the main task.

This great predecessor was the ironside of Lincoln as a war President, and it is probable that no other of the President's aids was either so unpopular or so indispensable. When a democracy is called upon to engage in a war and to lay aside its equalities and individualities for the common good, there must be some cliff against which protest can break itself in vain. The people, accustomed to the liberties possible in times of peace and untrained in the surrender of those liberties in the hour of trial, must somewhere run up against an unyielding will, and I think it will always be agreed by common consent that Edwin M. Stanton was an incompressible personality. There apparently was no point about him, from crown to toe, where the steadiest pressure or the most violent impact could make the least impression. Now, so far as the War Department is concerned, Lincoln's administration was Stanton. One can find scattered through the vast Lincoln literature which has grown up since the war a story here and there of the President circumventing the inflexibility of the Secretary of War; but those stories are not numerous, and the tradition of the War Department is that Lincoln added to all of his other great qualities this: That humane, gentle, forgiving, wise, as he was, he still sustained the staff of authority in the Military Establishment, realizing that however harsh and uncompromising Stanton might be, he was yet the embodiment of a single passion—the task of saving the Union—and that before the fury of his passion for that great object every inefficiency, every corruption, every interfering friendship or emotion was made to give way.

So much for the relations between the War Department and Lincoln, but the real purpose of my presence is to receive on behalf of the Nation this property and to take it into the physical custody and care of the War Department, as trustee and guardian for future generations. It would be enough were I to express on behalf of mankind a sense of fitness that this birthplace should become a national possession, and saved that men for all time may see the place where Abraham Lincoln was born. The delight of every cultured mind is to see the places and feel the local inspirations which have made poets and heroes in the world. We travel across many seas for the privilege of standing in the Acropolis, feeling that Pericles is nearer to us there, or to the Forum in Rome, feeling that the very stones which heard the eloquence of Cicero have preserved something of it which they give back after all the centuries. The mute soul, which can utter no harmonies of its own, is all but moved to song when it stands in Stratford and watches the gentle flow of Avon, or wanders in the Vale of Grasmere, where Wordsworth lived and grew and sang. How then can it be otherwise than that this place shall give forth inspiration of the noble sort, if here began the most distinctively and significantly American life out of all the millions who have lived in America. The very humbleness of this birthplace teaches the first of the great Lincoln lessons, namely, that genius is indigenous to our soil. Choice stocks which had flowered in the Old World bore transformed and beautiful flowers here, but Lincoln was the first transcendent genius compounded only out of the native elements of our America. The college of heralds, be they never so busy, would find no ancestral quarterings for him. Whatever of strength and genius he had came through roots wholly embedded in American clay. Nor had he even the modifying advantages of a classical culture ingrafted on to the native stock. He was just an American, born on the frontier in poverty, raised in homespun, and yet, in a crisis, one of the great figures of all time, and the circumstances under which he demonstrated his genius are extraordinary. He was some 50 years old when he became President of the United States, not very well known, except as the author of some startling speeches and the accidental exponent of a rising political moral. As a lawyer, no one named him with Marshall or Taney; as an orator, he was not mentioned with Webster or Clay. Neither he nor his party associates had any particular experience in the business of government.

They were untried hands, an aggregation of outs, brought together and brought in upon a new political issue, and faced, even before they were inducted into office, with the most difficult and perplexing questions ever faced by a President of the United States. For on the 4th of March, when Lincoln was inaugurated, but half of the country acknowledged him as President, and in that half there were elements dissenting from his political views, aggregating but little short of a majority of all the people. He was fresh from a campaign of lampoon and pasquinade. His nomination to office had been because he was available, and that availability consisted in having no such past as made him enemies. If he had the respect of the majority of the loyal people in the Union, it was as much as he had. Their love he was to win, their veneration he was to have; but at the assumption of his task it was simply a man and a party, with the extraordinary advantages against him rather than for him.

The times and the movements of events were such as to make very many people hot with impatience for the adoption of a definite policy. The country was full of people who knew just what to do and how to do it, and in the confusion of the times each strident voice became for the moment a prophet, and there were many strident voices raised against Lincoln, who seemed, as James Russell Lowell finely said, to have "made time his prime minister." He seemed incapable of hurry, much less haste, and, with deliberation almost approaching slowness, he evolved rather than adopted step by step a policy adapted here and there to the issue of events until gradually the people of the Union saw, and then the world saw, that here was a man whose nature was so simple that they had wholly failed to understand him. The intricacies of events had seemed to demand complicated machinery in the man who was to control, and there had been great disappointment at the simplicity of his mental apparatus. And yet it was just the sort of mental apparatus and the only sort which could have solved the problem, and that problem, shortly stated, was, first, to choose the issue. If Lincoln had made the abolition of slavery the issue of the war, the North would not have followed, not because slavery was desired, but because the sentiment of the North was too confused on that subject. Too many people would have adopted one or another reason for dissent to join hands, with the concentration of national resources necessary, to accomplish the end. The salvation of the Union, however, was an issue which could not fail, whether men believed in slavery or did not believe in it, whether they liked Lincoln or whether they did not like him, whether they were offended by the harshness of Stanton or impatient at the uncertainties of Congress, made no difference in the ultimate question of their love for the Union, and in that question lay the center of Lincolns policies. The next step was to press the issue, thus wisely and finally chosen, home, to push aside every other issue, no matter how importunate, to refuse to be deflected in his allegiance, and gradually to make the people see that they might cherish all the divisions they choose on every other subject or policy, so long as they cooperated toward that primary and all-important thing.

Our foreign complications were embarrassing and dangerous. The behavior of England, in its hasty recognition of the belligerency of the South, in the comments of its publications and its public men, was such as has rarely been brooked by a nation strong enough to resent it. Lincoln's answer was to let time take care of England, and right her misconception of us and our cause, without allowing even just irritation to divert us into imperiling acts, and so completely was he the master of the Union that the country accepted his policy on this subject, and so enabled him to bring the Union triumphant out of the war. It is futile to ask how Lincoln did this, and yet it is possible to give a more or less obvious explanation of it. He was of the people. When he asked himself, "How do I feel about this or that matter?" the answer always was expressive of the common feeling. He had no class prejudice, for he belonged to no class. He had no blinding interests nor ancestral limitations. He was

just a part of the great common life of America, lifted up for the moment to be the expression point of its impulses. At the beginning of his administration the so-called wise and the so-called literary imagined themselves to understand the situation very much better than poor Mr. Lincoln; but there never was a moment from the time of his inauguration when, in spite of the feelings of his generals, the apparent collapse of campaigns, dissensions at home, difficulties abroad, he would not have been reelected, because he was the people of the United States; he understood their simplicity, because he was simple, and they trusted and followed him because he was the embodiment of themselves.

He sprang, then, from the soil, and I like to think the stream of influence which arose here and had the Niagara of its power in Lincoln's four years from 1861 to 1865 continues to flow on, more tranquilly, it is true, but in ever broadening circles. I like to think that in all future times men, young and old alike, will come to this place to feel the inspiration of his patriotism, and that the preservation of this farm and cabin and the erection of this beautiful memorial will make permanent the possibilities of this inspiring story for the good of mankind everywhere.

In the name of the United States, therefore, and by direction of the President, pursuant to an act of Congress for that purpose enacted, and with an expression of grateful appreciation from the Nation to Mr. Collier and his associates who have made this permanent memorial possible, I accept from the Lincoln Farm Association the Lincoln farm and the endowment which accompanies it.

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ADDRESS BY WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ON THE OCCASION OF THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT OF A DEED OF GIFT TO THE NATION BY THE LINCOLN FARM ASSOCIATION OF THE LINCOLN BIRTHPLACE FARM AT HODGENVILLE, KY.—HERE, OVER THE LOG CABIN WHERE ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS BORN, DESTINED TO PRESERVE THE NATION AND TO FREE THE SLAVE, A GRATEFUL PEOPLE HAVE DEDICATED THIS MEMORIAL TO UNITY, PEACE, AND BROTHERHOOD AMONG THESE STATES.

No more significant memorial could have been presented to the Nation than this. It expresses so much of what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government. How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy! There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes. Nature pays no tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed of caste, renders fealty to no monarch or master of any name or kind. Genius is no snob. It does not run after titles or seek by preference the high circles of society. It affects humble company as well as great. It pays no special tribute to universities or learned societies or conventional standards of greatness, but serenely chooses its own comrades, its own haunts, its own cradle even, and its own life of adventure and of training. Here is proof of it. This little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius who presently emerged upon the great stage of the Nation's history, gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic, a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of the great plot. No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor of democracy, where every door is open, in every hamlet and countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will and claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy.

Here, no less, hides the mystery of democracy. Who shall guess this secret of nature and providence and a free polity? Whatever the vigor and vitality of the stock from which he sprang, its mere vigor and soundness do not explain where this man got his great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its catholic and benignant sympathy, the mind that sat enthroned behind those brooding, melancholy eyes, whose vision swept many an horizon which those about him dreamed not of—that mind that comprehended what it had never seen, and understood the language of affairs with the ready ease of one to the manner born—or that nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life. This is the sacred mystery of democracy, that its richest fruits spring up out of soils which no man has prepared and in circumstances amidst which they are the least expected. This is a place alike of mystery and of reassurance.

It is likely that in a society ordered otherwise than our own Lincoln could not have found himself or the path of fame and power upon which he walked serenely to his death. In this place it is right that we should remind ourselves of the solid and striking facts upon which our faith in democracy is founded. Many another man besides Lincoln has served the Nation in its highest places of counsel and of action whose origins were as humble as his. Though the greatest example of the universal energy, richness, stimulation, and force of democracy, he is only one example among many. The permeating and all-pervasive virtue of the freedom which challenges us in America to make the most of every gift and power we possess, every page of our history serves to emphasize and illustrate. Standing here in this place, it seems almost the whole of the stirring story.

Here Lincoln had his beginnings. Here the end and consummation of that great life seem remote and a bit incredible. And yet there was no break anywhere between beginning and end, no lack of natural sequence anywhere. Nothing really incredible happened. Lincoln was unaffectedly as much at home in the White House as he was here. Do you share with me the feeling, I wonder, that he was permanently at home nowhere? It seems to me that in the case of a man—I would rather say of a spirit—like Lincoln the question where he was is of little significance, that it is always what he was that really arrests our thought and takes hold of our imagination. It is the spirit always that is sovereign. Lincoln, like the rest of us, was put through the discipline of the world—a very rough and exacting discipline for him, an indispensable discipline for every man who would know what he is about in the midst of the world's affairs; but his spirit got only its schooling there. It did not derive its character or its vision from the experiences which brought it to its full revelation. The test of every American must always be, not where he is, but what he is. That, also, is of the essence of democracy, and is the moral of which this place is most gravely expressive.

We would like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amidst the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius. But there will be few such men at best, and we will not look into the mystery of how and why they come. We will only keep the door open for them always, and a hearty welcome—after we have recognized them.

I have read many biographies of Lincoln; I have sought out with the greatest interest the many intimate stories that are told of him, the narratives of near-by friends, the sketches at close quarters, in which those who had the privilege of being associated with him have tried to depict for us the very man himself "in his habit as he lived"; but I have nowhere found a real intimate of Lincoln's. I nowhere get the impression in any narrative or reminiscence that the writer had, in fact, penetrated to the heart of his mystery, or that any man could penetrate to the heart of it. That brooding spirit had no real familiars. I get the impression that it never spoke out in complete self-revelation and that it could not reveal itself completely to anyone. It was a very lonely spirit that looked out from underneath those shaggy brows and comprehended men without fully communicating with them, as if, in spite of all its genial efforts at comradeship, it dwelt apart, saw its visions of duty where no man looked on. There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs for others as well as for himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist. This strange child of the cabin kept company with invisible things, was born into no intimacy but that of its own silently assembling and deploying thoughts.

I have come here to-day, not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln—he stands in need of none—but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the Nation of the place of his birth and origin. Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must constantly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them. The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is the stuff of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind can not be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of rights and codes of liberty. The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purposes. The commands of democracy are as imperative as its privileges and

opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the guidance of our own feet. We are not worthy to stand here unless we ourselves be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great Nation which shelters and nurtures us.

BLESSING DELIVERED BY RIGHT REV. THOMAS J. SHAHAN, RECTOR OF CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C., AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE LINCOLN FARM TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, HODGENVILLE, KY., SEPTEMBER 4, 1916.

Bless, we beseech Thee, O God of our Fathers, this majestic memorial, which so many greatful hearts consecrate this day to the eternal memory of our New World's greatest captain, whose simple faith in right and duty, whose inspired wisdom and native virtue, saved for all posterity our glorious Union of States and turned a long night of storm into a herald of peace, progress, and prosperity.

Pour forth Thy blessings on this sovereign State of Kentucky, one of the first carved from the primeval wilderness, from the beginning richly illustrative of every rugged American virtue, and pioneer in all the paths which so swiftly led our American humanity from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Let Thy saving graces, O God of Nations, descend abundantly on the American Nation that it may ever remain what its founders made it and Abraham Lincoln left it, the home of plain and equal citizens, a land of equal rights and opportunities, of freedom without license, of real and accessible justice without unearned distinction or inherited privilege.

Finally, O Lord of infinite mercies, have ever in Thy holy keeping the chosen head of this mighty Nation, Thy newest people gathered providentially from many races and climes and visibly coalescing into a new humanity all-powerful for works of truth and justice, of equity and charity. Confirm in him, O Lord, and through him to every citizen our immemorial patriotism, our devotion to the common weal, above all our faith in the high public ideals of the American people, to the end that the glorious day-star of true liberty, once risen above the world, may not go down in hopeless night and mankind set again its feet in the old way of wrong, bloodshed, and revolution without end. Amen.

## Mexico.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. JAMES R. MANN,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, Harper & Bros. published a book entitled "A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico," by Edith O'Shaughnessy, the wife of Nelson O'Shaughnessy, who was in charge of the United States Embassy at Mexico City for a time. In this book Mrs. O'Shaughnessy has published letters written by her to her mother, covering the period between October 8, 1913, and the breaking off of diplomatic relations between this country and Mexico on April 23, 1914. These letters were personal, confidential letters, but quotations from them throw a bright light on the blundering stupidity of the Wilson administration in dealing with Mexico.

In the advertisements of this book Harper & Bros. say:

Here for the first time—written from the inside—is the truth of what went on behind the scenes before the breaking off of relations between the United States and Mexico. What Americans in Mexico City feared; a country in revolution; what diplomats thought of the United States policy; gossip of drawing-rooms and accounts of personal relations with statesmen, soldiers, and sailors, with Huerta, Lind, Admiral Fletcher, Sir Lionel Carden, and others, in hours when a diplomatic slip might mean war—all these make the book, written at the time the events took place by the wife of the American chargé d'affaires, a contribution to American history, a book to arouse much discussion.

I present to the House a few extracts from these published letters, calling attention to the fact that the letter "N," frequently used in the letters, refers to Mr. O'Shaughnessy, the husband of the writer:

NOVEMBER 11, 1913.

Something that developed in a conversation with Mr. Lind has been making me a bit thoughtful and more than a little uneasy. He has the idea, perhaps the plan, of facilitating the rebel advance by raising the embargo, and I am afraid he will be recommending it to Washington. We had been sitting, talking, after dinner, shivering in the big room over a diminutive electric stove, when he first tentatively suggested such action. I exclaimed: "Oh, Mr. Lind, you can't mean that! It would be opening a Pandora box of troubles here." Seeing how aghast I was, he changed the subject. But I can not get it out of my head. The Mexican book is rolled out like a scroll before him; can it be that he is not going to read? (Pages 44 and 45.)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1913.

N. came in last night at half past 12, after a three hours' conference with Aldape. He is to see him again at 10 this morning. They say that the presence of Mr. Lind gives publicity to every step, that their national dignity is constantly imperiled, and that it is impossible to negotiate under such conditions. Aldape also said that Huerta flies into such a rage whenever Lind's name is mentioned that conversation becomes impossible. (Page 54.)

[Later.]

Though nothing was further from his purpose, Mr. Lind has absolutely knocked any possible negotiations on the head by the noise and publicity of his arrival in the city of Montezuma and Huerta. The Latin American may know that you know his affairs, and know that you know he knows you know; but he does not want and will not stand publicity. (Page 55.)

NOVEMBER 28, 1913.

An exciting day. The long-looked for "decisive" word came from Washington this morning, to be communicated this evening to every embassy and legation in Europe. By to-night all the foreign representatives here and the press will be informed. It states that we will not recede one step from our position; that Huerta and all his supporters must go; that we will isolate him, starve him out financially, morally, and physically, that revolution and assassination may come to an end in Latin America; that we will protect our interests and the interests of all foreigners; and that peace must be made in Mexico, or that we will make it ourselves. It is the argumentum ad hominum certainly, and we can only wait to see what acrobatic feats to avoid the blow will be performed by Huerta. The language is unmistakable, and could only be used because the military force necessary is behind it and ready. (Page 66.)

DECEMBER 29, 1913—EVENING.

Mr. Lind is hurrying aboard the U. S. S. *Chester* to meet the President at Pass Christian. Strong Carranzista though Mr. Lind is proving himself, I don't think the President will be led into the risky policy of recognizing this undeveloped but certainly not very promising quantity. We can put in any sort of government in Mexico, but can we keep one in? We encouraged the powers of dissolution around Diaz, recognizing and aiding Madero. The world knows the result. History always repeats itself here, and the writing on the wall is always in blood. After Mr. Lind's months of inaction it must seem good to be plowing the high seas en route to the weighty conference. He said he would have returned to the States some time ago but for the "very satisfactory" progress of the rebels. He was especially "bucked up" when Villa announced his intention of eating his New Year's dinner at the Jockey Club. (Page 119.)

JANUARY 9, 1914.

Mr. Lind continues to think that the raising of the embargo on arms and ammunition in the north is the easiest solution of the problem, but I am terrified at such an issue. The last state of Mexico would be worse than the first. It might settle the Huerta dictatorship, but, alas, not the Mexican situation. (Page 135.)

JANUARY 14, 1914.

While not convinced of the necessity or even advisability of formal recognition, N. does realize that everything for Mexico and the United States could have been accomplished by diplomacy in the early stages of Huerta's incumbency. Now the bullying and collusive and secret arrangements with his enemies, the revolutionaries, to overthrow him must eventually succeed, and in his fall we fear Huerta will take down with him the entire fabric of state. How often he has said, "I don't ask your help, but don't help my enemies." (Page 149.)

JANUARY 27, 1914—EVENING.

A quiet day, but we are distressed beyond words at the renewed reports of a lifting of the embargo on arms and ammunition for the rebels. I feel as if I couldn't stand it, and N. even felt that he ought to resign if it happens the ship of state is going so inevitably on the rocks. He will make some sort of protest to Washington against the advisability of this move. Villa's cry is, "On to Mexico!" and he may get there, or, rather, here—if we decide to carry him. (Page 165.)

FEBRUARY 1, 1914—10.30 P. M.

To-night has come the long-feared cable from Washington stating the President intends to raise the embargo on arms and ammunition. The note was for Nelson's special information, not for delivery to the foreign office yet, but the hour will come when he will have to gird himself to do the deed. It has been sent to every chancellery in Europe, where it will raise a storm, to blow hard or not, according to the amount of material investments in Mexico. We scarcely know what to think; we are dazed and aghast. I am glad that a few hours at least must elapse before the facts will get out. I shall hardly dare to venture forth unveiled. Courteous as the Mexicans have been to Nelson and myself, some day, in face of the terrible catastrophes we have brought upon them, their patience must fail. This act will not establish the rebels in Mexico City or anywhere else, but will indefinitely prolong this terrible civil war and swell the tide of the blood of men and women, "and the children—or, my brothers!" (Pages 174 and 175.)

MARCH 9, 1914.

I have just been reading an article by Mr. Creelman on Lind. He has caught the spirit of Vera Cruz and describes exactly Mr. Lind and his ambiante there. He speaks of him as "Mr. Wilson's cloistered agent." "In a small, dark room, with a red tiled floor, opening on a

shabby Mexican courtyard," he adds, "in the rear of the American consulate in Vera Cruz, sits John Lind, the personal representative of the President of the United States, as he has sat for seven months, smilingly watching and waiting, while Mexico and her 15,000,000 men, women, and children have moved to ruin." It makes me "creepy," it is so true! (Page 217.)

APRIL 18, 1914—6.30 P. M.

It makes me sick with dread to think of the probable fate of Americans in the desert spaces and the mountain fastnesses of Mexico. Some one has blundered, somewhere, somehow, that we should come in to give the coup de grace to this distracted nation, who yet clings, and rightly, to those tattered shreds of sovereignty we have left her. The foreign powers think we are playing the most cold-blooded, most cruel game of "grab" in all history. (Page 276.)

## The Adamson Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FREDERICK W. DALLINGER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. DALLINGER. Mr. Speaker, from the beginning of my political career I have always been a sincere friend of organized labor. During my six years' service as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature I both voted for and advocated many important measures in the interest of the wage earners of my own State. Among these measures may be mentioned the following:

Fifty-four hour bill for women and minors. (House journal, 1894, p. 1371.)

Eight-hour bill for State, county, and city employees. (House journal, 1895, p. 513.)

Bill requiring labeling of prison-made goods. (House journal, 1895, p. 511.)

Bill to provide for the safety of railroad employees. (House journal, 1895, p. 346.)

Bill prohibiting overtime employment of women and minors. (Senate journal, 1896, p. 618.)

Bill prohibiting deductions in wages of women and minors. (Senate journal, 1898, p. 739.)

Fifty-eight hour bill for women and minors. (Senate journal, 1898, p. 864.)

Bill to extend the law relative to the weekly payment of wages. (Senate journal, 1899, p. 484.)

Bill to exempt trade-unions from insurance laws. (Senate journal, 1899, p. 891.)

Eight-hour bill for city and town employees. (Senate journal, 1899, pp. 601-603.)

Bill authorizing cities and towns to pension firemen. (Senate journal, 1898, pp. 419, 441, 462.)

At the close of my service in the State legislature I received the thanks of the labor leaders of the State for my efforts, both in the house and senate, in their behalf.

Moreover, since I have been a member of this body I have supported every fair and reasonable measure for the welfare of the Government employees in every branch of the Federal service. I have voted for every bill or amendment providing for an increase of compensation for the employees of the National Government. It was my privilege to make two attempts on the floor of this House to amend the Keating child-labor bill so as to render it easily enforceable without subjecting it to the danger of being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. It was my privilege also to speak in favor of the workingmen's compensation act, which was passed by the present Congress, and to urge the adoption of a pension system for Government employees.

On the other hand, I was unable to give my support to the Tavenner bill prohibiting all efficiency methods in Government arsenals in the form in which it finally passed the House, although I should have gladly voted for it if the amendment which I offered for a referendum to the Government employees concerned had been adopted. In my opinion that bill as it finally passed will make it more difficult than ever to secure the utilization of our Government plants to their full capacity, and will, because of the unwise repudiation of the principle of the referendum for which organized labor has always stood, be detrimental to the real interests of the Government employees.

It is because I believe that the bill now before the House is contrary to the fundamental policy of American trade-unionism, that it will not accomplish the purpose for which it is alleged to be offered, and because in the long run it will prove prejudicial to the best interests of organized labor that although a sincere believer in the principle of the eight-hour day I can not conscientiously give it my support.

It has always been the fixed policy of those in charge of the interests of organized labor, both in the States and in the Nation, not to seek to regulate by legislation the hours of labor and the compensation of male employees except in the case of employees of the Government itself. The bill now under discussion involves a radical and unnecessary departure from that well-established principle. It seeks ostensibly to fix the hours of labor but really to increase the compensation of a special class of the employees of the steam railways of the United States. This special class of employees, representing only 20 per cent of all the steam railway employees of the country, is already the highest paid class of employees of any of our public-service corporations. An amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CLARK] extending the provisions of the bill to the other 1,600,000 employees of our railroads, including all of the poorly paid employees engaged in the hardest kind of manual labor, which was supported by the solid Republican membership of this House, has been voted down. The argument of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON] that the men who actually operate the trains are the only employees concerned with the safety of the traveling public is an argument not supported by the facts. The safety of the public is just as dependent upon the faithful performance of duty by the trackmen, switchmen, and towermen as upon the faithful performance of duty by the engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen.

Moreover, this bill is not only a radical departure from the established policy of the labor leaders of the country, but no such legislation has been asked for by the railway employees themselves and no bill to that effect was introduced in either House of Congress at the request of any representatives of the four railway brotherhoods. This bill is here as a result of a message from the President of the United States, in which he suggested a comprehensive plan of legislation, of which the provisions of this bill constitute only a small part. A motion to recommit the bill, so that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce might report a bill embodying all the legislation recommended by the President, has been voted down. I firmly believe that, if the bill had been so recommitted, the President's request to the representatives of the four railway brotherhoods, to postpone the strike until Congress could intelligently act after careful investigation, would have been granted.

That the hurried passage of this hastily drafted bill is a bad thing for all concerned is the real belief of practically every member of this House. That it is ill advised from every point of view is the overwhelming opinion of the people of the United States. That it will not accomplish its avowed purpose, but is simply another "gold brick" put forth by the party in power as a means of getting votes at the approaching election, must be evident to every intelligent observer. The bill in its present form, providing, as it does, for an increase in wages of a special class of the employees of private corporations, is in my opinion unconstitutional, and will be so held by the Supreme Court of the United States. It will therefore be of no value to the small class of laboring men affected by its provisions, while the unfortunate circumstances of its passage will prove disastrous in the long run not only to them but to organized labor as a whole.

In short, this bill was not asked for by the railway employees; it is hasty and ill-advised legislation, transcending the constitutional powers of Congress; it has been reported and is being rushed through purely on the grounds of political expediency; and it will, in my opinion, not only fail to accomplish any good purpose but will in the long run prove injurious to the best interests of organized labor and harmful to the country.

## The Underwood Democratic Tariff.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK L. GREENE,
OF VERMONT,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 15, 1916.*

Mr. GREENE of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to a statement of Leslie M. Shaw, former Secretary of the Treasury, which appeared in the Washington Post of August 3, 1916, and which has been much discussed as one of the most accurate and convincing analyses of the threat to American

workingmen and business interests that the Underwood Democratic tariff holds over this country to take effect when the war in Europe comes to an end.

Mr. Shaw said:

At the close of the Napoleonic wars, 100 years ago, in 1816, the Democrats reduced the tariff so that the average duty on imports was over 22 per cent. The average duty collected now under the Underwood tariff is less than 9 per cent. What may we expect at the close of the present European war?

Thomas Benton, a Democrat, told of the effect of the 1816 tariff in his Thirty Years in Congress, when he declared there was "no price for property, no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshal, no sign of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property." Horace Greeley described it by saying, "Great Britain poured her fabrics, far below cost, upon our markets in a perfect deluge, manufactures went down like grass before a mower, and agriculture and labor speedily followed."

Woodrow Wilson, in his History of the American People, declared that "English merchants poured their goods once again into American ports so long shut against them by embargoes and war. It was manifestly injurious to every young industry. The remedy was a protective tariff, such as Mr. Hamilton had wished, and the young Republicans did not hesitate to advocate and establish it."

As a historian Woodrow Wilson is a protectionist; as a Democratic politician, he declares it a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that under the Constitution the Government has no right or power to levy tariff duties except for revenue.

Lloyd George recently declared that England had increased her efficiency in many instances eightfold in spite of the fact that more than 4,000,000 men were in the army. I suppose the factories of England are turning out four or five times as much as before. Germany is operating her factories and small shops with convalescent soldiers and women at twice normal capacity and has over $2,000,000,000 worth of goods ready for shipment when the seas are opened. Barring Belgium, Poland, and a little strip of northern France, not a factory has been destroyed and many times as many persons are employed in the factories as before. Within three months America was underbid by England on a large contract for pipe for South America and was underbid by Germany on a contract for $1,000,000 worth of munitions machinery for Sweden. Before the war England was giving considerable attention to sports; in the last six months there has been no polo, no cricket, no sports; only war and business. When the war is over there will be nothing but business. England has been taught economies that will not cease after the war.

I am interested in the American pay roll when the war ends, and the prosperity of every farmer, every citizen, is dependent upon that pay roll. When that pay roll ceases prosperity ceases, and every point, every angle, is a bloody angle.

## The American People Are Neutral and Will Crushingly Rebuke Jingoistic Utterances.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. ALFRED G. ALLEN,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] is one of the responsible spokesmen of the Republican Party in this House. He is second on the Republican minority of the great Committee on Ways and Means. In the event that the Republicans should unfortunately control the next House and the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] should be in any way retired, Mr. GARDNER would be the Republican floor leader in this House, with all the power that that office takes with it. Only a year or two ago he was the Republican nominee for governor of Massachusetts. He is the son-in-law of Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE, of Massachusetts, who is the bosom friend of Theodore Roosevelt, the senior member of the firm of Roosevelt, Hughes & Co., now running for President.

In the event of a return to Republican control, Mr. LODGE would be chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and from his utterances from time to time presumably shares the view of the gentleman from Massachusetts, that the Congress of the United States should be but the adjunct of the English House of Commons. There can be no doubt that when Mr. GARDNER speaks, he speaks for the Republican Party. So long ago as last May he introduced in this House the following joint resolution (H. J. Res. 231, 64th Cong., 1st sess.):

*Resolved, etc.*, That the Congress of the United States heartily congratulates France and her allies on the success which is so certain in the near future to crown their superb efforts; and further,

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States expresses its heartfelt admiration of the 200 000 Irishmen who are now heroically serving the cause of their country and of civilization in the trenches in France and Belgium; and further

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States would view with apprehension any inconclusive and premature peace which would encourage the world to believe that nations may with impunity violate every law of God or man; and further

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States utterly condemns all efforts, no matter how plausible the disguise, which are designed for the purpose of embroiling the United States with France, Great Britain, or any one of their allies.

No effort has ben made by the Republican Party in this House to depose Mr. GARDNER from his position of leadership on account of these intemperate utterances. Instead he has been billed in Maine and elsewhere as one of the star orators of the party.

It may fairly be said, then, that when he criticizes the Democratic Party because it has tried to be neutral, because it has attempted to be fair to the Teutonic allies as well as the entente allies, because it is insisting that England as well as Germany should respect American rights, he represents the views of his party. We welcome the issue. We believe in neutrality. We are opposed to the policy advocated by the gentleman which would have forced us into war with Germany over the question of Belgium. We believe that the American people are likewise neutral and will crushingly rebuke the jingoistic doctrine of the gentleman from Massachusetts and his party.

## Truth Needs No Defense.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES V. McCLINTIC,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. McCLINTIC. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me by the House to extend my remarks I desire to make the following observations: Campaign falsehoods formerly played a more or less important part in every campaign for a public office. Mudslingers, character assassins, and debauchers of public records have had their innings, so that to-day no honest man will support any person for a public office who deliberately and maliciously publishes false and misleading statements about another, thereby seeking to deceive the public.

Congressman MANN, the Republican leader of the House and a very excellent gentleman, recently, when attacked, made the following statement, which shows that a man in public life will be accused of practically anything by those who have no regard for the truth, and more especially when they want the position he is holding:

Mr. Speaker, no one in public life escapes more or less misrepresentations. As a general thing, I pay no attention to misrepresentations of what I do or say. But a Mr. ———, who is a candidate for the Republican nomination for Congress against me, has published a lot of statements so utterly devoid of the truth that I am constrained to refer at least to one of them, etc. (From CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 22, 1916.)

My Socialist opponent, realizing that it was impossible for me to come home, has in my absence sought to poison the minds of the people by circulating a little, cheap, unsigned circular, which makes the same charges he made two years ago. He does not dare attack my record as a Member of Congress, but feels that the people will believe his unreliable statements made in this connection. As a rule I do not pay any attention to statements of this kind, as the majority of the people of my district realize that this party will do anything to deceive the public. For instance, he again publishes a charge, as follows:

HIS CHARGE.

Opposed the eight-hour law for women.

THE RECORD.

Page 902 senate journal shows my vote cast for this bill. Page 972 shows my vote in favor of conference report; and the following certification under the seal of the State of Oklahoma has been made by the secretary of state:

I, J. L. Lyon, secretary of state of the State of Oklahoma, hereby certify that the senate journal of the fourth legislature, regular session, of date of March 17, 1913, pages 971-972, on the question of "An act regulating hours of employment of females in certain industries, and providing a penalty therefor," J. V. McCLINTIC, senator, is recorded among the yeas, voting for the said measure; and I further certify that said record can be found in the fourth name of the third line from the bottom of page 972 of the printed senate journal of said fourth legislature.

Done at the capitol, in Oklahoma City, State of Oklahoma, this 21st day of August, A. D. 1916, at 1 o'clock p. m., and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

[SEAL.] J. L. LYON,
*Secretary of State.*

Either the records are all wrong or this bill received my support. Judge for yourself.

COTTON LEGISLATION.

The records of the courts of the State of Oklahoma will show that the bill introduced by myself which made the compresses accept the weights of local cotton yards was attacked by those having stock, or interested in compresses, and, through their hired attorneys, the law was finally declared unconstitutional.

HIS CHARGE.

That I am the author of the cotton-weighing bill in the interest of the compress corporations.

THE RECORD.

Page 569, senate journal, 1913, shows there was not a single member of the senate that voted against this bill. Is it not rather strange that all of the members of the senate, both Democrats and Republicans, were so ignorant that they did not know what they were doing, and that it was left to a Socialist to make this great discovery? The fact of the matter is, the Socialist that made this charge is so ignorant that he would not know a corporation from a compress, and no greater falsehood was ever published than his untrue charge.

LABOR LAWS.

As a Member of Congress I have voted for the child-labor bill, the workmen's compensation act, the stop-watch amendment law, and every single bill in the interest of the workingman. I have received the following letter from Congressman VAN DYKE, one of the present leaders in labor legislation, which shows how I stand in Washington, and that the statements made by my Socialist opponent are not true.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 1, 1916.*

Hon. JIM MCCLINTIC,
*House Office Building.*

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I feel very kindly toward you personally for the splendid assistance you have given to those who are interested in taking care of the workingman's interest. I thank you so much for the aid you rendered me on the stop-watch amendment law, and inasmuch as you have voted for all bills in the interest of labor, your record as a Member of Congress should entitle you to receive the support of the workingmen everywhere.

I trust you will have no opposition this fall, and if I can be of any service to you at any time please feel free to command me.

With great respect, I am,

Sincerely, yours, CARL VAN DYKE.

The State of Oklahoma has a corporation commission that received certain authority from its constitution, and being informed that they had full jurisdiction over certain matters affecting employees on railroads I felt that it would be an unjustified expenditure of public money in passing useless legislation. The corporation commission in a letter dated July 3, 1914, corroborated the above statement, and this proves that the State of Oklahoma did not need full-crew legislation.

The letter is as follows:

OFFICE OF THE CORPORATION COMMISSION OF OKLAHOMA,
*Oklahoma City, July 3, 1914.*

Hon. JIM MCCLINTIC,
*Snyder, Okla.*

DEAR SENATOR: On the 25th you addressed a letter to Chairman Love asking if the commission had authority to require additional men to work on public-service properties.

In reply thereto, beg to advise the commission has authority to require a railroad company or other public-service properties, such as telephone companies, to employ sufficient help to render prompt and adequate service to the public, and sufficient help that utilities may be operated with due regard to safety.

The commission has required additional station agents and could require additional brakemen and additional telephone operators upon complaint and proper showing.

Yours, very truly, GEO. A. HENSHAW,
*Commissioner.*

After you have read this letter ask yourself if it would be wise for the State legislature to waste fifteen or twenty thousand dollars in passing a law that was not needed. Also ask the Socialist representatives of the fifth legislature why they did not insist that a full-crew bill be passed.

The secretary of state, in a letter dated August 21, 1916, states "there were many votes taken on the McMeacham resolution, but in none of them do I find a reference to convict labor."

HIS CHARGE.

That I favored convict labor on the State capitol.

THE RECORD.

I have never voted for any bill that favored convict labor in preference to any other kind of labor. If legislation of this kind were on the statue books of Oklahoma, no doubt convicts would to-day be constructing the State capitol. The only stand I took on this particular bill was to oppose the same until Oklahoma City had made good her promise, and my action in this connection caused an extra item to be added which saved the taxpayers $100,000.

OTHER MISSTATEMENTS.

I have in my possession another one of the Socialist campaign circulars, in which the following language is used in making one of his customary untrue accusations:

HIS CHARGE.

Referring to game wardens:

MCCLINTIC does not say so, but he was the man that wrote the bill that created the same offices.

THE RECORD.

Page 626 of the house journal shows that this bill was introduced on February 21, 1911, by Representative Eugene Watrous, of Enid, Okla. If any man in the seventh congressional district desires to corroborate this statement, let him address a letter to Mr. Eugene Watrous, of Enid, Okla., and he will readily learn that my Socialist opponent published as big a falsehood as ever was circulated anywhere.

I might go ahead and take up each item contained in his unjust, misleading circular, but life is too short to pay further attention to a man who has no regard for truth or honesty. I will call your attention to but one more of his unjust accusations, which is as follows:

HIS CHARGE.

I brand your rural-credits law a brazen fraud.

THE RECORD.

There are 435 Members of the House of Representatives. When this bill was voted on all of those present, except 12, supported it. Among those voting for the bill was the Socialist Representative in Congress, and it is a rather peculiar thing to me that he should vote for a bill which Mr. Stallard would pronounce a brazen fraud. Of course there may be a few people who think that my Socialist opponent is so much smarter than any other man connected with his party, and really that Congress should apologize to him for passing this law without receiving his consent. There is an old saying that ignorance is bliss, and convince a fool against his will and he remains a fool still.

When the currency act was passed my Socialist opponent reared up on his hind legs and roared a protest loud and long. He proclaimed with all the force that can come from a pair of leather lungs that this was another iniquitous measure forced upon the people. Yet the change brought about shows that this law has proved to be such a popular measure that no party could to-day be successful that would advocate its repeal. The Government for the first time in 100 years has control of its currency, and as long as this law remains on the statute books no set of men will ever be able to bring down upon this country another disastrous panic.

Really it is ridiculous to hear a person branding a law as a failure before it has ever been put in operation. The record included in Senate Document No. 500 gives a detailed account of practically the same system, which is now being used successfully in Germany, Russia, Italy, Roumania, Serbia, and many other European countries. It has been in use in some of these countries for nearly 100 years, and the rates of interest have been gradually reduced from 30 per cent to the uniform rates of 5 and 6 per cent.

It will be very interesting to note that the Washington Post, one of the most prominent newspapers in the United States, has published the following editorial relative to the new rural-credit law. It reads:

Next to the establishment of the Federal Reserve System, which has reduced to a minimum the danger of sudden financial depression, the Federal farm-loan act, popularly called the rural-credit law, is the most momentous piece of financial legislation written upon the statute books in the past score of years.

It is doubtful whether the farmers as yet realize the full import of this new law. Just as the new banking and currency system gives to the business men of the Nation a more elastic currency and greater facilities for credit, so the rural-credit act extends to the farmers of the country the same quick credit that is now enjoyed by manufacturers and other business men.

The essence of the new rural-credit law is in the establishment of a uniform rate of interest for the farmers. It will not help a lazy or shiftless farmer, but it will remove at once the hampering influences that halted the progress of men who have labored ceaselessly to get rid of debt in the operation of small and large tracts of land.

No longer will there be any gouging of the farmers, no matter where they may be located. No Federal land bank is permitted to charge more than 6 per cent per annum on its farm-mortgage loans, and if one of these banks pays only 4 per cent on an issue of bonds, it can not charge more than 5 per cent for the next farm loans it makes. Thus if those who now invest their money in farm-mortgage loans receive only 4 per cent on their investment, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that the farmer is paying only 5 per cent.

Farm lands, which are the very keynote of the Nation's prosperity, hitherto have not been considered a very good investment by the average citizen. To attract money to the farm-loan field, however, the new law provides a method whereby those who have money to lend can find safe investments in the form of debentures or bonds of small and large denominations, issued by the banks and based on the security of mortgages on farm lands.

Not only a method, but an inducement, is thus offered for investments in agriculture.

Much will depend upon the initiative shown by the farmers themselves in the development of this new system. In its general effects it is not unlike the building and loan associations which have grown up in all the large American cities and which have enabled so many working people to acquire their own homes. The associations which the farmers will form, under the new system virtually will dominate the 12 land banks which are to be established. They will pass upon the reputation and reliability of their own members. There will be a new community of interest among the farmers of the country, and there should be an immediate strengthening and improvement in the agricultural resources of the Nation in addition to the improvement in the condition of individual farmers.

In writing this new law upon the statute books Congress has performed a service not only to the farmers themselves, but to the whole country, whose prosperity is based in such large measure upon its agricultural resources.

THE NAVY BILL.

The editor of a newspaper at Cordell has published an editorial in which he calls on the people to ask McCLINTIC why he voted against the Navy bill. Feeling that he had made an honest mistake, I addressed the following letter to him on the 28th of August, 1916. The letter:

Editor M. H. GUNSENHOUSER,
*Herald-Sentinel, Cordell, Okla.*

MY DEAR SIR: My attention has been called to an editorial in your paper in which you have suggested to the voters that they ask me why I voted against the Navy bill. I take it that you would not misrepresent the records, and in a spirit of fairness I am calling your attention to page 14705 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, under date of August 15, 1916, which shows that the roll call that you have referred to was on amendment No. 238, which was the building program, and not the Navy bill.

I voted for the Navy bill when it first passed the House, and inasmuch as there was a controversy between the House and the Senate as to whether we should have a one-year program or a four-year program this question was finally decided by a roll call. I felt that inasmuch as new inventions were being made every day which are rendering many ships in operation practically obsolete, it would not be best to increase the appropriations carried in this bill to $600,000,000 at this session of Congress. Everybody realizes that there will be a session of Congress next December and one the following year, and that it will not be necessary to prepare long programs ahead for the expenditures of this kind; and I did not believe it was good judgment from a business standpoint to authorize huge expenditures of this kind several years in advance.

Inasmuch as you have misquoted my vote on this bill, I take it that you will be fair enough to print the proper correction.

Very respectfully,

JIM MCCLINTIC.

P. S.—Three Representatives from Oklahoma voted as I did on this question, and among them was the Hon. DICK T. MORGAN, of your party.

SOCIALISTS REPUDIATE OWN CANDIDATE.

There are some members of this party that have awakened to the fact that in their candidate for Congress they apparently have a wolf in sheep's clothing, and it no doubt will be interesting to know how he is regarded by certain leaders connected with his own party living in the district. Some time ago he gave out a statement on the land question, in which he said:

I favor the exemption of 640 acres from the operation of the law—

And so forth.

Comrade John G. Wills, of Granite, Okla., used the following language in expressing his utter disgust at his stand on "landlordism":

If we are so unfortunate as to place a Populist windbag in an executive position and for notoriety he publicly puts us to shame, we believe there are enough "real Socialists" in Oklahoma to make his position anything but a bed of roses.

Continuing further, Mr. Wills states:

These hallucinations are the result of an abnormal, inordinate desire to reach the gas house at Washington and has developed a stubborn case of reactionary impossibilism.

Later on, on the 7th day of September, 1915, a movement was put on foot to recall the Socialist candidate for Congress as a member of the Socialist State executive committee for publicly insulting the combined intelligence of the Socialist Party by making absurd and erroneous statements. A statement to this effect was signed by Comrade C. A. Allen, chairman, and W. M. Rea, secretary. The members of his own party have accused him of circulating absurd, untrue, and erroneous statements, and if the members of his own party feel that in him they have a black sheep that has no regard for the truth, how in the name of common sense could any honest man believe him under oath?

Oklahoma has one Socialist State senator. He is a resident of the same congressional district that this party is a candidate from. He knows that no dependence can be put in this individual, and he is honorable enough to refuse to affiliate or have anything to do with him.

Recently, in a letter which I have in my possession, he made the statement he would have nothing further to do with him, and sought to secure certain records of his conduct in the past.

A few self-styled leaders at Snyder apparently think they own and control the Socialist Party in the seventh congressional district. From past occurrences it would seem that they say who shall be the nominees and then call on the rank and file of the party to pay the fiddler. Their first appeal to the dear comrades always reads something like this: "We have the dope on MCCLINTIC; send us the money, and send it quick. We have arranged with a great agitator to deliver 12 speeches; he is a wonder; send us some more money. Our candidate has an easy race, but he needs a few more quarters and dimes to pay postage." It is always, "Send us the money."

I have had furnished me the present Socialist Representative's record in Congress. If you approve the same, comply with the request made in the letter sent out from Snyder, under date of August 10, and send them a few more dimes and quarters. Here is the record:

SOCIALIST REPRESENTATIVE'S RECORD IN CONGRESS.

(1) He voted against reducing the mileage (40 cents a mile, one way).

(2) He voted against giving the President authority to use the National Guard.

(3) He refused to vote for an appropriation to protect our rights on the sea.

(4) He voted for the adoption of the conference report on the rivers and harbors bill (pork barrel), amounting to $41,000,000.

(5) He offered an amendment which would prevent the use of the National Guard in the case of riots and strikes. If this had been adopted, law and order would have been a thing of the past.

(6) He refused to acknowledge the Stars and Stripes as an emblem of loyalty and patriotism, when questioned by Congressman KING, of Illinois.

(7) He refused to listen to the labor organizations when they called on him to vote for a literacy test in the immigration law.

(8) He was forced to withdraw his remarks when he said that citizens have the right to put the knife of an assassin into the heart of any man who attempts to govern them against their will. One Republican Member—Mr. AUSTIN of Tennessee—expressed regret that he was unable to move his expulsion from the House of Representatives.

(9) He made the statement that "there can be no such thing as offending national honor."

(10) He voted against giving station agents, trackmen, and certain others connected with railroads the benefit of the eight-hour law.

If Congress was in the control of the Socialist Party, and the vote of the present Member is a criterion to follow, ask yourself how long this Nation could survive.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to say that inasmuch as the former mayor of the town in which both of us have lived for a number of years published his record two years ago, and the same has never been denied or refuted, it is of sufficient importance that every man in the district should have the opportunity of reading it. The statement follows:

JIM M'CLINTIC, A SUCCESS, VERSUS H. H. STALLARD, A FAILURE—HOW WILL YOU CAST YOUR VOTE?

Snyder is the home of three of the nominees for Congress. Jim McClintic is the Democratic nominee; H. L. Vogle is the Progressive standard bearer; and H. H. Stallard is the misrepresentative of the Socialist Party.

McClintic and Vogle are among our very best citizens and are conducting a clean, honest, and gentlemanly campaign.

Stallard and some of his henchmen are conducting a campaign of misrepresentation unparalleled in the history of Oklahoma.

We have no desire to meddle in Stallard's race, for the people in Snyder treat his running-for-office brain storms as mere jokes; in fact, he and his numerous attempts to get office are the laughingstock of the community. But in his speech here last Saturday he took occasion to use our name several times in his tirade against all persons who were supporting McClintic, the Democratic nominee for Congress; therefore we desire to let the people of the seventh district know who H. H. Stallard is.

Stallard is a failure. Stallard hit the county running for office and has never stopped.

1. He asked for the office of county assessor on the Democratic ticket and his own neighbors helped defeat him. He failed.

2. He asked for the office of county treasurer on the Democratic ticket and was snowed under. He failed.

3. He joined the Farmers' Union and asked that grand order to send him as their delegate to the constitutional convention. A man who is now running a pool hall in Snyder beat Stallard. He failed.

4. He ran all over the district trying to make speeches for "Haskell and the Constitution." Everyone in Snyder says Haskell promised him a good fat job. He didn't get it. He failed.

5. Stallard got mad, and the next thing we knew he was running for Congress on the Socialist ticket. He wasn't elected. He failed.

6. Then Stallard ran for justice of the peace, a job entirely too big for a .22-caliber man; he wasn't elected. He failed.

7. He ran for Congress again, but the political star which governs his destiny guided him to defeat again. He failed.

8. Stallard has farmed a little, but he went out "politicing" and let about 1,000 bushels of potatoes freeze. This put him on the bum. So he failed.

9. He at one time owned the Kiowa County Democrat and ran it from October, 1906, to March, 1907, but he tried to run the Farmers' Union and everything else at the same time, and, of course, he failed.

10. He was put in charge of the Farmers' Union Advocate at Shawnee and ran it about three months, but his running qualities got him in bad and he was asked to run home. He has tried to run Haskell, the first legislature, the Farmers' Union, and the whole Government; and he just naturally overloaded his feeble mind. Consequently, he failed.

Stallard is always off on the wrong foot. He is one of those fellows who, because of his numerous failures, can not see any good in the man who succeeds. If he sees a successful man like JIM MCCLINTIC climbing to the top, he cries "Grafter," "Frisco Jim," etc.

The Snyder Commercial Club sent JIM MCCLINTIC to St. Louis to secure the plans and specifications for Snyder's new $30,000 depot. JIM got them, and every man, woman, and child is proud of both JIM MCCLINTIC and the new Frisco depot. We really believe Stallard is proud of the depot, but we said every man.

Recently we asked JIM MCCLINTIC to meet with the representatives of the Frisco at Thomas to investigate the new cheese factory at that place. JIM went, and we feel that it will only be a short time until like factories will be established at Snyder and other towns, where the farmers may sell the products of their cows.

JIM MCCLINTIC has been successively and successfully farmer, clerk in a dry goods store, city clerk, county clerk, State representative, State senator, and is now the Democratic nominee for Congress from this district. He owns and conducts one of the largest dry goods stores in this part of the State—"The Texas Store."

JIM MCCLINTIC is a success.

H. H. Stallard is a failure.

Both MCCLINTIC and Stallard live here and have been residents for over 11 years. Almost any business man or farmer will verify the above.

Respectfully submitted to the voters of the seventh congressional district.

JOHN ANDERSON, *Snyder, Okla.*

The statement made by Mr. Anderson in this connection was published two years ago. I am now informed that the Socialist candidate attempts to make the people believe that I had him appointed postmaster as a reward for making this public utterance. This could not be true, for Congressman FERRIS made all the appointments in that portion represented by him until March, 1915. As further proof of my statement in this connection, I refer you to the following letter from the Postmaster General:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
*Washington, D. C., August 22, 1916.*

Hon. JIM MCCLINTIC,
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MR. MCCLINTIC: In reply to your letter of the 18th instant I desire to advise you that Mr. John H. Anderson was appointed postmaster at Snyder, Okla., on June 23, 1914. Examination of the brief of the case on which Mr. Anderson was appointed shows no statement or recommendation from you in regard to the postmastership. It is shown that the office at that time was in the district represented by Hon. SCOTT FERRIS, and that in accordance with the department's usual practice in such cases a recommendation was secured from him in regard to an appointment for the Snyder office.

Very sincerely,

A. S. BURLESON.

OTHER LEGISLATION.

During this session of Congress I have introduced bills providing for a system of rural credits; Federal aid in the construction of roads; reapportionment of irrigation money for Oklahoma; a bill to restore homestead rights to those filing in the Big and Little Pastures; a bill to protect innocent purchasers from buying watered stock or inflated securities; a bill to protect the purchasers of railroad bonds by giving the Interstate Commerce Commission certain jurisdiction; a bill to dispose of public lands in abandoned town sites in Oklahoma; and a bill to give to the State of Oklahoma, for the benefit of its schools, 40,000 acres of land and $210,000. The last bill referred to has received a unanimous favorable report from every committee it has been referred to, and, inasmuch as it is now on the Unanimous Consent Calendar, the members of the Oklahoma delegation believe that it will become a law at the next session of Congress.

It has always been my policy to make my campaign on my record and never to resort to unfair methods. I have studiously refrained from making any statement concerning these charges until now; and were it not for the fact that many of my friends have asked that I make a statement, I would pass the same, feeling that the honest voters of the seventh congressional district know me well enough to appreciate the fact that during the 14 years I have lived in Oklahoma my best efforts have been put forth in trying to develop the resources of our section and to do what I could for my people.

On the first day that my name went on the pay roll I opened my office in Washington, and it has been kept open every working-day since. I have never worked any harder in my life than I have in trying to bring about the most good for the people that live in the seventh congressional district.

I am going to continue faithfully to perform my duties, and, while there are those who would seek to discredit me by publishing statements that are not true, I feel certain that those who have the best interests of our section of the country at heart will approve my efforts in their behalf.

## Use of Public Schools in the District of Columbia as Community Forums.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to House bill 14816, reported to the House from the Committee on the District of Columbia July 29, 1916, providing for the use of public schools in the District as community forums. According to a report accompanying this bill, the measure was unanimously reported back to the House from the committee. I desire to say that this bill was not even reported to the committee proper by the subcommittee, nor could it have been reported unanimously to the House by the committee proper, for the reason that I have opposed the measure as drawn both in the subcommittee and elsewhere, am against it now, and would have opposed it had it been called up for consideration on the floor of the House.

I know of other members of the subcommittee who are opposed to the bill on account of the lack of restriction with respect to the use of the public-school houses of the District of Columbia on Sunday for meetings of indiscriminate purposes, including political discussions calculated to incite contention, discord, and possible riot, as has occurred in other cities where there has been no limit to the latitude of Sunday discussions at these forum meetings.

I am speaking only for myself in connection with this matter, as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, and wish to record myself as irrevocably against Sunday desecration and misuse of the public-school buildings made possible if not intended under the provisions of this bill. The report gives the names of a number of people who are in favor of the bill, but it is evident to my mind that the gentlemen who have thus subscribed themselves are not aware of the possibilities for harm within the lines of the measure. Many people residing in the District are pronouncedly opposed to the bill, and among those who appeared and spoke against the measure at the hearings held by the subcommittee were Henry P. Blair, president Board of Education of the District of Columbia. On page 70 of the hearings before the committee, Mr. Blair says:

I do not believe that the volume of enthusiasm which is behind this movement amounts in citizenship to more than 10,000 people.

There are more than 360,000 people in the District of Columbia.

Rev. Dr. John MacMurray, pastor of Union Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Dr. Wedderspoon, pastor of Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, are strongly opposed to this bill, and their churches have taken action and passed resolutions against the measure, along with almost every other Protestant church in the District. Mr. Roy C. Claflin, teacher in the District of Columbia and president of the Teachers' Association of the District of Columbia, and Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, also opposed the bill.

Mrs. C. M. Chipman, wife of Dr. Chipman, says on page 129 of the hearings:

Mr. Ward is here, as we know, employed to advance this movement. It is not being advanced by citizens; it is being advanced by people who have come here for that one purpose. His method was objectionable to the women of the District of Columbia. He came into our women's organization and gave a misstatement and a misrepresentation of our board of education. He did not read the forum bill. He brought a resolution to the bodies of women that were not accustomed to this kind of thing. He presented his resolution, and on the face of it it looked very fair, and he insisted that a vote should be taken at that meeting while he was there.

The vote was taken under his pressure and influence, but after he had gone the women secured a forum bill, and after having read it, reversed their resolution, and now stand solidly against the measure. There are 36 of these branch organizations of women in the District.

Mr. W. C. Arnett, a retired teacher with many years experience as an organizer, declares this bill is fraught with more possible evil than any bill that has been offered for the consideration of Congress in 50 years.

Mr. Evan H. Tucker, president of the Northeast Washington Citizens' Association, says of the 70 associations in the District of Columbia he knows of only three that have favored the forum bill. His association, one of the oldest and strongest in the

District, and scores of other citizens' associations have taken action against this bill.

The Board of Trade of the District, of some 1,400 members, leading business and professional men, stands unanimously against this bill.

The Chamber of Commerce of the District appointed a committee to investigate this bill, and that committee stands unanimously against it.

For every vote that the proponents of this bill can produce in favor of it, W. C. Arnett declares that he can produce 20 against it.

We also are reliably informed that many who did not appear before the committee and are well-known educators and leaders of Christian thought and action are against the enactment of the bill in its present form.

## Foreign Monopolies Favored.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HAMPTON MOORE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with a flourish of trumpets at Baltimore in 1912, as at previous Democratic conventions, the Democratic Party promised to destroy the trusts and monopolies. But time works wondrous changes and responsibility breeds caution and timidity. The Democratic Party has had time to think over its blatant assurances to the people, and trusts and monopolies still thrive. With the Clayton antitrust law added to the Sherman law and an increase in special attorneys and investigators, the Attorney General's department of the Wilson administration has been singularly inactive in bringing to terms any of the great malefactors who were used so successfully as scarecrows in the 1912 campaign. We have seen these hideous "magnates" call at the White House to receive assurances that they would not be disturbed. We have learned from the Attorney General's office that a reasonable intent to violate the law must be shown. We have heard upon the floor from Democratic sources that there is "a Beef Trust" and "a Food Trust" and several other trusts that are supposed to have increased the cost of living. But we have looked in vain for prosecution under Democratic laws that were supposed "to have teeth in them."

Recently Congress has passed laws permitting foreign combinations to be established in the financial world and in commerce. What the "large interests" wanted in these respects has been granted. The Clayton antitrust law has had many of its "teeth" extracted, and it is gradually but surely losing its bite. The revenue bill, which is now before the House on its final passage, extracts another tooth from the big stick which the Democratic Party has held over the business interests of the country. I do not know whether the extraction of this tooth is a good thing or a bad thing, but I do know it is another case of a great party "taking water." The bill which is now before us, brought hastily from conference, contains an antidumping clause which is wholly in the interest of the foreigner, in that it permits the foreigner to place his own value upon exports to the United States. To that antidumping clause the Senate has added amendment 263, relating to the admission of foreign exports under the antidumping clause, as follows:

*Provided*, That the above shall not be interpreted to prevent the establishing in this country on the part of a foreign producer of an exclusive agency for the sale in the United States of the products of said foreign producer or merchant, nor to prevent such exclusive agent from agreeing not to use, purchase, or deal in the article of any other person.

As this proviso reads it is a clear reversal of the antitrust policy set forth in the Clayton antitrust law, for section 3 of that act—October 15, 1914—specifically denies to American merchants or manufacturers the exclusive privilege that is herein granted to our foreign competitors. I insert section 3 of the Clayton antitrust law:

SEC. 3. That it shall be unlawful for any person engaged in commerce, in the course of such commerce, to lease or make a sale or contract for sale of goods, wares, merchandise, machinery, supplies, or other commodities, whether patented or unpatented, for use, consumption, or resale within the United States or any Territory thereof or the District of Columbia or any insular possession or other place under the jurisdiction of the United States, or fix a price charged therefor, or discount from, or rebate upon, such price, on the condition, agreement, or understanding that the lessee or purchaser thereof shall not use or deal in the goods, wares, merchandise, machinery, supplies, or other commodities of a competitor or competitors of the lessor or seller, where the effect of such lease, sale, or contract for sale or such condition, agreement, or understanding may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly in any line of commerce.

The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means explains that the criticism just made is met by a further amendment agreed to in conference upholding the Clayton law, which amendment I have just secured and am now able to insert herewith in this extension of remarks:

In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert: "*Provided*, That the above shall not be interpreted to prevent the establishing in this country on the part of a foreign producer of an exclusive agency for the sale in the United States of the products of said foreign producer or merchant, nor to prevent such exclusive agent from agreeing not to use, purchase, or deal in the article of any other person, but this proviso shall not be construed to exempt from the provisions of this section any article imported by such exclusive agent if such agent is required by the foreign producer or if it is agreed between such agent and such foreign producer that any agreement, understanding, or condition set out in this section shall be imposed by such agent upon the sale or other disposition of such article to any person in the United States"; and the Senate agree to the same.

This is the new law. Nevertheless it will be observed that the foreigner is able to do substantially as he pleases, and is thus given a distinct advantage over his American competitor.

## "The Highest Style of the Art."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH TAGGART,

OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. TAGGART. Mr. Speaker, the busy American people sometimes fail to appreciate how technical certain parts of the Government work really is. The work in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing is, beyond doubt or question, the most artistic and intricate work of the kind that is done anywhere in the world. In fact, the American printer has taught the world the highest art of printing. There was a phrase in these words, "The highest style of art," used in a House bill to provide for printing certain Government securities and providing that they should be printed accordingly. It gives me pleasure to conclude my remarks by inserting an article from an issue, dated August 15, of a publication called the Plate Printer, published here in Washington, as follows:

"THE HIGHEST STYLE OF THE ART"—ITS ORIGIN AND THE RULE OF REASON, WHICH IS THE LIFE OF ALL LAW.

"The highest style of the art" is an oft-repeated and current phrase among plate printers and engravers. It originated from an eminently respectable source. So it may be well for those who attempt to make little of this expression and laugh down the principle which lies back of it, to first advise themselves whence it originated. Persons who pretend to speak ex cathedra upon all subjects without first acquiring any knowledge of the same are not to be pitied, because they suffer no embarrassment of feelings. Blissful ignorance is their compensation and while persons better informed are tickled at their antics, they go on year after year and finally pass away without ever knowing that they were the butt end of the joke. This phrase is not the coinage of an idle brain nor the thought of designing men to serve a selfish cause, but it is the expression of unbiased legislators, men accustomed to weighing questions in a nice scale, men who approached their work with an open mind, and they were determined to settle for all time the question as to the safest, surest, and soundest method of printing the securities of our Government. It was in the settlement of this question that the phrase "the highest style of the art" was first used. They had in mind one principle—the protection of the people's paper money—and after a thorough investigation of both sides of the question they arrived at the decision that the only way to print our securities from engraved plates on hand-roller presses in "the highest style of the art." The language, "the highest style of the art," was first employed in a bill known as H. R. 9623, entitled "An act to provide for the printing of Government securities in the highest style of the art," and after considering the same, the Senate Committee on Finance in the Fiftieth Congress, second session, made its report, and among other things it recommended the following:

"But granting that Mr. Graves's figures are absolutely correct, and that the use of the steam presses effects an actual saving of 18 per cent in the expense of his bureau, there remains the increased expense of maintaining the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department, which must be incurred so long as the obligations and securities of the Government can be readily and successfully imitated, an expenditure which can be reduced so soon as the Government shall be able to print its securities or obligations in so perfect a manner as to make it impossible to counterfeit them. And when this degree of excellence in printing our notes and securities shall be reached there will be the further saving of the expense attending the prosecution of captured counterfeiters.

"But the committee can not agree that the mere question of economy in printing the obligations and securities of the Government merits consideration in this connection. In their opinion, there is but one point in issue in considering this bill, and that is the duty of the Gov-

ernment to afford the citizen the greatest attainable security against counterfeit notes; and being satisfied that this security can be obtained in greater degree by using the hand-roller press exclusively, they are unanimously of the opinion that the steam presses should be discarded.

"The committee finds also that while the small value of the internal-revenue stamps and the difficulty of disposing of any counterfeits of that character of Government obligations for a less price than is charged for the genuine issue, presents comparatively but slight inducement to forgers and counterfeiters, it is yet a fact that the inferior work of the steam presses renders it impossible that the design and intent of the engraver whose skill has produced the admirable specimens of his art, which are to be found in the plates from which the revenue stamps are printed, can be fully developed when said plates are worked on anything but a hand press, and therefore they are of the opinion that the internal-revenue stamps also should be printed on the hand-roller presses exclusively.

"As to the second section of the bill, providing that 'hereafter the Chief and Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing shall be either practical engravers or plate printers,' the committee, after the most careful and anxious consideration and deliberation, are of the opinion that a proper discharge of the duties devolving upon those officials demands a special and peculiar knowledge of the printers' or engravers' art, which can be obtained only by special and practical training. The deliberate conclusion of the committee is that the chief or assistant chief of the bureau should be qualified to decide of his own knowledge upon the merits or defects of any piece of work turned out by any of his subordinates, and be further able of his own knowledge to point out how the defects can be most effectually and expeditiously remedied.

"The committee find further that this ability can not be acquired without preliminary training and experience as a practical printer or engraver, and that no amount of general information, no degree of intelligence, can supply this indispensable practical knowledge or be an equivalent for it."

The Committee on Finance of the United States Senate is respectable authority upon any question, and its recommendation turns the laugh against those who are disposed to be amused at the expression, "the highest style of the art," so that we say again to those inclined to treat our case lightly that they will do well to con over this report, and in so doing they will find out that the originators of the thought, "the highest style of the art," were among the highest and best representatives of our country, and that the rule of reason which guided their deliberations is the law to-day, and no attempt should be made to change that law without first inquiring into the reason for the law. It has been very well said, "The reason for the law is the life of the law." So before you take the life of the law look for the reason, and you will not be so hasty to alter, amend, or repeal the same.

## Grazing-Homestead Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. FRANK W. MONDELL,
OF WYOMING,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the so-called stock-raising or 640-acre homestead bill, which passed the House in January and has been on the calendar of the Senate since April 13, through the strenuous and persistent efforts of Republican Senators, particularly Senator STERLING, of South Dakota, was brought before the Senate and passed that body this morning and was messaged over to the House about an hour before the time fixed for adjournment. The bill as it passed the Senate contained quite a number of important amendments and would ordinarily go to conference for consideration, but in view of the importance of the measure, western Members especially interested were anxious to urge the adoption of the Senate amendments by the House, thus preparing the measure for the signature of the presiding officers of the House and Senate and of the President. On consultation with the enrolling clerk of the House it developed, however, that it would be utterly impossible, even though the Senate amendments were agreed to, to enroll the bill in time to have it signed by the Speaker and the President of the Senate before Congress adjourned at the hour of 10 o'clock. Under these circumstances any action on the part of the House would jeopardize the bill and probably kill it. In view of this condition it was agreed by all those interested in the bill that it was not wise to move the adoption of the Senate amendments, and the bill goes over to the session of Congress which meets in December, when it is expected action will be promptly taken on the Senate amendments and the bill become a law.

I am not disposed at this time to indulge in criticism of anyone for the failure to secure this legislation at this session of Congress. The fact of the situation known to all is, however, that for five months the bill was on the Senate Calendar, and the Democratic majority of the Senate could have passed it at almost any time if they had been disposed to do so. But for the persistence of Republican Senators the bill would still be on the Senate Calendar. I do desire, however, to call attention to certain amendments which were adopted by the Senate which greatly improve the bill. These amendments are similar to amendments which I suggested or offered in the House at the time the bill was considered there. After the passage of the bill the gentleman from Colorado, Mr. TAYLOR, and myself appeared before the Senate committee and urged these amendments and some others which were not adopted by the Senate. One of these amendments is an amendment to section 3, under which the entryman of a noncontiguous additional tract is not required to reside on the same. Another is an amendment to section 4, under which the provision of the bill which limited the right of additional entry of contiguous lands to one who was residing on purely grazing lands was broadened so as to grant the right to any homestead entryman. A similar amendment was made to section 5, which applies to those who have submitted final proof on their lands. These two amendments vastly broaden the opportunities for additional entries under the law, as under the bill when it passed the House only those entrymen now occupying lands of the character described in the act, namely, grazing lands, were allowed to take additional entries. A similar amendment broadening the opportunities under the law was made to section 9, the section which authorizes the purchase at $1.25 an acre of contiguous land. An amendment was also made to section 11 broadening the provision with regard to stock driveways.

The bill as thus amended is not perfect, but it is much better than it was as it passed the House, and it is hoped that it will speedily become a law on the reassembling of Congress.

## Mexican Affairs.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,
OF VIRGINIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, a gigantic attempt has been made by the nominee of the Republican Party and by a number of Republican Party leaders to make a campaign issue of President Wilson's Mexican policy.

This attempt has been made, Mr. Speaker, because the record of the Wilson administration and the Democratic Congress has been so splendid that the campaign managers can find nothing in that record to truthfully criticize. These gentlemen believe that the people of the country are well posted on the acts of the administration in relation to domestic affairs and our foreign relations with European countries, but indulge the hope that they have been so absorbed in their own affairs and in the great European war, and the momentous questions arising out of it, that they have not kept posted on the Mexican situation, and that therefore they can be misled by the unfair and unjust criticisms of the part this administration has taken in reference to Mexican affairs.

A number of speeches have been made in the House, in the Senate, and in the country during the past four or five months attacking President Wilson's Mexican policy, all of which have been very completely and satisfactorily answered. The answers to the speeches at first made were so complete that on the 18th of August the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, Dr. TEMPLE, undertook the task of adding something to the attacks that have heretofore been made upon the Mexican policy of the present administration. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is well equipped for this task. He was, until he came to Congress, professor of history and political science in Washington and Jefferson College of Pennsylvania. Since he has been in Congress he has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. He is a man of great ability, high character, and an industrious student. It is to be assumed, therefore, he said everything in criticism of President Wilson's action in regard to Mexico that could be said.

Dr. TEMPLE'S speech followed to some extent the lines made by other Republicans who have addressed themselves to this subject, but he advanced criticisms that have heretofore not been made.

The fundamental point of his attack upon President Wilson's Mexican policy, however, is the same as that of all other critics of this policy, viz, failure to recognize Huerta as the President of the Mexican Republic. But yet the gentleman from Pennsylvania would not himself say that Huerta should have been recognized. He asks the question in his address, "Should we have recognized Huerta?" He does not answer it directly but infer-

entially. The inference may be drawn that he thinks Huerta should have been recognized, but this is a mere inference, because the learned gentleman fails to be frank and fair in this matter, just as Mr. Justice Hughes has and just as many other Republican speakers have who have addressed themselves to this subject. None of them have ever declared that they thought Huerta should have been recognized, and some of them have declared that they "approve the action of the President in refusing to recognize as President of Mexico Victoriano Huerta."

Mr. Speaker, I think every criticism made of the President in this matter by the gentleman from Pennsylvania can be fully answered, as have the criticisms of those who have spoken on this subject prior to the time he spoke.

I am fully satisfied that those of the American people who have kept abreast of this question approve the course of President Wilson in not recognizing Huerta; that is, with the exception of those who had acquired interests in Mexico which they thought would be better subserved by a corrupt military dictator than they would be if the people controlled their own government. I have not the slightest doubt that the American voters between now and the 7th of November who are not fully informed on this question, but who will take the trouble to study it—and I believe most of them will do so—will approve President Wilson's course.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Dr. TEMPLE, does not make plain wherein a different attitude by President Wilson would have been less costly to American life and property, though he asserts that some other course would have been so. Surely if we had intervened not only would we have sustained tremendous expense and loss in our Army, but American life and property existing in Mexico at the time of such intervention would have been practically wiped out entirely.

President Taft sent the following telegram on April 19, 1911, to the governor of Arizona:

> The situation might justify me in ordering our troops across the border and attempting to stop the fighting or to fire upon both combatants from the American side. But if I take this step I must face the possibility of resistance and greater bloodshed, and also the danger of having our motives misconstrued and misrepresented, and of thus inflaming Mexican popular indignation against many thousand Americans now in Mexico and jeopardize their lives and property. The pressure for general intervention, under such conditions, might not be practical to resist. It is impossible to foresee or reckon the circumstances of such a course, and we must use the greatest self-constraint to avoid it. I am loath to endanger Americans in Mexico, where they are necessarily exposed, by taking radical steps.

On July 22, 1912, Senator FALL made a speech in the Senate in which he said, "An ultimatum should be sent to the so-called Mexican Government that within a given length of time killing and destruction of property must cease in Mexico." This evidently was meant to apply to Mexicans, because the statement was not qualified by the use American or foreign. Intervention really meant more for us than war, with its attendant expenditures of blood and treasure.

At the beginning of the Madero revolution, the latter part of 1910, the Madero followers, who were collected together in groups sufficiently large to enforce their demand upon the scattered American settlers, took, either by threats or by force, from these settlers all of their arms and ammunition, so that shortly after the beginning of the Madero revolution a greater portion of the American citizens residing in northern Mexico had scarcely a single arm with which to defend themselves against outrage of any character and were thus, to all intents and purposes, in a perfectly defenseless condition. Intervention under such circumstances would not have been war; it would have been practically murder—murder for those isolated, defenseless American citizens residing in Mexico. It should be borne in mind that at the time President Taft sent the message alluded to to the governor of Arizona, and at the time Senator FALL made his speech, Mexico, and particularly the northern part of it, was infested with bands of insurrectionists interspersed with bands of well-armed brigands wholly without discipline.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania makes the statement that, in addition to the punitive expedition in Mexico, the United States has its forces in Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and Haiti, and it is evident that he places the blame on the present administration, overlooking the fact that the previous administration entered into an arrangement with the Dominican Republic authorizing such action, and that it was during the term of the previous administration that the marines were landed in Nicaragua, at Bluefields, in the early part of May, 1910, and again at Bluefields on August 17, 1912. On August 3, 1912, a force of 100 marines and 5 officers were landed at Corinto, Nicaragua, and were sent to Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, where they have since been stationed. Following a similar line of action the present administration landed marines in Haiti to prevent an occupancy of that country by forces of the French Government. As a matter of fact, when the trouble broke out in Haiti during the early part of 1915, marines were landed from a French man-of-war and were in occupancy of Haitian territory for a few days, until the arrival of Admiral Caperton, who, in keeping with the principles of the Monroe doctrine and under directions from this Government, relieved the French forces, supplanting them with American marines. At no time since the landing of the American forces in Haiti could these forces have been withdrawn without the French forces replacing them.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania draws upon his imagination when he claims that when, in March, 1913, President Wilson announced the principles that would control his policy, he singled out Mexico. This is purely conjecture, because in a portion of Secretary Bryan's telegram to the diplomatic officers of the United States to all the principal Latin-American Republics, which the gentleman quotes, it certainly had no specific application, but merely a general one.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania says:

> Less than a month before, Francisco Madero had been President of Mexico. On March 18 his power was taken from him.

It appears that Mr. TEMPLE juggled with the dates solely for the purpose of putting the latter event in the calendar of the Democratic administration, when, as a matter of fact, it occurred one month previous while the Republicans were in power. Again, alluding to the quoted part of the telegram referred to when the President said, "We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambitions," he was stating a general proposition, the reason for which can be easily discerned by anyone who will take the least trouble to review the history of our sister Republics.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania in his speech makes allusion to the attempt of Huerta to place a bond issue in Europe, and endeavors to blame this administration for having destroyed Huerta's credit. Not having recognized Huerta was sufficient notice to the world that this Government did not look with favor upon him, and if the simple fact of Huerta's nonrecognition by this Government was sufficient to destroy his credit, it is something that the people of the United States should be proud of.

However, as a matter of fact, when Gen. Carranza, who was at the head of the revolutionary movement, became aware of what Huerta was attempting to do he made it publicly known to the nations of the world that if he should ever come into control of the Mexican Government, he would not recognize as bonds of the Mexican Republic the obligations which Gen. Huerta was attempting to incur. The bonds in question were an issue of $200,000,000 which had been approved by the Madero congress, to be sold abroad. These had never been issued by the Madero government, but their issue had been legalized by it. The minister of finance for the Huerta administration placed these bonds with a group of Paris bankers, under an option, which option was renewed and did not expire until the latter part of 1914, some months after Huerta had left Mexico. None of these bonds were ever sold, except that a certain American financial institution—Speyer & Co.—which held approximately $60,000,000 of Mexican Government obligations, made some arrangement with the Paris bankers, unloading the $60,000,000 on them, and this item is said to now be held as a charge against those bonds.

In the meantime Huerta exacted a forced loan of $50,000,000 from the banks of Mexico, informing each of the banks of the portion of this loan that they were expected to contribute, and informing them also that for the amount they were made to subscribe they would have a corresponding participation in the bonds held by the Paris bankers. The Bank of London and Mexico, doing business in Mexico City, had approximately 12,000,000 pesos, about $6,000,000, of the Paris bonds allotted to it. Huerta allowed the banks to have this supposed participation at a ratio of 80 per cent on the face value. Huerta had the amount of the participation of each of the banks printed as bank notes, with facsimile signatures; and while the banks are surety for the money so issued, they only had a promise for the bonds which they had never seen. However, each of the banks received a notice from the Huerta government of the amount of their participation in the Paris bonds. In the meantime, however, the Paris bankers, in attempting to place the bonds, had to contend with a soaring rate of exchange on Mexican money, which nullified their efforts. Then it was that Huerta made the demand on the Mexican bankers giving them the privilege of issuing bills at a ratio of one for one against the bonds.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania goes into a withering criticism of the embargoes placed on arms and ammunition into

Mexico, without taking into consideration the circumstances governing the points he thrusts forward. We are all well aware of the kaleidoscopic changes which have occurred in Mexico since November 20, 1910, when the Madero revolution began. We know with what uncertainty the former administration handled the Mexican situation—one moment breathing hot and the next cold. The Mexican situation since and before our own Civil War has been a perplexing question, and no one is as well situated to gauge the complexities better than the men who have occupied the presidential chair, for they are in a position to get quickly at the grain of the situation, while those who make spasmodic attempts to air their knowledge on the Mexican situation are merely wading blindly through a lot of chaff.

It is unfortunate that there is an inclination on the part of some persons to attempt to play politics at this particular time. We find that the administration is blamed for the landing of marines in Santo Domingo, when this is provided for by a treaty made in 1907, under a Republican administration.

We find, also, that this administration is charged with culpability because marines were landed under the Republican administration in the Republic of Nicaragua. We also find that because this administration took the only logical step in Haiti in 1915 to preserve the integrity of the Monroe doctrine, which has been defended by all parties for a century, that we are now doing the preposterous.

Later on in his speech the gentleman from Pennsylvania, in claiming that arms were sent to Tampico on various vessels, cites the case of the *Antilla*, which landed ammunition at Tampico on June 12, 1914, and he says:

It is interesting to notice that just at this time the onward sweep of the Constitutionalist army had been checked. Carranza's general, Panfilo Natera, was short of ammunition and had failed in his attack on Zacatecas on June 10 to 13. It is said to have been a portion of this shipment that Villa used on June 23 in his successful attack on Zacatecas.

As a matter of fact, when Natera made his attack on Zacatecas, on June 10, with 6,000 men, that city, which is a natural stronghold, was defended by 10,000 trained soldiers, and the taking of Zacatecas by Natera's forces, even though he had had the output of all the ammunition factories in the United States, was an impossible feat. Gen. Carranza directed Gen. Villa to send 5,000 of his forces to Zacatecas to assist Natera in a renewed attack on that town. Villa, realizing the importance and the strength of the position, proceeded to Zacatecas from Torreon with his own ammunition and about 22,000 of his troops, making the total attacking force about 26,000, while the Federals, defending the city, had been reinforced and consisted of 13,000 men. The fighting began on Saturday, the 20th of June, and continued until late in the afternoon on the 23d, when Zacatecas was taken. There was not an ounce of the ammunition landed at Tampico used in the taking of Zacatecas.

In regard to the money collected by the American customs authorities in charge of Vera Cruz, the gentleman from Pennsylvania need have no anxiety. The amount, to be exact, is 2,604,051.20 Mexican pesos, and it is now in the custody of the Treasury Department of the United States for the accounting of the Mexican Government.

The gentleman speaks of "the unprecedented bloodshed and anarchy in Mexico was precisely what many advisers had foretold would be the result of President Wilson's policy." He is mistaken when he mentioned the conditions in Mexico as unprecedented, because for several years previous to 1859 Mexico was torn by a series of interior revolutions which were even greater than that in the present revolution.

A reference to Mexican history of this time will bear me out. On April 7, 1859, Minister McLane recognized the government of President Juarez as a de facto government. In his dispatch of that date he indorsed the findings of Special Agent Churchwell, and, in part, said:

The government of President Juarez was the only government existing in Mexico that possessed any of the substantial elements of a de facto government, or that offered a reasonable prospect of stability—that it lacks much, in this latter aspect of the case, which is necessary to give full satisfaction to those with whom it may have to deal, it would be idle to deny.

On April 25, 1859, Secretary Cass, in an instruction to Minister McLane, in part, said:

Your course in acknowledging the government of President Juarez and your other proceedings are entirely approved.

The Hon. John W. Foster, who was American minister to Mexico during the administration of President Grant, and who, in a dispatch dated September 30, 1873, stated that the Mexican Congress had announced the ratification by a majority of the State legislatures of the laws of reform as additions and amendments to the Federal constitution, and that under date of September 25 "President Lerdo proclaimed them as embodied in that instrument. These laws were decreed by the liberal government at Vera Cruz in 1859, and since the overthrow of Maximilian in 1867 they have been enforced; but their present incorporation into the Federal constitution may be regarded as the crowning act of triumph of the liberal government."

In an instruction, dated October 22, 1873, replying to the above dispatch of Minister Foster, Secretary of State Fish wrote:

The Mexican Government deserves congratulations upon the adoption of the amendment of its constitution, to which the dispatch relates. It may be regarded as a great step in advance, especially for a Republic in name. We have had ample experience on the advantage of similar measures.

Upon the receipt of the communication from the Secretary of State, Minister Foster communicated the congratulations of this Government to President Lerdo, who was the immediate successor of Juarez.

It will be seen that while Juarez, and the principle for which he was fighting, was recognized by a Democratic administration in 1859, that four years later the liberal government of Mexico was congratulated by this Government, then under Republican administration, because of the final success of the principles for which the Juarez government stood in 1859.

President Buchanan sent an able representative in the person of Robert M. McLane to investigate the contest with authority in his discretion to recognize the liberal government, at the head of which was Juarez. The latter had been expelled from the capital and was found by Mr. McLane at Vera Cruz, where he established diplomatic relations with them and soon negotiated a treaty and convention, securing transit privileges across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and an advantageous trade arrangement, in return for which the United States was to pay the liberal government $4,000,000, with half of which American claims were to be satisfied, the other half to be used for the restoration of the liberal government to power. It was virtually an alliance with one of the parties contending for supremacy in Mexico.

This entirely refutes the charges made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania against the present administration that "against all tradition, contrary to all precedent, it chose to reverse the established policy of the United States, and the result was disaster."

Since the gentleman from Pennsylvania criticizes the present administration for the loss of American life and property in Mexico, why does he not explain the killing of Americans and the destruction of American property in Mexico during the five years previous to March 4, 1913? On June 2, 1906, there were Americans killed and wounded, and during disturbances at Cananea, in the State of Sonora, and in this State alone, while President Roosevelt was in office, there were many Americans killed.

This, I think, fully answers every criticism by the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, except the main proposition in his argument that the President was wrong in not recognizing Huerta.

I will give some reasons why no self-respecting government and no honest executive should have recognized the Huerta government.

One of Huerta's first acts was to arrest Abram Gonzales, governor of the State of Chihuahua, whom he knew to be an adherent of Madero. He put Gonzales on a train, supposedly to deport him across the border, but before the train had gone far Gonzales was taken out and killed in the most inhuman manner. He was tied on the railroad track and the yard engine slowly backed over him. Huerta's crimes at this time in having Maderistas killed were simply atrocious.

After Huerta became President he proceeded to govern Mexico as the military despot in a bloodthirsty way, having no regard for anything save the advancement of his political ambitions and serving the autocratic financial interests of those who were backing him.

The conditions became so intolerable that a Mexican senator—Belisario Dominguez—exercising his constitutional right, rose in his place in the senate and had put in the record the following protest:

[Sept. 13, 1913. Address of Belisario Dominguez, senator from the sovereign State of Chiapas to the Senate of the Republic of Mexico.]

Mr. President of the Senate, the matter being of urgent interest for the welfare of the country, I am compelled to set aside the usual formulas and to ask you please to begin this session by taking cognizance of this sheet and making it known at once to the honorable members of the Senate.

Gentlemen, you all have read with deep interest the message presented by Don Victoriano Huerta to the Congress of the Union on the 16th instant.

There is no doubt, gentlemen, that you, as well as myself, felt indignant in the face of the accumulation of falsities contained in that document. Whom does that message aim to deceive, gentlemen? The Congress of the Union? No, gentlemen; all its members are cultured persons who take an interest in politics, who are in touch with events in this country and who can not be deceived on the subject. Is it the Mexican nation that is to be deceived? Is it this noble country which, trusting in your honesty, has placed in your hands her most sacred interests? What must the National Assembly do in this case? It must

respond promptly to the trust and confidence of the nation which has honored this body with her representation, and it must let her know the truth and so prevent her falling into the abyss which is opening at her feet.

The truth is this: During the reign of Don Victoriano Huerta not only has nothing been done in favor of the pacification of the country, but the present condition of the Mexican Republic is infinitely worse than ever before. The revolution is spreading everywhere. Many nations, formerly good friends of Mexico, now refuse to recognize this government, since it is an illegal one. Our coin is depreciated, our credit in the throes of agony. The whole press of the Republic, either muzzled or shamelessly sold to the government, systematically conceals the truth. Our fields are abandoned. Many towns have been destroyed, and, lastly, famine and misery in all its forms threaten to spread throughout our unhappy country. What is the cause of such a wretched situation?

First, and above anything else, this condition is due to the fact that the Mexican people can not submit and yield to and accept as President of the Republic the soldier who snatched the power by means of a treason and whose first act on rising to the presidency was to assassinate in the most cowardly manner the President and Vice President legally consecrated by the popular vote, and the first of these two men, he who promoted and gave position to Don Victoriano Huerta and covered him with honors, was the man to whom Victoriano Huerta publicly swore loyalty and faithfulness.

In the second place, this situation is the result of the means adopted by Don Victoriano Huerta and which he has been employing in order to obtain the pacification of the country. You know what these means are—nothing but extermination, death for all the men, all the families, all the towns which do not sympathize with his government.

"Peace will be made at any cost whatever," said Don Victoriano Huerta. Have you studied, gentlemen, the terrible meaning of these words of the egotistical, ferocious man, Don Victoriano Huerta? They mean that he is ready to shed all the Mexican blood, to cover with corpses the whole surface of the national territory, to convert our country into one immense ruin, so that he may not leave the presidential chair nor shed a single drop of his own blood.

In his insane anxiety to keep the post of President, Victoriano Huerta is committing a new infamy. He is provoking an international conflict with the United States of America, a conflict in which, if it is to be solved by fighting, all surviving Mexicans would participate, giving stoically the last drop of their blood, giving their lives—all save Don Victoriano Huerta and Don Aureliano Blanquet, because these disgraced ones are stained with the blot of treason, and the nation and the army will repudiate them when the time comes.

It seems as if our ruin were unavoidable, for Don Victoriano Huerta has taken hold of power in such a way in order to insure the triumph of his candidacy to the Presidency of the Republic in the elections to be held October 26 that he has not hesitated to violate the sovereignty of the greater part of the States, deposing the legally elected constitutional governors and supplanting them with military governors, who will take good care to cheat the people by means of ridiculous and criminal farces.

However, gentlemen, a supreme effort might save everything. Let the National Assembly fulfill its duty and the nation is saved, and she will rise up and become greater, stronger, more beautiful than ever.

The National Assembly has the duty of deposing Don Victoriano Huerta from the Presidency. He is the one against whom our brothers up in arms in the north protest, and, consequently, he is the one least able to carry out the pacification which is the supreme desire of all Mexicans.

You will tell me, gentlemen, that the attempt is dangerous, for Don Victoriano Huerta is a bloodthirsty and ferocious soldier, who assassinates anyone who is an obstacle to his wishes; but this should not matter, gentlemen. The country exacts from you the fulfillment of a duty, though there is the risk, the certainty, that you will lose your lives.

If in your anxiety to see peace reigning again in the Republic you committed a mistake and put faith in the false words of the man who promised to pacify the Republic, to-day, when you see clearly that this man is an imposter, a wicked inept, who is fast pushing the nation toward ruin, will you, for fear of death, permit such a man to continue to wield power? Reflect, gentlemen, meditate, and reply to this query.

What would be said of those on a vessel who, during a violent storm on a treacherous sea, would appoint as pilot a butcher who had no nautical knowledge, who was on his first sea trip, and who had no other recommendation to the post than the fact of his having betrayed and assassinated the captain of the vessel?

Your duty is unalterable, ineludible, gentlemen, and the nation expects of you its fulfillment.

This first duty discharged, it will be easy for the National Assembly to fulfill others derived from it, asking all revolutionary chiefs to stop all active hostilities and to appoint their delegates in order that by general accord the President be elected who is to call for presidential elections, and who is to use care that these be carried out in all legality.

The world is looking on us, gentlemen, members of the National Assembly, and the nation hopes that you will honor her before the world, saving her from the shame of having as first magistrate a traitor and an assassin.

Dr. B. DOMINGUEZ,
*Senator for Chiapas.*

Immediately afterwards this senator suddenly and mysteriously disappeared, has never been heard of since, and is supposed to have been murdered.

Soon after the disappearance of Senator Dominguez the Chamber of Deputies of the Congress of Mexico passed the following resolution:

(1) That a commission formed of three deputies be appointed for the purpose of making all necessary investigations to find out where Senator Belisario Dominguez is, and that it be empowered with all the facilities which it deems necessary for the matter in hand. (2) That the Senate be invited to appoint a commission for the same object. (3) The commission of the Camara will propose what may be necessary in view of the result of the investigation. (4) That this motion be communicated to the executive, so that he may import whatever aid may be necessary to the commission or commissions, as the case may be, making known to him that the national representation places the lives of the deputies and senators under the protection of said executive, who has at his disposition the necessary elements to enforce the immunity which the constitution authorizes to those functionaries. (5) That said executive be informed that in case the disappearance of another deputy or senator occurs the national representation will be obliged to celebrate its session where it may find guarantees.

The next day, on October 10, a demand was received from Huerta for a reconsideration of these resolutions. The president of the Chamber of Deputies arose and adjourned the chamber, whereupon 110 deputies of the chamber were arrested by the soldiers of Huerta and sent to the penitentiary.

On November 13, 1913, 78 of these deputies were still in the penitentiary. The other 32 are supposed to have been murdered—at least they have never been heard from—and many of those who were not killed continued in the penitentiary until our Government occupied Vera Cruz, in April, 1914.

Mr. Speaker, these men were the constitutionally elected representatives of the people of Mexico, and their incarceration and murder demonstrates the kind of government Huerta was trying to foist upon the people of that unhappy country.

If our precedents call for the recognition as the head of a republican government of a usurper, a traitor, a murderer, and a military despot, then that precedent should have been changed, and one of the best things President Wilson has done during his administration was to change it. I congratulate the world that this country had a President who had the courage and patriotism to take the position President Wilson did, and I congratulate the Mexican people that neither this country, Argentina, Brazil, nor Chile recognized the military despot who had by bloody treason usurped the governing power of Mexico and was attempting to hold it by fraud.

If the Mexican situation is to be dealt with, it should not be done in a superficial manner, dealing solely with the events which have occurred during the present administration, but the whole situation should be analyzed from the time that Francisco Madero started his revolution, on November 20, 1910, when, in order to launch the project upon which his heart was set, he mortgaged his home in Monterey. The money so raised was the capital upon which he began the movement to overthrow a Government whose prestige was great, whose power had extended over a period of 30 years, whose credit was excellent, and which then had in its treasury over $60,000,000.

Madero came of a very wealthy family—a family whose wealth consisted of nearly 2,000,000 acres of land and of varied industries in the northern part of Mexico. His family, with the exception of one brother, thought him an idealist, and refused to help his cause in any manner whatsoever. But as the Madero campaign progressed this family found itself cut away from all its wealth by the Government, which seized and took control of all the vast Madero properties.

President Diaz had reached an age when he was no longer competent to rule the country. He made the mistake of waiting too long to select and train his successor, and finally when he did select one he made a greater mistake in choosing Ramon Corral, a man who was most unpopular. Diaz had become surrounded by a lot of personal friends, and this group came to be known as "cientificos." In various ways they wrung money from the country and from their less-fortunate brethren to fatten their own purses. Less than one-third of the standing army that Diaz thought he had really existed. The rest were on the pay roll, but the men were not in the ranks. That was one reason why Diaz realized that he could make no headway against the popular movement initiated by Madero.

The initiation of the movement by Madero soon caused him to be regarded as the savior of the people by the vast majority of the lower classes of Mexico. The hold that he had upon them lay in his simplicity of manner and his democracy. Madero had been educated in the United States, and he wished to model the administration of his country so that it would enjoy the same measure of liberty as is enjoyed in this country.

When this movement had its first impulse the American interests that had investments in Mexico endeavored to bring about American intervention. Whether that intervention was intended to nullify the revolutionary movement or whether it was intended to replace the Diaz government it is difficult to say; but the interests apparently felt that if this country would intervene their properties and investments would be very much better safeguarded. But there was another element at work—weaker in some respects, yet far more potent in others, than they.

In the early part of March, 1911, Limantour, the financial wizard of Mexico, landed in New York, returning from Paris to Mexico. There was probably no man better posted on political conditions in that country than Limantour. He had controlled the financial destinies of Mexico for so many years that he knew the weak points as well as the strong.

On the 12th of March, 1911, Limantour held a conference with Dr. Vasquez Gomez, head of the Madero revolutionary junta

in the United States, in the rooms of Ambassador Francisco de la Barra, at the Hotel Astor. Two days later he held another conference with Francisco Madero, sr., and his son Gustavo. At this latter meeting the reforms demanded by the revolutionists were explained to Limantour, and before the termination of the interview it was agreed that upon his return to Mexico City he would endeavor in every honorable way to bring about the naming of De la Barra as the provisional president, pending the free elections, and also to accomplish the adoption of the revolutionary principles. A few days later Limantour left for Mexico City, and shortly afterwards De la Barra was called from Washington, and upon the reorganization of the cabinet he was made secretary of foreign relations, which put him in direct line for the Presidency should Gen. Diaz resign.

On May 10 the Madero forces gained a bloodless victory at Juarez and occupied the place. Eleven days later an armistice was agreed upon at El Paso, in keeping with the arrangement made in New York; and on May 25 Diaz and Corral, President and Vice President of Mexico, resigned, and De la Berra became provisional president. Limantour had fulfilled his part of the agreement.

On June 3 Madero, who was then at the family home at Parras, in the State of Coahuila, left for Mexico City, a journey which usually takes about 30 hours. On this trip, however, the demonstrations given him all along the railway line were so great that it took four days to accomplish the journey. People came for miles to gather at the railway stations to cheer their uncrowned king. In Mexico City alone it was estimated that over a quarter of a million people from the outlying districts gathered to participate in the welcome to be given to the "Little Savior." Despite the fact that on the morning of his arrival at Mexico City that place had been visited by a serious earthquake shock, in which more than 200 persons lost their lives, the panic incidental to such an event was forgotten almost in a moment in the enthusiasm over the coming of Madero.

No sooner had Madero arrived in the capital than the aristocracy and the opposing political groups began to ridicule and to discredit him; but Madero, in his simplicity, would talk to the poor people who gathered in front of his home, or sometimes, while driving on the street, would speak a few words to groups that cheered him. There is no doubt that he was a popular idol; yet all the forces of the aristocratic element were conspiring against him.

On November 6, 1911, he took the oath of office.

Let us turn back again to 1910, when Henry Lane Wilson was sent as ambassador to Mexico City to replace David E. Thompson. He associated himself with a man named Judge R. L. Wilfley, who had served under the Republican administration in the Philippines and in China for eight years previously. Wilfley and Wilson became notoriously "thick." Thompson had been recalled because of a lot of undesirable publicity which was given to his railroad and banking deals in Mexico while ambassador. Wilfley and Wilson had a great many claims to present to the Madero government. Because some of these claims did not appertain to real American interests, President Madero could not understand the particular interest taken in them. A breach was thus created, and the American ambassador was thereafter openly hostile to the Madero administration, and particularly to Madero. Resentful of the treatment given him upon the presentation of some claims, Ambassador Wilson joined the forces in Mexico City that were hostile to Madero, and toward the close of February, 1911, he visited Washington to ask that troops be sent to Mexico to protect American interests. He brought with him a petition, signed by a number of the members of the American colony who were friendly to him, to support his pretensions. Before Wilson reached Washington, however, the larger element of the American colony in Mexico City telegraphed its opposition to such a measure as the one proposed by him. He, however, convinced the administration of the correctness of his position, and in the following month 20,000 troops were sent to the border.

Throughout the succeeding year the tension between the ambassador and President Madero became greater; and again, in the early part of 1912, the ambassador convinced the Taft administration that troops should be held in readiness, with the result that an order was issued in the early part of February, 1912, to hold all troops in readiness for service along the Mexican border. Both of these orders created a situation in Mexico which made some of the people doubt the stability of the Government. Consequently, the lawless element made itself felt in the operations of groups of bandits all over the country. Madero about this time began a vigorous campaign against this outlawry and succeeded in convincing the people that he was stronger than they thought him to be. On February 24, 1912, the Washington authorities hinted to the Mexican authorities that military force was contemplated, and on March 2 of the same year warning was sent to the ambassador in Mexico City that he advise Americans to leave affected districts, but the ambassador applied this warning to practically the entire Republic.

Madero, struggling with a great reform movement against a host who did not relish being thrown out of power after 30 years at the fleshpots, had to contend with the pessimism of this Government, brought about by the representations of Ambassador Wilson, and the menacing moves made from time to time with the apparent purpose of making his task impossible. If the Republican administration had given Madero one-tenth part—yes, even one-hundredth part—of the support and assistance that this Government is giving the de facto government of Gen. Carranza, Madero would have been successful in establishing peace and order, the crime of Huerta would not have been committed, the loss of American lives and property since that time would not have occurred, and Mexico would have been spared the horrors of the fratricidal war which has since prevailed there.

In May Senator LODGE made his famous Magdalena Bay speech, which aroused resentment throughout Mexico. In that same month the administration, for the benefit of the special representatives of Dr. Vasquez and Orozco, who were then in Washington conspiring against Madero, stated that "until more headway was made in unseating Madero" no interviews would be granted and no communications received from the insurgents. It seemed that the administration had devoted itself to a campaign of nagging and persecuting the struggling government of Madero. This same attitude continued, and during the early part of September President Taft stated to Ambassador Calero that this Government was dissatisfied with internal conditions in Mexico. The newspaper in reporting the matter said:

> Mr. Taft is opposed to intervention, except as last resort. It is admitted, however, that conditions in Mexico have become much worse in the last few weeks, and if the Madero government is unable to check the attacks on American citizens the United States will be constrained to take some action.

On the 17th of that month Ambassador Wilson presented a lengthy and brusque note to the Mexican foreign office.

Wilson was called to Washington in December, 1912, and the Madero government, realizing that as long as the Washington administration had only the views of Ambassador Wilson, the chances for Mexico were reduced to the minimum, sent Pedro Lascurrain, minister of foreign affairs, to hold a conference with President Taft and Secretary Knox. This conference was held on January 2, 1913. Then for the first time the Republican administration appeared to understand the Mexican situation and to be more reasonable and friendly in its attitude toward the Madero government. But, unfortunately, the work of the enemies of Madero in Mexico City and the attitude of the Washington Government toward Mexico had enabled the plotters conspiring against Madero to perfect all their plans, and on February 9, 1913, the conspiracy developed into armed action. After Gen. Villar was wounded in the first attack on the palace Victoriano Huerta was put in command of the Federal troops.

On February 18, 1913, Madero was arrested with all his cabinet, as well as his brother Gustavo, and on that night a document was drawn up and signed by Huerta and Felix Diaz at the American Embassy. On the same night Gustavo Madero and Adolfo Basso were shot. On February 19 President Madero and Vice President Suarez were forced under penalty of death to resign, and on the night of February 22 President Madero and Pino Suarez were murdered.

In a few hours Huerta became President.

About the time of the killing of Madero the Republican administration placed 9,000 troops along the border and sent four battleships to Mexican waters.

Had Ambassador Wilson been governed by the motive which should have been possessed by one in his high position the killing of Madero could have been avoided, even after his arrest. Had he shown the sense of humanity demonstrated by the Cuban minister, Marquez Sterling, his conscience certainly would have been very much clearer. The Cuban minister was deeply outraged, as were some of the other Latin-American ministers, at the conduct of the dean of the diplomatic corps, the American ambassador. During all the time of Madero's imprisonment Marquez Sterling was devoted in his attendance upon him, and did everything in his power to save Madero's life. For several nights he remained with Madero, and when food and coffee were brought in, and Madero, fearing poison, hesitated to taste them, the Cuban minister took the initiative, in order to remove Madero's suspicions. This good man proved a great comfort to the bereaved family of Madero after the latter had been killed, and he cabled to his Government and

had one of the Cuban war vessels meet the Madero party at Vera Cruz, whence he escorted them on the vessel to the Cuban capital, refusing to serve any longer in Mexico near a government whose head was so atrocious a character. Upon his return to Cuba the minister published a series of articles in which he severely criticized Ambassador Wilson for the active part he had taken in attempting to foist the Huerta régime on the Mexican people and to bring about its recognition by foreign powers.

On the evening of Washington's birthday Gen. Huerta and the American ambassador dined together. About the time they were doing this President Madero and Pino Suarez were shot. A few days later Ambassador Wilson telegraphed to Consul Hostetter, of Hermosillo, urging him to use his influence with the governor of that State to the end that he declare his allegiance to Huerta. Wilson informed Hostetter that all the other States had done so. Hostetter is said to have consulted with the officials and to have telegraphed to Ambassador Wilson asking him to enumerate the States that had declared allegiance to Huerta. Hostetter received no answer to his telegram. Ambassador Wilson did not confine his efforts to employing the American consular corps in Mexican politics in favor of Huerta, but telegraphed to other consuls, urging them to use their influence to get the State authorities to declare in favor of Huerta.

Even had Huerta achieved power in a more regular manner his recognition by the United States Government would have been a matter of very grave consideration, because his control of northern Mexico was very limited on account of the particularly strong Madero sentiment which prevailed in that section of the country, wherein were located the greatest American interests in Mexico, and the recognition of Huerta would have caused such a wave of indignation throughout this section that the sacrifice of the vast American interests there would have been almost certain.

President Wilson had closely followed the trend of the Mexican revolution from its inception by Francisco Madero, and had witnessed the triumph of that movement which was so popular that even though it had no financial backing it overwhelmed the great government of Porfirio Diaz. At the time that Madero captured Juarez the revolutionary fund had dwindled down to less than $10,000, with little hope of its coffers being replenished. The weakness of the financial end of the Madero revolution was the best proof of the popularity of the cause.

The Madero revolution triumphed in spite of the many difficulties which surrounded it. That triumph, when we take into consideration all the facts of the case, made the very evident unfriendliness of this great country toward the Madero government a stupendous international injustice; and it appears that the assumption of power by the Democratic Party has given it the means of making restitution for that unfairness and unfriendliness toward a people struggling for the same measure of liberty that we enjoy in this country. The Republican Party held its hands out to the Madero government, thumbs down, in a manner calculated to drown or suffocate it. The Democratic Party has held its hands out to a continuance of the Madero revolution, palms up, as an act to assist it to accomplish the revolutionary ideals and to bring to Mexico a great and lasting peace. Then came the Tampico incident, where Huerta flouted the United States Government, insulted its flag and imprisoned its officers. This incident ended in the occupation of Vera Cruz by the American forces, and this in turn brought about the downfall of Huerta, which was just retribution.

The Madero sentiment throughout Mexico could never have been crushed by Huerta. It might have been suffocated for the time being by some powerful man with immediate and immense resources at his hand, but it could never have been extinguished altogether. The Madero ideal, as it was called, had become the watchword, and the love felt by the great element of the common people of Mexico for the idealist was too great for any usurper to found a government upon the ruins of that ideal. This was shown very plainly in the immediate activities of the revolutionists against Huerta as soon as he sent out his telegram to the governors of the various States announcing that he had assumed the executive power. Bands of revolutionists sprang up all over the country, and all of them gradually rallied to the standard of Gen. Venustiano Carranza—whom they hailed as first chief—in the north or to the standard of Zapata in the south. Gen. Carranza began his revolution against Huerta in his native State of Coahuila; he then went to Sonora, where he established his headquarters and formed his government; and the campaign there started, together with the propaganda begun by his agents throughout the country, soon had Mexico aflame with the spirit of the dead President Madero.

The Republican candidate for the Presidency criticized the administration in regard to its Mexican policy, but his criticisms, like all other criticisms, are general in their character, except that he, like the other Republicans, seems to think that Huerta should have been recognized.

A great writer in Virginia says:

He makes much ado because we went into Vera Cruz and left again after Huerta had eliminated himself under Carranza, Villa, and American pressure.

Surely we left; we were not at war with Mexico; we got out just as quickly as we could, just like we will do now as soon as Villa's wings and spurs have been properly clipped.

Justice Hughes is going to find it hard to get to the White House by way of Mexico.

The New Republic, in discussing Mr. Hughes's acceptance speech, says:

When he looked forward into the future he fell into pious words and utter vagueness. Though he devoted 30 minutes of his speech to Mexico no one knows to-day what his Mexican policy would be. "It would be firm and friendly," he said, but we are none the wiser. He devoted about 10 minutes to the European war, said our isolation was ended, and never indicated even in the barest outline the nature of the foreign policy which is to supplant isolation. He spoke of the economic struggle after the war, and the only specific item he offered was a good, old-fashioned protective tariff. The real economic problem which peace will bring, the problem of a world divided into economic alliances, the most portentous problem of our own and the world's future, he, the man who would have to deal with it, never even mentioned.

Great is efficiency and firmness is a necessary virtue, but others have been both efficient and firm, yet they have not necessarily been wise. A statesman asking us to place with him the great trust of the Presidency must do more than tell us he would do well whatever he did. He must give some hint, at least, of what he would do so well.

Mr. Hughes's attempt to discredit the foreign policies of the American Government is about the most discreditable incident in his whole career.

America at peace, prosperous as no country ever was before, envied of the nations, the hope of the distracted world, rich beyond the dream of avarice, the world's Samson in potential elements of national strength, is a living, throbbing, virile refutation of Mr. Hughes's half-baked charges.

American diplomacy, frank, open, possibly blunt when bluntness was necessary, has achieved victories which millions of lives and countless treasure have not been able to win in Europe.

Mr. Hughes is endeavoring to follow the Roosevelt ideas without the Roosevelt utter disregard of consequences. Hughes talks of firmness, Roosevelt of war; Hughes is policyless, Roosevelt is for blood; Hughes faintly echoes the Roosevelt cry that had we been firm at the outset, there would have been no *Lusitania* tragedy, Roosevelt says that we ought to have started our part of the blood letting when Germany invaded Belgium; Hughes deals in glittering generalities, his mentor in gore.

America has pinned its faith to President Wilson, the man whose sound common sense and broad patriotism has saved the day, when another would have plunged us headlong into the abyss of war and death.

### A Message to the Young Men.

The country calls the young voters to service and leadership.
It is the privilege and the duty of the young men to stand with the party that guarantees equality of opportunity.
The young men of to-day are the leaders of to-morrow.
Now is the time for action.
The future belongs to the young man through the Democratic Party.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN E. RAKER,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Speaker, the election of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress four years ago was brought about mainly by the earnest effort of the young men of this country who felt that their only hope of equal opportunity was to be found in the Democratic Party. Under the rule of the Republican Party the upward road that has always been open to our young men was being blocked, both in business and in politics. But the youth of America arose to a realization of their power and put out of control of the Government the bosses who had so arrogantly closed the door against them.

The natural place for young men is the Democratic Party, whose purpose is to keep the road to opportunity open. The

Republican Party, standing for trusts, monopolies, and narrowing opportunity, is not the natural home of the vigorous, intelligent, ambitious, manly young men who ask only a free hand and a fair chance. Turn the country over to the unchecked rule of the Republican Party again and the average young man can only hope to be a clerk in the ranks of monopolies, and if he is an exceptionally able man he may hope to rise to be a head clerk. But that is all. Corporate organizations and wealth are clutching into their deadly grip the opportunity of a once free land. If the men of to-day would bequeath a heritage of freedom and opportunity to their sons, they must enlist in the fight now. The Democratic Party stands for the open road. It believes that the people can and should govern themselves. It believes that America needs only a fair field and an even chance, and for that it will die in the last ditch. It is the standard for the young men to enlist under, and it depends upon them to take their places and to do their duty.

THE TRUMPET CALL TO DUTY.

Our great country is enjoying unprecedented prosperity, and is throbbing with possibilities. We must keep these possibilities open for our young men. We are setting about the task of building up a great modern Nation, and to-day we are leading the world in exports, manufactures and other business enterprises. Old things are passing away and a new order of things is being established. The illustrious heroes of the past have bequeathed us a marvelous heritage, and the young men of America must preserve this priceless gift, and see that it will be handed to the generations to come untarnished and unsullied. The Democratic Party has accepted the responsibility. It honors the past with all its glory, it acts in the present, and it safeguards the future. It stands for equal rights, and it guarantees an equal chance. It will build schoolhouses where jails were once needed. It will give a marvelous impetus to agriculture and increased commerce, its handmaid. It stands for progress, growth, and development, and a glorious to-morrow, with happiness and prosperity for all. It guarantees a Government where peace and justice will reign, where men will prefer light to darkness, where every man, woman, and child will have the opportunity to make the best of himself.

The Democratic Party calls on the young men of America to carry this work on. It is a call to duty and a call to arms, fame, and usefulness. The great men of the world have been those who bestowed something on mankind. In this great, new, formative period the young men must take their places and control the forces that are shaping the future. Will they control or be controlled? Will they keep the reins of power in their own hands or turn them over to centralization, to men who believe that power and wealth and opportunity should be limited to a few?

COUNTRY HAS EMBRACED PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY.

The entire country has embraced the principles of Democracy. Its fires have been kept burning in peaceful and quiet homes all over the land with purity and vigor, and behold a conflagration is sweeping the country. The vestal flame has been kindled anew in the land. The people of the great West are adding fuel to it, and the people of the East and New England are more than contributing their share. The Democratic Party has come into its own because it has been true to principle and itself. Trust-controlled protection has been found to mean privilege, and privilege has no place in America. This great truth has been held sacred by the Democracy, and the people know that the load placed upon their backs by the Republican Party has been greatly lightened by this administration.

The Republican Party can no longer be held together by the "cohesive power of public plunder," and it is disintegrating from within. It cries in vain to the young men of the land, for it has nothing to offer them. Where Democracy is giving bread, Republicanism endeavors to entice the people with stones; where Democracy is a crystal spring, Republicanism is a stagnant pool. Democracy is the party of progress.

BE A LEADER.

To the young men I would say, you must be prepared to take part in public life. Practical politics is government in action. Government is a vital thing in a country of freedom. The public business is your business and mine. You young men of to-day will be the campaigners, leaders, and the governors of to-morrow. Stand for something, and know what that something is. The Republican Party asks you to be an office seeker; the Democratic Party says make yourselves worthy to hold office and the people will bestow it upon you. They have done so in the past.

The records of the Democratic Party are replete with instances where young men of worth have been called to positions of honor and responsibility.

YOUNG DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN CALLED TO LEADERSHIP.

Joseph W. Folk, now chief counsel of the Interstate Commerce Commission, was elected governor of Missouri at 34; William Jennings Bryan, the youngest man ever nominated for President of the United States, was only 36 when nominated by the Democrats; HOKE SMITH was appointed Secretary of the Interior in President Cleveland's Cabinet at 37; James H. Higgins was elected governor of Rhode Island at 30—served two terms; Richmond P. Hobson sunk the *Merrimac* in Santiago Harbor when only 28 and has since been elected by the Democrats to Congress; United States Senator JAMES D. PHELAN was only 35 when he was elected Mayor of San Francisco; George B. McClellan was elected mayor of New York at 37; Alva Adams was elected governor of Colorado at 37.

Thomas M. Waller was only 30 when chosen secretary of state of Connecticut; Wilkinson Call was elected United States Senator from Florida at 31; William D. Bloxham was elected governor of Florida at 35; Adlai E. Stevenson, late Vice President of the United States, began his political career at 25; Grover Cleveland, elected President of the United States at 47, began his career as district attorney at 26; JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS, now United States Senator from Illinois, was nominated as a candidate for governor at 26; David R. Francis, now ambassador of the United States to Russia, was elected mayor of St. Louis at 34, governor of Missouri at 38, and appointed Secretary of the Interior at 45; David B. Hill was elected governor of New York at 41; John F. Fitzgerald was elected mayor of Boston at 30; Don M. Dickinson was appointed Postmaster General of the United States at 41; Josiah Quincy was appointed Secretary of State, United States, at 34; United States Senator KERN, from Indiana, began his political career at 35; William E. Russell was governor of Massachusetts at 31; United States Senator BECKHAM was elected governor of Kentucky at 35; Robert Love Taylor was elected to Congress at 28 and governor of Tennessee at 36; William Hensel was attorney general of Pennsylvania at 40; Henry D. Harlan was elected chief justice of the Supreme Court of Maryland at 30; Newton D. Baker, now Secretary of War, was elected city solicitor of Cleveland, Ohio, at 32 and mayor at 39; United States Senator LUKE LEA was elected at the age of 32 by the Democrats of Tennessee, and United States Senator GORE, from Oklahoma, at 37; United States Senator CHARLES A. CULBERSON, who has just been renominated as Senator from Texas over former Gov. Colquitt, was elected attorney general at 35 and governor of Texas at 39; United States Senator HENRY F. ASHURST was elected by the Democrats of Arizona to the United States Senate at 35 years of age.

History is full of the names of thousands of young men who have been elected as Democratic governors, United States Senators, Members of Congress and legislatures, mayors of cities, or appointed to positions of trust, honor, and responsibility.

William Pitt the younger was chosen premier of Great Britain at the age of 23; Napoleon Bonaparte when but 27 won his famous Italian campaign by the means of the most brilliant and daring military tactics of modern times; Alexander the Great was in his grave at 34.

Verily this is the day of young men. The Democratic Party calls you to its work and its honors.

DEMOCRATIC VICTORY SURE.

Every Democrat in the land is proud of the administration of foreign and domestic affairs by this great Democratic Congress and its great leader. The Democratic Party is no longer a party of promise, but goes before the electorate as a party of performance and wonderful achievement. It is proud of its record, and every Democrat is confident of success, and all the signs of the times point unmistakably to Democratic victory in the battle of ballots this fall.

Do you realize what this will mean to thousands of young men of vigor, energy, and ambition? It will mean the opening of thousands of avenues to opportunity, fame, honor, and usefulness. Are you going to cast your lot with those who, when in power, created a system of trusts and monopolies and destroyed hope or will you act with those who corrected the wrongs of plutocracy and reestablished the maxims of American liberty in all their regnant beauty and practical effectiveness, and whose record, like the path of the just, is as "the light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

It is into the ranks of this great, glorious, and militant party, whose history is full of magnificent achievements and inspiration for the young men, that we invite you and your friends to come and share with us in labors and in triumph.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL BUREAU OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CLUBS.

The ——— (give name or title of your organization) of ——— (give location), organized ——— (date of organization), having ——— members, approving the plans and purposes of the Democratic National Bureau of Political Organizations and Clubs, hereby makes application for enrollment as a member of the same.

The headquarters of our organization are located at ———(location).
The following are the officers of our organization: President ———, address ———; vice president ———, address ———; secretary ———, address ———; treasurer ———, address ———; other officers ———.

Remarks: (Under remarks please give brief history of your organization, its condition, etc. State whether or not the club is equipped for marching purposes or whether it be organized for marching purposes to escort speakers and work up enthusiasm for public gatherings.)

Respectfully submitted.

———, *President.*
———, *Secretary.*

NOTE.—Please fill this blank out (on typewriter if possible) and forward immediately to.

FRED. B. LYNCH,
*Chairman Democratic National Bureau of Political Organizations and Clubs,*
*30 East Forty-second Street, New York City.*

A CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS.

Wanted—an army of a million. Not a million men armed with rifles, but a million men armed with the determination to win a victory for Democratic principles. That is the army to be recruited and that is the campaign to be waged if success is to be won in November. It must be a campaign of education and organization—education along Democratic lines and organization of the forces that realize the necessity of concerted action against the selfish interests that have so long dominated political affairs. The Democratic Congress and Democracy's great leader have driven them from the seat of government, but vigilance is the price of liberty, and we must see that their defeat is a sure one.

Do you want to enlist in this army of a million volunteers and do your part in the great work? The Democratic national bureau of political organizations and clubs is now waging a campaign of organization, education, and agitation. We aim to make it one of the most comprehensive educational-publicity campaigns ever undertaken for the upbuilding of the Democratic Party. To make this campaign successful the Democratic national bureau of political organizations and clubs needs the assistance of 1,000,000 earnest workers. We want and must have your cooperation and support.

Will you enlist? Will you become a recruiting officer, trying to enlist others? Will you help organize this army of 1,000,000 to wage a strong and winning battle for the triumph of Democratic principles? Victories, both of war and peace, are not the results of chance, they are the result of organization, of careful planning, of thorough equipment, and concerted action.

The lines of the campaign of 1916 have been formed. The skirmishers have been ordered forward. As they advance, let the work of organization be pushed, to the end that when the battle opens the forces of Democracy may be prepared for a general advance, well organized, well planned, and well equipped

A million earnest men are needed to take hold and help with this great campaign. If you will be one, prevail upon as many others as you can to enlist.

Cut off, sign, and return the enrollment blank below for your own membership. Or, better still, send in a request asking for a number of enrollment blanks, and they will be forwarded promptly, enabling you to give your friends and neighbors an opportunity to join in the work of building up the "army of a million volunteers," and to secure copies of the official publications of the bureau and other interesting and instructive literature from time to time.

FRED. B. LYNCH,
*Chairman Democratic National Bureau of Political Organizations and Clubs.*
*30 East Forty-second Street, New York City.*

THE VOLUNTEER ARMY OF 1916—ENROLLMENT BLANK.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL BUREAU OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CLUBS,
*New York City, ———1916.*

Please enroll my name as a member of the volunteer army of 1916.

I agree to assist in the organization of Democratic clubs and first voters' organizations in this district, distribute such campaign literature as may be sent me from time to time, and pledge my assistance in bringing success to Democratic policies in State and Nation.

I further pledge myself to secure at least one additional member of the league and help increase its membership.

I inclose $———— as a voluntary contribution to help defray the expenses of the campaign conducted by the bureau.

Name ———— Post office———— County———— State———
Street address————

All contributions, whether 25 cents, 50 cents, $1, or more, will be greatly appreciated and promptly acknowledged. If you do not feel able to make any contributions, do not let that hinder you from enrolling now; we want your hearty cooperation and loyal support in this great movement. We want workers as well as funds.

Make all checks, money orders, etc., payable to the order of

FRED. B. LYNCH,
*Chairman Democratic National Bureau of Political Organizations and Clubs, New York City.*

## Rural Mail Service.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CHARLES A. KENNEDY,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. KENNEDY of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Postmaster General, in his annual report for 1915, made the statement that this administration up to the end of the fiscal year of 1915 had added 6,000 new routes and extensions to the Rural Mail Service. The Democratic platform for 1916 states that 10,000 routes and extensions have been established during the present administration. With a view to securing accurate information on the subject, on August 11 I addressed a letter to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General asking how many routes had been established in each State from January 1, 1915, to August 1, 1916, and how many routes had been discontinued in each State during that period. Up to the present time I have not been able to secure the information asked for. About a week after I requested this data, I was called on the telephone and told that the department was unable to furnish same because they did not have it. I called attention to the statement made by the Postmaster General above referred to and suggested that it seemed strange that they had carried on a comprehensive scheme of reorganization and yet had no record of what had been accomplished. Later in the day I was called again on the phone and told that the information would be furnished me. However, on August 22, some two weeks after I made the request, I received the following letter from the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General:

AUGUST 22, 1916.

Hon. C. A. KENNEDY,
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MR. KENNEDY: Referring to your letter of the 11th instant, requesting that you be furnished a statement showing the number of routes established and the number discontinued during the period from January 1, 1915, to July 31, 1916, I beg leave to advise you that the information you desire will be furnished as soon as the condition of the work in this bureau will permit. The volume of statistical information desired is unusually heavy at the present time.

Believe me to be, sincerely, yours,

JAMES I. BLAKSLEE,
*Fourth Assistant Postmaster General.*

It is evident from the contents of this letter that they do not intend to comply with my request; at least, during the present session of Congress. Why should they hesitate to furnish the information? The fact is the above statements regarding the rural mail service are misleading. If it were possible to secure the facts, they would show that in Iowa, between June 1 and December 1, 1915, from 15 to 25 per cent of the routes were discontinued, and those remaining were extended and lengthened so as to cover the territory served by the routes discontinued. This action resulted in materially decreasing the number of routes in the State. The result was scores of the patrons who had been receiving their mail at their door these many years were compelled to travel a long distance to the route.

Petitions of protest were filed from all the counties I represent. In some cases these petitions were signed by every patron on the route that had been discontinued, protesting against the action that had been taken. So numerous and pronounced were these complaints it seemed that none of those affected were satisfied with the changes ordered.

It will be remembered that this reorganization scheme was carried out here in Washington without any field inspection to ascertain the condition of the roads and without any effort to determine various conditions that affect the efficiency of the service. In six or seven places in the district I represent routes were mapped out over reaches of road that did not exist at the time. In fact, in some cases carriers were directed to travel where there had never been roads, yet the Post Office Department claimed a very careful investigation was made before these changes were ordered. They paid no attention to the facilities for getting mail into a town from whence a route started, and gave no consideration to the question of dispatching the mail from the post office the same day it was brought in from the route.

Routes in some cases were discontinued at points where daily papers from various cities could go on the routes the same day they were published, and these patrons transferred to routes where no daily paper of any description could be received the day it is issued. Does this look like any investigation was made before these changes were ordered?

At another point in the district a 23-mile route, covering a very rough country, was extended by adding 9½ miles of the worst road in the county. The carrier made every effort to render satisfactory service, but when the roads broke up in the fall and winter it was absolutely impossible for him to get over his route before 8 o'clock at night, and it was frequently much later before he could leave the office for home. When the postmaster advised the department that it was impossible to cover this route when the roads were bad, on account of it being hilly and entirely too long, the department responded that the attention of the authorities should be called to the condition of the roads, and if they were not attended to and put in proper condition service on the route would be discontinued. I presented statements from various parties on the route to the effect that it was an utter impossibility to travel 32½ miles, which was the length of this route, during the period of the year when the roads were bad. On the strength of these statements the route

was restored to its former length. I do not believe that this case bears out the contention of the department that a very careful investigation of conditions was made in each county before routes were lengthened or cut out.

When it was announced that several routes in two of my counties would be discontinued on June 15, 1915, the many protests that came to me were filed with the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General. In response to these protests he insisted that the changes proposed would not curtail the service and no patron would be seriously inconvenienced as a result of the reorganization. The following letter from a point where a route was cut out shows that patrons were not only inconvenienced but discloses the fact that the service was almost destroyed:

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IOWA, *December 18, 1915.*

Hon. C. A. KENNEDY, M. C.,
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In answer to yours of the 9th will say that 61 patrons will be compelled to go a greater distance to their mail boxes than formerly, and that 47 patrons who formerly had their mail delivered at their residence will be compelled to go from 80 rods to 1¼ miles to their mail boxes each day in order to get their mail. And there will be 7 patrons who will get their mail delivered at their residences who formerly had to go from 20 rods to one-half mile for their mail.

The service in the past has been so satisfactory and agreeable to all that we wish to declare emphatically that the disadvantages to the public to be served so outweigh the advantages that we can not but feel that the change is detrimental to the greater number.

Yours, truly,

T. E. MAXWELL.

Protests became so numerous that when I returned to Washington in December I urged an inspection of each county in the district with a view to having such changes made and routes restored as would bring the service up to its former efficiency. The reports are in for all counties. I want to quote from a letter written by the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General setting out the effect of the changes recommended by the inspector in Jefferson County:

According to data furnished by the inspector, the changes proposed would benefit 287 families, while only 98 of the present patrons will be inconvenienced and none of these will be unreasonably remote from the route as changed. It is believed, therefore, that these amendments will materially improve the efficiency of the service and prove to be in the interest of the majority of the families affected.

Could there be any stronger condemnation of the paper reorganization that was put into operation by the department? It will be remembered that the statement that 287 families would be benefited and 98 inconvenienced was based on the service after the reorganization plan had been put into effect. Everybody was satisfied before that time, and the fact that they have improved the service, according to the report of the inspector, to 287 families, inconvenienced or cut off the route by the readjustment, shows that the patrons in that territory had ample ground for the complaints filed when routes were cut out, and those remaining lengthened to an extent that prevented good service being rendered. At one point in this county the service has been changed on a part of the route four times since the 15th of last November, and there is an investigation on at present with a view to making further changes. These were made except in one case without an inspection.

The inspector making the investigation in the various counties in my district recommended the restoration of some of the routes that had been discontinued. He also advised a rearrangement that would reduce the length of the routes that were extended last year so that carriers could cover them during all seasons of the year. There are, however, scores of patrons who must still travel a long distance for their mail who are demanding better service. The groundwork for poor service was laid when the department issued an order before starting to demoralize the service to the effect that in the future patrons who lived within a mile of the route would be counted as served. Prior to that time a patron was not considered served if he lived more than half a mile from the route. By cutting out part of the routes it necessarily follows that patrons in most cases must travel a greater distance for their mail. The surprising thing about the reorganization scheme was that a wholesale discontinuance of routes was only tried in a few strong Republican States in the North, where the administration could look for no support in the coming election, and in a few Southern States, where wagon routes were consolidated in the motor routes. Close States like Indiana, Missouri, and Nebraska were not touched, evidently because they did not want to start anything in those States at that time.

Mr. Speaker, the Rural Mail Service was started in 1896 and extended so that in 10 years there was complete county service in the district I represent. Not one of these routes was established until an inspector had personally visited every part of the road to be traveled and reported to the department in favor of its establishment.

In administering the Rural Mail Service before the present administration came into power no change in any established route would be made except on the recommendation of an inspector after a personal investigation had been made, and no change would be recommended if it worked adversely to those already receiving mail on the route. The whole tendency of changes that were made was to increase the efficiency of the service.

While patrons have every reason to complain of the treatment received at the hands of the department, the carriers also have reason to protest at the treatment accorded them. The Postmaster General, in his annual report for the fiscal year of 1915, has this to say about the transfer of carriers where they have been separated from the service by reason of the discontinuance of their routes:

When possible every carrier thus affected is being offered a transfer to some other route and vacancies occurring in the ordinary course are being held open for the men necessarily dropped in the readjustment.

The policy announced in the above statement has not been carried out and I do not believe it was ever intended to be. There were six routes discontinued in one of my counties and the carriers separated from the service. Some of these routes were later restored, but new carriers were appointed and the claims of old carriers, some of whom had grown old in the service, were ignored. These carriers had quite an investment in equipment, which is almost a total loss.

Congress has always been liberal in appropriating money to carry on this service with the hope that every effort would be made to give the rural population good mail service. It was announced that the reorganization of the service was to be carried on in the interest of economy, and the Postmaster General in his annual report for 1915 boasts of having an unexpended balance of $3,150,000, which was appropriated for this service and was turned back into the Treasury.

The farmers of the country in common with all other classes believe in the economical administration of governmental affairs, but they do not believe in that measure of economy that destroys efficiency as has been the case with the rural mail service. Those living on routes can not understand why they should be the victims of the only effort put forth by this administration to cut expenses.

Unless I mistake the temper of these people they will register their protests on November 7 against a policy that has curtailed a service that means more to them than any other Government activity in their behalf.

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## The Legal Status of the National Guard Under the Army Reorganization Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. BURNETT M. CHIPERFIELD,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the speech made by me before the American Society of Military Law, a section of the American Bar Association, at the meeting of the American Bar Association, August 30, 1916, at Chicago, Ill. The speech is as follows:

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE NATIONAL GUARD UNDER THE ARMY REORGANIZATION BILL.

Washington, from his distressing experience with untrained and unequipped troops in the Revolutionary War, framed and expressed that formula, ofttimes quoted and in this country almost unanimously disregarded, "In time of peace prepare for war." We glibly prate of the truth of this maxim and stupidly and fatly and sleepily pay no heed to it.

This country has never been prepared for war, and to-day is not prepared for strife.

In the past we have always had to pay dearly in life and treasure for our negligent attitude of unpreparedness.

In the first war with England we melted the statue of the king for bullets; in the War of 1812 we builded our vessels on the shores of the Lakes from timbers newly cut from the forest; in the Civil War we lacked for everything that troops would require; and in the War with Spain we sent our soldiers to certain death from disease in the slaughter camps of the South.

To-day, aside from the natural advance of ideas in connection with the science of war, we are but little better prepared to cope with a first-class power.

All this is closely related to my subject—"The legal status of the National Guard under the reorganization bill."

Not only must we prepare with men, guns, and munitions, but we must as well be prepared with laws to govern the assembling and induction into the forces of the United States of the troops which are not a part of the Regular Army.

If we fail then, the whole scheme of defense is endangered.

In the country to-day are found not to exceed 40,000 Regular troops available for service against any foreign foe. The only reserve to this mere handful of soldiers is the National Guard of the various States. I use the words National Guard in the same sense that they are used in section 58 of the Army reorganization bill, where it says:

> The National Guard shall consist of the regularly enlisted militia between the ages of 18 and 45, organized, armed, and equipped as hereafter provided, and of commissioned officers between the ages of 21 and 64 years.

It is of the legal status of this body of men, numbering at times from 100,000 to 175,000 men, that I desire to speak.

It requires no argument to establish the contention that it is of the highest importance to the Nation that the "legal status" of these men should be certain and definite, in order that the country may surely and without question have their service in the time of need, and that those composing the guard may know both the extent of their rights and the measure of their duty.

Gouverneur Morris, in a letter which he wrote to Moss Kent January 12, 1815, recognized the need for national control and regulation of the militia when he said:

> When in framing the Constitution we restricted so closely the power of government over our fellow citizens of the militia, it was not because we supposed there would ever be a Congress so mad as to attempt tyrannizing over the people or militia by the militia. The danger we meant chiefly to provide against was the hazarding of the national safety by a reliance on that expensive and inefficient force. An overweening vanity leads the fond many, each man against the conviction of his own heart, to believe, or affect to believe, that militia can beat veteran troops in the open field and even play of battle. This idle notion, fed by vaunting demagogues, alarmed us for our country when in the course of that time and chance, which happens to all, she should be at war with a great power.
>
> Those who during the Revolutionary storm had confidential acquaintance with the conduct of affairs knew well that to rely on militia was to lean on a broken reed. We knew also that to coop up in a camp those habituated to the freedom and comforts of social life, without subjecting them to the strict observation and severe control of officers regularly bred, would expose them to such fell disease that pestilence would make more havoc than the sword. We knew that when militia were of necessity called out, and nothing but necessity can justify the call, mercy as well as policy requires that they be led immediately to attack their foe. This gives them a tolerable chance; and when superior in number, possessing, as they must, a correct knowledge of the country, it is not improbable that their efforts may be crowned with success. To that end, nevertheless, it is proper to maintain in them a good opinion of themselves, for despondency is not the road to victory.
>
> But to rely on undisciplined, ill-officered men, though each were individually as brave as Cæsar, to resist the well-directed impulse of veterans is to act in defiance of reason and experience.

In years past, in a desultory kind of way, Congress has sought to provide some certainty as to the status of the National Guard by various enactments, but not much has been accomplished in this direction to this day.

The Dick bill provided for Federal aid in the training of the guard, for its better organization, and to some extent sought to establish a scheme for its incorporation into the national plan of defense.

It fell far short of accomplishing the purposes which it was intended to accomplish.

However, it was a step forward, and did some good. The law is still in force, so far as it is not abrogated by the Army reorganization bill, as are also other laws not repealed by implication by this last enactment.

Strange as it may seem, it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to say just what laws passed by Congress since the adoption of the Constitution with reference to the Army and the National Guard are now effective and in force.

In the last Congress, at the instance of Representative GREENE of Vermont, with the cooperation of Judge Advocate Gen. Crowder, provision was made to collect and collate and annotate—possibly codify—all existing law upon this subject, and this work is now in progress under the supervision of Gen. Crowder. When this is compiled much uncertainty will have been removed as to what laws on this subject are really in force to-day.

With the demand for greater preparedness came the thought that the Army and National Guard must be reorganized by suitable legislation, and growing out of this demand and need came the Army reorganization bill.

It is only with regard to the National Guard that I wish to consider this measure.

With reference to the National Guard, the underlying thought and the foundation on which this bill was erected was the complete federalization of the National Guard.

As Congress approached the construction of this bill it was divided into a number of different groups.

There were those of the opinion, as previously expressed by Gouvernuer Morris, that the National Guard could never be made an effective part of the national plan of defense. Those who composed this group, led by Representative GARDNER, of Massachusetts, could see no possible good and no potential help in the guard. For their shibboleth they adopted the idea that "No good thing can come out of Nazareth."

Another group was composed of those who were the sincere friends of the guard. Among this group were Chairman HAY and Representative MCKENZIE, of Illinois, of the Military Affairs Committee in the House.

Another group were those who favored doing nothing for either the betterment of the Army or the guard. Like those of old, "being blind, they saw not; being deaf, they heard not."

Those in charge of the congressional program had determined upon the complete federalization of the guard, and with them to think was to act. They proceeded upon the theory that "if 'twere done, then 'twere well 'twere quickly done."

The fact that the Constitution of the United States, in the sixteenth subdivision of section 7 of Article 1, said that Congress should have the power—

> To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress—

presented many difficulties was not permitted to dampen their zeal and ardor or to delay their action.

Inspired by the sage interrogatory of one congressional celebrity of "What's the Constitution among friends?" they hurried gayly on their way.

When the bill was finally drafted and reported from the Military Affairs Committee of the House, it was apparent that their determination at all hazards to federalize the National Guard had badly warped the judgment of the committee as to the rights of Congress to completely federalize the National Guard.

In the bill they had written the things that they thought necessary to write in order to accomplish this purpose and in the writing much violence was done to the Constitution.

According to the very plain terms of this organic act, the States could determine each for itself whether or not it would organize any National Guard—if so, how many it would organize, how it would equip its National Guard. To each State was exclusively confided and intrusted by the Constitution, in time of peace, the training of the guard (and I think that means how discipline should be enforced), what officers should be appointed, and what qualifications these officers should possess.

For more than 100 years no one seriously questioned or doubted that these rights belonged to the State, and in the opinion of judges advocate and Attorneys General, and by the decision of many courts—which I shall not attempt to set out in this paper—such rights of the States were confirmed and approved.

To the General Government was reserved the right to use this force to repel invasion, to suppress insurrection, and to enforce the laws of the Union.

For this period this decision of rights, duties, and responsibilities was generally satisfactory, but of late years gradually growing out of unsatisfactory experience, the conviction arose in the minds of many that there must be greater Federal control and regulation, or that the National Guard could not be an effective National aid.

I quite agree that the National Guard should be placed either under exclusive State control, or that the General Government must practically take charge of the same.

It must either be essentially a State force as it was originally designed to be, with the right of the Government to call for its services in time of need, or else it must be placed exclusively under Federal control for Federal purposes.

I am well satisfied that a joint control with all of the conflicting points of difference and divided responsibility will not inure to the benefit of the National Guard, nor will it produce a force that will be valuable for either State or National purposes.

But because I can agree that there may be need for a change in the control of the guard, I can not close my eyes to the unconstitutional sections of the Army reorganization bill as it affects the National Guard.

Of such unconstitutional sections there are many.

Where, I inquire, is the constitutional authority for the following provisions?

SEC. 60. Organization of National Guard units: Except as otherwise specifically provided herein, the organization of the National Guard, including the composition of all units thereof, shall be the same as that which is or may hereafter be prescribed for the Regular Army, subject in time of peace to such general exceptions as may be authorized by the Secretary of War. And the President may prescribe the particular unit or units, as to branch or arm of service, to be maintained in each State, Territory, or the District of Columbia in order to secure a force which, when combined, shall form complete higher tactical units.

SEC. 61. Maintenance of other troops by the States: No State shall maintain troops in time of peace other than as authorized in accordance with the organization prescribed under this act: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed as limiting the rights of the States and Territories in the use of the Guard within their respective borders in time of peace: *Provided further*, That nothing contained in this act shall prevent the organization and maintenance of State police or constabulary.

SEC. 62. Number of the National Guard: The number of the enlisted men of the National Guard to be organized under this act within one year from its passage shall be for each State in the proportion of 200 such men for each Senator and Representative in Congress from such State, and a number to be determined by the President for each Territory and the District of Columbia, and shall be increased each year thereafter in the proportion of not less than 50 per cent until a total peace strength of not less than 800 enlisted men for each Senator and Representative in Congress shall have been reached: *Provided*, That in States which have but one Representative in Congress such increase shall be at the discretion of the President: *Provided further*, That this shall not be construed to prevent any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia from organizing the full number of troops required under this section in less time than is specified in this section, or from maintaining existing organizations if they shall conform to such rules and regulations regarding organizations, strength, and armament as the President may prescribe: *And provided further*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent any State with but one Representative in Congress from organizing one or more regiments of troops, with such organizations and members of such organizations to receive all the benefits accruing under this act under the conditions set forth herein: *Provided further*, That the word Territory as used in this act and in all laws relating to the land militia and National Guard shall include and apply to Hawaii, Alaska, Porto Rico, and the Canal Zone, and the militia of the Canal Zone shall be organized under such rules and regulations not in conflict with the provisions of this act as the President may prescribe.

SEC. 64. Assignment of National Guard to brigades and divisions: For the purpose of maintaining appropriate organization and to assist in instruction and training, the President may assign the National Guard of the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia to divisions, brigades, and other tactical units, and may detail officers either from the National Guard or the Regular Army to command such units: *Provided*, That where complete units are organized within a State, Territory, or the District of Columbia the commanding officers thereof shall not be displaced under the provisions of this section.

SEC. 68. Location of units: The States and Territories shall have the right to determine and fix the location of the units and headquarters of the National Guard within their respective borders: *Provided*, That no organization of the National Guard, members of which shall be entitled to and shall have received compensation under the provisions of this act, shall be disbanded without the consent of the President, nor, without such consent, shall the commissioned or enlisted strength of any such organization be reduced below the minimum that shall be prescribed therefor by the President

SEC. 69. Enlistments in the National Guard: Hereafter the period of enlistment in the National Guard shall be for six years, the first three of which shall be in an active organization and the remaining three years in the National Guard Reserve, hereinafter provided for, and the qualifications for enlistment shall be the same as those prescribed for admission to the Regular Army: *Provided*, That in the National Guard the privilege of continuing in active service during the whole of an enlistment period and of reenlisting in said service shall not be denied by reason of anything contained in this act.

SEC. 71. Hereafter all men enlisting for service in the National Guard shall sign an enlistment contract and take and subscribe to the oath prescribed in the preceding section of this act.

SEC. 74. Qualification for National Guard officers: Persons hereafter commissioned as officers of the National Guard shall not be recognized as such under any of the provisions of this act unless they shall have been selected from the following classes and shall have taken and subscribed to the oath of office prescribed in the preceding section of this act: Officers or enlisted men of the National Guard; officers on the reserve or unassigned list of the National Guard; officers, active or retired, and former officers of the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; graduates of the United States Military and Naval Academies and graduates of schools, colleges, and universities where military science is taught under the supervision of an officer of the Regular Army, and, for the technical branches and staff corps or departments, such other civilians as may be especially qualified for duty therein.

SEC. 75. The provisions of this act shall not apply to any person hereafter appointed an officer of the National Guard unless he first shall have successfully passed such tests as to his physical, moral, and professional fitness as the President shall prescribe. The examination to determine such qualifications for commission shall be conducted by a board of three commissioned officers appointed by the Secretary of War from the Regular Army or the National Guard, or both.

SEC. 91. Discipline to conform to that of Regular Army: The discipline (which includes training) of the National Guard shall conform to the system which is now or may hereafter be prescribed for the Regular Army, and the training shall be carried out by the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia so as to conform to the provisions of this act.

SEC. 92 Training of the National Guard: Each company, troop, battery, and detachment in the National Guard shall assemble for drill and instruction, including indoor target practice, not less than 48 times each year, and shall, in addition thereto, participate in encampments, maneuvers, or other exercises, including outdoor target practice, at least 15 days in training each year, including target practice, unless each company, troop, battery, or detachment shall have been excused from participation in any part thereof by the Secretary of War: *Provided*, That credit for an assembly for drill or for indoor target practice shall not be given unless the number of officers and enlisted men present for duty at such assembly shall equal or exceed a minimum to be prescribed by the President, nor unless the period of actual military duty and instruction participated in by each officer and enlisted man at each such assembly at which he shall be credited as having been present shall be of at least one and one-half hours' duration and the character of training such as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 103. General courts-martial of the National Guard not in the service of the United States may be combined by the orders of the President or of the governors of the respective States and Territories or by the commanding general of the National Guard of the District of Columbia, and such courts shall have the power to impose fines not exceeding $200, to sentence to forfeiture of pay and allowances, to a reprimand, to dismissal or dishonorable discharge from the service, to reduction of noncommissioned officers to the ranks, or any two or more of such punishments may be combined in the sentences imposed by such courts.

That all of these sections are necessary for a proper coordination of the National Guard, the Army, and the scheme for national defense, if the guard is to be federalized, I do not question; and if this is to be done I am heartily in sympathy with and in favor of each of the sections above set forth.

I have no doubt of the absolute unconstitutionality of each and every one of these sections.

In time of peace the General Government can not either appoint or remove officers of the National Guard, yet these sections—64, 65, 74, 75, 77, 103—virtually do both of these things either directly or indirectly.

The General Government can not tell the States how many National Guard they must provide, and yet these sections—61, 62, 68—do direct them to enlist and maintain a certain number and not to exceed a certain number.

The General Government can not, in my judgment, prescribe the form of oath that must be taken by officers and enlisted men in the National Guard, but by this law—sections 71, 72, 73, 74—it assumes this right, and assumes to extend by oath the duty and undertaking of both officer and man to respond for foreign offensive operations, a thing not contemplated by the Constitution; and the act further provides that no officer or enlisted man may be a member of the guard unless he takes such oath.

I have no hesitancy in asserting that it is not within the power of Congress to prohibit the States from organizing and maintaining such part of the militia as such States may desire.

The power of the State to provide for the organization of its own militia is not derived from the Constitution of the United States.

The power existed and was exercised before the adoption of the Constitution, and its exercise by the State is not prohibited by that instrument.

It is only such legislation as is repugnant to the authority of Congress that must give way even when the authority conferred upon Congress is being exercised. See Gilman *v.* Philadelphia (3 Wall., 713), Livingston *v.* Van Ingen (9 Johns., 566), Sturges *v.* Crowninshield (4 Wheat., 122), Blanchard *v.* Russell (13 Mass., 1).

The effect of the second amendment to the Constitution of the United States—

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed—

Was considered in the case of Presser *v.* People of Illinois (116 U. S., 252), where the court speaks as follows:

We are next to inquire whether the fifth and sixth sections of Article XI of the Military Code are in violation of the other provisions of the Constitution of the United States, relied on by the plaintiff in error. The first of these is the second amendment, which declares: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

We think it clear that the sections under consideration, which only forbid bodies of men to associate together as military organizations, or to drill or parade with arms in cities and towns unless authorized by law, do not infringe the right of the people to keep and bear arms. But a conclusive answer to the contention that this amendment prohibits the legislation in question lies in the fact that the amendment is a limitation only upon the power of Congress and the National Government, and not upon that of the States. It was so held by this court in the case of United States *v.* Cruikshank (92 U. S. 542, bk. 23, L. ed., 588), in which the Chief Justice, in delivering the judgment of the court, said that the right of the people to keep and bear arms "is not a right granted by the Constitution. Neither is it in any manner dependent upon that instrument. The second amendment declares that it shall not be infringed; but this, as has been seen, means no more than that it shall not be infringed by Congress. This is one of the amendments that has no other effect than to restrict the powers of the National Government, leaving the people to look for their protection against any violation by their fellow citizens of the rights it recognizes to what is called in New York *v.* Miln (11 Pet., 139, 36 U. S., bk. 9, L. ed., 662), the powers which relate to merely municipal legislation, or what was perhaps more properly called internal police, 'not surrendered or restrained' by the Constitution of the United States." (See also Barron *v.* Baltimore, 7 Pet., 243, 32 U. S., bk. 8, L. ed., 672; Fox *v.* Ohio, 5 How., 410, 46 U. S., bk. 12, L. ed., 212; Twitchell *v.* Commonwealth, 7 Wall.,

327, 74 U. S., bk. 19, L. ed., 224; Jackson v. Wood, 2 Cow., 819; Commonwealth v. Purchase, 2 Pick., 521; United States v. Cruikshank, 1 Woods, 308; North Carolina v. Newsom, 5 Ired., 250; Andrews v. State, 3 Heisk., 165; Fife v. State, 31 Ark., 455.)

The extent and kind of training which the States shall give in time of peace is prescribed by the act (sec. 82, 91, 92, 93, 95) when by the Constitution the training of the National Guard is intrusted to the States.

An even more flagrant instance of patent unconstitutionality is the provision of the act which gives the President the right to court-martial a National Guard officer in time of peace when such officer is not in the service of the United States (sec. 103).

Most certainly in the enactment of these provisions Congress did not intend to let the Constitution stand in the way of its headlong speed or to prevent the federalization of the National Guard.

Now, I am wholly in sympathy with the purpose to make the National Guard the fullest possible auxiliary and reserve to the Regular Army, even though that should require federalization.

Indeed, I have long been an advocate of the plan to enlarge as much as possible the use and worth of the guard, as a National Guard officer, and I believe if the guard is to be federalized the things that Congress has attempted to do to be in the main necessary things, but I also fully believe that the things outlined above in the sections quoted are things which Congress is not authorized to do by the Constitution.

You ask what is to be done if such things are needed but are not authorized by the Constitution?

As I see it, the answer is very plain. The provision of the Constitution above quoted as applied to the National Guard is entirely obsolete if the guard is to be federalized, and in that contingency is not adapted to our national needs at the present time.

We have become a world power, and our reserve to the Regular Army must be constituted in view of this fact and upon that basis.

To do this if it is determined to federalize the guard will require that the Constitution be amended so as to provide for a guard that will be national in its scope and character, formed out of the citizens of the land who shall be as little disturbed as possible in their avocations and business and private pursuits, having in view the national need, but who will understand that there is to be full and immediate response upon their part when the Nation calls.

The Constitution as amended must provide for adequate training, instruction, and preparation for that response in time of peace, and must assure to the guard a proper and certain place in the military forces of the United States.

Until this is done the argument of the enemies of the National Guard that it constitutes 48 separate armies instead of 1 will have much weight and be of much force. Instead of uniformity of excellence among the guard, there will be under the present system confusion and uncertainty, as there has been in the recent mobilization of the guard upon the Mexican border.

Opponents of this plan will say that under such a constitutional amendment a National Guard can not be maintained. I am not at all certain that it can be; but if it can not, the sooner we understand that we are leaning on a broken reed the better, and then the only alternative is universal military training—note I say training and do not say universal service.

The legal status of the National Guard should be made such that it will be the most efficient reserve possible to the Regular Army. Such efficiency can not be secured upon the basis of unconstitutional enactment, no matter how laudable may have been the purpose that secured the enactment.

So far this paper has been devoted to a consideration of those parts of the Army reorganization bill that are not valid and that can not affect the legal status of the National Guard.

With reference to the present status of the National Guard, I can not do better than adopt a memorandum furnished to the Secretary of War July 29, 1916, by Gen. Crowder, Judge Advocate General, where he says:

1. The views of this office are desired with respect to the questions raised in the accompanying letter by the Hon. J. HAMPTON MOORE, M. C., with respect to the status of members of the National Guard now in the service of the United States. The questions submitted by Mr. MOORE are as follows:

"(a) Is the National Guard, as at present mustered in by officers of the Regular Army under the oath required by the national-defense act (the Hay bill), in the jurisdiction of the States, subject to orders from the governors, or is it now a part of the Regular Army of the United States, in the pay of the United States Government, and subject to the Regular Army term of service? An answer to this inquiry might include the further question as to the pensionable status of members of the National Guard as now sworn in for service along the Mexican border.

"(b) If the National Guard, as at present in service along the Mexican border, has not been drafted along the Mexican border, has not been drafted under existing law, including the Dick Act and the national-defense act, is it available for service under the Constitution beyond the borders of the United States? An answer to this question may include the statement of the effect of the resolution of Congress declaring an emergency to exist."

2. In answering these questions the term "Organized Militia" will be applied to the militia organized under the act of January 21, 1903, known as the "Dick bill" (32 Stat., 775), as amended, and the term "National Guard" will be applied to the members of the Organized Militia who have qualified under the national defense act of June 3, 1916, by subscribing the oath and enlistment contract as provided in sections 70 and 73 of that act.

3. The Organized Militia of the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas have been mustered into the service under the call of May 9, 1916, and the Organized Militia and National Guard of the other States are in the service under the call issued by the President June 18, 1916, both calls being for the purpose of protecting the United States against aggression from Mexico.

4. The questions submitted will be answered first with respect to the Organized Militia of the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. These were mustered into the service of the United States under section 7 of the Dick bill, the officers and enlisted men taking in connection with the said muster the oath prescribed by the muster-in regulations promulgated under that law. Their status is that of militia called into the service of the United States for one of the purposes specified in the Constitution—that is, to protect the United States against invasion. While in such service they are subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army, so far as applicable to their temporary status, and are subject only to the orders of the President. They are not, while in such service, under the jurisdiction of the States, nor are they subject to the orders of the governors, whose authority over them for the time being is suspended, except only with respect to the appointment of officers. They are not a part of the Regular Army of the United States, nor are they subject to the Regular Army term of service. They are in the service as militia, called forth to meet the exigency for which the call was issued. While in the service they are, of course, in the pay of the United States Government, and are entitled to the same pay and allowance as the regular troops. With regard to their pensionable status, section 22 of the Dick bill gives them the benefit of the pension laws for any disability incurred in the service, and, in case of death, confers on the widow or children of the deceased all the benefits of such pension laws. Under the decision of the comptroller of July 20, 1916, the widow or beneficiary of a member of the Organized Militia whose death occurs except through his own misconduct, is entitled to the six months' gratuity pay, the same as in the case of officers or soldiers of the Regular Army.

5. Answering the questions submitted with respect to the Organized Militia and National Guard who are in the service under the call of June 18, 1916, it should be observed that shortly after the passage of the national defense act of June 3, 1916, the Organized Militia of the several States began to transform themselves into the National Guard of the new national defense act. The call of June 18, 1916, found this process of transformation going on, and it was necessary, therefore, for that call to embrace both the Organized Militia and the National Guard if it were to be effective to call into the service of the United States all of the militia forces, and it was so drafted.

6. With respect to those organizations of the Organized Militia that had transformed themselves prior to June 18, 1916, into the National Guard under said act, no muster-in was necessary, as it was the effect of the call to place them in the service of the United States from the date they were required by the terms of the call to respond thereto. (Sec. 101, national defense act.) The muster-in rolls of the several organizations are on file in the War Department, but this office has not had an opportunity to give them any detailed examination. It is understood, however, that pursuant to instructions the members of the Organized Militia who had not qualified under the national defense act were required to be mustered in, taking the prescribed muster-in oath; but as to those who had so qualified, their names were entered upon the muster rolls, with a notation to the effect that they had already taken the oath prescribed in sections 70 and 73 of the national defense act.

7. There are, therefor, in the service of the United States under the call of June 18, 1916, two classes of militia. One the militia organized under the Dick bill, and the other the National Guard as organized under the national-defense act. With respect to those who have not qualified under the national-defense act their status is identical with that of the Organized Militia of the States of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, which is discussed above. The status of those who have qualified under the national-defense act is that of National Guard "called as such into the service of the United States" (sec. 191, national-defense act), and they are, while in such service "subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army" so far as applicable to their temporary status, and are subject only to the orders of the President. They are not, while in service, under the jurisdiction of the States nor are they subject to the orders of the governor, whose authority over them for the time being is suspended, except only with respect to the appointment of officers within the classes specified in the national-defense act of June 3, 1916. They are not a part of the Regular Army of the United States nor are they subject to the Regular Army term of service. Like the Organized Militia, whose status is discussed above, their status in the service under the call is that of militia called into the service of the United States for one of the purposes specified in the Constitution—that is, to protect the United States Government, and are entitled while in the service to the same pay and allowances as regular troops. In fact, both classes of troops, while in the service of the United States, are subject to the laws and regulations governing the Regular Army, so far as applicable to their temporary status, and subject only to the orders of the President. Neither class of troops, while in such service, is under the jurisdiction of a State or subject to the orders of a governor, whose only authority with respect to them is, as above stated, to appoint officers to any vacancies which may occur. Both classes of the militia are entitled to pensions for disabilities incurred during their period of service under the same conditions as are regular troops, and their beneficiaries are also entitled, under the decision of the Comptroller of July 20, 1916, to the six months' gratuity pay in the case of their death while in the service from wounds or disease "not the result of their own misconduct."

8. Much of the misconception that has arisen regarding the status of the National Guard in service under the call of June 18, 1916, appears to rest on the assumption that it is the effect of the new oath and enlistment contract, and the call of that date, to make the National Guard available for any service for which the Regular Army may be used, during the period of service under the call. But that Congress did not so intend is evident from the fact that the act of June 3, 1916, contains a provision (sec. 101) applicable to the National Guard "when called as such into the service of the United States," and a district provision (sec. 111) for drafting them into the Federal service, appli-

cable only "when Congress shall have authorized the use of the armed land forces of the United States for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the Regular Army." As to persons so drafted, it is distinctly provided that they "shall, from the date of their draft, stand discharged from the militia and shall from said date be subject to such laws and regulations for the government of the Army of the United States as may be applicable to members of the Volunteer Army * * *." It is clear, I think, that the national-defense act contemplates that the National Guard shall be available for service either as National Guard called into the service of the United States as such for the three constitutional purposes, or, when specially authorized by Congress, as a national force supplementing the Regular Army and available for any service for which Regular troops may be used. In other words, the national-defense act gives the Government the right, in return for the expenditure for pay, training and equipment of the National Guard, to draft them into the Federal service to supplement the Regular Army, but this right can be exercised only when Congress shall have authorized its exercise, as has been done in the joint resolution of July 1, 1916.

9. With regard to the effect of the declaration in the joint resolution of July 1, 1916, that an emergency exists, I think there can be no question but that this declaration serves as the reason for conferring the authority to make the draft, and also as a limitation upon the authority with regard to the term of service under the draft. It is provided therein that the draft shall be "for the period of the emergency, not exceeding three years, unless sooner discharged." The resolution confers a discretion on the President to issue the draft, or not, as the exigencies of the situation may require.

Section 111 is a valuable and effective section, couched in most objectionable language where it provides for the "drafting" of the National Guard.

I protested against the use of those words in the House of Representatives. The section provides:

SEC. 111. National Guard when drafted into Federal services: When Congress shall have authorized the use of the armed land forces of the United States for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the Regular Army, the President may, under such regulations, including such physical examinations as he may prescribe, draft into the military service of the United States, to serve therein for the period of the war, unless sooner discharged, any or all members of the National Guard and of the National Guard Reserve. All persons so drafted shall, from the date of their draft, stand discharged from the militia, and shall from said date be subject to such laws and regulations for the government of the Army of the United States as may be applicable to members of the Volunteer Army, and shall be embodied in organizations corresponding as far as practicable to those of the Regular Army or shall be otherwise assigned as the President may direct. The commissioned officers of said organizations shall be appointed from among the members thereof, officers with rank not above that of colonel to be appointed by the President alone, and all other officers to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Officers and enlisted men in the service of the United States under the terms of this section shall have the same pay and allowances as officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army of the same grades and the same service.

But this section is not self-executing, nor can the President declare that the emergency exists that requires that the National Guard be drafted, nor can the President be required to draft the guard, even though Congress declares that the emergency does exist.

Such was the case with reference to the Mexican situation.

After the act was passed and became a law the President asked Congress to declare that an emergency existed requiring that the guard be drafted into the service of the United States. On July 1, 1916, Congress complied with the request of the President, but to this day not a single man has been called into the service of the United States under the provisions of section 111. Because of a failure to so call the National Guard the greatest confusion has resulted, and in many ways the guard has been put in an unenviable light, when, in fact, it was the failure to use this section that caused the embarrassment.

So in this particular case there was a hiatus between Congress and the President that is unprovided for by the Army reorganization bill and that has caused this valuable section to lose its vitality and to be rendered nugatory and of no effect.

This was the heart of the Army reorganization bill, so far as the National Guard was concerned, and it has been paralyzed.

So then, after viewing the whole situation, I conclude that the status of the National Guard under the Army reorganization bill is most indefinite and uncertain and but little improved over what it was before the passage of that bill. Indeed, but little progress has been made in the way of national enactment since the first militia bill of 1792. But little progress can be made under the present constitutional provisions. The need of truly nationalizing the guard is great if it is to become an integral part of the defense plans of the country, but the difficulties are many and hard to overcome.

Of the valor and patriotism of the guard I have the highest opinion. As an officer of that body modesty would suggest that I let others speak as to those qualities.

But in concluding I can not refrain from the expression of the opinion that the effectiveness of the guard is greatly lessened, that the safety of the Nation is to some extent imperiled, by a lack of adequate legislation upon this subject and by lack of adequate constitutional power on the part of the General Government.

## Judge Gary's Views on the Philippine Question.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. RICHARD W. AUSTIN,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Speaker, availing myself of the privilege to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit an able and patriotic speech delivered in Manila last month by Judge Elbert H. Gary at a banquet tendered him by the Merchants' Association of that city. Judge Gary's views and opinions, now that he has visited the Philippine Islands, are entitled to the respect and thoughtful consideration not only of the Members of Congress, but of all the American people. He is not a politician, seeks no political advantage, but views and considers the Philippine problem as a disinterested business man. His speech is free from prejudice, full of facts, wise, just, patriotic, and a valuable contribution to what has been said here in debate on the Philippine question. I commend it to the thoughtful consideration of my colleagues, who desire first-hand information from one of America's leading citizens and a great student of current events and problems:

GARY URGES TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT FOR ISLANDS.

[From the Manila Daily Bulletin.]

Retention of the Philippine Islands under the United States flag as a Territory of the Union is the solution of the Philippine problem urged by Judge Elbert H. Gary as most beneficial to the permanent interests of the islands and the American people, in a masterly address delivered before the Manila Merchants' Association and a most cosmopolitan gathering of representative Americans, Filipinos, and members of the various foreign communities at the annual banquet of the association held last evening in the Manila Hotel.

There were over 200 people present at the banquet, the addresses being opened by President H. M. Pitt, of the Manila Merchants' Association, who spoke on the opportunities of the Philippines and then introduced the toastmaster of the evening, Attorney Charles C. Cohn.

Mr. Cohn in his usual happy vein introduced Alcalde Felix M. Roxas, who spoke of the old days and the good accomplished by American occupation. He also paid tribute to the merchants' association and said that it fully anticipated the wants of the country, while at the same time it did not interfere with the government.

William H. Taylor, the next speaker, being too ill to attend, his speech was read by Associate Justice E. Finley Johnson, of the supreme court.

Mr. Cohn then expressed in behalf of the merchants' association their appreciation of the visit of Judge Gary and introduced the guest of honor.

During the evening there were several musical selections, the constabulary orchestra being present for the occasion. The program included vocal selections by W. H. Lewis, Mrs. Alice Widney Conant and O. M. Shuman, Guy Harrison officiating at the piano. There were also exhibitions of Spanish dances by Señorita Ortigas, and the moving pictures of the bureau of science were thrown on the screen for the benefit of those present, which was highly appreciated.

Judge Gary's address was as follows:

"There is something inherent in the very atmosphere of semi-tropical latitudes that is conducive to a spirit of liberal hospitality, and your generous reception is in line with this idea. I am grateful and I thank you.

"I came here to look and to listen, to study and to learn, to come into close contact even for a few short days with a part of this wonderful and most interesting dominion.

"I must confess to an ignorance concerning the archipelago which is hardly justifiable, and I am not qualified to speak on this occasion. There are so many important questions connected with the Philippine Islands—historical, political, social, and economic—that it is a venture for a mere business man to express opinions or make suggestions without careful previous inquiry and consideration. Still it is sometimes useful for one who comes from the large body of business interests not having any political connection to speak at random about matters that affect the welfare of all the people of his country; for every question ought to be discussed from all conceivable angles.

"At any rate I was persuaded to appear before you against my preconceived intentions, and I shall speak frankly and with the best of motives.

"When the mysterious and all-powerful forces of nature cast up from the depths of the sea the material for the physical foundation of the Philippine Islands, an overruling Providence provided opportunity for the building of a great nation.

"The underlying essentials to everything that makes for the health and comfort and happiness of a people are the material conditions and prospects which surround them. They must, first of all, have a chance to secure the necessities of life. If their bodies are starving, they have no inclination to consider moral or political questions. Give them food and covering and they are apt to heed any reasonable suggestion. This is true the world over.

"These islands offer exceptional advantages for the support and comfort of their occupants. They are rich in natural resources. In soil, climate, and necessary moisture there are afforded facilities for the continuous and continued production of crops sufficient to maintain a population as large as those of several of the greatest nations. It is not necessary to be specific. You know better than I; but it is doubtful if any of us fully realize the extent of the agricultural productive capacity of the islands provided they were utilized to the best advantage, with the aid of all modern improvements and practice. When there shall have been conserved and practically applied all the natural resources of the country; when all the lands shall be used for the best purposes and according to the best methods; when all the power that is

contained in the rivers and cataracts is brought under control and wisely employed; when all the agencies for the production of wealth, above the ground or underneath, are systematically and intelligently devoted to the service of humankind, then it may be expected that the Philippine Islands will take their proper place as a great leading commercial and industrial center. Necessarily many things must be considered in bringing about these results.

"These natural resources and opportunities existed at the commencement of the American occupation about 16 years ago; but the inhabitants generally were receiving comparatively little benefit. Either from lack of disposition or financial ability, or both, the government which was recognized throughout the world as the owner did little to develop or to assist in developing the islands. It is not necessary, nor would it be useful to discuss the merits of any controversy relating to the previous control or management of the islands. Certain published statements may be taken as true. The islands were not developed. There were no adequate facilities for development or use. The living of the masses of the people was scant and insufficient. The health of the different communities was bad. There were no means for properly caring for the sick and distressed. The death rate was appalling. Disorders and quarrels in localities were common. The rule of officials was often tyrannical and oppressive. Fair and just treatment to many was neither a reminiscence nor even an aspiration. To them the future was hopeless. There was no incentive to strive for betterment nor for anything more than a mere existence. Ignorance prevailed. Indeed this seems to have been desired by those in authority. All this applies to a people of good natural qualities, morally, mentally and physically, occupying a land of plenty! The picture is probably not overdrawn. These people deserved a better fate. How well they deserved it we thoroughly appreciate as the result of the experience of the last few years.

"Almost as a matter of mere chance, or rather by the decree of a merciful and all-wise Providence, perhaps in answer to the prayers of a multitude of afflicted sufferers, all these conditions were to be changed. The clouds of oppression were lifted and the sunshine of hope and expectation was presented to the vision of a grateful people.

"The kingdom of Spain was recognized by the other nations of the world as the holder of the title to all these lands, and the United States of America purchased this title and took possession, and thereby assumed great responsibilities, not only to the inhabitants of the islands, but to all mankind. Our country is not an aggressive nor warlike Nation. She does not seek nor desire that which properly belongs to others. She is conciliatory and friendly to all and means to be just in every act and decision. And she is ever willing to use her strength and influence in the endeavor to fulfill every obligation to herself, to others, and to humanity. The President has expressed these sentiments in unmistakable terms, and with this principle the people of the country are in accord. As to where the line of duty leads, honest and intelligent minds often disagree, and therefore there may be differences in regard to the relations between the United States and these insular possessions. As a member of the business fraternity I dare insist that the great majority of the business men of the United States are not favorable to the administration or settlement of the affairs of the Philippine Islands solely for the purpose and with the aim of satisfying the demands of American politics.

"We recognize the rights and the welfare of the Filipinos and we know that the large majority at least, including the most intelligent and influential have a feeling of sincere friendship for the United States and are grateful for what has been done for the islands. We would reciprocate the friendship and we would assist them to become one of the greatest and most influential civic and political organizations. We are making history with the hope that what we do will entitle us to the respect and approval of the entire world in all the years to come. We expect to keep and to carry out every promise that has ever been made by our country, not including, however, alleged promises, if any, which have never been made, authorized, or proved.

"It is pertinent to inquire what the United States has already done for the islands. On taking possession she promptly furnished an organized, fully equipped, and highly efficient Army for the restoration and maintenance of order and for the discipline needed to protect life and health and property. The service of this arm of the Government, under most trying circumstances, is entitled to unstinted praise. It has displayed an intelligence, energy, and self-sacrificing spirit never excelled. In military as well as civic matters it was from the start surprisingly wise, discreet, and effective, and for undaunted courage at times when it was compelled to act almost literally in the dark it never failed in the performance of its duty. All in all it may truthfully be said the American soldiers of the Philippines have in every respect proved themselves to be worthy and competent.

"There is a misaken notion that the presence of military force is a menace to a community; that it is of itself a threat to others; that it is intended as an unreasonable restraint or a compelling argument in favor of affirmative action on the part of others. But in truth the average soldier loves peace and abhors war. He will sacrifice life itself if and when necessary, and he will never shrink from the call of duty; but he prefers to save the life of another rather than to destroy it. When he points his gun at another, it is only because he believes circumstances require it. I think the record of the Army in these islands justifies all that has been said. Indeed, it should be admitted, not only that the presence of the American soldiers during the American occupation of the islands has been beneficial, but that their presence has been essential to the welfare of all the inhabitants. There are found in all communities those who are vicious and criminal by nature and others who because of ignorance or misunderstanding must be disciplined for their own good as well as for the good of others. These islands are probably no different in this respect from other parts of the world. A strong, honest police force is no detriment to any locality. You who are familiar with the details of the record can testify to the value to the Philippine Islands of the American soldier.

"Then the United States furnished a civil government, composed of some of the ablest men, competent to formulate and administer laws and regulations for the improvement of conditions and methods; and also provided measures for the preservation of life and health and property, for the education of the inhabitants, and for the extension of commerce and commercial relations. It would require a long chapter in the history of this country to recount the splendid work performed by the civil authorities sent from the United States to the Philippines, including the Governors General and all those under them. I understand there are large numbers of Filipinos highly educated and fully competent to fill public offices, and in due time no doubt they will occupy most, if not all, of the most important public positions; but certainly it was wholly impracticable, if desired by anyone, to establish and administer in these islands a stable and efficient government prior to the acquisition by the United States. Reasons or details are not required. The United States was compelled to do all that she has done in order to serve the interests of the Filipinos and to satisfy the anxiety of the people of all the nations. Mere self-interest would have influenced her to withdraw from the islands immediately after she had completed her purchase, but it was believed by the large majority that she could not consistently do this; and, consequently, she reluctantly assumed a responsibility which it is hoped she may never have cause to regret.

"But, independently of these considerations, the government which the representatives of the United States have established and administered is of inestimable benefit to the islands and all their inhabitants. It is stable, sound, liberal, and just, and it is wisely and conscientiously administered. The present administration is no exception. We have reason to commend and congratulate those in office; and it is cause for gratification that so many of the native population are occupying places of highest importance in governmental affairs. In all respects, in fundamental provisions, in the conduct of its affairs, and in the opportunity it offers to individual effort, the Philippine government may be favorably compared to the best governments.

"And then it is worthy of comment that private capital of citizens of the United States in large amounts has been invested in the Philippines during the last decade. The islands could not have been developed except by the expenditure of immense sums of money, and capital would not have come to the country, nor would it remain except upon condition that the stability of the government and also the friendly attitude of the inhabitants are both assured. Perhaps what is needed at the present time more than anything else for the advancement of the best interests of the people of this country is the confidence of foreign investors of money that their investments will be protected. Anything that shall be done or said to raise a doubt in this respect will seriously interrupt the progress which the islands are capable of making. Thoughtless or reckless indeed is anyone who by a single word casts a doubt upon the stability of the government or insinuates that there will not be a wise, economical, honest, and liberal administration. Capital seeks safety and permanency; it avoids uncertainty.

"The members of this association are to be congratulated on the success of their efforts to advance the business interests of this community and of the islands generally. You have pursued a straightforward course, aggressive yet fair and reasonable, and you will receive the commendation of everyone who is familiar with your efforts. You are building for a long future, and perhaps better than you know.

"Everywhere at the present time the successful business man is as popular as he was in former times before the persistent cry of the demagogue raised a temporary doubt in the minds of many of the people as to whether business was fairly and decently conducted. As you know, there has been a decided change of sentiments in this respect. Perhaps there was some ground for complaint in regard to business methods, but if so, it has disappeared. I am quite sure the business men of Manila are managing the affairs intrusted to them with the regard for the rights of everyone concerned. The high ideals of our Government should be applied to every department of business activity. You have appreciated your responsibility, and I congratulate you.

"The business men of this association and all others who have invested their funds in business or property located in the Philippine Islands are entitled to full and adequate protection and assistance so far as the same can be furnished by the United States Government or its agencies. Any neglect or indifference in this particular would not be honorable or excusable. The people of the United States believe in fair play, in justice to every interest involved, in full consideration of all the facts and circumstances, and then impartial treatment of every person to be affected regardless of his nationality or previous condition; and what the people advocate the Government itself is sure to adopt sooner or later.

"What I have said naturally leads up to the inquiry: What of the future of the Philippine Islands? This is a serious question, and it involves many other questions which should engage the most careful and disinterested attention of the people of the islands, and of the United States as well. The opportunities for future development and progress are very great. Undoubtedly it is within the bounds of possibility for the islands to secure and occupy a leading position in the onward march of nations if the most and best shall be made of the chance which nature offers. Much, perhaps everything, depends on the Filipinos themselves, and their desire and effort will be influenced by the attitude of Americans. Circumstances almost beyond the control of either, created without previous deliberation, force the conclusion that the latter are more or less responsible for the destiny of the former. In view of these facts, ought the islands to be turned over to the absolute and independent possession and control of the inhabitants? The problem might be easily solved if the United States could conscientiously wash its hands of all responsibility and permit the Filipinos to decide; but would this be fair and reasonable?

"I make bold to offer the suggestion that the Filipinos themselves should give most careful consideration to the question as to whether it would not be to their advantage to have the islands permanently attached to the United States as a part of its territory; and that unless and until these people are beyond doubt qualified to pass upon and actually vote upon the proposition, the control and occupation remain as at present. This action would not, of course, be authorized by, nor binding upon, the United States, but it should have a decided influence on the final disposition of a complicated subject.

"As the matter presents itself to my mind, there are grave doubts as to whether the Filipinos if relegated to their own resources could be expected to establish and administer a government that would be satisfactory to themselves or to neighboring nations or that would result in security to the lives and health and property of individuals or permit the development, growth, and progress which would be natural and certain under other conditions. In saying this I am not underestimating the capabilities of large numbers of Filipinos already adverted to. It is likely there would be discord, disease, disaster in many parts at least and in that case the final result could be prognosticated without any stretch of imagination—a lost opportunity and a decaying race.

"On the other hand, if the islands should remain permanently United States territory, with a stable government and with the supply of the necessary capital which would be attracted, the future of the islands would be assured. Everything favorable which I have suggested as coming within the limits of opportunity would be realized; not in a day or a year, but in the natural course of a progressive and prosperous country. The islands are too fine, their productive capacity too great, and their people generally too worthy in instinct and disposition and natural ability to neglect the chance, if it should be offered, of becoming a part of perhaps the leading nation of the world. As to power and dominion, if that should be involved in the discussion,

I would rather be the governor or the governor general of a rich and prosperous State or Territory than the president of an unhealthy, impoverished, and distracted republic. Give the Filipinos a chance to understand and to deliberate and they will agree with what I have said. And surely every other nation who may have relations with them, business or otherwise, would welcome the connection.

"But what would be the attitude of the United States? Well, I speak only as a business man. We have paid $20,000,000 for the property. We have expended considerable money to preserve life and health and for maintenance of an army; but above everything else, we have assumed obligations we can not shirk. Our Nation is big and honorable and too exalted in character to harbor even a thought of being unfaithful to the trust which fate has imposed. If we were to retire from the Philippines and as a result she should prove to be a menace—if conditions should become dangerous or deplorable, I fear we would be in duty bound to resume the burden of protection, and in that case we would be worse off than at present. Therefore I conceive it to be our duty to decide what shall be our attitude and action without regard to the question of dollars.

"However, I sincerely believe that with the natural resources and facilities which the Philippines possess and with power development and utilization, the retention of the islands would prove to be advantageous to the United States of America from the financial standpoint. The Filipinos as a race have great possibilities. We might expect to see within a few decades a large, healthy, vigorous, and highly prosperous people. The business relations between the peoples of the two countries would be profitable and revenue received by the United States would be large. The islands are already self-supporting and their expenditures have been large and generous for the purposes of education, protection of health, erection of buildings, construction of roads, development of the country, and the general cost of government administration. Aside from the expense of maintaining the Army, the United States is not required to contribute any money for current expenses or for the upbuilding of the country and its commercial, industrial, and social demands. Moreover, the Philippine Islands are capable of furnishing in unlimited quantities the products peculiar to tropical climates, which the United States can not obtain elsewhere within her territory and which are highly essential to a complete and rounded-out commercial nation. We will do well to ponder on these things. From every standpoint I believe it would be beneficial, both to the Filipinos and to the people of the United States if the latter should sooner or later have within its domains a Territory or a State designated on the map as 'Philippine.'

"And now it only remains for me to thank you again for your kind reception, as generous as it is undeserved, and to congratulate all who have been connected with the vitalization of the islands on the remarkable progress that has been made toward their development and the improvement of the conditions of the inhabitants."

## The Post Office Appraprlation Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRY E. HULL,

OF IOWA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. HULL of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the biggest joker in this Post Office bill is that section which relates to the standardizing of rural routes. Under the guise of protecting the farmer, there has been inserted in this bill a section which really legalizes the illegal act committed by the Post Office Department during the past year when it proceeded to demoralize the rural-route system without the authority so to do. When Congress convened last fall practically the entire country was up in arms against the ruthless slaughter of the mail service in the rural districts. Democratic and Republican Congressmen alike filed vehement protests with the Post Office Department, and the subject was extensively discussed on the floor of the House. At that time I called attention to the fact that the Post Office Department had no legal right to manipulate the rural routes as it had done. I claimed at that time that Congress had appropriated certain sums to maintain the rural routes for the ensuing year, and that an administrative department here in Washington had no legal right to interfere with a decree of Congress. There were many who agreed with me, and the demand for legislation that would effectively put a stop to further mutilation of the rural routes was general. In order to allay the storm the Post Office Department at that time was ready to promise almost anything. In the meantime it recognized the fact that it had been doing what it had no right to do, so it quietly but persistently got busy, and the clause that now appears in the bill is a result. If any of the many Congressmen who entered a vigorous protest against the actions of the department in the last year can tell me how this section is going to remedy the conditions that they complained of, I would like to have it explained.

The section is so worded that it gives the Post Office Department practically unlimited power to do what it will with our rural routes. A year ago it demoralized them in open defiance of the law. Now it has managed to secure the law to back up its actions. This section provides that a standard, horse-drawn route shall be 24 miles in length. But it also provides that in the discretion of the Postmaster General this 24-mile route may be extended not to exceed 50 per cent of the standard route. In other words, he can tack on just 12 miles, making a route 36 miles in length. It seems to me the joker is so obvious that any man can plainly see what the result will be. If we can judge the future by the past, the Post Office Department is going to try some more of its so-called economy at the expense of the farmers. Not only is he going to do it, but he now has the law back of him in the deal. The preponderance of evidence presented before the Post Office Committee and this House proved that a horse-drawn rural route more than 24 miles in length was impractical. This section would allow the Postmaster General to tack on 12 more miles. It does even more than this, it gives him the absolute power over the delivery of mail to those millions of farmers who reside in the country districts; it gives him the power to show favoritism; it gives him an opportunity to use this rural-route system in the political game; and it gives an administrative office the power to legislate. The rural routes, since the demoralization of the last year, are in a deplorable condition. I will venture to say that 95 per cent of the farmers affected will tell you they are too long and impractical. The present section affects not only the farmers but the rural-mail carriers. It provides pay on a basis of 24-mile routes, but it does not provide any additional pay when routes are extended. In other words, it is tacking on much more labor with no adequate compensation. There is no harder working or more conscientious set of men than the rural carriers. Their compensation is small for the labor that is required of them. Why should the Government increase their work without so doing with their compensation? I predict that there will be as much dissatisfaction in the future as there has been in the past with the rural-route proposition, and I think it is time that adequate legislation be enacted tending to give relief to the rural communities.

This clause, allowing the Post Office Department to lengthen routes to 30 miles without cost and 36 miles as they see fit, with only one-half pay for the mileage in excess of 30 miles, is proof positive of the love of the Democratic Party for the farmer. It means in the next five years the crippling, almost the destruction, of the Rural Route Service. It means that 40 per cent of the farmers now receiving their mail at the front door will be compelled to go over one-fourth of a mile and more to get their mail. It means that practically all farmers who have not already had their service taken away or curtailed are to feel the iron hand of some bureau chief here in Washington, who, without any knowledge as to conditions, revises the routes so as to make them 30 miles or more in length. Rural-route carriers, with 24-mile routes, using horses, now work 60 per cent of the year 12 hours or more each day to deliver mail regularly. It is abject slavery to ask more of them. Experts on horseflesh agree that on ordinary roads to drive a horse over 24 miles every day constitutes cruelty to animals. This is the measure of love that the Democratic administration has for humanity. Old, faithful public servants, now working 16 hours a day, are to have their days lengthened until they fail to perform their service to the farmers and are thereby forced to abandon the job.

We asserted on the floor of the House that the Democratic Party had taken the money that Congress gave them to keep these routes running and used it to finance the Government. Within the last month the Post Office Department, with a flourish of trumpets, has turned over to the Treasury almost the exact amount that the Rural Route Service has cost less than the Sixty-third Congress gave them to spend. This means that the farmers were robbed of just that amount and the money used for other purposes; probably taken down South to dig a channel in some dry creek bed. At that time the only answer that we got from the distinguished chairman of the Post Office Committee was, "What has the farmer got to say about it anyway?" I replied that they might have something to say in November, and the opportunity is squarely up to them to have their say at that time. I now predict that if this administration is retained in power they will lengthen out the balance of the routes to 30 miles or more, thus eliminating about 25 per cent now running, and farmers will be forced to go a mile or so for their mail, which will come to them from a town probably not their trading center, and coming so irregularly as not to be relied upon. Mr. Burleson and Mr. Blakslee are retained in high position over the protest of Senators and Representatives in order that they might complete the job they have started.

That this is the condition of the Rural Route Service is not the fault of Republican Congressmen or Senators. They have worked hard to save the service, and they have had the assistance of many of their Democratic brethren, but the administration was able to kill their amendment that would have preserved the service to the farmer, and the administration was

able to dictate the clause which is now in the present Post Office bill, the clause that was intended to deprive the farmer of his Rural Route Service to such an extent that it will be almost worthless to him. It is really up to the farmers themselves, and by their decision at the coming election they will decide themselves whether they will permit this to be done or not.

## The Adamson Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM H. COLEMAN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Adamson bill, passed by this House Friday last and since enacted into law, in my judgment violates the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and is, in so far as it purports to grant an eight-hour workday and an increase of wages of the railway trainmen, a fraudulent and deceptive piece of legislation.

No serious argument has been advanced in favor of the measure by those who gave it their support. The only effort at justification on the part of those favoring the bill was the pleading of an existing emergency—the threatened railroad strike. No attempt was made to justify the law upon its merits, and many of those who supported the measure, as well as those who opposed it, are of the opinion that it is unconstitutional. That it does violate the principle of freedom of contract and is in contravention of the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States it would seem to me there can be little doubt.

In the case of Adair against United States, Two hundred and eighth United States Reports, page 161, the Supreme Court in construing section 10 of the act of Congress of June 1, 1898, concerning carriers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees, which section made it a crime against the United States to unjustly discriminate against an employee of an interstate carrier because of his being a member of a labor organization, the court, in striking down the law, said:

> This question is admittedly one of importance and has been examined with care and deliberation, and the court has reached a conclusion which in its judgment is consistent with both the words and spirit of the Constitution, and is sustained as well by sound reason.

The court, after citing numerous authorities, further said:

> It results on the whole case that the provision of the statute under which the defendant was convicted must be held to be repugnant to the fifth amendment and as not embraced by nor within the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, but under the guise of regulating interstate commerce and as applied to this case it arbitrarily sanctions an illegal invasion of the personal liberty as well as the right of the property of the defendant, Adair.

In the case of Coppage against Kansas, Two hundred and thirty-sixth United States Reports, page 1, in which the Supreme Court was called on to construe an act of the Kansas State Legislature which made it unlawful for employers to coerce, require, or influence employees not to join or remain members of labor organizations, the act was stricken down as being in violation of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, which amendment declares that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, applying to the States the same constitutional provision as in the fifth amendment is applied to the legislative authority of the United States.

The court, referring to the case of Adair against United States and the judgment therein arrived at, said:

> We are now asked in effect to overrule it, and in view of the importance of the issue we have reexamined the question from the standpoint of both reason and authority. As a result we are constrained to reaffirm the doctrine there applied. Neither the doctrine nor this application of it is novel. We will endeavor to restate some of the grounds upon which it rests. The principle is fundamental and vital, included in the right of personal liberty and the right of private property partaking of the nature of each is the right to make contracts for the acquisition of property. Chief among such contracts is that of personal employment by which labor and other services are exchanged for money or other forms of property. If this right be struck down or arbitrarily interfered with there is a substantial impairment of liberty in the long-established constitutional sense. The right is as essential to the laborer as to the capitalist, to the poor as to the rich, for the vast majority of persons have no other honest way to begin to acquire property save by working for money.

The question that will be raised under the Adamson law will relate to the increase of wages of employees by legislative enactment and must certainly prove a stronger case than either of those above cited. And if the laws referred to in those cases could not be upheld on constitutional grounds, how is it possible to hope for a favorable decision in the present instance, where a 25 per cent increase in wages is provided for by an act of Congress?

Freedom of contract is one of the legal rights most strongly insisted upon by the courts in general, and where any attempt is made to qualify or restrict that right, as now determined by judicial decision, the burden of proof certainly rests upon the party advocating the restriction.

If, therefore, the Adamson bill fails as an unconstitutional measure, what will be the opinion of the great army of railroad employees of those Members of Congress who voted for a bill that merely postponed the controversy until after the election by giving to the trainmen a false promise upon which to rest a forlorn hope?

NOT AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

While the measure purports to be an eight-hour law and is popularly referred to as such, it is well known to the Members of this House that it does not limit the hours of service and that under its provisions the railroad trainmen can work just as many hours as they were permitted to do before its passage.

It provides only—

> That, beginning with January 1, 1917, eight hours shall, in contracts for labor and services, be deemed a day's work and the measure or standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for service for all employees who are now, or may hereafter be, employed by any common carrier which is subject to the provisions of the act of February 1, 1887, entitled "An act to regulate commerce"—

And so forth.

It is true that the act is entitled an eight-hour-day law, but in so far as the title of the bill is concerned it is false and misleading, as it does not tend to shorten the hours of labor. This is one of the jokers in the bill and is admirably described by the distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS] in his speech in the Senate on September 1, when he said:

> It is the brassiest gold brick that was ever tendered the people of the United States or the men who are directly interested in railway operation.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], who strongly opposed the bill in his speech in the Senate on September 2, said:

> I have told many men who look out of the cab of an engine that I believe in an eight-hour day. I believe in the limitation in mines; I believe in it in many forms of industrial life. I would not undertake by legislation in the Senate to fix the hours in each individual case or occupation presented. Such occupations in this country are multitudinous. We can not now by arbitral legislative decree here undertake to fix wages, hours, and kinds of services. We can not undertake, Mr. President, by fixed law, general in its application in this case, to settle this dispute, for it is a precedent for others to ask that we begin to administer in detail all the equities and rights growing out of the relation of master and servant.

But we need not depend upon those who opposed the bill for criticism of this provision. The distinguished Senator from Alabama, and formerly Democratic leader in the House, who, as a prominent Democrat, felt constrained to support the measure, in his speech in the Senate on September 1, in answer to a question, said:

> It does not make any difference whether you call it an eight-hour day or not, because there is no eight-hour day involved. It is only an eight-hour basis for fixing pay; and you can go on saying that you have an eight-hour day, but the fact is there is no eight-hour day in this bill. We might as well face it fairly. I believe in an eight-hour day, but an eight-hour day means that a man shall work eight hours and work no longer than eight hours. There is nothing of that kind contemplated by this bill.

It is conceded, therefore, by the supporters of the bill that it is not an eight-hour law in the sense of limiting the number of hours that certain classes of railroad employees are permitted to work within a 24-hour day. It is, on the contrary, a measure to raise wages by legislative enactment, which can not be legally done.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION.

The bill provides in section 3:

> That pending the report of the commission herein provided for and for a period of 30 days thereafter, the compensation of railroad employees subject to this act for a standard eight-hour workday shall not be reduced below the present standard day's wage, and for all necessary time in excess of eight hours such employees shall be paid at a rate not less than the pro rata rate for such standard eight-hour workday.

The result of this provision is to increase the wages of the men involved 25 per cent. This is the real joker in the bill, and it is this provision of the law that makes it unconstitutional and which prompted many persons who are in favor of an eight-hour workday to oppose the bill, and, as is well known here, caused other Members who supported the measure to apologize and make excuses for that support.

The president of the Sante Fe road has made the following statement:

Congress, hastily acting under a threat of four leaders of labor organizations, enacted a so-called eight-hour law, which is nothing more than an advance of 20 to 25 per cent in the wages of the best paid men in railway service. It is only fair to the public and to our employees to say that the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad does not intend to comply with the law until they are forced to do so by the court of last resort.

Now, the law does not go into effect until January 1, 1917, by which time the presidential election will be over, Congress will again be assembled, and the Supreme Court will have been appealed to for a decision. If the decision of the Supreme Court strikes down the law, and I have heard no attorney upon this floor hold to a contrary opinion, what, I ask, will the general public, and the railway brotherhoods in particular, say of the Members of this House who gave this measure their support?

What, in the final analysis, must be the judgment of the interested parties as to the action of Congress, composed of Representatives who are supposed to understand the law? Will they then be in a mood to accept excuses and apologies, or will they, on the other hand, charge fraud and deception and hold responsible those who should have known better?

NOT A SETTLEMENT.

Nor does the bill settle the railroad strike. It has but postponed the evil day. It must be evident to us all that the real battle is to come when an attempt is made to enforce the law. As previously stated, the election will then be over; but can those who have had this measure in charge, even though they succeed for a time in deceiving organized labor by this makeshift, escape final condemnation for the passage of an act that gives nothing of value to the brotherhoods?

This legislative enactment determines nothing. It proposes only to increase wages from the 1st day of January next until the time set for the report of the investigating committee and for 30 days thereafter.

What, I ask, have the members of the four brotherhoods gained under this law? If it fails, as it must, then the brotherhoods have accomplished nothing and must turn their attention to the new conditions which will arise at the time the law is nullified. In the meantime, Congress will again assemble and the matter will be pressed for solution. With the election over and full opportunity for discussion, who can tell the final outcome? The whole of the President's program, including his recommendation for compulsory arbitration, will then doubtless be considered.

My own opinion is that had the present bill been fully considered in the House on its merits a great difference in the vote would have been the result. I am justified in this opinion by the action taken in the Senate with but one additional day for deliberation, when the Republicans of that body, supported by the prominent Progressive leaders, presented a united opposition.

I am further strengthened in this opinion by the reluctance with which Democratic Senators gave their support to the measure and the refusal of some of their number to go so far in rescuing their leader from the predicament in which he found himself.

WHERE DOES IT LEAD?

Let us suppose that the law should be upheld as constitutional, what then will result? If the right of Congress to fix wages is established and it has power to raise wages under the conditions so recently confronting it, likewise it will have power to lower wages under different conditions. So also Congress will be compelled to extend its paternal attitude and fix the wages of the clerks and shopmen, the switchmen and trackmen, the telegraphers and dispatchers, and the whole of the 1,600,000 railway employees not included in the membership of the four brotherhoods. Can our institutions stand such a strain?

Such a decision, if it should come, must necessarily lead to compulsory arbitration, or perhaps even to Government ownership. Does organized labor wish to place the value of the services of its members at the whim of Congress as it may at any time be constituted? If they do not, then they should condemn this law rather than praise it, for certainly if it should be upheld the next step is inevitable, and that step is compulsory arbitration, or something akin to it, which the general public must insist upon for its protection. Do the members of labor unions desire the enactment of such a law?

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED?

Let us look the matter squarely in the face and realize what has been done. A strike has been temporarily averted, but nothing has been permanently settled. The quarrel between employer and employee was interrupted by one who, in the eyes of some, had the best interest of the public at heart, but others just as firmly believe that he was playing a game of politics for personal advantage and desired only to obtain a cessation of hostilities in order to aid his election. Whatever may have been his real motive, his efforts have produced no good result, and the men composing the four brotherhoods, who believed they were obtaining an advantage, are already beginning to feel that theirs was a barren victory.

What must these men think when they come to realize that they have been grossly deceived, and what must be their feeling in the end toward men in public place who aided in this deception?

As for myself I will not pay so great a price in order to seek the easy road to be returned to Congress. I was compelled to cast my vote against the measure because it clearly violates the fundamental law and is contrary to the spirit of our institutions. It is fraudulent in the extreme in promising what can not be fulfilled.

For my vote in opposition to the bill I have no excuse to offer, no apology to make. I voted for what I believed to be the right in view of all the circumstances, and such course I shall ever pursue, preferring defeat, standing for my convictions, to victory purchased by deception and the sacrifice of principle.

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## The Ashbrook Widows' Pension Bill.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the passage of the widows' pension bill I believe to be the most humane and beneficent piece of legislation to the credit of the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, now ended. It is a lasting honor to have been a Member of a Congress which has enacted into law more constructive legislation than any single session of Congress for the last half century—legislation which vitally benefits and affects every man, woman, and child living under the protective folds of the Stars and Stripes; legislation in the interest of the masses and not the classes; legislation and help and encouragement for those who need it most. But foremost of all, in my judgment, is this pension bill, which benefits the poor and needy old women, the wives of the men who rushed to the defense of our country when war clouds hovered over it and offered their lives as a sacrifice upon the altar of our Nation—the men who preserved our Union. We have just appropriated $600,000,000 for preparedness. This bill will cost less per annum than a battleship, but will do more for the cause of preparedness than a dozen battleships. The more generously we treat our soldiers and their dependents, the more quickly will the young men volunteer to protect and defend our country when their services are needed, knowing that should their lives be sacrificed their loved ones will be protected and cared for by a grateful Government.

Mr. Speaker, by the passage of this bill, of which I am proud to be the author, I feel greater honor has been conferred upon me than ever was before or ever will be again. With me it has been a labor of love. I feel that it can not be charged that selfishness has animated my activity. These poor old women, who are the sole beneficiaries, have no votes to give to me or to the Members and Senators who have given the bill such splendid support. We have, however, what is worth more to each one of us than votes or retention in office—their prayers and gratitude, which will abide in them to their last breath. We can have the proud satisfaction and comfort that we have helped those who could not help themselves and who most needed it. It is truly more blessed to give than it is to receive. I would rather have my name fastened to this bill than any bill which has become a law during my 10 years of service here. I am therefore supremely happy and amply rewarded for the anxious days and months I have given to secure the passage of this bill, which few, if any except myself, believed would ever become a law, again exemplifying what faith and perseverance will accomplish.

When this bill passed the House on June 17 last, I had to say about all that I cared to say upon this subject, and only asked permission to extend my remarks after securing the concurrence of the House to the Senate amendments, as will be noted

on pages 14094 and 14095 of the RECORD, that I might have the opportunity to refute certain statements, and also to briefly elucidate the several provisions of the bill and make a few observations which I hope will be generally beneficial.

Mr. Speaker, I am a Democrat, but above party I am an American first. I am not a partisan. Politics should have no place in legislation of this character. We do not pass pension laws to help Democrats or to favor Republicans, but to give statutory recognition and relief to the men who bared their breasts to the enemies' bullets that our free Government and institutions might be perpetuated. I dislike therefore to mention politics when discussing pension legislation, and would not but for the fact that certain Republicans of both the House and Senate have by word and letter been unfairly partisan. Some Republican papers also seem displeased because this bill has become a law and charge that it was passed for political expediency. I have during the past nine months received fully 10,000 letters from soldiers and soldiers' widows from every State in the Union, and in this way, to my regret, have often learned that some partisan Members and Senators, too, have been seeking to poison the minds of these poor old men and women against the administration by telling them there was no chance to secure any pension legislation until there was a change of administration. I would rather belong to a party which may have some adherents who were not as strongly in favor of pensions as they should be than to a party with partisans of that low caliber. I might here say that all who are opposed are not Democrats by any means. I wish to say here and now that the Members and Senators of the South are entitled to commendation and not criticism. Naturally some do not feel so strongly in favor of this legislation as those from the North, where practically all of the beneficiaries reside, but with very few exceptions those from the South are friendly to pensions, and the few who are not are more magnanimous in withholding their opposition, I believe, than those who criticize would be were the conditions reversed. I believe no one is better qualified to testify on this subject than I am, for I have quite recently talked pensions to nearly every Member and Senator in this Congress. I want to here and now thank my good friends from the South in both the House and the Senate for the splendid consideration, chivalry, and generosity they have shown to me and to this bill. If we want a united country, and we say we do, for heaven's sake cut such converse.

I am quite willing to give credit where credit is due, and do not hesitate to say that I am indebted to Minority Leader MANN and the distinguished ex-Speaker, Uncle JOE CANNON, for their good support and assistance. Both of these gentlemen and many others on the other side were strongly in favor of this bill. I am glad to say as much for the Senator from Utah, REED SMOOT, and other Senators, but it is not politics of my kind to attempt to besmirch any political party in this way or to prejudice the old soldier.

Let us see for just a moment whether or not it is necessary to have a change of administration before the old soldier can expect any beneficial recognition. In the Sixty-second Congress my distinguished colleague, Gen. SHERWOOD, a Democrat, secured the passage of the Sherwood bill, which was the most generous general pension bill ever enacted into law for the Civil-War soldier. The House, which was Democratic, passed a more generous bill than finally became a law, because the Senate, which was Republican, refused to pass the House bill. Strike one.

I have the very great honor to be the author of the widows' pension bill, which passed the House on June 17 without a roll call and without a single word of opposition to the bill by any Democrat, and the South is said to be in the saddle. The Senate to-day passed the bill without roll call. I refer to the debate on the bill, found on pages 13957 to 13961, inclusive, of the RECORD, for evidence of a single word of opposition to the bill by the so-called pension haters of the South. The only southern Democrats who spoke on the bill were Senator HOKE SMITH, of Georgia, and Senator VARDAMAN, of Mississippi. Senator HOKE SMITH assured me several days before the bill was passed that he was in favor of it and would gladly speak in favor of it, and the RECORD is in evidence that he did. The RECORD is also in evidence that the following Democratic Senators were in favor of the bill: Senator TAGGART, of Indiana; Senator OLLIE JAMES, of Kentucky; Senator KERN, of Indiana, the Senate leader, Senator STONE, of Missouri; Senator OWENS, of Oklahoma; Senator MYERS, of Montana who offered an amendment to lower the $20 age limit from 70 to 60 years but which was rejected by vote; Senator CHILTON, of West Virginia; Senator THOMAS, of Colorado; and Senator THOMPSON, of Kansas who offered an amendment to lower the age limit from 70 to 65 and which was objected to by Senator GALLINGER, the Republican leader. Not a word appears in the RECORD unfriendly to this bill. It is only fair to the Republicans to say that Senator SMOOT, of Utah; Senator NELSON, of Minnesota; Senator CURTIS, of Kansas; Senator JONES, of Washington; and Senator CLAPP, of Minnesota, spoke in favor of the bill and no Republicans opposed it. A single Senator could have defeated the bill but no southern or northern Senator cared to assume that responsibility. Strike two.

The House has also passed the Key bill, which provides for a pension of $12 per month for Spanish War widows, and Senator LEWIS, of Illinois (Democrat), has given notice to the Senate that he will press the bill to its final passage when Congress meets next December. Strike three with KEY at the bat and due to make a home run.

The present Congress has, I believe, passed more special pension bills than at any previous session of Congress. Every pension bill has been passed without roll call or opposition of any kind. Does this look like it was necessary to have a change of administration before the old soldiers can expect anything from Congress? I leave it to the soldiers and the country to answer.

I believe this canard circulated by a few Republican partisans and agitated by a partisan press has been successfully refuted. Those Republicans who resort to this sort of politics usually promise most and have least regard for the fulfillment of their pledges. In my old McGuffey's Reader I well remember the story, which made a deep impression upon my mind, of the poor blind man who begged alms of two boys playing by the roadside. One of the boys was a braggadocio, who had rich parents, wore good clothes, and had plenty of money. The other boy was poor and wore ragged clothes, but had a good heart. The rich boy tossed several pennies to the blind man, promised more, and turned away, likely never again thinking of the old blind man. The pennies fell in the grass. The poor boy fell on his knees and hunted until he found the pennies and then kindly placed them in the blind man's hand. No doubt these partisans are some kin to the good-clothes boy. They blow and bluster what they will do, but promises do not feed and clothe the old soldiers and their poor old widows, but the Sherwood bill and the Ashbrook bill does. I hope, however, these observations will not be considered as directed to all Republicans, but only to those Members and Senators who have made unfair and partisan statements to prejudice the minds of the people, and especially the old soldiers.

Now, as to the provisions of this bill. The Senate Pension Committee made a few amendments to the House bill, the most important of which was to raise the marriage restrictions to the date of the passage of the bill. Senator JOHNSON, of Maine, who is the chairman of the Senate Pension Committee and one of the best friends the old soldiers ever had, was responsible for this amendment, and I would have been very glad to have had the amended bill passed. Certain Senators objected to the amendment, and rather than risk the defeat of the bill, the amendment was rejected and the bill was passed practically the same as it was when it left the House. President Wilson has signed the bill, and it is now the law of the land. I am proud to be the possessor of the pen used in signing this splendid piece of legislation. Truly the pen is mightier than the sword. This pen made tens of thousands of happy hearts and homes, while the sword, which doubtless would have been used had it not been for this great peace-loving President, would have brought sorrow, want, and desolation to countless thousands. The new law reads as follows:

[Public, No. 278, 64th Cong.]

An act (H. R. 11707) to amend an act entitled "An act to increase the pensions of widows, minor children, etc., of deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War, the War with Mexico, the various Indian wars, etc., and to grant a pension to certain widows of the deceased soldiers and sailors of the late Civil War," approved April 19, 1908, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act the rate of pension for a widow, now on the roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll and entitled to receive a less rate than hereinafter provided, who was the lawful wife of any officer or enlisted man in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States, during the period of his service in the Civil War, shall be $20 per month, and the rate of pension for a widow of an officer or enlisted man of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States who served in the Civil War, the War with Mexico, or the War of 1812, now on the roll or hereafter to be placed on the pension roll and entitled to receive a less rate than hereafter provided, who has reached or shall hereafter reach the age of 70 years shall be $20 per month; and nothing herein shall be construed to affect the existing allowance of $2 per month for each child under the age of 16 years and for each helpless child; and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed: *Provided, however*, That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private.

SEC. 2. That any widow of an officer or enlisted man who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War whose name was placed or shall hereafter be placed on the pension roll, under any existing law, and whose name has been or shall hereafter be dropped from said pension roll by reason of her marriage to another person who has since died or shall hereafter die, or from whom she has been heretofore or shall be hereafter divorced upon her own application and without fault on her part, shall be entitled to have her name again placed on the pension roll at the rate allowed by the law under which she was formerly pensioned, and the law or

laws amendatory thereof, unless she be entitled to a greater rate of pension under the provisions of section 1 of this act, such pension to commence from the date of filing her application in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of this act: *Provided, however*, That where the pension of said widow on her second or subsequent marriage has accrued to a helpless or idiotic child, or a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to renewal under this act unless said helpless or idiotic child, or child or children, under 16 years of age, be then a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the renewal of pension to said widow payment of pension to said child or children shall cease: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this act shall be extended to those widows, otherwise entitled, whose husands died of wounds, injuries, or disease incurred during the period of their military or naval service, but who were deprived of pension under the act of March 3, 1865, because of their failure to draw any pensions by reason of their remarriage, and to any person who was lawfully married to an officer or enlisted man, who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the Civil War and was honorably discharged therefrom and has since deceased, and who, having remarried since his death is again a widow, or has been divorced from her last husband upon her own application without fault on her part and who, otherwise entitled, was barred by reason of such remarriage from receiving pension under any existing law.

SEC. 3. That any widow, as described in section 2 of the act approved April 19, 1908, who married the soldier or sailor prior to June 27, 1905, shall have title to pension under the provisions of said section of said act, to commence from the date of filing her application in the Bureau of Pensions after the passage of this act: *Provided, however*, That where a pension has been granted to a soldier's or sailor's helpless of idiotic child or children, or child or children under the age of 16 years, his widow shall not be entitled to pension under this section, unless the pension to such child or children has terminated, or unless such child or children be a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon allowance of pension to the widow, payment of pension to such child or children shall cease.

SEC. 4. That no claim agent or attorney shall be recognized in the adjudication of claims under the first section of this act, nor shall any claim agent or attorney be recognized in the adjudication of claims under the second section of this act for renewal of pension previously allowed, and in claims for original pension under section 2 of this act no greater sum than $10 shall be allowed for services in preparing, presenting, or prosecuting such claim, which sum shall be payable only upon the order of the Commissioner of Pensions under such rules and regulations as he may deem proper to make.

Approved, September 8, 1916.

Briefly it raises the marriage restrictions from June 27, 1890, to June 27, 1905, 15 years. It restores to remarried widows their former pensionable status regardless of other marriages. Widows who have been or may be divorced without fault on their part are also entitled to a pension. All such widows under the age of 70 are entitled to $12 per month and all over 70 are entitled to $20 per month. All widows who were the wives of soldiers during their service are entitled to $20 per month whether 70 years of age or not. Widows of all wars, except the Spanish War, are beneficiaries, including Civil, Mexican, Indian, and the War of 1812, of which there are still a few survivors. All widows who are now on the pension roll will not be required to file another application, and their increase begins from the date of the law, to wit, September 8, 1916. They will be required to prove their age in order to receive the $20 in the same way as soldiers under the Sherwood law. Those who are not now on the pension roll and who are beneficiaries under this bill must file an application. Pension agents and attorneys are allowed to charge a fee of $10 for original claims, but can make no charge for those who are now pensioners. I expect to remain here, Mr. Speaker, for some days to look after the claims of the poor old widows who reside in my district. I do not care to be subject to the same criticism as the boy who threw the pennies in the grass to the blind man. I know that Members generally will gladly assist these needy and dependent old women to secure the benefit due them under this act. Those who most need our help should first have it.

No one is benefited by this act but women, and but few who are not old and but few who are not dependent—those who once were wives but now are widows with no one to depend upon for their support. Their husbands were soldiers—and did you ever stop and seriously consider what it means to be a soldier? Men run risk to gain honor and fortune, but he is indeed a fool to risk his life for either or both. When he offers his services to his country it is not for fortune—$15 per month—and few care to be a dead hero. He offers his life for the love of country—not his country, but our country. Many lose their lives on the battle fields, others return to their homes maimed and diseased. Some, mayhap, are more fortunate, but all ran risk alike. The beneficiaries of this bill are the wives of our soldier dead. They gave birth to the children who are proud to be sons of veterans and who would be first to answer their country's call to emulate the patriotic example of their heroic sires. These wives and mothers—and who does not softly and sacredly speak the name of mother?—cared for these old soldiers during their declining days. They gave them the tender care and devotion which was their just due, and they are entitled to this statutory recognition and relief so freely and generously given.

The humble part I have taken swells my heart with pride. Let us sing America and the Doxology and be assured of the fact that there will be a chorus of a half million tremulous but happy voices join with us from ocean to ocean, from Lakes to Gulf, of these poor, old women whose hearts are full to overflowing with joy and gratitude to the Members of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

## Publicity of Income-Tax Returns.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CORDELL HULL,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. HULL of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, when the revenue bill containing the present income-tax law was recently pending in another body, an amendment was offered and seriously supported by speeches on the part of two or three gentlemen providing that all income-tax returns should be filed in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and should constitute public records and be open to inspection as such by all persons. The real question which this amendment raised was not referred to in the course of the discussion by the speakers on either side of the controversy. As an abstract proposition, the matter of making these returns public to all people at all times would seem entirely plausible and proper, although it is true that these returns naturally contain some business facts, the disclosure of which it is earnestly claimed would operate detrimentally to the business of a given taxpayer. This, however, is not the question deserving serious consideration.

The overshadowing fact, universally known and recognized, is that the general property tax systems of the States have in most cases in a great measure broken down. Under these State property tax systems urban real estate and intangible personalty escape, to a great extent, their fair proportion of taxes. Less than 20 per cent of all personalty and less than 10 per cent of all intangible personalty, on the average, is reached for taxation under these State systems. Real estate reached averages less than 50 per cent. The result is that in order to get some substantial revenue the States have raised their tax rates as the taxpayer has reduced the amount and value of his property given in for taxation. An honest taxpayer is, therefore, severely penalized when he gives in the full amount and value of his real and personal property. The State systems have become so inequitable and grossly unfair in their operation and effects as to be, in many respects, almost unbearable to the taxpayer who seriously attempts to comply with their provisions. The result is widespread and universal evasion in most of the States. The tax rates—State, county, and municipal—average around $2.50. The proposal to make the income-tax returns public carries with it the purpose of furnishing to every tax official of each State and its subdivisions all the facts contained in such returns. For example, an income-tax payer, owning $100,000 of bonds, notes, or like securities bearing 6 per cent interest, and making an honest return of income to the Federal Government, but who, in common with taxpayers generally, at the same time gave in his personal property for State and local taxation at less than 20 per cent, would at once be pounced upon by the local tax officials and required to pay $2,500 State and local taxes, which would constitute more than 40 per cent of his annual income of $6,000. He would doubtless also be back assessed for five years in a like amount. In the meantime all taxpayers other than those subject to the income tax would continue to disregard the State property tax laws as they now do. Naturally, when an income-tax payer who otherwise would be ready and willing to return his full income to the Federal Government to be subjected to an honest and fair tax should find that the State, in effect, was practically confiscating his capital it can not be supposed that he would fail in every possible way to evade the income-tax law of the Federal Government, just as all taxpayers have been evading the State general property tax laws, should he be confronted with the publicity of income-tax returns.

When we consider the broken-down condition of these State property tax systems and the wholesale manner in which they are disregarded on account of the extreme high rates imposed the real effect of the proposal to make public the income-tax returns is to make some 40 discredited State property tax systems, carrying virtually confiscatory rates, a part and parcel of

the Federal income-tax law, so far as its efficient administration is concerned. It does not require much stretch of reason or imagination to discover what would happen in this event. Many States have the fullest degree of publicity of the tax returns of their citizens, but the property tax systems of these very States have broken down just as rapidly and fully as those of other States not having the same degree of publicity. Some one has suggested that to make the Federal income-tax returns public might compel the income-tax payers to repeal these State tax systems and their high rates and to put into operation just and equitable State tax systems.

This is good in theory, but the income taxpayers would have to possess unusual power and influence to accomplish the desired end. How is it expected that the limited number of income taxpayers could control a majority of the 15,000,000 voters of the different States and induce them to revolutionize and reform their respective property-tax laws on account of the dilemma in which publicity of their returns may have placed those subject to the Federal income tax? These income taxpayers would first be obliged to have State constitutional conventions called and new constitutions adopted in many cases.

Wisconsin for some years has had in operation the only successful State income-tax law in this country. In 1915 this law still retains, without objection so far as I have learned, a provision requiring secrecy of returns under severe penalties. The provision is very similar to the provision in the Federal law, and is found in section 1087m—24, paragraph 2. The present provision of the Federal law was contained in substance in all former income-tax laws, and in the corporation excise law of 1909. It would be practical and desirable at the present for the Federal Government to furnish in confidence to State tax officials both individual and corporation returns for the purpose of administering State income-tax law not imposing excessive rates. Later, when the States shall have reformed their property-tax systems and substituted equitable tax laws, the fullest and freest cooperation between the States and the Government, with respect to the collection of income, inheritance, and other taxes, would be highly desirable.

I am unable to reach any other conclusion than that this purpose and effort to make the Federal income-tax law perform the wonderful feat of creating new and equitable State tax laws, however desirable, would only result in discrediting the Federal law and measurably breaking it down to the same level of our present State property-tax systems.

## The Mexican Situation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. JOHN H. STEPHENS,
OF TEXAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Republican candidate for President, Mr. Hughes, and his party associates in this House and elsewhere, having no good affirmative reason to give to the country why Mr. Wilson should not be reelected President of the United States in November, have selected the present Mexican situation as one of their leading issues. The charge is that our Army under Gen. Pershing is remaining in Mexico without any justifiable cause. Now, let us see if this is true. On Saturday, September 2, 1916, the El Paso Herald, a very reputable Republican Journal, published at El Paso, Tex., on the border of Mexico, explains the reason and necessity for our Army remaining in Mexico as follows:

[From the El Paso (Tex.) Herald, Saturday, Sept. 2, 1916.]

PANCHO IS COMING NORTH.

Pancho Villa is coming north. On the American border that news partly obscures the fact that several nations have declared war, that a king has given up his throne, and that several men are running for President in the United States.

According to semiofficial dispatches from Chihuahua City, based on information received from a Villista, Pancho intends striking another blow at the United States. Columbus hears he is headed for Namiquipa, which would bring him almost in touch with Gen. Pershing's advanced posts at El Valle.

In either event, Villa is courting danger. If he is still seeking trouble, he will be amply obliged by attacking either the American border or the American punitive expedition, and there is some reason to believe he can obtain the same result by coming within range where the American troops can attack him.

Just what rash impulse Villa is obeying in moving north is not clear. Perhaps he needs ammunition and is coming to the border to get it. Perhaps he has supplies cached in western Chihuahua. Perhaps, in order to hold his men, he has to make a demonstration against the United States. Perhaps, in view of the imminent meeting of the American and Mexican commissions for the adjudication of disputes between the United States and Mexico, he thinks now is the time to spill the beans. Perhaps it is just the old dare-devil spirit cropping up again, indicating that Pancho is regaining his health.

Whatever the motive, here is hoping the United States troops may have an opportunity of coming into contact with the bandit. If Gen. Pershing could kill Pancho and his followers, the expedition could leave Mexico with some elation.

Mr. Speaker, the same paper, on September 6, 1916, published the following telegrams in relation to the same matter, viz:

PERSHING TO SEEK VILLA—UNITED STATES TROOPS WILL WORK WITH DE FACTO FORCES IS REPORT.

COLUMBUS, N. MEX., *September 6.*

Gen. J. J. Pershing, commander of the American punitive expedition, left for his base in Mexico to-day after an inspection of all troops in his zone.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *September 6.*

If Francisco Villa gets within striking distance of the American expeditionary force Gen. Pershing's soldiers may join troops of the de facto government in an offensive campaign to exterminate the bandit and his followers. This was the statement of Gen. Funston this afternoon.

These editorials and the more recent telegrams show conclusively that there is now a pressing present necessity for our forces under Gen. Pershing remaining in Mexico so as to cooperate with the Carranza de facto forces and defeat the Villa bandit forces and thus prevent another Columbus massacre.

The hypocrisy of the Republican contention that our Army should immediately be withdrawn from Mexico, or should have never been sent there, is made apparent to everyone except to faultfinding, blind Republican partisans. If the President had withdrawn the Pershing punitive expedition from Mexico his critical Republican adversaries would have likewise condemned him.

Mr. Speaker, the fact is that the Republicans have not now, and have never had, any definite policy or alternative to offer in place of the present Mexican policy of President Wilson. The New York Times hits the nail on the head when it says that "the Republican Party is all at sea on the Mexican question"; its only policy is to differ with the President and find fault with everything he does or proposes to do.

Mr. President, Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, in his Labor Day speech in this city a few days ago, truthfully and justly sized up the Mexican situation as follows, viz:

The international issue that now comes closest to the labor movement is the policy of our Government toward Mexico. The cause of humanity is in the balance in Mexico. The people there are trying to work out their own problems and to establish their own ideals of political, social, and economic justice. The labor movement in Mexico has developed; that is, the most power and the most constructive product of the revolution. Representatives of the labor movement of Mexico have joined the representatives of the labor movement of America to insure to the workers and citizens of Mexico the rights of human beings, opportunities for freedom and for independence. Many of the problems of the Mexican workers are problems of the workers of the United States. Their welfare is our welfare. The boundary line between the two countries is only an artificial division that has little or no effect upon the course and the nature of industrial and commercial development.

CONDITIONS ON THE BORDER.

The problem of industrial welfare in the States of the Southwest is largely a Mexican problem. With low standards of life and work prevailing upon the 15,000,000 of Mexicans, there exists an obstacle to the establishment of higher standards within the United States. There are capitalists and exploiting interests of the United States who, because they have property in Mexico—often corruptly and dishonestly obtained—desire to maintain governmental agencies by which they can hold the people in subjection and deny to them the opportunity for protecting themselves through the organized labor movement and other opportunities for growth and development. These selfish exploiting interests are concentrating their political power in the present campaign to secure a different policy on the part of our Government toward Mexico. Even under the guise of intervention, no matter how unnecessary and unwarrantable, the advocates of that policy really aim at the conquest and annexation of Mexico. A few of the most reckless, such as the Otis and Hearst interests, come out brazenly in the demand for intervention, invasion, conquest, and annexation of Mexico. Of course every effort must be made to safeguard the lives and the property of our people living along the border line, but who can honestly say that the Mexican marauders were the only offenders. The allied forces of greed and profit would deny the Mexican people the opportunity for their development; they would gladly embroil the United States in an unnecessary and unwarrantable war with Mexico. To them property, property rights, profits are held far more sacred than human beings, international honor, and human liberty.

These are some of the issues that primarily concern the workers and all liberty-loving citizens of the United States; they are the issues upon which every wage earner, every citizen, will make his own decision, not only in his everyday activity but also at the polls on election day.

Mr. Speaker, let us turn to the moral and commercial side of this Mexican embroglio and see how one of our great journals views this question:

The New York Journal of Commerce makes allowances for the inexperienced officials who had the Mexican problem thrust upon them at the very beginning of the administration; but, despite "many errors," the end they held in view was and is a desirable end—to avoid intervention and conquest. It deprecates any attempt to make the problem a partisan issue. Such a course is likely to affect our interests and

Mexico's, if not the interests of all the Republics of the continent, in a more vital way than the European war will affect them. The only way to make such an issue, it asserts, is to declare for a different policy and that "can only mean a policy of forcible intervention and coercion." The New York World is not content with an attitude of defense of Wilson's policy. It assumes the offensive by asserting that in their attacks on that policy the Republican Party and Mr. Hughes are "now in partnership on that issue with every foreign exploiter of the Mexican people and with every German fomenter of American intervention." The World goes on to maintain that President Wilson's Mexican policy is identical with Lincoln's and does not differ essentially from Taft's. "Does Mr. Hughes purpose to repudiate Lincoln and Taft in order to follow William R. Hearst and Senator FALL"?

Mr. Speaker, the action of this administration on the Mexican situation is in strict accord with the Democratic platform of this year. That platform declares that—

The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. The doctrine guarantees the independent Republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the most scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them.

The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly State. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining must continue.

Intervention, implying, as it does, military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great, and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last resort. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post, on June 17, 1916, editorially speaking on this question, agrees with this contention of the Democratic platform and says:

IF INTERVENTION SHOULD COME.

Diplomatic representatives of several Governments are reported to have made inquiries recently at the Department of State concerning the intentions of the United States toward Mexico, and particularly as to the possibility of intervention. These representatives are said to have expressed the solicitude of their Governments in the matter and to have extended an offer of good offices in the hope of effecting a mutually satisfactory arrangement between the United States and Mexico which would avoid intervention.

There is no desire to intervene in Mexico, so far as public opinion has expressed itself in this country. The latest expression is by the Democratic national convention, which deprecates intervention and holds that it should be avoided if possible. There does not appear to be any difference of opinion on that score. Probably men of every political party would subscribe to the Democratic sentiment.

The Current Opinion, a nonpartisan literary journal, in its current issue makes the following statements relating to the President's Mexican policies, and I fully agree with the writer's observations and conclusions. They are as follows, viz:

[From the Current Opinion for September.]

WHY SECRETARY LANE IS "MOST PROUD" OF OUR MEXICAN POLICY.

One defense of the President's Mexican policy that has attracted much attention is that made several weeks ago in an interview in the New York World by Secretary Lane. Mr. Lane began by declaring that this policy is one of the things of which, as a member of the administration, he is most proud, for it shows so well the President's "abounding faith in humanity, his profound philosophy of democracy, and his unshakable belief in the ultimate triumph of liberty, justice, and right." That policy, we are assured, has not been weak and vacillating. "It has been definite and consistent, firm and constructive. How firm is already known to those who have sought to force American intervention in Mexico; how constructive will best be appreciated 50 years from now by the whole world." The foundation of our policy has been sympathy in place of force. Fundamental reforms must be effected before Mexico can become a good neighbor, but, to be lasting, they must come from the inside. We can not effect them unless we are prepared not only to conquer Mexico but to annex it as well. Recognition of Huerta would not have pacified Mexico. Huerta himself was a prisoner of the reactionaries and did not dare to leave the capital except to take a ship and flee. To have recognized him would have been an injustice not only to Mexico but to all South and Central America. Gradually, as a result of the Monroe doctrine, there is growing up in the New World a civilization that will make old-time revolutionary methods impossible.

"We have so amplified the Monroe doctrine that we are virtually the copartners of the Republics to the south of us, and to proclaim that the violation of their constitutional laws would not in the slightest interfere with our recognition of a conspiracy to murder lawful executives and overthrow their established republican forms of government would have been rightly considered by the American people as the most cowardly and short-sighted policy imaginable. Condemnation would have arisen not only from the people of the United States, but from all the nations of the Pan American Union."

WHY WE WENT TO VERA CRUZ.

Perhaps the most significant thing said by Mr. Lane was his statement that "we did not go to Vera Cruz to force Huerta to salute the flag; we did go there to show Mexico that we were in earnest in our demand that Huerta must go, and he went before our forces were withdrawn."

Mr. Speaker, last year President Wilson sought to settle this vexed Mexican question by the aid of a delegation from this country and several of the South American Republics, which met at his request in Canada, a like delegation from Mexico. This conference failed to result in any definite settlement. Again this year he has succeeded in having three commissioners from each country to meet at New London, Conn., for the same purpose. They are now in session at that place. The following newspaper report from the Washington Post sets forth some of their proceedings, and is as follows, viz:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 7, 1916.]

COMMISSIONERS REVIEW GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL POWER—SESSION LASTS THREE HOURS—CABRERA PRESIDES AND OUTLINES PURPOSES OF CARRANZA DELEGATES—DE FACTO GOVERNMENT HAS GAINED STRENGTH DAILY SINCE RECOGNITION, SAYS JOINT STATEMENT.

NEW LONDON, CONN., *September 6.*

An exchange of views, in which consideration was given to the "growth, control, and strength of the constitutional government" in Mexico, marked the first formal conference here to-day of the Mexican and American commissioners appointed to bring about an amicable and permanent settlement of international difficulties.

A summary of the proceedings issued at the conclusion of the meeting alluded to the de facto Mexican Government as having "become every day stronger during the last two years and in particular since the recognition" of the government.

CABRERA OUTLINES PURPOSES.

This summary, agreed upon by Luis Cabrera and Franklin K. Lane, chairman of the Mexican and American delegations, respectively, follows:

"This morning's session lasted three hours, from 10 to 1, during which Mr. Cabrera presided. The first matter of importance was the presenting of mutual credentials. In accordance with the Mexican form of opening conferences, Mr. Cabrera made a declaration of the purpose of the Mexican members of the commission, saying it was their duty to fulfill in every way possible the great responsibility cast upon them by First Chief Carranza and that they all stood committed to giving their full powers to bringing to a conclusion this conference in such a manner as would be most profitable to Mexico and the United States.

"After that, Mr. Cabrera stated that it was the desire of the Mexican members of the commission that the fullest information should be given to the commission regarding all matters involved, and that they were quite ready to meet the Americans in a spirit of utmost frankness.

PROGRESS IN MEXICO REVIEWED.

"The members of the commission then exchanged views in general about the situation in Mexico, and especially on the border, with the view to making a preparatory study of the subject. During the conference the commissioners reviewed the growth, control, and strength of the Constitutional Government, which has become every day stronger during the last two years, and in particular since the recognition of the constitutional de facto government, showing that order was being established throughout the Republic, railroad service being extended," etc.

The six commissioners and two secretaries attended the conference, at the conclusion of which the party returned to the presidential yacht *Mayflower* to spend the afternoon cruising. The next meeting will be held on Friday.

Mr. Speaker, the most commendable and yet the most severely criticized act of President Wilson's administration relating to Mexico is his refusal to recognize Huerta as the President of Mexico. If he had done so, this Government would thereby have recognized all of the acts, lawful or unlawful, committed by him after such acknowledgment; and it is well known that Huerta when deposed was preparing to validate many large oil, mining land and other grants made by his pretended government to many wealthy corporate and private despoilers of the people of Mexico. Under the Monroe doctrine this Government, if it had recognized Huerta, would have thereby made itself morally, if not legally, bound to have forced the Mexican Government to make these grants good at some time in the future. President Wilson in refusing to recognize Huerta has done both the people of Mexico and this country the greatest possible service. Mr. Speaker, many of the Republican Members of Congress have by their votes indorsed the President's action in keeping out of war with Mexico, and all other nations as well; and having thus voted, are they not now estopped, in honor at least, from condemning the President for doing the very things that they have by their votes, in their respective Houses, indorsed?

Mr. Hughes in his recent speeches likewise repudiates and denounces many of the wise laws passed by the Democrats during this administration. Among the measures so denounced by him are the preparedness measure, for which over $600,000,000 are to be expended; yet he says this amount is insufficient to properly defend this country from foreign invasions, and in the next breath he denounces this administration for extravagance. It seems to be impossible for a Democrat to please this hypercritical fault-finding office seeker.

Mr. Hughes will have a difficult time evolving any issue that will not entail a repudiation of many of the congressional leaders of his own party.

If he thinks it expedient to adopt a strong attitude on the submarine controversy, which President Wilson settled by obtaining a full recognition of American rights under international law and bringing about the cessation of submarine warfare, he will have to repudiate the 101 Republican Representatives who voted against tabling the McLemore resolution and thus registered themselves in favor of a surrender of American rights. Incidentally, he will have to read out of the Republican Party the 12 Republican United States Senators who voted against

tabling the Gore resolution, which involved a similar surrender when President Wilson was forcing the recognition of American rights.

There were 12 Republicans in the Senate who voted for the administration's trade commission bill, and, while there was no record vote in the House, several score Republicans voted for the trade commission bill there.

The Republican Party in its platform has indorsed the tariff commission method of handling the tariff. Before that plank was adopted by the Republican Party, the Democratic administration had introduced the Rainey tariff commission bill in Congress, and it will become a law in a few weeks. And the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, representing the business men of the Nation, Republican and Democratic and Progressive, has indorsed the Rainey bill.

One hundred and twelve Republicans and four Progressives voted with the Democratic majority for the good roads bill in the House. One hundred and four Republicans and three Progressives voted for the administration's rural credit bill.

If Charles E. Hughes, the Republican candidate for President, makes an issue of the Federal Reserve System, established by the Democratic administration, is he going to read out of his party the 33 Republicans who voted for the measure in the House?

Will he repudiate the 16 Progressives, the 1 Independent, and the Republicans who voted with the 248 Democrats in establishing the sound banking and currency law which has been approved by the public and the banking world?

Will he also repudiate the 7 Republicans who voted for the measure in the Senate?

Mr. Speaker, during the fair at Vernon, Tex., last October, ex-Gov. Colquitt, in a public address, viciously and unjustly attacked President Wilson's Mexican policy. I replied to his malicious mouthings and uncalled-for statements in an address the next day. I resolutely defended and upheld the Democratic administration and specifically approved President Wilson's Mexican policy. For some unaccountable reasons—mainly, I think, because we remained in Washington and did not go in person to Texas and defend the administration and ourselves—we, Senator CULBERSON and myself, were both defeated in the July Democratic primaries, Marvin Jones, of Amarillo, defeating me, and Colquitt defeating Senator CULBERSON. Under the laws in force in Texas, United States Senators can have a second primary—or run-off primary—while candidates for Congress can not. Jones received more votes than I, but did not receive one-half of the votes of the district, and could we have had a second election I could have defeated Jones as easily as CULBERSON defeated Colquitt.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most influential—Christian Science, nonpartisan—church papers in this country, in its last issue, has this to say editorially relative to Colquitt's defeat in Texas for the United States Senate. It is as follows:

TEXAS'S VERDICT.

The defeat of former Gov. Oliver B. Colquitt in the Democratic primaries just held in Texas makes certain the return to the United States Senate of CHARLES A. CULBERSON, now head of the Judiciary Committee, and one of the ablest of the legislative lieutenants supporting the President in his party and national policies. Under ordinary conditions the victory of Senator CULBERSON would indicate that Texas was remaining true to a tradition that makes the South count for more in national affairs than it otherwise might. The South is not so apt to insist on rotation in office as are the North and West. It tests men in the lower House, keeps them there for years, and usually selects its Senators from men who have shown themselves serviceable and sagacious as Congressmen. Texas lawmakers, therefore, get an increment of experience, a knowledge of the technique of government, and a weight of authority that make them influential even when its Senators and Congressmen are in "opposition." When, as now, they have the Executive with them, it is not surprising that legislative history is made at a fast pace.

Senator CULBERSON'S victory has been won under unusual conditions, which deserve notice. He has had arrayed against him all the dissentient elements of the border section of a State next to the Mexican line, because he has stood forth as a defender of the President's Mexican policy. Upon him also has been centered the opposition of those Texans who are of German origin and affiliations and are against the President because of his foreign policy. That this large and influential section of the electorate is unanimous in this attitude is not true. But it is known that Senator CULBERSON was not so satisfactory a candidate to many voters of this group as was his rival. The latter had formally indicted both the Mexican and the European policy of the President, and generally was looked upon as an antiadministration candidate. His decided defeat indicates that the President is not to be disciplined or repudiated by the section from which he draws a large part of his strength in the popular and the electoral vote. If Texas as a whole supports his Mexican policy he need not, it would seem, be concerned about the coming action of other Southern States with less immediate interest in the controversy.

Senator CULBERSON'S victory in the primaries insures his reelection, so feeble is the Republican opposition in that Empire State. He has had a fight within his party to meet and defeat, and, victorious now, he will not know later the rigors of a contest such as his associate, Senator CHARLES F. JOHNSON, of Maine, has been passing through. Mr. CULBERSON'S triumph, nevertheless, has been more than ordinary, for he has stood by his party chief and his policies when the President has needed stanch friends, and he has given his party associates in Texas a chance to show that they take a national view of contemporary duties of the State.

Mr. Speaker, the Times, published at Wichita Falls, Tex. has this to say in an editorial in regards to Colquitt's defeat:

A NOTABLE VICTORY.

The "run-off" Democratic primary was held in Texas on August 25. The result was a notable victory for the administration. Mr. Colquitt, who was high man in the regular primary, suffered a loss in his vote, and Senator CULBERSON, who was second in the regular primary, was renominated by more than 75,000 majority.

Senator CULBERSON carried every border county, with one exception. This fact is notable for the reason that Mr. Colquitt was an ultra-advocate of Mexican intervention. He also had the active support of the German Alliance and German politicians. The people of the border counties declined to support him, while many of the German-Americans in Texas evidently refused to follow their false leaders.

Surely there must have been some change of sentiment since the July primary. Then Colquitt had a lead over CULBERSON of more than 32,000. In the later primary Colquitt lost approximately 35,000, while Senator CULBERSON won more than 60,000.

To be sure, some of this gain is to be accounted for by the dropping out of three other candidates, whose vote went to CULBERSON, but not all of it is explained on that line. Much of it indicates a pronounced growth of administration popularity during the last 60 days.

Mr. Speaker, the wisdom of the course pursued by President Wilson in recognizing Gen. Carranza as the chief power in Mexico and in refusing to recognize Huerta is made apparent at the present time in this, that the condition of Mexico is to-day far better than at any time since Huerta had Madero murdered and declared himself the dictator of Mexico.

The El Paso (Tex.) Herald, on the 8th day of this month, in an editorial, publishes the following statement:

INCREASING THE MEXICAN TAX BURDEN.

The Carranza government is showing some evidences of a desire to rehabilitate Mexico to the end that a stable government may be reestablished. The reported return of confiscated properties to their owners, the extension of amnesty to certain classes of citizens who had been thought proscribed forever, the reversion of railroads to the companies which own them, and the invitation to mining corporations to resume operations are instances in point.

The latest decree of Gen. Carranza, increasing taxes, shows that the first chief and his advisers feel the need for getting cash in the treasury through lawful means to meet current governmental expenses and to provide for paying the interest on national obligations which otherwise will soon be pressing heavily.

On the 6th day of this month the same paper published the following telegram, viz:

[From the El Paso Daily Herald, Sept. 6.]

TRADE BETWEEN MEXICO AND UNITED STATES, NEW RECORD.

NEW YORK, *September 6.*

A compilation of figures by the United States customs service shows that trade between Mexico and the United States in the year ending June 30 broke all records.

Imports from Mexico were $97,676,544 against $77,612,691 in 1915 and $92,690,566 in 1914, the former high record year.

Exports to Mexico amounted to $48,308,542, a gain of $14,000,000 over 1915 and $10,000,000 over 1914. Combining imports and exports, the total of 1916 was the largest in the history of the trade between the two countries, the exact figures for the year being $145,985,086, compared with $131,927,266 in 1913, the former high record year for commerce both ways. The figures do not include precious metals.

These statements by a Republican paper published on the border of Mexico evidences the wisdom of President Wilson's policies in Mexico, and will, we believe, be so received by the unbiased, thinking voters of this country in the coming November election, and I believe that his wise statesmanlike course will then be fully indorsed by his reelection.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I desire to present a recent magazine article from the pen of one of the ablest men in this country, Mr. David Starr Jordan, which article was published in the last issue of the Sunset (Cal.) Magazine, relating to the Mexican situation, and I fully concur in his conclusions as therein set forth. The article is as follows, viz:

WHAT OF THE NATION?—PACIFISM AND THE PRESIDENCY—THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION—SALVAGE.

[By David Starr Jordan, chancellor of Stanford University; director World Peace Foundation.]

PACIFISM AND THE PRESIDENCY.

Mr. Roosevelt is reported to have said the other day, on the nomination of Mr. Hughes, that "the only difference between the two nominees a barber could remove in 10 minutes."

This statement involves a profound truth. Mr. Hughes was nominated because the body of the people have the serious belief that the foreign policy he would represent would be in all essential respects identical with that of Mr. Wilson. He would honorably keep us out of war.

The people at large are in no mood for antics or heroics so far as our foreign policy is concerned. They uphold the protest against violations of international law which directly concern us, and they will not fight against Germany nor Mexico nor any other nation for the acts of their war-mad groups nor at the drop of the hat of any war-mad group of our own. The conception of honor which makes war inevitable is found in the duelist's code and is unworthy of a civilized nation.

In the matter of foreign relations, Mr. Wilson sails an uncharted sea. Every day matters may arise for which history furnishes no adequate precedent. Minor mistakes he may have made, in dealing with Germany or Great Britain, as well as with Mexico. But these errors, if such they be, have done no permanent mischief.

Mexico is giving promise of ability to solve her own problems better than we could solve them for her. The Pangermanist faction in the imperial councils, the group which plunged Germany into war and made "scrap paper" of international obligations, is out of power and in spite of a temporary recrudescence, seems permanently discredited. The fact that our Nation stands out of the conflict on a basis of international law and of friendship with all peoples will bank very large when the final settlement comes.

If we wish to find valid reasons for voting against Mr. Wilson, and I admit that there are some, we must not look for them in his foreign policy, for no one has yet suggested anything better. That he has, with honor, kept us out of war our people will hold to his credit. That Mr. Hughes under like conditions would probably do the same thing is the great reason why the rank and file of his party, against the will of the "old guard," insisted on nominating him.

It is easy to sneer at the pacifist in a world which has become war mad. But no man who is not believed to be pacifist at heart can in these days be elected President of the United States.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION.

The revolution in Mexico was an uprising against the very same type of medieval wrongs which provoked the French Revolution more than a century ago. The Mexico of Porfirio Diaz had its land in the possession of a few thousand persons, whose ancestors gained the titles through favoritism. The people were serfs, fixed to the land through debts beyond their power to liquidate, paid a few cents a day through group bosses or pardones. Huge estates were in the hands of religious societies. There were no free schools worth the name, no sanitation, and no outlook. The municipalities lost their freedom to act, being controlled by political chiefs, "jefes politicos" appointed by the President. Meanwhile enormous concessions, running into millions and hundreds of millions, had been granted to foreigners, in most cases with no consideration of any consequence. While Mexico is rich almost beyond compare in natural resources—oil, metals, agriculture, forests—no part of this wealth reached the Mexican people. It was all absorbed by "cientificos," "clericos," "concessionaries, bankers, and foreign corporations, British, American, and German. Some day, perhaps, an international judicial commission may have to decide on the validity of these holdings.

Meanwhile revolutions can not go backward. Mexico can no more go back to the days of Porfirio Diaz than France to the days of Louis XV. When the lid is off the brigand comes to the surface. The lid of justice was off in the days of Diaz and Carranza has not been able to get it put back. Meanwhile a great wound must heal from within. It is not for Carranza or any other leader to redeem Mexico. It is a problem for the Mexican people, and at it they are working assiduously. In the State of Yucatan 2,400 free schools exist now, as against 200 in 1914. In Yucatan the great estates have been purchased and divided among small farmers, these forfeiting their titles if they fail to cultivate the land. Prohibition has been introduced into some States, and baseball and "pelote" have taken the place of bull fights. The "jefe politico" has been everywhere abolished, and everywhere the "municipio" or township is rising to be a center of local development. Fourteen of the 27 States are following the example of Yucatan. Notable among these are Michoacan, Vera Cruz, Jalisco, Queretaro, and Aguas Calientes. The regions in more or less discord are the boundary States, as Chihuahua and Tamaulipas, the mining States where thousands of men are out of employment suffering from hunger until railways, mines, and smelters reopen, and the State of Morelos, where the untamed Indian, Zapata, has expelled or extirpated all property owners, Spanish or foreign. Our journals pay little attention to these matters; as a Mexican leader has observed, they give more notice to a chance holdup of a train than to the regeneration and pacification of a whole State.

So far as I can see, there are but three ways of helping—to give sympathetic, intelligent observation to her problems, to loan money or credit on terms not ruinous to the borrowers, and, most important, to give efficient help to her system of education.

## The Eight-Hour Law.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, September 4, 1916.*

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the essential features of the eight-hour day for the protection of humanity have been so well established it would be a waste of time and space to undertake to enlarge upon them, but the application of the eight-hour day to the railroads is essential for the proper preservation of the physical and mental resources of the men employed in the great transportation service of the country, which is required for the safety of the traveling public and efficient service to the business world.

In my speech of August 11 (p. 12516 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD) I showed where the great brotherhoods of railroad employees had paid out upward of $98,000,000 in death and disability benefits. These organizations have done much for the uplift, the welfare, and the enlightenment of their membership. They have improved working conditions, relieved distress, and been great defenders of humanity.

On the other side, we have the great trusts of the country which control our transportation facilities, as the Stanley Steel Trust committee investigation disclosed that the directors of the Steel Trust had control of transportation lines capitalized at over $10,000,000,000. If that be true, the Rockefellers, the Morgans, and the other Wall Street crowd, representing the frenzied financiers of the country, of course, control in the main the balance of the transportation lines of the country.

We have an abundance of statistical and other information disclosing the methods of this crowd of financial and commercial pirates. On September 2, page 13682 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I pointed out to you how the Union Pacific Railroad Co. corruptly soaked over $80,000,000 of water into its standing indebtedness by paying the proceeds of a bond issue to its stockholders as an extra dividend. On the same day I called attention to the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie, a part of the Pennsylvania system, which on account of the enormous profits made in the last year increased its capital stock from thirty to fifty million dollars, which was distributed at a very profitable price to its stockholders of record. During the period from 1900 to 1910 alone, 18 representative railroads traversing all sections of the country gave away in bonuses to their stockholders the huge sum of $450,414,992, while 8 western roads distributed upward of $250,000,000 in the same way. Syndicates of bankers and financiers, formed by the small coterie of men who have been foremost in looting the roads of the country, have made enormous profits by stock manipulations and transactions. The tragedies of the New York, New Haven & Hartford, the Alton, and the "Frisco," which I pointed out in detail in my speech of August 11, are familiar to practically all of us. In the New Haven case alone the stockholders are now suing the officials of the road for the recovery of some $203,000,000, of which they were defrauded by the trickery and treachery of the "inner ring" of directors who controlled the operation of the roads.

As was to be expected, the prostituted public press rushed to the assistance of the big business crooks of the country who control the railroads, in defeating the men from securing equity and justice and, of course, these same corrupt newspapers will advocate an increase in freight rates if it can be shown by the juggling of the railroad corporations that the 8-hour day costs more than the 10-hour day. From their way of reasoning, it would be a miscarriage of justice to reduce the dividends on the billions of counterfeit capital known as watered stock that is being loaded on the railroads of the country.

You can be assured that the Chicago Tribune, with its supposed great influence, will do its best to secure a continuation of the robbery and plunder of the masses of the people by the big trust-owned transportation lines, as is indicated by the following editorial:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Aug. 5, 1916.]

POLITICAL TERRORISM AT WASHINGTON.

Representative ADAMSON, of Georgia, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, seems to be breathing forth flame. He intimates that if the railroad managers do not accept the President's proposal a law establishing the eight-hour day will be passed by Congress.

The threat throws the situation which Mr. Wilson's peace diplomacy has developed into high relief. The American public would do well to observe it and let itself be heard emphatically. Mr. Wilson's control of Congress just before election seems to be complete, but the gravity of his blunder ought to arouse public opinion to a state before which even party subserviency will hesitate.

When this Georgia statesman threatens to force a wage concession of fifty millions on the railroads, which is eventually upon the public, he undertakes a responsibility Congress will think twice before assuming. Such a law, as the public will soon fully realize, is not a limitation of labor law but a wage increase pure and simple. Furthermore, unless explicitly restricted in its operations in favor of a small class of the highest paid wage earners in the country—an obvious injustice—it will force increases of pay for other classes of railroad employees to an amount which has been estimated at over $225,000,000.

And the enactment of such a law by Congress would establish morally the principle of the eight-hour basic day throughout the country, regardless of special conditions as to locality and industry.

If it be conceded that democratic industrialism is moving steadily toward shorter hours and higher pay, and liberals everywhere approve the tendency, only an ignoramus or a demagogue would dare to propose to force such a change at once, in defiance of our complicated structure of finance and industrial organization, national and international.

That such a threat should be made shows the quality of the statesmanship we are afflicted with at this moment in Washington. It is no exaggeration to say, what the country should lose no time in realizing, that the political manipulation by the President and his allies of the present wage controversy is a peril to the prosperity and peace of the Nation unprecedented for nearly a generation. Not only has the President struck a vicious blow at the principle of peaceful adjustment of industrial disputes, but he and his political supporters are threatening to force upon the country a precipitate revolution of economic conditions the consequence of which will be costly if not ruinous to every individual and every class in the country.

If ADAMSON'S threat were carried out, not only would the cost of transportation be raised by a staggering amount, thus raising the cost of living materially for every class from the day laborer up, but a period of industrial disorder would be inaugurated which would make short work of our present prosperity.

It is time that sanity appeared in Washington and the irresponsible terrorism of demagogic politics be brought to an abrupt close.

Of course the agents of the corporations have made many believe that the increase in freight rates received about a year ago was due to the increased cost of labor, but the fact of the matter is that the labor cost has been reduced 100 per cent in

the last 15 or 20 years, due to the increased productive power and efficiency of the railroad employees. Labor power is costing the railroads less and less in proportion to the value it creates, and it is estimated that a train crew now hauls over three times the tonnage it did a few years ago.

I am sincerely of the opinion that if the administration had kept its hands off this controversy, the railroad men would have secured the eight-hour day, with time and one-half for overtime, which would have resulted in a real eight-hour day. One of my reasons for forming this opinion was due to my association with some of the representative railroad men, who expressed the desire that Congress and the administration keep out of it, confident in the belief that if left alone they could secure their demands even without a strike. I am also firmly of the opinion that if the President in his first proposition to the brotherhoods had not mentioned an increase in freight rates, his proposition would not have been turned down by the representatives of the railroad companies; but, of course, when they pictured a fifty or one hundred million dollar increase the railroads were going to stand out and endeavor to secure legislation that would guarantee the increase as long as there was any indication that such legislation could be secured. After the President failed to get the representatives of the railroad corporations to agree to his proposition, they gave as their reason their firm stand for the principle of arbitration; which, of course, was deception, because the railroads have persistently refused to arbitrate with any labor organization which they considered not strong enough to enforce their demands. Their motto is, "Arbitrate with the strong and fight the weak." The representatives of the trusts of the country never have stood for any principle that was in the interest of humanity. Their main object in life is to extract from the public the greatest amount of money for the least possible service rendered, regardless of the effect of their system upon the welfare of the people of the country.

If the President would have lent his influence to the resolution that I introduced, providing that the President should take over the roads and operate them in case the companies failed to do so, the disaster to the public would have been easily averted, the men would have secured their demands, and it would not have cost anyone a penny, except that it might have deprived a few of these parasites upon our national progress of a small portion of the exorbitant profits they have been reaping from the people for many years. But, instead of this, the President comes to Congress recommending six distinct propositions, which if accepted as a whole would have been destructive to the interests of the organized workers of the country.

The 8-hour law was passed as an emergency measure, hanging on to it a provision providing for an "observation commission," as though the 8-hour day was something new that had to be tried out and experimented with, when, in fact, more than 20 per cent of the railroad mileage of the country is now operated under the 8-hour system as economically and with greater efficiency than those operating under the 10-hour day. We have also recently had a very exhaustive investigation by the Industrial Relations Commission, directed by Hon. Frank Walsh, a very able and conscientious gentleman, with sincere purposes in disclosing facts and rendering service to the great masses of the people; and one of the principal recommendations of that commission was the general adoption of the eight-hour day as an essential to the proper preservation of the physical and mental resources of the working masses.

We also have an abundance of information showing the enormous increase in the earnings of the railroads of the country. In a statement recently issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission it was shown that 155 of the largest roads of the country increased their net profits in 1916 over 1915 by over $278,000,000. Taking individual lines, we find that the "Soo" line earned 22 per cent last year; the Louisville & Nashville, 17 per cent; and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, whose president, Hale Holden, was chosen as the spokesman of the railroads in this controversy, earned over 20 per cent, and has spent in the last 15 years over $100,000,000 on extensions and improvements, paid for out of surplus earnings. The net profits of the railroads for the year ending June 30, 1916, is over four times the amount the railroads themselves say it would cost them to adopt the eight-hour day with time and one-half for overtime.

This ought to be sufficient information to convince anyone that the railroads could easily pay whatever increase resulted from this change, even the $60,000,000 that they claim it would cost; but, of course, their figures in regard to this are erroneous. There are three kinds of liars—the regular liar, the damned liar, and the statistician; and while figures will not lie, liars will figure. I claim, and it is concurred in by every practical railroad man I know, that the application of the 8-hour day will cost very little, if any, more than the 10-hour day; but by having this "observation commission" the corporations in control of the railroads of the country will see to it that in this experimental period the 8-hour day will cost all they claim it will. They will do this by overloading the trains and other trickery and chicanery, in the art of which they are past masters. I was opposed to this feature of the eight-hour-day bill, but, on account of being confronted with a great crisis and tie-up of the great transportation facilities of the country, which meant destitution and suffering, because I realized that, due to the conditions existing in Congress, it could not be passed otherwise, and, further, because the representatives of the brotherhoods agreed to it, I supported the bill.

However, I want to warn the organized-labor people now that they must be alert. The President of the United States is very insistent in his recommendations and, with the influence of the big-business interests of the country with him, he will be able to exercise a great power on Congress, and I will be pleasantly surprised if it is not undertaken to put his recommendations as a whole on the statute books of the United States before the Sixty-fourth Congress ends. His first recommendation is the "immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission," and, judging from his last two appointments, Mr. Hall and Mr. Daniels—men who were committed to the railroad view—which appointments were made shortly before the recent 5 per cent increase in freight rates, which amounted to eighty or one hundred million dollars, it is reasonable to infer that this provision means the appointment of men who are in sympathy with the railroads and would favor another 5 per cent increase in rates.

The second and third recommendations provide for the enactment of the eight-hour day and the appointment of the "observation commission," which I have already referred to. In regard to the eight-hour day, of course, any friend of labor, especially under the conditions that existed, was in favor of the passage of legislation providing for the eight-hour day, but there is a great difference of opinion among representative labor men in regard to securing the eight-hour day by legislative enactment. The president of the American Federation of Labor has stated that he believes in securing improved working conditions by the activities of the workers through their organizations, excepting, of course, Government employees. That section of the bill in regard to railroad employees who are actually engaged in the operation of trains may cause litigation and keep the organizations in the courts for a number of years, with the additional expense caused thereby.

The fourth recommendation is "explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of any increase in freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day, and so forth."; and the fifth, the most vicious, perhaps, of them all, suggests "an amendment of the existing Federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted." This provision, according to the spokesman of the representatives of the brotherhoods in Washington, Mr. A. B. Garretson, can never be countenanced by the labor people.

The following is an extract from Mr. Garretson's statement before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate when considering the recommendations of the President:

> As before stated, we have never recognized the legislative as the proper method for the establishment of the workday, but in this instance we have given in to those who have come to us in our adhesion to the passage of this eight-hour-day law accompanied by the requirements found in that section placing the wage, pending certain investigations, at this present rate, and we have only drawn attention to one other proviso therein. As it is framed, it seems to us, and it has been stated to us, that the only remedy for the men in the event the companies refuse to conform thereto under the law would be a suit for damages. That would be about as valuable to the membership as a compulsory arbitration act would be to a single individual, and he would stand just about as much show.
>
> If that was placed on the basis that all of the other enactments governing railway employees have been placed—that where violations take place suit would be brought by the Government, like in the safety-appliance act and in the hours-of-service act—then you have introduced a measure that has merit to make what we are swallowing at least more palatable. I say to you on behalf of these four brotherhoods that the passage of that act alone with these provisions furnishes the one agency that will produce an absolute settlement of the trouble involved, because it embodies what we accepted the first day, or the day after the President made his proposition, and waived more than 50 per cent of the judgment which up to that time had been to us a religion. As for the other measures, no influence that can be brought to bear on these organization will ever induce them willingly to accept that act, or what it describes.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. To what do you refer now?
>
> Mr. GARRETSON. The compulsory investigation act.

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I want to place on record here the protest of every laboring man represented by these brotherhoods against the possible passage of anything that savors of making men stay at work during the period of what would happen here with the existing causes between the railways and their employees, assuming for the moment that a certain amount of disintegration would take place on the other side, or that they should play the game for all it is worth.

This, I might say, is the view of every representative labor man in the country. It is the one inherent principle from which they shall never recede.

The sixth recommendation provides for "the lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with the authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use."

Such legislation, in my opinion, would be most dangerous and vicious. It would be making a "czar" or a "kaiser" out of the President, putting in his hands the power to absolutely control any effort on the part of the wage workers of the country to improve their conditions, and finally, the President says, "We should make all arbitral awards judgments by record of a court of law in order that their interpretation and enforcement may lie, not with one of the parties to the arbitration, but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal."

It seems to me that the recommendations of the President as a whole, if put upon our statute books, would destroy absolutely the activities of the workers of the country through their organizations and make them industrial slaves by law. Of course, the great percentage of unorganized workers are now made industrial slaves by the power of the trusts of the country, but certainly the working people will not acquiesce in such legislation as contained in the recommendations of the President, even by their inactivity against it.

The only solution of this whole transportation question is public ownership and operation. Among the employees of the railroads of the country, there are 229,000 that are not classified, which number no doubt include the spotters lickspittle lawyers employed in the small cities to keep them from taking cases against the companies, lobbyists, and so forth, which apparently it was not the intention of the company to make public.

It is not only upon the watered stocks, which I have mentioned, that the people are forced to pay large dividends, but also the exorbitant salaries of the officers and the abnormally high prices of supplies that are paid, as the railroad officials have interests in the companies from which they purchase them, as in the case of the Steel Trust.

The Steel Trust directors owning the railroads buy rails and other supplies from the steel companies and pay double and treble the prices that they are worth. In other words, they buy from themselves these supplies at abnormally high prices and then make the public pay for them by abnormally high freight rates.

If we had public ownership and control of the operation of the railroads, the employees would be given shorter hours and better conditions, and the public would secure better service for less money. These improvements have been shown in every country where the railroads have been taken over by the State—that is, the working conditions for the employees have been improved and better service rendered to the public at a less cost, because the Government is always endeavoring to render the greatest service for the least money, while the greedy profit seekers are always endeavoring to get the most money for the least service.

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## "Democratic Achievements."

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN M. EVANS,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, in the time allowed me I purpose to comment briefly upon the accomplishments of the Democratic administration.

### THE TARIFF.

The first great piece of legislation undertaken was a revision of the tariff. The motive actuating the Democratic Party in revising the tariff was that of the public good. Republican revisions, as a rule, considered the welfare of the protected interests as paramount and the interest of the people as a mere incident. The Democrats put the people above every other consideration and presented the country with a tariff for revenue. Promises were redeemed (1) by an enlarged free list, (2) by lower duties on other goods, and (3) by an income tax.

### THE FREE LIST.

All foodstuffs were made free, including wheat, corn, wheat flour, semolina, corn meal, bread, biscuit, wafers, eggs, fresh bacon, hams, potatoes, bananas, rye, rye flour, salt, and sugar.

Besides these, the free list was enlarged so as to include agricultural implements, bituminous coal, coke, bagging for cotton, cash registers, sewing machines, typesetting machines, typewriters, shoe machinery, cement, hemp, flax, hoop iron, band iron, baling wire, iron ore, sole leather, upper leather, patent leather, split leather, belting, harness and saddle leather, boots and shoes, harness, cut nails and spikes, wire nails, horseshoes and nails, needles, tacks, printing paper, logs, timber, boards, lumber, fence posts, shingle bolts, shingles, hubs, wagon blocks, car blocks, heading blocks, clapboards, laths, pickets, palings, staves, ship timber, broom handles, wood pulp, and wool.

### INCOME TAX.

In connection with the Underwood tariff act this administration passed and put into effect an income-tax law. Under the operation of this statute the wealthy and well to do pay into the Treasury every year $200,000,000 in taxes on their enormous incomes, which formerly went scot free. Under Republican rule this gigantic sum was raised by means of a tariff on food and clothing, which were largely consumed by the plain people. Under Democratic law, this burden has been shifted from the poor man's bending back to the broad shoulders of those whose net incomes are in excess of $3,000 a year. What law could be more popular than this? What measure could be more just? What statute could more effectually lighten the load of those who struggle for their daily bread? Will any Republican candidate for office advocate a repeal of this law?

### TARIFF COMMISSION.

Ever since the American people repudiated the Republican Party for foisting upon the Nation the Payne-Aldrich tariff law that party has in season and out advocated a tariff commission. Believing that the American people wanted a nonpartisan commission to do exactly what the opposition had said they wanted done, the Democrats passed just such a bill. It passed by a handsome vote; 200 Democrats voted yes, none voted no; 39 Republicans yes, and 139 voted against the establishment of just such a commission as they had told the people they wanted.

### THE CURRENCY.

The second step toward the redemption of the promises of the Democratic Party was the passage of the Federal reserve banking law, a bill for the establishment of banks and to furnish an elastic currency, to furnish a means of rediscounting commercial paper, and to establish a more effective supervision of banking in the United States.

The old currency system which the country had endured for half a century was a makeshift war-time measure. It was inadequate and had repeatedly wholly broken down. Under the old system a dozen men either owned outright or through a system of interlocking directorates controlled practically the entire money supply of the United States. The banks were largely engaged in the Government's business, while under that system the Government could only ineffectively regulate the banking business. Indeed, the Money Trust had become more powerful than the Government itself. You will recall that in 1907, a time of profound peace and prosperity, a handful of men created a business depression between the setting of one sun and the rising of another, and an artificial panic swept from Maine to California. Wall Street was the seat of the financial government, and as from a throne the money-mongers wielded their despotic power without remorse and ruled the land without mercy.

Under the present law such a panic is impossible. If any man has commercial paper he can go to his local bank for assistance. If the local bank has not the money it can take the paper and apply to the reserve bank. If the reserve bank has not the money, it in turn will take the paper to the Treasurer of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury will issue sufficient money to meet the demands of the business transactions of the country. This will furnish the people a large measure of local self-government in financial affairs. This annihilated the Money Trust. It will stabilize commercial conditions and encourage enterprises throughout the United States. It makes forever impossible the manipulations of the Nation's finances. It provides the issuance of an elastic currency that will be forthcoming when the needs of the country demand, and will be

taken up and canceled when the needs contract. It ushers in an era of new freedom rich in promises of prosperity in every legitimate business and every honest enterprise.

You will recall how in 1907 Mr. Roosevelt, then President of the United States, had ordered deposited in the national banks of the country for the purpose of moving the crops the sum of $50,000,000, and how it developed before the Stanley investigating committee that $47,000,000 of this money was deposited in the banks of the city of New York, and when the panic was at its height it was loaned out at the rate of 10 per cent. For this money the Treasurer of the United States received no benefits, and the whole increment from the same went into the pockets of a few bankers of the city of New York.

Yes, my friends, the day of the Money Trust is over. That establishment has closed its doors and gone out of business. The Government of the United States has gone into the banking business, and the banks of the country have gone out of the governing business.

ANTITRUST LAW.

Among the constructive legislation enacted by the present administration may be mentioned the trade-commission bill. This bill makes unlawful all and every form of unfair methods of competition, and clothes the commission with adequate powers to destroy monopolies. The Clayton antitrust bill was enacted to supplement the Sherman law. It makes unlawful interlocking directorates and holding companies. The bill fixes personal responsibility for unlawful corporate acts. Guilt is made personal, and no longer will we witness the head of one great corporation controlling scores of other corporations. You will recall that anticipating the passage of this law Mr. Morgan withdrew from control of a score of corporations. Mr. Baker did likewise. Mr. Gary, of the Steel Trust, has recently severed his connection with half a hundred great corporations and no longer will it be possible for the head of one great corporation to deal with, buy from, and sell to another corporation of which he is the director and of which he is in practical control. Private banks will not become depositors for interstate corporations; supplies and equipment will be purchased in open competitive market, and not from fake companies, so as to rob the stockholders of the railroads and other companies. As the advocate and sponsor of such laws as this President Wilson has made himself the greatest living example of developed national ethics, and in the passage of these laws the American people are assured of the existence of a new code of business ethics and the dawn of a new era of business practices.

The new freedom of the equality of opportunity for all and special privilege for none is here.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

This bill provides for compensation for every employee of the Government who is so unfortunate as to be injured while in the performance of duty, unless, of course, the injury is the result of the voluntary act of the injured party. Men may differ about the details of such a measure, but the fundamental principle that the Government should do what it compels the private employer to do can admit of no dispute.

Our civilization is so complex and life is so constituted that in the everyday routine of our affairs accidents will happen that place upon the individual a burden that is impossible for him to bear, and in such cases this burden should be borne by society at large, and it is now being recognized that this is one of the burdens that society at large should bear. It is for this reason that everybody has come to recognize the wisdom of compensation laws.

GOOD ROADS.

For the last 50 years there have been intermittent efforts upon the part of the people to interest Congress in the question of Federal aid for wagon roads, but not since the days of Thomas Jefferson has the Congress appropriated a dollar for this purpose until a Democratic administration, after nearly 50 years of Republican control, heeded the wishes of the great rural population and appropriated eighty millions for building roads.

SHIPPING BILL.

At the close of the Civil War we had a merchant marine second to but one in the world; to-day the American flag is scarcely found upon the high seas. There are possibly three ways in which to get a merchant marine. The first is for private capital to build and operate the ships. The second is for the Government to furnish a subsidy to private concerns, and the third is for the Government to build and operate its own ships.

Every possible obstacle was thrown in the way of this legislation by the Shipping Trust of the country. They characterized it as "socialism gone to seed." They feared for the stability of the Government if it went into such a venture. Their desire was that the Government furnish the money and let them operate the ships. That is largely the view of the Republican Party, but the Democrats believe that if the Government must furnish the money it shall at least control the operation of the vessels. Nobody doubts that the result will break down the outrageous rates now charged for the transportation of the fruits of our farms and factories and that the man with goods to ship to a foreign market will no longer be at the mercy of the Shipping Trust.

CHILD-LABOR LAW.

All forward-looking people and men and women with red blood in their veins and love of humanity in their hearts have deplored the system that had grown up in this country of crushing out the life or stunting the body and souls of the boys and girls of tender age by work in mines and factories when they should be in school or at play, and it remained for a Democratic administration to place this wholesome law on the statutes.

FARM-LOAN BILL.

Having by the Federal reserve act curbed the power of the Money Trust and released the commercial interest from its thraldom, this Congress has enacted the first farm-loan bill in the history of this country. Every first-class European nation has such a law, and it is wholly inexcusable that those in control of the Government should so long have neglected the farmers. This bill makes it possible for the most numerous class of our population to borrow money at not to exceed 6 per cent, and it will probably not cost them to exceed 5 to 5½ per cent. A meeting of the Farm Loan Board in the city of Helena, Mont., recently developed the fact that the farmers of my State were paying in interest, commission, and other charges an average of twice what it will cost them under this bill. Experts have made estimates that this bill will save the farmers $2,000,000 a year. And still our opponents charge that we are a party only of negation.

ARMOR AND NITRATE FACTORIES.

For years this country has been wholly at the mercy of a few steel corporations, who made a common bid for armor whenever the Government called for a supply of that commodity. Everyone conversant with the current topics of the day will recall how, when this bill was first introduced, the Armor Trust attempted to threaten and bludgeon Congress by raising the price of armor plate immediately required by the Government $100 a ton, and how, when their bluff was called, begged and cajoled Congress and offered to furnish them this material for practically $100 a ton less than their first bid if the Congress would agree not to establish a factory. Believing that so far as possible the profits should be taken out of war, the Democratic Congress placed this law upon the statutes. The result will, I confidently predict, duplicate the result of the establishment of a Government powder factory a few years ago, which reduced the cost of powder to the Government about 50 per cent.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

In the closing hours of this session Congress was confronted with a most remarkable situation. The country was on the verge of a Nation-wide railroad strike. One of the questions involved in this matter was the eight-hour day, but the real question involved in that trying situation was how to prevent a strike with all its attendant horrors.

The question of an eight-hour day is no longer a debatable question. Society everywhere recognizes and approves the justice of it. It was not the real question at issue in the legislation passed. The real overshadowing question was, Should steps be taken to prevent a strike and avert a great calamity? The Democratic Party took the position that the strike should be averted. The Republican Party, in the language of some of its eminent leaders, wanted action. "Action" meant loss, suffering, bloodshed, if not civil war. The Democratic administration believed that an ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure, and undertook to prevent rather than cure. I regret, Mr. Speaker, to find a number of men in this House, taking their cue from the candidate of the Republican Party, now criticizing the measure. Yet the record shows a number of the gentlemen voted for the bill. I am not ashamed of my vote; I am proud of it; and my vote aided in averting a great national disaster.

We are advised, Mr. Speaker, that this legislation is to be made the principal issue in the coming campaign. If so, the Democratic Party welcomes the issue. The whole spirit of the times recognizes the justice of shorter hours for labor. Half of the Republican membership of the House voted for it. Every man on the other side of the House with Progressive tendencies voted for it; only the standpatters and leaders and bosses voted against it. It is true, I am sorry to say, that when the measure was voted on in the Senate every Republican, with one notable

exception, aligned himself with the bosses of the House and voted against the measure. The one exception was the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], and he voted for practically every Democratic measure that has passed that body during the present administration, and the people of his State have just shown their approval of his course by overwhelmingly renominating him in his State.

The President and Congress saved the country from a civil war and gave it time for calm, dispassionate action to prevent a similar crisis in the future. What would be the state of affairs in the United States to-day if less prompt and effective measures had been adopted by the Government? That is the complete reply to all this irresponsible criticism.

APPROPRIATIONS.

A great hue and cry is being raised about expenditures and the amount of money appropriated. This Congress did make large appropriations. It appropriated five hundred millions more for Army and Navy than any predecessor, and upon every item our critics wanted to increase the appropriations. We authorized the expenditure of eleven millions for an armor-plate factory and twenty millions for a nitrate plant, both of which will take the profits out of war. We are spending eighty millions for good roads. Would they repeal that law? Nine millions go to establish the Farm Loan System. Is anyone so bold as to say he will repeal that law? We are devoting fifty millions to build up a Government controlled merchant marine, and when you have deducted the amounts I have mentioned you will find that the appropriations do not exceed those of preceding years. We have provided the revenue to meet these extraordinary expenditures not by a tax upon the backs and stomachs of the poor, but by an income and inheritance tax have laid it where is belongs—on the well to do and the rich. That, Mr. Speaker, marks the difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties.

MEXICO.

When Mr. Wilson assumed control of affairs in Washington he inherited from his Republican predecessor the duty and responsibility of terminating a reign of terror and bringing order out of chaos in the distracted country of Mexico. That unfortunate country was a veritable inferno of insurrection. Barbarism was rampant and warfare was raging in every section, the half-civilized, illiterate people, with no knowledge or regard for the rights of citizens of other countries, insolent in their conduct toward us, doing many things that would tend to compel this country to declare war or otherwise discipline that unfortunate nation. The President, realizing the unfortunate conditions of those people, overlooked many affronts offered to this country, and with a patience unknown and unequaled in governmental affairs undertook to aid them by a show of friendship rather than a show of force. It was then that the opposition to that great man in the White House became most uncharitable. The press and the politicians, seeking to gain the temporary advantage, taunted and criticized what they called the watchful-waiting policy of the administration. But the American people are to-day proud of the manner in which the President sustained the dignity and prestige of the United States.

A more impulsive man, a man more ambitious for military glory, would have thrown an army onto the Mexican soil and with the battleships of this country bombarded every port of Mexico, and the result would have been that thousands of our brave young men would have been sleeping in unmarked graves. Thousands of others would have been languishing in hospitals with their bodies mangled and bleeding, their legs torn away by merciless shot and shell. Thousands of homes would be desolate and thousands of others would have their vacant chair. At the end of such a war—and it could only end one way—the national debt would have been multiplied and the land would have been filled with widows and orphans. Cripples hobbling on crutches in every community. But, thank God, we had a Woodrow Wilson in the White House; a friend of the right, a foe of the wrong; a lover of peace, who could not be driven, who could not be cajoled, but calmly, confidently, courageously held his head above the waves until at last, by patience and persistence, and through watchful waiting, if you please, a new day has broken; the sun of promise is once more rising on that stricken land.

In every home where hymns are sung, in every home where knees are bent, a thousand prayers have gone up to the Giver of every good and perfect gift that a man with the supreme patience of Woodrow Wilson occupied the White House during those tumultuous days. If there is anybody here, anybody who wants war, he has only to go across the Canadian line and he will find a country that is now asking the enlistment of men. But before he goes let him stop and look and listen. Let him see all Europe torn and bleeding. Look at the country of Belgium which for years has been the home of millions of prosperous people, laid waste and prostrate. Let him hear the cries of the wounded; let him see the tears of the mother and the sisters and the daughters and all those stricken people. Let him hear the prayers that go up to the great white throne that those near and dear to the millions that offer those prayers may return home to their loved ones. In my judgment, when he has painted for himself that picture he, too, will go home at night and offer up a prayer to his guardian angel that Woodrow Wilson is in the White House.

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**What Wilson Has Done.**

"I am willing, no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not in my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but in my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great Nation."—WOODROW WILSON.

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWARD KEATING,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, on March 4, 1913, the people of the United States placed the Democratic Party in control of our National Government. Woodrow Wilson became President, and strong Democratic majorities took the reins of power in the House and Senate.

For three years and six months the Democratic Party has been directly responsible for every act of the legislative and executive branches of the Government.

How has the Democratic Party used this extraordinary power? The people are entitled to an answer.

Mr. Speaker, I am not a very strong partisan. In fact, I have not much respect for the man who wears a party collar. I am not one of those who contend that all the angels belong to the Democratic Party and all the devils to the Republican Party. There are a lot of fellows in our party I should like to swap for some men I know in the Republican Party. I am tempted to particularize, but that might prove embarrassing. And, anyhow, that is not what I started out to say.

The point I wished to make was this: The Democratic Party, under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, has made good!

The record proves it. You can not get away from that. Facts are stubborn things, and here are the plain, unvarnished facts concerning what has been accomplished, not what has been promised, during Woodrow Wilson's administration:

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT.

Peace: Maintaining national honor and dignity throughout, President Wilson has kept America at peace, safe in the midst of a "world on fire," and free to serve both the welfare of her own people and the broad cause of all humanity.

Prosperity: Free of the horrors of war, enjoying the blessings of peace, aided by the constructive legislative enterprise of the Wilson administration, the country has entered upon an era of prosperity hitherto unequaled in this or any other land.

Monroe doctrine and Pan American affairs: Firm maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and a new policy of absolute fair dealing with the Republics of all the Western Hemisphere has substituted a feeling of trust and confidence among the Pan American countries for the feeling of distrust and doubt that formerly prevailed. This has resulted in agreements assuring lasting friendship and already has led to large expansion of American trade in South and Central America.

Mexico: The administration has dealt with Mexico in the kindly spirit of tolerance and forbearance, engendered by the possession of superior power and a devotion to ideals of free government. Intent upon encouraging the development of constitutional government in Mexico and fostering the feeling of kinship which his entire Latin-American policy was building up among the republics of this hemisphere, the President has maintained the attitude of an indulgent friend toward the war-wracked southern republic, holding in reserve at all times the policy of physical force as an effective and decisive last resort.

Dollar diplomacy: By placing the rights of nations above the dollar in determining foreign policy—by substituting for "dollar diplomacy" "decent diplomacy"—the divorcement of the Government from affiliations with special financial interests has been accomplished and the exploitation of the smaller Latin-American countries by private financial interests has ceased.

SAVING $150,000,000 FOR THE FARMERS.

Rural credits: Last July we passed the Federal farm-loan act. So far as the farmers of this country are concerned this is probably the most important piece of constructive legislation ever placed on the statute books of this Nation. It will enable farmers to borrow money at 5 and 6 per cent, and it is estimated will save the men who cultivate the soil of this country from one hundred and fifty to two hundred million dollars per year.

Currency reform: For 25 years the Republican Party talked about banking and currency reform, but panics continued to devastate the country. Under the guidance of Woodrow Wilson we passed the Federal reserve act, which makes it absolutely impossible for this country to experience another "money panic." From the point of view of the business man this legislation is as important as is the Federal farm-loan act from the point of view of the farmer.

Good roads: This Congress has passed and President Wilson has approved a good-roads law which makes available $75,000,000 for the development of highway systems throughout the United States under safeguards which prevent wasteful use of the money.

In addition to that ten millions more are made available for use in the forest reserves of the West. Other parties have talked about good-roads legislation, but the Democratic Party is the first party to write a good-roads law on the statute books.

Army and Navy: This administration has done more for our Army and Navy than any other administration in our history. The Members of this House know I am not a militarist, but I want the people of this country to be in a position to safeguard their liberties against foreign invasion or domestic aggression. The Democratic Party has given the Nation a Navy capable of overwhelming the Navy of any nation on earth with the exception of Great Britain. This Congress has appropriated $635,844,095 for the Army, Navy, and coast fortifications. This is a larger sum than was ever appropriated by any Nation for national defense in time of peace. Under the circumstances it is small wonder that even the opponents of the Democratic Party have dropped the preparedness issue.

Tariff revision downward: In keeping with the platform pledge of 1912, the Democratic Party revised the tariff downward, thus unfettering industry and commerce, depriving monopoly of its former control over production, distribution, and prices, and providing adequate customs revenue for the maintenance of the Government, but we went further, because we have just passed the tariff-commission bill, which we all hope will take the tariff out of politics.

TAXING WEALTH INSTEAD OF INDUSTRY.

Income and inheritance taxes: When the Democratic Party came into power it found that all the money needed to support the Government was being raised by a tax on the things men eat and wear and use. Therefore the workingman contributed practically as much to the support of Uncle Sam as did the multimillionaire. We have changed this manifestly unjust system, and during the coming year will raise about $250,000,000 through income and inheritance taxes. Thus we have placed the burden of government on the back of wealth and removed it to a certain extent from the back of industry.

Ship-purchase act: We have put "Old Glory" back on the seas. For 50 years the American merchant marine has been undergoing slow but certain dissolution. When the European war broke out we found we were without vessels to carry our products to foreign lands. In the face of very bitter and persistent opposition we have passed a bill providing $50,000,000 for the purchase of merchant ships to be operated under the American flag.

Direct election of United States Senators: The Democratic Party has abolished the "American House of Lords," or as some call it, the "Millionaires' Club," and has made the Senate of the United States truly representative of the people of the United States.

Federal Trade Commission: This new commission in the year and one-half of its operation with signal success has supplied the demand for a tribunal to arbitrate commercial disputes, to prevent "unfair competition," and to do justice between the public and the great industrial corporations.

Child-labor law: I introduced this bill and succeeded in getting it through the House, but it was pigeon-holed in the Senate until President Wilson came to the Capitol and by the exercise of his personal influence succeeded in forcing its enactment. It bars the channels of interstate commerce to the products of those mines, quarries, factories, canneries, and so forth, which employ children of a tender age. It is an emancipation proclamation for the children in industry.

LEGISLATION FOR THE TOILERS.

Labor's Magna Charta: We have enacted laws preventing the abuse of the injunction in labor disputes and legally declaring the labor of a human being not a commodity open to barter and sale like inanimate things. We passed a law applying the eight-hour day to all work done by the Government, whether directly or by contract. We passed the seamen's act, which vastly improves the working conditions of sailors who enter American ports, and in addition contributes to the safety of passengers at sea. We have enacted a model workmen's compensation law for Government employees, and when a great railroad strike threatened we brought industrial peace to the country by giving 400,000 railroad workers an eight-hour day. To insure industrial peace in the future we passed the law establishing the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and during the few years it has been in existence it has averted scores of serious conflicts.

Agricultural extension: Under the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act elaborate machinery has been put into operation by Woodrow Wilson that involved the expenditure of nearly $5,000,000 during the last fiscal year, a sum which will increase automatically year by year until 1922, for the dissemination of scientific knowledge concerning farm operation and management. This law is expected to double the productiveness of American farms.

DEVELOPING THE WEST.

Helping the homesteader: When Woodrow Wilson came into office the man who attempted to make his home on the public domain was regarded as little short of a criminal. Under the administration of Secretary of the Interior Lane all that has been changed. More homestead entries have been made in my congressional district during the last two years than ever before in the history of my State. The Interior Department is encouraging settlement and has made it clear that the homesteader who acts in good faith will receive his patent.

Improved marketing system: The organization by the Department of Agriculture of an Office of Markets and Rural Organization applies scientific and modern business methods toward the elimination of waste in transporting and distributing farm products. It is estimated that of the billions of dollars annually paid by the consumers of this country for farm products only about 30 cents on the dollar goes to the pockets of the farmers. The rest goes to the middleman. In Denmark 90 cents out of every dollar goes to the farmer. It is hoped that through the Office of Markets and Rural Organization we will bring American agriculture a little nearer to the Danish standard.

Crop moving: By placing the surplus funds of the United States Treasury directly in the banks of the South and West at crop-moving periods the Wilson administration has greatly aided the movement of crops to market and has put an end to the practice of previous administrations of concentrating these much-needed funds in the New York banks.

DESTROYING THE EXPRESS LOBBY.

Parcel post: The Democratic Party enacted the parcel post law, and this administration has developed the system to the point where we have succeeded in breaking up the extortionate monopoly of the private express companies. These companies have been compelled to reduce their rates and improve their service, and every man and woman in the Nation who has occasion to use the express service has benefited thereby.

The lobby: When Wilson was sworn in as President in March of 1913 the city of Washington was filled with lobbyists, who were sent here for the purpose of influencing Congress in the matter of tariff and currency legislation. The President turned the searchlight of publicity on this "invisible government" and he drove the disreputable crowd from the Nation's capital.

Philippine independence: By the Philippine bill recently enacted, a greater measure of freedom was allowed the Filipinos, and their ultimate independence was assured. Senator SHAFROTH, of Colorado, was more responsible than almost any other man in Congress for the passage of this bill.

The end of Cannonism: Keeping its pledge in the campaign of 1910, the Democratic House of the Sixty-second Congress abolished the system of czarism which had become so offensive to the country under the name of "Cannonism." For years the House had been controlled by a small group of men representing special interests. The people demanded a change, and the Democratic party effected it.

"He has kept us out of war": That is the slogan that strikes terror to the hearts of our opponents, because they know that it brings an answering cheer from the lips of every true American. The issue was presented in masterly fashion by former Gov. Martin H. Glynn in his keynote speech before the Democratic national convention in St. Louis, when he said:

GOV. GLYNN ON WILSON.

"To maintain our national honor by peace if we can, by war if we must," is the motto of the President of the United States.

This policy may not satisfy those who revel in destruction and find pleasure in despair. It may not satisfy the fire eater or the swashbuckler.

But it does satisfy those who worship at the altar of the God of Peace.

It does satisfy the mothers of the land at whose heart and fireside no jingoistic war has placed an empty chair.

It does satisfy the daughters of this land from whom bluster and brag has sent no loving brother to the dissolution of the grave.

It does satisfy the fathers of this land and the sons of this land who will fight for our flag and die for our flag when reason primes the rifle, when honor draws the sword, when justice breathes a blessing on the standard they uphold.

Mr. Speaker, I have been a Member of this House for four years.

I am a candidate for reelection on the Democratic ticket in the third congressional district of Colorado.

In an humble way I have had a part in the great work of the Wilson administration.

I stand on that record.

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**The Democratic Administration and the Consular Service.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, whatever partisan critics may say about the Democratic Party, they can find little just fault with its attitude toward the Consular Service. It is well known that for many years our Consular Service was far from satisfactory. There was no thorough or systematic method of determining the fitness of the men to be sent abroad as consuls, and there was no law or effective regulation which insured retention in the service of men who were especially efficient. Upon each change of administration a majority of the members of the Consular Service were recalled regardless of their usefulness or experience and were usually replaced by the new administration with inexperienced and untried men. It was a distinguished member of the Democratic Party who set about to remedy this condition. During the Fifty-fifth Congress, in 1895, Senator Morgan, of Alabama, who was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, introduced one of the most complete measures ever drafted for the reorganization of the Diplomatic and Consular Service under civil-service rules that has ever been submitted to Congress. He succeeded in having the bill reported favorably to the Senate on February 6, 1895, and the report of the Foreign Relations Committee upon that bill may well be regarded as a classic on the subject of the improvement in the foreign service. This occurred during President Cleveland's second administration. Although Senator Morgan's bill was not enacted into law, it gave great impetus to the movement for the reform of the Consular Service and contained the essential principles of all the bills that have since been introduced or enacted by Congress.

President Cleveland, another eminent Democrat, foreseeing the failure of Congress to enact Senator Morgan's bill into law, and concluding that it was time to make some effort to improve the condition of the Consular Service, issued an Executive order on September 20, 1895, applying in a limited way the merit principles to the selection of men for appointment to the Consular Service. In his third annual message, dated December 2, 1895, after setting forth the provisions of the order, President Cleveland said:

> It is not assumed that this system will prove a full measure of consular reform. It is quite probable that actual experience will show particulars in which the order already issued may be amended and demonstrate that for the best results appropriate legislation by Congress is imperatively required.

In the consideration of the various bills for the improvement of the service which were introduced in Congress during the 10 years following the Democratic Members of the House and Senate contributed their full share.

It is well known that when Mr. McKinley became President there was the usual pressure brought to bear for foreign-service appointments, with the result that from March 4, 1897, to November, 1898, 238 out of a total of 272 members of the Consular Service had been recalled and their places filled by new men, and this notwithstanding President Cleveland's earnest attempt to apply to candidates for appointment as consuls some adequate test of their efficiency and their fitness. Indeed, President Cleveland's Executive order of December 2, 1895, became under the McKinley administration almost a dead letter and that the examination required was little more than a form.

When in 1906 Congress took up in earnest the improvement of the Consular Service the Democratic Members of the House and Senate gave to the law which was then enacted their hearty support. That law, the act of April 5, 1906, did not, however, contain any provision applying civil-service principles to the selection of men for appointment to the Consular Service as was contemplated by the bill prepared 10 years before by Senator Morgan. It was necessary, therefore, for President Roosevelt, by Executive order, to supplement the law passed by the Republican Congress and establish rules and regulations for the examination of candidates for appointment in the Consular Service and to lay down principles which should govern promotions of men in that service.

An attempt has been made in some quarters, and even, I regret to say, upon the floor of the House, to show that the present Democratic President, Mr. Wilson, has modified or evaded the rules governing appointments in the Consular Service established by President Roosevelt in 1907. Let us examine the facts. At the beginning of the present administration there was apprehension in many quarters that the President would refuse to be bound by the rules promulgated by President Roosevelt under a Republican administration and retain in the service the men appointed during the Republican administration, the great majorty of whom were Republicans, and deny himself the right to appoint consuls of his own selection. But that prediction proved groundless, for on June 16, 1913, the President announced that he had had under consideration the matter of appointments to the Consular Service and had authorized the Secretary of State to make the following public statement:

> The civil service was, by an Executive order issued June 27, 1906, extended to the Consular Service, and the President is entirely in sympathy with the purpose which the order was intended to subserve. He believes that consular appointments should be made upon examination and that promotions should be made upon merit. If vacancies occur, they will be filled from within the service, where this can be done without injury to the service. If a vacancy occurs in one of the higher positions, and he does not at the time find within the service a person entirely qualified to fill such position, he will feel at liberty to exercise the right vested in him to suspend the Executive order in respect to that particular appointment, but such an appointment will be an exception to the rule and will be made only when he is convinced that the good of the service clearly requires such an exception.

Since the beginning of President Wilson's administration 61 appointments have been made by him to the position of consul general or consul, exclusive of those men already in the service who have been merely transferred or promoted. All of those 61 men appointed were either transferred from the Department of State, in accordance with the rules, or promoted from the grade of consular assistant or student interpreter, also in accordance with the rules, or appointed from the eligible list in the usual manner required by the rules, with the exception of 6. The latter were appointed under a suspension of the rules by Executive orders, which were issued by the President and made public at the time they were issued. In order to correct any misapprehension of the facts in regard to these men there is submitted the following biographical sketch of each man so appointed:

> Otis A. Glazebrook, of Elizabeth, N. J., was appointed consul at Jerusalem February 18, 1914, on the authority of an Executive order dated February 10, 1914. At the time of his appointment Mr. Glazebrook was 69 years of age. He was a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, having served 7 years in Virginia, 4 years in Baltimore, 3 years in Macon, and was for 17 years rector of St. John's Church in Elizabeth, N. J., retiring from the active ministry in 1912. He was chaplain of the University of Virginia, also of the National Guard of several States, and of other organizations.
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> Wilbur Keblinger, of Staunton, Va., was appointed consul at Malta May 15, 1914, under the authority of an Executive order dated March 28, 1914. Mr. Keblinger was born in November, 1875, graduated with a degree of LL. B. from George Washington University. He was employed in the Southern Railway and American Ordnance Co. for two years and for the same length of time was a clerk in the War Department. From 1899 to 1914 he was secretary of International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, and was commissioner for the United States on the Rio Grande Commission from 1910 to 1914.
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> John M. Savage, of Newark, N. J., was appointed consul at Sheffield July 27, 1914, under the authority of an Executive order dated April 21, 1914. Mr. Savage was born on December 10, 1864, and studied law for two years and had been engaged in various capacities in linen and knitting mills for a number of years and was also in 1912 and 1913 in banking and brokerage business in New York. He was American vice consul at Belfast in 1885 to 1889, vice consul at Dundee from 1893 to 1894, and consul at Dundee from 1894 to 1897, retiring from the service upon a change of administration.
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> Wallace J. Young, of Illinois, was appointed consul at Carlsbad July 24, 1914, under he authority of an Executive order dated May 26, 1914. Mr. Young was born August 21, 1880, and is a graduate of Central High School of Washington, D. C. He was private secretary to several Members of Congress; was a clerk in the Census Bureau and in the Civil Service Commission from 1900 to 1907, when he was transferred to the State Department as a clerk of class 1. He served in the State Department for over seven years, being promoted through the various grades from class 4 to class 1. He served as clerk to the Third Assistant Secretary; was secretary for several years to the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service; was with the Agency of the United States in the Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague in 1910; was assistant secretary of the American Delegation to the Opium Conference and special disbursing officer to the same delegation in 1911.

James C. Monaghan, of New Jersey, was appointed consul at Kingston, Jamaica, October 16, 1914, under the authority of an Executive order dated October 10, 1914. Mr. Monaghan was born October 11, 1867; is a graduate with a degree of A. B. and A. M., of Brown University, and LL. D., of St. Mary's College. He was editor of a newspaper in Providence and Philadelphia, professor in the University of Wisconsin, St. John's College, and the University of Notre Dame. He was American consul at Mannheim from 1885 to 1890 and consul at Chemnitz from 1893 to 1900. Mr. Monaghan was one of the most efficient members of the Consular Service at the time of his retirement.

John R. Silliman, of Texas, was appointed consul at Saltillo, Mexico, on February 22, 1915, under the authority of an Executive order dated July 3, 1914. Mr. Silliman was born December 7, 1865, and is a graduate of Princeton with the degree of A. B. Until 1897 he was engaged in railway and insurance work in Texas and was appointed vice and deputy consul at Saltillo in 1907 and served in that capacity until 1915.

Thus it will be seen that only one of the six men appointed by the President under suspension of the rules had never had experience in the Consular Service or in the Government service under the Department of State, and that officer is Mr. Glazebrook, and in regard to him it may be said that it is a matter of general information that since the beginning of the European war and the entrance of Turkey into that conflict Mr. Glazebrook has had one of the most trying posts in the Consular Service. He has been responsible for the protection of the lives and property not only of American citizens but of the subjects of Great Britain, France, Italy, and other nations who have intrusted the care of their interests in enemy countries to the United States during the present war. No one acquainted with the facts will deny that Mr. Glazebrook has acquitted himself of a very difficult task in an unusually creditable manner.

Some unfounded criticism has also been made of the appointment as consul or consul general of men holding positions in the Department of State, but the facts show that with the exception of two all of the men so appointed were consular officers who had been brought into the department for special duty and that their appointment as consul or consul general by President Wilson meant merely their transfer from the department back to the service to which they belonged. The two exceptions mentioned were men who had served in the Department of State from one to two years before their appointment as consul, which appointment was made in pursuance of the following paragraph of the rules prescribed by President Roosevelt:

3. Persons in the service of the Department of State with salaries of $2,000 or upward shall be eligible for promotion on the basis of ability and efficiency as shown in the service to any grade of the Consular Service above Class VIII of consuls.

In order that some idea of the qualifications of these men may be gained, a biographical sketch of each is submitted as follows:

Calvin M. Hitch, of Georgia, is 47 years of age, a graduate of Emory College with the degree of A. B.; practiced law in Georgia for six years; was a member of the Georgia Legislature in 1896 and 1897; was executive secretary to three governors of Georgia from 1898 to 1907; was private secretary to Senator Bacon, of Georgia, from 1907 to 1910; was general agent of an insurance company in Georgia from 1910 to 1913; was assistant chief of the Latin American Division of the Department of State from 1913 to 1915; and was appointed consul at Nottingham, England, February 2, 1915, under Paragraph III of the Executive order of June 27, 1907.

William F. Kelley, of Nebraska, was, when appointed, nearly 41 years of age; was a graduate, with a degree of Ph. D., of Hillsdale College; practiced law in Lincoln, Nebr., for 22 years, and was appointed clerk to the Secretary of State October 1, 1913; assistant solicitor in the Department of State August 27, 1914, and consul at Rome June 8, 1915, under paragraph 3 of the Executive order of June 27, 1907. Mr. Kelley recently died at his post of duty in Rome.

But this administration has not only retained unmodified and enforced the regulations for the appointment and promotion of men in the Consular Service which were promulgated by a former administration, but it has made many efforts to still further improve the service through constructive legislation and adequate appropriation, and has, moreover, placed among the statutes the only existing legislative recognition of the application of civil-service principles to appointments and promotions in not only the Consular Service but the Diplomatic Service as well. The act of February 5, 1915, passed by a Democratic Congress and approved by President Wilson, contains the following section:

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of State is directed to report, from time to time, to the President, along with his recommendations for promotion or for transfer between the department and the foreign service, the names of those secretaries in the Diplomatic Service and the names of those consular officers or departmental officers or employees who, by reason of efficient service, an accurate record of which shall be kept in the Department of State, have demonstrated special efficiency, and also the names of persons found upon examination to have fitness for appointment to the lower grades of the service.

All efforts for a period of 20 years to secure the enactment of a law applying civil-service principles to the appointment of men to the Diplomatic and Consular Service having failed, it remained for a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President to enact the only existing law giving legislative approval to the application of civil-service principles to the appointment and promoton of officers in the Diplomatic and Consular Service.

But this is not all. The administration of the consular organization under the law of 1907 and previous statutes was difficult and unsatisfactory. The President was given no latitude or freedom of action in the transfer or reassignment of officers to meet the exigencies of our commerce or the adequate protection of American citizens and their property. Moreover, the greatest war in all history, involving the principal nations of the world, caused most of those nations to place their interests in enemy countries under the care of the United States. The difficulties arising in the proper discharge of this trust, unprecedented in its magnitude, showed more clearly than anything else had done the weakness and inelasticity of the then existing laws governing the administration of the Diplomatic and Consular Service and the impracticability of utilizing diplomatic and consular officers to the best advantage without broader and more practical laws. The present Democratic majority in Congress, after considering the subject, enacted the law of February 5, 1915, a measure of great value to the future international relations of this country, which at once made it possible to administer the foreign service in much the same manner as the Army and Navy are administered. The result has been more efficient administration, more satisfactory service, and greater benefits to the country, and the protection of American citizens and their property abroad.

In an earnest effort to still further improve the Consular Service, the present Congress has enacted into law the principle that all consuls general and consuls must be American citizens and that wherever possible all vice consuls must be American citizens; it has authorized the acquisition of suitable premises for the consulate general, United States court, post office, and other Government offices at the great port of Shanghai, China, one of the most important steps yet taken toward the upbuilding of the Consular Service and the extension of American trade in the Far East; it has provided for the detail of consular officers to visit manufacturing and exporting districts in the United States for the purpose of conferring with business men and informing them of the possibility of selling their products in foreign markets, and in many other ways has Congress and the present administration succeeded in improving and strengthening the Consular Service and increasing its usefulness.

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## Admiral Dewey's Interview and Congressman Gardner's Answer.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, August 22, 1916.*

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, on August 20, 1916, the New York World published an interview in which Admiral Dewey was emphatic in his praise of Secretary Daniels's work for the Navy. Most people have forgotten that Admiral Dewey in a public letter expressed the very same laudatory views about the condition of the Navy at the time of the naval parade in New York a year ago last May. Yet, in the maneuvers which followed that parade, no less than 7 out of the 12 submarines proved unfit for duty, according to the commander in chief's report. That is the report, by the way, in which Admiral Fletcher specified 15 fundamental weaknesses in the fleet under his command.

Perhaps the best way to answer Admiral Dewey's eulogy of the Navy under Secretary Daniels is to quote from the report which Admiral Dewey himself signed as president of the General Board of the Navy in November, 1913, as follows:

The absence of any definite naval policy on our part, except in the General Board, and the failure of the people, the Congress, and the executive government to recognize the necessity for such a policy has already placed us in a position of inferiority which may lead to war; and this inferiority is progressive and will continue to increase until the necessity for a definite policy is recognized and that policy put into operation.

Then it might not be a bad idea to recall the evidence of Admiral Fisk, senior naval adviser to Secretary Daniels, on December 17, 1914, before the House of Representatives Committee on Naval Affairs. Here is what Admiral Fiske said:

I would say it would take about five years to get ready with our Navy to fight successfully and effectively against an effective navy.

By the way, Admiral Fiske reiterated that statement again last winter on March 24, 1916, saying:

I think it would still take us more than five years. We are not pointed that way.

Admiral Winslow, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, agreed with Admiral Fiske in his testimony on February 24, 1916. Speaking of Admiral Winslow, reminds me that on that same day when he was asked by Congressman STEPHENS as to the condition of our Pacific Fleet, he replied:

Bar luck, one good battleship ought to be stronger than all we have got.

On February 23, 1916, Admiral Badger punctured Secretary Daniels's claims when he was interrogated by the House Committee on Naval Affairs. Congressman ROBERTS said to him:

Has the increased efficiency of our Navy from year to year kept pace with the increased efficiency of other navies?

Admiral Badger replied:

I think not.

Of course, even before it collected an interview with dear old Admiral Dewey, the New York World knew perfectly well the true condition of the Navy; that is, the World knew all about the Navy until election time drew near and it became the Democratic Party organ. On February 27, 1916, the World published its own analysis of the United States Navy. Here is an extract from the headlines with which the World prefaced its analysis:

Analysis of Navy by World shows 40 per cent of ships in Atlantic not fit for war.
Greatest weakness is shortage of men and officers.
Half of the destroyers are not manned and the entire submarine flotilla is in imperfect condition.
Our fleet is blind, having neither air scouts nor swift battle cruisers.

Those headlines do not seem to indicate that the World's analysis and Secretary Daniels's claims have many points in common. But the most damning evidence against Secretary Daniels is contained in the report on the Atlantic Fleet in 1915 made by Admiral Fletcher, its commander in chief. This report was for a long time suppressed, but was forced out last January when the United States Senate adopted Senator LODGE'S peremptory resolution of January 8, 1916. The closing words of Admiral Fletcher's report should of themselves be sufficient to put the public on its guard against a Secretary of the Navy who continually pretends that the Navy is in a high state of efficiency when the Navy is not in a high state of efficiency at all. Here is the last paragraph of Admiral Fletcher's report on the Atlantic Fleet for the season of 1915:

In brief the principal weaknesses and requirements of the fleet are as follows:
(a) Shortage of officers.
(b) Shortage of men.
(c) Lack of fast armored ships and fast light cruisers.
(d) Limitations of mobility and seagoing qualities of submarines.
(e) Lack of aircraft.
(f) Lack of radio direction finder.
(g) Too frequent overhaul of battleships.
(h) Necessity of maintaining full complements in active ships of the fleet.
(i) Need of additional mining and sweeping vessels.
(j) Desirability of mobilizing ships in reserve annually with the active fleet.
(k) Need of battle target practice at long ranges.
(l) Necessity for increased facilities at fleet rendezvous.
(m) Provision for division commanders for mining division and auxiliary division.
(n) Provision for more speed in design of fighting craft intended to operate with the fleet.
(o) Need of antiaircraft guns.

Pretty much every one of these weaknesses is directly the result of Secretary Daniels's policy. He refused to recommend any more officers. He refused to recommend any more men. The General Board of the Navy in the fall of 1914 recommended 19,600 additional men. Secretary Daniels demanded the instant suppression of that recommendation on penalty of smothering the General Board's report altogether. (See evidence of Admiral Fiske before the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, Mar. 24, 1916.) He failed to recommend any fast battle cruisers whatever. When the General Board of the Navy in the fall of 1914 recommended $5,000,000 for aircraft Secretary Daniels cut out the recommendation entirely. Even when he was asked by the Committee on Naval Affairs whether he did not want the modest amount of $1,000,000, he declared that he did not care to ask for it. Congress gave it to him in spite of himself, and precious little use has he made of it, for in the month of August, this year, there were only seven aeroplanes in the Navy that could fly. As to the other faults which Admiral Fletcher found there is not one of them which would have been tolerated by a Secretary of the Navy who knew his job.

The whole business amounts to this: For nearly two years Secretary Daniels continued to regard the Navy as a laboratory in which to indulge his smattering taste for politico-sociological experiments. Even amid the world-wide clash of resounding arms, he continued serenely on his way and smilingly told Congress that the country's revenues could not stand the drain if we undertook to meet the views of the General Board of the Navy.

## Exports of Domestic Merchandise.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JACOB E. MEEKER,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. MEEKER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I insert the following, which is a summary of exports of domestic merchandise, by articles and value, as published by the Department of Commerce in their monthly issue of June, 1916:

*Summary of exports of domestic merchandise, by articles and values.*

| | Twelve months ending June— | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
| Abrasives: | | | |
| Wheels, emery and other | $655,778 | $736,879 | $1,630,26 |
| All other | 1,458,854 | 1,065,369 | 1,703,07 |
| Total | 2,114,632 | 1,802,248 | 3,333,33 |
| Agricultural implements, and parts of: | | | |
| Hay rakes and tedders | 410,121 | 181,570 | 284,20 |
| Mowers and reapers | 18,658,363 | 3,514,803 | 6,247,00 |
| Planters and seeders | 865,642 | 382,070 | 297,25 |
| Plows and cultivators | 5,265,926 | 2,528,410 | 4,456,96 |
| Thrashers | 2,519,276 | 1,029,234 | 1,520,63 |
| All other, and parts of | 4,246,461 | 2,668,891 | 4,805,22 |
| Total | 31,965,789 | 10,304,978 | 17,611,29 |
| Aluminum, and manufactures of | 1,101,920 | 3,245,799 | 5,644,34 |
| Animals: | | | |
| Cattle | 647,288 | 702,847 | 2,383,76 |
| Hogs | 133,751 | 93,067 | 238,71 |
| Horses | 3,388,819 | 64,046,534 | 73,531,14 |
| Mules | 690,974 | 12,726,143 | 22,946,31 |
| Sheep | 534,543 | 182,278 | 231,53 |
| All other (including fowls) | 408,284 | 202,817 | 331,33 |
| Total animals | 5,803,659 | 77,953,686 | 99,662,81 |
| Art works: Paintings and statuary | 1,415,302 | 298,312 | 404,52 |
| Asbestos, manufactures of | 687,073 | 535,027 | 1,019,08 |
| Asphaltum: | | | |
| Unmanufactured | 1,131,086 | 616,240 | 830,94 |
| Manufactures of | 362,347 | 400,154 | 510,29 |
| Athletic and sporting goods | 783,120 | 576,442 | 720,72 |
| Babbitt metal | | 122,597 | 419,63 |
| Bauxite concentrates | | 531,404 | 929,30 |
| Blacking (including shoe paste and polish, and other) | 649,395 | 503,629 | 784,55 |
| Brass, and manufactures of: | | | |
| Scrap and old, fit only for remanufacture | 2,714,202 | 1,576,003 | 874,62 |
| Bars, plates, sheets, etc | 791,629 | 6,149,183 | 35,669,59 |
| Articles made from | 3,966,645 | 12,819,373 | 128,331,82 |
| Total | 7,472,476 | 20,544,559 | 164,876,04 |
| Breadstuffs: | | | |
| Barley | 4,253,129 | 18,184,079 | 20,663,53 |
| Bran and middlings | 71,043 | 329,425 | 432,28 |
| Bread and biscuit | 728,447 | 702,509 | 787,56 |
| Buckwheat | 675 | 396,987 | 431,01 |
| Corn | 7,008,028 | 39,339,064 | 30,780,88 |
| Corn meal | 1,185,891 | 1,923,214 | 1,601,25 |
| Dried grains and malt sprouts | 1,467,028 | 177,987 | 47,44 |
| Mill feed | 1,840,011 | 787,048 | 801,05 |
| Oatmeal | 569,204 | 2,416,068 | 1,885,62 |
| Oats | 757,527 | 57,469,964 | 47,993,03 |
| Preparations of, for table food | 2,323,412 | 4,306,899 | 5,074,98 |
| Rice | 721,046 | 3,158,335 | 4,942,37 |
| Rice bran and polish | 36,274 | 15,541 | 10,48 |
| Rye | 1,555,012 | 14,733,409 | 15,374,49 |
| Rye flour | 31,119 | 416,182 | 646,94 |
| Wheat | 87,953,456 | 333,552,226 | 215,532,68 |
| Wheat flour | 54,454,175 | 94,869,343 | 87,347,80 |
| All other | 346,888 | 1,045,396 | 1,293,09 |
| Total | 165,302,385 | 573,823,676 | 435,696,62 |
| Broom corn, and manufactures of: | | | |
| Broom corn | 327,426 | 368,051 | 454,74 |
| Manufactures of | 135,207 | 107,330 | 180,17 |
| Brushes | 449,909 | 604,916 | 1,132,26 |
| Buttons, and parts of | 654,372 | 1,171,232 | 1,902,55 |
| Candles | 283,018 | 417,345 | 575,65 |
| Cars, carriages, other vehicles, and parts of: | | | |
| Aeroplanes, and parts of— | | | |
| Aeroplanes | 188,924 | 958,019 | 2,158,39 |
| Parts of | 37,225 | 583,427 | 4,843,61 |
| Total | 226,149 | 1,541,446 | 7,002,00 |

*Summary of exports of domestic merchandise*—Continued.

| | Twelve months ending June— | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
| Automobiles, and parts of | $33,198,806 | $68,107,818 | $120,000,866 |
| Cars, passenger and freight, and parts of, and all other: | | | |
| For steam railways | 7,409,558 | 1,707,830 | 24,119,536 |
| For other railways | 3,768,208 | 1,705,965 | 2,541,479 |
| Total cars for railways | 11,177,766 | 3,413,795 | 26,661,015 |
| Bicycles, tricycles, etc | 608,031 | 424,892 | 863,162 |
| Motorcycles | 1,234,194 | 1,494,176 | 3,369,616 |
| Wagons | 1,121,389 | 1,118,898 | 1,018,290 |
| Wheelbarrows, pushcarts, and hand trucks | 632,977 | 299,550 | 311,818 |
| All other, and parts of | 2,939,742 | 8,535,240 | 8,417,331 |
| Total cars, carriages, etc | 51,676,222 | 85,108,341 | 167,742,608 |
| Celluloid, and manufactures of | 1,387,541 | 722,850 | 2,328,142 |
| Cement, hydraulic | 3,382,282 | 3,241,686 | 3,780,564 |
| Chemicals, drugs, dyes, and medicines | 27,079,092 | 46,380,986 | 124,362,167 |
| Clocks and watches, and parts of | 3,013,149 | 2,574,809 | 4,118,264 |
| Coal | 59,921,013 | 55,906,140 | 65,958,275 |
| Coke | 2,729,814 | 2,304,475 | 3,779,445 |
| Cocoa and chocolate, prepared or manufactured (not including confectionery) | 336,040 | 1,934,166 | 1,668,657 |
| Coffee: | | | |
| Green or raw | 8,550,642 | 6,841,575 | 5,369,753 |
| Roasted or prepared | 427,009 | 461,030 | 378,268 |
| Confectionery | 1,329,147 | 1,222,794 | 1,904,101 |
| Copper, and manufactures of (except ore) | 146,222,556 | 90,558,030 | 173,946,226 |
| Pigs, ingots, and bars, etc | 144,805,915 | 96,238,800 | 159,491,069 |
| Cotton, and manufactures of: | | | |
| Unmanufactured— | | | |
| Sea-island | 1,619,847 | 484,465 | 483,184 |
| Upland and other | 608,855,454 | 372,068,490 | 364,710,378 |
| Linters | | 3,665,017 | 8,992,685 |
| Total | 610,475,301 | 376,217,972 | 374,186,247 |
| Manufactures of cloths | 28,844,627 | 28,682,515 | 46,414,200 |
| Laces and embroideries | 232,457 | 345,042 | 556,606 |
| Rags (except paper stock) | 532,407 | 288,238 | 209,305 |
| Waste, cotton | 4,566,769 | 2,934,654 | 3,871,637 |
| Wearing apparel | 10,767,448 | 20,550,030 | 34,226,664 |
| Yarn | 716,036 | 1,806,476 | 5,276,105 |
| All other manufactures of cotton | 5,807,489 | 8,306,482 | 21,498,610 |
| Total manufactures of cotton | 51,467,233 | 71,974,497 | 112,053,127 |
| Dental goods: | | | |
| Teeth | 306,825 | 69,402 | 273,258 |
| All other | 2,372,345 | 1,313,526 | 1,782,371 |
| Earthen, stone, and china ware | 4,353,241 | 2,764,438 | 3,607,824 |
| Eggs | 3,734,087 | 5,003,764 | 6,134,441 |
| Electrical machinery, etc | 25,000,844 | 19,771,737 | 30,254,020 |
| Explosives: Cartridges, dynamite, gunpowder, all other, total | 6,272,197 | 41,476,188 | 467,081,928 |
| Feathers | 640,020 | 281,806 | 312,113 |
| Ferrovanadium | 503,389 | 641,792 | 1,018,121 |
| Fertilizers | 11,978,738 | 3,870,887 | 5,343,497 |
| Fibers, vegetable and textile grasses, and manufactures of | 12,575,470 | 12,268,556 | 21,377,276 |
| Fish | 12,842,173 | 12,870,790 | 19,983,545 |
| Fruits and nuts | 31,850,392 | 34,933,117 | 36,965,328 |
| Furniture of metal | 913,968 | 565,401 | 1,146,783 |
| Furs and fur skins | 14,969,371 | 3,794,459 | 9,288,786 |
| Glass and glassware | 3,729,623 | 5,558,717 | 12,321,338 |
| Glucose and grape sugar | 4,565,919 | 3,885,233 | 4,734,961 |
| Glue | 258,611 | 298,136 | 531,329 |
| Gold and silver, manufactures of, including jewelry: | | | |
| Gold and silver, manufactures of | 426,912 | 299,042 | 526,317 |
| Jewelry | 1,005,285 | 634,387 | 1,168,172 |
| Grease: | | | |
| Lubricating | 2,394,918 | 2,384,395 | 3,994,436 |
| Soap stock and other | 5,046,959 | 4,266,097 | 3,156,568 |
| Hair, animal, and manufactures of | 1,429,794 | 1,579,041 | 2,458,328 |
| Hay | 827,205 | 1,980,297 | 3,267,028 |
| Hides and skins (except fur skins), raw or uncured | 2,807,253 | 4,685,724 | 3,875,251 |
| Hoofs, horns, and horn tips, striks, and waste | 61,180 | 16,182 | 37,558 |
| Hops | 6,953,529 | 3,948,020 | 4,383,929 |
| Household and personal effects | 7,919,925 | 4,292,504 | 4,190,875 |
| India rubber, manufactures of | 12,441,220 | 14,767,513 | 35,180,096 |
| Ink | 625,074 | 539,721 | 967,442 |
| Instruments and apparatus for scientific purposes | 1,760,861 | 2,431,404 | 5,868,155 |
| Iron ore | 3,401,156 | 1,277,247 | 2,796,606 |
| Iron and steel, and manufactures of | 7,392,163 | 10,829,699 | 37,693,359 |
| Billets, ingots, and blooms of steel | 1,042,854 | 4,815,233 | 42,421,064 |
| Bolts, nuts, rivets, and washers | 1,635,707 | 1,106,470 | 2,578,386 |
| Builders' hardware, locks, hinges, and other | 6,031,879 | 4,295,584 | 6,514,522 |
| Car wheels | 414,371 | 183,290 | 741,542 |
| Castings, not elsewhere specified | 2,631,907 | 1,288,131 | 2,982,675 |
| Cutlery, razors, table, all other | 1,147,995 | 1,682,068 | 4,250,637 |
| Enamel ware, bathtubs, lavatories, and sinks, all other | 1,100,959 | 686,846 | 1,678,297 |
| Firearms | 3,442,297 | 9,474,947 | 18,065,485 |
| Hoop, band, and scroll | 528,453 | 677,247 | 2,420,022 |
| Horseshoes | 98,535 | 2,001,258 | 2,135,679 |
| Iron and steel, and manufactures of | 251,480,677 | 225,861,387 | 621,209,453 |
| Jewelers' ashes and sweepings | 329,536 | 35,077 | 21,462 |

*Summary of exports of domestic merchandise*—Continued.

| | Twelve months ending June— | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
| Lamps, chandeliers, and all other devices for illuminating purposes, except electric | $2,806,034 | $2,222,747 | $3,155,444 |
| Lead, manufactures of: | | | |
| Pigs, bars, etc | 1,511,800 | 7,926,604 | |
| Produced from domestic ore | | | 9,765,492 |
| Produced from foreign ore | | | 2,114,692 |
| All other manufactures of | 2,610,207 | 1,117,875 | 2,482,780 |
| Leather and tanned skins, and manufactures of | 57,466,261 | 120,727,156 | 146,613,815 |
| Leather imitation | 410,739 | 280,176 | 498,581 |
| Meat and dairy products: | | | |
| Meat products— | | | |
| Beef products— | | | |
| Beef, canned | 461,901 | 11,073,593 | 9,353,450 |
| Beef, fresh | 788,793 | 21,731,613 | 28,886,115 |
| Beef pickled and other cured | 2,289,516 | 3,382,670 | 4,034,195 |
| Oleo oil | 10,156,665 | 9,341,188 | 12,519,115 |
| Oleomargarine, imitation butter | 263,453 | 657,035 | 640,480 |
| Tallow | 1,002,011 | 1,586,445 | 1,326,472 |
| Hog products— | | | |
| Bacon | 25,879,056 | 47,320,120 | 78,615,616 |
| Hams and shoulders, cured | 23,767,447 | 29,049,033 | 40,803,022 |
| Lard | 54,402,911 | 52,449,133 | 47,034,376 |
| Neutral lard | 3,270,236 | 3,022,321 | 4,050,397 |
| Pork, canned | 492,822 | 745,028 | 1,815,586 |
| Pork, fresh | 359,181 | 473,801 | 7,523,403 |
| Pork, pickled | 4,896,574 | 4,911,507 | 6,752,356 |
| Lard compounds and other substitutes for lard | 5,489,139 | 6,045,752 | 5,147,434 |
| Mutton | 523,023 | 448,221 | 696,882 |
| Poultry and game | 913,302 | 1,187,771 | 1,561,398 |
| Sausage— | | | |
| Canned | 202,120 | 307,726 | 1,269,966 |
| All other | 755,794 | 845,661 | 1,752,231 |
| Sausage casings | 4,077,882 | 4,859,815 | 2,867,681 |
| Stearin from animal fats | 234,121 | 1,083,665 | 1,461,961 |
| All other meat products— | | | |
| Canned | 1,350,218 | 2,192,464 | 2,855,035 |
| All other | 1,685,351 | 2,412,342 | 5,268,952 |
| Total meat products | 143,261,846 | 205,785,468 | 266,735,608 |
| Dairy products— | | | |
| Butter | 877,453 | 2,392,480 | 3,592,415 |
| Cheese | 414,124 | 8,463,174 | 7,439,089 |
| Milk— | | | |
| Condensed | 1,341,140 | 3,066,642 | 12,404,384 |
| All other (including cream) | 333,217 | 343,583 | 845,106 |
| Motor boats | 519,584 | 273,516 | 809,241 |
| Musical instruments, and parts of | 3,358,631 | 2,048,715 | 3,454,065 |
| Naval stores, rosin, tar, turpentine, spirits of | 19,882,165 | 11,127,239 | 13,503,647 |
| Nickel, nickel oxide, and matte | 9,403,709 | 11,110,699 | 9,876,403 |
| Nursery stock | 315,005 | 170,218 | 203,671 |
| Oil cake and oil cake meal: | | | |
| Corn | 909,407 | 798,206 | 297,041 |
| Cottonseed | 11,007,441 | | |
| Cake | | 15,432,126 | 14,749,489 |
| Meal | | 3,474,244 | 1,149,478 |
| Total cottonseed, etc | 11,007,441 | 18,906,370 | 15,898,967 |
| Linseed or flaxseed | 9,650,379 | 9,048,061 | 11,935,130 |
| All other | 100,445 | 126,414 | 410,166 |
| Total oil cake, etc | 21,667,672 | 28,879,051 | 28,541,304 |
| Oilcloth and linoleum | 727,087 | 634,386 | 1,328,399 |
| Oils: | | | |
| Animal, fish, lard, all other | 822,233 | 547,074 | 871,017 |
| Mineral— | | | |
| Crude (including all natural oils without regard to gravity) | 6,812,672 | 4,911,634 | 6,754,279 |
| Refined or manufactured— | | | |
| Gas oil or fuel oil | 13,747,863 | 18,543,976 | 24,770,200 |
| Gasoline | 21,699,475 | 17,603,317 | 16,297,591 |
| Illuminating oil | 74,500,162 | 53,607,082 | 52,288,788 |
| Lubricating and heavy paraffin oil | 27,852,959 | 28,499,786 | 37,451,607 |
| Naphtas, and light products of distillation (except gasoline) | 5,653,210 | 10,296,928 | 29,472,233 |
| Residuum, including tar, from which the light bodies have been distilled | 1,907,715 | 230,552 | 388,466 |
| Total refined | 145,361,384 | 128,781,641 | 160,668,951 |
| Total mineral | 152,174,056 | 133,693,275 | 166,423,230 |
| Vegetable oils | 16,251,486 | 25,831,745 | 27,167,223 |
| Paints, pigments, colors, and varnishes | 7,256,318 | 7,415,724 | 11,417,814 |
| Paper, and manufactures of | 20,663,634 | 19,848,358 | 29,111,034 |
| Paraffin and paraffin wax | 6,516,338 | 10,589,843 | 12,873,250 |
| Pencils (except slate), and pencil leads | 533,944 | 649,658 | 1,436,615 |
| Penholders | 88,056 | 51,745 | 130,177 |
| Pens: | | | |
| Fountain | 326,966 | 251,309 | 147,584 |
| Metallic (except gold) | 116,501 | 139,584 | 195,289 |
| Perfumeries, cosmetics, and all toilet preparations | 1,620,872 | 1,715,059 | 2,903,063 |
| Phonographs, graphophones, gramophones, and records, and material for | 2,512,320 | | |
| Phonographs, graphophones, and gramophones | | 794,011 | 1,198,652 |
| Records and materials for | | 769,098 | 989,785 |

*Summary of exports of domestic merchandise*—Continued.

| | Twelve months ending June— | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
| Photograph goods | $9,431,800 | $8,276,291 | $15,986,066 |
| Plaster, builder's and common | 283,325 | 189,418 | 187,574 |
| Plated ware (except cutlery and jewelry) | 899,391 | 624,490 | 1,162,001 |
| Plumbago or graphite: | | | |
| Unmanufactured | 387,075 | 152,446 | 46,807 |
| Manufactures of | 269,499 | 368,333 | 845,729 |
| Quicksilver | 32,241 | 155,089 | 272,086 |
| Refrigerators | ..... | 212,054 | 254,250 |
| Roofing felt and similar materials | 1,029,127 | 880,944 | 1,552,535 |
| Salt | 542,783 | 616,132 | 600,648 |
| Seeds | 3,190,745 | 3,861,064 | 3,538,508 |
| Silk, manufactures of | 2,307,605 | 2,745,396 | 5,204,813 |
| Soap | 4,939,002 | 4,858,209 | 6,319,758 |
| Malt liquors | 1,485,176 | 1,082,112 | 1,064,627 |
| Spirits, distilled | 2,275,832 | 1,982,019 | 11,062,386 |
| Wines | 373,412 | 332,369 | 450,598 |
| Total spirits, wines, and malt liquors | 4,134,420 | 3,396,500 | 12,577,611 |
| Other beverages | 375,919 | 373,560 | 389,213 |
| Sponges | 173,866 | 109,635 | 165,884 |
| Starch | 1,825,230 | 2,939,453 | 5,576,914 |
| Stone | 2,146,758 | 1,265,516 | 1,439,044 |
| Straw and palm leaf, manufactures of | 799,507 | 680,492 | 691,164 |
| Sugar and molasses: | | | |
| Molasses | 175,498 | 145,274 | 524,861 |
| Sirup | 1,491,639 | 1,653,495 | 2,107,068 |
| Sugar, refined | 1,839,983 | 25,615,016 | 79,390,147 |
| Surgical appliances (not including instruments) | 1,288,467 | 4,418,303 | 3,166,718 |
| Tin, manufactures of | 1,477,584 | 1,786,038 | 3,088,873 |
| Tobacco and manufactures of: | | | |
| Unmanufactured— | | | |
| Leaf | 53,903,336 | 44,479,890 | 52,813,252 |
| Stems and trimmings | 60,334 | 13,939 | 350,343 |
| Manufactures of— | | | |
| Cigarettes | 4,775,038 | 3,459,700 | 4,325,513 |
| Cigars and cheroots | 34,099 | 32,651 | 24,439 |
| Plug | 1,706,732 | 1,667,539 | 1,290,388 |
| Smoking | 785,027 | 1,035,989 | 839,568 |
| All other | 188,315 | 272,809 | 455,239 |
| Toys | 809,120 | 929,864 | 2,030,089 |
| Trunks, valises, and traveling bags | 505,331 | 251,562 | 528,396 |
| Type | 219,491 | 117,596 | 122,666 |
| Typewriter ribbons | 304,693 | 301,765 | 460,463 |
| Vegetables | 6,936,400 | 10,813,151 | 15,952,412 |
| Vulcanized fiber, and manufactures of | 854,642 | 383,148 | 674,619 |
| Wood and manufactures of | 103,179,640 | 49,787,303 | 60,707,229 |
| Wool, manufactures of: | | | |
| Wearing apparel | 2,148,235 | 9,108,900 | 19,368,501 |
| Woolen rags, all other, total | 4,790,087 | 27,327,451 | 53,983,655 |
| Zinc, and manufactures of: | | | |
| Ore | 559,785 | 138,071 | 12,277 |
| Dross | 29,084 | 557,247 | 164,649 |
| Pigs, bars, plates, and sheets | 247,864 | 20,067,306 | ..... |
| Spelter, cast in pigs, plates, slabs, etc.— | | | |
| Produced from domestic ore | ..... | ..... | 32,121,992 |
| Produced from foreign ore | ..... | ..... | 6,173,285 |
| Zinc, rolled in sheets, strips, etc | ..... | ..... | 6,363,452 |
| All other manufactures of | 158,344 | 1,176,629 | 1,208,426 |
| Total (except ore and dross) | 406,208 | 21,243,935 | 45,867,156 |
| All other articles | 7,683,774 | 11,616,243 | 24,358,585 |
| Total value of exports, domestic merchandise | 2,329,684,023 | 2,716,178,465 | 4,272,397,774 |

## Socialism.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to submit an address by Rev. Luther Roberts, of Ada, Okla., delivered on the 20th day of April, 1916, on the subject of "Socialism and religion":

A STUDY OF THE SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY AND PROPAGANDA.

[An address by Rev. Luther Roberts, of Ada, Okla., delivered before the district conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Oklahoma, Apr. 20, 1916.]

A few years ago I was placed on the program of our summer school of theology to discuss "Socialism and religion." At the time many asked, "What has the church to do with socialism?" The question was variously answered by men who had given little or no thought to the socialist movement. Some of them were sure it was a harmless political agitation, and as such would soon cease; others, that while it was only a political agitation, it was pitched upon a plane which made it injurious to the public peace and morals; still others, that beneath it lay a corrupt and pestilent philosophy, the progress of which ought to be checked. If we could so define socialism as to confine it within the limits of a purely political movement, without harmful elements, we would be relieved of the duty of taking it into the Christian pulpit; but since we can not so define it, but find, on the other hand, that it is indeed a corrupt and pestilent philosophy, we have but to consult our ordination vows to see our duty in the premises.

In seeking a definition of this great movement, I have confined myself to the recognized leaders within the movement; in no instance have I gone to those who speak from the outside. In the light of the knowledge which I have gained from a somewhat familiar acquaintance with those on the inside, I want to venture the following definition, and hazard the prophecy that you will never hear it denied by any competent authority: Socialism is, in politics, republicanism; in economics, communism; in religion, atheism. No definition of socialism is adequate which does not measure off the whole of human life. Socialism is a philosophy; it was a philosophy ages before it wrote a political platform or conceived a political program. There is a general lack of correct information with regard to the real spirit and fundamental claims of this movement, and it is due to the fact that men have looked upon it as a political movement, a recrudescence of populism.

Now, Socialists hold some things in common with the Populists, also with the Democrats and Republicans; but it is not these things with which we are here concerned. It is only when socialism invades the religious and ethical realm that we deem it advisable or proper to speak.

There is one socialism, but many organizations, as there was one Israel, with many surface divisions of tribes. What is fundamentally true of one branch of socialism is true of the whole movement. Every Socialist Party on earth is based upon the principles and committed to the program set forth in the Communist Manifesto, the birth cry of modern socialism and the recognized international platform of the movement. That this one socialism is essentially atheistic and anti-religious is a common charge, and the charge is easily supported by the utterances of the majority of Socialist leaders in every country in the world. It may be objected that such utterances are but the private opinions of certain individual Socialists, and this objection might have weight were it not for the fact that organized socialism has picked up these utterances and published them to the world as a necessary outcome of Socialist philosophy. And when it is shown that the philosophy of socialism makes necessary this antireligious attitude the reasons for the frequent socialistic attacks upon religion and the church are manifest.

For propaganda purposes the Socialist papers and agitators will tell you that socialism has nothing to do with religion; but if you will turn to their literature you will find that they have said more about religion than any other subject, with the possible exception of the woman question, and that question itself, from the Socialist standpoint, involves a discussion of religious authority. Now, the fundamental of socialism is "economic determinism," i. e., economic causes have produced the present system of organized society with its prevailing ideas of philosophy, history, economics, government, morals, and religion. This doctrine grows out of the materialistic conception of history, which bears the names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of modern revolutionary socialism.

It is a theory of social evolution, and the conception is borrowed from the Darwin and Wallace theory of organic evolution, and while a great many intelligent Socialists are not willing to go so far, the vast majority of the leaders make it economic fatalism. With one voice do they declare that the existing order has been reached by certain methods of producing and effecting the exchange of the necessities of life, and that the Socialist state will be reached by the same route.

The philosophy of determinism was familiar to the Greek philosophers some centuries before the Christian era. Democritus developed in his system the atomical theory of the origin of the universe; i. e., the world was formed by the eternal motion of an infinite number of invisible atoms "which differ from one another in form, position, and arrangement, and which have a primary motion which brings them into contact, and forms innumerable combinations," resulting in the phenomena and productions of nature. Other philosophers elaborated this scheme, attributing to the atoms a certain determining quality, impelling them to a given development, bringing the world to its present stage without the intervention of a first cause. Thus the world came and thus the world is ushered on by the cold dead hand of this atheistic fatalism.

In elaborating their theory, Marx and Engels, both being uncompromising atheists, wove their atheistic dialectics into the very foundations of the "cooperative commonwealth," the communistic dream of socialism; and to remove the atheism is to wreck the commonwealth. It is not charged here that socialism is atheistic because Marx and Engels were atheists, but because as a movement it accepts and proceeds upon the atheistic dialectics of Marx and Engels. When Marx said that "The religious world is but the reflex of the real world" he meant to exclude religion from the Socialist philosophy. But he said more. He said, "Christianity, like all religions, is but an expression of material conditions, a direct outcome of social relations, the unsubstantial image of a world reflected in the muddy pool of human intellect."

Practically every Socialist of any consequence in the Marx party who has written on social economics has written from the standpoint of the atheist. The leaders, from the beginning, have been bitterly anti-religious. This is not denied by the ordinary rank-and-file Socialist. Isolated persons connected with the Socialist movement have not been selected to show that socialism is committed to atheism. The charge is made emphatically that the overwhelming majority of Socialist leaders the world over have preached and do preach atheism as a necessary part of Socialist doctrine; that their works are published, advertised, and sold as Socialist literature by Socialist publishing houses, and indorsed and defended by the leading Socialists of the world. The charge is further made that the Socialist literary classics are the dirtiest literature in print to-day.

The International Socialist Review, published in Chicago and edited by Charles H. Kerr, who is also manager of the Socialist publishing house, is blatant in its atheistic teachings. Its editor has published a little pamphlet entitled "The Folly of Being Good." From the Socialist standpoint "being good" is the height of folly.

Ernest Belfort Bax, the prophet of British socialism, is considered authority by the Socialists the world over. In his Religion of Socialism, Scribner edition, page 52, he says:

"In what sense socialism is not religious will be now clear. It utterly despises the 'other world' with all its stage properties—that is, the present objects of religion."

Again, on page 97, he says:

"As to the ethical teaching of Christ, with its one-sided, introspective, and individualistic character, we venture to assert that no one acquainted with the theory of modern scientific socialism can for one moment call it socialistic."

Mr. Bax ridicules the idea of "Christian socialism, so called," and calls it an "attempt to pour new wine into old bottles." Speaking of so-called Christian Socialists, he says, page 98:

"Our Neo-Christian friends may, without any special inconsistency, refuse to be saddled with 'Semitic myths,' or may even contend * * * that the Christianity they profess is independent of the canonical Hebrew Scriptures considered as a whole. But surely they, at least, must be prepared to stand by the accepted character and teaching of their titular founder. It is surely fair to confront them with this. Now, it is upon the ground of this traditional character and teaching that we are prepared to join issue with them when they assert its socialistic nature. We can readily understand the charm it exercises on certain minds. We know that inherited tendencies, upbringing, and the like, all conduce in sensitive natures to clothe with the rich and glowing hues of their own beauty and emotion a shadowy figure, in which those who have divested themselves of these tendencies and view things with the colder eye of impartiality see at best a weak but impulsive personality. But it is only natural that these latter should resent with some indignation the continual reference of ideal perfection to a semi-mythical Syrian of the first century when they see higher types, even in some now walking this upper earth, but in vulgar flesh and blood and without the atmosphere of 19 centuries to lend enchantment to them.

'How many are there not and have there not been in the modern Socialist movement who do their work, give up their all, without posing as Messiahs, but choosing rather the better part of sinking their individuality in their cause?"

The above blasphemous screed is not from an ignorant, irresponsible soap-box howler, but from the pen of one of the great Socialist leaders of the world. To say it has no authority in Socialist circles is to fly in the face of all Socialist philosophy and study. To repudiate Bax and claim to be a Socialist is like repudiating Paul and claiming to be a Christian. Saddling Bax on the Socialists is like saddling Paul on the Christians. Bax is recognized in Socialist circles as one of the greatest exponents of Socialist philosophy in the entire movement, as Paul was recognized in the early church as one of the greatest exponents of Christian doctrine; and the Socialist who denies his authority is either ignorant of the history and doctrines of Socialism or willfully misstates the facts. In the chapter on "The capitalistic hearth," pages 136–145 of the volume just quoted, Mr. Bax makes a vicious attack upon religion and the family. He speaks as follows:

"The throne, the altar, and the hearth—the political emblem, the religious emblem, and the social emblem—have long constituted the mystic trinity to which appeal is made when popular class sentiment is required to be invoked against influences disintegrative of the status quo. * * * Beneath throne, altar, and hearth in their present form all Socialists know that there lies the market. They know that the market is the bedrock on which the throne, the altar, and the hearth of the nineteenth century rest, and that this bedrock shattered the said throne, altar, and hearth are doomed."

He further says of the home: "We defy any human being to point to a single reality, good or bad, in the composition of the bourgeois family. It has the merit of being the most perfect specimen of the most complete sham that history has presented to the world."

"There are no holes in the texture through which reality might chance to peer. The bourgeois hearth dreads honesty as its cat dreads cold water."

Again he says: "The transformation of the current family form, founded as it is on the economic dependence of women, the maintenance of the young and the aged falling on individuals rather than on the community, into a freer, more real, and, therefore, a higher form, must inevitably follow the economic revolution which will place the means of production and distribution under the control of all for the good of all. The bourgeois 'hearth,' with its jerry-built architecture, its cheap art, its shoddy furniture, its false sentiments, its pretentious pseudoculture, will then be as dead as Roman Britain."

Bourgeois class means the middle class of society, the moral and religious strength of the world, the support of religion and patriotism in every nation on earth. Of course, if socialism can succeed in tearing down the altar and the hearth of the middle class, there is some hope of organized insanity and debauchery taking possession of the world.

If there is any one thing prominent in socialist teaching, it is this, that Christianity is the religion of the capitalist class, established for the sole purpose of bolstering up the monogamic family and the private ownership of property. In order to destroy private property, socialism would destroy the home, the family; in order to destroy the family, it must destroy Christianity, the influence which it holds responsible for the maintenance of the private family. And to the complete overthrow of these sanctities the current socialism is solemnly pledged, if the plain statements of 90 per cent of its world leaders are to be taken seriously.

In Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome, by Morris and Bax, page 13, is found the following, which serves to strengthen the charge here made:

"It is necessary that a certain code of morality should be supposed to exist and to have some relation to the religion which, being the creation of another age, has now become a sham. With this sham, moreover, its accompanying morality is also steeped, although it has a use as serving for a cover of a morality really the birth of the present condition of things, and this is clung to with a determination or even ferocity natural enough, since its aim is the perpetuation of individual property in wealth, in workman, in wife, in child."

Most men since Plato who have believed in a community interest in property have believed also in a community interest in women. Since the monogamic family springs from a "sham religion," the aim of which, according to socialism, is to perpetuate the private ownership of property, the family can not be destroyed without destroying first the "sham religion." Keep in mind that the "system" referred to by the socialist propagandist means the whole of the existing order. On pages 17–18 of the volume just quoted we have this:

"In this brief survey of the various phases of modern life—its family relations, morality, religion, politics, and art—the reader who has not yet studied socialism may see nothing but pessimism."

From the foregoing quotations, it is plain that socialism has something to do with religion. I give here a statement from August Bebel, the prophet of German socialism, and one of the great leaders of the movement. He summarizes the Socialist program in the following words:

"We aim in the domain of politics at republicanism; in the domain of economics at socialism; in the domain of what is called to-day religion, at atheism."—Bliss's "Handbook of Socialism," page 211. Mr. Bebel is the author of that great Socialist work, "Woman Under Socialism," published, sold, indorsed, and defended by Socialists everywhere, and which fairly reeks with the degradation and debauchery of Socialist philosophy—the work of a disordered brain and a depraved heart. On page 353 of this work he utters himself as follows:

"It is natural that with the full-blooded Yankee the leading rôle be played by the 'dear God,' who after all is but the product of historical development. Hypocracy, or perhaps also ignorance in matters that concern religion, is nowhere as stupendous as in the United States."

Again, on page 145, he speaks of the church as the natural outgrowth of the "system," and places it in the same class with prostitution:

"Prostitution thus becomes a social institution in the capitalist world, the same as the police, the standing armies, the church, and wage mastership."

The Case Against Socialism, page 342, quotes the following from the Sozial Demokrat, the official organ of the German Socialist Party:

"As a matter of fact, it must be candidly avowed Christianity is the bitterest foe of social democracy. Just as so utterly dunderheaded a religion as Christianity could only strike root at all 2,000 years ago in a humanity that had completely degenerated, so ever since its efforts have always been directed not, as one might suppose, to rid the world of misery and destitution, but rather to use them for its ends and as a cloak for its other vices and enormities. When God is driven out of the brains of men, the whole system of privilege by the grace of God comes to the ground, and when heaven hereafter is recognized as a big lie, men will attempt to establish heaven here. Therefore, whoever assails Christianity assails at the same time monarchy and capitalism."

The above is true socialist philosophy, in that it considers Christianity as a necessary part of the present system, and, further, in that it makes atheism necessary to socialism. The triumph of socialism hinges on driving the idea of God out of the minds of men. Signor Ferri, the great Italian socialist, states that "the absence or lessening of the belief in God is one of the most powerful factors in the extension of socialism." (Socialism, Positive and Negative, pp. 48–51.)

In the June, 1908, number of the International Socialist Review, the leading publication of the American party, Isadore Ladoff, in an article under the caption "Socialism and mysticism," makes a bitter attack upon religion. Under a subtitle he treats religion as "The common enemy: Religion, the foe alike of the freethinker and the Socialist." Let us notice a few passages from this article:

"The priests invented theocracy in order to establish their class rule over the unreasoning masses of humanity, scared by hell and damnation, and coaxed by paradisiacal bliss into submission and obedience.

"The overwhelming majority of Socialists are freethinkers. (They only do not believe in the wisdom of arousing religious antagonism, having to contend with a great deal of antagonism, having to contend with a great deal of antagonism of all imaginable kinds.) * * * The struggle is on between materialists, freethinkers, and Socialists on the one side, and the church and the exploiting classes on the other. That there are freethinkers who are not logical enough to be Socialists, and that there are some Socialists who are not inconsistent enough to imagine themselves to be Christians, proves only that men are not always logical and consistent.

"If all freethinkers would have the courage to discard their middle-class prejudices and take the trouble of studying up Socialism sine ira, they would soon find that freethinking means scientific thinking, not only on religion, but likewise on social-economic matters, and that Socialism is nothing else but the result of such thinking."

Since the days of Marx and Engels, organized socialism has had to face the question of religion. Atheism is nowhere more pronounced than in the socialism of Germany, and for years the German party has carried in its platform a plank committing the movement for purposes of political expediency to a position of neutrality on questions of religious belief. The religious plank was written and run through the national convention by atheists of the most uncompromising order—atheists who treat atheism as a necessary part of Socialist philosophy. But atheism was not getting votes and was impeding the progress of the movement among the masses. What is true of socialism in Europe is true of socialism everywhere. The American party has in the past few years been compelled to consider the question of religion in its relation to socialism. The question came up in the national convention in Chicago in 1908, and a plank was offered for adoption as a part of the national platform. Here I offer some extracts from the speeches of the delegates in that convention on the adoption of the religious plank:

Delegate Lewis: "I am among those who sincerely hoped the question of religion would not be raised at this convention. I am willing to concede so far that we shall let sleeping dogs lie. I know that the Socialist position in philosophy on the question of religion does not make a good campaign subject. It is not useful in the propaganda of a presidential campaign, and therefore I am willing that we should be silent about it. But if we must speak, I propose that we shall go before this country with the truth and not with a lie. I believe in Socialist scholarship, and I voted to have scholars on this platform committee in that sense; men who understand the Socialist philosophy, and we have at least half a dozen on the platform committee who know that the question of religion is a sociological question; it is an anthropological question; it is a question of chronology; it is a question of economics; it is a question of theosophy. There are few domains of modern thought that do not directly affect the question of religion. And when you say that it is merely a question of private conscience you fly into the face of the science and learning of the day. Now, I do not propose to state in this platform the truth about religion from the point of view of the Socialist philosophy as it is stated in almost every book of standard Socialist literature; but if we do not do that, let us at least have the good grace to be silent about it and not make hypocrites of ourselves."

Rather than lie, as the platform declaration does, Delegate Lewis preferred to be silent.

Delegate Hillquit: "The fact that Comrade Lewis, as a scholar, as a student of psychology, of history, of ethics, and of everything else, has in the domain of religion come to the position of an agnostic, and that 99 per cent of us have landed in the same spot, does not make socialism agnostic, nor is socialism Christian, nor is socialism Jewish."

Ninety-nine per cent of their students in pursuing their philosophy have become agnostics; yet socialism is not agnostic!

Delegate Unterman: "Comrades, no one will accuse me with any sympathy with Christianity, either as a church or as a religion. I am known in the United States as a materialist of the most uncompro-

mising order, but I want it clearly understood that my materialist philosophy does not permit me to strike this plank out of the platform. I want it understood that my materialist dialectics do not permit me to forget the exigencies of the moment for our ideals in the far future. * * * The Socialist platform in Germany has carried this same plank for years, and the man who wrote it was the most uncompromising materialist in Germany, Karl Kautsky. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were surely known as uncompromising Socialists, and they agreed with this platform. Would you expect to go out among the people of this country, people of different churches, of many different religious factions, and tell them that they must become atheists before they can become Socialists? That would be nonsense. We must first get these men convinced of the rationality of our economic and political program, and then after we have made Socialists of them and members of the Socialist Party, we can talk to them inside of our ranks, talk of the higher philosophy and of the logical consequences of our explanation of society and nature."

The intention to go out among the people of this country and deceive them as to the attitude of the Socialist philosophy toward matters of religious belief as taught in standard Socialist literature is apparent. Every person at all acquainted with the Socialist philosophy, so called, knows that it is based on the "frankest and most outspoken revolutionary materialism," which certainly commits international socialism to a position of hostility to all religion.

Delegate Unterman further said: "This declaration that religion is a private matter does not mean that it is not a social matter at the same time. It merely means that we shall bide our good time and wait until the individual is ready, through his own individual evolution, to accept our philosophy."

Delegate Farrell: "Cut out the question of religion altogether. I know that there have been men of practically every denomination known on the American continent in my local, and the question of religion has been discussed, and it has not benefited us one whit."

Delegate Strickland: "If we have a common social origin, if both religion and social democracy have a common social origin, and if economic determinism be true, and if the moral and ethical principles of society be based ultimately upon the manner of economic production, how dare you then say that we have nothing to do with religion!"

Delegate Herman: "So far as Christianity is concerned, yes; we are opposed to Christianity."

A number of preachers of the various Protestant denominations sat in that convention through the long-drawn-out attack on religion, and only one opened his mouth, the Rev. Mr. White, delegate from Massachusetts, and here is, in part, what he said:

"I am perfectly frank to say to you that Christianity as some Christians understand it to-day is bound to go under. It has got to go down."

After a long debate the "religious plank" was adopted, and here it is:

"The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

We must consider the word "primarily" as it appears in the platform. In the light of what the leaders said on the subject we can only place the same construction on the word as here used that we are forced to place on the word "immediate" as used in their list of political demands. Socialism does not believe in the political state as at present organized, and their political demands are only for immediate use, as a means of getting votes. Political government they propose to use simply as a means of getting into power, a scaffold to be used in the period of transition, after which it will be cast aside as so much rubbish. Of course, matters of religious belief can have no place in a purely political program; this is the political stage, and you may be a Christian, a Confucianist, a Mohammedan, until the time when the workers seize the whole power of political government. "Primarily" the last vestige of the system of "mine and thine" must be swept away and the system of "ours" will take its place. But take warning here. The word "primarily" means that they do not "forget the exigencies of the moment for their ideals in the far future." For the present you may have all the gods you want, so you confine them to their temples.

Delegate Berger (later Congressman), of Milwaukee, is willing to bear the blame for bringing up this matter of religion in the convention. And he voted for the adoption of the plank. Yet he said, "I am known not only in Milwaukee, but wherever our papers are read, as a pronounced agnostic." Berger's agnosticism he considers a necessary part of his socialism, and he speaks with the voice of authority in the American party.

The 1912 platform carries no religious plank, but the report of the executive committee of the National Lettish Organization, one of the foreign-speaking organizations under the wing of the American party, in its report to the national convention gives expression to its religious feelings as follows:

"In order to put a check upon the deadly influence of the teaching of the church upon men's minds, it is necessary to disseminate knowledge about nature—a task which has been entirely neglected in this country. In destroying superstition about nature, we take away one of the foundations on which every religion rests * * *."

"Science is the best antidote against religion. When science comes in, beliefs and creeds must give way. Instead of belief and faith, we put conviction based on freedom of conscience. Freedom of conscience is broader than freedom of belief. It includes both freedom of belief and freedom of nonbelief. A man can believe what he will. He may not believe anything. * * * The ethics of socialism and religion are directly opposed to each other. Christianity preaches brotherly love for all. Socialism discriminates among classes. It preaches the class struggle among those whose interests are opposed. It does not create the class war, but it does explain it, while the church tries to conceal it. * * * Socialism bases all its ideals on this 'sinful world'; the church can not help preaching about some other world. * * * The church puts its stamp of approval (good) or disapproval (bad), according to some superhuman ethics, dictated by a being unknown to mankind. * * * As long as the gods remain confined to their temples they can cause no direct harm to the class struggle." (Proceedings National Convention, pp. 247–248.)

Mr. Robert Blatchford is one of the most popular writers in the movement. His writings are published by the American party, and thousands of his books are sold annually to the masses in this country. Mr. Debs speaks of him as "the inspired evangel" of social emancipation. In his work, "God and My Neighbor," page 143, he thus compares the Socialist doctrine of determinism with the doctrines of Christianity:

"If you wish to realize the immense superiority of the determinist principles over the Christian religion, you have only to imagine what would happen if the determinists had a majority as overwhelming as the majority the Christians now hold."

He says again, page 145: "A religion built upon the doctrine of free will and human responsibility to God is built upon a misconception and must fail. Christianity is a fabric of impossibilities erected upon a foundation of error."

Again, page 189: "I oppose the Christian religion because I do not think the Christian religion is beneficial to mankind, and because I think it is an obstacle in the way of humanism."

In beginning the last chapter of this volume, he says: "I have been asked why I have gone out of my way to attack religion. * * * In reply I beg to say that I have not gone out of my way to attack religion. It was because I found religion in my way that I attacked it; that I am working for socialism when I attack a religion which is hindering socialism." And the closing sentences of this Socialist classic are as follows: "Let the holy have their heaven. I am a man and an infidel. And this is my apology. Besides, gentlemen, Christianity is not true." Thus writes "the inspired evangel of social emancipation."

Socialists have in nearly all the larger American cities what they call "Socialist Sunday schools," with lessons for children prepared by the masters. The New York City Mission and Tract Society has translated a catechism, published by Geringer, of Chicago, for use in the Bohemian socialistic-anarchistic schools. A few excerpts from this catechism will throw further light on the Socialist propaganda:

Question. What is God?

Answer. God is a word used to designate an imaginary being which people of themselves have devised.

Question. Did Christ ascend into heaven?

Answer. He did not; what the church teaches is a nonsensical fable, because there is no heaven and there was no place to ascend to.

Question. Is Christianity desirable?

Answer. Christianity is not advantageous to us, but harmful, because it makes of us spiritual cripples. By its teachings of bliss after death it deceives the people. Christianity is the greatest obstacle to the progress of mankind; therefore it is the duty of every citizen to help wipe out Christianity. All churches are impudent humbugs.

Question. Should we take the name of God in vain?

Answer. Yes: because the name of God has no meaning.

Question. Is adultery a sin?

Answer. It is not a sin, because intercourse with the opposite sex is natural to every person.

This is as far as I will pursue the study of The Little Catechism, as many of its utterances are too vile to read before an audience of civilized people.

But, pursuing this phase of our subject a little further, I beg to introduce again Mr. Bebel, whose authority is nowhere denied in Socialist circles. On page 343, Woman Under Socialism, he gives us a glimpse into the "free society" of the future, so dear to the hearts of all the Socialist leaders:

"Under the proviso that he inflict injury upon none, the individual shall himself oversee the satisfaction of his own instincts. The satisfaction of the sexual instinct is as much a private concern as the satisfaction of any other natural instinct. None is, therefore, accountable to others, and no unsolicited judge shall interfere. How I shall eat, how I shall drink, how I shall sleep, how I shall clothe myself is my private affair; exactly so my intercourse with a person of the opposite sex."

Davidson, in The Old Order and the New, page 164:

"All unions shall be unions of affection and esteem, and children, as of old, will primarily be the children of the mother. Her right to select the father of her children will be absolute. In such a society all children will be equally 'legitimate,' and the Seventh Commandment will become practically obsolete."

But, to come closer home, I offer here an excerpt from an editorial appearing in an Oklahoma Socialist publication. One of our preachers asked what would become of the home, the family, and the Christian religion under socialism, and this Socialist paper answered thus:

"If socialism does not eventually do away with the home, the family, the marriage relation, and the Christian religion as we now have them, as well as private ownership of property, then we hope the people will sidetrack socialism and send it direct to hell without change of cars."

The Comrade, a Socialist paper published in New York, says editorially:

"The ethics of Christianity, like its practices, are characterized by a monstrous disregard of common life. Christianity and tyranny are, and for ages have been, firmly allied. * * * There is no wrong, however terrible which has not been justified by Christianity, no movement for human liberty which has not been opposed by it. Its very basis is a lie and a denial of the basic principles of socialism."

Truth, a Socialist organ of San Francisco, says:

"When the laboring men understand that the heaven which they are promised hereafter is but a mirage they will knock at the door of the wealthy robber, with musket in hand, and demand their share of the goods of this life now."

Wilhelm Liebnecht, an international figure in the Socialist movement, says: "It is our duty to root out the faith of God with all zeal, nor is anyone worthy the name who does not consecrate himself to the spread of atheism."

A recent article in a leading American magazine closes with these words: "The civilization of social democracy will never befoul itself with Christianity."

George D. Herron, once a gospel minister of prominence, but who is now a Socialist leader, recently wrote in the Advance as follows: "Christianity stands to-day for the lowest and basest in life. The church sounds the lowest note in human life. It is the most degrading of all our institutions, and the most brutalizing in its effects on common life."

George D. Herron got so full of socialism that he forsook the wife of his youth and the children of that holy union, and shocked the civilized world by a "socialist wedding," in which he and a young female agitator stood up in the presence of a number of the American party and were "married" without license or priest, each of them avowing in that public manner the "love" which they had previously enjoyed in private. Socialism is the only movement in the world that offers a defense and a sure refuge for such moral lepers as Herron. This is the man who wrote the platform for the American party in 1904, and so acceptable was his work and so in keeping with socialist ideals was his conduct that he was placed on the international committee and is now residing in Italy.

You will note that the greater part of this address is taken up with quotations from socialist authorities. I have gone to the proper sources for my information, taking the plain statements of the leaders as to the aims and purposes of socialism; and if I have misinterpreted the movement and charged against its doctrines and policies that which it does not avow, the fault is with the leaders and not with me. If the Socialist Party wishes to disavow the doctrines here charged against it,

the only way to do it is to stop flooding the world with those publications which hold in contempt all divine laws and the civil restraints which are placed about the dark passions of mankind. In every nation on earth socialism is against God, the church, and civilization; against all rule and authority. It spits upon all the flags of Christendom and calls them dirty rags. It points to the thrones of all the worlds, and says they are without authority. It opposes Godship, priestship, kingship. It sweeps the universe and leaves it empty.

The Rev. John Wesley Hill, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, speaking of Christian socialism, so called, says:

"And now arises under this blatant and blasphemous system, appropriating the magic touch of Christian ethics, filching the shining garments of Christian truth, the so-called Christian socialism which, like an infection, is permeating academies, colleges, social and ethical organizations, and is invading the Christian Church itself. But may we not in all candor ask, 'How can a system which denies the religion which he taught, which regards that religion as ignorant superstition, and declares that there is nothing for Deity to do, be made to harmonize with either the spirit or teaching of Christ?'"

Its philosophy literally seizes the Almighty by the collar and pulls Him out of the skies. There is no more a Christian socialism than there is a Christian atheism, and the time is ripe for this farce which is being played under the title of "Christian socialism" to be branded in plain terms as a system of hypocrisy, treason, and gruesome materialism, and hissed from the stage.

There is no more a "Christian socialism" than there is a Christian atheism, and its irreligious basis stands exposed by its recognized leaders everywhere. "Its sophistry and duplicity are revealed" by the public utterances of its chosen exponents in the highest places.

It is the concentrated degeneracy of hell and utter darkness, which would overthrow the existing order, shatter the foundations of the home, and lay waste the noblest and most cherished institutions of Christian civilization.

## American Protection.

A proper policy for safeguarding of both our natural and our human resources.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. NICHOLAS J. SINNOTT,

OF OREGON,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. SINNOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to print extracts from speeches of Hon. Charles E. Hughes on "American Protection," delivered at Nashville, Tenn., September 4; at Lexington, Ky., September 5; and at Cincinnati, Ohio, September 5, 1916:

AMERICAN PROTECTION.

[From the speeches of Charles E. Hughes at Nashville, Tenn., Sept. 4; at Lexington, Ky., Sept. 5; and at Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 5, 1916.]

It seems to me that we are entering upon a very important period in our history. When I look on the other side of the Atlantic I see millions of people engaged in fighting. They have withdrawn from the ordinary occupations of peace. They are not making goods except as some of them are making munitions of war and endeavoring to supply the armies in the field and to do the best they can with their restricted output to care for their own national life. But to a large degree enterprise is halted while this awful struggle goes on.

There will come a time when that struggle will cease. Then the millions of men now in the trenches will return to work. Then there will be a great increase in the productive capacity of every one of these nations. These nations have learned themselves. They know more of their own resources and capacity than ever before in their existence. They are equipped with discipline and self-knowledge for the pursuits of peace as they never have been equipped before. A new Europe will emerge from the battle fields of the present day. A new United States must confront a new Europe in the commercial rivalry of the future. We must take a long look ahead and decide what is best for the American people. We must decide it calmly. We must decide it deliberately. We must decide to face the facts and realize that the great questions are economic questions, that they are business questions which will touch the life of every man, woman, and child in this country.

I take a very broad view of the situation, knowing that we ought to plan not for a few years, but for a long period. We must, therefore, take account of the human resources of this country and protect human life and improve human conditions to the utmost of our ability. We must safeguard the children of our people and prevent their being exploited too early in the industrial struggle. Years ago when I had the privilege of being the executive of New York I presented to the legislature measures for the restriction of child labor. A series of measures was enacted to the great benefit of the State. In the interests of the future of our race we desire to protect the women of our Nation from being exploited too arduously in industrial life.

SAFEGUARD THE TOILERS.

Further, I believe that we should safeguard in every possible way the safety of men toiling with their hands. We should provide so far as possible measures designed to insure sanitary and wholesome conditions of work. I believe in reasonable hours of work, in provision for old age, in doing all we can to make the persons in this community and every other through our land feel that they are fellow workmen cooperating together in a prosperity in which they share justly for the upbuilding of the United States and the diffusion of contentment and happiness.

In connection with any matter in which both the Federal Government and the States have activities, I have always thought that the Federal Government's board or bureau or organization ought to be a pattern for the entire country. It would not be possible for me to-night to suggest in any detailed way how we ought to avoid clashes between State and Nation in the development of the great prosperity which this country should have and which it can not have without stability. But one of those ways, and a very important one, is to have the Federal bureau or board that deals with the subject the most competent possible and its administration as thorough as possible, so that by the very force of the direction of its ability and competency State boards and bureaus will be led to pattern after it and a desirable uniformity thus secured.

We have laid at the present time a very just emphasis in this country upon the compensation law. I do not know of anything—and I speak as one who has been a judge—that is more of a reproach to our country and our system of jurisprudence than the wastefulness of our present negligence system of law. We have delays; we have the uncertainties of jury trials; we have invitations to perjury; we have contingent fees, so that those who emerge successfully from this very uncertain hazard of litigation divide the recovery in a very large measure with attorneys. My view is—and I think it is the view of the intelligent students of this labor problem—that in a hazardous occupation the risk of injury should be regarded as a risk of the business and dealt with by adequate and fair compensation laws.

I believe that we should have not simply compensation laws for those employed by the Government, as is provided by the bill now before Congress, but that we should have adequate and fair compensation law with respect to those engaged in hazardous occupations in the course of interstate commerce, and therefore subject to Federal control. Congress, it may be said, has legislated for employers' liability in the case of railroads and has greatly perfected our negligence law. But it has not gone far enough. As we look to this new economical era upon which the United States is entering we must, in my judgment, get rid of the wastefulness of our present system and put protection to the life and limb of the laborers of this country upon a sound basis by wise compensation laws, Federal and State.

ARBITRATION OF DIFFERENCES.

I will say further that I believe there is no grievance with respect to labor that can not be settled by a fair, candid examination of the facts. In the past we have had to deal frequently with the opposition of employers to the principle of arbitration. Sometimes they have refused to arbitrate disputes. Public opinion has been against them. I believe in arbitration, and I stand here firmly for the principle of arbitrating all industrial disputes, and I would not surrender this position to anybody in the country. I believe that anything that is right in this country can be settled right. What is our great republican Government? What are our free institutions? We have come down the long course of history with the people fighting slowly, slowly, now with defeat and now with victory, for a recognition of the reign of reason instead of a reign of tyranny and force. We have emerged into a great country, peopled with intelligent men and women. We have educational opportunities on every side. We have an alert electorate. We have people who understand expertly all the various activities of our life from every possible side.

Now, then, I stand for two things: First, for the principle of fair, impartial, thorough arbitration; and, second, for legislation on facts according to the necessities of the case. And I am opposed to being dictated to either in the executive department or in Congress, by any power on earth before the facts are known and in the absence of the facts.

We have a great country and a great future; but it can only be preserved in one way: That way is the way of honest, fair investigation and candid treatment. Show me the way that is right and I will take it; but I will not take any way that I do not know anything about.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

I am here to declare to you as my sober judgment that I do not think the prosperity of this country can be maintained without the application in a fair and faithful manner of the doctrine of protection to American industry.

If we are to have any social justice, any measures of improvement in this country, we must first have conditions of prosperity. This country in its industrial mechanism is like a watch. It is not so difficult to get it out of order. You create a little misapprehension and distrust; you create contraction, an unwillingness to go ahead with new enterprises, and what do you have? You have unfailingly a reduction in output. That means a closing of factories and failure to extend plants and failure to add new plants. You have a condition then where men, instead of having plenty of work to do, are thrown out of employment. We can not stand that in this country. We must have conditions under which American enterprise goes ahead or we do not accomplish anything for labor, for capital, for anybody on earth; because to accomplish anything for anybody we must have stable conditions under which enterprise can go forward.

Now, then, to return to what I said a moment ago, we have on the other side millions of men now fighting who a little later will go back to their industries. They will try to pay their bill—their war bill—by goods. You need not suppose that because of the war they are wasted and unable to work. The actual loss in life is not so great as you may think. It is great enough. No one deplores the carnage more than I. But back of that there is an ability and discipline, a trained talent, which will be counted on the business side when the nations of Europe return to work.

What are we to do? Are we to be deceived by our present conditions of trade? Why, the fact that these millions over there are fighting and not producing goods opens the avenue for all kinds of American supplies. Our breadstuffs, our woolen stuffs, our manufactures of steel, our manufactures of all kinds, our horses, our mules, our harness, our hay—every kind of thing that we produce has been going abroad in vast quantities, simply because this demand was created by the withdrawal from the ordinary course of production of all these men who are fighting. There is no doubt on earth but when they return to production we shall have greater reason than ever before to look after our American industries.

Does anybody suppose that the American people are so lacking in memory that they have forgotten what took place after the passage of the present tariff law and before this great demand caused by the European war arose? Why, there were 300,000 men out of employment in New York City alone. There was not a great State in this country where the jobless were not walking the streets.

REVENUE TARIFF NOT AMERICAN DOCTRINE.

You need not talk to me about a tariff for revenue only. I do not care what your politics are. I say that is not an American doctrine and you can not live under it in this country.

We must have common sense about these matters. If men are paid a higher rate of wages in this country than they are paid abroad in producing the same article, that article can come in cheaper than our article can be made and sold, and it stands to reason that our article is not going to be made and sold and that the foreign article will take its place.

Do not misunderstand me. Nobody is going to get a tariff for any selfish purpose in opposition to the public interest if I can prevent it—not a bit. We ought, however, to be able to frame our laws in such a way that we can use the power of government to foster and encourage. It is perfectly idle to say that all that is necessary for business men is to increase their skill, is to increase their efficiency. I am very glad to see every increase of skill and efficiency; but there is a limit, and when you have a wage scale against you, when you have conditions of living against you in a particular kind of manufacture or production or agricultural pursuit or any legitimate activity, you have a right to reasonable protection against the destruction of your industry or activity in favor of cheaper paid labor abroad.

I am for a protective tariff, honestly devised, because it protects the American workingman and keeps employment for him. I am for it because it enables new industries to be established. We have learned in this war that we need to safeguard our economic independence, and we ought to do it.

I am for it because in many cases it enables industries to be maintained which otherwise would close their doors. In this new economic era I want to see American enterprise go forward.

STANDS AGAINST MONOPOLY.

I have stood as much as any man in this country, and I say it without rashness, for the maintenance of the public interest against any kind of combination or monopolistic practice, against every effort to cheat the public out of its rights. I came into public life through that door, and I have held up that flag ever since as a public man. I would leave the platform before I would surrender it for a moment. But I count it possible in this country, with all its strength and people, its finely developed men and women, its natural and human resources—I count it possible to be able to foster and encourage American enterprise and legitimate business and to free it from arbitrary restrictions that do not help the public interest, but merely stand in the way of what is right and fair for the benefit of all the American people.

Our opponents don't believe in a protective tariff. I am going to read you the Democratic platform. Four years ago our friends said:

"We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue."

That is a doctrine which is not in accord with our interest. I don't think we are going to get any improvement along that line. I believe, if we are going to have the doctrine of protection applied in such a way as to safeguard the interests of this country and put us in a proper condition to meet the economic struggle after this war is over, it must be applied by those who believe in it. That is my judgment.

BUILD UP INDUSTRY.

I wouldn't have any satisfaction in addressing the electorate in my present capacity if I didn't think we could really do something to build up the United States. I have pointed out the cardinal doctrine, the application of which can be made in every community. You can go through this broad land as I have in the last few weeks and you can see in the different States enterprises and activities which need to be fostered and encouraged by proper protection against unfair competition with underpaid labor abroad; and I submit, after you have calmly reflected upon it and have thought what condition we are going to be in when Europe turns to peace, that we do need that doctrine faithfully applied in this country.

MAINTENANCE OF AMERICAN RIGHTS.

I want to say these further words: I stand for the maintenance of all American rights on land and sea, without fear or favor or hesitation.

We have had occasion in the last three years to consider our duties to our citizens. We have had in connection with the Republic of Mexico, this situation: The question was not whether we should recognize Huerta or withhold recognition of him. The question was not of our humanitarian aspirations. If you are going to have humanitarian impulses in connection with international affairs, you must be careful to be correct in their application, and to do what you ought to do, and not to do what you ought not to do. The first necessity in connection with Mexico was to assure the fact that the lives and property of American citizens should be protected. That was the first duty. That is a primary duty. It doesn't make any difference what you think of Mr. A or Mr. B, whether you think he is a good man, or worth much, or not. American citizenship is not a cheap thing; and no matter how humble the individual who holds it, this country must protect him in his rights as an American citizen.

The trouble in our relations with Mexico is this: That we had a clear duty to perform in protecting our people and we did not perform it. We left our people to be murdered in Mexico, their property to be destroyed. It was not a question of recognizing or not recognizing Huerta. We could have said to him:

"We won't recognize you unless you have a stable government; unless you can perform your international obligations. Unless you have a real government that can furnish protection, we will not recognize you. If you have such a government, we will, but not otherwise."

That was not the point. We not only failed to recognize Huerta, but we proceeded to dictate our control over Mexican politics. We said that Huerta should not be a candidate even at a Mexican election. No Mexican could understand that. We said in the same breath, "We are not interfering with Mexican affairs." Nobody in the world could understand that.

Some of our men from a ship, men who had gone ashore at Tampico, were arrested. They were at once discharged and full apology was made. But our admiral demanded a salute. The administration said there should be a salute. Congress was appealed to for authority to use the armed force of the Nation. While this was pending in Congress, a ship loaded with ammunition for Huerta was about to go into the port of Vera Cruz. Instantly we ordered our ships to Vera Cruz, and, of course, that was war; and, of course, it was intervention—both

of the plainest kind. A battle ensued. Several of our boys were killed; several hundred Mexicans were killed. What happened? Did we get any salute? Not a bit! Was the ammunition prevented from reaching Huerta? Not at all. It simply went to another port and we allowed it to go in. We got no reparation.

WOULD HAVE PROTECTED AMERICANS.

Meanwhile—and this is the sorry part of it—meanwhile, the Mexicans became so incensed at our interference with their affairs that they treated our people within their borders with the greatest indignity. Many of our people were massacred and hundreds of them gathered near our ships at Tampico, thinking they were going to be rescued. But conditions had arrived at such a pass that our admiral did not dare to go to relieve those people, because he was afraid that our citizens in the outlying districts would be put to death; and so British and German warships took off at Tampico the American citizens whom we did not dare to rescue.

Now, these are all well-recognized facts of history, my friends——

A VOICE. What would you have done?

Mr. HUGHES. What would I have done? I would have protected American lives!

If we start out with a clear program that we are not going to interfere with people's affairs, that they can, as we profess, manage their own affairs so long as they perform their duties to us, and maintain protection of our people in their lives and property, then they do not disrespect us. Every man respects that. No one is contemptuous of you because you protect your own. Every nation understands that. But you can not mingle interference with the affairs of another country and at the same time profess noninterference, and leave your own citizens unprotected, without creating a very bad state of feeling.

We wish well to Mexico. We want her to have a stable government, and build up, and we want to help them. But there, as well as throughout this hemisphere and throughout the world, it must be understood by all—and the path of peace for us is in the way of that understanding—that this Nation, as every other great nation on earth, will protect the lives and the property of its citizens. That is policy that can never be surrendered and maintain the honor of the American name.

AMERICAN PROTECTION.

I desire to see not only the policy of protection—a proper policy for the safeguarding of both our natural and our human resources, not only the policy of safeguarding the rights of American citizens, but I desire to see a reasonable preparedness in this country. I mean military preparedness. I am not militaristic. I do not think there is a corporal's guard in this country for militarism. We are a peaceful people, devoted to the pursuits of peace. We want to go on and achieve our destiny, as I have said, with an enduring prosperity. But we must have, in the opinion of the world, a proper preparation suited to our defense. And I would have our defense adequate for every emergency.

I have the highest honor for our boys who are summoned to do duty in connection with the trouble on the Mexican border. They have responded to the demand with a fine patriotism, and everybody in this country wants to back them up in their patriotic willingness to serve this land. We have got to have more of that high spirit in this country, for it is a case of obligation and not simply one of rights; and I hope the time will come when everybody in this country will feel it an honor to be ready for the service of the country.

But I do think that we ought to have a Regular Army large enough to do police duty, to keep bandits from crossing our border, without calling our men who are citizens in the ordinary pursuits from shops and factories and professions, to do that duty. This country is great enough, without being accused of fostering a militaristic spirit, to have a Regular Army adequate for the ordinary police duties, just as we are not called out of bed in a great city to put out fires or to police the streets.

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[From the address made by Charles E. Hughes in the Auditorium, Lexington, Ky., Sept. 5.]

It is a rare pleasure to visit this State, and particularly as the spokesman of a reunited party, a party inspired by its highest ideals, reconsecrated to its noblest purposes, the party of Abraham Lincoln, the Kentuckian!

I have spoken that honored name in connection with the party under whose auspices we meet to-day; but I do not forget that that name is cherished by all Americans, irrespective of party. It is no longer simply a party name. It is the name of a great American whose fine nature has satisfied our American ideals and our conception of the demands of American citizenship. I therefore am glad to come to the home of Abraham Lincoln, the peerless American.

What was it perhaps more than anything else that distinguished him and has given him his eminence? It was that he incarnated the spirit of the plain people of this land. Endowed with extraordinary ability, having a remarkable clarity of judgment, wise in policy, far-sighted in statesmanlike vision, he was the interpreter of the heart and the thought of the plain people of America.

No American feels a stranger to him because of his greatness. He is brother to us all. He is kin to the humblest, because he interpreted the spirit of the plain people.

What is that spirit? It is the spirit of reasonableness, it is the spirit of fairness, it is the spirit of generous thought and judgment, it is the spirit which demands the rule of calmness and reason and repudiates the demands of oppression, of tyranny, and of force.

We have a new spirit abroad in these recent days in America. It is the spirit that demands legislation in advance of investigation. It is the spirit that demands executive action and congressional action in advance of an examination of the facts upon which such action should be based. It is the spirit that says, "Legislate now and investigate afterwards!" It is the spirit of force. It is not American.

In the bottom of my soul I desire fair dealing in this country between man and man. There is no one more anxious than I that there shall be equity in connection with all our relations. I want to see our human resources conserved by wise and intelligent action. I want to see every particle of class antagonism vanish in the presence of the application of just principles. I want to see our men knit together in a common fellowship. I want labor to have safe means of work, sanitary conditions of work, wholesome opportunities for recreation, reasonable hours for work, fair wages, provision for old age. I want what is reasonable for labor.

There is one thing that underlies all, and that is that in our efforts to secure what is just that we keep the priceless institutions of this land which distinguish us as a free country and separate us from all the autocracies of the world. It may be very important that here or there there shall be a change in the wage scale. I know not. It is a matter for careful examination. I should be the first to recognize any demand that is just. There is something that precedes any demand, however, and that is the willingness to abide by the results of reason. It is the demand that when we do anything in this country we should understand the way we travel, where we put our foot down, and never surrender to any force of any kind.

It is, as the future will unfold, our priceless heritage that we have a country where intelligence reigns, where there are many opportunities of education, where we are trying to stamp out every abuse working against our institutions. We prize the rule of informed public opinion. We submit ourselves, with respect to our greatest national concerns, to the arbitrament of the public judgment every four years. We submit our arguments; tell what we think and desire to be done. Then we go to the polls and express our convictions, and then every American citizen, whether he is victorious or defeated, goes home satisfied and reason rules. But the day must never come—and I regret to say we have gone very far toward that day—when we shall have any action under pressure instead of on a consideration of the facts.

We can not in this country secure a proper basis for enterprise in the economic change that is about to come to us unless we apply the doctrine of protection to American industries. I speak freely of that doctrine in this home of Henry Clay, the great apostle of the doctrine of protection, he who followed the principles initiated by Alexander Hamilton and laid broadly the foundations of the coming prosperity of the country. It was Abraham Lincoln who said, in 1859, "I was an old Henry Clay tariff Whig. I have not since changed my views." The party of Lincoln is the party of protection, as Lincoln himself was a believer in protection.

Let me read to you what was said by the Republican platform of 1860, upon which Lincoln was elected to office. It reads as follows:

That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and employers adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence.

That was the platform of Abraham Lincoln. That is the platform of the Republican Party. Nay, more—and I hope I am addressing men here who are not of my political party as well as those who are—that is the American platform on which business must stand in this day if we are going to meet the economic necessities of the coming future!

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[From the address made by Charles E. Hughes in Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 5.]

First, I stand for the application, without abuses, as early and as scientifically as possible, of the doctrine of protection to every legitimate American enterprise; and, second, wherever in this country we can open an avenue to honorable achievement, wherever we can make easier the course of honorable business, I am for that course.

I have stood faithfully for the enforcement of laws in every activity connected with the public business. We have stood for the prevention of abuses, for preventing any man or set of men from taking advantage of the public by any monopolistic practice. We must stop that.

I am also for this—for honest American business, with an open door and no arbitrary, no unjustified restraints. It is time in this country that we took account of stock and endeavored in every way to build up American industry and enterprise.

I want to see our Nation prepared, want to see it in a state of preparedness from every point of view—social, industrial, and military. I think this great Nation should be ready for every emergency. That is not aggression. We have no aggressive policy. We desire nothing but our just rights. We covet nothing to which we are not lawfully entitled. We are a peaceable people, but we are an indomitable people, and the old spirit that got us this Nation and saved it is still in our hearts.

We are all loyal American citizens, of whatever race or creed, and we have but the one country, and we all love it. I am for absolutely safeguarding the rights of our American people on land and sea throughout the world.

I desire to see efficiency in our national life. I want to see every one of our departments handled under the most competent leadership. The time has come, as I have said repeatedly, when we can not be content with easy and indifferent efforts. In the twentieth century we face new conditions, when we must justify ourselves among the nations of the earth by proving the competency of free institutions. I want to see in every department of our Government the very highest standards of administration. I want to see in every bureau the best obtainable men; I want to see Federal bureaus a pattern for State bureaus in those States where the State has a bureau corresponding to that operating in the national field. I want to see all the agencies of our intercourse equipped in such a manner as to protect our interests and American talent.

Go through the land as I have gone through the land in the last few weeks and you will see that we derive strength from every race. We have the strength of a composite people. We draw, and have drawn, the best from every clime. We have a fine patriotic spirit. Now, what we need is to direct that spirit to those demands for intelligent administration along the lines which give us freedom from waste and extravagance; along the lines that will give us a sound businesslike administration. It is not necessary that under free institutions any public business should suffer. And I want to see in our American life those fine ideals carried into achievement. I mean the betterment of human life, the betterment of living conditions.

When I was in New York, in executive office, I did my utmost to secure in our labor laws and otherwise such conditions as would promote these ends. We must remember we are all fellow workers. I deprecate any class antagonism. We may have our differences of view here, but we must have a sense of cooperation, a recognition that we are all working together, and a feeling that our laws are so just and our administration so correct that everybody takes pride in his citizenship and feels that prosperity attained is reasonably diffused.

I am for the just interests of labor. I am for the peaceful settlement of all disputes. I am not for arbitrary action. I am for that which makes up the peace and the prosperity of this great patriotic people.

Your chairman said I was called without seeking the nomination. That is very true. I was contented in my work. I appreciated its importance and desired to remain in it; but there was a summons which could not be responded to save in one way. I responded, in view of the way it came, eagerly and enthusiastically. While I care nothing for the titles of office, I am filled with an intense desire to serve the people of the United States, if they want that service.

**Observations and Facts.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. J. THOMAS HEFLIN,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to submit some observations and facts in reply to a statement recently made and published by Congressman FESS, a Representative from the State of Ohio. Mr. FESS is the publicity chairman of the Republican national congressional committee and is preparing and sending out statements to be used to influence the voter in the coming election.

Mr. FESS comes from Ohio, the home of the loved and lamented McKinley, who did so much to heal the wounds of war and bind the sections together in the bonds of a loyal love.

Mr. FESS is willing to reopen the wounds and destroy the feeling of good will and friendship now existing between the North and the South. He is willing, and those in management with him are willing, to hoist the bloody shirt and appeal to passion and to prejudice in order to obtain votes. They have shown a willingness to disturb the growing friendship between the sections and to injure the country if by doing so the bosses of the Republican Party can again get control of the Government.

Mr. FESS, speaking, I suppose, for the Republican congressional committee on publicity, begins his statement, appealing to sectional prejudice, by saying, in substance, that the Union soldier now sees the entire Government which he saved under full control of the States which attempted to destroy it. Did he know better when he made that statement? Is he ignorant of the facts, or is he willing to make misrepresentations about a situation upon which he is willing to create bitterness and hate between the sections in the hope that he can influence the voter to cast his ballot on considerations of this character?

To appeal to sectional prejudice in our day is a mean and despicable thing. It stamps the man who does it as an unpatriotic citizen and a political renegade.

Mr. FESS in his effort to stir up strife between the North and the South says that "the Government is under full control of the Southern States." If that were true and the Government was being conducted well, should Mr. FESS be permitted to make an issue of it simply because the men in authority and serving their country happen to live in the South?

Does Mr. FESS desire that men trustworthy and well qualified to fill Government positions shall be discriminated against because they live in the South?

Is it good taste in Mr. FESS when he votes for many of the measures advocated by southern men to wait until Congress adjourns to kick when it is too late?

President Wilson's father and mother were both born in Ohio, and while President Wilson was born in Virginia his parents were northern people.

Of the 10 Cabinet members only 3 live in the South.

Of the Supreme Court judges only two of them come from the South.

The Speaker of the House is a westerner, and the Sergeant at Arms is an Ohioan.

While southern men are chairmen of some of the most important committees a majority of every one of those committees comes from the section north of Mason and Dixon's line. In fact, on most of them where the South has the chairman there are 7 members from the Southern States and 12 from the Northern States. So the fact is the northern members on these committees can always out vote the southern members if, according to Mr. FESS's idea, they must be arranged against each other rather than for all to be working for the good of our great reunited country.

The southern Members who are chairmen of House committees were entitled to the promotion received under the seniority rule which has obtained for years and years under Democratic and Republican control, and the fact is the Democrats who became chairmen when we carried the House were given the rank which entitled them to the chairmanships by a Republican speaker who knew at the time he appointed them, ranking Members from the minority, that they would be chairmen of the respective committees if the Democrats should carry the House.

Not only that, but when the Democrats got control they elected the chairmen and all the other members of the House committees. The Ways and Means Committee nominated the members and they were recommended to the House, and the House ratified or rejected the chairmen and the members. The present chairmen of committees who happen to live in the South were elected to the positions they hold. Democrats and Republicans alike voted for them. There was not a dissenting vote; no Republican lifted his voice in protest. They were unanimously elected. Mr. FESS even lost his opportunity to appeal to sectional bitterness, a feeling, thank God, long since dead. Mr. FESS never told the country that the Democratic House elected JOHN KEY, of Ohio, the son of a Union soldier, chairman of the Committee on Pensions. He did not tell the country that we elected Gen. SHERWOOD, of Ohio, a general in the Union Army, chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and that under this same Southern-controlled House, as he would have the country believe, we have passed the most liberal pension laws ever enacted in behalf of the Union soldier.

He did not say in his statement that we elected a blind Union soldier Chaplain of the Democratic House, and yet every Democrat from the South voted to elect these northern men to the positions that I have mentioned. Ill does it become Prof. FESS to undertake to harrow up sectional feeling now about a condition that he helped to create, or permitted to be created, without one word of protest from him or any other Republican. Verily the Republican Party is hard pressed for an issue.

I appeal to every man who loves his country to rebuke the man and the party that is willing to sacrifice the highest and best interest of the country upon the altar of political greed and desperation.

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## The Democratic Tariff Law—How It Was Made and What It Did.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. GEORGE M. BOWERS,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. BOWERS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted by the House I insert in the RECORD the following statement, written by Hon. James B. Reynolds, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and a member of the Tariff Board, entitled:

THE DEMOCRATIC TARIFF LAW—HOW IT WAS MADE AND WHAT IT DID.

The Underwood tariff law was framed upon a theory discredited by public distress and private suffering, whenever, during the last 60 years, any attempt was made to carry it out. Our people can not be placed in direct competition with the peoples of Europe, whose standards of living are much below ours, and still maintain the American standard. Direct competition with Europe, without protection to our industries and labor, means that Americans must reduce their standards of living to nearly those of Europe; and every such reduction is an injury and a privation.

The Ways and Means Committee, which made the bill upon the lines laid down by President Wilson, consulted neither producers nor employer of labor. Few, if any, of the men who framed the law had any personal knowledge of the problems that must be faced and solved by the American producer. They were unacquainted with the conditions and the competition that the farmer and manufacturer must meet and overcome. They could prove a complete alibi if charged with any knowledge of the industrial world anywhere. To them an excursion into the realm of factory and workshop, into the vital problems of production cost and comparative wages of this country and the lands across the seas, into the consideration of the handicaps of the American producer would be but another journey of "Alice in Wonderland."

Nor did the Underwood committee seek knowledge from those who possess the information which they themselves lacked. At the scant hearings that were given upon the subject there was little intelligent effort to get facts. It was a hazing process to any producer who was daring enough to appear and say that he was in favor of protection to American industry. In every possible way the committee members tried to belittle such testimony when given and to make the witnesses uncomfortable. These witnesses were restricted to a bare 15 minutes—with the future of their business at stake—and then even this time was used up in the introduction and discussion of questions entirely foreign to the problems in hand.

The tariff verdict of this committee was accepted meekly and supinely by the Democratic Party. The bill framed in this manner passed both branches of Congress to the crack of the party whip.

The result was natural and inevitable—a tariff law that is faulty in construction, illogical in its development, filled with contradictions and ambiguities, wrong in principle, and vicious in practice.

TARIFF BOARD.

Owing to the enormous diversification of our modern industrial life, the Republican Party has recognized the increasing need of more thorough and scientific methods in the preparation of tariff legislation. The inadequate and hasty consideration of tariff bills offered by the Democrats in the Sixty-second Congress and of the Underwood bill of the next Congress could not have resulted otherwise than detrimental to American agriculture and manufacturing interests.

As pointing a better way, the platform of 1912 indorsed the creation of a tariff board by President Taft, and condemned our opponents for a failure either to provide funds for its continuance or to make some other provision to secure "the information requisite for intelligent legislation." Such a board, free from the pressure of political and other influences, could gather information regarding every industry here and abroad, could tabulate this information and lay it before Congress to form the basis for legislative action.

FROM SPECIFIC TO AD VALOREM DUTIES.

The Democratic Ways and Means Committee set its inexperience and ignorance against the judgment and experience of the expert tariff makers of the world. It substituted, wherever possible, ad valorem duties for specific duties, when it is a well-recognized fact that the more scientific the tariff the more specific duties it contains. Under ad valorem duties the door is always open to frauds and undervaluation. There is, too, a still greater handicap to the American producer in the fact that such duties give him the least protection at a time when he needs it most. A duty that depends upon the value of the goods alone means that in good times, when prices are high, the duty will be high, and in hard times, when prices are low, the duty will be low, and the American market thrown open to a flood of foreign-made goods.

At one time the Democratic Party had a doctrine and a slogan of free raw materials, but out of the Wilson-Underwood school of thought came a new doctrine—that the finished article should be free of duty and the raw materials which go into it, and which must be obtained abroad, should be taxed. This is simply applying to the tariff the operation of burning the candle at both ends.

Calmly standing astride two horses traveling in opposite directions, the Democrats declared that their law would both keep up the prices which the farmer receives and reduce the price which the consumer pays; that the market basket must not be taxed, yet the interests of the farmer must be guarded. They might as well have declared that hereafter all omelets should be made without breaking the eggs, and that anyone failing to accomplish this shall be declared inefficient by that great authority on the subject of inefficiency, Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, and punished therefor.

A SECTIONAL AND CLASS TARIFF.

The Democratic tariff law is sectional and class legislation. Its two guiding stars were advantage for the South in gratitude for favors received and an appeal to the consumer of the North, hoping for favors to come. If it is not a sectional bill, and so intended, why are the only textiles put upon the free list those that are used by the cotton planter and the cotton-seed oil maker of the land of Dixie? Why is bagging for cotton made free and the same bagging for the products of the North made dutiable? Why is a piece of metal cut to lengths, painted and fitted with buckles, made in the North for baling southern cotton, put on the free list and the same piece of steel, without being manufactured at all, left with a duty? Why is there a grading of the cotton yarns and cloths made in the South, while the woolen yarns and cloths of the North are thrown helter-skelter into one group? Why is the rice of the South dutiable and the fish of the North free? Why is the wool of the North free and the hair of the Angora goat of Texas protected by a duty? Why is the tobacco grower of the South guarded and the northern raiser of farm products left at the mercy of his Canadian rival? There is but one answer. Upon the sea of congressional legislation the Democratic compass points always to the South. It is class legislation, for it discriminates deliberately and directly against one class in the United States, and that class is the producer—the man who labors long and well to make the American product the equal of any in the world.

THE TEST OF THE NEW LAW.

Fortunately for the cause of protection to American industry and unfortunately for the Democratic Party there was a real and accurate test of the new tariff and a comparison with its Republican predecessor before the beginning of hostilities abroad, which has temporarily put an end to normal importations.

The price that the American producer paid for the privilege of living under the new tariff is $1,000,000 a day more of foreign competition for him to face in the market of the United States. According to Government statistics there was an increase in value of foreign goods brought into the United States of $26,000,000 a month, or $1,000,000 a day for every working day of the month.

This foreign merchandise is brought to this country to be sold. By just the amount of the increase in importation will there be a loss of market to the American producer. By just so much will the sale of American goods in the American market fall short of the sales for the same period under the Republican tariff law. An additional competition of $1,000,000 a day faces the American producer so long as the Democratic tariff law remains on the statute book and European conditions are normal. And the loss and the injury that result from this will be felt in the workroom of the mill as well as in the counting room and will reach the northern farmer in his fields.

NO REDUCTION IN COST OF LIVING.

Has there been any reduction in the cost of living to offset this new competition? Have the army of consumers received a benefit in lower prices? Has the man who buys his goods over the counter of the retail store obtained them for less? There has been no such change. The new tariff has produced results only on one side of the ledger. The increased importations under the new law means merely so much yardage cut from the American textile mills, so much tonnage taken from the products of the steel mills, so much less a market for the products of the farm, so much less demand for goods made by the American producer, so much less demand for American labor, with a resultant loss of the purchasing power of the whole citizenship of the United States.

The trade figures of the Government just previous to the breaking out of the European war show also a grievous fact as to our export business. As the result of the new tariff our normal foreign exports not only did not increase, but we were losing part of the trade we already had. For the seven months of the Democratic tariff law, from January 1 to August 1, 1914, the exports from the United States to foreign countries showed a falling off of $127,000,000, an average of $18,000,000 a month, and nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars every working-day of the month, as compared with the same months of 1913 under the Republican tariff law. The very bad feature of these figures is that our export showing was progressively bad under the present law. Beginning with April, the decrease was so great

that the balance of trade ran against the United States and continued to do so until the end of the fiscal year.

FROM A FAVORABLE TO AN ADVERSE BALANCE.

In our foreign trade under the Payne law the favorable balance was over $650,000,000. For the last decade and longer our favorable balance of trade had averaged about $500,000,000 annually. Beginning with April, 1914, this excess of exports was entirely wiped out. In other words, a favorable balance of trade averaging over $500,000,000 annually, and which has enabled us to pay our foreign obligations, which fully equal that amount, was changed to an adverse balance. We saw the effects of this change in our foreign trade by our exports of gold, which amounted to $100,000,000 during that year, and this, be it understood, before the outbreak of the European war.

But the ignorance and incompetence shown by the Democratic Party in its destructive tariff legislation is not its only offense against the prosperity of the people and the welfare of the country. Before it came into power it was exceedingly vociferous in denouncing public expenditures. Since it came into power, its prodigality is monumental. It has wasted, and is wasting, the substance of the people in riotous living. It has appropriated great sums for useless purposes, while denying to legitimate objects adequate support.

ADDITIONAL TAXATION.

And then, finding the Treasury lacking in funds to pay for their extravagance, and being unwilling to deny themselves the unwonted luxury of spending other people's money, and incapable of a scientific adjustment of expenditures to income, they use the strong arm of the war power to levy a war tax when we are at peace with all the world. Hundreds of millions of dollars were wrung from the people in this way, and additional taxes will be added to those already demanded, if the Democratic Party is not deprived of power.

CURRENCY EXPERIMENT.

When none of the promised benefits appeared from the tariff legislation, it was stated at the White House that a new magna charta must be given to our banking and currency system—credit was to be set free from the "shackles which made it the slave of the Money Trust"—and as soon as this great piece of legislation was passed the waters of prosperity were to gush forth as though their source had been smitten with the rod of the prophet. When this vital and intricate subject was taken up for consideration the bankers' associations and the greatest experts on banking and currency in the country exerted themselves to the utmost to secure the inauguration of the best possible system. They thought that the magnitude of the fiscal interests of this country deserved the best possible system, as demonstrated by the banking experience of the nations of the world.

Again the inspired denunciations issued from the White House—the Money Trust, it was said, was in a conspiracy to discredit and thwart the banking inexperience and intuitive expert knowledge of the President and his advisers. Rather than engage in a contest with their own Government, and fearing to add to its hostility against them, the bankers and commercial institutions of the country were compelled to accede to a banking and currency system that does not satisfy.

Already this currency law, announced by Mr. Wilson and his colleagues as wonderful and perfect, has been found to be sadly lacking in essential features. Already Congress is called upon to make amendments to it in order to put it in good working condition.

Mr. Wilson's second cure for the business depression of the country did no good. It could not. What system of currency can be devised that will eliminate the factor of a decreased market for the American producer? How can the establishment of any number of Federal reserve banks prevent additional importations from coming to the United States? What the country needs is more business, not more currency, not more banks. William McKinley well told the story when, in 1896, he said: "Open the mills instead of the mints."

BUSINESS LEGISLATION ALSO A BLUNDER.

Then President Wilson announced that a trio of laws to regulate business would cure the trouble. Apparently he forgot the important fact that legislation alone is not a panacea for lack of success, and that no act of Congress, no policy of the administration, can create character. Thrift can not be secured by law. Property rights can not be disregarded and personal rights remain secure. The persecution of the one at the pesent time means the ultimate violation of the other. Production and transportation can not be arrayed against each other if either is to prosper. The dividend of the employer can not be taken away and the pay envelope of the wage earner remain. Profits and pay rolls are inseparable companions.

In enacting business legislation the Democratic Party was dealing with matters beyond their mental limitations and their experience. In their anxiety to produce more wealth and different distribution, and in their ignorance, they took the risk of killing the goose which lays the golden eggs of prosperity. They were crystallizing into law their limitations and their prejudices. Instead of furnishing safeguards to industry against unfair business methods, they would place shackles upon legitimate business and enterprise.

It is not the capitalist that is most concerned in this legislation. There is the stockholder, the man or woman who owns a comparatively small number of shares of stock of American corporations. In the United States there are 4,000,000 individual holders of corporation securities. The average holding of these securities is about 90 shares. This is the army of men and women whose property is at stake in the new laws, those who have invested their savings, whose small holdings represent the only fruit of hard toil and rigid economy. The new business legislation is filled with radical defects. Its enforcement will mean the punishment of the innocent with the guilty; that is, it has the characteristic Democratic quality of lack of constructive wisdom.

DON'T BLAME IT ON THE WAR.

It is the present hope of Democracy that the European war will so take up and fill the American mind as to distract it entirely from thoughts as to what the party in power has done in its 40 months of rule.

Such a hope is not flattering to the American people. It is not a people which is in the habit of permitting the accident of to-day to offset the premeditated offense of yesterday. The voter of the United States has a habit of remembering, not of forgetting, especially when he has real reason to keep certain facts indelibly in mind. A depleted purse is a great aid to memory. Unfortunately for the Democratic Party, their record was made up before the war began.

Their economic policies had proven wrong, their leadership has blundered and failed, and ignorance and prejudice had already stained their legislation.

PARTISANSHIP AND SPOILS.

The business of the country was injured by Democratic acts. The smooth-flowing current of commerce was checked and the industrial prosperity of the Nation diminished. Their tariff law was a benefit to none but the foreign producer. Their attempt to regulate trade resulted only in hampering it. The record of administration was the rule of partisanship and spoils. There was procrastination instead of action, and violent haste where mature consideration was demanded. No foreign war cloud is dark enough to hide the business depression that Democratic incompetency brought about.

The absolute necessity for the prosperity of the American producer is the control of his home market. Without that mooring place he is the sport of every trade wind that blows. Under the present Democratic tariff law he is losing this home market. That law must be changed if there is to be given to American production the necessary anchor to windward when the foreign trade winds blow wrong and strong.

Another vital condition is that individual effort in the United States shall not be unfairly checked and confined by such hostile legislation as is being enacted by the Democratic Party. If success is to bring with it penalty and punishment, which seems to be the underlying Democratic principle, the American citizen will be so handicapped at home as to be unable to take advantage of opportunity abroad.

The well-being of the country is demanding the restoration to power of the party of construction in place of the party of destruction. There has been more than enough of beautiful theory and glittering platitude. The rule of rhetoric has had its day. There is no longer awe or curiosity about such soulful things as "the new freedom" and "the constitution of peace."

## Coercion Is Un-American.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. PATRICK D. NORTON,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to extend my remarks I desire to insert in the RECORD the following address delivered by Hon. Charles E. Hughes, at Lewiston, Me., on September 8, 1916, in which is announced some fundamental American principles of representative government which will be well for all to bear in mind:

COERCION IS UN-AMERICAN—SPEECH OF CHARLES E. HUGHES AT LEWISTON, ME., SEPTEMBER 8.

It is very gratifying to come to this industrial center. So far as I am concerned, there is no interest to which I am more deeply attached than the just interests of labor. As I look into the future, I see no interest that needs more careful attention, more sedulous conservation. We can not survive under free institutions where enterprise is the very life of the community unless we have a sense of fellowship and a pride in workmanship, unless the dignity of labor is universally recognized and it is the aim of the community that the conditions of labor shall be entirely just and wholesome. Those who think that American opportunity means the winning of little citadels of individual success where, remote and secure, one can hold up the public on the highway of traffic and intercourse to exact tolls for individual emolument, without regard to the public advantage, are not Americans and have no proper place in our scheme of life.

PROTECTION OF CHILDREN.

I believe that we must be more solicitous than we have ever been in protecting our human resources. I believe in the principle of protecting children from being too early subjected to the struggle of industrial life. You would sometimes think that the present administration had discovered children and that the first efforts to prevent child labor under improper conditions and at an improper age were made since March 4, 1913. Why, nine years ago in the State of New York I began to present various suggestions and recommendations for the protection of children, and act after act was enacted in that great State, and of course similar action was taken in many other States in the Union for the purpose of preventing the exploitation of children. I do not minimize the importance of the child-labor bill now in Congress. It affects, however, only about 150,000 children. There remain 1,850,000 children yet to be dealt with by proper State legislation. It is a question for all carefully to consider, and, without impairing the credit due to any, let us recognize the fact that the Republican Party for years in many, many States has been in the forefront in this important effort to secure our human resources by protecting child life.

We want the protection of women to secure the future of the race. We want to have labor in every department of activity properly safeguarded. I thoroughly believe in the importance of reasonable hours, in the importance of fair wages and the maintenance of just and decent standards

of living, in opportunity for education and wholesome recreation. I believe in provision for old age. I want to see our workmen throughout this land contented. Of course, we will have subjects to discuss, but I want to see our workmen throughout this land—because the conditions of labor as to safety, as to sanitation, as to wholesomeness, as to hours, as to wages, as to everything that goes to furnish the basis for decent living—satisfied because of the justice of the laws under which they work, the fairness manifested to them by all who employ, the general spirit of the community emphasizing the dignity of labor, and the feeling that we are together in this country trying to work out in a fair way a common destiny, where prosperity will be assured, shared by all, or it will not exist at all.

HIS LABOR RECORD.

As this is a great labor center, and as I believe my labor record has been attacked here, I am going to read what the official organ of organized labor in New York said about my labor record after I left Albany to go to Washington. I read it with great satisfaction. It is complimentary, but it is true. It was written at a time when I supposed and they supposed that I had left forever the political field. It was an outburst of candor, and it may be put alongside those prejudiced and partial outbursts which are now intended to poison the minds of the electorate.

This is what the Legislative News, the official organ of organized labor in New York, said in October, 1910, just after I had resigned the governorship of that State:

Now that Gov. Hughes has retired from politics and ascended to a place on the highest judicial tribunal in the world, the fact can be acknowledged without hurting anybody's political corns that he was the greatest friend of labor laws that ever occupied the governor's chair at Albany. During his two terms he has signed 56 labor laws, including among them the best labor laws ever enacted in this or in any other State. He also urged the enactment of labor laws in his message to the legislature, even going so far as to place the demand for a labor law into his message to an extra session of the legislature. In all, 162 labor laws have been enacted in this State since its erection in 1777. One-third of those exceeding in quality all the others have been enacted during Gov. Hughes's term of three years and nine months.

A FRIEND OF LABOR.

If anybody rises in this country to say I am not a friend of labor, he knows that he is not telling the truth. I simply wish this, however, that in all these matters we should endeavor to be fair-minded.

I do not agree with all that labor proposes. I disagreed when I thought demands were made which were not equitable. I fought, for example, the full-crew bill. It applied generally to all railroads in the State. It was admitted upon the argument before me that in some cases it was not needed and it would require the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars unnecessarily. I said I could not sign a bill like that. We had a public-service commission where complaints could be entertained and orders could be made which were properly adapted to the exigencies to which they relate.

CAN NOT YIELD TO FORCE.

What is wanted in this country is fairness and justice. Nothing else. Therein I speak on behalf of labor as much as on behalf of any portion of our citizenship. I speak on behalf of American institutions themselves when I say that we should never legislate in this country under the demands of pressure and in response to force before we know the equity and justice of what we are doing.

When we have a grievance, the thing to do is to examine the basis of it; examine it fairly, thoroughly, promptly. If anybody says you can not get a fair examination, that person indicts the intelligence and honesty of the American people. Of course we can get a fair examination. Of course we can get a prompt examination. We are the most intelligent people on earth, I submit. Our educational opportunities are unparalleled. Our electorate is alert. Our people are informed by a thousand sources of information. We are constantly busy with public discussion; with reading and study. There is nothing in this country—and that is our security—there is no question that can be raised in this country that can not be settled right if you go at it in the right way.

To say that we must yield to force, is the counsel of despair. We might as well end our form of government if we are to enter upon that path of disaster. It won't do, fellow citizens!

MUST INVESTIGATE BEFORE ACTING.

There has never been, so far as I can recall, a more important issue presented to the American people than that recently presented. I say that when there is an industrial grievance, it should be submitted to the peaceful settlement of examination and decision according to the facts. I say the investigation must precede legislation. We can not have Congress acting on the demand of the Executive before it knows what it is doing and with the whole American people looking on aghast at such an abandonment of Executive prerogative and of congressional duty! I yield to no one in my desire to have these matters settled equitably. The bill to which I have referred carried on its face, in large warning, the declaration of its own defect. It proceeded absolutely to impose a wage scale, and then to direct that somebody find out whether it had any business to do it.

I want to see fair wages and I would be the first to recognize a demand for fair wages; but the principles of American Government underlie every American enterprise, every contract, every opportunity of labor. Why, the laboring man of this country can no more take the chance of surrendering what has been won for public discussion, free government, and against arbitrary force than they can surrender the opportunities of their very existence! Those things are vital to labor, vital to every American citizen. I say let public officers stand like rocks for principles that are fundamental, come what will, and trust to the public judgment of this country to secure it from disaster!

MUST HAVE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

We want abundant opportunities for work in this country. We can not have them unless we foster American industry. I am glad to stand for the old Republican Party, reunited, reconsecrated, since in this economic era or in this time of economic problems that party has a peculiar right to serve the American people because it carries on its banner the words "Protection to American industry."

If our factories are going to be run full time, or run at all, if new enterprises are to be started, we must have reasonable protection against the lower paid labor of other nations.

The first thing that the workman wants is work. There is no social justice that can be erected on unemployment. There are no opportunities for good wages and good hours in mere agitation without enterprise and industry. You have got to keep your mill open before you can pay anything to anybody. You must have business increase before the opportunities of prosperity can be diffused.

We had a little case a while ago of the application of the doctrine of a tariff for revenue only. It closed shops; it threw hundreds of thousands out of employment. Throughout our land men were walking the streets looking for jobs. Does anybody suppose that the American people have forgotten what happened only a little more than two years ago? Why, the State of Maine is filled with men who know exactly what a tariff for revenue means. And if the State of Maine does not come forward at this time to support the party of protection, the party of prosperity, the party that does not depend upon the European war to help it out, I shall be very much surprised. It is for that reason that we want not only the success of the national ticket, but we want Congress; we want two Senators from this State; we want to secure a representation in the Senate and House that will enable us actually to apply the policies which I believe are essential to the enduring prosperity of this Nation. The time has gone by when we can sit indifferent.

AFTER THE WAR.

The tariff discussion of this day is not like some of the discussions of years ago. This is a very vital discussion. We are going to see nations emerge from this war with a tremendous incentive to pay war bills by production to the extent of their ability. They are going to emerge, despite the horrors and wastes of war, extraordinarily disciplined, extraordinarily efficient, with a wonderful self-knowledge and an extraordinary command of their resources. They are going ahead to produce to the extent of their ability. And America must prepare in peace, by its talent and the wise exercise of governmental power, to protect itself in order that our products may be made according to our wage scale, in deference to our standard of living instead of being flooded by products with which we can not compete because of a lower wage scale and a different standard of living. That is good common sense. And if the time ever was in an American community when an outright free trader or a believer in tariff for revenue only could explain his views plausibly to the American electorate, that time has gone by.

We know in this country from actual experience what we need and we propose that the great producing States of this country shall have a fair show by the application of sound American business principles.

AMERICA ALWAYS FIRST.

I desire furthermore that we shall not only protect the American scale of wages, that we shall not only protect our human resources by wise laws by the reasonable conduct of business, but

I propose that we shall protect the American name and our American honor throughout the world.

We draw our population from every country of the globe. We have here an extraordinary composition. We get the best in many ways of the peoples of the earth, in alertness, in intelligence. Our human material is of an extraordinary quality. That is one reason why we have progressed so rapidly. I take no part whatever with those who would look askance upon persons who have not come over quite as early as some other persons came. But I say this: That the only tonic that can give us power for our great work in this country is the tonic of American sentiment, which pays no regard, so far as love and allegiance are concerned, to any interest on earth other than the one great interest of Americanism, of the prosperity of the American people, of the honor of the American flag, and the protection of American rights.

We have a wonderful spirit of loyalty through the country. I have seen it manifested recently from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We want it directed. We want it emphasized. We must come together in a splendid appreciation of our national aim. We must come together, realizing our varied contribution, but intent upon American solidarity. We must come together in a demand that, while we want peace, we intend to maintain peace. Only an inexcusable blunderer could get us into war. Everybody wants to be friendly with us. But we shall always maintain our known rights with regard to every nation on earth.

It is not a question of whether A or B measures up to all you would desire of manhood. It is a question of American efficiency, priceless in itself; of American rights, priceless in themselves. No nation can maintain prestige and honor and get the driving power of progress from its people unless it is a nation which has an indomitable spirit—the fine spirit that we had in '76 and '61. It is the spirit that is not truculent. It seeks no trouble, it does not try to exploit anybody, it desires peace, it wishes security, but after all it is the American spirit which will not permit the people's rights to be trampled upon or American citizens to be murdered or their property destroyed!

I wish to see an adequate preparedness. I wish to see a consciousness of obligation on the part of all our citizens. I want to see patriotism in the departments of administration quite as much as on the Fourth of July. I want to see efficiency in every department of government. We must cut out all the evil abuses, we must be fearless in the detection of wrong, we must indeed conserve the wholesomeness of our governmental life. But we must foster and encourage every legitimate opportunity for American achievement in this century of economic rivalry. We must plan to go forward and take the lead. America must not be behind any nation on earth in efficiency or anything else.

Let us take a fresh start, having new birth of purpose and courage. Let us go forward with America first and America efficient!

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## SPEECH

OF

# HON. ATLEE POMERENE,

OF OHIO,

**Before the Democratic State Convention at Columbus, Ohio,**

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I congratulate the Democracy of Ohio on the record our party has made and is making. The future is big with promise. When we were in session on June 1 our leaders, neither National nor State, had been chosen. Since then the National Democracy in convention assembled at St. Louis, nominated Woodrow Wilson, that chief of American statesmen, and the brilliant Thomas R. Marshall, to head our national ticket, and on August 8 the militant Democracy of Ohio chose for our State leader Hon. James M. Cox, our governor who was and our governor who is to be—the man who makes promises to the people and who redeems them at par. On the ticket with him are such splendid names as Earl D. Bloom, for lieutenant governor; W. D. Fulton, for secretary of state; A. V. Donahey, for auditor of State; Chester E. Bryan, for State treasurer; and Joseph McGhee, for attorney general—all the names of men to conjure with. And your humble servant makes grateful acknowledgment for the nomination to succeed himself in the United States Senate.

Whatever of differences may have existed in our councils, if any, before the primary election, the Democrats of Ohio settled them upon that day, and all loyal Democrats will accept the verdict.

And now, sirs, the party to which we owe allegiance demands that every loyal Democrat shall fall into line behind our leaders, and under their banners march to success.

If one-half the reports which I have heard in Washington within the last two months be true, victory in Ohio and in the Nation is assured. The standard bearer of the Republican Party has been conducting a transcontinental tour. It has created little or no enthusiasm among Republicans. It has filled the hearts of Democrats with joy. The people will not change the realities of Wilson for the prophesies of Hughes. They will not change the constructive program of Democracy because of the carping criticisms of Republicans. In the light of the great accomplishments of the past three and a half years the voters will not displace the presiding genius under whose guidance this work has been done for one who indulges in criticism of details and offers little or nothing affirmative or constructive save and except a return to the discarded protective tariff theories of the past. The provincialism of Republicanism has given way to the cosmopolitanism of Democracy.

There is contentment everywhere in the land except among Republican politicians.

Labor was never more generally employed nor better paid than now. Farmers never received as high prices for their products. Merchants never sold more goods. Manufacturers never had a greater output. Transportation facilities were never put to the test to accommodate the public as now.

It is said that these are war profits. Not so, though no doubt the war has aided in bringing about the present conditions. Munition exports are $480,000,000, or only 1 per cent of our total manufactured products. The war perhaps expedited the return of business activity, but if there had been no war, thrift and prosperity would have been here. Those who are wishing to buy new materials or to increase their stocks find difficulty now in placing their orders. Voters with work and good wages and abundance to eat and wear will not take kindly to changes suggested by the office-seeking class of the Republican Party. The people in the Nation will "let well enough alone."

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1913, ushered in the Democratic administration. Business for several years prior thereto had been unsettled and business men nervous. The Payne-Aldrich tariff law had been drafted at the dictation of the tariff barons of the country. They controlled its making, as they had framed the tariff laws for many years. It was made for the few; the many were to pay the cost. President Taft regarded it as "indefensible." Necessarily, it became the duty of the Democratic administration to reform this tariff. I shall not pause to go into details. Suffice it to say that the Underwood-Simmons bill was written as the first act of the Democratic administration. It is the most equitable tariff law ever placed upon the statute books of the country. It is the first tariff law that took into consideration the consumer as well as the producer. Our Republican friends charge that it disturbed business. My answer is that it no more disturbed business conditions than the writing of any other tariff law, pending its enactment. When its terms became certain, business began to revive.

While in the midst of the work upon this subject the Democratic Party was confronted with the same old lobby, representing selfish interests, at work in the halls of Congress. President Wilson turned the light of publicity upon it and compelled it to leave Washington. The law was passed, and while no one claims perfection for the bill, I do not hesitate to say that if the war had not disturbed the normal conditions of the world's trade we would now be in the midst of a prosperity unparalleled in the history of this country, due to the tariff which we had enacted and to other legislation to which I shall call attention.

It is charged that it did not produce revenue sufficient to meet the expenditures of the Government. The Underwood-Simmons law, in 1914, produced $734,343,700.

The Payne-Aldrich bill, in 1913, produced $724,111,229. In 1912 it produced $691,778,465. In other words, during the first year of the Underwood law $10,000,000 more was produced than during the last year of the Payne-Aldrich bill and $42,565,235 more than during the year 1912 under the Payne-Aldrich bill.

It was estimated that the Underwood bill would produce from custom receipts alone only $270,000,000. As a matter of fact, it produced, in 1914, $292,128,527, while the Payne-Aldrich bill, in 1912, produced $311,321,672, and during the year 1913 $318,891,395.

The tariff is no longer a scarecrow with which to frighten people. They have studied and they understand. The old cry that we could not compete with the labor abroad is without substantial foundation. Of course we can not compete in every branch of industry, but it is significant that during the fiscal year ending July 1, 1914, and before the European war began, we sold in the foreign markets American goods manufactured

out of American material by American labor, in competition with the world, ready for use, goods aggregating $942,633,244, or 31.11 per cent of our exports, and we sold partially manufactured goods, to be used in further manufacturing, $374,224,210, or 16.6 per cent of our total exports; and we sold foodstuffs, partly or wholly prepared, amounting to 12.59 per cent. These goods were sold in competition with the labor of Europe and the labor of Asia, and in all parts of the world.

INCOME TAX.

Thanks to the Democratic Party, a graduated income tax law was written into the Tariff Act, and to the extent of the returns therefrom the burden of government was taken off of consumption and placed on the earnings of those who could afford to pay. According to the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the Government collected $125,000,000 during the last fiscal year from this source.

CURRENCY REFORM.

The Democratic administration found the finances and the credits of this country controlled by a few financiers in the larger cities. They made money scarce or plentiful, as they saw fit. They expanded credit or curtailed it, as it might meet their whims. The money of the country centralized in the great financial institutions of New York and Chicago. Manufacturers and commercial men who desired to expand their business, or to meet their obligations, had no means of knowing to-day what financial conditions might be to-morrow. The farmers of the West could not even move their crops without paying tribute to New York bankers. We had gone through the panics of 1873, 1893, and 1907. They were bankers' panics, pure and simple. To meet this situation, the Democratic administration wrote the Federal reserve act. The management of the system was put into the hands of a board who represented the people of the entire country, and who were not controlled by a few of the large financiers of the country, and since the day that it was put into operation no business man with a legitimate enterprise and good credit and securities need hesitate for lack of money. If his own banker does not have the ready cash in his vaults, he can take his securities to the regional reserve bank, indorse them, and get all the money his community may require. He is no longer at the mercy of a few financiers in New York City, and yet this very system, with rare exceptions, had the opposition of the millionaires of the country who had theretofore controlled the entire credit system of America. Of course they were unwilling to release their grasp upon the resources of the country. They were opposed to the new system—it was made for the benefit of the country at large—it was not made for them. Finally the Government asked Wall Street what it could do. Now Wall Street asks Washington what it may do.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

The business of the country had for years been disturbed by unlawful trusts and combinations. Vigorous prosecutions were undertaken by the Government. Legitimate business suffered on the one hand because of the grasping domination of these trusts and monopolies, and they in turn were troubled when a long-suffering public sought through the courts to right the wrongs to which they had been subjected. These two agencies necessarily exerted a disquieting influence over otherwise normal conditions. The present administration has not hesitated to prosecute violations of law wherever willfully committed. But on the other hand it has sought to guide legitimate enterprise in rightful paths, and for this purpose we created the Federal Trade Commission, to which business men can go for counsel and guidance in their own affairs and to lay before the board any complaint they may have to make against competitors who may be engaged in methods of unfair competition. Since the enactment of this law in 1914, 263 cases of unfair competition have been investigated, 144 cases have been adjusted without recourse to the courts, and 119 are pending.

TARIFF COMMISSION.

We have provided a tariff commission and clothed it with power to investigate the administration and fiscal effects of the customs laws of this country now in force or which may be hereafter enacted; the relations between the rates of duty on raw materials and finished or partly finished products; the effects of ad valorem and specific duties; and, in general, to investigate the operation of customs laws, including their relation to the Federal revenues, and for the purpose of securing reliable information for the guidance of Congress. Its powers are plenary; it is authorized to investigate the tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries, commercial treaties, preferential provisions, the effect of export bounties and preferential transportation rates, the volume of importations compared with domestic production and consumption, and all conditions, causes, and effects relating to competition of foreign industries with those of the United States, including dumping and cost of production.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Prior to the Civil War we had a merchant marine which was the Nation's pride and the envy of the world. In 1846, it brought to our shores 87.1 per cent of our imports and carried abroad 76.1 per cent of our exports.

In 1863 it carried only 63 per cent of our imports and 69.7 per cent of our exports.

During the Civil War 100 of our vessels were destroyed by Confederate cruisers and 700 were sold to Great Britain.

In 1870 American bottoms carried only 33.1 per cent of our imports and 37.1 per cent of our exports.

In 1910 it carried 10 per cent of our imports and 7.5 per cent of our exports.

In 1913 11.4 per cent of our imports and 9.17 per cent of our exports.

And now, after the lapse of 50 years since the Civil War ended, the American flag is seldom seen in any foreign port. In the two years prior to the European war ocean rates had increased from 50 to 100 per cent, and since the war the charges have advanced from 1,100 to 1,200 per cent, and even more.

And now, this year found us with a foreign commerce of $6,500,000,000. Perhaps not more than 10 per cent of it was carried in American bottoms and we were at the mercy of the foreign shipowners. We have been likened unto a great department store that is dependent upon its competitor for a delivery system. We will be at a disadvantage in our efforts to get our portion of the world's trade so long as this condition prevails. The Democratic Party has sought to remedy this situation for the benefit of our commerce. Private capital for 50 years has insisted upon subsidy before it would undertake the enterprise, and it is contended on behalf of the shipping interests that with reasonable subsidy our merchant marine will be restored. After having failed for 50 years to carry our merchandise to the markets of the world and permitted our merchant marine to become a memory, the Democratic administration saw fit to embark upon a new policy; namely, to appropriate $50,000,000 with which to buy or build ships so that we might not be wholly dependent upon foreign shipping interests. It will be the nucleus about which will be builded a merchant marine worthy of our former pride. This program was opposed by the Republicans because it interfered with the private enterprise which had done nothing for our relief. My answer to them is that if subsidy be a good thing for the few stockholders of a privately owned shipping company, a little more subsidy in the form of subscription to the capital stock of a corporation which is owned by a hundred millions of people will be a good thing for them.

It is usually said in support of ship subsidy that we would be placed in competition with the subsidized merchant marine of the maritime powers of the world. Only 5 per cent of the British and German-owned vessels are subsidized. They are the fastest vessels, but if 95 per cent of the British vessels can do business without subsidy as against the other 5 per cent that are subsidized, it must follow that subsidy is not the all-essential to success.

I would rather vote the people's money to buy ships to be owned by the people than to vote subsidy for the benefit of private-owned ships.

LEGISLATION FOR THE FARMER.

The greatest enterprise of the country is our farming industry. Our farms are almost of unlimited extent and surpassing fertility, but with all of this natural wealth the development of agriculture has not kept apace with the increase of our population; and while we produce in meats, breadstuffs, and many vegetables more than we now consume, if our population continues to increase as it has in the past, the crying need of the near future will be our food supply. Little or no thought in the past administrations has been given to the needs of the farmer. The Republican Party favored the manufacturer with high tariffs and made the farmer buy in a protected market and sell his supplies in competition with the products of the world. It favored the commercial man with the organization of national banks suited to his wants. It permitted the financiers to control the credits and finances of the country, but little or no attention was given to the financing of the farmer. Necessarily his needs differ from those of the ordinary business man. When he buys his farm, improves it, or stocks it, he is obliged to have financial assistance on different terms than the merchant or manu-

facturer. His crop for one or more seasons may be a total failure. If he fails to meet his interest or the season has not been good, the banker who has made him a loan on short-time notes becomes uneasy and demands his money.

It was the Democratic administration that favored and put through the farm-loan act, under which the farm-loan banks are now being organized throughout the country, and we shall have in the future what we have not had during the long reign of Republicanism—long-time loans extending from 5 to 40 years, not exceeding 6 per cent, for the benefit of the agricultural interests of this country. This system is no longer an experiment; it has been tried for many years in the countries of Europe and South America, and, with rare exceptions, has proven a success wherever it has been adopted. Before it took its final shape it had been the subject of study and investigation by two commissions—the American Commission, consisting of two members from each State, and the United States Commission, consisting of seven members appointed by the President—and also by a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives; and after long, exhaustive debate it was adopted in the Senate with only 5 dissenting votes, all Republicans, and in the House with only 10 dissenting votes, all Republicans. And yet this measure received the condemnation of the Republican national convention. It is significant that three of the members of the resolutions committee of that convention were three of the five dissenting votes cast in the Senate against the measure. It is claimed by some of its critics who attempted to block its passage through Congress that it is only an experiment; and so it is, so far as this country is concerned, and any other form of rural credits would be an innovation here. In answer to such criticism it is sufficient to say that the National Farm Loan Association are under local control, subject to Government supervision, and that the general machinery of the entire system is lodged with the Government, as it ought to be. After private control of the banking system of the country for so many years, with accompanying panics and frequent disturbances of the money market, through which our financiers have always emerged richer than ever before, I am not willing to say that the farm-loan system of the country should be put in jeopardy by allowing it to be manipulated by some past masters of finance who may be quite as much interested in their own bank accounts as they are in the welfare of the farmer. Experience no doubt will suggest changes which will improve the system; and if so, they should be adopted; but now the law has been enacted, and all good citizens will accept it and try to make the system a success instead of attempting to cripple it by slanderous utterances.

But this is not all that has been done by the Democratic administration in the interest of the farmer. We have given Federal aid to the good-roads movement; we have improved the parcel post, passed a warehouse bill, a law for the grading of grain, the agricultural cooperative extension bill, and have given aid to the States in the eradication of the foot-and-mouth disease and hog cholera.

SERVICES FOR LABOR.

We have placed a limitation upon the use and prevention of the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes; we have promoted jury trials in cases of indirect contempt and violation of injunction writs; we provided by law for conciliation, mediation, and voluntary arbitration in labor disputes; we extended the operation of the Bureau of Mines; we have provided compensation for injuries to Government employees; we have given to the Department of Labor the means of getting the job and the man together; we have prohibited child labor in mines and manufactories; we abolished the "gag rule," which had existed under the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. On January 25, 1906, President Roosevelt issued the following order:

All officers and employees of the United States of every description serving in or under any of the executive departments or independent Government establishments, and whether so serving in or out of Washington, are hereby forbidden, either directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interest any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of the departments or independent Government establishments in or under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service.

President Taft, on November 26, 1909, issued the following order:

It is hereby ordered that no bureau, office, or division chief, or subordinate in any department of the Government, and no officer of the Army or Navy or Marine Corps stationed in Washington, shall apply to either House of Congress, or to any committee of either House of Congress, for legislation or for appropriations or for congressional action of any kind, except with the consent and knowledge of the head of the department; nor shall any such person respond to any request for information from either House of Congress, or any Member of Congress, except through or as authorized by the head of his department.

The Democrats in Congress rescinded this gag rule by the adoption of the following resolution:

The right of persons employed in the civil service of the United States, either individually or collectively, to petition Congress, or any Member thereof, or to furnish information to any House of Congress or to any committee or Member thereof, shall not be denied or interfered with.

The Democratic Congress passed the seamen's bill, abolishing involuntary servitude and improving life-saving appliances at sea.

But the time is too short to continue this schedule of legislative achievement. A great constructive legislative program has been adopted in the Congress during three and one-half years which has never before been equaled by any other administration in the history of the Government.

FOREIGN POLICY.

The great European war broke out August 1, 1914. It was a world crisis. Legislation which had been deemed sufficient in normal times, when commerce was pursuing its usual course, was found insufficient. Our imports, from which we had expected to derive a large portion of the Government's revenue, were suddenly stopped, and from this source alone our income fell off from eight to ten millions of dollars per month. The fiscal legislation which had been deemed sufficient had to be supplemented. Internal-revenue taxes were provided to make up the deficit in our customs duties. It was not additional taxation; it was a substitute for tariff-revenue laws which were inoperative by reason of the European war. Of course our Republican friends find fault with this, but I am sure if they had anticipated the world war they would have been patriotic enough even to advise a Democratic administration that it was coming.

With the falling off of the revenue came also other interferences with trade, now by one belligerent, now by another. Woodrow Wilson is the master hand who has guided the ship of state through the troubled waters of the last two years. He has met the great diplomats of the Old World, armed in the cause of justice and humanity. The more serious of the difficulties have been settled, and his position conceded by them. His pen proved mightier than the European sword. He won his battle without shedding a drop of blood. He has been severely criticized by Candidate Hughes and his chief sword bearer, Theodore Roosevelt. They denounce the President's European policy, but Mr. Hughes does not say what he would have done if he had been in the President's place. If President Wilson has been too drastic or has gone too far, wherein has he thus failed to perform his duty? If he has done some things he ought not to have done, what are they? If he has left undone some things he ought to have done, what are they? Mr. Roosevelt the other day, in his speech at Lewiston, Me., said:

Our first duty is to protect our own rights; our second to stand up for the rights of others. President Wilson has signally failed to perform either duty. They can be performed only by deeds. Words alone are useless.

What are the deeds that Mr. Roosevelt would have performed? President Wilson has gone to the limits of diplomacy both with Germany and Great Britain, and in most instances they have conceded the correctness of his position. In treating with Germany only two other steps could have been taken—one to sever diplomatic relations, the other to declare war. Neither was necessary to preserve the peace and honor of the Nation, but Roosevelt would substitute "deeds" for "words." What deeds, war? Who in this great Nation, except the few who are always thinking of the glory of self rather than the interests of the public, would even think of suggesting war? And if we had declared war where was the navy and the army which would have been sufficient to cope with either Great Britain or Germany? Who is there that would have joined the allies in a war against Germany for the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the *Sussex*, with the consequent destruction of American lives, after she had conceded her wrong and promised indemnity? Who is there who would have declared war against Great Britain and France, though they have interfered with our commerce and our mails and established the infamous blacklist, until all the arts of diplomacy shall have been exhausted? If we had wanted to declare war, would it have been wise to do so in view of our state of unpreparedness after so many years of Republican rule. Surely it is better not to have declared war and suffer to some extent "the present ills than hasten to those we know not of" by going to war with a great power in an unprepared state. How many people are there in the great State of Ohio, appreciating the responsibilities of a President or of a Congress, would even suggest the declaration of war against one of these powers, with all the consequent sorrow and distress which would have followed, unless it became necessary to defend our national honor?

The great American people are not going to displace a man who has accomplished so much for his country in the cause of peace before his task is ended.

MEXICO.

Mr. Hughes, in his speech of acceptance and since, has excoriated the President because of his policy toward Mexico. Of course, we can intervene and take Mexico at any time we see fit so to do, but who asks that this be done? Shall we prove a menace to the weaker Republics to the south of us, whose causes we have always championed? Should we not aid them rather than destroy them? Should we put to the sword a feeble and ignorant people while they are in the throes of revolution because they do not and can not preserve law and order? Are a people morally responsible for the fact that roving brigands steal and kill? Of course there are limitations beyond which they must not go. It is unfortunate that a stable government is not now in control so as to prevent these depredations across our border upon our people who may be sojourning in Mexico and upon their property. But intervention means control by our Government in that country perhaps for years, at an expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars and the loss of thousands of lives. The choice is not between right and wrong; the choice for us to make is between two evils. What would Candidate Hughes have done? Declare war? In his speech of acceptance, while speaking of the Mexican situation, he said:

It is apparent that we are shockingly unprepared.

Yes; we were unprepared to defend our borders after 16 years of Republican rule. If the Democratic administration is to be held responsible for any part of this state of unpreparedness, to what greater extent will the American people hold the Republican Party guilty after so many years of continuance in public favor?

PREPAREDNESS.

As the situation developed in Mexico, and later in our differences with Europe, it became apparent to the American people as a whole that we had sadly neglected our means of national defense, and it was Woodrow Wilson who had the courage to say to the people that we must be prepared to protect ourselves and our rights on land and on sea against the possible aggressions of the powers of the world. We are not preparing for war; we are preparing for proper and adequate defense. We have not gone to the extent that the militarists of the country would have us go, nor are we going to lag behind as the pacifists would have us do. Mr. Roosevelt, in his speech at Lewiston, said that he favored "obligatory military training." While I believe it would be a good thing for our young men to have some military training, I can not subscribe to compulsory military training. Mr. Hughes, after Mr. Roosevelt had delivered his speech, sent him a congratulatory message and thanked him for his services, and indorsed all that Mr. Roosevelt said. Does this mean that he also approves compulsory military training? Would he fasten upon this country the military system of the Old World? The question of preparedness has only become acute in the last year, and in one year the Democratic Party has done more for the defense of our country than the Republican Party did in 16 years of Republican rule.

I have referred to some of the accomplishments of the present administration. Will Mr. Hughes, if he should be elected, repeal the Federal reserve act? Will he repeal the farm-loan act, which his party in convention condemned, and which the Republican candidate for Senator from this State has assailed? Will he repeal the Clayton antitrust law or the Federal Trade Commission act, or any of the other great pieces of constructive legislation to which I have referred? Will he go back to the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, or will he adopt it with changes; and if so, what changes? Does he want to restore the finances and credits of this country to the control of the Wall Street millionaires, as in the good old days of reactionary Republicanism? Do the Republicans want to go back to the old order of things, which were repudiated in 1912? Are the people willing to exchange present legislation and present prosperity for the old legislation dictated by an insidious lobby, with its accompanying favoritism to the few and disregard of the many? Will the independent progressive thought of this State and Nation who deserted Taft and followed Roosevelt in 1912 allow itself to be delivered back again to the old party? Did those Progressives stand for principles in 1912 or not? If they stood for principles in 1912, have those principles changed? On the other hand, has the Republican Party under the leadership of Hughes, PENROSE, Barnes, and SMOOT changed its principles? Is it not the same party of special privilege that it was in 1912? If it was in error in that presidential campaign, is it right now? If you Progressives were right then in deserting the old party, are you right now if you go back to the old party? The leopard may change his spots, but the stand-pat Republicans never. There is not a word of progressivism in the Republican platform.

CORRUPT PRACTICES.

There is one other subject on which I desire to speak briefly. It is in the mind of every voter of Ohio. I refer to the lavish expenditure of money in the recent Republican primary. On this subject are we going forward or backward? Shall we pursue a policy that will debauch the electorate or shall we seek to purify it?

CORRUPT-PRACTICES ACT.

A corrupt-practices act can not be made too drastic for me. No one who has kept in touch with the political campaigns of the last generation, if he is honest with himself, will hesitate to admit that the lavish use of money in elections has been most baneful in its influence upon the public mind. I will not consume the time of the convention in trying to define why this is so, or how it is so. Fair-minded men everywhere take it for granted.

I have been honored by my party with a renomination as a candidate for the seat I now have the privilege to occupy. Ohio is generally regarded as a Republican State. We have carried it in four out of the five last campaigns for governor. I feel confident we shall win in the coming election. Everyone who is familiar with Ohio politics believes that in a number of elections to the United States Senate the seat was bought and paid for. The men who participated in these corruptions have for the most part gone to their reward, and I would be glad to draw the veil over the past except for present conditions here and elsewhere. Not that I have a desire to tear open old sores or to point the finger of scorn to acts which have been heretofore committed, but because I hope thereby to challenge the attention of my own State and of the country to these conditions of the past in order that we may ascertain what is our duty now and what shall be our duty in the future.

Under the corrupt-practices act of the State of Ohio (sec. 5175–2), every candidate voted for at any election or primary election held in the State, and every person, committee, or association of persons, incorporated or unincorporated, who have contributed, promised, received or expended, directly or indirectly, any money or thing of value in connection with the election or primary is required within 10 days thereafter to file an itemized statement showing in detail "all the moneys or things of value so contributed, promised, received, or expended, and all the liabilities directly or indirectly incurred in connection with such elections. Under this statute, Myron T. Herrick, the successful Republican nominee at the recent primary filed his statement with the secretary of state showing that he had personally expended in his primary campaign the sum of $22,175, and the so-called "Herrick Voters' League" filed their statement with the secretary of state showing their expenditures in this same behalf aggregating $29,000, or a total of $51,175. I am advised that there were other organizations throughout the different counties in the State who likewise spent considerable sums of money in Mr. Herrick's behalf. It has been estimated, I am informed, that his expenditures in this campaign approximated $150,000 to $200,000, and Republican politicians are quoted as having stated so. Now, I want to be perfectly fair. I am not here to say that any of this money was corruptly expended. I do not know whether it was or not, and so far as this statement is concerned, I am willing to assume that it was not corruptly expended, but I am here to say that the expenditure of this sum of money, or anything similar to it, is altogether vicious in its influence upon the public. I am here to say that when any man has rendered such great service, whether in a public or private capacity, which should so appeal to the public electorate that he should be further honored by his fellow citizens with a seat in the United States Senate, it is not necessary that he expend this vast sum of money in order to show his popularity or the merits of his great service. Think of it! The American people in their wisdom through their Congress have said in their judgment that a salary of $7,500 per year or $45,000 for a term of six years, is a reasonable compensation for services that a Senator is supposed to render to his constituency, and yet we have an example here in Ohio of the spending by Mr. Herrick of more than $50,000—more than the entire salary of an entire term—in order to secure his nomination for this exalted position, to which he has been so spontaneously called by the suffrage of his fellow citizens. And if he is willing to approve the expenditure of this amount of money in order to be successful at a primary election, how much more will he expend in order that he may obtain the coveted honor in the election?

Gentlemen, I had supposed that the day was past in my own State when any man, by the lavish use of money, would seek to secure for himself a seat in the United States Senate. If nominations are to be secured, and thereafter an election, by the reckless expenditure of money, what encouragement will there be for any man of modest means, no matter what his talents or what his merits may be, to aspire to a seat in this body? As for myself, I covet the honor of retiring from the Senate rather than to be elected by the extravagant and lavish use of money. I would not pay $20,000 for a nomination and election to the United States Senate if I could, and I could not if I would. I may be obliged to combat an avalanche of dollars from a big bank account, but the people of Ohio will know it if it is the last thing on earth that I shall tell them. I have no objection to any man being a millionaire, and I have no objection to his multiplying his millions by honorable means, but I do object to his dollars being the stepping-stone into the legislative body which plays so great a part in the governmental operations of this great country of ours.

Among the contributors to the "Herrick Voters' League" fund are many citizens of prominence in Cleveland who rank among the richest men. They are living witnesses to the truth of David Harum's philosophy as embodied in the theory, "Them that's got gits," and some of these contributors, I suspect, are willing to "git" by legislation. It is no compliment to any man to secure a nomination or an election to a high office by the prodigal expenditure of money. It is no compliment to the people of a great State to know that a nomination or an election has thus been attained. It is neither complimentary to the ability nor the standing of any man who thus asserts that he and his friends find it necessary to spend large sums of money to make the people appreciate and understand his ability or position in society, and it is not complimentary to the people to say to them that this money should be spent in order to enlighten them as to their duty. And, more, it is not fair to competitors of equal character and ability to compel them to meet a propaganda which only money without limit can spread throughout the State.

To my very great disappointment, no limitation is placed on the amount which may be expended in the State of Ohio for either a nomination or election or both, to the Senate, unless it is embraced in the provision of the statute limiting the expenses of a Member of Congress to $2,000, and this I doubt. The only limitation to be found anywhere is that contained in the Federal statute which has been so vaguely drawn that it is a question whether or not it will afford any protection against the vicious practices which have grown up throughout the country. And it may be that if one hundred thousand or a million dollars are turned loose in Ohio there is no legal way to prevent it. I went into this matter most thoroughly several years ago when the Stevenson case was up for consideration. To my very great regret investigation revealed that there was no law, common or statutory, State or national, placing a limitation upon the amount that could be expended at that time in the nomination and election of candidates to the United States Senate. The present Federal corrupt-practices act was passed and approved August 19, 1911, three years after the Stevenson election. Whatever may have been thought of its effectiveness at the time it was passed, it is very clear, judging from what has transpired in Ohio, that it places no limitation upon the amount that can be expended in behalf of any candidate, though under the statute itself he can not spend exceeding $10,000; but this does not include any "assessment fee or charge made or levied upon a candidate by the laws of the State in which he resides or for his necessary personal expense incurred for himself alone for traveling and subsistence, stationery and postage, writing and printing (other than in newspapers) and distributing letters, circulars, and postals, and for telegraph and telephone service."

The practice of expending large sums of money in elections is and ought to be condemned by every law-abiding citizen. No man who seeks to win a seat in the Senate, or any legislative body, or to enter other public office by the extravagant use of money will ever have my support whether he is on my ticket or not.

I have already talked longer than I should. The Democratic Party in the State deserves to win, and will win, on the record of its achievements in the past. The Democratic Party of the Nation, under the splendid leadership of Woodrow Wilson, has done more in three and one-half years to correct the wrongs of Republicanism and restore the rule of the people than has ever been accomplished by any other party since the days of Lincoln, in the same length of time. Its constructive policy will be a beacon light in our national life for generations to come. Wilson and Marshall must be reelected. The people of the Nation demand it.

## Analysis of the Farm-Loan Act and Suggestions as to Applying for Loans Thereunder.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM B. OLIVER,
OF ALABAMA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, the Federal farm-loan act, popularly called "rural-credits law," was signed by the President and became a law on July 17, 1916. When the bill was signed the President spoke in the following commendatory terms of it:

The farmers, it seems to me, have occupied hitherto a singular position of disadvantage. They have not had the same freedom to get credit on their real assets that others have had who were in manufacturing and commercial enterprises, and while they sustained our life they did not in the same degree with some others share in the benefits of that life. Therefore, this bill, along with the very liberal provisions of the Federal reserve act, puts them upon an equality with all others who have genuine assets and makes the great credit of the country available to them. One can not but feel that this is delayed justice to them, and can not but feel that it is a very gratifying thing to play any part in doing this act of justice. I look forward to the benefits of this bill, not with extravagant expectations, but with confident expectations that it will be of very wide-reaching benefit, and, incidentally, it will be of advantage to the investing community, for I can imagine no more satisfactory and solid investments than this system will afford those who have money to use.

The primary purpose of the act is to promote agricultural prosperity by enabling farmers to borrow money on farm-mortgage security at a reasonable rate of interest and for relatively long periods of time.

The act prohibits the charging of a rate of interest in excess of 6 per cent per annum, and it is confidently hoped that a uniform annual rate of interest will be established not to exceed 5 per cent. The loans, at the option of the borrower, may run from 5 to 40 years and are repayable on the amortization plan, as will fully appear from the tables hereinafter set out.

TWO SYSTEMS PROVIDED.

The act establishes two distinct systems through which loans may be obtained—

First. A system operating through regional land banks.

Second. A system operating through joint-stock banks.

These two systems will be under the general supervision of the Federal Farm Loan Board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, as chairman ex officio, and four members appointed by the President. The members of the Farm Loan Board at present are William G. McAdoo (chairman), George W. Norris, Charles E. Lobdell, W. S. A. Smith, Herbert Quick.

This board is authorized to appoint appraisers, examiners, and registrars, who will be public officials. It will also at once divide the continental United States into 12 farm-loan districts, establishing in each of said 12 districts a Federal land bank with a paid-in capital stock of not less than $750,000. Within 30 days after the capital stock is offered for sale it may be purchased at par by anyone. Thereafter all stock remaining unsold shall be purchased by the Secretary of the Treasury for the United States. The Government will not receive any dividends on this stock, but the bill provides how it shall be repaid after the Federal land banks have had the use of these funds for a certain length of time. Ultimately it is intended that all the stock in the banks shall be owned by the associations of borrowers, and provision is made in the law for transferring the original stock at par to such associations.

It is of the utmost importance that farmers should understand the main features of this bill, and the Farm Loan Board in a recent circular letter, hereinafter set out, have urged all farmers desiring loans to organize at once national farm-loan associations, through which applications for loans will be submitted to the Federal land banks. This letter discusses fully the methods of organizing such associations.

Before setting out this letter from the board it may be well to first call attention to some of the provisions of the bill relating to the regional land banks and the loan associations through which they operate, and in this way the suggestions of the board will be better understood. I will later briefly outline the joint-stock bank system, but will take occasion here to say that I think this provision of the bill should have been omitted altogether.

FARM-LOAN ASSOCIATION.

The act provides for the creation of local national farm-loan associations through which it is contemplated that the Federal land banks shall make their loans. In the event that a local loan

association is not formed in any locality within a year the Federal Farm Loan Board may authorize a Federal land bank to make loans on farm land through approved agents. Ten or more persons who own and cultivate farm land qualified as security for a mortgage loan under the act, or who are about to own and cultivate such land, may form such an association, provided the aggregate of the loans desired by the membership is not less than $20,000. Each member must take stock in his association to an amount equivalent to 5 per cent of the amount he wishes to borrow. This stock the association holds in trust as security for the member's individual loan. The association in turn, when applying for money from the bank, must subscribe for stock in the bank to an amount equivalent to 5 per cent of the sum it wants to obtain for its members. This stock is held in trust by the bank as security for the loans it makes through the association. If a prospective borrower has no money with which to pay for his association stock he may borrow the price of that stock as a part of the loan on his farm land.

Under this plan, then, every borrower must be a stockholder in his local association, and every association a stockholder in its district bank.

HOW LOANS ARE OBTAINED.

A member of a national farm loan association, before obtaining a loan, must first fill out an application blank supplied to the loan association by the Federal Farm Loan Board. This application blank and other necessary papers will then be referred to a loan committee of the association, which must appraise the property offered as security. Such application as is approved by the loan committee is then forwarded to the Federal land bank, and must be investigated and reported on by a salaried appraiser of the bank before the loan is granted. This appraiser is required to investigate the solvency and character of the prospective borrower as well as the value of his land. When a loan is granted the amount is forwarded to the borrower through the loan association.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH LOANS MAY BE OBTAINED.

The act specifically defines the purposes for which loans may be obtained. These are:

(a) To provide for the purchase of land for agricultural uses.

(b) To provide for the purchase of equipment, fertilizers, and live stock necessary for the proper and reasonable operation of the mortgaged farm; the term "equipment" to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

(c) To provide buildings and for the improvement of farm lands, the term "improvement" to be defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

(d) To liquidate indebtedness of the owner of the land mortgaged existing at the time of the organization of the first national farm-loan association established in or for the county in which the land mortgaged is situated, or indebtedness subsequently incurred for one of the purposes mentioned in this section.

Loans may be made only on first mortgages on farm land.

Only those who own and cultivate farm land or are about to own and cultivate such land are entitled to borrow.

No one can borrow save for the purposes stated in the act, and those who, after borrowing, do not use the money for the purposes specified in the mortgage are liable to have their loans reduced or recalled. The secretary-treasurer of each association is required to report any diversion of borrowed money from the purposes stated in the mortgages.

No individual can borrow more than $10,000 or less than $100.

No loan may be made for more than 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the value of the permanent insured improvements upon it.

The loan must run for not less than 5 and not more than 40 years.

HOW THE INTEREST RATE IS FIXED.

No Federal land bank is permitted to charge more than 6 per cent per annum on its farm-mortgage loans, and in no case shall the interest charged on farm mortgages exceed by more than 1 per cent the rate paid on the last issue of bonds.

For example, if the bank pays only 4 per cent on an issue of bonds, it can not charge more than 5 per cent for the next farm loans it makes. Out of this margin of not to exceed 1 per cent, together with such amounts as it can earn on its paid-in cash capital, the bank must set aside certain reserves and meet all its expenses.

The act empowers the land bank to borrow money through the sale of its bonds, which bonds are secured by its first-mortgage loans. These bonds are exempt from all taxation and will be as well secured as United States Government bonds. It is believed that they will sell readily under existing conditions at a 4 per cent interest rate. Every effort has been made to make these bonds an attractive investment, so that they will command a very ready sale at low rates of interest, and the success or failure of the system will depend upon the success or failure in securing this result. The act seeks to establish a system through which farmers, with the required security, can borrow money without leaving their own neighborhood, and authorizes all negotiations for loans through officials, who will be their neighbors.

HOW THE SYSTEM TENDS TO PROMOTE A UNIFORM INTEREST RATE.

One of the great advantages to follow from this system will be the tendency toward a uniform low rate of interest in all parts of the Union. It is not claimed that this uniform rate will be realized at the beginning. There can be, however, only one rate for each land-bank district, and since each bank indorses the bonds issued by every other bank, the security for the repayment of all bonds is exactly the same, regardless of the bank district from which issued. In addition to liberal reserve funds, required to be held in liquid assets, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make temporary deposits of public funds to the amount to $6,000,000 in the land banks from time to time. These deposits can be used to meet payments of interest or principal on maturing land bonds. It is difficult to conceive how, surrounded by so many elements of safety, the bonds of any Federal land bank will ever be in default as to principal or interest. When these facts are fully understood by the investing public rates of interest should become stable and uniform in all sections of the United States.

FEES AND COMMISSIONS.

The Federal land banks in making loans are prohibited from charging any fees or commissions not authorized by the Farm Loan Board. The authorized fees will not be collected in advance but may be deducted out of the loan when obtained. These fees should be and, I think, will be very reasonable, and can be reduced from time to time as the business of the banks increase. There is one charge, however, that the Federal Farm Loan Board can not control, and that is the cost incident to securing an abstract of title; this must of necessity be left to the borrower and his attorney.

In this connection it is to be hoped that the legislatures of the several States will speedily adopt some practical and uniform land-title system which will hereafter dispense with the large expense incident in most States to the securing of an abstract. Some of the States have adopted what is commonly known as the "Torrens system" and I cordially commend it to the careful consideration of the lawmaking body of my State.

AN IMPORTANT LETTER FROM THE FEDERAL LOAN BOARD.

Attention has heretofore been called to an important circular letter recently published by the Farm Loan Board, and I trust it will be carefully read and considered by every farmer who may be interested in securing a loan from a Federal land bank. The letter is here given in full:

[Treasury Department, Federal Farm Loan Bureau. Circular No. 2.]

HOW FARMERS MAY FORM A NATIONAL FARM LOAN ASSOCIATION.

WHAT THE FARM-LOAN ACT PROMISES.

Farmers want cheaper money. They ought to have it. The Federal farm-loan act aids them to get it.

The operation of this law is under the control of the Federal Farm Loan Board. The board is the head of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau, which is under the Treasury Department at Washington, D. C.

The Federal farm-loan act provides a way of getting mortgage loans for farmers at low rates of interest at lengths of time to suit the borrower and on easy terms of repayment. All farmers have to do is to form themselves into national farm-loan associations. The Government will do its part in helping them. Farmers can easily form loan associations as prescribed by the new law. Let us see how this may be done.

FARMERS ONLY NEED APPLY.

Ten farmers may unite to form a national farm-loan association. That is the least number the law allows, and farmers only can be members. If more than 10 get together for this purpose, so much the better. But if only 10 farmers are willing to join an organization to borrow on farm mortgage, that number satisfies the law.

Let us suppose these 10 men are farm owners. They may all be close neighbors and know each other well. But they may live some distance from each other, though being in the same community or district or county. In that case they may not know each other so well. But that makes no difference. They all have the same thing in view. They want to borrow money on farm mortgages at 4, 5, or 6 per cent interest. They want the mortgages to run 5, 10, 20, or 40 years, perhaps. They want to pay the mortgage debt off a little at a time. They know this will help them, and so they get together.

CALLING A NEIGHBORHOOD MEETING.

Now, these 10 or more farmers in a community call a meeting. It may be held in a schoolhouse, a hall, a church, or in one of their houses most convenient for them all.

When the farmers have come together they discuss the subject informally and decide to form themselves into an association to borrow money on mortgage. They appoint a committee to draw up articles of association. These articles should set forth the object of the association and the territory within which it proposes to do business. They may follow a prescribed form furnished by the land bank, or they may be modified to suit the needs of any particular body of farmers. But nothing can be included in the articles of association that is contrary to the letter and spirit of the law.

The farmers who thus unite themselves into a national farm-loan association then sign the articles. A copy of them is made to be sent to the Federal land bank of the district within which the association is situated. When the articles of association are received by the land bank they are filed for future reference.

APPRAISING BY A LOAN COMMITTEE.

A loan committee of three members must be appointed to pass on loans. A written report is drawn up by them after they have examined the lands. The committee examines the farms and farm lands for the purpose of appraising their value. The report of this loan committee, signed by all three members, must be sent to the land bank with the articles of association. All three members must sign the report or it will be worthless. The land bank will not consider the request for loans unless all three members sign their report about the value of the farms. Their report should state distinctly that the said committee had examined the lands and appraised their values. The lands and farms should be described, and the value of those upon which the members desire loans should be stated.

It is very important that the loan committee put a just valuation on the lands. Care should be taken not to put the valuation too high nor too low. The former would be rejected by the land bank; the latter might prevent the farmer from getting as high a loan on his farm as he wanted.

Loan committees should remember that their appraisement is only preliminary; it is not binding on the Federal land bank of their district, for later on the land bank will send its own appraiser to fix his values on the same farms. It would be a fine thing for the members of the association if the two independent appraisements of the same farms should come close together. It would prove to the officers of the land bank that they were dealing with an upright, intelligent body of farmers. That would be a moral and intellectual credit to the community. It certainly would help their financial credit. So loan committees should be fair at the beginning. Let them fix just values on the farms of those members who are asking for loans.

The report of the loan committee should also give any other information which would help the land bank to understand conditions in that community.

MAKING AN AFFIDAVIT.

With the list of proposed members, the articles of association, and the report of the loan committee, an affidavit must be made out and sent to the Federal land bank. This affidavit must be signed and acknowledged by the members. It must also be signed and acknowledged by the secretary-treasurer, whose residence and post-office address must also be stated on the affidavit. This affidavit, thus signed and acknowledged by the members and the secretary-treasurer, should set forth that each subscriber is the owner of farm land, or is about to become the owner of a farm. That is, a person in the community may not be in actual possession of a farm, but expects to be in a short time, by purchase, the owner of the particular farm described in his application; in that case he could legally join the association and become a member. The affidavit should also state that the desired loans added together amount to $20,000 or more.

FARMERS ONLY CAN BE MEMBERS.

The national farm-loan associations are to be organized and run by farmers and for farmers. Persons not farmers need not apply for membership; they could not legally be admitted, for the law says that no one except farmers shall be members, and no one except members can borrow. The lowest sum any farmer can borrow is $100; the highest is $10,000. These are the limits fixed by law.

The associations will grow by the admission of new members. After the affidavit, showing that the loans amount to $20,000 or more, has been sent to the land bank and the farm-loan association has become a corporate body through a charter being granted to it by the Federal Farm Loan Board, a farmer who wants to borrow $100 only can be admitted to membership. In fact, there is no limit to the growth of the association after the first 10 or more have become a chartered association. Any farmer may be admitted to membership who wants to borrow on farm mortgage any sum ranging from $100 to $10,000. In this way the national farm-loan associations will grow in numbers.

FARMERS AS SHAREHOLDERS.

But farmers can not join without buying shares in their association. The value of the shares is fixed at the low price of $5 each. Every farmer who becomes a member of a national farm-loan association also becomes a borrower and a shareholder at the same time, for the law says that he must subscribe for stock to the amount of 5 per cent of his desired loan. If he wants to borrow $100, he must take 1 share of stock; if $200, 2 shares; if $1,000, 10 shares; and if $10,000, 100 shares.

The borrower may pay in cash for his stock at the time he applies for membership, or he may wait until his loan is received and then pay for his stock from the loan. He may, if he wishes, even add the cost of his stock to the amount of his loan, providing this does not increase his loan above 50 per cent of the appraised value of the land and 20 per cent of the permanent improvements thereon. But the owner must keep the buildings insured.

This plan of buying stock makes the national farm-loan associations cooperative in character. When the farmer borrows money, the shares of stock he has to buy are held by the association as part security for his loan. But if the association prospers, dividends on his stock must be paid to the owner. When his debt is paid off, the stock owned by the borrower is canceled; that is, if a farmer has held two shares of stock he is paid $10, the stock is canceled, and the farmer is no longer a member of the association. The payment of a debt automatically removes a farmer from membership in a national farm-loan association.

Each farmer is liable for the debts of his association to twice the par value of the stock he owns. One-half of this liability has already been paid as represented by his shares of stock held by the association, so that in case of the failure of an association a member who held one share would be liable for only $5 more. Thus the members take little risk and reap all the benefits of cooperative mortgage credit.

THE ASSOCIATIONS AS SHAREHOLDERS.

The money the farmers pay their association for stock is turned over to the Federal land bank to buy stock in that bank for the association. The cash may or may not be sent in with the subscription for stock. If cash is sent, the secretary-treasurer of the association must procure it from the prospective borrowers. Each farmer pays his share according to the amount of his loan. For example, if one member wants to borrow $500 and another wants to borrow $1,000, the first one has to pay $25 and the second one $50. The subscription price of $1,000 for the land-bank stock is provided in this way.

If for any reason, however, any or all of the loans should not be granted by the land bank, the money paid in advance on account of stock subscriptions would be refunded, but the cash need not be sent in advance with the subscription made by the secretary-treasurer. When the loans are granted by the land bank, the amount of the subscription to the stock may be deducted from the total amount of the loans. In such case the balance is forwarded to the secretary-treasurer of the association; that is, if the loans total $20,000 the secretary-treasurer would receive $19,000. He would then pay over to the farmer who asked for a $500 loan the sum of $475, and to him who wanted $1,000 the sum of $950. That is to say, 5 per cent of each farmer's loan would be deducted to help pay for the association's subscription for stock of the land bank; but if the stock subscription of 5 per cent is raised in cash the whole amount of the loans would be remitted.

Now, let the farmer members understand this, that the associations and not they are the owners of the stock in the Federal land bank, and this plan is adopted that the associations may ultimately become the sole owners of the Federal land banks. This stock is held by the land bank as part security for the loans granted to the association. This plan makes the borrowers indirectly part owners of the land banks with the Government from the beginning, and through these cooperative organizations provides the method whereby they ultimately become the exclusive owners.

The profits of the land banks go to the associations. The stock held by the Government draws no dividends, but earnings will be divided on the stock owned by the associations. Thus all profits of the land banks, after the Government has withdrawn its holdings of stock, will go to the associations, who will ultimately become the owners of all the Federal land banks in the United States. The law provides for the gradual withdrawal of Government holdings in the land banks, leaving the whole field open to the farmers themselves through their national farm-loan associations. The importance of organizing these associations of borrowers, therefore, can not be unduly emphasized.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

When the application for the charter is sent to the land bank, it must state that a temporary organization has been formed. This temporary organization elects a board of directors, a loan committee, and a secretary-treasurer. The board of directors must consist of not less than five members; the loan committee must consist of three members. The board of directors elects a president, vice president, loan committee, and secretary-treasurer. The last-named officer need not be a member of the association or resident of the district, but the others must be members and residents. The secretary-treasurer receives a small salary, which is fixed by the board of directors. All other officers are supposed to serve without pay, unless the payment of salaries is approved by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

HOW LOANS MAY BE USED.

If a farmer has a mortgage on his farm and borrows money from the land bank, his mortgage lien must be the first thing paid off with the money. If any surplus of his loan remains, he can apply it for the purchase of fertilizers or live stock, the construction of a silo, the building of a barn, the erection of poultry houses, or for any other purpose which will improve the farm's value.

But, if a farmer has no mortgage on his farm and desires to borrow for improving it in any of the ways mentioned above, he can borrow money from the land bank by giving a first mortgage on his farm.

THE FARMER HAS LITTLE TO DO.

The practical work of a national farm loan association is done by the secretary-treasurer. He writes and answers letters, keeps the books, handles the funds, secures the loans from the land banks, pays over the money to borrowers, and does all the active work of the association for the members.

The loans are made on first mortgages on farm lands. The mortgages may run not less than 5 years nor more than 40 years. The borrower himself decides the length of time his loan shall run. The interest can not exceed 6 per cent and may be lower. Every six months, or once each year, the farmer pays the installment on his debt. This includes interest, part of the debt itself, and a small amount to cover expenses of the association. The secretary-treasurer makes the collections, gives his receipt for them, and sends the money collected to the Federal land bank. Thus most of the work of the associations is done by this officer. That is why he is allowed a small salary.

The Federal land bank which receives the application for loans and other papers from the association then sends an appraiser to examine the land and the financial condition of the proposed borrowers. If these conditions are found satisfactory, the land bank forwards the papers to the Federal Farm Loan Board with their recommendation. On approval by the Federal Farm Loan Board, a charter is granted to the applicants to do business in their district, the charter being forwarded to the association by the Federal land bank.

When the charter has been granted, the association can borrow money of the land bank. The mortgages are then prepared and delivered to the secretary-treasurer, who forwards them to the Federal land bank of the district. On its part, the land bank sends the money for the loans to the secretary-treasurer of the association. He in turn delivers the proper amount of money to the respective borrowers and the farm mortgage transaction is closed. The farmer has thus been enabled to borrow money on first mortgage with practically no trouble or expense on his part.

BENEFITS TO FARMERS.

In this way the farmers themselves become the owners and directors of the national farm loan associations. They become investors as well as borrowers. The Government has not only made the way easy, but it helps the farmers to reap the benefits of the profits derived from their own united efforts of borrowing.

But more than this. By becoming subscribers to the capital stock of the Federal land bank of their district, which the associations have to do when applications for loans are made, the farmer members of the national farm loan associations will ultimately become the owners of the land banks also, for the Government will gradually withdraw its stock holdings from the Federal land banks and leave their ownership with all their profits entirely in the hands of the farmers themselves.

Here, then, is a great opportunity open to all farm owners in the United States. The power lies within their hands to extend the benefits of this system into every rural community at practically no loss of time and at little expense. There is no reason why a national farm-loan association should not be established in every rural district. The Government has placed its money and its moral support at the command of our farmers. But they must get behind this system and

take advantage of it if they would reap all its benefits. The Federal farm mortgage credit system thus becomes a field of unlimited promise to American agriculture.

FARMERS MAY ORGANIZE AT ONCE.

Let it be plainly understood that farmers can form their preliminary organizations at once. They can have their directors chosen, as well as their president, vice president, loan committee, and secretary-treasurer. But they can not receive their charter, nor can they borrow money of the land banks until these have been located and organized. This may take several months.

But, if the farmers have all the preliminary work done ahead, they can make their applications to the land bank as soon as it is organized. This will help them to get their loans quicker than if they put off organizing until the land banks are located. Let 10 or more farmers in every community go ahead at once and form a temporary organization. It will help them and it will facilitate the work of organization.

ALL LOANS TO BE REPAID ON AMORTIZATION PLAN.

The term "amortization" means a method of paying a debt by creating a sinking fund, which at the close of the agreed period will extinguish both principal and interest. Under this plan the annual payments will be for the same amount, and the last payment will discharge the debt in full. To one unfamiliar with the advantages of this plan it is surprising how fast small savings will grow when faithfully extended over a long period of years.

For example, if a man should borrow $1,000 at 5 per cent interest, the annual interest charge would be $50. If the borrower pays only $50 per year he can never discharge his obligation, but will always owe the full sum of $1,000. If, however, under the amortization plan provided for in this bill, he will pay $60 per year, which is only $10 more than the annual interest charge, his debt will be fully paid at the close of 36 years. He has thus actually paid off his obligation of $1,000 with $360, if you compute simple interest at the rate of 5 per cent.

The borrower will determine the period of time for the loan to run, within the limits of 5 and 40 years, but the interest rate can not exceed at any time 6 per cent per annum. The longer the period of the loan the smaller will be the annual installment payment required to discharge in full the principal and interest.

For example, if two neighbors conclude to borrow $1,000 each at 5 per cent interest, and agree to pay the debt, one man choosing 20 years and the other 36 years, the man who chose 20 years would be required to pay $80.24 per year, while the one who chose 36 years would pay only $60.40, and the debt of each with these annual payments would be fully paid at the end of their respective loan periods.

Now, to make a further illustration, let us take the case of A, who has real estate valued at $1,800 and improvements thereon valued at $500. He desires to secure a loan of 50 per cent of the value of his land, which would be $900, and 20 per cent of the value of the improvements, which would be $100; the total amount of the loan that A can obtain on this security being $1,000, as fixed by the act.

We will assume that he desires this loan for a term of 20 years at 6 per cent interest, and that it is to be repaid on the amortization plan, as required by the rural-credit act. The entire loan, including interest and principal, would then be repaid as follows:

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 6 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount on principal unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $87.19 | $60.00 | $27.19 | $972.81 |
| 2 | 87.19 | 58.36 | 28.83 | 943.98 |
| 3 | 87.19 | 56.63 | 30.56 | 913.42 |
| 4 | 87.19 | 54.80 | 32.39 | 881.03 |
| 5 | 87.19 | 52.86 | 34.33 | 846.70 |
| 6 | 87.19 | 50.80 | 36.39 | 810.31 |
| 7 | 87.19 | 48.61 | 38.58 | 771.73 |
| 8 | 87.19 | 46.30 | 40.89 | 730.84 |
| 9 | 87.19 | 43.85 | 43.34 | 687.50 |
| 10 | 87.19 | 41.25 | 45.94 | 641.56 |
| 11 | 87.19 | 38.49 | 48.70 | 592.86 |
| 12 | 87.19 | 35.57 | 51.62 | 541.24 |
| 13 | 87.19 | 32.47 | 54.72 | 486.52 |
| 14 | 87.19 | 29.19 | 58.00 | 428.52 |
| 15 | 87.19 | 25.71 | 61.48 | 367.04 |
| 16 | 87.19 | 22.02 | 65.17 | 301.87 |
| 17 | 87.19 | 18.11 | 69.08 | 232.79 |
| 18 | 87.19 | 13.96 | 73.23 | 159.56 |
| 19 | 87.19 | 9.57 | 77.62 | 81.94 |
| 20 | 86.85 | 4.91 | 81.94 | ..... |
| Total | 1,743.46 | 743.46 | 1 000.00 | ..... |

It will be observed from the above table, worked out on the amortization plan, that the amount paid annually by A is $87.19, making a total paid in 20 years of $1,743.46. The capitalization of principal and interest on $1,000 for 20 years at 6 per cent totals $2,200; so it will be seen that on a loan of $1,000, at the same rate of interest, under the amortization plan, there is saved the sum of $456.54 to A.

It is to be hoped that the rate obtainable under the present act will be below 6 per cent; but it can not exceed that amount in any case.

A further calculation has been made, and the table is here inserted, showing a loan of $1,000 for 20 years, at 5 per cent interest, on the amortization plan, to wit:

| Annual periods. | Total annual payment. | Interest at 5 per cent. | Paid on principal. | Amount of principal still unpaid. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | $80.24 | $50.00 | $30.24 | $969.76 |
| 2 | 80.24 | 48.48 | 31.75 | 938.00 |
| 3 | 80.24 | 46.90 | 33.34 | 904.67 |
| 4 | 80.24 | 45.23 | 35.01 | 869.66 |
| 5 | 80.24 | 43.48 | 36.76 | 832.90 |
| 6 | 80.24 | 41.64 | 38.59 | 794.31 |
| 7 | 80.24 | 39.71 | 40.52 | 753.79 |
| 8 | 80.24 | 37.68 | 42.55 | 711.23 |
| 9 | 80.24 | 35.56 | 44.68 | 666.55 |
| 10 | 80.24 | 33.32 | 46.91 | 619.64 |
| 11 | 80.24 | 30.98 | 49.26 | 570.39 |
| 12 | 80.24 | 28.51 | 51.72 | 518.67 |
| 13 | 80.24 | 25.93 | 54.31 | 464.36 |
| 14 | 80.24 | 23.21 | 57.02 | 407.34 |
| 15 | 80.24 | 20.36 | 59.87 | 347.46 |
| 16 | 80.24 | 17.37 | 62.87 | 284.60 |
| 17 | 80.24 | 14.23 | 66.01 | 218.59 |
| 18 | 80.24 | 10.93 | 69.31 | 149.28 |
| 19 | 80.24 | 7.46 | 72.78 | 76.50 |
| 20 | 80.24 | 3.82 | 76.50 | ..... |
| Total | 1,604.80 | 604.80 | 1,000.00 | ..... |

As hereinbefore pointed out, if the same loan of $1,000 was allowed to run for 30 or 40 years, the annual installment payment would be greatly reduced, but yet sufficient to discharge in full principal and interest at the end of the loan period.

Let the farmer who applies for a loan determine what amount he can reasonably pay each year, and in this way he can fix the term of his loan. Tables showing annual payments required on any size loan, from $100 to $10,000, and for any period of time from 5 to 40 years, will be furnished by the Farm Loan Board on request.

I would advise long-term loans, since the borrower is given the privilege, after five years from date of loan at any interest-paying date, of paying the loan in full or making partial payments thereon of not less than $25.

JOINT STOCK LAND BANKS.

In addition to the system of 12 Federal land banks and the national farm loan associations of borrowers the act permits the establishment of joint-stock land banks and authorizes them to carry on the business of lending directly to borrowers on farm-mortgage security and issuing farm-loan bonds.

These banks must have a capital of not less than $250,000. While under the supervision of the Farm Loan Board, yet they are free from many of the conditions and limitations imposed on the Federal land banks. There are no limitations placed on the amount that can be loaned to a single individual, and no restrictions are placed on the borrowers in the use of the loan funds. The interest rate can not exceed 6 per cent, and the loan must be secured by a first mortgage on land, repayable on the amortization plan. The borrower is not required to subscribe to any stock, nor is he liable for any part of an obligation other than his own. The stock in these banks may be owned by anyone, and, in truth, the borrowers under this system will own none of the stock.

This system, in my opinion, is not only unnecessary, but controverts every sound, well-recognized principle underlying rural credits, and on which the other system proposed in this bill is founded. When the bill was under discussion in the House, I made a motion to strike out section 16, providing for joint-stock banks, and to those interested in the further study of this feature of the bill I will be pleased to send, on request, a copy of my speech in support of the motion to strike out said section 16.

IN CONCLUSION.

The bill we have been discussing is not perfect, and doubtless fails to accord with either your views or mine in all its provisions, but everyone must concede that it marks a long step in the right direction. There were several material and important amendments offered to the bill, which I favored and which were rejected, yet I now wish to repeat what was said by me at that time in a speech on the floor of the House.

Whatever the shortcomings of the bill may prove to be, I hope the great farming interests, whose immediate needs it is designed to serve, will cherish the belief that these shortcomings will be speedily corrected by legislation hereafter. If the Federal Land Bank System herein proposed is to be successful, then this is its message to rural communities: "Whatever you

need, get together; organize yourselves; help to work out this plan if feasible and start it going."

The foundations of this plan are as broad as the country itself. It offers a cooperative plan of combining the forces of the farmers of the entire Nation and of the investment funds of the world for the common purpose of improving our agricultural conditions. It proposes to assemble the collective credit of the borrowing farmers of every section behind the obligation of the individual farmer so as to make his obligation pass current as a "courier without luggage" in the investment markets of the world. If it proves a success there will be a mere minimum of risk, and the farmer will be protected and provided for in one of his now most pressing needs and the investor will be as certain of the payment of his principal and interest as human foresight can make it.

**Address of Homer S. Cummings, Vice Chairman Democratic National Committee.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
# HON. MARTIN D. FOSTER,
OF ILLINOIS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, September 5, 1916.*

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to insert a speech made by Hon. Homer S. Cummings, vice chairman of the Democratic national committee, delivered at the State convention held in New Haven, Conn., May 9, 1916.

ADDRESS OF HOMER S. CUMMINGS, OF STAMFORD, CONN., VICE CHAIRMAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE UPON ASSUMING TEMPORARY CHAIRMANSHIP OF DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION HELD AT NEW HAVEN, CONN., MAY 9, 1916.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: We assemble upon the eve of another presidential campaign. Manifestly the hour is a critical one in the affairs of the country and of the world. We have been blessed by an abundance of prosperity hitherto unknown in our history. For nearly two years there has been progressing in the Old World the greatest war known to mankind. All the great nations of the Eastern Hemisphere are involved, the foundations of the Governments of several hundred millions of people are imperiled and, indeed, the destinies of the human race are at stake. How far and into what quarters this conflagration may spread no man is now so wise as to be able to foresee. Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Belgium, Portugal, and Japan are already victims of this unparalleled, international cataclysm, while Roumania, Greece, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden are armed camps, with all the normal functions of national existence disturbed or suspended, awaiting, with anxious concern, their turn to be summoned.

Our coutry is the one great Nation in the world that has not been drawn into the awful vortex of war. We not only have peace and prosperity, but we have them under circumstances that emphasize their priceless worth and the folly of taking any action that may imperil them. [Applause.] And yet, such are the necessities of partisanship, politicians who place party and not America first are criticizing the administration, maligning the President, slandering our public officials, and hysterically calling for a change of leadership. It is a spectacle as amazing as it is discreditable. It does not require the vision of a seer to know what judgment history will pronounce upon those small-minded critics who, in the period of a great national crisis, placed party above national honor, and with every device known to envy and malice ungenerously sought to add to the burdens that events had placed upon the shoulders of the President of the United States. [Great applause.]

PARTISAN CRITICISM.

A characteristic form of this criticism is found in the address delivered by Senator MCLEAN at the Republican State convention, held at Hartford on the 11th of April. I think that even the most ardent admirers of the eloquent and versatile Senator will not contend that his address was a work of constructive statesmanship. Seizing adroitly upon minor details in the work of the administration he magnified them out of all proportion to their real consequence, overlooked the great achievements of the last three years, and demanded a return of the Republican Party to power without suggesting, throughout his entire address, any definite policy or indicating what alternative course the administration could have pursued which would have more completely accorded with the dignity and the traditions of America. [Applause.]

A criticism which does not offer an improvement is destructive criticism. It is not constructive statesmanship. Generalities will not do and until the critics of the administration offer a bill of particulars and a better program they will receive scant attention in the courts of popular opinion. I think I do the Senator no injustice when I assert that his plea was one of strict and unrelenting partisanship. And I think, also, that the American people are in no mood for that form of statecraft. [Applause.]

REPUBLICAN DIFFICULTIES.

Nevertheless, it is only fair to admit that the task set for the Senator was not without its difficulties.

A "keynote" speech is well nigh an impossibility when the whole party is out of tune. [Laughter.] The Senator did the best he could. He strove to utter a war cry that would be heard from "Hartford to Tokyo," but I fear that he did not quite accomplish this interesting feat as the acoustic properties of the Hartford Armory are notoriously inadequate. [Laughter.] I do not want to be responsible for any ill-timed levity over a subject essentially sad, but the vain attempts of the Republican leaders to unite upon a candidate or a platform produce contortions wonderful to contemplate. [Laughter.]

To whom will the Republican Party turn for leadership? Do our friends desire "something heroic"? If so, the Colonel is ready. [Laughter.] The Republican Party evidently needs some one who can discover an issue, and the Colonel is the greatest discoverer of all time. [Laughter.] He discovered the River of Doubt, and recently, while in the West Indies, he discovered a devil bird with whiskers that emits a peculiar sound and dotes on nuts. [Great laughter.] Why should a man who discovered Cuba, British East Africa, the River of Doubt, the Irish sagas, wild cats, nature fakers, Kettle Hill, civil-service reform, Armageddon, the square deal, social justice, the Ten Commandments, George W. Perkins, and the golden rule be denied a nomination in a Republican convention? [Great laughter and applause.] To be sure the Colonel called the leaders of that party "train robbers and crooks," and I think that he even went so far as to refer to them ungenerously as "second-story men"; but now he is for peace [laughter]—at any price, with or without honor—even if he has to fight for it. [Renewed laughter.] And, after all, why should one not associate with repentant burglars and reformed crooks? To do otherwise is to make mockery of "social justice." [Laughter.] The unforgiving may also recall that he said that the Republican Party was a "rotten husk"—but this was because he took all the ment out himself. [Laughter.] I understand that the "old guard" claims to have the Colonel "buffaloed," but viewing the question fairly it must be admitted that he is "the logical candidate." The Republican platform of Connecticut demands the nomination of a "tried Republican." What Republican, I ask, has been more tried or trying than Emperor Theodorus Africanus the First? [Laughter.] And what Republican has tried more Republicans than the discoverer of the be-whiskered devil bird that dotes on nuts. [Great laughter.] There is a form of justice even in politics, and, if you will permit a sudden shift of metaphor, the Colonel is the hair shirt that the Republican Party must wear in penance for its sins. [Laughter.] And, after all, the Colonel is the only one who offers an understandable criticism of the President's policy. The Colonel wants war, and he is bound to have war. As recently as April 24, he gave forth an interview saying if there is a war "my four sons will go and one and perhaps both of my sons-in-law, the young kinsfolk and friends of my sons will go"; and later on in the same interview he said, "If we now go to war, these young men and all their fellows will die in thousands." This is what I call "something heroic." [Laughter.] The whole family is going to go. [Laughter.] If I were profane, I might say "the whole damn family," and Theodore and his sons are going to die by the thousands. [Great laughter.] The only fly in the ointment is that he intimates that one of his sons-in-law may stay at home. [Laughter.] This would be the act of a mollycoddle. [Laughter.] Can it be that he refers to NICHOLAS LONGWORTH? [Laughter.] If there is to be a war, I want NICHOLAS LONGWORTH to go, too. [Laughter.]

The Colonel's policy reminds me of the inscription that some revolutionary Chinese put upon their banner during the Boxer rebellion. The inscription was "Willing to die." Another band, of a similar kind, seeing the inscription and, not to be outdone, prepared a banner of their own on which they inscribed the thrilling words, "Determined to die," and it is said that a

third band was organized with a banner bearing the motto, "Already dead." [Great laughter.]

THE REPUBLICAN DELEGATION.

Perhaps I can not be expected to sympathize as fully as I ought with the sorrows of the Republican Party. If I had the gifted pen of Charles Hopkins Clark or possessed the velvety and insinuating elegance of diction characteristic of our distinguished Senator, I could depict in appropriate language the moving sorrows of the Republican delegation from Connecticut as it proceeds toward Chicago. [Laughter.]

The Senator in his eloquent "keynote" speech—which somehow seemed a little off key—cries out, "Why should not the corn-fed dove and the carnivorous hawk live together in harmony?" [Laughter.]

The Senator is an authority on migratory birds [laughter], and if he can not answer the question, I do not know anyone who can. [Laughter.] But I timidly suggest that before that fine body of migratory statesmen are permitted to encounter the dangers of the carnivorous birds at Chicago, some appropriate legislation should be passed for their protection. [Laughter.]

Of course, I do not mean to intimate that John T. King or J. Henry Roraback requires protection from any carnivorous hawk. [Great laughter.] Quite the contrary, my friends, quite the contrary. [Renewed laughter.] I am more concerned as to the safety of Charles Hopkins Clark and the other members of the delegation. [Laughter.] What will they do when they get to Chicago to save the Nation from peace and prosperity and Wilson? [Laughter and applause.]

The world is full of perils, especially to the distraught politician. There is no telling what tricks fate may play upon them and they may return from Chicago as enthusiastic patriots supporting Roosevelt and immediate war, or high-minded idealists urging the election of Henry Ford on a platform of universal peace. [Laughter.]

Of course, it is impossible to hazard a conjecture on any basis of reasoning or logic as to the next candidate of the Republican Party or the principles upon which he will be put before the Nation, for that party has neither an available candidate in sight nor any discoverable principles.

However, I hazard the prediction that the nominee will not be Henry Ford. His machine has no self-starter [laughter], and Mr. Ford has exhibited tendencies indicative of so much benevolence and so kindly a feeling for the under dog in the struggle of life that the standpat Republicans would not feel happy in supporting him.

However, I must not worry unduly about the 14 Republican delegates to the Chicago convention, because, after all, they will not have anything to say about who the candidate will be, and so they are spared a good deal of the worry which will have to be borne by Penrose and Barnes and the other elder statesmen of the party. [Laughter and applause.]

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

The question of Republican principles will also be a source of embarrassment. Some Republicans think the President has gone too fast and others that he has gone too slow. It is going to be difficult to harmonize these divergent views, but the cohesive power of public plunder will work wonders, and the call to the standard of the party will bring many a doubtful patriot into line. When that time comes we shall have no more exhibitions of statesmanship such as those indulged in by our old-time friend Ebenezer. [Laughter.] When the McLemore resolution was before the House and four of the Republican Congressmen from this State voted to support the President, Ebenezer voted the other way. Now, Ebenezer is a great statesman, who knows all about the tariff, and he can rattle the dry bones of a moribund issue even more vigorously than Senator McLEAN himself [laughter], and, in addition to that, Ebenezer has discovered a new method of running for office. The law limits the expenditure of a Congressman to $750 or thereabouts. The statesman from Norwalk devised a plan by which he could run for Congress, get the benefit of an expenditure of nearly $10,000, and avoid unpleasant contact with the public statutes. [Laughter.] This is statesmanship of a high order, and, therefore, it was to be expected that when Ebenezer was called upon to explain why he voted against the President he would give forth a sapient reply. He did. [Laughter.] He said that he had good reasons, but that he would not divulge them to the public for fear of embarrassing his four Republican colleagues who had voted the other way. [Laughter.] That was not only statesmanship, it was self-abnegation amounting, almost, to something heroic.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

Of course it is to be expected as the campaign progresses that we shall hear, from time to time, archaic and provincial arguments concerning the tariff. Senator McLEAN pursues this obsolescent method and closes his "keynote" address with an alliterative epigram, as follows, "Preparation and protection will bring peace and prosperity."

This is the summation of his argument. Is it possible that the Senator has been slumbering and that the world has passed and he knew it not? Peace and prosperity are here. [Applause.] They are with us now. It is not a question of how to get them, but how to retain them. [Applause.] The Republican Party, under its present management, is out of touch with events. It seeks to turn back the hands upon the dial of progress and to restore the régime of privilege and graft that America has put behind her forever. [Applause.] It is a party of opposition and not of achievement. If the Democratic Party were in a similar condition of mental collapse and moral bankruptcy with nothing to offer but incoherent words of unpatriotic protest, what would our Republican friends say?

I fear that they would be unkind enough to suggest that we were incapable of managing the complex affairs of government and should not be intrusted with power. [Applause.]

THE UNDERWOOD TARIFF ACT.

Within the limits of this address it is impossible for me to more than touch upon the outstanding accomplishments of the present administration.

In 1908 the Republican Party promised to revise the tariff schedules. Events had made that promise necessary. The dying pledge of President McKinley had to be redeemed. He said, "The day of exclusiveness has passed." The American people were beginning to take a larger view of their economic needs. They had learned that the cry of protection was being used to enable certain favored classes to write schedules so unjust as to be matters of public scandal and which turned the wealth of the people from the many toward the few. After the election of 1908 the managers of the Republican Party proceeded to revise the schedules, not downward, however, in the interest of the people, but upward in the interest of the interests. This breach of faith with the American people brought its inevitable consequences, and in 1912 the Democratic Party was intrusted with power. Our platform promises have been redeemed. What we said we would do we did. [Applause.]

The Underwood Tariff Act, which took the place of the Payne-Aldrich Act, has not deprived the American industries of any proper tariff advantages, but it has deprived the great trusts of an opportunity to continue their plunder of the American people. [Applause.] Indeed, our Republican critics, almost without exception, have abandoned the claim that American industry requires higher schedule rates than those now in force. The chief criticism that Senator McLEAN makes of the Underwood law is that it has not supplied the revenue necessary to run the Government. It is amazing that in the face of the official reports concerning the revenue obtained under the Payne-Aldrich law and the Underwood law such a contention should be made.

Any candid student of the question will easily see that the source of much of the disagreement as to the performances of the two acts grows out of the fact that the critics of the Underwood law intentionally fail to take into account the fact that the provision for an income tax is part of the revenue bill and that it was the purpose of the Underwood law to relieve the people of some of the burden of taxation at the customhouse and to make up the difference in income taxes upon the wealth of America. [Applause.]

The Government reports disclose that all ordinary receipts for the fiscal year 1912 amounted to $691,788,465; for the fiscal year 1913, to $724,111,229; and for the fiscal year 1914, the first year that the Underwood law was on the statute books, to $734,343,700. In other words, the Underwood law in 1914 collected $10,232,471 more revenue than the Payne Act in 1913 and $43,565,235 more than the Payne Act in 1912. [Applause.] Nor is the Senator any more successful in his discussion of trade balances. The favorable balance for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, during nine months of which the Underwood law prevailed, was nearly $300,000,000 greater than the corresponding year under the Payne law; and if we select 10 months from the passage of the Underwood law until the breaking out of the war and compare them with a like period following the enactment of the Payne law we find a favorable trade balance of over $150,000,000 greater under the Democratic law than under the Republican law. [Applause.] Our Republican friends, however, tell us that we are now obliged to increase the income tax in what they call "a time of peace." It is unthinkable that an intelligent people will be disturbed by assertions of this character. It is common knowledge that additional appropriations have been made to increase and strengthen various branches of our Government. Republicans and Democrats participated in passing these measures.

Amongst them were the appropriations for the Federal Trade Commission and the Alaskan railway. Moreover, we are upon the eve of expending more money upon our Army and Navy in obtaining a greater degree of preparedness. In the meanwhile the war has interfered with importations, and some means must be taken to supply the taxes for the support of the Government if we are to have the things for which no one clamors more loudly than the leaders of the Republican Party.

It is hypocrisy pushed to the extreme to demand large appropriations for Army and Navy and at the same time criticize the Democratic Party for attempting to pass the laws which are necessary to secure the revenue to carry out these projects. [Applause.] But Senator McLEAN tells us that we must have a Republican tariff, because after the war the goods of Europe will be dumped upon American shores. Here speaks partisanship rather than statesmanship. It is much more likely that after the war comes to an end the United States will be unable to make goods as fast as Europe will take them. After the war Europe will be industrially disorganized. Europe is organized for war and not for the orderly processes of peace. Millions of her strongest citizens are disabled or dead. It is a provincial spirit which inspires the Senator to fear the industrial competition of crippled and depopulated Europe. The real danger is that Europe will not have enough goods to trade for our goods. [Applause.] International trade consists in the exchange of commodities for commodities. Is it possible that Senator McLEAN imagines that international trade can be carried on without an exchange of goods? The supply of gold is limited. Trade that depends upon getting the other man's gold and not his goods would not last very long.

THE TARIFF COMMISSION.

But against even this possibility the statesmanship of President Wilson has protected us.

The President advocates, and Congress will shortly pass, a provision for a nonpartisan tariff commission. [Applause.] The President says:

> A commission such as I have suggested would have nothing to do with theories of policy. They would deal only with the facts of industry and of the conditions of economic change prevailing in the world, so that legislation of every kind that touched these matters might be guided by the circumstances disclosed by its inquiries.

The Stamford Advocate, a Republican paper, commenting upon this attitude on the part of the President, said:

> No honest protectionist asks for more than that the economic facts concerning each item in the tariff schedule should be ascertained by experts and that the rates made in consequence should be guided by the circumstances disclosed by their inquiries.

[Applause.]

There has never been any serious trouble with the "honest protectionist." Our difficulty has been with those selfish citizens who have sought to use the taxing power of the Government to promote their private interests and in return therefor have contributed munificently to the coffers of the political party that has permitted that form of graft and corruption. This is the vicious thing against which the Democratic Party has raised its standard. [Applause.] No "honest protectionist" could ask for a restoration of the Payne-Aldrich bill and no "honest protectionist" can have any concern about the condition or stability of industry when it is to be protected by the non-partisan tariff commission which the President proposes. [Applause.] The purpose of the proposed act is to take the tariff out of the realm of partisan discussion and to reduce its difficulties to mere matters of business.

What "honest protectionist" can fail to support such a policy? What legitimate interest can ask for more? [Applause.]

FEDERAL RESERVE ACT.

The next great achievement of President Wilson was his insistence upon the passage of the Federal reserve act. [Applause.] You will remember that many people wanted Congress to adjourn and not to touch the currency. The President, however, insisted that Congress should not adjourn without completing this great constructive law. It is not disputed that, until the passage of the Federal reserve act, the currency system of the United States was one of the most chaotic and unsatisfactory prevailing in any civilized nation. The passage of the Federal reserve act, if it had been the only thing accomplished by President Wilson, would in itself be sufficient to give him enduring fame. [Applause.] Resisting pressure from all quarters with that patience and courage characteristic of him, he adhered to his purpose. [Applause.]

Now, there is not a disinterested statesman in America, not a responsible banker who is heard to criticize that law. On the contrary, its approval has been almost unanimous. Senator McLEAN suggests that there ought to have been 1 central bank or 5 central banks instead of 12. He forgets that the instincts of the American people are against one great central bank, and the fame of Andrew Jackson rests largely upon the courage with which he met the demands of concentrated capital in the early days of the Republic. [Applause.] We are not, however, concerned with technical criticisms of immaterial details. The Federal reserve act was passed over the organized and systematic opposition of the Republican Party, backed by the Wall Street banks and all their power and supported by a filibuster conducted by Senator Root, the intellectual leader of the Republican Party. And yet, from the moment of its passage, that act has been an unqualified and complete success. [Great applause.]

Two days after Senator McLEAN's speech there was published an official report of the Comptroller of the Currency. This report discloses that the resources of the national banks of the United States on March 7, 1916, amounted to thirteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-two million dollars, exceeding by $307,000,000 the greatest resources ever known in the history of the national banking system, and exceeded by two thousand two hundred and seventy-one million dollars the resources of the national banks as shown by a statement of the year before. It also showed that the aggregate resources of the national banks of the United States exceed by about three thousand million dollars the aggregate resources of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Russia, the Reichsbank of Germany, the Bank of the Netherlands, the Swiss National Bank, and the Bank of Japan.

It also discloses that the increase in deposits in the past 12 months amounted to more than the sum total of all the deposits in all the national banks 20 years ago. These figures show the stupendous resources of this country, its amazing prosperity and the successful mobilization of its finances under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. [Great applause.]

Until the present administration came to the fullness of its power there has not been any real prosperity in this country since the Republican panic of 1907. And that panic was one of the most inexcusable in our history and was primarily due to the archaic condition of our financial system under Republican rule.

The passage of the Federal reserve act saved this country from an industrial and financial cataclysm.

When the war in Europe began it disturbed the finances of the world. Trade and commerce were impaired, insecure institutions were endangered, and, in many instances, destroyed. This was a world condition.

Every nation of South America suffered from panics, values were destroyed, and bank holidays were a constant necessity. America alone survived the shock and has had the financial ability to loan hundreds of millions of dollars abroad during the war. Such is the financial condition of America, and any critic whose mind is not distorted by partisanship and whose soul is not dwarfed by envy will give full credit to the wise statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson. [Great applause.]

INCOME TAX.

The Democratic Party placed upon the statute books an income tax. The primary purpose contemplated by this legislation was to reduce taxation at the customhouse to make room in our system for a tax on wealth. Taxation at the customhouse is per capita, and the man who toils for his daily bread bears approximately the same burden as the man who counts his wealth in millions. An income tax is based upon the doctrine of "equality of sacrifice," and was necessary to relieve our system from the reproach of being unjustly burdensome to the poor. [Applause.]

The passage of this law was a belated recognition by America of a principle which had found a place in the systems of practically all of the civilized nations of the world. Only reactionaries of the most hopeless character would suggest a repeal of this law, and the Republican Party makes no such demand.

DIRECT ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.

It must not be forgotten that it was the Democratic Party which forced the passage of the constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of United States Senators by popular vote. [Applause.] The Nation has accepted this reform gladly and no one is heard to demand a return to the previous and corrupt system by which United States Senators were elected.

THE CLAYTON ACT AND THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

A wise and far-sighted administration has also given us two additional measures of reform that have contributed to the safety and security of American business—the Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission. [Applause.]

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY AND PAN AMERICANISM.

When the present administration was installed in office it not only inherited from the previous administration a series of distressing complications growing out of the situation in Mexico,

but it also inherited the distrust of the less powerful peoples of this hemisphere and the hatred of the victims of a form of diplomacy known as "dollar diplomacy." The first task of the administration, which it triumphantly accomplished, was to destroy "dollar diplomacy" and to make it apparent to the world that America did not propose to force its financial favors upon reluctant peoples. [Applause.]

Our action during the administration of Mr. Roosevelt with reference to Colombia and Panama, as well as our previous history in the War with Mexico in 1846–48 had made the task of dealing with the South American Republics and extending our trade with them one of exceeding delicacy. Even the most unrelenting critic of Mr. Wilson must admit that under the guidance of the present administration Pan Americanism has become a reality. [Applause.] The very difficulties that we have had with Mexico, including the complications at Vera Cruz, have been taken advantage of to bring about a wider sweep of international friendship on this hemisphere. [Applause.]

MEXICO.

Impulsive and short-sighted critics complain of the policy adopted with reference to Mexico. Admittedly we have been patient, and if patience is a sin, we have sinned; but we are a great and powerful people and we can afford to be patient. Patience in dealing with the turbulent, excitable, ignorant, and partially civilized people of Mexico is not a mark of the weakness and vacillation of our policies, but, on the contrary, is a recognition of the true nobility of that great Republic which, confident in its own strength, seeks to uplift fallen humanity and to implant the aspirations of free government everywhere. [Great applause.]

The firm adherence by President Wilson to this true conception of America has brought into our intimate and friendly counsels the representatives of Argentina and Brazil and Chile. [Applause.] In addition to this, when the question arose as to whether or not Carranza should be recognized, America did not act precipitately nor foolishly nor alone. It acted simultaneously with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Bolivia, Guatemala, Uruguay, and, indeed, practically all of the substantial governments on this hemisphere.

If the recognition of Carranza was a mistake, then all these other Governments have made the same mistake. [Applause.]

HUERTA.

Some of our critics have suggested that the administration committed an error when it failed to recognize Huerta.

It is amazing that such a suggestion can be made by any responsible person, mindful of the honor and the traditions of America. Recognition is the acknowledgment of an accomplished fact. If at any moment Huerta or his government had in fact ruled Mexico, and had been accepted by its people, the question of recognition might more properly have been raised. There was never such a moment. Huerta came to power at the Mexican capital through the assassination of President Madero and Vice President Suarez. These men he caused to be imprisoned. And when they were at his mercy he connived at their murder. He usurped control of the army, dispersed the congress, imprisoned a large number of its members, defied the courts, trampled upon the constitution, intrigued with foreign nations, and then had the audacity to stretch out his bloody hands to the President of the United States for the friendly handclasp of recognition. [Great applause.]

No government founded upon assassination can endure. What excuse could the President have offered to the conscience of the world if he had made friends with this political monster? What extenuation could there have been for such a betrayal of the principles of human liberty? [Applause.]

INTERVENTION.

There are other critics who contend that the President should have intervened in Mexico. Intervention means war. It means a long, tedious, exasperating, and bloody war. It means the sacrifice of millions of treasure and thousands of American lives.

It would imperil our friendly relations with the South and Central American Republics. It would distract and divert the energies of our country at a moment when other and more important questions confront us. Manifestly, therefore, intervention is a last resort.

Intervention in Mexico is not a new question. The first great Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, had the same matter under advisement. If you will read the communication written by William H. Seward, Secretary of State, on April 6, 1861, giving President Lincoln's views on intervention, you will find that the spirit pervading the document and the sentiments expressed by Abraham Lincoln at that time are identical with the spirit and sentiments of Woodrow Wilson. [Applause.]

Let me read from this historic document:

For a few years past the condition of Mexico has been so unsettled as to raise the question on both sides of the Atlantic whether the time has not come when some foreign power ought, in the general interest of society, to intervene. You will not fail to assure the Government of Mexico that the President neither has nor can ever have any sympathy with such designs in whatever quarter they may arise. The President never for a moment doubts that the republican system is to pass safely through all ordeals and prove a permanent success in our own country and so to be recommended to adoption by all other nations. The President is hopeful of the ultimate triumph of this system over all obstacles as well in regard to Mexico as in regard to every other American State. I find the archives here full of complaints against the Mexican Government for violation of contracts and spoliation and cruelties practiced against American citizens. It is not the President's intention to send forward such claims at the present moment. He willingly defers the performances of a duty which at any time would seem ungracious until the incoming administration in Mexico shall have had time, if possible, to cement its authority.

[Applause.]

These words of calmness, of forbearance, of justice, of patience set forth the policy of Lincoln. Am I wrong in assuming that they more thoroughly and more honestly reflect the sentiment of America to-day than the whirling and seditious words of Root and Roosevelt and other partisan critics of the present administration. [Great applause.]

And yet, my friends, we may be forced into intervention. There is a limit to the patience and to the endurance even of that great man in the White House. There are powerful and corrupt and wicked forces at work in this Republic, employing all the weapons of malice and slander to precipitate a crisis with Mexico. Have not the thoughtful, fair-minded men of America, who owe and acknowledge a higher duty to their country than to their party, the generosity, the courage, the patriotism, and the intelligence to sympathize with the President in his efforts to maintain peace upon a basis consistent with American traditions?

The policy of the President with respect of Mexico has already brought to our side the moral and intellectual forces of this hemisphere. Both North and South America are a unit in their efforts to prevent the great flame of war from leaping across the sea. Already we have had encouraging assurances of cooperation and support from the nations of South America that appreciate the rectitude of our purposes and the value of our friendship. I say that to impede the President, to embarrass him, to render his work more difficult, to haggle over nonessentials, is to miss the greatest opportunity that has come to American citizens in a generation—the opportunity to lift America into the undisputed moral leadership of the world. [Loud applause.]

PREPAREDNESS.

At such a time it is discouraging to find a man of Senator McLEAN's intellectual ability using such meaningless words as these:

The great war in Europe has been carried on in all its barbarous details precisely as it would have been if the office of President of the United States had been vacant.

What shall we say of such words as these? I hope that it is not unkind to suggest that they are the result of cerebral flickerings which do not quite amount to mental processes. They are characteristic of the efforts of a bewildered partisan who is striving to square his political prejudices with his patriotic duty. Nor can the Senator be regarded as either fair or helpful when he says:

Our Army is equipped with machine guns that will not shoot at night and aeroplanes that will not fly by day. Our soldiers faint if called upon to march more than 10 miles a day.

I assume that if this means anything at all it is intended as a criticism of the Democratic management of the Army. Under such circumstances it may not be ungracious to point out that President Roosevelt reduced the enlisted strength during his term of office. Mr. Roosevelt became President on September 14, 1901. On the 31st day of May, 1902, the Secretary of War, Mr. Root, by direction of the President, Mr. Roosevelt, issued an order reducing the enlisted strength of the Cavalry from 15,840 to 14,040, of the Artillery from 18,862 to 17,742, and of the Infantry from 38,520 to 29,880, or a total reduction in the enlisted strength of the United States Army of 11,560.

Nor is the Republican record with reference to the Navy any better. In 1906 President Roosevelt declared, in a message to Congress, that the Navy should not be enlarged, that it was adequate for our national purposes, and if existing warships were replaced as they were abandoned all our needs would be met. The Wilson administration authorized in two years $70,000,000 to be spent on the chief fighting forces of the Navy as against $26,000,000 authorized during the last two years of the Taft administration. [Applause.] The five dreadnaughts authorized under President Wilson will mount 36 more 14-inch guns than the two authorized by Mr. Taft. During the four

years of Mr. Meyer's service as Secretary of the Navy he obtained six battleships. In the first two years of the Wilson administration five battleships were authorized—before the European war began. [Applause.] Our enlistments in the Navy have increased over 6,000 under the present administration. A Navy Consulting Board, headed by Thomas A. Edison as its chairman [applause], and 22 members selected from the 11 leading engineering and scientific societies has been established, and the talents and patriotism of these men are now at the service of the country. [Applause.] And if one cares to survey our history he will learn that Grover Cleveland and William C. Whitney started our Navy toward whatever ascendency it enjoys to-day, and Samuel J. Tilden was the father of our present system of coast defense. [Loud and long continued applause.]

But, my friends, I do not blame the Republican Party for not building up a great Army and Navy. The people would not have tolerated it and no statesman foresaw the present situation. But to charge the Democratic administration with responsibility for the inadequate means left us by the Republican Party is injustice of the grossest character. [Applause.]

Upon the issue of preparedness there is no mistaking the attitude or purposes of the President.

"How can Americans differ about the safety of America?" is the question that he submits to his fellow countrymen.

In January and February he spoke in New York, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, Des Moines, Topeka, Kansas City, and St. Louis, taking counsel with the citizenship of this country concerning the preparedness necessary to the safety of the Republic, discussing with frankness the possible perils of the hour, and seeking support for an adequate policy of naval and military preparation. The response was immediate. The necessary bills will be passed before Congress adjourns. You may debate whether these particular bills go far enough or go too far; but clearly they are measures adopted in response to the sentiment of America and are steps in the right direction. [Applause.]

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER.

I know it is not good form to speak well of our Army or Navy, but at the risk of being regarded as a pacifist and with apologies to Senator McLEAN, who suggests that "Our soldiers faint if called upon to march more than 10 miles a day," I call attention to the recent performances of American troopers in Mexico. [Applause.]

On March 24, with 208 men of the Eleventh Cavalry, Maj. Howze cut loose from all communication. On an issue of five days' rations the column marched in 21 days 571 miles, which is only 100 miles less than the distance from Paris to Berlin.

They marched through a desert which afforded no fodder and only at long intervals water for the horses. There were no roads—only mountain trails. During the entire march they were beyond reach of relief. They fought several engagements, were victorious in all, and lost but one man. [Applause.] With all due respect to Senator McLEAN, I assert that there are no soldiers in the world who could have excelled that feat of that little band of American troopers. [Applause.] That is the spirit of America. That is illustrative of what Americans can do when put to the test. [Applause.]

SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT.

The Senator indulges in a prolonged and inconclusive consideration of the President's foreign policies. At one moment he affects to believe the President infirm of purpose. In the next breath he implies that he may have gone too far, and ends his futile discussion with the lame and impotent conclusion, "I think this is a debatable question."

Again, he says, "What is the sane and patriotic thing to do?" But he supplies no answer to the question.

If the Senator desires to know what patriotic Republicans ought to do, I commend to him the statement made by ex-President Taft on April 21 in an address delivered at Chicago. Mr. Taft discusses the course pursued by President Wilson and says:

> He is right and we all must stand by him. I can not follow the reasoning of those who exalt Americanism and patriotism and do not uphold his hands in the present crisis.

[Applause.]

This was also the attitude of Senator Root on April 25, 1914, when, speaking at a banquet of the American Society of International Law at the Willard Hotel in Washington, he said:

> Thank Heaven we have a President in whose lofty character, in whose sincerity of purpose, in his genuine desire to do what is right, wise, patriotic, and what is best for the country and humanity, we can all trust absolutely. I trust in him. I have differed from him in questions of policy, and doubtless shall differ from him again. Men coming up with different environments and associations and ideas must differ; but I have confidence in the character and purpose of the President of the United States. He is my President, and I will stand behind him in his leadership.

[Applause.]

These are ringing American words, spoken before the political campaign opened and before the exigencies of the Republican Party required the distinguished lawyer to prepare a brief on the other side. [Laughter and applause.]

OUR FOREIGN POLICIES.

The policy of the President is to maintain our national honor and, if possible, to preserve peace. Who will deny that before submitting to the hazards and miseries of war statesmanship requires that the appeal to reason and justice should first be employed and that every resource known to diplomacy should be exhausted? [Applause.] Of course there are irresponsible and excitable critics who complain of the vexation and delay necessarily incident to such negotiations.

Alexander Hamilton and Rufus King criticized the diplomacy of Washington in connection with the Genet controversy. The members of the Cabinet of John Adams criticized his negotiations with France.

John Randolph bitterly attacked Jefferson's foreign policy. Horace Greeley was dissatisfied with the diplomacy of Lincoln, and many men who mistook themselves for statesmen condemned the action of Lincoln in overruling his Secretary of the Navy and even the House of Representatives to maintain peace with Great Britain when the *Trent* affair had stirred the anger of our people. We have had distressing international problems before. In 1793, during the war between England and France, the former seized and held hundreds of vessels floating the American flag. But Washington wrote notes and resorted to diplomacy and saved the Nation from war. In the campaign of 1844 one of the issues was "Fifty-four forty or fight," but we settled the Oregon dispute with England by writing notes and by negotiations.

During the Civil War the dispute with England concerning the *Alabama* and other privateers which had destroyed American commerce disturbed American sentiment, but Lincoln wrote notes and negotiated and saved his country from war. [Applause.]

In 1873 Spain seized the ship *Virginius*, flying the American flag, and shot the captain of the ship, 36 of the crew, and 12 passengers, but President Grant wrote notes and resorted to diplomacy and saved the country from war. [Applause.]

Later in our history there was a controversy with Chile growing out of the shooting of the sailors of the United States battleship *Baltimore*. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, wrote notes and resorted to diplomacy and saved the country from war. [Applause.]

The bloodthirsty attitude assumed by Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt, both of whom, curiously enough, were recipients of the Nobel peace prize, is one of those astonishing revelations indicative of the manner in which men of repute are apt to lose their heads in a national crisis. But the President of the United States has not lost his head [cheers], nor has he lost sight of the true vision of what America means to the world. [Great applause.] It has been his difficult task to maintain in time of war the standards of peace. To preserve peace under such circumstances is a far nobler accomplishment than to lead a nation in war. [Applause.] One can always have war. It should be a last resort. All our great statesmen have warned us against it. The pages of our history are filled with their admonitions. Washington and Jefferson and Franklin and Lincoln and Grant all had a horror of war, but shall anyone say that they lacked courage or that when the time of test came they flinched or failed? [Applause.] The American people have sufficient discernment to distinguish between the spurious patriotism that rushes headlong into controversy and that real patriotism which is not easily provoked to bitterness or violence or reprisal and which for that very fact may be counted upon for all the greater steadfastness in the real hour of national peril. [Applause.]

BELGIUM.

The American people, no matter what their feeling may have been with regard to Belgium, know that the attitude of neutrality assumed by our President was the only correct position that could have been taken. [Applause.] Had a contrary position been assumed the sinking of the *Lusitania*, when it came, would almost inevitably have required us to join the international conflict.

It may be true that some of our citizens would have approved this course and have accepted the results gladly, but they are but a mere fraction of our people.

Mr. Root was United States Senator when the Belgium representatives came to this country, and Senator McLEAN was also in the Senate. I do not recall that either of these statesmen arose to suggest the propriety upon the part of the President

of writing a note of disapproval to Germany. Seven weeks later Mr. Roosevelt, in the Outlook of September 23, 1914, said:

Of course it would have been folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose and very probably nothing we could have done would have helped Belgium. Only the clearest and most urgent national duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and noninterference.

Since that time, my friends, we have heard a deal of nonsense about what the Government ought to have done, but the common sense of American citizenship will appraise these criticisms at their just value.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

Some sensitive and nervous people are alarmed lest we become the laughing stock of Europe. Let them be reassured. The diplomacy of the Old World in the light of the tragic events of the last two years has little to commend it to the free people of this country. It is much more important to know what America thinks of the statesmanship of Europe than what Europe thinks of the statesmanship of America. [Applause.]

The Democratic Party is treading the traditional path of enlightened policy.

Washington, in his Farewell Address, expressed the hope—

That we may never unsheath the sword except in self-defense so long as justice and our essential rights and national respectability can be preserved without it.

[Applause.]

Our President, speaking recently in New York, expressed the same idea when he said:

Americans would not seek a contest or cravenly avoid one. They would fight for the vindication of their honor and character, for liberty, and for free institutions.

[Applause.]

We are a peace-loving people; we are a patient people; we are a powerful people; and let us hope we are a just people. And any nation which has the courage to avoid an unnecessary war will not lack the courage to wage a righteous one. [Applause.]

THE WORLD CONFLICT.

We may not be able to maintain peace. No one can foresee what a day may bring forth. But this we know, up to the present moment our President has kept us out of this world conflict. [Applause.] If trouble comes we are immeasurably better prepared for it than we were a year ago. In the matter of the ability to produce the munitions of war, perhaps the most important thing of all, our situation is vastly more favorable than it was when this war began. If the services of the President have merely delayed the hour of our entry into the conflict, America can never repay the debt it owes him. [Applause.] The President has earned the confidence of his countrymen. Let us continue to trust in him.

Away, I say, with the evil counsels of impatience! We must have the fairness to appreciate that while we negotiate there are millions of our fellow creatures "to whom the war has changed the aspect of the earth and imagery of heaven." The grave heaps and heartbreaks, the utter agony and despair of mankind—surely these things should teach us humanity and forbearance and patience. We must make allowance for these unprecedented conditions and we must not darken that lone light that shines from liberty-loving America upon the troubled and desperate peoples of the earth. [Applause.]

Lincoln would have been moved to a great compassion by a world in such travail. Let us summon to our memory the undying words "with malice toward none, with charity for all, let us strive to do the right as God gives us to see the right." [Applause.]

THOUGHTLESS CRITICISM.

All those who are intrusted with power in a national crisis are violently assailed. Let me read you a quotation recently appearing in the public press:

How much longer is the Nation prepared to drift under the domination of leaders who refuse to lead, who will not act, and who suffer from chronic inability to make up their minds.

That, my friends, sounds familiar, but it is not a criticism of the present administration. It is taken from the London Daily Mail criticizing the Asquith ministry.

History tells us that when Washington decided upon a policy of neutrality between Great Britain and France, when those two countries were at war, he was violently assailed.

Many men of substance thought that we owed a duty to France and that an opportunity had been presented to repay to her, in some measure, the services that she had rendered to us at the time of the Revolution. Others adhered to the cause of Great Britain and maintained that our ties of blood and language should incline us to that side. Feeling became intense and bitter. Valley Forge and Yorktown were forgotten and the effigy of Washington was burned in the public streets of our cities. Our neutrality was violated at home and abroad, political criticism degenerated into sedition, and Washington said he would rather be in his grave than be President of the United States. But he adhered to his purpose, and that sorry page in American history teaches us that Washington was right. [Applause.]

In the period of the Civil War, Lincoln was similarly attacked. Scarcely a week passed that a delegation did not go to Washington to tell him how to run the Government. He was charged with vacillation and inability to make up his mind. He was accused of truckling to Great Britain and was denounced upon the floor of Congress. He was called a clown, a butcher, a hell hound of slavery, a traitor, a despot, a gorilla, a baboon, a fool, an ignorant backwoods lawyer, a scoundrel, and a villain. There were Roosevelts in that time; but Lincoln adhered to his purpose and his calm spirit rests to-day like a benediction upon America.

It is reported that when one delegation came to see the President he replied as follows:

Gentlemen, suppose all the property you were worth was in gold and you had put it in the hands of Blondin to carry across the Niagara River on a rope. Would you shake the cable or keep shouting to him, "Blondin, stand up a little straighter; Blondin, stoop a little lower, go a little faster, lean a little more to the north, lean a little more to the south"? No; you would hold your breath as well as your tongue and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government is carrying an enormous weight, untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the best they can. Do not badger them; keep silence, and we will get you safe across.

[Applause.]

Later in the history of our country President McKinley was the victim of similar vituperation. McKinley was for peace even when the *Maine* lay in ruins, and implored his countrymen not to disturb the orderly processes of diplomacy.

No one who reads the debates in Congress during that period can fail to feel a flush of shame because of the unbridled and malicious criticism to which he was subjected. They called him weak and vacillating and exhausted the vocabulary of vituperation. Evil forces, selfish forces, reckless forces were at work in America then as now, and in the end forced McKinley reluctantly into war.

And now, in the darkest day of the world's history, Wilson stands like a stone wall—resisting these same evil forces. [Cheering and long-continued applause.]

AMERICA'S MISSION.

There is no difficulty about getting into this war. The impulsive statesmen of the hour could have managed it for you long ago. But it has been our hope that America might remain at peace.

We are the only great disengaged Nation on earth. In a certain sense we are the trustees of the moral judgments of the world. Some one must keep undisturbed the great stable foundations of international justice.

America's mission is a mission of humanity and peace. Let us hope that our place in the immediate years to come shall be to bind up the wounds of war, to reestablish the ties of friendship, to re-create and strengthen the bonds of fraternity that ought to unite all humanity everywhere.

And, as the white-hot events of to-day pass into the cool yesterdays of history, it will be recorded that when a crisis came again to America and men were distraught and counsels were confused, an all-wise Providence gave to the Nation another Lincoln, and that amid a world of turbulent spirits and swift and surpassing change, he stood undisturbed and steadfast, with no rival who could hope to reach the serene heights of his intellectual and moral power—towering above them all, the first citizen of the civilized world. [Cheers and long-continued applause.]

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**Some Achievements of the Administration.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ARTHUR B. ROUSE,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. ROUSE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to call attention to some of the good legislation enacted during the past three years by this Democratic administration, and at the same time ask those who failed to support the administration four years ago, if this record of kept promises does not merit the commendation and support of all the people.

During this administration the following are some of the important acts which were passed by a Democratic House, a Democratic Senate, and signed by a Democratic President:

1. Passed the Federal reserve banking law, which takes from Wall Street the power of control over the volume of money of the United States and makes money panics impossible.
2. Amended the Federal reserve banking law, which permits associations of national banks to establish branches in foreign countries.
3. Passed a law revising the tariff downward, taking the tariff off of the necessaries and placing it on the luxuries of life.
4. Passed the income-tax law, which lifts the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the masses and places it on those better able to bear it.
5. Passed the Clayton anti-trust law, which prevents few men from controlling corporations.
6. Passed the eight-hour law on all Government work.
7. Passed the law providing for the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.
8. Passed a law creating the office of the Secretary of Labor.
9. Passed a law creating a Federal Labor Employment Bureau.
10. Passed the seamen's law, which improves labor conditions on ship board and lessens the danger of ocean travel.
11. Passed the Federal Trade Commission law, which helps and protects honest business and curbs lawless trusts.
12. Passed a law providing for Government insurance on ship cargoes.
13. Passed a law extending the parcel post, reducing charges and increasing the weight limit on packages.
14. Passed a law broadening the scope of the Postal Savings Bank System by increasing maximum amount allowed to be deposited.
15. Passed the Federal farm-loan act, providing a system of rural credits, guaranteeing long-term, low-rate loans to farmers.
16. Passed $85,000,000 Federal-aid road bill.
17. Passed the Federal child-labor act, preventing shipment in interstate commerce of products of child labor.
18. Passed a Tariff Commission law, which takes the tariff out of politics and takes politics out of the tariff, with aims of regulating the tariff on scientific business principles.
19. Passed a law authorizing $11,000,000 for Government armor-plate plant.
20. Passed a law authorizing $20,000,000 for Government nitrate plant.
21. Passed the inheritance-tax law.
22. Passed a law taxing munitions of war.
23. Passed the uniform grain-grading act.
24. Passed the cotton futures act, restricting speculation in cotton futures.
25. Passed law giving Government regulation over warehouses and providing negotiable warehouse receipts.
26. Passed a law granting the Philippines greater self-government, but refused to fix date for their full independence.
27. Passed the President's eight-hour law for railway employees and averted a national railroad strike, and provided for Federal investigation of railroads by joint congressional committee.
28. Passed the workmen's compensation act for Federal employees.
29. Passed drastic retaliatory legislation against belligerent nations which discriminate against American firms and American products.
30. Passed the shipping bill, which establishes a Shipping Board for the purpose of encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with foreign countries.
31. Passed a great "direct taxation" bill to raise $200,000,000 in revenue, chiefly from incomes, inheritances, and war munitions.

The President two years ago furnished Government money to aid in moving the crops when the money powers of the East were holding the great surpluses for speculative purposes.

The President averted a threatened panic at the outbreak of the great European war by offering to use the Government's money to handle the business situation.

More progressive legislation has been enacted during the past three and one-half years than in the previous 16 years of Republican rule. With this record to the credit of the present administration, which has control of the executive and legislative branches of the Government, do you think the people of the United States will demand a change of management in governmental affairs?

## The Negro as a Soldier and a Sailor.

### REMARKS
OF
### HON. MURRAY HULBERT,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to a bill introduced at this session of Congress, which reads as follows:

A bill (H. R. 17183) to prevent the enlistment of negroes in the military service of the United States.

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That hereafter there shall not be enlisted or reenlisted in the military service of the United States, either in the Army or Navy, any person of the negro or colored race.

SEC. 2. All laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

It was a source of genuine satisfaction that Secretary of War Baker expressed himself with respect thereto as follows:

My attention had not been before called to this bill, and, so far as I know, it has not been referred to this department for opinion. The purpose of the bill is to prevent the enlistment or reenlistment of people of the colored race in the military service of the United States. Any such bill would receive the disapproval and adverse recommendation of this department.

Those who are familiar with the history of our country from the armies organized by George Washington in the American Revolution down to the present day know that brave and often conspicuously gallant service has been rendered by colored troops. In the most recent instance, at Carrizal, in Mexico, these colored troops conducted themselves with the greatest intrepidity, and reflected nothing but honor upon the uniform they wore.

No one who recalls the glorious acts of patriotism and the daring deeds of bravery performed by the colored troopers at Carrizal, members of the Tenth Cavalry, to which Maj. Charles Young (colored), a graduate of West Point, is attached, but will regret and condemn this intemperate and unpatriotic action upon the part of the Representative who had the temerity to introduce such a measure, which, needless to say, can never be expected to receive serious consideration in or be reported from the committee to which it has been referred.

Some time since my attention was called to a movement inaugurated by the National Memorial Association for the erection of a monument in the city of Washington, D. C., in honor of the colored soldiers and sailors who fought in the wars of our country, indorsed by such organizations and eminent men as Department of the Potomac, G. A. R.; Woman's Relief Corps, Department of Potomac; Army and Navy Union, District of Columbia; Spanish War Veterans, District of Columbia; Hon. JOHN W. KERN, United States Senator, Indiana; Hon. MOSES E. CLAPP, United States Senator, Minnesota; Hon. THOMAS TAGGART, United States Senator, Indiana; Hon. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, Member of Congress, Ohio; Hon. PHILIP CAMPBELL, Member of Congress, Kansas; Hon. L. C. DYER, Member of Congress, Missouri; Hon. MARTIN B. MADDEN, Member of Congress, Illinois; Hon. W. A. RODENBERG, Member of Congress, Illinois; Hon. JOHN W. WEEKS, United States Senator, Massachusetts; Dr. S. M. Newman, president Howard University; Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; Hon. G. M. Saltzgaber, Commissioner of Pensions; Col. John McElroy, past senior vice commander in chief G. A. R.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I present the following statement:

THE NEGRO AS A SOLDIER AND SAILOR.

More than a half century ago the martyred Lincoln wrote the emancipation proclamation that gave freedom to the slaves of America. Immediately following that memorable event the Civil War closed. Within the past few years several appropriate celebrations have been held in commemoration of President Lincoln's noble deed. These events have passed into history and remain dear to the memory of a grateful people.

In every war of the Nation the negro has had his place—in the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812, at Mexico, in the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the punitive expedition now existing in Mexico. His bravery and loyalty have never been questioned.

His deeds of valor and sacrifice for the honor of the Nation and perpetuity of the Union have been told in song and story. But no monument of marble or bronze has been erected by the Nation nor the race with which he is identified, to be gazed upon by future generations and arouse in them veneration and pride for their heroic ancestry.

A MONUMENT SHOULD BE ERECTED.

It is quite proper that after these long, long years of seeming neglect a monument should be erected to the memory of the dead heroes of the colored race, who sacrificed their lives upon the altar of their country.

A PAGE FROM HISTORY—THE COLORED SOLDIER AND SAILOR.

They were found in all branches of the patriot Army. They generally served in the same regiments with the white soldiers. Connecticut, however, had one complete company of colored soldiers, and Rhode Island a complete regiment. According to an official report, there were in the Army, under Gen. Washington's immediate command, on the 24th of August, 1778, 775 colored soldiers. It is estimated that there was an average of 35 colored soldiers in each white regiment. This does not appear to include the colored troops furnished by Connecticut, New York, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. There were altogether about 3,000 colored soldiers.

Some of the most heroic deeds of the War of Independence were performed by colored men. The first martyr in the Boston massacre, March 5, 1770, was Crispus Attucks. The Black Legion, organized in 1779 in Santo Domingo by Count D'Estaing, consisted of 800 young freemen—blacks and mulattoes. At the siege of Savannah on the 9th of October, 1779, this legion, by covering the retreat and repulsing the charge of the British saved the defeated American and French Army from annihilation.

A large number of colored sailors were in the Navy during the War of 1812. It is estimated that one-tenth of the crews that manned the vessels on the Great Lakes were colored. They served faithfully in all the battles of the Great Lakes, and in the Battle of Lake Erie rendered very effective service. In the celebrated picture of Perry's victory on Lake Erie is seen a colored sailor.

Gen. Andrew Jackson, September 21, 1814, issued a call to the free colored men of Louisiana to enlist. As a result 500 of them were organized into two battalions. These battalions distinguished themselves in the Battle of New Orleans. The Legislature of New York, October 24, 1814, authorized the raising of two regiments of men of color. As a result 2,000 colored men were enlisted and sent forward to the Army at Sacketts Harbor.

One hundred and seventy-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five colored soldiers were enlisted in the War of the Rebellion. The first colored regiments to be organized were the First South Carolina, in which the first enlistments were made May 9, 1862; the First Louisiana Native Guards, September 27, 1862; the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, February 9, 1862; the Second Carolina Volunteers, February 23, 1863.

July 28, 1866, Congress passed a law that colored regiments should be a part of the Regular Army. The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, and the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Regiments of Infantry were organized. March 3, 1869, a consolidation act was passed, and the Thirty-eighth and Forty-first were reorganized as the Twenty-fourth Regiment of Infantry; the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth were reorganized as the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Infantry. The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry won the reputation of being the best Indian fighters on the frontier.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 the four colored regiments were among the first troops ordered to the front. Here again they won great distinction by their bravery and daring. Colored soldiers took a more conspicuous part in the Spanish-American War than in any previous war waged by the United States. At the first battle in Cuba, Las Guasimas, the Tenth Cavalry played an important part by coming to the support of Col. Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. The Twenty-fifth Infantry took a prominent part in the Battle of El Caney. The Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth Infantry rendered heroic service in the famous Battle of San Juan Hill.

1. It appears from the official records that the following named volunteer organizations, officered wholly or in part by colored men, served in the War with Spain:

Third Regiment Alabama Infantry.
Eighth Regiment Illinois Infantry.
Companies A and B, First Regiment Indiana Infantry.
Company L, Sixth Regiment Massachusetts Infantry.
Twenty-third Regiment Kansas Infantry.
Third Regiment North Carolina Infantry.
Ninth Battalion Ohio Infantry.
Sixth Regiment Virginia Infantry.
Seventh Regiment United States Volunteer Infantry.
Eighth Regiment United States Volunteer Infantry.
Ninth Regiment United States Volunteer Infantry.
Tenth Regiment United States Volunteer Infantry.

2. According to the latest compilation, the number of colored volunteer troops in the service of the United States during the War with Spain was 10,189. This number does not include the four colored regiments of the Regular Army, which had an average strength of 3,328 enlisted men during the calendar year 1898.

The enlisted strength of the four colored regiments of the Regular Army on February 28, 1899, near the date of the close of the War with Spain, was 3,339 men.

## The Philippine Bill.

### SPEECH
OF
### HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON,
RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday May 1, 1916.*

The House, in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, had under consideration the bill (S. 381) to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, we are all, I am sure, conscious of the fact that the question before the House is of the utmost importance, of vast consequence to both the American and the Filipino peoples. Your action will, indeed, affect not alone you and us of the present generation, but those coming after us—generations yet unborn. And so, it is with a very deep sense of grave responsibility that I shall make my statement.

You are writing history to-day, and it lies entirely within your power to determine what that history shall be—whether it shall be one worthy of the past of this great Republic, a realization of the noble purpose for which it was founded, or a bold and frank departure from what you have asserted to be American ideals and American principles. The people of the Philippines are in suspense; their eyes are now anxiously following the proceedings in this chamber, the very life of their country hanging in the balance. Shall justice at last be done to them? Shall the untold sacrifice in blood and treasure made in the past now bear its fruit?

Shall we, after centuries of subjection, be after all permitted to lift up our heads and face mankind as an emancipated people, placed upon the same footing as those who are already the masters of themselves and their country; or must we still wander, a people without its own country or flag, with but feeble hopes in the future? The answer is yours.

To discuss in detail, within the time allotted me, the bill now before the House is, of course, impossible, and perhaps unnecessary. The chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs [Mr. JONES] has done this better than I could hope to do. It is the main issue involved in the bill that I am particularly interested in, and to that question alone I shall address myself. That issue is contained in the provisions of section 34, commonly known as the Clarke amendment. The rest of the bill is very defective. It is not quite as liberal as the bill introduced in the House by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES]. Indeed, some of its provisions are inconsistent with the theory underlying the bill; there are too many limitations imposed upon the powers granted to the Filipino people; then the prohibition clause, known as the Gronna amendment, reduces the income of the Philippine government at a time when we shall be most in need of revenue, since we must prepare for the increased expenses that will result from the forthcoming establishment of an independent government. But despite these objectionable features of the bill, I am willing to have it passed as it is rather than to endanger the adoption of the Clarke amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it would be a lack of candor for me to say that the Clarke amendment constitutes, in my opinion, the best and wisest way of disposing of the Philippine question. I think I could propose a better solution, or, at least, one that would better safeguard the interests of my people and be more satisfactory to them. But, as a practical man, I must deal with conditions, and so, there being no other proposal for Philippine independence which could possibly have any chance of getting through, I am for the Clarke amendment body and soul. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The substantial merit of the Clarke amendment lies in the fact that it provides for the establishment, within a short period of time, of an independent Philippine government, a government

that will be of, for, and by the Filipino people, absolutely free from any foreign control and interference; a government which it is our fondest ambition to have, as it is our God-given right to establish, the only kind of government under which we can live happily and content. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I shall not on this occasion deal with the question of whether or not the Filipino people are capable of governing themselves. I have discussed that question time and time again, both upon the floor of this House and elsewhere, and, I dare say, it is, with most of you, no longer a debatable point. Those who, in spite of the splendid evidence given by the people of the Philippine Islands in their exercise of the power heretofore granted them by the United States, still insist that we can not govern ourselves are either too blind to see the light or too prejudiced to admit it. It is a waste of time to try to convince them. The proposition to which I shall address myself is that on which honest men may differ, namely, whether the Filipino people, left to their own devices, would long remain independent. There are many well-meaning and sympathetic Americans who would not for one minute withhold from us the right to govern our own country except for the fear that we may fall prey to some other power, and in their good will toward my people, in their unselfish interest in our well-being they would not tolerate for a second a situation under which we might become the victim of any unscrupulous nation. All honor to these good-hearted, generous Americans! They are not to be confused with those whose real motive in opposing Philippine independence is the promotion of their own personal interests. These honest Americans deserve and have the affection of my people. But I want to tell them, Mr. Chairman, that in my opinion their fears are unfounded, that the specter of a nation awaiting patiently but watching guardedly the moment when the United States shall withdraw its sovereignty from the Philippine Islands in order to step in and get control of the Filipino government is the result of fancy.

Mr. MADDEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. MADDEN. Suppose the Filipinos were given freedom now, but before they had time to build up an army and navy some European or oriental country should undertake to take them away. To what civilized country would they look for protection?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I was just saying when I was interrupted by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MADDEN] that, in my opinion, the hypothesis of the gentleman is not likely to become real; but if it should, let me assure the gentleman that we would look to no country for protection; we would fight as best we could, with whatever means we had; we would unhesitatingly consecrate once more to our love for freedom the best blood there is in our land [applause]; we could do no more.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Will the gentleman yield for just one supplemental question?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Has the gentleman got that confidence in the nations of the world to believe that you will be left alone after you are free and independent without a strong army and navy?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, I have no more confidence in the nations of the world now than had those patriotic Americans who in 1776 dared to establish a Republic in this continent with but 3,000,000 people [applause]; but my people are just as willing—in fact, as desirous of taking their chance—as the founders of this Nation were, and I hope, in God's mercy, we shall be as successful. What would have been the fate of your country to-day had your forefathers been as timid, as fearful of other nations, as the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. O'SHAUNESSY] would wish us to be? The inquiry of the gentleman implies the assertion that no small country should aspire to be independent, for it surely will be grabbed by a stronger power. If this theory be true, the mouth of every Irishman patriot should be forever closed, since their noble ambition would simply mean a change of master. But that theory, fortunately for mankind, is unsound and not supported by facts. Look, if you please, at Holland, Switzerland, and other small countries, and tell me how long they have been independent. Does anyone question that they will remain so for years to come? Belgium, the latest instance of an unprovoked aggression, was not attacked because her conquest was sought, but because the passage of a belligerent army through her territory was deemed vital for the success of that army, and, I dare say, that the attack upon Belgium, more than any other cause, will defeat Germany in this war, since she so shocked the moral sense of the world that she alienated sympathies which might otherwise have been hers. It will only be, so we are told—and I believe it to be true—after the full independence of Belgium shall have been restored and after she has been fully paid for the damages she has suffered that the peace of Europe will come.

Mr. Chairman, it has been very unfortunate for the people of Belgium, it has meant to them untold sufferings, and yet, in a way, the world at large may be consoled that such a horrible incident should have taken place, for its consequences make us feel that it never will be lightly repeated. With the lesson in Belgium before it no nation, no matter how strong she may be, will be anxious to put herself in the moral predicament in which the German Government is now placed. [Applause.]

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY. Mr. Chairman, just one more question. Is it a fact that the politicos, so called, in the Philippine Islands believe that when they are given their freedom they will be supported in it by the Army and Navy of the United States, or is there any understanding that they will be guaranteed in their freedom or that something will be done for their neutralization?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, there may be Filipinos who believe or hope that when the islands are declared independent the Army and Navy of the United States will stand back of that declaration, either for a period of years or forever. I, for one, do not share that belief nor do I cherish such hope. Of course, I would not refuse the aid of the United States, and would accept it gracefully if it was tendered to us in case we were at war. But I would not ask for it. Certainly I would not make the independence of the Philippine Islands dependent upon the understanding that such aid would be given us. My attitude on this matter has always been this: That if we want to be independent, we should rely upon ourselves alone to maintain and defend our government. So far as I know, this is also the attitude of the immense majority of the Filipino people. [Applause.]

It is true that there are many Filipinos—and I am one of them—who would like to see the Philippine Islands neutralized, and we hope that the United States will take the necessary steps to secure an agreement with other nations to the effect that when the islands shall have been granted their independence by this Government, that independence shall be recognized and respected by all the nations of the world and not interfered with. But neither are we so much concerned with the necessity of neutralizing the Philippines as to make the granting of our independence dependent upon the success of a neutralization treaty.

Mr. Chairman, I have no fear that when your protection is withdrawn from the Philippines, we shall at once be invaded by a conquering army; not because I have any confidence in the altruism of the other nations, but because I know they are selfish. Just let me show you how the self-interest of the great powers will serve to protect the islands from foreign aggression. The nations that are strong enough to take the Philippines by force are England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia in Europe, and Japan in Asia. England is satisfied with the maintenance of the status quo in Asia—that is to say, of retaining what she has and in not having others get more than they have now. She does not seem to have any special reasons for wishing to possess herself of the Philippines. On the contrary, there are two strong reasons why we should have no fears of England: First, because after the attitude which she has taken in this war—holding herself out as the friend of weak nations—she could not well adopt a policy of conquest toward such a nation; second, because England would no more think of offending the American people than the United States would think of offending the English people.

These two English-speaking peoples are now friends and will remain so. It is evident that if the Philippines are made independent because, in their love for justice, the American people felt it their duty to allow us to set up our own Government, it would necessarily be offensive to the people of the United States to learn that another country had destroyed the government. This does not mean that the American people would go to war for us, but it does mean that they would have a feeling of resentment against the nation which has thus acted toward us. So England will not interfere with an independent Philippine government. Austria is out of the question, for she has no colonies in Asia and has shown no desire of late of acquiring them. How about France, Germany, Italy, and Russia? The interest of Japan, as well as that of England, will protect the Philippines from aggression coming from either of these countries. So there is left only one nation, and that is Japan, the very nation which is pointed out as the greatest menace to Philippine independence. Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt that if the Philippine Islands were given to Japan and the Filipinos were to acquiesce voluntarily to this transfer of sovereignty and would become patriotic Japanese, that Japan would be glad to take the islands. But Japan will make no effort, will shed

not a drop of blood, or spend a cent of money to acquire the islands once they are independent. There are only three objects nowadays for which a nation undertakes the conquest of another nation—territorial aggrandizement, commercial expansion, or military necessity. Japan does not need at present any territory in the Philippines. She has of recent years added to the empire more territory than she can easily manage. Besides, for her territorial expansion she is looking toward the north instead of toward the south. So, for the sake of gaining more territory alone, Japan will not undertake to conquer the islands. As for commercial expansion, the trade of Japan with Europe, China, and the United States will not be helped by the possession of the Philippines, for the islands are out of the way in all these routes. As for strategic reasons, the Philippines are no more needed by Japan than they are for commercial reasons. No possible enemy of Japan, after the United States has left the islands, would come by way of the Philippines. Therefore I can see no reason why Japan would have any special desire to seize the islands. Again, England could not look with favor on the action of Japan in taking over the Archipelago, for that would place Australia too near Japan to be safe or comfortable. So, Mr. Chairman, this talk of the Philippines being grabbed by Japan the day after you had left us alone is absolutely unfounded, and no one familiar with the international situation in the Far East would take it seriously. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. I understood the gentleman to take the position that there is no danger of Japan conquering the Philippines in case the Philippine Islands are independently free?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. But for the purposes of this next question, Does the gentleman think there is any possibility that Japan would go to war with the United States for the purpose of getting the Philippine Islands if our sovereignty remained?

Mr. QUEZON. That is a very delicate question for me to answer. That is a matter for American statesmen and Japanese statesmen to settle. [Applause.] I have my own opinion as to what would be the relations between the Philippines and Japan if we were independent, but I should not care to be placed in the position of telling this House things concerning the relations between the United States and Japan.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. If the gentleman thinks that Japan would not fight the Filipinos in order to get the Philippine Islands, does he think that Japan would fight the United States in order to get the Philippine Islands?

Mr. QUEZON. Since the gentleman insists, I think I can point out to him some difference from the standpoint of Japan between the Philippines as an independent nation and the Philippines as a colony of the United States. The Philippines, as an independent nation, would not be a source of danger to Japan, but the Philippines under American sovereignty might well be a menace to Japan's interest in the Far East. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, I feel that I have fully demonstrated that, as conditions in the world stand to-day, if you grant the Philippines their independence, that independence will be recognized and respected by all the powers. Therefore I see no reason why you should withhold from us that right which we long to exercise and which by every divine and human law is really ours.

Statements have been made to-day to the effect that this is the anniversary of the Battle of Manila, and it has been alleged that because of this fact this is an ill-chosen day to bring up a bill providing for the independence of the Philippine Islands. Ah, Mr. Chairman, you could have selected no better day than this to decide that the Filipinos shall have their independence; you could in no more fitting manner celebrate Dewey's victory in the Manila Bay. I remember with what unbounded enthusiasm the Filipino people received the news of the declaration of war between the United States and Spain. It was heralded to them, as it was heralded to the rest of the world, as a war not to be waged for territorial expansion, not made in a spirit of conquest, but undertaken by a liberty-loving people in order to free the oppressed people of Cuba.

The Filipinos, of course, understood that this meant freedom for them as well, for, to their minds, you could not follow one policy in Cuba and another in the Philippines. We in the islands were also struggling for our freedom. We fought by your side in that war. We hailed the American soldiers as the liberators of our people; we looked upon your victories as our own victories and gave you credit for the victories won by our own soldiers. It was a common enterprise against a common enemy. You received our aid, knowing the reason why it was given you, namely, because we believed in good faith that if we took your side, you would set free our country. And so, after those long and weary years have gone by, it is now well nigh time for you to celebrate Dewey's victory by granting independence to the Philippine Islands. Thus you will prove that that victory was won not for the purpose of taking other people's land, not for the purpose of opening for your goods new markets, not for the purpose of giving your administrators new subjects, but in the true spirit of that noble task which you have undertaken from the beginning of this Republic—to do your part in the emancipation of mankind.

Mr. Chairman, there is just one more point which I wish to make in connection with the statement of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. AUSTIN], that all the churches in the Philippines, Protestant and Catholic alike, are against independence. I do not know how much truth there is in such a report; but, if it be true, I hope it will not be out of place for me to remind the representatives of these churches that we are the only Christian people in the Far East, and it is, therefore, a duty which they owe to themselves to favor Philippine independence. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Shall it be said that the Christian religion, under whose doctrines we have lived for over 300 years, has not made us at least as good citizens as other oriental peoples? Why do they want American sovereignty of the islands? Do they, mayhap, need American guns to preach us their religion? Christianity is founded upon love, and it is only through love that Christ wishes kingdom established. Christianity is the great teacher of freedom, of equality among men, and he betrays his faith who would use a Christian church's influence to subjugate any people. To the Catholic Church, especially, I have this message to send: Most of us, if not all of us, are Catholics. We have had no other civilization except that which was taught us by the Catholic Church. To say that we are not capable of governing ourselves is to assert that the Catholic Church has been a failure in its civilizing influence in the Philippine Islands. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

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**The Tragedy and Pathos of the Little Nations.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JOHN R. FARR,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, in the fearful struggle of the giant nations of Europe in which millions have been killed and maimed, lands devastated, homes destroyed, hearts broken, and sufferings and hardships beyond the power of expression, the tragedy and pathos of the little nations touch the very depths of our souls. What terrible afflictions they have endured! Without responsibility for this conflict of slaughter they are forced into it under different Governments, and

KINDRED ARE KILLING KINDRED,

desolating each other's lands and homes, and making widows and orphans of their families. Wedged in between the fighting nations the smaller countries and their possessions are swept over and back again many times by the bloody struggle for supremacy.

So terrible have been the poverty and suffering in some of these helpless countries that children under 7 years of age have ceased to exist.

Untold misery has been the lot of the little nations. For centuries their heroic struggle for liberty has been the theme of the poet, the orator, and the essayist, and to-day in the very frightfulness of this calamity the hope and the cry of these oppressed peoples are for national unity—for self-government. Through many, many years of conflicts, defeats, oppression, and persecution they have held tenaciously to their language and national spirit. Their achievements under great difficulties mark them as thoroughly capable, and justice, in the interest of humanity and civilization, should accord them independence.

Millions of the representatives of these races are useful and valued citizens of the United States. Loyal and devoted as they are to their adopted country, their hearts beat in sorrow and sympathy for afflicted kindred in their native countries. Mindful of the rich traditions of the lands of their birth and inspired by, and appreciative of, the glorious freedom and enlarged opportunities for education, industry, and commerce enjoyed under the Stars and Stripes, for which some of their splendid country-

men fought and bled, they are eager and anxious that this great country shall use its good offices and powerful influence for the liberation of the oppressed nationalities so that they might enjoy the blessings of freedom.

In connection with these remarks, Mr. Speaker, I desire to present the following resolutions:

We, the citizens of the United States and delegates representing different lodges of the Lithuanian Alliance of America, existing in most of the States, assembled in convention at the Falcon's Hall, Eighteenth and Carson Streets, Pittsburgh, Pa., on June 10, 1916, after a thorough deliberation on the effects of the terrible war now raging in Europe, have unanimously passed the following resolutions:

Whereas the Lithuanians, Letts, and other smaller and oppressed nationalities and races are not responsible for the provocation of this devastating and barbarous war, and yet are subject to the most atrocious treatment and even kinspeople are compelled to war against their nearest relatives; and

Whereas in the interests of civilization and the better future of humanity it is imperative to prevent a repetition of such horrors as are witnessed in Belgium, Serbia, Lithuania, Poland, and elsewhere: Be it *Resolved*, That (1) we demand the recognition of the rights of the Lithuanians, Letts, and other races and nationalities, which until the present day have suffered oppression, to possess property, to be independent, and to choose any form of government which these races consider the best suited to themselves.

(2) We hereby indorse the bills of MEYER LONDON and JOHN R. FARR, introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

(3) We ask that the United States Government, at the conclusion of this most atrocious war, instruct its envoys to the peace conference to use their efforts in the liberation of the Lithuanians, Letts, and other oppressed nationalities—Poles, Ukrainians, Belgians, Serbians, and others.

(4) That a permanent international tribunal be established for the settlement of misunderstandings between nations, races, and nationalities with the power to enforce its decisions.

(5) We especially request the honorable Speaker of the House of Representatives and the United States Vice President to see to it that our resolutions are carried out for the benefit of progress and civilization and for the happiness of the world.

At the convention the above resolutions were unanimously adopted by our organization, Lithuanian Alliance of America, consisting of 14,580 members, it was voted to send a copy of this to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of State of the United States, the governor of the State of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania United States Senators, MEYER LONDON, and JOHN R. FARR, Representatives in Congress, with an earnest request for their cooperation in the furtherance of the objects expressed.

Attest:

STINEY GEGUZIS,
*Chairman of the Convention.*
PIUS NORKUS, *Secretary.*

## Zebulon B. Vance.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. HANNIBAL L. GODWIN,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 29, 1916.*

Mr. GODWIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that we should pay tribute to the cherished memory of Senator Zebulon B. Vance. I shall not undertake to recite the full record of his life and public service.

Senator Vance belonged to that type which we fondly term "a man of the people." To the American mind this phrase is richly significant. It denotes a self-reliant man of courage and energy who by native ability and application has carved his way to a high and respected station among his fellow men. All who knew him fully understand that these qualities were exemplified in the earnest and industrious life of North Carolina's greatest chieftain. In early life he showed that he was destined to become a leader in the affairs of men. His habits were industrious and his disposition was genial, and as a consequence he rapidly gained the respect and love of all who knew him. The people of North Carolina displayed their high regard for his ability and honesty by repeatedly electing him to positions of high honor and trust. There was a mutual confidence and cordiality between him and his constituents, with a large number of whom he enjoyed personal and intimate acquaintance. He had a magnetic openness of manner which easily attracted friends and invited men to salute him in terms of easy familiarity; but in purpose he was sincere and ardent, and as he pursued his path through life he strove always to show kindness, to bring a smile to the face of sorrow, and to create happiness and hope among those where formerly there had been but misery and dejection.

To-day he lies at rest among the people whom he loved and served and who in return were loving and loyal to him. By them his memory will ever be kept green and the recollection of his splendid qualities of mind and heart will ever be enshrined in their memories. And we, his colleagues, even among the changing conditions of this busy place at a later date will affectionately remember him always.

## Army and Navy Legislation to Date—Two Years Lost in Dawdling.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Speaker, over two years have passed since the European war broke out and nothing effective has been done in the way of preparedness legislation until the end of last month. Think of that. A conflagration blazing around the world, with sparks falling on every side of us, as President Wilson puts it, and yet nothing doing except dawdle, dawdle, dawdle. Of course, Congress has been blamed for the delay; and, by the way, I notice that whenever anything goes wrong nowadays Congress gets the blame, and whenever anything goes right in the way of legislation President Wilson's coterie bombards our unfortunate ears with the statement that it is a victory for Wilson over an obstinate and incompetent Congress.

Now, let us look the facts straight in the face on this preparedness business. A good many newspaper men and a good many Congressmen began to turn their minds to the subject of our Army and our Navy just as soon as the European war broke out over two years ago. Almost at once the press began questioning the adequacy of our defense. Definite charges were made to the effect that our battleships were equipped with obsolete torpedoes, that our submarines were worthless, that our target practice was miserable, that our crews were insufficient, that many of our battleships belonged to time-honored vintages of the remote past, that valuable craft were detained in "cold storage" or "reserve," as it was euphemistically called, and, worst of all, that the civilian head of the Navy and his senior official advisor, Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, had arrived at great differences of opinion. As to the Army, the public was told that the regular troops available for a mobile or field army amounted to less than 30,000 men, which, by the way, is the force requisite to man just 6 miles of trenches. It was said that we had practically no reserve ammunition, no large field artillery whatever, a good deal less than 700 cannon and field howitzers, and only three-quarters of an hour's supply of ammunition for the guns of our coast defenses. As to our militia—our National Guard, as it is now called—we were informed that there were on paper just 120,000 of them, but that of that number only 77,000 enlisted men had taken the trouble to go to camp in the preceding year. To crown it all, we were told that the modern guns of the great foreign dreadnaughts so outranged our own coast-fortification guns that parts of the cities of New York and Boston could be bombarded without the slightest danger to the attacking vessels.

NERVOUS AND EXCITED.

Congress met in December, 1914. All eyes were watching for the reports of the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War. All breaths were held to listen to President Wilson's determination. The Senate and the House were called together in joint session on December 8, 1914. Secretary Garrison at once admitted the truth of all that had been said about the War Department. Secretary Daniels, on the contrary, reported the Navy in a superb state of effectiveness, adequately manned, and thoroughly prepared. The President announced to Congress that the country had been misinformed, that our defense had not been neglected, that there was no new need to discuss the questions of the Nation's armament, and that those who felt otherwise were "nervous and excited." I ask you in all fairness; in the face of those assurances from President Wilson and Secretary Daniels, men to whom the people had intrusted the duty of informing us of the state of the Nation, can you blame Congress for the passage of the pitiful Army and Navy legislation of 1915?

Oh, I know very well that President Wilson boasts that he is the servant of the people, and that he waits until he knows the people's will. It is his business to be the leader of the people, not their follower. He has lost two precious years, and if disaster should befall American arms before we are ready to defend ourselves Woodrow Wilson is responsible, because in the matter of preparedness he kept his ear to the ground instead of boldly taking the lead. No heading of preparedness parades on Pennsylvania Avenue, no munching of his own utterances, no dazzling speaking tours will make the people forget that Woodrow Wilson has been but a slow follower in the wake of this great movement.

THE NEW NAVY LAW.

The Democratic press heralds the new Navy law as Wilson's victory over Congress. It is true that the President had difficulties with many men on his own side of the House, but the difficulties were of his own making. Only a year and three-quarters ago he lined up those selfsame men to fight tooth and nail the program of those of us who sought to make the country prepared. Even Congressmen, feeble as our self-respect is said to be, can not gracefully stomach the presidential order, "About face." Be that as it may, the new Navy law is good. The building program, I regret to say, is not as large as that recommended by the General Board of the Navy on July 30, 1915. However, in view of the fact that Secretary Daniels has not even laid the keel of a good many of the vessels voted by Congress over 17 months ago, it is possible that we are undertaking as much as the building capacity of the country can conveniently handle.

AMAZING DELAYS.

Speaking of the slow construction of our ships, the country does not realize the awful slackness of the Navy Department in the construction of the ships authorized by Congress. In that respect Secretary Daniels is but little worse than his predecessors; but no world conflagration existed in his predecessors' days. Do you realize that the dreadnaughts *Oklahoma* and *Nevada* were commissioned for the first time in the spring of this very year, yet the money for those two dreadnaughts was voted by Congress in March, 1911—over five years before the ships were actually ready for duty? It is almost unbelievable, but nevertheless it is true. I find in the latest number of the Bulletin of the Navy Bureau of Construction and Repair that on August 1, 1916, there were 33 uncompleted submarines still under construction, and this without reckoning submarines authorized in the current year. Of these uncompleted submarines, one was authorized in 1908, one in 1909, four in 1912, three in 1913, eight in 1914, and 16 in 1915. The most noteworthy cases in this extraordinary list are the submarine *O–1*, submarine *O–2*, and submarine *Schley*. The *O–1* and the *O–2* were authorized 17 months ago, and their keels are not yet laid. The submarine *Schley* was authorized by Congress June 30, 1914, over two years ago. Secretary Daniels actually has made a contract which does not call for its completion until March, 1918, nearly four years after Congress voted the money. The *Schley* is to be a big sea-going submarine. The fact about the building contract is incredible; but nevertheless it is true. Secretary Daniels, on March 19, 1915, in the middle of a world conflagration, with sparks falling on every side, actually made a contract under which the Fore River Shipbuilding Co. is allowed three years in which to complete the submarine *Schley*. Meanwhile, that same Fore River Shipbuilding Co. is known to have constructed for the British Government in a period of five months at least 10 submarines of sufficient size to cross the Atlantic Ocean under their own power. When I look at this Bulletin of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, I am half tempted to believe the Navy yarn that Secretary Daniels' energy is all "muzzle energy."

ARMY LEGISLATION.

Now, let us take a look at the new Army legislation. I should think that Henry Ford would treasure as a souvenir the pen with which President Wilson signed the Army reorganization law of June 3, 1916. This new law was widely heralded as giving us an army of over 200,000 men. It did nothing of the sort. At most, it only gives us 175,000 fighting men, although it is true that hospital stewards and transportation employees and the like are technically enlisted men. But the 175,000 enlisted men of the line which the law gives us are only to be ours after the lapse of five years. For a year to come the new Army law allows us just a little over 105,000 enlisted men of the line, according to the figures furnished by Secretary of War Baker to Hon. GEORGE W. LOFT, a Democratic Congressman from the city of New York. As for field artillery and ammunition, we can not seem to grasp the lessons which the European war has taught us. The War Department has figured out in the report of the Treat Board that if we want to be safe we must have on hand at the outbreak of war against a first-class power field artillery and field-artillery ammunition to the value of $441,000,000. That is a startling sum, I admit, but, startling as it is, it will provide only sufficient cannon and ammunition to see us through the very earliest stages of the war. This year we have appropriated altogether, including the Army appropriation bill passed in August, $35,000,000 toward the amount which the War Department has declared is imperatively necessary. At that rate of progress, over 12 years must elapse before we attain the margin of safety. Meanwhile, instead of creating a real army or a real national guard, Congress, under the influence of the generalissimos of the National Guard Association, has endeavored to fix more securely upon the country the present absurd plan of 48 different amateur armies managed at 48 different State capitols. The result of trying to consolidate these 48 armies in time of emergency is only too visible on the Mexican border to-day. Twenty-eight days after the President had issued his call for troops, the War Department's figures showed that only 25 of the 48 little armies were represented on the border by any troops whatsoever. What the American people want, and what they will have sooner or later, is a real national guard divorced entirely from State control, trained, disciplined, and equipped by Uncle Sam and by Uncle Sam alone. That is what the country wants, and in my opinion that is what the National Guard itself wants, but it is not wanted by the politicians of the National Guard nor by the generalissimos whose rank and pay might badly suffer. After all, if we are to prepare, let us really prepare. Do not let us pretend to prepare. If we feel that we can trust this country's future to adroitly turned phrases rather than to strong right arms, why, then, let us let this preparedness question entirely alone. For myself I do not hesitate to say that we need something more than a navy, something more than a small standing army, something more than a national guard. I do not believe that the Nation will be safe until we have taught every young man in the country how to defend this land against its enemies. As a measure of democracy, as well as of safety, I advocate compulsory training in the duties of a soldier of every young American, rich or poor, high or low, the greatest and the least, elbow to elbow and side by side.

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**The "Preparedness" Propaganda.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. FRANK BUCHANAN,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 18, 1916.*

Mr. BUCHANAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as the closing days of this memorable session of Congress approach I can not but view with deepest regret the path of destruction that has been blazed through the broad field of democracy and humanity by the sordid conspiracy of the organized claque which ran wildly rampant over the country in the past few months shouting war and "preparedness." Plutocracy and special privilege have gained another victory. By every despicable and corrupt method yet conceived by mortal man the agents of the criminal rich have succeeded in rolling up an avalanche of mixed fear and false patriotism, which resulted in forcing through Congress enormous appropriations to be uselessly and needlessly expended for the expansion of our military and naval institutions, and for what?

No one has thus far indicated any unusual danger or the source from which danger of any sort might come. It is unquestioned that no power in Europe is in a position at this time to assault America. It should be equally clear that no European power can be in a position to assault America for a generation at the least. As for the much-talked-of Nippon, there is nothing there to give the slightest concern. We must give the people of Japan greater credit than to suppose them envious of our oriental "possessions." They have far more tempting prospects much nearer at hand—a rich territory with a developed industry and a kindred race. Furthermore, we are Japan's best customer. It will be years before exhausted and war-ravaged Europe will need Japan's peculiar merchandise. Europe will need pork and beans, flour, sugar, brick and mortar for a long time before she will want silks and embroidery, the deft artistry of the Orient. Break the commercial bond with America and Japan will stand face to face with financial ruin.

The real inspirers and promoters of this outrageous propaganda are the tariff barons, who see in vast expenditures excuse for wider, heavier tariff taxes; makers and dealers in war supplies, who see juicy plums of profits; shoulder strappers, who see promotions; bureaucrats, who see in a powerful war machine the club with which to reinforce their weakness in diplomacy or justice; powerful commercial combinations, who seek the aid of the Army and Navy of the United States in conducting a world-wide warfare of commercial robbery and plunder; and last, but not least, the big business interests of our own industrial life, who wish to hold a large standing army as an obstruction to the progress and welfare of the masses of wageworkers of the country. These are the interests that are responsible for this crime that has been committed on the people of this country, and let us hope that the great American people shall awaken to the true realization of their plight before it is too late and they find themselves embroiled by the treachery of these intriguing fools in a whirlpool of war and destruction such as now overruns the unfortunate people of Europe.

I have endeavored in every possible way known to me to bring the true facts in regard to this matter before the great masses of the people of this country, in an effort to stir up and crystallize a sentiment against this unholy propaganda and prevent the successful consummation of the sordid schemes of these war traffickers and their allied vicious interests. In the summer of 1915, during the recess of Congress and about the time our diplomatic relations with Germany were nearing the danger point, due to the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other incidents of similar nature, I associated myself with a number of high-minded, public-spirited citizens, in the interests of peace and humanity, by forming what was known as Labor's National Peace Council. It was our hope that by cooperating with the various labor organizations of the country, by addresses and literature, to spread the doctrine of peace among the people of the country, to offset the propaganda of the war traffickers, who through the big daily trust newspapers, their mouthpieces, were preaching the gospel of war and false patriotism, which has always been destructive to the interests of democracy.

With the exception of the original meeting of this organization in Washington, D. C., when it was organized, and an address in Madison Square Garden, New York City, my activities as a member of Labor's National Peace Council were confined to Chicago and the immediate surrounding territory. Yet what happened? What did these vicious interests do? Seeing that the purpose of our organization was opposed to their program of plunder and robbery, and fearing that our efforts might succeed in obstructing the free operation of their schemes, they succeeded by corrupt methods in securing an indictment against me and some of my associates in Labor's National Peace Council in the southern district of New York on December 28, 1915. This indictment has been pronounced as one of the most outrageous travesties upon justice ever recorded in the courts of our country by every lawyer in Congress, as well as those in civil life who have read it.

The following is an extract from the brief of Hon. H. Robert Fowler, presented before the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in the habeas corpus proceedings sued out by certain of the defendants in this same indictment:

So far we have considered the indictment as to its sufficiency from a standpoint of pleading, and we have discussed its weakness with reference to the material allegations necessary to constitute a charge of an offense against the statute. Now we come to the consideration of its sufficiency from an entirely different standpoint.

CLAYTON ACT.

On October 15, 1914, what is known as the Clayton Act became a Federal law, section 6 of which declared—

"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the antitrust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof, nor shall such organizations, or members thereof, be held or be construed to be illegal combination or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the antitrust laws."

For all intents and purposes this is an amendment to sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman law, and acts as an exemption of farmer and labor organizations and the members thereof from its operations. If such exemptions had appeared in the original Sherman Act, there is no doubt but what this indictment would be fatally defective on account of its failure to set up such exceptions. It will be noted that the indictment failed to reveal the special business or organization to which all these defendants belonged, to wit, Labor's National Peace Council. Had it done so, as it should in fairness to the defendants, it would have enabled the court to see from the face of the indictment that the defendants were exempt under the provisions of section 6 of the Clayton Act.

The effect of section 6 of the Clayton Act is to define the Sherman law as applied to farm and labor orgainzations. This being true, the jurisdiction of the court for the southern district of New York is raised as completely by the pleading in this case as though the Clayton Act had repealed the Sherman law in toto.

* * * * * * *

Who will say that in exempting labor, agricultural, and horticultural organizations from the operation of the antitrust laws, including the Sherman law, is any greater discrimination than the new income-tax law exempting all incomes below a certain amount from any taxation whatever? Both of these laws were passed by Congress under constitutional powers similar, to wit, without limitation.

In the case of Loewe *v.* Lawler (208 U. S., 224) Chief Justice Fuller, in delivering the opinion of the court, said, among other things:

"Records of Congress show that several efforts were made to exempt by legislation organizations of farmers and laborers from the operation of the act, and that all these efforts failed, so that the act remained as we have it before us."

It seems reasonable that a fair construction of this language of the Chief Justice indicates that Congress might, by appropriate act, exempt such organizations from the operation of the Sherman law, without violence to any constitutional provision. However this may be, it remains that section 6 of the Clayton Act is the law of the land until it has been repealed by either an act of Congress or by a decision of the Supreme Court in a direct proceeding to test the question of its constitutionality, and the courts of the land in the discharge of their official duties will take judicial notice of such law.

By a further examination of the Clayton Act we find that the last paragraph of section 20 directly sanctions all the ways and means enumerated in this indictment. That paragraph reads as follows:

"And no such restraining order or injuncton shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relations of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from commending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful means to do so; or from attending any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or from peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from work, or from ceasing to patronize or employ any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising, or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do, or from paying or giving to, or withholding from any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value, or from peaceably assembling in a lawful manner and for lawful purposes, or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor shall any of the acts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violations of any law in the United States."

This list of exceptions include every ways and means recited in the indictment and charged to have been agreed upon by the defendants to aid them in carrying into effect the supposed conspiracy, and the last clause of this paragraph declares emphatically that the doing of all the acts and things enumerated in the indictment shall not be held to be violations of any of the laws of the United States.

This provision of the Clayton Act is universal in its application, and makes no exemption whatever, dealing with all alike and giving all like and equal opportunities under its provisions, and it can not be held to come within a class of laws which are passed under the constitutional limitations and which make exemptions contrary to such limitations. Such as are dealt with by the Supreme Court in the Connolly case, supra, and the decision of the Supreme Court holding the old income-tax law of 1894 unconstitutional.

Applying the doctrine that courts will take judicial notice of all Federal statutes, it is to be presumed that in passing upon these questions the courts will not only take into consideration the provision above referred to in the Clayton Act, but that they will also take into consideration the doctrine laid down in the case of In re Neagle (135 U. S., 1), supra, wherein it was decided in construing section 761 of the Federal statute dealing with writs for habeas corpus that—

"This, of course, means that if he (meaning the defendant) is held in custody in violation of the Constitution or of a law of the United States, or for any act done or omitted in pursuance of the law of the United States, he must be discharged."

After a careful examination of the different parts of this indictment we are driven to the conclusion that its author undertook to set up a wholly imaginary case. The entire absence of the names of those corporations who are engaged in the manufacturing and transportation of munitions of war for foreign belligerent countries emphasizes this idea to the point of certainty. This entire trade is confined to a very few giant concerns under the control of J. P. Morgan & Co. as the agent of such foreign traffic, which can be enumerated on the fingers of one hand, to wit, the United States Steel Corporation, the Armor Trust, the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Du Pont Powder Trust, the Remington Arms Co., now owned by the Midvale Steel Co., and the transportation is controlled by the Joint Traffic Association—official classification committee—and the Ocean Steamship Pool.

If the business of any of these companies had been threatened or interfered with by the defendants, it would have been very easy for the pleader to have presented such evidence to the grand jury, as the chief offices of all these corporations are located in the city of New York, within gunshot distance of the United States attorney's office. If he was unable to secure such evidence, so vital to the validity of the indictment, how was it possible for him to secure any real evidence of the alleged conspiracy to restrain either the manufacture or transportation of the products of these great concerns?

Labor's National Peace Council was in touch with 6,000,000 men, yet it will be remembered that not one single overt act is charged in the indictment as a means to effect the supposed conspiracy. It is reasonable to conclude that if such acts had been known to the pleader he would have inserted them in the indictment. We must therefore conclude that the grand jury was unable to learn of any such acts during the entire four months of its sitting. We are driven to the further conclusion that the conspiracy must have been a very weak and harmless one if, during the entire eight months it was alleged to have been in operation, it was unable to do any single overt act to accomplish its supposed purpose. As we have already clearly shown that the ways and means enumerated in the indictment are wholly nonculpable in character and expressly sanctioned by the highest law of the land, how can anyone doubt that these defendants and their organization, Labor's National Peace Council, as its name indicates, was anything but a lawful and peaceable educational propaganda to aid in keeping this country out of war?

The fact that a charge of impeachment had been made in Congress against the United States attorney two weeks before this indictment was returned must have acted as a high incentive to prompt him to extraordinary efforts for revenge; and as the former United States district attorney, Henry A. Wise, of the southern district of New York, has recently testified that the grand jury of this district is nothing but a "rubber stamp" in the hand of the United States district attorney, it

was all the more easy for him to secure the return of this fraudulent indictment without evidence.

All citizens of the United States have a right to oppose any act, deed, trade, profession, or business illegal in character or affecting the public morals, especially if they menace the general welfare of the country. If foreign commerce in munitions was being conducted in violation of the Federal statutes or international law, such as shipping high explosives on vessels carrying passengers, or lending money by the Government to belligerent countries to be used against any country or countries with which we are at peace, in order to promote such foreign commerce, then the American people, either singly or collective, had a right to protest against such business by any and all of the ways and means set up in this indictment.

If the substance of the speeches and writings recited in the indictment had been disclosed by the pleader, as was done in the Cash Register case, supra, it would have revealed that they were directed to the various branches of the executive department and to Congress in the interest of preserving "a friendly and impartial neutrality," to keep this country out of war, and to prevent the violation of Federal statutes and international law, and that in all cases in which they were used with labor and farmer organizations that each was done as an appeal for assistance in this peace propaganda in which Labor's National Peace Council was interested.

To extend the operation of the Sherman Act to the activities of such organizations as are enumerated in the indictment would be to establish a rule so universal and dangerous in its operation that it would destroy the collective energies of all benevolent and education organizations which are directed against vicious and immoral habits and customs. Churches, temperance unions, and other moral organizations have been making for more than a half century an active campaign against the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage, and no one will contend but that they have been successful and have materially restrained both the manufacture and interstate and foreign commerce of such liquors. In many instances their use has been entirely blotted out.

Yet it would be a crime against civilization were such organizations even checked in their operations in the interest of humanity. An effort to extend the operations of the Sherman law for this purpose would meet with the universal condemnation of the public, and justly so, because it is well known that the excessive use of intoxicating liquor materially affects the general welfare of the Republic. What is true with reference to the activities of temperance organizations in the interest of man is true with reference to many other organizations which seek to elevate the standing of public morals.

This leads us back to the doctrine which has been universally adhered to by the courts, that the restraint of the interstate or foreign commerce must be direct and not indirect. There is scarcely any business, trade, or occupation which, if checked or stopped, would not in a measure lessen the production of either the crude or finished product and indirectly affect the interstate or foreign commerce flowing therefrom. The refusal of the farmer to produce farm products or lessen the acreage in any commodity, or the failure of any workman on the farm to execute, in a skillful way, the cultivation of the crop or crops, would, in a measure, affect the quantity of the farm products, and thereby lessen the interstate and foreign commerce in such products. We can readily see that the framers of the Sherman Act had in mind one great object, and that was to enact a law to prevent the direct restraint of interstate and foreign commerce and not to impede the activities of the citizen in his daily work or the activities of organizations in the interest of mankind.

Commenting on its invalidity and the fact that the indictment against myself and others in the Labor Peace Council was utterly void on its face, Representative JOSEPH TAGGART, of Kansas, a member of the great Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives and himself an eminent lawyer, having been four years a district attorney and a master of the law covering indictments, said:

> I have read the indictment found against Representative BUCHANAN and others under the Sherman antitrust law. It charges them with conspiring to interfere with the business of persons engaged in foreign commerce, but the indictment recites that the names of these persons are to the grand jury unknown.
>
> Nothing could be more vague than this. Such an indictment was unheard of under the common law. Those who were charged with imagining the death of the king were not misled by the indictment, because everybody knew who the king was. If they were charged by the prosecutor with imagining the death of a king, but which king was to the jury unknown, even Jeffries of notorious memory would have banished him from the courtroom in disgrace or would perhaps have told the king not to send a fool into the courtroom again. No two persons could in safety walk the streets talking together in America if it can be successfullly charged that they are conspiring to injure parties whom no one can name.

The newspapers of the country, by circulating false statements and otherwise, have attempted to belittle my efforts to remove from office by impeachment proceedings H. Snowden Marshall, district attorney for the southern district of New York, and have attempted by misstating the facts to show that my impeachment charges were instituted as a revenge for the indictment brought against me. The fact that my impeachment charges were presented in the House on December 14, 1915, two weeks before the indictment was found in New York, December 28, 1915, ought to be sufficient to nail that lie where it belongs. However, in order to show to my constituents and the people of this country that I was not only exercising a right as a Member of Congress by performing a highly important public duty in bringing impeachment charges against this corrupt Federal official, I shall here insert some of the findings of the members of the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the House, which, in themselves, prove the absolute unfitness of Mr. Marshall to hold any public office:

SEPARATE VIEWS BY HON. JOHN M. NELSON.

*To the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives:*

The undersigned, a member of the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, appointed to investigate the impeachment charges of Representative FRANK BUCHANAN against H. Snowden Marshall, district attorney for the southern district of New York, respectfully submits the following views:

The undersigned is convinced, upon the evidence submitted, that H. Snowden Marshall is not a fit person to hold the office of district attorney for the southern district of New York. However, if the Committee on the Judiciary or the House shall insist upon a recommendation by the subcommittee at this time, either for or against the impeachment of Mr. Marshall upon these charges, without authorizing the production of the grand jury minutes disclosing how indictments were found against Representative BUCHANAN and others, Rae Tanzer, her attorneys and witnesses, I am constrained reluctantly to concur in the recommendation of the subcommittee that further proceedings under Resolution No. 90 be discontinued.

The investigation, notwithstanding it has extended over a period of months, has been necessarily unsatisfactory and incomplete. Not only has the committee been refused permission by the district attorney, acting under the direction of the Attorney General, to inspect the grand jury minutes in these cases, but has been subjected to the most severe attacks on the part of Mr. Marshall himself and newspapers doubtless inspired by him, which has greatly handicapped the official discharge of our duties. Under these restricting circumstances the committee confined its efforts to the taking of testimony of witnesses suggested by the impeaching Member, Mr. BUCHANAN, who has from the beginning protested that this was most unfair to him. He has properly insisted that it was his duty merely to furnish prima facie proof, and that the committee should make an independent investigation of the various charges presented by him against this district attorney. The committee, however, found itself surrounded by a stone wall of difficulties. On every hand the investigation found itself confronted with cases being tried in the courts, and the committee was reluctant to take any steps to procure evidence that would in any way interfere with their trial.

The undersigned has, therefore, been constrained to come to the conclusion that either the grand jury minutes in the BUCHANAN and Rae Tanzer cases should be produced by judicial process, or the investigation should be postponed until after the trial of these pending cases. While there is evidence before the committee which is conclusive of the fact that Mr. Marshall should be removed from the office of district attorney, it is my best judgment that the case should not be presented to the Senate by the House until all the facts that are readily available have been developed, which under the described rule has not been found possible.

The large purpose of any impeachment proceeding is not punishment of any individual, but the removal of any civil officer, invested temporarily with power, who deprives citizens of rights or jeopardizes their liberty, and, therefore, is a menace to our republican form of government.

The Constitution denounces impeachable offenses under the terms of "treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." It is not contended in the charges of impeachment against Mr. Marshall that he has been guilty of either treason, bribery, or crime. His offenses, therefore, are covered, if at all, by the word "misdemeanors." From the beginning the precedents show that attorneys for civil officers on trial in the Senate have insisted that the language of the Constitution covered only indictable offenses, and the Senate, with possibly one or two exceptions, has seemed to incline toward that view. The House, however, through its managers, has invariably insisted that impeachment is a "means of removing men from office whose misconduct imperils the public safety and renders them unfit to occupy official positions." Believing that this is a sensible and just interpretation of the intent of the framers of the Constitution, and that it is supported by the best American text writers on the Constitution, the undersigned has adopted that standard by which to measure the official conduct of Mr. Marshall as district attorney. Temperamentally he is neither calm, dispassionate, nor judicial. He is a person of inordinate self-esteem, keenly sensitive to criticism, and passionately vengeful. Within the brief period that he has acted as district attorney he has wielded the tremendous power of his office not to do impartial justice but to achieve his object or to carry out the wishes of others intrenched in power. He is a "respecter of persons" and does not hesitate to use unjustifiable means to befriend whom he would befriend and to destroy whom he would destroy. As a consequence of his misuse of power, the rights of American citizens have been abridged, their reputations ruthlessly ruined, and their liberties jeopardized without just cause.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN M. NELSON.

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STATEMENT OF FACTS ACCOMPANYING VIEWS OF MR. NELSON.

Your subcommittee agreed upon the following grouping of charges:

Group A consists of charges 1, 2, 3, and 4, as they appear in the printed record, which we designate as "conspiracy with persons and corporations."

Group B consists of charges 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 23, and 24, "matters relating to improper procuring of indictments."

Group C consists of charges 9, 10, 11, and 12, "relating to the shipment of war munitions, and conspiracies with foreign Governments."

Group D consists of charge 16, "unlawful use of public funds in labor matters."

Group E consists of charges 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22, "attempting to improperly influence and improperly procure judges for the southern district of New York."

Group F consists of charges 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 37, which "relate to what is known as the case of Rae Tanzer, and improper conduct with James W. Osborne in improperly using the power of his office."

Group G consists of charges 28, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, and 40, "relating to his personal unfitness."

The subcommittee did not have before it evidence tending directly to sustain charges contained in the foregoing subdivisions, except charges 5 and 6 in group B, charges contained in group F, and charges 34 and 38 contained in Group G. Charges 5 and 6 in group B are as follows:

"No. 5. I charge him with corruptly inducing and procuring grand juries to return into the District Court for the Southern District of New York of indictments charging crimes without there being evidence before said grand jury which would in any degree justify the finding and filing of such indictments.

"No. 6. I charge him with being guilty of oppression in corruptly procuring indictments from the grand jury in said district charging reputable citizens with crime, although there was no evidence before the grand jury which would in the least warrant such charges."

These charges were intended to cover the indictment found against Representative BUCHANAN, with others, charging them with conspiracy to restrain trade. Knowing that the House was very much concerned to ascertain whether a Member had been questioned in another place for utterances of his on the floor of the House, the undersigned, as a member of the subcommittee, has given careful consideration to all the evidence, so far as it relates to the finding of this indictment, and has concluded that while there is evidence before the committee to show that testimony was taken before the grand jury relating to the indictment and the persons against whom it was found, ranging over a period of several months prior to the indictment, yet there was no testimony before the subcommittee to show either the relevancy of the evidence before the grand jury or the sufficiency thereof.

In reference to Representative BUCHANAN'S indictment, attention is directed to these significant facts:

(a) The Department of Justice has failed to prosecute the Metropolitan Tobacco Co., although its own investigator, Mr. Marshall's assistant, Mr. Thompson, found and reported it had and was continuing to violate the antitrust law. (See also testimony of Ochs, Locher, and Wolf.) Yet it did indict a Member of Congress and others of the peace council, opposing the sale of munitions of war and the program of preparedness by means of speeches and literature, under the antitrust law.

(b) The indictment itself is vague and indefinite, stating no specific fact either as to manufacturers, articles restrained, or places where strikes have been incited.

(c) The testimony of grand jurors discloses (1) that Mr. BUCHANAN'S name was handed in by the district attorney with others, and that he was indicted with them in a "bunch"; (2) that no name was added by the grand jury and no name taken away; (3) that Representative BUCHANAN as president and Mr. Taylor as his successor were indicted, but the secretary and treasurer and other officers were not; (4) that Mr. Marshall summed up the law, and that his assistant, Mr. Sarfaty, summed up the evidence; (5) that this was unsual unless requested by the jury; and (6) that the jurors discussed in the grand jury the impeachment of Mr. Marshall by Representative BUCHANAN on the floor of the House.

(d) Henry A. Wise, former district attorney, testified that the grand jury is "worth a 2-cent piece"; in other words, that it is merely a rubber stamp or cash register manipulated by the district attorney.

In short, with reference to the indictment of Mr. BUCHANAN, all the surrounding circumstances lead to the conviction that the production of the grand jury minutes so strenuously denied the subcommittee, or the trial of this case, will disclose that he is the victim of hostile political and financial interests who feared the campaign begun by the Peace Council, through labor organizations, against the propaganda of preparedness and the sale of war materials and supplies to any of the nations now engaged in the European conflict.

Group F contains nine specific charges, all practically included in No. 25, which is as follows:

"No. 25. I charge him with having employed the powers of his office for the purpose of shielding and to prevent the exposure of unlawful and improper conduct of one James W. Osborne in relation to facts involved in civil litigation, which was pending in the State court in the State of New York."

This charge is intended to cover Mr. Marshall's use of the power of his office to assist his associate and friend, Mr. James W. Osborne, charged with seduction and breach of promise in a civil suit. In order that his favoritism may be seen in its proper proportion, all that is necessary is to contrast Mr. Marshall's action in the Rae Tanzer case with his action in the New York Tribune case. It is to be noted that in each case he deals with section 215, Criminal Code, which prohibits schemes or artifices to defraud by the use of the mails.

THE RAE TANZER CASE.

A virtuous young Jewess, Rae Tanzer, living with her two sisters, through a flirtation met with a person giving his name as "Oliver Osborne," somewhere on the streets of the city of New York, and subsequently went with him to Plainfield, N. J., where the injuries complained of occurred. Their relations continued for some time afterwards. Before bringing a civil suit, she claims to have discovered that Oliver Osborne was James W. Osborne, and she addressed him the following letter:

SUNDAY, *December 27, 1914.*

Mr. JAMES W. OSBORNE, Esq.,
*115 Broadway, City.*

DEAR OLIVER: Trying to change your mind? It's too late. You have ruined my life, and I hold you to your promises.

I have kept this trouble to myself, but I can't stand it any longer; therefore I'll have to seek help through other sources. I have waited this while thinking you would be reasonable and consider what this means to me.

I want no publicity, for there's still a little pride left in me, although you have taken most out of me. My meeting you Christmas eve was my chance. Taken by surprise, weren't you? Was as near to you on several other occasions before then, but didn't want to be bold. Will tell you when and how some time.

Did I get the letter you never sent me? Well, I still have the ones you sent me when you were the California ranchman, which I kept, not for a purpose, but because I thought you were just the grandest man, and I loved you with a heart that wasn't meant for a man like you to trifle with. You know it wasn't for the diamonds (that you are still having fixed for me) or your money. I was always in the habit of dressing nicely, but things weren't as nice with us lately. I was content. Did you ever hear me complain? In fact, I tried to hide everything until everything was in better shape.

You know I was a good girl until I met you, but I was so infatuated with you from the start that I lost my head entirely and didn't stop to reason, but always knew you would protect me, for I didn't think a man of your reputation would act otherwise; but I hope my doubt is all a misunderstanding on my part, for your sake.

Don't let me confide in anyone or do anything you wouldn't like me to do, for I haven't as yet, but will have to if you won't protect me. I knew you weren't going to meet me Christmas eve, but I went down anyhow. That all added to my misery. Will wait to hear from you until Saturday next, and then I shall not write you again.

There I stood waiting at the circle.

RAE.

Later Miss Tanzer employed counsel, and a civil suit was brought in the State courts to recover damages on the 16th day of March, 1915. Three days after the beginning of the civil suit, to wit, the 19th of March, 1915, she was arrested upon a warrant sworn out by James W. Osborne before the United States district commissioner, charging her with using the mails for the purpose of defrauding, etc., by the mailing of the above letter. Subsequently, her attorneys, their investigator, her two sisters, and other witnesses were indicted, charged with various violations of the Federal law. Miss Tanzer remained in the Tombs until she could secure bail. This proceeding resulted in the discontinuance of the civil suit. She testified before the subcommittee that she was persuaded to take this step because of pressure brought to bear upon her then counsel and bondsman, Mr. Spielberg, whom the undersigned believes to be a tool of James W. Osborne. This tool persuaded her to make a "recantation," which she did in part, but afterwards repudiated on the stand, and made a stipulation, which is as follows:

Miss RAE TANZER: I am satisfied to attempt to help you out of the difficulty you got yourself into, because I believe that you were honest all the way through.

I am likewise satisfied that your attorneys, Slade & Slade, and the other witnesses were honestly mistaken. I will not tell anything you told me unless I have the absolute assurance of the authorities that nobody connected with your case will be hurt in any way.

HAROLD SPIELBERG.

Notwithstanding this stipulation, she has been prosecuted, not for using the mails to defraud, which has been pending for nearly a year and a half, but for perjury, with the result that the jury disagreed. From all the facts and circumstances in evidence it is clear to the undersigned that in this case Mr. Marshall came to the rescue of his friend Osborne, who was in danger not only of a civil suit, but of prosecution under the Mann Act, and by "wrenching jurisdiction" from the State court he has been ruthless in depriving Miss Tanzer of her rights, her attorneys and witnesses of their reputations, and all parties to her suit have had their liberties jeopardized in the most flagrant manner. Indeed, the treatment accorded this young woman, the clerk of the hotel, Mr. Stafford, and the other witnesses is cruel and heartless beyond description.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE CASE.

Contrasting Mr. Marshall's action in the Tanzer case with his action in the New York Tribune case, the facts in evidence show that the parties interested were a real estate promoter, Mr. Mayo, and the New York Tribune Co. The scheme for which the mails were being used was to advertise that every person subscribing to the Tribune for six months would be permitted to buy a lot in New Jersey for $19.60. The evidence disclosed the fact that the land was not worth not to exceed $6 per acre, but was being sold at the rate of $320 per acre. It consisted of scrub-oak land and sand. This "summer resort," as it was designated, had neither sewers, lights, sidewalks, nor other improvements. The estimated profit out of the scheme is about three-quarters of a million dollars. This swindle was investigated by a reputable newspaper man, who reported the facts to Mr. Marshall. Mr. Marshall secured the services of two post-office inspectors, McQuillan and Schaeffer, who, after five or six weeks of investigation, reported the scheme a swindle and a plain case of violation of law. Now, what was done? Although the grand jury was in session it was not brought to its attention. Although Mr. Watson urged that subpœnas be issued to bring persons before the grand jury, Mr. Marshall refused to do so. At the end of the investigation, having before him the reports of the inspectors, he wrote his friend Henry A. Wise, attorney for the Tribune Co., that there would be no prosecution. To Mr. Watson he gave the explanation that he wanted "to let Henry collect his fee and get away on his vacation." Nearly a year has gone by, and still no action has been taken, nor has the case been presented to the grand jury.

KEEN & BARD CASE.

Contrast, again, Mr. Marshall's treatment of the Tribune Co. with his treatment of Keen & Bard, with reference to this same section 215 of the Criminal Code. In the latter case the testimony shows that Roger B. Wood, assistant to Mr. Marshall, acting as attorney for the Pike's Peak Film Co. and the Pike's Peak Photo-Play Co., sought to recover from Messrs. Keen & Bard certain films. The said Roger B. Wood appeared at the place of business of Mr. Keen and demanded the return of the films. According to the testimony of Mr. Keen the conduct of Mr. Wood was boisterous and threatening. He declared that he was a United States district attorney. Some months afterwards a warrant was sworn out through the agency of Mr. Marshall's office, before the United States district commissioner, charging Messrs. Keen & Bard with having used the mails for purposes of defrauding, etc. Bard was arrested late in the afternoon and had to spend the night in the Tombs. Keen dodged the process until Monday, and then appeared with his bondsman. Both were released on bail. The bail demanded was $10,000, and this excessive sum was asked, according to testimony, at Mr. Wood's request, acting as assistant district attorney. Mr. Henry A. Wise, former district attorney and friend of Mr. Marshall's, appeared as their attorney. Subsequently, in an interview with the district attorney, Mr. Wise brought Mr. Marshall's attention to the facts in the case as not being in violation of any United States statute. By reason of Mr. Wood's private interest in the matter Mr. Marshall referred the decision of the case to Mr. William L. Wemple, as referee, to determine whether there has been any violation of Federal law. Mr. Wemple decided in the negative. Notwithstanding, the case was referred to the district attorney's office of the county of New York, and again, after investigation, it was found that these gentlemen had violated no law.

THE SLADE & SLADE CASE.

Contrast, again, the treatment accorded James W. Osborne, an attorney, with the treatment accorded David and Maxwell Slade, as attorneys. Although James W. Osborne is charged by Rae Tanzer with conduct which was a clear violation of the Mann Act, yet Mr. Marshall not only does not prosecute him, but rushes to his defense in the civil suit for seduction and breach of promise. He is persuaded by Mr. Osborne to proceed in the Federal courts against Rae Tanzer three days after she had started her civil suit in the State court, and her attorneys had agreed to all Mr. Osborne's requests for bill of particulars and speedy trial. Obviously, if there was any offense at all committed by Miss Tanzer, it was a case of blackmail and, therefore, wholly within the jurisdiction of the State courts. Although a pretended Oliver Osborne appeared one day at the home of James W. Osborne, he immediately disappeared and has never been found. In fact, as testified to by Mr. Le Gendre, the newspaper men have had great sport at the expense of Mr. Marshall over the alleged Oliver Osborne. Slade & Slade, who were attorneys for Rae Tanzer in the civil suit, were made the victims of all

the oppressive power of Mr. Marshall's office, because they ventured to start this civil suit against his friend Osborne. They have been indicted, charged with conspiracy to obstruct justice. Two overt acts have been set forth, the one being that Mr. Slade whispered to his own client in open court, "Here he comes," meaning James W. Osborne. A most ridiculous suggestion. Think of an attorney being indicted for obstructing justice in whispering to his own client in open court. But even this charge is denied by witnesses, and it is by no means certain that even this whispering occurred.

The other charge relates to the preparation of an alleged photograph of Rae Tanzer and James W. Osborne taken together. The photographer of the New York World testified that the scheme was proposed by Mr. Osborne himself in the presence of the district attorney, his assistants, Wood and Hershenstein, and a Government inspector. The purpose was to trap, if possible, the Slades into the use of this composite photograph as a part of their evidence. The testimony shows that the Slades did not suggest it, and that the photographer never reported the matter to them. He thought it too ridiculous to attempt. Yet these attorneys have been indicted for obstructing justice, and this is one of the counts in the indictment. The undersigned has carefully read the evidence in the trial of Slade and Slade, which terminated abruptly, because the sitting judge became ill. From beginning to end it is a travesty upon justice. The whole case was tried to vindicate James W. Osborne in the public mind, and to prove, if possible, that he was not the Oliver Osborne. The record, consisting of 904 pages, discloses that not a page contains any effort to prove either of these overt acts on the part of Slade & Slade. Not a reference was made in the trial to the use of the composite photograph.

THE SAFFORD CASE.

Finally, contrast Mr. Marshall's conduct with reference to the crime of perjury. Mr. Frank J. Safford was clerk in the hotel at which "Oliver Osborne" and Rae Tanzer registered.

He appeared before the commissioner as an unwilling witness and identified James W. Osborne as Oliver Osborne. For so doing Mr. Marshall has had him indicted and tried for perjury. The undersigned has carefully read the record in the Safford case and again wishes to state that it is a rank travesty upon justice. The case from beginning to end was manifestly conducted with the sole purpose of clearing James W. Osborne, if possible, in the public mind from the charge of being the Oliver Osborne who seduced Rae Tanzer. Attention is also directed to the fact that the judge in that case was exceedingly unfair, admitting evidence that had no place in the case, and in his instructions to the jury argued the case as Mr. Osborne's attorney, going outside of the record to convince the jury that James W. Osborne was not Oliver Osborne. The jury found Safford guilty, but recommended him to the clemency of the court. Subsequently, upon appeal, the decision was reversed, the court holding the defendant had a right to be tried according to the rules of law and evidence.

In contrast with the treatment of Mr. Safford, who testified in a case, it is interesting to note that the first procedure against him was an affidavit by one Mayhew, a post-office inspector, who admitted upon the stand that he had no knowledge whatever of the facts to which he made an affidavit, and when asked why he made it replied that he was directed to do so by Mr. Roger B. Wood, assistant district attorney, and Mr. Marshall has disclosed the fact that he had full knowledge of this case and approves of everything his assistants have done in court.

ABUSE OF AGENCIES OF JUSTICE.

In order to condense this statement it is necessary to refer to these matters without going into detail. There is neither time nor space to refer to the testimony as to the misuse of power on the part of the district attorney in the use he makes of the grand jury, of subpœnas, and of indictments for conspiracy. The use of these agencies of justice by this district attorney's office has created a state of terror in this jurisdiction. While it can not be said that Mr. Marshall is the author of this abuse of power in the use of these agencies of justice, it is in evidence that he has not restrained but rather encouraged the extension of their abuse.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN M. NELSON.

Referring to some of the cases prosecuted by H. Snowden Marshall, for the corrupt handling of which impeachment charges were brought against him, Congressman WARREN GARD, of Ohio, another member of the subcommittee, said the following in his report:

These cases were conducted principally by Roger B. Wood, an assistant in the office of the district attorney, Marshall, with the latter's full sanction and approval, and without desiring to make intemperate or unauthorized comment upon the conduct of the United States district attorney or his assistants in these cases, it does appear to me that the arrest and prosecution of the persons arrested and indicted in the United States courts in these cases, all of which grew out of the arrest of Rae Tanzer on a charge of sending a letter through the mails to James W. Osborne, with intent to unlawfully defraud, were not cases properly to have been brought in the courts of the United States, and their having been brought in said courts was a wrenching of the jurisdiction thereof.

It is through such corrupt officials as this that the munition traffickers have endeavored to railroad to jail each and every individual who attempted to in any way interfere with their despicable business in death weapons. However, in the operation of a conspiracy so sordid, so transparent, so noxious, it is unbelievable that the American laboring people will remain silent. If they will combine and stand united, the forces of privilege and monopoly must fall. Let it be understood that were there actual danger the laboring people of this country would need no forced levies to protect their honor and institutions. Never since the day when the embattled farmers and laborers stood "by the rude arch that spanned the flood to fire the shot heard round the world" has appeal to the patriotism of the American people been made in vain. They have given their labor, their lives, and the lives of their sons time and times, and will do so again as often as may be necessary to defend and preserve even the forms of freedom. They are the ones who have always borne the brunt of the fighting and paid all the bills, and they are opposed to this vicious propaganda. Only a short time ago I included in my remarks in this House (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 25, 1916) a resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, an organization of about 300,000 men, condemning the recommendations in the name of "preparedness" and also criticizing the motives of a "preparedness dinner" given by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., to which the Illinois delegation in Congress was invited. For inserting this resolution in the RECORD Congressman RAINEY took occasion to criticize my action and also defended the Illinois Manufacturers' Association; and I here desire to insert a letter sent me by Mr. John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in reply to the attack of Representative RAINEY:

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 16, 1916.*

Hon. FRANK BUCHANAN,
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Recently it has been brought to our attention that Congressman HENRY T. RAINEY, of Illinois, felt called upon to defend the industries of Illinois because you had printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD certain resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor dealing with certain banquets and entertainment arranged by the Illinois manufacturers in order to convince Congressmen and Senators in Washington that the people "back home" in Illinois demanded preparedness.

The trip to Washington, the banquets, etc., were well staged, and the necessary bought-and-paid-for publicity would convince even the deaf and the blind that this was a real, live proposition; but our resolutions, representing a fairly large portion of the citizenship of Illinois, runing into a quarter of a million human beings, exposed the attempt of big business to make it appear that Illinois was like a howling mob demanding military preparedness and the unlimited manufacture of the munitions of war, and it seems that this exposure caused our Illinois manufacturers to get busy to cover up their tracks, and now we find our good friend Congressman RAINEY acting for the "defense." We are not surprised that a man of Congressman RAINEY'S standing in this Commonwealth is called upon to defend the industries of Illinois. His well-known fearlessness, honesty, ability, and intelligence made it imperative he be called upon to present such defense.

Surely it would never do to call upon Congressman MADDEN to make the presentation, because that would only look like muddying the water and throwing dust if he present the selfsame matter that was presented by our friend RAINEY. The Illinois manufacturers care nothing about Congressman RAINEY personally, but they do want the respectability and good standing of the Congressmen to bolster up their position.

Congressman RAINEY admits that he comes from an agricultural district, and when he talks about our backdoor neighbors—the Illinois Manufacturers' Association—it is like telling a married woman what a good man her husband is.

Congressman RAINEY may have read the pedigree of the members of the association in the Blue Book, but our knowledge of them is gained by actual experience in dealing with them.

Congressman RAINEY started his speech by questioning the good taste and resenting your action in having the resolution—passed by the Chicago Federation of Labor on April 16, 1916, as printed on page 7800 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 25—printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which, Congressman RAINEY claims, questions and reflects on the motives of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association in giving a dinner to the Illinois delegates in Congress and the Members who attended.

The resolution does not reflect on the Members of Congress who attended the banquet, and it was not intended to do so. The daily press reported, as stated in the resolutions, that the "patriots" of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association were going to Washington and let the Congressmen from Illinois know that the "sentiment of the people back home was for military preparedness" as advocated by them. The Chicago Federation of Labor and its membership was not consulted in the matter and knew nothing about what was being attempted before reading in the daily papers what the Illinois Manufacturers' Association proposed to do. We felt it our duty to inform the Congressmen of the views of the membership of the Chicago Federation of Labor on the matter, so they could form, with good judgment, an opinion as to what really was the "sentiment of the people back home."

The resolution questions the motives of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association or their disinterestedness and patriotism. We have an abundance of reasons for feeling that way. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association has bitterly opposed practically every law that is now on the statute books of this State in the interest of the toilers. During the session of the State legislature they maintain an expensive lobby in Springfield in opposition to measures proposed by men and women of the State that would create a real "preparedness"—the kind of preparedness defined in the resolution passed by the Chicago Federation of Labor and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD February 18, 1916, page 3209. They opposed such humane measures as the eight-hour bill for women; the minimum-wage bill; one day of rest in seven bill; anti-injunction bill; child-labor bill, and all similar legislation. They also publish a paper during the session appealing to all employers to use every means in their power to induce the members of the legislature to oppose all measures in our favor. During the session the members of both branches of the legislature are flooded with letters and telegrams urging them to vote against the working people. Many of these letters amount to a threat to defeat any member of the legislature who opposes their wishes.

And it may not be amiss to bring to your attention, and also to the attention of Congressman RAINEY, that because of such pernicious activities affecting and dominating the Legislature of Illinois our legislature was known as the "jack-pot legislature(3)." The question mark asks who provided the jack pot, and for what purpose.

Congressman RAINEY, in his speech defending the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, says:

"The organization exists, as I understand it, for the purpose of promoting the manufacturing industries of the great State of Illinois, for the purpose of looking after credits, better transportation, better and more efficient business methods, and for the purpose of developing and promoting the industries of Illinois," etc.

And, again:

"Since this organization was perfected and commenced its work Illinois has forged rapidly to the front as a manufacturing State, until to-day we are the third State in the Union in point of manufacture."

Well, we are glad to know this. Somehow we always labored under the impression or delusion that it was mostly due to the natural advantages of the State and the natural development of the surrounding States, and the fact that several hundreds and thousands of human beings congregated here and made it possible for the manufacturers to come and remain.

If these manufacturers did such wonderful things in Illinois, would it not be worth while for a State like Nevada to attempt to induce the entire bunch of Illinois manufacturers to move out to that State? Then, possibly, Nevada would become the third greatest manufacturing State in the Union.

Possibly Congressman RAINEY can explain the legerdemain whereby manufacturers are the means of making great States and the people are thrown into the discard.

Now, if Congressman RAINEY's premises is wrong in the foregoing we need not hope that he is absolutely accurate in all that followed when he presented the names and the industries of the officers and active members of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. For illustration, we will take the Pettibone & Mulliken Co. If this concern told the Congressman or anyone else that they were not in the business of making munitions they badly distorted the truth, because they were in that business and they dare not deny it.

We did not charge, however, that the persons and firms mentioned by the Congressman were actually making war munitions. We do say that their deepest patriotism is actuated by the profits they find within reach as a result of the manufacture of war munitions. Their factories are now crowded with work which is being pushed out of eastern factories, because eastern factories are making war munitions. Then why not hollo, Hurrah for war munitions?

We think that in each instance where the Congressman used a name to show what good citizens made up the Illinois Manufacturers' Association that an investigation would show that these men are not good citizens. They did a grave injustice to him when they induced him to throw a halo of respectability around them.

Now, let us present another view of the activities of these gentlemen who are so ably championed and defended. In all the efforts of organized labor to promote and advance the interests of the workers one insurmountable obstacle presented itself, and that was the question of immigration. Before one boatload of immigrants had a foothold or a chance to become accustomed to the brutal and inhuman condition in American industries another boatload would be dumped upon our shores, supposedly for the purpose of giving them a chance to live like human beings and to aid our industries in securing sufficient employees, but in reality they were only used to discourage and keep in subjection those who arrived in the previous boatload. This kind of manipulation maintained a labor market worse than any slave market that ever existed, and the hopeless condition in which these unorganized, indefensible foreign immigrants found themselves when left to the tender mercies of our captains of industry will shock the conscience of posterity if the truth is ever written into American history.

Now, since the European war has practically stopped emigration, the workers here refuse to continue under the unbearable conditions and the oppression of the employers, and thousands upon thousands of these nonunion, unorganized workers are on strike in an effort to secure some consideration. The answer to their plea for justice is an injunction, and the only explanation that need be made as to the injunction is that the United States Congress absolutely refused to allow Federal courts to issue such injunctions. This action was had in the Clayton Act. Now we find the State courts being used by the employers to do the dirty work which the Federal courts used to do for the employers before they were stopped by the Clayton Act.

But immigration being practically stopped and the injunction as applied to labor disputes thoroughly discredited, how are these men who manage our industries going to meet the situation? It may not seem real in our day and time, when we hear so much about patriotism and love of country, that the employers of labor would rely upon hunger and starvation as the means whereby they will be able to maintain their strangle hold upon the toilers.

Men who employ thousands of other men in Chicago and who are resisting the efforts of these thousands to get some measure of justice told me point-blank that they intended to leave their plants closed down until the giant specter of hunger had sufficiently afflicted the wives and children of these strikers, that the strikers would be compelled to return to work, and the language used was something like this: "As an American citizen and an employer of labor, do you want this condition to come about among your striking employees, that they will be compelled to return to work because their children are hungry, and there is no alternative but starve or return to work?" The reply was: "We would not say that, but you have said it."

That is what is happening to-day in the city of Chicago. Mills and factories closed down, waiting the time when the workers' resources are exhausted and hunger compels them to surrender to the Capt. Kidd's of industry. Surely the industries of Illinois needed a defense, but the unfortunate thing about the defense is that a man of Congressman RAINEY's attainments could be induced to do the job.

JOHN FITZPATRICK,
*President Chicago Federation of Labor.*

As a further indication that the working people are opposed to this "preparedness" propaganda, I desire to insert a resolution adopted by the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union No. 1, Chicago, indorsing my stand on the proposition, and also my reply in acknowledging same:

[Resolution unanimously adopted by the Local No. 1, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union.]

Whereas the Steel Trust and other combinations are trying to convict and belittle the good that Brother FRANK BUCHANAN has done and is doing for the people and organized labor in Congress: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That Local Union No. 1, of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, hereby tenders him its moral support and good wishes in his impending trial; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes, a copy be given to the press, a copy sent to the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Chicago Building Trades' Council, and a copy be sent to the international executive board, urging them to take similar action, and a copy be sent to Brother BUCHANAN.

R. L. JAHNCKE, *President.*
R. H. HOULIHAN, *Secretary.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, June 12, 1916.*

Mr. R. H. HOULIHAN, *Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: In response to your kind favor of the 9th instant I wish to assure you that the resolution passed by Local No. 1 is, indeed, highly appreciated. Such resolutions mean more to me than the mere support of me personally. There has been and is now a principle involved in the malicious attack made upon me by the "system" or, what in my opinion may be better termed the "invisible government," which is the agent of the criminal corporations and individuals who are robbing and plundering the people, and, to my very deep regret, this so-called Democratic administration is an artful and willing tool.

It is hardly necessary for me to say to you that if I had thought of doing the things that I am charged with in the indictment in New York, namely, fomenting strikes to obstruct interstate commerce in munitions of war, I would have felt that I was wholly within my legal rights. The right to advise strikes has been claimed by organized labor for many years, and when the courts of our country denied labor its constitutional rights and perverted the laws already on the statute books, the Congress of the United States, with the view of removing all doubt of labor's rights in this regard, passed the Clayton Act. My indictment in New York is in direct violation of the provisions of the Clayton Act, and the disposition of this indictment by the courts is, therefore, of vital interest to the trade-union movement.

However, I never thought it proper—and it would have been contrary to my policy as a worker for the advancement of the interests of the working people and as a representative trade-unionist—to butt into matters in the way of an industrial strife that I was not directly connected with in an official capacity, and as you know, I have been somewhat conservative in regard to calling strikes. Anyway, I never thought about advising working people in munition plants or elsewhere to strike during my activities in Labor's National Peace Council, nor did I know of anything like that being done by any official of the council, nor even, in fact, anyone pretending to represent Labor's National Peace Council. I made an investigation on my own part, and the information I have obtained is that this a frame-up from start to finish; that no one did advise strikes who was connected with or in any way represented Labor's National Peace Council, nor was there any German money available for that purpose.

I was of the opinion at the time that I was attacked by the newspapers and following that the indictment in New York that it was a plan to coerce those who were striving to crystallize the sentiment that existed among the wageworkers of the country for peace, by the munition manufacturers, and also to discredit me because I had been able to exercise an influence to secure Federal legislation that would protect the rights of the wageworkers as defined by our Revolutionary forefathers. I have wielded a greater influence in that direction than I had ever hoped to myself, or suppose anyone else that knew me, and no doubt the agents of plutocracy became alarmed that my efforts might result in some real Democratic legislation that would stop them in plundering the wealth producers of the country and therefore it was easy for the munition manufacturers to secure the support of the beneficiaries of the criminal rich and their agents.

I have had many Members of Congress and single taxers throughout the country to volunteer their moral support, and one or two of my friends have offered financial assistance, but local No. 1 is the only labor union that expressed the true sentiment by resolution that would tend to encourage one to believe that labor really understood that this was their fight. In the impeachment proceedings, taking into consideration my small, limited resources, and the fact that H. Snowden Marshall is backed up by the "system" with unlimited financial resources, the newspapers as their mouthpieces, and the administration an artful and willing tool, I have had wonderful success and feel somewhat optimistic in regard to the matter, as I believe that I will have won a victory in the end, and in winning the victory will have rendered a service to the masses of the people in some degree at least by stopping one of the most vicious practices in our department of hyphenated justice.

I have been hampered very much for finances, but it seems that I am going to pull through without any further assistance. My attorneys have advised me that I ought to be able to recover substantial damages for the libels that have been published against me by the newspapers of the country, and therefore in the end I expect to come out of this fight in good shape. While pressing this impeachment investigation and making it very unpleasant for Mr. Marshall I learned that about all the lawyers in New York City, who might be put in the class of those who were representative of the house of Morgan and the Wall Street highbinders, very promptly volunteered personal and financial assistance to Mr. Marshall, and the bar association, which represents the aristocracy of the New York bar, passed resolutions and wrote to the Hon. CHAMP CLARK, Speaker of the House, asking that action on the Marshall contempt and impeachment proceedings be delayed until after the trial of my case in New York, a very pertinent and unethical procedure, to say the least. It was another example to me of how the big business crowd that is preying upon the wealth producers of the country always sticks to its friends, while labor by its indifferent disinterestedness usually neglects to give its friends and servants sufficient backing to make their efforts successful.

You perhaps know that I am not prone to patting myself on the back, and think that the working people should keep in mind their own cause instead of individuals, but I have for the last 20 years endeavored to serve the working masses by protecting and extending their rights to the best of my judgment and ability, and I am gratified in the belief that taking everything into consideration I have had quite a degree of success, and I am in harmony with the resolution so far as it would tend to arouse organized labor to stand true to those who have been and are still willing to serve them by exercising their influence to prevent their usefulness being destroyed by the vicious system which is everywhere and all the time the most dangerous enemy of the common people, and while the resolution is perhaps not worded as I would have written it, yet it has in it the spirit that is necessary to be crystallized and exercised in order that labor may secure justice.

I do not expect that it will be necessary for me to ask for or accept financial aid unless there are developments that I do not anticipate at this time. Of course I believe that you and other friends that know me and have given this matter proper consideration, without permitting

the scurrilous press to deceive you, understand that I am not pro-German. I am strictly neutral, and my sympathies go out to the masses of the people of all those war-stricken nations. I am pro-American, and have a keen desire to be of service in protecting the American people against the vicious propaganda being carried on to create a military spirit in this country which will destroy democracy and turn this Government over to one of the most dangerous influences that ever confronted the people in the history of the world, and to that end I shall continue to strive no matter if I am misunderstood by those whom I am endeavoring to serve.

Again, I wish to express in part, as I have not words at my command to fully express it, my appreciation of the sentiments of the members of local No. 1 in their indorsement of me by passing this resolution.

With best wishes, I am,

Cordially, yours, FRANK BUCHANAN.

Following is a resolution adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, September 2, 1916:

Whereas the elections are close at hand, men and women of labor should accept this opportunity, regardless of party, in furthering the nomination and election of such candidates as have stood for labor first, last, and all the time. There are but few candidates who can boast of 100 per cent labor record, and the first and foremost of them is FRANK BUCHANAN, candidate for Congress in the seventh congressional district. Brother BUCHANAN is a member of the Structural Ironworkers' Union No. 1, past international president of the Structural Ironworkers' Union. He is a member of the Public Ownership League of Cook County and was the first president of the executive committee. In short, he is one of us.

He has served three terms in Congress, and he has always been true to labor. He has been a stanch supporter and a persistent and intelligent advocate of many legislative prospects in the interest of the people, among such measures being the following, which have been enacted into law:

Election of United States Senators by popular vote.

Campaign publicity law to insure honest elections, and is supporting the Owen Corrupt Practices Act, which will further prevent frauds in elections.

The income tax, placing taxation on those most able to pay it.

Comprehensive reduction in tariff.

New banking and currency act. (He, however, is urging a more comprehensive monetary plan for the relief of the people, and has introduced a bill providing for removing the restrictions on deposits in the postal savings banks and the direct loaning of Government funds to farmers and home owners for long terms at a low rate of interest.)

Clayton Antitrust Act prohibiting interlocking directorates and removing from the provisions of the act labor and farmers' organizations, who were never intended to be subject thereto by the original legislators of that act.

Creation of the Federal Department of Labor, the Children's Bureau.

The Bureau of Mines act and the Bureau of Safety Appliances, as well as the phosphorus-match act for the protection of workmen.

Eight-hour law for work done for the Government as well as by the Government, and an eight-hour law for women employed in the District of Columbia; also voted for an eight-hour day for the railroad men.

The child-labor law.

The seamen's law, which has liberated the seamen.

Creation of the Industrial Relations Commission, whose recent report upholds the labor movement in its basic ideals for the improvement and betterment of working conditions.

Parcel Post System and subsequent extensions thereof by increasing the weight of acceptable packages, etc.

Rural-credits law.

The Colorado and Michigan strike investigations, through which were revealed to the world the horrible conditions under which these miners were employed.

Workmen's compensation act.

He has consistently and actively supported the immigration bill which is now pending in the Senate. He has always been on the job to secure provisions in the various appropriation bills, particularly the Post Office, Navy, and Army appropriation, to improve the working conditions of the employees in these departments, having aided in removing the gag rule from the Post Office employees, secured increases in their wages and reductions in the working hours. He was instrumental in securing increases in the wages of the mechanics at Indianhead powder mills and proving grounds of the Navy, and also at the Washington Navy Yard, and led to the fight to eliminate the Taylor system of so-called scientific management out of the Government arsenals and plants.

He has consistently endeavored to secure the passage of provisions in the appropriations bills providing that the Government manufacture its own supplies for the Army and Navy, and succeeded in securing the adoption of a provision that the Government plants be operated at least to the full capacity before any supplies could be contracted for, thereby saving the Government thousands of dollars in exorbitant profits to private manufacturers, securing better supplies, and providing better working conditions for the workmen.

In the past Congress he has waged a strenuous fight against the enormous expenditures under the guise of "preparedness." His position on the question of "preparedness" has been always in accord with the position taken by the Chicago Federation of Labor on February 6, 1916, when it adopted the report of its executive committee on "preparedness."

Because of his enviable labor record as a member of a union, the Public Ownership League, and Congress of the United States, big interests are now plotting his defeat.

Labor can not afford to have FRANK BUCHANAN, its champion, defeated.

His defeat means victory for big business; his election, victory for the common people.

Therefore, be it

*Resolved by the delegates of the Chicago Federation of Labor in regular meeting assembled, September 2, 1916,* That we urge all members of organized labor and good citizens to go to the polls at the coming elections and vote and work for the renomination and reelection of FRANK BUCHANAN as the Congressman from the seventh congressional district.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. F. PETZORE.
JOS. W. MORTON.
JOHN J. WALT.
F. G. HOPP.
MAY FREEMAN.
MARGARET A. HALEY.
WM. M. ROSSELL.

While it has been the policy of this organization not to indorse candidates before the primaries, we believe that Brother BUCHANAN, at the present time being in Washington in the interest of labor, should receive their support; therefore we, your committee on resolutions, recommend the adoption of this resolution.

Signed.

JAMES MAGRUE,
C. A. PENSE,
J. J. WALT,
*Committee on Resolutions.*

It appears that this outrageous propaganda for increased expenditures under the name of preparedness, which has occupied the major part of the headlines and space in our big daily newspapers, has been heralded so extensively to ward off the minds of the public from the real dangers that existed in the country, and in this connection I desire to call attention to an editorial in the Chicago Examiner, August 23, 1916, which seems to cover the point quite clearly:

TRUSTS MULCT PEOPLE MORE THAN WAR COSTS GREAT BRITAIN.

The war is now costing Great Britain $30,000,000 a day, or, say, $10,000,000,000 a year.

That is astounding enough. But a more astounding thing is that the war is costing the American people as much per week and per year as it is costing the British people.

The trusts and monopolies have used the war as a pretext for charging the American people considerably over a billion dollars for the necessities of life than they were charged in 1915.

Now, when Great Britain borrows and spends $10,000,000,000 in a year, she never expects to pay the principal of the loan. She will pay interest only, and that at not over 5 per cent in the long run. So we may say that the war is costing the British people this year the interest on her total borrowing for war purposes, which interest may be roughly set down as about $800,000,000.

And this huge sum is actually not so large by $200,000,000 as the increased taxes the trusts and monopolies have levied on the sugar, meat, flour, coffee, milk, butter, vegetables, rents, coal, gasoline, and other actual necessaries of life this year.

In 1914 gasoline sold to consumers at 16 cents a gallon; in 1915 at 20 cents; in 1916 at 26 cents.

The country consumed 35,000,000 barrels of gasoline in 1915, and will consume more this year. As part of the war tax levied on the American people, the gasoline trust alone has laid a surtax on industry amounting to over $150,000,000 since war was declared in Europe.

In 1915 sugar was 5 cents and 6 mills per pound, wholesale. The Sugar Trust has put the price to 7 cents wholesale this year.

In the year ending June 30, 1915, 8,625,793,328 pounds of sugar were consumed in this country. At this rate the Sugar Trust has laid a war tax of $120,762,106 on the American people in the past year.

The Meat Trust has increased the wholesale price of meats about 25 per cent on the average. For example, dressed hogs were 11 cents a pound in 1915, and are 14 cents now; mess pork has increased from $17 to $29 per barrel; dressed mutton from 8 cents to 12 cents a pound; dressed lamb from 13 cents to 15 cents a pound, and so on.

The fluctuations in meat prices make it impossible to estimate accurately the increased war tax put on the American people by the Meat Trust. But an estimate of $200,000,000 would not be far out of the way.

There are about 8,000,000,000 gallons of milk consumed yearly in this country in different forms. A direct and indirect increase of 1 cent a quart means a war tax of $320,000,000 on those who use milk, butter, and cheese.

When we add to these taxes on American consumers the extortions of the Flour Trust, the Coal Trust, the Paper Trust, and the increased rents and transportation charges due to these extortions, you see, do you not, that we Americans, though at peace, are paying more for this infernal European war than the richest of the nations who are keeping up this wicked and hellish struggle?

And yet, four years ago, we were asked to elect the present Democratic administration on the ground that the Democratic Party was opposed to trust extortion and would curb the power and end the extortions of the trusts if given the reins of Government.

We are quite sure that the history of the country shows no such extraordinary and amazing difference between promise and performance as this huge difference between the Democratic candidates' promises in 1912 to curb trust extortion and the Democratic administration's complaisant toleration of all these trust extortions in this year 1916.

If that is the way the Democratic administration believes the people should be protected from the trusts, then God save the people from their protectors.

Realizing the tremendous efforts and enormous expenditures of money that have been made by the war trust and other advocates of the so-called preparedness program, the friends of peace and the friends of labor should avail themselves of the opportunity in this campaign and organize in every State and every congressional district in the United States to exact from the candidates for the United States House of Representatives and Senate the pledge of every such candidate for whom they vote that he will cast his vote and use his influence as a Member of the House or of the Senate against war trust preparedness plans and in favor of peace at home and abroad, both industrial and international peace.

The people have the right to exact from the candidates positive and definite pledges, among other things that there should be no declaration of war without a referendum of the people, except in case of invasion, and that under no circumstances should there be a declaration of war or an entrance into war except by vote of the Congress of the United States, as the Constitution provides.

That the necessity for maintaining industrial peace at home is just as important a subject to the friends of peace as is the main-

tenance of international peace is shown by the terrible destructive industrial wars of the last two or three years in West Virginia, Colorado, and Michigan, as well as numerous other places throughout the country. In maintaining industrial peace, as in the maintenance of international peace, Congress is and should be the dominant and controlling branch of the Government, and every Senator and Representative should be pledged to use his vote and influence to compel the executive and judicial branches of the Government to properly perform their duty in enforcing the antitrust laws for the destruction and rooting out of those great monopolistic trusts, whose robbery and oppression of the masses of the people are the inciting cause of these industrial wars.

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**Progress and Development of the Postal Service.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Speaker, I avail myself of the privilege granted by the House to extend my remarks by inserting a statement by the Postmaster General in regard to the progress and development of the Postal Service:

OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,
*Washington, D. C., September 7, 1916.*

HON. HENRY T. RAINEY,
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR MR. RAINEY: Complying with the request contained in your several letters addressed to me, and also your personal calls at the department, I give you herewith such information as is available at this time on short notice, showing what the Post Office Department has done and is doing for the rural population of this country, with especial reference to the benefits accorded the farmer.

In this connection, while I am sending you the information that you particularly requested, I am also inclosing herewith a brief statement of postal reforms and achievements under the present administration, touching every phase of the Postal Service.

The information follows:

WHAT THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT HAS DONE AND IS DOING FOR THE RURAL AND FARMING POPULATION.

PARCEL POST.

The United States parcel post is handling approximately 1,100,000,000 parcels a year, or over 90,000,000 a month. It is the largest express service in the world. It is impossible to state the proportion of this business which is distinctly rural. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the chief function of the Government's express service has proved to be agricultural. That is, the Government is the principal express carrier now operating between city and country and vice versa. The bulk of the parcel-post business is of this nature, whereas the bulk of the business of the private express companies passes between city and city.

The growth of the parcel post as a medium of exchange between city and country has raised questions which are now more or less bitterly in controversy. Retailing organizations of the cities have attacked the farm-to-table feature of the parcel service which involves direct exchange by Government express of farm products between the rural producer and the urban consumer. A second and a larger controversy has to do with the effect of the development of mail-order business upon the country merchant.

Does the farmer want his new express facilities—which he did not have before—taken away? Is he not better off now than he was before? Is he not brought into closer relation, into almost direct touch, with city life? Has the farmer not been drawn into closer association with the entire social and business fabric of our country? And does not this make for the intelligent development of the farmer, and also make the conditions surrounding life on the farm, more interesting and attractive? All these questions are applied from the purely business one of whether the parcel post tends to make the things which the farmer must buy cheaper, and to expand and improve the market for the things which he sells. Undoubtedly the parcel post does do both these latter things.

And the country farmer is not the only gainer because of the parcel post. The country merchant is offered new facilities, too, which may more than offset the business secured by the mail-order houses of the large cities. Because of the parcel post he is enabled to handle merchandise heretofore out of his reach, and naturally the scope of people to whom he can possibly sell is greatly enlarged.

In many sections farmers within second-zone distance of large cities have demonstrated that the farm-to-table selling by parcel post is a huge success. In a number of cities from 3 to 500 packages of farm produce are passing through the post offices daily. The new service has gained a foothold, and its expansion into genuine economic proportions is assured.

The following letter addressed by a farmer to former Postmaster Praeger, of Washington, D. C., reflects the attitude of practically every farmer toward the parcel post:

> To my mind nothing has ever been inaugurated in America which will tend to make the farmer more content to stay on the farm than the establishing of the parcel-post method of disposing of his products. It gives him business practice; it gives him the feeling of doing a mail-order business. He finds much more satisfaction and pleasure in preparing his produce for real appreciative human beings first hand as against a sort of commission machine into which his produce, no matter how painstakingly it has been prepared, is dumped. It also brings rural dwellers into close communion with the envied city residents. It gives him the feeling that his efforts are appreciated, and creates a high incentive to produce the best possible articles, and thus win the confidence of his patrons."

One of the most interesting developments of the last year in the Parcel Post Service is the increase in the average weight of parcels. The count of April 1–15, 1915, showed an average weight of 1 pound 7 ounces. The counts of October 1–15, 1915, and of April 1–15, 1916, both returned an average weight of 1 pound 11 ounces. The parcel-post act and the changes of rates and regulations as to weight limits subsequently made by Postmaster General Burleson greatly reduced the rates upon the heavier parcels and opened the mails to parcels weighing 20 pounds throughout the country and to parcels weighing 50 pounds within the first two zones or within 150 miles of the point of each shipment's origin.

Shortly after assuming office on March 4, 1913, it became apparent to me that radical changes must be made if this service was to meet the demands of the farmers, business men, and the general public. The expansion of the parcel post into a public utility of vast proportions is directly due to successive liberalizations of the parcel-post regulations, as follows:

(1) Reducing postage for distance up to the sixth zone.
(2) Increasing the weight limit from 11 to 50 pounds in the first and second zones and from 11 to 20 pounds beyond the second zone.
(3) Admitting books to the parcel post.
(4) Increasing the size limit from 72 inches to 89 inches combined length and girth measurement.
(5) Reducing the cost of insurance from 10 cents to 3 cents on parcels valued at $5 or less and introducing a graduated scale of low insurance fees for greater values up to $100.
(6) Authorizing the issuance of receipts for parcels shipped, which serve as evidence of mailing.
(7) Providing indemnity for partial damage as well as loss of parcels.

At many post offices Government-owned automobiles are used, day and night deliveries introduced, and refrigerators installed in order to safeguard perishable parcels. Damage to parcels in transit has been reduced to less than one-tenth of 1 per cent. These broadening activities of the parcel post in reaching out to the farm for its products for the city table and in providing a cheaper and more efficient package-transportation service for the general public has naturally met with much determined opposition from the business or persons that grew and prospered under the restrictions of a private express monopoly.

RURAL DELIVERY.

At the outset of this administration it was found that millions of rural residents had been denied delivery of mail by carrier because inefficient and extravagant administration of the rural mail service, together with the granting of special privileges of service to favored individuals and communities, had so depleted the appropriations that extensions could not be made to those who were entitled to service. This condition has been remedied in a drastic but thoroughly impartial and scientific manner. The discrimination against 3,280,000—actual count—rural citizens of the United States has been removed by the extension to them of the free delivery of their mail by carrier, a service unjustly denied them in the past. This has been done by the thorough reformation of the rural service in the department and in the field, and the adoption of standardized and efficient methods, and by eliminating duplications of service and service for which no justification was found to exist.

Since March 4, 1913, over 3,000 new rural routes have been established. More than 10,000 old routes have been extended so that they reach a greater number of people. Since March, 1913, the department has received about 3,000 additional petitions. These petitions have received prompt consideration, and final action has in no case been deferred longer than six months. Less than 200 are now awaiting review. In the handling of these

cases the present postal administration has proceeded in accordance with its earnest desire to meet the needs of the public and to render prompt and effective service.

It has been the policy of the Wilson administration to weed out privilege in every relation of the Government to the public. The Post Office Department has cut out the "pork" in the Rural Delivery Service, and has used the money thus made available to grant service to a large percentage of the rural population which needs and justly deserves such service, but has been denied the same in the past. Under the present administration the Post Office Department had adopted the policy, and consistently worked under that policy, of providing equal consideration and fair treatment to all sections of the country in allowing to each adequate postal facilities.

In some instances it was found that as many as six rural carriers were going over the same 8 or 10 miles of road daily. Thus the length of two whole rural routes was lost in useless duplications of travel. These conditions resulted from administrative inaction in the past, and naturally every advantage was taken of official negligence or incapacity to introduce and secure unfair privileges, promote personal interests, and mulct the Postal Service for partisan or political ends. The department is now, and has been, sincerely endeavoring to provide postal facilities with respect only to the needs of the people and the advancement of their welfare. Partisan bias and influence have been eliminated and action taken only upon good and sufficient evidence of the needs of the service, administered efficiently, utilizing every device and using every means to accommodate not only those already served but also as many new patrons as could be served under the appropriations granted by Congress.

POSTAL EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES.

One of the most serious problems in rural districts is the dearth of satisfactory labor. This condition frequently occurs and results often in defeating in a large measure the efforts of a whole year of planting and preparation. At the same time there always exists, unfortunately, a more or less numerous class of unemployed. In spite of all efforts which have been made in the past by farmers individually and through their grange associations, by city welfare associations, and by the railroads, this problem has not been satisfactorily solved. For this reason a bureau has been organized in the Department of Labor under the name of the United States Employment Service. The purpose for which this branch of the Government has been created is twofold. In the first place, it will investigate the conditions of employment and the labor market and will formulate recommendations for remedial legislation. In the second place, it will afford practical help and relief to the unemployed and to the employer, who is suffering from his inability to secure help. With a view to aiding in the practical work of the Employment Service, the Postmaster General has agreed to issue directions to all postmasters requiring them to act as the local agents of the Employment Service. The Department of Labor will thus be enabled to keep in close touch with the employment situation in every town and city. Through the rural carriers intimate knowledge will be available of the needs of practically every farmer in the United States. The Post Office Department is thus providing the machinery by means of which the Department of Labor will be enabled to apply every remedy in the power of the Federal Government to employment problems that may arise in the future.

Thus, farmers of the United States have been given the benefit of 58,000 intelligence offices, so to speak, by the Post Office Department's cooperation with the Department of Labor in carrying out President Wilson's scheme for finding employment for the unemployed. The matter of securing employees for the farmer when the demand for farm labor to harvest the crops is as important to the farmer as to those seeking employment.

Postmasters at every office have been instructed by the Postmaster General to lend every effort toward bringing the job without an employee and the employee without a job together.

Either employer or workman may obtain at any post office in the United States a blank application supplied by the Department of Labor, which, after filling out and signing, he may deposit in the mails anywhere free of postage. Sometimes an application for an employer and one for a worker in the same post-office neighborhood may be mutual in their requirements. In such cases the postmaster often brings the parties together without forwarding their applications. Otherwise all applications go from the post offices where deposited to the nearest station or substation of the Department of Labor. They are there compared for the purpose of noting reciprocal requirements and bringing work seeker and employer together. This is done as fully as possible at each station and substation. From July 1, 1915, to February 1, 1916, positions were found for over 83,000 of the unemployed. In the first seven months of the present fiscal year nearly three times as many men and women have been enabled to get positions as during the entire year of 1914.

The Government's new labor employment service plays a picturesque and important part in facilitating harvesting in the Middle West. For each 100 men needed to garner the huge grain crops of the Great Plains less than 10 have year-round jobs. Hence, beginning late in May, a vast army converges into the grain country, lured by the prospects of high wages with board and lodging provided.

The Government's new facility plays a large part in the mobilization and disposition of the units of this great wave of workers. By far the largest part come from the East. Kansas City and Omaha are the principal "gateways" through which these men pass and are sent to the farms. Taken as a whole, they are a strange mixture of the dregs and the best of the country's manhood.

In the past two years the Government has helped to recruit workers to harvest grain crops by means of notices, based on information furnished by authorized representatives of the grain-growing States, which have been posted in post offices just prior to the harvest season. It is estimated that nearly 175,000 men went to the harvest fields during the two seasons of 1914 and 1915.

The Postal Service, of course, is conducted for the benefit of the entire population of the country, and those living on farms and those living in cities share alike the benefits derived from the improvement during the present administration of all branches of the Postal Service.

FARM-TO-TABLE SERVICE.

The Post Office Department has brought to the doors of 20,000,000 rural residents the full advantage of a universal express service. The parcel post has wonderfully enlarged the market of the farmer, both for buying and for selling. The special shipment of some commodity urgently needed on the farm no longer means a trip to town, for the rural mail carrier now completes the delivery, and with no additional charge for that service. The postage on a parcel addressed to a resident in town will carry the same parcel to any patron of a rural route from the town.

From the commencement of the Parcel-Post Service, farmers have extensively availed themselves of the opportunity for purchasing by mail. The department has found that they have not so readily availed themselves of the opportunity for selling by mail. For this reason the farm-to-table movement was inaugurated. Under this plan postmasters at designated cities have received names of farmers who have produce to sell, together with price lists and descriptions of the goods offered, and have printed and distributed these lists in the widest manner possible to their patrons in the city. At the same time a consistent effort has been made to familiarize both the farmers and the city purchasers who might use this service with the necessary rules and regulations. With a view to further assisting this movement the rules and regulations have themselves been simplified and the rates of postage reduced. The result of these efforts has been to create the means for a large and profitable traffic in products of the farm which would otherwise go to waste or be disposed of at less advantageous prices. This direct dealing is, of course, not less desirable to the city consumer, who secures food products in fresh and satisfactory condition at prices lower than those prevailing in city markets.

No statistics have been compiled which show the volume of parcel-post traffic to and from rural districts. It is self-evident that the parcel post has benefited the farmers especially, as they represent the class which prior to the establishment of parcel post had no express facilities. It is reasonable to assume that the parcel-post business of farmers constitutes the important part of the Nation's parcel-post business, and it is steadily on the increase. Parcels are being handled in the mails at the present time at the annual rate of more than one billion.

The present administration has enlarged and improved the parcel post for the farmer by reducing the rates of postage, by increasing the weight limit, by providing the C. O. D. and insurance features, and by inaugurating the farm-to-table movement.

The farm-to-table movement was inaugurated in August, 1914. Nothing of this kind was attempted in the last administration. This movement may be illustrated by the plan followed at Philadelphia. A parcel-post produce list was issued. The postmaster sent a circular to the fourth-class post offices within 150 miles of Philadelphia notifying them to bring to the attention of their patrons the desire of the Philadelphia post office to include in a list of farm producers all those who wished to sell by mail. On the basis of the replies received in response to this circular the

parcel-post produce list was prepared and distributed free in Philadelphia on application.

Patrons of the Philadelphia post office were notified by circulars distributed by carriers that this list was available at the post office. The plan followed at Philadelphia was carried out in much the same way at each of the following post offices, which were designated to engage in the farm-to-table movement:

Birmingham, Ala.; Los Angeles, Cal.; San Francisco, Cal.; Denver, Colo.; Hartford, Conn.; Washington, D. C.; Athens, Ga.; Atlanta, Ga.; Chicago, Ill.; Rock Island, Ill.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Louisville, Ky.; New Orleans, La.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Lawrence, Mass.; Lynn, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Minneapolis, Minn.; St. Paul, Minn.; Kansas City, Mo.; St. Louis, Mo.; Great Falls, Mont.; Lincoln, Nebr.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Raleigh, N. C.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Portland, Oreg.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Providence, R. I.; Nashville, Tenn.; Austin, Tex.; Dallas, Tex.; Galveston, Tex.; Richmond, Va.; Seattle, Wash.; and La Crosse, Wis.

No figures are available as to the volume of traffic induced by the farm-to-table movement, but I am sending you a copy of a public statement issued by the department April 3, 1915, which will give you in a general way an idea of the extent of the farm-to-table business at that time. I am of the opinion that there has been a natural and steady increase in the movement of farm products by parcel post since this statement was issued.

In addition to the circulars referred to, farmers and city purchasers are informed of the rules and regulations by the postmaster, post-office clerks, and city letter carriers; also by the free distribution of a pamphlet entitled "Postal Information," a copy of which is being forwarded. The Third Assistant Postmaster General issues a circular regarding the rates of postage and conditions of mailability, and Farmers' Bulletin No. 611 of the Department of Agriculture has been very widely distributed. Copies of these pamphlets are being sent under separate cover.

With a view to educating the public to the facilities offered by the post-office service and to inducing them to cooperate more fully with the postal authorities, the Official Postal Guide, which was formerly sold at $3.50, is being sold this year at 75 cents, and an abridged Guide may be obtained for 15 cents. A copy of the Guide for 1916 is being forwarded separately.

When the parcel post was first established the rate of postage for the first zone was 5 cents for the first pound and 3 cents for each additional pound; it is now 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound. For the second zone the rate was 6 cents for the first pound and 4 cents for each additional pound; it is now 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound. The rate for the third zone was 7 cents for the first pound and 5 cents for each additional pound; it is now 6 cents for the first pound and 2 cents for each additional pound. The rate for the fourth zone was 8 cents for the first pound and 6 cents for each additional pound; it is now 7 cents for the first pound and 4 cents for each additional pound. The rate for the fifth zone was 9 cents for the first pound and 7 cents for each additional pound; it is now 8 cents for the first pound and 6 cents for each additional pound. The rate for the sixth zone was 10 cents for the first pound and 9 cents for each additional pound; it is now 9 cents for the first pound and 8 cents for each additional pound. The rate for the seventh zone was 11 cents for the first pound and 10 cents for each additional pound; this rate has not been changed. The rate for the eighth zone was 12 cents for the first pound and 12 cents for each additional pound; this rate has not been changed.

The principal reductions in rates were made effective August 15, 1913, and January 1, 1914.

OTHER POSTAL REFORMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS UNDER THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

In the words of President Wilson, "The post office is the conspicuous gauge and standard of what the Government is doing for the people and how it is doing it." Since March, 1913, this gauge and standard has been raised higher than ever before. Efficient postal service everywhere, equal service for everybody, and the elimination of "pull," privilege, and waste have been our aim. The following are some the more important postal achievements under the present administration:

POSTAL SAVINGS.

The number of postal savings depositors has increased from 310,000 at the beginning of March, 1913, to 603,000 at the end of June, 1916, while the amount deposited has increased during the same period from $30,000,000 to $86,000,000. The gain of nearly 50 per cent in the per capita deposit is convincing evidence of the prosperity of the working people of this country, who are the principal patrons of postal savings banks. It is also noteworthy that 59 per cent of the total number of depositors are foreign born, and that they own 72 per cent of the total savings deposited. This indicates growing confidence on their part in American institutions. Many of these people formerly were patrons of foreign postal savings systems. A recent act of Congress, recommended by Postmaster General Burleson, raises the limit of deposit by any one person from $500 to $1,000, exclusive of accumulated interest. This immediately resulted in a pronounced increased in deposits. It is estimated that the $500 limit placed in the original postal savings law of 1910 turned away as much money as was accepted. The Postal Savings System as a whole has been brought to a self-sustaining basis and for the past three years has yielded a substantial profit.

MONEY ORDERS.

Postal money orders have been made payable at any post office in the United States, thus adding materially to the convenience of many thousands of postal patrons. Formerly they were payable only at the post office upon which drawn.

CITY MAIL DELIVERY.

The delivery of mail in cities has been extended to over 5,000,000 additional patrons of post offices, including 243 cities which heretofore had never had mail delivery. At six of the larger cities Government-owned automobiles have been in operation for the past year in the delivery and collection of mail in place of contract machines, thus providing flexibility of service during emergencies.

MAIL TRANSPORTATION.

Mail transportation has been increased on 6,248 miles of railroad and 421,158 miles on domestic steamboats. To give mail service to towns and villages not located upon railroads, 1,811 star routes have been put in operation.

FOREIGN MAIL SERVICE.

The betterment of the Postal Service with South and Central American countries has been given special consideration in view of the close commercial relations existing between the United States and those countries. Parcel-post and money-order conventions, which will greatly improve the facilities of exchange, have recently been negotiated with Brazil and Argentina, the two largest of the South American Republics. The Parcel-Post Service has been extended to five other countries, including China, with its population of more than 400,000,000, and improvements have been made in the service under treaties already existing. The weight of the parcel-post mails dispatched to foreign countries during the fiscal year 1916 increased 87 per cent over that dispatched during the previous year, while the increase to Central and South America was 101 per cent. Six treaties have been concluded, establishing the 2-cent letter rate from the United States to the Bahamas, Barbados, British Honduras, Dutch West Indies, the Leeward Islands, and British Guiana. The Postmaster General is very anxious to secure a 2-cent letter rate throughout the Western Hemisphere, which will materially assist in the development of commerce with Latin American nations, and is sparing no effort in negotiating the necessary treaties to that end.

POSTAL EMPLOYEES.

Salaries of post-office clerks, city and rural carriers, and railway mail clerks have been increased to the aggregate extent of nearly $15,000,000. Since March, 1913, 1,000 new steel mail cars have been placed in service, thus affording greater protection to the lives of postal clerks. The new liability law grants leave with pay to railway mail clerks for injuries sustained while on duty, and provides relief for their relatives or legal representatives in case of death.

CIVIL SERVICE—MERIT AND EFFICIENCY.

At the very inception of this administration not only postal employees but postal officials were given to understand that they would be expected to do a full day's work. Postmasters are required to devote at least eight hours a day to their official duties instead of leaving these responsibilities to subordinates.

Scrupulous observance of the spirit and letter of civil service has been maintained, and an earnest effort made to extend and perfect the system throughout the Postal Service. In making assignments and promotions in the Postal Service the aim has been to eliminate partisanship and recognize merit and efficiency.

GOOD BUSINESS MANAGEMENT.

A total surplus of $12,500,000 has been paid into the Treasury during the present postal administration up to June 30, 1916. This has been accomplished through a more efficient management of the service, and at the same time the Postal Service has been greatly extended and improved, as shown in the above résumé. During the eight years, 1905–1912, an aggregate postal deficit of $74,600,000 was reported.

With assurances of esteem and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

A. S. BURLESON.

**Nation Again to be Tested as in Civil War—Disloyalty Active and Must be Crushed, Says President Wilson in Plea for True Americanism.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. LADISLAS LAZARO,

OF LOUISIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, June 15, 1916.*

Mr. LAZARO. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a speech by the President, delivered on Wednesday, June 14, 1916.

The speech is as follows:

SPEECH OF PRES'DENT WILSON.

Mr. Secretary, ladies, and gentlemen, I have not come here this afternoon with the purpose of delivering to you an elaborate address. It seems to me that the day is sufficiently eloquent already with the meaning which it should convey to us. The spectacle of the morning has been a very moving spectacle indeed—an almost unpremeditated outpouring of thousands of sober citizens to manifest their interest in the safety of the country and the sacredness of the flag which is its emblem.

I need not remind you how much sentiment has been poured out in honor of the flag of the United States. Sometimes we have been charged with being a very sentimental people, fond of expressing in general rhetorical phrases prnciples not sufficiently defined in action, and I dare say there have been times of happy and careless ease in this country when all that it has been necessary to do for the honor of the flag was to put our sentiments into poetic expressions, into the words that for the time being satisfied our hearts.

NOT A DAY OF SENTIMENT.

But this is not a day of sentiment. Sentiment is a propulsive power, but it does not propel in the way that is serviceable to the Nation, unless it have a definite purpose before it. This is not merely a day of sentiment. It is a day of purpose.

It is an eloquent symbol of the unity of our history that upon this monument which commemorates the man who did most to establish the American Union we should have hoisted those stars that have so multiplied since his time, associated with those lines of red and white, which mean all that is pure in our purpose and all that is red in our blood in the service of a Nation whose history has been full of inspiration because of his example.

But Washington was one of the least sentimental men that America has ever produced. The thing that thrills me about Washington is that he is impatient of any sentiment that has not got definite purpose in it. His letters run along the lines of action, not merely along the mere lines of sentiment, and the most inspiring times that this Nation has ever seen have been the times when sentiment had to be translated into action.

NATION AGAIN TO BE TESTED.

Apparently this Nation is again and again and again to be tested, and always tested in the same way. The last supreme test that this Nation went through was the test of the Civil War.

You know how deep that cut. You know what exigent issues of life were at issue in that struggle. You know how two great sections of this Union seemed to be moving in oposite directions, and for a long time it was questionable whether that flag represented any one united purpose in America. And you know how deep that struggle cut into the sentiments of this people and how there came a whole generation following that great struggle when men's hearts were bitter and sore and memories hurt as well as exalted, and how it seemed as if a rift had come in the hearts of the people of America.

And you know how that ended. While it seemed a time of terror, it has turned out a proof of the validity of our hope. Where are now the divisions of sentiment which cut us asunder at the time of the Civil War? Did you not see the blue and the gray mingle this morning in the procession? Did not you see the sons of a subsequent generation walking together in happy comradeship? Was there any contradiction of feeling or division of sentiment evident there for a moment?

WAR'S WOUNDS HEALED.

Nothing cuts so deep as a civil war, and yet all the wounds of that war have been healed not only, but the very passion of that war seems to have contributed to the strength of national feeling which now moves us as a single body politic.

And yet again the test is applied, my fellow countrymen, a new sort of division of feeling has sprung up amongst us. You know that we are derived in our citizenship from every nation in the world. It is not singular that sentiment should be disturbed by what is going on on the other side of the water, but while sentiment may be disturbed, loyalty ought not to be.

I want to be scrupulously just, my fellow citizens, in assuming the circumstances of this day, and I am sure that you wish with me to deal out with an even hand the praise and the blame of this day of test.

DISLOYAL FEW ARE ACTIVE.

I believe that the vast majority of those men whose lineage is directly derived from the nations now at war are just as loyal to the flag of the United States as any native citizen of this beloved land, but there are some men of that extraction who are not; and they, not only in past months, but at the present time, are doing their best to undermine the influence of the Government of the United States in the interest of matters which are foreign to us and which are not derived from the questions of our own politics.

There is disloyalty active in the United States, and it must be absolutely crushed. It proceeds from a minority, a very small minority, but a very active and subtle minority. It works underground, but it also shows its ugly head where we can see it; and there are those at this moment who are trying to levy a species of political blackmail, saying, "Do what we wish in the interest of foreign sentiment or we will wreak our vengeance at the polls."

That is the sort of thing against which the American Nation will turn with a might and triumph of sentiment which will teach these gentlemen once for all that loyalty to this flag is the first test of tolerance in the United States.

PROBLEM OF DAILY LIFE.

That is the lesson that I have come to remind you of on this day—no mere sentiment. It runs into your daily life and conversation. Are you going yourselves, individually and collectively, to see to it that no man is tolerated who does not do honor to that flag?

It is not a matter of force. It is not a matter, that is to say, of physical force. It is a matter of a greater force than that which is physical. It is a matter of spiritual force. It is to be achieved as we think, as we purpose, as we believe, and when the world finally learns that America is indivisible, then the world will learn how truly and profoundly great and powerful America is.

TRUSTEE FOR THE NATION.

I realize personally, my fellow citizens, that peculiar significance of the flag of the United States at this time, because there was a day not many years ago when, although I knew what that flag stood for, it had not penetrated my whole consciousness as it has now.

If you could have gone with me through the space of the last two years, and could have felt the subtle impact of intrigue and sedition and have realized with me that those to whom you have intrusted authority are trustees, not only of the power, but of the very spirit and purpose of the United States, you would realize with me the solemnity with which I look upon that sublime symbol of our unity and power.

I want you to share that consciousness with me. I want you to realize that in what I am saying I am merely your spokesman, merely trying to interpret your thoughts, merely trying to put into inadequate words the purpose that is in your hearts. I regard this day as a day of rededication to all the ideals of the United States.

I took the liberty a few weeks ago to ask our fellow citizens all over the United States to gather together in celebration of this day, the anniversary of the adoption of our present flag as the emblem of the Nation. I had no legal right to declare it a holiday, I had no legal right to ask for the cessation of business, but when you read in the papers to-morrow morning I think you will see that authority was not necessary; that the people of the country were waiting for an opportunity to cease their ordinary business and gather together in united demonstration of their feeling as a Nation.

CONTRAST TO INAUGURAL PARADE.

It was a very happy thought that led the committee of gentlemen who had charge of the demonstration of the forenoon to choose the 14th of June for the parade which most of us have witnessed. It is a tiresome thing, my fellow citizens, to stand for hours and see a parade go by, but I want to take you into this secret: It was not half as tiresome as the inauguration parade.

The inauguration parade is a very interesting thing, but it is painfully interesting to the man who is being inaugurated, be-

cause there then lie ahead of him the four years of responsibility whose horoscope can not be cast by any man.

But to-day was interesting, because the inauguration parade of the day of my inauguration is more than three years gone by. I have gone through deep waters with you in the meantime.

IN NO MAN'S HONOR.

This parade was not a demonstration in honor of any man. It was an outpouring of people to demonstrate a great national sentiment. I was not the object of it. I was one citizen among millions whose heart beat in unison with it.

I felt caught up and buoyed along by the great stream of human purpose which seemed to flow there in front of me by the stand by the White House, and I shall go away from this meeting as I came away from that parade, with all the deepest purposes of my heart renewed, and as I see the winds lovingly unfold the beautiful lines of our great flag I shall seem to see a hand pointing the way of duty, no matter how hard, no matter how long, which we shall tread while we vindicate the glory and honor of the United States.

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**Joseph A. Goulden.**

## SPEECH
OF
## HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Sunday, January 23, 1916.*

The House had under consideration the following resolution (H. Res. 101):

*Resolved*, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity be given for tribute to the memory of Hon. JOSEPH A. GOULDEN, late a Member of this House from the State of New York.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That at the conclusion of to-day's proceedings the House, as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, do stand adjourned.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. Speaker, it is an ancient usage of the House to pay formal tribute to the life, character, and public services of its deceased Members. The custom appeals strongly to Members. Public business is temporarily suspended so that those intimately associated and acquainted with the recently departed may make a permanent record of the virtues possessed and the services rendered by men in the public service, who too frequently are quickly forgotten in the press of everyday affairs.

We meet to-day to commemorate the memory and to review the services of one of the most lovable of men who ever served in this House. Born 71 years ago in Adams County, Pa., of sturdy Dutch ancestry, Col. GOULDEN possessed the virility of his hardy ancestors and their many virtues which so endeared him to his associates. During the Civil War he served the Union cause for two years, and from his experiences during that time was strongly inclined to all movements for the amelioration of the sufferings of the unfortunate in different spheres of life. He took a keen interest in reformatory work. His kindly and genial character was of that buoyant and optimistic nature that induced him to aid to correct the modes of life of those who unhappily had transgressed the law. Such work was highly congenial since it tended to assuage the griefs of those intimately related to the transgressor while affording him the opportunity to begin life anew with hope of a brighter and happier future and the aid and encouragement of kind and generous hearts. Such characteristics fitted Col. GOULDEN admirably for service on the board of managers of the State Reformatory at Morganza, Pa., where he rendered services of considerable value, although not of a showy kind.

About 25 years ago Col. GOULDEN settled permanently in New York City. His high character, his valuable equipment, and his sympathetic nature rapidly won him hosts of friends, and his abilities were speedily utilized for the benefit of the community. For 10 years he served as a member of the board of education, devoting his energies and his time unselfishly and unstintingly to the important duties of that position.

Perhaps the services rendered while upon that board and those as trustee of the Soldiers' Home at Bath, N. Y., which position he occupied for many years, were those which he himself prized most highly.

Such activities and his philanthropic nature influenced to a marked degree the matters in which he was most interested during his service in the House of Representatives. At the very beginning of his service he commenced to study the school system of the District of Columbia. It was then that the vast information acquired during his connection with the school system in New York City became of peculiar value. His interest never lagged, and he devoted himself assiduously to the important and difficult task of perfecting the school system in the District. It was his ambition to have it the model system of the United States, so that other communities might fashion their systems to correspond with it. His interest was not confined to the system itself. He sturdily advocated the cause of the personnel and probably had a wider acquaintance among those engaged in teaching in the Capital than any other Member of the House, and he was universally regarded as their warm friend and champion.

Not alone to the school system did he confine his activities, but he watched sharply all legislation affecting eleemosynary and philanthropic institutions and their inmates, and was ever ready to contribute from his broad experience and wide knowledge information and suggestions of a practical and helpful nature.

It was to be expected that service in the Civil War and as a trustee of the Soldiers' Home would incline him toward legislation to aid his former comrades. His large heart beat rapidly in sympathy with the survivors of that conflict with whom time had dealt harshly, so that he was known as "the soldiers' friend," and labored unceasingly to better their condition and to lighten the burdens of their declining years.

Col. GOULDEN was a man of strong religious beliefs. He made no ostentatious display of virtue, but in his simple, unaffected manner of life he exemplified in a striking manner how a good man should live.

Serving with him for more than 10 years, enjoying an intimate acquaintanceship, I had learned to know him thoroughly and to respect, to admire, and to love him dearly as a friend. His sudden death was a shock to those who knew him. Few men suspected his age. He was so active, so alert mentally, so well preserved, so thoroughly up to date that he readily passed as a much younger man.

His services in the House were not spectacular. He was not so constituted as to seek continually public applause or notoriety. His work was along quiet lines and not well known outside of the circles especially interested; but those who knew him and had knowledge of his activities respected his industry, his zeal, his studiousness, and his persistency. He rendered services of considerable value to the metropolis which he, in part, represented, and which are little known to the majority of the people whom he so faithfully served for years. His work was accurately appraised, however, and thoroughly appreciated by those with whom he was officially associated. He was admired for those manly and virile virtues which he so markedly possessed; he was respected as a good man alone can be esteemed. His departure was keenly felt and deeply regretted by everyone.

Mr. Speaker, it is a matter of regret that the pressure of a busy session precludes me from preparing so comprehensive a review of his career and so adequate a tribute to his character as the services of Col. GOULDEN deserve and as my friendship for him prompts. Others will do so, however, and perpetuate his many admirable characteristics. I can simply join with my colleagues in placing here at this time a fragrant blossom to his memory.

The world is better because of such a life; our work will be the better performed by the inspiration of the memory of his virtues and his example.

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**Record of the Democratic Party's Inefficiency.**

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
## HON. GEORGE R. SMITH,
OF MINNESOTA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, September 7, 1916.*

THE NECESSITY FOR POLITICAL PARTIES.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, the will of the people in a democracy is expressed and executed through a political party. Our Constitution, by separating the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government, made it necessary to have some process by which these separate branches could be made to work together, especially the executive and the legislative. Therefore, in order to coordinate the legislative

and executive branches of the Government as well as to give the people an opportunity to express their will, political parties were formed.

Washington, as well as other statesmen of his day, was opposed to parties and did what he could to prevent their formation. During the ratification campaign men divided into two groups. Those favoring a Federal government under the Constitution called themselves Federalists; those attached to a government by the States were known as anti-Federalists. Alexander Hamilton and John Adams were the leaders of the Federalists; Thomas Jefferson stood in the same relation to the anti-Federalists. Washington looked with alarm upon the formation of these parties and tried to nip them in the bud by bringing Hamilton and Jefferson into his cabinet. This experiment brought contention into his cabinet and demonstrated that something was necessary to make the different branches of the Government work together.

The administration of John Adams, with Jefferson as Vice President, served to further emphasize this fact. However, Washington, in his latter years, was a strong party man, as he became convinced that he could only carry on his administration successfully by having men of like political opinions about him.

Furthermore, since the beginning of our Government two political parties have existed, though at times their identity was not easily discoverable. Intermingled with the two stronger ones there has been a constant rise and fall of lesser parties, the final result being the establishment of the Republican and Democratic Parties of to-day.

The two-party system of government has been with us from the start; it grew and became dominant in the face of strong opposition, because of its close association with democracy.

In a free country differences of opinion on great and vital questions are sure to arise, and as they do men on both sides will put aside for the time being their differences on questions of lesser importance. In this way democracy has come to recognize, as the normal system of government, the party system, based on the formal division of the people into political groups, each of which bears a party name.

DEMOCRATIC RECORD OF INEFFICIENCY.

The party in power, which in the present case is the Democratic Party, is charged with the duty of upholding the Constitution and executing the laws; of protecting the lives and property of American citizens at home and abroad; of protecting American industries against foreign cheap labor; of protecting the American workingmen, women, and children against unjust exploitation; of protecting the natural resources of the country against private monopoly and against being left to go to waste; of protecting the National Treasury against the expenditure of public funds recklessly and dishonestly; of establishing military, industrial, and "social preparedness" which will increase American efficiency and enable the United States to perform its just share of the work of the world. The foregoing responsibilities and duties are enforced under our system of party government by the presence of a rival party, whose duty it is to watch the conduct of the party in office, to expose its defects, to criticize its policies, and, in case of failure to carry out its pledges to the people, to displace it.

Therefore, as a member of the opposition party, I feel compelled from a sense of duty, not only to my party but to my country, to expose the defects of this administration, to criticize its policy where to me criticism seems just, and to point out wherein it has failed to express and execute the will of the people as per its preelection promises.

Mr. Speaker, I believe in rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. The Democratic Party should receive full credit for any good it has accomplished during its tenure of office. I would be the last one to detract from its record of achievements, for undoubtedly it has to its credit the enactment of a few wise and beneficial laws, of which the country will be sufficiently informed by the adherents of its own party. Nevertheless, I feel that the acknowledgment of this fact is due an administration which has been confronted with so many difficult problems before I undertake to criticize it for its shortcomings, which are many, and which are bound to have a far-reaching, injurious effect on the future welfare of this Nation.

No administration in the history of the Government, except it be that of Andrew Johnson's, has made such a dismal failure of conducting the affairs of the Government as the present. One serious blunder after another has marked its course from the passage of the Underwood tariff law to the enactment of the eight-hour law.

The most discouraging thing about the whole affair is the willful failure of the Democrats to see the injurious effect of their legislation and official acts. The Democratic Party, true to its free-trade policy, in national convention assembled, unreservedly indorsed the Underwood tariff law as truly exemplifying its economic policy, notwithstanding the fact that from the date of the adoption of the Underwood law to the beginning of the war in Europe this law succeeded in closing down a number of industrial plants, and such as it did not close down it put on half time or less. It threw out of employment nearly 5,000,000 wage earners; converted a Treasury balance of several millions of dollars into a constantly increasing deficit; in putting out of service over 150,000 freight cars; in compelling railroads to abandon all improvements and extensions and to apply to the Government for leave to increase their rates so as to meet their operating expenses, though the same had been decreased by the adoption of severe measures of economy. The indorsement of such a law conclusively demonstrates that the Democratic Party is blindly and unalterably attached to the principle of free trade. Such protection as it has granted in this Congress is a matter of political expediency to catch votes. During the operation of the Underwood law imports have constantly increased in the face of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has to a great extent ceased by reason of the war, while revenues, which are sadly needed to replenish our Treasury, have been greatly reduced.

For example, in 1916, our imports amounted to $2,197,883,510, as against the average imports for the 10 years prior to 1914 of $1,382,629,343, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. But our Democratic friends claim that was on account of the European war. In answer to this contention, I call their attention to the fact that from the date the Underwood law took effect, on October 3, 1913, to August 1, 1914, when the war in Europe broke out, a period of 10 months, our imports increased over the previous corresponding period by $101,977,779. Furthermore, despite the fact that imports have been steadily increasing in volume and value under the Democratic law, the tariff revenues have been steadily decreasing by reason of the actual loss of "dutiable imports," which now amount to only 30 per cent of the total imports. To meet the loss of revenue occasioned by the enactment of the Democratic tariff, the Wilson administration has had to resort to a stamp tax, or war tax, an income tax, a munition tax, and an inheritance tax, which deprives the States of the full benefit of the revenue derived from inheritances.

Every known source of revenue, "and this too in a time of peace and when our imports have more than doubled," has been "tapped" to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government, which were amply provided for under "Republican policies at the customhouse."

What more is needed to convince the interested citizen that the Underwood Act is a failure as a revenue producer; if so, what becomes of the Democratic pretensions that they believe in a tariff sufficient in amount to provide ample revenue for the operation of the Government? If they honestly believed in this plank of their platform they would not have indorsed the Underwood Tariff Act. It is evident the Democratic Party does not believe any such thing. Free trade is the only fundamental tariff principle that the Democratic Party believes in. The Underwood law has made a free-trade country of the United States, while practically all the rest of the world has adopted the principle of protection. Not only has the Democratic tariff law proven to be a failure as a revenue producer, but it has opened our ports to "enormous importation of foreign products" which will come into competition with "domestic production," and thus deprive our business institutions and wage earners of the benefit of our own "market."

Free trade necessarily tends to lower the standard of wages and decrease the amount of work that there is for labor to do. Under free trade our laborers and our business institutions are brought into competition with the laborers and industrial firms of the world.

Is the American laboring man willing to work, or, if willing, would it be possible for him to sustain his family on 30 cents a day, the average wage now being paid to a Japanese laboring man, to say nothing of the wage that Japanese women and children work for? The product of this 30-cents-a-day man is now being sold, under a free-trade policy, in great quantities in our market. Do American labor and capital wish such a state of affairs to continue?

Since this law has made it possible for immense quantities of foreign goods to reach our market when the war has "created a wall" higher than any that could be built by the tariff, will it not inevitably follow when the war stops and millions of men are turned from consumers into producers of foods and

manufactures, at low wages and under starvation conditions, that foreign products will come in greatly increased quantities to compete in our markets with goods manufactured under American conditions?

To ward off such a calamity the Underwood law should be replaced by an intelligent tariff act combining the principles of protection and revenue. The past performances of the Democratic Party conclusively show that it has no inclination to take this necessary step, and even if it did it lacks the training and foresight necessary to perform such a task. Its preconceived notions of our present necessities are all against such a course. Free traders have no sympathy with a combined revenue and protective measure.

Under the pretext that they are abreast of the times they adopted the Republican tariff-commission idea. This is only a further evidence of their insincerity. They do not believe now that the Tariff Commission is any more necessary than when they abolished the Tariff Commission created by the Republicans. It is simply another preelection campaign trick, like the placing of protection on dyestuffs.

Mr. Bryan says, "A tariff commission pleases a certain element and does no harm; its tendency is to postpone a change in rates." Mr. Bryan has only told us that which we well knew.

The Democrats, like the King of Babylon, who carried all his sensibilities with him though banished to eat grass like an ox, hold fast under all circumstances to their free-trade policy.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

Peace and prosperity is the Democratic slogan for 1916. The sound of these words tickle the ear and the purse; they are the stimulants but not the food for thought. Because they are alluring, that is no reason for taking them at face value, as they can be both alluring and deceptive. Such a slogan serves publicity rather than fact, which is their real mission in this instance. It does not logically follow that since industries are running at top speed and that labor is employed at wages higher than ever before that Democratic policies brought about this happy condition. But, on the contrary, this fortunate condition furnishes no proof of the wisdom of Democratic policy or any other policy. It is simply an admitted fact susceptible of examination as to the cause of its existence.

Business was flourishing when the Democrats came into power, but within less than 18 months it was paralyzed; labor was unemployed, imports were rapidly increasing; exports were more rapidly decreasing, and revenues were greatly reduced, and this at a time when peace was reigning throughout the world and our granaries and storehouses filled to the roof with the produce of the farms and the products of the factories and mills.

The surest index to the business of a country is its foreign trade balance. The past two years has netted this country a balance of more than $3,000,000,000. Our margin at the end of another year's war will be more than $5,000,000,000. Since the war began we have loaned to the belligerents $850,000,000 and have bought back the bulk of our securities held by them prior to the beginning of the war. At this rate we will be a credit nation at the end of another year. A glance at the figures will show the enormous increase in our trade balance.

For the year "immediately preceding" the war our trade balance was $613,000,000, as against a trade balance for the year 1916 of $2,197,833,510. This prosperity, great as it is, is but temporary and elusive. It is but the natural result of a fortunate people taking advantage of an unfortunate people. Over two-thirds of the world is engaged in a mighty war, and we are the unwilling beneficiaries of their misfortune. My distinguished colleague Mr. ANDERSON, in a speech delivered in this Chamber on the 11th day of August, 1916, conclusively demonstrated that such prosperity as we now enjoy is the result of the war. He showed by official figures of the Department of Commerce that our exports of war materials for the year just prior to the war amounted to only $346,045,051, while the export of war material for the year just closed has increased to the fabulous sum of $1,910,238,672, or an increase in two years in the export of war material of over a billion and a half of dollars, an amount nearly equal to our trade balance.

Such an abnormal condition may not be wholly a matter of congratulation. This added wealth will bring with it increased obligations as well as economic problems, both national and international, which will require the highest degree of statesmanship to solve. While we have prosperity, it is a long way, under Democratic rule, from being secure. Notwithstanding it came without our seeking, it is none the less our prosperity and should be nurtured and protected first and foremost for the benefit of the American people. Is the present administration able to meet the test? To be or not to be is the absorbing question of the hour.

DEMOCRATIC RECORD OF MISTAKES.

So much for the Democratic tariff and prosperity. Now let us turn our attention for a moment to the administration's record of mistakes. I assure you that when I characterize the acts and omissions of this administration by the term mistakes I am speaking mildly of a subject that deserves to be treated very candidly if not harshly. No such record would be complete without an account of the doings of its titular head, Mr. Wilson. A number of its serious mistakes should be charged to his personal account, as they were made at his dictation and command. What I am about to say has to do solely with Mr. Wilson's official acts. As a citizen and a man, I hold him in the highest esteem and respect. His life is a splendid contribution to our day and age and nothing should be wantonly said against him even in the heat of a campaign. It is only from a deep sense of public duty that I even criticize his official record. Every man who aspires to leadership must expect honest criticism from those who hold different opinions from his.

Judging Mr. Wilson from his official conduct, we at once recognize in him an extraordinary man, possessing a unique mind. On occasions he reminds one of the three flags in a picture portraying the landing of Columbus, hung in the rotunda of the Capitol, all majestically unfurling to a breeze blowing from three different points of the compass at the same time. His ability in certain directions is so extraordinary that it can with the ease and grace of a knight of old make the gravest mistake look like a real achievement. He has been known to take within a short space of time as many as three positions on important questions. He seldom gives a reason for reversing himself. However, he expects his party and his country to keep up with his rotations. You never know what he is going to do next. The safest thing to do is to stand still, for he is quite likely to come back to the place from whence he started. There is no one who knows him but believes that his official conduct is guided by the highest and purest motives, even to the extent, at times, of idealism; but with it all there is an exceptionally human side to his nature, for he will resort, in an endeavor to carry his point, to the most subtle practices.

The only persistent and consistent course that he has pursued is that of dominating Congress and his party. In this he has met with complete success, for he has not only dominated Congress and his party, but he has completely overawed and absorbed them.

He has reduced the legislative branch of our Government from a coordinate position to that of a subordinate. Under his administration, instead of Democratic policies being formulated and carried out by the combined judgment of Democratic Members of Congress and the President, they have been formulated and executed by a single individual. In my judgment, this is a serious mistake, for no one mind possesses as much wisdom as the combined judgment of a number of exceptionally well trained minds working in unison. Besides, it is contrary to the spirit of our democratic institutions, and is likely to lead to serious consequences.

The repeal of the Panama toll act furnishes an apt illustration of the President's method of coercing Congress into passing legislation. In his campaign speeches, he repeatedly indorsed the principle of free tolls, and always added "that a platform pledge was not molasses to catch flies." Notwithstanding these declarations and Democratic platform pledges, he came before Congress in little over a year after making the above statements with the astounding demand for the repeal of the free-toll section of the Panama act. On this occasion, he asserted that it was a matter of indifference whether the construction placed by the American people upon our treaty with Great Britain was right or wrong, and that our acts in reference to free tolls were dishonorable. Not a word of explanation as to the moving cause for his change of position accompanied his demand for its repeal. A large majority of the members of his own party were opposed to the repeal, but he brought their wavering ranks into line by a vigorous waving of the flag. But this is not all.

The President, having resolved to remove Huerta from office, seized upon the incident of Huerta's failure to salute our flag in a particular manner as a pretext to compel Congress to authorize him to use the armed forces of the United States to compel a salute, when his real purpose in seeking such authority was to oust Huerta from office.

And again what a furor was raised over the warning resolution, and not without cause, for the President had reached one of his reversing stations. No one could tell whether he was going to make a complete reversal or plunge the country into war. It had been freely stated that the President had expressed the opinion that if war with Germany hastened peace it might not be a bad thing. Congressman GARDNER, of Massachusetts, was openly counseling the handing to Count Bernstorff his pass-

port and the passing by Congress of a declaration of war against Germany. Mr. GARDNER was not alone in his advocacy of such a policy. Other Members of Congress were doing the same thing, but not so openly, and associations calling themselves "Citizens' League of America" and the allies had been formed in the East. Suffice to say that the President at this junction did completely reverse himself as to his marine policy with such alacrity that Congress was made to bear the odium of his former mistake.

A similar course was pursued by Mr. Wilson when he came to deal with the threatened railroad strike, for having failed to obtain a satisfactory solution of the problem he presented certain recommendations to Congress with the request that they be enacted into law. While it was not a very satisfactory solution of the question, it did cover the whole subject; but the President, yielding to the opposition of the brotherhood to his original program, and true to his accustomed way of handling public questions, fluctuated and urged Congress to pass a bill which omitted four of the six propositions that he originally recommended. Here we see Mr. Wilson in his true light. First he arose to the occasion as a true statesman and took advantage of the crisis to enact legislation which would have tended to prevent similar situations in the future, but meeting opposition he at once surrendered and eliminated everything from his program that would have established a method to care for the interests of the public under a similar situation. Eventually he used the power of his office to pass just enough legislation to avert the strike. This action left the public without any remedy for the future. The result of the final course adopted by the President partially satisfied the railroads and their employees, because it assured to the railroads increased freight rates and to the employees shorter hours and higher wages. But what about the public who have been left exposed to further forced increases in wages and rates and further peremptory demands upon their Congress by their President. It is the people's turn to legislate, and they have plenty of time to think it over between now and November 7.

While it is true that the Republican minority in the Senate could have prevented the passage of the Adamson bill, or any other bill, unless it was amended so as to include all of the President's program, nevertheless they could not force the adoption of such amendments against the opposition of the President in time to avert the strike. Under such circumstances the Republican Senators did not care to assume all the responsibility for permitting a national calamity and contented themselves by merely voting against the bill.

PEACE AT ANY PRICE.

Peace purchased at the expense of duty and the loss of self-respect is like building on quicksand. A national structure erected on such a foundation would soon collapse. At the outbreak of the European war the President issued a proclamation commanding the public to practice neutrality even in thought, but it is generally believed that the President was among the first to violate his own proclamation. If we, as a Nation, had performed the duties and obligations of a neutral country by seeing to it that the rules of international law were impartially enforced and observed, it is more than likely that there would have been no sinking or torpedoing of merchant vessels, no bombarding of unfortified towns nor churches or hospitals; no seizure of United States official mail in transit between different portions of our own country for the purpose of furnishing the British Government with inside information as to our international policy; no seizures under British orders in council of American vessels flying the United States flag; no blacklisting of American business firms; and no raiding of our borders by Mexicans.

Having occupied during this mighty struggle for world power the position of mere onlookers, with now and then offering, in the shape of a legal brief, a protest against vicious encroachment on neutral rights, we have invited rather than discouraged the violation of international law, the disrespect for national authority, and the destruction of American lives and property. Instead of writing classical notes for the edification of those who come after us, Mr. Wilson could have brought the belligerent European nations and the Mexican people to a wholesome respect for neutral rights by adopting as a model Grover Cleveland's Venezuelan note to Great Britain, backed up by the determination that actuated Grover Cleveland at the time he penned this historical document to a friendly power. Unfortunately, there is not a Cleveland, Grant, Lincoln, Jackson, Jefferson, or Washington in command at the White House.

If Mr. Wilson had had the courage to follow the precedents established by this Government in dealing with international matters, he would have maintained for his country during this unfortunate time the honor and respect of the world. As it is, Old Glory is not the protecting shield for our citizens that it once was.

In Mexico, where a few Americans are still trying to guard their property, they are compelled to hide their nationality behind the British flag, for which the Mexicans have a lively respect. By this disguise our American brothers escape insult and loss of life and property. Does any American citizen take comfort out of this exhibition of national decay? If so, we want his picture for the gallery of degenerates.

Mr. Wilson's handling of Mexican affairs is not only a disgrace to Americans but an outrage to the Mexican people. He first destroyed what semblance of government they had, then set up a dictatorship under the bandit Carranza, who immediately smote the hand that "exhorted him to office" by murdering American citizens, not only in Mexico but on American soil. Different treatment could hardly be expected from such a man as Carranza. Furthermore, in the face of this evidence of treachery, our confiding President is now engaged in formulating a peace treaty with his protégé. What change has been wrought in Carranza since he treacherously caused a number of our soldiers to be killed at Carrazal that warrants our Government, through its President, in extending to him "the assurances of our highest consideration" and esteem? If the matters in hand were not so serious, they would be ludicrous. Every thoughtful American citizen, except Mr. Wilson, realizes that the labors of the joint Mexican-American Commission now in session at New London, Conn., are doomed to failure, for the very reason that Carranza, one of the contracting parties, is not the acknowledged head of the Mexican people, or even the leader of all the bandits. Why, the jilted bandit, Villa, to say nothing of Zapata and other lesser chieftains, has still a sufficient following to keep Carranza's army, assisted by 150,000 American troops, busy. This depraved outlaw not only attacked and murdered our citizens on Mexican soil with impunity, but crossed our border and murdered our citizens with the cognizance, if not with the actual assistance of Carranza. Under these circumstances is it not passing strange that Mr. Wilson's Secretary of State should extend to Mr. Carranza the assurances of his highest consideration? What a cordial greeting to the murderer of our soldiers and the civil population of our border villages!

Three years have elapsed since Mr. Wilson announced "that he would vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who can not get away from Mexico," but not once in those three years has he lifted a finger, "except in pious exhortation," to prevent the raping of American women or the killing of American men, women, and children. The bones of our citizens, he so dramatically promised to keep a vigilant watch over, are now strewn from one end of Mexico to the other.

The administration's treatment of those unfortunate Americans who had to remain in Mexico to guard their property is in line with its treatment of the American citizens who took refuge in a certain building in Tampico to save themselves from a bloodthirsty mob. On that occasion the American fleet, which was close at hand, was ordered from Washington to sail away, and, sailing away, left our citizens in the hands of bandits thirsting for their blood. The commanders of German and British ships, seeing the Americans abandoned by their own country, came to their rescue. Was there ever a more perfect spectacle of the noble and the ignoble? It was humane, generous, and brave for the German and British commanders to save our people from destruction; it was ignoble for our Government to desert them at such a time. The administration knew that these people would be slaughtered unless they were rescued. There was never a greater exposure of neglect of a Government to protect its citizens.

We are told by the apologists for the administration's cowardly act that it was done for the sake of peace.

Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, are we not paying too dearly for our make-believe peace? After suffering many humiliations, still there is no peace. Neither can peace be established by pursuing a course so out of touch with the practical side of human nature. The longer this weak, vacillating, and anaemic policy is pursued the more costly it will prove. We are but giving our neighbors a wrong impression of ourselves. For over three years we have been giving the Mexican people such an exhibition of timidity and lack of national purpose that they have come to believe that they are our superiors in the arts of war and peace.

In the name of peace have we not, for the purpose of ousting their President from office, blockaded their ports, collected their revenues, killed a number of their soldiers, furnished arms to first one and then another bandit, set up a bandit as their dictator, sent our fleet and Army against them, and then withdrawn them at the behest of this usurper? Have they not wit-

nessed the abandonment of American men, women, and children to their fate when attacked by a bloodthirsty Mexican mob? Have they not witnessed the rape of American women and the killing of American men, women, and children, both on Mexican and American soil by Carranzists, Villaists, and Zapatistas, without so much as a vigorous protest from the American Government? Have they not witnessed the whole American Army in pursuit of a single bandit? During it all have they not beheld the head of our Government looking on in supreme indifference?

If anything more is needed to earn the contempt of the Mexican people for the United States, it will be supplied by the continuance in office of the present administration.

FIRMNESS VS. TIMIDITY.

Vacillation and weakness encourage encroachment upon established rights. The spineless policy of Mr. Wilson has encouraged other nations to encroach upon our rights. Neutral rights on the high seas under international law have been abrogated by British orders in council, to the extent of making neutrals her unwilling allies. By this course Great Britain has threatened the sovereignty of all neutral countries.

A nation is but a vassal which permits a foreign power to censor both its official and private mail, to blacklist its citizens engaged in business in its own country, to seize its ships sailing under its own flag for the purpose of securing their cargo. The British Government announced last month that it had placed the names of 80 or more persons, firms, and corporations in the United States upon a proscriptive black list and had forbidden all commercial or financial dealings between them and the citizens of Great Britain. This policy not only affects commercial transactions in Great Britain and her dependencies, but applies to domestic transactions as well. American establishments doing business in foreign countries have been notified that the British Government reserves the right to veto any dealings with blacklisted firms. It further provides that additions may be made to the black list on account of enemy, nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons if it appears to His Majesty expedient to do so.

Banking concerns in the United States with branch agencies or connections in Germany have been blacklisted because of such connection, and even American commercial houses dealing with such banks are liable to be placed on the black list. Under these circumstances bankers in the United States and elsewhere hesitate to advance loans to concerns that are blacklisted. Merchants in other neutral countries have begun to decline to contract for goods of American houses that are under the ban, fearing that they themselves may be barred from trading with Great Britain and her allies.

Furthermore, British officials have seized United States official mail in transit from this country to our foreign representatives in China and elsewhere, supplying the information they secured from an examination of such mail to the British Government for its use in dealing not only with the present war but in dealing with the United States regarding any international questions that may arise in the future between the United States and Great Britain, or between the United States and Japan or China, or any other country with which Great Britain may be allied at the time of the controversy. This information leaked out from private sources, the Government having failed to make the facts known.

And again, by the substitution of the order in council for international law, trade between the United States and Holland and the Scandinavian countries has been prohibited. Not even a pound of flour can be shipped from my city, Minneapolis, one of the greatest flour markets in the world, without first obtaining "letters of assurance" from the British Government. American ships flying the flag of the United States have been seized and their cargo appropriated.

We have Mr. Wilson to thank for our loss of sovereignty. His mild protest when Great Britain threatened our commerce and our mail and our business firms was but notice to it that it might supervise neutral commerce without opposition from us, save the writing of an occasional note as a basis for a monetary claim which could be settled at leisure.

By adopting such a course are we not doing something more than postponing the collection of damages for the destruction of the business of our citizens? Does it not tend to destroy our independence as a Nation? Who knows to what extent this supervision of our affairs may extend; it already extends to our mails, to our business houses, and our commerce. Sweden has not permitted these things to take place without a vigorous protest, and she is a nation of less than six millions of people. Then why should we, a Nation of over a hundred million, hesitate to assert our rights, no matter who is threatening them?

Is it to be marveled at that our protesting notes to foreign nations are looked upon with indifference, often not exciting sufficient interest to elicit a reply? The custom of note writing has become so prevalent in the State Department that any one of a number of subordinate officials is sufficiently acquainted with the form used to prepare one of these notes on short notice.

We are asked what we are going to do about it. There is one thing the American people can do, and that is elect another President and a Congress to sustain him. From the character and history of the Republican Party we have every reason to believe that it will at least preserve the remaining rights of the American people, if it can not retrieve those already surrendered. The Republican Party can be relied upon to put the country in such a state of preparedness as to protect the Nation against such encroachments on their national rights as we have witnessed under the present administration.

The Democratic Party having failed to protect the lives and property of American citizens at home and abroad; to protect American industries against foreign cheap labor; to protect American working men, women, and children against an unjust exploitation; to protect the national resources of the country against private monopoly; to protect the National Treasury against the expenditure of public funds recklessly; and to establish military, industrial, and social preparedness, should be relieved of power.

Billy Kent's party ought to be able to beat a party with a record like that.

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**Zebulon Baird Vance.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Saturday, July 29, 1916.*

Mr. WEBB. Mr. Speaker, the concurrent resolution now before this House that the statue of Zebulon Baird Vance, which has been placed in Statuary Hall by the State of North Carolina, be accepted by us in the name of the National Government, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State of North Carolina for her contribution to this Hall of Fame, will be adopted, like those offered on the 16th day of April, 1894, at the time of his death, without a dissenting voice.

You are all familiar with the history of Statuary Hall, and how, in 1869, when it was no longer needed as a meeting place for the House of Representatives, on account of the Capitol having been enlarged and the present Hall, where we are now meeting, provided, it was set apart as a sacred spot, hallowed by the many historical events that had transpired within its walls during the eventful years that it had been used as the meeting place of this House, in which each State was invited to place statues in marble or bronze of not exceeding two of her illustrious deceased who had become illustrious on account of their heroic renown or because of distinguished civil or military services.

North Carolina has had many illustrious sons, whose lives and characters have been such as to entitle them to stand in silent but impressive marble or bronze in that historic hall as the mute representatives of the great men of that State.

The delicate task of choosing from such a long list of those who had devoted their lives to the service of their State and Nation and achieved renown at home and abroad in every line of public endeavor, whether in peace or in war, and by whose wisdom and courage our civilization had been advanced, may, in a measure, account for her tardiness in availing herself of the privilege which Congress had accorded her.

But the matter could not be longer put off and the North Carolina General Assembly of 1907 made provision for placing a statue in Statuary Hall, and by legislative enactment, without a dissenting vote, wrote into the law that it should be of Zebulon Baird Vance.

Some may feel inclined to apologize for so long a delay in providing for this statue, but to me there is a compensating assurance that the State, in keeping with its traditional conservatism, has acted wisely. It is a more splendid tribute to his greatness that, 13 years after his death, a succeeding generation should have spoken through their representatives in the general assembly of that State with one voice and selected him as the one to be thus honored.

I have read the splendid eulogies which were delivered in both Houses of Congress at the time of his death, by those with whom he had associated in his public duties. These were his daily companions, who, by personal contact, had felt the warmth of his genial nature and become bound to him by ties of affection. They might have been warped in their judgment by the sorrow of the occasion and blinded to his faults by their kindly affection for him. During these 22 years his life work has been measured, and has stood the test of time. The judgment rendered on that sad occasion has met the unanimous approval of the people of his State.

I feel a special pride in his selection, and in the splendid statue that has been presented to us by the State of North Carolina, which pride the people of the district I have the honor to represent in this House share with me, on account of the fact that Zebulon Baird Vance lived in my district, in the thriving commercial city of Charlotte, N. C., during a part of his most active public career.

He was born in Buncombe County, in an adjoining district, the 13th day of May, 1830, in the midst of the most beautiful mountain scenery that is to be found anywhere, surrounded on every hand by the lofty mountain peaks, indicative of strength, stability, and grandeur in nature, and close by the crystal, rippling waters of the French Broad River as it came fresh from the pure mountain springs, giving out nature's lullaby as it swiftly found its way over its rocky bottom on toward the sea.

These were the environments which nature surrounded him with during the impressionable days of his youth. When we think of his strong, well-developed physical form which is faithfully portrayed to us in the splendid bronze statue we are to-day receiving, and of the manly traits of character, softened by a kindly affection and brotherly love for his fellow man, we have no difficulty in finding, without stopping to theorize as to cause and effect, that his life was typical of his early natural environments.

Unfortunately for me on this occasion I can not portray his life and character to you as one who lived in close contact and with intimate personal knowledge of his active public career, and draw upon a rich store of personal experiences and reminiscences to impress their characteristics upon you. I was but a young man when he died and only knew him in his declining years. As a small boy I only knew him as a small boy knows his people's hero. I saw him on a number of public occasions, and his personality left a lasting impression upon me. When he spoke in a community all the boys, as well as all the men, went to hear him. Everybody honored him, loved him, and referred to him as Zeb Vance.

The history of his long, brilliant, and useful career has been ably presented, not only on this occasion, but also on the occasion of his death by those who lived more nearly in his time, and more ably than I could do it, and I shall not now attempt to review it.

Beginning with the year he completed his education he was successively elected county attorney, State legislator, Representative in the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses, served as captain and colonel in the Confederate Army, governor of North Carolina for three terms, elected to the United States Senate in 1876 but denied a seat for political disabilities growing out of the war; again elected United States Senator in 1879 and succeeded himself in this high office until his death in 1894. These are the public offices which during his 60 years of almost continuous public life he was called to fill. That he did his duty and filled each worthily is proven by his successive promotions. A grateful people knew no greater honor to bestow upon him.

Vance was endowed by nature with the traits of a great leader. He was able, bold, and fearless; had a high conception of duty; was a diligent student of public questions; and, through it all, had an abiding faith in and love for his fellow man. His success was not attained by any devious route, or by resort to the methods of the political trickster. His high moral character and love of truth and honor guided him in a straight and safe course through the many trying events of his life.

But many men might possess the same noble characteristics without ever receiving such universal recognition and appreciation. The almost unanimous recognition of his greatness in his own State may have been due in part to the fact that he lived through a very trying period in the history of North Carolina, when the public pulse of the State was throbbing with emotion and every public service recounted. I am, however, inclined to the belief that it was more due to his great power as a public speaker. His arguments were strong and well fortified by facts and illustrations and well seasoned by timely and well-pointed anecdotes.

His adversaries were held in check by the strength of his argument and routed by the keenness of his wit and ridicule. But his greatest strength lay in his ability to translate his arguments and present his facts in the language that was easily understood by his hearers. The most unlettered portion of his audience carried home some fact which he had embedded there. If nothing else, the hearer could recount some well-pointed joke that Vance had told which illustrated his position upon some public question.

But why continue to speak of the elements of his character that made him great? Man's effort to analyze a truly great man must fall far short. It is an impossible task.

Zebulon Baird Vance is great in the minds of all North Carolinians and worthy of the prominent place his statue occupies in Statuary Hall, not because of his ability, character, his power to sway audiences, his love for his fellow man, nor any of the other attributes spoken of by me, but because of all these and others I have not mentioned blended into one and translated by his noble life into action which, guided by his faith in God, has resulted in good to his fellow man, which has led them into a higher civilization and a more perfect state.

Measured by the results of his active life, he is great, and we but honor this Nation in accepting with our thanks this statue, well done by an eminent artist and presented by the loving hands of the State he helped to build up.

May many youths of this generation who pause and look upon this statue of Vance as it stands in Statuary Hall be inspired by his noble life to emulate his example.

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## Mr. Bryan's St. Louis Speech.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM S. GOODWIN,
OF ARKANSAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, June 16, 1916.*

Mr. GOODWIN of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a speech made on yesterday before the Democratic national convention at St. Louis by the Hon. William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. Bryan has been declared politically dead by our Republican friends many times during the past 20 years, and especially has he been declared many times within the last few months to be politically extinct, but from the tremendous ovation accorded to him yesterday by the spectators and by the convention as well, Mr. Bryan seems still to be close to the heartbeats of the American people and continues to cherish their honor and esteem. I take pleasure in submitting herewith the speech made by Mr. Bryan, together with comment made thereon by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of June 16.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 16.]

MR. BRYAN'S ST. LOUIS SPEECH.

The appearance of William J. Bryan in the hall at the national convention last night was the signal for a spontaneous and hearty greeting from the Democrats that did not subside until the Nebraskan had been escorted to the platform for a speech. Bryan was late getting into the hall because of the congestion at the doors; but scarcely had he appeared at the back of the press box when the demonstration began.

As his familiar figure moved forward the cheers redoubled. The galleries began to cry, "Bryan!" "Bryan!" and the degelates and alternates took it up, many springing to their feet and waving hats and canes as they yelled.

From all parts of the hall came cries of "Speech!" Chairman JAMES restored order for the opening prayer, but scarcely had the amen been uttered when there were renewed cries of "Bryan!" Chairman JAMES recognized Senator THOMPSON, of Kansas, who moved that the rules be suspended and Mr. Bryan be invited to speak. The motion was wildly cheered, and a roar of "Aye!" signified that it was carried, although there were scattering "noes."

The crowd continued cheering as a special committee, headed by Senator KERN, of Indiana, escorted the Nebraskan to the stand. It was several minutes before the clamor could be quieted. His speech lasted 45 minutes.

TEXT OF MR. BRYAN'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, delegates, ladies, and gentlemen, I appreciate the honor that this convention does me in permitting me to say a word to the delegates and guests assembled. Every Democratic national convention is to me a love feast. It gives me an opportunity to meet and renew acquaintance with the men with whom I have been intimately associated in politics for now more than 20 years. And appearing before you to-night my mind runs back to the campaign of 1896 and to the faces indelibly impressed upon my memory in those trying times. It was then that I became acquainted with the leaders of that mighty host of Democracy, whose support in three campaigns I value more than I could value any office in the world.

It was then that I learned to know the distinguished gentleman who presided as temporary chairman of this convention. He gave to that campaign the youthful vigor of a man of promise, and it has been a joy to me to continue that acquaintance so happily begun.

I learned to know 20 years ago the distinguished gentleman who presides as the permanent chairman of the convention. He was then entering public life as a young man, and his is one of the faces I shall never forget as I saw it in that convention at Chicago.

It was 20 years ago that I learned to appreciate the wisdom and the statesmanship of the distinguished Senator from Missouri, who is the chairman of your Resolutions Committee.

And so I might go on enumerating the names of these men with whom I was then associated, whose acquaintance I have prized, and whose confidence has awakened a sense of deepest gratitude in my heart.

After 16 years of struggle together we won a notable victory. After 16 years of waiting our party entered the White House, and, fortunately, we won the Senate and the House at the same time. Our party became responsible for the administration of the National Government. It was in sole control of executive and legislative departments, and now we come, after three years of labor, to take account of our stock, to make our plans for the future, and to submit to the American people the claims of our party to continued confidence.

If I have not mistaken the sentiment of this convention it is different from the convention that I recently attended in a neighboring city. Our people meet to-day feeling that they have earned and should have the approval of the voters.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist, or may have existed, as to particular measures, or particular acts, we are here to begin the fight of 1916, a united party in every State in the Union, ready for battle.

The Democratic Party encourages independent thought among its members. If they all thought alike it would be proof conclusive that they did not think at all.

Parties exist because parties emphasize the points of difference. Harmony exists in parties because the members emphasize the points of agreement rather than the points of difference. And, as in this Nation, the things that the whole people hold in common are more numerous and more important than the things on which they differ, so in parties men act together because the things upon which they agree are more numerous or more important than the things upon which they differ. To-day those who stand for the Democratic Party are able to go before this Nation and not only give a reason for the faith that is in them, but they can defend the administration's claims to the confidence of the people.

In dealing with the domestic problems, our President, our Senate, and our House have joined together in giving the country a program of constructive legislation that has no parallel in all the history of this country.

You may take all the administrations from the beginning of our Republic to the beginning of this administration and you will not find as many laws written upon the statute books, of great importance to the people as you will find written in the last three years by Woodrow Wilson and a Democratic Congress.

We found the Republican Party in power, with a tariff law written by the beneficiaries of protection. The President called Congress together as soon as it could be assembled. He presented the pledge of our platform to reduce the tariff, and the members of our party, cooperating as the President and Congress have seldom cooperated before, redeemed the pledge and wrote upon the statute books the best tariff law we have had in this country in 50 years.

It has taken away the power of the trusts to exploit the American people. It has done justice to the consumers of the country, without doing injustice to any of the producers who have relied upon the favors granted by the Republican Party. And, as a part of that tariff law, the country now enjoys an income tax that has relieved those who have borne an unfair share of the burden and placed it upon those whose incomes properly justified it, and who have heretofore escaped their share of the expense of the Government.

As soon as the tariff question had been settled the President asked Congress to give consideration to the question of currency reform. For 20 years the Republican Party had advocated currency reform. It had admitted the need of currency reform, but it never had the courage to undertake currency reform.

The Democratic Party, true to its promise and its pledge, prepared a bill, and that bill is now a law, thanks to the courage of a President who was not afraid of Wall Street.

No President since Jackson has had to meet such an unholy combination of the powers of high finance, and even Jackson himself never met the situation better than Woodrow Wilson has met it. We have just commenced to learn what that law means for this Nation. Even before it became a law we learned what it meant to have the White House on the side of the people.

An attempt was being made to create a panic for the purpose of compelling the abandonment of this porposed legislation. When the evidence, as it came in from different sections of the country, was sufficient the Secretary of the Treasury went to the White House—and I want to call your attention to the fact that he went to the White House and not to the kings of Wall Street as Republican secretaries had been in the habit of doing—and after a brief conference with the Executive he gave a statement to the public announcing that, if any community anywhere needed money to tide it over a temporary embarrassment, it need not go to Wall Street, but could come to Washington, that the Government stood for all the people and was ready to protect them.

What was the result? The result was that that proposed panic was nipped in the bud. "It folded its tent like the Arab and silently stole away," and since that time no new panics have been born.

This great piece of legislation—the greatest piece of constructive statesmanship in a generation—has not only broken the hold of Wall Street upon the business of the Nation, but it has broken the grip of Wall Street upon the politics of the United States. For 20 years there had not been an election but what a hundred men in Wall Street could, by the coercion they had in their power, change the result of the election. And one who, like myself, has felt their power, must be pardoned if he rejoices that we have an administration that has broken that power and set a nation free.

That currency law restored to the Government the sovereign right to issue the paper money of the country. The banking institutions had filched that power from the Government, and having learned the value of its use they claimed it as a vested privilege. But the Democratic Party, acting through a Democratic President, a Democratic Senate, and a Democratic House, has restored to the Government the power that had been taken from it. It is one of the victories of this administration.

When the work was completed along this line the President invited Congress to a third task, the task of putting the ax to the root of the tree of private monopoly. The Republican Party and the Progressive Party had talked of regulating monopolies, but instead of regulating them they allowed the men who furnished their campaign funds to regulate the regulators of monopoly, and the trusts grew, and grew, and grew.

But when President Wilson sent his message to Congress he planted himself upon the Democratic doctrine, proclaimed in four campaigns, that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.

Here are three great measures, measures carrying out the promises of a Democratic platform, and these three great measures constitute a record of achievement which the Republican Party dare not attack.

In their indictment of our party they did not dare to mention three of the four measures that embody the economic policy of this administration. Did you see in their platform any denunciation of the currency law? No. They have not the courage to either admit its value or condemn the law. They cowardly evade the issue, but what they can do at Chicago is one thing; what they can do before the country is an entirely different thing.

The electorate before which the Republican Party must now go is not controlled as the convention at Chicago was by the expert representatives of the favor-seeking corporations. They must meet the issue, and if they can not find fault with our currency law they must admit that the Democratic Party that they used to ridicule has both the intelligence and the courage to do what they, either from lack of knowledge or lack of courage, failed to do.

Did they condemn the income tax at Chicago? No; and they will have the people to settle with if they dare go before them and propose to undo what the Democratic Party has done, and put back upon their bended backs the load they carried, and would carry still, if the Republican Party had remained in power. It never would have broken their bondage, but now they are free. They dare not put it back. We challenge them to propose to put it back!

They either did not know how to rid the country of the burden of private monopoly or, if they knew, they did not dare to put their knowledge into effect. Why don't they denounce our antitrust legislation? They must either go before the country and point out the defects of these antitrust laws or they must admit before the voters that our party dared to do what they did not dare to undertake.

These are some of the things that they have not challenged and that they will not challenge.

They talk about the tariff. Yes; but it is a matter of habit. It is momentum that keeps high tariff going. The astronomers tell us that some stars are so far away that if they ceased to shine the world would not find it out for centuries afterwards; so the Republicans had given to the advocacy of a high tariff a momentum that will carry the doctrine on after it is dead as an issue. What we now see is not new power that is added, it is the dying power that was put into it before the people secured tariff reform.

But there is one argument that they used to make that they can make no longer. Banking upon lack of information among their voters, they used to accuse the Democrats of bringing panics when they were in power. They overlooked the fact that of the three panics that have come since the Republican Party came into existence two came under Republican administrations and under circumstances where the Democrats could not possibly be to blame. But, banking on their voters' lack of information, they continued to repeat that stale falsehood year after year. They can not do it any more, for the Democratic Party came into power and all their dismal prophecies have failed.

Why, they said that the Democrats could not devise a low tariff law that would stand in time of peace. God gave us enough time of peace to demonstrate that they were wrong, and then a war came that has demonstrated that even a war can not shake the foundations of the Democratic tariff system.

While our President and our Congress were at work constructing this splendid pyramid of performance a war came that threw upon this administration such burdens as no President has had to bear within the last 50 years; and the Democratic Party, aside from deserving the gratitude of the Nation for its remedial legislation, deserves gratitude also for the manner in which it has dealt with delicate international problems.

We inherited from a Republican administration an insurrection in Mexico. It did not arise under this administration. You will find in the State Department a telegram sent by Huerta to the preceding President, "I have overthrown the Government."

Yes; the Government was overthrown, and this administration has dealt with that situation, and the Republican Party dare not challenge a verdict before the country on the Mexican question.

Your great chairman to-day pointed out that our policy had followed the precedent set by one of the most illustrious of our Presidents, the greatest Republican President, Abraham Lincoln; and he showed also what would have been the result had we yielded to the importunities of interested parties or to the threats of Republican politicians and invaded Mexico for the purpose of intervention.

The President will not lack those who will defend his conduct. Aye, in every home you will find a mother who will thank the President that her boy has not been sent to Mexico to die in the trenches.

We have a few men interested in ranches and a few interested in mines who would use the blood of American soldiers to guarantee profits on their investments in a foreign land. But that is not the sentiment of the American people. The people of this country stand back of Woodrow Wilson in his determination not to intervene in the affairs of Mexico.

Why, my friends, if President Wilson had yielded to the demand of those who clamor for intervention in Mexico, we would no sooner have crossed the line than the same men would have demanded that the soldiers must never come out, for, my friends, annexation is the next step after intervention has been undertaken.

If we invade Mexico, these same men will say, "On to Panama." The men who would seek to make this Government a conquering Nation would destroy all the advantages gained in the half century during which we have striven to cultivate the confidence of countries in Central and South America.

But, my friends, the President not only has had to deal with war to the south of us, but war to the east of us. The whole world is in the throes of a war without a precedent and without a parallel. Three million men have already died—more than the population of 1 State, if our 48 States were equal in population—and more men have been wounded than there are people living in any State in this Union. The new debts that have been contracted during this war now amount to as much as all the debts that have come down from all the wars of all past history to the beginning of the present conflict.

Five hundred years from now little children will be born into the world, their necks under a yoke of debt placed upon posterity by this generation. There have been meetings held in this country at which men of prominence have urged this Government to participate in this war. My friends, I have differed from our President as to some of the

methods employed by him to prevent war, but I join the rest of the Nation in gratitude that at a time like this we have a President who is trying to keep us out of this war.

If this convention had done nothing more, it has justified its assembling by the speech made in the presence of this audience yesterday by the distinguished gentleman from New York who presided as your temporary chairman. He has piled up precedent upon precedent, and all the Democrats of the Nation have to do now in order to answer any criticism of the President's refusal to go to war is to take the precedents cited by him and ask, as he did, What did the former Chief Executives of this country do; did they go to war? No; they settled the disputes by negotiation, as our President is trying to do in the present crisis.

My friends, we do not know when it will be possible to bring this war to a close, but we do know that ours, the greatest neutral Nation, is the one to which the world is looking to act as mediator when the time for mediation comes.

I appeal to the sense of justice of the American people; when in God's time the honor of mediating shall fall to this Nation, is it fair that the honor shall fall to one who has not borne the burden in the heat of the day? Is not the President of the United States, who for two years has borne a burden such as few men on earth have ever been called upon to carry—if he had been able to protect the neutrality of this Nation and to save it from participation in this awful war—should not the honor of being peacemaker come to him and to the party that selected him?

Why does the Republican Party, some of whose leaders have tried to force the President into this war, come now, when their efforts have failed, and ask the honor of being mediator between the contending nations?

We have a record upon which we can appeal to the people for their support, without fear and without blush. I believe the American people, grateful for what this administration has done, grateful that we have peace in this country while war stalks throughout the world, will not be unmindful of the fact that it was a Democratic President, supported by a Democratic Senate and House, who has thus saved the country from the horrors of war.

Who can say what part this Nation is destined to play in the future history of the world? I love my party, not only for what it has done in the past, but for what it must do in the future, as the people's instrument in protecting their rights and guarding their interests. When the day comes for the world's peace to be restored and for the treaties to be written that will guard against future wars, what administration is more worthy of the honor than the administration that has given to three-quarters of the world a treaty plan that makes war a remote possibility between us and nearly all the principal nations of the earth?

I believe that there is now before this country an opportunity such as no other country has ever had since the beginning of time. I believe that God, in His providence, has reserved for the United States the honor and the task of lifting the moral code that governs individuals up to the level of nations and making it a part of the code of all Governments.

There is a picture that has attracted attention wherever it has been exhibited—the picture of Christ before Pilate. Pilate represented the power of the Roman Government, and back of him were the legions of Rome. Before Pilate, helpless, unarmed, stood the Apostle of Love. Force triumphed; they nailed him to the tree, and those who stood around mocked and jeered and said, "He is dead!" But that, instead of being the end, was only the beginning. In a few centuries the power of Cæsar was gone and his legions forgotten; but the power of Christ increased until hundreds, yes, thousands of millions have taken His name with reverence upon their lips; millions have been ready to die rather than surrender the faith He put into their hearts. He has become the great fact of history, the growing figure of all time. To-day Christ and Pilate again stand face to face—Force and Love are again striving for mastery and dominion. The Old World represents force. It built its hope of peace on fear and threats of violence. Each nation attempted to terrorize other nations into peace, and in their efforts they engendered hatreds that ended in war.

If the nations now at war had spent one-tenth as much trying to cultivate friendship as they have spent in cultivating hatred, there would be no war in Europe to-day.

If I understand this Nation's opportunity and this Nation's task, it is to lead the world away from its false philosophy and help it to build its hope of permanent peace on the foundation of love and brotherhood and cooperation.

If this is to be the task of this Nation, what party is more fit to perform the task than the party that preaches the brotherhood of man as next in importance to the fatherhood of God?

I, as a lover of my country, want my country to win this greatest of all prizes. As a Democrat, I want my party to have the honor that will come with the accomplishment of such a task. As a lover of my country and as a Democrat I join you in the endeavor to give to Woodrow Wilson the opportunity to perform this task for the Nation and the world.

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## Rural Post Roads.

### SPEECH

OF

### HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Monday, January 24, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 7617) to provide that in order to promote agriculture, afford better facilities for rural transportation and marketing farm products, and encourage the development of a general system of improved highways, the Secretary of Agriculture, on behalf of the United States, shall in certain cases aid the States in the construction, improvement, and maintenance of roads which may be used in the transportation of interstate commerce, military supplies, or postal matter.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I feel that, in a sense, I am being vindicated by recent events in this House. Nearly a decade ago I entered upon the advocacy of Federal aid in the construction and maintenance of public highways, and I have been so consistent, insistent, and persistent an advocate of this policy that my Democratic friends in Kentucky, in a spirit of derision, honored me with the sobriquet of "Turnpike John." I confess, Mr. Chairman, that I take considerable pride in that title, for time has rewarded my labors in this field and those who in days of yore ridiculed my efforts have ranged themselves alongside of me and have clamored as loudly as ever I did for that which has been embodied in the recent good-roads act.

It gives me genuine satisfaction to be able to point to the fact that in the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses I introduced bills calling for the establishment in the Department of Agriculture of a bureau of public highways and providing for national aid in the improvement of public roads. I am still better pleased, however—and it is an unselfish pleasure—in that the seed I then sowed promises such excellent fruit.

My thoughts go back to those days when my Democratic colleagues in this House brought the 42-centimeter guns of their legal lore to bear upon my efforts to prove that the scheme of Federal aid in the building of public roads was entirely unconstitutional, notwithstanding the fact that in the early days of the Republic the Government spent something like $16,000,000 in the construction of the Cumberland Road from the waters of the Potomac into the State of Ohio. It is marvelous how their interpretation of the Constitution has changed, for nearly all of them are fairly falling over each other to support a measure which ultimately will involve an expenditure running away up into the millions to aid the States in the building of good roads. Nay, more than that, President Wilson, who has taken the Constitution under his special protection, encourages the enactment of this law, thus guaranteeing its Simon-pure constitutionality from the Democratic point of view, and no doubt he will give it his approval.

Nor have only my Democratic brethren on this floor thus aligned themselves under the humble leadership of "Turnpike John," but the good Democrats "way down in old Kaintuck" have likewise largely reversed their former views and now look rejoicingly forward to the share of this $85,000,000 which will be allotted to the Blue Grass State. Well, Mr. Speaker, after all it is only fools that never change their minds, and so I am glad that Kentucky Democrats have escaped being placed in that class.

Since the formation of our Government there have been those who contended that the Constitution gives no warrant for taking money from the Treasury for the building of public roads. But they were in a minority in the early days of our existence as a Nation, and fortunately they are in a smaller minority at this time. Jefferson, Calhoun, Madison, John Quincy Adams, Webster, Clay, and the immortal Washington, all were advocates of road building. And to their credit be it said they succeeded in getting some favorable legislation to this end, whereas for the last 60 years, until now, Congress has not given a dollar toward the building of a public highway. As far back as 1910, in a speech I made in the House on the 2d day of May of that year, I said:

"The Government has spent millions for the reclamation of the arid lands in the West and is going to spend millions more for the same purpose. It may in the future spend other millions for the drainage of the fertile swamp lands in the South; but here is an opportunity for the reclamation of lands of comparatively little value by reason of their isolation from the markets, by the building of good roads to the railroad and river ports of shipment. These sections are now entitled to first consideration at our hands because thus far they have received practically no benefit from the Federal appropriations.

"In the early history of the Government the importance of good roads for the prosperity of the country was clearly recognized. President Washington, in his third annual message, said:

"The importance of the post office and post road on a plan sufficiently liberal and comprehensive, as they respect the expedition, safety, and facility of communication, is increased by their instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the Government, which, while it contributes to the security of the people, serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception.

"There is a close analogy between the construction of post roads referred to by Washington and the building of good roads as it is now advocated, in that the good roads are as important to-day for the proper administration of the Postal Service as they were in the days of the first President, for the extension and the most effective work of rural free delivery will be aided and expedited to an almost incalculable degree by the establishment of good roads."

The importance of roads was recognized to such an extent in the early days that donations of public lands to various States were coupled with stipulations that in each case a certain percentage of the proceeds of the sale of such lands should be set aside for public-road building. These funds were applied, together with appropriations from Congress, to the construction by the Government of the first and the only great public highway—the Cumberland Road.

In considering the question of Federal aid to road construction, the matter of expense should not be allowed to weigh against it, for the returns in the way of rapid transit of products to markets and the reduced cost of getting these products to their shipping points would many times reimburse the outlay. According to figures furnished by the Department of Agriculture, the cost of haulage per mile over unimproved roads in the United States is on corn, wheat, and hay 19 cents; on tobacco, 20 cents; on potatoes, 22 cents; and on cotton, 27 cents. The average cost of hauling a ton a mile in the United States is 23 cents. Compare this with the countries of Europe, where roads are built and maintained by the Government, and you get some idea of the terrible handicap the American farmer labors under in getting his produce to market. In France, England, and Wales the average cost per ton per mile is 10 cents; in Belgium, 9½ cents; in Germany, 8½ cents. In other words, it costs the American farmer from 40 per cent to 95 per cent more to haul his products from the farm to the railroad station or the river landing or to the nearest market town than it does the farmer of Europe. Here are some more figures. One ton can be hauled 1,000 miles by steamship on the Great Lakes for $1.25. A ton can be hauled on the steam cars for 250 miles for $1.25; it can be carried 25 miles by electric power for $1.25. How far do you think it can be carried by horsepower over the roads of this country for $1.25? It can be carried just 3 miles.

Many attempts have been made to fix the relative weights which a horse can draw in an ordinary wagon over a level surface of various kinds. The following figures are given by the Department of Agriculture as fairly reliable: On a muddy earth road the amount varies from nothing to a maximum of 800 pounds; on a smooth, dry earth road, from 1,000 to 2,000 pounds; on a gravel road in bad condition, from 1,000 to 1,500 pounds; on a gravel road in good condition, about 3,300 pounds; on a macadam road, from 2,000 to 5,000 pounds; and on a brick road, from 5,000 to 8,000 pounds. These figures show that if the speed of travel is the same on all these road surfaces a horse will haul on a good macadam road from three to five times as many tons per mile in a day as upon a moderately muddy earth road. This matter may be considered in another way by admitting that one horse is capable of a certain fixed duty per day. Then, with a given load, the effective radius of travel from a given point on a macadam road is from three to five times the radius of travel from that point on a moderately muddy earth road. The trouble with unimproved earth roads is that they are moderately muddy for many months in the year.

Before the outbreak of the European war, and when freight rates were normal, it cost the farmer who lived 9½ miles from the railroad over which he shipped his products more money to haul a bushel of wheat that 9½ miles than it cost the buyer to ship that bushel of wheat from New York to Liverpool. To be exact, it cost the farmer just 1½ cents more. Bad roads, of course, are responsible for this heavy burden to the farmer.

Experts in the Department of Agriculture estimate that if the cost of hauling in this country can be reduced one-half the present cost, or 11½ cents a ton, the saving to the people will be $250,000,000 a year. Even with this reduction, which can be accomplished by the improving of our highways, the cost of haulage in this country will still exceed that of European countries.

In a statement on the high cost of hauling issued by Mr. Logan Waller Page, Director of the United States Office of Public Roads, he says:

> The high cost of hauling is not the only burden which the American people are carrying by reason of their bad roads. In traversing a country isolated from markets by reason of bad roads one is struck by the waste in untilled land and by the lack of variety in the products. This is due more frequently to lack of adequate transportation facilities than to the lack of industry and intelligence.

But the building and improving of roads is not the only way in which money can be saved for the farmer. After the roads are built, if they are to be of permanent benefit to the people who use them, they must be properly maintained. It is not sufficient to give them attention once or twice a year, as is our custom. It has become the habit in many of the States to put off road repairing until such time as work on the farm will permit. Under this system many macadam roads, constructed at great expense, are allowed to go to ruin because minor defects are permitted to go unrepaired until they result in practical destruction of the road. A system of continuous repairs and a methodical inspection of all roads should be adopted in this country. In France every mile of road is inspected daily and the slightest defect at once repaired. The Agricultural Department experts whom I quoted a moment ago declared that if wise and equitable road laws and good business management could be substituted for the present antiquated and wasteful system of handling our roads there could be an additional saving of $40,000,000. Thus in the two items of hauling and road administration the people of this country have it within their power to save themselves $290,000,000 yearly.

No one will dispute the fact that good roads increase land values. Figures issued by the Agricultural Department place this increase all the way from $2 to $9 to the acre. In many instances the building of good roads has increased the value of land $12 and $15 an acre. There are about 850,000,000 acres of farm lands, improved and unimproved, in the United States. So it can readily be seen that the possibilities of increase in values through road improvements are enormous.

Not only do good roads increase the value of the land and enable the farmer to get his products to market more cheaply, but they are important factors in increasing the population. In 25 counties, selected at random, in which an average of only 1½ per cent of the roads were improved, the population between 1890 and 1900 fell away over 3,000 persons in each county. In another 25 counties, selected at random, but in which there was an average of 40 per cent of improved roads, the population in each county increased over 31,000. Then again, it is the testimony of school superintendents in rural districts that school attendance is materially increased in localities where roads have been improved.

While until the passage of the Shackleford bill Congress has not done anything to benefit the public highways of the country during the last 60 years, it has not been backward in providing liberally for other projects. It has appropriated $394,399,149 for the Panama Canal. There has been appropriated to date $893,698,672 for the improvement of rivers and harbors, and the appropriations for irrigation projects has amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars. I am not finding fault with these. Most of the projects are worthy and should be provided for. But, Mr. Speaker, good roads are just as important as improved rivers. In fact the roads should be improved before the rivers are, for those not living on the rivers are at a greater disadvantage without good roads than are those who live on or near the rivers, without the improvements to the rivers. In discussing this matter during the second session of the Sixty-second Congress I said:

"The same reasons which justify the Federal Government in the improvement of our waterways apply with equal force to the improvement of our public highways. Indeed, I think the latter proposition has a prior claim upon the Government, because those who live convenient to our rivers have adequate means of transportation without Federal aid for a considerable portion of the year—an advantage which is not possessed by the great bulk of residents in inland sections, because of their distance from river and railroad transportation.

"But, aside from all this, the question of good roads is inseparably linked with the great problem of transportation—a problem of the most vital importance at this time to the whole country, and especially to the Southland. In the near future the two oceans will be united by the Panama Canal. As a result of this the way will be opened to the Pacific and to the markets that lie beyond, where we expect to get a far greater share than we do now of the world's commerce. The magnificent resources of the South await that consummation, which will undoubtedly bring to her people a greater degree of development than has ever been known in her history, and we must prepare for this new outlet to the products of our fields and forests and mines and factories. The solving of the great problem of ocean transportation by the building of the canal will not remove the only obstacle in the way of the South receiving its full share of these advantages. We must not only improve our rivers, so that our products may be transported upon them all the year around, but it is equally important that proper means of transportation be provided for the inland sections if they are to receive their share of the advantages which their money aided in creating.

"I do not begrudge the more than four hundred millions of the people's money that will have to be devoted to the construction of the great canal, but I do say that unless we complete the chain of transportation by the adequate improvement of our rivers and our public highways leading to and from inland sections, we will not have done our duty, but by our inaction we will have deprived them of that to which they are justly entitled."

The farmers will be benefited more than any other class by the building of good roads, and it is right that this benefit should be given them. We have not dealt exactly fair with the farmers in the past. They have not had their proportionate share of governmental favor in the way of internal improvements and other Federal expenditures, as compared with the burden of the expenses of the Government which they bear. They have been taxed to help pay the many millions of dollars appropriated for the erection of public buildings. They have been taxed for the improvement of rivers and harbors—and of the total of $893,698,672 appropriated for these improvements nearly $300,000,000 was for harbors alone, from which the farmer certainly can not be said to derive much direct benefit. They will bear their proportionate share of the $35,000,000 which has been appropriated for a railroad in Alaska—and the benefits the large majority of them will derive from that is nil. They have been taxed their proportionate share of the nearly $400,000,000 that have been expended for the building of the Panama Canal.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the Government has been more generous to the farmers of our island possessions than it has been to the farmers of the mainland. The report of the Philippine Commission shows that there has been expended in the islands, since we took possession of them, on public-road improvement approximately $3,250,000, while nearly $8,000,000 have been spent for a like purpose in Porto Rico. In Hawaii road construction has been carried on extensively since we acquired the islands. Are not the farmers of the States entitled to at least the same generous treatment that is accorded the people of our far-off possessions?

We have recently voted hundreds of millions of dollars in order that we might be prepared to resist the invasion of a foreign foe. We have adopted an ambitious building program for our Navy, which those in charge of our affairs claim will make us the second naval power of the world; we have greatly increased our Army and have authorized the President to construct an armor plant and a nitrate factory for the manufacture of powder. But, Mr. Speaker, these steps toward preparedness will not be complete without a system of good roads throughout the country. Should the time ever come when an enemy lands on our shores—and heaven forbid that such a time shall come—it is just as necessary that we have good roads over which to transport our armies as it is that we have good battleships, good coast defenses, good guns, and soldiers and sailors. The terrible war that is now raging in Europe has shown to the world the advantage of good roads. Without the magnificent highways in France and Belgium the rapid movements which have been made by the great armies would have been impossible. Railroads can not always be depended upon in time of war. Rails can be torn up, bridges destroyed, and rolling stock put out of commission, but with the proper system of national highways our armies would be independent of the railroads. It would be possible to transport our soldiers and munitions of war from place to place without loss of time. Think of the terrible conditions that beset the armies during the war between the States!

The legislative bodies of the States are awakening to the necessity of building roads. There are now but six States in this Union that do not participate in some manner in road work. According to a statement issued by the Department of Agriculture last October the total expenditures by the States for road work in 1914 was $249,055,067. There are nearly two and a half million miles of roads in this country, of which only about 250,000 are improved.

Our tendency in the past has been to build up our cities at the expense of our country districts. We can not expect ambitious young men and women to remain on the farms unless we give them certain advantages. Farm life should not be made a life of isolation; farmers should be able to visit their neighbors in all kinds of weather and at all times of the year; there should be no restrictions on hauling produce in bad weather. But this can not be done without good roads. Give to the country districts roads which can be traveled at all seasons of the year and you will soon see a marked tendency on the part of the young people to stick to the farms. Good roads will do much to counteract the lure of the city and town.

Hon. James Wilson, who, as Secretary of Agriculture, did so much toward the improving of country roads, has this to say on good roads:

> No other form of internal improvement so directly and vitally affects the welfare of the agricultural classes. I know the principal obstacle to road improvement is the burden of taxation that it imposes. But in considering this question, the taxpayers should remember that bad roads impose an enormous burden, a sort of perpetual tax, from which there is no escape except through the permanent improvement of the highways. While the burden of taxation may seem heavy, the money spent in improving the highways should be looked upon as an investment, the returns from which will increase the prosperity of the community far more than it is depleted by the necessary taxation. Then, besides the material advantages, there are comforts and pleasures, moral and social benefits, resulting from good roads, which are of incalculable value to any community. Where good roads have once been established and their benefits enjoyed, the people are never willing to get along without them.

Mr. Speaker, it is the history of the world that the empire that builds good roads is the empire that lasts. Romans are known as conquerors, rulers, administrators, but they are known best as road builders. Empires have arisen overnight and fallen overnight—empires which passed away without leaving a trace of their former existence; but wherever the Roman stamped his rule the trace of that rule remains. The roads the Romans built in England are still there, although 15 centuries have passed since Roman domain extended over that country. In Italy, after the Lombard, the Goth, the Byzantine, and all the peoples of the middle ages that have ruled that country, it is the imperishable Roman road that reappears. Mr. Speaker, what Rome has done, America can do. With our limitless resources, the wonderful ingenuity of our people, our vast possessions, there is no reason we should not become the leading road builders of the world. And I believe we will.

## The Democratic Administration.

### SPEECH

OF

### HON. JOHN W. LANGLEY,

OF KENTUCKY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Tuesday, May 30, 1916.*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 15947) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and for other purposes.

Mr. LANGLEY. Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States are to be congratulated upon the prospect that the days of the present Democratic régime are numbered and that with the reinstatement of the Republican Party in power on the 4th day of March, in the year of grace 1917, the country will return to sane and safe policies in the legislative and administrative departments of the Government. In the history of the United States there have never been 3½ years of government so filled with sins of commission and omission as have been the years of the Democratic administration now happily drawing to a close. It has been a carnival of promises ignored or broken, of vacillation in executive activity, of utter disregard of vital interests, of utter disregard of ordinary business principles and practices. It has been a spectacle for gods and men, which to the looker-on would have been amusing, if it were not so intensely distressing.

The Democratic platform of 1912 declared that "excessive prices result * * * from the high-tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican Party, and * * * that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessaries of life are materially reduced." For many years the Democrats have unceasingly asserted that the increasing cost of living was directly due to a protective tariff. They said to the people: "If you will put us into office, we'll show you. We'll just bust this great American market wide open, let all the world come in, and put cheap goods made by cheap labor in competition with the homemade article, and you'll see prices take a tumble. Just you watch us."

Well, the people allowed themselves to be fooled; that is, some of them; enough to let our friends the enemy win the election, and then—what tumbled? Prices? Oh, no! But the American market tumbled quite considerably, as I shall show later on by some data on imports. The election was hardly over before the Democrats of the Ways and Means Committee of the Sixty-third Congress, under the leadership of our amiable friend Mr. UNDERWOOD, set themselves to work to frame a tariff, and they introduced and passed their bill as soon as practicable after Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. They kept their word. They threw the American market open to the world, with the result that imports have increased enormously, especially of goods that pay no duty, and our normal exports—please note that I say normal exports—have decreased proportionately.

Has the cost of living been lowered in consequence of this piece of politico-economico-Democratico legerdemain? I will give the answer to this question by quoting from a report recently made by the Chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, at the request of the chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, the figures being taken from a bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Under the head of "Index numbers of wholesale prices" it is shown that from 1900 to 1905 the prices ranged from 100.5 to 115.9; from 1906 to 1911 from 122.5 to 129.2. In 1912, the year of the last presidential election, they went up to 133.6; in 1913 they took another jump to 135.2; and in 1914 they stood at 134. In other words, instead of going down as a result of Democratic tariff tinkering they soared skyward.

Let me give another proof of the Democratic fallacy that a low tariff reduces the cost of living. In a bulletin—No. 197—of the Bureau of Labor Statistics—Retail Prices, 1907 to December, 1915—published last June, it is shown that in 1909–10, the year of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, the relative retail prices, on the basic figure of 100, were, for sirloin steak, 76 and 79; in 1912 they were 90; in 1913 up they went to 99; in 1914 to 101. Round steak, in the same years, was 71, 76, 87, 97, and 103; rib roast, 80 and 83, 92, 99, and 102; pork chop, 86 and 95, 95, 104, and 109; bacon, 83 and 95, 91, 100, and 102. Another table in the same bulletin shows the number of pounds of these food articles that could be bought for $1 in 1907 and 1915, from which I make this excerpt:

| | Sirloin steak. | Round steak. | Rib roast. | Pork chops. | Bacon. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lbs. for $1. | Lbs. for $1. | Lbs. for $1. | Lbs. for $1. | Lbs. for $1. |
| 1909 | 5.2 | 6.2 | 6.3 | 5.7 | 4.4 |
| 1910 | 5.0 | 5.8 | 6.0 | 5.2 | 3.8 |
| 1912 | 4.3 | 5.1 | 5.0 | 5.2 | 4.0 |
| 1913 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 5.1 | 4.7 | 3.7 |
| 1914 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 4.9 | 4.5 | 3.6 |

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall not contend that the purchasing power of the dollar has become less since 1913 because, unfortunately, the Democrats are in control of the Government, or that prices of commodities rose because of that fact. I am citing these statistics to show the recklessly uttered fallacious contention the Democrats have employed in their claim that the high cost of living was due to a protective tariff. I am quite willing to let the figures tell their own story, which is that tariff rates have no more effect upon the cost of living than last year's snow has upon this year's storms. The Democrats have not reduced the cost of living; they can not reduce it by any amount of legislation, and they knew they couldn't do it when they promised to do so.

Mr. Speaker, if it had not been for the awful war which is devastating Europe the Underwood tariff would by now have driven the United States to the financial bow wows. One of the chief sources of the national income is the customs revenue, the revenue from duties on imports of merchandise. Under Republican administration the schedules were so arranged that dutiable imports were always in excess of free imports; in other words, the free list did not play the important part. All this was changed under Democratic auspices. It will be interesting to compare the amounts of dutiable and free imports under the Payne-Aldrich and the Underwood tariffs. These are the figures for the fiscal years:

*Payne-Aldrich.*

| | 1909 | 1910 | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dutiable | $712,363,585 | $801,636,034 | $750,253,296 | $771,504,104 | $825,484,072 |
| Free | $599,556,639 | $755,311,896 | $776,972,509 | $881,670,830 | $987,524,162 |
| Per cent of free | 45.70 | 48.05 | 50.87 | 53.33 | 54.47 |

*Underwood.*

| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dutiable | $766,422,958 | $640,643,065 | $705,219,724 |
| Free | $1,127,502,699 | $1,033,526,675 | $1,492,663,786 |
| Per cent of free | 59.53 | 61.70 | 67.91 |

Another no less interesting exhibit of Democratic onslaught on customs revenues is made in the following little table which shows the actual amounts received from duties on imports under Republican and Democratic laws, respectively:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1909 | $300,711,034 |
| 1910 | 333,683,445 |
| 1911 | 313,846,269 |
| 1912 | 311,257,348 |
| 1913 | 318,142,344 |
| 1914 | 202,128,528 |
| 1915 | 209,268,109 |
| 1916 | 211,866,222 |

This shows how greatly the revenue from imports has fallen off as a result of the Underwood tariff. The comparison is most striking if we set off the first three years of the Underwood tariff against the first three years of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Under the operation of the latter the customs yielded for the period named nearly three hundred and twenty-five millions more than under the Democratic Underwood tariff. Approximately the same difference is found if we compare the last three years of the Democratic concoction. It is not difficult to see that this steady decrease in one of the two chief sources of the national income and the steadily increasing expenditures due to Democratic extravagance was bound to bring about the deficit which the Democrats in and out of Congress are frantically trying to conceal by a more or less clever juggling in Treasury bookkeeping.

The European war came as a godsend to the Democrats, for the enormous demands upon our market by every one of the belligerent nations enabled them to point to the rapidly accumulating balance of trade in our favor. Behold prosperity under a Democratic administration! That is their cry. Is it genuine prosperity; is it the result of steady improvement in all lines of business; or is it just a flash in the pan, sure to die out as soon as the war ceases? Let us see.

A bulletin issued under date of August 24 by the Department of Commerce says:

> The favorable balance of trade for July was $263,000,000, and for the year, $2,273,000,000. A year ago the export balance was $125,000,000 for July and $1,225,000,000 for the 12 months, while two years ago there was * * * an export balance of $443,000,000 for the 12 months.

If this balance in our favor were the result of the normal courses of trade, it would indeed be convincing proof that the country was on the pinnacle of prosperity. But a dispassionate examination of facts and figures makes it plain that the brilliant conditions are by no means due to Democratic prescience or statesmanship, but to causes over which neither Mr. Wilson nor any of his advisers nor the Congress of the United States had the slightest foreknowledge and which lie entirely beyond their control. The following table shows a list of exports, the increased amount of which for the fiscal years 1915 and 1916 over the year 1914 is unmistakably traceable to the extraordinary needs of the belligerent nations:

*Exports.*

| | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Horses | $3,388,819 | $64,046,534 | $73,531,146 |
| Mules | 690,924 | 12,726,143 | 22,946,312 |
| Brass and manufactures of | 7,472,476 | 20,544,559 | 164,876,044 |
| Corn | 7,008,028 | 39,339,064 | 30,780,887 |
| Oats | 767,527 | 57,469,964 | 47,933,096 |
| Rye | 1,555,012 | 14,733,409 | 15,374,499 |
| Wheat | 87,953,456 | 333,552,226 | 215,532,681 |
| Aeroplanes | 226,149 | 1,541,446 | 7,002,005 |
| Autos (com.) | 1,181,611 | 39,140,682 | 56,805,548 |
| Chemicals | 27,079,092 | 46,380,986 | 124,362,167 |
| Manufactures of cotton | 51,467,233 | 71,974,497 | 112,053,127 |
| Explosives | 6,272,197 | 41,476,188 | 467,081,928 |
| India rubber and manufactures of | 12,441,220 | 14,767,513 | 35,180,099 |
| Firearms | 3,442,297 | 9,474,947 | 18,065,485 |
| Steel rods | 7,392,163 | 10,829,699 | 37,693,359 |
| Steel billets etc | 1,042,854 | 4,815,233 | 42,421,064 |
| Metal-working machinery, including tools | 14,011,359 | 28,162,968 | 61,315,032 |
| Sole leather | 7,475,843 | 21,351,434 | 27,186,761 |
| Men's shoes | 10,117,965 | 17,679,931 | 36,869,906 |
| Meat and dairy products | 146,227,780 | 220,051,347 | 291,057,602 |
| Alcohol | 67,728 | 108,985 | 8,784,742 |
| Manufactures of iron and steel, not specified | 18,230,560 | 20,397,835 | 138,905,453 |
| Lead and manufactures of | 2,610,207 | 9,044,479 | 13,787,774 |
| Woolen manufactures | 4,790,087 | 27,327,451 | 53,983,655 |
| Zinc, pigs, bars, and manufactures of | 406,208 | 21,243,935 | 45,865,155 |
| Total | 423,308,795 | 1,148,191,455 | 2,149,396,588 |

This table shows that of these articles required mostly for the use of the military forces, the excess for the fiscal year 1915 over 1914 was, in round figures, $725,000,000, and for the fiscal year 1916 it was $1,716,000,000. The bulletin from which I have quoted also says that the favorable balance of trade for the year was $2,273,000,000, as against $443,000,000 for 1915, a gain of $1,830,000,000. Now, deduct from this the $1,716,000,000 for munitions of war and correlated goods and you find a gain only of something over $114,000,000, which can easily be accounted for as due to other unusual needs, such as clothing and food of the nations at war, and also of neutral nations affected by disturbed conditions. The prosperity to which the Democrats point with so much pride is of the mushroom variety; it will die as soon as the conditions disappear which made it grow.

When will that be, Mr. Speaker? As soon as the war ceases, of course. Nay, even sooner than that, because, as I am told, some of the manufacturers of war munitions are already dis-

mantling their temporary establishments, selling the machinery, and are turning their attention to their regular products. I am quite ready to believe this to be true, because the entente powers to whom we have furnished these extraordinary supplies have not only perfected their own individual resources but are being aided—as in the case of Russia—by the indomitable energy and industry of the Japanese. When this war ceases there will come an economic war such as the world has never known, and be sure that the United States will be one of the commercial fortresses against which some of the most violent and most persistent attacks will be directed. Even now, though still in the throes of combat, the allied powers are increasing their industrial output, according to the reports of the American consuls. What will it be when England and France and Germany can again turn all their great productive energies to purely commercial aims and flood every port with their wares?

I have heard here and there some talk about higher wage rates in those countries after the war, because the usual supply of able-bodied men to do the work which men ordinarily do will have been sadly curtailed by the war. It is altogether probable, however, that this will be true only to a limited extent, because the women over there have learned and have become proficient in the trades in which men formerly labored. They will not yield up the new avenues of earning a livelihood which thus have been opened up to them. Besides, there are among the many millions now on the battle fields some millions who will be quite able and only too glad to go back to accustomed vocations. While it is possible that wages in Germany and France and England may be increased to some extent, there will yet remain such a difference between wages over there and in the United States that foreign products can enter into destructive competition with ours. Moreover, let it not be forgotten that the Governments of all the belligerent nations stand ready, with all the resources at their command, to aid their peoples to regain the markets of the world so far as these have been lost or curtailed to them by reason of the war.

The foundation has already been laid for this world-wide commercial struggle. Both the entente allies and the central allies have entered into agreements to pursue it. It will be the old cry of "God for us all, and the devil take the hindmost." As far back as last January representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria met at Dresden and appointed a commission to work out an agreement looking to the creation of a "Zollverein," or customs union of these countries, and also with a view, according to a declaration issued at Paris last June, to establishing "their domination over the production and markets of the whole world."

The entente allies—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Japan, Portugal, and Serbia—immediately made a counterstroke. They sent leading business men and statesmen to a conference in Paris, which sat there from July 14 to 17 and formulated an agreement which, while ostensibly aimed at enemy countries, contained no less a menace to neutrals. The second section of this agreement contains the following paragraph:

> The allies declare themselves agreed to conserve for the allied powers, before all others, their natural resources during the whole period of the commercial, industrial, agricultural, and maritime reconstruction, and for this purpose they undertake to establish special arrangements to facilitate the interchange of these resources.

Here the gauge of commercial war is thrown down not only to enemy countries but in a measure to neutral countries as well. Certainly it serves notice upon the latter to gird up their loins for the inevitable conflict, a conflict which will eventually end in the survival of the fittest, and the fittest will be they who are best prepared for the onslaught. The present war may drag along its horrid length for another year, or even more; but the end may come with startling suddenness, just as did the beginning. No one can tell. Is our country prepared—industrially, economically, financially—to stand the shock? Will it not be wise to place its destinies in the hands of a party which for the greater part of half a century has guided those destinies safely instead of leaving them in the hands of the party which again has proved its utter unfitness for grappling with great questions or even grasping their ultimate effects?

The Democratic Party is not able to understand or willing to practice economy in national housekeeping. It has proved itself woefully, unpardonably, profligately extravagant. It has piled up appropriations without any regard to the revenues, present or prospective, of the Government. The appropriations made during this session exceed by hundreds of millions those of any other Congress. To prove my assertion I will first quote from so excellent an authority as the Democratic Textbook for 1910, in which a comparison is made of the appropriations made during the Cleveland administration, 1894 to 1897, and the Roosevelt-Taft administrations, 1907 to 1910, in order to show Republican extravagance. The total of appropriations from 1894 to 1897 was $1,866,440,200, while those from 1907 to 1910 aggregated $3,842,203,577.

The appropriations by the Sixty-third Congress, the first of the Wilson administration, totaled $2,231,239,546, according to the statement made in this House by the chairman of the Appropriations Committee on the 4th day of March last year. The appropriations for the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress will aggregate close up to $1,700,000,000, inclusive of the deficiency appropriation bill, yet to be passed, the $50,000,000 of the ship-purchase bill, and $50,000,000 for the flood-control bill. Assuming that the appropriations at the second session of this Congress will approximate those of the first session—and I think this assumption is warranted—we have a total of about $3,400,000,000 for the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Now, let me make a comparison or two. The total appropriations for the Wilson administration—that is, up to March 4 next—will figure up about $5,631,239,546. This will be some thirty millions more than three times as much as the appropriations during the Cleveland administration—which, by the way, also had to issue bonds to meet current expenses—and it will be $1,789,000,000 in excess of all the appropriations during the Roosevelt administration, the alleged extravagance of which was terribly excoriated by our Democratic friends in the aforesaid textbook. The total of appropriations during the Taft administration, Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses, was $4,390,081,830. Compare this with the appropriations made and to be made during the Wilson administration and $1,240,000,000, in round figures, will be put on the debit side of the Democratic account. If these are specimens of the promised Democratic economy which was trumpeted throughout the length and breadth of the land in 1912, then the people of the United States may well pray to be delivered from a continuance of the same, for, even if we make allowance for the extraordinary large appropriations for the Army and Navy, to which no good patriot objects, there is still a Democratic excess of something like $800,000,000.

In the course of my remarks in this House on July 8 I invited the attention of my fellow Members to a chapter to be entitled "The psychological processes involved in the mind changing of President Wilson and his party, the subjects on which they have changed, and the chronological order in which those changes have occurred." Well, my brethren, here is the chapter. Just let me say by way of a proper introduction that never in all the cycles of recorded time will you find a record of such sudden changes like unto that of Woodrow Wilson. The chameleon whose skin takes on different hues according to the surroundings of the animal has nothing on our President. No lightning-change artist that ever amazed a bewildered audience can hold a candle to him. No circus rider ever turned a somersault more quickly or more unexpectedly.

To begin, then, the Democratic platform of 1912 said, among other things:

> We favor a single presidential term * * * and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

In his speech of acceptance Mr. Wilson expressed cordial approval and pledged conscientious adherence to its utterances, which, of course, included the one-term principle. Yet he raised not a word of protest against his renomination and is working for his reelection as earnestly as is decently possible for a man in his exalted station. The jewel of consistency was thrown upon the scrap heap.

Another section of the Democratic platform reads thus:

> We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office, as well as relied upon during the campaign.

That pledge evidently was of the pie-crust variety, for President Wilson had not been long in office before he changed his mind and urged Congress to repeal the exemption clause in the Panama Canal act, and the Democratic Congress did as it was told to do.

In a letter written in April, 1907, to a friend he said:

> Would that we could do something, at once dignified and effective, to knock Mr. Bryan once for all into a cocked hat.

And then he did the dignified act by taking Mr. Bryan as his Secretary of State, but the effective was reserved for some 18 months after that when he gladly put Mr. Bryan out of the Cabinet again.

Before an assemblage of naturalized citizens in Philadelphia, last May, Mr. Wilson said: "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There's such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that

it is right." But a few weeks later, standing before several thousand clergymen, he declared: "I welcome the acceptance of a challenge to fight." Surely, "it is to laugh."

In his address before the two branches of Congress, at the opening of the last session of the Sixty-third Congress the President ridiculed all suggestions of national preparedness, but in his address at the opening of the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress he sang a different tune and advocated the greatest program of defense the country had ever heard of.

On the occasion of his visit to Indianapolis in January, 1915, the President in his address declared that a tariff commission was entirely unnecessary, as the Federal Trade Commission had ample authority to do what a tariff commission could possibly do. He intimated that the "scientific" arrangement of the tariff, as suggested in some quarters, would be "to put additional profits in the hands of those who are already getting the greater part of the profits." And now, lo and behold! he has again changed his mind and is most urgent for the creation of a tariff commission entirely divorced from the Federal Trade Commission, and this latest change of mind is embodied in the new revenue bill.

Adhering to the traditional policy of his party the President has always been opposed to a tariff which would foster and protect American industries but recently he has seen a new light and is quite ready to approve the insertion in the Democratic revenue bill of a paragraph giving sufficient protection to the dyestuff industry with a view to its vigorous growth before Germany, after the war, with her superior organization, resumes her shipments of coal-tar dyes to this country.

The virus of the presidential changeableness appears to have affected the party that chose him for its leader, for the Democrats have reversed themselves upon almost every one of their former cardinal tenets. And the most remarkable feature about this transformation is its suddenness. Free trade, which was rampant only a year ago, has given way to the inexorable logic of protection, and we find the duty on sugar restored and a protective-tariff duty put on dyestuffs.

The party that has always cried out against a large Military Establishment and whose leaders but a little while ago declaimed against the cost of preparedness, has created a larger Army and a larger Navy than this country ever knew or even dreamed of. It has been a persistent, even if not consistent, opponent of bond issues, but none the less it had to come to a bond issue in order to meet the enormous expenditures incident to the preparedness program. I could go on almost without limit citing and particularizing these psychological mutations of the Democratic Party and President Wilson, but I am admonished that my time is too brief to exhaust so prolific a subject.

In the indictment to be framed against the Wilson administration there is no stronger count than that which relates to its foreign policy, so called by courtesy. It is something to cause an American citizen to hang his head in shame. It has been and continues to be a pitiful, spineless object; an exhibition of vacillation that seeks its parallel in the history of this or any other country. Never since the United States has been a Nation, not even in the days when it was but a strip of land along the Atlantic coast and had a population considerably less than that of Greater New York, did it fail to assert its rights and those of its individual citizens. Americans have been murdered on the high seas as well as down in Mexico and no redress has been obtained for these outrages from the Governments responsible for them. Property of American citizens has been confiscated by foreign powers, trade has been interfered with and diverted from American to British and other foreign firms, but no redress has been obtained by our Government. The only punitive measures have been the unending notes which followed every new outrage.

As for our course in Mexican affairs, words are not adequate to its proper designation. The mildest possible comment upon it is to say that it is disgraceful and will so be branded by the future historian. In connection with it the psychological agility of President Wilson is displayed in bold relief. He played fast and loose, first with Villa and then with Carranza. First sent arms and ammunition to one, then to the other; declared an embargo on the shipment of munitions one day, only to revoke it the next day. Our flag was insulted at Vera Cruz and forthwith we sent a fleet to demand satisfaction for the offense. We did not get any satisfaction, but some dozen of our sailors were killed in the operation. Troops have been sent into Mexico to capture Villa. A number have been killed but Villa has not been captured. Like the King of France who—

> With full 10,000 men,
> Marched up the hill and then marched down again—

the troops we have down there are being gradually withdrawn. The "punitive expedition" has come to naught, and its only result is increased bitterness in the hearts of the Mexican people against their neighbors on this side of the Rio Grande, quite probably mixed with some contempt for our abject failure to make good our word. Had not President Wilson with characteristic obstinacy refused to recognize Huerta, the only strong man Mexico has known since Porfirio Diaz, the whole mournful series of events that have marked our relations with Mexico for the last three years could have been avoided and there would be less mourning for lost loved ones in America.

Verily I hail the first rays of the coming day when the American people will reverse the verdict of four years ago and will retrace their steps to the safe ground of Republican policies. Lured from their moorings by the ignis fatuus of Democratic promises, they have strayed into the wilderness and have been reaping the fruits of their folly.

They must have become convinced by this time of the economic wisdom of a protective tariff, a policy that has proper regard for the difference in the cost of labor between foreign countries and the United States, a policy that aims at the maintenance of the American standard of living and preserves the American market—the best market in the world—for the American people.

While the Republican Party was in power there were no closed factories, as in the latter part of the year 1913 and the early part of 1914; no idle men to frequent soup houses and stand in a bread line. The sun of prosperity shone over all the land. And so it will be again, let us all hope, after the 4th day of March, 1917.

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## My Office Not a Collection Agency.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. JAMES V. McCLINTIC,

OF OKLAHOMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, August 25, 1916.*

Mr. McCLINTIC. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I desire to state that one Jack Hunter has notified my friends that if I did not secure from a certain postmaster some five or six hundred dollars he claims as a commission due him on a trade he would take the field and do everything in his power to defeat me for Congress. This transaction took place while I was in Washington, and, as I am not concerned in it in any way, I refuse to be coerced or to use my office for a collection agency.

The following affidavits have been made by some of Snyder's most prominent citizens, and their word can not be disputed:

AFFIDAVIT OF CHARLES PORTWOOD.

*State of Oklahoma, county of Kiowa:*

Before me this day personally appeared Charles Portwood, who, after being duly sworn, deposes and states he has been a resident of Snyder for eight years; that during the night of the 12th of September he was awakened by Tom Chapman and informed that Jack Hunter had told him if McCLINTIC did not secure from a certain postmaster a certain sum of money within 48 hours he would do everything in his power to defeat him; that to his own knowledge McCLINTIC was not in Oklahoma when this trade was made and knew nothing about it.

CHARLES PORTWOOD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this the 15th day of September, 1916.

H. J. BROWN, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires August 6, 1919.

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AFFIDAVIT OF TOM CHAPMAN.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA, *County of Kiowa:*

Before me this day personally appeared Tom Chapman, who, after being duly sworn, deposes and states that he has been a resident of Snyder for 12 years; that on the 12th day of September one Jack Hunter informed him he had sued a certain postmaster on a real estate trade consummated during the past year and if McCLINTIC did not collect this money and pay him within 48 hours he would oppose him in his race for Congress; that McCLINTIC had nothing to do with this real estate deal and knew nothing about the facts in the case, as he was in Washington.

TOM CHAPMAN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this the 15th day of September, 1916.

H. J. BROWN, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires August 6, 1919.

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AFFIDAVIT OF CHARLES ALLEN.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA, *County of Kiowa:*

Before me this day personally appeared Charles Allen, who, after being duly sworn, deposes and states that he has lived in and about Snyder for the past 14 years; that on the 13th day of September, in the

presence of Tom Chapman, Jack Hunter informed him if McCLINTIC did not secure from a certain postmaster a sum of money representing a commission on a trade within 24 hours he would do everything in his power to defeat him.

As an officer I served the papers in this case, which is now in court, and know that McCLINTIC was out of the State when this controversy took place.

CHARLES ALLEN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this the 15th day of September, 1916.

H. J. BROWN, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires August 6, 1919.

I have refused to pay this money or to become involved in this controversy. I have been informed by a citizen of Mountain Park that Hunter has started a fight against me which will assist the Socialist candidate, and I warn my friends to be on the lookout for him.

## Nine Big Advantages of the Rock Island Arsenal.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. CLYDE H. TAVENNER,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, the nine big advantages of the Rock Island Arsenal are as follows:

1. The strategic location of the Rock Island Arsenal from a military viewpoint gives it an advantage which is possessed by no other arsenal in the United States. Being well in the interior of the country, it would be much safer from attack and possible capture by an enemy in time of war than plants located on or near either coast. No matter from what direction an invading army might come, our Army would still have a vast manufacturing plant to furnish supplies to it from the rear. Neither from north nor south, east nor west, could an invader reach the Rock Island Arsenal until every ounce of power possessed by the people had been overcome.

2. Its central location geographically, makes it convenient to ship the finished product to either the Atlantic, Pacific, or Gulf coasts with economy in both time and transportation costs. The economy of time is of importance in time of war, when the saving of a day or two days, or even of a few hours, in the arrival of a train of ammunition or other paraphernalia of war at the scene of hostilities might easily be of the greatest moment.

3. Cheap water-power possibilities that are everlasting, the Government owning its own water-power plant in the Mississippi River. Under the management of the present commandant, Col. George W. Burr, this plant is producing 2,000 horsepower at a cost of 3½ mills per kilowatt hour, the low cost of which can be best understood when it is stated that at the great Keokuk Dam, less than 100 miles down the river, consumers are charged from 8 to 10 cents per kilowatt hour, which is approximately thirty times more than the sum for which Col. Burr is developing power for the Government at the arsenal power plant. With an expenditure of $135,000 for new equipment the present water-power plant could be made to produce 4,000 horsepower at a cost of less than 2 mills per kilowatt hour. And even this development would use only 18 of the 42 openings in the power dam. With all of the openings equipped with turbines 9,000 horsepower could be developed at an equally low cost per unit.

4. The advantages of Rock Island as a manufacturing center, as demonstrated by the fact that at the Rock Island Arsenal shops the Government has manufactured rifles, field artillery, gun carriages, and other war equipment at a cost ranging from 20 to 50 per cent below the prices of private manufacturers. For instance, caissons for gun carriages, wagons for carrying ammunition chests, have been manufactured at the Rock Island Arsenal for $1,128, which cost when purchased of private manufacturers $1,744, which is 54 per cent greater than the arsenal cost. Many similar illustrations could be given.

5. It would be unnecessary for the Government to purchase additional land in enlarging the Rock Island Arsenal, as the Government tract embraces 896 acres, any part of which could be utilized as sites for new buildings. At other arsenals it would be necessary for the Government to purchase additional property.

6. There is at least one, possibly two, large stone buildings in the arsenal grounds which were originally erected for manufacturing purposes at a cost of $400,000 each, which are not now being used for this purpose, and could be equipped for manufacturing war materials at a comparatively small cost. Elsewhere the Government would be compelled to go to the expense of erecting new buildings.

7. Should fuel ever be needed in addition to water power at the Rock Island Arsenal, there is a great abundance of excellent coal being mined almost at the very door of Rock Island, while the arsenal is at the same time convenient to the ore fields of the North.

8. The Rock Island military tract is located in the heart of a great manufacturing center, being within 2 miles of Rock Island, Moline, East Moline, and Davenport, all of which are essentially manufacturing cities, embracing a combined population of more than 100,000 people, and affording employment to thousands of mechanics, thus furnishing an ideal field from which the Government may draw its skilled labor and other help, which is a very important consideration in such an industrial enterprise as a great military manufacturing center.

9. Representative JOHN J. FITZGERALD, of New York, chairman of the great Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, who in making appropriations for the several arsenals of the country, has had special opportunity to familiarize himself with the advantages of the various arsenals, has stated unequivocally that Rock Island Arsenal is the logical place for the Government to concentrate its military manufacturing plants. In a debate on the floor of the House of Representatives on June 23, 1914, Representative FITZGERALD said:

> I have no prejudice in favor of or against any of these arsenals, but if it be necessary to expand our facilities in these arsenals unduly, as a common-sense business proposition, the place to develop and extend and enlarge is not at Watervliet, which is in my State, not at Springfield or at Watertown, in Massachusetts, not at Frankford, in the city of Philadelphia, but at Rock Island.

## Pensions for Aged Men and Women—House Bill No. 233.

### REMARKS
OF
### HON. BENJAMIN K. FOCHT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Speaker, on December 6, 1915, the first day of the session now closing, I introduced a bill (H. R. 233) providing for the pensioning of American citizens who have reached the age of 65 years, are incapable of manual labor, and whose incomes are less than $200 per annum. This bill reads as follows:

> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That on and after June 1, 1917, all American citizens having an income of less than $200 per annum and are 65 or more years of age and unfit and incapable of manual labor shall be allowed an annual Government pension at the rate of $10 per month.

The United States is the only country among the great civilized nations of the earth, with the one exception of the Russian Empire, which still is without an old-age pension system of some kind. The subject, of course, has been discussed in various forums throughout the land from time to time for several years, but it has been on the whole a purely academic discussion. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that I have the honor of having offered the first legislative suggestion in this Congress to remedy this defect in our social economic system, though I recognize and appreciate with great pleasure the fact that others have followed me in the direction I have indicated, chiefly among them the very distinguished chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, Gen. ISAAC SHERWOOD.

It is not a pleasant thing to contemplate that we in the United States who pride ourselves upon being in the van of all humanitarian progress should have so long neglected so obvious a duty as caring for those soldiers of our great industrial army who for a lifetime have struggled bravely under more or less adverse conditions and in the evening of life find themselves unable, by reason of failing strength, to provide a livelihood either for themselves or for those who may be dependent upon them. This applies to both sexes. According to census statistics the number of wage earners in manufacturing enterprises and on farms in 1910 aggregated about 14,000,000; those employed on railroads numbered about 1,700,000. It is safe to say that the number of persons in the United States depending all the time upon the labor of their hands for earning a living is at this time not less than 25,000,000, and most likely more than that.

The measure which I have offered is not merely philanthropic; its spirit is that of justice from man to man. It is in harmony with the spirit of Christianity, of humanity. It is just another

step forward in the working out of the problem of the brotherhood of man.

Mr. Speaker, our land is dotted with almshouses, poorhouses, and jails in which men and women no longer able to earn a living for themselves pass a miserable existence, awaiting the day that will bring them surcease from want and suffering. If we enact a law such as I propose, or one on similar lines—for I am not wedded to a particular form—we shall have done much in the direction of obviating the need of such institutions as I have named. There will always be, of course, many who by native indolence or vicious habits will qualify themselves for becoming inmates of the poorhouse, but I am happy in the belief that these constitute a comparatively small percentage of the men and women who by stress of circumstances beyond their control have to find refuge there. It should be our earnest desire to provide a remedy. The man or the woman who has during a lifetime labored honestly should not be compelled in old age, or when incapacitated by illness or disease to face the fate of a pauper.

Considered from a purely economic standpoint legislation of this character is to be advocated because of the enormous savings which through it will come to every municipality and State by the lessened cost in the maintenance of almshouses and poorhouses. What the business man calls his overhead charges would be in this instance reduced to a minimum.

There is probably no one cause more strongly accentuating the frequent antagonisms between capital and labor than the constantly recurring want of the wage earners in their old age. Under the most favorable conditions the average wage earner is unable to lay aside any considerable amount against the day when his strength to labor leaves him and his earnings cease. It is my opinion that the disturbing elements between employer and employee may largely be traced to this one fact. Happy, therefore, will be the day when that fear need no longer be constantly in the mind of the wage earners of our country; when they can look forward with assurance to the time in their lives when, even though their strength fail them or illness disable them, they will be given the means with which to make their declining days measurably comfortable. Moreover, such action on the part of the Government would unquestionably arouse in the mind of every worker a sentiment of gratitude which would find expression in a deeper patriotism. No tenable objection can be urged against a policy which in every way makes for betterment, but everything speaks in its favor.

It is a singular fact that the first practical application of a straight-out old-age pension system should have been made in the newest Governments among the enlightened nations—New Zealand and Australia. New Zealand takes the palm for being the first among civilized nations to establish a perfectly plain, unqualified old-age pension system. New Zealand was the first, and Victoria the next, to enact legislation of this character. Their methods are as simple as they are effective. No condition is attached to the granting of an old-age pension in those States, except that the applicant shall not be possessed of an income beyond a stated amount. The pensions are not saddled upon the community in which the applicant may reside, but are granted by the Central Government, which also bears the cost of administration. There is only one class of pensioners—the old and honest poor, men and women. They must be 65 years of age, residents of the country for not less than 25 years. The applicant must be a person of good moral character, and must bring evidence that he has not been an inmate of a prison for more than a stated brief period during 12 years preceding this application, and that he must have led a respectable life for at least 5 years before making application for pension. As already stated, his income must not exceed a certain amount, and if at any time subsequent to the granting of the pension that income is increased his pension is proportionately lessened. If his income, after the pension has been granted, reaches a stated amount, the pension ceases altogether.

The Province of Victoria was the first in the Commonwealth of Australia to introduce the straight-out old-age pension. Its law on the subject went into effect on the 1st day of January, 1901, a little more than two years after New Zealand had set the example. New South Wales followed suit the same year, and Queensland seven years later, and finally, by an act of the Australian Parliament, old-age pensions were made universal throughout the Commonwealth. In all these Provinces and in the Commonwealth the old-age pension laws were modeled upon that of New Zealand.

The outcry of State socialism which may be raised against the proposed legislation need deter no one. As a matter of fact, there is, I venture to say, no government of any civilized country, ours included, that has not to a greater or less extent embarked upon the policy of State socialism. In the United States, it is true, it is still in its infancy; and yet we have done some things that are in their essentials of the nature of State socialism. I will only cite the rural-credit banking law; the Government employees' compensation law, and similar enactments which indicate a realization, on the part of the Government, of its obligations to contribute from the resources of the Government to the improvement of the social and economic conditions of certain classes of the population.

In Europe State socialism has long since been recognized as a legitimate factor in the dealings between the Government and the people. Notably this is the case in Germany, Belgium, and France, in the order named, and the Scandinavian countries Italy and Great Britain have followed suit. While in none of these countries straight-out old age pensions are granted, as I have already stated, yet in all of them laws are in force which provide for old age and invalidity pensions to which the Government is a contributor. In all cases, however, in these countries not only the employee, but his employer also, has to pay in a certain amount annually which, with the Government aid granted, constitutes a general pension fund from which the old-age and invalidity pensions are paid. In Germany this has been carried so far as to embrace all classes of the working population, except employees of the general Government or municipalities and teachers, all of whom are entitled to separate pensions.

Let it not be supposed that it is pure philanthropy which has influenced this sort of legislation in these European countries. The fundamental motive has been the recognition of the fact that the conditions existing before these laws were enacted tended to pauperization and crime. It is an unquestioned fact that as a result of this legislation pauperism in every one of those countries has appreciably decreased. Now, if monarchical countries have seen the wisdom and jsutice of such action, how much more is it obligatory upon our Government, all of whose processes are based upon the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number. It is high time, I think, that we here in the United States should realize the full force of the claim which the working population of the country has upon our consideration. I can see no material difference between a pension granted to a police officer who has served honorably until age disqualifies him for furtner service and a man who has worked diligently and steadily in the factory or on the farm and finds at last that his strength has failed and that he is no longer able to march with the army of active industrial soldiers.

It would be the greatest mistake, Mr. Speaker, to put legislation such as I advocate under the head of charity. Our wage-workers are not objects of charity, and I know that no one more quickly than they would resent the offer of charity. But I am equally sure that in such legislation they will see that to them there is extended the measure of justice which is embodied in the command, "That which ye would have others do unto you, even that do ye unto them," and the assurance will come to them that through this action of the Government the chasm that separates them now from the man to whom the giving of millions for charitable purposes is a mere trifle has been greatly narrowed.

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**Report of Congressman Murray Hulbert to His Constituents.**

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## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. MURRAY HULBERT.

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, September 6, 1916.*

Mr. HULBERT. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], in the course of a debate in the Senate, some time since, stated:

I believe that this Government of ours was designed to be a representative Government. I have conceived the idea that the people of each of the States have a right to know how they are represented.

I agree that the people of each congressional district have the right to know how they are represented, and therefore I ask leave to extend my remarks by presenting a report upon the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The following is the report:

*To the people of the twenty-first congressional district of New York:*

Two years ago you honored me with an election as your Representative in the Sixty-fourth Congress, the first session of

which, after nine months of deliberative action, will presently be brought to a close, and I deem it my duty to give you an account of my stewardship.

ESTABLISHED LOCAL CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE.

My term began on the 4th day of March, 1915, whereas the Congress did not convene until the first Monday of December following, so that, to be of service to you in the meantime, I established, in accordance with an ante-election pledge, a congressional office at No. 67 West One hundred and twenty-fifth Street, which I maintained until the opening of the session and where I met personally hundreds of my constituents.

INAUGURATED MAIL CENSUS OF CONSTITUENTS.

Realizing that in the 13 months intervening between my election and the assembling of the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress the rapid progress of events changed the state of public opinion which obtained at the time of my election, and in order to ascertain to what exent, and be guided thereby, I conceived and inaugurated the plan of taking a mail poll, which when classified proved to be a very substantial aid to me in the discharge of my legislative duties, and in accordance therewith I have endeavored to represent the will of my constituents.

FIRST NEW YORK CITY REPRESENTATIVE UPON RIVERS AND HARBORS COMMITTEE.

Upon the organization of the House I was able to secure, largely through the efforts of my esteemed colleague, Hon. M. F. CONRY, member of the Committee on Ways and Means, from New York, an assignment upon the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, one of the nine appropriating and principal committees of the House of Representatives; and my selection and appointment gave to the city of New York, whose commercial supremacy is due primarily to her wonderful harbor and its tributaries, its first representative upon that committee in the history of Congress. The fact was extensively commented upon editorially in the New York papers at the time, and through the same medium, I have no doubt, you have kept yourselves informed with respect to the general results, which, however, I shall presently refer to.

HOW RIVER AND HARBOR APPROPRIATIONS ARE MADE.

A word upon the subject of the methods of river and harbor legislation may not be amiss. Whenever it is desired to secure the improvement of a harbor or navigable river, a bill must be introduced in the House authorizing the Secretary of War to cause a preliminary examination and survey to be made. A certain number of honor men in each class graduated at West Point are appointed to the Engineering Corps, which is divided into districts and presided over by the Chief of Engineers. Through the latter the Secretary of War directs that such survey, when the bill authorizing same has become a law, be made by the engineering officer in whose district the proposed improvement is located. He conducts both a physical and inquisitorial examination, and after making a survey reports upon the advisability and cost of the improvement. This report is submitted to a board of review consisting of Army engineers, whose findings are, in turn, referred to the Chief of Engineers, and his action thereon is either confirmed or disapproved by the Secretary of War, who then makes a final report to the House of Representatives. A bill may then be introduced in the House adopting the project and appropriating a sufficient amount of money to undertake the same, whereupon a hearing is then arranged for and held by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors; but in no case does the committee take favorable action where there has been an adverse report by the Army engineers. If the committee determines that the improvement is commercially economic and advisable, the item is incorporated in the river and harbor bill which it reports at each session to the House, where it is considered in Committee of the Whole, thus giving each Member an opportunity to discuss and vote upon every item of the bill.

After passing the House, the bill is transmitted to the Senate and referred to the Committee on Commerce; and when reported by it into the Senate is taken up and considered in like manner as in the House, to which it is again referred upon final passage. A conference committee of the two Houses is then appointed, generally consisting of the two ranking members of the majority party and the ranking member of the minority party of both branches of Congress, whose duty it is to adjust the differences between the two legislative bodies. Upon the adoption of the conference report the bill as thus modified is presented to the President for final action.

Since the Democratic Party came into power in the House in 1912 no new projects had been undertaken, and the committee has restricted appropriations to the completion of projects heretofore adopted—except Coenties Reef. In advance of each session of Congress the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, submits a report on the condition of each project theretofore adopted, setting forth the amount required to complete, total appropriations to date, balance available, and the committee makes such allowance therefor as in their judgment they may deem proper.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CASE FOR NEW YORK.

In a speech which your Representative delivered in the House on February 3, 1916, he said in part:

"When it is realized that since the administration of Washington down to that of Wilson less than 3 per cent of all the moneys appropriated by Congress for river and harbor improvements has been allotted to the greatest harbor in the world, I hope and believe it will arrest the attention of the Members of the Sixty-fourth Congress in the same serious way as does the resolution which is under consideration at the present time. The improvement of New York Harbor is not a matter local in its nature, but it concerns the people of the entire United States, just as does the Valley of the Mississippi. It belongs to the Nation. It argues its own case, merely requiring my agency as an instrument of presentation; for truth knows no preferences. It seeks no favors and it makes no apologies. It simply demands a hearing.

"Approximately one-half of the exports and imports of the United States pass through New York Harbor, and 100,000,000 tons of commerce, if apportioned per capita, making 1 ton for each man, woman, and child in the United States, accommodates every section of this country; and from the merchandise imported through the port of New York more than double the amount of duties is collected and turned into the Federal Treasury than from all other ports of the United States together. And I had almost overlooked the fact and nearly failed to mention that New York State contributed in addition thereto $17,417,537.60, nearly one-half of the individual income tax, and $10,221,206.65, or more than one-fourth, of the corporation income tax collected during the year 1915. Do not these facts appeal to your sense of justice in securing your favorable consideration of that which I am now about to submit? The magnitude of New York City's industrial and commercial possessions, its wealth and population, can be comprehended only by comparison. In every decade since 1840 New York has shown a greater numerical increase in population than any other American city. One-thirteenth of the entire population of the United States now lives in the New York metropolitan district. New York City produces one-tenth of the entire manufactured product of the United States, more than any other State except Pennsylvania.

"The value of New York's taxable property exceeds that of Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and St. Louis combined. New York City banks handle 60 per cent of the clearings of the United States.

"New York is the terminus of all but one of the great eastern railroad systems.

"Thirty per cent of the entire population of the United States and 42 per cent of all the taxable property lie within 350 miles of New York City. The population in New York City increased since 1900, 47½ per cent. New York manufactures increased between 1900 and 1910, 70 per cent. The foreign commerce of New York increased from 1898 to 1913, 131 per cent. And yet in the improvement of this great harbor the Federal Government has not only failed to keep abreast of the needs of the times but has fallen far in the rear.

"I would like to put the New York Harbor situation before you in concrete form:

| Improvement. | Adopted. | Appropriated.[1] | Required to complete. | Total. | Commerce. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| East River | 1868 | $6,505,203 | $13,400,000 | $19,905,203 | [2]$1,537,239,286 |
| Hudson River | 1875 | 641,479 | 995,000 | 1,636,479 | [3]2,559,185,809 |
| Harlem River | 1879 | 2,068,000 | 1,520,656 | 3,588,656 | 582,583,757 |
| Newtown Creek | 1880 | 525,900 | [4]10,000 | 535,900 | 147,739,825 |
| Sheepshead Bay | 1880 | 44,600 | ..... | 44,600 | 144,777 |
| Bay Ridge and Red Hook Channel | 1881 | 4,421,100 | 384,000 | 4,805,100 | 408,459,300 |
| Bronx River | 1896 | 326,500 | 703,931 | 1,030,431 | [5]1,947,785 |
| Ambrose Channel | 1899 | 7,600,010 | [4]40,000 | 7,640,010 | 2,056,847,222 |
| Coney Island Channel | 1907 | 114,300 | ..... | 114,300 | [6]5,256,300 |
| Jamaica Bay | 1910 | 700,500 | 6,730,000 | 7,430,500 | 5,171,668 |
| Harlem or Bronx Kills, recommended | 1902 | Nothing. | 1,900,000 | 1,900,000 | [7]None. |
| | | 22,947,592 | 25,683,587 | 48,631,179 | 7,304,375,730 |

[1] Maintenance only.
[2] 22,436,151 passengers.
[3] 106,253,639 passengers.
[4] Only 14 per cent completed.
[5] 1,178,168 passengers.
[6] State Barge Canal not yet open.

"In addition to the foregoing evidence that the improvement of New York Harbor is not a "pork-barrel" proposition, let it

be noted that the Ambrose Channel was constructed at a saving of about $1,500,000; that the balance to be expended, under the old project, for the improvement of the East River—$2,551,939—can be turned over to, and credited upon, the new project and will suffice to do the work required in the next five years; that the Coney Island Channel improvement was authorized upon an estimate of $168,300, and work to date, costing only $114,300, meets present-day needs and no further appropriations have been asked for.

"In 1868 the first project was adopted for the improvement of New York Harbor, to wit, East River, a tidal strait, of which the world-renowned Hell Gate is a part, about 16 miles long, extending from the Battery to Throg Neck, separating Long Island from the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, and connecting up New York Bay with the sheltered waters of Long Island Sound. With its subsequent modifications this project had for its object extending the depth of the channel to a depth of 26 feet over projecting rocks at an estimated cost of $8,757,183.

"About 70 per cent of the work has been completed.

"On March 2, 1912, Col. W. M. Black, United States district engineer at New York, submitted a report of the survey of the East River and Hell Gate, in which he reported favorably upon an amendment of the project for further improvement at an expense of $32,533,501, providing for a through channel 35 feet deep, with access to the wharves to a depth of 30 feet, and the improvement of the Harlem or Bronx Kills, to provide a short cut for boats passing from the Harlem, which will be the natural outlet for the State barge canal into the East River; and Little Hell Gate, as a means of reducing the tidal velocities and diminishing, if not avoiding, the consequent dangers at Hell Gate. The Chief of Engineers modified the recommendations of Col. Black by reducing the estimate 'for the present' to $13,400,000, which, largely through the efforts of our late lamented colleague, Col. Joseph A. Goulden, was included in the bill reported by the Rivers and Harbors Committee and passed the House in the Sixty-third Congress, first session, but failed in the Senate. Meanwhile no further appropriations have been made for the improvement of the East River; and while there is an unexpended balance of $2,551,939 now of the amount originally authorized, the Chief of Engineers reported in 1914 and again in 1915:

"It is believed that the present 26-foot project has been outgrown by the commercial interests involved, and that further work on this project is now economically inadvisable. No estimate is therefore submitted for operations in connection with said project during the fiscal year 1917.

"And I may add that nothing has been expended since 1912 upon this great waterway. The report of the Chief of Engineers adds:

"As a result of a careful canvass the commerce of the East River in the calendar year 1914 appears to have amounted to 46,553,605 short tons, valued at $1,537,239,286, and that the number of passengers carried was 22,436,151.

"The rivers and harbors act of June 13, 1902, directed a preliminary examination of the Harlem or Bronx Kills, which was made and reported by Col. Mansfield on July 28, 1902, whose report was reviewed by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, and their report, dated November 11, 1903, concludes with the words:

"In view of the great present and prospective benefits that would result, it is advisable to undertake the improvement of the Harlem Kills to a depth of 18 feet at mean low water, at a cost of $1,899,480.

"There is a recommendation made 14 years ago, and what has been done meanwhile?

"I am astounded to find that there never has been an examination and report by the engineers upon the effect of the $154,000,000 improvement of the State Barge Canal with reference to the commercial development of the lower Harlem and East Rivers since the State Barge Canal improvement act was adopted; and there has been no action by any Congress since that time tending to effect cooperation at this point with the State authorities."

RIVER AND HARBOR BILL OF 1916.

When the preparation of the river and harbor bill for 1916 was taken up each member of the committee was supplied with the Engineer's report, and the committee adjourned over the holidays that the Members might familiarize themselves therewith. Upon the reconvening of the Congress the committee resumed daily sessions until about February 24, 1916, when the bill was reported to the House. At the inception of these hearings the writer introduced the following resolution:

Whereas the Committee on Rivers and Harbors has determined not to take on any new projects; and

Whereas the continuation of projects heretofore adopted for river and harbor improvements, as recommended by the United States Army engineers, will necessitate an appropriation in excess of $40,000,000; and

Whereas many of the said projects long since adopted may not meet present-day requirements or changed conditions have affected the natural advantages and decreased the commercial efficiency of such improvements; and

Whereas the agitation for greater preparedness in the military and naval branches of the Federal service will necessitate raising an extraordinary amount of money for the purpose of meeting that expense: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That for the purpose of effecting substantial economy in the preparation of the proposed river and harbor bill that the Chief of Engineers be, and he is hereby requested, to report with all convenient speed which of the several incompleted projects are most essential with regard both to their commercial necessity and as an aid to the national defense, and the appropriations for the improvement of which are deemed to be most essentially advisable: Be it further

*Resolved*, That the Chief of Engineers or his local representative, and whenever possible the district officer in charge of the work, be requested to attend the executive meetings of this committee while the appropriation affecting each district is being examined into for the purpose of enabling the individual members of the committee to further inform themselves with regard to the details and the necessity for the improvement thereof.

The resolution was not adopted.

The Chief of Army Engineers recommended for 1916 the following appropriations for New York Harbor and its tributaries, which in every instance except one, after a spirited contest in the committee, were allowed in full:

| Name. | 1915 | | 1915 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Asked. | Allowed. | Asked. | Allowed. |
| Portchester Harbor | $27,500 | $27,500 | $20,000 | $10,000 |
| Mamaroneck Harbor | 7,000 | 7,000 | 14,800 | 14,800 |
| Port Jefferson Harbor | 5,000 | 5,000 | 10,000 | 2,000 |
| Saugerties | 11,250 | 11,250 | 3,000 | ..... |
| Roundout | 4,250 | 4,250 | 5,000 | 3,000 |
| Peekskill | 1,000 | 1,000 | ..... | ..... |
| Tarrytown | 10,000 | 10,000 | 9,000 | 3,000 |
| Ambrose Channel (New York Harbor) | 40,000 | 40,000 | ..... | ..... |
| Bay Ridge and Red Hook Channels | 150,000 | 150,000 | 150,000 | 125,000 |
| Hudson River Channel | 450,000 | 450,000 | 150,000 | 100,000 |
| Bronx River | 250,000 | 250,000 | 200,000 | 100,000 |
| East Chester Creek | 6,000 | 6,000 | 10,000 | 5,000 |
| East River | 1,100,000 | 700,000 | ..... | ..... |
| Harlem River | 250,000 | 250,000 | 150,000 | 75,000 |
| Newtown Creek | 10,000 | 10,000 | 30,000 | 15,000 |
| Hudson River (Upper) | 1,970,000 | 1,250,000 | 3,260,000 | 877,783 |
| Total | 4,292,000 | 3,172,000 | 4,011,800 | 1,330,583 |

(The East River item was not recommended by the Chief of Engineers.)

In this connection I have examined the records for some time past, and find that heretofore the recommendations of the Army engineers have been substantially curtailed.

EAST RIVER PROJECT.

It is to be borne in mind that the principal navy yard of the United States is located on the East River, and that naval vessels recently constructed, in the course of construction, and authorized to be constructed have a draft of 31 feet, and vessels of that draft have been unable to enter or leave the navy yard except at high tide, which occurs for a period of about half an hour twice in each 24 hours—once in daytime and once at night—so that it has only been practicable to move one battleship each day in or out of the navy yard. Appreciating the fallacy of constructing additional dreadnaughts and superdreadnaughts when such a condition existed, your Representative deemed it essential that a provision should be incorporated in the bill authorizing the deepening of the East River channel to the navy yard, notwithstanding the fact that the committee had previously adopted a resolution not to include any new projects, and when voted down on his motion in the committee your Representative sought and received the personal aid of the President of the United States, who urged the committee's serious consideration of this improvement; and, after an all-day hearing on Lincoln's birthday, the committee adopted so much of the East River project as, by the removal of Diamond Reef off the Battery to a depth of 35 feet, at an expense of $700,000, will provide a channel with a minimum depth of 35 feet to the navy yard, which not only benefits the Navy, but commerce as well.

HUDSON RIVER SURVEY.

The city officials of New York recently celebrated the partial completion of the first of the new piers at Forty-fifth Street, where it is intended to accommodate the ocean liners which now dock at the Chelsea Piers. Before the new pier, when completed, and the others to be constructed, can, however, be utilized for the purpose intended it will be necessary to have a bar, over which there is now only about 22 feet of water, dredged to a depth of 40 feet. No step in that direction had been taken, so far as Congress is concerned, until the matter was brought to the attention of your Representative by Gen. Black, Chief of

Army Engineers; whereupon the following provision was incorporated in the river and harbor bill:

The Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to cause preliminary examination and survey to be made of New York Harbor, N. Y., with a view to securing an increase in depth up to 40 feet, and suitable widths in the North or Hudson River channel from deep water in the Upper Bay as far north as Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

HARLEM OR BRONX KILLS.

No action ever having been taken upon the survey of 1902, your Representative also had incorporated a provision authorizing a new survey, so as to emphasize the present importance thereof in relation to the operation of the State Barge Canal.

THE VISIT OF THE COMMITTEE TO NEW YORK.

The Committee on Rivers and Harbors consists of 21 members, and as a number of them have not visited New York in recent years, and some not at all, in order that they might gain a more thorough and personal knowledge of the port of New York and the necessities of Federal improvement, your Representative arranged early in August with the Chamber of Commerce and other civic bodies to invite the committee to visit New York and inspect the harbor, the Hudson, the Harlem, and East Rivers, which they spent two days in doing, and, at the invitation of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, continued on up to the State Barge Canal. There is no doubt that this visit will be productive of good results when the consideration of the next river and harbor bill is taken up in the second session of the present Congress, which will convene on the first Monday of December next.

GENERAL LEGISLATION.

At this session of Congress 17,798 bills have been introduced and referred to various committees and 285 laws have been enacted. It would, of course, exhaust your patience to refer to them at length, and it will only be my purpose to refer to the most important measures which have been adopted, and in the enactment of which your Representative was an active participant.

PREPAREDNESS.

Never before in the history of the Republic have the people of the United States been aroused to such a keen sense of danger from lack of preparedness as has resulted from the destruction and desolation of the European war, with its consequent and innumerable violations of the rights of neutral nations. The problem to determine the extent to which preparedness should be increased proved to be one most difficult of solution. The highest military and naval intelligence in the world has outlined the entire program, in the carrying out of which the Congress has appropriated for the various phases of our national defense during the present session, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Army | $267,596,530 |
| Navy | 313,384,389 |
| Fortifications | 25,747,550 |
| Military Academy | 1,225,943 |
| Army and Navy (supplemental) | 34,523,000 |
| Nitrate plant | 20,000,000 |
| Total | 662,476,512 |

This total is by far in excess of any appropriation ever made by any Congress since the establishment of the Republic.

ARMY REORGANIZATION.

Just as the Wilson banking and currency law, enacted by the previous Congress, stabilized our financial institutions, and will prevent money panics in future, so the Army reorganization bill, approved on June 3, 1916, is intended to modernize our Military Establishment.

The Regular Army has been fixed at 296,461 men as a maximum basis and 215,838 men as a minimum basis, and the National Guard has been federalized—that is, placed under Federal control—and increased to 458,000 men. This means that hereafter the National Guard will be thoroughly equipped by the National Government and trained by Regular Army officers. While the writer preferred the continental army plan proposed by Former Secretary of War Garrison, the plan adopted is receiving a substantial test by the mobilization upon the Texas border, and can be improved as the necessities appear therein at the session next December.

The present law contains two important provisions which your Representative earnestly advocated, viz:

That after the expiration of one year's honorable service any enlisted man serving within the continental limits of the United States whose commander shall report him as proficient and sufficiently trained may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be furloughed to the Regular Army reserve—

And—

that no person under the age of 18 years shall be enlisted or mustered into the military service of the United States without the written consent of his parents or guardians.

The former will stimulate enlistments, and the large number of urgent applications for the discharge of minors which the writer has received from parents makes the latter a highly desirable provision. The bill will democratize the Army by giving an opportunity to young men to secure officers' commissions from civil life and to enter West Point from the ranks of the Regular Army, and extends the availability for service at the training camps, which upon their establishment was confined to a favored few.

ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

To the Army appropriation bill, approved August 29, 1916, your Representative offered an amendment for an appropriation of $14,000,000 for aviation, and upon the defeat thereof presented the matter to the President, following which the Senate incorporated in the bill an amendment which provides $13,281,666 for aeroplanes, and substantial appropriations for machine guns for the Regular Army and for the National Guard, field artillery and field-artillery ammunition for the National Guard, rifles and reserve small-arms ammunition, target-practice munitions, armored motor cars, and for many other important measures.

On July 7, 1916, your Representative introduced a bill authorizing the President to appoint a commission of not less than three civilian citizens, to hold office at the pleasure of the President, charged with the duty to inspect all foods supplied for the military forces of the United States, and to determine whether the quality of such foods conformed to the specifications of the purchase, and whether such foods were wholesome, suitable, and adequate, and to report thereon at reasonable intervals to the President with such recommendations as in their opinion might tend to improve the rations and promote the physical welfare of the Federal troops.

Senator CHAMBERLAIN also endeavored to secure consideration of this amendment in the Senate, but while the bill was not adopted, it no doubt had substantially the same effect, for the Secretary of War appointed Former Health Commissioner Darlington, of the city of New York, as a commissioner to visit the Texas border and make such an investigation as was contemplated by this law, and following Commissioner Darlington's investigation and the submission of his report there was a notable improvement and cessation of complaints.

FORTIFICATIONS BILL.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Chief of the Coast Artillery pronounced our seacoast defenses the best in the world, the present Congress has provided appropriations to extend them and increase their efficiency.

A special feature of the bill approved July 6, 1916, provides for having at hand and ready for use manifold and useful implements of industry, so that in case of war they can be furnished to private manufacturers, and insure the immediate availability of munitions of war not readily obtained.

A council of national defense has also been established for the purpose of coordinating our industries and resources for the national security and welfare.

MILITARY AND NAVAL ACADEMIES.

The number of cadets at West Point and Annapolis have been doubled.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

By the enactment of the naval appropriation bill approved August 29, 1916, our Navy will be enlarged by the addition of 4 superdreadnaughts, 4 battle cruisers, 4 scout cruisers, 20 torpedo-boat destroyers, 3 fleet submarines, 27 coast submarines, 1 submarine with Neff propulsion, 1 fuel ship, 1 hospital ship, 1 ammunition ship, and 1 gunboat, making a total of 67 vessels. The law adopts a three-year building program of 157 vessels in 3 years, and when completed the United States will have 587 fighting ships in her Navy.

There are also provisions for aeroplanes for the Navy, ammunition, and smokeless powder to meet the necessary requirements of a first-class Navy. Twenty-three thousand and two hundred men have been added to the Navy, and 5,000 men have been added to the Marine Corps, with provision for ample reserves. This program will restore the Navy of the United States to the place among the world's navies which she proudly occupied until 1908.

The naval bill also provides for the promotion of officers by selection, which is the only way in which a nation can obtain the benefit of the ability of the best officers before they have reached a retiring age. Selection system is in operation in the other navies of the world and works satisfactorily.

Your Representative undertook to secure the inclusion of a provision in this bill authorizing the deepening of Hell Gate, East River, to 35 feet, the completion of which would provide a channel with a minimum depth of 35 feet from upper New

York Bay to Long Island Sound, thus making the East River a second Kiel Canal. It has been shown by Commander Jessup that eight battleships of a foreign fleet could successfully blockade New York while the ships of our Navy are able to leave only by the Sandy Hook route. The improvement of the Hell Gate Channel, thus opening up Long Island Sound as a rendezvous to our Navy, would require eight times as many ships to blockade the eastern end of Long Island Sound, the entrance to and exit from which is very much wider than the present available entrance.

When this bill came before the House it contained a provision authorizing the deepening of the channel approach to the navy yard, Charleston, S. C., upon which precedent your Representative prepared, and Senator O'GORMAN introduced a resolution appropriating $500,000 for the deepening of the Hell Gate Channel. The bill passed the Senate with this amendment included therein, but the provision was eliminated while the bill was in conference, notwithstanding the fact that your Representative enlisted the interest of the President of the United States, who wrote a forceful letter to the conferees, urging the grave necessity of retaining this appropriation. The foundation has, however, been laid to make certain the enactment of this measure in the next session.

PEACE COMMISSION.

The naval appropriation bill also contains a provision establishing a Peace Commission, which reads as follows:

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided. It looks with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armament throughout the world, but it realizes that no single nation can disarm, and that without a common agreement upon the subject every considerable power must maintain a relative standing in military strength.

In view of the premises, the President is authorized and requested to invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendations to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace to be representatives of the United States in such a conference.

SHIPPING BILL.

The shipping bill, approved September 7, 1916, appropriates $50,000,000 and creates a Shipping Board of five commissioners each eventually to hold office for six years, at an annual salary of $7,500. They will have broad powers over shipping, similar to the powers exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission over railroads. The Shipping Board will organize a corporation, the Government to purchase a majority of the stock for the purpose of acquiring and operating vessels in the merchant trade. The bill provides that this corporation shall be dissolved five years after the close of the European war, and if due encouragement is given there should be a proper and adequate merchant marine established by that time. This bill is the first step toward the establishment of a merchant fleet. Ships may be purchased of belligerent nations, but none shall be acquired that are not 75 per cent as efficient as when they came out of the yards. The right is reserved to the President to use the vessels purchased by the commission whenever an emergency requires. They will always be available as troop transports and auxiliary cruisers. This is where the United States Navy has been deficient in the past, as shown by the Spanish War. Transports are authorized by the naval bill, but, because of the fact that they are used so infrequently, Congress was not inclined to provide a sufficient number for maximum naval needs. The shipping bill meets the situation by establishing a fleet which will be used steadily in times of peace and be always available for war purposes.

CHILD-LABOR BILL.

The child-labor bill, approved September 1, 1916, provides that no goods, articles, or commodities manufactured in any mill, factory, or other industrial shop in which children under 16 years of age are employed shall be permitted to be used in interstate commerce. Thus the Federal Government will prevent the employment of children at a young and tender age in those fields of industry which will be injurious to their development and repressive in its effects upon their mental activities, grinding out the best that is in them.

KERN-M'GILLICUDDY BILL.

The Kern-McGillicuddy bill, approved September 7, 1916, provides for the compensation of all injured Federal employees at the rate of two-thirds of their wages if they are disabled; in case of death the dependent widow to be allowed 35 per cent of the employee's wage. Your Representative believes that the United States Government long ago should have enacted a pension or retirement law which would have increased the efficiency of the civil service and resulted in a saving of much money, and should follow the Kern-McGillicuddy law with this and other measures bringing the Government in line with modern progress.

THE PHILIPPINES BILL.

The Philippines bill, approved August 29, 1916, originally contained what was known as the Clarke amendment providing for the independence of the islands in not less than two years nor more than four years, for which 28 Democrats in the House, of which your Representative feels honored to have been one, secured the substitution of a declaration affirming the purpose of the United States to withdraw from the Philippines whenever a stable government has been established, and believes that not until a whole generation has been educated for self-government will it be possible to turn the Philippines loose without serious injustice to the natives themselves.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

On the 21st day of April, 1916, your Representative introduced a bill for the improvement of East Potomac Park, Washington, D. C., as a national athletic field, in accordance with a comprehensive plan approved by the War Department. When the sundry civil appropriation bill, approved July 1, 1916, was reported to the House it contained a provision appropriating $15,000 for care and improvement of East Potomac Park and $50,000 for a field house to be erected therein, and an amendment offered by your Representative to increase this amount was lost by one vote, and the items as reported were adopted, thus insuring that the improvement proposed in the bill introduced by your Representative will be undertaken.

POST OFFICE APPROPRIATION BILL.

During the consideration of the Post Office appropriation bill, approved July 28, 1916, your Representative, collaborating with Representatives HENRY BRUCKNER and W. S. BENNET, of New York City, endeavored to secure the adoption of an amendment providing for the extension of the pneumatic-tube service from the post-office station at One hundred and twenty-fifth Street and Lexington Avenue under the Harlem River to the stations at One hundred and thirty-eighth Street and One hundred and forty-ninth Street in the Bronx, and from Harlem to Washington Heights. Upon the failure of this amendment we labored diligently, even if without success, with the Senate committee and the Postmaster General.

The parcel post was improved and extended and the Postal Savings System was greatly enlarged, and postal facilities made more efficient.

Your Representative also heartily cooperated with Representative GRIFFIN to secure favorable consideration of the Griffin superannuated employees' pension bill.

THE AGRICULTURAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

During the consideration of the Agricultural appropriation bill, approved August 11, 1916, your Representative vigorously opposed an amendment known as the standard grain-grading law, under which the farmer or shipper could have his grain graded and guaranteed under the supervision of the Government, upon the ground that the enactment of this law would be detrimental to the commerce of the port of New York.

THE RAILROAD STRIKE-PREVENTION LAW.

This bill, approved September 3, 1916, (a) establishes an eight-hour law; (b) provides for the appointment of a commission of observation, which is to make a report thereon; (c) pending the report of this commission the compensation of railway employees subject to the act shall not be reduced below the present standard day's wage, and that if necessary to work in excess of eight hours such employees shall be paid at a rate not less than the pro rata rate for such standard eight-hour workday; (d) provides penalties for violations of the bill.

It should not be forgotten by those who think that the granting of the eight-hour day is a blow to the sovereignty of the United States, that the Government itself established an eight-hour day without any compulsion or influence from organized labor.

THE REVENUE BILL.

Congress, in response to the public demand, has provided enormous appropriations. It was necessary to provide a means of raising revenue to meet the same. Your Representative believes in the equitable distribution of the means of payment for the cost of improvements of permanent character, so that they will be borne by those to be benefited. The construction of the Panama Canal, the cost of which was less than the increase of the appropriations made by this Congress, covers a period of 12 years. The Republican Party issued bonds to meet the yearly outlay. But when the Democratic Party gained control of Con-

gress, adopting a "pay-as-you-go" policy, the Panama Canal payments were made out of the current revenues, and now the last act of this Congress has been the revenue bill, approved September 8, 1916, by which more than $200,000,000 additional will be raised in order to meet the obligations which have been created by this Congress. But the bill contains so many other good features, that your Representative had no hesitancy in supporting it. There is, for instance, the antidumping clause, a provision increasing the tariff on dyestuffs, and the creation of a Tariff Commission, which will take the tariff out of politics; it repeals the obnoxious stamp taxes and increases the income tax on large fortunes, and provides for a progressive inheritance tax and a tax on war munitions. There is also a special provision which gives the President of the United States power to take retaliatory action against the interference of other nations with the commerce of the United States.

CONCLUSION.

It has always been my purpose to render the best service of which I was capable. At times the difficulties encountered in the performance of my official duties made the accomplishment of some things impossible and of others extremely uncertain; but whatever the result of my labors, I have always tried scrupulously, honestly, and patriotically to carve out for my district an enviable place upon the legislative map of the Nation. To the exalted office of Representative in Congress I have tried to bring a sense of devotion to duty, a singleness of purpose, a fervor of public spirit in every way worthy of its high dignity and character. In the performance of its functions and duties I have been inspired by a patriotic idealism, which, if I did not entirely attain, I labored faithfully and earnestly to fulfill.

I deeply appreciate, regardless of political affiliations, the support which I have received from the press of New York City.

The pleasure, the consummate personal satisfaction, I derived from the doing of the work has been very materially enhanced by the consciousness of the fact that that work, however imperfectly performed, was contributing in some slight degree to the good of the people, the honor of my city and State, and the glory of my country.

Respectfully,

MURRAY HULBERT,
*Member of Congress, Twenty-first District, New York.*

## The Eight-Hour Law, the Prevention of the Railroad Strike, and Democratic Legislation.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
### HON. WILLIAM L. IGOE.
OF MISSOURI.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, September 8, 1916.*

Mr. IGOE. Mr. Speaker, I voted for the eight-hour bill because I believe in the eight-hour day and because, under the circumstances, it was the wise, patriotic, and statesmanlike thing to do. The President and Congress have been bitterly assailed by the railroad owners and their supporters for this action, and in many instances the criticism has been violent and abusive.

The eight-hour day is right in principle, and its application, through this law, to workers engaged in the operation of trains is within the power to regulate commerce given to Congress under the Constitution. It is a principle which, as the President says, has the sanction of the favorable judgment of society.

What are the facts and circumstances which necessitated speedy legislative action? The railroad employees had demanded an eight-hour day with pro rata pay for overtime. The railroad managers refused to meet their demands. For months the parties had conferred, seeking to adjust their differences, but without success. They had reached a deadlock, and a strike of the 400,000 employees was threatened. At this point the President of the United States, realizing the disastrous results of such a strike, invited both sides to send representatives to Washington that he might make an effort to bring them to an agreement. The representatives of both sides did come to Washington, and after many conferences the President suggested that the eight-hour day be granted, that the question of increased pay for overtime be arbitrated, and an investigation made of the operation of the eight-hour day. The men finally agreed to accept this proposition, but the railroads declined, insisting that the entire matter should be arbitrated. The men then gave notice that on Monday, September 4, 1916, a strike would take place on all the railroad lines within the United States. The President then appeared before Congress on Wednesday, August 30, and, placing all the facts before us, suggested a program of legislation that would not only prevent the strike, but would likewise provide a permanent system of arbitration.

Only a few hours remained before the strike order would become effective, and, speedy action being necessary, Congress passed the law under discussion, embodying two of the President's recommendations, to wit, the eight-hour day with pro rata pay for overtime and a commission to observe the workings of the law for a period of about nine months, the rate of pay not to be changed during that time. It was known that if this legislation was passed before September 4 the strike order would be recalled and the country saved from the ruin and loss which would otherwise follow. In the face of these facts what was the duty of Congress? What was the duty of the President? For one I felt then, and still feel, that it was the duty of Congress to pass this law and prevent a strike. This was more than a controversy between the employees and the railroads, for the strike, if it took place, would have injuriously affected every citizen of the Nation; every business man and every laboring man would have immediately felt its effects. Millions of workmen would have been thrown out of employment, foodstuffs and supplies would have reached prohibitive prices, ruin and destruction would have resulted, and starvation and bankruptcy would have been the lot of many. As it was, as soon as the strike order was issued the price of foodstuffs in the cities jumped 25 per cent; employers of labor dependent on railroad transportation notified their men that if the strike took place they need not report for work; railroads gave notice that they would not haul perishable freight, which in the large part meant foodstuffs; and these same railroads began to hire strikebreakers and guards and firearms were secured to be used as occasion might demand.

With this situation confronting us, with the prospect of millions of our people out of employment, food beyond the reach of the poor man, cities deprived of supplies, ruin and starvation facing many, the President did his duty in calling upon Congress for legislation, and Congress did a sensible and patriotic thing in passing this eight-hour bill. The Republican candidate for President, Mr. Hughes, Republican leaders in Congress, and a Republican press have bitterly assailed and criticized us, but I believe the 100,000,000 people of the Nation, who would have had to bear the burden of a conflict in which they had no direct interest, will vindicate the judgment of the President and Congress.

An editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of September 8 presents the case so clearly that I attach it as part of my remarks. This editorial is entitled "Anything to beat Wilson," and is as follows:

At last the Republican Party has got an issue. It is the settlement of the strike. Following the vague hints of candidate Hughes, the Globe-Democrat shrieks about the cowardice of President Wilson and Congress in passing the Adamson bill. It raves about "compulsion," the sacrifice of the "dignity and honor of the Nation," the burial of the head of the American eagle in the sand, etc.

Nothing could be more absurd than the Globe-Democrat's assumption of compulsion to do this thing, regardless of right or wrong, except its amusing comparison of congressional action to avert a railroad strike with action to avert a strike of butchers or farmers. This is the finest sample of logic we have seen in a partisan newspaper.

However, we have not the slightest doubt if the butchers combined to deprive the people of the United States of meat or the farmers combined to deprive them of grain that Congress would act vigorously and effectively to keep the people from starving. If it didn't act, we would like to hear the Globe-Democrat shriek. It would be an experience. If the President had not acted in this case; if the strike had taken place, with an embargo on all traffic, the shrieks from the partisan organs and antilabor interests that are now howling about the cowardice of the President would have been deafening. In three days they would have wanted to mob the President and Congress for not taking action.

When the embargo was declared the railroads, whose heads realized that they could not run their roads with the strike on; the business men and business organizations who bombarded the President with telegrams urging him to support the railroads, flooded the President and the Congress with telegrams urging them to avert or postpone the strike. If the strike had occurred, the flood of telegrams calling for governmental action would have been a Niagara in a week.

Arbitration had failed, mediation had failed, and the strike had been ordered before the President went to Congress with a program of legislation to avert it and settle all railroad labor controversies. He went with the plan he had decided was just before the strike was ordered—the plan he had offered both parties to the controversy as just, which had been accepted by the men and rejected by the railroads.

After a strike like that with which the country was threatened has been averted it is easy to intimate that it would not have occurred or would not have amounted to much; it is easy when its disastrous consequences have been escaped to criticize the method of escape, to attack the men who took vigorous, swift action to save the public from the consequences. This is the easiest thing in the world.

Of course, President Wilson did an unpardonable thing from the standpoint of the old guard when he failed to humble himself before the railroad heads and do their bidding, when he failed to call in the Wall Street magnates and ask them to save the country at any price. He did an unpardonable thing when, recognizing Congress as the supreme power in the country, he called upon it to take action to save the country without the aid of the big interests.

In the Roosevelt panic of 1907, when stocks were crashing down, bankers were failing, and money was locked up in strong boxes, President Roosevelt turned over the Treasury to Pierpont Morgan and gave him a permit to violate the antitrust laws in order to save the country. He defended his surrender of the Government's power on the ground that it was necessary, and he boasted of it as an act of a man of courage and resource. Republican organs defended his action.

In the anthracite coal strike, after the country had suffered for five months and was in the throes of a coal famine, President Roosevelt intervened and forced a settlement. That was courageous and proper—he was a Republican President.

When President Wilson induces Congress to avert a strike threatening unparalleled national disaster by passing a just measure he is a coward who betrays the country—he is a Democrat.

The partisan organs and voters who are criticizing President Wilson evidently hoped for a national calamity. They resent its avoidance; out of calamity might come Republican success. Anything to beat Wilson.

It is not alone this piece of legislation that has caused the railroad and financial magnates to attack the Democratic Party. The favorites of Republican legislation are incensed at the whole program of Democratic legislation. The special interests are aroused and determined to drive the Democratic Party from power. The good old days are gone for the tariff barons and financial juggiers. In the good old days you could not begin to get the eight-hour bill considered in the House or Senate. It would have peacefully slumbered in committees appointed by Speaker CANNON or controlled by PENROSE or the late Senator Aldrich. The special interests have fallen upon evil times, but they are now aroused. The call to arms has been sounded. The forces of Wall Street, the tariff and trust barons, and railroad manipulators are gathering for the battle to recover their lost power. The contest this November is between these men and the people; between greed and privilege on the one hand, and democracy and justice on the other.

The record of legislation from March 4, 1913, to the close of this session of Congress is the greatest record of constructive and beneficial legislation ever enacted in the history of the country.

I wish to set out briefly some of the measures passed and some of the things done:

First. Revised the tariff by reducing the duties on necessaries and depriving monopoly of the special priveleges enjoyed under Republican tariffs. During its consideration the lobby which was so effective under Republican rule was exposed and driven from Washington.

Second. Provided that a considerable portion of the expenses of the Government should be raised from a tax on incomes, thus shifting the burden from those least able to pay to those best able to pay.

Third. Provided for an inheritance tax and a tax on munitions.

Fourth. Created the Federal Trade Commission, under which unfair methods of competition can be stopped and thus prevent the formation of trusts and monopolies. The commission will also aid and assist legitimate business through investigations at home and abroad.

Fifth. Revision of the antitrust laws. The Clayton bill supplements the Sherman law and is important to labor, in that it specifically says that labor is not a commodity, prevents the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes, and provides for jury trials in certain contempt cases.

Sixth. Created a nonpartisan tariff commission to investigate and study trade and manufacturing conditions at home and abroad.

Seventh. Passed an antidumping law, under which it will be impossible for the foreign manufacturer to sell goods cheaper in the United States than at home.

Eighth. Passed preparedness measures, under which we will have an adequate and efficient Navy, a sufficient standing Army, with a great increase in the trained reserve, and the best coast fortification in the world. This administration has extended the navy-yard facilities for the building of naval vessels by the Government; increased the facilities for making its own powder, guns, and other war supplies; provided for a Government armor-plate plant and nitrate plant. By these measures it has taken a long step toward eliminating private profit in war supplies.

Ninth. Passed the shipping bill, under which the Government will purchase or construct ships and operate them, if necessary, in an effort to build up a merchant marine under the American flag. A Shipping Board is created, which will regulate water transportation and prevent discrimination and unfair practices.

Tenth. Passed the Federal reserve act, under which the control of the finances of the country was taken from Wall Street. Under this act financial panics are guarded against and the Government has control of the banks instead of the banks controlling the Government.

Eleventh. Passed a workmen's compensation law for all Federal employees injured or killed while in the service of the Government. This law is considered to be the most liberal law of its kind yet adopted, and I am proud of the fact that as a member of a subcommittee I assisted in perfecting the measure, and that it was on my motion that the bill was favorably reported to the House.

Twelfth. Passed the child-labor law, under which it will be impossible to ship in interstate commerce the products of factories or mines in which children under certain ages are employed.

Thirteenth. A law for the construction of Government-owned railroads in Alaska.

Fourteenth. A rural-credits law, under which farm-land loans may be secured at low rates of interest.

Fifteenth. A good-roads law, under which the Federal Government will cooperate with the States in building roads.

Sixteenth. The seamen's law, under which seamen are freed from what amounted to involuntary servitude. It also requires provision to be made for the safety of passengers on board while vessels are at sea.

Seventeenth. Law extending the operation of the parcel post.

Eighteenth. Provided for the extension of our export trade by investigating trade conditions abroad through specially appointed agents and by establishing branch offices of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in large trade cities, including St. Louis.

Nineteenth. The creation of the Board of Mediation and Conciliation, under which many great industrial and railroad strikes have been averted or settled satisfactorily to all parties involved.

Twentieth. It has passed an eight-hour law for women workers in the District of Columbia over which Congress has jurisdiction; prevented the use of the stop-watch system in Government arsenals and navy yards; it has put into effect the Children's Bureau law to promote the welfare of children.

These are some of the laws we have passed, and evidence the earnest desire of the Democratic Party to carry out its platform pledges. It is a record that should appeal to every citizen who believes in progressive policies and progressive legislation. It should receive, and I believe it will receive, the support and indorsement of the country.

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